Studying Gender
in the Ancient Near East
Studying Gender
in the Ancient Near East

edited by
SAANA SVÄRD AND AGNÉS GARCIA-VENTURA

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This volume is dedicated to all of the pioneers in the study of women, gender, and the ancient Near East. Thank you for asking new and challenging questions; you cannot find something that you do not sense is missing.

Aux alentours de midi, je me rendis compte que j’étais perdue. J’abordai un responsable en ces termes:
— Mesopotamia, please.
— Third floor, turn to the left, me répondit-on le plus simplement du monde.
Comme quoi on a bien tort de croire que la Mésopotamie est à ce point inaccessible.

(Amélie Nothomb, Pétronille)
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This volume has its genesis in three workshops that we organized in 2013 and 2014. As two of the workshops were held in the framework of the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, they would not have been possible without the warm welcome and help of the Organizing Committees of the Rencontre conferences in Ghent (2013) and Warsaw (2014). We would especially like to thank Katrien De Graef and Małgorzata Sandowicz, who were our interlocutors for the Ghent and Warsaw conferences, respectively. In addition, we want to thank heartily all of the colleagues who made these workshops possible by chairing panels and delivering papers. The third workshop, which we organized in Helsinki in October 2014, was made possible through the generous support of the Centre of Excellence in “Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions” and the Finnish Institute in the Middle East.

As indicated in our dedication, although the relationship between gender studies and analysis of the ancient Near East has not always been easy, a great deal of work has already been done during the last decades. We are hugely indebted to those scholars who have come before. As a public acknowledgment of this, we decided to dedicate the first workshop we organized together (at the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Ghent 2013) to the memory of Joan Goodnick Westenholz, who sadly passed away in February of that year. She and others like her have literally made this volume possible.

We would also like to thank a number of colleagues for their help and support, as well as various sources of financial patronage during these years. Saana was employed by the project “Intellectual Heritage of the Ancient Near East” (funded by the Academy of Finland), led by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila and Robert Rollinger, from 2012 to 2014, after which she was employed in her own project (funded by the Academy of Finland, 2014–17) “Construction of Gender in Mesopotamia from 934 to 330 B.C.E.” Both projects were hosted by the Department of World Cultures at the University of Helsinki. In addition to the many supportive and brilliant colleagues in the Department of World Cultures, similar gratitude is owed to the wonderful colleagues at the Centre of Excellence in “Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions” (funded by the Academy of Finland since 2014) in the Theological Faculty of the University of Helsinki. In particular, the director of the Centre, Martti Nissinen, has been of invaluable help to us.

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ancient Near East held in Rome (April 2013), which allowed us to collaborate with colleagues from the Universidad de Rosario (Argentina) and to work further on the initiatives that later crystallized in the workshops mentioned above.

For the preparation of this volume, we would also like to acknowledge the valuable advice and support of Jim Eisenbraun. Furthermore, Jack M. Sasson has been of inestimable help by giving counsel, commenting on our introductory chapter and providing overall support throughout the process. Almost all of the articles written by nonnative English speakers were checked by Albion M. Butters, to whom we are most grateful. We are also very much in debt to those colleagues who have acted as anonymous peer-reviewers for the papers. The remaining errors are, of course, entirely the responsibility of the authors and editors.

Finally, a project such as ours could only gain momentum and significance through cooperation with other scholars. As organizers, facilitators, and editors, we are grateful to have had the chance to work with all of them.
Abbreviations

General
A. texts in the Assur collection of the Istanbul Arkeoloji Muzeleri, siglum AO
Ass. texts excavated in the German excavations at Assur, siglum BM
Curt. Quintius Curtius Rufus, Historiae Alexandri Magni
D. S. Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca historica
ED Early Dynastic
Hdt. Herodotus, Historiae
Ist. Ishan Bahriyat, Isin excavation sigla
Iust. Marcus Junianus Justinus, Epitome Historiarum philippicarum Pompei Trog
K texts in the Kuyunjik Collection of the British Museum, siglum MAL
ND field numbers of tablets excavated at Nimrud
OB Old Babylonian
Pomp. Trog. Gaius Pompeus Trogus
Str. Strabo, Geographica
VAT museum siglum of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin

Reference Works
AHw W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1959–81
BAP B. Meissner, Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1893
BASOR Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BDTNS Database of Neo-Sumerian Texts. Online: http://bdtns.filol.csic.es/
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<td>CUSAS</td>
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<td>ePSD</td>
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<td>ETCSL</td>
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<td>FAOS</td>
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<td>GBAO</td>
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<td>HES</td>
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<td>JCS Supplement</td>
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Abbreviations


LKA E. Ebeling, Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953


MC Mesopotamian Civilizations

MHEOP Mesopotamian History and Environment, Occasional Publications

MHET L. Dekiere, Old Babylonian Real Estate Documents from Sippar in the British Museum—Parts 1–6 (= Mesopotamian History and Environment Texts II 1–6). Wetteren: Cultura, 1994–97


Murgud B see MSL 12

NABU Nouvelles Assyriologique Brèves et Utilitaires

NPN I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, and A. A. MacRae, Nuzi Personal Names. Oriental Institute Publications 57. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943

OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis


OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta

Oracc The Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus. Online: http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/

PIHANS Publications de l’Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul

RAI Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale


RIME Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods


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<td>RIA</td>
<td><em>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie</em></td>
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<td>SAA</td>
<td>State Archives of Assyria</td>
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<td>SAAB</td>
<td>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAAS</td>
<td>State Archives of Assyria Studies</td>
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<td>SAOC</td>
<td>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization</td>
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<td>SFS</td>
<td>V. Scheil, <em>Une saison de fouilles à Sippar, Institut français d’archéologie orientale</em>. Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1902</td>
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<td>SHCANE</td>
<td>Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East</td>
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<td>VS</td>
<td>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der (Königlichen) Museen zu Berlin</td>
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<td>WOO</td>
<td>Wiener Offene Orientalistik</td>
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<td>YBC</td>
<td>Yale Babylonian Collection</td>
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Gender, Personal Adornment, and Costly Signaling in the Iron Age Burials of Hasanlu, Iran

Megan Cifarelli

This article explores the role played by personal ornaments in the performance of gender and in the construction and differentiation of gendered identities, in the early Iron Age (Period IVb) burials at Hasanlu, a site in Northwestern Iran. A small site situated beyond the limits of the Assyrian Empire and in the path of the advancing Urartian kingdom, Hasanlu was caught in, and ultimately lost to, the currents of regional conflicts by around 800 B.C.E. While certainly subjected to the actions of these larger-scale entities, material and visual culture of Hasanlu cannot be understood through the application of the same theoretical and methodological approaches that illuminate the artistic and cultural production of hegemonic states.

A careful analysis of the entire cemetery shows that, compared to earlier burials at the site, the artifacts and ornaments in burials dating between an earlier destruction (ca. 1050 B.C.E.) and the catastrophic destruction (ca. 800 B.C.E.) evidence heightened gender differentiation, an influx of artifact types from regions to the north, and the introduction of military equipment and militaristic ornaments to a range of distinct, elite burial assemblages. These new elements can be interpreted as representing an ideological shift towards militarization at the site, but I will argue that the nature of these objects and the contexts in which they are found demand a methodological approach that looks more closely at the interplay between human choices and cultural norms, in the period leading up to Hasanlu’s catastrophic destruction. The shifts in the material culture evidenced in the Period IVb burials are the record of local, dynamic, and gender-specific attempts to negotiate status and identity at the site, in an era of internal unease.

1. Hasanlu, Iran

Teppe Hasanlu is located in the Lake Urmia Basin in what is now the Western Azerbaijan province of Iran (fig. 1). It was excavated between 1956 and 1977 under...
the direction of Robert H. Dyson Jr., supported by the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Archaeological Service of Iran. These excavations revealed a large horizontal expanse with a long occupational sequence spanning the early pottery Neolithic to the Medieval period. No other excavation in Northwestern Iran has revealed such a long occupation sequence, assuring Hasanlu a central position in any conversation about regional chronology and cultural developments (fig. 2).¹

By the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages (Hasanlu V–IVc), Hasanlu was one of five potential citadel centers stretching along the Gadar River. It is better known simply because it has been investigated most thoroughly. It is not clear if it is largest or most important in the valley. Certainly in the mid to late Bronze Age, neighboring Dinkha Tepe was wealthier than Hasanlu, as evidenced by its luxuriously furnished graves.² In the course of the early Iron Age, the location of Hasanlu in the Lake Urmia Basin—a region that was likely appealing as a grain source for armies on the march—became increasingly strategic, and the fate of the site was linked to the ebb and flow of its powerful neighbors, Assyria to the west and Urartu to the north. These regions were accessible to Hasanlu: West from Hasanlu runs the Ushnu Valley, which was in turn linked to the Assyrian heartland by the Kel-i

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¹ For a complete bibliography of Hasanlu excavation publications, see Muscarella 2006 as well as Danti 2013. The dates that Danti established for the periods in question are: Hasanlu V (1450–1250 B.C.E.), Hasanlu IVc (1250–1050 B.C.E.) and Hasanlu IVb (1050–800 B.C.E.).

² For the Dinkha Tepe burials, see Pizzorno 2011; Rubinson 1991; Muscarella 1974.
Shin and Gawra Shinke passes and the valleys of the buffer state of Muṣaṣir (fig. 3). Bilingual Urartian-Assyrian texts from around 800 B.C.E. record the travel of early Urartian kings through this region en route to Muṣaṣir, the cult center of the god Haldi, principle deity of the Urartian pantheon. To Hasanlu’s north, river valleys and mountain passes connect the Lake Urmia basin to northern regions from the Caspian littoral to the south Caucasus and eastern Anatolia, including areas that were being encompassed by the Urartian Empire. Hasanlu reaches its zenith between about 1000–800 B.C.E., in a liminal region at the fringes of these two competing expansionist states.

Past analyses of Hasanlu and its material culture have been hindered by a number of issues. First, as others have pointed out, artifacts and classes of artifacts from Hasanlu Period IVb were studied and published well in advance of a clear understanding or articulation of the site’s difficult stratigraphy, and of the earlier periods at the site. This focus on classes of artifacts, and the use of artifacts to establish chronology, in essence decontextualized them, perhaps paving the way for the second interpretive challenge: Some of these artifact studies view Hasanlu and its material culture through a Mesopotamian lens. Occasionally, the underlying, rarely articulated assumption was that Hasanlu was the “periphery” to the Mesopotamian “center.” From its location in the highlands east of the Zagros Mountains,

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4. These issues are treated broadly in Pizzorno 2011; Danti 2013: 25–51; Muscarella 2006: 69–94.
5. This phenomenon is manifest in a range of ways, from the use of Mesopotamian literary texts to interpret Hasanlu’s material culture to broader strokes, such as “East of Assyria,” the title of the 1989
Hasanlu’s interaction with the Mesopotamian west is indirect, and in the second millennium B.C.E. included participation in large scale Syro-Mesopotamian trade networks and the collecting of isolated Mesopotamian prestige goods. During the early first millennium B.C.E., Hasanlu was the consumer of Assyrian and assyrianizing goods. Working with selected artifacts and without access to complete information about the site as a whole, however, some posited a more direct relationship between Assyria and Hasanlu.

Recent analyses of the Assyrian and assyrianizing objects and their contexts at Hasanlu, however, show that the influence of Assyrian material culture is circumscribed. Very few of the masses of goods collected and stored in the citadel’s temples appear to have been produced in Assyria. Some of the items initially identified as assyrianizing, excluding those created in the Local Style, may have acquired these traits through more accessible, intermediary cultures, without significant awareness of Neo-Assyrian court imagery. The influence of Assyria proper appears

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7. See Muscarella 1980: 212–13, for the suggestion that spectacularly carved Assyrian style ivory panels found at Hasanlu could have been incorporated into a throne or chair as a “royal gift” to Hasanlu from an Assyrian ruler. Despite the conscious efforts of Michelle Marcus (1990: 129–51) to correct this understanding of the relationship between Assyria and Hasanlu, later studies (Collins 2006; Gunter 2009) continue to cite the earlier work.
8. This reevaluation is presented in Danti and Cifarelli 2016. The Hasanlu “Local Style,” traits of which certainly resemble aspects of Assyrian Court art, was described thoroughly by Irene J. Winter
diffuse at Hasanlu and may be limited to Hasanlu’s participation in a widespread, Assyrian-inspired visual culture with distant echoes of imperial iconography and a material culture that valued the collection of certain luxury goods. The examination of the precise archaeological contexts of the Assyrian and assyrianizing objects at Hasanlu demonstrates that they are largely confined to two temples on the citadel, indicating that any intentional collection or local emulation of Assyrian art was not widespread at the site. Most importantly for this essay, there is no evidence of assyrianization in the burials, a context wherein local identity, status, and prestige are most often negotiated.

From the beginning of the Iron I period (Hasanlu IVc) Hasanlu was flourishing. The High Mound served as a citadel featuring monumental buildings including temples and columned-hall structures. The Low Mound was sparsely occupied, and the site of many burials. In the course of Period IVc, the buildings on the citadel became increasingly elaborate and the graves show greater access to elite goods and heightened status differentiation. At some point in Period IVc, a significant destruction took place at Hasanlu, after which the citadel was rebuilt on nearly the same footprint, but curiously remained unfortified (fig. 4). Hasanlu is perhaps best known for the spectacular destruction that ended Period IVb, the era in which the site reached its greatest expanse and elaboration, a time surely fraught with challenges and opportunities occasioned by the rise of Assyria and Urartu. The date of the destruction and the identity of the attacking army are disputed, but this essay supports the excavators’ conclusions that Urartian forces destroyed Hasanlu around 800 B.C.E. This violent attack and subsequent intense fire destroyed the citadel. The resulting collapse of buildings created unusual archaeological contexts, as it prevented the subsequent looting of crushed bodies and storerooms. Hundreds of individuals, residents of the site as well as enemy combatants, were trapped and died in the destruction (fig. 5). Their accidental burials can illuminate the use of personal adornment at the site and provide a rare opportunity to compare, within the same historical horizon, mortuary adornment in the cemetery to that found on the victims of the catastrophe. Moreover, the contents of the temple treasuries provide critical information regarding the types of objects considered valuable enough at this site to collect and seal in storerooms. Among these items are many related to personal adornment, including belts, armor, pins, earrings, hair ornaments, beads, bracelets, anklets, finger rings, etc. In reductive terms, unlooted temple treasuries allowed us to infer which types of artifacts were considered valuable at the site, helping us identify elite or well connected individuals when these same object types appear in their graves.

The site has tremendous potential for the study of gendered dress, but there are challenges as well, particularly compared to the rich sets of data that illuminate the material cultures of widespread, well documented societies, such as Mesoamerica, prehistoric Europe or Imperial Rome. Aside from a very few inscribed objects

(1977: 371–89). The “Local Style” is also associated with carved ivories, metalwork and cylinder seals; see Muscarella 1980 and Marcus 1996.
excavated at Hasanlu, all of which are heirloom exotica from Mesopotamia and Elam stored in the temples, there is no evidence for the local use of writing. The ancient name of Hasanlu and the language and identity of its inhabitants are not known—although several theories have been put forward—and there are no written records of administrative or economic activity to supplement the material evidence. Furthermore, the site lacks a significant corpus of imagery that depicts the use of personal adornment. Only a handful of clay figurines were discovered at Hasanlu, and there is no monumental artistic production. The site has thus far yielded only two objects that might depict the use of personal adornment, a single carved ivory, and the famous Hasanlu Gold Bowl, which I will discuss shortly. Local visual evidence, then, for the role of dress and adornment in the performance of gender at this site is quite limited.

13. See Muscarella 2006: 82, for a concise summary of the literature.
14. The so-called Gold Bowl (HAS58–469) has been identified by Muscarella 2006: n. 7 as a beaker, not a bowl.
2. Theoretical and Methodological Approaches

With few images and no texts, no literary or mythological traditions on which to draw, and resisting the temptation to interpret Hasanlu through the lens of Mesopotamian culture, determining the ways that personal ornaments contribute to gendered practices and identities at this site is not a simple task. In the absence of clear cultural affiliations, the material culture as represented in the burials at Hasanlu must first be evaluated on its own, rather than as part of a broader cultural phenomenon. In these burials, the biological entities (human remains) and cultural selves (social identity) are bound together, packaged and presented to a series of audiences that are temporal (the funeral ritual), potentially eternal or supernatural (the afterlife), and now contemporary, through the processes of archaeology and interpretation. My approach to this material draws on a broad range of anthropological, archaeological and art-historical research, much of which focuses on rich datasets found in widespread and well-documented cultures far from Hasanlu. For the sake of clarity, I will enumerate and explicate the three major concepts drawn from this body of work that inform my interpretation of the relationships between artifacts and gender in the Hasanlu IVb burials: (1) Personal ornaments play a significant role in the embodied performance of gender and in the differentiation among genders, as well as other aspects of identity. (2) Burials and their attending rituals are not simply representations of the social identity of the deceased, but are dynamic opportunities for identity negotiation. (3) In times of social change or...
conflict, mortuary rituals and the deposition of valuable and culturally significant goods are a form of costly signaling, or mutually beneficial symbolic communication.

2.1. Personal Ornaments, Dress, and Gender

Judith Butler’s articulation of the discursive and performative nature of gender—the notion that gender is culturally constructed rather than a “natural” or prediscursive manifestation of biological sex—has significant implications for the interpretation of archaeological materials. Individuals become and are gendered, according to Butler, through the reiterative performance of gendered forms with reference to *citational precedents*—images, stories, expressions, and rules that illustrate ideal ways of being. Many of the processes that participate in gendered identity and performance, from social institutions and cultural norms, roles within families, to socially sanctioned patterns of behavior and dress, are inextricably linked to materiality and are thereby evident in the archaeological record. As Rosemary Joyce demonstrated in her analysis of the gendering of Mesoamerican children, these material manifestations can include figural representations, written documents, artifacts relating to dress, ornamentation and other bodily habits, as well as the traces of activity detectable in human remains.

The notion that dress and personal ornaments participate in the performance of gender and the differentiation among gender identities is far from an abstraction, but a reality with which many of us can identify, having lived in cultures where clothing styles, colors, professions, activities, and patterns of consumption are often strongly associated with a particular gender. The challenge to identify archaeological materials that correlate to gendered behavior and identity brings us back to the complex relationship between gender and biological sex. While (as Penelope Allison puts it) “gender is not inherent in the archaeological record,” human remains contain osteological data that can be interpreted as evidence of biological sex. This is not to say that archaeologists should assume that all individuals of a particular sex, regardless of age or status, express gender the same way or that that objects associated with bodies that are sexed as “female” are necessarily gendered “feminine.” Certainly not every body falls neatly into the biological categories of “man” or “woman,” and gender is more complex than the binarity of “masculine” or “feminine,” with indications in many cultures of third or “other” genders. However, a thoughtful and nuanced analysis of the distribution of objects related to dress and the body according to multiple dimensions, including biological sex, age, affiliation, etc., can reveal relationships between object types and sexed bodies in mortuary contexts. These relationships preserve the traces of what Butler terms the “regulatory schema” by which objects are gendered in a particular culture.

Because personal ornaments are intimately associated with the body of those they adorn, one can argue that individual motives and human decisions (agency) play a greater role in the consumption and display of the objects relating to dress...
Gender, Personal Adornment, and Costly Signaling

and ornamentation—within the bounds of cultural constraints or habitus—than might be the case for any of the choices that contribute to the production of images on Assyrian reliefs, for example. 21 Those ornaments that do not appear to conform to understood gender norms are thus not, as Rosemary Joyce explains, “noise to be filtered out in pursuit of regularities.” 22 Exceptional burials can provide powerful opportunities to identify traces of agency, as well as to identify alternative (non-binary) genders. This is not to suggest that the deceased or their mourners are fully autonomous actors, but patterns of artifact distribution are the product of mediation between agents and culturally based regulatory strategies.

2.2. The Mortuary Context

Following Butler, scholars such as Joyce, Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, and Bettina Arnold have moved beyond the identification of the material correlates or “residues” of gendered behavior, to imagining the participation of artifacts in the “girling” and “boying” and possibly “othering” of individuals. 23 It is not trivial, however, to integrate an understanding of the mortuary context in the interpretation of these artifacts. Joanna Sofaaer-Derevenski and Arnold have each argued that the items of dress and adornment worn on the body contribute most to regulated gendered identities, and are, as Arnold eloquently described, “bound to the body” in death. 24 It is problematic, though, to assume categorically that in a mortuary context the ornaments, and their discursive potential, are equivalent to those worn in life. Burials can also contain items of adornment that are crafted specifically for burial—included in the grave to assure safe passage to, comfort in, or reanimation for, an afterlife. 25 Moreover, burial objects participate in public mortuary rituals, which are not simply (re)presentations of the place of the deceased in the social hierarchy, but dynamic opportunities for the living to negotiate identity and status. 26 Without writing or clear cultural affiliations, it is difficult to access afterlife beliefs at Hasanlu. Based on evidence of feasting and food offerings in each burial, I believe that Hasanlu residents engaged in public funerary rituals. In some instances, adorned bodies from the catastrophic citadel context demonstrate that certain forms of adornment were used in life. 27 When this is not possible, each artifact will be explored in terms of its role in mortuary ritual.

2.3. Costly Signaling

Costly signaling theory underlies my interpretation of the behavior that governs the use of these ornaments in life, and their distribution in these burials, particularly during Period IVb, a time of internal and external changes. A concept

21. Of course the development of the term habitus to describe the way society structures individual behavior and attitudes is the work of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1977). For a thorough discussion of the notion of agency, the “individual,” in archaeological analysis, see Knapp and van Dommelen 2008:15–34.
25. This is explicated most clearly in Benzel 2013, particularly pp. 178–205. See also Gansell 2007b: 29–46.
27. The citadel context is so archaeologically complex, with the collapse of multistoried buildings full of stored ornaments onto the adorned bodies, it is difficult to associate artifacts with individuals clearly. Insufficiently detailed records have compounded this problem. For clarity, only those ornaments directly and indisputably associated with skeletal remains will be brought to bear in this essay.
grounded in evolutionary archaeology and agency theory, costly signaling provides a model for interpreting changes in artifact assemblages as the result of a strategic and often intentional communication strategy within a society. It goes beyond notions of symbolic capital and conspicuous consumption to explain that behaviors that are ostensibly “wasteful” of goods and resources (in this case useful and valuable items placed in graves, as well as practices that restrict individuals from engaging in productive activity) are more than simply a representation or reinforcement of status differentials, but a form of dynamic, mutually beneficial symbolic communication. According to a seminal article by Bliege-Bird and Smith, “signaling theory provides a way to articulate idealist notions of the intangible social benefits that might be gained through symbolic representations of self with more materialist notions of individuals as self interested but socially embedded decision makers.” Signaling becomes “costly” or “honest” when its reliability is ensured—either by otherwise prohibitive cost, massive inconvenience, or by an “unfakeable” attribute such as a bodily modification.

Within a given society, signaling strategies can vary according to the identity of the signaler, as Jillian Galle has shown in her analysis of the archaeology of 18th-century slave sites in Virginia. In her exploration of the choice by enslaved people to spend “valuable energy, time and hard-earned money pursuing fashionable imported goods,” Galle determined that in a historical era characterized by burgeoning consumerism on the part of the upper class, enslaved men and women employed differentiated strategies of costly signaling, with single men opting to purchase and wear expensive metal buttons on their clothing and successful women without large families choosing to invest in imported ceramics.

Using costly signals, signalers communicate attributes that are not otherwise evident (wealth, status, identity, relative political power) and that differentiate the signaler and the receivers. According to Bliege-Bird and Smith, receivers interpret “honest” signals in the political arena in ways that obviate the need for conflict or violence, promoting the tolerance of inequality. Moreover, the intensity of signals can escalate as the result of the introduction of new variables. In a society in flux, circumstances and players change, and there are fewer knowns or givens within a group. Costly signals play a vital role in the renegotiation of the social order. In the case of Hasanlu, just such a moment of change is chronicled in the burials of Period IVb, a period of regional conflict, bookended by local destructions.

### 3. Gendered Artifacts at Hasanlu

#### 3.1. The Earlier Periods

The use of the Lower Mound at Hasanlu for burials begins well before Period IVB: approximately 20 burials excavated there date from the Middle Bronze Age (Hasanlu VI) through Iron I (Hasanlu IVc). A systematic study of these earlier burials and their contents demonstrate cultural stability and consistent social...

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28. Galle 2010: 19–21. For the classic articulation of “symbolic capital,” conceived as “prestige and renown . . . readily convertible back into economic capital” see Bourdieu 1977: 171–82. The notion of “conspicuous consumption,” by which social status and power are related to discretionary purchases and their display, was of course introduced by Veblen 1994 (1899).

stratification at Hasanlu over the longue durée.32 These findings help put to rest notions of an abrupt transition and population shift marking the change from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in this region.33 The luxury goods in a subset of burials from the mid-second millennium B.C.E. are identical to items stored in the treasuries of the temples at the time of the Period IVb destruction, suggesting that the collection of the objects took place over a long period of time in a culturally stable environment. In terms of external connections, the earlier grave goods demonstrate Hasanlu’s participation in trade networks that extended through Mesopotamia, Syria, and the Levant, a conclusion bolstered by pottery analysis as well. However, metal goods found in the burials evidence both local (northwestern Iranian) characteristics, as well as connections to the South Caucasus region and the Caspian coast.34 These findings will hold true for the Iron II period as well.35

Of all of the classes of artifacts associated with adornment before period IVB, only garment pins are strongly sex-specific. Of the eight burials with garment pins from Hasanlu periods VI through IVC, five have been sexed as women, two as indeterminate adults, one a child, and none as men.36 While the sample size is not robust, it does suggest that elite women’s clothing at Hasanlu, at least that worn in the grave, required garment pins, sometimes as many as three, as fasteners.37

The so-called Hasanlu Gold Bowl, which bears one of the only visual representations from Hasanlu depicting the use of personal adornment, is illustrative with respect to the gendered use of garment pins. Generally thought to date at least 200 years before Hasanlu’s destruction, this object was found by the excavators in the hands of enemy combatants who were crushed in the act of looting the storerooms.38 (fig. 6) The incised mythological scene on this vessel clearly shows three figures with garments fastened by pins. Two of these figures are beardless, and have distinctive, sectioned, hairstyles that match that of the “unveiling,” indisputably female figure on the vessel. The first of these female figures rides a lion, carrying a mirror in one hand and a mace in the other. Her garment, decorated identically to the “unveiling” figure, is closed at the neck with a pin on either shoulder (fig. 7). The second pin-wearing female figure is seated on the ground in the lowest register, holding an infant or child. The last figure wearing pins is seated in the field immediately over the woman and child. This figure wears a garment identical to the woman seated below, and a garment pin is visible on the right shoulder, with a larger pin with a spherical head behind the neck. While this figure is seated on the ground in a posture that is identical to that of the woman below him, and which in Iranian Art is associated with women, it nonetheless has distinctly

33. The earlier Hasanlu publications stated that the material culture shifts drastically between the Bronze and Iron Ages and tentatively linked that change to Indo-Iranian migration. For a debunking of these notions, see Muscarella 1994: 139–54; Pizzorno 2011 and Danti 2013:33–50.
34. Cifarelli 2013: 313–21.
36. For sex and age determinations throughout this paper I will rely on Selinsky 2009.
37. These are SK4/5 (indeterminate) HAS57–131; SK45–7 (indeterminate) HAS58–132, 133; SK49 (F) HAS58–146; SK66 (child) HAS59–133, 137; SK25 (F) HAS57–122; SK67 (F) HAS 59–143, 144, 155; SK24 (F) HAS 57–118A; SK47 (F) 64–171, 182; Cifarelli 2013; Danti 2013: appendix 6, 417–19.
38. The Gold Bowl is HAS58–469 (Tehran Museum 10712). The discovery and architectural context of this vessel has been thoroughly reanalyzed in Danti 2014: 791–804. For the date of the Gold Bowl, see Winter 1989: 90–92. For a discussion of the object itself, its identification as a beaker rather than a bowl, and a critique of the many publications in which it has appeared, see Muscarella 2006: n. 7. The gold vessel, its function and iconography are the subject of an article in preparation, see Cifarelli forthcoming.
masculine attributes. The long straight hairstyle, tied with a fillet, is seen on the box-
ers to the right, for example, and he raises a beaker in one hand, an activity that on this
vessel seems otherwise to be associated with male figures. Finally, this figure appears
to be bearded, an indication of his biological maleness. While this bearded figure could
be interpreted as evidence that men at Hasanlu wore garment pins, the combination of
masculine and feminine attributes suggests to me something more complex. Perhaps
the Gold Bowl provides evidence for the notion of third gender at the site—biological
males who dress and comport themselves like women.39 Archaeological evidence from
the burials (SK505) and the catastrophic citadel (SK260) context, discussed below, cor-
roborate this suggestion. The Gold Bowl clearly shows that pins are an essential com-
ponent of feminine dress and illustrates as well that their absence results in exposure.

3.2. The Period IVb Burials

Although few in number, the burials from earlier periods at Hasanlu provide
important information about local development and cultural interactions at the site

39. Marcus (1994: 12) tentatively identifies the bearded, pin-wearing figure on the Gold Bowl as
a possible cult official who is “gendered female.” A more detailed treatment of the iconography of this
object will be presented in Cifarelli forthcoming.
and allow for the detection of the significant changes that occur in Period IVb. Turning now to Period IVb, excavators discovered approximately 100 burials, most of them in an area of the Lower Mound north of the citadel called the “North Cemetery” (fig. 8, Operations IV, V, VI, LI and LIV). These burials are largely unpublished.\(^{40}\) Page Selinsky has determined the biological sex and approximate age at death of the human remains in 70 of these burials (the skeletal material available at the University of Pennsylvania Museum), a large enough portion of the total to allow us to draw conclusions about the cemetery as a whole. Within this set of burials, I have identified burial assemblages that are new in this period, each of which is characterized by the introduction of distinctive, gendered artifact types.

Of the 70 sexed burials, 20 have been identified as men, 18 as women, 7 as indeterminate adults, and 25 as children.\(^{41}\) Only 16 percent have no grave goods, another 14 percent have only a single item (usually a pot or beads). While further research will be required for the assessment of relative wealth, it can likely be indexed to the sheer volume of metal in a grave, as well as the appearance of extremely rare and precious materials such as gold and antimony. The poorer burials (one or no item) are evenly distributed over the site, often in close proximity to those most elaborately furnished, indicating that this cemetery is not spatially segregated by wealth or elite status.

\(^{40}\) The final excavation report for the Period IVb burials is in preparation (Danti and Cifarelli forthcoming). A large group of these burials was published in Raiciulescu 2011. Karen Rubinson published Burial SK107 (Rubinson 2012b) and Burials SK105 and 106 (Rubinson 2012a: 107–12). Burials SK98–111, 114, 491, 492, 493a, 495–499 are published in Danti and Cifarelli 2015: 61–157. The publication of selected artifacts from the IVb burials is detailed in Muscarella 2006: 82.

\(^{41}\) Selinsky 2009: 208–19.
When the cemetery is evaluated for artifact distribution by sex and wealth, some interesting patterns emerge. Women’s burials were far more likely to be furnished than men’s or children’s. Only five percent of women’s burials have one or fewer items, compared to 35 percent of the men’s and 44 percent of the children’s. These numbers, however, do not take into account the greater range of wealth in men’s burial, a few of which are fabulously furnished by Hasanlu standards. The distribution of grave goods in the sub-adult population matches that of the aggregated adult population, a finding that is not surprising given that the sub-adult category refers to skeletal immaturity, but spans from puberty to the early to mid 20s. Individuals in this age range, particularly young women, are socially constituted as adults in many societies, often already married and perhaps parents in their own right.

Figure 9 shows the number of burials in which the listed artifact types and materials appeared. Pottery is the most frequently found artifact, appearing in 53 burials, or 90 percent of the furnished graves. Iron appears for the first time in this
period, in 32 percent of furnished Hasanlu IVb burials, as does gold, which appears in 7 percent. \footnote{Earlier Hasanlu publications (e.g., Dyson 1965: 196) claimed that iron was found in a Late Bronze Age Hasanlu V burial in the form of a single finger ring (HAS 57–184, in Burial SK29), a data point that was a bit of an outlier in discussions of the introduction of iron in the region, as remarked in Muscarella 2006: 74. Danti (2013: 311) has argued that the ring, found high in the fill of the earlier Burial SK29, in fact is an intrusion from a later burial, due to the presence of an adjacent pit. The earliest well-stratified iron at Hasanlu is in the Period IVb graves, where it is used in both weapons and in personal ornaments. The significance of iron as a new, visible, and high-status material at Hasanlu in this period is discussed in Danti and Cifarelli 2015.}

\footnote{This ranking is determined using a z-score calculation of the difference between the relative proportion of furnished women’s burials with a particular artifact type and furnished male burials with the same type.}

Figure 10 shows the appearance of artifact types plotted against the sex of the burial’s occupants for the identifiable adult male and female individuals, arranged from left to right according to the likelihood that a given type is associated with a female body. \footnote{In other words, the items at the far right are mathematically more likely to be associated with a male body than a female body at Hasanlu.}

In the Hasanlu IVb burials, grave goods, including personal ornaments, are far more strongly differentiated by the sex of the burial’s occupant than in periods preceding. While weapons and blades appeared in the earlier burials of one woman and two indeterminate adults at Hasanlu, in the Period IVb burials only men’s bodies are adorned with or accompanied by blades and weapons, including arrowheads, knives, swords, and spearheads, as well as armor in the form of sheet
metal belts. Only a single ornament type—armlet—is correlated with men’s burials, whereas all the sex-specific objects in women’s burials are related to adornment.

### 3.2.1. Male Correlated Adornment

An examination of these male burials suggests that in Hasanlu Period IVb, elite masculine identity correlates more strongly to the presence of weapons and armor in burials than to the wearing of specific, masculine personal adornment. Military equipment and even ordinary knives emerge as powerful signals and likely enforcers of status and gender distinctions and are costly in the sense that their deposition in burials demonstrates a conspicuous change in local practice and wealth so great that valuable weapons can be buried with the dead. Assemblages featuring different weapons provide evidence for distinct militarized masculine identities that appear to differentiate possibly migrant “warriors” from local “archers.”

Among the IVb burials, men wear neck beads and finger rings in nearly the same proportions as women. Armlets—in this case bulky, undecorated circlets worn on the upper arm—are the only form of adornment strongly associated with male bodies, and they are fairly rare in the cemetery, appearing in only three burials. Burial SK107, a mature adult male, wears a heavy ingot-style iron armlet on his right upper arm, and Burial SK493a, a young adult male, wears four copper-alloy, ingot-style armlets in the same position. Burial SK465, a young child, wears a lighter-weight copper-alloy armlet on his left upper arm. The two adult males burials with armlets belong to a group of “Warrior Burials,” a distinct group of burials with an assemblage that includes both elements associating the deceased

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44. The earlier burials in question are Burials SK4/5 (indeterminate.), SK49 (female) and SK6 (indeterminate.) See Danti 2013: 283, 286, 307; Cifarelli 2013.

45. The argument that the weapon and armor laden burial assemblage of the “warrior burials” at Hasanlu, which represents a radical shift from earlier male burial assemblages at the site, could indicate the presence of migrant males, is put forth in Danti and Cifarelli 2015. For a discussion of differentiated masculine assemblages in this period, see Cifarelli 2016.

46. SK107 (HAS59–264, discarded); SK493a (HAS64–287, discarded); SK465 (HAS64–0206, disp. not recorded). See Selinsky 2009: 208–19 for age and sex determinations.
with earlier local patterns of elite consumption (ceramic drinking sets, metal vessels), as well as military equipment and ornaments that link these individuals to the material culture of the lands north and east of Hasanlu. A male body from the citadel identified as an enemy combatant (SK37), whose accoutrement and that of the two men accompanying him suggest that they were Urartian soldiers, wore an identical ingot-style armlet, as did two other individuals crushed in the citadel. These armlets, then, appear to connect the buried “warriors” to the attacking army that destroyed Hasanlu (fig. 11).

Simple, undecorated, penannular circlets (ingot-style) worn on ankles and arms are a form of wearable wealth throughout the ancient Near East and beyond. That these armlets are worn in life is indisputable, based on the evidence from Hasanlu’s

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47. Danti and Cifarelli 2015:98–102. Personal ornaments from other “warrior burials” are not included in this essay, as their remains could not be sexed.

48. SK37 is one of the three soldiers crushed while looting the Gold Bowl (beaker) in Burned Building IV, see Danti 2014. Ingot-style armlets are also worn by: SK170 Mature Male, Burned Building III, (HAS62–1031), upper right arm and SK249 Ind. Young Adult, Burned Building VII (HAS62–102), upper left arm.

49. Lassen 2000: 241–43; Brody and Friedman (2007: 99, fn 1) cites multiple examples of this phenomenon from prehistoric Europe, the Near East, Africa, and Latin America.
citadel and on the likelihood that these particular examples may not have been removable. The armlets in the adult male burials range from 0.9 cm to 1.2 cm in thickness, and would therefore have been quite rigid. The aperture measurements, approximately 7.5 cm in diameter, are quite small for an adult male upper arm, and in fact may be smaller than the width of an average adult male elbow. It is possible that these armlets were placed on the body in childhood or adolescence, when they could be still be slipped over the elbow, then left in place through adulthood.

This quality of “fixedness” or permanence renders the ornament into a virtual body part, and a costly and conspicuous signal.

As Derevenski establishes, the aspects of identity that correlate to more or less fixed ornaments are likewise immutable, constructing identity in a mortuary context as they did in the lives of these men. The choice to ornament the upper arm certainly draws attention to male musculature of these sword-displaying (and possibly wielding) men, and their permanence suggests that masculinity was an attribute that, once it was acquired, lasted throughout a man’s life and beyond in the grave. But while these objects are clearly gendered, their role in the material performance of identity goes beyond gender in the local context at Hasanlu. Clearly, not every boy acquired this marker.

50. Jack Green (2007: 297) explores the notion of the lack of “removability” of rigid anklets, citing ethnographic parallels for the forging directly onto the body of anklets too small to be slipped over the foot. Lohof (1994: 116) cites numerous studies of the phenomenon of the forging of bracelets onto the body in the material cultures of prehistoric Europe. For statistics on the average adult male elbow width, I have consulted McDowell, Fryar, and Ogden 2009: 67.


Figure 12. Selected garment pins from Hasanlu burials. HAS 57–118 a-c (UM 58–4-44), SK 24; HAS 64–296c (UM 65–31–121) SK 486; HAS 60–660 (UM 61–5–210) citadel; SK60–663 (MMA 61.100.43) citadel. After Marcus 1994: fig. 7. Drawing by D. L. Hoffman, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
of status, but those who did grew to become the wealthiest and most heavily armed males among the Hasanlu IVb burials. While we cannot know if these armlets were awarded to young boys for specific acts of bravery or were acquired based on family wealth or status, they became permanent attributes contributing to the performance of a distinctly “northern” or “foreign” and militarized masculinity. These armlets, and the armed male bodies they modify, signal a challenge to the elite social dynamic at Hasanlu, a challenge that evokes a range of responding signals in the material culture of the Period IVb burials.53

3.2.2. Female Correlated Adornment

While women’s burials from Period IVb are more consistent than men’s with those of earlier periods at the site—they are better furnished in terms of the number of items included and the presence of valuable materials such as gold, antimony, and iron—they, too, evidence the changing conditions at the site.54 Comparison to earlier patterns of artifact distribution in Hasanlu burials shows that as the number and range of weapons and armor in men’s graves increased with Period IVb, blades completely disappear from women’s burials. That these two phenomena are related seems likely, and it may be that the presence of a few powerful, militarized migrants within Hasanlu’s elite intensified masculine hegemony at the site, further polarizing existing schema for gender differentiation.55

The sex-specific items in women’s burials—garment pins, long pins, headdresses and earrings—are all related to dress and adornment, rather than the ostensibly “occupational” artifacts such as weapons that mark elite male graves. Garment pins, for example, are the durable traces of a garment type that is fastened at the neck or shoulder, a style of dress that at Hasanlu is almost exclusively linked to women, and not correlated to the number or quality of burial furnishings (fig. 12). Marcus suggested that at Hasanlu these pins may mark a stage in a woman’s life course, and the distribution of these artifacts in burials provides persuasive evidence for this phenomenon.56 Garment pins are absent from the burials of infants and children, and in the adult population their presence is not correlated to the estimated age of the deceased. So perhaps at Hasanlu, a garment closed with pins is instrumental in the gendering of adult women, one that is maintained from the onset of adulthood into old age.

One burial in the cemetery and one accidental burial in the citadel provide exceptions to this rule, and merit a closer look. Burial SK505 is an older adult male, aged 50–64,57 whose burial furnishings include items that are gendered masculine and feminine. His burial contains five pots, a copper-alloy arrowhead, and a copper-alloy garment pin on his right shoulder. Beyond the cemetery, SK260, an older male victim of the collapse of Burned Building II, was found with two garment pins near his

54. See Cifarelli 2013: 319, for a summary of patterns of adornment in previous periods at Hasanlu.
55. Cifarelli 2016. The literature on hegemonic masculinity, patriarchy and male domination/female subordination is too rich and diverse to be treated completely here. For analysis and critique of the various frameworks for understanding the male power, particularly over women, see Hearn 2004: 49–72; Ortner 1989–90: 35–80; and Farrelly 2011: 1–21.
56. Marcus (1994: 6–9) bolsters this claim by appealing to Mesopotamian literary tropes, but the data itself are quite persuasive. In the more than 20 years since Marcus first wrote about garment pins and women at Hasanlu, the biological sex and age of the human remains from Hasanlu have been reanalyzed, with numerous adjustments to sex identifications, and yet many of Marcus’s conclusions are fully supported by the revised data (Cifarelli 2014: 294–97).
neck, again indicating that he may have been wearing clothing more characteristic of women at this site at the time of his death (fig. 13). It is possible that, as Marcus suggests, these older males may have worn women’s clothing as the demasculinized elderly, a phenomenon known in numerous cultures. There is very little correlation, however, between the age of the deceased and the presence of garment pins on male bodies throughout the site, as only one of the six male bodies estimated to be over the age of 50 at death among the IVb burials is dressed in this fashion. Moreover, the presence of a weapon in the Burial SK505 indicates not reduced status or masculinity, but a substrate of higher-status masculinity layered beneath a feminine attribute. In doing so, this burial and that of SK260 from the citadel corroborate the visual evidence provided by the Gold Bowl for a third gender at Hasanlu, a category for which the materiality features masculine and feminine traits.

Nearly half the Period IVb female bodies wear very long, sharp, heavy pins (fig. 14). These longer pins range from 15–36 cm in length, are made primarily of copper alloy and occasionally iron, and are often accompanied by ordinary garment pins, as well as ornaments in valuable materials such as iron, antimony, and gold.

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60. These more precise data on age at death and sex (Selinsky 2009) were not available at the time Marcus was working on the Hasanlu materials.
61. I have argued elsewhere (Danti and Cifarelli 2015 and Cifarelli 2014: 303–4) that these pins are found exclusively in women’s burials.
Individual women wore as few as one to as many as five, positioned near the head, neck and shoulders, as is the case for garment pins. Like garment pins, they do not appear in the burials of infants or young children, but one does appear in the burial of an adolescent. They are slightly more likely to appear in the burials of mature women (35–49 years old) than young women (20–34 years old).62

62. The young adult women with long pins are burials SK22, 59, and 503. Mature Adult women with long pins are Burials SK54, 58, 448, 481, 483, 484.
Although objects as dangerous and unwieldy as these long pins could not be worn in daily life without constraining the comfort and mobility of the wearer, they are not found exclusively in burials. Nearly a dozen were found in the wreckage of the citadel, suggesting that they were not solely funerary objects, although none appear to be directly placed on a body.\footnote{Few published parallels exist, although a small number of pins in this size range have been found in excavations in Luristan, and a long metal pin appears to be visible lying diagonally across the chest in a While I term these pins “long pins,” Marcus (1994: 4) calls them “shroud pins,” arguing that the presence of textile impressions and the order of placement of objects on the body, as determined by examination of excavation photographs, indicate that these pins must have fastened fabric that wrapped around the ornamented body. Many objects in the burials that were not in contact with the body, however, also show evidence of textile pseudomorphs. Moreover, the excavation records, including the photographs, are not sufficiently explicit or reliable to provide evidence for the order in which the ornaments are placed on the body. While it is certainly possible that they close burial shrouds, I am not persuaded that this is their primary function.}

\footnote{These include: HAS58–0249 (Tehran 10695), HAS60–0248 (Tehran), HAS60–0500 (UM61–5-274), HAS60–0878 (UM61–5-115, MMA61.100.46), HAS62–1002 (MMA63.109.8), HAS62–1003 (UM63–5-243), HAS62–1004 (UM63–5-244), HAS70–0498 (UM71.23–373).}

photograph of a contemporary burial in the Masjed-e Kabud cemetery in Tabriz.\textsuperscript{64} Despite the evident hazards and inconvenience of wearing a sharp pin that is longer than one's forearm, there are numerous parallels to them in the history of dress. In the Greek world, for example, long sharp pins or \textit{peronai}, reaching 40 cm in length, are found in sanctuary and burial contexts, and in literature are described as being worn and proving perilous to men.\textsuperscript{65}

As Marcus pointed out, as recently as the early 20th century, women wore long hatpins, up to a foot in length, and used them defensively.\textsuperscript{66} The cultural context in which these pins operated is instructive for understanding their counterparts at Hasanlu, as their ascendance accompanied two important changes, one social and the other sartorial. Long hatpins became popular at the turn of the 20th century, a time when single young women were leaving their natal homes in rural areas and migrating to cities to find work.\textsuperscript{67} Having left the protection of their families, these young women were initially lauded for using their long, sharp hatpins to defend themselves and their homes from predatory men (fig. 15).\textsuperscript{68} Within a very few years, however, the tone of public discourse on hatpins had changed, with calls for legislation limiting the length and sharpness of what had become regarded as a public menace, with proposals for punishments for hatpin violations ranging from hefty fines to prison time.\textsuperscript{69}

The movement to restrict women's wearing of hatpins in public around 1910 coincided with a sartorial shift: The introduction in 1908 by French designer Paul Poiret of a style known as the “hobble skirt.” This restrictive garment was a long skirt with a band that wrapped around both shins, limiting a woman's stride to a mincing step. It was quite literally named after a device used to restrict the movement of horses by tying their front legs together (fig. 16). Commenters, including the designer himself, ridiculed women for adopting this restrictive style.\textsuperscript{70} Clearly, both the ludicrous length of the hatpins and considerable inconvenience of the hobble skirt transform items of dress and adornment into highly visible and costly signals. During this time of rapid social change, then, sartorial trends simultaneously empowered, protected, and hampered women.

A similar argument can be made for Hasanlu during period IVB. As Marcus has shown, pins could certainly function both symbols of an armed society and forms of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{64} In Schmidt, van Loon, and Curves 1989 the following pins exceed 18 cm in length: Pls. 165l (Sor. 1549); Pl. 167c (Sor. 1400); Pl. 169g. (Sor. 694); Pl. 178e, f, (Sor 325, 326); Pl. 170L (Sor 573, 578). For the Masjed-e Kabud cemetery, see Azarnoush and Helwing 2005: 220, fig. 44.
\item \textsuperscript{65} Lee 2015: 128–30.
\item \textsuperscript{66} Marcus 1994: 10.
\item \textsuperscript{67} This phenomenon was first noted by Annie Marion MacLean, the so-called “mother of contemporary ethnography” (MacLean 1910) For more on MacLean's work and legacy, see Deegan, Hill, and Wortmann 2009: 655–65.
\item \textsuperscript{68} An example of this genre is found in a short article in the \textit{New York Times}, February 15, 1901, under the headline “Girl's Weapon a Hatpin: Successfully Resists Two Men Who Tried to Rob Her,” which gives a colorful account of an 18-year-old woman's use of a hatpin to thwart a robbery attempt.
\item \textsuperscript{69} For example, see accounts in the \textit{New York Times} of actions taken in Frankfurt Germany (Friday, July 16, 1909), Trenton, New Jersey (Tuesday, April 4, 1911), and Chicago, Illinois (Tuesday, March 1, 1910); and a letter to the editor calling for such legislation in New York City (January 5, 1910).
\item \textsuperscript{70} Fields 1999: 358. With respect to his invention, Poiret, well-known for his pioneering corsetless designs, said, “yes, I freed the bust. But I shackled the legs.” (Poiret 1931: 72–73, as cited by Fields 1999: 352).
\end{itemize}
personal protection. As costly signals, they represent a gendered response to the conditions that gave rise to the marked increase in the importance of weapons in men’s burials, accompanied by the likely restriction of blades from the burials of women. Bioarchaeological analysis of healed cranial wounds shows that the site of Hasanlu was an extraordinarily violent environment, not only for men engaged in frequent warfare, but for women who were subjected to interpersonal, possibly domestic, violence. Given these conditions, during a period of external threats and internal unease, the widespread adoption at Hasanlu of these long, heavy metal pins represents more than a militarized fashion, like an epaulet or an insignia, but a motivated choice sending a strong message, at a great cost.

When worn to fasten garments, these large pins are far more noticeable at a distance than traditional garment pins. Their “arena of influence,” then, is broader, extending beyond the family to the community at large, perhaps allowing them to function as emblems of affiliation. Worn in life, these highly visible and dangerous fasteners would have emphasized the impenetrability of the closed garments.

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strongly signaling the closure of, or limitation of access to, these women’s bodies to men in the community. If not sheathed, while intimating that these women are well protected, the pins would have required the women to move with great care and ceremony, preventing them from performing utilitarian tasks. In this case, the “cost” associated with the signal is not simply the value of the metal itself but the restrictions the pins place on the women’s movement and labor.

Within the long-pin-wearing female burials from Hasanlu IVb is a subset of four burials of women wearing unusual copper alloy “plaques” that may have been pinned, sewn or riveted to clothing (fig. 17). These plaques are long, rounded triangles of thick copper-alloy sheet, decorated with one or two rows of bosses around the edge, and with a central raised rib and two tiny perforations at either end. Aurel Stein excavated a likely fifth burial in this group, with a larger iron “plaque,” in 1937. Marcus noted their armorial appearance, and I propose that these plaques are in fact actual armor: repurposed examples of a type of armor scale that is common in the ancient Near East, from Lachish to Iran, to the North in the Caucasus, and the Talesh. Similar, although not identical, armor scales have been found elsewhere at Hasanlu in small quantities. Throughout the Near East, beginning in the second millennium, scales of this type have been used to construct armored garments, either attached to a leather or fabric substrate (scale armor), or laced together without a substrate (lamellar armor). These plaques are scale armor elements, as evidenced by the small size of the perforations and their centrally

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74. Veblen 1994 (1899) refers to clothing that engenders “ineptitude” and “habitual uselessness” in wearers, much as these pins would, as a form of conspicuous consumption.
75. These were first published in Marcus 1996b: 49–52, fig 17a, 17b, and discussed in Cifarelli 2014. Their burials and field numbers are sk59 (HAS59–102), sk448 (HAS64–350), sk481 (HAS64–183) and sk503 (HAS64–574).
77. While Marcus (1996b: 47–49) suggested that the central rib represents a phallus, perhaps intentionally inscribed in a triangular field indicating the vulva, I am no longer convinced that these objects are necessarily, or at least intentionally, phallic. A recent examination of the most “phallic” of these objects (HAS64–193; UM 65–31–113), in the University of Pennsylvania Museum has revealed that that the “phallus” decorating this scale is simply a fortuitous arrangement of the central rib and two copper alloy studs attached through the perforations. In all likelihood, the other perforations would also have been filled with copper alloy studs, considerably altering the appearance of the scale. While it is certainly possible to read these ribbed plaques as “phallic,” I have come to the conclusion that this interpretation is anachronistic, and a function of the state of preservation of these objects.
78. For example, Marcus 1996b: fig. 22a. For a recent and thorough discussion of Mesopotamian armor, see Barron 2010. For examples from Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Iran, see Esayan 1990: Abb. 10; Schaeffer 1948: 430–32, fig. 233:21, 30; Morgan 1905: 296; Morgan 1896: 47, 103.
symmetrical position on these scales. The other examples from Hasanlu appear to be lamellar armor. These scales are military equipment, and elite military equipment at that. They are only associated with female bodies in the cemetery, none are found on fallen bodies on the citadel.

These armor scales are interesting for a few reasons. First, they define a group of elite women’s burials at Hasanlu. The armor scale burials are the most elaborately and expensively adorned women at Hasanlu. Burial SK448 and 481 are mature adult women aged 35–49 years old, and Burials SK59 and 503 are young adult women, aged 20–34 years old. Each of these women wears multiple garment and long pins (SK481 wore a total of 10), finger rings (Sk 59 wore 25), ear or hair rings, as well as numerous beads at the neck, head, chest and shoulders. Three of them are buried with gold beads integrated into necklaces, representing 75 percent of the appearance of gold in the entire cemetery. While gold is not rare at the site, and there are hundreds of small gold ornaments in the wreckage of the citadel’s storerooms, it is extremely rare in burials, heightening the visibility and likely the status of those individuals for whom it was part of daily or burial attire.

Second, these scales are clearly repurposed, worn individually on the chest and decorated with numerous items of adornment, including beads, copper-alloy tube clusters, pins, and so on. Their use as adornment for women is therefore distinct from their practical, armorial function. The burial excavated by Stein contained a similar assemblage, a “peculiar ornament” described as a thin, triangular plaque of iron decorated with a double row of bronze studs and accompanied by large tubular beads, which Stein astutely observed would have functioned as chimes, creating a “pleasant musical tinkling.” With their accompanying beads, the armor scales may have been musical, or at least noise producing (fig. 18). While the auditory potential of these ornaments is beyond the scope of this essay, there are numerous ethnographic and historical examples of these objects worn on the bodies of women, in cultures as diverse as ancient Egypt, prehistoric Europe, North and South America, Cyprus, and Parthian Persia. Without positing any cultural similarity or relationship, the admonitions against the immodesty of sounds made by jewelry on women’s bodies that appear in religious texts such as the Qur’an and the book of Isaiah raise the possibility that the audible interaction between ornaments and the female body can be related to the construction of women’s sexuality, a potential avenue for exploration at Hasanlu.

The nearest parallels for this type of armor scale, and most specifically for their nonarmorial use as women’s adornment, is found hundreds of miles from Hasanlu, across the Talesh Mountains in the Caspian littoral. At the Djonü necropolis in Azerbaijan, Morgan discovered similar armor scales linked together and used as belts on women’s bodies in an early Iron Age burial (fig. 19). The lack of weapons and blades in those burials suggests that the belting of these women does not likely have the same armorial or heroic connotations as does the wearing or owning of belts by men. Indeed, in other ancient cultures that share the apparent linkage between the wearing of armorial belts to heroic, militarized masculinity, the placing of belts on women both highlights their sexuality and puts it under masculine control.

The use of these armor scales as women’s adornment is consistent with the overall militarization evident in the burials of Period IVb, the amplification of gender differentiation, as well as the connections to regions distant from Hasanlu.

81. Stein and Andrew 1940: 397–98.
83. Surah 24:31 of the Qur’an states “that [women] should not strike their feet in order to draw attention to their hidden ornaments.” In the Hebrew Bible, Isa 3:16 describes the “wanton”-eyed daughters of Zion, “walking and mincing as they go, (make) and making a tinkling with their feet.” Again, these examples are not intended to suggest that the same values are in place at Hasanlu; they merely illustrate the erotic potential of audible ornamentation.
84. For the geography of this region and the role of this mountain range as a physical and cultural barrier at various points in antiquity, see Piller 2012: 119–34.
85. Morgan 1896: 46–47, 103, fig. 47, 107. These scales are of the same type as those found in the burials of the Hasanlu women, with tiny perforations by which hemispheroid rivets attached the scale to a backing.
87. This is particularly true in ancient Greek culture; see Lee 2015: 134–37; Bennett 1997: 125–60.
88. While it is tempting to consider the possibility that the armor scale burials represent the female analogs to the male, potential migrant “warriors,” female migrants would be exceptional. Studies of
The transformation of an object designed to protect a man’s body in battle to one designed to ornament and perhaps both increase and control the allure of an elite female body is fascinating. We can speculate that these protective, masculine objects are conferred on these women by men with whom they are linked as a mark of affiliation, perhaps even as indication that women were literally and figuratively under the protection of particular men. As such, their presence in burials preserves the traces of human agency and interactions, signaling protection in an uncertain period, rather than simply participating in a site-wide regulatory schema for gender.

Finally, as mentioned above with respect to the association of garment and long pins with adult womanhood, within the classes of artifacts restricted to use in women’s graves we can make more granular associations of ornaments to specific stages in the life course. Burials SK59 and 503, the younger two of the four armor-scale burials, are buried wearing beaded headbands. SK59 wore a headdress decorated

individual migrations (Arnold 2005:19–22) in early Iron Age Europe indicate that men are more likely to travel long distances in search of opportunities, whereas when women migrate, they are moving over shorter distances for the purpose of marital alliances.
with copper-alloy tubes in nine groups of six or seven horizontal tubes, with frit beads and small copper-alloy hemispherical buttons. The buttons have a shallow shank for attachment by sewing, rather than holes for stringing, suggesting that the entire headdress was constructed of fabric to which these items were attached. The headdress with SK503 was discarded but is described in the excavation notebooks as consisting of rows of copper-alloy buttons presumably attached to a fabric band. Among the other IVb burials, SK455, another young adult female 20–34 years old, was buried with a similar headdress consisting of rows of copper-alloy studs or buttons. Finally, a Period IVc burial of a young woman, SK479, included a copper-alloy headband with tiny perforations for attachment, along with many beads around the head. It is not possible to determine if the fabric component of these headdresses would have covered or framed the face.

The adornment of the head contributes powerfully to the performance of identity—there are countless examples of cultures in which regulatory schemes feature head coverings and ornaments, from the wearing of veils to the wreathing of victors. The headdresses at Hasanlu are limited to a few women, each estimated to be between approximately 20 and 34 years old, a span that encompasses women’s peak fertility and beauty. This strong correlation suggests that headdresses relate to the reproductive role of these women in the community, highlighting their youth and attractiveness. The presence of similar headdresses constructed of beads attached to fabric on the heads of two young children (girls?) in burials at Haftavan Tepe, a neighboring site further north in the Lake Urmia basin, raises the poignant, highly speculative possibility that this type of headgear is “bridal” in the sense that it celebrates reproductive potential rather than success. The amuletic protection that bridal ornaments, for example, provide during rites of passage is, as Amy Gansell has pointed out, potentially useful in the grave as well. Burials are of course the site of mourning, and the inclusion of these youthful, feminizing headdresses may preserve the choices that express the emotional impact of the deaths of these young women.

4. Conclusion

The Period IVb burials at Hasanlu provide the opportunity to explore the way personal adornment participates in the performance of gender at this site during the lives and at the deaths of the people who lived there, and the manner in which the materiality of gender changes in concert with disruptions in the local political and social order. These disruptions are related to events taking place at great

89. Cifarelli 2013: 317–18.
90. Much of the study of this aspect of dress has its origins in Wobst 1977: 332–33. Studies on the adornment of the head are far too numerous to list here. Recent thoughtful investigations of the issue include Gansell 2007a: 449–84. For a discussion of head adornment in Ancient Greece, for example, Lee 2015:153–60.
91. See Gansell (2013: 401–4) for a discussion of the role of the face in ideal beauty in ancient Assyria and ethnographic sources.
92. Burney 1972: 134–36, pl. 3a, b, 4, and 5a. A headdress is also visible on the skull of what appears to be an adult, perhaps a woman based on the inclusion of a long pin, in the cemetery at Masjed-e Kabud in Tabriz, see Azarnoush and Helwing 2005: 220, fig. 44.
94. See Joyce 2001: 12–15, for a discussion of the role of burials in negotiating emotions.
distances from Hasanlu, in Assyria and Urartu, but their impact on the small site of Hasanlu, and the gendered use of artifacts there, cannot be understood using the same intellectual frameworks by which hegemonic states and their interactions are interpreted. Careful attention to the patterns by which artifacts are associated with sexed bodies at this site shows that during Period IVb, the ornaments that accompanied deceased men and women diverged far more strongly than in the past, indicating a shift in the regulatory schemas, or rules, by which gender was made material. A burial that challenges site-wide norms for associations of gendered artifacts and sexed bodies, with the placement of a feminine object on a biologically male body, reveals that at Hasanlu, gender was not necessarily viewed as a binary. A third or “other” gender is denoted by the presence in a burial, on the citadel, and in Hasanlu’s visual culture, of biological males who dress in women’s clothing.

Distinctly masculine, and in more instances feminine, gendered ornaments proliferate in Period IVb. In this environment, fraught with challenges in the emergence of heavily armed, possibly foreign men in positions of local power, and threats of invasion from Assyria and Urartu, local identity is negotiated by means of intensified signaling featuring personal adornment that is more foreign, more visible, more audible, and more dangerous than that of earlier periods. Literally “bound to the body” in life and in the grave, thick metal armlets communicate the particularly militaristic masculinity of the outsiders who arrived at Hasanlu, and seem to have become integrated into the local elite. Women’s personal adornment, while wealthier than men’s in the aggregate, is more restrictive and more perceptible. A few elaborately adorned women wear individual armor scales, masculine military equipment from the Caspian littoral. Transformed into personal adornment by the addition of beads, metal tubes, and pins, these objects would have significant visual and auditory impact on others, enhancing their allure, at the same time serving as emblems of protection and affiliation in a period that seems to demonstrate increased masculine hegemony. The long, sharp pins introduced in Period IVb simultaneously hindered women’s physical movements, conspicuously signaled the impenetrability of their garments and perhaps their bodies, and offered protection in the event that message was not received. Beaded headgear on the bodies of young women may mark a transitional moment, an act of mourning whereby bereaved families and communities signal the loss of potential. Each of these forms of ornamentation serves as a means of mutually beneficial communication between signaler and receiver, wearer and viewer, a form of discourse whereby identity and status are negotiated and renegotiated by the men and women of Hasanlu in a time of uncertainty.

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