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Author(s): Michelle I. Marcus

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Dressed to Kill: Women and Pins in Early Iran

MICHELLE I. MARCUS

If I were allowed to choose from the pile of books which will be published one hundred years after my death, do you know which one I would take? I would simply take a fashion magazine so that I could see how women dress one century after my departure. And these rags would tell me more about humanity of the future than all the philosophers, novelists, prophets, and scholars. (Anatole France¹)

Pricking her fingers with those cursed pins,
Which surely were invented for our sins, —
Making a woman like a porcupine,
Not to be rashly touched. (Byron, *Don Juan* (6.61–2))

Scholarship in the ancient Near East has only recently begun to consider issues of gender. Part of the difficulty is the fact that women are rarely represented in the visual arts and textual records from the region.² In this essay I explore the potential value of artifacts of personal adornment for clarifying social roles and relations in the area, with specific reference to women's pins in the late second and early first millennia B.C. at the site of Hasanlu Tepe in present-day Iran (*Fig. 1*).³ Drawing on a wide range of sources I intend to suggest that the pins: (1) marked important stages in a woman's life cycle; (2) provided women with personal protection; and (3) helped to create the illusion of an armed society

by complementing male weapons and visual representations of men engaged in combat and the hunt.

The underlying premise of this study is that fashions (dress and other personal appearance cues) are expressions of deep-seated social, cultural, and spiritual values; that there are any number of ways to close a garment and that styles of clothing (like styles of art) are given meaning in historically and culturally specific ways.⁴ Just as dress and self-decoration in modern societies help to define and communicate personal and social group identity — being literally extensions of the body and hence signals of the self — they should likewise serve to clarify personal and social roles in the past.⁵ Dress and body adornments may also be seen as symbolic and rhetorical devices, having the ability to move people to act in culturally prescribed ways. Also at issue here is the relationship between adornment and gender, and the understanding that ornamenting the body is a way of constructing and objectifying a set of gender-based social distinctions that are not otherwise visible in the archaeological record.⁶ From this perspective, the following discussion has implications not only for Hasanlu and the ancient Near East, but also for general studies on gender and material culture elsewhere.

The Hasanlu Context

Hasanlu is a major site in Iranian Azerbaijan, located on important trade routes providing access to the major states of Assyria to the west, Urartu to the north, and Elam to the south. The present study is concerned with finds from the Iron II period, or Hasanlu IVB (ca. 1100–800 B.C.), when metal pins were longer and more widely distributed than in any preceding or subsequent period at the site. Historically, this was a time when the Assyrian and Urartian empires were beginning to expand territorially into the northern Zagros regions around Hasanlu;⁷ and when new ethnic groups (Medes and Persians) were beginning to infiltrate into the area from the south.⁸ It is clear that these military incursions had a profound impact on the residents at Hasanlu: local artworks began to feature Assyrian-like scenes of battle and the hunt (*Fig. 2*)⁹ and architectural renovations served to restrict access to public buildings on the Citadel Mound (*Fig. 3*).¹⁰ The settlement was finally destroyed by fire following a military invasion, probably by the Urartians, around 800 B.C.¹¹



Fig. 1. Map showing sites mentioned in the text (by D. L. Hoffman).



Fig. 2. Fragment of an ivory carving of a warrior from Hasanlu IVB, Iran (HAS 64–793), ca. 9th century B.C., height 2.5 cm. Musée Iran Bastan, Tehran. (Photo courtesy of the Hasanlu Project, The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.)

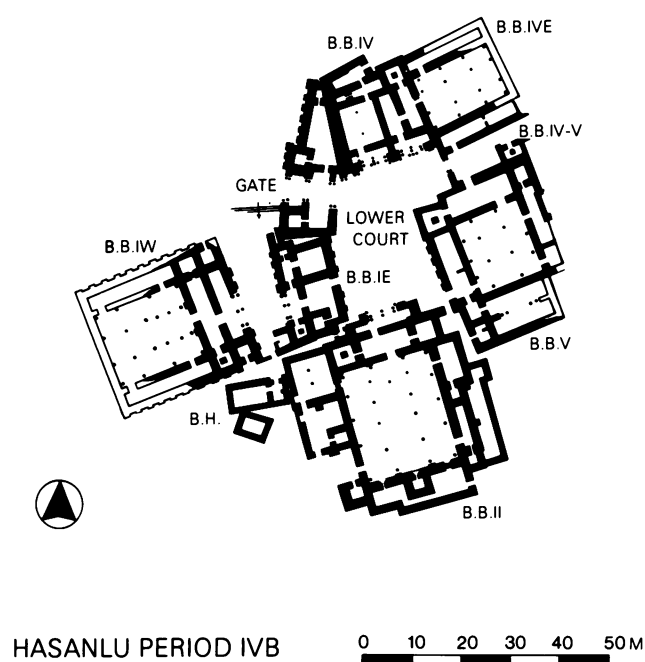


Fig. 3. Plan of the southwestern area of the Citadel Mound of Hasanlu IVB at the time of the destruction of the settlement, ca. 800 B.C. (Drawing by D. L. Hoffman after plan by R. H. Dyson Jr.)

I am concerned specifically with two kinds of pins at Hasanlu: garment pins and what were probably shroud pins. Both types of pins have a wide range of parallels in the archaeological remains and visual arts throughout western Iran.¹² The garment pins are bronze and iron stilettos, up to 13 cm. long. At Hasanlu, they were found on skeletons in graves in an Outer Town cemetery (ca. 1100–800 B.C.), as well as with individuals trapped inside an elite public structure (so-called Burned Building II) on the Citadel Mound when the ninth-century settlement was destroyed. The shroud pins, which are much longer (up to 36 cm.), were found exclusively in graves.

The cemetery finds are the most important for us here, since at least two-thirds of the skeletons buried

with personal adornments have been sexed and aged by methods of physical anthropology (45 out of 61 skeletons, including adult males and females, children, and infants).¹³ They also provide the best-preserved record of how the adornments were originally worn. Unfortunately, the skeletons in Burned Building II were often too crushed by debris from a fallen second story to be sexed on the basis of the bones, or for us to be certain about the original placement of the body artifacts. To judge from field photographs, the sequence in which finds were excavated, and textile impressions on bracelets and armlets in male and female graves, it has been possible to determine that the longest pins were probably attached to burial shrouds, while some of the shorter pins may have been attached to garments worn underneath. The custom of wrapping the deceased in a shroud is well-documented in texts from elsewhere in the ancient Near East.¹⁴ Especially significant is the almost exclusive association at Hasanlu between shroud pins and adult women: ten adult females (ages 14–35); one mature male (aged 40); no juveniles. The implication is that both male and female corpses were wrapped in a burial shroud, but that in general only the adult female shrouds were pinned closed.

The shroud pins range from about 14 to 36 cm. in length. They range in type from undecorated iron or bronze pins with flat or rounded heads to more elaborate bronze examples with molded, incised, or bead-and-reel decoration on the upper shaft (Fig. 4). The pins were often discovered in pairs, with one usually lying horizontally across the shoulders or diagonally across the chest, and the other lying vertically along the side of the skeleton (Figs. 5, 6). Although the cemetery contained a range from rich graves (gold and other imported goods) to poor graves (no goods), the shroud pins seem to have been associated primarily with elite individuals, who were buried with as many as 15 bronze finger rings, six bronze anklets, elaborate bronze and iron head-dresses and hair ornaments, and hundreds of beads made of gold, carnelian, shell, and other imported materials.

Unlike the shroud pins, the shorter garment pins (5 to 13 cm. in length) were consistently found at the shoulders of skeletons, usually with the sharp points facing up (Figs. 7, 8). Nevertheless, they are similar in form and decoration to the shroud pins, and likewise seem to be associated primarily with elite females in burials (six adult females and one mature male). Although most of the skeletons in Burned Building II could not be sexed on the basis of objective criteria, we can identify at least three juveniles and one mature male among the fourteen skeletons found with pins in the structure. In general, the adults were found with two pins (one at each shoulder), while the juveniles wore only one pin.

Female figures are consistently represented wearing similar garment pins in the visual arts from

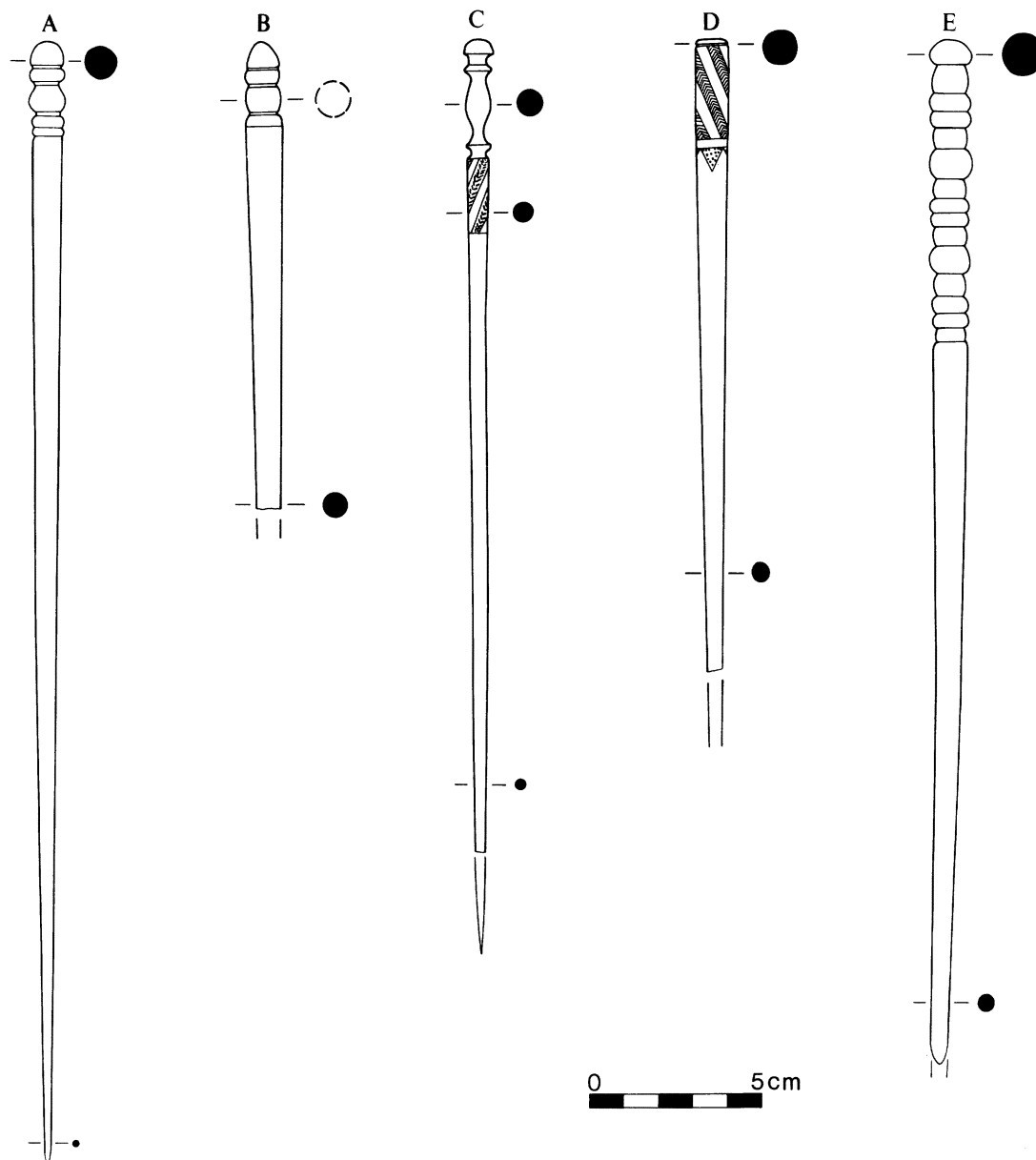


Fig. 4. Selected types of shroud pins from Hasanlu, ca. 1100–800 B.C. (A) HAS 59–97, Skeleton 59, Musée Iran Bastan, Tehran. (B) HAS 59–112, Skeleton 59, University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. (C) HAS 64–304, Skeleton 495, Musée Iran Bastan. (D) HAS 59–152, Skeleton 68, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 60.20.14. (E) HAS 64–194c, Skeleton 481, University Museum 65–31–118. (Drawings by D. L. Hoffman.)

western Iran, including Hasanlu. For example, terracotta figurines from Elam in southwestern Iran often show women nursing an infant and wearing a patterned garment, pinned at the shoulders or chest (Fig. 9).¹⁵ Women are also shown wearing pinned garments on much larger royal Elamite statuary and relief sculpture, including a life-size cast bronze statue from Susa.¹⁶ The same kind of pin seems to be represented on an ivory statuette from Hasanlu itself.¹⁷ A scene incised on a gold bowl from the site also shows two women, as well as one man, wearing pinned garments (Fig. 10).¹⁸ A female figure is even depicted wearing garment pins on the face of a disheveled pin from Surkh Dum, a roughly contemporary site located to the south of Hasanlu (Fig. 11).¹⁹ Like the burial data from Hasanlu and other sites

throughout western Iran, the available visual representations confirm that garment pins were associated primarily with females, and were usually worn at the shoulders with the points facing up. Although my primary goal is to explore the possible social meanings of the women's pins, at the end I will try to explain why we also occasionally find men with pins.

Pins as Markers of Important Stages in a Woman's Life Cycle

This theory is the most speculative of the three that I intend to explore here, since it depends more than the others on written analogies from outside ancient Iran. The use of analogy in archaeology can be



Fig. 5. Detail of an adult female skeleton (Skeleton 59) in situ in a grave in the Outer Town cemetery at Hasanlu, ca. 1100–800 B.C. One shroud pin can be seen lying diagonally across the chest; another (removed before this photograph was taken) was found lying vertically along the left side of the skeleton. (Photo courtesy of the Hasanlu Project, The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.)

problematic, in that it is often applied to societies that greatly differ in their contexts. However, careful and explicit use of analogies can illuminate, or at least raise questions about the data.²⁰ In the virtual absence of written texts from Hasanlu or other sites in the Iranian Zagros in this period, such analogies provide some sort of framework for thinking about the possible meanings of the Hasanlu material. I am referring specifically to materials from Mesopotamia, located on the other side of the Zagros Mountains from Hasanlu, and populated by different ethnic/linguistic groups. Nevertheless, despite long-standing cultural differences between the Sumerian and Semitic populations of Mesopotamia and the non-Semitic polities of western Iran, archaeological and historical evidence attests to a high degree of interaction between these two regions in the late second and early first millennia B.C.²¹ We also know that there were widespread population movements across northern Mesopotamia in this period, particularly by Hurrian-speaking peoples, who may have been ethnically/linguistically related to the Hasanlu population.²² Cultural connections with Mesopotamia are especially evident at Hasanlu: the Assyrian and North Syrian luxury goods in storage areas at the site, and the incorporation of Assyrian motifs into the local art style, strongly suggest that the ruling elite looked to the imperial centres to their west for symbols of prestige and power.²³ These ties make it tenable to draw on some of the written information from Mesopotamia in clarifying aspects of the archaeological record in western Iran in the early Iron Age.

Early Mesopotamian texts, for example, refer to a marriageable girl or virgin's garment pin (loosened or removed after the marriage ceremony),²⁴ as well as to an adoptive mother's pin.²⁵ There is also a telling remark about 'a woman whose pin a handsome man has not opened'.²⁶ In addition, women

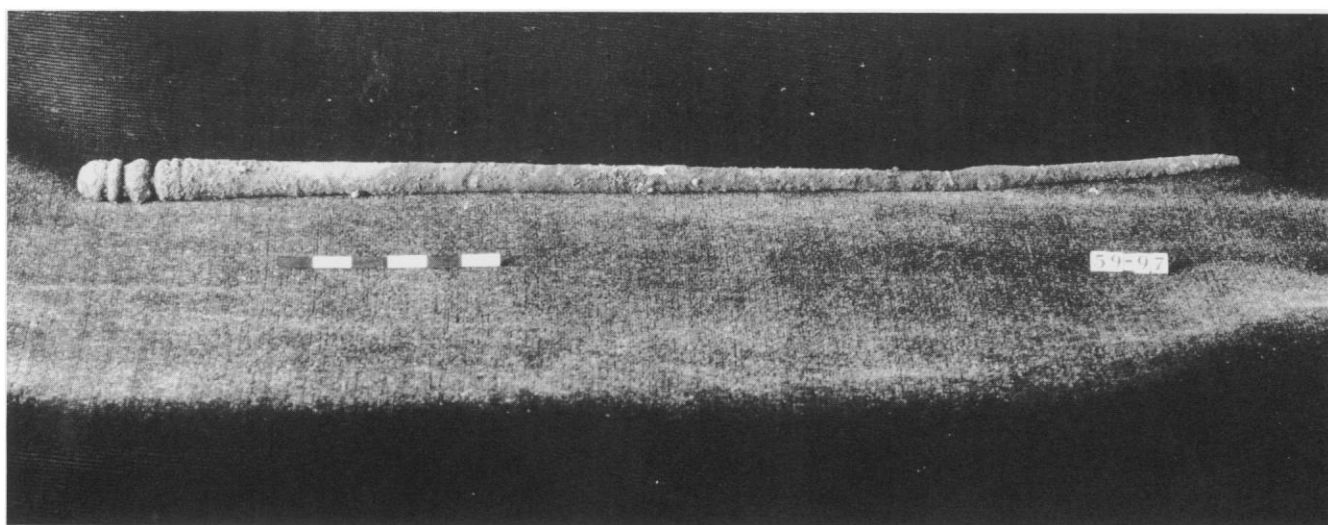


Fig. 6. Bronze shroud pin from the cemetery at Hasanlu (HAS 59–97; Skeleton 59), ca. 1100–800 B.C., length 26.3 cm. Musée Iran Bastan, Tehran. (Photo courtesy of the Hasanlu Project, The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.)

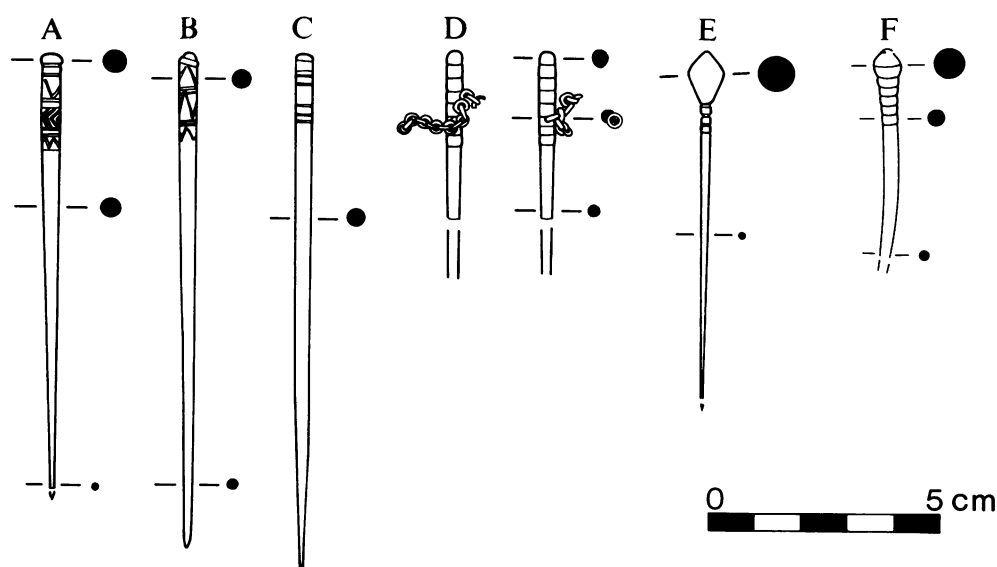


Fig. 7. Selected types of garment pins from Hasanlu, ca. 1100–800 B.C. (A–C) HAS 57–118a–c, Skeleton 24, University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 58–4–44. (D) HAS 64–269c, Skeleton 486, University Museum 65–31–121. (E) HAS 60–660, Skeleton 135, University Museum 61–5–210. (F) HAS 60–663, Skeleton 146, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 61.100.43. (Drawings by D. L. Hoffman.)

occasionally address their male lovers as their garment or turban pin in early Sumerian love songs.²⁷ In a later poem, the Neo-Sumerian king Shu-Suen gives a pin to his queen, possibly on the birth of their son.²⁸ These few literary references suggest that, at least in Mesopotamia, women's pins were charged with symbolic meaning, possibly marking various stages of the female life cycle (marriageable girl or virgin, married woman, and mother), as well as symbolizing the importance of the male as actor or witness.

In both the ancient and modern Near East, a woman's marital status is often distinguished by personal appearance cues, most frequently by types of headgear. For instance, Middle Assyrian legal



Fig. 8. Bronze garment pin from Hasanlu (HAS 60–996), ca. 9th century B.C., length 6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Mrs Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961 (61.100.44). (Photo courtesy of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art, Metropolitan Museum.)



Fig. 9. Terracotta figurine of a nursing woman from Susa, Iran, showing garment pins arranged diagonally above her breasts, late second millennium B.C. Louvre, Paris Sb 6613. (Photo courtesy of the Département des Antiquités Orientales, Louvre.)

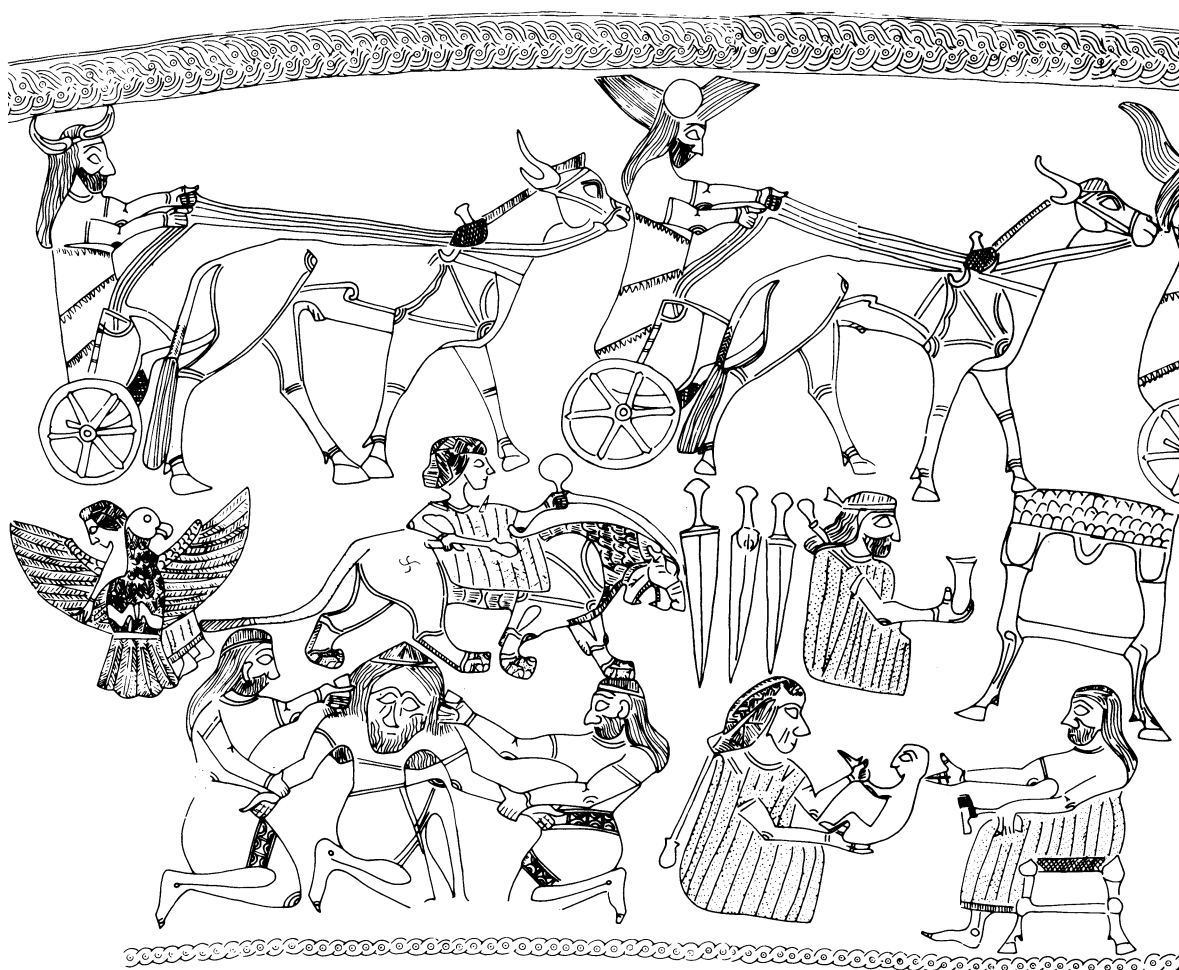


Fig. 10. Detail of the design incised on a gold bowl from Hasanlu (HAS 58–469), late second-early first millennium B.C., height 20 cm. Garment pins can be seen on the female figure sitting on a lion at the center; on the female figure holding an infant at the lower right; and on the male figure holding a vessel above her. Musée Iran Bastan, Tehran. (Drawing by M. de Schauensee.)



Fig. 11. Fragment of a bronze disc-headed pin from Surkh Dum, Iran (Sor 820), early first millennium B.C., height 7.6 cm. (Drawing by D. L. Hoffman, after M. Trokay, in L. de Meyer and H. Gasche, eds., *Mesopotamie et Elam* (Ghent, 1991) fig. 19.)

codes of the mid-second millennium B.C. state that elite married women and marriageable girls were expected to wear a head covering to distinguish them from slaves and prostitutes.²⁹ Evidently, headgear was an index of sexual purity and civilized status for Assyrian women in the same way that the veil or colorful caps are major visible symbols of marital status and respectability in many Islamic countries today.³⁰ Particularly interesting for the Hasanlu situation are customs among the Shah-sevan nomads in present-day Azerbaijan, where the style of headdress a woman wears signals what stage in her life cycle she has reached: child; marriageable but as yet unmarried girl; bride or daughter-in-law; wife, a stage reached after two or three years of marriage or the birth and survival of a son; and mature woman, a stage reached around menopause.³¹

It is unknown whether elite Hasanlu women were likewise obligated to wear head coverings, since later Assyrian representations show Zagros women with and without headgear.³² Such variations could signify either different ethnic/tribal affiliations, or the possibility that women had more choices in

ancient village life, just as veiling and seclusion are traditionally limited to the urban upper and middle classes in the Middle East today.³³ Ancient texts indicate that, in addition to headgear, hairstyles,³⁴ beads,³⁵ and numbers of layered garments³⁶ were also used to mark a woman's social standing. The notion that garment pins may have likewise signified a woman's class and marital status in the ancient zagros is paralleled by related traditions in Iran. For example, traditional marriage contracts among the Baharvand nomads are confirmed by the symbolic gift of a needle from the parents of the bride to the parents of the groom.³⁷ It is even tempting to compare the Hasanlu situation to a Baharvand belief that a fairy (*pari*) can be captured by inserting a needle into her hair, at which point she becomes the wife of the captor.³⁸

Such symbolic representations of the marital status of women at Hasanlu and/or elsewhere in the region may be related to oppositions, depicted in the *Gilgamesh Epic* and other ancient Near Eastern texts, between harlot and wife, and between prostitution and legitimate marriage and family.³⁹ Although the societies of the ancient Near East considered sexual intercourse to be one of the hallmarks of civilisation,⁴⁰ prostitutes, along with sorcerers, witches, and other women whose life-styles did not prepare them to become wives and mothers, were generally treated as marginal citizens, relegated to the fringes of mainstream society.⁴¹ In contrast, respectable women were those tied to family and children;⁴² hence the desire for highly visible signals of marital status, as a way of distinguishing between controlled procreative intercourse (in which the fruit of the loins is preserved and legitimated), and the freer, pleasurable non-exclusive illegitimate intercourse. The fact that the Akkadian verb to veil a woman (*kuttumu*) also meant to shut a door highlights the possible connection between symbols of marital status and fashions that enclosed women's bodies (keeping others out, while also implying a continual desire to get in).⁴³ A Sumerian poem expresses a similar idea when it compares a woman to a locked garden, a locked fountain, and a sealed-up spring.⁴⁴ Similar metaphors are also common in medico-magical texts about pregnancy and childbirth: 'the door bolt is secure; . . . may her locked gate be opened . . . ; may the offspring come out . . .'.⁴⁵

One might even compare the Hasanlu garment pins to actual door locks from the region, which often took the form of metal pegs or pins — as, for instance, in the Assyrian descriptions of the golden pegs used to secure the locks of the Urartian temple of Haldi at Musasir in Iraqi Kurdistan.⁴⁶ Thus, the bodies and boundaries of respectable women were sealed, a concept that was essential for the process of building and maintaining descent line strength.⁴⁷ There is a double meaning here about the pin which guards virtue and the pin (penis) which deflowers it; the enclosing incorporates with it the desire to open. The lock analogy also coincides with ethnographic

descriptions of wedding ceremonies in parts of Iran today, during which a woman alternately opens and closes a padlock as a symbol of marital fidelity.⁴⁸ At the same time, the notion of locking female bodies is associated with the idea that a woman's body is a space for securing things of value, a concept also expressed in ancient documents from the region.⁴⁹

As adornments that literally closed female bodies, the Hasanlu pins would have worked especially well as symbols of marital status, calling attention to the outer surface of a woman's body and away from the flesh and form underneath. A similar idea is suggested by representations of elite women in the art of the ancient Near East, where shapeless garments obscure the breasts and hips in such a way that it is often difficult to distinguish clothed women from eunuchs.⁵⁰ The situation was very different for elite men, whose representations and material remains suggest that their bodies were more exposed, with maleness emphasized by leg rings and arm rings accentuating their muscles, and metal belts defining their narrow waists and broad shoulders.⁵¹ These gender differences are paralleled in written documents from the area, in which similar distinctions between the sexual freedom of men and the virginity and monogamy expected of elite women were attempts by the state to ensure legitimate patrimony.⁵²

Pins as Personal Protection for Women

The garment pins from Hasanlu, as well as from other sites in western Iran, were sharp and threatening. They gave women a silhouette like that of Ishtar, the goddess of war and sex, who was typically represented in both Mesopotamia and Iran with weapons (like the pins) protruding from her shoulders (*Fig. 12*). In addition, the dress pins emphasized each woman's personal boundaries, clearly demarcating the line of separation between her body and her surroundings. This image exemplifies the psychoanalytic concept of body boundary, which refers to the tendency of individuals to experience their body as possessing a boundary that differentiates themselves from their environs.⁵³ As extensions of the body, clothes and adornments can serve to reinforce these body walls or boundaries. The societies of the ancient Near East were especially sensitive to the crucial importance of boundaries, both personal and extrapersonal, for the maintenance of social order and the survival of the state.⁵⁴ City walls, boundary markers, land disputes, and ritual supplication were all attempts to define and maintain boundaries in the region.⁵⁵ Literary references to locked cities and locked doors likewise highlight the concern with security and containment.⁵⁶ The architectural renovations in the Iron II period are evidence that the residents of Hasanlu shared similar concerns: the renovations controlled access to elite public buildings on the Citadel Mound. We



Fig. 12. Modern impression of a cylinder seal, showing the goddess Ishtar at the right, ca. 2334–2154 B.C., height 4 cm. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago A 27903. (Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute.)

can see a parallel between the emphasis on architectural boundaries at Hasanlu IVB and the corresponding emphasis on personal boundaries in women's fashions of the same period. I suggest that both developments were a response to threats from foreign military intrusions into western Iran in this period, serving to enclose those elements that were regarded as penetrable: women and space.⁵⁷

As said above, all this emphasis on enclosing or locking female bodies implies a continual pressure to get in. Unfortunately, we have no information about crimes against women in this region. However, an Assyrian relief carving showing an Elamite woman being raped by Assyrian soldiers on campaign⁵⁸ indicates that women in the imperial hinterlands were vulnerable to assault by external enemies. Presumably, women were also vulnerable to attack by local men. Their sharp metal pins would have made good weapons under either circumstances.

A long literary and historical tradition existing outside the ancient Near East has women using their pins as weapons. One of the more famous stories is told by Herodotus (5.87–8), in his attempt to explain the change in Greek women's dress (probably in the eighth or seventh century B.C.) from the pinned peplos to the sewn chiton or tunic.⁵⁹ Following an Athenian defeat in a battle with Aegina, the enraged women of Athens are said to have pulled out their garment pins and stabbed to death the one returning soldier who brought news of the defeat. Pausanias and other Greek authors tell a similar story about the daughters of Danaus, who were forced to marry their cousins, despite a plot by the other side of the family to have the women killed.⁶⁰ During the wedding feast, Danaus secretly doled out sharp pins for his daughters to conceal in their hair, and at midnight each stabbed her husband through the heart. Likewise, Euripides (*Hecuba* 1169–71) has Polymester blinded with dress pins by Trojan

women. In a less dramatic but equally telling story about the perceived danger of women's pins, Athena teases Aphrodite about being wounded after grazing her soft hand on an Achaean maiden's pin (*Iliad* 5.422–5). Even in Mesopotamia, women's pins were regarded as potential hazards, to judge from a reference in the Sumerian poem 'The Descent of Inanna', in which the goddess Geshtinanna, in anger, pulls the pin out from the front of her garment and rends her dress with it.⁶¹

Much further afield, but nevertheless part of the same tradition, are stories about modern hat pins. For instance, a 1908 article in the *Daily Mail* (Paris) entitled 'Deadly Hatpin: Heavy Casualty in Berlin' describes a series of injuries from hat pins and urges women to put guards on the tips.⁶² About the same time, a bill was introduced into the Arkansas legislature 'to limit the length of women's hatpins to nine inches, and to make them take out permits for longer ones, just like all deadly weapons'.⁶³ Last, a 1948 article in the *Daily Mirror* (London) reports that girls in Suffolk armed themselves with hat pins after attacks by a cyclist.⁶⁴ Likewise at Hasanlu, pins may have helped to protect women from foreign, as well as local, enemies.

The Hasanlu pins may have also protected women on a magical level, to judge from their formal relationship with metal foundation pegs known throughout the Near East. Related to biblical pegs that held down tents, foundation pegs were often slender with relatively sharp points.⁶⁵ In Mesopotamia, they were inserted into the ground to lay out a temple plan, or to designate property as reserved for a certain individual. In Elam (in southwestern Iran), they were driven into a house to show that there was a claim on it; that it was mortgaged.⁶⁶ Thus, on one level, the Hasanlu pins may have indicated either that a woman owned property (as many women did in the ancient Near East)⁶⁷ or that she was property (as in references to women being

owned [*betû*] by their husbands).⁶⁸ Even more interesting for our present purpose, however, are references about the ability of foundation pins to drive away or inactivate evil influences. Especially inviting is a set of bronze lion pegs now in the Louvre and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. According to an inscribed (Hurrian) tablet associated with the Louvre piece, both pegs were to protect the temple in which they were originally deposited.⁶⁹ Women's pins may likewise be seen, then, as symbols of security, providing women with personal protection (magical and physical) both in daily life and in the underworld.⁷⁰ In this sense, pins protect from penetration even as they are penetrators.

Women's Pins as Symbols of an Armed Society

Some of the Hasanlu pins, especially the shroud pins, resemble certain types of weapons from the region, particularly daggers and swords with domed heads and moulded or bead-and-reel decoration on the upper shaft (cf. *Figs. 4 and 13*).⁷¹ While the similarities to actual weapons may be attributed to the bronze-working technologies of the time,⁷² technology does not explain why women armed themselves with potential weapons, nor why women were virtually the only ones buried with long shroud pins. Weapons were a traditional source of male prestige in the ancient Near East, as they are still.⁷³ In the ancient literature, they are regularly associ-

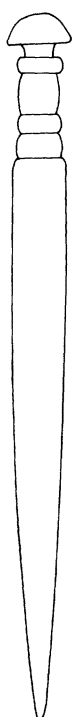


Fig. 13. Drawing of a sword represented on an Assyrian relief carving from Nimrud, Iraq, ninth century B.C. (Drawing by D. L. Hoffman, after Madhloom, The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art, pl. XX: 7.)

ated with masculine power,⁷⁴ and are consistently featured in elite male burials and royal representations in the region.⁷⁵ At Hasanlu, swords, daggers, and spearpoints are the hallmarks of elite male graves, usually found near the head or feet of the skeleton. We can attribute the similarity between women's pins and male military equipment as a way, perhaps, for elite women to appropriate the attributes of prestige and power more often used by men. The long metal shroud pins found in elite female burials might have served a similar role: as visible, armorial symbols of status, prestige, and power.

In addition, the relationship between women's pins and male military equipment may be tied to the general preoccupation at Hasanlu with visual displays of local military power. Specifically, one might see women's pins as an attempt by the Hasanlu elite to create the illusion of an armed and well-defended population, male and female alike. In this sense, the female body (living and deceased) becomes an essential part of the iconography of power that characterizes most of the artwork from the site, complementing representations of military security in art, architecture, and actual armed forces. I propose that this illusion was an essential part of the survival strategies adopted by the Hasanlu elite in the early first millennium B.C., when the settlement was threatened by foreign military forces. In this respect, gender ideologies at Hasanlu would have differed considerably from those in Mesopotamia, where the available evidence suggests that men and women participated in separate ideologies and social arenas.⁷⁶

We can find analogies to the Hasanlu situation in the recent history of fashion, when women's garments or accessories likewise took on military overtones. For instance, during the time of the French Revolution, women carried canes and whips, and wore hats that resembled helmets, which were sometimes even trimmed with naval or war trophies.⁷⁷ Similarly, just before and during World War II, American women's fashions imitated the square cut of military uniforms, and, as already mentioned, hat pins resembled weapons.⁷⁸ Last, Persian princesses are described in a traveller's report of the late seventeenth century as wearing daggers, just prior to a period of chaos in the country brought on by the decline of Safavid rule.⁷⁹ These examples (which require much more extensive discussion than is possible here) suggest that in some societies, during periods of political unrest, promotion of an ideology of military security and strength may sometimes take precedence over rules of gender difference, thus providing women with opportunities to adopt the armorial attributes usually reserved for men. Likewise, at Hasanlu, women's pins were most widely distributed and were extremely long during a period of political upheaval, when issues of self-defense and boundaries must have been of paramount importance.

Men with Pins

Although garment and shroud pins were far more often associated with women than with men at Hasanlu, they were nevertheless also found with two older males (ages 30–45).⁸⁰ One man was buried with a plain shroud pin as well as a shorter needle-head pin; the other was wearing two plain garment pins when he was trapped inside Burned Building II. Neither skeleton was associated with any other personal adornments, and their pins were far simpler in shape and decoration than those found with the female skeletons. This evidence suggests that what may have normally served as prestige goods for women signalled something else for men. While it is possible that the needle-head pin in the male grave may have been deposited by a mourner, its placement on the upper arm of the skeleton suggests that it was originally attached to the shroud or undergarment of the deceased. On the other hand, the garment pins on the male in the burned building were certainly part of his costume.

At least two theories could account for men wearing pinned garments at Hasanlu. One argument has to do with cross-dressing, which is a common theme in Mesopotamian literature.⁸¹ Ishtar, for instance, could change masculinity into femininity and confuse people's sexuality.⁸² Her cult participants were often transvestites, and she herself has both male and female attributes.⁸³ The man wearing a pinned garment in the religious scene on the Hasanlu gold bowl (*Fig. 10*) likewise suggests that certain cult officials were gendered female. However, the fact that our two male skeletons were not associated with any other types of female-gendered adornments (for instance, dangle earrings and head and hair ornaments) makes the connection with cross-dressing tentative — the premise being that a readable gender dress code appears in a combination of various elements, rather than in a single object.⁸⁴

Without dismissing the possibility of a third, ambiguous gender at the site,⁸⁵ a more compelling explanation for older men assuming feminized appearance cues derives from an Egyptian tomb painting (ca. 2134–2040 B.C.) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁸⁶ On the jambs of the false door to the tomb, a younger and older version of the deceased are brought together in a typical confrontation. In the younger version, he holds a sceptre and staff and has the dark red skin characteristic of representations of Egyptian men; in the older version, he is empty-handed and has the yellow skin customary for representations of women. Such evidence suggests that when men reached a certain age, they had the privilege of abandoning the rules of gender difference by adopting elements of dress that were gendered female.

More important, the Hasanlu material suggests that pinned garments may have carried a similar message about sexual closure for both men and women: for older or perhaps sexually ambiguous

men, and married or marriageable women. While that message seems to have been a source of prestige for women, being part of the ideology of elite female gender, it was evidently not a source of prestige for men (if we can judge from the absence of any other body ornaments on the two male skeletons and from the simplicity of their pins). References in Mesopotamian literature that equate the elderly with children and weak women may enable us to understand the Hasanlu situation.⁸⁷ Likewise, myths that highlight the vulnerability of the elderly⁸⁸ suggest that similar attitudes about women and older men may also account for similar fashions. At the same time, an emphasis on protecting the vulnerable would have installed the vulnerability of women and older men as a permanent and necessary part of the system,⁸⁹ setting them both apart from young virile males. Further work on the Hasanlu body ornaments should help to clarify relationships between age and gender.⁹⁰ Until then, we are left with hints that personal appearance cues may have reinforced generational, as well as gender differences in the region.

At the end, I suggest that personal adornment played as active a role as did representations in the visual arts in constructing and reinforcing social ideologies at Hasanlu. This understanding is especially important for studies of women in the ancient Near East, because women are rarely represented in artistic monuments from the region. In particular, the evidence suggests that, at least at Hasanlu, female adornments, and hence female bodies, were an essential complement to visual representations of elite male power.

Beyond Hasanlu and the ancient Near East, the above materials have implications for general studies of gender and adornment elsewhere. They may be compared to similar developments in the history of fashion in the West, particularly the use of ancient Greek dress pins and modern hat pins as potential weapons for women. The discussion has raised the possibility that, under certain circumstances, women's fashions may be more likely to take on armorial aspects — as, for instance, when societies are faced with military threats, which increase the need for emblems of social security and cohesion. It further allows general observations about societies that do not represent women in art, but do ornament them. In such contexts, the female body becomes an important site of embellishment, as the subject or object of display, and as an important site for further research.

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1. From M. L. Rosencratz, 'Clothing Symbolism', *Journal of Home Economics*, vol. 54, 1962, p. 18.
2. I. J. Winter, 'Women in Public: The Disk of Enheduanna, the Beginning of the Office of EN-Priestess and the Weight of Visual Evidence', in J.-M. Durand, ed., *La Femme dans le Proche-Orient Antique* (Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Paris, 1987), pp. 189–201; M. T. Roth, 'Marriage and Matrimonial Prestations in First Millennium B.C. Babylonia', in B. S. Lesko, ed., *Women's Earliest Records from Ancient Egypt and Western Asia* (Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1989), pp. 245–55; S. Pollock, 'Women in a Men's World: Images of Sumerian Women', in J. M. Gero and M. W. Conkey, eds., *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1991), pp. 366–87.
3. The entire assemblage of personal ornaments will be published by the author in the Hasanlu Special Studies Series of The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. Excavations were conducted at the site from 1956 to 1977 by a joint team of The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (from 1959), and the Archaeological Service of Iran, under the general direction of Robert H. Dyson, Jr. For recent publications of some of the finds, see O. W. Muscarella, *Bronze and Iron: Ancient Near Eastern Artifacts in The Metropolitan Museum* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1988), pp. 20–79; and R. H. Dyson, Jr. and M. M. Voigt, eds., *East of Assyria: The Highland Settlement of Hasanlu. Expedition*, vol. 31 (The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1989). The chronology of Hasanlu IV is based on a long series of radiocarbon dates, together with the available archaeological and historical evidence: see especially R. H. Dyson, Jr. and O. W. Muscarella, 'Constructing the Chronology and Historical Implications of Hasanlu IV', *Iran*, vol. 27, 1989, pp. 1–27; and R. H. Dyson, Jr., 'Rediscovering Hasanlu', *Expedition*, vol. 31, 1989, esp. fig. 6. For a different reading of the chronology, see I. N. Medveskaya, 'Who Destroyed Hasanlu IV?', *Iran*, vol. 26, 1988, pp. 1–15; *idem.*, 'Once More on the Destruction of Hasanlu IV: Problems of Dating', *Iranica Antiqua*, vol. 26, 1991, pp. 149–61.
4. First A. L. Kroeber, 'On the Principle of Order in Civilization as Exemplified by Changes in Fashion', *American Anthropologist*, vol. 21, 1919, pp. 235–63; then M. E. Roach and J. B. Eicher, eds., *Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order* (John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1965); H. M. Wobst, 'Stylistic Behavior and Information Exchange', in C. E. Cleland, ed., *For the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James B. Griffin* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1977), pp. 317–42; J. M. Cordwell and R. A. Schwarz, eds., *The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment* (Mouton, The Hague, 1979); T. S. Turner, 'The Social Skin', in J. Cherfas and R. Lewin, eds., *Not Work Alone: A Cross-Cultural View of Activities Superfluous to Survival* (Sage, Beverly Hills, 1980), pp. 112–40; and reexaminations of Wobst in M. Conkey and C. Hastorf, eds., *The Uses of Style in Archaeology* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990).
5. R. White, 'Visual Thinking in the Ice Age', *Scientific American*, 1989, July, p. 97; and new literature on the body in M. Feher, ed., *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, pts. 1–3 (Zone, New York, 1989).
6. White, 'Visual Thinking in the Ice Age', p. 99; also R. Joyce, 'Dimensiones simbolicas del traje en monumentos clasicos Mayas: La construccion del genero a traves del vestido', in L. Asturias and D. Fernandez, eds., *La Indumentaria y el Tejido Mayas a Traves del Tiempo* (Museo Ixchel del Traje Indigena, Guatemala, 1992), pp. 28–38; C. B. Kidwell, 'Gender Symbols or Fashionable Details', in C. B. Kidwell and V. Steele, eds., *Men and Women: Dressing the Part* (Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C., 1989), pp. 124–43; M. L. S. Sørensen, 'The Construction of Gender through Appearance', in D. Walde and N. D. Willows, eds., *The Archaeology of Gender* (Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary, Calgary, 1991), pp. 121–9.
7. See A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B.C., I (1114–859 BC)* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1991), p. 157 lines 13–20, pp. 171–2 lines 11–29, pp. 205–11.
8. See S. C. Brown, 'Media and Secondary State Formation in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros: An Anthropological Approach to an Assyriological Problem', *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, vol. 38, 1986, pp. 107–19.
9. Esp. I. J. Winter, 'Perspective on the "Local Style" of Hasanlu IVB: A Study in Receptivity', in L. D. Levine and T. C. Young, Jr., eds., *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia* (Undena, Malibu, 1977), pp. 371–86; also O. W. Muscarella, *The Catalogue of Ivories from Hasanlu, Iran* (The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1980), nos. 1–72.
10. R. H. Dyson, Jr., 'The Iron Age Architecture at Hasanlu: An Essay', *Expedition*, vol. 31, 1989, p. 114.
11. Dyson and Muscarella, 'Constructing the Chronology and Historical Implications of Hasanlu IV'.
12. See, for instance: C. Burney, 'Excavations at Haftavan Tepe 1968: First Preliminary Report', *Iran*, vol. 8, 1970, fig. 7; *idem.*, 'Excavations at Haftavan Tepe 1969: Second Preliminary Report', *Iran*, vol. 10, 1972, figs. 8–9; R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk, près de Kashan, 1933, 1934, 1937*, vol. 2 (Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1939), pls. XXIX, 2 and XCIII, S.1785a–h; O. W. Muscarella, 'The Iron Age at Dinkha Tepe, Iran', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, vol. 9, 1974, tables I–II; E. F. Schmidt, M. N. van Loon, and H. H. Curvers, *The Holmes Expeditions to Luristan* (The Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1989), pls. 164–70; L. vanden Berghe, 'La Necropole de Bani Surmah', *Archéologia*, vol. 24, 1968, fig. p. 57, top right; *idem.*, 'Recherche archéologique dans le Luristan', *Iranica Antiqua*, vol. 10, 1973, pls. XXII and XXIV, 2.
13. The analysis of the skeletal data is published in T. A. Rathbun, *A Study of the Physical Characteristics of the Ancient Inhabitants of Hasanlu, Iran* (Field Research Projects, Coconut Grove, Miami, Florida, 1972). About 140 graves were excavated in the Hasanlu cemetery. Eighty of them have been assigned to period IV, of which 61 contained body adornments.
14. E.g. J. Bottéro, *Mesopotamia: Writing, Reasoning, and the Gods*, trans. Z. Bahrani and M. van de Mieroop (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992), p. 273; D. Wolkstein and S. N. Kramer, *Inanna: Queen of Heaven and Earth, Her Stories and Hymns from Sumer* (Harper & Row, New York, 1983), p. 86. In addition, an Old Babylonian dowry list refers to a woman who had burial shrouds ready for her death, in S. Dalley, 'Old Babylonian Dowries', *Iraq*, vol. 42, 1980, p. 53. Likewise, in an inscription of the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus from Harran, the king's mother is described being buried in fine wool garments and white linen; in J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. with supp. (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1969), p. 561, postscript (trans. A. L. Oppenheim).
15. E.g. A. Spycket, *Les Figurines de Suse I: Les Figurines Humaines IVe–IIe Millénaires Av. J-C* (Gabalda, Paris, 1991), nos. 1161–2, 1168, 1175, 1183, 1186, 1193–4.
16. P. O. Harper, J. Aruz, and F. Tallon, eds., *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1992), nos. 83, 88.
17. Muscarella, *The Catalogue of Ivories from Hasanlu*, no. 127.
18. I. J. Winter, 'The "Hasanlu Gold Bowl": Thirty Years Later', *Expedition*, vol. 31, 1989, figs. 6, 14.
19. Schmidt *et al.*, *The Holmes Expeditions to Luristan*, pl. 210a.
20. C. Kramer, *Village Ethnoarchaeology: Rural Iran in Archaeological Perspective* (Academic Press, New York, 1982); P. J. Watson, *Archaeological Ethnography in Western Iran* (The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1979).
21. Reviewed in my 'The Mosaic Glass Vessels from Hasanlu, Iran: A Study in Large-Scale Stylistic Trait Distribution', *Art Bulletin*, vol. 73, 1991, pp. 536–60.
22. See Winter, 'The "Hasanlu Gold Bowl"', pp. 99–104 on the possible ethnic/linguistic identity of the Hasanlu residents.
23. Esp. Winter, 'Perspective on the "Local Style" of Hasanlu IVB'.
24. B. Landsberger, 'Jungfräulichkeit: Ein Beitrag zum Thema "Beilager und Eheschliessung"', in *Symbolae Iuridicae et Historicae Martino David Dedicatae* (Brill, Leiden, 1968), p. 104, who even compares the removal or loosening of the young girl's garment pin to the opening of a chastity belt. See also M. T. Roth, 'Age at Marriage and the Household: A Study of Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian Forms', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 29, 1987, pp. 739–43 and n. 70 on the meaning of the term *batultu* and particularly the overlap between notions of marriageable girl and virgin. While some scholars prefer to see the term as referring to an age group and not explicitly to virginity, Roth (p. 743) is reluctant to dismiss the component of physical virginity in the range of meanings and argues that it does include something approximating the modern idea of virginity.
25. *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, vol. Š, s.v. *šillû*, p. 193.
26. *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, vol. Š, s.v. *šillû*, p. 193; J. A. Scurlock, 'Baby-Snatching Demons, Restless Souls and the Dangers of

Childbirth: Medico-Magical Means of Dealing with Some of the Perils of Motherhood in Ancient Mesopotamia', *Incognita*, vol. 2, 1991, p. 154.

27. B. Alster, 'Sumerian Love Songs', *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. 79, 1985, pp. 113 line 8, 146 lines 31–32; T. Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once ... Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1987), p. 91 line 12.

28. Alster, 'Sumerian Love Songs', p. 141 line 11; Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once*, pp. 95–6 lines 12, 18. There is some confusion about whether this poem describes the birth of the king's son (Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once*, p. 85) or the birth of the king himself (Alster, pp. 138–9).

29. For an easily available reference, see Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, p. 183, par. 40 (trans. T. J. Meek). Although the Akkadian word *kuttumum* is regularly translated as a veil, representations only show shawl-like head coverings; see J. G. Westenholz, 'Towards a New Conceptualization of the Female Roles in Mesopotamian Society', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 110, 1990, pp. 513–15. For other references to female head coverings, see B. F. Batto, *Studies on Women at Mari* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1974), p. 84; A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, vol. 2 (Bayrische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich, 1956), no. 26 line 7; F. R. Kraus, *Briefe aus dem British Museum (CT 43 und 44)* (Brill, Leiden, 1964), no. 30 line 24; and Landsberger, 'Jungfräulichkeit: Ein Beitrag zum Thema "Beilager und Eheschliessung"', pp. 81 n. 1 line 13, 98 n. 1.

30. E.g. S. Hale, 'Politics of Gender in the Middle East', in S. Morgan, *Gender and Anthropology* (American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C., 1989), esp. p. 254; A. G. Trofimova, 'The Garments of the Present-Day Azerbaidjan Population: Traditional and Modern Elements', in J. M. Cordwell and R. A. Schwarz, eds., *The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment* (Mouton, The Hague, 1979), pp. 405–14.

31. N. Tapper, 'The Women's Subsociety among the Shahsevan Nomads of Iran', in L. Beck and N. Keddie, eds., *Women in the Muslim World* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978), pp. 377–8. On the general relationship between age and dress in the region today, see also M. Delvecchio Good, 'A Comparative Perspective on Women in Provincial Iran and Turkey', in L. Beck and N. Keddie, eds., *Women in the Muslim World* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978), p. 487. For similar ways of dividing the life cycle in ancient Mesopotamia (that is, by behavior or sexual/marital status, rather than chronological age), see Roth, 'Age at Marriage and the Household', esp. 736, 739, 742–6.

32. Cf. J. M. Russell, *Sennacherib's Palace Without Rival* (Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1991), figs. 82 and 90.

33. E.g. N. Keddie and L. Beck, 'Introduction', in L. Beck and N. Keddie, eds., *Women in the Muslim World* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978), p. 8.

34. Bottéro, *Mesopotamia*, p. 189; Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once*, p. 117 line 70. On different hairstyles of unmarried and married women in parts of Iran today, see S. Wright, 'Place and Face: Of Women in Doshman Ziari, Iran', in S. Ardener, ed., *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps* (Oxford University Women's Studies Committee, London, 1981), pp. 145–6.

35. T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1976), p. 140.

36. Cf. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness*, p. 140 with D.A. Foxvog, 'Funerary Furnishings in an Early Sumerian text from Adab', in B. Alster, ed., *Death in Mesopotamia* (Akademisk, Copenhagen, 1980), p. 71 line 27.

37. S. Amanolahi-Baharvand, 'The Baharvand, Former Pastoralists of Iran' (Ph.D. dissertation, Rice University, Houston, 1975). University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, p. 84; cf. H. H. Curvers in Schmidt et al., *The Holmes Expeditions to Luristan*, p. 489.

38. Amanolahi-Baharvand, 'The Baharvand', p. 159.

39. B. Foster, 'Gilgamesh: Sex, Love and the Ascent of Knowledge', in J. H. Marks and R. M. Good, eds., *Love & Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope* (Four Quarters, Guilford, Connecticut, 1987), pp. 23, 38 lines 10–12; J. J. Glassner, 'Women, Hospitality, and the Honor of the Family', in B. S. Lesko, ed., *Women's Earliest Records from Ancient Egypt and Western Asia* (Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1989), p. 78.

40. See 'Inanna and Enki: The Transfer of the Arts of Civilization from Eridu to Erech', in Wolkstein and Kramer, *Inanna*, p. 17. See also Bottéro, *Mesopotamia*, ch. 11.

41. Bottéro, *Mesopotamia*, pp. 192, 197.

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43. Glassner, 'Women, Hospitality, and the Honor of the Family', p. 76.

44. J. S. Cooper, 'New Cuneiform Parallels to the Song of Songs', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 90, 1971, p. 161.

45. Scurlock, 'Baby-Snatching Demons, Restless Souls and the Dangers of Childbirth', p. 143.

46. D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyrian and Babylonia*, vol. 2 (Histories & Mysteries of Man, London, 1989 reprint; originally published 1927), p. 96 par. 173. For references to lock pins (*sikkatu*) in cuneiform documents, see also J. A. Scurlock, 'How to Lock a Gate: A New Interpretation of CT 40 12', *Orientalia*, NS vol. 57, 1988, pp. 430–3.

47. Cf. S. B. Ortner, 'Gender and Sexuality in Hierarchical Societies: The Case of Polynesia and Some Comparative Implications', in S. B. Ortner and H. Whitehead, eds., *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981), p. 372.

48. H. Massé, *Persian Beliefs and Customs*, trans. C. A. Messner (Human Relations Area Files, New Haven, 1954 reprint; originally published 1938), p. 49. Similarly, modern devotees of the third Imam actually attach metal padlocks to their bodies in order to earn spiritual gain and fulfill their vows: see P. Tanavoli and J. T. Wertime, *Locks from Iran: Pre-Islamic to Twentieth Century* (Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., 1976), pp. 26–7, illus. 9–10.

49. Wolkstein and Kramer, *Inanna*, pp. 40–1.

50. E.g. A. Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia: The Classical Art of the Near East* (Phaidon, London, 1967), pl. 287. A similar idea has been suggested by E. Bartman ('Gender and Personal Appearance in Antiquity', unpub. paper delivered at the Feminist Art and Art History Conference, Barnard College, Oct. 17, 1992) about the *stola* in Roman art; and by Joyce ('Dimensiones simbolicas del traje en monumentos clasicos Mayas', esp. 29–31) about female costumes in Classic Maya monuments.

51. See my 'Art and Ideology', in J. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, in press).

52. Bottéro, *Mesopotamia*, pp. 186–7.

53. E.g. S. Fisher, 'Body Boundary and Perceptual Vividness', *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, vol. 73, 1986, pp. 392–6; P. Schilder, *The Image and Appearance of the Human Body* (International Universities Press, New York, 1950).

54. Cf. A. Carson, 'Putting Her in Her Place: Woman, Dirt, and Desire', in D. Halperin, J. J. Winker, F. I. Zeitlin, eds., *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1990), p. 135.

55. E.g. J. S. Cooper, *Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions, I: Presargonic Inscriptions* (The American Oriental Society, New Haven, 1986), pp. 34–7, 54–6; Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once*, pp. 103 line 27, 135 line 139, 280 line 12.

56. E.g. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness*, p. 67; Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once*, pp. 175 line 71, 351–2 lines 59–62, 362 line 42.

57. Ardener, *Women and Space*.

58. S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (Helsinki University Press, Helsinki, 1988), fig. 13.

59. See esp. E. B. Harrison, 'The Dress of the Archaic Greek Korai', in D. Buitron-Oliver, ed., *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (National Gallery of Art, Hanover, 1991), pp. 217–39.

60. After R. Graves, *The Greek Myths*, vol. 1 (Penguin, Baltimore, 1955), p. 202 par. 60.k.

61. Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once*, p. 229 line 40.

62. After E. D. Longman and S. Loch, *Pins and Pincushions* (Longmans, Green, New York, 1911), pp. 127–8.

63. *Pins and Pincushions*, p. 129.

64. P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins and their Connections with Europe and Asia* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1956), p. 93 n. 2.

65. See R. S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1968), pp. 72–93.

66. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, p. 87.

67. E.g. S. Dalley, *Mari and Karana: Two Old Babylonian Cities* (Longman, London, 1984), p. 104; K. Grosz, 'Some Aspects of the Position of Women in Nuzi', in B. S. Lesko, ed., *Women's Earliest Records from Ancient Egypt and Western Asia* (Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1989), p. 173.
68. Bottéro, *Mesopotamia*, p. 186.
69. O. W. Muscarella, 'Comments on the Urkish Lion Pegs', in G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, *Mozan 1: The Soundings of the First Two Seasons* (Undena, Malibu, 1988), pp. 93–4 (Louvre AO 19937; Metropolitan Museum 48.180).
70. On the mythology of death in the ancient Near East, see Bottéro, *Mesopotamia*, ch. 15; and A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1949), ch. 3.
71. T. A. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art* (Athlone Press, London, 1970), pls. XX–XXIII.
72. As Elizabeth Bartman has discussed with me. On the general relationship between technology and style, see esp. H. Lechtman, 'Style in Technology — Some Early Thoughts', in H. Lechtman and R. S. Merrill, eds., *Material Culture: Styles, Organization, and Dynamics of Technology* (West, New York, 1977), pp. 3–20.
73. E.g. R. Daniloff, 'A Cult of Daggers', *American Way*, 1992, January 15, pp. 48–55; J. Kalter, *The Art and Crafts of Turkestan* (Thames & Hudson, New York, 1984), pp. 88–91.
74. For instance, the Babylonian *Creation Epic* (tab. IV lines 28–30) describes the 'matchless weapons' of the god Marduk, in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, p. 66 (trans. E. A. Speiser). Enkidu acquired a weapon as a sign of having becoming civilized in *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (tab. II col. v line 22), in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, p. 77 (trans. E. A. Speiser). Young men are endowed with the 'strength of weapons' in the Sumerian poem 'The Cursing of Akkadê' (line 33), in Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once*, p. 362. And, weapons are hallmarks of the strength of the Neo-Assyrian kings: e.g. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B.C.*, p. 280 lines 14b–16.
75. E.g. Pollock, 'Women in a Men's World', pp. 373–6; Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia*, pls. 119, 156–7, 262.
76. E.g., see Pollock, 'Women in a Men's World'; and Winter, 'Women in Public'.
77. F. A. Parsons, *The Psychology of Dress* (Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1921), p. 212.
78. Kidwell, 'Gender Symbols or Fashionable Details', p. 143 and pl. 8; and Maureen Turim, 'Designing Women: The Emergence of the New Sweetheart Line', in J. Gaines and C. Herzog, eds., *Fabrications: Costume and the Female Body* (New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 212–13.
79. Sir J. Chardin, *Travels in Persia* (Argonaut Press, London, 1927 reprint; originally published 1720), p. 218. On the historical climate just following Chardin's travels, see J. M. Scarce, 'Vesture and Dress: Fashion, Function, and Impact', in C. Bier, ed., *Woven from the Soul, Spun from the Heart: Textile Arts of Safavid and Qajar Iran 16th–19th Centuries* (The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 1987), p. 46.
80. It is important to keep in mind that the average age at death for males at Hasanlu may have been around 30 (Rathbun, *A Study of the Physical Characteristics of the Ancient Inhabitants of Hasanlu*, p. 78).
81. For recent literature on cross-dressing outside Mesopotamia, see V. L. Bullough and B. Bullough, *Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1993); and M. Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (Routledge, New York, 1991).
82. See esp. R. Harris, 'Inanna-Ishtar as Paradox', pp. 261–78.
83. Harris, 'Inanna-Ishtar as Paradox', p. 276. See also Wolkstein and Kramer, *Inanna*, p. 99.
84. Sørensen, 'The Construction of Gender through Appearance', pp. 125, 127.
85. Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once*, p. 161. Cf. M. Garber, 'The Chic of Araby: Transvestism, Transsexualism and the Erotics of Cultural Appropriation', in J. Epstein and K. Straub, eds., *Body Guards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity* (Routledge, New York, 1991), pp. 239–45; as well as U. Wikan, *Behind the Veil in Arabia: Women in Oman* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1982), pp. 168–72 on the third gender role of *xaniths* in Oman society today.
86. H. G. Fischer, 'Varia Aegyptiaca', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, vol. 2, 1963, p. 19, frontispiece, bottom (Metropolitan Museum 12.183.8).
87. See R. Harris, 'The Conflict of Generations in Ancient Mesopotamian Myths', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 34, 1992, p. 628 and n. 39.
88. Harris, 'The Conflict of Generations in Ancient Mesopotamian Myths', p. 633.
89. J. J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (Routledge, New York, 1990), pp. 74–5.
90. In general, see J. Keith, '"The Best Is Yet to Be": Toward an Anthropology of Age', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 9, 1980, pp. 339–64; and J. S. La Fontaine, ed., *Sex and Age as Principles of Social Differentiation* (Academic Press, London, 1978).