Spears and Speculation: Deconstructing Gender Assumptions in Etruscan Tombs

Jennifer Weigel

The Etruscans have been an object of study and fascination since their tombs were first discovered during the Renaissance. However, this long history of study has often been a detriment to understanding their civilization and one of the areas that has suffered the most is the analysis of Etruscan gender. Gender in Etruscan society has been viewed by scholars through the lens of heteronormative, monolithic binaries, with men the actors in society and women the passive recipients. This view of Etruscan society is especially evident in the discussion of burial assemblages, where the gender of the tomb occupant is presumed based on interpretations of the burial goods rooted in antiquated ideals of masculinity and femininity. In this paper, I reassess interpretations of three tombs by viewing them through the lenses of gender theory and queer theory. All three tombs contain one item that has generally been considered to be male, thus confusing the identification and interpretation of the tomb occupants: spear tips. By applying gender theory and queer theory to these three tombs, I reinterpret the spear tips not as symbols of masculinity, but rather as symbols of power and aristocracy.

Introduction

Etruscology has frequently been inhibited by the paucity of scientifically recorded burial assemblages and contextual information. Unfortunately, many important Etruscan objects were acquired through either looting or now-illegal means, or were not properly documented upon excavation. This, naturally, has led to scholars viewing certain artifacts as isolated *objets d'art* because there is no known provenance. This practice of analyzing artifacts in a vacuum has had lasting effects in the study of the Etruscans, resulting in the field being slow to contextualize objects by studying them with their burial assemblages. When provenance and contextual information are recorded, scholars still tend to view the artifacts in isolation, leading to misinterpretations of certain artifacts and facets of Etruscan society and culture based on eighteenth century ideals, including the study of Etruscan gender and gendered objects.

Etruscan gender is often viewed through the lens of heteronormative binaries rooted in antiquated ideas of gender roles resulting in grave goods being framed as either masculine or feminine objects. Previous studies by Bridget Sandhoff and Larissa Bonfante pushed back against this narrative by exploring the existence of androgyny in Etruscan art and artifacts.[1] While these studies made headway in deconstructing inflexible binaries, they still defined objects as inherently masculine or feminine. Using the lenses of gender and queer theories, this paper reassesses and reinterprets three Etruscan burials with spear tips, an artifact that is usually designated as masculine and is used to gender entire assemblages. This paper first establishes a theoretical framework based on gender and queer theories before providing a brief review of the study of Etruscan gender. The final discussion applies the framework to three Etruscan burials with spear tips, revealing that the spear tips in these burials were used as symbols of power rather than as gender markers.

Theoretical Framework

The basis of the framework for this paper lies in Judith Butler's notion that gender and sex are both socially constructed.[2] Butler states that the formation of sex identifications in a culture is the product of that culture's gender constructions.[3] Thus, individuals only become sexed in conformity with recognizable gender standards.[4] She adds that gender and sex are a stylized repetition of acts and are how people exhibit themselves in actions and bodily decorations.[5] Moreover, Butler argues that gender is a set of acts that produces the appearance of substance, with the "actors" coming to believe the performance is the essence of the gender itself.[6]

Butler's work is part of a broader set of ideas belonging to queer theory, which has greatly influenced the theoretical framework of this paper. One of the contributions of queer theory to archaeology is its recognition of stigmatized sexual identities as entry points for the production of knowledge of the self.[7] The nature of queer theory is to question categories and methodologies that are "naturalized."[8] Additionally, it holds that what is "normative" is constructed in relation to what is "deviant," and therefore it is the "deviance" that is foundational and not the "normative."[9] One of its applications is to examine identity formation, as it necessitates an understanding of "social positionality," the composite of multiple identities that make up one individual.[10] Queer theory in archaeology can be used to emphasize material culture concerning representation, embodiment, and performativity, stressing that an individual's identity is in a constant process of construction, negotiation, and deconstruction.[11]

Related to queer theory are theories of embodiment, which analyze and reconstruct a person's lived experience by examining traces of body practice, idealized representations, and the effects of habitual gestures, postures, as well as other practices that affect the physical body.[12]

To reconstruct a person's lived experience, it is necessary to examine traces of body practice, idealized representations, and the effects of habitual gestures, postures, and other practices that affect the physical body. Embodiment is not just a singular event, but a process that occurs throughout one's life and leaves traces in the skeletal body through interactions between biological and contextual factors.[13] These theories are especially relevant when interpreting assessments of biological sex in skeletons, as is stated by Joanna R. Sofaer: "people do not see each other as genes but as bodies in the world."[14] This quote implies that people do not perceive a person's biological sex, they instead see their embodied gender. Therefore, while a skeleton may be biologically male, female, or intersex, the deceased did not necessarily embody their lived experience in characteristics of their biological sex.

Additionally, it is essential to recognize that mortuary rituals reinforce ideal social structures.[15] Thus, what is intentionally projected in funeral assemblages are the ideals of a society, and conversely, non "normative" structures or behaviors are not well represented. Funeral assemblages often show how a society wants the deceased to be represented and remembered, not necessarily how the deceased represented themselves.[16] Similarly, clothing and other adornments are seen as integral to maintaining ideal social structures and social identities, especially in a mortuary setting.[17]

In this paper, queer theory and its ability to deconstruct "naturalized" societal arrangements are applied to Etruscan gender and burial assemblages to dismantle preconceived notions held about gender that are based on heteronormative interpretations. The evidence is further viewed through theories of embodiment and the idea that funeral assemblages are idealized representations of the deceased and their society's values and beliefs about them. With the theoretical framework outlined, it is necessary to briefly review a few studies investigating Etruscan gender before applying the theoretical framework to the evidence.

Studies of Etruscan Gender

The gender norms of the Etruscans have been fascinating scholars since antiquity. It is known that women enjoyed relatively equal status in marriage and society, ideas supported by the iconography on sarcophagi and tomb paintings. This is also reinforced by the Etruscan practice of recording their matronymic in addition to their patronymic in funerary inscriptions.[18] Etruscan women could inherit property and businesses, could hold positions of power and authority, such as queen or matriarch of her family, and maintained legal autonomy that continued after marriage.[19] Combined, this evidence reveals that Etruscan women were not simply defined by their gender or domestic roles.

While the study of Etruscan gender has focused mainly on women, recent scholarship has included studies of androgyny in art, such as with the famous Capestrano Warrior, which, while not technically Etruscan, was heavily influenced by Etruscan art.[20] Larissa Bonfante most recently discussed the androgyny of the Capestrano Warrior, noting that the combination of the weapons and the articulation of the pelvis complicated its sex and gender identification.[21] Whether the Capestrano Warrior is male or female has not been conclusively determined, but this proves Bonfante's point: that androgyny exists in Etruscan iconography.[22] In addition to the Capestrano Warrior, Bridget Sandhoff has investigated the depictions of Lasa, an Etruscan winged deity, who appears on Praenestine cistae, in a variety of contexts and can be portrayed as different sexes and genders, an example of which is seen in Figure 1.[23] Like the Capestrano Warrior, Praenestine cistae are not technically Etruscan, as Praeneste was in Latium, but the iconography on these objects points to the probability that they were made for

Etruscans living in Praeneste or brought with the owners from Etruria to Latium.[24] These two examples, and others not listed here, demonstrate that the Etruscans displayed gender ambivalence in their iconography revealing that their concept of gender, at least as is represented in their art, was more multifaceted than a strict binary system.

Grave goods and artifacts have been the main avenue of investigation into Etruscan gender. A study conducted at Pontecagnano declared that typical male items include weapons (swords, sheaths, javelin heads, and spearheads), serpentine *fibulae*, razors, and knives; while female items are spinning equipment, arch *fibulae*, interlocking rings, coiled springs, pins, beads, pendants, and bronze studs.[25] It is generally agreed that Etruscan men also wore jewelry as a marker of wealth,[26] but the presence of jewelry within a tomb usually genders the deceased as a woman. Similarly, when items traditionally assumed to be masculine are present, the deceased is automatically gendered as a man, even if there are also items present that can be gendered as feminine. Additionally, these established identifications of gendered objects do not acknowledge that biological sex differs from gender expression.

The identification of gender in Etruscan funerary contexts has been further complicated by studies of Etruscan symbols of power, which have made headway in deconstructing traditional gender assignments of grave goods. As Gilda Bartolini and Federica Pitzalis note, the eminence of some women is evidenced by the presence of burial items that emanate ideologies of power and royalty, including shields, thrones, chariots, or scepters.[27] The deposition of weaponry, such as helmets, axes, and swords in Etruscan tombs seems to negate the functionality of these items; they no longer represent a warrior's worth but are instead signs of rank and of the continuity of the family group.[28] Thus, weaponry can be symbolic of power rather than inherently indicative of warriorhood or masculinity.

Modern investigations of Etruscan sex and gender usually involve studies of burial

Figure 1: Praenestine cista handle depicting two Lasas of different sexes. Sandhoff 2009, 101 (Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, inv. no. 13135).

assemblages through grave goods, although osteological analysis is now being used more often. Investigations into iconography have revealed the presence of androgyny and gender ambiguity in art, but they are not often applied to Etruscan gender construction and most scholars still refer only to normative gender categories that do not include non-binary gender expression. Thus, the study of Etruscan gender has traditionally relied on antiquated views of gender roles, frequently disregarding evidence that contradicts these long-held assignations. With this in mind, the next section will investigate three tombs that each contain spear tips, an item almost always perceived as masculine.

Examination of the Data

The Vignanello necropolis, which is just a few miles southeast of the modern city of Viterbo in central Italy, lies on a hill on the grounds of the Ruspoli estate.[29] In 1916, Bartolomeo Nogara excavated three tombs in this necropolis and identified several other structures. Of particular interest for this paper is Tomb III, dating to the fourth to third century BCE, and its accompanying grave goods.

Tomb III is oriented from east to west, which Nogara notes is unusual, and opens onto the vault of Tomb II .[30] The dromos is 6 m long, at the end of which was a parallelepiped tufa block that covered the entrance into the tomb chamber.[31] When they opened the latter, Nogara and his team found three steps carved out of tufa attached to the entrance wall that led into a single-chambered tomb measuring 4.35 m deep and constructed with "simple" vaulting.[32] Pressed against the wall to the right of the entrance was a funeral bench made out of tufa, measuring roughly 1.5 x 1.5 m and cut at an oblique angle at the front. On the bench sat the remains of two skeletons.[33] The tomb contained a series of niches cut into the tufa. There were six in the wall to the right of the entrance, another under the funeral bench, nine on the back wall, seven on the wall to the left of the entrance, and seven on the entrance wall.[34] These niches contained hundreds of grave goods; for the sake of brevity, only a small number of the ones which are most representative of the larger assemblage will be described.

On the right wall, the second niche from the top contained a semi-intact round shield decorated with copper foil, a central boss, and concentric zones of decoration of vertical dashes (or rosettes) radiating outward from the center.[35] The inside of the shield contained traces of wood in a wicker pattern.[36] Due to its copper foil and ornate decoration, Nogara posits that it was purely

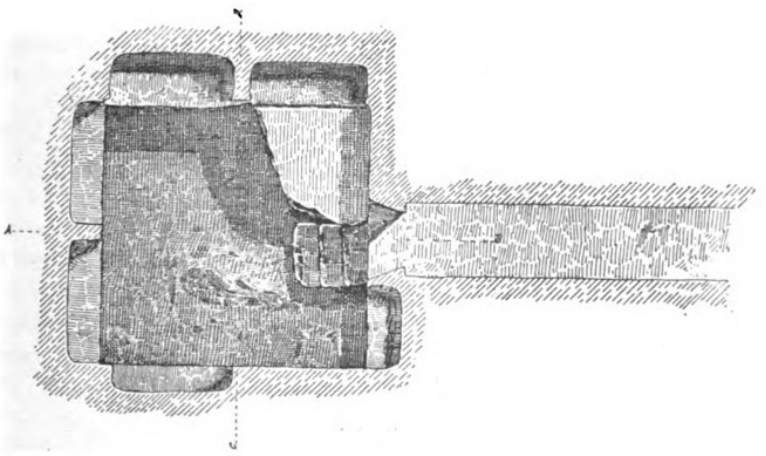

Figure 2: Plan of Tomb III, Vignanello Necropolis. Nogara 1916, 63.

decorative and intended for deposition in the tomb rather than use in battle.[37] Another item found in a niche in the wall to the right of the funeral bench is a tile inscribed with the word *Velmineo*, which Nogara identifies as the family name of the tomb owners and as having a Faliscan origin.[38] The niches also contained numerous vessels in bronze, silver, and clay, bronze statuettes, rings and earrings of various metals, and many other items.

Apart from the two skeletons, the funeral bench itself contained many "grouped" grave goods.[39] It is unclear exactly how these items were "grouped" or where exactly they were placed in relation to the skeletons; all Nogara notes is that they were found together on the funeral bench. These items were: six bronze mirrors, two small lebetes of copper foil, two olpai of copper foil, two intact bronze strigils and a fragment of a third, a cup with an umbilicus, two bronze candelabra, two bronze ladles, a terracotta strigil, an alabastron, five terracotta plates, nine black terracotta cups, a clay lamp, a fragment of an iron sword (310 mm long), an iron spear tip, and two other iron spears.[40] Based on his findings, Nogara concludes that the funeral bench held a married couple surrounded by both feminine and masculine grave goods.[41]

Nogara mostly lists the grave's goods, providing few interpretations except to identify the jewelry as belonging to a woman and the weapons as belonging to a man despite a lack of osteoarchaeological analysis.[42] This type of double burial, Bettina Arnold states, often leads to stereotypical identification of a husband and wife, where the male skeleton represents the primary internment and the female is often relegated to an accompanying object.[43] Nogara has done exactly as Arnold describes by inferring the deceased's gender from the grave goods. Since this excavation was undertaken in the 1910s, it is not surprising that there was no bone analysis or alternative interpretation of the grave goods and that Nogara frequently conflated sex and gender. Without the skeletal evidence, neither individuals' biological sex can be retroactively determined by scholars, but this lack does allow for analysis of the multiple ways individuals and objects might intersect to reflect Etruscan gender identity without the perceived certainty that comes with the presence of sexed skeletons. Nogara assumed that the weapons belonged to a man and the jewelry and other adornment items to a woman. As stated above, jewelry could be worn by all genders in Etruscan society as it was a sign of wealth,[44] so even if one of the skeletons was a woman the jewelry may not have belonged to her. It is just as possible that both could be men, both could be women, or one or both could be non-binary or genderfluid.

What can be determined from the evidence is that the two skeletons were placed next to each other on the funeral bench. Although it is not exactly clear from his description, Nogara gives the impression that the grave goods were piled on top of, or between, the two bodies. If certain items were clearly associated with a specific skeleton, Nogara most likely would have indicated it. Additionally, Nogara states that the tomb was intact and undisturbed from antiquity, without any overt signs that it had been opened since its construction.[45] The spear tip and two spears, along with the other grave goods, were possibly intended for both skeletons. Because spears are often gendered as masculine items and are frequently interpreted as indicative of a male warrior burial, Nogara assumed the spear tips were associated with a male warrior. Throughout his article, however, Nogara specifically states that the weaponry, such as the shield, seems to be for decorative purposes and was not meant to be used as actual weaponry. Although this was posited in 1916, current scholarship confirms that weaponry in aristocratic Etruscan tombs was often meant to convey ideologies of power and royalty rather than gender roles.[46] The spears were most likely also symbolic, and their placement with both skeletons

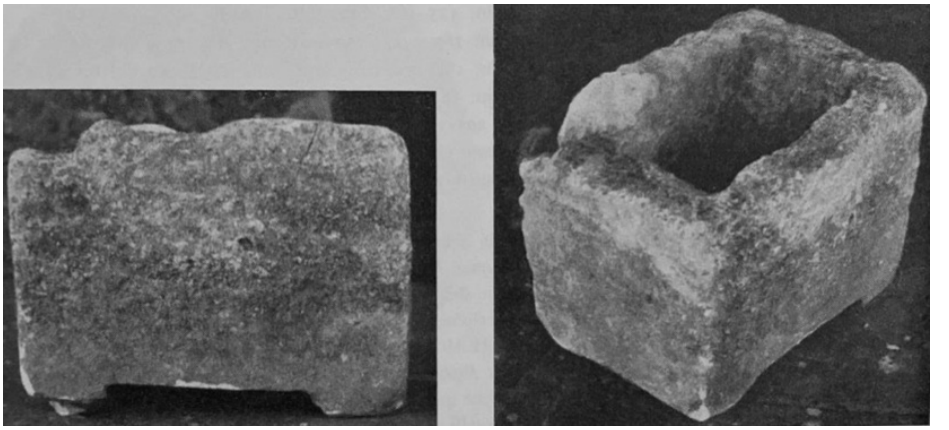

Figure 3: Cinerary urn from the cremation burial in Necropolis 1, Papena. Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, s. VIII, vol. 21 fig. 2 p. 25.

suggests that they were emblems of power rather than of masculinity or warriorhood. Therefore, while it is not possible to accurately determine the specific sex or gender of the skeletons, it can be inferred from the ambiguous placement of the grave goods and the inclusion of symbolic weaponry that it was their elite status, and not their gender, that society deemed most important about these two individuals upon their death.

The second burial with spear tips is a cremation burial found in Necropolis 1 in the plain of Papena, outside of Siena, dated to the second half of the second century BCE. This cremation burial was officially excavated by K. Philips in 1964, however, it had previously been uncovered by locals in the 1930s.[47] Most of the burial's contents had been removed and brought to the Fattoria di Frosini, where the Count of Spalletti-Trivelli's family kept possession of the items until Philips was granted permission to study them.[48] The cinerary urn, made of "fetid stone" (*pietra fetida*), was found without a lid, along with a bronze mirror, clay vessels, and an iron spear tip.[49] Upon excavation of the original site, a second spear tip was discovered, as well as numerous ceramic plates, bowls, kantharoi, two-handled cups, and jars.[50] The cinerary urn, seen in Figure 3, is of a type typically found in Etruria between the third to first centuries BCE and is described by Philips as "modest."[51] The locals who originally found the urn said the mirror and the first spear tip were inside the urn when they found it, while the ceramics were grouped around and under the urn.[52] The larger spear tip, seen on the left in Figure 4, is conical in shape, measuring 27.3 cm long, and at its greatest point, 3 cm wide.[53] The second spear tip, seen on the right in Figure 4, is approximately 19.3 cm long, with a maximum thickness is 1 cm; Philips identifies this as a fragment of the central part of a spear tip that was probably also originally conical.[54]

Unlike the previous example, Philips does not attempt to assign gender to any of the items or the burial itself, and the topic is conspicuously absent from discussions of the burial. Indeed, only three item types found in the burial are traditionally gendered in past scholarship: the two spear tips and the bronze mirror. Just as spear tips are habitually considered to be masculine objects, Etruscan bronze mirrors have long been considered a feminine grave good.[55] While this gender assignation is just as debatable as that for spear tips, a scholar in the 1960s would probably not have viewed it as such. Why then did Philips not

attempt to gender the burial? The answer is almost certainly because the only two grave goods with gendered connotations are associated with different genders. For Philips, the spear tips were masculine, the mirror was feminine, the ceramics could be for any gender, so what could be the gender of the deceased? When gender is viewed as a binary, as Philips was likely viewing it, interpretations of gender are limited and narrow, disallowing the possibility that gender was not static. The probability that the grave goods indicated something other than gender was also ignored.

Similar to the previous example, the spear tips do not seem to be emblematic of gender, but instead, display status and power. The mirror and the large number of ceramics would also have functioned as status symbols, as they were not readily available to all strata of Etruscan society. Osteological analysis is not possible as the ashes and bone fragments did not survive, but the embodied gender can be postulated from the grave goods. If Etruscan mirrors are as closely associated with Etruscan women as most scholars agree that they are, then this may be a burial of a local elite woman, with the inclusion of the spear tips emphasizing her status rather than her gender. However, not all scholars agree that Etruscan mirrors are strictly a woman's item.[56] Etruscan mirrors have received the same treatment as spear tips in scholarship with many scholars relying on antiquated gender stereotypes to assume the gender of the deceased. Thus, the gender identity of the Papena cremation is ambiguous, further indicating that the spear tip is meant to portray status and power, not gender.

The final burial I will investigate, though it is the most recently excavated, lacks the most evidence as no official archaeological site report or article has been published yet. In 2013, an intact burial dated to the late seventh, early sixth century BCE. was discovered at the Doganaccia Necropolis at Tarquinia by Alessandro Mandolesi and his team[57]. This tomb was widely reported in popular media[58]. Two funeral benches were found inside the small, single chamber rock-cut tomb, one on the left which held a skeleton and one on the right which held cremated remains[59]. The inhumation burial included a spear, a *fibulae*, and a pyxis containing jewelry which [60]. The grave goods associated with the cremation burial were not reported in the news, but photos show that a vessel, perhaps an oinochoe, was placed on top of the remains. Other grave goods included[61]. an intact Corinthian vessel, and other vessels and plates (perhaps olpai and oinochoai).

Because of the accompanying spear and other bronze objects, the inhumation burial was almost immediately identified in the media as that of a royal male warrior.[62] The cremation burial, on the other hand, was reported to be female. It is unclear where the statements about the inhumation being a royal

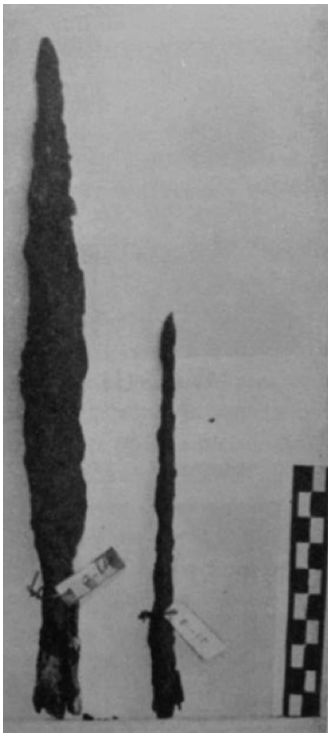

Figure 4: Two iron spear tips from the cremation burial in Necropolis 1, Papena. Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, s. VIII, vol. 21 fig. 9 p. 38.

male originated, as Mandolesi only stated to the news that the burial was that of an upper-class individual.[63] Nevertheless, soon after the initial media report, osteoarcheological analysis revealed that the inhumation burial was a female and the cremation burial was a male.[64] It is unknown what type of osteoarcheological analysis was conducted, as no physical anthropologist was present during excavation and no scientific study of the remains has been released.[65] Once this new "evidence" was reported in the media, however, Mandolesi released a statement and a new interpretation of the burials. He stated that it is not usual to find women with spears in burial assemblages, which is why they originally thought the inhumation was a male.[66] He further stated that the skeletal analysis of the inhumation burial and male cremation burial makes it likely the spear was placed in the tomb as a "symbol of union between the two deceased."[67]

As Lucy Shipley notes, this tomb and the ensuing media and misidentification of the inhumation burial reveal the androcentrism deeply embedded in Etruscan archaeology.[68] The first interpretation, that the inhumation burial was a male warrior, overrode any other possible gender identifications solely based on the presence of a spear. The second interpretation is even more troubling: even though the skeleton was identified as female, Mandolesi was reluctant to attribute possession of the spear to that body, implying that it belonged to the cremated male who gave his wife the spear as a symbol of their union. This interpretation falls into the same androcentric trap that Arnold described when two bodies of different sexes are found in the same tomb. The male is assumed to be the primary internment, and the female is relegated to the status of another grave good.[69]

The spear was placed with the female body within the Doganaccia tomb, so it can be assumed that it belonged to that person. Since both biological sex and gender can be socially constructed, the classification of the individual's sex as female does not necessarily mean that they would have identified as such. As previously mentioned, Bartolini and Pitzalis have argued that weapons are often meant as symbols of power in elite Etruscan tombs rather than indicating warriorhood or marriage. Without the full excavation report and inventory of all the grave goods, a limited interpretation of this tomb could be that the female skeleton was a local elite who held a position of power or influence. While the skeleton is female, an Etruscan may have seen the deceased primarily as an elite; an elite who may not have embodied their gender in a traditional way due to their position of power. Additionally, if the gender of the deceased was also female, this tomb could represent a woman who was born into a higher status family than the accompanying male skeleton and subsequently held a higher position in Tarquinian society than the male. This theory is supported by the female being buried with precious metals and a pyxis full of jewelry, while the photos reveal no indication of bronze or other metals with the male skeleton. However, without more information, these interpretations are not secure, although they do show that interpretations informed by gender and queer theory rather than antiquated androcentrism are viable.

Conclusion

Gender in Etruscan society has long been assumed to be binary and aligned with perceived sex. These ideas crystallized centuries ago, and Etruscan archaeology has not yet rid itself of them, even when presented with ample evidence to the contrary. These biases are most apparent in the interpretation of burials, especially when weapons are present. In this paper, three case studies were introduced where spear tips were among the grave goods, leading to misinterpretations or confusion about how to gender the deceased. By applying a theoretical framework heavily influenced by gender and queer theory, the

spear tips can be interpreted not as symbols of masculinity, but rather as symbols of power and aristocracy. Thus, previous gender identifications of burial assemblages should not be taken at face value, and there is a need in Etruscan archaeology for a reinterpretation of gender identities that were in the past assumed, rather than informed. Until this is done, interpretations of Etruscan society will continue to reflect ideas established in the eighteenth century.

Endnotes:

1 Sandhoff 2009; Bonfante 2009.
2 Butler 1990, 22.
3 Butler 1990, 22
4 Butler 1990, 22.
5 Butler 1990, 94.
6 Butler 1990, 94.
7 Voss 2000, 184.
8 Blackmore 2011, 78.
9 Blackmore 2011, 78.
10 Blackmore 2011, 77.
11 Blackmore 2011, 79.
12 Hollimon 2017, 53.
13 Hollimon 2017, 53.
14 Sofaer 2006, 92.
15 Morris 1987.
16 Arnold 2006, 137.
17 Cougle 2009, 57.
18 Bonfante Warren 1973, 245; Bartolini and Pitzalis 2016a, 810–811.
19 Bartolini and Pitzalis 2016a, 810–811.
20 Bonfante 2009.
21 Bonfante 2009.
22 Sandhoff 2009; Bonfante 2009.
23 Sandhoff 2009, 97–108.
24 Sandhoff 2009, 97–98.
25 Whitehouse 2001, 86; Bartolini and Pitzalis 2016b, 821.
26 Bonfante 1978, 20.
27 Bartolini and Pitzalis 2016b, 824.
28 Bartolini and Pitzalis 2016b, 824–825; Nielsen 2002, 178–179.
29 Nogara 1916, 37.
30 Nogara 1916, 63.
31 Nogara 1916, 63.
32 Nogara 1916, 63.
33 Nogara 1916 63–64
34 Nogara 1916, 63.
35 Nogara 1916, 63.
36 Nogara 1916, 63.
37 Nogara 1916, 65–78
38 Nogara 1916, 65.
39 Nogara 1916, 79.
40 Nogara 1916, 79–81.
41 Nogara 1916, 81.
42 Nogara 1916 65, 75.
43 Arnold 2006, 146.
44 Bonfante 1978, 20.
45 Nogara 1916, 63.
46 Bartolini and Pitzalis 2016b, 824.
47 Philips 1967, 23.
48 Philips 1967, 23.
49 Philips 1967, 23.
50 Philips 1967, 35–38.
51 Philips 1967, 24–25.
52 Philips 1967, 23.
53 Philips 1967, 38.
54 Philips 1967, 38.
55 De Grummond 1982.
56 See Izzet 1998.

57 Shipley 2015, 472.
58 Ghose 2013a, 18 October; Ghose 2013b, 20 October.
59 Shipley 2015, 472.
60 Shipley 2015, 472.
61 Shipley 2015, 473.
62 Shipley 2015, 473.
63 Shipley 2015, 473.
64 Shipley 2015, 474.
65 Becker 2016, 183.
66 Shipley 2015, 474.
67 Ghose 2013a, 18 October; Ghose 2013b, 20 October.
68 Shipley 2015, 474–475.
69 Arnold 2006, 146.

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