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# Contents

# Manners make the man. Challenging a persistent stereotype in the study of Italian Iron Age graves

by Cecilie Brøns

*Abstract.* The present article aims to investigate how and to what extent we can use archaeological artifacts as indicators of aspects of the identity of the deceased, in this case biological sex. Are there any reasons to assume that typical male and female objects exist which are so characteristic that a sex determination of the deceased can be based upon their presence alone? This question is sought answered through a juxtaposition of grave goods and physical anthropological examinations of the skeletons. The investigation will show that atypical burials exist, e.g. women who are buried with "male grave goods" such as weapons or razors, or men who are buried with "female grave goods" such as textile tools. These atypical burials are of great interest since they illustrate that the traditional binary pattern consisting of two separate genders do not fit all Italian Iron Age societies. Even though these atypical burials are very few, they indicate that women could obtain different forms of political, financial or social power in society. It also shows that both men and women could fill certain roles within society, e.g. the role as guarantor of the continuity of the lineage. This could also be the case for textile work, since a few male burials contain e.g. spindle whorls. The investigation thus shows that the integration of archaeological and physical anthropological information provides a far more detailed and sophisticated interpretation of the material from the graves.

*Introduction*

A systematic use of anthropological examinations of skeletal material from archaeological excavations of cemeteries can seem imperative. This is, however, far from the case in the research tradition for the study of the prehistoric periods. Anthropological examinations of skeletal material have only become an increasingly established part of archaeological investigations in the last 20 to 30 years.[1] The potential of anthropological examinations as a means to answer several archaeological questions has thus long been overlooked. Instead, focus has been on the artifacts present in the graves. Until recently, the majority of excavation reports have exclusively used archaeological artifacts to determine different aspects of identities such as the sex of the deceased. In cases in which the skeletal examinations have provided results which are inconsistent with the findings indicated by the grave goods, the former are almost always disregarded.[2] H. Duday writes with good reason: "One often has the unfortunate impression that the deceased had been placed as an offering to a ceramic vessel, rather than the other way around."[3]

Many researchers within the field of the Italian Iron Age seem to determine the sex of the deceased in the graves on the grounds of traditional assumptions of what is male and what is female.[4] Men are identified as warriors, while women are identified as spinners and weavers. Thus, archaeologists have usually examined the grave goods, through which they determine the sex of the individual in the grave, without considering the anthropological material.[5]

Yet, this method is questionable, since arguments for different male and female artifacts are not as reliable as many state.[6] Furthermore, the method is without a solid theoretical basis, since cultural variations in the attribution of cultural gender identity to biologically determined sexes do occur.

My aim is therefore to present a comparative analysis of skeletal material and grave goods from burials from different Italian Iron Age sites, in which the anthropological determinations will be given greater emphasis.[7] Hopefully, the material will thus generate new information about Iron Age communities in Italy. Furthermore, this will show how and to what extent we can use archaeological artifacts as indicators of aspects of the identity of the deceased, in this case biological sex. And not least if there are any reasons to assume that typical male and female objects exist which are so characteristic that a sex determination of the deceased can be based upon their presence alone.[8]

This study will also reveal potential atypical burials, e.g. women who are buried with "male grave goods" and vice versa. In this context, I will discuss different models for explaining these atypical burials, and how they affect our understanding of the pattern of sex and gender roles in early communities in Italy. A secondary aim of this paper is thus to review the evidence for the existence of alternative female identities, and to investigate the social roles of women in Iron Age Italy.

*Identity and mortuary ritual*

A short note on the relation between burials and identity is necessary, since this relationship is not straightforward. Burials are often wieved as reflections of the "social personae" of the dead, a term introduced by Binford, which covers a composite of the social identities maintained by the deceased in life and by the burying group (e.g. the relatives of the deceased) recognised as appropriate in death.[9] The main dimensions of the "social persona", which are considered recognisable in mortuary practices, are age, sex, social position, social affiliation and conditions and location of death.[10] Similarly, Saxe and Tainter argued that mortuary practice was a system of of communication through which information about a deceased person was signalled to the living.[11]

However, there are certain precautions that archaeologists must take in drawing connections between how an individual was buried, and how he or she actually lived, since the burials do not reflect this in a straightforward way.[12] Hence, already in the 1980s, the theories by Biford, Saxe and Tainter were criticised for ignoring that funerary ritual is a form of representation, and thus not passively mirroring identity.[13] This is accentuated by Parker Pearson, according to whom, the funerary ritual is often concerned with idealised roles and relations that may refer more to the imagined past than the experienced present.[14] Thus, burials may or may not coincide with the social roles and identity of the deceased, and it is possible that specific aspects of identities and values were selected, while others could be left out.

According to Thomas, funerary ritual represents a situation in which the body can be manipulated within a bounded analytic space, and death provides an occasion in which a socially sanctioned version of personhood is brought into being. Thus, the dead body may be presented in an idealised manner, as an image of the 'correct' appearance for a person of a particular age, sex and status.[15] With regard to the representation of gender roles in the mortuary record, we also need to take into consideration that a burial is a 'fixed image' which does not reflect the temporal and and dynamic characteristics of gender arrangements.[16]

This does not mean that burial material is unimportant in deducing information on social organization and identity in past societies. On the contrary, according to Clayton, "it is entirely possible to access actual social relations as well as ideological dispositions archaeologically, acknowledging that distinct areas of the human experience

may be emphasized or muted in funerary contexts."[17] Studying mortuary remains are therefore far from worthless, as long as the caveats described above are kept in mind. We cannot provide a complete reconstruction of a past society from burial evidence alone, but it can provide us with valuable knowledge, which would have been impossible to obtain without the mortuary record.

*Biological sex and cultural gender roles*

According to Western medical studies, it is evident that gender role and orientation as male or female is independent of chromosomal sex, but instead in close conformity with assigned sex and rearing.[18] In light of their evidence, it is not possible to attribute psychological maleness or femaleness to chromosomal, gonadal or hormonal origins, nor to morphological sex differences of either the internal accessory reproductive organs or the external genitalia.[19] However, in many European studies, sex and gender are often fused together into one single category. But as shown, the two can be considered separate concepts since sex traditionally is identified as biological and therefore static and measurable by scientific standards, while gender is perceived as cultural as suggested by e.g. Hays-Gilpin, who considers gender as inscribed on sexual difference through cultural practices and visual cues.[20] Yet, sex and gender are not completely independent entities, but it is not clear how and to what extent they relate to each other. But as stressed by Stig Sørensen, the ability to consider gender without sex is an important option in archaeology. Furthermore, gender, despite its association with sex, is embodied in a different way.[21] However, the maintenance of a separation of sex and gender is generally agreed upon due to the fact that men and women are biological different and societies react to those differently.[22] Therefore, I employ a distinction between the two. I use the terms (biological) sex and gender roles, as introduced by Money, Hampson & Hampson for thus to clarify that the anthropological determinations illustrate sex, not gender. I am aware that the use of a two-sex model is not without pitfalls since it will leave out e.g. intersexed individuals[23] who represent 2 per cent of all live births.[24] Yet, since the investigation is based on examinations already carried out by anthropologists, whom only employed a binary categorization of male and female biological sex, the study will be focused on the two. Furthermore, it is still to be proven if intersexuality can actually be discerned from archaeological skeletal remains.

*The graves*

The study includes 518 graves with grave goods and preserved skeletal material, which have been examined by physical anthropologists. According to these examinations, the graves consist of 176 males, 145 females, 52 of unknown sex, 108 child graves and 37 graves containing more than one individual.

The geographical area encompasses Central and Southern Italy (Fig. 1). The Etruscan sites included are Sesto Fioretino[25] and Veii Quattro Fontanili.[26] In Latium: Ardea[27], Forum Romanum (Caesar's forum area B and the area in front of the temple for Antoninus Pius and Faustina),[28] Tivoli[29] and Osteria dell'Osa.[30] In Campania: Pontecagnano[31] and Sala Consilina.[32] In Abruzzo: Alfedena[33] and Fossa.[34] In Calabria: Torre Galli.[35] In Basilicata: Incoronata.[36]

*Anthropological determinations of biological sex*

My point of departure for the present investigation is the anthropological determinations of the skeletal remains. I am, however, aware of the limitations of these methods, and that the physical anthropological methods are reliable only to a certain extent.[37] It should also be noted that the accuracy of the sex determination is highly dependent on the state of preservation of the skeleton, and it is, of course, preferable if the entire skeleton can be examined.[38] Anthropological sex determination of skeletons belonging to young children is very problematic, and they are therefore not considered here.[39]


Fig. 1. Map of Italy with the treated sites indicated. 1) Sesto Fiorentino, 2) Veii, 3) Tivoli, 4) Osteria dell'Osa, 5) Rome, 6) Ardea, 7) Pontecagnano, 8) Sala Consilina, 9) Fossa, 10) Alfedena, 11) Incoronata, 12) Torre Galli.

*Sex determinations of the skeleton*

Like other mammals, humans show sexual dimorphism. This means that the male has a larger body, and the male skeleton differs in other ways from that of the female.[40] Thus, as a rule, male and female skeletons are sufficiently different to make it possible to determine the sex. Especially skull and pelvis are good sex indicators, and a determination can be based on a visual examination of the bones. The skull is useful, since it has several traits which contain information about the sex of the individual.[41] According to K. Brown, the skull can indicate the sex of the deceased with an accuracy of 85-90%, according to S. Mays with an accuracy of 92%.[42] The pelvis also illustrates a high degree of sexual dimorphism.[43] If an intact pelvis is present in the grave, a sex determination can be made with a certainty of 95-96%.[44] Most methods concerned with sex determination of the skeleton are therefore based on these two

elements.[45] However, sexual dimorph traits are not static throughout life. For instance, loss of teeth at an advanced age gives the jaw a more gracile or feminine appearance. Vice versa, female skulls can acquire more masculine traits at an advanced age.[46]

Other traits of the skeleton can also be used for sex determination, for instance, the robustness or gracility of the long bones (e.g. the femur), the size of the feet and the marks of muscle attachments on bones. Although these methods are not as reliable, the accuracy is still around 80-90%. According to K. Brown,[47] men form more muscular tissue and bone tissue than women, which means that a grown man will have a larger muscle mass than a grown woman. Robust bones can therefore be an indication of a male.[48] Furthermore, anthropometry or osteometry is often used for sex determinations, since the size of the bones is often different for men and women. The measurements of the skeletal elements (e.g. pelvis and skull) can therefore illustrate the differences between male and female individuals, which is especially useful regarding fragmented skeletons.[49] Thus, sex determination is not dependent on a complete skeleton.

Regarding cremated bones, analysis is often a troublesome affair, since cremated bones found in archaeological contexts are often very fragmented.[50] The methods for sex determination are the same for cremated as for non-cremated bones.[51] The use of these determination methods is, however, often limited, since the bones are not only fragmented and have shrunk, but are also deformed. Yet, some characteristics survive the cremation process.[52] Therefore, sex determination of cremated human remains is possible if fragments of the diagnostic bones are preserved. Sex determination is, however, more problematic in case of cremated bones, and it can usually only be determined in a fairly modest proportion of burials.[53]

*The results: archaeological indicators of biological sex*

I have illustrated the degree of uncertainty of the sex determinations with one to three question marks, grading the uncertainty as probable (?), possible (??) or potential (???).

*Male spinners and weavers*

Tools for spinning and weaving have long been perceived as one of the safest markers in graves for determining the sex of the individual. Most researchers of cemeteries in Italy have used spindles, spindle whorls, spools and loom weights as clear indicators of a female deceased.[54] None of the investigated male graves in this study contains loom weights, which is interesting in view of the above. This may, however, be explained by the fact that loom weights by far are more common at sites in the Ionian-Adriatic area, such as Incoronata.[55]

Only two of the examined sites have revealed skeletons identified as men by anthropological analyses, but still the graves contain textile tools among the grave goods.[56] One of the sites is Osteria dell'Osa, where grave 317 contains a spindle whorl, and almost certainly belongs to a young man of about 13 years of age.[57]

The other site is Pontecagnano, where there are eleven such graves. Grave 6125 is ascribed as probably belonging to a man (?) and contains a spindle and a spindle whorl. Graves 671, 897, 164, 166, 2033, 2034 and 2070 all possibly belong to males (??), and each includes a spindle whorl. Grave 174 also possibly belongs to a male (??) and contains two spindle whorls and a spindle. Graves 6114 and 3892, on the other hand, are more uncertain since the skeletons are only potentially male (???). These graves have been disregarded due to their unreliability.

To conclude, nine graves in Pontecagnano, of which only one probably (?) and eight possibly (??) belong to males, contain grave goods traditionally assigned as female, such as spindles and spindle whorls. Among the 518 graves treated in this study, there are thus ten male graves which, according to conventional studies, differ from the general notion of male and female objects.

*Female warriors*

Among the female graves, a few stand out because they contain weapons, which are traditionally perceived as male grave gifts.[58] In Veii, there are two such graves,[59] in which the skeletons are identified as women (?). Grave GG14-15 contains a spear. Grave AA 5-6, on the other hand, contains bronze rings, a spiral, two pearls, an iron ferrule and a spindle whorl, which traditionally all have been perceived as typical "female" items with the exception of the ferrule.[60] The preserved length of the ferrule is 8.5 cm, which is much shorter than other ferrules recovered from the necropolis. Furthermore, it is in iron, not bronze, like most other ferrules from the period. It is thus possible that this specimen served another purpose than as a ferrule for a lance.

In Pontecagnano, two atypical graves have been identified. They are both identified as possibly belonging to females (??). Grave 889 contains a sword, a spearhead and a razor. Grave 4856 contains a spear and a knife. Both graves, judging from the grave goods, appear to belong to men, but may, as mentioned, be ascribed to women by means of anthropological analyses. Furthermore, there are two examples of women being buried with impasto helmets from Pontecagnano. One is grave 215, where the impasto helmet is the only grave gift, while grave 6108 probably belongs to a woman (?), and contains a razor, and is deposited in an urn with a fragmented lid in the form of an impasto helmet.[61]

In Fossa, one grave differs from the traditional pattern. Grave 19 probably belongs to a woman (?), but contains a sword, a spear, a ferrule, a knife and a razor.

In Incoronata, there are two female graves, in which the grave goods differ from the typical female gifts. Grave 454 contains a fibula serpeggiante, a sword, a spear, a ferrule, a razor and two staffs. Grave 219 contains a spear. Thus, the three latter graves contain weapons even though they most probably belong to women.[62]

The content of these graves shows that the use of archaeological objects as indicators of biological sex hence not is as straightforward as is often believed. With regard to several of the objects treated, the picture is ambiguous. Weapons are generally deposited in male graves. However, there are exceptions for almost all the types of weapons, which have all been found in a few female graves. Regarding the textile tools, the analysis shows that they generally seem to live up to the traditional notion of being female grave goods. Yet, a few exceptions to this pattern exist, since a few males received spindles, spindle whorls or spools as grave gifts. But the situation is also ambiguous when it comes to textile tools. If the individual objects are studied, mainly the spindle whorls seem usable as indicators of biological sex. It is, however, only in Etruria and in Sala Consilina that the spindle whorls are found solely with females. Nor is pottery usable as an indicator, since most vase shapes occur in both male and female graves.

This study has, however, shown that a clear separation of the grave goods exists on all investigated sites. Weapons, with the exception of ferrules, are almost never found with textile tools. Razors are not found with textile tools either. Thus, it appears that the same customs with which grave goods could be associated in the graves were respected on the sites in question. This division between weapons/razors and textile tools has contributed to the traditional use of these artifact groups as indicators of biological sex. Yet, considering the anthropological material, this view appears to be narrow-minded. The deposition of grave goods shows a tendency towards a certain pattern in the graves. This is not to say that all members of the society were buried according to this pattern, since a few graves appear in which the traditional pattern of male/female gifts is not followed. It is also important to note that regional differences exist with regard to the relation between certain artefacts and biological sex. Thus, on some sites, certain artifacts can indeed be used as indicators of sex, but this must not be mistaken for a general rule. This may imply that there were major cultural

differences between communities and regions in terms of representations of sex and gender in the graves.[63]

*Traditional explanations for atypical graves*

The atypical graves have been explained in different ways. In cases where the anthropological determinations do not match the findings indicated by the grave goods, the anthropological results have, as mentioned above, often been considered erroneous. Others have explained the results as mistakes made during registration and/or excavation. The number of graves which do not fit the traditional pattern of male and female grave goods is, however, too considerable to be explained simply as mistakes in registration or during excavation. The question is therefore whether these graves constitute a significant pattern, or whether they are an insignificant anomaly.[64] Most scholars appear to believe the latter and tend to treat the objects occurring in contexts that do not fit the stereotypes as irregularities instead of as expressions of the deceased's identity and role in society.[65]

The abovementioned spindle whorls found in male graves are, hence, often interpreted as an offering from a mourning wife to her deceased husband, while the idea of a man being buried with textile tools appears unthinkable.[66] Interestingly, the same suggestion has not been put forward in instances of weapons or razors in female tombs. Others have tried to deal with these atypical graves by giving the objects a new meaning. A spindle whorl in a male grave becomes an indication of ownership of a textile production, a sort of personal adornment or given an unknown function in the funeral ritual.[67] However, these alternative interpretations are unsubstantiated, since there are no indications that the objects have a different significance or use in cases in which the sex is different from that expected.

Graves with both male and female grave goods are often interpreted as double graves or, alternatively, the view is that the grave was reopened for a later burial.[68] The anthropological results do, however, not seem to support this explanation. Of course, it is possible that the graves without preserved skeletal material could contain more than one individual.

In conclusion, there seems to be a general tendency among scholars to follow the traditional interpretations regarding grave goods as indicators of sex, and to leave out graves which do not fit this pattern.

I am of the opinion that these atypical graves hold a different significance. One of the main problems with the method of determining sex through textile tools and weapons is, as proved above, the underlying unconscious prejudices about gender roles, since they might vary in different societies and contexts. A good place to begin an investigation of such variations is therefore the atypical graves, which contradict or ignore the "norms" by having unusual grave goods. Such burials of individuals who contradict the norm of their sex can be indicators of a system that includes more than two gender roles, that is, that the gender ideology of the society in question is polymorphous, rather than dimorphous. This is maybe not an unthinkable scenario, since we know of such alternative gender arrangements from other cultures. For example, in the Americas there is evidence of so-called "two-spirits", socially accepted individuals whose gender did not accord with their sex, and among the Maya there is evidence of a third gender category distinguished by social, religious, occupational or sexual identity.[69] This is also the case among the Aztec who, in regard to children, distinguished between three approved genders (potentially reproductive male, potentially reproductive female and celibate).[70] But perhaps the atypical burials merely demonstrate the variability of the sex-gender arrangements.

*Gender stereotypes*

As shown, the analysis of graves with respect to the identification of sex by means of grave goods involves unconscious assumptions

and prejudices. Many of these unconscious assumptions influence our interpretations, such as the association of women with private, domestic and natural matters, and the definition of women by their reproductive characteristics. Men, on the other hand, are associated with their social role. These assumptions influence the perception of certain activities as being more important than others.[71] This is obvious in research involving both the Iron Age and the later periods in Italy, where the pattern of sex and gender roles is understood in a very binary way. A case in point is the Etruscan town of Roselle. Here, three loom weights were found, each with an inscription. Two indicate a female name while the third carries a male name. The first two have been interpreted as women who worked at the loom, while the third has been interpreted as the owner of the workshop.[72]

Especially the study of prehistoric Italy is dominated by gender assumptions, which have caused rigid perceptions of gender roles. This is reflected in the perception of the male role as that of the warrior, while the female role was to give birth to and raise future warriors. So, all women were destined for marriage, and the role as wife was the most important.[73] For women the only role beside the one as wife and mother was the role as textile worker. The working of wool is seen as a female symbol, just as weapons are viewed as male symbols.[74] Weaving equipment is, therefore, referred to as the female counterpart to weapons in male graves.[75]

In mortuary studies, the gravest methodological problem with regard to these assumptions is the attribution of biological sex based on associated grave goods and dress.[76] If assumptions and prejudices like the above are maintained, contemporary stereotypes are reinforced, which means that potential alternative gender categories are disregarded.

This distinction between the typical male and the typical female is also ethnocentric as it reflects sexual stereotypes which are still visible in present day Italy.[77] The approach to sex determination in an archaeological context consequently reflects a bias in our own society. Weapons and arms become an indication of a male grave, while jewellery and textile tools become an indication of a female grave. These determinations are based on the assumption that social stereotypes were just as widespread then as today.[78] M. Markantonatos, on the other hand, holds the opinion that it is symptomatic of the Iron Age that gender roles were more flexible than in later periods.[79] It has also been argued that graves with "mixed" grave goods could mean that strict gender roles had been subverted or undermined and redefined.[80]

The distinctions are, however, ethnocentric because this divide uses the pattern of gender roles of ancient Greece to explain differences in gender roles in a non-Greek culture.[81] This is problematic, since we cannot assume that men and women behaved in a similar manner in all past societies. Hence, we cannot assume that differences we often take for granted existed in the past.[82] Southern Italy and Greece, in particular, have long been perceived as deeply patriarchal societies based on the later Greek written sources. This was probably generally the case in several Greek settings. But when dealing with Iron Age societies in Italy, which did not leave us written sources, it is necessary to be more careful. Therefore, it is not possible to transfer the ancient Greeks' attitude towards gender roles directly to the Italian Iron Age.[83] It is also important to remember that Greek and Roman written sources cannot be used for a reconstruction of gender roles at this early date since they are of a later period and serve other purposes. As A. Rathje writes: "Probably, the sources tell more about the observers than about the phenomena they describe."[84]

*Division by labour, not by biological sex*

According to M. Johnson, we should abandon the stereotype pattern and question the different roles for men and women in a given period, instead of just assuming that certain divisions existed, for example a rigid binary division of labour between the sexes.[85] This is interesting in

relation to this study. The question is why some of these graves contain grave goods which do not match the findings expected for the sex of the deceased? A possible explanation is that these grave goods are, in fact, not indicators of biological sex. Instead, they either reflect tasks performed by the individual or they function as status markers.[86] J. Robb writes that even seemingly gender-determined patterns may, in reality, reflect other factors such as specialisation within a certain activity.[87] It is therefore possible that men were occupied with textile work. This could be the case for men who, for different reasons, could not be warriors or male slaves, but it is, of course, also possible that free fit men could be specialised in textile work.

We know of some examples of male textile workers from the Mediterranean world. In later times, male slaves were involved with weaving in Roman households,[88] and, in her study of Roman grave inscriptions, S. Treggiani has found examples of male weavers (*textores*) and dress-makers.[89] During the Republican period, 3rd century BC, names of textile professions emerge, e.g. the *lanarii*. The exact meaning of *lanarius* is unknown, but it is related to the word *lana* (wool). As noted by Larsson Lovén, none of these professions document female equivalents, either from this period or later.[90] The earliest epigraphic evidence thus refers to male workers.[91] In the Orientalising period (7th century BC), it has been suggested that slave labour or male craftsmen gradually replaced the female textile professionals.[92] Furthermore, it has been proposed that men and women were just as likely to have produced woven textiles in the Copper Age.[93] Male textile workers also existed outside Italy. In his "Deipnosophists", Athenaeus mentions Acesas and Helicon, natives of Cyprus, who were eminent at weaving embroidered clothes,[94] while, in ancient Egypt, both men and women spun, as depicted in murals. Furthermore, Egyptian men also weaved, especially prestige fabrics for the wealthiest classes.[95] It therefore seems to be the case that both men and women of varying age and social status could perform textile work depending on the local circumstances.[96]

Therefore, based on the evidence available, it cannot be fully proved or disproved that weaving was reserved for a specific sex.[97] Of course, this should be considered with caution since, as mentioned above, final conclusions cannot be drawn based on material from other periods and cultures, and as long we do not have iconographic or literary evidence from the Italian Iron Age, the question must remain open. However, in several cases, anthropological research has shown that labour is not based on biological sex and that women did not exclusively carry out certain tasks and men others. Several anthropologists have examined the gendering of specific tasks and crafts, and they have concluded that the division of labour is, to a far higher degree, determined by gender roles rather than just biological sex. It should therefore be expected that more than two categories of labourers, men and women, existed.[98] According to S.M. Nelson, the division of labour is rarely absolute, and several instances of overlaps of male and female tasks exist. For this reason, it is erroneous to assume that men could not carry out "female tasks," such as weaving, cooking and childcare. Instead, she suggests that work was divided by skills, abilities, education and needs.[99] Thus, task division by sex seems to have been far less marked than commonly assumed.

It has been proved that considerable differences can be observed in the way in which tasks were affiliated with the respective sexes across cultures and chronological periods. Thus, for instance, pottery work is a woman's job in some cultures, while, in others, it is a job for men. That is also the case regarding spinning and weaving.[100] P. Rice is of the opinion that sex does not determine which tasks men and women perform. They are determined by symbolism and economical structures, which, in turn, are not based on biological sex.[101]

As shown in my study, textile tools and weapons are only very rarely found together in the graves. Instead of being an indication of two separate biological sexes, it could be an

indication of two incompatible tasks, which are not always consistent with differences in biological sex. In contradiction to the traditional approach in studies regarding Iron Age Italy, it has been demonstrated that the grave goods do not necessarily reflect biological sex, but could equally well be perceived as indicators of work or status. Grave goods which have been more or less strictly related to biological sex, are thus shown possibly to relate to other aspects of the identity of the deceased. However, this does not mean that the grave goods in question do not relate to sex at all, merely that the picture is not one-sided. Furthermore, it is possible that the grave goods hold different meanings, depending on their context. In some cases, they might indicate biological sex, in others work or status. Sex determinations through grave goods should therefore be carried out with caution, since they will disguise potential burials which depart from the usual practice, such as male textile workers or females deposited with weapons.

*Age and gender roles*

That age can have an effect on gender roles has long been acknowledged within anthropology, for example, already in 1975 Friedl designates "age as a modifier of sex roles".[102] In this way, the age of an individual can have an influence on when that individual assumes a specific gender role, and whether it changes with advanced age. This is of course important to consider in the study of the representation of gender roles in the mortuary record.

Regarding the ca. ten male burials with textile tools, four are identified as 'adults',[103] three as 'young adults',[104] one as 'mature adult',[105] while one is aged 35-39 years.[106] Finally, the male buried at Osteria dell'Osa is aged 13 years.[107]

The age of the male from Osteria dell'Osa is especially interesting in this respect, since it places him in the borderline between child and adult. On several of the sites surveyed here, there are examples of children who are buried with textile tools, but only rare instances of children with weapons. This can be an indication of children being perceived as belonging to a more feminine gender role, even though they are biologically boys. This is in line with several scholarly studies, which emphasise that children are often defined as 'non-males', since they (as well as elderly individuals) are in need of care and therefore weak.[108] Other scholars have proposed that children are only weakly gendered.[109] Alternatively there was only one gender role for children, which was neither male nor female, but simply related to the type of work they were able to perform. This can explain how a spindle whorl ended up in male burial at a site where such tools appear to be restricted to the female biological sex. Conversely, age does not appear to have any influence on the male burials with textile tools at Pontecagnano.

With regard to the females buried with weapons or other 'male' offerings, the majority are either classified as 'adults', or within the age span 25 to 40 years. However, there are two individuals, which appear to differ slightly. The female in grave GG 14-15 at Veii is estimated to be ca. 15 years of age, while the female in grave 6108 at Pontecagnano is estimated to be more than 65 years of age. With the exception of the last grave, all these buried individuals were of childbearing age, which might have an influence on the choice of burial offerings, perhaps due to their ability to secure the continuity of the lineage. This of course also implies a certain status, which again explains why not all women of childbearing age have these grave offerings, but only a few selected women.

*The iconographical evidence*

Several scholars have used iconography as evidence of the existence of two separate roles for men and women, and that women carried out textile production, while men were identified with the role of the warrior.

Representations exist of women performing textile work, but these are very rare. One example is the famous late 7th century

Fig. 2a. Tintinnabulum from Tomba 5 dell'Arsenale at Bologna, 7th Century BC. Scene of spinning.
© Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico

Fig. 2b. Tintinnabulum from Tomba 5 dell'Arsenale at Bologna, 7th Century BC. Weaving scene.
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BC tintinnabulum from *Tomba 5* dell'Arsenale at Bologna. On one side is depicted a scene of spinning; the only scene of this activity from the Orientalising period in Italy (Fig. 2a). The other side depicts a weaving scene with a two-storied vertical loom operated by a seated woman (Fig. 2b). Another example is the wooden throne from *Tomba 89* in the Lippi necropolis at Verucchio, dated from the end of the 8th to the beginning of the 7th century BC. On the inner side of the back rest are depicted two large vertical weaves attended by figures, which appear to have long hair (Fig. 3a - 3b). The figures are consistently interpreted as female, primarily because of their placement at a weave and because of their long hair, even though they clearly do not wear long garments.[110] The figures depicted in the houses next to the weaves do not all have long hair, but are still interpreted as female since they are thought to carry out dyeing of wool – another textile task considered to be female.[111] A Daunian stelae from Masseria Jaconeta (Manfredonia), dated from the 7th to the 6th century BC, carries scenes with large vertical weaves on both the front and back. The weaves are of the same vertical type as mentioned above, and they are also operated by seated figures (Fig. 4). Finally, a biconical impasto vase from tomb 27 in the Sopron-Varhely necropolis in Hungary, belonging to the Hallstatt C period, also carries interesting scenes of textile production. To the left is a figure in a triangular garment spinning, while to the right a similar dressed figure operates a large two-storied weave (Fig. 5). The figures in these textile scenes are all crudely presented and are usually regarded as women because of either long hair and/or long garments. However, M. Ehrenberg has questioned if it is possible to determine the sex of the figures with certainty. She finds it possible that, for example, the triangular garments on the Sopron-Varhely vase are capes, not dresses.[112] Long attire is therefore not sufficient to identify a person as female, since such an interpretation is based on a traditional Western differentiation between the sexes, which, as suggested in the previous chapter, may not necessarily be applicable in the study

Fig. 3a. Wooden throne from Tomba 89 in the Lippi necropolis at Verucchio, end of the 8th to the beginning of the 7th Century BC © Museo Civico Archeologico Verucchio.

Fig. 3b Wooden throne from Tomba 89 in the Lippi necropolis at Verucchio, end of the 8th to the beginning of the 7th Century BC © Museo Civico Archeologico Verucchio.

Fig. 4. Daunian stele from Masseria Jaconeta (Manfredonia), 7th to 6th Century BC.
© Museo Nazionale Archeologico Manfredonia.

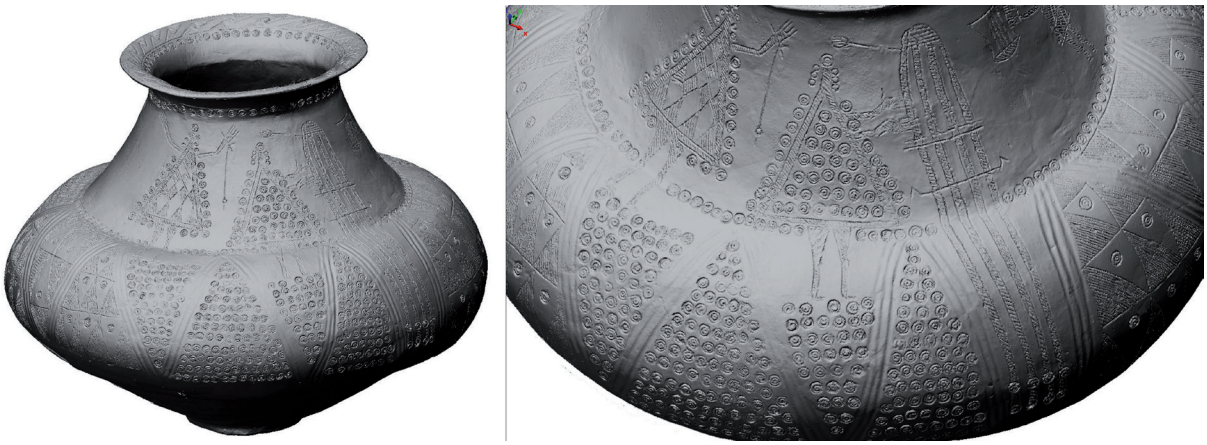

Fig. 5. Biconical impasto vase from the Sopron-Varhely necropolis in Hungary.
© Natural History Museum, Vienna.

of prehistoric periods.[113] We cannot take for granted that present-day sex and gender icons existed in the Iron Age; a perception, which J. Robb determines as "The trousers and skirt phenomenon."[114] The use of these depictions thus involves a high degree of both conscious and subconscious interpretation, and we cannot necessarily conclude that a person is a woman just because the figure wears a long garment or has long hair. This does not only apply to the length of garments or hair. It should also be questioned if the depiction of textile tasks is sufficient to identify a figure as female: Is it possible to conclude that a figure is female simply because it is placed at a weave or holding a spindle? This illustrates that we are again in danger of being trapped in circular arguments of what e.g. makes a garment or a task male or female.

Furthermore, none of the examples mentioned belong to the early Iron Age, and the examples are very few. It is, therefore, tempting to conclude that the iconographical examples can only be used as evidence of women carrying out textile work, but not to exclude that this task could also be carried out by men. My intention is not to refute that women performed textile work, but just to emphasise the possibility that this task could also be performed by men.

*Women and power in Iron Age Italy*

*A*s shown, there are a few examples of women who are given weapons and other traditionally male items as grave goods. These graves are often interpreted as an expression of the status and role of the deceased woman's husband or father. But maybe these graves should instead be perceived as an indication of women being able to obtain a high status, which allowed them to be buried in a special manner with gifts which were usually given to men. There seems to be agreement among most scholars that political control was restricted to men.[115] But, in fact, we cannot exclude that Iron Age women may have had control over financial resources, owned land, or have taken part in leadership in the public sphere.[116] According to A. Rathje, Etruscan women were involved in religious affairs and held religious power.[117] This may very well also have been the case for Iron Age women, as they in some instances were buried with knives, often interpreted as religious paraphernalia.[118] Power is, moreover, not always inter-linked with physical strength. The results of the study on which this article is based shows that a few women could hold other forms of power, perhaps financial or political, illustrated by the examples of female graves with weapons, e.g. in Fossa and Incoronata. Weapons are often associated with a certain power; for example, the sword is often interpreted as a symbol of political and military leadership.[119] The weapons in the female graves should not be perceived as unambiguous indications that the deceased were warriors. Instead, the weapons symbolise a certain status, which could also be held by females. The weapons may therefore have been a symbol of an individual's given political role, so that weapons accompanied rulership or power on a *de jure* rather than a *de facto* basis. It is thus possible that these women were likened to male warriors in order to imitate their power, and buried with male attributes in order to accommodate status or occupancy of roles that were traditionally masculine.[120]

It has been suggested that weapons such as spears and swords not only indicate elite status but are restricted to elitist power brokers, so-called "big men," or, in this case, "big women." For this reason, weapons and ritual paraphernalia are symbols of power – and not just of status – both in the social and ritual spheres.[121] That women could receive such objects could be an indication of these women gaining power and holding leading positions in society, which suggests that control and leadership were not necessarily reserved for men. Furthermore, the possibility exists that women could change their identity to "males" or be "masculinised" by taking, or being granted, the attributes of men, especially weapons, which are symbols of power. Some elite women may then have exercised the power associated with these symbols.[122] We

do not know of such women from the Iron Age in Italy. But if the Iron Age in Northern Europe is taken into consideration, we come across a few women who are known to have been commanders and tribal chiefs.[123] In other cultures women rulers are not that uncommon. For example, Hewitt has noted three women rulers among the Maya during the classic period (AD 300-800), whose hieroglyphic inscriptions lack the female prefix that typically precede women's emblem glyphs and thus "masculinised".[124] In addition, several exceptionally prominent Maya women were given the title of *na bate* - woman warrior, which indicates that the power of elite women was exhibited through the adoption of male characteristics.[125] Furthermore, a revision of historical and other sources indicates that political power was not held solely by men and written sources indicate the existence of women rulers and women of very high status in past societies.[126] Another example includes the female pharaoh Hatschepsut (1508 – 1458 BC), who was represented in full male regalia including a false beard. This example shows that in some cases, where a woman attains a position of power in a partriarchal society, she is required to take on certain male attributes, in this case a false beard. According to Arnold, such cases are principally found in cultures where such female rulers are the singular exception, and these examples can therefore not be used to infer anything about the relative status of women in general.[127]

The two female graves in Pontecagnano with impasto helmets are interesting in this connection. C. Iaia interprets the impasto helmet as a symbol of the deceased's role as head of the family and that he had the unique right to carry weapons.[128] However, there are several graves with impasto helmets without weapons, for which reason the latter role is not necessarily related to this object.[129] C. Iaia also believes that there is not necessarily a connection between warriors and social groups of a high rank.[130] This could signify that weapons deposited in the grave were not an indication of rank, but, instead, an indication of tasks carried out by the deceased when alive. However, in graves from the Orientalising period, weapons are often interpreted as status markers. That could also be the case for Iron Age burials, and some scholars consider military activity as a sign of authority.[131] Thus, we cannot necessarily conclude that the deceased was of high rank, based on the presence of weapons in the tomb. Yet, the deceased (and the burying group) must have been relatively wealthy, and thus of a certain status, since they were able to afford these gifts, at least in case of metal weapons.

P. Gastaldi writes that the helmet represented the most powerful sign of group hierarchy. The impasto helmet and the biconical urn both express the role of the warrior and that the individual had been a guarantor of the continuity of the lineage while he was alive.[132] In addition, Gastaldi perceives the helmets and their decoration as an expression of the consolidation of clan groups in the social unit.[133] Is it possible that a woman could also perform roles such as the guarantor of the continuity of the lineage?

According to A.M. Bietti Sestieri, the "social persona" was represented in the grave by means of grave goods, which were owned and used by the deceased when he or she was alive.[134] Following this theory, some women in the Iron Age were entitled to own, and perhaps also carry, weapons. The same scholar thinks that the lives of men and women in the period in question were quite alike. This is based on the fact that the distribution of food containers and cups etc. in the graves was approximately the same for both sexes.[135] As shown in my study, there is no clear distinction between which vase types were placed with men or women. If the lives of men and women were alike, it is also possible that the two sexes could obtain the same roles in society. In connection with the interpretation of pottery in the graves, it has been suggested that the banquet equipment (also in pottery) is a sign of rank and of women's participation in these banquet ceremonies, for which the tableware was made.[136] It has even been

proposed that women were managers of the food resources. This is substantiated by the existence of graves from other Italian sites, e.g. Verucchio, in which women have received more vases for both food and drink than men. Furthermore, usually the male graves from this site primarily included containers for fluids and fewer containers for solid foods.[137]

Women participated in the preparation and cooking of meat and attended banquets. Both these acts belonged to the religious sphere, which had a considerable ideological meaning, also at a political level.[138] Women also had a share in the financial power in the household, for example through the production of textiles.[139]

The ability to read and write should be mentioned as a final example, since the written language is perhaps among the most powerful forms of power display in early societies. During the Italian prehistory, it seems that women were literate, since inscriptions e.g. have been found on textile tools in female graves. Furthermore, an impasto vase with a Greek inscription was found in an anthropologically identified female grave from the Latial IIB period in Osteria dell'Osa. In a female grave from the Caprara necropolis near Bologna, another Greek inscription was found on an urn. Furthermore, there are several examples of inscriptions on items which are both presents to and from women.[140] According to G. Bagnasco Gianni, the earliest inscriptions in Etruria are on female artifacts.[141] Therefore, literacy was not necessarily a prerogative of men of high status, but also women could read and write.[142] However, as shown, a "female" artifact such as a textile tool, is not necessarily an indication of a female burial, for which reason the above argument can be shown to be circular.

*Conclusion*

In our culture, power and authority are related to the male sex, and leaders are therefore often assumed, without argumentation, to be men.[143] But as I have shown from a variety of sources, such as anthropological, archaeological, iconographical and ethnographic studies, women could obtain different forms of power in society, and certain roles within society could possibly be filled by both men and women. This is reflected in the grave goods when they are juxtaposed with the anthropological remains. This further indicates indicates that gender roles were not polar but rather inclusive and reciprocal, and certain artifacts could be associated with both sexes to make them suitable for specific roles.

I am not trying to argue for existing matriarchies in the Iron Age as J.J. Bachofen suggested many years ago.[144] This seems very unlikely in view of both anthropological and historical studies. And, as stated by G. Bartoloni, the idea of the matriarchy is an intellectual construction and not a historical reality.[145] However, we cannot rule out that the female role was of greater importance in the Iron Age than in later periods.[146] If we take into consideration the possibility of a more diverse role for women in the Iron Age than earlier assumed, we will be faced with far more versatile female roles; roles which can be documented in the archaeological material through juxtaposition with the skeletal material. Thus, through a comparison of the results obtained by sex determination on the basis of skeletal material and grave goods, the present study has provided an illuminating insight into the complexities surrounding the gendering of burials.

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## NOTES

1 Bietti Sestieri *et al.* 1988, 349; Peroni & Vanzetti 2006, 32.
2 Gowland & Knüsel 2006, XI.
3 Duday 2006, 30. There are only few comprehensive archaeological studies which perform analyses of the usability of the objects as sex indicators by means of skeletal material. One such example is the extensive study of the cemetery Villa Bruschi Falgari (publication forthcoming). Another example is a study is based on grave material from Athens carried out by A. Strömberg, cf. Strömberg 1993.
4 Toms 1998, 160.
5 Robb 1996, 775.
6 Toms 1998, 159.
7 This study uses the anthropological examinations of the skeletons as stated in the publications, even though such examinations cannot always produce definitive sex determinations. Thus, an element of uncertainty exists.
8 The present study has a general approach involving burials from different regions. Of course a detailed study of each unusual burial in relation to the cemetery in question, as well as local cultural aspects, would be beneficial, but is beyond the scope of the present article.
9 Binford 1971.
10 Chapman *et al.* 1981, 7.
11 Saxe 1970; Tainter 1978.
12 Clayton 2011, 34.
13 E.g. Shanks & Tilley 1982, Thomas 1999, 127.
14 Parker Pearson 1999, 32.
15 Thomas 1999, 129.
16 For more on gender and death, see Arnold & Wicker 2002.
17 Clayton 2011, 34.
18 Money, Hampson & Hampson 1955.
19 Money, Hampson & Hampson 1955, 308.
20 Hays-Gilpin 2004; Arnold 2002, 239. Some, however, question the separation of gender as cultural and sex as biological, fixed and binary, e.g. Blackless *et al.* 2000; Geller 2005.
21 Stig Sørensen 2000, 55.
22 Stig Sørensen 2000, 59.
23 Individuals with chromosomal combinations distinct from XX and XY, as well as with a disjunction between their chromosomal (or genotypic) sex and phenotypic sex, Geller 2005, 601.
24 Blackless *et al.* 2000.
25 Salvini 2007.
26 Veii 1963, 1965, 1967.
27 Crescenzi & Tortorici 1983; Crescenzi & Tortorici 1993; Rubini *et al.* 1992; Rubini & Mallegni 1996-97.
28 Gjerstad 1956; De Santis & Mieli 2008.
29 Facenna & Fugazzola Delpino 1976.
30 Bietti Sestieri 1992.
31 Gastaldi 1998; De Natale 1992; D'Agostino & Gastaldi 1988.
32 Trucco 1987.
33 Badoni & Giove 1980; Coppa *et al.* 1981.
34 Cosentino *et al.* 2001.
35 Pacciarelli 1999.
36 Chiartano 1994.
37 Brown 1998, 36.
38 Ingvarsson-Sundstrøm 2008, 138.
39 Bietti Sestieri *et al.* 1997, 260.
40 Brown 1998, 36.

[41] Brown 1998, 37.
[42] Brown 1998, 37. S. Mays bases his figures on the examinations carried out by R.S. Meindl *et al.* of modern skeletons of known sex, in which 97 % were determined correctly if both pelvis and skull were present, cf. Meindl *et al.* 1985, 79–85.
[43] Ingvarsson-Sundstrøm 2008, 138.
[44] Brown 1998, 36; Mays 1998, 38.
[45] Gowland & Knüsel 2006, 146.
[46] Gowland & Knüsel 2006, 147.
[47] Brown 1998, 37.
[48] Lynnerup *et al.* 2008, 89.
[49] Ingvarsson-Sundstrøm 2008, 138.
[50] This loss could be minimised by a wet-sieving of the material.
[51] Gejvall 1963, 385.
[52] Alexandersen *et al.* 2008, 404.
[53] Mays 1998, 215.
[54] Gleba 2010, 69.
[55] Pacciarelli 2007, 118.
[56] Here only a selection of the grave goods is considered. Pottery and indeterminate fragments have been left out.
[57] Becker & Salvadei 1992, 67, table 1.
[58] Here only a selection of the grave goods is considered. Pottery and indeterminate fragments have been excluded.
[59] It is important to note that the sex determinations in Veii, Quattro Fontanili are carried out by analysis of the teeth, since this metod is less secure than examination of the bones.
[60] The ferrule (dia. 1.5 cm) is in a poor state of preservation, but it is clear that it has been attached to a wooden staff with a nail (chiodo), cf. Veii 1967, 223.
[61] Grave R A 293 from Sala Consilina includes an impasto helmet and a razor, and possibly belongs to woman.
[62] The excavations at Verucchio have revealed female burials with weapons such as iron lance heads. However, these burials still avait publication and are therefore not included in the present article.
[63] A detailed study of these unusual burials in relation to the various individual cemeteries, as well as regional cultural aspects, is highly relevant, but beyond the scope of this article.
[64] Toms 1998, 171.
[65] Ginge 1996, 67.
[66] Bartoloni *et al.* 1997, 89; Seubers 2008, 4; Bartoloni 2000, 273; Vanzetti 1992, 118. The same is the case for jewellery, which, when found in male graves, was explained as offerings from a female relative, for example the wife of the deceased, Bartoloni 2000, 276. G. Bergonzi explains a sword recovered in Fermo, Misericordia tomb 33, which belongs to a woman, as a gift to the deceased, cf. Bergonzi 2007, 89-90.
[67] Zuffa 1976, 253–258; Spivey 1991, 58.
[68] Vanzetti 1992, 158. The same interpretation is put forward by C. Belardelli for graves with both male and female objects in Bologna. Belardelli 1995, 209.
[69] Geller 2005, 602.
[70] Joyce 2000, 474.
[71] Parker Pearson 2000, 97.
[72] Ginge 1996, 67; Michelucci 1976, 225 no. 17.
[73] Bartoloni 2007, 15.
[74] Bartoloni 2007, 18.
[75] Seubers 2008, 4.
[76] Dress-based sex determination is often established through the presence of fibulas. Fibula types are still viewed by some as valid indicators of the sex of the deceased. Fibulas are, however, a subject in themselves, and is treated in a separate article (Brøns 2012).
[77] Spivey 1991, 56.
[78] Ginge 1996, 70.
[79] Markantonatos 1998, 191.
[80] Parker Pearson 1993, 219.
[81] Spivey 1991, 56.
[82] Johnson 1999, 123.
[83] Markantonatos 1998, 192.
[84] Rathje 2007, 19.
[85] Johnson 1999, 123.
[86] Regarding status, M. Gleba defines spinning implements made in vauable materials as important markers of elite (female) status, cf. Gleba 2010, 69.
[87] Robb 1997, 44.
[88] Spivey 1991, 59. Also Treggiani 1976.

[89] Treggiani 1976, 82–85.
[90] Larsson Lovén 1998, 87-88.
[91] Larsson Lovén 1998, 88.
[92] Gleba 2010, 76. In this period, the precious distaffs and spools disappear from the female graves.
[93] Bevan 2006, 66.
[94] Yon 2005, 44; Athenaeus II.30.
[95] Barber 2008, 174.
[96] Barber 2008, 175.
[97] Harris 2003, 69.
[98] Hays-Gilpin & Whitley 1998, 141.
[99] Nelson 1997, 111.
[100] Ehrenberg 1989, 34.
[101] Rice 1991, 440.
[102] Friedl 1975, 82.
[103] Pontecagnano grave 67, 897, 2070, 174.
[104] Pontecagnano grave 6125, 166, 2033.
[105] Pontecagnano grave 2034.
[106] Pontecagnano grave 164.
[107] Osteria dell'Osa grave 317.
[108] Weglian 2001, 151; Baker 1997, 186.
[109] Shepherd 1999, 296.
[110] E.g. Von Eles 2010, 256 – 258.
[111] Von Eles 2010, 266,
[112] Ehrenberg 1989, 147–148.
[113] Ehrenberg 1989, 147–148.
[114] Robb 1997, 45.
[115] Bietti Sestieri 2008, 155. Robb 1997, 56.
[116] As illustrated by finds in graves at Fossa and Incoronata. Rathje 2007, 29.
[117] Rathje 2007, 29. According to C. Iaia, certain types of vases for ritual use, among others *vasi a navicelli* and kernoi, also occur in female tombs dated to the Iron Age in Tarquinia. Iaia 2002, 733. This could indicate that women took part in rituals and cultic acts.
[118] Bietti Sestieri & de Santis 2006, 83.
[119] De Santis 2007, 103. A.M. Bietti Sestieri & A. De Santis emphasises the sword as a symbol of political and military power, cf. Bietti Sestieri & De Santis 2006, 83.
[120] Hewitt 1999, 251, 258.
[121] Markantonatos 1998, 189.
[122] Markantonatos 1998, 190-91.
[123] Ehrenberg 1989, 164. An example is Boudica, tribal chief in Eastern England, whose exploits were recorded by Tacitus and Dio Cassius, and among the island Celts, during periods of social upheaval, women could take on roles which were considered exclusively male under 'normal' conditions, Arnold 1995, 162, 164.
[124] Hewitt 1999, 251.
[125] Hewitt 1999, 251, 257.
[126] Díaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005, 20.
[127] Arnold 1995, 161.
[128] Iaia 1999, 123.
[129] In Veii, for example, the impasto helmet is not found to be associated with weapons, cf. Bartoloni *et al.* 1997, 96.
[130] Iaia 1995, 251.
[131] E.g. Riva 2010, 33-34. However, Riva also accentuates that certain weapon combinations distinguish different social groups, the most complex sets belonging to the most prominent elite individuals.
[132] Gastaldi 2002, 114. Also Iaia 1999, 146.
[133] Gastaldi 1994, 58.
[134] Bietti Sestieri 2008, 156. An exeption is the terracotta helmets, which were specifically made for deposition in the graves.
[135] Bietti Sestieri 2008, 156.
[136] Poli & Trocchi 2007, 139.
[137] Poli & Trocchi 2007, 141. This is the case in Sala Consilina, where tombs with many vases are interpreted as belonging to women, Trucco 1994, 147. A. Coen, furthermore, emphasises the possible role for a woman as administrator of beverages (wine). Coen 2008, 165.
[138] Coen 2008, 165. Based on the archaeological material from Matelica. However, she stresses that the limitations and the definitions of these roles should be taken into consideration.
[139] von Eles 2007, 155.

[140] Hodos 1998, 204.
[141] Bagnasco Gianni 1996, 351–352, 445.
[142] Hodos 1998, 206.
[143] Nelson 1997, 141.
[144] Bachofen 1861.
[145] Bartoloni 2000, 275.
[146] Poli & Trocchi 2007, 139.