Performance and Visual Culture in Etruria: 7th - 2nd Century BC

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Abstract

The Etruscan iconographic record is the primary source of information regarding performance activities, which include dance, music, gaming, ritual, spectacle, and athletics. In this study, performance theory is used as a framework for analyzing Etruscan material culture related to emically constructed and provisionally identified performance activities and ascertaining their meaning. Although evidence for Etruscan cultural activity, beliefs, and social interaction is limited, especially given the paucity of textual information, the application of performance theory to the archaeological record provides a means to analyze public and private transmission of messages, relationships, experiences, and cultural behaviors primarily in funerary and civic contexts. Although numerous Etruscan performances have been investigated individually by prior scholarship, performance theory has not been previously applied to Etruscan art and architecture and, therefore, this work takes a new approach towards the analysis of the archaeological record.

Evidence included in this study dates between the 8th-2nd centuries BC and consists of wall painting, painted and relief vase decoration, stone and terracotta relief sculpture, engraved gems, and bronze mirrors, decorative attachments, figurines, and vessels. It is only through the study of such varied materials from a wide chronological range that a more complete understanding of Etruscan performance emerges. Following an overview of performance theory and its application to Etruscan visual culture, the remaining chapter are organized thematically, including investigations of Etruscan music and dances, play and games, and spectacle.

An investigation of Etruscan performances reveals information about Etruscan relationships, beliefs, and about the communication of messages. Performance activities occur primarily in connection with Etruscan funerary events, due in part to the nature of Etruscan material record, but civic, mythological, and everyday contexts are also identified. Although both small- and large-scale performances are represented in the iconographic evidence, large-scale events appear with greater frequency. Most performance iconography dates to the Archaic Period in Etruria, the 6th and 5th centuries BC, although its nature changes throughout all media, beginning in the 4th century BC; many performance-related motifs are abandoned at this time, including banqueting, bands of revelers, and large-scale athletic competitions. Late Etruscan performance iconography focuses on processions, especially in relation to the journey to the underworld in death.

For Andrew
Vita de la mia vita

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Abbreviations[1]

CSE   *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*

CVA   *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*

ES   Eduard Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*. 5 vols.
                                           (Berlin 1974)

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[1] Abbreviated journals follow *American Journal of Archaeology* guidelines and are not included in this
listing of abbreviations; ancient sources follow *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

Map of Etruria, Haynes 2000, vi

Introduction

The Etruscans are not a theory or a thesis. If they are anything, they are an

experience.[1]

Etruscans and Performance

Etruscan artifacts and their associated images offer evidence towards an analysis

of Etruscan performances that is otherwise lost to modern scholarship. An evaluation of

the depiction of performance in Etruscan art provides information about physical

activities not readily available in the archaeological record, as "the Etruscans seemed to

have relied to a large extent on visual iconography rather than the written word to

illustrate people and events."[2] Etruscan evidence, especially related to cultural activity,

beliefs, and social interaction, is limited. Although Latin and Greek texts provide

information regarding Etruscan activities, beliefs, and origins, albeit by non-indigenous

sources, very little of the Etruscan's own language has survived intact.[3] Given the nature

and paucity of extant Etruscan texts, an understanding of cultural activities in Etruria

must largely depend on other sources: the archaeological and especially, the

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[1] Lawrence, D. H. *Etruscan Places*, 1932. 114.
[2] Edlund-Berry 2012, 169.
[3] In Bonfante 2006, 10-19, the author discusses the longest extant Etruscan inscriptions, which skew towards the religious. These include the Zagreb mummy wrappings, the Piacenza liver, the Terracotta tile from Capua, lead strip from Santa Marinella, lead plaque from Magliano, gold tablets from Pyrgi, and the Sarcophagus of Laris Pulenas. For more information on the Etruscan language, see Agostiniani 2000; Bonfante and Bonfante 1983, 5-51; Richardson 1986.

iconographic.[4] No one source of evidence is perfect and each has its disadvantages.

How, therefore, can scholarly analyses of material remains offer insight into cultural

activities of the past? Can human interactions be successfully extrapolated from the

iconographic record? Can we derive an understanding about relationships and social

actions between groups and individuals? Answers to these questions lie in an

investigation of performance theory and its application to the archaeological and

iconographic record.

The archaeology of performance attempts, as Kyriakidis explains, to understand

an ephemeral event through non-ephemeral evidence.[5] The advantage of such an

approach lies in the interpretation of various human activities from the past through

archaeological materials and contexts, including ritual, business, entertainment, sex,

everyday life and play.[6] Etruscan iconography is imbued with evidence referencing these

various types of performances. How can the application of performance theory

specifically enable scholars to understand more about Etruscan culture? The chapters of

this study introduce and analyze Etruscan culturally constructed performance, termed

"the aesthetic genres" by Schechner, including dance and music.[7] Other related events

that are presented and discussed include sports, equestrian competitions, gaming, as well

as funerary and banqueting contexts. Where appropriate, architectural spaces are also

evaluated for the information they provide regarding spatial and visual configuration,

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[4] Considering the low level of literacy in the ancient world, images and nonverbal performance play
important roles in the communication of messages and cultural performance. See Bergman 1999, 9-10.
[5] Kyriakidis 2007, 9.
[6] Schechner 2002, 25.
[7] Schechner 2003, 7.

among other considerations. The majority of the evidence, however, takes the form of objects and their iconography.

The investigation of performance in the archaeological record reveals many types of information about ancient cultural behaviors and attitudes.[8] Although artifact type, date, usage, and context must always be taken into account, the multiple forms of material and visual evidence may be used to extrapolate information concerning ancient ritual and other performance activities. An examination of the archaeological and iconographic remains offer a more complete picture of Etruscan culture. The iconographic record of Etruria can help to provide otherwise unobtainable information regarding personal experience, social (inter)action, and cultural processes in the Etruscan world.

Who were the Etruscans? Where and when did the Etruscans first appear? The ancient Etruscans, occupying the area of Italy between the Arno and Tiber rivers, are unique in that they were situated at a crossroads between other contemporaneous cultures, among them Greek, Western European, Native Italic (later Roman), Phoenician, and other Near Eastern civilizations. The Etruscans incorporated and blended external influences, such as those with whom they had early contact - the Greeks, Phoenicians, and Sardinians - with indigenous art forms to create their own artistic style.[9] In addition, the Etruscans, considered by the Romans the "most religious of men,"[10] were noted for their piety and devotion to ritual. Evidence of sacred ritual activity, though not available through textual evidence, has

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[8] Pearson and Shanks 2001, 53-67; here the author comments on the possible symbiotic relationship between these two areas of study, archaeology and theater, and indicates that each can provide information regarding the other.

[9] Boardman 1994, 225-272; Turfa 1986, 66-80.

[10] Livy *Ab Urbe*. 5.1.6, *"gens itaque ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus quod excelleret arte colendi eas…"*

been identified successfully through the archaeological and architectural record.   Unlike Etruscan artwork, Etruscan ritual and religion seems to have avoided major change from external influences, resulting in a unique belief system and structure of behavior.[11]

The manner in which the Etruscans buried their dead also differed based on chronology and region. Large-scale tumulus tombs and associated performance spaces may be observed at Cerveteri in southern Etruria in the Orientalizing Period, 750-600 BC, while during the same period in northern Etruria trench tombs were built in Vetulonia and *ziro* tombs at Tolle.[12] Not only was there regional variation regarding cultural remains and iconography, but the political reality was regional as well. Indeed, the Etruscans were not organized under one governmental entity; instead, they were divided into individual city-states, which would meet for religious festivals and unite in times of crisis.[13] Consequently, the eventual Roman conquest and incorporation of Etruscan cities was not restricted to one chronological occasion; in fact, the Etruscans were victims of attacks beginning in the 5th century BC, which continued through the middle of the 3rd century BC.[14]

The origins of the Etruscans have remained a topic of interest since antiquity and there are three major competing theories.[15] The earliest known reference belongs to the 5th century Greek author Herodotus, who claimed that the Etruscans immigrated into Italy

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[11] Nagy et al. 2008, 413.

[12] Haynes 2000, 71-74, 99-100, 106-108; *Ziro* tombs were for cremations. This type of burial consisted of a storage jar, in which were placed the ash urn and grave goods; the storage jar was then placed in a trench and covered with a stone slab. See also Tuck 2012.

[13] Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 99-100, 149-172; the normal form of governmental organization was oligarchical, which involved the control of a large city and the surrounding territory, including other smaller cities and towns; Spivey 1997, 87.

[14] Boëthius 1978, 32-33.

[15] Briquel 2000, 43.

from Asia Minor, due to famine in Lydia.[16] Another ancient theory claims that the

Etruscans were autochthonous; in the 1st century BC, Dionysius of Halicarnassus

remarked on the uniqueness of Etruscan civilization, citing it as evidence for their native

origins.[17] A third proposal, a modern one, is that the Etruscans came from the region of

the Danube River and entered Italy across the Alps from the north.[18] The reality of

Etruscan origins likely may be found in a more complex model than any of these three

theories provide. It is likely that the native population, coupled with international

contexts from outside of Etruria, allowed for the development into the Etruscan

civilization, datable first in the Villanovan period (early Iron Age). Evidence for modern

humans began in Italy 40,000-35,000 years before the present, but it was not until the

Late Bronze age, c. 1300-900 BC, that the creation of "state societies" were realized. It

was at this time that evidence appears in the archaeological record indicating that

urbanization had begun and networks of region exchange had been established in parts of

northern and central Italy.[19]

Although evidence for an Etruscan language did not appear until the 8th century

BC, the origins of a recognizable Etruscan culture may be traced to the period around

1000/900 BC termed "Villanovan" by modern scholars.[20] It was during the 8th century in

the Orientalizing Period in Etruria that there was an increase in prosperity among the elite

and early international trade relations developed. Wealthy tombs, the *tombe principesche*,

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[16] See Chapter 3, fn 20.
[17] Dion. Hal. *Ant Rom*. 1.30.2; the Etruscan language offers evidence of the Etruscan's uniqueness, as it is not used elsewhere and does not related to any known modern or ancient language. See Agostiniani 2000, 485; Brendel 1995, 17.
[18] First proposed in 1928 by Randall-MacIver in *Italy Before the Romans*.
[19] For more information on genetic evidence of Etruscan origins, see Perkins 2009 and Vernesi et al. 2004.
[20] Although Briquel 2001, 46, indicates that "Proto-Villanovan" culture may be distinguishable from c. 1200 BC in Italy. See also Bartoloni 2001, 53-57.

at Tarquinia, Veii and Vetulonia with their "Oriental curiosities" likely resulted from

contacts with Phoenician merchants at this time.[21] It was also in the 8th century when

Greeks established an important colony at Pithekoussai on Ischia, bringing them into

direct contact with the Etruscans.[22] By the 7th century BC, Greeks had created multiple

trading centers along the Tyrrhenian coast and brought with them their religious cults

honoring the gods of the Greek pantheon. Beginning in the mid-7th century BC, it was the

Etruscan elite that controlled the economy and resources in Etruria and who developed a

thriving Etruscan sea trade.[23] Aristocratic Etruscan society seems to have also adopted

many Greek activities and artistic ideas based on cultural connections, which are

evidenced in 6th century Etruscan iconography, in funerary vase painting, for example.

During the Archaic Period, the Etruscans would see their control of and influence over

Italy at its greatest extent, which included Etruscan control of Rome.[24] By the end of the

6th century, however, Etruscan dominance began to wane with the expulsion of the

Etruscan kings from Rome and the loss of control over the Tiber. It was also not long

after, that the Etruscans faced devastating losses in the naval battle of Cumae in 474 BC

and near Elba in 453-452 BC against the Syracuse navy, resulting in trade disruption and

economic depression, despite their continuing trade exchanges with Iberia and Gaul.[25]

During the 5th century (the Etruscan 'Classical' Period), competition between the

Etruscans, Carthaginians, and Greeks continued in earnest. However, it was in the 4th

century that important changes began to occur in Etruria; trade between the Greeks and

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[21] Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 118-172; Turfa 1986, 66.
[22] Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 75.
[23] Bonamici 2001, 79.
[24] Buranelli 1992, 26-27.
[25] Buranelli 1992, 27; Turfa 1986, 75.

Etruscans all but ceased, perhaps due to Greek piracy.[26] Also at the end of the 5th century

BC and the beginning of the 4th, the Etruscans began to lose their holdings in Italy to

other interests; cities in Campania were overtaken by the Sannites and Campanians and

those in the Po Valley were lost to the Celts.[27]

The Etruscan decline continued into the 4th century when Rome began to

encroach on Etruscan controlled centers, beginning with Veii.[28] Punic trade exchanges

continued in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, although at a less frenetic pace. Finally, during

the Hellenistic Period, Etruscan trade continued to fall and the Etruscans began to hire

themselves out as mercenaries. Several poorly-made decisions contributed to the end of

Etruscan autonomy. The Etruscans, unfortunately, backed the Carthaginians, the losing

side in the 2nd Punic war against Rome.[29] Despite the existence of an Etruscan league of

12 cities, which formed an alliance for religious purpose and defense, it was their lack of

political unity and harmony that prevented the Etruscans from effectively defending

themselves from the Roman threat.[30] By the first century BC, all of Etruria was

completely incorporated into Rome, resulting in their loss of autonomy and

distinctiveness in the archaeological record.[31]

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[26] Turfa 1986, 80.
[27] Bonamici 2001, 85.
[28] Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 265-267; Buranelli 1992, 28; Edlund-Berry 1994, 18; Haynes 2000, 267-268.
[29] Brendel 1995, 405.
[30] Buranelli 1992, 28; Haynes 2000, 328.
[31] Turfa 1986, 83-84.

<u>Nature of the Evidence</u>

Turning now to the evidence that is incorporated throughout this study, it is important to begin with dates and stylistic categories, followed by the artistic forms themselves. The Etruscan objects, images, and spaces selected for discussion encompass a wide variety of artistic media, which vary chronologically and geographically in terms of their usage and construction. The chronology adopted here follows de Grummond and is as indicated:[32]

Villanovan – 1000/900-750/700 BC

Orientalizing – 750/700-600 BC

Archaic – 600-450 BC

Classical – 450-325/300 BC

Hellenistic – 325/300-1st century BC

Although the majority of the examples examined in this work date to the 6th - 4th centuries BC, the Archaic and Classical Periods, materials are considered that date as early as the 8th century and as late as the 2nd century BC. Regarding the iconographic record, the Etruscans demonstrated regional variations and different spheres of influence, all of which play a part in our understanding of what was happening in Italy at this time. Each type of Etruscan artifact offers its own dating concerns, locations of manufacture, and function and an overview is provided below.

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[32] de Grummond 2006, xi; Chronology also has been introduced by de Grummond, in the form of Early, Middle, and Late Etruscan periods. They roughly correspond to dating conventions observable in the Greek world, such as the Classical Period with the Middle period and the Late Period with the Hellenistic one, but they avoid the artistic associations from the Greek world during the same time. de Grummond 2006, 2-9.

Etruscan bronze mirrors are one of the most significant categories of Etruscan visual culture, and their decoration includes performance-related themes. The mirrors are decorated with incised iconography, although a few exceptional examples feature relief instead. According to de Grummond, the only find spots for mirrors have been female graves – when we have the provenance recorded – but it is likely that the mirrors were also used in everyday life. [33] Evidence of their functions outside the grave may be found in iconographic depictions of a woman's toilette, in such media as gems, vases, tomb painting, relief sculpture, and on the mirrors themselves.[34] Etruscan mirrors have been found throughout Etruria, in northern, southern, and central Etruscan contexts, as well as outside Etruria proper, such as in Egypt, Spain, and northern Germany.[35] Bronze mirrors were first created in the Archaic Period, c. 530-520 BC, with the exception of one Villanovan mirror found in a male grave in Tarquinia; they continue to be produced until the Hellenistic Period.[36]

Another type of object that was likely used in everyday contexts was Etruscan engraved gems. [37] Although the provenance of many of these objects is unknown, the gems were likely worn as jewelry by men and may have been used as grave goods. The creation of gems in Etruria began c. 550 BC, and perhaps continued into the Hellenistic

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[33] de Grummond 1982, 166-186; de Grummond discusses the representation of the mirror in Etruscan mirror decoration, in such examples as A217, A225, A424, which depict only women using this object. To date, the only recorded contexts for the discovery of Etruscan mirrors are burials; this is in contrast to mirror discoveries in Greece, where they have been dedicated as votive offerings. The iconographic evidence coupled with the archaeological information indicates that these objects had multiple uses throughout their lifetime. Izzet 2009 disagrees; see Izzet 2007, 43-86.
[34] de Grummond 1982, 170-171.
[35] de Grummond 1982, 173.
[36] For more information on mirrors and their uses, see Carpino 2003, de Grummond 1982, Gerhard 1974, and the entire series of the *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*.
[37] For additional information regarding Etruscan engraved gems, see Boardman 1968a, Boardman 1968b, Boardman 1978, Martelli and Giolotta 2000; Martini 1971, Zazoff 1983, Zwierlein-Diehl 1973.

Period.[38] The stones themselves are typically carved from carnelian, agate, and sardonyx, and infrequently from onyx, jasper, glass, nicolo, and amber.[39] Other forms of jewelry, such as pieces created from gold or ivory, are not be included in this study, as they do not feature iconography relevant to the discussion of performance.

Decorated ceramics also provide evidence for performance iconography. Indigenous ceramic fabrics, such as bucchero pottery, as well as black- and red-figure painted vases, which were influenced by imports from Greece, can be analyzed for depictions of dance, music, banqueting, and other performance-related information. Bucchero pottery is an Etruscan fineware, used in the 7th-6th centuries BC and is defined as a wheel made pottery, made from finely levigated clay, fired in a reducing atmosphere so that it features a deep black color in both the surface and the core, and is burnished to a glossy sheen.[40] Regional variations are observable in the production, decoration, and function of bucchero, corresponding generally to the northern and southern regions of Etruria. At the end of the 8th century, the Etruscans began to be influenced by Greek potters, who introduced the potter's wheel and geometric motifs. Also at the end of the 8th century, Corinthian imports entered southern Etruria and local reproductions began to be created by the end of the 7th century BC, especially in Vulci, Cerveteri, and Veii.[41] From c. 575 BC, Attic black-figure was imported from abroad, inspiring artists from Vulci, especially the Micali Painter, to created similar types of decoration.[42] The Etruscans produced black-figure pottery, in imitation of Attic and Corinthian vases, in the Archaic

[38] Boardman 1994, 251; Boardman and Vollenweider 1978, 48.
[39] Martelli and Gioletta 2000, 461. Engraved gems were made from locally sources and imported materials.
[40] As defined by Layton 2008-2009, 27-28; see Camporeale 1972; Camporeale 2000; Rasmussen 1979 for more information.
[41] Haynes 2000, 53-55.
[42] Haynes 2000, 163.

Period. Red-figure pottery, such as Faliscan ware, was produced in the 4th and early 3rd centuries BC, and inspired by workshops in southern Italy and was likely introduced by imported Attic vases and artists.[43]

Another important category of artistic evidence is found in large-scale Etruscan funerary wall painting, although painted plaques are extant, such as the Boccanera plaques (G104), c. 550 BC. The earliest example of Etruscan funerary wall painting is found in the 7th century at the Tomb of the Ducks in Veii (B001) and this kind of tomb painting continued into the Hellenistic Period. The majority of examples of decorated chamber tombs come from Tarquinia and those examples are among the best studied.[44] Other painted tombs may be found throughout Etruria, including the sites of Blera, Bomarzo, Cerveteri, Chiusi, Cosa-Ansedonia, Grotte Santo Stefano, Magliano in Toscana, Orte, Orvieto, Populonia, San Giuliano, Sarteano, Tuscania, Veii, and Vulci. [45] With their rich iconographic programs, and mortuary context, it is hardly surprising that themes of performance feature so prominently.

While the Etruscans did not create numerous examples of large-scale bronze sculpture they did produce other forms of bronze objects, such as figurines, *thymiateria*, candelabra, bronze vessels, shields, harnesses, and others.[46] Despite the range of object types, performance-related motifs may be identified in decorative elements of bronzes.

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[43] For more information on Etruscan black- and red-figure pottery, see Beazley 1976; Boardman 1994, 228-243; Briguet 1986, 155-156; Ginge 1987; Haynes 2000, 319-324; Hemelrijk 1984; Martelli 1987; Padgett 1993, 228; Spivey 1987.

[44] Steingräber 2006, 15; the author indicates that, while there are 6000 Tarquinia chamber tombs, only around 2.5 percent had wall paintings, making this form of funerary decoration elite in nature.

[45] All dates of painted Etruscan tombs correspond to Steingräber's "Register of painted Etruscan tombs" in Steingräber 2006, 308-311; for more information on Etruscan wall painting, see Briguet 1986, 156-162; Harari and Gaultier 2000; Moretti 1970, Steingräber 1985, Steingräber 2006.

[46] For more information regarding Etruscan bronze work, see Briguet 1986, 138-151; Colivicchi 2000; Haynes 1985, 51-122; Richardson 1983.

The evidence is problematic, however, as many of the known Etruscan bronze objects are unprovenanced.[47] Many examples of decorated bronzes objects likely come from funerary contexts, although they represent object types that would also have been used outside of the grave. The production of bronze objects was regional in nature; Veii was a famous production center for bronzes in southern Etruria, although much of the bronze evidence in this area has been lost due to its sack by Rome in the 4th century BC. Other ancient centers for manufacture were in Tarquinia, Cerveteri, Vulci, Vetulonia, Populonia, Orvieto, Chiusi, Perugia, Arezzo, and Volterra.[48] Bronze objects were evident in Etruria throughout their history, and were produced in Etruria from the Villanovan period through the Hellenistic.[49]

Life-size and over life-size freestanding stone or terracotta sculpture was rarely produced in Etruria. However, evidence for stone funerary relief sculpture was widespread and also plays a vital role in this study. There are two categories of relief sculpture found in the Etruscan archaeological record: carved stone funerary reliefs and moulded terracotta plaques. Funerary reliefs are found on carved stone sarcophagi, ash urns, cippi, bases, and other forms.[50] Chiusi was a major production center for a variety of funerary relief types, all created in the period ranging from the end of the 6th century BC through the beginning of the 5th century BC.[51] Other production centers of stone relief

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[47] Haynes 1985, 52.
[48] Haynes 1985, 61-122.
[49] Richardson 1983, 3-7; the author indicates that, during the Villanovan and into the Orientalizing Period, groups of figurines were discovered in Etruria that she terms "Geometric" in style, based on Greek equivalents.
[50] The corpus of Chiusine funerary reliefs has been published in Jannot 1984, although the earlier Parabeni 1938 provides additional images of the examples. Brunn 1965 illustrates the corpus of later Etruscan sarcophagi and ash urns.
[51] Haynes 2000, 243-248.

are found at Volterra, beginning in the 6th century BC and Fiesole, at the end of the 6th

century. From the mid-5th century and onwards, Bologna, Tarquinia, and Vulci produced

decorated sarcophagi and stelai as well. Alabaster ash urns were produced at Volterra

from 400-250 BC and late ash urns, from the Hellenistic Period, were mass produced at

Chiusi and Perugia. Terracotta plaques used as architectural decoration also appear

beginning in the 6th century, at sites such as Veii, Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Tuscania, Poggio

Bucco, Poggio Civitate (Murlo), Acquarossa, Bolsena, Vulci, Vetulonia, Populonia,

Chiusi, Volterra, and elsewhere.[52] The examples from Murlo and Acquarossa are

especially important in this work. Despite the large corpus of terracotta and stone relief

sculpture, almost no large-scale, free-standing Etruscan sculpture is extant, and none

features iconography relate to performance.[53]

One of the challenges in understanding the forms of Etruscan visual culture

indicated above is the nature of the evidence. Etruscan archaeological remains are biased

towards the funerary, which is a result of several factors.[54] After the Romans subjugated

the Etruscans, they reused the sites of Etruscan cities for their own purposes while largely

leaving the Etruscan necropoleis intact. Roman construction and subsequent building

periods destroyed Etruscan evidence. Several of these non-funerary sites, such as the

Etruscan cities, are inaccessible to archaeologists because they have been continuously

inhabited since antiquity. Additionally, the Etruscan tomb was used as the final repository

for grave goods; some of these materials were intended specifically for the tomb, such as

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[52] Andrén 1940 offers a catalog comprising many of the then-known architectural terracottas, Also, more recent finds have been included in *Case e palazzi d'Etruria*, Stopponi, 1985.

[53] For information on Etruscan sculpture, see Bruni 2000; Haynes 1971.

[54] Haynes 2000, xviii; the author also indicates here that there are some modern factors at work, such as preferences, especially with early archaeologists, in investigating aristocratic tombs and unpublished materials in storage. See also Holliday 1990, 73; Spivey 1997, 9.

funerary relief sculpture and wall paintings, while other objects likely had multiple functions throughout their lifetime. However, may of the graves have been disturbed throughout Etruria, making it challenging to recreate mortuary rituals. Etruscan engraved and relief mirrors are one examples of this type of object. Additional items with possible uses outside the grave would include objects of personal adornment, such as engraved gems and jewelry, household items, such as ceramics, and bronze implements, and other objects that are discussed in this work, including dice and gaming pieces. Another important consideration is that the production of Etruscan artifacts and art was regional in nature. Specific types of objects have been associated with areas or cities, such as funerary relief sculpture from Chiusi of the 6th-5th centuries BC and the painted Tarquinian tombs from the 6th-2nd centuries BC.

Where appropriate, Greek comparanda is mentioned in a discussion of the Etruscan visual and material evidence. This is especially the case where Greek cultural influence is evident and relevant to understanding Etruscan material. However, it is not the aim of this study to compare Greek and Etruscan artifacts or visual culture with the goal of determining cultural similarities and differences.[55] It is the belief of the author that despite cultural influence and artistic borrowing, the Etruscan artists created unique and culturally specific meaning in their works, which should be understood on their own merits and which offer information about Etruscan society and relationships therein.[56]

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[55] Early scholarship often noted differences and even created an artistic hierarchy between the Greek and Etruscan evidence. For example, Beazley 1949, 4; "The Etruscans were slow to understand the majesty, the σεμνότης of fifth century Greek art: but when they did understand it, it appealed to something deeply fixed in their nature, and they never forgot it." In this current work, questions of artistic innovation and aesthetic value are not discussed, but questions of influence are included as considered relevant.

[56] Small 1994, 89; the author remarks "if the scholar removes his Greek sunglasses, he has a chance to view the Etruscans with merely modern eyes."

Because of this, throughout the following chapters, Etruscan names for deities are preferred in mythological contexts and, where needed, names of equivalent Greek and Roman gods and heroes are provided.[57] Additionally, the use of Greek terminology for Etruscan objects and iconographic subjects is carefully considered and used based on function, context, or clarity. With such diverse media and with the range of dates included, this study takes a thematic approach towards its analysis of performance in ancient Etruria.

Organization

This study is divided into five chapters and a conclusion. The main text is followed by a series of illustrated appendices (organized by media and type) of the figures and objects discussed in the text. The five chapters have been organized thematically, although some of the archaeological and iconographic material that is used as evidence proves to be relevant in more than one context. Chapter 1 sets the theoretical background and investigates the history of scholarship on performance; also included therein is a study of games, play, and spectacle theory. The aim of this chapter is to offer a framework for approaching the Etruscan material, and help address questions posed in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 2 begins an examination of the iconographic materials, namely depictions of dance and music. They are, by far, the two most frequently depicted Etruscan performance activities; they both appear in a wide variety of iconographic contexts

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[57] de Grummond 2006a, 19, provides a chart indicating the rough equivalent deities between the Greek, Roman, and Etruscan pantheon. The chart may be used as a general guide, although it is not able to indicated nuanced and significant differences between the associated deities.

throughout different Etruscan media, and are frequently related to revelry or to death and the funeral. Also introduced in this study are banqueting contexts and their role in Etruscan culture, especially in relation to the dancing and musical iconography. The evidence introduced in this chapter is discussed in subsequent chapters as well.

Chapter 3 investigates the Etruscan iconographic and archaeological record concerning play and games. The evidence is divided into four categories, corresponding with Caillois' analysis of cultural evidence.[58] The Etruscans approached games and play in several ways, depending on the type of occasion or activity. The iconography indicates there was a variation in the scale of different types of play, offers information regarding the relationship between performers and the audience members, and the possibility that play produces variable outcomes. Subjects investigated include games of chance, in their relationship to divination, as well as agonistic games, such as athletics, equestrian events, kottabos, and juggling. The limited corpus of masked figures in Etruria is also evaluated here in a discussion of theatrical performances. *Ilinx*, play resulting from the manipulation of one's inner equilibrium through acrobatics and the ingestion of wine, is also discussed in this chapter.

Chapters 4 and 5 are concerned with the iconography of spectacle. Chapter 4 introduces the concept of spectacle as public entertainment in the Etruscan world through an overview of extant architectural, iconographic, and archaeological evidence. This chapter also re-examines athletics and banqueting, in the context of public performance. Chapter 5 further explores concepts of public performance by examining iconographic evidence of processions. Processional iconography may be found in various

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[58] Namely *ilinx*, *agon*, *mimicry*, and *alea*; Caillois 2001, 14-26.

iconographic contexts, such as funerals, death and the underworld, magisterial events, and even in a few religious and mythological settings.

The Etruscan iconographic, architectural, and archaeological evidence used in this study is provided in the form of illustrated appendices, which are categorized according to medium and organized by date. Within each appendix, examples are arranged chronologically, where possible. The earliest materials examined in this work date to the Orientalizing Period in the 8th century BC and continue through the 2nd century BC, in the Hellenistic Period. More specifically, Appendix A contains a catalog of bronze engraved and relief mirrors dating to the 6th-3rd centuries BC, including undatable examples. Appendix B catalogs Etruscan wall painting from sites such as Tarquinia, Veii, Chiusi, Orvieto, Vulci, Grotte Santo Stefano, Cerveteri, and Sarteano, ranging in date from the 7th - end of the 3rd century BC. Appendix C includes bronze objects other than mirrors, such as bronze vessels, figurines, and figural attachments to candelabra and *thymiateria*, all dating from the 8th through the 2nd century BC. Appendix D contains images of engraved Etruscan gems. Some of these examples are undatable, given their portable nature and the loss of context. Appendix E records relevant examples of Etruscan relief sculpture from the 6th through the 2nd century BC. Most of the reliefs are carved from stone and are funerary in nature, but some examples are architectural terracottas dating to the 6th century BC. Appendix F lists relevant decorated ceramics, including impasto, bucchero, black- and red-figure pottery, all of which date to the period between the 7th through the 4th century BC. Finally, Appendix G contains miscellaneous evidence,

including vessels crafted of silver, architectural plans and decorative details, and dice and gaming pieces made from stone, glass, and other materials.[59]

Performance is an effective lens for understanding cultural change, in such areas as beliefs, values, and practices. The Etruscans incorporated performance into a variety of occasions, which were significant, transformative, and representative of the community. An examination of representations of such performative events in Etruscan visual culture, which includes dance, music, games, competitions, spectacle, and processions, provides cultural information not otherwise available in the archaeological record. This current study adopts a new approach towards understanding Etruscan culture, which combines well-known and studied examples of Etruscan visual culture with more obscure evidence. Moreover, a variety of media, such as architecture and excavation data, are included where relevant and available, although it is primarily through iconography that we may better understand the ephemeral messages of culture in Etruscan society.

An examination of Etruscan material culture offers the opportunity to examine the roles performance plays in Etruscan culture. Iconographic depictions of performance were susceptible to outside influence in the 6th and 5th centuries BC, but also adopted and inbued their cultural practices with specific meaning, such as with the identity of the performers, the choice of types of performers, and the relationships of the actors and the audience.

The observable changes in performance iconography offer support to the idea that there was an iconographic shift occurring in the 4th century BC in Etruria. At this time, dance, music, and gaming iconography were abandoned; the nature of spectacle changed,

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[59] For more information regarding Etruscan architecture, see Boëthius 1978; Prayon 1986.

instead focusing on the procession, rather than large-scale banqueting, athletic events, or the prothesis. Performance iconography also demonstrates complexity in relationships between performers and spectators and the ubiquitous inclusion of these activities during the 6th and 5th centuries BC; limited Greek and Latin textual evidence confirms the association of the Etruscans with proficiency at dance and music and the importance that they placed on games.

Chapter 1: Performance and Etruscan Visual Culture

<u>Defining Performance</u>

The study of performance provides insight into diverse cultural interactions and social relationships and may especially be useful in an investigation of the archaeological record. But first it must be asked, what exactly is performance? Indeed, at its very core, the concept of performance may be considered liminal and placed "betwixt and between"[1] everyday life in society. Performance is defined as "an essentially contested concept…its very existence is bound up in disagreement about what it is."[2] In fact, ritual scholar Bell observes that the very usefulness of performance theory is that it is resistant to universal categorization and is, in fact, "broadly conceived, flexible, hospitable to difference and experimentation."[3] The study of performance is complex and multivalent in its approach, with numerous and variable definitions available.

The term performance may be defined as "organized human behavior presented before witnesses" and, as it is so inclusive, holds widely ranging applications and possibilities.[4] Performance theorist Richard Schechner indicates that the term 'performance' may be applied to activities that fall into the emically defined category of

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[1] Turner 1969, 95.
[2] Strine, Long, and Hopkins 1990, 183; first written by W. Gallie, 1964. *Philosophy and the Historical Understanding*, 187-188.
[3] Bell 1998, 220.
[4] Pearson and Shanks, xiii; this is only one of several definitions of performance Schechner provides.

"is" performance, such as plays and other forms of public entertainment.[5] Performance

also includes the provisionally defined category of "as" performance, which opens up a

much wider range of human behaviors for study, as well as objects, images, and theatrical

spaces.[6] Schechner's inclusionary approach corresponds effectively with Inomata and

Coben's definition of the archaeology of performance, which holds that ancient

performance *can* be accessed archaeologically through theatrical spaces, images, and

material objects.[7] Furthermore, Carlson states "our lives are structured according to

repeated and socially sanctioned modes of behavior [which] raises the possibility that all

human activity could potentially be considered as performance."[8] This study approaches

Etruscan visual, and to an extent, material culture from the perspective that iconography

and archaeology offers information about cultural performance, otherwise ephemeral,

that may be accessed through study.[9]

    Schechner writes that "performance must be construed as a 'broad spectrum' or

'continuum' of human actions ranging from ritual, play, sports, popular entertainments,

the performing arts (theatre, dance, music), and everyday life performances to the

enactment of social, professional, gender, race, and class roles."[10] As such, performance

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[5] The terms 'emic' and 'etic' reference the distinction between the inside and outside views of a culture, respectively. See Johnson 1999, 78-79.

[6] Schechner 2002, 30; note that performance does not necessarily equal theater. Much performance theory scholarship distinguishes theater and ritual based activity, as Schechner indicates, on function and context; Schechner 2003, 130.

[7] Inomata and Coben. 2006, 29-31; this work, titled *Archaeology of Performance. Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics,* is an important, edited work in which multiple authors apply performance theory to ancient archaeological and iconographic evidence.

[8] Carlson 2004, 4.

[9] Here, culture is so defined as "an entity, grouping, system identified by shared attributes," from Pearson 1994, 135. The Etruscans comprise a cultural group, not because they existed as a monolithic political entity in antiquity, but because they shared the same language and religious practices, among other similarities.

[10] Schechner 2002, 2.

theory may be applied to all forms of human activities, including, but not only, those that are defined emically as performance, such as theatrical events, dance, music-making, and acting. It may, however, also be used towards an understanding of other activities not traditionally considered as performance, such as everyday life, technology, sex, sacred and secular ritual, play, and business, although Schechner indicates that this list is not exhaustive.[11] Bell agrees that the use of the "framework based on metaphors of performance" has allowed for a flexible application of performance theory applied to disparate cultures and types of evidence.[12] Emically defined performance, if available, has the potential to offer insights about social and cultural values and human interactions. Performance references life itself, as it involves "a consciousness of doubleness, according to which the actual execution of an action is placed in mental comparison with a potential, and ideal, or a remembered original model of that action."[13] In other words, performance aims to be but never succeeds at being the thing which it emulates; it is the tension between the two that creates the doubling.

Performance may either reinforce social values or offer an occasion for subverting them.[14] It may be comprised of formal, prescribed behaviors, as observed in theatrical productions, or be informed and of the everyday. The study of performance is useful, in part, because of the latter's reference to familiar, daily activities. Schechner indicates that this type of cultural event "shares characteristics with a nexus of activities including play,

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[11] Schechner 2002, 25.
[12] Bell 1998, 218.
[13] Carlson 2004, 5.
[14] Turner 1986, 130-138, offers an example of "antistructure" in the Brazilian Carnival with the inversion of everyday social realities by its participants.

games, sport, and ritual." [15] Performance is also ephemeral. The actual actions of the

performer and the reception by the spectators themselves cannot be captured, and when

they are represented through iconography, they cannot be represented in their exact form.

What the study of performance can do, however, is offer a framework for understanding

ephemeral activities through remains and iconographic studies and therefore help

understand experience, relationships, and the potential for mutability. Although multiple

understandings of performance are possible, this study focuses on its definition as a

"recognized and culturally coded pattern of behavior," that is to say, a formal, public self-

consciousness and reflexively monitored behavior with overt theatrical components. [16]

One especially important question to consider at the outset is the relationship of

ritual to performance. Any discussion of ancient performance must also discuss the

interface with cultic and religious behavior. Bell defines ritual activity as "a matter of

relatively scripted actions, structurally distinct from non-ritual action and possessing

certain apparently universal properties." [17] Ritual action is separated from the everyday in

order to *mark* its importance, although this is not what *makes* it important. Instead,

significance is indicated by "its ability to influence, or even transform, the everyday." [18]

Moreover, ritual and play have a strong relationship both in specific cultural contexts and

in theoretical analysis. Schechner, for example, indicates that performance can result

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[15] Pearson 1994, 134.
[16] Carlson 2004, 4.
[17] Bell 1998, 215.
[18] Mitchell 2007, 336.

from the interaction of play and ritual, leading to "twice-behaved behavior", or "restored behavior."[19]

In this study, the implications of ritual behavior and occasions of performance are examined in the Etruscan evidence. However, not all religious activities, such as divination, sacrifice, dedicatory, or prayer acts are included here. Although a complete examination of Etruscan ritual is outside the purview of this study, to neglect it would result in separating the sacred and the secular, a dichotomy that was not generally observable in antiquity.[20] The examples are discussed in connection with performance contexts, such as funerary banquets, affairs of state, and processional activities, which are the occasions for music, dance, games, competitions and the like.

Additional questions may be asked from a general perspective; what is the relationship between performers and spectators? And what are their responses to the performance? Any performance, whether involved with play, ritual, or spectacle, always includes an audience and a performer;[21] with these types of activities, there is always present "some audience that recognizes and validates it as performance."[22] These entities may even be conflated, in the case of a performer acting alone, for instance. The audience, however, is a completely separate entity or there may be a more permeable and variable relationship between the two. In some situations, performers and spectators may

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[19] Schechner 2002, 22, 28; restored behavior may be intentional or unintentional, and involves rehearsal or previously prepared actions.

[20] Sannibale 2004, 81-82.

[21] Pearson 1994, 134; Beeman 1993, 379. Beeman also adds here that meaning is contingent upon the presence of an audience in instances of theatrical performance and is not necessary in the cases of other types of performances.

[22] Carlson 2005, 5; Beeman 1993, 383-384, offers possible roles for the audience, including the audience as participant, witness, or evaluator. See also Lonsdale 1993, 33-37 for a discussion of the connection between play and ritual in the context of Greek dance.

not be human; one or the other may be divine, supernatural, or a spirit by nature.

Reactions to any type of performance may vary, and can include mixed or ambivalent

responses in the same audience.[23]

Such a theoretical approach proves useful with regard to the Etruscan

archaeological record due to the nature of the evidence. The iconography of banqueting,

funerals, and civic occasions can help elucidate relationships, ritual and play activities,

transformative occasions, and power. The manner and contexts in which the Etruscan

performers and audience interact demonstrate class relationships, methods of public

display of status, and an emphasis on important types of performance. Through the lens

of performance, messages communicated by visual culture can be interpretatively

accessed, although such an understanding is necessarily and understandably contingent

on time and place. Modern viewership is not only from the perspective of an outsider, but

from one removed by chronological considerations. Performance enables a better

understanding of ancient cultures "by placing theatrical events in specific social and

historical contexts."[24] It is on these premises that this study investigates and analyzes the

Etruscan iconographic record.

Not only may the concept of performance itself be considered liminal, but the

field of performance studies crosses boundaries and is interdisciplinary, drawing together

scholars and ideas from fields of anthropology, sociology, linguistics, psychology,

history, ethology, cultural studies, queer theory, psychoanalysis, semiotics, media, and

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[23] Inomata and Coben 2007; Nuckolls 2007; Schechner 2002, 85, also indicates the potential for professional or official individuals who watch performance and play, such as judges and officials. These individuals may offer another potential type of experience for individuals that are a type of audience member. Pearson 1994, 134-135, would include the critic here, who is responsible in particular for an active evaluation which is then shared with the relevant community.

[24] Inomata and Coben 2006, 33.

popular cultural theory.[25]   Many of these areas of study, however, focus on issues related
to modern cultural construction and their approach would be too anachronistic in an
analysis of Etruscan visual culture. The following discussion introduces some concepts
from the rich body of theoretical scholarship as it applies specifically to ancient
performance. The summary below is intended to be a general overview rather than a
comprehensive presentation of the state of the research.[26]

Performance Scholarship

      Although the concept of performance emerged in anthropology at the beginning
of the 20th century, it was only by the 1950s that its potential in understanding human
behavior and cultural activities began to attract wider attention. Anthropologist Arnold
van Gennep's *The Rites of Passage*, originally published in French as *Le rites de passage*
in 1908, is a seminal work in this direction. He investigated rites of passage in society,
the tripartite structure of which he identified as a model for ritual activities which have
the ability to transform the participants in some integral way. Victor Turner expounded
upon van Gennep's research through his book *Schism and Continuity* (1957) and *The
Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (1967). Turner argued that ritual can be
subdivided into three parts: namely separation, transformation, and reintegration. Not
only did Turner employ this scheme in his own analysis of puberty rites, he also
expanded this analytical model to apply to broader social change, and what he terms
"social dramas". The application of this tripartite scheme applies just as well to

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[25] Carlson 2004, 6.

[26] For a more comprehensive overview, and one that also includes information concerning scholarship of
postmodern topics and analyses, see Schechner 2013, 1-27.

individuals who broke from the "structures of ongoing life, the entrance of groups of individuals into liminal transitory state" as it did to those reintegrated "into a reconstituted social order."[27] Turner, like van Gennep, paid close attention to the liminal nature of performance and emphasized its structural characteristics and transformative potential. According to these scholars, ritual, which is able to inspire change, occupies a liminal place and it is only with the lifting of cultural norms, expectations, and roles that new and different cultural realities emerge.

Turner also explored the meaning of the term 'liminality' in cultural behavior. The limen, a threshold, acts as the dividing line and the place joining two spaces, considered neither inside nor outside. In performance, it "retains its peculiar quality of passageway."[28] Turner argues that ritual has the ability, among other things, to invert order in a society temporarily.[29] His early work with Ndembu ritual derived from his own observations of theatrical drama coupled with van Gennep's tripartite structure. By referencing performance and theater in such a manner, Turner used "drama as a metaphor for non-theatrical cultural manifestations."[30]

Turner's subsequent scholarship was conducted in conjunction with the performance theorist Schechner who has been instrumental in the development of Performance Studies as a discrete academic field.[31] Schechner's research bridges the

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[27] Beeman 1993, 379.
[28] Schechner 2002, 59.
[29] The related term 'liminoid' is one that Turner only applies to contemporary societies; liminoid activities involve leisure time and voluntary acts, including entertainment and recreation.
[30] Carlson 2004, 16-17.
[31] Carlson 2004, 16; here, the author indicates that Schechner has been instrumental in bridging the divide between theory and practical application. Schechner 2002, 11-13; Turner and Schechner met in 1977 when collaborating on a conference, which resulted in the production of three additional conferences from 1981-1982. The three conferences resulted in the publication of the work *By Means of Performance* (1990).

social sciences and theater research, contributing to both theoretical discussions of

performance as well as practical applications towards theatrical productions,[32] and has

"offered provocative connections among ritual, experiments in performance art, and

cross-cultural dimensions of expressive physical movement."[33]

The collaboration between Schechner and Turner focused on what they termed

'social and aesthetic drama'. Social and aesthetic dramas differ from each other in several

key ways. In aesthetic drama, there is a separation between the actors and the actions or

the story being performed. Social drama allows for permanent change for those

involved.[34] Combinations of aesthetic and social drama are possible, and may result in

partly permanent transformations and partly temporary ones.[35] They studied multiple

categories of performance, including ritual (sacred and secular) and social dramas.[36]

According to Schechner, play activities are a performative arena, in which social

rules and restrictions are both enforced and suspended. While "play is 'free activity' […]

ritual is strictly programmed […] games, sports, and theater (dance, music) mediate

between these extremes. It is in these activities that people express their *social*

behavior."[37] Schechner argues that there are shared qualities between ritual, theater, play,

games and sports: "1) a special ordering of time; 2) a special value attached to objects; 3)

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[32] Carlson 2004, 17.
[33] Bell 1998, 206.
[34] Carlson 2004, 223; Schechner 2003, 192; See Lissarrague 1990, 19-23, for an examination of the *symposion* as an example.
[35] Schechner 2003, 192; the author identifies examples here as including "rites of passage" and "political ceremonies."
[36] Schechner 2003, 292-3, 295; Schechner provides an extensive chart outlining "time, space, and event parameters of performance without regard to culture or genres."
[37] Schechner 2003, 15.

non-productivity in terms of goods; 4) rules. Often special places – non-ordinary places –

are set aside or constructed to perform these activities in."[38]

Besides anthropological research, other fields of the social sciences, such as

sociology, have contributed to the theoretical discourse on performance.[39] As mentioned

previously, performance itself is mutable and polyvalent; appropriately, its scholarly

definitions are also wide-ranging.[40] The sociologist Goffman was the first to study a

wide swath of everyday interactions through the lens of performance, as he argued that

performance is "all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by

his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some effect on

the observers."[41] Such a broad definition has been met with criticism.[42] Goffman's

theories did, however, initiate a useful debate as to what types of behavior can and should

be included in the definition of performance.

Another important contribution that Goffman made to the study of performance

theory concerns cultural cues that announce an event, dubbed "framing". Although first

introduced by Bateson in an article entitled, "A Theory of Play and Fantasy" (1955),[43]

the concept is elaborated upon by Goffman. Just as a curtain can mark the beginning and

ending of a play, so cultural, spatial, or other types of cues can guide an understanding of

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[38] Schechner 2003, 8.

[39] Carlson's *Performance: A Critical Introduction* (2004) discusses the association of performance with play and liminality. Although the majority of this work focuses on issues associated with performance art and contemporary historical contexts, the first chapters offer an outline and a detailed summary of the scholarship in the field.

[40] Carlson 2004, 61; see also Schechner 2002, 110-111; Linguistic philosopher Austin's *How to Do Things with Words* (1962) suggested that a performative utterance "does not simply make a statement…but also performs an action – as, for example, when one christens a ship or takes marriage vows."

[41] Goffman 1959, 22.

[42] Goffman 1959, 15-16. A performance is defined as "all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion, which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants"; Inomata and Coben 2006, 14.

[43] Bateson 1955; the author indicates the close connection between metacommunication (a signal that indicates to the viewer how they ought to receive the message that they are given) and framing.

the parameters of any kind of performance. The behavior of the actors occupying such a

"frame are governed by rules of behavior separate from those governing the world of

everyday action in which they are embedded."[44] This concept may be identified in

Etruscan iconography, as specific elements are present that indicate to the viewer that

performances are taking place, such as at a banquet, athletic event, or a funeral. In

archaeology, seminal works include the *Archaeology of Performance* (2006) and Coben

and Pearson and Shanks' *Theatre/Archaeology* (2001).[45] The former offers case studies,

in which performance theories have been applied to archaeological evidence, while the

latter explores the symbiotic relationship between archaeology and theater in a largely

experimental, narrative-driven exploration of how performance and theater models can

mutually inform investigations into material culture.[46]

Spectacle Scholarship

Spectacle is another category that informs this study and retains an association

with the notion of a public event.[47] It is generally defined as a type of performance

occurring in the presence of witnesses, with cultural cues that distinguish it from ordinary

performance and communicate messages important to that culture.[48] Certainly, spectacles

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[44] Beeman 1993, 373.

[45] Most recently, the publication of *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion* (2011) serves as a foundation for an investigation into topical approaches of the study of religion and ritual, including anthropology, archaeology, history, and religious studies.

[46] Schechner 2007, 197.

[47] Bergmann 1999, 10-11, indicates that the term spectacle may also, in the modern sense, be associated with a pejorative meaning. This chapter does not approach and apply the term using this modern meaning.

[48] Handelman 1990, 7; the author indicates that criteria for these types of events, which he terms "public events" is emically determined. Handelman writes here: "my position is closer to a technology of events, of the identification of logics of their design, themselves embedded in cultural matrices that imbue these designs with significance and that put them to work in cultural ways." Meaning is not universal, therefore, but instead is tied to a cultural context.

are specific types of performances, while not all performances may be interpreted as spectacles.[49] Bergman writes that "*spectacle* is understood as a human-made, multimedia event, described by ancient writers as a wonder or miracle to behold."[50] Beeman defines spectacle as "a public display of a society's central meaningful elements,"[51] while for Inomata and Coben, "the primary function of the spectacle is a gathering centered on theatrical performance of a certain scale in clear spatial and temporal frames, in which participants witness and sense the presence of others and share a certain experience."[52] Inomata and Coben entertain the notion of framing, a term first proposed by Bateson (1955) and expounded upon by Goffman (1974).[53]

According to Bell, power implied by a spectacular display refers "less to physical control of people than to social prestige or the concern to secure the dominance of models of reality that render one's world coherent and viable."[54] The Etruscans utilized spectacle, especially in the contexts of funerary activities, processions, and civic events, to affirm cultural importance of cultural behaviors and the groups which participate. The use of spectacle was also observed elsewhere in the Classical world; spectacle is especially connected to large-scale funerary games, triumphs, and other expressions of the wealth and/or power of individuals in the Roman Republic and Empire.

The scale of performance should be considered when identifying and analyzing spectacle. Houston argues that "depending on scale, the preparation, intensity, and ability

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[49] Houston 2006, 139, 149, indicates that multiple spectacles grouped together may be termed a festival.
[50] Bergman 1999, 16.
[51] Beeman 1993, 380.
[52] Inomata and Coben 2006, 16.
[53] Goffman 1986, 10-11; "…definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them."
[54] Bell 1998, 206.

to influence must vary",[55] and that "spectacle is inherently staged and achieves greater intensity by including a welter of central and marginal activities and central and marginal people."[56] Spectacle, as a type of performance, is also experienced and executed by different elements of society because of its ability "to mirror, multiply, subvert, and constitute new realities."[57] Debord's seminal work, *The Society of the Spectacle* (1970), has proved important for interpretations of spectacle, by identifing the manufacture of appearance by one group that serves to affect and exert control over a second group. Specific applications of contemporary concepts, however, such as capitalism and bureaucracy, in regards to the domination of workers through deception generally prove anachronistic if applied to the ancient world.[58] However, meaningful social elements can be communicated to the physical viewer iconographically, and we, the viewer, can also observe the transmission of messages and values through the depictions of the audience and those creating the spectacle. Through iconographic depictions of spectacle, ephemeral evidence for the communication of culturally important public messages are given physical embodiment. Architectural evidence represented by physical spaces may be utilized as well, to create a backdrop highlighting the significance and scale of the performance. Given the relative scarcity and limited typology of evidence in Etruria, its usefulness is limited.

MacAloon (1984) identifies the criteria for spectacles in the context of a discussion of the Olympic Games in modern culture. First, spectacles must be grand and

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[55] Houston 2006, 136.
[56] Houston 2006, 138.
[57] Bergman 1999, 20.
[58] Debord 1994, 24, 41.

of a certain size, the determination of which is emically defined. Additionally, spectacle

emphasizes the visual; primacy is given to sight, while the other senses are deemed

ancillary. Performers and audiences are necessary; finally, spectacles conjure excitement

based on the dynamic performances.[59] Anthropologist Beeman has compared spectacle

and theater and has noted differences between them.[60] For both spectacle and theater, an

audience helps to give meaning, although also included in a spectacle is the audience's

evaluation of the performance, while in theater they are meant to observe.[61] Symbolic

reality is the focus for both theater and spectacle, although in spectacle, performers are

"representatives of a larger group or a larger reality,"[62] while in theater, action is

separated from everyday life by means of framing cues. Finally, intent separates

spectacle from theater; the frame may effect real change, such as with Turner's "social

dramas", while the latter is meant for entertainment.

Inomata and Coben's *Archaeology of Performance* (2006), mentioned above,

explores definitional aspects of spectacle and performance and examines the link to

communities and power, giving global comparanda from Egypt, Classic Maya, the Inca,

and other New World archaeological examples. Inomata and Coben claim archaeology

can "make significant contributions in the study of performance and power through the

analysis of theatrical space, iconography, and material objects by placing theatrical

events in specific social and historical contexts."[63] An analysis of the Etruscan evidence

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[59] MacAloon 1984, 243-244.

[60] Beeman 1993, 372-373; according to Beeman, performance-related research, including the theater and ritual, has outpaced the focus of scholarship concerning the analysis of spectacle

[61] MacAloon 1984, 266; for MacAloon, however, the audience is institutionalized and the freedom in interpreting the event is limited

[62] Beeman 1993, 379.

[63] Inomata and Coben 2006, 33.

supports this hypothesis. Spectacle in Etruscan iconography may be understood in addition to and alongside other performance activities, such as dance, music, and athletics. Inomata and Coben indicate that public events constituting spectacle may be understood at occupying a place on "one end of this continuum" of performances, with small-scale, intimate, and personal examples on the other.[64] Spectacle ultimately provides insight into a type of power communication that is otherwise not extant in the archaeological or textual record.

Play and Games

 A discussion of play is integrally related to any discussion of performance and ritual. In fact, Schechner has defined performance as "ritualized behavior conditioned/permeated by play."[65] Numerous scholars, including Schechner, Carlson, MacAloon, entertain play in their discussions of performance theory. Play has long been associated with performance in scholarly analyses of the subject in that play and performance overlap in several key ways. According to Schechner, like performance, "play is very hard to pin down or define. It is a mood, an activity, an eruption of liberty; sometimes it is rule-bound, sometimes very free."[66] Folklorist and play theorist Sutton-Smith's book, *The Ambiguity of Play* (1997), is a study of play and its variable nature as observed through a variety of disciplines, such as the educational, sociological, and metaphysical, and which references the paradoxical nature of play in the title itself.

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[64] Inomata and Coben 2006, 16.
[65] Schechner 2003, 99.
[66] Schechner 2002, 79.

A variety of approaches exist to help us understand play activities. Schechner outlines seven ways of examining play: structure, process, experience, function, ideology, and frame of play, as well as the development of play by an individual or a species.[67] However, it is two other theorists, Caillois and Huizinga, whose contributions have influenced the studies of play the most. Huizinga, in his foundational work, *Homo Ludens* (1938), claims that there are universal characteristics of play. He was one of the first scholars to analyze play and its meaning to society in a systematic way. Huizinga established qualities of play activity, which sociologist Caillois modified and expounded upon in *Man, Play and Games,* first published in French as *Les jeux et les hommes* (1958). Both Huizinga and Caillois offer six characteristics for their definition of play activities in ideal situations.[68] First, all types of play activities are voluntary.[69] Next, play exists outside of everyday life in a temporary world, another reality or life.[70] Additionally, it is not perpetual but is enacted within time and space that is limited and measured.[71] Fourth, play exists with its own rules and sense of order.[72] For activity to be considered play, there has to be an unknown and uncertain outcome.[73] Finally, the end result of play is that it is unproductive; neither wealth nor any kind of material gain can

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[67] Schechner 2002, 83-4.

[68] Ehrmann 1971, 48-55; Ehrmann questions this concept of a "pure society" in which games and play are conducted in their true form. The use of the term "Corruption of play" by Caillois, for example, opposes the reality of play with the nostalgia for a cultural ideal that does not exist.

[69] Caillois 2001, 9; Huizinga 1960, 7.

[70] Caillois 2001, 10; Huizinga 1060, 8.

[71] Caillois 2001, 9; Huizinga 1960, 9.

[72] Caillois 2001, 10; Huizinga 1960, 10-11; In fact, it is the breaking of these rules that causes the collapse of the world of play, according to Huizinga.

[73] Caillois 2001, 9.

be created as a result of play activity.[74] It is this final category that especially inspires

disagreement concerning play activities, because this utopic type of play rarely exists

except as an ideal.

Caillois deviates from Huizinga in his discussion of play through his analysis and

inclusion of categories of gaming activities. Although both scholars are interested in the

categorization of play, Caillois indicates that occasions and examples of play fall on a

continuum between two opposing terms, *paidia* and *ludus*,[75] referring to carefree or

"uncontrolled fantasy" and to organized or framed play, respectively.[76] Throughout this

continuum, Caillois further divides instances of play into four categories, *agon*, *alea*,

mimicry, and *ilinx*, and includes examples of play activities and games that represent each

category.[77] These terms can prove useful in understanding basic attributes of games,

although many examples of play, in practice, involve aspects of more than one category;

thus, the strict application of the categories of play would be misleading and artificial.

A closer examination of Caillois' analysis reveals the potential for a variety of

play activities. The first category, *alea,* refers to games of fate, games in which the

outcome of the game is largely independent of the actions of the player; an Etruscan

example of this would include games played with dice on the *tabula lusora*, which is

evidenced in the 4th century Tomb of the Reliefs in Cerveteri (G301). The Etruscans

placed importance on the idea of fate and the will of the gods throughout their history.

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[74] Caillois 2001, 10; Ehrmann 1971, 42-48, challenges the idea that there can ever be, even with ideal conditions, play that does not cost or gain something. At the very least, one who plays expends energy and time, and receives satisfaction of personal desires. There is no depreciation evident.

[75] Caillois 2001, 13; *Paidia* from the Greek word παις, meaning "a child" and *ludus* from the Latin for "play, game or sport."

[76] Caillois 2001, 13.

[77] Caillois 2001, 12.

The term *agon* refers to competitive games; these are games in which the players directly influence the outcome through skill, experience, speed, strength and other such attributes. Although there are numerous examples of sporting events in Etruscan culture, an *agon* can also refer to other types of competitions, such as hunting activities.

The third category of acts of play is termed *mimicry*, involving the illusory adoption of an imaginary identity or another universe. The player "forgets, disguises, or temporarily sheds his personality in order to feign another."[78] Actors and theatrical performers commonly occupy this category. Emically constructed performance activities in Etruscan contexts may be included in here, such as the performances by masked figures, dancers and musicians, as well as acrobats, jugglers, and other activities, all of which are iconographically represented and occasionally even referenced in Latin and Greek texts.

Caillois' fourth and final category of play is *ilinx*. *Ilinx* refers to the state of vertigo, a disruption in the "stability of perception", or purposeful disorientation brought about by such bodily movement as repetitive rotation, falls, or intoxication.[79] While this is the least frequently demonstrated type of play in Etruscan iconography, there are some identifiable examples that may be included in this category, including the participation in banquets, and the consequential consumption of wine, some types of dance activities, and acrobatic maneuvers. Carlson also observes in this category of play an emphasis on subversion brought about by the "body set free from the normal structures of control and

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[78] Caillois 2001, 19.
[79] Caillois 2001, 23.

meaning."[80] The disorientation, which is part of the aftermath of intoxication, may also be referenced in bacchic iconography in Etruscan media, especially in engraved mirrors and in vase painting.

The application of Caillois' play categories to Etruscan iconography offers insight into the performances included in iconographic examples, such as dance, music-making, acrobatics, sports, hunting, drunken activities, spinning toys, board games, and other games of chance. Play activities primarily associated with *mimicry*, including dance and music, are discussed in Chapter 2, and those connected with the categories of *alea*, *agon*, and *ilinx* including sporting events, drinking, acrobatics, juggling, and board games, are examined in Chapter 3.

Caillois' analysis of play is useful in understanding the types of games and related behaviors that are observable in a society. In actuality, such behaviors are rarely confined purely to one category. Anything beyond a perfunctory categorizing of types of play activities require a more complex and nuanced analysis of the evidence. This kind of categorical diversion, therefore, has limited uses. Ehrmann (1968) critiques Caillois and Huizinga by indicating that the play theorists each share the same perspective that concepts of seriousness, such as "consciousness, utility, instinct, reality" are separated from play acts and their related qualities of "dreams, gratuitousness, nobility, imagination…"[81] In this way, Ehrmann argues, Caillois and Huizinga artificially utilize the state of seriousness as a false "reality" from which play springs. Ehrmann would argue there is no preference for seriousness over play, or vice-versa. Other works discuss

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[80] Carlson 2004, 22.
[81] Ehrmann 1968, 33.

the function of play and its application towards an understanding of cultural ephemera. Turner (1983) includes play in the context of performance, indicating that it is both subversive and educative. Turner also identifies play as liminal or "liminoid," finding more meaning through its separateness from everyday activities, rather than through any kind of structural analysis, as has been mentioned previously with regard to Huizinga and Caillois.[82]

More recently the theologian and theorist Carse has written on the structure of games in *Finite and Infinite Games* (1986), dividing games into two general groups as the title suggests, finite and infinite. As may be inferred from the terminology, infinite games are meant to be played with an understanding that the ultimate goal is the playing itself, not towards any particular end, while finite games are played with a clear, winnable goal in mind.[83] Unlike Caillois' division of games, into *paida* and *ludus*, Carse's division is not especially concerned with the manner in which games are played, but focuses instead on the nature of the end goal. Carse' perspective corresponds also with Schechner's observations in which he states that "cultures are infinite games. The ultimate infinite game is the open-ended play that sustains existence."[84]

Play has also been divided by Sutton-Smith in *The Ambiguity of Play* (1997), into seven 'rhetorics'. The term rhetoric is used "in its modern sense, as being a persuasive discourse, or an implicit narrative, wittingly or unwittingly adopted by members of a particular affiliation to persuade others of the veracity and worthwhileness of their

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[82] Turner 1983; 232-236; here, Turner also references Caillois' categories of play and games.
[83] Carse 1986, 3.
[84] Schechner 2002, 87.

beliefs."[85] The seven rhetorics are indicated as: play as progress, play as fate, play as

power, play as identity, play as the imaginary, rhetoric of the self, and play as frivolous.[86]

Of these categories, several are connected with modern concepts, especially rhetoric of

the self, progress, and the imaginary, and are not relevant to the current examination of

Etruscan visual and material culture.

Schechner includes the study of play activities in his investigation of occasions of

performance.[87] He states that the role of play in a given society "both expresses and

drives social life,"[88] and indicates that, like performance activities, those who participate

in games and play may have different experience, and may even have multiple

experiences that change over time.[89] Schechner offers a definition of games: they "are

highly structured events whose rules are known by all the players. Games are played in

specific designated places…, move towards definite outcomes, and have as players

persons who are clearly marked, even uniformed."[90]

Play is included in the current study because, like other types of performance, it

offers information about cultural values, experiences, structures, and relationships. The

appearance of games, in particular, provides visual cues for the presence of play; and as

there is a paucity of written evidence to otherwise inform the viewer, games make up the

majority of the evidence in this Etruscan context.   Play in Etruscan culture is explored

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[85] Sutton-Smith 1997, 8.
[86] Sutton-Smith 1997, 9-11.
[87] Schechner 2002; Schechner lists these sometimes separate and sometimes overlapping situations as" everyday life, the arts, sports/entertainment, business, technology, sex, sacred/secular ritual, and in play.
[88] Schechner 2002, 85.
[89] Schechner 2002, 87-88; while play activities and games may look the same between individuals with different experiences. The idea of "fun" is much trickier to identify in the iconographic and archaeological record; Schechner here also indicates that "moods are especially labile, shifting suddenly and totally."
[90] Schechner 2002, 87.

in the following chapters through various types of cultural activities that have been

attested to in the archaeological and iconographic record, and in the case of dance and

music-making, with limited textual evidence.[91] Other types of behavior that carry

elements of play include emic performance activities, such as juggling, acrobatics,

athletics, music-making, dancing, and behaviors connected with funerary contexts and

bacchic revelry.

Etruscan Performance

Etruscan archaeology has seen major changes in the past 20 years, including a

greater adoption of theory. Earlier studies aimed to understand Greek influence and

examine to what extent Etruscan art deviated from a Greek ideal. This situation was, to a

great extent, inspired by questions of artistic influence from the Greeks and further east

since trade began in earnest in the Archaic Period.[92] However, in the past few decades,

Etruscan scholarship has begun to address issues of material culture on its own accord

and has seen theoretical approaches applied to its cultural record. Scholars continue to

investigate Etruscan archaeology and iconography based on questions that seek to inform

on Etruscan civilization, and exclusively on how and to what extent it deviates from

Greek models.

Performance is a complex concept, encompassing many different types of

behaviors. In the subsequent chapter topics related to play, ritual, and spectacle, all of

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[91] See the Introduction for an overview of the Greek and Latin sources which reference Etruscan performance and games.

[92] Etruscans appreciated Attic painted pottery, as evidenced by its discovery throughout Etruscan tombs and the artistic influence in style and subject on Etruscan-made painted pottery; on this issue more widely, see Boardman 1994a. Debate still continues regarding to what extent the Etruscan market affected painted decoration. See Curry 2000, Lewis 2003; Lynch 2009, 159-163; Shapiro 2000.

which are connected to aspects of Etruscan performance are explored. Not only are ritual and play to be considered types of performance themselves, but according to Schechner, they are "present in all of the situations as qualities, inflections, or moods."[93] The brief discussion of performance theory given above serves to situate the following chapters in the context of an ongoing academic dialogue, with considerations of space, framing, spectators, performers, cultural messages and other implications. At the same time, the study of performance allows for the exploration of questions derived from the Etruscan iconographic record. Performances are capable of creating change or enforcing values for both individuals and groups of people. Performances also reflect cultural relationships between performers, spectators, those with power and those without, as well as organized and spontaneous activities. This is accomplished through distinguishing performers from spectators and evaluating their interactions, as well as identifying contexts for performances. Patterns may be found chronologically; in the 6th and 5th centuries BC, especially, the Etruscans invested in visual means to depict performance. Also, funerary iconography incorporated similar visual cues indicating the intentional communication of power between aristocratic families and the rest of the population. In the end, the investigation of performance-related topics, in light of the representational evidence, "point to the significance of a deliberate, self-conscious 'doing' of highly symbolic actions in public as key to what makes ritual theater, and spectacle what they are."[94]

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[93] Schechner 2002, 25.
[94] Bell 1998, 219.

Chapter 2: Music and Dance

<u>Introduction</u>

An investigation of Etruscan iconography pertaining to dance, music, and their associated contexts offers clues towards an understanding of social relationships and cultural behavior. According to Carlson, "within every culture there can be discovered a certain kind of activity, set apart from other activities by space, time, attitude or all three, that can be spoken of and analyzed as performance."[1] Performance serves varied purposes such as "assisting in mobilizing a public by offering something good to look at… [and] functioning as a medium of communication."[2] In Etruscan visual culture, several emically constructed performance activities may be identified. The most frequently depicted types of performers in Etruscan art were dancers and musicians, who were often illustrated together. [3] Etruscan dancers and/or musicians frequently appear in banqueting, mythological, civic, ritual, or funerary contexts, which include identifiable deities, legendary characters or figures from the everyday. Some performances are depicted in otherwise unidentifiable or generalized contexts, likely taken from daily life. Other types of performance are connected with spectacle or games/play and are discussed in subsequent chapters. As there is a paucity of successfully translated Etruscan textual

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[1] Carlson 2004, 13.
[2] Naerebout 1997, 407.
[3] Bonfante 1986, 216; as compared to actors and theater-based performance. Linguistic evidence include the Etruscan words for actor and for mask/character; Hellenistic depictions of Greek plays on urns provides inconclusive evidence for their presence in Etruria. Naerebout 1996, 23, makes the argument that the frequency of dance in the Greek record is because of its use throughout Greek society; it remains plausible that it was also ubiquitous in Etruria, at the very least, in funerary contexts.

evidence, a search for information on dance and music must rely on a combination of iconography, theory, and archaeology, as well as a limited use of Greek and Latin texts and comparanda, to approach an understanding of these transitory elements of culture.[4] Not only are images of dancers and musicians themselves and their identifying gestures considered, but also the audience members, contexts, and associated cultural meanings.

Etruscan dance and music were likely created, in part, for the entertainment of the audience.[5] Even for the Greeks, visual and auditory pleasure was a desired goal; as for Greek ritual performance, "the music and dancing associated with religious ceremonies were designed above all to give pleasure to the onlookers."[6] Dance and music also played a variety of additional roles and ancient sources reference the inclusion of music throughout Etruscan lives.[7] Music from the aulos would accompany a wide range of everyday activities; the Etruscans were said to "knead bread, practice boxing, and do their flogging to the accompaniment of the flute," according to Alcimus quoted in the *Deipnosophistae*.[8] Music in Etruria was also reported as assisting with hunting; the animals, drawn to the hunters by the aulos, are "gradually attracted by the powerful music and, forgetting their young and their homes, they draw near, bewitched by the sounds, until they fall, overpowered by the melody, into the snares."[9] Although the iconographic

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[4] Naerebout 1997, 149.

[5] Hymes 1975, 18; the author here indicates that performance is "cultural behavior for which a person assumes responsibility to an audience."

[6] West 1992, 18.

[7] The Etruscans were not alone in including musical accompaniment throughout a wide variety of contexts in their lives. West 1992, 13-38, offers examples of Greek contexts which would have been accompanied by music, including religious festivals and sacrifice, weddings, funerals, the *symposion*, children's games, at the construction of buildings, rowing on ships, marching into battle, and a range of everyday activities, such as weaving, calming babies, and preparing food.

[8] Ath. *Deipnosophistae* 12.518B, quoted from Shapiro 2000, 316.

[9] Ael. *NA* 12.46.

evidence does not include hunting as a context for any instrument, musical

accompaniment is illustrated in a variety of other settings. Music and dance were also

considered complementary and the connection between the two is referenced in other

non-Etruscan texts;[10] Livy mentions that the Romans invited Etruscan dancers and

musicians - professional performers called *histrones* - writing: "without any singing,

without imitating the action of singers, players who had been brought in from Etruria

danced to the strains of the flautist and performed not ungraceful evolutions in the Tuscan

fashion."[11] Appian also mentions the combination of Etruscan music and dance in a

procession. In the *Punic Wars* he writes, "Lictors clad in purple tunics preceded the

general; also a chorus of musicians and pipers, in imitation of an Etruscan procession,

wearing belts and golden crowns, and they march evenly with song and dance."[12]

Etruscan performers were known outside of Etruria.

In terms of chronology, it was at the end of the 6th century that Etruscan dance

and music iconography became pervasive. Dance and music have been identified in

Etruscan art from as early as the 7th century BC, although the evidence is sparse.[13] Early

external influence likely came during the 8th century from trade connections with Magna

Graecia, the Greek mainland, and further East.[14] Despite the initial influx of cultural and

artistic influence from abroad, the Etruscans modified and used art and performance for

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[10] Music and dance are also associated in Greek examples. In Lonsdale 1993, 24-40, the author considers music and the presence of instruments one of his criteria for identifying iconographic examples of dance. Lonsdale also extensively describes and analyzes Plato's *Laws* concerning dance and music.
[11] Livy *Ab Urb*. 7.2, translated by Roberts 1905; See Swetnam-Burland 2000-2001, 36-37.
[12] App. Pun. 9.66.
[13] Some of the evidence is inconclusive, such as the Bronze urn from Bisenzio (C001). Barker and Rasmussen 2000, 251-252, interpret this as an example of Etruscan pyrrhic dance, while Elliott 1995, 20, uses this as early evidence for the rituals surrounding an underworld wolf figure.
[14] Boardman 1994, 232; Turfa 1986, 66-72, 79-80.

their own purposes. The following discussion, therefore, does not center on the differences between Greek and Etruscan dance and music, although Greek evidence is considered. The investigation focuses, instead, on the meaning and implications of images of Etruscan dance and music in the context of their own culture and explores the following questions about these performances: What criteria may be used to identify depictions of dance or music-making? How did the performers interact between themselves and with the audience? Who were the performers and in what contexts may they be identified? How does medium affect choices in dance and musical iconography? How do both performers and spectators perform cultural roles, attitudes, and relationships for us, the viewers?[15]

Scholarship

Despite the frequency of the appearance of dancing and musical instruments in Etruscan iconography, relatively few sources address these specific types of Etruscan performances. The most important work pertinent to a discussion of Etruscan dance is M. Johnstone's *The Dance in Etruria. A Comparitive Study* (1956). Although this publication analyzes the then-known corpus of Etruscan dance iconography throughout different media, new evidence has appeared in the subsequent decades and a more contemporary approach to the material would offer additional insights and analysis.

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[15] Emigh 1996, 293-300, offers an appendix listing additional questions that may be considered about performance and has been influential in choosing the questions to ask about the Etruscan evidence. Here, the author divides the lists into subheadings, including: Who are the performers? Who is in the audience? How does the performer relate to the performance? How do audience members relate to the performance? How is space used? How is time used? What is the History and present state of the performance tradition? The author indicates that this list should not be used as a checklist, but instead as a starting point in thinking about performance.

Johnstone's publication approaches Etruscan dance through a media-based analysis of artistic depictions. The focus of her book is on cataloging examples, identifying forms, and determining the extent of Greek influence in Etruscan iconography, rather than on extensively analyzing information and evaluating Etruscan cultural meaning.

Other scholars who investigate Etruscan dance focus on certain limited issues. Several articles have been published on the "armed dance" in Etruria, including Spivey's "The Armed Dance on Etruscan Vases" (1988) and Camporeale's "La danza armata in Etruria" (1987) and "La danse armée en Étrurie (résumé)" (1986). Other works focus on specific topics, such as de Puma's "Nude dancers. A Group of Bucchero Pesante Oinochoai from Tarquinia" (1988), which examines a group of bucchero pesante vessels with similar dance iconography, possibly referencing funerary performance. Swetnam-Burland's "A Bronze Figurine of an Etruscan Dancer in the Kelsey Museum" (2000-2001) offers a general overview of Etruscan dance in the context of a bronze dance figurine and a chapter in T. Smith's *Komast Dancers in Archaic Greek Art* (2010), which discusses relevant imagery in Italy.[16]

Several articles have offered overviews of the types of musical instruments present in Etruscan iconographic contexts; Jannot's article "L'aulos étrusque," (1974), his "La lyre et la cithare, les instruments à cordes de la musique étrusque" (1979), the "Musiques et musiciens étrusques" (1988), and the "Musique et rang social dans l'Étrurie antique" (1990) offer limited studies of the use of the aulos, stringed instruments, and

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[16] Smith 2010, 223-227; Shapiro's "Contexts and forms of dance in Etruscan civilization" (2004) offers a very brief overview of Etruscan dance, with a limited selection of examples; additionally, an Italian survey has been published titled *Spettacolo e sport in Etruria. Musica, danza, agonismo e rappresentazioni tra Italia e Mediterraneo* (2007), which offers a general overview of and basic information about Etruscan entertainment activities, such as music, dance, and sporting events.

social implications of Etruscan music. Lawergren's work encompasses a wider range of ancient instruments. His article "The Cylinder Kithara in Etruria, Greece, and Anatolia" (1984), his "Lyres in the West (Italy, Greece) and the East (Egypt, the Near East) ca. 2000-400 B.C." (1993), and the "Etruscan musical instruments and their wider context in Greece and Italy" (2004-2007) all aim to place the study of Etruscan musical instruments into the context of the ancient Mediterranean. Here, iconographic evidence of Etruscan instruments is analyzed in conjunction with instruments elsewhere in the Classical world and in the Near East.

A valuable source for a discussion and documentation of occurrences of Etruscan dance and music have been found in the *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* (*ThesCRA*), which not only has entries on dance and music, written by Shapiro and Jannot, respectively, but also contains an entry on "Il banchetto e il simposio nel mondo etrusco", by D'Agostino and Cerchiai.[17] Banqueting and their funerary and civic contexts are referenced throughout this study, as these contexts proved important for all types of Etruscan performance. Numerous sources discuss the iconography of Greek dance and music, which not only offer relevant comparanda for an analysis of Etruscan examples, but also provide valuable approaches towards deriving meaning from the Etruscan evidence.[18]

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[17] See Elsner 2012, 8-9, for criticism regarding the approach that *ThesCRA* takes towards the categorization and presentation of their entries.

[18] A full discussion on Greek dance bibliography is outside the scope of this paper, but can be discovered in Naerebout 1997, 115-143; other examples of relevant Greek performance bibliography concerning topics of dance and music include Lawler 1978*, The Dance in Ancient Greece*, Lonsdale 1993, *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion*; A few examples may be mentioned for their methodology or focus. Naerebout's 1997 *Attractive Performances. Ancient Greek Dance: Three Preliminary Studies.* His work approaches the study of Greek dance through three approaches: reviewing the historiography of the study of dance, analyzing the textual and iconographic sources, and constructing a framework for the study of dance.

Also considered here is scholarship on the Etruscan banquet, which is an oft discussed context in this work for dance and music and other types of performance, an investigation of which continues in Chapters 3-4. Various important works exist concerning the Etruscan banquet, including de Marinis' *La tipologia del banchetto nel'arte etrusca arcaica* (1961). This text provides a catalog of banqueting examples from Archaic Etruria in known media and an associated discussion of each medium. Other work that addresses the banquet and its implications in Etruscan visual culture include Rathje's article "The Adoption of the Homeric Banquet in Central Italy in the Orientalizing Period" (1990), which analyzes the importance of the banquet into the more general context of Italy and discusses the influence from Greece and the Near East, and her article, "Banquet and Ideology. Some New Considerations about Banqueting at Poggio Civitate" (1994), which examines banqueting evidence at Murlo based on the decorative architectural terracottas. Small's "Eat, Drink, and Be Merry: Etruscan Banquets" (1994) offers an overview of the Etruscan evidence regarding banqueting iconography, while Tuck's "The Etruscan Seated Banquet: Villanovan Ritual and Etruscan Iconography" (1994) discusses early evidence for banqueting in Etruria, generally consisting of seated individuals. Pieraccini's "Families, Feasting, and Funerals: Funerary Ritual at Ancient Caere" (2000) includes an analysis of the archaeological evidence from Cerveteri in the context of the iconographic depictions of banqueters to determine possible locations of feasting at gravesites.

Bundrick's 2005 *Music and Image in Classical Athens* evaluates iconographic evidence from 5th century Athens connected with music, musicians, and instruments. Bundrick combines image and text towards the goal of interpreting cultural information about music-making and seeks information about the artists' choices.

Etruscan Dance

Although Livy and Appian refer to Etruscan dance, music, and their connection with entertainment, these performances have a more important function in society than simply as a source of aesthetic pleasure.[19] Dance performance "uses a constructed system of culturally understood symbols to express meanings,"[20] which provides information to the viewer regarding relationships, ritual, and behavior. Dance can be identified iconographically as human movement, outside of the ordinary, in which the entire body is involved through a depiction of the body traveling through space; it may be done by one or more individuals with or without an illustrated audience and it may function as a type of non-verbal communication.[21] Dance itself may be considered a social activity, through either the "visual experience" of the spectators or through the "collective participation" of the performers.[22]

Existing Etruscan texts do not offer information regarding attitudes towards dance; iconography, therefore, must function as the primary source. Etruscan dance iconography appears primarily in the Archaic and Classical Periods beginning in the 6th century BC, although a few examples continue in Etruria as late as the 2nd century BC.[23] Dance is depicted in large- and small-scale and two- and three-dimensional media, such as wall painting, relief sculpture, decorated ceramics, bronze statuettes and candelabra,

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[19] See fn. 7 and 8.
[20] Kalavrezou 2004, 279.
[21] Naerebout 1997, 159-165; this definition is based on Naerebout's definition of the identification of dance activity in iconographic contexts. The reference to an audience does not mean that there is no audience present. Here, iconographic conventions are referenced. The audience may be the performer himself, may be us, the viewer, or the composition simply may choose to focus on one aspect of performance, that of the performer; Kalavrezou 2004, 279.
[22] Kalavrezou 2004, 279.
[23] Swetnam-Burland 2000-2001, 41.

engraved bronze mirrors, and engraved gems. [24] While most representations of dancers had some funerary connection, certain types of objects, the mirrors, ceramics, and jewelry, likely had multiple functions throughout their lifetimes and were thought to be used in everyday contexts.[25] Furthermore, Etruscan architectural terracottas offer rare evidence of a completely non-funerary nature, the consequential implications of which are included in the discussion below. Of special note is the fact that Etruscan dance iconography, with only one exception, never features dance in the context of a god and is generally not connected to religious functions.[26]

Dance iconography offers specific interpretive challenges. The representations of dance do not capture one moment frozen in time, like a snapshot. Instead, Etruscan art must be considered like other examples of "pre-camera narrative art", as a series of choices made by an artist that may involve multiple moments, appear as a pastiche of different dances, and provide evidence of creativity.[27] Iconography is not meant to act as documentary reproductions, but "imagery is *creative* and contributes actively to the way in which people see and structure the world around them."[28] The choices may stem from cultural conventions, personal tastes or the preferences of the customer.[29]

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[24] *Spettacolo e sport in Etruria* 67, offers an attempt towards a three-dimensional reconstruction of Etruscan dance, as taken from dance iconography depicting dancers in various poses. Naerebout 1996, 35; Naerebout 1997, 234-235, also discusses the impossibility of recreating movement solely from images.
[25] Shapiro 2004, 311, 336-337; Shapiro indicates that in the Greek world, dance was not frequently associated with death rituals; conversely, extant examples of Etruscan dance may be frequently associated with death, whether by iconography, medium (i.e. tomb wall painting, funerary reliefs), or provenance. Lonsdale 1993, xvii; Greek contexts for dance, noted as "weddings and banquets, harvest celebrations, status transition rites, drama, and civic worship" demonstrated little overlap with the Etruscan evidence.
[26] Johnstone 1956, 139, 143, 151. Johnstone does not note the exception, which is found in iconography depicting the return of Sethlans to Olympus, in which satyrs may be depicted dancing. For more information on dance and the gods, see Shapiro 2004a, 336-337.
[27] Boardman 1991, 82-83.
[28] Naerebout 1997, 243.
[29] T. Smith 2010, 8-9.

In Etruscan art, dance iconography is identified through gesture and context.[30] Admittedly, the depiction in a static image of a concept that is defined by movement is inherently challenging and requires the use of conventions and other elements that are readily identifiable to the viewer. The true extent of how two-dimensional art forms, such as wall painting, engraved decoration, and painted pottery, represent actual movement in a three-dimensional space cannot be established. Additional information may be derived from relief sculpture and figurines, but as Naerebout indicates, even from three-dimensional art, the movements of the performers are not known and cannot be recreated from static images.[31] Several characteristics identify dance iconography in Etruria. Dancers typically have the appearance of forward movement, often with one leg lifted behind them, as seen in a mirror from Vulci dating c. 470 BC (A103), or are striding forward, as seen in the Tomb of the Inscriptions, c. 520 BC, at Tarquinia (B111). At least one arm is raised and the dancer may be holding krotala, such as in a bronze decorative female figure from Spina, dating to 480-460 BC (C409), or the dancer may be depicted with empty hands, as seen on the shoulder of a Caeretan hydria from the late 6th century BC (F109). [32] It is the combination of some part of these characteristics, as well as the context of the iconography, that differentiates Etruscan dance from other similarly depicted activities, such as running, which may be identified in a mirror (A006), dating to

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[30] Lawler 1978, 19, indicates the importance of looking at context and Naerebout 1997, 212, stresses the need for identifying and using criteria in dance iconography. Naerebout 1996, 28 calls this the "*logic* of the system." See also T. Smith 12-13.

[31] Naerebout 1997, 153.

[32] Etruscan dance gestures can vary greatly, including a wide range of arm and leg positions. A catalog of the specific Etruscan dance gestures does not exist and is outside the purview of this study.

c. 525-500 BC.[33] The presence of an audience and groups of men and women interacting offer clues indicating that a performance is occurring. Male or female figures may dance alone, in pairs, or in groups of three or more, but the dancers rarely physically interact with each other. Dance is included in funerary, banqueting, and civic contexts, and in connection with non-specific scenes of revelry; an audience may also be included in any of the above-mentioned contexts.

Who were the dancers in Etruscan art? Dancers are depicted as being of varying social classes;[34] elites and non-elites are depicted, distinguished by their costume; the latter group may include slaves, celebrants, or even hired dancers, although there is no evidence specifically indicating the presence of hired performers of this type in Etruria.[35] For example, in the Tomb of the Lionesses, Tarquinia (B114), on the left side of the rear wall is a dancing female that has been identified as the wife of the deceased based on her elaborate and fashionable dress.[36] This same tomb presents clearly defined relationships between performers and spectators. On the rear wall, the wife of the deceased on the left and two additional dancing figures on the right perform for the reclining figures on the right wall, of which the left-most male has been identified as the deceased, given his privileged position.[37] This relationship between viewer and spectator continues between the rear and right wall. Other Etruscan tombs demonstrate the continuation of action and

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[33] Naerebout 1996, 28, notes the common challenge in distinguishing between running and dancing in Greek iconography; this is occasionally true for the Etruscan evidence.

[34] Shapiro 2004b, 310; this differs from what is seen in Greek dance contexts; In Greece, "once a woman married, her dancing days were generally over."

[35] Johnstone 1956, 17; The author raises the use of professional dancers as a *possibility*, as there is no evidence against it, but states that the inclusion of hired performers is an unlikely one, when considering the range of ages depicted in dance iconography. For more information about costume, see Bonfante 1975.

[36] Haynes 2000, 227.

[37] Haynes 2000, 227; Steingräber 2006, 94.

composition around corners, such as the rear and left wall of the Tomb of the Inscriptions (B111) and the Tomb of Casuccini Hill (B227) in the front chamber.

A comparable juxtaposition between reclining figure and performer may be observed in the Tomb of the Dead Man, Tarquinia (B107) dating c. 510 BC. The left wall depicts the prothesis, in which the dead body is laid on a kline. To the left of the kline is a dancer, shown with his left leg crossed over in front of his right leg, with his left arm in the air above him, and right arm outstretched behind him. The dead body directly faces the dancer in the same way two of the reclining figures in the Tomb of the Lionesses face the three dancers. Similar depictions of the performer-spectator relationship are indicated in the Tomb of the Jugglers, Tarquinia, c. 520-510 BC (B113) and in the Tomb of the Monkey, Chiusi, c. 480 BC (B229). On the rear walls of each tomb are a central female with a juggling apparatus on her head and the seated deceased to the right, watching her performance. Because the Tomb of the Dead Man is the only instance in which the prothesis is depicted in tomb painting, there is no definitive proof that the dead is functioning as a spectator. The possibility that the deceased may participate in entertainment activities in the afterlife and that the space depicted in tomb paintings is neither fixed completely in the world of the living or the dead, means that there may be an intentional ambiguity here. Given the other relationships illustrated in the Tomb of the Lionesses, Tomb of the Monkey and the Tomb of the Jugglers, it would be consistent for the dead to function here as a spectator. In numerous cases, and frequently in banqueting contexts, dancing or musical performance is not always the visual focal point of the image, but instead an ancillary one; the visual focus, instead, lies on the spectator. An example may be found in the Tomb of the Bigas on the rear wall, from Tarquinia c.

490 BC (B202), where the aulos player stands to the far left performing and is not the central focal point of the reclining audience.

Naerebout offers a few questions to consider when analyzing evidence for dance, such as the number and arrangement of the participants, patterning of the dancers, and other general characteristics.[38] Only a few kinds of identifiable dance are actually observable in Etruscan iconography. For example, line dancing, in which the performers join hands, such as in one example of relief decoration on a circular cippus from Chiusi (E006) and on an olla from Bisenzio dating to the beginning of the 7th century BC (F006), is rarely attested and likely an unimportant form of dance in Etruria.[39] Other forms of Etruscan dance are comparable to Greek versions, such as the Pyrrhic dance, while most dance iconography is not readily and specifically identifiable and may not be part of organized, structured dance activity.[40] The most frequently depicted types of Etruscan dancers are involved with general images of revelry or revelry associated with the banquet and are discussed in greater depth below.

Pyrrhic dance is the only kind of organized, identifiable dance present in Etruscan art, although its form and purpose in Etruria differs from its Greek counterparts.[41] The Pyrrhic dance in Greece was described by Plato and appears in Greek iconography.

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[38] Naerebout 1997, 172-173.

[39] See T. Smith 2004, 11-14 for a discussion of Corinthian painted vases and related iconographic trends, in which the sexes are separated into two dancing groups: the female group dances – the *Frauenfest* – and the komos.

[40] Which include as the nude female dancers on bucchero pesante oinochoai from Tarquinia, as indicated in De Puma 1988, 139-140; also see Naerebout 1997, 174-189, for information on the Greek terminology. Johnstone 1956, 55-57, 74-81, 83-85. Johnstone discusses Greek comparanda for Etruscan materials, noting contexts in which Greek dance depictions may occur, including weddings, for soldiers, such as the Pyrrhic dance, on occasions of merry making, ritual activities, exercise, and funeral ceremonies.

[41] Naerebout 1997, 288. The armed dance is known originally from Greece; Hatzivassiliou 2010, 44, indicates that in the late 6th century in Greece, the Pyrrhic dance was part of banqueting iconography in Attic black-figure. Also see Lonsdale 1993, 137-168, for more information about the Pyrrhic dance in Greece.

Examples have been identified in Etruscan wall paining, vase painting, and in funerary

relief sculpture from Chiusi. It may be defined as a type of synchronized movement by

armed men who use gestures referencing both dancing and fighting.[42] However, the

Etruscan versions and cultural meaning, limited mostly to funerary contexts, are not the

same as the Attic versions, in which the performers competed at festivals.[43]

Examples of the armed dance have been identified in six individual painted

tombs, all dating to the 5th century BC; they have been identified as such because of their

armed dance and their inclusion in occasions of performance. The Tomb of the Deer

Hunt (B205), 450-425 BC and Tomb 5517, 450-400 BC, both from Tarquinia, are too

poorly preserved to determine extensive evidence of their context.[44] However, the Tomb

of the Funeral Bed (B208) depicts an armed dancer on the left wall, wearing a red robe

and helmet, carrying a shield and a spear. Here he is shown in the context of various

events occurring at a funeral, evidenced by the large, empty kline on the rear wall. Other

events include aulos playing, discus throwing, banqueting, and dancing. The Tomb of

the Bigas (B202), 490 BC, also places the armed dance in the context of other funerary-

related events.[45] Two armed dancers are included on the left wall, near the center of the

painted frieze course. The armed dancer on the left is small in stature and nude, except

for his helmet, shield, and spear. Extensive iconography here includes athletic events,

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[42] Spivey 1988, 592; In Plato's *Laws*, 815A. "It depicts the motions of eluding blows and shots of every kind by various devices of swerving, yielding ground, leaping from the ground or crouching, as well as the contrary motions which lead to the posture of attack, and aims at the reproduction of the shooting of arrows, casting of darts, and dealing of all kinds of blows." Furthermore, Lonsdale 1993, 9, observes that Greek iconography depicting the Pyrrhic dance in Attic vase painting includes female dancers nearly as frequently as males, a situation that is not mimicked in Etruria.

[43] Jannot 1984, 338; Shapiro 2000, 335; Spivey 1988, 594.

[44] Steingräber 1985, 300-301, 378.

[45] Steingräber 1985, 297.

musicians, dancers, and banqueting. The Tomb of the Monkey, from Chiusi (B229) c. 480 BC, places its solitary armed dancer on the corner of the right rear wall, wearing a perizoma and helmet, and carrying a shield and spear. Two aulos players stand to his right and two boxers compete on his left. The Tomb of the Pyrrhic Dancers, c. 500-490 BC, is very poorly preserved, but at least six armed dancers have been identified on the rear wall.[46] Three dancers are on each side of a central aulos player. The frequency of the inclusions of the Pyrrhic dance, as mentioned above, suggests that this form of dancing at this time was perhaps included in a ritualized form in funerary events and games.[47]

Armed dancers also appear in iconographic decoration of Etruscan ceramics. Spivey has identified Etruscan black-figure vessels with Pyrrhic iconography dating to 520-470 BC. Their identification in Etruscan vase painting is due to the frequent presence of an aulos player (F110), the use of a dance gesture especially with a raised foot or knee (F111), and the use of drapery around the upper body, which would be out of place in real combat (F112). Spivey identifies in some of the examples specific indications of theatricality; several of the performers are depicted as boys who are participating in faux combat (F113, F116). A small armed figure also appears in the Tomb of the Bigas at Tarquinia and small unarmed figures in the Tomb of the Monkey, in the corner of the right and rear wall. Spivey interprets the inclusion of diminutive figures as evidence of a type of initiation rite, but other than the size differential, there is no other evidence that an initiation ritual would be taking place here.[48] In fact, the use of hieratic scale is evident in numerous instances of Etruscan Tomb painting, such as in the

[46] Steingräber 1985, 343.
[47] Sannibale 2004, 94.
[48] Spivey 1988, 598.

Frontoncino Tomb (B108), 510-500 BC and the Tomb of the Jugglers (B113), 520-510

BC, both from Tarquinia, in which initiation rites are not occurring. There is no extant

evidence connected with the Pyrrhic dancers to indicate the presence of initiation rites.

Examples of the Pyrrhic dance have also been identified in Chiusine funerary

reliefs, although the evidence is more tenuous. Although Jannot has identified four

examples of the armed dance, three of the four examples are very fragmentary.[49] One

relief (E133) depicts a warrior wearing the equipment associated with the Pyrrhic

dancers, including greaves, helmet, *chitoniskos* and a spear.[50] In another example (E131),

the central figure displays the same attributes, including a round shield held horizontally,

preparing to jump forward, as part of what appears to be a procession.[51] A third example

(E132) includes a standing armed dancer as well as an aulos player at the top left, with

two seated figures in the center.[52] There is no clear identification as to the type of image

depicted. The fourth example (E109) most clearly depicts a context for the armed dancer.

He is in the center, to the right of the platform, in a context that has been identified as an

awards ceremony, which also features dancers, an aulos player, and seated individuals.[53]

According to Spivey, the iconography depicting the Pyrrhic dance in Etruria distinguishes

itself from other images of men fighting and from the Greek version of the dance and

"occupies the 'ambiguous boundary zone' of the ritual and the sacral to which so much of

the subjects of Etruscan tomb-painting must belong."[54] Other types of dance are explored

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[49] Jannot 1984, 332-338.
[50] Jannot 1984, 26-27, fig. 108-110.
[51] Jannot 1984, 158-159, fig. 540-541.
[52] Jannot 1984, 55-56, fig. 187.
[53] Jannot 1984, 48-49, 171-172; Sannibale 2004, 97.
[54] Jannot 1984, 332-338; Spivey 1988, 600.

in their relevant contexts below, including at the banquet and in images of bacchic and general revelry.

Musicians and Instruments

Etruscan dance iconography cannot be completely extricated from the images of musicians. By nature, dance and music-making are intrinsically different types of performance and offer individualized challenges towards an interpretation of the iconographic evidence. While dance is primarily a visual manner of expression, musical performance is not. A musical performance is auditory, the experience of which cannot be effectively communicated through iconography.[55] The information that can be provided visually is the *concept* of a musical performance, which is shown through artists playing instruments and through the relationship between the performers and the audience. The music they are playing cannot itself be translated iconographically, in that the sound of that experience cannot be provided.[56] An image of a musician playing an instrument assumes that the viewer understands the nature of that instrument. It is from the previous experience of the viewer that this multi-sensory reality of the performances featuring musicians may be understood.

Evidence for Etruscan musicians and musical instruments is primarily iconographic, although there are very few examples of instruments themselves that survive in the archaeological record. A horn was found in Populonia dating to the end of the 8th century and a *lituus* from Tarquinia at the beginning of the 7th century BC; both

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[55] As noted in T. Smith 2010, 13.
[56] Modern reconstructions of ancient instruments may be attempted towards an estimation of the original sound. See Lawergren 1984, 172-173 for a discussion of the sound of the cylinder kithara.

are wind instruments and come from ritual contexts.[57] The *depictions* of musical

instruments, however, are pervasive and are not limited to ritual. They are featured

throughout Etruscan media, including in wall painting, ceramic decoration, relief

sculpture, bronze mirror decoration, engraved gems, and bronze figurines. Comparanda

from the Greek world may also provide information regarding an understanding of

Etruscan musicians and music,[58] especially since, as Lawergren indicates, all instrument

types originated from outside Etruria, but were adapted and used for the Etruscans' own

purposes.[59]

Unlike dance iconography, images of instruments are described in this study using

Greek terminology, especially since knowledge is lacking concerning the Etruscans'

musical terminology and because instruments were introduced from Greek sources.

Although Greek terms are used, Greek meaning ascribed to musical instruments and the

creation of music, especially in elite contexts, cannot be transferred to the Etruscan

materials, considering the use of instruments in specifically Etruscan contexts.[60]

Instrument types depicted in Etruscan art include stringed instruments, such as the

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[57] Jannot 2004, 392; Haynes 2000, 26.

[58] West 1992, 4-7, indicates that Greek evidence may be obtained from archaeology, art, literary references, and specialist writing on music by such authors as Aristoxenus and Philodemus. Additionally, the Greeks used a notation system for music and some papyrus fragments survive offering evidence.

[59] Lawergren 2004-2007, 126-131. Here, the author discusses the origins and contexts for both wind and string instruments in Etruria. The depictions of the aulos are virtually indistinguishable from its Greek counterparts, as are those with the lyre. Lawergren indicates that Etruscan musicians hold the instrument in a higher position on their body, as compared to Greek examples. Two different types of kitheras were evidently used in Etruria, the cylinder and the concert. While the concert kithera was widely favored and utilized in Athens, it was rarely seen in Etruscan iconography. The cylinder kithera, on the other hand, was the favored version in Etruria, originally appearing in Anatolia, 540 BC, before spreading westward. See also Lawergren 1984 for a detailed discussion of the cylinder kithara in Etruscan and Near Eastern examples.

[60] Bundrick 2005, 9-12, references the meaning of music and its association with elite education and between the *harmonia* of the polis and musical practice in ancient Athens. For a discussion of music in the Greek world, see West 1992, Comotti 1989.

kithara, the lyre, and the barbiton,[61] wind instruments, such as the horn, syrinx, and the

aulos,[62] and one type of percussion instrument, the krotala.[63] The aulos and the krotala

are, by far, the most frequently depicted instruments in Etruscan iconography and, as

Lawergren indicates, even though the aulos was imported, the Etruscans gained a positive

reputation for their musical skill outside of Etruria.[64] The aulos player, the *aulete*, was

occasionally depicted, especially in relief sculpture, with the *phorbeia*, a head strap used

for control while playing the aulos.[65] Krotala were "wooden bars joined by a hinge, with

a performer typically holding one such pair in each hand," and were valued for the

rhythmic noise they created. [66] In Etruria, musicians are identified as such by holding or

playing an instrument and, generally, the iconography for identifying a musician is

unambiguous. For the Etruscans, visual evidence is all but absent regarding vocal

performance.[67] The only example in which this type of behavior has been identified is on

a carnelian gemstone (D002), c. 480 BC, in which a kneeling satyr holds the harp and

presumably sings his accompaniment. Otherwise, references to this type of music were

not featured in Etruscan iconography.

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[61] For the Greeks, there were specific associations with each type of instrument. The lyre was associated with amateurs and aristocratic education, the kithara with professional performers. The barbiton was connected to the *symposion*, Dionysos, and leisure activities. See Bundrick 2005, 14-25 and West 1992, 48-80 for more information.

[62] The *syrinx*, or panpipes, were not widely used in Greek culture and were associated with pastoral settings and characters. Consequently, they also had a limited use in Etruscan art. Bundrick 2005, 42; West 1992, 109-112.

[63] Jannot 2004, 391-394. West 1992, 122-126.

[64] Lawergren 2004-2007, 151.

[65] For a complete discussion of the aulos and its function in the Greek world see Bundrick 2005, 34-42; West 1992, 81-109.

[66] Bundrick 2005, 46; Lawergren 2004-2007, 127-128.

[67] For the Greeks, song played an important role in Greek music; there was typically instrumental accompaniment and either males or females would participate. See West 192, 39-47.

Musical accompaniment would have occurred in a variety of contexts in the Etruscan world, including instances of ritual activity and social gatherings, such as banqueting, processions, sporting events, instances of the prothesis, and funerary contexts. Often the instrument is not the focal point in the iconographic composition, but is, instead, offered as part of the context or as an attribute of a character. As mentioned previously, ancient sources, such as Livy and Appian, indicate that the Etruscans considered music an appropriate accompaniment to numerous everyday activities. Musicians and dancers are often, but not always, depicted together, presumably to imply to the viewer that the dancers have an audible accompaniment. In some cases, musicians are also dancing as they play; Etruscan krotala players are always shown dancing. Musicians and dancers appear together in a variety of media, including in tomb painting, in relief sculpture, engraved mirrors, in painted or relief vase decoration. Chiusine funerary relief sculpture frequently depicts dance and music occurring together; the funerary context is specifically referenced occasionally with the inclusion of the prothesis in conjunction with images of musicians.[68]

Not only is it important to consider how to identify dancers and musicians, but also the contexts in which they would appear. The following discussion introduces Etruscan banqueting, a frequently depicted performance context for dance and music. A discussion of athletic events and the prothesis, both of which may include the use of musical iconography, is included in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively.

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[68] D'Agostino 1989, 2-3.

Banqueting Contexts

According to Rathje, banqueting was "the most conspicuous expression of the lifestyle of the aristocracy, be it Greek, Etruscan, or Latin, represent[ing] the cultural *koine* that we are able to distinguish from our archaeological documentation."[69] Etruscan evidence indicates that the banquet was carried out in funerary settings, as part of daily life, and as part of civic events, and is referenced visually through the depiction of reclining couples, either both male or a male and a female, on klinai or cushions.[70] The reclining figures interact with each other, holding kylikes, garlands, or musical instruments, such as the lyre, kithara or aulos, and may gesture to surrounding servants. The earliest depictions of banqueting in Etruria, which date to the Villanovan and Orientalizing Periods, such as in the Montescudaio Urn (F001) and the Tomb of the Five Chairs at Cerveteri (G006), depict the participants as seated upright, instead of reclining.[71] In the Montescudaio Urn, from the 7th century BC, a male is seated at a table with a female servant, while in the Tomb of the Five Chairs, two female and three male statues were seated upright in front of two tables. It is also apparent even from these early Etruscan examples that both aristocratic men and women participated in the banqueting events.[72]   In the Archaic Period, Near Eastern and Greek influence introduced reclining

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[69] Rathje 1990, 279.

[70] One exception to this may be found in the Tomb of the Hill of the Moro (B229) from Tarquinia, c. 475-450 BC. The pediments of the central room depict groups of three reclining together on cushions.

[71] De Marinis 1961, 114; Tuck 1994, 617-621. Also seen in a stele from Fiesole.

[72] According to Lynch 2012, 531, 537, Greek *symposia* involve only aristocratic men as the central participants, never female family members, and any females present during this event would have been *hetairai* or other types of hired female performers. Conversely, Etruscans depicted as reclining on a kline are both eating and drinking, and female aristocratic women are depicted as participating in the banqueting activities alongside their husbands. Tuck 1994, 627, even states that "the contrast with many Etruscan scenes of couples reclining at a banquet, without any indication that the women are of inferior status, is striking."

banqueting into Etruria, which soon replaced the upright version. [73] The banqueters in

Etruscan iconography seem to be of the aristocratic class, considering the access to

servants, extensive furniture, food, wine, and performances.[74] Several of the figures

featured in Etruscan banqueting iconography likely represent servants or slaves; this is

indicated not only through behavior, such as carrying jars or food, but also based on

hieratic scale. Some figures are significantly smaller than those banqueting, and some are

depicted as nude, which has been used in Etruria and other cultures to convey an inferior

social status.[75] A few examples may be observed in mirror decoration (A425) and in the

Tomb of the Jugglers (B113).

The meal consumed in the funeral banquet may have taken on a ritual function

and there is evidence that indicates that this type of ritual activity could have taken place

at some location inside the tomb. Such sites as the Regolini-Galassi tomb, the Tomba

della Capanna, Tomba dei Dolii, the Tomba degli Alari, and others at Cerveteri have

produced braziers, ceramics, furniture, food remains, and other artifacts that indicate

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[73] Rathje 1990, 282; Rathje 1994, 283-284; Rathje argues that reclining banqueting both demonstrated "direct oriental influence on the one hand and Greek Orientalizing (i.e. indirect influence) on the other;" Riva 2010, 146, indicates that the transition was not immediate, that seated and reclining banqueting may be observed together in the 6th century and "signals that Etruscan elites chose which new, unfamiliar, convivial customs better suited their own needs, and transformed and adopted them;" Tuck 1994, 617; early Etruscan banqueting iconography feature participants who sit upright. Greek and Near Eastern influence brought reclining banqueting into Etruria in the Archaic Period. O. Murray 1983, 263, indicates that the Greek, and consequently the Etruscan adaptation of the reclining banquet resulted in the limitation of the number of participants in a banquet and an increase in "the sense of privacy and exclusiveness." Richter 1966, provides an outline of Etruscan furniture types determined from archaeological and iconographic evidence. Many furniture types in Etruria were influenced by or imported from Greek contexts. See also Boardman 1990 and Macintosh 1974.

[74] Dunbabin 2003, 12; here the author indicates that for Rome, it is not definite when the reclining banquet was introduced, but may also occur in the 6th century during the monarchy as an aristocratic practice.

[75] Bonfante 1989, 546.

dining activities.[76] Iconographic representations of the banquet include ceramic vessels that reference the drinking of wine. The krater, for the mixing of water and wine, has an important position in some iconography, and is included, but less conspicuously placed in others.[77] A few examples of tomb paintings in which an image of the krater was highlighted included the center of the rear wall of the Tomb of the Dead Man (B107) and the Tomb of the Lionesses (B114).[78] Other depictions include the krater as part of a collection of other ceramics, an example of which may be observed in the left wall of the Querciola Tomb, dating to the end of the 5th century BC (B217).[79]

Most images of banqueting are associated with funerary contexts, although by no means do all banqueting instances have to have a chthonic connection.[80] For example, wall paintings come from funerary sites, but a deliberate ambiguity in the banqueting iconography may be intended. It is not clear in wall painting and relief sculpture if the artist depicts the funerary banquet, a banquet from everyday life, or a banquet occurring in the afterlife. In fact, all three may be referenced at the same time. Possible reasons for banqueting may include the celebration of the deceased's life, the mitigation of the loss felt by the surviving family members, or the reintegration of the deceased into a community of the dead, which is already populated by ancestors.[81] D'Agostino writes that "in the ancient Mediterranean world the moment of death is the occasion on which

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[76] Dunbabin 2003, 25; Pieraccini 2000, 38-40; for information regarding food in the Ancient Mediterranean, see Wilkins and Hill 2000, 110-163 and Macnamara 1973, 150.
[77] Dunbabin 2003, 27; Lissarrague 1990, 197-120; Rathje 1994, 282, indicates that wine was likely imported to Italy.
[78] Steingräber 1985, 333-334, 324-325.
[79] Steingräber 1985, 346-347.
[80] de Grummond 2000, 28.
[81] Tuck 1994, 618-620; Swetnam-Burland 2000-2001, 42-43.

the community tends to make explicit its own system of values."[82] In tomb painting,

architectural terracottas, and Chiusine relief sculpture, banqueting frequently was

accompanied by a range of other events, which included the prothesis, bands of revelers,

athletics, juggling or acrobatic events, and the dancing and musical performers. There is,

however, no evidence identifying the sequence of events that would take place at an

Etruscan funeral.[83] It seems likely in these contexts that the iconography should be

understood not as depicting one moment in time, but as "'chronological conlapsus'

(unified composition, but no unified time)."[84]

Although Etruscan banquets possessed similarities with the Greek *symposion*,

there were some important cultural differences.[85] Throughout the iconographic

examples, it appears that Etruscan banqueting conventions differ from the corresponding

Greek ones, necessitating the avoidance of the Greek term *symposion* in this discussion of

the Etruscan banqueting event.[86] Because of the fundamental differences in banqueting

practices and the consequential cultural implications, Etruscan dining iconography cannot

be referred to using the Greek sympotic terminology, as it demonstrates significant

differences in function, participation, and expression. Consequently, other types of

Etruscan associated behaviors, such as the revelers and their performance, must be re-

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[82] D'Agostino 1989, 1.
[83] For a more extensive discussion of banqueting as a spectacle, see Chapter 4.
[84] Naerebout 1997, 237.
[85] Other bibliography is extant concerning the Greek banquet and *symposion*, including Lissarrague 1990, Pantel 2011, Murray's 1994 edited volume *Sympotica. A Symposium on the* Symposion, Murray and Tecuşan's 1996 edited work *In Vino Veritas*, and Slater's 1991 edited volume *Dining in a Classical Context*.
[86] According to Lynch 2012, 532, the term *symposion* first and foremost refers to a drinking party with rules established by a *symposiarch*; a *symposion* has a cultural role "to forge bonds and friendships among men to define group identity." Lynch 2012, 533, also indicates the necessity of a "stricter use of the term *symposion*" which would allow for its application in appropriate contexts. See also Small 1994, 85, 87.

evaluated as they do not carry the same cultural implications as in Greece.[87] Regardless

of the origins of the Etruscan banquet and associated iconography, this cultural practice

came to have specific meaning for the Etruscans. One key difference centered on the

organization of the *symposion*. As Pellizer notes, the event "can be considered a means of

articulating communal order or law which allows each person to attain pleasure through a

series of ritualized behavior patterns."[88] The focus of the *symposion* was the drinking of

wine, which may be accompanied by food but takes place after the main meal.[89] No

extant evidence exists referencing the order of events at Etruscan banquets and indeed

food is often included in all aspects of Etruscan banqueting iconography.[90] Various

vessels associated with the consumption of wine were depicted in art, such as the kylix,

krater, oinochoe, and the kantharos, and help to indicate an occasion for banqueting.[91]

There is also no indication that drinking is being performed under the ritual sanction of

Fufluns or that moderation in drinking is practiced. No iconographic or textual evidence

exists regarding the Etruscan banquet as a setting for poetry competitions or learned

discourse. Another difference is that female family members and other aristocratic

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[87] T. Smith 2010, 228-231, convincingly identifies the komos on a Caeretan hydria (F109), dating to the end of the 6th century; however, for most of the iconography depicting revelers, the term komos is avoided in this work, considering its relationship to Greek cultural activities. According to Hedreen 2004, 48-49, the Greek komos is "used to describe a variety of excursions that follow drinking, from public processions to the more or less informal drunken meanderings that followed many symposia."

[88] Pellizer 1990, 178.

[89] Dunbabin 2003, 19; Lissarrague 1990, 7. Also in Small 1994, 85, the author indicates that one of the distinguishing criteria between Greek and Etruscan gatherings is that of timing in terms of drinking activity. Small continues on to indicate that the consumption of the meal did occur at the same time as alcohol in Etruscan contexts. Wilkins and Hill 2006, 172 indicates that "in the later, Archaic Period, the story telling, singing, and dancing and other aspects of entertainment seem to have been contained within the symposium part of the occasion."

[90] Dunbabin 2003, 26.

[91] According to Sparkes 1991, 82-84, a kylix is a shallow cup with a high stem for the drinking of wine, with two horizontal handles. The krater is a large open vessel for the mixing of water and wine. The kantharos is also a drinking cup and has vertical handles. An oinochoe is a wine jug that usually has a vertical handle.

women were allowed to join the banqueting events in Etruria, unlike the restrictions

placed on women in Athens and elsewhere in Greece.[92]

Etruscan banqueting, however, would have been a multi-sensory event, which is

clearly referenced in the iconography. Banqueting iconography would have been

experienced visually, but also present were extensive indications of musical instruments,

especially the lyre, krotala, and aulos. Not only is wine depicted, but other food items

may be observed and even emphasized, such as eggs and pomegranates, both with

chthonic associations.[93] In one example of a wall painting depicting a banquet, the

Tomba Golini I at Orvieto (B311), dating to the mid-4th century BC, more extensive food

selections are depicted, as is the actual food preparation process, shown in conjunction

with banqueting activities and even an *aulete*.[94] In addition to the aforementioned

references to auditory, visual, gustatory, and olfactory perception, reference to tactile

senses would have been satisfied through the images of objects with different surface

qualities and textures, such as textiles, ceramics, and even the other banqueters, many of

whom are depicted as being touched. Banqueting iconography in Etruria indicates an

immersive, total sensory experience, regardless of context.[95]

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[92] Bonfante 1986, 234-235, indicates that the nature of the differences between the Etruscan and the Greek attitudes towards women attending these banquets may be found in Theopompus, cited in Athenaeus. Scheffer 2007 offers statistics for the inclusion of women in tomb paintings. Although the majority of depictions are male, almost ¾ of the depictions of women are banqueting or are performing (dancing and/or music-playing).

[93] Schechner 2003, 191; the depiction of eating and drinking combined with performance is not unique to the Etruscan world. In fact, Schechner indicates that "theater stimulates appetites, that it is an oral/visceral art" and that "In New Guinea, Australia, and Africa, feasting is at the very center of theater." On the meaning of the egg and pomegranate, see Haynes 2000, 284; Pieraccini 2000, 44; Small 1994, 86-86.

[94] For more information about food choices and crops in Etruria, see Macnamara 1973, 150.

[95] Lissarrague 1990, 19; the author also indicates that, in a similar fashion, the experience of the Greek *symposion* would also have appealed to all of the senses.

Iconographic evidence for funerary banqueting comes from numerous relief sarcophagi and stelai from Chiusi and wall paintings from Etruscan sites from the 6th through 3rd centuries BC at the sites of Tarquinia and Chiusi.[96] Banqueting iconography also is observable in non-funerary contexts, such as in the relief plaques from Murlo and Acquarossa,[97] and on objects from funerary contexts that likely had other functions throughout their lifetime, such as engraved mirrors, bronze statuettes and decorative elements, engraved gems, and pottery decorated with painted and relief decoration.

Beginning at the end of the 6th century BC, similar images of reclining banqueters are mainly found in the pediments of painted tombs, such as in the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing (B109), Bartoccini Tomb (B104), and the Frontocino Tomb (B108), all from Tarquinia.[98] Also in the 6th century, banqueting saw an early appearance on the walls of the Tomb of the Lionesses (B114). The frequency of the use of banqueting iconography increased in the 5th century and the use of the pediment for banqueting iconography ceased. At Tarquinia, several tombs, such as the Tomb of the Bigas (B202), the Tomb of the Deer Hunt (B205), the Tomb of the Leopards (B210), Tomb of the Maggi (B212), the Querciola Tomb 1 (B217), and the Tomb of the Ship (B218), used similar iconography on their rear walls; three klinai were depicted, each with two reclining banqueters. Other tombs depict banqueters, but with more varied iconography. The Tomb of the Biclinium (B201), depicted at least four klinai with male and female reclining figures. Evidence for the lost Tomb of the Maiden (B213) records two klinai each with two banqueters. The Tomb of the Old Man (B214) features one reclining male and female couple as does the

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[96] Jannot 1984, 362-367.
[97] Haynes 2000, 123, 140.
[98] Many of these are, as D'Agostino refers to as the "conjugal symposium." D'Agostino 1989, 6.

Tomb of the Painted Vases (B216). Although damaged, the right wall of the Tomb of the

Black Sow (B203) depicts reclining banqueters. The Tomb of the Funeral Bed (B208) is

unique in that it depicts an empty bed for the deceased on the rear wall. On the right and

left walls towards the rear of the chamber is one kline each with a pair of banqueters.

Other painted examples are found in Chiusi dating to the 5th century BC, such as

the Tomb of the Casuccini Hill (B227) with five klinai depicted, the Tomb of Orpheus

and Euridice (B231) with two pairs of reclining banqueters, one pair in the Tomb of the

Well (B232), and in the Tomb of the Hill of the Moro (B228); the two pediments each

illustrate three reclining figures.[99] Banqueting imagery continues into the 4th century and

beyond, but indicates changes that were occurring in Etruscan art. The nature of painted

tomb decoration, and other media, was evolving;[100] it was at this time that elements of the

underworld, chthonic figures, and the abandonment of extensive dance and musical

iconography were manifested in numerous tombs. Grotesque, underworld figures appear

in the banqueting contexts in the Tomb of Orcus I (B303), and the Tomb of the Infernal

Quadriga (B313).[101] The king and queen of the Etruscan underworld, Aita and

Phersipnai, and the winged Vanth appear in Golini Tomb 1, from Orvieto (B311).

Chthonic figures also are depicted without the banquet in the François Tomb from Vulci,

c. 350-325 BC (B315), the Tomb of the Anina Family at Tarquinia, from the 3rd century

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[99] De Marinis 1961, 14-21.

[100] Briguet 1986, 160; Thaniel 1976, 38, indicates that there was a combination of likely reasons for iconographic change at this time. The Etruscans were losing political power in Italy to the Romans and there were exterior influences occurring that caused change. Greek ideas regarding the nature of the underworld became widespread and from South Italy, the Orphic-Pythagorean eschatological concepts were introduced. See Mikalson 2007, 216.

[101] Steingräber 1985, 337-340; Minetti 2004, tav. XXV, XXVI, XXXI.

BC (B401), Tomb of the Cardinal, c. 300-250 BC (B403), and the Tomb of the Charuns, c. 375-350 BC (B404), among others.[102]

At least 25 examples of Etruscan Chiusine relief sculpture from the 6th-5th century BC are depicted with reclining figures on klinai or on cushions. On the Chiusine examples, banqueting may be depicted alongside aulos players, as in an ash urn (E113) in which two klinai are featured, each with two reclining figures and a central *aulete*. The other decorated sides of the ash urn depicts five female dancers. Banqueting depictions on funerary relief sculpture also may include other activities, such as dancers, mourners, and men on horseback. Banqueting and the prothesis are combined in the relief decoration in several examples of relief sculpture (E025, E026 E105, E130, E106, E207). Numerous examples of Chiusine iconography *only* depict banqueters, sometimes on multiple sides, (E010, E020, E112, E120, E121, E122, E123, E124, E126, E128). One example of a funerary urn decorated with banqueting iconography is in Florence (E113).[103] The urn is decorated on two faces; on the first is depicted two beds, each with two banqueters, and two servants are nearby, in addition to various ceramic containers, such as a krater, chalices, and bowls.

The site of Murlo offers evidence for banqueting completely outside of a funerary context. The architectural terracottas found at the site feature images of reclining banqueters (E002). Every plaque depicts two klinai each with two men reclining, three of which are holding drinking vessels and one is playing a lyre. Murlo functioned as a site for meetings of local government or aristocratic groups, and consequently also carried

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[102] Steingräber 1985, 385-388, 290, 305-307, 308.
[103] Jannot, 1984, 19-21.

religious associations. Here, evidence indicates that banquets had cultural roles outside of the funerary sphere associated with the aristocracy, which is discussed in Chapter 4. In fact, the architectural plaques from Murlo represent the earliest known reclining banqueters in Etruscan art, dating to 590-580 BC.[104]

Banqueting is also visually referenced in small-scale media, including engraved mirrors and in bronze figurines or decorative attachments. Banqueting iconography is present in five examples of engraved mirror decoration and on all five, there is evidence of a kline or a cushion on which the participants recline. On the first two mirror examples dating 500-450 BC (A112), from the 6th or 5th century BC (A104), and on a third of undetermined date (A425), a couple reclines on a kline with at least one nearby attendant.[105] The fourth example (A104), dating c. 475-450 BC, uses two registers; in the top register, there are three reclining females on cushions. In the bottom, there are two satyrs flanking a central female, who attempts to ward off the males with her hand gesture.[106] The fifth example (A212) from 350-325 BC, is tentatively identified as a banquet, although it departs from the iconographic similarities of the previous examples. Here, a reclining female is embraced by a satyr, while two other satyrs arrive carrying panpipes and an oinochoe.[107]

Bronze statuettes and decorative elements include reclining figures, some satyrs, all dating from the late 6th through early 5th centuries BC. The first example (C203),

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[104] Bonfante 1986, 233-234.
[105] *CSE* Italy 6.1.13; Mansuelli 1943, 489; de Marinis 1961, 33.
[106] *CSE* Deutschland 2.4; *ES* 5.37; de Marinis 1961, 32.
[107] *CSE* Italy 6.1.16; *ES* 5.42.

dating 525-500 BC, is a four-handled basin with two pairs of banqueters,[108] and another

decoration is from a bronze vessel (C403), dating to 475-400 BC. Two bronze reclining

satyr statuettes (C406, C410) date to the period of 500-475 BC.[109] A reclining figure

decorates the lid of a bronze funerary urn (C414), c. 420-400 BC.[110]

Several examples of banqueting iconography appear in disparate Etruscan

ceramic decoration. The earliest is a redware pinax on stand from Cerveteri, dating c.

550-500 BC (F102). This relief decoration repeats in a band on the surface of the pinax,

in which two klinai are depicted with a centrally located dancer and aulos player.[111] A

black-figure amphora by the Paris Painter, c. 540 BC (F119) depicts reclining,

banqueting couples on the shoulder of the vessel.[112] A red-figure krater by the Palermo

Painter (F217), c. 420-410 BC, depicts a banqueting figure.[113] Here, a central, reclining

male figure is embraced by a female on the right behind him, and a seated female on the

left plays the aulos. Another female, presumably a servant, stands to the far left while a

small male, also a servant, stands to the right.

Music and Mythological Contexts

Banqueting was not the only context in which dance and music was featured.

Music and musical instruments were important elements of mythological or divine

iconographic depictions. Although divinities were never depicted in dancing contexts,

with one exception that is discussed below, they were frequently shown holding and

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[108] Haynes 1985, 146, 259.
[109] Haynes 1985, 278, 280-281.
[110] Haynes 1985, 207, 298.
[111] Walters 1912, 242; de Marinis 1961, 31, no. 94.
[112] Hemingway et al. 2007, 287, fig. 330.
[113] Buranelli 1992, 129, fig. 104.

occasionally using musical instruments. Medium also affects where musical instruments appear; mythological iconography depicting identifiable deities alongside instruments only appears in mirrors, vase painting, bronzes, and engraved gems. Some divinities were even indicated as playing the instrument themselves. Examples of identifiable deities and heroes shown performing or alongside instruments include Apulu, Artumes, Menrva, Hercle, Fufluns, Semle, Turan, Atunis, and possibly Urphe.[114] Out of these figures, Apulu, Urphe, and Fufluns are especially associated with music, while the others play ancillary roles.

Apulu is identifiable in mirror imagery in the 5th and 4th centuries BC connected with music and musical instruments. A bronze mirror from 470 BC (A108) illustrates the twins Apulu and Artumes seated together; Apulu and his sister Artumes are identified by the inscription "Apulu" on the left and "Artumes" on the right. Apulu watches his sister as she plays the lyre.[115] In another engraved mirror example (A207), dated 340-330 BC, a seated Apulu on the left and Artumes on the right again are depicted with instruments; here, Apulu carries a lyre and Artumes, the aulos.[116] Neither is in the act of playing the instrument but instead are embracing and looking in the other's direction. There is no inscription included, but the two have been identified as the divine twins through several visual clues. The male and the female have a close relationship, demonstrated by their

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[114] Their Greek equivalents are Apollo, Artimis, Athena, Heracles, Dionysos, Semele, Zeus, Aphrodite, Adonis, and Orpheus, respectively. Wherever possible, Etruscan names of deities, heroes, or other mythological figures are used, instead of their Greek/Roman equivalents. de Grummond provides a chart indicating the comparable Greek, Roman, and Etruscan identifications for their respective pantheon. de Grummond 2006, 19.

[115] de Grummond 2006, 103. Remarks on the unusual composition of this scene as Apulu is associated with music.

[116] Bundrick 2005, 49-60; an interesting comparison in Greek versus Etruscan iconography is the omission of the Etruscan equivalent of the Muses in musical iconography.

embrace; they are shown with instruments, and a deer is included next to the female, referencing her association with animals and with the myth of Acteon. Apulu is tentatively identified in a third mirror (A412) as the seated figure on the left, playing the lyre.[117] The seated female on the right may be Artumes, but there is no definitive feature identifying her as such.

A fourth mirror depicts a seated male of debatable identification. The depiction of a singular kithara player in Boston, dating 400-350 BC has been identified either as Apulu or more likely, Urphe (A216). Urphe was a mythological character with liminal attributes. He was a seer and had access to privileged knowledge, but according to myth, he successfully visited the underworld while trying to save his beloved. If it is Urphe, the inclusion of the kithara in this context refers to his prophetic ability, associated with his musical talents.[118] The male is seated on a rocky ledge, surrounded by two birds, a deer, and a feline.[119]

A scene from the legend of the Etruscan prophet Cacu, identified by his lyre playing, is depicted on a 3rd century mirror from Bolsena (A316).[120] Here, Cacu and his attendant Artile are shown in the moment before they are attacked and captured by the Etruscan Vipinas brothers, presumably to force Cacu to reveal prophecy or to take Cacu's

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[117] *ES* 4.297.1.

[118] Bundrick 2005, 116-126, discusses the images of Orpheus in Greek art. From the 6th century, although rare, Orpheus is associated with musical ability. A lyre is used as an identifiable attribute.

[119] de Grummond 2000, 39; The five other examples of Urphe in Etruscan mirror iconography only feature his head; since he is not depicted playing music, a discussion of these mirrors are not included here. In the absence of an inscription, both Urphe and Apulu are possibilities, although de Grummond 2000, 39-40, asserts that Urphe is the likely choice.

[120] de Grummond 1982, 109; de Grummond 2006, 27-28. According to the Etruscan story, Cacu was a prophet who was attacked by the brothers Caile Vipinas and Avle Vipinas in order to obtain the sacred information from him.

prophetic tablets, held here by Artile.[121] The same narrative moment also appears in

several 2nd century ash urns (E401, E402). Again, the lyre is connected to Cacu's

prophetic abilities and is featured here as an identifying characteristic.

An instrument may not only be used as an attribute, but may also play a critical

role in the narrative. The chilling consequences of challenging the gods is referenced in

the mirror depicting Marsayas, who has just lost his musical competition with Apulu.[122]

On a mirror in the Villa Giulia, c. 350-325 BC, a musical instrument is indicated as the

cause of the impending flaying and subsequent death of Marsyas by the god Apulu

(A213). This version of the competition depicts a kithara, which appears in the top center

above the heads of Apulu on the left and Marsayas on the right. The satyr has already lost

the contest and the verdict has been decided. The satyr is illustrated with hands raised and

clenched in supplication, pleading to Apulu for his life. The moment chosen by the artist

is potent and liminal in its very nature. Marsyas is neither free nor is he dead; he is

awaiting his inevitable fate.

Hercle is shown in one identifiable example with a musical instrument. A winged

female approaches Hercle, holding a lyre (A203). Hercle is recognized by the lion skin

draped behind him. Other musical instruments are featured in iconographic compositions

depicting familial or romantic affection involving at least one deity. In two examples

Turan is shown with her consort Atunis and instruments are included. One of the mirrors

depicts a seated Atunis playing the lyre for Turan (A420), while the second example

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[121] de Grummond 2000, 32-33; this interpretation is based on the "literary motif in which it is necessary to capture a prophet in order to learn his secrets. de Grummond provides Virgil's 6th *Eclogue* as an example.
[122] According to Bundrick 2005, 131-139, images of Marsyas first appeared in Greece from the 5th century BC. Greek imagery may depict the competition itself or his punishment.

shows Turan and Atunis embracing in the center, with the lyre by Atunis' side (A204).[123]

Familial affection is depicted in the embrace of Semle and Fufluns, who are also

accompanied by an aulos player (A220).[124] Fufluns' relation with Areatha, the Etruscan

Ariadne, is illustrated on a mirror (A230) dating to 350-325 BC, and shows the couple

embracing in the center with Fufluns carrying a lyre.[125] Another mirror (A210), dating

between 325-300 BC, does not have an identifying inscription, but depicts a centrally

embracing couple: a winged female on the left and a male with lyre on the right; the male

may be Fufluns and the female Semle, Areatha, or the winged Etruscan figure Lasa.[126]

A series of four relief mirror covers (A301, A304, A305, A307) offer an example

of a Hellenistic mirror type; all of these mirrors depict a small male winged figure on the

left embracing or supporting a taller nude male figure to the right, while a striding female

figure on the right plays the kithara.[127] The winged figure has been identified as the

Etruscan Eros, named Turnu, and the taller male figure, Fufluns, due in part to the thyrsus

that he carries across his shoulders. A fifth mirror cover (A312), also Hellenistic in date,

offers a similar grouping of individuals.[128] Here, the winged Turnu stands on the right,

holding the thyrsus by his left side, and assists the central Fufluns. Fufluns embraces a

satyr on the left, walking and playing the aulos.

Mythological characters are also depicted in engraved gems associated with

Etruscan musical performance. In one example, Urphe sits on a rock with a snake at his

feet, holding a lyre (G001), while another example pictures a crouching satyr, holding a

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[123] *CSE* Deutschland 4.33, 36.
[124] Bonfante 1993, 230-231.
[125] de Grummond 2006, 118.
[126] *CSE* Italy 2.1.17; *ES* 5.31.
[127] *CSE* Deutschland 3.6, *CSE* Deutschland 3.20, *CSE* France 1.4.1, *CSE* Great Britain 2.3.
[128] *CSE* USA 2.15; de Grummond 1982, fig, 19.

lyre and with mouth open, presumably a rare example of the depiction of singing in Etruscan art (G002). A dancing satyr is also depicted on another engraved gem (G003), and a fourth example depicts a music-playing satyr; this time he plays an aulos (G006).

Revelers and Fufluns' Retinue

By far, the most frequent context for music and dance iconography was in the form of groups of revelers – often referenced as "komasts" in scholarship; performers in this category offer examples of unorganized dance and carry such items as garlands, kylikes, or other accoutrements of celebration. Most of these figures may be interpreted as ordinary people, but a few are bacchic in nature, due especially to the inclusion of satyrs. Bands of revelers may be depicted, especially in the extensive iconography of tomb painting and in relief sculpture, with other types of activities and elements, which may include banquets, the prothesis, armed men on horseback, athletic events, monumental doorways, and other types of performance. Johnstone refers to both of these instances of dancing: "satyrs and maenads with "orgiastic dances" and those in the "komos" whose "dancing was joyous and unrestrained."[129] Satyrs were mythological in nature and were depicted with a combination of human and horse/goat attributes, including a long tail and pointed ears. Other details that may be included are a pointed beard and bald forehead and they are often ithyphallic.[130] Etruscans depicted bands of revelers in wall painting, ceramic decoration, and individual revelers in small-scale media, such as engraved gems, mirrors, and bronze figurines.

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[129] Johnstone 1956, 9; see fn 85 above on terminology.
[130] Mitchell 2009, 156.

Unlike divine contexts with musicians and their instruments, Etruscan dance imagery was almost entirely grounded in the mundane.[131] In this way, dance in Etruria is specified as a human activity for a human audience; if a divine audience is to be included, it must be understood in absentia, as no deity is depicted as an audience member. Contexts connected with Fufluns and his retinue provide an interesting exception to this rule; satyrs may be depicted dancing. No identifiable deities are present in scenes depicting dance in Etruria, with the exception of myth of the Return of Sethlans.[132] A bronze engraved situla from Bolsena (C601), c. 300-250 BC, features the god Sethlans being assisted by two male revelers, while a third male plays the aulos and three additional males are shown with various dance positions. Two black-figure Caeretan hydriae (F106, F107) illustrate Sethlans riding on a donkey, although only one complete image is preserved.[133] Near the central figure of Sehtlans on the hydriae is a dancing satyr who is also playing the aulos and Fufluns, holding a kantharos, leads the procession. A black-figure amphora dating 530-520 BC (F104), offers similar iconography with Sethlans on the back of a donkey with an aulos-playing satyr, Fufluns on the far right and a dancing satyr on the far left. Perhaps this exception is related to Greek-influenced iconography here, since the Greeks did not have the same divine restrictions on dance

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[131] Textual and iconographic examples of dancing deities are extant in the Greek world, including Aphrodite, Apollo, Ares, Artemis, Athena, Dionysos, Persephone, and Zeus. See Shapiro 2004b, 304-305.

[132] Johnstone 1965, 143, identifies the avoidance of combining dance with deities, but does not expound upon the implications of this fact. Mitchell 2009, 143-144, 214-216, indicates that this subject appears in at least 61 examples of vase painting dating 7th-5th century in Greece. The author also proposes that Greek humor may be identified here, in tricking of a god and his loss of control in a drunken state. See also Hedreen 1992, 13-30.

[133] Hemelrijk 1984, 14-15, plate 36-40; 28-29, plate 64-65; Walsh 2009, 108-109.

iconography.[134] Lonsdale indicates that the Greek Hephaestus is an outsider on Olympus

due to his appearance and his procession as a blacksmith; interestingly, he is also the

"only Olympian god who does not dance" in the Greek world, making his exceptional

inclusion in Etruscan dance iconography intriguing indeed as an example of the Etruscan

adaptation and modification of Greek mythology and art.[135]

    Although the depiction of bands of revelers is present throughout all Etruscan

media, dancing satyrs and their female accompaniment only appear in small-scale

objects, including bronze mirrors and bronze figures/decorative attachments, gems, and

vase painting and in one example of gemstone decoration (G003).[136] Satyrs and

maenads, the followers of Fufluns, occur in dance and musical iconography along with

the *thyrsus*, ivy, and Eastern dress,[137] especially in painted ceramics and in bronze mirror

decoration.[138] They may perform both individually or in pairs, such as in decoration on a

bronze lebes (B405), dancing satyr statuettes (B412, B416, B417), and satyr and maenad

decoration on a candelabrum (B413). Even though Fufluns is a god of the dead in

Etruria,[139] Johnstone notes that the dancing satyr is not found in any image created solely

for the tomb, such as wall painting or funerary relief sculpture, although one tomb has

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[134] Hedreen 2004 offers an overview of this myth and iconographic expression in the Greek world. Here, the author indicates that representations were meant to reference Dionysiac processional ritual (58). He also mentions that Dionysus and Hephaistos may be considered marginal or outsider deities.
[135] Lonsdale 1993, 86; T. Smith 2009, 71-76.
[136] Johnston 1956, 122, states that there is no iconography featuring the satyr in Etruscan tomb painting. Bonfante 1993, 232, also comments on Fufluns and his retinue. She indicates that Fufluns is a vegetation god and as such, had a role as a god of the dead in Etruria; however, neither he nor any of his followers appear in performance contexts in tomb paintings.
[137] Bundrick 2005, 106-116; music and Dionysos are associated in Greek contexts, not only win connection with the *komos* and *symposion*, but with specific moments from Dionysos' life.
[138] According to Bonfante 1993, 222, 234, Fufluns, the Etruscan god of vegetation, was attested by the 7th century in Etruria and by the 5th century, mythological accounts and iconographic depictions were connected to the Greek Dionysus.
[139] Bonfante 1996, 162.

been tentatively identified as featuring satyrs.[140] All are objects that may have multiple functions throughout their lifetimes.

The mirror iconography depicts identifiable mythological followers of Fufluns. Satyrs, identified by their long tail, pointed ears and beard, are often indicated with a female companion. Only one example (A110) may be identified as a bacchic reveler by the female's attributes alone, with her animals skins and ivy wreath.[141] Most of the iconography featuring these figures is mainly related to dance. In another mirror (A004), dating to the end of the 6th - beginning of the 5th century, a satyr on the left carries a lyre and is accompanied by a female on the right.[142] Both move forward but the female's arms and hands are in a position that are used in numerous examples of mirror dance iconography. The gesture consists of one hand in the air, elbow bent, and the second arm at waist length, elbow bent. Another mirror (A103), c. 470 BC, also combines the figure of a satyr with a dancing female.[143] As the satyr on the left reaches for the female on the right, she raises her right arm by her head and holds her left arm by her waist, arm bent. A dancing satyr and a female are depicted in another engraved mirror example (A120), c. 470 BC.[144] An additional mirror (A406) depicts a satyr on the left dancing with a central female figure.[145] The female figure is frontal and holds both of her arms above her head, while the satyr stands with his back to the viewer, his left hand above his head and his

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[140] Johnstone 1956, 122.
[141] Johnstone 1956, 122; here she says that the satyr's dancing pattern has become Etruscan. See also Hedreen 1992, 9 on the avoidance of using the term maenad.
[142] *CSE* Italy 6.3.4; *ES* 3.92.2.
[143] *CSE* Denmark 1.2; *ES* 1.101.
[144] *ES* 4.314; de Grummond 2006, 114.
[145] *ES* 1.103.

right arm reaching towards the right. On the right is a seated female holding a thyrsus, further emphasizing the bacchic nature of the iconography.

Other associated mirror examples depict solitary dancing figures. A mirror in Berlin (A110), dating to 475 BC, is one of the few examples of a female with bacchic attributes.[146] She is draped in an animal skin and is surrounded by an ivy garland. Her body position is different from the couples mentioned above, but her forward movement and the sense of motion with outstretched arms indicates that she is likely a dancer. Other solitary, bacchic individuals in mirrors decoration all depict satyrs. On a 3rd century mirror (A306), a bald, nude satyr, with pointed ears and tail, is shown dancing, moving forward with right hand by his head and left hand reaching backwards.[147] A similar satyr is depicted in a mirror that dates from the end of the 4th century - beginning of the 3rd (A308), although here his back is to the viewer.[148] In another example (A311), 300 BC, the satyr is vigorously bending his body to his left, with his right arm above his head and the left hand behind him.[149] A krater and thyrsus are also included.

Other bacchic mirror decoration also depicts dancing and musical instruments together. An early 5th century mirror (A102), dating to the early 5th century BC, includes a satyr on the left who is playing an aulos for the dancing satyr and female couple on the right;[150] they move forward with their inner arms interlocked and their outer arms raised above their heads. The dancing female in a mirror from the Villa Giulia (A114), 500-450 BC, plays the krotala, while both she and the satyr on the right are shown dancing, by

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[146] *CSE* Deutschland 4.9; *ES* 1.96.
[147] *CSE* Deutschland 4.38; *ES* 1.93.1.
[148] *CSE* Italy 6.3.30; *ES* 3.93.2.
[149] *CSE* USA 2.12.
[150] *CSE* Great Britain 1.1.19.

their arm gestures.[151] Another mirror (A212), dating 350-325 BC, depicts three satyrs, with pointed ears and two with full body hair, approaching a nude female figure reclining on a kline.[152] The central satyr plays the *syrinx*, or the panpipes, one of the only depictions of this instrument in Etruscan art.

Dancing and music-playing satyrs are also illustrated in Etruscan vase painting from the 6th century through the 4th century BC. The earliest example, a Pontic amphora dating to 540-530 BC (F122), uses alternating ithyphallic satyrs and female companions dancing around the central register; an aulos player is also included.[153] A black-figure stamnos by the Micali Painter (F114), dating 520-510 BC, includes two dancing female figures with a satyr playing the aulos in the center.[154] The females are both moving towards the center, and both have their right elbow bent, hand at eye-level with palm facing up and their left arm, bent, hand at waist, palm facing downwards. A black-figure amphora (F115), c. 515-490 BC, depicts on the first side a central satyr playing the aulos, moving to the left, while he is flanked on each side with dancing satyrs.[155] On the second side, two dancing satyrs are distinguishable on the right and left, with the central figure obscured by damage.

The 5th century BC saw a continuation of the use of black-figure in the creation of dance- and music-based satyr iconography. A black-figure amphora (F219) and a black-figure stamnos (F220), both dating c. 480 BC, each include two dancing satyrs on each

[151] *CSE* Italy 6.3.29; *ES* 4.315.1.
[152] *CSE* Italy 6.1.16; *ES* 5.42.
[153] Martelli 1987, no. 105.
[154] Martelli 1987, no, 125.
[155] Ginge 1987, 47-48, tav. XVII-XXIX, no. 20.

side.[156] Another black-figure amphora (F211), c. 500-475 BC, depicts alternating satyrs and female companions, all dancing.[157] On both sides of a black-figure stamnos (F214), c. 500-475 BC, a central satyr dances with flanking mortal males on either side.[158] A black-figure hydria (F216), c. 500 BC, also has three figures dancing, although here, the central figure is a female playing krotala and two satyrs are on either side of her.[159] A black-figure amphora (F218), 500-490 BC, illustrates Fufluns in the center holding a kantharos with a maenad on the right reaching her right hand to him and a dancing satyr on the left, left leg and left arm raised.[160]

Only a few examples of bacchic iconography continue into the 4th century in Etruscan vase painting, all in red-figure, three of which decorate kylikes. The first of the kylix examples (F302) includes a trio in the tondo.[161] A central, frontally-facing female plays the aulos, while two satyrs accompany her; the figure on the right strides forward with his hands on hips in what may be a depiction of dance. The tondo in another kylix (F303), dating to 350-300 BC, features a satyr dancing; here, he is on the right in what may be interpreted as a toilette scene.[162] A central nude female looks in a mirror and holds an alabastron with her left hand and a female on the left bends over, clutching a garland with both hands. The third kylix (F305) has dance and musical iconography on the exterior.[163] A satyrs plays an aulos while he is accompanied by two other dancing satyrs. The fourth example from the 4th century comes from a red-figure calyx-krater

[156] Martelli 1987, no. 136-137.
[157] Ginge 1987, 77-78, Tav. LXIX-LXX, no. 39.
[158] Ginge 1987, 83-84, Tav. LXXVIa-LXXVII. No. 45.
[159] Spivey 1997, 125, fig. 109.
[160] Martelli 1987, no. 135.
[161] Harari 1980, 30, tav. VII.1, cat. 10.
[162] Harari 1980, tav. VIII.1, cat. 13.
[163] Martelli 1987, 160.

(F304), c. 370 BC, on which a central female holding an amphora is flanked by two dancing satyrs, one of which carries a thyrsus.[164]

Dancing and music-playing satyrs appear in the form of bronze figurines. The first figurine example (C412), 475-450 BC, depicts a satyr dancing and reaching his right arm over his head while leaning to his right.[165] Another small satyr figurine (C416), dating to 480-450 BC, moves to his left, holding his left arm out at shoulder-level and his right arm across his chest. Engraved gems also depict performing satyrs. A satyr is dancing (D003) and he moves to the left with his right arm in the air, right leg lifted, and left arm at waist-height. Two other gemstones (D002, D011) both depict a satyr playing a lyre and a third and fourth (D004, D006) each include a satyr with an aulos.

Most iconography featuring revelers is not bacchic in nature; instead, mortals dance and play instruments in contexts from the mundane world. Numerous examples of engraved mirror decoration include dancers and musicians in the same types of combinations, although without the specific bacchic attributes, such as the *thyrsus*, the animal skins, and the presence of the satyrs. Solitary dancers also appear in Etruscan mirror decoration. A mirror from the first third of the 5th century BC (A113) depicts a central female character.[166] She has been interpreted as a dancer due to the krotala that she is playing, her forward movement, and the positioning of her hands; her right hand is by her waist and her left hand is extended in front of her. A mirror in a private collection (A414) is also similar in appearance and has been identified as a dancer instead of a runner for the same reasons. She does exhibit rapid forward motion, but also plays

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[164] Mayo 1998, 75.
[165] Haynes 1985, 188, 286.
[166] *CSE* Italy 6.1.30.

krotala and extends her left hand in front of her at chest level and her right arm is bent at the elbow with the hand held near her waist.[167] Another example of a dancer is featured in an Etruscan mirror (A403), in which the nude central female dances to the right.[168] She moves forward on her left leg and holds her right hand in the air, palm upwards, while her left hand is extended at shoulder height outwards, palm facing down. The solitary female dancer (A415) moves towards the right and looks backwards towards the left.[169] Her left hand is held at the level of her head and her right hand is by her chest while she plays the krotala. A lebes on stand is also indicated nearby in the field to the right, perhaps indicating a banqueting context or other situation for consuming wine.[170] Another mirror (A423) exhibits rapid movement to the right. The female is in the *knielauf* position looking behind her. Her left elbow is raised and bent, while her right elbow is bent, hand raised to the level of her face, and the palm faces upwards.

Dancing females may be depicted in anthithetical pairs. De Grummond postulates that the use of twinning may refer to the actual function of the mirror itself and perhaps even a reference to the soul.[171] A mirror in Berlin (A003), dating to the end of the 6th through beginning of the 5th, offers an early example of dancing.[172] Here, two female dancers face each other and mirror the other's gestures. They face forward and their inner hand is at face-level, palms upwards and the outside hand is at waist-height, palm facing downwards. They appear to be moving towards each other. In a similar manner, a

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[167] *ES* 4.312.1.
[168] *ES* 1.93.3.
[169] *ES* 4.312.2.
[170] *ES* 5.143.1.
[171] de Grummond 1982, 186. Also, de Puma 1973, 168 discusses twin iconography in the context of depictions of the Dioskouroi on mirrors and points out their popularity in relation to mirror function.
[172] *CSE* Deutschland 4.4; *ES* 1.44; de Grummond 1982, 186.

5th century mirror (A111) includes two dancing females moving towards each other.[173] They face each other, their torso facing the viewer. The inside arm is lifted above their faces, palms upwards. The outer arm is bent at the elbow, palms facing downward. Two antithetical female dancers are also featured in a third mirror example (A211), 400-350 BC, in which both of their arms are raised to the level of their head.[174]

Other depictions of performing pairs on mirrors offer variation in bodily movements, such as an example from c. 470 (A109), which includes a male and a female dancing together.[175] The male, on the left, carries a patera in his right hand with his left arm bent at the elbow with his palm facing upwards. The female on the right has her right arm extended forwards, and the left arm is slightly bent and positioned by her left foot. A male and female pair (A118) may be observed in an example from the early 5th century BC. Here, the two dancers move together towards the left.[176] The male on the right is in the foreground with his left arm bent and hand held at waist with the palm down. The right arm reaches forward at face-level, seemingly embracing the female's head. The female dancer is on the left and is in the background. Her left arm is obscured but the right arm is bent at the elbow and her hand is positioned at her shoulder, seemingly holding the right hand of the male. Another example with two dancers (A313), 300-250 BC, of indeterminate gender, are shown moving to the left with their left leg bent behind them, right elbow bent and hand held at eye-level.[177] Their left arms are held out behind them with their palms facing downward. In a fourth example (A404) a male

walks to the right playing an aulos, while a female is on the right upending an alabastron held in her right hand.[178] A *thyrsus* is included on the left.

Mirror iconography features dancers or musicians of either sex. The composition of three figures, at least one of which is dancing and one of which is playing an instrument, may be found in several engraved mirror examples. One from the mid-5th century (A105) depicts a central, female aulos player who is flanked on either side by dancing females.[179] In another mirror (A106), 490 BC, all three characters play an instrument.[180] The central male, who is partially obscured because of damage, plays an aulos and strides to the right. The two dancing females on the right and the left play krotala as they dance, with their inner arm raised above their heads and the outside arm held at waist-height. The central female plays a lyre in a third engraved mirror example (A107), 490-480 BC, while two male dancers flank her and dance, torsos facing front.[181] Another mirror features a central male, moving to the right and playing the aulos (A405).[182] Two females flank him, both moving to the right, and each have the same gesture. They hold their left hand above their head and right hand by their chest, while playing the krotala.

Images of dancers are also found in other, small-scale portable objects, such as figurines, and decorative figures used in *thymiateria*, incense burners, and candelabra, which range in date from the end of the 6th century BC through the middle of the 5th. With the bronze figurines, the identification of dance is much more tentative, as there is a

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[178] *ES* 1.97.
[179] *CSE* Deutschland 3.18.
[180] *CSE* Deutschland 4.5; *ES* 1.98.
[181] *CSE* Deutschland 4.6; *ES* 4.415.1.
[182] *ES* 1.99.

general lack of the indication of forward movement in most cases. An exception to this is

found in a bronze *thymiaterion* (C208), which dates to the end of the 6th century BC.[183]

Here, a male figure moves forward with his left leg raised; his left arm is also raised,

holding a kylix, and his right arm is curled underneath towards his body. A male

decorating an incense burner (C301), 510-490 BC, also indicates forward movement as

he steps forward with his left foot raised, his left arm held strait in a diagonal in the air

and his right arm held down in the opposite direction.[184] A decorative female figure on a

bronze utensil holder (C409) dates to 480-460 BC and plays the krotala as she moves

forward. Her left leg is bent, her left arm raised to the level of the top of her head and her

right arm is held by her waist with arm bent.[185] Another female krotala player appears to

be dancing in an example of a bronze candelabrum (C415), dating to c. 500 BC.[186] She

holds her left arm above her head and her right arm at her waist.

Seven other examples are relatively static in their appearance and are identified as

dancers by their arm positions, which correspond with dancer's arm positions discussed

in other media. Three examples (C305, C306, C308), all dating to 520-470 BC, depict

females with the same bodily positions: their right arm is held by their face, palm up, and

their left hand is at their waist.[187] A bronze candelabrum (C418) from the early fifth

century BC also holds the same arm position. Three other examples of dancing females,

(C307, C401, C419), a statuette, *thymiaterion*, and a second statuette, respectively, each

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[183] Franken 2010, 88.
[184] Haynes 1985, 156, 265.
[185] Haynes 1985, 280; Haynes 2000, 194.
[186] Goldscheider 1941, no. 64; Hus 1975, pl. 24.
[187] Lazzeri 1927, pl. 9; Richardson 1983, 280-281.

hold both their arms in the air, extended away from their body with bent arms.[188] While

bronze objects focus on dancers, engraved gems offer depictions of musicians. Two

examples, (D012, D013), depict seated women playing the lyre. One (D025) depicts a

walking male playing the kithara, while on another a nude kneeling male plays the

kithara (D026) and a naked youth plays the aulos in a third (D027).

Groups of revelers are featured throughout Etruscan tomb painting from the 6th

through the 3rd centuries BC. Revelers in this medium are identified by their forward

motion while making gestures of dancing, and may also be playing instruments, carrying

cups for drinking wine, or interacting with other revelers. Revelers are first noted in

funerary wall painting beginning at the end of the 6th century in seven extant examples.

The Tomb of the Inscriptions (B111) in Tarquinia, which dates c. 520 BC, is the earliest

example of revelers in wall painting.   Dancing revelers are included on the rear and the

right wall, along with a closed door, men on horseback, and athletic games.[189] On the rear

wall, to the right of the monumental central door, are depicted one *aulete* and two dancers

that flank him. The dancer to the immediate right of the door looks towards the *aulete*,

lifts his left arm above his head with the palm facing upwards, holds a kylix in his right

hand, and lifts his right leg in front of him. The dancer on the far right crosses his left leg

over his right knee and lifts both hands into the air. A third dancer is depicted on the

right wall. A male figure, second from the left, moves forward with his left leg lifted

behind him, holding a kylix in his left hand and raising his right hand above his head.

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[188] Richardson 1983, 294.
[189] Steingräber 1985, 322-323.

The Tomb of the Bacchantes (B102), also in Tarquinia, dated to c. 510-500 BC, includes extensive iconography featuring revelry.[190] Dancers and musicians are featured on the rear, right, and left walls along with trees in the center of the walls and the corners of the room. On the left side of the rear wall is a male dancing and holding a lyre. His right arm is lifted above his head, palm facing upward and he is moving towards the right. A tree is in the center, dividing the man on the left from a male and female walking to the right together. A bearded male holds a kylix while a female on the right lifts her right arm above her head and holds her left arm in front of her. On the left wall are two couples divided by a centrally-placed tree and on the far left are two males who move to the right. The male on the left has lifted his right hand above his head, palm facing up, and his left arm is bent, with the palm hanging down at waist height. A shorter male *aulete* joins him. The couple on the right of the wall are both moving to the left, dancing. The male on the left has both arms raised and the male on the right has his right arm lifted with the left arm next to his waist. On the right wall is an aulos player who strides to the left as he plays. The second figure on the right is too damaged to determine his actions.

The Cardarelli Tomb (B106), Tarquinia, c. 510-500 BC, offers extensive evidence featuring dancing revelers on the right and the rear walls of the tomb, in addition to boxing iconography and a monumental, closed doorway.[191] On the rear wall, a kithara player stands to the left and an aulos player is to the right of the central doorway. The left wall features both dance and music. The figure on the far left dances; he moves to

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[190] Steingräber 1985, 292.
[191] Steingräber 1985, 304-305; Thuillier 1985, 128-129.

the right holding a kylix in his left hand with his right hand raised above his head, palm facing upward. A small musician, like in the Tomb of the Bacchantes, plays an aulos and moves with the dancer to the right. A central tree separated these two performers from the group of three individuals on the right of the wall, all moving to the left. Of the three, the central female is a dancer, indicated by her left leg lifted in the front; the depiction of her arms have faded from the wall painting, but the position of her chiton indicates that at least her left arm was extended in front of her body. She is followed by a short girl who carries a kyathos and a mirror and is preceded by a boy who holds a fan. The right wall of the tomb depicts two more pairs of performers, also separated in the center by a tree. On the far left is a dancing male, moving to the left with his right hand above his head, palm up. His left arm is down by his waist and to his right is a short musician playing the barbiton. The pair on the right side of the wall do not dance or play an instrument. The left figure carries an oinochoe and the figure on the right holds his kylix by the handle with his index figure, perhaps playing kottabos. Both these figures on the right watch the performers on the left.[192]

The same type of reveling iconography is included in the Tomb of the Dead Man (B107), Tarquinia, c. 510 BC, although on a smaller scale. In this unique tomb the revelers are included on the rear, left, and right walls.[193] A sole dancer accompanies the kline on the left wall in the only example of the prothesis in Etruscan wall painting. His left leg is crossed over his right, his right arm extends behind him, adorned with a wreath. He places another wreath on his head with his left hand. The rear wall features a central

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[192] For more information on kottabos, see Chapter 3, fn. 167.
[193] Steingräber 1985, 333-334.

krater. To its left is a dancing *aulete*, moving to the left, with left leg lifted in front. On the right is a dancing male holding a kylix above his head in his right hand and lifting his left hand, palm facing upward, above his head. The right wall does not offer definitive evidence of dance, as the two males are only preserved from part of the upper torso upwards, but it is possible that they are dancing. The extant iconography corresponds with the revelry iconography previously discussed. On the left is a bearded male with both hands raised above his head, carrying a wreath in his left hand. On the right, the male holds his left hand above his head, palm upwards, and drinks from the kylix he holds in his right hand.

The Tomb of Hunting and Fishing (B109), Tarquinia, 510 BC, includes bands of revelers occupying the walls of the front room of the tomb. All four walls of this room feature dancers and musicians, as well as trees filled with garlands.[194] The left wall has five dancers, the right wall has four dancers and an aulos player lying on the ground next to an amphora. The entrance wall of the tomb and the entrance wall to the 2nd room of the tomb each have two dancers. All dancers exhibit forward motion and their bodies are all in different body positions. One foot may be raised, arms may be held in the air or extended outwards in front or behind each dancer.

Two other late 6th century tombs offer additional evidence for the presence of celebrants in Etruscan funerary wall painting. The Tomb of Pulcinella (B117), Tarquinia, provides some tantalizing clues regarding the original composition, although much of the wall painting has been damaged beyond recognition.[195] In the rear wall on the right is a

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[194] Steingräber 1985, 301-302.
[195] Steingräber 1985, 345.

nude male walking to the left, while the remains of a lyre are extant in the center. On the

left wall are the remains of a nude male dancer, followed by an armed man on horseback

and a dancing Phersu figure, moving forward, left arm bent and held behind him and

right arm bent with hand held at eye-level. At Cerveteri in the Tomb of the Clay (B105),

dating to the end of the 6th century, a dancing band of men decorates the rear wall of the

front room between the two doorways.[196] Seven dancing figures are depicted, all with

their bodies in different positions. Steingräber also indicates that there are two aulos

players among them, although this is hard to identify in the watercolor image that records

the wall painting. [197]

Beginning in the 5th century, the types of activities that are found alongside the

revelers expand to include banqueting iconography. Thirteen examples of iconography

featuring revelers are in Etruscan funerary wall paintings of the 5th century BC. Of these,

11 use a standardized type of iconographic depiction including a group of dancers and

musicians, each separated by an image of a short tree. Most of the decorative programs

that include processions of revelers are also feature reclining banqueters, One of the

earliest 5th century tombs in which this decorative program is featured is the Tomb of the

Painted Vases (B216) from Tarquinia, dating to c. 500 BC.[198] Here, the left wall features

four figures. The second figure from the left plays krotala, while the two males on the

right are dancing. The right wall has an additional male who is dancing in the center,

moving to the left, while holding a kylix in his left hand. The rear wall of the tomb

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[196] Steingräber 1985, 269.

[197] Due to the condition of the wall painting, the discussion is based on evidence from Moretti's 1955
watercolor of the wall painting, whose details are opaque in places.

[198] Steingräber 1985, 361-362.

features two couples. One couple reclines on a kline while the second couple sit together on a stool on the left.

Dating to c. 480 BC, the Tomb of the Leopards (B210) from Tarquinia also combines revelers on the right wall with banqueting on the rear wall; this tomb includes a procession of five males on the left wall who all move to the right towards the banqueters carrying items.[199] Three klinai are depicted on the rear wall of the tomb, each with two males reclining and two servants are attending to all of the banqueters. Of the figures on the right wall, only three male figures survive; extant evidence suggests that there were originally five figures. The first male on the left carries a kylix and holds his left hand at eye-level with the palm upraised. The second figure from the left plays an aulos while striding forward and the third is a lyre-player. All three individuals move to the left.

The Tomb of Orpheus and Eurydice at Chiusi (B231), dating c. 480-470 BC, offers comparable early evidence for bands of revelers and banqueters, although they are depicted in different rooms in the same tomb. In the rear chamber are four reclining banqueters entertained by a nearby aulos player. In the side chamber of the tomb, performers are also depicted. On the rear wall are at least two dancers moving to the left, identified as such by their arms extended in front and behind. On the right wall are five performers, each separated by short trees. The male on the far left, the so-called "Orpheus", is playing the barbiton. He is followed on the right by two male dancers and on their left is a dancing female "Eurydice". The fifth figure on the far right is another male dancer.

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[199] Steingräber 1985, 327.

The Tomb of the Little Flowers (B211) from Tarquinia, 475-450 BC, features banqueting and an aulos player on its rear wall.[200] In the center of the right wall is a male dancer; on either side of him, separated by trees, are female dancers. The iconography on the left wall is similar to that on the right, except an aulos player occupies the center of the left wall. The Tomb of the Triclinium at Tarquinia (B220), dating c. 470 BC, carries similar iconography. The rear wall features the banquet and the right and the left walls of the tomb each have four dancers and one musician.[201] An aulos player is included on the right wall and a lyre player is the second figure from the left on the left wall. The same decorative program continues in the Tomb of Casuccini Hill, Chiusi (B227), dating 475-450 BC.[202] Complex iconography is featured in a painted frieze course in the front and rear chambers. The front includes five klinai with banqueters, an aulos player, and a chariot race. In the section of the wall ranging from the left wall to the rear wall is a long jumper with weights, a Pyrrhic dancer, a wrestling match with official, and a group consisting of two aulos players, one krotala player, and one dancer. In the rear room is evidence of bands of dancers, five on each wall, accompanied by an aulos and lyre player.

A similar combination of decorative elements continued into the mid-5th century BC in Tomb 5513 from Tarquinia (B225) with a banquet on the rear wall and dancers and musicians on the right and left walls.[203] On the right wall, a short, nude boy is on the far left and on his left is a lyre player. The center of the wall feature a female dancer and to

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[200] Steingräber 1985, 312.
[201] Steingräber 1985, 361.
[202] Steingräber 1985, 274-276.
[203] Steingräber 1985, 377-378.

her right is an aulos player. Not much of the fifth figure on the far right remains, but

Steingräber postulates that it is another dancer. The left wall uses a similar combination

of figures identified, from left to right, as a barbiton player, a dancer, a small servant, and

an aulos player. The last of the 5th century tombs that feature both revelers and

banqueting comes at the end of the century in the Querciola Tomb I (B217) from

Tarquinia.[204] The rear wall depicts a banquet with an aulos player, and on the right and

left walls are substantial bands of musicians and dancers. On the right wall is a band of

five figures that are moving left towards the banqueting scene. Of these, the three figures

on the right are dancing and the figure on the left is playing the aulos. On the left wall

are included six figures who all move to the right, again towards the banqueters. The

three on the left are dancing and the fourth figure plays the aulos, as he turns to look at

the men behind him.

Revelers may also be depicted in a non-specific context. Four other tombs with

wall painting are extant that feature revelers without banqueting iconography. The

earliest of these is Tomb 5591 (B226) from Tarquinia, dating c. 500-490 BC. Here,

dancers and musicians occupy the rear, right, and left walls, and are separated by small

trees. On the rear wall an aulos player is on the far left, in the center is a figure termed a

"komast" by Steingräber with a raised kylix, and on the far right is a dancing female.[205]

The right wall features, on the far left, a dancer holding a kylix followed by a dancer

holding a barbiton and two other dancers occupy the space on the right. On the left wall

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[204] Steingräber 1985, 346-347.
[205] Steingräber 1985, 378-379. It is unclear why he uses this terminology here but nowhere else in referring
to the reveler iconography.

are four additional dancers. The second figure from the left is another of Steingräber's "komasts" who is holding a kylix over his head.

The Tarquinian tomb of the Kithara Player (B209), c. 490-480 BC, only features dancers and musicians on the rear, right, and left walls of the tomb.[206] The rear wall here is unique in including two monumental doorways, unlike the abovementioned Tomb of the Inscriptions and the Cardarelli Tomb, which only feature one. In the Tomb of the Kithara Player, a dancing female is to the left of the doors; the figure on the right has been lost. Five figures are presented on the right wall. On the far left is a man dancing with a kylix, followed by two dancing men, then an *aulete* and a fifth figure too damaged to evaluate. The left wall preserves four figures including, from left to right, two dancing women, followed by a male kithara player and another dancing female. Tomb 4021 (B224) from Tarquinia, dating to 475-450 BC, depicts five figures per wall on the rear, right, and left walls of the tomb, many of whom are separated by small trees.[207] The middle figure on the rear wall features an aulos player. Tomb 2015 (B223) from Tarquinia, 450-400 BC, is not well preserved, but enough remains to determine that it was decorated with iconography that is comparable to the other depictions of bands of revelers.[208] On the rear and left walls can be discerned two pairs of dancers with a tree between each pair. On the right wall, all that survives is an aulos player.

Two other tombs should also be considered in the 5th century evidence. The Francesca Giustiniani Tomb (B207) from Tarquinia, dating to 450-425 BC, features limited dance and music iconography on the rear wall of the tomb. Here, a central female

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[206] Steingräber 1985, 309.
[207] Steingräber 1985, 374.
[208] Steingräber 1985, 368-369.

plays the aulos and to her right is a female and a male dancer.[209] Fragments of another

painted tomb, which come from Grotte Santo Stefano (B233), dating to 450 BC, include

evidence for dancing figures along with an aulos player.

The frequency of depictions of revelers decreases dramatically after the 5th

century, with only two appearances in the 4th century, the Tomb of the Cock (B302) and

Tomb 3713 (B309), and the Hellenistic Tomb of the Dancing Priests (B405), all from

Tarquinia. The Tomb of the Cock, dating to 400 BC, also includes banqueters in a mostly

destroyed scene on the right wall of the tomb. To the left of the entrance a lyre player is

shown and on the right is an aulos player. The rear wall of the tomb is almost completely

lost. All that remains are the feet of a dancer on the left and a standing figure on the

right, whom Steingräber indicates is likely a musician.[210] The left wall contains the best

preserved of the wall painting as well as a recess in the form of a stone bed on the right-

hand side. On the far left is a dancing Phersu figure; on his right is a dancing female and

to her right is a standing aulos player. Tomb 3713 (B309) from Tarquinia, dating to the

beginning of the 4th century features remarkably similar iconography to the 5th century

tombs, such as Tomb 4021.[211] Tomb 3713 includes three figures on the rear wall, a

dancing kithara player on the left, a dancing male in the center, and a dancing male on the

right raising a kylix, and a tree is depicted between each. The right and left walls each

feature four dancers, although on the right wall the fourth figure on the right is

completely obscured by damage. The Tomb of the Dancing Priests (B405) from

Tarquinia is a Hellenistic tomb and is now lost, known only from drawings recording

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[209] Steingräber 1985, 313.
[210] Steingräber 1985, 316.
[211] Steingräber 1985, 372-373.

iconography consistent with other bands of revelers. Dancing males are depicted, nude except for mantles draped around their necks, and one holds a lyre while another carries an oinochoe.[212]

Numerous Chiusine relief sculpture also depicts similar illustrations of dancing.[213] Jannot identifies some of the performing figures as mourning dancers; these images of mourners are analyzed further in Chapter 4. Occasionally, dancers and musicians in Chiusine relief may be the sole motif used throughout and urn or a cippus' decoration. For example, on all four sides of a stone cippus (E203), dancers and an *aulete* are included. In other instances, dancing revelers may be illustrated with other motifs such as banqueters (E117, E113) the prothesis, and men on horseback and mourners (E105).

Other depictions of dancers on Etruscan ceramics offer the same kinds of body positions as observed in the wall painting, relief sculpture, engraved gems and bronze statuettes or decorative attachments. Relief decoration on bucchero offers a few examples. De Puma provides a collection of bucchero pesante oinochoai with nude dancers. Each of these six examples dates to the period of 550-500 BC and features rows of dancers of debated gender.[214] They are depicted as moving to the right, holding their left hand palm-up at head level, with their right are bent, hand held at waist-level with their palm facing downwards. De Puma proposes that these dancers represent a funerary celebration. Non-mythological dancing figures appear in examples of black-figure Etruscan pottery beginning in the 6th century BC. A Pontic amphora (F127) dating 530-

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[212] Steingräber 1985, 320.
[213] Jannot 1984, 316.
[214] De Puma 1988, 140 proposes that these are female figures; Smith 2010, 225-226 argues that they are, in fact, male.

510 BC depicts male dancers encircling its shoulder, while a black-figure stamnos (F213), c. 500-475 BC, depicts two dancing males on each side.

The vast majority of the evidence features relatively unstructured groups of revelers, consisting of male and female musicians and dancers. Some of these revelers were depicted in specific contexts, especially in relation to the banquet, but many of them were in generalized settings often with small trees, which provide the only clue for location. Evidence is found in tomb paintings, vase painting, relief sculpture, mirrors, figurines, and engraved gems.

Conclusion

Dance and music are the most frequently depicted types of performance in Etruscan iconography and as such, offer the best opportunity to understand emically-constructed entertainment. Artistic representations of dance and musical instruments date from the 8th through the 2nd century BC, but reach their zenith in the 6th and 5th centuries BC during the Etruscan Archaic Period. Dancers, musicians, and their instruments are frequently illustrated together, in funerary, mythological, civic, and everyday contexts, as well as those of a more ambiguous nature. Sometimes there is a clear relationship between the actors and the spectators, as in scenes of banqueting, but sometimes the two categories of participants are blended, as in images of revelry. Despite the visual evidence regarding relationships, contexts, and practices, there are types of information that iconography is unable to provide. This is due to the absence of textual evidence, the nature of ancient iconography, and the relatively small pool of iconographic images in the Etruscan visual record. It remains important to note that actual Etruscan dance and music

is lost; the physical movements of the dancers and the musical sounds cannot be recreated from the images.[215] There are, however, still some types of information that can be extrapolated from the iconographic record, including relationships, contexts, and cultural messages.

Artistic media play an important role in the depictions of dancers and musicians. Tomb paintings and relief sculpture, as large-scale media, offer more information about context. Visual evidence provided by engraved gems, bronze figurines, and decoration is generally consistent with the material found in wall painting, relief sculpture, and in vase decoration. An understanding of Etruscan dancers and musicians not only provides context for performance, but also assists in the analysis of play and games and spectacle in the following chapters. These other performance activities utilize overlapping and complementary evidence, and include discussions of banqueting, athletes, and processions.

Characters that play music in Etruscan art include deities, servants, reclining banqueters, and everyday individuals. The role of the dancer is more limited and is much more frequently used in connection with revelry; revelers are represented in mirror decoration, on engraved gems, or in vase painting as the followers of Fufluns, and were identified by the inclusion of satyr attributes, animal skins, or the thyrsus. Aside from bacchic imagery, dancing revelers were completely in the realm of the mundane. Contexts for the appearance of dance in the Etruscan world are more limited than that of musical performance. Dance is not performed for or by deities and not in any identifiable

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[215] Naerebout 1996, 37.

religious activity; however, aristocrats, servants/slaves, the young and old could all be included in iconographic depictions of dance.

The creation of dance and musical iconography reaches its height in the 6th and 5th centuries BC, due in part to increased trade and contact with the Greeks, as well as its appeal to the Etruscans.[216] Greek and Latin sources indicate that dance and music performances were associated with Etruscan culture; Etruscan iconography supports its importance in situations of entertainment and leisure, such as in the banquet. The 4th century saw the general abatement of dance and musical performance iconography, which corresponded to an overall change in Etruscan culture, art, and focus; the banquet was also abandoned. A few late examples of dance iconography survive, such as the examples of the Return of Sethlans and the bands of revelers in the Tomb of the Dancing Priests and Tomb 3713, demonstrate the continued familiarity with these types of performances, just not their widespread use.

Performance is an effective lens for understanding cultural realities including beliefs, values, and practices. Depictions of dance, music, funerary, and civic banquets, comprise the surviving evidence of an ephemeral and elusive part of Etruscan culture. Interactions between the audience and the performers are flexible and varied and their inclusion in Etruscan visual culture adjusts over time to reflect changing realities in the Etruscan world.

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[216] For more information on the relationship between the Etruscans and Greek imports, see Stopponi 2000, 181-183.

Chapter 3: Play and Games in Etruria

Introduction to Etruscan Play

An interest and participation in a variety of gaming, sports, and other forms of

play is evident in Etruscan archaeology and iconography. Aspects of Etruscan society

connected with emically constructed play activities, especially games and sports, are the

subject of this chapter. Upon first consideration, games of all sorts may seem to be "trite"

examples of culture;[1] however, it is because these pursuits are "unassuming, trivial, and

pervasive" that they may influence players, and in turn may evolve to reflect the cultures

of which they are a part.[2] It is exactly because of their nature that play activities and the

related concept of games often provide cultural information about free and organized

interaction between players, personal experiences, and competitive occasions.

According to Schechner, play is one of the eight situations in which performance

may be observed,[3] and that a definition of performance itself is "ritualized behavior

conditioned/permeated by play;"[4] Caillois asserts that there is a "reciprocal relationship

between a society and the games it likes to play."[5] In Etruria, play acts encroach on

multiple areas of Etruscan life, especially ritual, performance, and everyday life. Ritual

and play are not to be considered diametrically opposed but, instead, are strongly

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[1] Or, as Caillois writes, games considered a "degradation of adult activities that are transformed into meaningless distractions;" Caillois 2001, 58; Handelman 1977, 185, also mentions that play is usually "peripheral location in the ordering of adult social life" which results in the creation of the diametrically opposing unserious nature of play versus the serious nature of "other social activities."
[2] Kurke 1999, 265.
[3] Schechner 2002, 25.
[4] Schechner 2003, 99.
[5] Caillois 2001, 82.

connected and according to Handelman, they "complement one another in the kinds of messages they communicate to the social order."[6] Schechner agrees that both "play and ritual are complementary…which in humans continue undiminished throughout life."[7] While ritual is strictly ordered human behavior, play may involve a wide variety of activities, both organized and spontaneous. Play activities interact with and inform on multiple aspects of culture.

How are play acts to be classified and analyzed? A discussion of the definition of play and relevant theoretical scholarship has been provided in Chapter 1. Certainly, there are aspects of play that cannot be reproduced. As Huizinga indicates, "the *fun* of playing, resists all analysis, all logical interpretation," and as such, cannot be extrapolated from the evidence and are not discussed here.[8] Sutton-Smith writes that "almost anything can allow play to occur within its boundaries."[9] While this expansion of the possibility of play throughout life may be accurate, it is not useful for an examination of the iconographic record. Such informal types of play cannot be accessed in the Etruscan evidence, especially due to the lack of textual evidence. There are specific play activities that may be successfully investigated here, which are depicted in a range of artistic media.

Play may be considered as liminal and, as Handelman indicates, it is "pregnant with potential."[10] Although it is difficult to attempt a definitive definition of play, Caillois' publication, *Man, Play and Games*, offers some general characteristics that

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[6] Handelman 1977, 185. Handelman also provides a table outlining the characteristics of ritual and play (190).
[7] Schechner 1988, 5.
[8] Huizinga 1960, 3.
[9] Sutton-Smith 1997, 3.
[10] Handelman 1977, 188; Turner 1983, 235.

would occur in ideal occasions. According to his analysis, in its purest form, play may not be obligatory behavior or produce a product, must be separated to some extent from real life, must have rules which govern and identify it as behavior that is not of the everyday, and play activities must have an uncertain ending or result.[11] It is rarely the case that play is confined to these rules; the very nature of play, in fact, resists being rule-bound and play may involve a variety of combinations of the abovementioned criteria and may contradict others at the same time. A conceptualization of play activities may be thought of as a spectrum; the two opposing ends may be identified as play with a rigid structure and play that is spontaneous and fluid in its design.[12]

Like other types of performance, play activities themselves are ephemeral, involving personal experience and behavior that is not recorded perfectly in any medium. Etruscan iconography is not able to identify or represent purely spontaneous play, which may be observed as personal, creative, and unique attempts at interaction with the world.[13] Instead, much of the focus in this chapter centers on rule-bound games, which involve some elements that may be repeated and evaluated and therefore may be recorded and analyzed for meaning.[14] Although play and games may be considered to be non-serious elements of a culture, their study "is not a trivial pursuit, for it tells a lot about the character, values, and priorities of a society."[15] It is, in fact, "their lowly, unexamined

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[11] Caillois 2001, 9-10; these criteria also correspond with Huizinga's; see Huizinga 1960, 7-12.

[12] Caillois 2001, 13. The author identifies these opposites through the terms *ludus* and *paidia*, respectively.

[13] The related question of Etruscan humor and an attempt to identify iconographic examples has been discussed in J. Whitehead's 1996 "Towards a Definition of Etruscan Humor." Humorous devices include unexpected juxtaposition, erotically-charged imagery, and the manipulation/parody of mythological narrative.

[14] Caillois 2001, 58; the author here includes both games and toys as the "residues of culture" while the "spirit of play is essential to culture."

[15] Poliakoff 1987, 1.

status that endows games with extraordinary power to inculcate values within culture."[16] The types of play that are discussed below, such as games of dice and lots, athletic events, and the manipulation of one's equilibrium, have, to at least an identifiable extent, some sort of form and structure that creates patterned behavior and expectations of the viewer and the participants. Caillois has already identified the "reciprocal relationship between a society and the games it likes to play."[17]

The following discussion within this chapter explores material culture associated with the ephemeral, performance acts of games and play, which are intrinsically related but not equivalent. Games are a type of play activity, but not all play may be considered games. When applied to the play spectrum, games may be understood as organized and structured play activities, which in the Etruscan evidence may include athletics, board games, lots, drinking games, and other non-athletic demonstrations of physical prowess. Games have "fixed and public rules, predetermined roles, defined goals, and built-in criteria for evaluating the quality of the performance."[18] Tomb painting, relief sculpture, engraved gems, ceramic decoration, bronze statuettes, and engraved mirrors are investigated for relevant Etruscan iconographic evidence.

It is from the Greek author Herodotus that we obtain early textual indications that the Etruscans originated as part of the indigenous population in Lydia and were forced to leave after 18 years of famine. [19]   It was also in this account that the Lydians sought entertainment that was used to distract the population from intolerable circumstances; in

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[16] Kurke 1999, 248.
[17] Caillois 2001, 82.
[18] MacAloon 1984, 254.
[19] The other major competing theory is that the Etruscans were authochthonous. For a discussion of the origins of the Etruscans, see Moser 1996, 29-37; Briquel 2001, 43-51; see also Introduction, fn. 13, 15, and 16.

this way, gaming was associated with the Etruscans at the time of their origins.

According to Herodotus, writing in the 5th century BC:

> "…the story is that in the reign of Atys, the son of Manes, the whole of Lydia suffered from a severe famine. For a time the people lingered on as patiently as they could, but later, when there was no improvement, they began to look for something to alleviate their misery. Various expedients were devised: for instance, the invention of dice, knucklebones, and ball-games…the King divided the population into two groups and determined by drawing lots which should emigrate and which should remain at home…The lots were drawn, and one section went down the coast to Smyrna, where they built vessels, put aboard all their household effects and sailed in search of a livelihood elsewhere. They passed many countries and finally reached Umbria in the north of Italy, where they settled and still live to this day. Here they changed their name from Lydians to Tyrrhenians, after the King's son Tyrrhenus, who was their leader."[20]

Although any non-Etruscan account of Etruscan origins should be met with certain reservations, there are several types of critical information that may be gleaned here: There was a tradition by the 5th century BC that the Etruscans had early important connections with the Near East and Anatolia and that this reference indicates that gaming, play, and entertainment, in the form of dice, knucklebones, and ball-games, made an important, life-changing appearance in an attempt to alleviate hunger; additionally, lots were the means used to determine who would stay and who would be forced to emigrate to another land.[21] Here, these so-called "trivial pastimes" affect the lives of the Lydians in several important ways.

How may play and games be identified in the iconographic record? Handelman indicates that, just like ritual, play is a "framed" behavior, meaning that there are culturally constructed elements that inform the spectator or participant that play is

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[20] Hdt 1.94, translated by de Sélincourt; The term *Tyrrhenoi* was the Greeks' name for the Etruscans. The Etruscans called themselves *Rasenna*. Haynes 2000, 52.
[21] For information concerning theories on Etruscan origins. See Introduction, fn. 16-20.

occurring within the frame.[22] Play scholar Caillois has divided play activities into four categories, which has been so divided based on the experience and expectations of the participant and the structure of the play, not on any kind of eventual outcome; after all, according to his own criteria of play activities, in its ideal form, play has an uncertain outcome.[23] It is important to note that Turner opposes the organization of Caillois and the application of frames to play, interpreting play as elusive, dangerous, "everywhere and nowhere" and "cannot be pinned down."[24] The following discussion examines play activities that generally correspond with Caillois' categories. His criteria is utilized towards general conclusions, however, as not all types of play fit perfectly into his parameters.

Unlike ritual and other examples of Etruscan performance, play is a type of behavior whose emphasis is placed on the event itself. The immediate outcome is secondary; in fact, the moment of victory is never depicted in Etruscan art. The outcome and its aftermath may be referenced, for example, in the depiction of an award ceremony on a Chiusine funerary base (E109). Clues are given regarding the prizes awarded the winners of games, such as the stack of lebetes next to a pair of wrestlers in the Tomb of the Augurs (B101). In gaming iconography, the focus is, instead, on the game in progress or on preparations for the game that is about to take place.

Caillois uses four general categories, *mimicry, alea, agon,* and *ilinx*, which have been introduced previously in Chapter 1.[25] The four categories are not completely

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[22] Handelman 1977, 187.
[23] Caillois 2001, 9.
[24] Turner 1983, 233-234.
[25] See Chapter 1, fn. 59-62.

realized iconographically or culturally in isolation; they can and very frequently do exhibit at least some overlap. In the case of the category of *mimicry*, in which a participant "makes believe or makes others believe that he is someone other than himself," [26] related activities include free-form children's games, such as tag and make-believe, as well as, at an adult level, the festival of carnival and theatrical performance.[27] To some extent, any performer may be considered as representing *mimicry*, as they separate themselves from the role of audience or from their roles during daily life. Dancers and musicians, which have been investigated in Chapter 2, are part of this category; even if they do not necessarily take on named roles, as if they were in a play, they are still distinguishing themselves from the spectators by entering into a role that they do not occupy every day. Their behavior changes while performing, and they also are the focus of others' attention. Here, a discussion of examples of *mimicry* is limited to masked figures in Etruscan art, such as the Phersu examples, which may offer evidence of part of a more structured theatrical reality.

Another category of play, named *agon*, refers to competitive events, "in which equality of chances is artificiality created."[28] Instead of simply including events that depict conflict, such as warfare or hunting, play activities that fall into this category have been provided with an environment that fairly pairs one or more attributes between competitors. Agonisic events are generally associated in ancient Greek and Italian contexts with athletic games, although there are other examples of competitive events

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[26] Caillois 2001, 19.
[27] Caillois 2001, 36, 54
[28] Caillois 2001, 14. Sutton-Smith 1997, 10, 74-90. Sports, athletics, and contests are considered by Sutton-Smith to fall into his category of "Rhetoric of play as power."

depicted artistically. These events, the disk toss and the game of kottabos, are not considered to be athletic games, but their meaning is also discussed in this general context.[29] It is in such agonistic activities that information about Etruscan competitive culture may be extrapolated.[30]

The final two categories Caillois distinguishes as play are *alea*, games of chance, and *ilinx*, in which there is a "pursuit of vertigo and…an attempt to momentarily destroy the stability of perception and inflict a kind of voluptuous panic upon an otherwise lucid mind."[31] Etruscan evidence for *alea* is in the form of the casting of lots and board games and the relationship of these practices with the Etruscan interest in divination, fate, and the divine design.[32] The concept of *ilinx*, however, is more complex; modern examples of *ilinx* include the rapid spinning in circles by children until falling over and in the sensations caused by roller coasters. *Ilinx* can be discerned in Etruria through the depictions of acrobatic performance, unrestrained dance, and through the consumption of wine and the resulting loss of inner stability. Caillois recognizes the use of alcohol and other chemicals in attaining the same effect and describes the state achieved as not only freeing the *body* from an inner stability, but the mind also.[33] The representation of wine accoutrement in Etruscan banqueting, funerary, civic, and everyday contexts, implies that the potential for the pursuit of this state of mind is pervasive.

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[29] See fn. 167 below for additional information regarding kottabos.
[30] Mandell 1984, 4.
[31] Caillois 2001, 23
[32] Sutton-Smith 1997, 10, 52-73. The author's "rhetoric of play as fate" generally corresponds to Caillois' category here.
[33] Caillois 2001, 51.

Scholarship on Etruscan Games, Play, and Athletic Events

An examination of the Etruscan scholarship reveals that little has been written specifically on the topic of gaming and play. Most works that reference Etruscan games do so with a focus solely on Etruscan athletic depictions; some also make their main focus an analysis of the Greek elements present in the Etruscan versions of such sporting events. The primary scholar concerned with issues related to sports and athletics in the Etruscan world is Thuillier, who has published on both Etruscan and Roman sports and athletics. Thuillier's *Les Jeux Athlétiques dans la Civilisation Étrusque* (1985) offers a catalog which provides only a selection of Etruscan athletic events from the iconographic record, including tomb paintings, reliefs from Chiusi, funerary steles, black- and red-figure vase painting, engraved mirrors, bronze statuettes, gems, situlae, and others. The vast majority of the work, however, concerns topics including the history of sport in Italy and elsewhere in the ancient world, as well as the nature of the athletic evidence in Etruria, and a comparison of the Greek evidence. Additionally, attention is given to the religious and social aspects of the Etruscan athletic games.

A collection of essays titled *Spectacles, Sportifs et Scéniques dans le Monde Étrusco-Italique* (1993) evaluates a variety of issues in connection with sports and performance, investigating both material culture and literary and epigraphic evidence. Another important and recent overview of athletic competitions in Etruria may be found in Sannibale's chapter titled "Sports in Etruria – the adoption of a Greek ideal between reality and symbolism" (2004). This work offers a comprehensive summary and overview of the Etruscan athletic evidence, although a part of the discussion is devoted to ascertaining the "Greekness" of the Etruscan material, which proves appropriate for the

context of the chapter. It is published within a book, titled *Magna Graecia: Athletics and the Olympic Spirit on the Periphery of the Hellenic World,* itself a collection of essays published with the purpose of exploring Greek athletic activities and influence outside of Greece proper.

Game scholar Gori has been the only author to devote significant effort to the more general topic of Etruscan games, although some of her work does include athletic events. Gori's *Gli Etruschi e lo Sport* (1986) is a general overview of the Etruscan evidence for sporting activities and her article "Etruscan Sports and Festivals" (1986-1987) is a shortened examination of much of the same evidence. It is, however, in her article titled "Games of Strength, Dexterity, and Accuracy in Etruscan Civilization" (1988) that she offers a rare examination into other types of Etruscan games in the iconographic record. Here, the article divides the evidence into three categories, as the title implies: games of strength, dexterity, and accuracy; some of her evidence and conclusions are tenuous.[34] Nonetheless, Gori here includes a comprehensive discussion of materials and pastimes that have been neglected in scholarly conversation or only investigated incidentally and piecemeal. Wisseman's dissertation titled *The Archaeological Evidence for Etruscan Games* (1981) investigates evidence from the 7th through the mid-5th centuries BC and includes only "performances taking place on public occasions", such as athletic and equestrian events and juggling and acrobatic feats.[35]

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[34] Gori 1988, 364; such as the evidence for identifying the sport of balancing on a greasy vase, of which there was only one depiction, now lost, and this interpretation is largely based on events practiced in Greece; her evaluation of the Phersu figure in the Tomb of the Augurs is "tug-of-war" is also unique and debatable and is not found elsewhere.

[35] Wisseman 1981, 15

In terms of specific investigations of gaming implements, an archaeometric analysis of Etruscan dice has been conducted by Artioli et al, titled "Gambling with Etruscan Dice: A Tale of Numbers and Letters" (2011). Here, the authors catalogued and analyzed the dice found in Etruscan funerary contexts that were housed in collections in Tarquinia, Orvieto, Chiusi, Sarteano, Chianciano, and Paris; the authors' conclusions focused on the mathematical analyses of the use and placement of the Etruscan numbers one through six on the surface of the dice.

Other works have examined limited and specific aspects of the Etruscan athletic iconography. Deuling's "Etruscan Games – Competitive Sports in a Funerary Context" (2006) surveys sporting iconography from tomb paintings in Tarquinia and Chiusi and compares the depictions to the funerary games of Patroklos in Homer's *Iliad*. Van der Meer also offers an analysis of the Greek influence on the Etruscan athletic events, based on one of the best known depictions on a black-figure amphora (F201) in his article "Greek and Local Elements in a Sporting Scene by the Micali Painter" (1982).

Additional articles have focused on the topic of chariot races in Etruscan contexts, which is not surprising, given their early and frequent inclusion in art. Bronson's chapter, "Chariot Racing in Etruria" (1965), surveys depictions of chariots in Etruscan iconography, including relief sculpture, pottery decoration, tomb paintings, and other media, concluding that the chariot was introduced into Etruria after the 7th century BC and confirming the presence of Greek influence. Root's article, "An Etruscan Horse Race from Poggio Civitate" (1973), examines the horse race architectural plaques from Murlo, relevant comparanda, and cultural implications.

The topic of gaming has also not been widely published in Greek contexts, although an examination of such comparanda has proven useful, especially in the absence of an Etruscan textual record. R. Austin's "Greek Board-Games" (1940) and Kurke's "Ancient Greek Board Games and How to Play them" (1999) offer archaeological and literary evidence on such pastimes and their contexts in the Greek world.[36] R. Austin has also published on Roman games in his "Roman Board Games I" (1934) and in his "Roman Board Games II" (1935). H. Murray's *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess* (1952) offers a general survey of gaming history from world cultures; he groups and analyzes games with structural similarities including war-, hunt-, and race-games and includes a chapter specifically on the games of the ancient world in Europe and Asia.[37]

The following study analyzes iconographic evidence for the following activities: board games, lots, acrobatics, wrestling, boxing, the long jump, footraces, chariot races, kottabos, the *iynx*, and other manifestations of visually indicated play. Evidence of play has been observed in all types of Etruscan media, including engraved gems, funerary wall painting, architectonic relief decoration, painted and relief decoration on pottery, funerary reliefs, bronze figurines and mirrors, beginning in the 7th through 2nd centuries BC. Contexts of play and games encompass ritual, banqueting, mythological, funerary, and the everyday.

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[36] Woodford's 1982 "Ajax and Achilles Playing a Game on an Olpe in Oxford" and Murray's 1952, *A History of Board-Games Other than Chess* offer Greek comparanda for the Etruscan games discussed here. For bibliography specifically on the *iynx*, see Levaniouk 2007, 177-179; Gow 1934, 3, 5-6; Johnston 1995.

[37] An extensive bibliography exists regarding Greek Athletic events. Some of the relevant scholarship includes: Gardiner 1910, Harris 1964, Harris 1972, Kyle 1987, Kyle 2007, Poliakoff 1987, Sansone 1988, Weiler 1981.

Etruscan Games of Fate, Chance, and Divine Control

The first of Caillois' categories, and the one with the greatest paucity of evidence, is that of *alea*, games of fate, during which the outcome is not controlled by the players.[38] Etruscan examples of this type of play are games of chance, fortune, or even divination and are connected to the will of the gods. This is a category of gaming that also carries with it important implications for understanding the Etruscans' relationships and communication with the divine. As discussed previously, dice, lots, and knucklebones were referenced by Herodotus in early accounts of Etruscan origins. Regardless of the accuracy of this account, what remains important is that these types of games were intrinsically associated with the origins of the Etruscans from early sources. Other physical evidence survives illustrating the emphasis that the Etruscans placed on fate, divination, and the use of visible or tangible symbols to understand divine will. Archaeological and iconographic evidence of lots and of board games survives from Etruscan contexts and may be understood in the wider context of extispicy, augury, and other omens from the natural world.

Only small, portable objects provide information for games of chance in Etruria. Engraved mirror decoration comprises the majority of the evidence, although numerous physical examples of dice and gaming pieces were created and discovered in Etruria. The use of games of fate and lots and their relationship to uncontrollable, divine forces is consistent with what is known about the Etruscans' attitude towards natural phenomena. Interest in chance and fate are integrated into Etruscan attitudes and practices of divine

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[38] Austin 1935, 76. In fact, this word refers to a board game played with dice in Rome; H. Murray indicates that board games in general did not originate from one location, but instead were independently created in various centers in Europe, Asia, and in the New World. H. Murray 1952, 229-231.

communication. The gaming activities, in which the Etruscans had little or no control over the outcome, may be considered in some circumstances to be a play activity that has a relationship with religious ritual. Consequently, all outcomes of this type of game are not equal. Much more is at stake when the dice/lots are used to inquire after the will of the gods; where only play is concerned, little may result from the outcome.[39]

While it is unlikely that every game played with dice by the Etruscans had a religious connection, it is possible that the boundaries between the mundane and the divine were permeable in connection with Etruscan gaming equipment, especially due to aspects of chance present within the game. Perhaps games of chance were in the purview of the gods. Humans, certainly, could not predetermine the outcome of a game involving dice, unless they cheated and modified the dice. Otherwise, the game was played with an outcome beyond mortal knowledge. It is only in modern day that players of "various board and court games come to regard the progress and outcomes of the games as the products of mathematical probability, memory, and tactics" and not attribute outcomes to divine will.[40]

Divination, involving the observation of natural phenomena, is critical in Etruscan religious practice and appears in iconographic examples, such as on a bronze Etruscan mirror depicting the winged seer Chalchas, identified by an inscription, who is examining a sheep's liver (A214).[41] A related and important object is the Piacenza liver (C701), from the 2nd century BC, which has been interpreted as a working model used in the

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[39] Here it seems the most vivid example of play and ritual intermingling. See Handelman 1977, 188-189, for an extended discussion.
[40] Mandell 1984, 11.
[41] de Grummond 2006, 30-32, fig. II.9; de Grummond 1982, fig, 89; to identify prophetic elements here, Etruscan mirrors are also known for their own prophetic properties. See de Grummond 2000, 65.

instruction of haruspicy.[42] The observation of other natural phenomena was also used by Etruscan priests to determine the will of the gods, such as the interpretation of the path of lightning and the flight of birds;[43] places that lightning had struck were considered consecrated to the gods and had to undergo religious rites as deemed appropriate, as the evidence of lightning was considered a tangible manifestation of the gods' will.[44] According to Seneca the Elder, when writing about the Etruscan's observation of the natural world, things "do not have a meaning because they happen, but rather they happen in order to express a meaning."[45] Prophetic readings, therefore, revealed the "hidden truth in the divine order", which referenced a structure of the world that was ruled by the gods.[46] The practices of divination were not, generally speaking, attempts to change the gods' minds and therefore alter humans' fates, but simply to learn the fate that had been given; it was a means to gather knowledge.

In the Etruscan world, fate was not only addressed through the use of divinatory practices; there is evidence that fate is also associated with other acts and with the manipulation of physical objects, such as the hammering of a nail, an act of finality that presumably seals the fate of another.[47] An Etruscan mirror dating to c. 325-300 BC (A215) depicts the personification of the goddess of fate, here named Athrpa, in the act of

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[42] de Grummond 2006, 47. Inscribed with names of deities on the front and back; Jannot 2005, 18-20.
[43] de Grummond 2006b, 39-42.
[44] Jannot 2005, 26.
[45] Sen. *QNat.* 2.32.2; translated in Jannot 2005, 10.
[46] Jannot 2005, 10-11.
[47] de Grummond 2000, 58-62; the author discusses the presence of catoptromancy, or divination using mirrors, in the context of mirror iconography. The Etruscan mirror stands as a unique object in the Etruscan archaeological record as depicting itself being used in examples of iconographic depictions. See A217 for an example in the context of Pele and Thethis. In Edlund-Berry 1994, 12, Livy 7.3.5-7 also mentions the Roman practice of hammering a nail into the walls of the Capitoline Temple to mark each year as originating in Etruscan practice.

hammering a boar's head with a nail;[48] this act is done in reference to the lovers Turan and Atunis, known as Aphrodite and Adonis in the Greek version of the myth, who will ultimately be separated from another by Atunis' fatal boar wound. [49] His impending death and unavoidable fate is sealed through Athrpa's hammering of the nail into the head of his impending doom.

Given Herodotus' account of the origins of the Etruscans and their connection with the East, as indicated previously, it is no coincidence that dice use in prophetic contexts also has been recorded in ancient sources from Anatolia and Greece, with evidence including public stone tablets.[50] The lot oracles recorded here offered a means for anyone, regardless of status, to inquire after the will of the gods. Those wishing to receive a divine answer to an important question would be able to visit a seer who would, through the use of special prophetic books, discern the gods' response either through the rolling of dice or through the free choice of a number by the supplicant; the number chosen was thought to be divinely inspired. When the number was determined through either means, it was matched to a corresponding answer in the prophetic book.[51] Evidence of both of these types of oracles is found in Greece and Asia Minor, although

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[48] de Grummond, 2000, 37; de Grummond 2006a, 95-96; the author here notes that the name Athrpa is related to the Greek Atropos, one of the three fates, who was to cut the thread of fate; de Grummond indicates that in Etruria, the thread and scissors were replaced with the hammer and nail; still, both the cutting of a thread and the pounding of a nail both carry a finality in their completion.

[49] de Grummond 2006a, 95, fig. V.30; the author also notes that Livy 7.3.7 records a ceremony at the temple of Nortia (Fortuna) in which a nail was driven into the temple wall; although the exact purpose and specific recreation of the ceremony is unknown, this "may have reflected the action of fate or destiny" (96). Simon 2006, 59, records that a similar ritual was performed in the Capitoline Temple in Rome between the cellae of Jupiter and Minerva.

[50] Potter 1994, 26-27; Dice oracles were mentioned in ancient texts, such as Suet. *Tib*. 14.3, Paus. 7.25.10, and recorded on stones from Asia Minor, such as recorded in *Tituli Asiae Minoris* 31.1 no. 33.

[51] Potter 1994, 26-27; stone monuments were erected in Anatolia with numbered texts allowing for anyone to cast dice to discern the will of the gods. Potter also (24-25) includes another source of numbered texts; the *sortes Astrampsychi* was lot divination based on a book said to be written by a Ptolemaic figure named Astrampsychus.

the use of dice in consulting a lot oracle has also been recorded in Roman contexts;[52]

therefore, its use appears pervasive across the ancient world.

Considering the cultural comparanda and the emphasis placed on divination in the

Etruscan world, it seems likely that the use of dice in Etruria also extended to prophetic

purposes, especially in connection with death, the grave, and the funeral. In fact, items

have been identified as lots and offer evidence towards the association of divination with

these types of small tokens and game pieces. Extant Etruscan lots consisted of disks or

balls, constructed of materials such as bone, wood or bronze, and were kept for

consultation, as each carried an inscription with the name of an oracular deity. Names on

the lots are deities related to divination in Etruria, such as Śuri/Apulu,[53] Menrva, and the

little known Farthan, who is presumably also an oracular deity.[54] Unlike other types of

divination, which would provide clues to the gods' will, the casting of lots would allow

the supplicant directly to ask specific questions, therefore allowing humans a more active

role in divine communication.

Dice and gaming pieces have frequently been found in Etruscan funerary

contexts. [55] The six-sided dice generally indicate value through the use of dots (G502),[56]

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[52] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 14.3; according to this text, at Patavium, Tiberius consulted the lot oracle of Geryon, throwing golden dice.

[53] Simon 2006, 59; Śuri is known through votive inscriptions and is related to the site of Viterbo; his equivalence with Apulu also connects him to the underworld.

[54] Jannot 2005, 30; Apulu, the Greek equivalent of Apollo, has associations with oracular divination in the Greek world, especially at Delphi.

[55] Artioli et al 2011, record no less than 91 examples from the Etruscan contexts of Tarquinia, Orvieto, Chiusi, Sarteano, Chianciano, and Tuscania, 3-4.

[56] Richardson 1986, 229; Kurke 1999b, 282-284, discusses Greek versions of dice, also six-sided, and were termed *kuboi*. Greek sources associate dice and relevant games with random fortune and with the evils that result from such a sudden windfall. He goes on to indicate that in Greece, contrastingly, the use of knucklebones, known as *astragaloi* had generally positive connotations; perhaps either because they were naturally formed or because they originated from animals (288). Additionally, *astragaloi* had aristocratic associations, since they were played in the *symposion* and in the palaistra (293).

although two examples found in Etruscan contexts use words instead (G303, G304).[57]

Standardization of the dice was evident in Greece from the 6th century onwards,

manifested through the pips on opposite sides of the dice that were arranged to always

total seven; however, no such ordering is observed on the extant Etruscan dice.[58] Dice

are attested in Etruria throughout a lengthy period, dating c. 800-250 BC.[59] Etruscan dice

have been recorded from sites such as Cerveteri in the Regolini-Galassi tomb,[60]

Perugia,[61] Tuscania,[62] at least 41 examples from Orvieto,[63] 40 examples from Tarquinia,

three from Sarteano, two from Chianciano, and three from an unknown provenance are

housed in the Museo Nazionale di Chiusi.[64] Dice tend to be more easily recognized than

gaming pieces, as gaming pieces often take the form of small ovoid objects, found in a

variety of media, such as glass, bone, ceramic, or stone and can be easily overlooked or

discarded. Not only were Etruscan pottery fragments of all types reused as gaming

pieces, but this practice of reusing such fragments has also been found in Greek contexts,

such as on the northern slope of the Athenian Areopagos.[65] In Etruscan contexts, the

gaming pieces are frequently found in tombs with dice, although they have also been

identified in non-funerary settings.[66] One possibility, proposed for the Cetamura gaming

pieces, but possible for those found in funerary or other religious contexts, is that gaming

[57] Artioli et al 2011, 10.
[58] H. Murray 1952, 8.
[59] Artioli et al 2011, 9.
[60] Pareti 1947, 230.
[61] Messerschmidt 1932, 513, tav. XXV no. I-16.
[62] Artioli et al 2011, 10-11.
[63] Artioli et al 2011, 3-4, have listed the 41 examples which are currently in either the Museo Nazionale di Orvieto or the Museo Civico Faina di Orvieto; Camporeale 1970, 186-7; Turfa 2005, 229.
[64] Arioli et al 2011, 2-4.
[65] Kurke 1999, 264.
[66] de Grummond, 2009, 120, 123-125, 307; Eldridge 1918, 286-287, 293; said to be from a tomb in Chiusi.

pieces may be small objects offered to the gods for good luck.[67] The practice of throwing

knucklebones is not referenced in Etruscan art, with one exception. A gemstone (D022)

depicts the figure of Turms with a knucklebone in the field; granted, the context in which

it appears is ambiguous, the knucklebone, like other pieces of bone, could have been used

as a counter in a game.[68]

The two types of gaming equipment, the dice and the board pieces, function in

several different ways; the dice can be used alone or in conjunction with game pieces and

a game board. Gaming pieces have been recorded in San Martino al Colli,[69] Cetamura del

Chianti,[70] Chiusi,[71] Bolsena,[72] and other sites, although many have likely been unearthed

but remained unnoticed, given their tendency to look like meaningless garbage or local

pebbles. The gaming pieces and the dice may also be considered together, as the pieces

may be used as counters in a game played by dice.[73] The game board and gaming pieces

seem to reference an organized, rule-bound contest as well as a game that is outside the

control of the participants; skill is not a factor here. Games are "limited as to time and

space. In time, they have a definite beginning and a definite ending; in space, the action

takes place within a definite area, that of the board, which is marked off beforehand,

either materially or ideally, within which an absolute and prescribed order must be

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[67] de Grummond 2009, 123; Fisher 2004, 68. In Greece they were found in sanctuaries; the largest set was found in the Korykian Cave of Pan and the Nymphs above Delphi and in Locri Epizephyrii. Images of boys with bags of knucklebones were found on the choes vases.

[68] Kurke 1999b, 288; here, in Greek contexts, knucklebone were not used with gambling for money; the *astragaloi* were "identified with the gods and fate, with the dead, and with the innocent games of children."

[69] de Marinis 1977, 56-57; *San Martino ai Colli* 1984, 95, fig 133.

[70] de Grummond 2009, 120, 123-125.

[71] Eldridge 1918, 293; although this is an "accepted" provenance to unprovenanced materials.

[72] de Puma 2008, 430.

[73] Eldridge 1918, 293.

observed."[74] Games involving both dice and game pieces seem to have also been used by

the Etruscans, which would represent blended aspects of both gaming types. It is

impossible to determine what kind of spontaneity was present in games involving dice or

gaming boards and pieces. Conversely, the *religious rituals* associated with such objects

certainly involved at least a measured level of forethought and pre-planning. Religious

personnel were involved and oracular texts consulted. A question was formulated

beforehand, presumably one important enough to inquire of the gods. Given the Etruscan

interest in divination and prophetic activity, it is not unlikely that the Etruscans also

utilized dice and gaming boards in order to divine the gods' wishes.

Games involving dice and gaming pieces found in other Classical contexts should

be briefly considered. Early gaming scholar R. Austin published on both Roman and

Greek board games, focusing on the literary evidence. Greek board games used πεσοί,

game pieces, and/or κύβοι, dice; the names of games, therefore, are originally related to

the pieces used to play it. *Petteia* was a game played with pieces that may involve dice as

a means for moving the pieces and *kubeia* was a dice game.[75] Cultural meaning has also

been interpreted from the organization of the game. In her analysis of the textual contexts

for gaming description and activities, Kurke has proposed an analogy between the *polis*

and board games in that the "regulated, rule-bound movement of pieces on a board

appealed to the Greeks as an image for various forms of symbolic order."[76] More

evidence exists for Roman gaming activity, consisting of gaming boards, pieces, dice,

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[74] H. Murray 1952, 5.

[75] Austin 1940, 260-262; H Murray 1952, 25-27.

[76] Kurke 1999a, 257; the author identifies iconographic depictions of Ajax and Achilles on black- and red-figure vases playing a game between them as evidence for this analogy; The use of these figures represents "a civic appropriation of the Trojan War story – an attempt to translate the heroes of epic into the context of the polis." (261).

and literary texts.[77] Indeed, dice was almost always used in Roman games with or without gaming pieces.[78]

While depictions of gaming scenes in Etruscan daily life are not, by any means, found frequently, there are some examples of board games or the casting of lots being depicted in the iconographic record in the 4th-3rd century BC. One especially significant representation of a gaming board in Etruscan art comes from the relief decoration in the 4th century Tomb of the Reliefs in Cerveteri.[79] On the right pillar (G301) facing the center of the room is a relief depiction of a gaming board, a *tabula lusoria*.[80] The associated hanging bag has been interpreted as the container for the gaming pieces and the dice, especially considering the funerary context and the frequent discovery of dice in the grave. The game board is presumably not only depicted for use in the afterlife, but is also a physical representation of divine will and finality; the game has been put away at the end of a lifetime and no more games will take place by the deceased in the world of the living.[81]

A different context, a mirror from Corchiano also dated to the 4th century (A206), includes two figures playing what appears to be either a board game or the casting of lots. The surface of the platform between the players is not visible, but three gaming pieces or dice are discernable. The male on the left wears armor and the male on the right, although his costume is obscured by damage, seems to also be a soldier as he leans on a spear.

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[77] For more information see Austin 1934; Austin 1935.
[78] Austin 1934, 25.
[79] Blanck and Proietti, 25-28.
[80] R. Austin 1934, 77.
[81] Woodford 1982, 180; Woodford also indicates that there is iconographic evidence in the Greek world for games to be played in the underworld; According to Pausanias 10.31.1, writing about the mural of Hades created by Polygnotos, that three figures, Ajax of Salmis, Palamedes, and Thersites, were playing with die and a fourth figure, the "other Ajax", watches the game.

Another mirror in the 4th century (A223), dating c. 350-325 BC, illustrates two figures; a

winged child on the left stands watching while the kneeling male on the right drops two

pieces. On this mirror, the two figures are involved in either a board game or casting lots.

The winged, youthful male figure here may be tentatively identified as Turnu, son of

Turan. Not only is this identification based on his appearance, but he is also featured in

other mirror images, discussed below, with another oracular toy, the *iynx*. A Praenestine

mirror, 3rd century BC, also depicts a scene from daily life (A302), with a couple playing

a game on a *tabula lusoria*;[82] According to the inscription, the woman is about to defeat

her male competitor.[83] A fourth and final engraved mirror of indeterminate date (A401)

illustrates the figures of Achle and Aivas playing a game on the *tabula lusoria* between

them, as they are observed by an unidentified central female.[84] In this and the Praenestan

example, the gaming board is depicted at an angle, allowing us, the viewer, to see the

lines featured on the surface; this game would likely be played with the gaming pieces

and the dice together.

The four mirrors discussed above illustrate a consistent type of iconographic

composition observable only on bronze, engraved mirror decoration. Pairs of players are

engaged in their games, which manifest as a direct competition between two individuals;

these games are not occurring on a grand scale. In three out of the four examples, no

other figures are depicted who would act as spectators. In viewing the decoration on the

mirror, we generally act as the only audience, observing what seem to be private

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[82] Bonfante 1986, 239; the *tabula* was the general Latin name given the gaming board. H. Murray 1952, 29.
[83] Crowther 2007, 82; de Grummond 1982, 83; the young woman says "I'm going to beat you" and her male companion says "I do believe you are."
[84] The composition of Ajax and Achilles is also known in Greek iconography. According to Woodford 1982, 177, there are 150 Greek examples known of two warriors playing a game on a table, while only four are known of two non-warriors.

moments between each set of players;[85] women are even allowed to play.[86] The paucity

of iconographic depictions of this leisure activity likely does not necessarily reflect the

importance or its frequency in Etruscan society. Instead, it seems possible that the aspect

of chance predominant in these games did not interest the Etruscan viewer to the same

extent as other types of activities. Competitions in which human skill can and does affect

an outcome and those that occurred on a larger scale, such as the athletic events, are

much more of interest to an Etruscan audience and appear much more frequently in the

iconographic record.

Another specific type of toy with a complex meaning, associated in part with

oracular activity, fate, and love, is also depicted only in a few examples of Etruscan

bronze mirrors that all date to the period of 400-300 BC: the *iynx*. Although extant

Etruscan iconographic evidence is limited to four engraved mirrors, this type of toy was

known outside of Etruria and was also depicted in Apulian vase painting.[87] In a unique

example of an Etruscan mirror (A205), dating to the first half of the 4th century BC, a

scene of private play is illustrated. On the left a seated female plays with the *iynx*, a

spinning "love toy", which was associated with oracles and spells.[88] The toy may be

described as "a spoked wheel (sometimes it might be a disc) with two holes on either side

of the center. A cord is passed through one hole and back through the other."[89] These

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[85] It is also important here to reference the object on which this iconography is featured. Mirrors
themselves serve as prophetic or oracular objects.

[86] de Grummond 1982, 83; the author observes that this kind of play would have been limited to men in
Greece.

[87] Gow 1934, 6.

[88] de Grummond 2006, 94, 153; According to *CSE* France 1.3.3, 26, the *iynx* is used when facing a
recalcitrant lover; a tool of seduction for women practicing magic. See also Johnston 2007, 142-150, for
other uses of magic in the ancient world.

[89] Gow 1934, 3.

objects were not only visually and physically interactive, but were also audible; when spinning, they would produce a noise and the strength of the sound was determined by whether the *iynx* had a smooth or roughened edge.[90] In this mirror, the seated female playing with the *iynx* is joined by a standing female on the far right holding a ball over the head of a central, winged figure – the only example of a ball used as a toy in Etruscan art - who is shown reaching upwards. A lyre is at the feet of the central figure and a bird rests on a ledge next to the seated female, perhaps referencing the secondary meaning of the word *iynx*, referring to a type of bird.[91] The 4th century mirror depicts a private moment with a mythological element, given the inclusion of the winged child, who is possibly Turnu, son of Turan.

On the second engraved mirror (A221), dating to 375-350 BC, an inscription identifies Turnu sitting on the left playing with the *iynx*, while Apulu stands to his right.[92] As in the previously discussed mirror with Athrpa hammering a nail (A215), the use of objects associated with divination foreshadow Atunis' fate. Apulu observes Turan and Atunis embracing on the right. It seems possible that the inclusion of the *iynx* not only refers to the erotic relationship between Turan and Atunis, given its association with love, but the presence of Apulu references oracular activity, and, therefore, Atunis' death. In the third example of the use of the *iynx*, (A209) dating to 400-350 BC, the mirror is damaged; however, the composition of the intelligible figures seem to mimic that of the pervious mirror featuring Turnu, Turan, Atunis, and Apulu.

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[90] Gow 1934, 5, n. 13.

[91] Levaniouk 2007, 179, n. 47 also mentions that the *iynx* is the name of a bird which is known for an unusual call and indicates that the term is, in itself, onomatopoeic, having a nasal sound.

[92] Simon 2006. 61; As the son of Turan, Turnu may be identified with the Greek Eros, which further highlights the erotic undertones of the mirror decoration and his use of the love-toy.

On the fourth and final example of mirrors featuring the *iynx*, (A314) from 300 BC, a spirit identified as Thalna though an inscription is illustrated on the right playing with the *iynx* and is joined by a male figure named Anchas. A swan is featured on the left, a symbol of Turan and, therefore, of the erotic subtext of the scene. Thalna is an Etruscan spirit that is depicted in a variety of contexts, such as revelry, birth, prophecy, and romance,[93] and in some of these examples the name is associated with a male figure.[94] It seems likely that Thalna should be understood as a spirit of youth; here the presence of the female Thalna playing with the *iynx* implies a sexual relationship with her male companion, Anchas.

Using the previously discussed examples of Etruscan toys and games, the dice, lots, and the *iynx*, it is suggested that the Etruscans placed importance on understanding the will of the gods, divining fate, and using objects that could be used for entertainment or for more serious activities. The use of these toys was illustrated in Etruscan art only in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. Certainly, there are few extant examples of iconography that include these objects; however, these tantalizing iconographic clues, related to games of fate, chance, and oracular activity, offer additional and important evidence for the Etruscans' relationship with the gods, the natural world, and their own future. Certainly, some of this information likely can be applied to earlier periods in Etruria, especially since dice have been attested from the very beginning of Etruscan culture in the 8th century BC. The use of dice and board games also provides information about Etruscan

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[93] de Grummond 2006a, 152-154. A figure identified as Thalna has been identified on 18 mirrors in total.
[94] Thalna is not the only figure in Etruscan art and religious practice that does not have only one particular gender associated; Artumes, for example, was a deity that appear as both male and female. See de Grummond 2006a, 100-103 for additional discussion. Sandhoff 2011, 73-74. The author identifies a range of bronze Etruscan and Praenestine objects with androgynous features altogether.

spectatorship. These activities do not attract the same number of people as are observed in the agonistic events. Games involving dice, gaming boards, and lots appear to take place in private spaces and to be of a personal nature.

Agonistic Events and Athletic Competitions

Games in which competition and practice are at their very core comprise the next discussion of play activities in ancient Etruria.[95] Just as an examination of the form of play categorized as *alea* revealed Etruscans attitudes directed at games of chance and uncontrollable forces in the natural world, the games that may be analyzed as *agon* reveal different information about cultural traditions and realities. Types of play that are considered in a discussion of *agon* involve the application of skill by the players, whether it is physical or mental, during equally matched competitions. Gaming of this nature "presupposes sustained attention, appropriate training, assiduous application, and the desire to win."[96] The interest in these types of events indicate the value placed on competitions of this nature. The popularity and predominance of Greek athletic games have been equated with the value placed on equality.[97] It seems likely that the Etruscans appreciated these values and, moreover, saw these games as representing an equal chance for a competition over which they had control; after all, with *alea*, all competitors were equal, in that there was no human control of the outcome. Although any game may be played for the purpose of winning, such as the examples of *alea*, there are others that may

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[95] Sutton-Smith 1997, 5; the author includes contests of all kinds, including athletics and gambling in the same category of play activities.
[96] Caillois 2001, 15.
[97] Caillois 2001, 14; Poliakoff 1987, 107, 129-133 discusses how Greek athletic competitions were open to aristocrats and non-aristocrats alike; all social classes were welcome to participate.

be distinguished by the requirement of talent and ability. The expression of these skills may not only directly affect the outcome, but serves as the entire basis of the game.[98]

The agonistic events represented in Etruscan art are largely comprised of athletic activities, such as boxing, wrestling, footraces, the long jump, discus throw, and equestrian events, and in some cases, there is evidence for ritualized competitions. The athletic events frequently had religious or ritual overtones, although of course, general sporting activities could and would have been played in Etruria as part of everyday activities, practice and training, and entertainment.[99] Of these kinds of sudden and spontaneous competitions, little is recorded or identified as such in the iconographic record, because of their everyday occurrence and relationship with the mundane.[100] The context for Etruscan athletic competition places them in public with spectators, officiants, and administrative personnel included. Evidence of entertainment-based competitions may be found in other types of non-athletic iconography, which featured kottabos and the ring-toss. Both activities are competitive but are depicted without the same scale, risks, and consequences as the athletic events. The ring toss is performed in large-scale entertainment contexts, but kottabos was an example of interpersonal play held at occasions of revelry/banqueting.

Although the word "sport" is used here to refer to athletic competition, the term is a modern one, used to indicate a competitive, physical activity, in which participants

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[98] According to Harris 1964, 189, athletics is meant to provide enjoyment to the athletes; the pleasure given to the spectators is incidental.
[99] Golden 1998, 10-23.
[100] Mandell 1984, 4.

would compete against one another towards the goal of victory.[101] Sports comprise only

one aspect of the term *agon*, which refers to competitive activities in general;[102] they

incorporate elements of play and are organized versions of agonistic games.[103] Poliakoff

defines athletics and sports as "activity in which a person physically competes against

another in a contest with established regulations and procedures, with the immediate

object of succeeding in that contest under criteria for determining victory that are

different from those that mark success in everyday life."[104]

Any discussion of Etruscan sporting activities must also consider the Greek

evidence, for the Greeks introduced these competitive events into Etruria.[105] However,

the focus of this chapter is not to evaluate the relationship between the Greek and

Etruscan evidence, but instead to analyze iconographic images and how they were used

by the Etruscans. In Greece, the early accounts of athletics in Homer's *Iliad* occurred in

the context of the funerary games of Patroclus.[106] The nature of athletic games changed

in Greece by the 8th century and the Athenians and other Greeks would participate in

sporting endeavors in order to demonstrate physical prowess, and therefore, a tangible

commitment towards the military protection of the *polis*. [107] Greek sporting events were

held either in the context of daily life at the *palestra* or in religious festivals, such as the

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[101] Sansone 1988, 4; the word did not appear before the 15th century AD.
[102] Kyle 2007, 9; an *agon* could be applied to structured athletic events, political contests, and even hunting and military actions.
[103] Sansone 1988, 17. Play is observed in human and animal behavior; sport is solely a human creation.
[104] Poliakoff 1987, 7; here, the author excludes Roman gladiatorial events from his definition, calling them "a form of warfare for spectators."
[105] Golden 1998, 4-6; Van der Meer 1982, 440, 442.
[106] Gardiner 1970, 15-20; Hom. *Il*. 23.257-897, the games included the chariot race, boxing, wrestling, the footrace and throwing the spear. Gardiner indicates that other events in Homer's account, including throwing the weight, the archery competition, and single combat, are thought to be late additions.
[107] Poliakoff 1987, 94-95; Swaddling 1999, 10; tradition indicates that the games were re-established in 776 BC, but this may have taken place as early as the 9th century BC.

Olympic Games.[108] In some contexts, the athletic competitions may even be considered a

form of sacrifice.[109] Success in athletic competitions would bring prestige to a Greek

polis, an individual, and his family.[110] However, for the Etruscans, "the contest as

manifestation of *aristeia* always took second place to the contest as exhibition."[111]

Athletic competitions were especially popular in Etruscan iconography of the 6th

and 5th centuries BC. While Greek athletic activities may have influenced Etruscan

iconography and actual practice of the competitions, evidence also indicates that the

Etruscans modified and adapted Greek activities for their own purposes. Scholars differ

on the level of "Greekness" indicated by the presence of athletic games in Etruscan

society, but what remains clear is the adaptation and translation of Greek games into

something distinctly Etruscan.

In Etruria, athletic events are generally associated with the dead and funerary

ritual and festivities;[112] however, Pan-Etruscan games were held at the *Fanum*

Voltumnae, which would have had a religious function as they were held in honor of the

goddess Voltumna/Vertumnus.[113] Like most of Etruscan iconography, specific,

identifying, geographic features are absent from athletic scenes, which would indicate

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[108] Barker and Rasmussen 2000, 245; the authors also mention that the Etruscans would not have been allowed to participate in such Greek events. For additional discussions of the religious nature of the Greek athletic competitions, see Mallwitz 1988, 79-103; According to Poliakoff 1987, 18, the frequency and scale of the Greek system of athletic festivals had no comparison in the ancient world; Mesopotamia had some limited small-scale athletic competitions and Egypt did not participate in them.

[109] Sansone 1988, 75, 77; the author also notes that it is also appropriate that the lebetes are the prizes, considering their possible function as a sacrificial vessel (90).

[110] Mandell 1984, 53-55.

[111] D'agostino 1989, 8.

[112] Etruscan women are depicted as being part of the audience of athletic competitions, which is observed in the Tomb of the Bigas, while women were likely restricted from attending Greek sporting events. There are other areas of different which may be observed in the Etruscan adaptation of Greek athletics including the wearing of the perizoma in some cases, instead of competing nude in all examples. Mandell 1984, 55, 73.

[113] Generally agreed to be the site of modern Orvieto, although this is not universally accepted. See Edlund-Berry1994a, 19-20; Sannibale 2004, 96 for more information.

events occurring at the site of the *Fanum Voltumnae* or at any other particular site. Livy, however, provides information regarding these Etruscan games, which reveals the focus on aristocratic individuals as participants, officials, organizers, and spectators.[114] The majority of the evidence for Etruscan athletic competitions is iconographic and is depicted in media associated with the funeral, such as relief sculpture and tomb paintings, as well as objects utilized in daily life, such as engraved gems, vase painting, engraved mirrors, and bronze statuettes dating from the 7th-3rd centuries BC. Medium directly determines the scale of the event depicted, the number of participants and events, presence of audience, officials and attendants, and associated accoutrement.

Athletic events in the Etruscan world do not seem to carry the same type of cultural implications as those observed in ancient Athens through the 4th century BC.[115] One of the most noticeable iconographic differences between the depictions of Greek and Etruscan athletes is the frequent inclusion of the *perizoma* in Etruria, a type of loincloth, instead of the depiction of athletic nudity, like what is found in Greek examples.[116] Etruscan iconography also offers definitive evidence that, at least in some circumstances, women would have been permitted to attend Etruscan athletic events.[117] The identity of the athletes differed between Greece and Etruria; Etruscan "competitors were paid professionals who were entertainers and acrobats rather than representatives of a heroic

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[114] Livy, *Ab urbe.* 5.1.4-5. translated by de Sélincourt.
[115] Mandell 1984, 65.
[116] Shapiro 2000, 321-324; Sansone 1988, 109-110; Bonfante 1975, 19-29; Bonfante indicates that Homer's *Iliad* records athletes wearing a perizoma; according to tradition, beginning in the 15th Olympiad, 720-716 BC, the concept of heroic nudity took hold and that Greek athletes would compete without clothing (20).
[117] Swaddling 1999, 40-41; Mandell 1984, 55, 62-63; there is ongoing debate regarding the admittance of women to events held at the Olympic Games and other festivals.

aristocracy" like their pre-Hellenistic Greek counterparts.[118] For example, depictions of

Etruscan boxers indicated that they possessed a heavy physique, such as those on the

entrance wall of the Cardarelli Tomb (B106), which is a convention that would imply

their professional status.[119] Livy references Etruscan athletic events with Roman games

planned by Tarquin; the Etruscans were said to supply the horses and boxers for

entertainment, further implying the use of professional personnel.[120] The matter is

complicated by evidence that indicates that athletic competitors could also include

members of the aristocracy. Names painted on the Tomb of the Inscriptions (B111) c. 520

BC, associate members of aristocratic families with the figures competing.[121]

In the absence of significant information for the recreation and analysis of theater

in Etruria, athletic games, along with depictions of dancers and musicians, are a major

source of evidence towards an understanding of large-scale Etruscan entertainment. Like

other examples of performance, ritual, and everyday activities, athletic games were

frequently accompanied by the aulos.[122] Etruscan sporting activities were conducted

generally for entertainment purposes, [123] although, considering the funerary context of

many instances and the literary evidence for the festival at the *Fanum Voltumnae*, there

were likely religious overtones to many athletic occasions.[124] Mandell observes "we may

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[118] Sannibale 2004, 81.
[119] Shapiro 2000, 323; Bonfante 1989, 555-556.
[120] Livy *Ab urbe.* 1.35.9, translated by de Sélincourt.
[121] Sannibale 2004, 85.
[122] Barker and Rasmussen 2000, 254.
[123] Crowther 2007, 79.
[124] According to Hdt. 1.167, because of the killing of Phocian prisoners by the Etruscans, the Delphic oracle told the Etruscans that to appease the gods, they would have to hold a yearly tradition to appease the men that had been slaughtered consisting of funerary ceremony and athletic events.

be making artificial separations if we remove sport very far from ritual, the dance, and the theater."[125]

In an examination of sports as entertainment, Mandell indicates that a care should be taken for "theatrical setting and what the spectators wished to experience when they appeared for the performance."[126] Temporary athletic structures, such as those depicted in the Tomb of the Bigas, would have accommodated spectators, and there is evidence in the Orientalizing Period for areas in the necropoleis that could have hosted competitive events.[127] The inclusion not only of performers but also of an audience in depictions of Etruscan athletic events further confirms the importance placed on their dynamic. The athletic events were not only performed with the aim of victory, but towards a victory that was done in the presence of others.[128]

What games were played and how are these events depicted iconographically? Visual references to games that may be considered as *agon* in the Etruscan record may be found in diverse contexts, such as funerary celebrations, mythological references, or occasions of civic importance. Etruscan athletics themselves may be categorized into several groups; these include combat sports, such as wrestling and boxing, equestrian events, such as the chariot and the horse race, games of strength, including discus and spear throwing and the shot put, and other games, such as footraces and the long jump.[129] Several examples of sporting events may be considered unique, as they are only included

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[125] Mandell 1984, 5.
[126] Mandell 1984, XIV.
[127] Sannibale 2004, 84.
[128] Mandell 1984, 73; the author here make the observation that in Greek art, iconography depicting audiences of athletic events are rare.
[129] Sannibale 2004, 86. The Etruscans used the *biga* or the *triga*, but not the *quadriga*; it did not appear in Etruscan art until the 5th century BC, according to van der Meer 1982, 442.

in one known iconographic depiction. Gori identifies these events as the pole-vault, from

the Tomb of the Biga (B202),[130] the enigmatic *truia* game, found on a 7th century

oinochoe from Tragliatella (F004), [131] which seemingly involves a maze and men on

horseback,[132] and the climbing of the pole, which appears on a black-figure amphora by

the Micali Painter (F201), c. 500 BC.[133]

While the very nature of agonistic events is the competition between two or more

athletes, often in the presence of an audience, some Etruscan iconographic examples

focus on only one individual. The depiction of solo figures appears only in small-scale,

portable objects, such as mirrors, gems, and bronze statuettes. Two 6th century engraved

mirrors (A005, A006), which date to the advent of athletics in Etruria, illustrate solitary

runners, so identified by the bend of the legs and arms in a manner similar to runners

depicted in a footrace. Although no specific clues indicate that they are in a competition,

their form is similar to the three runners on the right wall in the Tomb of the Olympic

Games. Running competitions do not involve physical contact with the other competitors

and so would make a plausible choice for a solitary subject.

Numerous gems feature solitary individuals, given their size limitation. One

example (D015) may depict a running male, and has been identified as such by Torelli,[134]

but does not have the same gestures observed in foot race competitors. He also carries a

stick, which is not observed elsewhere. A unique example of an athletic practice may be

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[130] Gori 1988, 363; Steingräber 1985, 297.
[131] Gori 1986-1987, 12. Evidence of the *Truia* survives only on one example of Etruscan art, a 7th century Oinochoe from Tragliatella. A maze is depicted, inscribed with the word *truia*, from which two armed horsemen are emerging. As the meaning of this image is unclear, a full discussion is not included here. See van der Meer 1986, 169-178 and Dinzelbacher 1982, 151-162 for a discussion.
[132] Gori 1986-1987, 12.
[133] Gori 1988, 362; Turfa 2012, fig. 20.
[134] Torelli 1967, 335. The identification of the figure as a runner is also questioned by Thuillier 1985, 160.

found on an engraved gem from the mid-5th century BC (D014) depicting a nude jumper

making a landing. A comparison of his body position with images of acrobats in Etruria

(D007) confirms that he is not engaging in acrobatic maneuvers. The position of the long-

jumper on the gemstone is similar – but not identical - to an athletic jumper depicted on a

5th century mirror (A115). The central figure on the mirror is the jumper, engaged in the

act itself, who is about to land on the ground, with legs in a position similar to the

gemstone. On the right, an aulos player accompanies the athletic action and a boy on the

left is walking towards the left, carrying a strigil, presumably to hand to the athlete once

he finishes his event.[135]

Other examples have been identified as athletes, not by their actions, but by the

items that they carry or that are depicted in the nearby field; engraved gems depicting the

strigil (B017, B018, B020), the discus (D015), or other related objects. Strigils are

associated with the practical aspects of the games, including athletic practice, but also are

connected with the "sporting ideal" and the "heroic world".[136] Both the strigil and discus

may be observed in two other engraved gems (D023, D024). In addition to the strigil and

discus, jumping weights may be located on the ground nearby (D016). Weights would be

used to achieve greater distances in Etruscan and Greek jumping competitions.[137] An

engraved gem in Boston (D019) illustrates an athlete pouring sand on his thigh,

presumably cleaning himself after athletic activity. A mirror dating from the 5th century

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[135] *CSE* 2.5; other interpretations for the implement are a *lituus* and knife
[136] Sannibale 2004, 101; Sansone 1988, 95; Shapiro 2000, 328, indicates that the strigil, as well as boys assisting the athlete, as sponges, were visual elements related to the palaistra, observable on Attic vases.
[137] Harris 1964, 80-85.

(A116) also depicts the use of the strigil by a nude athlete who is accompanied by a second nude figure.

Numerous small scale bronze figurines offer ambiguous evidence of javelin throwers and a horse and rider dating from the end of the 7th through the early 5th century BC. It is impossible to determine whether the javelin throwers and the equestrian figures reference athletic or military activities (C104, C209, C210, C311, C426); a third type of figure, the bronze discus thrower, firmly indicates that the Etruscans thought sporting events were appropriate subjects for the medium (C211, C310, C425). A candelabrum decoration also featured other types of athletic iconography. In two examples, (C420, C421), males use a strigil, while in two others (C422, C423), discus-throwers are illustrated. A third (C424) depicts a nude male with weights upraised, who is about to throw them forward. The positioning of the weights here is different from the use of weights during the long jump, like what is depicted in the front chamber of the Tomb of Casuccini Hill (B227) from Chiusi, dating 475-450 BC. Images of the solitary athlete depicted on gems, bronze figurines, and mirrors, illustrate moments both during and after the competitions. Specificity is indicated by gesture or by the accoutrement depicted with the athletic male figures. No spectators are indicated here, so we, the viewer, are left to watch the athlete prepare for action or understand the performance of skill that has just taken place.

Although there are relatively few iconographic references to mythological characters engaging in athletic activities, several are illustrated in small-scale media. Hercle is featured on an engraved gem wrestling with a lion (D021), while Tydeus, the Aeolian hero, is identified by inscription on two gems (D017, D018) and is depicted

using a strigil, reiterating his heroic role.[138] The Sicilian king Eryx is also

unambiguously depicted as an athlete by holding a discus in his right hand, with jumping

weights on the ground and a strigil and arybalos in the field nearby (D016).[139]

The majority of the evidence of athletic games in Etruria were found in tomb

painting and in relief sculpture. It is in these large-scale contexts that additional

information is provided about the complexity of athletic competitions and their scale.

Aside from funerary contexts, evidence from relief and ceramic finds also provide

information about civic and everyday athletic performance. Etruscan tomb decoration, as

a non-portable, architectural medium, offers a unique opportunity to examine painted

depictions of types of activities that would have actually taken place in or around the

tomb, such as the funerary banquet, athletics, and general revelry. Although a discussion

of the public messages indicated by the iconography and architecture is included in

Chapter 4, an examination of the information given in the large-scale medium is critical

in an understanding of the organization and meaning of athletic events in the Etruscan

world. Complex iconography here blends depictions of a variety of large-scale events that

often add to the monumentality and importance of the events.

Participants in combat sports also carry their own specific characteristics,

considering the elements of violence inherent.[140] Boxing and wrestling number among

the earliest depictions of agonistic activities in Etruscan art, originating c. 650 BC.[141]

Etruscan boxing competitions may be identified by the pairing of combatants and an

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[138] Thuillier 1985, 159.

[139] Richter 1968, 183.

[140] Poliakoff 1987, 1.

[141] Van der Meer 1982, 442; the Greek pankration did not make an appearance in Etruscan iconography.

identifiable stance, with fists clenched and arms raised in the air, facing a second

combatant, or in some combination thereof; boxers' hands may also be wrapped for

combat.[142] Wrestlers were also paired, but were identified by a different stance; instead of

the opponents holding clenched fists in front of their bodies, wrestlers would directly

engage their opponent and position their bodies at a lower angle, such as in The Tomb of

Casuccini Hill from Chiusi (B237), c. 475-450 BC. There were also more variations

possible in the depictions of wrestlers as holds and maneuvers were being executed

during combat. For the Etruscans, there was no indication of a set, limited architectural

space for these combatants. In fact, several images of boxers have been depicted flanking

the entrance to a tomb, visually separating the pair. In the Cardarelli Tomb (B106), the

Tomb of the Kithara Player (B209), and the early 5th century BC Tomb of the Whipping

(B221), the positioning of these athletes indicate their role as liminal figures with strength

and power to ward off the evil eye.[143]

The earliest examples of boxing date to the 7th century BC. The earliest to date is

included in the decoration of the silver Plkasna situla, dating c. 650 BC, from Chiusi

(G001). In the top register of the situla, a pair of boxers flank a lebes on stand with

gestures indicating that they are about to engage in combat. The official nature of this

competition is indicated by the lebes and the crowd that accompanies the wrestlers, which

is comprised of an aulos player, four pyrrhic dancers, two men with animal sacrifices,

and three men lacking attributes. A bucchero olla (F002) and a bucchero olpe (F003),

both dating to 630 BC, offer additional early evidence of boxing in Etruscan contexts as

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[142] Poliakoff 1987, 68-79; Harris 1964, 99; Greek and Roman boxing examples include thongs and padded practice gloves.
[143] Sannibale 2004, 92.

well as a depiction of the prizes for the competitors; the olla includes two boxers in a decorative panel flanking a prize, which is either a cauldron or lebes on a stand. The olpe uses a mythological context for the competition, that of Medea, Jason and the Argonauts attending athletic games on Lemnos; boxers are indicated nearby, and indeed the Argonauts carry a length of cloth that is to be given to the winner as a prize.[144]

The importance of combat sports to the Etruscans may be observed in their widespread inclusion in Etruscan tomb painting of the 6th and 5th centuries BC. The Tomb of the Augurs (B101), c. 520, at Tarquinia uses an officiant on the left and a pair of wrestlers and a pile of lebetes in the background to indicate that this is an official match.[145] The Tomb of the Inscriptions (B111) c. 520 BC, Tarquinia, depicts both a pair of boxers and pair of wrestlers on the left wall. The Tomb of the Olympic Games (B116) offers tantalizing evidence for a pair of boxers on the left side of the left wall, of which only one is extant as part of a much larger athletic competition.

Fifth century tomb paintings generally offer boxing and wrestling events together in the context of large-scale athletic events. The Tomb of the Bigas (B202) includes three pairs of boxers and two pairs of wrestlers in its complex and extensive iconography. In the front chamber of the Tomb of the Casuccini Hill (B227), a pair of wrestlers are engaged in combat, their competition overseen by an official on the left, who is carrying a stick. In the 5th century Tomb of the Hill of the Moro (B228), the Tomb of the Monkey (B229), and the Montollo Tomb (B230), wrestling and boxing competitions are both

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[144] Sannibale 2004, 82-83.
[145] Sannibale 2004, 96; the official has been identified as a *tevarath* or steward.

depicted. And finally, in the 4th century Tomb of the Warrior (B306), a pair of boxers are engaged in combat on the left wall.

Mirror decoration also features boxing iconography, dating to the 4th century and later. Two engraved Etruscan mirrors provide information about the Etruscans' participation in combat sports. Two boxers engage in combat in a mirror (A219) from 400-350 BC, as determined by their stance and by their wrapped hands. A later mirror, from the beginning of the 3rd century (A315), although damaged in part, seems to offer another example of a pair of boxers in combat. The way that they interact with their bodies is similar to a previously mentioned mirror (A219), and the oil flask in the center, presumably for use before and/or after the match, offers further evidence that they are, in fact, athletes.[146] Three other mirrors reference the mythological account of the boxing match between Pultuce and Amuce, which is discussed below, along with other mythological examples. One example of a bronze figurine of a bronze figurine includes two wrestlers in the midst of combat (C702)[147]

The Tomb of the Bigas (B202) from Tarquinia c. 490 BC, offers not only the widest variety of sporting events in one tomb, but also provides unique information about spectators and administrative personnel involved with athletic events.[148] The athletic iconography of the games appears in the small register at the top of the wall, while the large, central register is comprised of banqueting and reveler iconography. In the upper register on the right wall appear the preparations for a chariot race. That a chariot race is

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[146] Sansone 1988, 95; olive oil would typically be used before athletic activity and the strigil used for scraping the oil and dirt off after the event. Poliakoff 1987, 14, adds that for the wrestler, oil was especially valuable as it prevented dirt from entering the pores of the skin and reduced abrasion to the skin.
[147] Thuillier 1985, 157, no. 5.
[148] Steingräber 1985, 297.

not already in progress may be determined by the presence of the servants, who are

assisting the horses and even preparing the equipment for the impending race. The upper

register of the central wall carries a greater variety of activities, including two pairs of

boxers, the pole vault, the *desultores*, a wrestler, and an officiant, identified by his curved

staff and by the boy standing nearby to offer assistance. On the left wall, three additional

officiants are also indicated by their mantles and their stick or curved staff. Three discus

throwers, two Pyrrhic dancers, and a pair of wrestlers are also included here. On the right,

left, and rear walls of the tomb in the upper register are depicted temporary - presumably

wooden - seating areas. Audience members are comprised of both female and male

spectators and additional male figures, some in erotic embraces, recline underneath the

stands. They watch the two wrestling competitions that are already underway.   However,

all the other events, athletic and otherwise, are depicted in various stages of preparation.

A complex and large-scale funerary event is being held here, interpreted as such based on

the context and on iconography from the central register. There is no order indicated in

the placement of figures or the arrangement of the games throughout this wall painting.

The only clear distinction is made between the audience and the spectators. The

Etruscans appeared to have favorite sporting events that they chose to depict in art.

Based on the frequency of their inclusion and from their early appearance in Etruscan art,

chariot races seemed to be an Etruscan favorite.

A few examples of relief sculpture from Chiusi depicts athletic activities: One

(E109) includes an athletic awards ceremony and a triga race. At least three chariots and

racers are depicted.[149] On a second example (E204), three males run together in a footrace towards an official on the right, who faces the athletes and holds his right hand towards the racers and an indistinguishable object. [150] The third relief (E129) is fragmentary, but also seems to illustrate a footrace. Only an official and a smaller assistant and one nearby runner is preserved.[151]

A black-figure neck amphora by the Micali painter (F201) c. 500 BC offers some of the best evidence for the depiction of organized sporting events in vase painting.[152] A horse race is illustrated, with only the head and legs of the horses in front emerging from behind the *meta*. To the left are Pyrrhic dancers, followed by a youth climbing a pole, and a man and a boy watching the events. A man carrying a javelin, possibly a competitor, is on the left, followed by an *aulete*, and two boxers engaged in combat. Additional ceramic evidence illustrates other events, such as the discus throw and the wrestling. A red-figure stamnos (F202), dating c. 470-460 BC, depicts a discus thrower and a long jumper, holding weights, on one side.[153] Two men holding the discus are featured on a black-figure amphora (F205), dating to the beginning of the 5th century BC.[154]

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[149] Jannot 1984, 48-49.
[150] Jannot 1984, 58.
[151] Jannot 1984, 57.
[152] Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 253, fig. 100; Beazley 1947, plate II-IIa; Bruni 2004, 337 no. 343; 395 no. 15; Spivey 1987, 19, no. 102, plate 18a-b; Thuillier 1985, 148-148, no. 1.1; van der Meer 1982, 439.
[153] Greifenhagen 1978, 61-62; Thuillier 1985, 151, no. 2.1.
[154] Monaci 1965, 462-463, tav. XCIXd; Thuillier 1985, 151, no. 1.6.

One of the most popular events in the athletic games of the Etruscans are the horse and chariot races. [155] Equestrian events are competitive events that provide the most information regarding monumental sporting activities, as they required a large space and specialized equipment. The largest depiction of these kinds of races comes from the Tomb of the Olympic Games (B116),[156] although the 65-100 relief plaques from Murlo (G004) if placed together and understood as one event, would constitute the largest equestrian event in Etruria, by far.[157] The iconography of horse and chariot races include more than one horse/chariot and rider; other visual clues include the presence of prizes, such as the cauldron on stand in the Murlo frieze, or the presence of a *meta,* a turning post, such as in a red-figure amphora (F207) and on the black-figure amphora by the Micali Painter (F201), both from Vulci. The tomb of the Olympic Games includes a wooden post used as a *meta* on the left wall.[158] A third criterion for identifying a race is a fallen rider, evident on the tomb of the Olympic Games and the Tomb of the Hill of the Moro (B228).[159] The right wall of the Tomb of the Bigas (B202), c. 490 BC, offers information regarding the practical nature of the chariot race. Spectators in the wooden stands watch as three men with whips mount their chariots, while five men prepare four additional horses and a currently unused chariot for a race that has not yet begun.

Etruscan mirror iconography of athletic events occasionally includes mythological competitors. A 5th century bronze mirror (A117) illustrates Peleus and Atalanta engaged

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[155] Another enigmatic equestrian event that is only depicted once that of the *Truia*; the evidence for this game is found on an oinochoe from Tragliatella from the 7th century BC, on which is depicted a maze and two armed horsemen; Gori 1986-1987, 12.
[156] Steingräber 1985, 337.
[157] Root 1973, 121, 134.
[158] Bronson 1965, 96.
[159] Root 1973, 133.

in wrestling. Three mirrors (A226, A227, A228), all from the 4th century BC, provide iconographic depictions of the divine twins, Castur and Pultuce, and the King of the Bebrycians, Amuce. Amuce, the Etruscan equivalent to the Greek Amykos, guarded a sacred spring for his father Nethuns and would challenge strangers to compete in a boxing match; those whom he defeated were sacrificed. According to the mythological narrative, Pultuce and Amuce competed, the outcome of which left the defeated Amuce tied to a tree.[160] Of the three mirrors, two (A227, A228) illustrate the consequences of this combat, as Amuce is already tied to the tree, with the spring indicated in one (A228) by a mask pouring water on the right side of the mirror. A mirror from Praeneste (A226) indicates the moments before the match, as Amuke is depicted seated on the right with hands wrapped, ready for combat, with Poleduces nearby and a female figure named Losna standing behind Amuke.[161] A red-figure stamnos (F301) from the 4th century also depicts the resolution of the boxing match between Pultuce and Amuce, with Amuce tied to a tree next to a spring.

Athletic competitions make their appearance throughout a variety of media in Etruscan contexts. Their popularity is likely due, in part, to the nature of the games. Sporting events would require some type of physical talent; the physical excellence required for success is what made this type of play appealing on a large scale. The outcome of the competition was directly related to the skill of the competitors and this drew Etruscan audiences to witness the competitions. Iconography also depicts officiants who were present in order to ensure that the games took place with equality and that rules

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[160] de Grummond 2006a, 192.
[161] Thuillier 1985, 154, no. 3.

were followed. In most of the iconography, emphasis was not placed on the conclusion of the matches; in fact, there is only one iconographic example that depicts some sort of awards ceremony that will be soon taking place; a Chuisine relief base (E109) with a dais, two referees, a scribe, the prize-amphorae, a flute player, Pyrrhic dancer, a girl dancing with krotala, and an athlete carrying a discus and a javelin.[162] Prizes have been depicted in connection with athletes elsewhere, but it is only here that the physical space for the awards ceremony, represented by the dais, is indicate iconographically. Athletic competitions were events that appealed to the Etruscans on a grand scale, were connected with important contexts, and demonstrated ability and achievement over which humans had direct control.

Although most of the evidence for the category of *agon* is comprised of the sporting events, a final consideration is made for two agonistic games evidenced in Etruscan iconography that fall under Gori's category of "games of accuracy". These games are kottabos and the ring toss, which is strongly related to juggling practices.[163] Both of these events involve the throwing of an object, and with it, a measure of physical ability is required, although not on the same level as the athletic events previously described. The infrequent examples of these activities indicate that they would have taken place in banqueting and funerary contexts.

Instances of the disk-toss have been identified in two examples of painted tombs, but they are also referenced in candelabra and in engraved mirror decoration. In the rear wall of the Tomb of the Jugglers (B113) from Tarquinia, 520-510 BC, a central female

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[162] Sannibale 2004, 96; Jannot 1984, 48-49, no. 8.
[163] Gori 1988, 366-367.

figure stands holding an apparatus that has the stacked appearance of a candlelabrum, which extends above the female's head into the decorative red, blue, and cream-colored bands. She faces a male figure to the right, who holds two disks and is about to throw one; he also stands in front of a couple of large baskets, which were likely the original containers for the gaming equipment. To the left of this pair, an aulos player accompanies their game. A male, who is likely the deceased, sits in a curule chair at the far right, watching their performance.[164] The corner of the right and entrance walls in the Tomb of the Monkey (B229) at Chiusi, 480 BC, depicts another female with the candelabrum on her head. To the left is a male, nude from the waist down, holding disks that are about to be thrown at the candelabrum; an aulos player stands to the right of the female performer. The ring toss is performed for a veiled female, seated to the right and shaded by an umbrella, who is presumably the deceased.[165] Given the limited number of representations for this game, the rules remain unclear. There are several possibilities for how ring toss was played – if it was a game – that include multiple participants tossing the rings at a target or one participant who attempts to toss the ring in a show of accuracy. Either way, no prizes are indicated in either image. The ring toss was a type of game focused on entertainment, a diversion among other funerary and banqueting activities that are taking place around them.

Evidence that the ring-toss should be understood in the context of entertainment - and not athletic competitions - may be found in other iconographic depictions illustrating the performers balancing the candelabrum on their head. Examples include two mirrors,

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[164] Steingräber 1985, 318.
[165] Steingräber 1985, 218.

both dating to the 6th century BC. In the first example (A002) a male figure appears to be moving forward to the right, while carrying two candelabra, one in each hand. A third is on the ground near his left foot, and a fourth appears in the field above his right. The male is using these candelabra as part of a balancing act. In the second mirror example (A007), a male figure appears to be dancing. A candelabrum appears not only in his left hand, but also on top of his head. The right hand, gesturing near his head, may also indicate the presence of another candelabrum, although the evidence is inconclusive. The depiction of these performers wearing a candlebrum on their heads and carrying them in their hands is featured in three-dimensional decoration of candelabra in the 6th and 5th centuries BC.

The candelabrum is depicted in contexts other than performance. It may serve as a source of light during a banquet, seen on the left wall of the right chamber in the Golini Tomb (B311) from Orvieto, c. 350 BC. Candelabra decoration itself may reflect its dual role; adornment may depict performers who use the candlebrum itself as a performance apparatus. Several examples of candelabra directly reference the multipurpose nature of the object (C204, C303, C415), creating visual reference to performance, entertainment, and competition, while at the same time serving its practical function as a source of illumination.

The second of the non-athletic competitive games of skill, kottabos, also serves as another example of an agonistic activity with playful aspects and deserves a brief mention. Kottabos originated in Greece in the Archaic Period and is an aristocratic game

played in connection with the banquet or, when in Greece, the *symposion* after dinner.[166]

Participants spin their cups with the aim of tossing the dregs of their wine at a target, like

a disk on the top of a stand, seen in an example from Vulci (C207), or small containers

floating in water in a larger vessel.[167] Successful competition would require skill and

practice, although a component of chance was also evident.[168] Evidence of the Etruscans

participation in the game is not only found in a handful of iconographic examples, but

also with the discovery of the actual kottabos stands.

Two mirrors offer evidence for kottabos; an Archaic mirror from Cerveteri

(A101) depicts a satyr in the exergue about to spin a kylix, while a second mirror (A402)

illustrates a male banqueter playing the game with a kylix in motion. One example of an

engraved gem (D008) features a reclining satyr with a kylix playing kottabos. A unique

bronze incense-burner (C502) dating to 350-325 BC features a satyr standing at the base

of the shaft. He is depicted with a wineskin on his shoulder and is in the middle of

playing kottabos, holding the cup with only his forefinger, preparing to fling its

contents.[169]

Large-scale iconography also records this game. Although it is damaged, the

pediment of the Frontoncino Tomb (B108) from Tarquinia, 510-500 BC, appears to

depict a banqueter with a kylix playing the game, although part of the kylix and the hand

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[166] Gori 1988, 366; Kurke 1999b, 278; According to the author, in Greece, kottabos was a "lesson in proper social hierarchy, in which the physical relations of up and down, striking and struck, encode the domination of West over East, Greek over barbarian, and master over slave…a model for social domination" (281). See also Lissarrague 1990, 80-86; here, the author indicates that for the Greek competitors that there was a romantic component to this game or that it was related to divination.

[167] Buranelli 1992, 128.

[168] Lissarrague 1990, 83-85; in this way, two of Caillois' categories of play are evident in this practice, that of *agon* and of *alea*.

[169] Haynes 1985, 309.

of the banqueter is lost.[170] Gori identifies the game on the right wall of the Cardarelli

Tomb (B106).[171] Here, a male is spinning the cup about to throw the wine towards the

left; however, the male is not reclining and the target for the wine is not indicated here, so

Gori's identification is questionable. At least two examples of Chiusine banqueting

sculpture appear to include kottabos play (E112, E027), in which relining figures

participate among other banqueters.

Kottabos represents a type of competition that takes place specifically in

banqueting contexts. Although it requires some semblance of skill, it may also represent

casual play, in which the participants pursue enjoyment or demonstrate amorous

endeavors.[172] Presumably, by the time kottabos is played, the contents of the wine cup

have been consumed and the participants are feeling the effects. Given the context, a

sense of seriousness is lost in this type of competition.

Etruscan agonistic competitions carried with them important meaning in

connection with entertainment and perhaps with religious practice. Unlike games

connected intrinsically with chance and the will of the gods, represented in the previous

discussion of *alea* with dice and lots, the Etruscans utilized examples of *agon* in

iconography on a much wider basis. Representations occurred much more frequently,

and appeared in a wider range of media, including small- and large-scale representations.

Representations of the audience were included in Etruscan examples of *agon*, and the

athletes clearly occupied the role of performers, as they were frequently the objects of

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[170] Steingräber 1985, 314.
[171] Gori 1988, 366.
[172] Lissarrague 1990, 83-85; here, the author indicates the similarities of this pursuit to that of divination; in playing the game, the participants are pursuing objects of affection; the successful outcome of the game indicates success in love.

attention. Competitions in which the outcome was directly based on the skill of the competitor appealed to Etruscan artists for a longer time period than the *alea*. From the 7th century, the interest in competitive games was referenced in complex and widespread iconography. Athletic events that appear in conjunction with large-scale depictions of banqueting is revisited in Chapter 4.

Playing with the self: *Ilinx*, wine, and acrobatics

The manifestation of the previous two categories of play in the Etruscan world have involved two or more individuals involved with competitions. The depictions of games associated with *alea* included competitions on a private scale, and the agonistic events could include many more people and were typically illustrated on a public scale with numerous spectators. Etruscan examples of *alea* and *agon* may be practiced with one individual, surely, but their complete meaning is present in the competitive action between at least two individuals; this is not the case with the third category, *ilinx*. With *ilinx*, the participant "gratifies the desire to temporarily destroy his bodily equilibrium, escape the tyranny of his ordinary perception, and provoke the abdication of conscience."[173] This type of play is inherently personal. The manifestation of *ilinx* may occur in the presence of others; several individuals may experience the disruption of their inner equilibrium as part of a group, but the results of each person's actions are ultimately only felt by the self. *Ilinx* may be identified in Etruscan iconography through two types of activities: physical manipulation of the self with acrobatic and unrestrained dance and wine-induced inebriation.

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[173] Caillois 2001, 44.

The goal of this category of play is an individual's pursuit of vertigo. This may be accomplished by the ingestion of wine towards the aim of intoxication,[174] or it may be a byproduct of certain actions, such as acrobatic movement, the propulsion of the self through the air, or through space using types of dance.[175] Acrobatic activities in Etruscan culture consisted of two types of activities. The first is the *desultores*, which involves jumping on or off a moving horse or between two moving horses.[176] The other, and more commonly depicted type of acrobatic activity in Etruscan art consists of the single individual vaulting him- or herself along the ground or through the air; the performers would start either from the ground or off a table or other raised surface.[177] Although there is no specific evidence indicating the Etruscans employed hired performers, the specialized skills and prowess necessary to successfully perform acrobatic and juggling and the general youth of all involved, may indicate the presence of hired, dedicated performers, similar to what was available in Greece.[178]

Gori has identified three possible tombs with illustrations of the *desultores*, which comprises the entirety of the Etruscan evidence for this kind of performance. The tombs include the Tomb of the Monkey from Chiusi, 480 BC (B229), Tomb of the Master of the Olympic Games from Tarquinia, c. 510 BC (B215), and the Tomb of the Bigas from

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[174] Caillois 2001, 51; Caillois sees intoxication as a manifestation of the "corruption" of this form of play; however, any priority based on the differences between chemical and physically induced vertigo seems to be emically-determined.

[175] Caillois 2001, 23; the author here references whirling dervishes and the Mexican *voladores* as types of dance and acrobatic performance the lead towards the perception of vertigo.

[176] Jannot 1984, 143-144; Sannibale 2004, 85-86; Gori 1986, 16; *desultores* are horse-riding acrobats.

[177] Deonna 1955 also indicates that acrobatic practices were widespread in the ancient world. Iconographic depictions are present in Egyptian, Aegean, Greek, Asia Minor, and on into the Christian era.

[178] Lawler 1978, 127. Lawler also references in 128-130 that "exceptionally skillful dancers" in the Greek world that also had juggling and tumbling skills were likely professionals that were of a lowly status. These types of professionals would have been used in Greek contexts such as banquets and symposia.

Tarquinia, 490 BC (B202).[179] All three of these tombs illustrate the horse-related

acrobatic activity in the context of other athletic competitions; this is not surprising,

considering the Etruscans were known to combine various performances with agonistic

activities.[180] In the Tomb of the Bigas, in the center of the upper register on the rear wall

is the image of an armed rider with two horses, making this a likely example of the

acrobatic maneuvering between horses; Gori identifies this as "an acrobatic exercise, but

this time on horseback."[181] The Tomb of the Monkey has two identifiable instances of

desultores performance. In the corner of the left and the rear walls, the image of two men

on horseback appear. The figure in the foreground appears to be dismounting off of a

moving horse, with legs crossed. In the corner of the right and entrance walls, a lone male

rider is astride two horses. Here, he also seems to be dismounting from a horse that is

moving forward. In the Tomb of the Master of the Olympic Games, a man appears to ride

a pair of horses;[182] it is possible that the three men running nearby on the ground are

moving towards one of the horses in order to mount it while moving; it does not seem

likely that a footrace is depicted, as the three figures are not running in the same

direction. It is also possible that the man astride the horses, as on the Tomb of the Bigas,

is moving between horses.

Several examples of the solitary and more common type of acrobatic activity by

males and females are depicted in bronze decoration. Acrobatic youths, so identified by

the dramatic backward arch of the body, appear as bronze handles, which perfectly

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[179] Gori 1988, 363-364.
[180] The juxtaposition of athletes and jugglers at the occasion for the athletic festival held at the Fanum Voltumnae has been mentioned previously in Livy 5.1.4-5.
[181] Gori 1988, 363.
[182] Steingräber 1985, 329.

correspond with the back-bend that occurs in the middle of their performance.[183]

Examples include a siren-shaped vessel from c. 550 BC (C202), the handle of a vessel

from Vulci, c. 575-550 BC (C201), the handle of a bronze krater from c. 510-490 BC

(C304), the handle of an amphora from Vulci, c. 475-450 BC (C411), and the handle of

an unidentified bronze vessel from the 4th century BC (C503). Similar acrobatic handles

have been found on Greek bronze vessels.[184] An Etruscan gem of an unknown date

illustrates an acrobat in a stance identical to those used in the bronze vessel handles

bending backwards through space (D007). A few bronze incense burners depict naked

female and male youths standing on tables (C407, C408, C302), from the end of the 6th -

mid 5th century BC, which Haynes identifies as an acrobat's stance, "with the left foot

forward, both knees stiff and no movement in the hips," thus preparing for physical

forward movement.[185] Here they have not yet propelled themselves through space. Other

acrobats decorate bronze candelabra from the 6th century BC (C204 and C205). The

Tomb of the Hill of the Moro (B228) from Chiusi, c. 475-450 BC, contains the only

known tomb painting of an acrobatic performance. In this tomb, a figure is shown in

mid-air, presumably having jumped over a nearby wooden fence. A male crouches

underneath the acrobat, either acting as a spotter or as a surprised passerby.[186]

Two examples of Chiusine relief sculpture (E110, E111) bear evidence of

acrobatic activity. In each example here, although in fragmentary form, the knees and

thighs of a male figure are shown at the same height as a nearby head. The first example

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[183] Deonna 1953, 56-57; here, the author indicates that the form of the acrobats are closer to Egyptian examples than elsewhere in the ancient world.
[184] Deonna 1953, 50, 58.
[185] Haynes 1985, 278-279, no. 90.
[186] Steingräber 1985, 279.

(E111) includes at least four other individuals, which correspond to images of revelers found in other Chiusine relief sculpture, (E105 and E203). That acrobatic activity could occur outside of funerary contexts is illustrated on a terracotta revetment plaque from Acquarossa (E021) dating to the 6th century BC. The central figure is an acrobat, who is shown tumbling through space alongside dancing revelers and musicians. An early example of Etruscan vase painting from the 7th century BC on an amphora (F005) depicted a series of five acrobats, two of which carry swords and one carries a spear. A standing figure nearby carries a lyre.[187]

Intoxication represents another socially constructed occasion of play with one's inner equilibrium. Unlike physical behaviors, such as dance and acrobatics, which result in a temporary sense of vertigo, the consumption of wine has a long-lasting effect. Intoxication is in the purview of Dionysos who, in the Greek world, was associated with wine and the *symposion*.[188] Wine has the ability to deceive and confuse the drinker regarding the difference between fantasy and reality.[189] Wilkins indicates that not only were there various activities in antiquity in which the consumption of wine was deemed appropriate, but it was also a widespread phenomenon in the ancient Greco-Roman world.[190] Appropriate situations for the consumption of wine in Etruria are in ritual and social contexts; therefore, it was present in important moments of performance. Physical prowess demonstrated in other types of performance, such as dance, music, and especially acrobatic and juggling activities, may be contrasted with the loss of control of

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[187] Martelli 1987, 262-263.
[188] Durand et al. 1989, 121.
[189] Lissarrague 1990, 109.
[190] Wilkins and Hill 2006, 166-167.

those audience members who were imbibing. Wiles indicates wine, in addition to other performance activities, may be utilized for the manipulation of mental states.[191] For the Greeks, drunkenness could be used iconographically as a humorous example of reprehensible behavior.[192]

For the Etruscans, part of the visual reference to the ingestion of wine was implied through the depiction of ceramic forms associated with drinking. The frequent inclusion of ceramic forms that were associated with the mixing of wine and water, such as the krater and lebes, indicated that drinking occurred in the banquets.[193] Various vessel types are included in banqueting or performance scenes referencing the consumption of wine, including the krater, the olpe, oinochoe, the kylix, and other drinking vessels.[194] D'Agostino has already observed that the funerary iconography and ideology in the tombs in Tarquinia involves wine and associated accoutrement.[195] Oinochoai are featured in the Tomb of the Mouse, Tomb 1999, Tomb of the Black Sow, and the Tomb of the Warrior. At least one krater is depicted in the Tomb Frontoncino. Tomb Cardarelli, Tomb of the Warrior, Tomb Bertazzoni, and a lebes is in the Tomb of the Olympic Games. Drinking cups, including the kylix and kyathos are included in the Tomb Cardarelli, Tomb of the Whipping, Tomb 994, Tomb of the Warrior, and Tomb of the Little Flowers.

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[191] Wiles 2007, 210.

[192] Mitchell 2009, 86-91; relieving one's self results from overindulgence, which may include vomiting, defecating, and urinating. The Etruscans did not depict signs of over-indulgence in their iconography. The only example of Etruscan defecation appears in the left wall of the Tomb of the Jugglers (B113), finally outside of a banqueting context or any drinking accoutrement. Instead, a male bends over to the right of a tree and defecates. This act has been interpreted either as an apotropaic gestures or as a sign of fertility, considering its proximity to vegetation.

[193] Lissarrague 1990, 23.

[194] Sparkes 1991, 82-84; Lynch 2012, 534-536.

[195] D'Agostino 1989, 6.

Banqueting contexts of these performances involve the culturally sanctioned ingestion of alcohol. The presence, and presumably the consumption of, wine is iconographically depicted through kylikes, kraters, and other types of serving vessels. It is not a coincidence that there is a relationship between performance and contexts in which wine is depicted and even consumed. Wine has transformative properties; it is during this process that the intoxicated participants may loosen their inhibitions, behave in an unusual or subversive manner. The consumption of wine indicates that those who are reclining are affected by the wine, or soon will be. References to consumption and intoxication are connected to the participants in the banquet. Not only are the dancers and musicians in the role of performers, but the audience joins them by drinking. Participants transform through their actions or, in the case of the Phersu figures discussed below, through a mask. Etruscan satyrs are included in depictions of revelry in mirror iconography, which further relate to instances of play. The consumption of wine offers the satyrs "a remarkable ability, allowing them to free themselves from gravity, to go beyond the limits of the human condition."[196] A few examples of dancing revelers have been featured in Etruscan art; they are generally identified by drinking wine and their appearance of drunkenness.[197]

Phersu, Theater and the Etruscan Mask

The fourth and last of Caillois' categories of play is *mimicry*, which bears the closest correlation with theatrical performance. Indeed, as "all play presupposes the

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[196] Durand et al 1989, 126.
[197] Csapo and Miller 2007, 13; Durand et al. 1989, 125. Smith 2010, 24, 168.

temporary acceptance…of a closed, conventional, and, in certain respects, imaginary

universe,"[198] many of the performers, such as dancers, athletes, and acrobats, in the

previous discussions of play, could be included in an examination of this category.[199]

Performers are all separated from their roles in everyday life and are visually

distinguished from spectators by emically constructed framing elements. The actors

assume the role of performers through their costume, their actions, and by their location

or movement through space. The performer and the spectator are both involved in the

construction of performance. For example, dancers and musicians are included in various

types of Etruscan contexts, as discussed in Chapter 2. They are distinguished by their

actions and the context in which they perform. However, there is no clear visual

indication of the physical transformation of the self into another character; instead, they

are identified as such by other framing elements.

Some types of performers much more clearly become someone else, such as

masked figures in Etruscan art. The discussion of *mimicry* in this study investigates the

presence of the mask in Etruscan art, although there is a paucity of evidence for their

exact role. The mask represents one type of performance in which an individual's aim is

to temporarily transform into another. The masked individuals reveal not only potential

information about Etruscan theatrical performances, but also the assumption of a role

different than the self. The mask is an important and highly visible element of

transformation, as it "guarantees for the performer the possibility of becoming 'other', of

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[198] Caillois 2001, 19.

[199] Sutton-Smith 1997, 5 identifies this type of play as "performance play," which includes a wide range of theatrical performance.

acquiring a different identity."[200] Evidence of Etruscan masks is limited to physical

examples found in burials, depictions of the Phersu figure in iconography, on the so-

called "Canopic" urns, and on bronze statuettes, all of which is discussed below. What

kinds of information does the abovementioned evidence provide about the Etruscan's

concepts of the transformation of self in theatrical and funerary situations?

The use of the mask as a costume or prop offers occasion for play; in fact, "the

mask calls attention to the often ambiguous play between self and other involved in its

alchemical procedures."[201] The mask may blur the line between self and other, as wearing

a mask not only alters appearance and other methods of communication and expression,

such as the voice, movement, and perhaps the way one regards the self. The inner

tensions of this relationship between the self and other are not recorded in the

archaeological record. What *can* be evaluated here is the use of the mask towards

communicating publicly this transformation in an organized setting.

Regarding Etruscan theater, very little archaeological and iconographic survives

and only a handful of scholarly articles have addressed these activities. Haynes' article,

"Ludiones Etruriae" (1963), evaluates masked figures who may have been involved in

such theatrical performances. Elliott's *The Mask in Etruscan Religion, Ritual, and*

Theater (1996), examines the appearance of the mask in Etruscan art, which include the

Phersu figures, bronze figurines, and the so-called "Canopic" ash urns from Chiusi. The

very nature of a mask marks the theatricality of the image and the use of theatrical masks

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[200] Lada-Richards 1997, 96.
[201] Emigh 1996, xviii.

appear in a variety of cultures, including Greece.[202] Masked figures, however, appear in

Etruscan iconography only in limited contexts. The Etruscan figures may be in the form

that has been identified as a Phersu figure, but a few others exist in the archaeological

record. The use of masks presuppose the presence of an audience; Caillois proposes even

that "one is disguised or masked for the sake of others."[203]

Most scholarship that addresses masked individuals in Etruscan iconography

focuses on the enigmatic masked Phersu figure, resulting in numerous hypotheses

regarding his role. Interpretations of the Phersu figure investigate its relationship to

Orphic mysteries,[204] associate Phersu with a chthonic canine deity,[205] designate his

appearance as the antagonist in a scapegoat ritual,[206] a character who sheds blood for the

appeasement of the dead,[207] or interpret him as an Etruscan recreation of the myth of

Acteon.[208] Although the evidence is inconclusive, it seems most likely that the figure of

the Phersu represents a theatrical, masked performer, and that the term "Phersu" does not

refer to the name of a deity or other individual, but instead refers to the mask itself. The

man wearing the mask is not understood to be one individual in different settings, like the

appearances of the goddess Uni in Etruscan art, for example, but instead may be

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[202] Wiles 2007, 1-4; Greek masks, for use in the theater, were constructed of perishable materials and have not survived. They were worn during performance of Greek tragedy and comedy.
[203] Caillois 2001, 40.
[204] Avramidou 2008-2009, 77; believes these examples may provide evidence of the presence of an Orphic cult in Tarquinia but depicting an Orphic ritual or a parody of that ritual.
[205] Elliott 1986, 40-42.
[206] Blome 1986, 97-108.
[207] Masked figures may also be placed in ritual contexts; in fact, evidence is widespread in other cultural situations which indicates the use of the mask in ritual situations, such as in Indonesia, India, and Papua New Guinea. The bloodshed evidence in two of the depictions of the Phersu figures has been interpreted as representing the ritual letting of blood to appease the dead, an act that is referenced in Homer's Odyssey, book 11.
[208] Jannot 1984, 45-56.

interpreted as separate actors in a burlesque wearing a mask.[209] This would explain the appearance of Phersu in widely varying contexts.

A physical depiction of Phersu appears in nine examples of Etruscan art: eight tomb paintings and one vase painting. These include the Tomb of the Augurs (B101), the Tomb of the Olympic Games (B116), the Tomb of the Cock (B302), and the Tomb of Pulcinella (B117), all from Tarquinia ranging in date from 520-400 BC, and one vase painting.[210] The idea that the Phersu figure is an actor associated with varying types of performances is supported by the unique iconography on a black-figure amphora (F209); in this example, a masked Phersu is depicted in the playful guise of a Pyrrhic dancer, next to a short figure, also wearing armor, and an *aulete* performs on the far right. On the reverse of the amphora, the real version of the Pyrrhic dance is depicted. The playfulness of the Phersu iconography is contrasted with the realities of the Pyrrhic dancers. The Etruscan word Φersu is associated with these kinds of masked figures from its appearance next to the two physical depictions in the Tomb of the Augurs.[211]

In two of the examples, from the Tomb of the Augurs and the Tomb of the Olympic Games, Phersu is depicted participating in a violent activities termed the "Phersu game."[212] In the Tomb of the Augurs, Phersu wears a mask with a long, pointed beard, a hat, and a short chiton.[213] He holds the leash of a canine, who is attacking another male figure who is bound, with head covered, shirtless, and holding a club. The man who is being attacked bleeds from a wound at the ankles and is carrying a club,

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[209] Baker and Rasmussen 2000, 246.
[210] Avramidou 2008-2009, 23.
[211] Jannot 1993, 288.
[212] Sannibale 2004, 85. In the 6th century Tomb of the Augurs at Tarquinia a bearded masked man, Phersu, holds a chain attached to hooded man who is trying to defend himself against a canine.
[213] Steingräber 1985, 291.

presumably for defense. In the Tomb of the Olympic Games is another Phersu, although greatly damaged, who stands alongside a person wearing a bag on the head, presumably engaged in similar combat.

The other six examples of Phersu in Etruscan art are of a non-violent nature. On the wall to the left of the entrance of the Tomb of the Cock, a masked figure is depicted with gestures indicating that he is dancing; he is accompanied by a female dancer and an aulos player.[214] The fourth example of the Phersu is found on the left wall of the Tomb of Pulcinella; here a male figure wearing a red mask with a black beard and has the stance of a runner or of a dancer.[215] The fifth example is a figure found in the Tomb of the Augurs on the left wall who appears to be dancing. In Chiusi's Tomb of the Monkey, a short male figure appears on the corner of the right and rear wall, wearing the Phersu mask, playing the aulos, and is accompanied by an aulos player on his right and an armed figure – perhaps a Pyrrhic dancer – to his left. The masked Phersu figures make an appearance in a variety of types of performance. As in the amphora, Phersu acts as a playful foil for the Pyrrhic dance, and may be associated with the Pyrrhic dance in Chiusi's Tomb of the Monkey. Other depictions include Phersu among the revelers, dancing among other dancers and musicians. The two violent instances are still problematic, but may be interpreted as a type of theatrical performance representing an unknown Etruscan myth.

Haynes provides additional information about masked figures in Etruria through her analysis of a collection of bronze figurines dating to the early 5th century BC (C428,

214 Steingräber 1985, 316.
215 Elliott 1986, 25.

C429, C430, C431) that all wear masks similar to those found in the tomb painting examples. [216] All are depicted with a conical cap, long, pointed beard, and shown wearing a short chiton. The clothing of these figures, as Haynes points out, is observed in limited contexts, such as in Etruscan funeral games and in acrobatic and gymnastic performances.[217] The first example (C429) stands with his left leg forward, left hand on hip, and right hand extended outwards, while a second (C430) also stands facing forwards, except both of his feet are together and both hands are on his hips. A third masked figure (C428) is shown with both arms in the air, in the "acrobat stance," as described by Haynes, presumably preparing to vault himself forward or to hold additional figures above his head, as in a fourth example (C431).[218] The fourth bronze example actually consists of a group of three male figures. Two small males stand on a board, held by the larger masked figure below over his head. The figures, which also possess characteristics of acrobats, may be considered among the only identifiable participants in Etruscan theater; Haynes has identified similarities between their dress and the performers in Greece of Old and Middle Comedy.[219]

Other evidence for the mask that does not involve the Phersu character may be found in burial contexts. One terracotta and five bronze funerary masks have been discovered at Chiusi and one bronze mask comes from Fontecucchiaja of Marcianella, all dating to the 7th century BC.[220] Evidence for funerary masks may also be found on the so-called "Canopic urns" from Chiusi, consisting of holes indicated in the head/lid of the

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[216] Haynes 1963, 17.
[217] Haynes 1963, 18.
[218] Haynes 1985, 278-279.
[219] Haynes 1963, 19: "Der spitze und pilosartige Hut, der lange Bart und der kurze Chiton tauchen in Griechenland bei Darstellungen von Schauspielern der älteren und mittleren Komödie auf."
[220] Elliott 1986, 9.

urn, to which could have been attached a mask made of bronze or other materials.[221]

Mask rituals involving the dead and the burial of the body may account for the instances

of the masked Phersu figures appearing in funerary wall painting.

As mentioned previously, all types of performers may be considered in the

context of Caillois' category of *mimicry*; all distinguish themselves through their actions

and momentarily change into something or someone else. Most of the performers in

Etruscan art may be readily identified, such as dancers, musicians, and athletes. For the

Phersu figures, it is a challenge to determine what, exactly, these masked characters are

meant to represent and their function in Etruscan culture. There is relatively little

evidence in the Etruscan archaeological record for the depiction of actors and men

specifically in theatrical roles. Masks are associated with transformation; they appear in

funerary contexts and on anthropomorphic ash urns from Chiusi as a way to indicate the

ultimate transformation that has been made by the deceased. They are also used in

performance-related situations to identify the protean nature of the actor. The use of the

mask offers clear visual evidence distinguishing between the actors and the spectators.

The masked characters in Etruscan art offer the chance for the assumption of a new role

which is different in almost every example. It is in the adoption of the temporary

transformation of self that the presence of play may be identified. Given the manipulation

of forms by the Phersu figure, the presence of play may be suggested. The use of the

mask allows the actor to assume a role which, in Etruscan evidence, marks the

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[221] Haynes 2000, 106; Elliott 1986, 16-17; Ash urns have been considered in Etruria and elsewhere in Italy to be either the house or the bod of the deceased post-cremation, such as in the terracotta hut ash urn from Tarquinia in the 9th century, the bronze hut ash urn from Vulci in the mid-8th century BC, and in the anthropomorphic biconical ash urns from 8th century Tarquinia and Volterra. The Canopic urns utilize these same ideas in their creations of the human "bodies" and the heads with faces. See Gempler 1973 for a catalog of the Canopic urns.

transformation after death into the afterlife. The depictions of the Phersu figure also offer tantalizing clues about possible theatrical performances in Etruria.

Conclusion

Play and games may seem, at first glance, to be trivial components of culture, be it ancient or modern. Play is, however, pervasive and can offer insight regarding a culture's view of themselves, their relationships with each other, their god(s), controllable and uncontrollable forces, and how they can manipulate and understand their own sense of self. Though the Etruscans participated in a variety of play and gaming activities, not all took place on the same scale and certainly not all were of equal interest to artists and included with the same frequency in iconographic depictions. For example, games of chance and agonistic games illustrate two different types of approaches.

Alea, identified as Etruscan board games and dice, involved competitions of a personal nature, in which luck and the will of the gods played a factor and the gaming pieces were a visual manifestation of fate. *Agon*, mainly consisting of Etruscan athletic events, required physical excellence and success was generally determined by skill, training, and the ability of the players. Public versions of athletic events were widely represented throughout Etruscan art. It is possible that this was a result of cultural preferences towards these different types of play; why watch a game of chance when anyone can be a participant? Perhaps part of the appeal of the large-scale agonistic competition was not only the demonstration of physical excellence, the act of entertainment as an exhibition, but also the exclusivity of the event. Although anyone, in theory, could play, it was only those with training who had expectations of success.

Other types of play in Etruria were of an intrinsically personal nature. The manipulation of the inner sense of equilibrium, *ilinx*, was one such example and was accomplished through physical means, such as acrobatics and dance, and the consumption of alcohol. Other examples of play are both pervasive and enigmatic, including instances of *mimiicry*. Performances, such as dance and music, were ubiquitous and included in a variety of contexts; while others were featured in but only a few examples, such as the masked individual, which indicates the clear assumption of a new persona by a performer.

The Etruscans included in their artistic representations types of play that were held on a small scale, and events, especially athletics, that involve characteristics that distinguish it as spectacle. Spectacle, which is investigated in Chapter 4, is a type of large-scale event that communicates messages of power to the viewer and is recorded in Etruscan iconography through iconographic and architectural evidence. What cannot be specifically identified without textual evidence are personal reactions that are not recorded in the iconographic record and many kinds of play that existed outside of a rule-bound structure.

The choices of specific types of play and games, and their inclusion in iconography, reveal preferences of Etruscan artists. The majority of the examples date to the 6th through the 4th centuries BC. Like illustrations of music and dance, iconography regarding gaming also generally disappeared after the 4th century, especially with depictions of athletic events and banqueting contexts. Although most of the iconographic evidence may be considered under the more structured category of "games", some of the evidence, especially connected with dance, play-acting, and drunkenness may offer

information about free-form play activities. These types of games and attitudes towards play continue into Roman Italy, as evidenced in the archaeological record.

Schechner writes that "playing is a mood, an attitude, a force. It erupts or one falls into it. It may persist for a fairly long time – as specific games, rites, and artistic performance do – or it comes and goes suddenly..."[222] Etruscan art and archaeology offer evidence embodying variability of play and games. The playfulness that is evident in banqueting contexts, even honoring the dead, is comparable to the physical abandonment that may be present in images portraying everyday life. Play offers an opportunity to explore processes, to transform, and to understand cultural realities. The Etruscans may have adapted practices and objects from Greece and further East; however, the ways that games and play manifested in Etruria were something distinctly Etruscan and representative of their own cultural reality.

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[222] Schechner 1988, 16.

Chapter 4: Spectacle I – Architecture, Funerals, Banqueting

<u>Introduction to Etruscan Spectacle</u>

      Etruscan iconographic evidence includes the representation of public events that

may be defined as spectacle. The origins of the English term "spectacle" are found in

ancient Italy; it is derived from the Latin term *spectacula*, which was used in the

Roman Republican period referring to arena structures in which public events would

occur.[1] As a type of performance, the concept of spectacle includes important

characteristics regarding the communication of large-scale messages to groups of

viewers. Chapter 1 has introduced spectacle, relevant scholarship, and its defining

features, which require it to be a public event, to have witnesses, involve multimedia

elements, to occupy a grand scale, express important cultural messages, and to have

emically defined parameters indicating its distinctiveness from other performance.[2]

While performance in general is a "'marked' behavior of restricted occurrence",[3] the

identification of spectacle explored here is of a limited nature.[4] The evidence in the

Etruscan archaeological record includes iconographic depictions of events as well as

relevant architectural spaces, both of which indicate how the Etruscans communicated

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[1] Beacham 1999, 37; Edmondson 1999, 78; the related Greek equivalent would be *thea*, meaning "the sense of sight" as noted in Bergmann 1999, 11.

[2] Beeman 1993, 380; Bergman 1999, 10-11, 16; Handelman 1990, 7; Houston 2006, 139.

[3] Houston 2006, 138; This limits the inclusion of everyday, non-distinctive interpersonal interactions, into a definition of performance, contrary to that which was originally proposed by E. Goffman in his 1959 *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*.

[4] Houston 2006, 139, indicates that although there is some overlap between ritual, spectacle and performance, not all are equivalent. Performance *includes* ritual and spectacle activity, but not all performances may be interpreted as spectacle or ritual.

power and status. [5] The Etruscans included in their artistic representations different types of spectacle such as the prothesis, banqueting, athletics, processions, dance, and music; the related topic of processional iconography is investigated in Chapter 5.

Spectacles "give primacy to visual sensory and symbolic codes; they are things to be seen."[6] Iconography, therefore, being visually based, is an appropriate conduit for the communication of spectacle. The audience plays an important role, for "at spectacles crowds of commoners had a sense of confidence and power, and a dialogue took place between the provider and the consumers."[7] Not only are audience members depicted in painted and relief iconography, but we, the viewers, also serve as the audience and the direct recipients of the messages evident in the representations of spectacle. Results may include the reinforcement or subversion of cultural values, or may provide an occasion for change.[8] What does a manifestation of spectacle in the Etruscan archaeological record reveal about culture and public forms of communication?

Representations of ancient Etruscan spectacle do not generally record an identifiable individual – due to the absence of associated inscriptions and the lack of specific characteristics as in portraiture - and celebrate the individual through

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[5] An examination of the meaning of spectacle in connection with Etruscan archaeology avoids modern-exclusive applications of the term, including such work penned by G. Debord's *The Society of the Spectacle*, in which the author applies capitalist and bureaucratic concepts towards the domination of workers through deception; none of which is applicable to the premodern world. Houston 2006, 150 n. 1 agrees that this source does "not serve as a useful template for events in the premodern world." Additionally, as MacAloon 1984, 243, points out, it is important not to perceive certain performances or rituals as spectacle simply because of their exotic nature; a consideration must be made to consider the culture's own identification of performances that are raised to the level of spectacle.

[6] MacAloon 1984, 243.

[7] Kyle 1998, 9.

[8] Bergman 1999, 20.

characteristics that indicate his role in society, in civic or political activities, or even his

rank.[9] Instead, iconographic depictions of spectacle may "have been idealized into

generality but linked by recollection to specific moments in the viewer's experience".[10]

In this way, the physical images would have remained unchanged and constant for

subsequent viewers but the associated *meaning* may have evolved and remained

relevant.

Generalized depictions of spectacle may serve a function towards highlighting

important performance now, as well as corresponding with similar future situations. In

his discussion of Urartian iconography, A. Smith indicates that the "actions of an

immediate historical moment were filtered through the tropic conventions of textual

expression such that the event became spectacular in retrospect, as a now materialized

official memory, and provided a referent for future spectacles as performance."[11] In a

similar manner, Etruscan conceptions of the chronological and geographical setting of

spectacle may not be understood in iconographic depictions as occurring only in one

place at one time. Images of spectacle may themselves be intended to perform for an

audience on repeated, relevant occasions and it may be in these repeated instances that

importance is recognized anew and may even grow. Bergmann states, "vestiges of the

ephemeral and the static arts complement each other,"[12] and it is through the static arts

that evidence is provided regarding those things not available directly in the

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[9] D'Agostino 1989, 9; Here the author claims that instead of the Etruscans celebrating an individual iconographically, the household (the *oikos*) is instead referenced and celebrated. Inscriptions are present in some examples of Etruscan art, such as in the Tomb of the Inscriptions, Tarquinia. In Breckenridge 1968, 14, the author defines a portrait as the portrayal of "the individual as an integrated, living human being: as he was in his own time."

[10] Houston 2006, 137. Here, Houston discusses Mayan iconography connected with dance and spectacle.

[11] A. Smith 2006, 109.

[12] Bergmann 1999, 13.

archaeological record, such as performance.[13] For example, since large and highly visible Etruscan tombs were reopened for subsequent inhumations and/or the deposit of cremated remains,[14] it seems likely that many instances of iconographic decoration could, at the same time, apply both to the previous instances of burial, as well as to the most current context and subsequent entombment.[15] The tomb interiors and their associated decorations were not exposed to public view on a continual basis; therefore, a specific audience was invited on a limited basis.

The message of tomb decoration had to be communicated in the relatively short time that a small group, the living members of the family, would be allowed inside. This exclusivity and rarity of the exposure would serve to highlight the experience, adding to the memorable consideration of the site. Over time, the size of the privileged group of those who had been allowed access to the iconography would increase. Chronological associations and architectural boundaries of the tomb would be disregarded eventually through subsequent funerary events in the context of the artistic representations. The relationship of decoration to current and future events corresponds with A. Smith's conclusion that "the relation between event and spectacle is thus both past and future looking, simultaneously retrospective and prognostic."[16]

Extant iconographic and archaeological evidence indicates that spectacle may be identified in Etruscan performance, according to emically determined criteria and

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[13] Kyriakidis 2007, 9.
[14] Haynes 2000, 73; Krauskopf 2006, 70.
[15] Bradley 1998, 86-100; Inomata and Coben 2006, 21.
[16] Smith 2006, 109.

through an examination of comparanda within and outside of the Classical world.[17] As

Etruscan material culture records a preponderance of funerary evidence,[18] an

understanding of spectacle, especially associated with death and funerary activities, can

be evaluated.[19] Evidence survives regarding other types of Etruscan spectacle outside of

the world of the dead, such as in mythological contexts, although with comparably

limited evidence. The evidence for spectacle primarily focuses on stone and relief

sculpture, tomb paintings, and architecture. Not all Etruscan artistic information offers

equal value in connection with spectacle; the majority of the iconographic materials

skew towards the funerary. Associated extant architectural spaces - the locations for the

performance of spectacle - also tend towards the funerary, although religious and civic

evidence has been identified.

Etruscan Scholarship and the Nature of the Evidence

     Current scholarship explores the connection between general concepts of

spectacle, the monumental, and the archaeological record. The term 'spectacle' in the

ancient world has been frequently associated with the ancient Romans and certain types

of public entertainment events in the Republic and Empire.[20] In ancient Roman

culture, various events considered as spectacles included combat or equestrian events

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[17] Houston 2006, Houston and Taube 2000; Roman evidence provides the closest comparanda for large-scale public events as well as geographic proximity. Kyle 2007, 128, also includes the Greek Olympic Games and actually *all* Greco-Roman public sports.

[18] Haynes 2000, xviii; Holliday 1990, 73; Spivey 1997, 9.

[19] Archaeological evidence offers information on funerary cults. Jannot 2005, 51, indicates that altars and offering tables were discovered that would have hosted such offerings as libations, vegetation, and sacrificed small animals. The discussion of religious ritual in greater depth is outside the purview of this study.

[20] Beacham 1999, 2-4, 17-24; Dodge 2011, 79-86; Köhne and Ewigleben 2000, 10-12; Wiedemann 1992, 1-20;

and were used by political leaders to garner support, whether by the emperors during the Imperial period or by temporarily elected officials during the Republic.[21] They were also held in large-scale architectural spaces, such as the best-known examples, the Circus Maximus and the Flavian amphitheater in Rome; they reflect importance through scale and the organization of resources. In fact, spectacles in ancient Rome "were a public display of power, and that power was primarily military."[22]

Other types of Roman spectacle specifically indicating military prowess include triumphal processions. The use of iconography here references multi-sensory experiences, alludes to past triumphs, and sets the stage for current and future occasions by appealing to popular memory; all of which corresponds to the proposed function of various representations of Etruscan processions.[23] Further Roman tradition also indicates a connection between the spectacle and funerary activities. The first *munera* were recorded in honor of Junius Brutus Pera in 264 BC, at the occasion of his funeral by his sons. The gladiatorial events were hosted to attract attention, increase status and improve the sons' standing in the community.[24] A similar connection between death and spectacle may be observable in the Etruscan iconographic record, although the question of to what extent this represents an accident of cultural preservation or a cultural reality reflecting choices made in investing resources in death, the funeral, and the afterlife may be debated.

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[21] Kyle 1998, 8; Wiedemann 1992, 3, identifies Roman spectacles as public expressions of military power, such as *munera*, *ludi circenses*, or *venationes*, or gladiatorial games, chariot races, and animal hunts, respectively.
[22] Wiedemann 1992, 3-4.
[23] Bergman 1999, 22; Brilliant 1999; Sinos 1994, 112, also references this connection.
[24] Beacham 1999, 17-19; Wiedemann 1992, 5-6.

Two important and relevant compilations of essays have been published regarding the public aspect of performance in Etruria and elsewhere in the Classical world: *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (1999) edited by Bergmann and Kondoleon, and *Monumentality in Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture* (2012) edited by Thomas and Meyers. Both of these works include analyses of the Etruscan and the Roman archaeological record. *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* successfully demonstrates the use of ancient spectacle-based performance activities from throughout the Classical world, and especially from Hellenistic and Roman contexts. Torelli's chapter titled "Funera Tusca: Reality and Representation in Archaic Tarquinian Painting" interprets funerary wall painting iconography as symbolizing the transition of space from the physical world to the "extraterrestrial reality" of the afterlife, the underworld, and the realm of the gods and chthonic spirits.[25] Additionally, relevant scholarship from Thomas and Meyers' work focuses on Etruscan architecture and elements of monumentality, a term that is connected to the topic of spectacle through their mutual requirement of visibility.[26] The word "monumental" is modern and refers to a physical site that functions "to evoke a particular response through the viewer's memory" and one that is "grand and showy."[27] Other articles have been published which discuss the social realities connected specifically with Etruscan art, images, and topics relevant to this chapter.[28]

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[25] Torelli 1999, 157.

[26] Meyers 2012, 7.

[27] Meyers 2012, 7, 12; also, like reactions to performances, reactions to the monumental are not universal.

[28] One example is D'Agostino's 1989 "Image and Society in Archaic Etruria", which uses wall painting examples from Tarquinia and relief sculpture from Chiusi to glean cultural information. Camporeale's 2009 "The Deified Deceased in Etruscan Culture" argues that Etruscan dead was deified, referenced

Spectacles, Sportifs et Scéniques dans le Monde Étrusco-Italique (1993) covers numerous topics relevant to a discussion of spectacle in ancient Italy and Etruria, such as an analysis of material culture and the visual record as well as the epigraphic and literary evidence from early Roman and Etruscan contexts. Although sports and athletic evidence is widely discussed throughout this source, an important chapter of note here is Colonna's article "Strutture teatriformi in Etruria" on the evidence for, and the paucity thereof, the presence of specifically performance-related structures in Etruria, although most of the evidence is funerary and fragmentary in nature.

Other publications examine spectacle in the context of the wider ancient world. Kyle's *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World* (2007) includes evidence from Mesopotamia, Egypt, Etruria, and the Greek Bronze Age, although the majority of the work focuses on Greek and Roman sports and spectacles. In this book, Kyle combines the study of both sport and spectacle, although the two are not always paired. Kyle also introduces the idea that spectacles and other performances in the ancient world feature "crucial elements in the construction of identity, culture, and society."[29] Recent books examine Roman evidence as spectacle, including Köhne and Ewigleben's *Gladiators and Caesars: The Power of Spectacle in Ancient Rome* 2000, and Dodge's *Spectacle in the Roman World* (2011), although here the focus is more on investigating literary and iconographic evidence and less concerning spectacle as a conceptual approach.

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iconographically in tomb decoration and objects, as well as archaeologically and architecturally. Holliday's 1990 "Processional Imagery in Late Etruscan Funerary Art" examines examples of processional art from Etruscan contexts especially as it relates to Roman iconography and behavior.
[29] Kyle 2007, 18.

<u>Architectural Settings for Performance and Spectacle</u>

The physical context for the performance of spectacle plays a pivotal role in its understanding. The following discussion provides information regarding extant architectural performance spaces relevant to the discussion of spectacle in funerary and civic contexts. An analysis of monumental temple architecture is outside the purview of this work and is not included here.[30] Beginning in the Orientalizing Period, observable changes began to appear in the conceptualization and decoration of Etruscan architectural spaces. Large-scale funerary architecture was constructed for the first time at the site of Cerveteri in grand tumulus tombs.[31] At this time in Veii, the first known example of Etruscan wall painting was created in the Tomb of the Ducks (B001), dating to c. 675-650 BC.[32] In this example, five ducks, each distinctive in their combination of color and shape, stand in a row on the wall of the tomb. The depictions of the duck, a frequent motif in Etruscan art for symbolizing the transition between life and death, demonstrate early interest in the manipulation and modification of funerary space for the elite.[33] Monumental architecture was also utilized for the purposes of hosting important events within and creating a backdrop for events without.

Evidence survives regarding architecture specifically constructed to accommodate spectacle. Bergman references the importance of the built environment in connection with spectacle by asserting that "the most powerful instrument for commanding mass attention was the architecture that was built specifically for

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[30] For information on the Etruscan temple and monumental characteristics, see Warden 2012.
[31] Haynes 2000, 71.
[32] Boëthius 1978, 32; Haynes 2000, 88-89.
[33] Skalsky 1997, 122-124.

spectacles. These structures facilitated the coincidence of sound and image and thereby created a separate, mimetic world that could 'transform the nature of *attention*'"[34]

Architectural settings had an important and active role in performance activities. Architecture does not act simply as a passive force with regards to ritual activities; instead, the architectural environment "magnified and elevated them and it could also interact with them and engender the construction of ceremonial."[35] The physical context of performance could affect how the audience perceived the events, the number of spectators allowed access, and therefore how widely the message could reach, and to what extent interaction was possible between spectator and performer.[36] A relationship may also be observed between spectacle and conceptions of the monumental. While the concept of spectacle refers to the public communication of power through multimedia and remarkable performances, monumental sites also represent a physical manifestation of power. Monumental construction or otherwise modified spaces imply a stratified class system in society, as well as sufficient organization and resources needed for large-scale architectural design. More so, "monumental architecture makes power visible and hence becomes power rather than merely a symbol of it."[37] Additionally, examples of monumental architectural design would have contained unnecessary elements; they would be superfluous either in decoration, size, or quality

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[34] Bergman 1999, 23; Schechner 2003, 179, writes that the theatrical buildings in particular are "maps of the cultures where they exist. That is, theater is analogical not only in the literary sense…but also in the architectonic sense."

[35] Wescoat and Ousterhout 2012, xxiii.

[36] Bergmann 1999, 23.

[37] Trigger 1990, 122.

of construction.[38] Although there are monumental examples from early Rome and Etruria surviving, there is no "single type of building [that] epitomizes the earliest monumental experience in ancient Italy.[39]

Much of the extant architectural evidence functions as the context of funerary activities. In the Etruscan necropoleis of Tarquinia, for example, theatrical structures may be identified that are constructed of permanent materials and were erected during the Orientalizing Period, consisting of staircases and unroofed *dromoi*.[40] Given their context and form, they apparently were used in conjunction with funerary celebrations and the related athletic competitions in honor of the deceased. Although many of the tumulus tombs utilized a *dromos* that was only opened at the time of the burial of the deceased and subsequent family members, others were left open acting as permanent, although infrequently used, performance spaces.[41] These types of architectural structures, though rare, have been identified at funerary sites such as Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Grotta Porcina, San Giuliano, and Vulci that would have allowed for the congregation of larger groups of individuals for performance activities.[42]

Several other examples of theatrical spaces also date to the Orientalizing Period in Tarquinia. In an example of a Tarquinian tomb dug in 1825 (G004), whose contents are now lost, the interior chamber included an open space that was about five meters

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[38] Myers 2012, 4, 11, indicates that this is due to size and to the investment in materials that would prove to be durable; Trigger 1990, 120. Here, Trigger also mentions that monumental architecture is more likely to survive in the archaeological record.

[39] Meyers 2012, 2.

[40] Sannibale 2004, 86. Colonna 1993, uses the term "teatriformi" to refer to spaces that offered visual and design clues towards its function, at sites such as Tarquinia, Vulci, Grotta Porcina, Cerveteri, and Arezzo, not to refer to spaces that resemble Greek theaters and hosted associated events.

[41] Colonna 1993, 323.

[42] Camporeale 2009, 229; Colonna 1993.

wide with two steps on three of the interior sides. Colonna interprets this space as the site of some sort of display or visual activity that could accommodate spectators and spectacle.[43] In the Tomba dell'Infernaccio, also from 7th century Tarquinia, the dromos has been cut into the rock and divided into two parts. The first is a front staircase that occupies the full width of the room (G003), and the second is the rear floor which would have functioned as the performance space (G002), perhaps for dance, athletic, and/or mourning activities.[44] Next to the central staircase are three sets of steps which would offer multiple perspectives for approximately 150 spectators observing the events on the rear floor. Here, the family and other aristocratic members of society would be able to assemble before the door to the tomb, which was an act that made the doorway an important focal point. Possible performances held here could include sports or other games, dance, or music playing; indeed a chariot was found buried in this space, offering an archaeological connection between sport, funerary ritual, and architecture.[45]

After the 7th century, there is a lack of evidence at Tarquinia for tombs with a stepped dromos, but a similar type of tomb with steps in front of the burial chamber survives in Vulci. At the Cuccumella tomb (G101) there are at least two graves with a vestibule dug into the local tufa, in which stairs were provided and made accessible by a long dromos.[46] The vestibule is bordered by three steps on the long sides and by seven on the entrance side, which could have served as a kind of grandstand. This monument

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[43] Colonna 1993, 323-324, fig. 1a.
[44] Colonna 1993, 325, fig. 2, tav. I; the dromos of this tumulus is 7-7.5 meters wide and 8.5 meters long.
[45] Colonna 1993, 325.
[46] Colonna 1993, 328-330; tav. II, fig. 3.

is unique at Vulci, but demonstrates characteristics observed in Tarquinia, and Colonna proposes that it may have been designed by Tarquinian craftsmen. In a similar fashion at the tumulus of Torlonia (G302), at the site of Cerveteri, in the vestibule open before the door of the tomb, there are also steps, although the lateral steps have not been included.[47]

Additional evidence for theatrical spaces comes from several other sites, not all from necropoleis. In the first half of the 6th century BC at the site of Grotta Porcina (G102), there is architectural evidence comparable to Tarquinia in the 7th century BC in the form of a rock structure with a stepped circular base on the interior and steps carved on the periphery, seemingly with a religious purpose; Colonna suggests that this was the site of a funerary cult.[48] Two other sites demonstrate non-funerary evidence. One is a stone theater located in the sanctuary at Castelsecco at Arezzo (G501) against the wall of the temenos, although it is much later, dating to the mid second century BC.[49] Another important discovery of a performance space was made at Cerveteri (G201), dated to the early part of the 5th century BC, which was originally wooden in construction. The site, with an orchestra and a continuous row of steps, would provide appropriate space for ritual, sport, and other performance activities, as well as room for spectators.[50]

Not only are there identifiable theatrical spaces in Etruscan funerary sites, albeit relatively few survive, the monumental nature of the funerary sites communicates

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[47] Colonna 1993, 339-342; fig. 8, tav.VI.
[48] Colonna 1993, 333-334, tav. III, Iv, fig. 4.
[49] Colonna 1993, 343, fig. 9.
[50] Colonna 1993, 347, fig. 10.

messages that are complementary to the spectacle.[51] The actions of the performers take place in an appropriately monumental setting. The *dromos* controls the flow of people into the performance space, such as in the Cuccumella tomb (G101) and the steps organize the audience and allow for additional people to view performances outside the burial chambers. Trigger indicates that "the ability to expend energy, especially in the form of other people's labour, in non-utilitarian ways is the most basic and universally understood symbol of power."[52] Monumental funerary structures, such as the large-scale tumuli at Cerveteri, and elaborate decoration of architectural spaces, such as the painted tombs of Tarquinia, Chiusi, Veii, and Orvieto, and the relief decorations inside Cerveteri's tombs, for example, indicate the presence of stratified societies and of the power and abilities of an individual or a group to control resources towards such an end.[53] The size, construction methods, and elaborate decorations are, in other words, unnecessary for the actual logistical functions of the space, which would be to serve as the repository of the cremated and/or inhumed remains of the deceased.[54] Instead, resources are used, such as labor and materials, towards creating sites that elicited a sense of awe, were memorable and served as a means to indicate exclusivity. Parts of the necropoleis, such as the interior of the tomb, would have been accessible to only select members of society, while the site itself and its monumental architecture on the exterior would have been visible from a distance.

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[51] See fn. 28 above.
[52] Trigger 1990, 125.
[53] Meyers 2012, 2.
[54] The Etruscans were not consistent with their manner of the disposal of the deceased's body geographically or temporally. Haynes 2000, 71-74, 99-100, 106-108.

The tumulus tombs at Cerveteri (G005) were constructed around the mid-7th century, during the Orientalizing Period, and consisted of monumental tumuli and interior chambers carved from the tufa bedrock.[55] The access to the interiors of the tombs would have been limited to a select group of individuals, not only based on familial relationships, but also because of size constraints. The space in the tombs would not have been able to accommodate large groups of visitors, which means that interior tomb decorations would have been experienced only by a select, privileged few and only on specific occasions, as the tombs would have been sealed unless on the occasion of a burial or possibility for ritual activities taking place inside the tomb.

As outlined above, few specifically identifiable physical performance spaces are extant. Evidence has been discovered at sites such as Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Grotta Porcina, San Giuliano, and Vulci through the identification of steps that may be used either as stairs, as seating, or as a means to create tiered viewing spaces, or all of the these things. In fact, steps are a feature that may correspond with performance; they were used in architectural construction in ancient Greece for the purpose of procession and performance, offering comparanda for the use of Etruscan stepped spaces.[56] Large-scale Etruscan architectural construction, especially in the form of tombs, offers the majority of the extant architectural evidence for important performances. The rarity of textual and archaeological evidence regarding these types of performances and the lack of architectural spaces identified specifically as processional spaces in Etruria, makes

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[55] Tuck 2012, 49-50.
[56] Hollinshead 2012, 30-32, 46.

the examination of iconographic evidence critical for understanding this type of spectacle.

Iconographic depictions of architectonic features, through rare, are manifested in Etruscan funerary art, especially the image of the doorway.[57] Closed and open doorways are depicted in Tarquinian Etruscan wall painting and in Chiusine sculpture, primarily from the 6th-2nd century BC, although the nature of the iconography changes after the 4th century BC.[58] The depiction of the doorway has several proposed meanings in Etruscan iconography and these meanings depend on chronological considerations. Iconographic doorways before the 4th century BC were depicted as a post and lintel construction and were closed, while those that appeared in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC were arched and generally open. There are several interpretations for the function of pre-4th century doors; the door may act as the entrance to the underworld or afterlife, it may be the door to the tomb itself as viewed from outside, a doorway to a future tomb chamber – indicating future expansion – or the door may act as a proxy for the deceased himself.[59] It is likely that there is not only one correct interpretation, but instead an ambiguity of meaning was intended and multiple interpretations were implied in these liminal depictions; the doorway, acting as a physical manifestation of the boundary lines between life and death, served to mark the threshold to the interior of the tomb, which was the only part of the chthonic experience that the living could still access.

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[57] Davies 1978, 203, 206; the door motif was found elsewhere in the ancient Mediterranean, such as in Rome, Hellenistic Alexandria, and in Greece.
[58] Thaniel 1976, 38.
[59] Camporeale 2009, 229; Jannot 2005, 56; Scheffer 1994, 196, 204, 206, fn. 1.

Early depictions of Etruscan doorways do not include associated figural

decoration, but rather highlight the door itself. The first example of the doorway is in

the Tomb of the Hut from Tarquinia, c. 575-550 BC (B110), in which a central post and

lintel doorway is illustrated on the center of the rear wall.[60] Two other examples also

feature doorways as the main decoration, such as the Tomb of the Jade Lions, c. 530-

520 BC (B112) and the Tomb of the Mouse, c. 520 (B115), both of which include

horizontal bands around the upper wall of the tomb. Beginning in 520 BC, human

figures begin to occupy the space around the doorways and to even interact with it.

Three 6th century tombs include this type of decoration: The Tomb of the Augurs, c.

520 BC (B101), The Tomb of the Olympic Games, c. 510 BC (B116), and the

Cardarelli Tomb, c. 510-500 BC (B106). The Tomb of the Augurs features two males

facing the closed doorway with a gesture of greeting and farewell, as if the deceased

has already walked through the doorway; dancing revelers flank the doorway in the

Tomb of the Olympic Games.[61] The Cardarelli Tomb's doorway features musicians on

either side of the doorway, with a kithara player on the left and an aulos player on the

right.[62]

This same type of decoration continues into the 5th century BC with three

additional tombs, the Tomb of the Biclinium, 450-425 BC (B201), the Tomb of the

Kithara Player, 490-480 BC (B209), and the Tomb of the Skull, c. 480 BC (B219). The

Tomb of the Biclinium includes a rear doorway along with two servants preparing for

the banquet, which is occurring on the other walls, as well as a *thymiatarion* on the left

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[60] Steingräber 1985, 304.
[61] Steingräber 1985, 336-337; 291.
[62] Morelli 1970, 93-102.

and ceramic or metallic vessels, such as an oinochoe, on the far right.[63] In the Tomb of the Skull, the wall painting is badly faded, but enough remains to distinguish a kithara player to the right and an aulos player to the left of the door.[64] The Tomb of the Kithara Player is unique in that it depicts two doorways on the rear wall, side by side, and female dancers are positioned to the left and right of the pair.[65]

Several examples of tomb decoration feature false doors on more than one wall. The Tomb of the Inscriptions at Tarquinia, dating c. 520 BC (B111) depicts post and lintel doorways on three walls, the rear, right and left, while the Tomb of the Whipping, Tarquinia, c. 490 BC (B221), also features doorways on the same three walls.[66] The Tomb of the Charuns, c. 375-350 BC (B404) features unique representations of doorways in Etruscan tombs. Two relief doorways, one each on the rear and right walls, are created with paint and plaster, and are each flanked by the chthonic Charun figures.[67]

The depiction of the doorway changes in wall painting after the 4th century BC. Two tombs feature the doorway, now in an arched form, as part of the journey to the underworld in Tarquinian wall painting. Tomb 5636, dating 250-200 BC (B407), includes iconography with Charun, who sits next to the arched doorway on the far left, as the deceased individual and Vanth make their journey to the underworld.[68] Querciola

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[63] Steingräber 1985, 296; the tomb is lost and the only evidence are drawings, the details of which are unclear in parts.
[64] Steingräber 1985, 354.
[65] Steingräber 1985, 309; Thuillier 1985, 127-128.
[66] Moretti 1970, 169-173; Steingräber 1985, 322-323, no. 74; Steingräber 2006, 102.
[67] Moretti 1970, 299-305, Steiner 2003, 321, Steingräber 1985, 308, Steingräber 2006, 258; for more on Charun, the chthonic guide assisting the deceased on the journey to the afterlife, see de Grummond 2006, 213-220; Hoffman 2984, 65-68; Krauskopf 1985b, 66-67; Pfiffig 1975, 332-334.
[68] Steingräber 1985, 379; Steingräber 2006, 262.

Tomb II, 250-200 BC (B406), also has a similar composition, except in this case, a

second Charun figure guides the deceased to the door instead of Vanth.[69]

Doorways are also featured in post 4th century BC Etruscan funerary relief art.[70]

The doorway has been removed from identifiable funerary events that would occur at

the tomb, such as the banquet, athletic events, or general revelry. The new context

places the doorway along part or at the end of the journey of the deceased to the

underworld, as previously mentioned with Tomb 5636 (B407) and Querciola Tomb II

(B406). The chthonic characters, Vanth and Charun, are frequently present and assist

with the journey to the afterlife. The doorway appears in several types of journey-based

images, some of which feature the deceased arriving at the underworld, with ancestors

waiting to greet him. Doorways may also only feature Vanth or Charun, emphasizing

their liminal roles as assisting with the passage of death.

Monumental, non-funerary architectural evidence at Murlo and Acquarossa

offer clues towards the setting of spectacle, both of which "made use of durability,

visibility, and commemoration in a way that redefined the experience of architecture at

the time."[71] Archaeological evidence at Murlo from the 6th century (G103) has been

associated with politico-religious functions, or interpreted as either a residence for a

political leader or aristocratic families or the site of the administration of a Northern

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[69] Steingräber 1985, 347-348; Steingräber 2006, 261.
[70] Although a discussion of the entire corpus of relief doorways is beyond the scope of this work, a catalog is provided by Scheffer 1994, 204-206; Vanth is also an assistant guiding the deceased to the underworld; for more information on her role, see Krauskopf 1985a, 315-316; Paschinger 1992, 13-16; Pfiffig 1975, 327-330; Spinola 1987, 61-62; Swaddling 1986, 453-455.
[71] Meyers 2012, 14. For a definition of monumental, see fn. 27 above.

League of Etruscan cities.[72] Murlo was occupied beginning in the Orientalizing Period,

during which time three structures at the site were damaged by fire. At the beginning of

the 6th century, construction was carried out at the same site resulting in the "Archaic

building complex." The site served, at least in part, as a political center and during its

short lifetime archaeological evidence at the site, in the form of pottery, indicates that a

large-scale banquet occurred here.[73] The complex was consequently destroyed in what

seems to be a permanent ritual destruction around 525-500 BC.[74] After its destruction,

the complex was dismantled and buried and the site was never again reoccupied. Both

the Orientalizing Period buildings and the Archaic complex were decorated with

architectonic adornment.

The Archaic building at Murlo was roughly square in its design, with each side

of the building measuring approximately 60 meters in length on each side, with a

central courtyard, and was decorated with terracotta relief plaques. The plaques have

four different decorative motifs, namely a banquet, a procession, a chariot race, and an

assembly of seated individuals.[75] Rathje has indicated that the iconography was chosen

"to reflect the ideology of an elite in a certain Etruscan society under certain

circumstances of time and place."[76] Whether this was the residence of an aristocratic

family or served as a gathering place for community functions, the large scale of the

building, extensive decoration, and the choice in iconography communicated its

importance. Furthermore, the significance of the site was highlighted by the purposeful

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[72] Edlund-Berry 1994, discusses the purposeful demolition of the Archaic building at Murlo in its historical context. Haynes 2000, 114; Phillips 1993, 83.
[73] Haynes 2000, 124.
[74] Edlund-Berry 1994, 16, 26; Haynes 2000, 114-115.
[75] Gantz 1974, 1. Each side of the building was approximately 60 meters in length.
[76] Rathje 1994, 95.

destruction of the Archaic structure and abandonment of the site for all future Etruscan periods.[77] Cristofani was the first to propose that these images were intended to display power and wealth of the ruling class.[78] Edlund-Berry indicates that "the elaborate display of wealth in the decoration and small finds and the grandiose size of the building are features which might suggest a residence of a ruling aristocratic family," but also one that had a public function.[79]

Another example of monumental architecture outside a funerary setting was the large building from Acquarossa's Zone F.[80] This structure also had elaborate decoration, was constructed of stone in its foundations and with tile for the roofs, had a central courtyard, and at least two wings of rooms. The reality of the architecture combined with the "scale, richness and iconography" in the decoration offered a backdrop for spectacle at each site.[81] Another related example of a large-scale banqueting location, which has been used as comparanda for the Etruscan evidence, has been found at the site of the Latin city of Ficana in Latium. Ficana, a habitation site, produced a banquet service from the foundations of a monumental structure dating to the 7th century BC in a trash pit.[82] The drinking and banqueting vessels would have served more than 30 people. Rathje draws comparisons between Ficana and the Etruscan complexes at Murlo and Acquarossa and suggests that in Central Italy

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[77] Edlund-Berry 1994.16-17; here, the author describes the destruction as the purposeful destruction of the building, a mound constructed over the site that once featured the building, and the purposeful reburial of the architectural decoration from the building in a separate but nearby area.
[78] Cristofani 1975, 12.
[79] Edlund-Berry 1994, 16.
[80] Meyers 2012, 2.
[81] Meyers 2012, 5.
[82] Rathje 1983, 9, 12, 18.

banqueting on a large-scale conveyed information about elite and powerful groups in Etruria and neighboring lands.[83]

Although the majority of the aforementioned architectural evidence is funerary, other examples communicate prevailing social and political conditions and offer a means for the reinforcement of social values or the mitigation of possibly dangerous situations. Authority is referenced throughout these examples, whether it is the authority of an individual family or the ruling class. The following discussion investigates the iconographic, archaeological, and architectural evidence from the 7th-2nd centuries BC throughout Etruria that assists in understanding an otherwise hidden aspect of life in ancient Etruria and reflects cultural realities. Examples of spectacle in the Etruscan archaeological record include the prothesis, banqueting, and associated events, and were found in architectural terracotta relief sculpture, painted pottery, funerary wall paintings, and relief sculpture for information regarding the participants and occasions of Etruscan spectacle. Tomb paintings offer the best examples of large-scale art in Etruria and, as such, they provide the clearest evidence for a monumental context commemorating spectacle. It was through the inclusion of these motifs that communities and aristocratic groups were visually reaffirmed, such as important families or a number of leaders in the community. Although individuals are frequently the visual focus, the importance of the message rests within the larger community and the composition in its entirety and its context.

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[83] Rathje 1983, 26.

The Prothesis and Related Funerary Behavior

The most frequently observed context for the performance of spectacle was on the occasion of death. One type of identifiable event with intrinsic connections to death and the grave is the prothesis. The prothesis, or the laying out of the body for burial, has limited iconographic use in Etruscan culture,[84] but examples do indicate the public elements of this activity and its use in emphasizing the individual in context of family and community.[85] Etruscan examples of the prothesis are primarily depicted in Chiusine funerary relief sculpture, although it is is also indicated in two instances in Tarquinian wall painting and twice in Etruscan vase painting by the Micali Painter. In scenes of the Etruscan prothesis, the dead is depicted as laid out on a bed, a kline, similar to what is shown in Etruscan banqueting iconography. In Etruscan examples, either male or female mourners or attendants - or both - may be depicted alongside the body of the deceased, as well as adults and children, who are differentiated by size.[86] Etruscan gestures of mourning may be identified by arms raised to or above the male or female mourners' heads or fists held against their chests.[87] The gestures described above are present in scenes with the prothesis, as well as in associated funerary scenes in Chiusine relief that do not necessarily include an image of the deceased, but are still

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[84] Prothesis is a Greek word and iconographic depictions appear more frequently in the Greek world. See Boardman 1955, 54-55; Garland 1985, 23-31; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 58-61; Shapiro 1991.

[85] The Greek term prothesis is used here, as in other Etruscan scholarship, such as Jannot 1984, Jannot 2005, 45-46, Steingräber 1985. The Etruscan iconographic examples correspond with the Greek ones in that the deceased's body is displayed on a kline, in the presence of mourners; however, not all agree with the use of this term in an Etruscan context, see Taylor 2011, 50, n. 2.

[86] Taylor 2011, 39; this differs from the Greek practice of only women and children standing near the deceased. Boardman 1955, 56.

[87] Garland 1985, 29, discusses Greek examples of mourning gestures. On Geometric vase decoration, females held both hands to the head to tear the hair, while black- and red-figure examples depict more restrained gestures.

to be understood as funerary in nature.[88] Particularly Etruscan features of the prothesis

are the inclusion of a musician playing an aulos and the "close embrace of the dead

body" by the mourners.[89]

Funerary relief iconography found at Chiusi is featured on different types of

objects pertaining to the grave, specifically bases, urns, and the relatively rare Chiusine

sarcophagi. The corpus of funerary reliefs from Chiusi provides primary evidence for

the conceptualization of the prothesis in Etruria, which is the only type of iconography

in the Etruscan world in which the supine body of the deceased may definitively be

identified as such.[90] Processions of mourners are illustrated as venturing to the

prothesis.[91] More frequently depicted types of iconographic imagery related to death,

the funeral, and the afterlife include individuals that have been *interpreted* as the

deceased. Banqueting, and other festivities may feature an individual who is

distinguished through the context of his actions, such as being the focal point of the

scene or by others' refusal to touch him. Additional aspects of the funeral in which the

dead body would physically appear, such as the transportation, burial, the cremation of

the body, or the associated funerary pyre, as Jannot observes, are never depicted in

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[88] Jannot 2005, 46; Taylor 2012, 41-49, indicates the occasions for mourning iconography in Etruria: in monumental sculpture, figurines, and relief sculpture.

[89] Boardman 1955, 57; Jannot 2005, 45, imagines the music here "to be strident and violent", but of course this is pure speculation.

[90] Shapiro 2000, 333-336; In Shapiro's discussion of kantharoi from the Perizoma Group, three examples of kantharoi featuring the *ekphora* are examined. Shapiro concludes that this Greek-made pottery was chosen for export to Etruria, not especially because of the *ekphora* iconography, but because this was an example of Athenian funerary tradition that included armed dancers and music, which would have appealed to an Etruscan clientele (336).

[91] In Etruscan art, like in Greek culture, according to Garland 1985, 31, the *ekphora*, or the transport of the dead to the site of final deposit, was not of especial interest. Instead, Etruscan iconography after the 4th century BC indicates the transportation of the deceased in a cart, on a horse, or on a boat, occurs instead in the afterlife as part of the journey of the deceased to the underworld.

Etruscan art.[92] Although Jannot indicates that the reason for this is to keep the disposal

of the body a secret, it seems more likely that this was, instead, related to artistic

convention and the disinterest in depicting these aspects of the funeral in visual

decoration.

Why, then, is the prothesis depicted in Etruria, albeit relatively infrequently?

As mentioned earlier, Etruscan art is relatively regional in nature; types of media and

decoration are normally based on site or region and the decision for its inclusion may

have been made by Chiusine artists, while not generally of interest elsewhere.[93]

Despite regional interest, the messages that the prothesis communicates are consistent

with other examples of spectacle and therefore offer evidence towards the

communication of these types of messages. The very occasion of the prothesis in

Etruria is public in nature, and, as such, may be connected with spectacle;[94] the body is,

in fact, intended to be seen in an event that involves viewership and the reinforcement

of familial roles during a liminal, transformative occasion. The iconographic

representation of this event makes both spectators and performers out of those visiting

the deceased and those tending to the body. They are observing and reacting to death

and the body at the same time, as well as communicating their own cultural messages

by means of performance. The prothesis is the only example of Etruscan art in which

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[92] Jannot 2005, 46.

[93] Camporeale 2009, 229; the author raises the possibility for a cult of the dead commemorated by the monumental tombs and elaborate decoration.

[94] Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 143-144; here, the author indicates that Greek examples of the prothesis were held in the home and characterized this event as private, occurring only for friends and family and "turn[ing] a potentially public ceremony into a private one." Although not occurring in a public place, that the Greek prothesis was open to more than just the family and that part of the function of the event was to perform the traditional lament, seems that there were, in fact, public aspects. That the Etruscan prothesis occurred in a tent outside the home and drew crowds comprised of a variety of participants, seems to indicate the public nature also of the Etruscan prothesis.

the deceased is illustrated and it is not prevalent throughout Etruria. Therefore, it

seems that cultural conventions regarding the depiction of funerary events preferred the

focus to be on the banquet, and related entertainment and games, prior to the 4th

century. After the 4th century the iconographic focus turned to the journey to the

underworld.

In most depictions, the prothesis appears in an architecturally ambiguous

context and specific geographic locations are never referenced. When setting is

iconographically indicated, it is most frequently in the form of festoons at the top of the

scene, above the participants' heads, indicating that the action is occurring in a tent or

other temporary structure.[95] In fact, when architecture is referenced in Etruscan

funerary iconography, in general, it usually is in the form of a temporarily constructed

tent, such as in the Tomb of the Hunter, 510-500 BC in Tarquinia.[96]

In one exceptional example, the relief decoration on a cippus from Chiusi

(E026), the prothesis is depicted alongside a permanent architectural enclosure,

complete with a gabled roof and columns.[97] Boardman identifies this as the façade of

the house of the deceased.[98] Here, the deceased reclines on a kline, with the head to the

viewer's right, and is surrounded by four figures: two females stand behind the kline

with their hands raised in gestures of mourning; one male stands by the deceased's head

at the far right with his right hand pressed to his head and the left hand holding the

nearby column; the male standing on the left is an aulos player, identified as such by

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[95] Krauskopf 2006, 75; in this way the iconographic examples provide evidence towards an architectural type that does not remain in the archaeological record.
[96] Steingräber 1985, 303, n. 51.
[97] Jannot 1984, 142-3.
[98] Boardman 1955, 57.

the *phorbeia*, despite the fragmentary nature of the relief.[99] The motifs present on the other sides of this cippus include the banquet, a procession of mourners, and an ambiguous scene, possibly one of a horserace or *desultores*.

It seems possible that the prothesis could be held in front of the house of the deceased, but evidence indicates that it more likely took place at the tomb, in a temporary tent constructed for the occasion.[100] In fact, additional iconographic evidence indicates that funerary activities would have occurred in the tent-like structure at the burial site, as the tomb itself seemed to function as the center of ritual activity, given archaeological banqueting evidence, the monumental nature of the setting, and the presence of appropriate tomb decoration.[101] Other motifs present throughout the Chiusine prothesis sculpture include banquets, music, bigas, riders, processions, matrimonial preparations, and religious ritual.

In the cippus from Chiusi described above, the witnesses are sharing a similar experience, understood to be marked by sorrow and mourning, as evidenced through appropriate gestures and their interactions with each other in expressing their grief.[102] Death and the funerary activities are examples of significant events in a community. It is at these times that the most meaningful elements of society are included in the participants' performance. The gathering of individuals makes the kline and the deceased the focal point not only through gesture, but also through the focus of their attention. Compositionally, the kline is centrally located, as well as the largest element

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[99] Jannot 1984, 143; the *phorbeia* is the leather strap worn on the head by an aulos player.
[100] Krauskopf 2006, 75.
[101] Pieraccini 2000, 41-42.
[102] Garland 1985, 31; Garland indicates possible purpose of the Prothesis in the Greek world was to satisfy the deceased, still present, acting as an important observer to the proceedings.

throughout the iconographic composition, further highlighting its importance.[103] Not

only is this type of activity a rare and public event, one that does not occur every day,

but it provides audial experience for the participants. Here, spectacle is not only

visually represented, but is also highlighted through the use of music and presumably

the related lamenting sounds of the mourners. Touch and movement are important;

women physically interact with the body of the dead and many are performing by using

mourning gestures. The combination of various sensory stimuli are indicated here,

corresponding with the identifying attributes of a spectacle.

Other examples of Etruscan relief sculpture depict related forms of the prothesis

in a temporary, tent-like setting. In two examples, a relief base from Florence (E105),

and a relief base from Copenhagen (E201) a sequence of half circles is featured above

the scene of the kline and the mourners, which Jannot has interpreted as the festoons

from a tent.[104] On the Florence base, three individuals stand around the centrally

located kline. A male stands at the end of the bed, arms raised to his head in a gesture

of mourning. A female is located behind the bed, leaning toward the deceased's head,

while another female is to the viewer's right of the kline.[105] A second side of the base

depicts a procession of one woman and three men, each with individual gestures of

mourning. On the base from Copenhagen mourners are depicted at the foot of the kline

and on the viewer's left is an aulos player. A female and a child stand in the

foreground, while two males, arms upraised in mourning, stand behind the bed and a

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[103] Boardman 1994, 122-123; the kline is found in Greek iconographic contexts, which was, in turn, influenced from Eastern reclining traditions. It also was a large piece of furniture and could serve as a status symbol as well.

[104] Jannot 1984, 27-28. "En haut une toile carguée en feston semble indiquer que la scène se passe en plein air, sous une tente ou un pavillion provisoire."

[105] Jannot 1984, 27-28.

female stands on the far right, next to the head of the deceased, clawing at her cheeks.[106] On another side four men are depicted in a processional scene; the first man on the left uses a staff, the second one carries the *lituus*, and the final two each carry a rod.[107] The third side depicts a procession of five women with their arms raised in gestures of mourning.

Elsewhere in depictions of the prothesis, architectonic elements are absent. An ash urn from Chiusi (E106) and a relief base from Rome's Barracco Museum (E202) features the prothesis on one side without specific architectural clues indicating setting or location. In each of these examples, the head of the deceased on the kline is at the viewer's right and an aulos player stands at the foot of the kline. Mourners are also present and, in the case of the ash urn from Chiusi, two children are identified as seated in the foreground.[108] Another side of the base from Rome includes four mourning females processing towards the right, while the fourth side depicts one man at left with a walking stick and the other three men carrying rods. A child is also featured in the depiction of the prothesis on a base in Munich (E141), accompanied by four mourning women.

A unique example of the prothesis can be found on a circular decorated base (E023), which provides additional information through its unique rounded form and continuous iconography. Possible interpretations of this piece include it functioning as

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[106] Jannot 1984, 81-2.
[107] The *lituus* is the curved staff carried by the Etruscan priests as a symbol of their office; de Grummond 2006b, 36.
[108] Jannot 1984, 29, 91.

a base of a column or the support of a monument.[109] A much larger scene of a prothesis

is included on this base, with 17 individuals moving towards the central kline, including

children and male and female figures with their arms held in gestures of mourning. On

this example, the two types of decorative motifs, seen separated in previous examples,

the prothesis and the arriving mourners, have been joined together in one continuous

iconographic depiction, illustrating their intrinsic connection. Also on this base is a

depiction of a sacrificial scene and a large gathering processing to a central altar. This

is the only instance where iconography depicting the prothesis is juxtaposed with

overtly religious ritual.

Other relief sculptures depicting the prothesis includes men and women making

gestures of mourning, such as a fragmented example from Palermo (E136). Here, two

men to the left of the kline hold their hands above their head while facing the bed and

two females to the right carry their fists in front of their chests. Other examples of

Chiusine relief sculpture feature similar iconography pertaining to the lying in state of

the deceased, along with relevant decorative motifs for the other decorated sides of the

urn, cippus, or sarcophagus. Men on horseback are depicted on the two short sides of an

urn in Palermo (E134) while pairs of armed men fighting are depicted on the two short

sides of an urn in the British Museum (E135), and a man in a biga on one of the long

sides. Another urn (E130) also includes armed men on one of the short sides and a

banqueting male and female couple on another, with an *aulete* nearby.[110]

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[109] Jannot 1984, 151.
[110] Jannot 1984, 15-17, 32-33.

Extensive iconographic depictions are featured on two bases in the British
Museum. In the first example (E025), the prothesis is featured on one side with four
female mourners in attendance. A second face of the base depicts a series of four
mourners, while a third includes three dancers and an aulos player. The last side of this
object depicts a banqueting couple on a kline, accompanied by an aulos player and a
servant. The second example (E207) includes banqueters on two of the four sides of the
base, each with two klinai and two banqueters per bed. The prothesis is included with
two men on the left and three women, two of which carry branches. The fourth side of
the base depicts a procession of five men, three of which carry rods while moving to the
right.[111]

A few reliefs preserve only the prothesis itself, such as on an example in
Munich (E137), in Palermo (E138) and in Arezzo (E139), on which only the kline and
four women from the waist down have been preserved. A decorated panel with the
prothesis is fully preserved in a fourth example (E107), which includes six mourners.
A base in Paris (E108) features two women standing by the head of the deceased,
carrying alabastrons, a woman at the foot of the kline carries a fan, and a fourth female
to the left holds her hands in fists by her head in a gesture of mourning.[112]

The prothesis appears in the Etruscan iconographic record grouped with other
funerary motifs that are pervasive throughout various artistic Etruscan media and
locations. The argument that the Chiusine reliefs depict spectacle is also proven through
other iconographic choices, such as the inclusion of processional, banqueting, and

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[111] Jannot 1984, 144-146, 162-164.
[112] Jannot 1984, 47, 77-78, 92-93, 97-99.

sporting motifs. D'Agostino, in his article "Image and Society in Archaic Etruria"

(1989), interprets the choice of motifs specifically in Chiusine funerary iconography as

gender-based in nature. He identifies particular types of iconography as associated

specifically with the female, such as the prothesis,[113] and others connected with males,

such as military combat and the *symposion*.[114] Upon closer examination, there does not

seem to be a strict gender-based dichotomy in the Etruscan choices in iconographic

inclusion, especially when considering the complete message of each side of the entire

funerary monument. The prothesis may appear in conjunction with other types of

iconography, including figures on horseback and in battle, banqueting, processions, and

with dancers and musicians, thus providing doubt for the identification of diametrically

different gender based "cycles", which seem to be based on Greek attitudes and

practices.[115] Instead of serving to identify the gender of the deceased, it seems more

likely that gender differentiation in iconography is based on the context of those

individual motifs, which may be combined in multiple ways.

One convincing observation that D'Agostino makes in his article concerns the

relationship between medium and meaning; he writes that the depictions in Tarquinian

wall paintings have a relationship to the Etruscan family and the entire household, as

seen through the likelihood of the inclusion of more than one inhumation and/or

cremation in the tomb, and is also characterized by a large-scale, immobile nature;

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[113] Which is, as noted in Shapiro 1991, associated traditionally with females in the Greek world, as they cleaned and prepared the body after death for burial.

[114] D'Agostino 1989, 3; also, Murray 1991.

[115] D'Agostino's observation of a dichotomy in the Chiusine reliefs does not correspond to the evidence, especially considering the combination of motifs. Furthermore, D'Agostino indicates (4) that the female cycle borrows the images from the male cycle, further adulterating this diametric comparison between male and female.

conversely, funerary bases, cinerary urns, sarcophagi, and cippi would more likely be connected with a single individual, given their size and function and their portable nature.[116] As the gender of the associated individual cannot be established based on iconographic choices, it is important to investigate the other types of social and cultural information present in this medium.

The importance of the death of the individual is commemorated in the Chiusine reliefs, which may have featured depictions of the male or female deceased. The images chosen by the artist communicate values during a rare, critical and transformative moment in the history of an important family, occurring on a large scale. The medium itself and artistic conventions may restrict the representation of setting or the depiction of crowds of participants, which would indicate a grand scale and prove that a spectacle is indeed occurring.[117] An ancient viewer presumably would understand that iconography connected with the prothesis references the public act of recognizing and lamenting the deceased. The deceased himself does not possess identifiable, distinguishing attributes, with the exception of clothing possibly indicating gender; instead, the individual is generalized. Not only is the individual in this image relevant at the time and place of creation, but also is generalized enough to be applied to subsequent instances of death. The prothesis is an example of spectacle in Etruria, and it is the actions of the mourners and family that communicate the importance of the deceased. Etruscans especially emphasized the multi-sensory nature of the event,

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[116] D'Agostino 1989, 5.
[117] Bergmann 1999, 16.

though the inclusion of music, wailing, touch, and mourning gestures, in addition to the visual components represented in an abbreviated fashion in Etruscan art.

The Chiusine reliefs have an iconographic repertoire that overlaps with Etruscan wall painting in only two iconographic references to the prothesis at Tarquinia, which occur in the Tomb of the Dead Man and the Tomb of the Funeral Bed. The Tomb of the Dead Man at Tarquinia (B107), dating to c. 510 BC, contains an iconographic depiction of the prothesis that is consistent with what is found in the Chiusine examples.[118] The Tomb of the Dead Man depicts the kline on the left wall with the supine deceased adorned in a red robe with a hood. A woman in a long garment stands in the foreground on a low-rising footstool tending to the head of the dead body. At the foot of the kline a man leans over with a gesture of farewell, with his right hand raised above the head, palm upward.[119] A dancing male figure stands to the left, facing the kline. On the far right another male figure performs a gesture of farewell towards the head of the bed, while a small tree separates him from the remainder of the scene. On the rear wall of this tomb there are two trees framing two central performing figures. The male on the left plays an aulos with his left leg raised and the figure on the right has both arms raised in a gesture of dancing. A krater is on the ground in the center and five wreaths are depicted hanging from the walls.[120] On the right wall of the tomb are the remains of two bearded dancers, wearing wreaths. The figure on the left carries a wreath in his left hand while the figure on the right drinks from a kylix in his right.

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[118] Steingräber 1985, 333-334, no. 89.

[119] The gesture used here may serve to both greet and say goodbye to the deceased. Touching the deceased is avoided here, as it is in an example of early engraved mirror decoration (A001) and on the left, right, and rear walls of the Tomb of the Baron (B103) from Tarquinia, c. 510-500 BC. Haynes 2000, 224.

[120] Lissarrague 1994, 197.

Between the two figures is a small tree and six wreaths hang above the figures.

Although a sequence of events cannot be determined here, a similar combination of

events is featured in Chiusine examples. Dancers and musicians are included, drinking

is implied by the central krater on the rear wall and the kylix on the right wall, and a

female tends to the body of the deceased on the left wall. Also, the events take place

outside, as evidenced by the trees on the right, left, and rear walls.

In the Tomb of the Funeral Bed from Tarquinia (B208), which dates to c. 460

BC, the rear wall depicts iconography directly associated with the prothesis but differs

in comparison to the Chiusine examples and to the Tomb of the Dead Man. On this wall

is an oversized funeral bed piled with red patterned blankets and pillows. Men making

a gesture of greeting stand behind two men reclining on a mattress. To the left of the

bed stands a female, likely an aulos player, wearing a red robe, and two additional

women were originally nearby, although the painting is damaged here.[121] A tent is

indicated by the cloth festoons draped above the entire scene, providing a temporary

architectural setting; trees are indicated on the right and left walls. All of the features

are present here that have been identified and discussed in previous examples of the

prothesis with one significant exception: the deceased's body. Here, the kline is empty.

The other activities in the Tomb of the Funeral Bed, however, remain consistent with

previously discussed depictions of the prothesis. Although the empty kline is unusual

and exceptional in Etruscan art, the use of a symbol to represent the dead is not unique

in Tarquinian wall painting. A closed doorway may also serve this purpose, such as in

the previously discussed Tomb of the Hut, c. 575-550 BC (B110). Also in the Tomb of

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[121] Steingräber 1985, 327-8, no. 82.

the Funeral Bed, on the wall to the left of the doorway leading out of the burial

chamber is a biga with a red and blue horse and to the right is a blue and red horse with

a rider. On the right wall, two garlanded men are reclining under a canopy supported by

a post. Nearby is a wounded boxer, an aulos player, two other boxers, a youth and a

groom with his horse and biga nearby, and behind a row of green trees is another groom

with a horse. Although parts of the left wall are faded, enough evidence remains to

determine that there were two dancers dressed in green on the left, a discus thrower, a

Pyrrhic dancer with helmet, shield and spear, a dancer in a flowered skirt, a blue tree,

an aulos player, a servant with a tutulus and a flowered skirt, and three figures reclining

on a kline.[122] The Tomb of the Dead Man's decorative program indicates that an

extensive program of events occurred at the funeral, which would allow for their

identification as spectacle.

The prothesis is also illustrated on a black-figure hydria from Vulci by the

Micali Painter, c. 510 BC (F103), and on the Bloomington stamnos, which has been

attributed to the same painter (F103).[123] On the hydria, the prothesis is depicted on the

shoulder; the body of the deceased and the kline are on the left with a procession of

four mourners approaching from the right. A table carrying boots and sandals is located

under the kline. The first three mourners approaching the deceased advance with their

right hands held towards their heads. The fourth and final figure holds both hands on

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[122] The tutulus is a hairstyle fashionable in Etruria in the late 6th/early 5th centuries BC, with the fashion dying out by 480-470 BC. The term tutulus refers to the hairstyle, not the hat that frequently is also represented. The hairstyle is characterized by the hair being piled on the top of the head in a conical shape; Bonfante 1975, 75-76.

[123] Spivey 1987, 9, no. 12; 27, no. 177, plate 29a; Also, Spivey 1987, 68, indicates that not only is iconography of daily life rare in works by the Micali Painter, but only two examples relate to funerary situations, interestingly, both of which depict the prothesis.

his head in a gesture of mourning.[124] On the Bloomington stamnos, the kline in the

center is occupied by the deceased, a bearded male, and is flanked on either side by

mourners.[125]

Depictions of the prothesis seem to have been of especial interest to artists at

Chiusi, although the actual practice of this funerary ritual may have been much more

widespread. The iconographic evidence of the prothesis offers clues to its specific

function and appearance in Etruria. The Etruscan prothesis most likely occurred in a

temporary structure, a tent, and was attended by mourners that could be male or female.

The evidence is limited and comes from the Chiusine reliefs and Tarquinian wall

paintings and the black-figure examples by the Micali Painter. The indication of the

public and important nature of this funerary activity is provided by the focal point of its

iconographic composition, the use of large furniture, the funerary kline, the mourning

and music-playing of the participants, and the motifs often depicted in conjunction with

the prothesis. The deceased, and also his or her family, are indicated as important

members of the community due to the scale of events and number of participants. In

viewing the iconography, we may act as spectators, as the ancient viewers did, and the

deceased may also act as the audience. The mourners perform for themselves to

mitigate their grief, each other, as part of the community of family and friends that have

lost a member, and the deceased, for whom all the events are in honor.[126] Rarely,

architectural elements may be indicated, such as through the inclusion of columns, a

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[124] On the body of the hydria is a winged horse and a centaur moving towards the viewer's left; on the neck is a running man, identified as Perseus.

[125] Spivey 1987, 68; on the reverse of the stamnos are two centaurs carrying branches, of which the centaur on the viewer's right raises his right hand in a gesture of greeting.

[126] Especially if, as Camporeale 2009, 229 postulates, these actions are held in honor of the deification of the deceased.

pediment, or other elements. The temporary nature of the facilities housing the body is more frequently included and is depicted by the draping of the fabric festoons above the deceased, which is something not otherwise preserved in the archaeological record. The association with the prothesis and the other funerary activities of banqueting, athletic activities, processions, and horseback riding seems to indicate the location would have been the necropolis itself, especially considering the evidence for banqueting and athletic events being held in the context of the tombs.

Banqueting and Associated Events

The reclining banquet carried specific messages regarding status to the observer. In fact, according to Dunbabin, "in the ancient world, to lie down to eat and drink while others stood to serve you was a sign of power, of privilege, of prestige."[127] While banqueting and associated performances therein have been analyzed in Chapters 2 and 3 in connection with games, athletics, acrobatics, dance, and music, some examples of banqueting may also be investigated as a form of spectacle; the overall meaning of the banquet communicates messages related to funerary and civic aspects of Etruscan culture. The depiction in painted tombs of spectacular events, such as banquets, processions, funerary and civic activities, and others may indeed create an "environment of spectacle."[128]

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[127] Dunbabin 2003, 11.
[128] Bergmann 1999, 15; although Bergmann utilizes this term when discussing diners in private Hellenistic and Roman banqueting contexts, the Etruscan wall frescoes may continuously function in a similar manner, although specific, important events may be recorded when the deceased are placed nearby; painted tombs may have served as the location of a ritual meal, which adds further similarities to the Hellenistic and Roman contexts indicated by Bergmann.

Evidence for funerary spectacle is not only found in connection with the laying out of the deceased in state, but also with the events following the burial.[129] As noted previously, the dead body is only ever featured in Etruscan art in the prothesis; subsequent funerary activities focus on the surviving family members and an image of the dead in the afterlife may also be included. However, funerary occasions are not the only times that banqueting in the Etruscan world may be considered to rise to the level of spectacle; important examples of non-funerary banqueting iconography have been discovered in relief architectural terracottas from Murlo and Acquarossa belong to the 6th century, which provide additional information about civic functions of the banquet in the Etruscan world. Banqueting, as indicated in iconographic examples, is intended to be understood as a public event.[130] The iconography of banqueting generally remains consistent, regardless of context; males and females both recline on the *kline,* watch or listen to performers, and by doing so they demonstrate their participation in an aristocratic activity communicating information about status roles in Etruria. [131]

Some instances of banqueting offer characteristics of spectacle, considering the contexts and content of these performances. Occasions for dining carried with them information regarding society and "meals revealed status or the lack of it, and were

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[129] Jannot 2005, 48-50; Jannot indicates the difficulty in determining the order of events in an Etruscan funeral; events include the prothesis, banqueting, dance, and music-making, and athletic events.

[130] Dunbabin 2003, 72-74; Roman banquets may be generally considered public, with an audience, and can offer insight into social roles; however, public banquets are not featured iconographically. In the Greek world, the *symposion* carried different kinds of characteristics. According to Burkert 1991, 7, it is "aristocratic and egalitarian at the same time" and also has "private, political, and cultural dimensions" besides the *symposion*.

[131] Dunbabin 2003, 2-5, 8; banqueting was also observed in Greece and Rome, although with different participants and cultural implications. The author indicates the variety of meanings possible to Roman viewers of images of banqueting. Participants could include any class, depending on situation. Dunbabin also indicates that no surviving imperial monuments record the emperor participating at a banquet.

rarely if ever occasions where a person simply refueled in a socially neutral way."[132]

The consumption of food and the imbibing of wine was related to important cultural

events. Not only did banqueting have a visual component, it could also overwhelm

participants according to their other senses, including the auditory, with music and

conversation, the tactile, with textiles, ceramics, and furniture, and the gustatory, with

food and wine.[133] However, these components were generally present in all Etruscan

depictions of banquets. What elevated certain banqueting contexts and identified them

as exceptional? Why should particular examples be considered in a discussion of

spectacle?

The context and medium must first be considered. Iconographic references to

reclining banqueting occur in Etruria between the 6th-4th century BC. However,

banqueting iconography from mirrors and other bronze objects, such as handles and

statuettes, do not sufficiently provide information for large-scale events and the space

for numerous participants the way that other Etruscan media is capable. It is only with

examples found in wall painting, Chiusine relief sculpture, and architectural terracottas,

that banqueting activities may be placed in the wider context of spectacle.

It was no coincidence that the kline is featured throughout various forms of

spectacle iconography, as it plays an important, ambiguous, and mutable role. The kline

could also appear on Chiusine relief sculpture in both the prothesis as well as the

banquet, occasionally even occurring on the same monument. The funerary bed, was

also depicted in physical, rock-cut beds in tombs such as the Tomb of the Reliefs at

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[132] Wilkins and Hill 2006, 42-43.
[133] Houston 2006, 143; the author provides examples of sensory stimulation in Maya spectacle through the senses of sight, smell, and sound. See Dalby 1996, 57-92.

Cerveteri (G305), which also had intended visual associations with the marriage and the banqueting bed. Additionally, reclining individuals or couples appeared in large-scale funerary sculpture as the lids to sarcophagi, but is not included here as examples of spectacle, as their context is much more ambiguous and, therefore, does not offer the same criteria for spectacle as present in the aforementioned media.[134] The kline and the positions of the reclining individuals likely were intended to evoke the marriage bed, the funerary bed, and the banquet, all three carrying the potential to be transformative events.[135] The marriage bed was the outward communication of the public union between the male and female individuals and their families. The funerary bed referred to the separation of the dead from the living, and the banquet implied the communication of status, privilege, and wealth to others in the community.

Extravagant banquets may be identified in numerous examples of Etruscan tomb painting. The medium here and the complex funerary events depicted place these examples in the context of spectacle. Banquets involved more than one couple and often feature the banquet as only one of numerous activities taking place. Banqueting figures may be depicted with drinking accoutrement, shown in conversation, gesturing to other participants and servants, and may be enjoying nearby entertainment, or some combination of these criteria.

Etruscan banquets were occasions for dining and for the drinking of wine, as well as a variety of games and forms of entertainment. With the inclusion of banqueting iconography comes implications of social hierarchy. At its most obvious,

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[134] Haynes 2000, 215-217.
[135] Pieraccini 2000, 42.

hieratic scale is occasionally used, especially in tomb painting, to indicate the servants

who are attending the banqueters, such as on the rear wall in the Tomb of the Jugglers

from Tarquinia, c. 520-510 BC (B113), and the left wall in the right chamber of the

Golini Tomb I at Orvieto, c. 350 BC (B311). Also implied here is the manifestation of

privilege, consisting of select individuals consuming wine and food and being observed

doing so. Original visitors to the tomb also may have participated in the banquet at the

necropolis, which places them in the context of those depicted iconography and may

serve as a visual reminder of the exclusivity of this event.

Banqueting examples are first examined in funerary wall painting, which is

included from the end of the 6th century through the end of the 4th century BC.

Banqueting iconography is used here as evidence of Etruscan spectacle; these events

are large-scale, meaningful in their communication of aspects of Etruscan culture,

multimedia, and their importance is indicated through evidence that it is outside the

realm of the everyday and it is a remarkable event to watch.[136] Early examples of

banqueting in tomb painting restrict its location to the pediments, out of the central area

of the wall, such as in the Bartoccini Tomb (B104), the Frontocino Tomb (B108), and

the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing (B109).[137] By the end of the 6th century, banqueting

moves to the main wall of the tomb, in the Tomb of the Lionesses (B114) and the

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[136] In D'Agostino 1989, 2, the author offers three possibilities for the interpretation of the "symposium" that is depicted in wall painting in Tarquinia. The first, "realistic theory" would indicate that the images depict scenes of life events, occurring at the funeral. The "magico-ritual" theory follows, which would involve expectations for what was to occur in the afterlife. The third, "social" theory is the one that the author embraces, which allows for the iconography to symbolize social realities, reflecting the deceased's "status and his social position". While it seems that this division is possible, there is no reason to believe that all three of these interpretations cannot be depicted simultaneously, or some combination thereof.
[137] These banquets have been identified as conducted with a man and wife. D'Agostino 1989, 6; Small 1994, 89.

number of participants increases.[138] It is with this change and the depiction of numerous accompanying events that banqueting begins to communicate messages of power regarding the elites celebrated in the tomb. The inclusion of large-scale banqueting depictions, which involves numerous participants, performers, and servants increases into the 5th and 4th centuries BC.

The earliest 5th century example depicting banqueting as part of a spectacle is also the most remarkable in terms of the number of activities included. The Tomb of the Bigas, dating to c. 490 BC, at Tarquinia (B202), not only depicted three klinai on the rear wall, each with two banqueters and an *aulete* and two servants nearby, but dancing revelers are on the right wall and the painted frieze course around the right, left, and rear walls of the tomb depicts substantial representations of athletic events and spectators.[139]

Seating for the audience is illustrated on both sides of the upper register of the rear wall, and on the right wall and the left wall on the side next to the rear of the room. [140] These structures appear to be temporary wooden constructions, with a tent covering, wooden benches, and a raised platform.[141] Male and female spectators are depicted interacting with each other as the general focus is on observing the athletic competitions.[142] Additionally, an official and two assistants are depicted in the painted

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[138] Riva 2010, 146; but the reclining banquet did not completely replace the seated version in Etruria, at first; Food and drink is held by some of the figures. Small 1971, 42.

[139] Steingräber 1985, 297.

[140] Colonna 1993, 321-322, indicates that there are areas suitable for the racing of horses or chariots in Cerveteri, in Vaccina, Orvieto, Tarquinia, and elsewhere, all likely built of wood, similar to the structures seen in the Tomb of the Biga, and therefore do not survive.

[141] Sannibale 2004, 86.

[142] The Tomb of the Bigas is not the only example of tomb painting depicting large and complex sporting events. Two other tombs, the Tomb of the Olympic Games, c. 510 BC (B116) and the slightly later Tomb

frieze on the rear wall, offering a type of spectator different from those shown sitting in

the stands. On the left wall, officiants may also be indicated overseeing discus

throwers who are about to compete and wrestlers who have already engaged in combat.

Information communicated here concerns a structured environment, one that is

permanent and commemorated in a large-scale medium. A variety of events are

included here, indicating that the games are large-scale and that an important

competition is taking place, given the organization necessary and the investment of the

effort of over 20 athletes. On the right wall, in the upper register, not only are there

chariot racing competitions, but also personnel tending to the horses and the chariots.

The depiction of the male and female audience members and the clear indication that

the games are taking place on a monumental scale imply the communicative

possibilities of these events acting as spectacle.

In the next examples, such as the Tomb of the Leopards at Tarquinia, c. 480 BC

(B210), the same range of activities is not included; however, evidence is still offered

for an event that may be regarded as spectacle.[143] While the rear wall depicts three

klinai with two banqueters each and two servants, the right wall depict an *aulete* and a

kithara player, as well as a man dancing with a kylix. The left wall features

processional iconography. The Tomb of the Triclinium at Tarquinia was also decorated

around this time, c. 470 BC (B220).[144] The rear wall features two klinai each with two

banqueters, one *aulete*, and one servant standing in the center. The right and left walls

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of the Master of the Olympic Games, c. 500 BC (B215), both from Tarquinia, offer wall painting with
multiple events present, seeming to indicate a large-scale occasion.
[143] Steingräber 1985, 327.
[144] Steingräber 1985, 361.

feature five revelers each, including a lyre and an aulos player. The Tomb of Casuccini Hill is a Chiusine tomb, c. 475-450 (B227) that also uses comparable banqueting iconography.[145] The funerary event here is extensive, when considering the decoration in both the front and the rear chamber. In the front room is the iconographic depiction of five klinai with two men each, three servants, and an aulos player. Also featured in the front chamber is a chariot race, dancers, a pair of wrestlers, and a long jumper. The rear chamber includes ten revelers.

Several tombs date to the middle of the 5th century which illustrate consistent examples of banqueting iconography, such as Tomb 5513, Tarquinia, c. 450 BC (B225).[146] In this tomb, the rear wall is decorated with two klinai, four reclining banqueters and four servants. On the right wall is a lyre and aulos player, a small servant, and a female dancer, while on the left wall there is a barbiton and an aulos player, a dancer, and a small servant. Records of the lost Tomb of the Biclinium, Tarquinia, c. 450 BC (B201), indicate the presence of at least four klinai, with two banqueters and with two servants apiece, indicating the presence of a large-scale and important event.[147] The Tomb of the Ship, Tarquinia, c. 450-425 BC (B218) also offers evidence of a monumental funerary event with six processing figures on the right wall, a lyre player, two servants, and a table with ceramic vessels on the left wall.[148] The rear wall features three klinai, each with two reclining figures, and two servants. At the end of the 5th century at Tarquinia, the Tomb Querciola I (B217) offers a unique

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[145] Steingräber 1985, 274-276.
[146] Steingräber 1985, 377-378.
[147] Steingräber 1985, 296.
[148] Steingräber 1985, 335-336.

iconographic depiction, including a banquet on the rear wall with at least three klinai,

processing and dancing figures on the right and left walls, and hunting iconography

along the dado.[149]

Banqueting iconography that may be interpreted as spectacle continues into the

4th century BC, beginning with the Tomb of the Warrior, c. 400-350 BC, Tarquinia

(B306).[150] The rear wall depicts two klinai, each with two participants, one *aulete*, and

one small servant. The left wall features boxers, a dancer, and an aulos player. The

Golini Tomb I and II from Orvieto, (B311, B312), both dating to around 350 BC, offer

a rare glimpse into the extravagant nature of the large-scale banquet taking place in an

identifiable underworld. It is these fantastic details that "serve to glorify the wealth of

the household in an unusually explicit manner."[151] Other that the Golini Tomb I and

the Tomb of Orcus II, Tarquinia, dating to the second 3rd of the 4th century BC (B304),

there is no depiction of a divine banquet in Etruscan art. These two examples include

depictions of Aita and Phersipnai, the Etruscan god and goddess of the dead. The

banquet here is firmly identified as taking place in the underworld, as Aita and

Phersipnai are depicted in the Golini Tomb I in the right chamber on the left wall and in

the Tomb of Orcus II, which also indicates banqueting accoutrement. [152]

The Tomb of the Triclinium is the latest example of the Etruscan use of

banqueting as spectacle in tomb painting, and dates to the end of the 4th century BC

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[149] Steingräber 1985, 346-347.
[150] Steingräber 1985, 321.
[151] Dunbabin 2003, 29.
[152] Steingräber 1985, 337-340.

(B310).[153] The left and right walls of the tomb feature continuous depictions of a

cushion upon which four couples recline, holding cups. On the rear wall, a central table

is illustrated, which holds ceramic vessels. Three servants wait on two reclining

couples featured to the right and left of the central table. Three servants are also

included to the right and left of the entranceway.

Only a few examples of Chiusine banqueting relief iconography may be

included here. Like wall painting, banqueting in funerary relief forms one part of a

large event depicted on one or several sides of stone cippi or sarcophagi. Five

examples of cippi include the banquet as one of a combination of funerary events in

honor of the deceased. A cippus from Copenhagen (E114) depicts a two klinai banquet

on one side, while two other sides feature male and female dancers and a fourth side

depicts two men with horses.[154] Two examples, one held in Berlin (E026) and one in

London (E025) each include the prothesis, a kline with reclining couple, and band of

mourners.[155] The Berlin cippus also illustrates two men chasing horses on its fourth

side while the London example features a group of three dancers and one *aulete*.

Another cippus from London (E206) has two klinai with banqueters, two men walking

with a horse each, a procession of four armed men, and a procession of hunters,

carrying a spear, dead animals, and a *lituus*.[156] The fifth example (E207) depicts two

full sides of banqueting iconography, with four klinai, an aulos player, and three

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[153] Steingräber 1985, 273.
[154] Jannot 1984, 21-22, fig. 95-98.
[155] Jannot 1984, 142-146, fig. 497-500; 144-146, fig. 497-500.
[156] Jannot 1984, 146-147, fig. 502-505.

servants, as well as a procession of men, and a prothesis.[157] The combination here of

the banquet with the other large-scale events, such as the prothesis, mourners, dancers,

musicians, and associated processions, offer similar characteristics as the wall painting

discussion above. The round cippus in Florence (E125) depicts a large-scale banquet

without other associated events.[158] Four klinai are present, each with two banqueters

apiece. An *aulete* and kithara player are included, as are nine other standing figures,

standing around the beds, offering their service to the reclining men.

Funerary events in Etruria have been included in numerous examples of

iconography. The occasion of death is marked by entertainment, mourning, and also

the reinforcement of power by the elite members in society. Evidence that this sort of

communication was considered appropriate elsewhere in Etruscan life may be found in

decorative terracotta reliefs from Murlo, Acquarossa, and Velletri.[159] The site of Murlo

offers another context for the inclusion of banqueting iconography, and one that has

"the general message of power and prestige."[160] Evidence of civic banqueting at Murlo

is not only iconographical in nature but also determined from archaeological finds.

Early architectural remains at Murlo date to the Orientalizing Period and impasto and

bucchero pottery were found in large quantities in Orientalizing contexts, as were

luxury items, such as silver and gold jewelry.[161] It is the monumental Archaic building

at the site, called the Upper Building, that offered decorative evidence of the site's

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[157] Jannot 1984, 162-164, fig. 554-557.
[158] Jannot 1984, 101-104, fig. 352-357.
[159] Dunbabin 2003, 32; Sinos 1994, 102; A series of terracotta revetment plaques from one mould were found in a 6th century context in Rome, the Latin city of Velletri, and the Etruscan site of Veii. The latter was likely the site of the terracotta workshop.
[160] Rathje 1994, 96.
[161] Haynes 2000, 117.

function for civic dining. The combination of finds and iconography provides evidence
for the presence of social elites as well as large-scale dining activities from the site's
earliest use through the Archaic Period.[162]

It is the iconographic depictions of the banquet at Murlo, coupled with the
archaeological evidence, that offers indications that a large-scale and meaningful
banqueting activity took place at the site. Architectural relief plaques depict banqueting
iconography (E002), which includes two couches, of which the left-hand couch features
a male and female couple and the right couch, two males, while two servants per table
attend to the banqueters' needs.[163] A cauldron on stand is located between the two
klinai, implying the consumption of wine, as are the *kylikes* held by the reclining
participants. The location of the terracottas on the structure also indicate their
importance and influence. These architectonic features served as decoration on various
possible locations of the building, such as the upper area of the walls under eaves or as
protection for the architraves of the colonnaded porticoes which were next to the
court.[164] The frequency of their depiction would create the appearance of the largest
banquet recorded in Etruscan iconography. Although each panel only contained two
klinai and four reclining figures, if the panel were replicated and used up to 113 times
on the structure, according to one recreation, this would create the representation of a
very substantial and spectacular event.[165] Banqueting iconography is only one of the
activities depicted in the architectural terracottas. Other examples similar in nature to

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[162] Dunbabin 2003, 26.
[163] Soprintendenza alle Antichità d'Etruria 1970, 53-56; Macintosh 1974, 27-29, also provides an
analysis of the furniture and other objects depicted alongside the human figures in the banqueting scene.
[164] Soprintendenza alle Antichità d'Etruria 1970, 50.
[165] Small 1994, 87.

funerary wall painting and relief sculpture include a horserace motif, as well as a

processional image, depicting the central couple riding in a cart, and a group of seated

figures.

Further visual evidence of the nature of the function of Murlo may be found in

the other three decorative motifs, although the seated figures and the procession should

be examined together and are included in Chapter 5. One of the decorative motifs found

in the terracotta revetments depicts an Etruscan horse race (E004); sixty-five individual

plaques have been identified.[166] Each of these plaques depicts three horses, shown in

overlapping profile. Each horse has a rider, wearing a pointed cap, short tunics,

possibly a belt and a mantle, and carrying some sort of whip; a lebes on a columnar

stand is depicted on the far left.[167] Each plaque considered on its own would indicate

that the race occurred on a small-scale, but as Root observes, when multiple plaques are

positioned together, the number of contestants "are in fact countless, as they gallop on

and on in each succeeding plaque, encouraged by every new prize they pass."[168]

Phillips, however, interprets the repeated vessels on stands as guideposts for the race

itself, instead of prizes.[169] Regardless of specifics, this visual effect would have

effectively represented the largest chariot race in all of Etruscan iconographic record.

Murlo was not alone in using these motifs to communicate power in civic

settings. The importance of the banquet is also indicated by its inclusion at Velletri and

Acquarossa, which emphasizes the importance of the banquet as architectural

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[166] Root 1973, 121.
[167] Haynes 2000, 120-121; Root 1973, 124, 134; Also, Macintosh 1974, 15, identifies the object that they
are carrying as a whip.
[168] Root 1973, 134.
[169] Phillips 1993, 42.

decoration.[170] The Velletri plaque depicts two klinai with two reclining figures each, an

aulos player in the center, and a servant at the far right and left (E001), while the

architectural terracottas at Acquarossa (E014) feature groups of three individuals on

each of two klinai with a central lyre player, an aulos player on the far left and lebes on

a stand with a servant nearby serving wine.[171] Additional decorative motifs were also

used at Acquarossa, such as an image of general revelry, involving one aulos and one

lyre player, a central male somersaulting, three dancing figures, a male carrying a wine-

skin, and a final figure carrying a cup.[172] A third motif found at the site displayed

processional iconography and is discussed in greater depth in Chapter 5.[173]

The Murlo banqueting plaque, examined in the context of the horserace motif,

identifies the site as host, not only to monumental architecture, but also events

identified as spectacle, such as a banquet and athletic events, a combination also

observed in funerary wall painting. The iconography here at Murlo "represents a social

'ceremony' at the same time that it indicates an image of a hierarchy of power and

opulence," especially highlighted by the potential of Murlo to host large numbers of

people.

The messages communicated to the visitor through these objects demonstrated

the capability to harness great resources and to lead participants in significant events. A

meeting of important leaders may take place at the site, or members of the community

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[170] Meyers 2012, 2-3; demonstrating architectural elements similar to Murlo, such as a central courtyard, wings of rooms, similar building materials, decorative terracotta embellishments, and a large size. Rathje 1994, 96-7. Rathje compares the banqueting frieze from Murlo to the message from the frieze in the North Palace at Nimrud depicting Assurbanipal's garden party.

[171] Sparkes 1991, 75, 83; Sparkes indicates the lebes, like the krater, was used for the mixing of water and wine in symposia in the Greek world.

[172] T. Smith 2010, 226.

[173] Strandberg Olofsson 1985, 57-58.

may be invited to an event meant to reinforce the power of local leaders. The architectural terracottas would offer visual reinforcement of the activities that were actually underway, adding to the sense of permanency and importance. Not only could they depict one specific event, but they could also be associated with every subsequent viewing of the iconography. The architectural terracottas would remind the viewer of past banquets, reinforce current events, or indicate future meetings yet to occur. The Etruscans used images and occasions of social gatherings to nurture and assert these powerful roles in funerary and civic contexts in Etruria.

Conclusion

Etruscan iconography records identifiable messages of power through images depicting spectacle. Large-scale and monumental architecture saw its origins in the Orientalizing Period while iconography referencing the importance of spectacle events began during the Archaic. The Etruscans had the means and the interest to craft monumental performance and architectural locations, which functioned as a backdrop to related activities. Monumental architecture offered a physical context for the spectacles occurring at Etruscan sites. Indeed, spectacle does not require a permanent space, which is an idea that is explored further in Chapter 5's discussion of processional iconography. The increase in wealth and the accumulation of power by families and individuals saw with it the use of iconography for the reinforcement and development of position. Etruscan spectacles were public and large-scale; certain parts may have been more public and large-scale than others, especially in the case of events held inside and outside the actual tomb. Sometimes the audience is included, but sometimes

one is not depicted; *we* are to be understood as the audience of events that would repeat upon each viewer's observation of the iconography.

It is no coincidence that the majority of the evidence investigated here dates to the period of the 7th-4th centuries BC. At this time Etruria was comprised of independent city states that were ruled by elites; aristocratic groups were evident in the archaeological and iconographic record, beginning in the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods.[174] It was during the 7th century that important messages were communicated regarding status and the elites began to create physical manifestations of their accumulating wealth in the form of monumental tombs and rich grave goods. In this cultural context, especially, that political and religious leaders used spectacles in connection with civic, ritual, and funerary occasions to represent and reiterate messages of power, community, and religious importance. Beginning in the 5th century and continuing into the 4th, however, elite families began to accommodate a burgeoning "'middle class' in Etruscan cities" which may have inspired tensions between the aristocracies and the "monarchic system of government" and the rest of the population.[175] The transformation in iconographic choices and the lack of evidence for the continuation of most types of spectacle iconography after the 4th century BC may have resulted from these political changes.

Funerary and civic contexts provide evidence for the use of an iconographic vocabulary of spectacle during the 6th-4th centuries BC. Although the prothesis is unique to contexts of death, the banquet, athletic events, processions, seated figures,

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[174] Camporeale 2009, 224-232; the Camporeale sees the choice in display and iconography at the tomb as indicative of the deification of the aristocratic dead. Menichetti 2001, 205; Taylor 2012, 4.
[175] Haynes 2000, 266-267.

dance, and musical performance are used in decoration related to funerary and civic occasions to express prestige, power, and wealth of an individual, a family, or a class in Etruscan society. The iconography depicting Etruscan funerary and civic spectacle provided evidence for its cultural meaning and function. Although the ancient performances themselves are non-permanent and are forever lost, iconographic and architectural evidence provide archaeological clues that help reconstruct some part of the events and their cultural meaning. Spectacle communicated political messages concerning the importance of aristocratic members of society and a focus on memorializing important events and families in art and decoration. Funerary contexts were important, as demonstrated through the large-scale nature of these examples and the complex activities they represent, such as the prothesis, banqueting, music, dance and athletic competitions held nearby. The use of spectacle offers "an extremely flexible and polysemantic visual language, capable of collapsing boundaries and transcending the mundane confines of time and space."[176] The images and their messages emphasize the importance of the funeral and the celebration of their position, family, and the involvement of the participants.

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[176] Bergmann 1999, 27.

Chapter 5: Spectacle II - Processions

Introduction

      The procession, another important type of spectacle, is depicted in various

Etruscan contexts, especially those that have connections with civic and funerary events,

but also with mythological and religious associations. It is not always possible to

distinguish and completely separate the different categories of procession, as there may

be evidence of overlap.[1] Like the criteria for other types of spectacle, the procession is a

marked cultural behavior of restricted occurrence; it is one that frequently is multi-

sensory in its execution, is of a scale that is greater than everyday activity, and displays

the elements meaningful to a society.[2] A procession, however, is more than just "a mere

succession of figures,"[3] and criteria for this type of performance is expanded upon by

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and McNamara. The same authors indicate that, while not all

characteristics can be applied universally to processional events, some of them must be

included.[4]

      Processions are not simply a way to travel from one location to another; it must in

some way be elevated in importance beyond the mundane, the everyday. Importance

may be indicated in a variety of ways, including through props, costume, movement,

setting, and audible elements. The procession may have features related to the sacred,

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[1] Bruni 2004, 21.

[2] Beeman 1993, 380; Bergman 1999, 10-11, 16; Handelman 1990, 7; Houston 2006, 139.

[3] Holliday 1990, 73.

[4] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and McNamara 1985, 2-3; the authors also indicate that another possible variation of procession is the pilgrimage, which is not applicable in the Etruscan context.

social, political world, or some combination thereof, and may be formal or informal.[5]

There must be an arrangement of the participants according to ritual needs or hierarchy.[6]

Finally, "the focus may be on the procession itself or on a combination of 'procession and

station…certain locations at which the procession stops for important related events.'"[7]

Spectators and their shared experience are essential; a procession was meant to be seen

and occurred in a public space. Like other types of cultural performance, the reactions of

the audience are never universal; each individual may have a unique and personal

reaction to the events they are experiencing together. Additionally, a procession does not

have to have one specific emotional message or intended tone, and the parameters for a

procession are culturally and contextually based.[8] The material record rarely produces

evidence recording processions because of their ephemeral and transitory nature; thus,

iconographic depictions lend importance to architectural spaces and archaeological

materials and the limited evidence that they offer.

The procession is not restricted to specific or designated places, such as a theater

or a racetrack, but instead is defined by its transitional nature, both spatially and

temporally.[9] It is meant to occupy spaces utilized every day and "compete with the

existing environment around it, becoming for a time the dominant element."[10]

Regardless, processions are not *excluded* from formalized and monumental architecture.

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[5] Moore 2006, 56; here, Moore indicates that the characteristics of processions are shared by ritual; both of which are characterized by formality.
[6] Holliday 1990, 73.
[7] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and McNamara 1985, 3.
[8] Holliday 1990, 73; although Holliday's definition of a procession indicates that it is a "ceremony used to signify 'solemnity'."
[9] Miles 2012, 114; the author identifies the chronological and special dimensions of processions, as well as the reference to previous experience with the gods.
[10] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and McNamara 1985, 2.

The act of movement, of passing through a space, is an important characteristic of processions, and is crucial in helping to identify its depiction in the iconographic record. Tilley also indicates that "the importance and significance of a place can only be appreciated as part of movement from and to it in relation to others, and the act of moving may be as important as that of arriving."[11] At the very least, the act of movement joins the participants together; their purpose and manner of processing through space is what creates the spectacle.

Forward motion is a necessity, but not always needed for the depiction of a procession, as they may halt as needed. According to Schechner, processions are a natural form of theatrical production, in which "the event moves along a prescribed path, spectators gather around the route, and at appointed places the procession halts and performances are played [...] Usually a procession moves to a goal: the funeral to the grave, the political march to the speakers' stand [...]"[12] A few examples of processions in the Etruscan world carry overt religious associations, as is comparable in numerous examples from Greek and Roman evidence.[13]

Etruscan processional iconography has been discussed in Holliday's article, "Processional Imagery in Late Etruscan Funerary Art" (1990), which focuses on Etruscan underworld funerary art from the end of the 5th century through the 1st century BC, especially in regards to its relationship with Roman processional art. Holliday identifies

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[11] Tilley 1994, 31.
[12] Schechner 2003, 178.
[13] Burkert 1985, 99-102, discusses processional occasions in Greek contexts, especially the *pompe*, but also the *agermos*, or gift-giving processions, which play a less important role in Greek culture. True et al. 2004, 1-3, indicates that in the Greek world, reasons for a *pompe* were connected with ritual, specifically in the journey towards offering a sacrifice or dedication to a god, and would be regulated in terms of route, participants, and behaviors. Also, Sinos 1994, 106-111.

three types of chthonic processional iconography present in Etruscan relief and wall painting: journeys made on foot, on horseback, and in a manner similar to a "quasi-triumphal procession."[14] Bruni's entry in *ThesCRA*, titled "Le Processioni in Etruria," also offers a discussion of Etruscan processional art. In examining a wider range of Etruscan evidence than Holliday, Bruni divides Etruscan processional iconography into categories, such as religious festivals, funerary and civic processions, and triumphal occasions.[15] Although doubt may be cast on some categories, including one he titles *pompa nuptialis*, or wedding processions, evidence supports the other instances given, especially concerning funerary activities.[16] An examination of the categories of Etruscan procession is offered here in a manner similar to Bruni. A new addition is the category of mythological processions, in which the Etruscan versions of the Judgment of Paris and the Return of Hephaistos have been included; here, also, processions are investigated as evidence of spectacle, a topic not covered by Bruni.

Illustrations of processional iconography given below date between the 7th through the 2nd century BC, although a change appears in the 5th-4th centuries BC. Examples appear in several forms of Etruscan media, including wall painting, vase painting, and in funerary and architectural reliefs. A discussion of the journey of the deceased through the underworld in liminal chthonic contexts dating from the 5th through the 2nd century BC is also included here, along with its relationship to processional

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[14] Holliday 1990, 76; the discussion in this chapter includes examples of processional iconography that Holliday rejects (73-74).
[15] Bruni 2004, 23-32.
[16] Bruni 2004, 24-25, only identifies three examples of the "pompa nuptialis" in Etruscan art. One of the Murlo architectural terracottas, depicting a procession with two figures in a cart, has been included here, although this identification is not generally accepted. See fn. 21 below for more information about its interpretation.

iconography. Although the journey to the afterlife does not represent a procession *per se*, it does share some visual features, represents an important transition for the deceased, and offers evidence of a profound change in the choice of iconography connected with death and the afterlife.

Civic Processional Iconography

The implication of non-funerary iconography pertaining to spectacle, especially the banquet and the horserace, from sites such as Murlo and Acquarossa has been introduced previously in Chapter 4.[17] Two other iconographic motifs from Murlo offer additional evidence for the visual communication of authority through depictions of processions of elites. Architectural relief plaques that feature processional iconography have been discovered at several other sites, which include Rome, Velletri, and Veii, (E008), Palestrine (E009), and Acquarossa (E017, E018, E019).[18] Decorating the upper building at Murlo, from the 6th century BC, were terracotta plaques with moulded reliefs, likely referencing a public or political use of the building.[19] The two motifs not previously discussed, the procession and the group of seated figures, are to be understood together. The site at Murlo used extensive visual means to communicate power held by the political elites and their families at the site through the iconographic program on the terracotta plaques.

At Murlo, processional terracotta plaques (E005) only make up part of a decorative program found in the large-scale Archaic building complex. This group of

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[17] See fn. 74 and 81 in Chapter 4.
[18] Dunbabin 2003, 32; Sinos 1994, 102.
[19] Phillips, Jr. 1993, 38-45.

plaques, consisting of 35 individual procession terracottas, comprise the smallest

representation among the four decorative motifs.[20] The processional plaque from Murlo

consists of a two-horse cart, covered by an umbrella, in which two figures of debated

gender are seated, their bodies and hair completely obscured by their garments.[21] Two

male figures walk ahead, holding the reins of the two horses, while two figures follow the

cart, both carrying in their hands a situla and a fan, symbolizing the aristocracy of the

figures in the cart; the servant carries on his head an upside-down footstool or table and,

in a similar manner, the other servant carries a covered vessel.[22] The terracotta plaques

depicting seated individuals (E003) feature two males and two figures of indeterminate

sex in folding chairs and one female seated in a "throne;"[23] all seated figures have

footstools. A female attendant stands behind the seated female, holding a fan and a

situla, while another attendant stands at the far left holding a long staff.

The non-funerary context for these iconographic examples and the lack of

chthonic attributes or characters, precludes them from having a funerary meaning;[24] other

possible conclusions have been highly debated. The Murlo procession plaques have been

interpreted by some scholars as representing scenes of marriage,[25] or as worshippers

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[20] Gantz 1974, 2; the other three types of relief decoration that also decorated the Archaic building includes horseback riders, banqueting, and seated figures.

[21] Bruni 24-25; Haynes 2000 121, indicates that the gender of the individuals riding in the cart would help with an interpretation. If the figure holding the umbrella is male, or if both the figures are female, it would then be possible that this is a marriage scene. However, it is just as likely that this is a depiction of aristocratic individuals making a political visit or attending a religious ritual. Sinos 1994, 102, does not believe that this depicts a nuptial scene, as it is missing comparable elements from other examples that would afford it "an exclusively nuptial connotation."

[22] Haynes 2000, 121.

[23] Gantz 1971, 4-6.

[24] Gantz 1974, 9; Sinos 1994, 100.

[25] See fn. 21 above.

visiting deities.[26] Sinos, however, offers compelling evidence that the processional relief

should be understood in conjunction with a second motif depicting seated individuals,

and that those who were depicted "not only belonged to the world of aristocratic banquets

and horses…but also sought to manifest themselves as recipients of divine honor, as

indicated by the divine attendants as well as royal attributes in the procession scene."[27] In

other words, the individuals in the processions, attired either in traveling or in religious

clothing, are ultimately journeying to visit the seated figures; their importance, and

relevance to Murlo, is indicated by their stationary position, therefore associating them

with the site itself and providing them with divine attributes, although they are not

themselves to be understood as divinities. They do not move in the same way as the

processing figures do, and their status here may reflect the function of Murlo as both a

political and religious center.[28]

The lack of individualized, specific attributes or the absence of identifying

inscriptions in any of the individuals depicted in these relief plaques may, as Sinos

indicates, "be an appropriately timeless representation of rulers on a building that was no

doubt intended to last for generations."[29] The motif of the procession of local rulers in the

terracotta relief plaque is understood to ultimately culminate in their arrival in front of the

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[26] Gantz 1974, 11-12; according to Sinos 1994, 102-103, the seated figures are shown without a specific, relevant attributes, making their identification as deities doubtful.

[27] Gantz 1974, 11, was the first to suggest that the Murlo procession plaque should be understood in conjunction with the plaque featuring seated figures; Cristofani 1975, 2, also identifies the iconography as representing local rulers or elites, but indicates that *both* the processioning and seated figures are the same; see also Phillips 1993, 42-43; Sinos 1994, 113.

[28] Phillips Jr. 1993, 80-81.

[29] Sinos 1994, 103.

seated figures.[30] The lack of identifiable, distinctive characteristics indicates, as seen

elsewhere in examples of Etruscan spectacle, the possibility of celebrating a recent or

immediately forthcoming event, as well as any suitable event that follows. The current

event commemorated here serves as a future reminder not only of that occasion, but

ambiguous characteristics remain applicable to subsequent events.

Although this particular type of covered cart is not seen again in Etruscan

architectural relief terracottas, a series of plaques with comparable relief decoration were

found at Veii, Rome, and Velletri, c. 530 (E007, E008) and portray the combination of

pairs of figures riding in a chariot towards a grouping of seated figures.[31] In the

Veii/Rome/Velletri examples, two pairs of men are not seated but are standing on

chariots that are each pulled by two horses; one pair of the horses is consistently shown

as winged. A male figure walks in front of these figures towards a group of at least five

individuals seated on folding stools (E012, E013). The cultural meaning in this visual

message is similar to the Murlo examples; the men riding in the chariot are processing

towards the seated individuals in a show of wealth, power, and/or position.

Funerary Processions

The Etruscans considered funerary events as an occasion for spectacle, although

they were not alone in doing so. The Romans also used spectacle activities at the time of

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[30] Sinos 1994, 112; here, the author also indicates that the seated figures, while not deities, would have received "divine honor" in a manner similar to Eastern counterparts.
[31] Andrén 1939, image 371, 442, 443, 450; Sinos 1994, 100, 102; Winter 2012, 68-69; these plaques are to be understood together as originating from one site of construction, likely the Etruscan Veii.

the death of prominent citizens.[32] In fact, Bruni compares late examples of Etruscan

processional iconography to the Roman triumph and to processions of magistrates.[33]

Many of the examples featuring processions have been associated with death due to their

inclusion in funerary media, such as stone relief sculpture and wall painting. The

following discussion begins with an examination of wall painting and Chiusine sculpture

that date to the 6th and 5th centuries BC and demonstrate different types of processions:

one with solemn participants and another that includes revelers. After the 4th century,

iconographic evidence changes to include processions of magistrates to the tomb or in the

afterlife, incorporating elements of civic iconography into funerary settings. During and

after the 4th century BC, the journey of the deceased to the afterlife appeared in tomb

painting and on sarcophagi and ash urns; these are included here because of their

overlapping characteristics with processional iconography.

Two examples of early funerary wall painting from Tarquinia with processional

iconography date to the 6th century; the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing, c. 510 BC (B109)

and the Tomb of the Inscriptions (B111), c. 520 BC. Epigraphic evidence in the Tomb of

the Inscriptions indicates that six aristocratic families were buried here.[34] On the rear wall

and the right wall of the tomb are depicted sequences of revelers who are processing

towards the central door on the rear wall. On the rear wall, a pair of men on horseback

and a man on foot all journey towards a central door, as does a group of three dancing

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[32] Beacham 1999, 17-24; according to Beacham, the corpse of an important Roman citizen would be laid out in the atrium, one of the public areas of a Roman house and the location where the citizen, during their lifetime, would have received visitors and held the morning *salutatio*. The funeral ceremony was comprised of a procession with lictors and musicians, while the body was carried through the city by family members and formal announcements were made to the public.
[33] Bruni 2004, 28-31.
[34] Haynes 2000, 285.

males, one of whom plays the aulos.[35] On the right wall, five men join the revelers in

moving towards the rear of the room. The Tomb of Hunting and Fishing also features

revelers, dancing, and music-playing men, progressing along the right and left walls in

the front room.[36] The image of these informal processions, in the context of the grave

and the use of numerous individuals, continues into the 5th century BC with an increased

frequency.

Fifth century tombs feature revelers combined with banqueting iconography. The

Tomb of the Leopards (B210) from Tarquinia, dating c. 480 BC, combines two

procession sequences. On the right wall are revelers, moving together with varying body

positions and arm gestures; on the left wall is a more serious procession of figures who

carry items towards the rear wall and its depictions of banqueters.[37] On the right wall

only three figures are extant. On the far left is a male figure, moving forward with a

kylix in hand, gesturing towards the figure on the right, who is striding forward and

playing the aulos. The third figure carries a lyre and glances towards a now lost figure on

the right. On the left wall are five men, carrying instruments and offerings, walking

towards the rear wall and its depiction of banqueting. The figure on the far right moves

forward carrying a lyre, the second plays an aulos. The third carries a rod and an

alabastron, while the fourth has an open chest and a plate and the fifth is depicted with a

bowl and an oinochoe. These men are not depicted as dancing, despite the *aulete* actively

playing his instrument. Instead, the music serves only to accompany those in the

procession.

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[35] Steingräber 1985, 301-302; Steingräber 2006, 86-87, 96-97.
[36] Jannot 2004, 396; Steingräber 1985, 322-323; Steingräber 2006, 102.
[37] Smith 2010, 28-29, 52-53, 63-64; Steingräber 1985, 327; Steingräber 2006, 130.

Numerous other examples of 5th century wall painting depicts groups of revelers on the right and left walls, who move towards a location depicted on the rear wall. The Tomb of the Bigas (B202), c. 490 BC, the Querciola Tomb I (B217), dating to the end of the 5th century BC, and the Tomb of the Triclinium (B220), c. 470 BC, all from Tarquinia, feature the banquet on the rear wall of the tomb. The Tomb of the Ship (B218), c. 450-425, also illustrates processions with dancers and the banquet on the rear wall and on the left wall, processing dancers and details of a ship. The Tomb of the Funeral Bed (B208), c. 460 BC, features a large, empty kline from the prothesis on the rear wall, while the Tomb of the Kithara Player (B209) c. 490-480 BC, illustrates a pair of closed post and lintel doorways. The Tomb of Casuccini Hill from Chiusi (B227), c. 475-450 BC, offers a different combination of motifs, with ten revelers on the walls in the rear room, while the front room features iconographic depictions of banqueters, equestrian events and athletic competitions.

Several tombs feature only revelers as the entirety of their decoration and are identified as examples of funerary processions due to the number of participants, their general sense of forward movement, and their funeral context; among them can be included Tomb 5591 (B226), c. 500-490 BC, Tomb 4021 (B224), c. 475-450 BC, and Tomb 3713 (B309), dating to the beginning of the 4th century, all from Tarquinia. Each depiction offers unique characteristics of the revelers, including the scale of the figures, their costume, and gestures.

Chiusine relief sculpture offers late 6th - early 5th century BC examples of processional iconography with funerary connections based on their medium. Processional iconography here also features instances that are both formal and informal in their nature.

Several examples of Chiusine iconography depict groups of dancing and music-playing

revelers, in a manner similar to funerary wall painting, and have been identified as

spectacle because all four of their sides feature revelers, creating a large-scale event. All

six of these examples (E142, E143, E144, E145, E146, E203) are decorations from stone

bases. The final destination of this processional group is not depicted in these

monuments, although it is likely that they are destined for a funerary event.

Formal funerary processions are included in Chiusine relief sculpture, which may

depict men processing with rods or the *lituus* (E201, E202, E207). Jannot has described

this type of a procession of men as family priests, although their exact rank or title cannot

be established.[38] Females processing with (E101) or without (E102) branches are also

included in Chiusine relief. Perhaps in each case their ultimate destinations involve the

prothesis or the banquet, events which have been featured frequently in Chiusine relief

sculpture at this time. Funerary processional iconography in Etruscan art undergoes a

profound change after the 4th century BC. Iconographic examples begin to focus on the

journey to the underworld by the deceased, rather than revelry, mourners at a funeral, or

participants in the banquet in the afterlife.   Although most of the iconography found in

tomb painting and relief sculpture focuses on one person's journey to the underworld,

some examples may also depict already-deceased members of the family, welcoming the

newly deceased as he travels towards the afterlife.

Another category of processional iconography has been identified by Bruni as

"processions with magistrates," which generally date to the mid-4th century BC and later,

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[38] Holliday 1990, 75; Jannot 2005, 130.

perhaps indicating, as Bruni observes, that they may be partly Roman in character.[39] The

processions blend civic and funerary elements by including magisterial iconography;

visual clues communicate the importance of an individual, such as furniture, symbols of

office, or servants. Examples the Tomb of the Shields (B305), Tomba Bruschi (B402),

the Tomb of the Meeting (B408), and the Tomb of the Typhon (B409), all dating from

the mid-4th through the mid-3rd centuries BC at Tarquinia. The Tomb of the Shields, c.

350-325 BC, features a procession on the entrance wall to the left of the door; here, two

lictors with fasces, a magistrate, a servant with a *curule* chair, and a horn player all move

to the left.[40] In the Bruschi Tomb, Tarquinia, c. 300-250 BC, on wall A, a female stands

on the right facing a female servant holding a mirror.[41] Behind these women to the left is

a damaged procession of which only the feet and the body of the right-hand figure are

extant. The leader of the procession plays the horn. Wall B employs a much more

extensive iconographic program. Although surviving only in part, enough remains of a

central group who are similar to an organized group processing with instruments in Wall

C. The Tomb of the Meeting, Tarquinia, 300-250 BC, features a another procession of

men moving to the left with a central magistrate.[42] The Tomb of the Typhon, Tarquinia,

dating to the end of the 3rd century BC, uses a composition similar to the Tomb of the

Meeting, except here with the addition of the chthonic guides Vanth and Charun.[43]

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[39] Bruni 2004, 28-31; it is at this time that Roman encroachment of Etruscan-controlled areas in Italy began in earnest. See fn. 29 in the Introduction.
[40] Bruschi 2004, 28, n. 59; Steingräber 1985, 349-351; Steingräber 2006, 188.
[41] Steingräber 1985, 300; Holliday 1990, 80-81.
[42] Bruschi 2004, 29, n. 61; Steingräber 1985, 309-310.
[43] de Grummond 2006, 22; the author indicates that dress-up may have occurred at this tomb, as the depiction includes figures that appear in the guise of Charun and Vanth.

Relief sculpture offers additional instances of magisterial funerary or underworld

processions, featuring an important figure as walking or riding a biga or quadriga.[44] The

first example in relief comes from a Caeretan stone sarcophagus, dating to the 5th century

(E210).[45] Here, the front side features the procession, which continues onto the short end

on the right. A trumpet player leads the others and a figure carrying a *lituus*, a kithara

player, and at the far left, a biga are all depicted. The deceased himself has been

identified as the bearded man in front of the biga, walking with a female, who is perhaps

a deceased wife or ancestor.[46] In the other examples, dating to the 3rd-2nd centuries BC,

the presence of a magistrate is identified by the fasces and an accompaniment of men.

These funerary processions emphasize the implications of office more than funerary

revelry. The deceased man walks on foot (E301) or, more frequently, rides in a biga,

surrounded by men carrying fasces, horns, and a tablet (E302, E303, E310, E404, E405).

Depictions of the 3rd century processions include winged figures, three of which

correspond with other iconography featuring Vanth, the winged assistant in the

underworld. On an ash urn, now lost (E305), three men with fasces lead the procession on

the left, followed by another man to their right. A winged female stands behind the

horses while the togate man, identified as the deceased, rides in the biga. Vanth and

Charun are both depicted in the next example (E308), a sarcophagus in Tarquinia's

Museo Archeologico Nazionale, c. 250-200 BC. Here, three men with fasces process to

the left, followed by Vanth; Charun stands behind the horses holding his hammer, the

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[44] Bruni 2004; these sarcophagi and ash urns have been investigated by Lambrechts in his *Essai sur les Magistrature des Républiques Étrusques* (1959).
[45] Holliday 1990, 75-76.
[46] Holliday 1990, 76.

togate deceased rides in the biga, and a man carrying a horn follows behind. Charun is

depicted without Vanth in a sarcophagus currently in Tarquinia (E307), in which he

directly guides the biga in which the deceased rides. A rare example of a quadriga

carrying the deceased is also currently in Tarquinia (E403), c 200-180 BC, although its

decoration is damaged.

Related, non-processional iconography also appeared during and after the 4th

century BC. Here, the dead may be depicted on a journey alone or with the uniquely

Etruscan *psychopompoi* Charun and Vanth. Various types of journeys to the underworld

are illustrated, including over water[47] or across a rocky outcropping.[48]   This kind of

transformative journey first makes an appearance in the 4th century in the Tomb of the

Blue Demons (B204), in which the central figure, likely a female, has ventured across the

rocky outcropping on the right and will now cross a body of water, indicated by the boat

on the left. The Tomb of the Bulls features a youth riding a hippocamp towards the

afterlife in the pediment.[49] In most of the depictions of the journey, the deceased walks

to his destination,[50] which may cross thresholds, including the doorways mentioned in

Chapter 4; multiple boundaries may be crossed. A unique example of related relief

decoration comes from Chiusi (E408), c. 150-100 BC.   Two doorways are featured here,

illustrating the multi-threshold nature of the journey of the deceased to the afterlife.

Sometimes the ancestors or a deceased spouse journey to meet the dead and this

interaction is depicted iconographically. For example, in an ash urn currently in Palermo

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[47] The Etruscan chthonic Charun is a character distinct from the Greek ferryman Charon. See Chapter 4, fn. 69 for bibliography regarding the figure of Charun, his iconography and character.

[48] Roncalli 1996, 48-50.

[49] Jannot 2005, 61-62; Steingräber 1985, 358-359.

[50] de Grummond 2006, 212.

(E312), 3rd-2nd century BC, the deceased, perhaps the male figure on the left, shakes the hand of a female, either his previously deceased wife or an ancestor, while standing in front of a doorway and Charun and Vanth watch from the background.[51] Another ash urn depicts similar iconography; in an example from Volterra (E406), 2nd century BC, the deceased stands to the left of the arched doorway in the background, embracing his wife's hand. Charun, featuring his hammer, stands to the far right in the scene, while seven other figures watch, presumably comprised of ancestors.[52] These processions not only depict the journey made by the dead, but also serve as a visual means of placing the deceased into a familial context. In the examples of the deceased or of other members of the extended family, no specific identifiable features are present. Although these images are clearly meant to represent an individual, that individual is depicted with generalizing features, and, in instances lacking an inscription, the visual meaning of the individual may change for each viewer; nuanced meaning, therefore, may be generated based on context.

On the Sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei from Chiusi (E311), dating to c. 250-200 BC, the deceased is indicated to the far right.[53] He is flanked on either side by a female, and a winged Vanth is on the right. A line of figures stand to the left, both male and female, who may be ancestors of the deceased, waiting to greet and receive him into the afterlife; the underworld is indicated on the far left by the partially opened arched doorway.[54] On a sarcophagus in Tarquinia (E313), 300-250 BC, the deceased rides a horse towards an

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[51] Paschinger 1992, 306.
[52] de Ruyt 1934, 33; Mavleev and Krauskopf 1986, 230; Steiner 2003, 340.
[53] Krauskopf 1986b, 308; Krauskopf 2006, 68; Paschinger 1992, 303; Steiner 2003, 332.
[54] Krauskopf 1981c, 308-309; this also represents the one and only instance of a female chthonic figure named Culsu, who is emerging from the doorway.

open arched doorway. Charun follows on the right, carrying a hammer, while the winged Vanth leads and a male and female wait for the deceased near the gate.[55] On a 2nd century urn from Chiusi (E407), Charun and Vanth lead a female and her female ancestors towards an open arched doorway.[56] Another ash urn, c. 150-100 BC (E409), is unusual in including the three-headed Cerberus along with Vanth and Charun in beckoning the togate deceased on the far left towards the closed doorway.[57]

Religious Processions

Processional iconography may very rarely be associated with overt religious contexts. Although sacrifices themselves are mentioned in extant Etruscan texts, Jannot indicates that "sacrificial processions are seldom illustrated and nowhere described."[58] This is surprising, considering the importance of religion in Etruscan culture. Sacrificial processional iconography may be identified by several characteristics, such as the inclusion of animals, the presence of an altar, and an *aulete*; they have been identified in Chiusine relief sculpture from the 6th-5th centuries BC and in vase painting.[59]

Two Chiusine reliefs unambiguously depict Etruscan sacrificial processions. On a sarcophagus from Perugia (E022) a central altar is depicted, on which a fire has been built and a *thymiaterion* rests.[60] Three men approach from the left, holding knives, while

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[55] de Ruyt 1934, 66; Mavleev and Krauskopf 1986, 231; Steiner 2003, 333.
[56] Paschinger 1992, 306; Steiner 2003, 339.
[57] Paschinger 1992, 306; Steiner 2003, 338.
[58] Jannot 2005, 42.
[59] Jannot 2005, 38-39.
[60] Jannot 1984, 23-25.

three on the right lead and calm a bull, which is the intended sacrifice.[61] On a circular

base in Perugia (E023), a central altar is featured with 16 male and female figures

processing towards the centrally located altar. A fire with smoke above is depicted on the

altar, indicating that it is already prepared. Although there is no sacrificial animal

present, two men to the right of the altar carry the *lituus* and two men to the left carry

rods, marking their office.[62]

On a Caeretan hydria (F117), dating to the last quarter of the 6th century BC, an

altar is depicted with a burning fire, a man carrying a double ax walks next to the head of

a bull, and a second man walks with the bull and carries a lebes.[63] Two females follow

behind the bull, one of whom is playing the aulos and the other carries a basket on her

head. A black-figure amphora (F208) c. 460-450 BC, illustrates another religious

procession, identified as such based on the inclusion of the altar. Five figures are

advancing to the altar, a priest with a stick, a dancing female with a vessel on her head,

two musicians, a lyre and an aulos player, and a man carrying a branch to the altar.[64]

These four examples offer rare evidence for religious Etruscan processions, which likely

indicates the disinterest in creating widespread and numerous depictions of these types of

religious practices in art. Interest, instead, was on events relevant to civic and funerary

settings.

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[61] Here, the Etruscans are not hiding the sacrificial knife, unlike the Greek practice. On human sacrifice in Etruscan culture, see Bonfante 2013, 68-73.
[62] Jannot 1984, 151-153.
[63] Hemelrijk 1984, 29, n. 15, tav. 67-68. Van Straten 1995.
[64] Bruni 2004, 24, no. 12; Parise Badoni 1968, tav. 29.

Mythological Processions

Not only do processions occur at the funeral and in the context of religious

sacrifice, they are also associated with mythological stories and figures. Two specific

contexts appear in Etruscan iconography, the Judgment of Paris, called Elcsntre in

Etruria, and the Return of Hephaistos, or Sethlans.[65] Holliday sees the Etruscan depiction

of the Judgment of Paris as an example of processional iconography, albeit in a

mythological setting.[66] The occasion is exceptional and otherworldly; it is during this

narrative that the fateful decision judging the beauty of three of the most important

goddesses in the Greek, Etruscan, or Roman pantheon is made, with wide-ranging

implications; Elcsntre's actions ultimately result in the Trojan War and its aftermath.[67]

Iconographic examples of the procession of the goddesses to see Elcsentre date to

the 6th through 5th centuries BC.[68] One such representation may be found on the

Boccanera slabs (G104), a set of three plaques from Cerveteri that date to the 6th century

and feature a painted depiction of the Judgment of Elcsntre. The left plaque features

Elcsntre himself, who is welcoming two figures that have been identified as Minrva and

Turms, the Etruscan equivalent of Hermes. On the second plaque, Uni and Turan follow

behind, while a third figure walks in the opposite direction, presumably joining an

unrelated group of three women walking towards the right in the third panel. The

identification of this group as a procession corresponds with several criteria of spectacle;

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[65] Carpenter 1991, 13-15, 197-198, fig. 1-5, 290-292; Pausanias 1.20.3 provides a literary account of the myth of the Return of Hephaestus. A famous depiction of this myth may be found on the François Vase, as well as other Greek examples, such as a Corinthian amphoriskos, an Attic black-figure neck-amphora, and am Attic black-figure column-krater. Carpenter also indicates that the Judgment of Paris was popular in Greek art beginning c. 650 BC through the 4th century.

[66] Holliday 1990, 74.

[67] Gantz 1993, 567-568; the author also indicates that this was a popular subject of the Archaic Period.

[68] For more information on the Judgment of Elcsntre, see de Grummond 2006, 76-78, 85-93.

the presence of Turms and the goddesses would elevate the appearance of a group of figures from the everyday to the miraculous; the goddesses' appearance, dress, forward movement, and attributes add to their distinction. A group of deities are processing together for the purpose of a fateful and potent decision. Although an audience is not depicted iconographically, we, the viewer, whether ancient or modern, stand in place of a depicted spectator, perpetually experiencing the supernatural occurrence ourselves.

The use of iconography to depict the mythological narrative also relates to the visual nature of Elcsntre's decision. Although Elcsntre's choice is not based solely on visual factors, as each goddess attempted to sway his decision through bribery, the nature of the contest itself is visual. The three goddesses visit Elcsntre, and ask that he make a decision based on the visual characteristic of beauty. Here, the visual element has a double function, as it is a key component in both the narrative as well as how we, the spectators, actually experience the story. The decision is more frequently shown than the procession in Etruscan art, with examples featured in mirror and painted vase decoration.[69] In fact, one humorous engraved mirror example has been identified, in which the Judgment has been inverted. Here, the three goddesses stand in judgment of Elcsentre, who lifts his skirt revealing his genetalia (A303).[70]

The earliest example of the Judgment story narrative may be observed on the name vase of the Paris Painter (F101), an amphora from Vulci dating to 550-540 BC.[71] On one side is the procession of the deities towards the depiction of Elcsntre,

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[69] de Grummond 2006, 125; de Grummond indicates that the actual Judgment of Paris is featured in Etruscan art more frequently than the procession of the goddesses.
[70] de Grummond 2006, 94.
[71] Martelli 1987, 149, 300, no. 102; here, the Judgment of Paris is on the shoulder of the amphora; Haynes 2000, 163.

accompanied by animals, on the other side. An old bearded man leads the procession of

deities, followed by Turms, who is in turn followed by the three goddesses Uni, Minerva,

and Turan. This example of the procession carries the same criteria as the Boccanera

slabs and Martelli makes the observation that the paratactic grouping of deities on the

first side appear as if they are in a sacred procession.[72]

Mythological processional iconography was also observable in Etruria in their

version of the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus.[73] Sethlans attempts to exact revenge on

his mother Uni for expelling him from Olympus by constructing a magical throne.[74] Uni

becomes trapped in the throne upon its first use, from which no one is able to extricate

her.[75] Although numerous deities beseech Sethlans to return to Olympus to rejoin the

gods and liberate his mother, only Fufluns is able to convince him to return, through

copious amounts of wine. Several examples of this mythological narrative are depicted in

Etruscan art, including a bronze mirror, bronze situla, and two hydriae and amphorae.[76]

One Etruscan example of this mythological account decorates a hydria (F107) from

Cerveteri, dating to 525-500 BC, on which Sethlans is depicted astride a donkey, led by

Fufluns, and accompanied by satyrs and maenads.[77] Another hydria from Cerveteri

(F106), by the Eagle Painter, c. 530-510 BC, also depicts the Return of Sethlans using a

similar iconographic composition, although part of the hydria is damaged and has been

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[72] Martelli 1987, 300; "In entrambi i lati si rivela communque la sapiente composizione delle scene propria del Pittore di Paride: paratattica, quasi da sacra processione in A."
[73] de Grummond 2006, 134.
[74] Gantz 1993, 75-76.
[75] The throne becomes a physical and visual manifestation of the masterful craftsmanship wrought by Sethlans.
[76] Krauskopf 1981e, 655-656.
[77] The two Caeretan hydriae mentioned here have been discussed in Chapter 2, in the context of mythological dance iconography. See fn. 132-133.

lost.[78] Two examples of black-figure amphorae (F104, F105) from c. 530-520 BC,

features iconography with Sethlans astride the donkey and Fufluns leading. The use of

satyrs and maenads here corresponds with the frequently illustrated figures performing in

many different kinds of media.[79] Previous discussions have investigated informal

processions consisting of mortal revelers venturing to funeral festivities, and the

depictions of dancing and music-making satyrs and maenads, followers of Fufluns, who

occasionally appear as bands of revelers. In this context, however, the satyrs and maenads

are elevated to a specific and identifiable narrative, as opposed to participating in general

revelry. A bronze situla from Bolsena (C601), dating c. 300-250 BC, illustrates a late

example of Fufluns and Sethlans journeying with a contingent of satyrs and maenads. A

mirror from Chiusi (A317), c. 300-275 BC, depicts Fufluns supporting Sethlans instead

of the latter riding a donkey; here the relationship of Turms and Sethlans is the focus,

with Sethlans' drunken stupor and his hammer - soon to be used to break his mother's

bonds - serving as the main references to the mythological account. The subsequent

freeing of Uni is even depicted on an engraved mirror (A232), likely from Tarquinia,

dating to the 4th century BC. Etruscan iconography, therefore, provides visual evidence

of the entirety of the mythological story.

In Hedreen's discussion of the Athenian version of the Return of Hephaistos, the

author identifies the depiction of the narrative as in the form of "Dionysiac processional

ritual."[80] He also indicates several features that identify it as thus, including the presence

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[78] Hemelrijk 1984, 28-29, no. 14.

[79] See Chapter 2, fn. 136-141, and the associated discussion for more information on the appearance of dancing and musical satyrs in Etruscan art.

[80] Hedreen 2004, 41.

of music, the slow-moving and inefficient nature of the donkey as transportation, and the inclusion of numerous participants.[81] Carpenter, also discussing the Return of Hephaistos, instead indicates that the focus is on the representations of the Dionysiac procession.[82]

The Etruscan versions of the Greek accounts of the Return of Hephaistos and the Judgment of Paris represent potent occasions of uncertainty and transformation, as well as two different types of procession. The Return of Hephaistos shares similarities with the bacchic revelries featured in Etruscan mirror decoration, tomb paintings, and vase paintings. Here, the dancing and music-making satyrs moving forward through space have been given an identifiable narrative. Sethlans had previously refused to return to assist and free his mother Uni, but, as evidenced by the Etruscan iconography, he has been persuaded by Fufluns and his wine. Not only is Uni liberated from her bonds, but Sethlans is liberated as well; he has been given the freedom to return home to rejoin the other gods and Fufluns, with his wine, has freed Sethlans to make this important decision.

While Sethlans' return to Olympus and the subsequent release of Uni from the rigged throne would allow for the abatement of chaos among the gods, it is in the Judgment of Paris where Paris himself makes a fateful decision regarding the most powerful goddesses of the Greek and Etruscan pantheon, causing chaos among gods and mortals; this ultimately leads to the widespread and long-term violence and consequences of the Trojan War. Much is at stake with this fateful decision, especially since it involves the three most powerful goddesses, Uni, Turan, and Minrva. Although these two mythological narratives have not been as frequently featured in Etruscan art as other

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[81] Hedreen 2004, 41-42; although, necessarily, the Etruscan versions would not reflect the Athenian cultic practices the Attic depictions of the myth referenced.
[82] Carpenter 1986, 26.

examples of myth, their presence still indicates the use of processional iconography involving divine participants, which help its identification as spectacle, and how the Etruscans conceptualized and adopted these Greek myths for their own purposes. Spectacle has the powerfuly ability to cause change and to subvert or reinforce the social order.

Conclusion

Processions and other types of spectacle share similar characteristics; something remarkable or out of the ordinary is indicated as occurring, which demonstrates meaningful aspects of a society in a multi-sensory manner. In addition to these requirements, spectacle also is defined by its movement towards something. The movement may be occasionally punctuated by stops along the way, but the progression through space offers a sense of cohesion and order to both the participants and the observers of the action. For the Etruscans, events that were raised beyond the ordinary involved significant or transformative occasions. Aristocratic families hosted large-scale dining functions to reinforce or promote their status; mythological examples represented significant changes to the divine order and funerary iconography throughout Etruscan history incorporate processions as a way to mark the importance of the person and acknowledges the loss for the family and community. Of these examples, funerary contexts are most frequently used.

Processions are evident in the Etruscan iconographic record from the 6th-2nd century BC, although the nature of the processions changes beginning in the 4th century BC. In the 6th and 5th centuries, processions, as they appear in funerary contexts, were

associated with dancing, music, and banqueting iconography. On a few examples of

Chiusine sculpture, a religious element may be present, marked by a male carrying a

lituus or a female holding a branch. In the 4th century, Etruscan representations of

procession abandon earlier forms and demonstrate similarities with individual journeys of

the deceased to the underworld. These instances are limited to funerary contexts and

replace the banqueting, athletics, and entertainment practices of the previous centuries.

Also occurring at this time is the appearance of the images of the chthonic assistants

Vanth and Charun, who provide guidance to the deceased during the journey to the

afterlife.

Processions feature mortals involved in civic, funerary, and religious performance

that serve to emphasize the importance of the deceased and their family and the political

leaders in a community. Surprisingly, religious, mythological, and civic processions are

only featured in a handful of examples of Etruscan art. The Etruscans, instead, chose to

associate processional iconography with displays of power in death and the afterlife. The

journey to the afterlife and the procession has proven to be an occasion for numerous

kinds of performance in Etruscan culture, such as dance, music, banqueting, and

spectacle. Sufficient evidence exists regarding the use of depictions of processions and

there is an overlap between funerary, civic, religious, and mythological subjects.

Processions are used in large-scale Etruscan art as a form of spectacle; as such, its

iconography offers information about a type of performance that communicates cultural

values and realities not otherwise observable in the archaeological record.

Conclusion

Although the concept of performance in Etruria can be approached through a single example at a time, it is better understood through the investigation and evaluation of multiple kinds of performances. Bérard and Durand assert that it is necessary to consider an image "in the context of a series of images."[1] In so doing, they argue that not only is provenance important in the interpretation of iconography, but also that cultural comparanda are critical in analyzing and providing meaning to iconographic depictions. In this work, each example of performance, such as juggling, dance, or boxing, may not only be studied with other examples of the same action, but also in the context of performance as a whole. It is with this idea in mind that dance, music, gaming, athletic, processional, and spectacle iconography have been investigated. No one image, site or type of activity can offer the complete picture regarding the function and relevance of performance in Etruria. Images depicting various motifs must be considered as a whole, especially since they appear together so frequently in Etruscan art.

Examples have been included in this work from a wide range of Etruscan artistic media; indeed, the current study has considered both large-scale and portable objects, items used in daily life, public contexts, and in funerals, as well as materials from varying production centers throughout this complex ancient region. Why tackle such an inclusive corpus of iconographic information? Extensive single object studies of Etruscan materials

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[1] Bérard and Durand 1989, 25. Note that the authors focus on painted ceramics in this chapter, but their conclusions can be applied to other artistic media.

(i.e. wall painting, mirrors, gems) have already been completed, which serve to organize and analyze the iconographic and archaeological data. Izzet has proposed that "overarching comparisons" may provide new perspectives combining familiar and little-known evidence.[2] Certainly, there are challenges in researching numerous types of artistic media with such a wide ranges of dates. The investigation provided in *this* work has revealed patterns regarding performances and object types, resulting in conclusions not possible when using a more narrowly defined range of data. It has combined well known examples of visual and material evidence, such as wall painting and mirror decoration, with items that are rarely mentioned in academic discourse, among them engraved gems, bronze decoration, and obscure engraved mirrors.

Scholarship referencing iconographic representations of performance in Etruria focuses on the aristocratic celebrations for the funeral and the afterlife; this is not surprising considering the bias in the archaeological record towards such information. Past publications regarding the nature of Etruscan performance, including dance, music, banqueting, athletics and other activities, have also evaluated the relationship between Greek iconography and the Etruscan evidence. The tendency to evaluate the "Greekness" of the Etruscan materials has led to widespread familiarity with certain examples of art and media over others. However, examining the visual and material evidence with a wider scope has placed the focus on new objects and images, which increase our understanding of Etruscan performances.

Although it was during the Orientalizing Period that elite Etruscans acquired wealth, it was not until the Archaic Period that they developed a widespread iconographic

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[2] Izzet 2007, 3.

program to communicate messages related to status and key cultural events. The 6th and

5th centuries BC witnessed the development of new iconographic forms in Etruria. Partly

due to the influx of Greek evidence, the Etruscans incorporated artistic depictions that

corresponded with their own important cultural performance and events, especially to the

events related to death and the afterlife, and in banqueting contexts.[3] The Etruscans

adopted and modified externally-developed artistic forms. Some of the imagery and

object types adopted from the Greek artists were appropriate in a wider context and

functioned in everyday or civic occasions. Overlap of subject may be observed between

media, especially in the 6th and 5th centuries BC, in wall painting, mirror decoration,

Chiusine relief sculpture, ceramic decoration, engraved gems, and in bronze decorative

objects, implying the general presence of these motifs in the Etruscan consciousness.

During and after the 4th century, the nature of the evidence changes; interest in

portraying performance-related iconography diminishes. The representation of dance and

music continues on Etruscan mirrors, and new motifs are introduced, especially as

connected with play, games, and associated mythological narrative. Generally, however,

in the 4th century new emphasis in iconography focuses on the underworld, especially in

funerary art. Relief sculpture and tombs paintings, specifically, feature newly appearing

underworld demons, while processional iconography appears in relief and tomb painting.

The following summary evaluates the major categories of evidence that have been

examined across the previous chapters. Rather than by theme, the overview included here

is arranged by object type as follows: funerary wall paintings, relief sculpture, bronze

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[3] The place and importance of Greek vases in Etruscan tombs is a subject that has received increased
attention. See, for example, Paleothodoros 2008 and Reusser 2002.

mirrors, and portable objects, which includes decorated pottery, bronze decoration, and engraved gems. The media especially associated with funerary contexts, wall painting and Chiusine reliefs, incorporates complex iconography and identifies depictions of Etruscan spectacle through inclusion on a grand scale. Performance is featured throughout Etruscan iconography, dating from the Orientalizing through the Hellenistic Period, but the nature of the iconography changes over time, and is dependent on medium. The iconographic evidence for performance indicates that it is varied and complex, provides evidence for activities that affected, elites and non-elites alike, and demonstrates emically conceptualized performance and its function.

<u>Wall Paintings</u>

Funerary wall paintings offer a unique example of an artistic medium tied intrinsically to a specific location. Large-scale in nature, this type of Etruscan painting was also defined by exclusivity of access. Despite the restrictions in availability, the tombs would be reopened for subsequent burials, allowing for specific members of the community to experience the performances depicted within. Performance iconography appeared in Etruscan wall paintings at the end of the 6th century BC and continued into the Hellenistic Period in the 2nd century BC. Most of the examples of this medium occur in Tarquinia, but other sites, such as Chiusi, Cerveteri, and Veii, have provided useful evidence for this study.

Between the 6th through the 4th centuries BC in Etruria, from the Archaic into the Classical Period, funerary painting was consumed with the depictions of a pleasant afterlife, one which shared similarities with the funerary activities that were held at the

tomb; the iconography included a wide range of depictions of dance and music, as well as reclining couples, their servants, acrobatic and juggling activities, athletic and equestrian events, as well as the reference to wine consumption, implied by the ceramic vessels held or seated near the participants. These representations were not obviously supernatural or mythological in nature, and involved humans – including, perhaps, the deceased - observing and participating in these events. Relationships between individuals as well as between groups of participants were being illustrated. The general abandonment of depictions of the funerary banquet in wall painting and in relief sculpture occurred after the 5th century. Beginning in the 4th century, at a time when the Etruscans saw a dramatic loss in their political and economic power, images connected with performance changed as well. Instead of highlighting occasions that may be shared by the living and the dead alike, the focus turned to the experiences of the dead exclusively.

Hints of the changes about to take place occur in the Tomb of the Blue Demons, in the 5th century (B204), but are not really expressed fully until the 4th-2nd centuries BC. It was at this time that the nature of funerary iconography shifted attention. The relationship between the iconographic depictions and the exclusive group of tomb visitors viewing them also transformed. No longer are the dead depicted as participating in types of entertainment and pastimes that were related to the living. Chthonic demons, such as Vanth and Charun, were represented for the first time in iconography and acted as guides in the journey to the afterlife. Other visual clues communicated to the viewer that the deceased was traveling through or had arrived in the underworld, evidenced by the inclusion of Aita and Phersipnai, the Etruscan mythological king and queen of the dead. The processional iconography appearing in these Hellenistic wall paintings, offers clues

regarding the importance of an individual, instead of the anonymous inclusion of the deceased in the funerary activities, as if he were still part of the world of the living. Wall paintings offer the best evidence for changing attitudes towards the preparation for the afterlife. Framing elements in this medium for performance in the 6th – 4th centuries included the presence of spectators, a visual distinction between the audience and the actors, furniture and props, such as musical instruments, and the occasional inclusion of architectural elements.

Relief Sculpture

Wall painting was not the only example of complex iconography in Etruscan culture. Funerary relief sculpture was created in various locations throughout Etruria. It is the Archaic relief sculpture from Chiusi, however, that provides the most relevant evidence for performance in this medium. Motifs used to decorate Chiusine relief sculpture relate to those found in wall painting. The reliefs also provide information about funerary activities not otherwise referenced elsewhere, such as the prothesis and processions of mourning women. The majority of the funerary relief sculpture relevant to this study was manufactured at the site of Chiusi, but found in contexts throughout northern and central Etruria. During the end of the 6th - beginning of the 5th century BC, funerary sculpture was developed at the site, including sarcophagi, ash urns, *cippi*, and other objects. The importance of the funerary relief sculpture lies not only in the decorative motifs, but also in the frequent combinations of these motifs, creating an extensive decorative program with complexity similar to wall painting. Subsequent periods of funerary relief production in Chiusi did not utilize the same iconography,

choosing instead to focus on mass produced objects, featuring Greek inspired battle iconography and reclining individuals on the lid. The examples of relief given in this study date from the end of the 6th century to the beginning of the 5th, a time period which corresponds to the creation of iconography at Tarquinia and the architectural terracottas found at civic sites, such as Murlo and Acquarossa.

Beginning in the Hellenistic Period, sarcophagi and ash urns included motifs corresponding to those used in contemporary funerary wall painting. Processional iconography was coupled with depictions of the deceased's journey to the underworld, crossing threshold and boundaries of different types, such as water, rocks, or even doorways. The chthonic figures that are shown include not only Vanth and Charun, but other, unidentifiable figures that may represent ancestors assisting in the transition of the newly deceased into the afterlife. The Etruscans used the processional performance types to emphasize the transitional nature of the journey to the afterlife, a period fraught with uncertainty and anxiety; they abandoned the prior depictions of familiar activities in the underworld and at the funeral.

Other relevant relief sculpture takes the form of decorated terracottas that are non-funerary in nature. Many motifs from civic contexts overlap with the funerary evidence, including illustrations of equestrian events, processions, reclining banqueting and revelers. These plaques generally date to the 6th century BC and have been found in both southern and northern Etruria, indicating that the attempt to reference large-scale civic events at designated sites was not regionally practiced. The corresponding evidence from the local centers indicate the widespread appeal of these types of performance iconography.

<u>Engraved and Relief Mirrors</u>

Another important object type offering evidence for performance outside of the funeral is the bronze mirror. Not only was it thought to have been used in daily life, but the choices used in its engraved or relief iconography were wide-ranging. In fact, the corpus of engraved mirrors provides the widest variety of performance-related motifs, including some rare examples of games. Images of dance, music, and play appear beginning in the 6th century and continue into the Hellenistic Period. Etruscan mirrors, both with engraved and relief decoration, represent a more complex use pattern than other examples of Etruscan material culture. Mirrors appear to have had multiple uses throughout their lifetime, had female owners, and were not kept in families as heirlooms, but, instead, were included as grave goods at the death of their owners. They had a function both in Etruscan life and death. They are unique in the information they provide regarding Etruscan culture outside of funerary contexts.

Dance and music iconography were represented throughout all periods of the manufacture of the mirrors, while other performance subjects have a much more limited appearance. For example, Etruscan mirror iconography only features banqueting in a few examples from the 6th-4th centuries. Mirrors also provide rare evidence for games and play in art during the Classical and Hellenistic Periods in Etruscan culture, dating to the 4th-2nd centuries BC. Visual depictions include board games, dice, the use of the magical toy, the *iynx*, and the appearance of mythological narratives not recognized in earlier objects. Unlike wall painting and Chiusine relief, mirrors do not provide complex iconography regarding large-scale Etruscan performances. Very rarely are multiple scenes and figures combined; instead, mirrors provide details regarding everyday,

personal performances, as well as public events. Although the use of the mirror continues throughout Etruscan culture, choices in iconographic subject seem to evolve, as with the other forms of Etruscan art. Many mirrors have no recorded find spot; as a result, information regarding regional preferences in decorative motifs is all but lost to modern scholars, and cannot be gleaned for performance iconography.

Decorated Pottery and Other Portable Objects

Several other types of Etruscan objects offer evidence for performance in iconography, although their decoration generally corresponds to the types of images observed in the large-scale examples. These portable objects include ceramics, engraved gems, and bronze figurines and decorative attachments. Ceramic evidence in Etruria is represented by several different types of objects. Bucchero offers few examples of early dancing and banqueting iconography, dating to the 7th-6th centuries BC. The majority of the examples are vases decorated in the black-figure technique, from the 6th and 5th centuries BC, and early scholarly interest in this type of object stems from the Greek influence in its production. Etruscan black-figure examples are generally connected to images of revelry and athletic events, although a few feature reclining banqueters and mythological narrative. As in the example of the bronze mirrors, multiple performance-related motifs are not combined in these types of small, portable objects. Interest in illustrating dance, athletics, and music wanes in the 4th century, and is only featured on a limited number of Etruscan red-figure vessels.

Other types of portable objects that would have had both a function in both daily life and have been found in funerary contexts include engraved gems and bronzes. An

understanding of their function and context is challenging, based on the frequent loss of provenance. Etruscan bronzes connected with performance iconography appear as early as the 6th century and feature figurines, acrobatic handles, and the human forms adorning *thymiateria* and candelabra. From the 6th century - 4th century BC, acrobats, athletes, dancers, musicians, and banqueters are included in the various bronze forms indicated above. After the 4th century, the bronze evidence for performance iconography abruptly ceases, perhaps relating to the more general change in iconographic interests already noted in the case of mirrors and tomb paintings.

Only a few engraved gems contain images related to performance, as many examples instead focused on mythological narrative, soldiers, and hunting. The few examples that are included in the current work date to the period of the 6th-5th centuries BC and generally feature musicians and athletes, although there is a depiction of an acrobat and a dancer included. The iconography of the engraved gems may be better understood as belonging to the realm of everyday activities, as well as functioning as possible grave goods; like the Etruscan mirrors, the gems inform us about both life and death.

Shifting Meanings of the 6th-4th Centuries BC

As previously illustrated, patterns in the Etruscan visual evidence may be medium-based; overall patterns may also be discerned when examining the evidence collectively. The Etruscans used performance to express power, especially when indicating attributes of an aristocratic class in the 6th-5th centuries BC. Other uses of performance include the depiction of entertainment activities, as part of a mythological

narrative, and to celebrate or mourn the dead. The meaning of performance varied depending on context and chronology; performance iconography changed and adopted to changing needs in Etruria.

It is with the introduction of Greek art via painted vases and through contact with Greek colonies in Italy that the Etruscans could have received inspiration for performance-related iconography and practices. Art depicting early performances appears in civic and funerary contexts, indicating its polysemic capacity. Banqueting, processions, equestrian competitions, and music are attested in architectural terracottas from Acquarossa, Murlo, and Velletri, in contexts that suggested use by aristocratic individuals and their families. From these early examples, performance contexts were used to communicate messages to the viewer; the civic examples promoted the power, prestige, and position of certain members of society. Although inscriptions were not included that could identify individuals, a general message, likely related to the aristocratic class or family, was intended in the iconography.

Concurrently, a visual language of power and position was also crafted for use in funerary decoration, wall paintings, and relief sculpture, and especially served to combine visual elements, such as banqueting athletics, dance, music, and revelry, into a message associated with aristocracy. Clearly differentiated performers and spectators likely corresponded to varied social roles, although there was, apparently, some flexibility in the identity of the performers. This is demonstrated by the names recorded in the Tomb of the Inscriptions (B111) indicating that the performers were aristocratic; the iconography included in the Tomb of the Lionesses (B114), uses costume to distinguish between an aristocratic dancer and a pair of performers belonging to a lower class.

Small-scale media offer less complexity (and space) and instead only depict one type of performance at a time. While it is impossible in many instances to determine the exact performance context, it is very likely that these dance, music, and athletic events were not only limited to spectacle, but to everyday or other non-monumental occasions.

Etruscan iconography adapted over time to changing social realities and needs. Although the evidence of large-scale civic events is short lived, limited to the 6th century, banqueting, athletic competitions, the prothesis, and images of revelers continue into the 4th century; at this time changes occur in performance iconography. Chiusine sculpture adopts other iconography, and so images of the prothesis are abandoned. By the end of the 4th century BC, banqueting disappears from wall painting, ending with the Tomb of the Triclinium (B310). The 4th-2nd centuries see a shifting meaning for groups of performers. Instead of placing the iconographic emphasis on the destination of the deceased in the afterlife, which parallels the Etruscans' own experience and expectations, performance is comprised of processions and images of a single figure's journey to the afterlife. Etruscan interests in artistic depictions shift to the transition between worlds and visually serves to inform the viewer of what to expect after death. The architecture of the underworld is seldom illustrated, but when it is, it is comprised of doorways, further emphasizing the liminal nature of the performance iconography at this time. These portals differ from the post and lintel forms used in the 6th-4th century tomb paintings in the contexts of banquets and revelry. Late doorways are arched and may even be shown as open with figures passing through.

<u>"Partly an end"?</u>

Etruscan archaeology, especially in connection with death and the funeral, provides extensive evidence of Etruscan culture and has long captured the attention of scholars and tourists alike. Funerary contexts comprise the majority of the evidence extant; necropoleis, however, do not offer a complete picture of the Etruscan archaeological record. It is only with the inclusion of everyday objects and their decoration, in conjunction with the funerary archaeology, iconography, and architecture, that a greater and more complete understanding of Etruscan culture be approached and new observations can be made. Although numerous studies have been successfully conducted regarding Greek influence on Etruscan artistic development, this does not negate the fact that Etruscan iconography may be understood as something unique, referencing emically constructed cultural realities, behaviors, and preferences. These images show evidence for large-scale entertainment, spectacle, and public activities, as well as performances that would have functioned as entertainment and ritual activities; iconographic depictions of play and games are included in the iconographic and archaeological evidence as well. Although spectacle may be understood with relevant monumental architecture, generally, these patterns of behavior leave evidence in the iconographic record.

Although this study has provided an overview and analysis of performance in Etruria, it is important to remember that the types of information that the extant visual and material evidence may provide is limited. Physical movement through space, in the forms of Etruscan dances and athletic events, may never be recreated; the sounds of Etruscan musical accompaniment and the lamenting of mourners is forever lost. Personal

and individualized reactions of the spectators and other performers are not available in the iconographic record, and are not present in any of the limited, extant textual evidence. Representations of spontaneous or small-scale, personal performances are difficult to identify in the iconographic record. However, there are types of information that may be obtained. Chronological considerations indicate that certain types of pursuits were depicted by Etruscan artists, perhaps because of demand and/or personal preference. The relationships depicted in these performances, such as those between performer and spectator, were distinctive and occasionally nuanced. Large-scale activities were considered appropriate for funerary occasions, especially considering the messages inherent in the architecture and in the cultural importance of the event. Entertainment values may also be considered when talking about performance. Etruscan performances, while containing associations with ritual and spectacle, also exhibited evidence of play. Although meaning may be derived from the types of performances examined throughout this work, the possibility exists that many Etruscan performances were carried out simply for personal satisfaction, something that is utterly invisible in the archaeological and iconographic record. After all, as observed by D. Hymes, "performance is itself partly an end."[4]

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[4] Hymes 1975, 19.

Appendices

The evidence provided in these appendices functions as an illustrated catalog, divided by medium. The numbering system for the catalog entries in the appendices is formatted as follows: The appendix letter is referenced in the beginning of the catalog entry, followed by the first number, which indicates the century. The final two numbers provide sequential numbering. Each entry has been provided with the following information: the museum and inventory number, provenance (if known), the approximate date, a brief description of the object or site and the iconographic decoration (where relevant), and the bibliography. The wall paintings are listed by name, rather than by museum; if they are no longer *in situ*, their location is specified. The descriptions are necessarily brief and mention, where appropriate, the following information: the title of the object, painter and attribution, the general motifs present, and other descriptive information necessary towards the understanding of an object or location. The order of presentation is as follows:

Appendix A - Engraved and Relief Mirrors

Appendix B – Funerary Wall Painting

Appendix C – Bronze Figurines, Objects, and Containers

Appendix D – Engraved Gems

Appendix E – Stone and Terracotta Relief Sculpture

Appendix F – Decorated Ceramics

Appendix G –Architecture and Miscellaneous Objects

Some Etruscan engraved mirrors have been rarely studied or are in private collections and, consequently, have not been provided with a date. These mirrors have been included at the late Appendix A.

Appendix A – Engraved and Relief Mirrors

<u>6th Century</u>

A001   London, British Museum GR 1814.7-4.915, 510-490 BC
       The Dioscuri greeting and bidding farewell to Helen
       CSE Great Britain 1.1.16; *ES* 4.414.2

A002   Berlin, Staatliche Museen 10788, last quarter of the 6th century BC
       Juggler moving to the right
       CSE DDR 1.45

A003   Berlin, Staatliche Museen FR 17 (Misc 3370), late 6th - early 5th century BC
        Two female dancers
        CSE Germany 4.4; de Grummond 1982, 186, fig. x; *ES* 1.44

A004   Rome, Villa Giulia 24868, late 6th – early 5th century BC
        Satyr holding a lyre and a female companion
        CSE Italy 6.3.4; *ES* 3.92.2
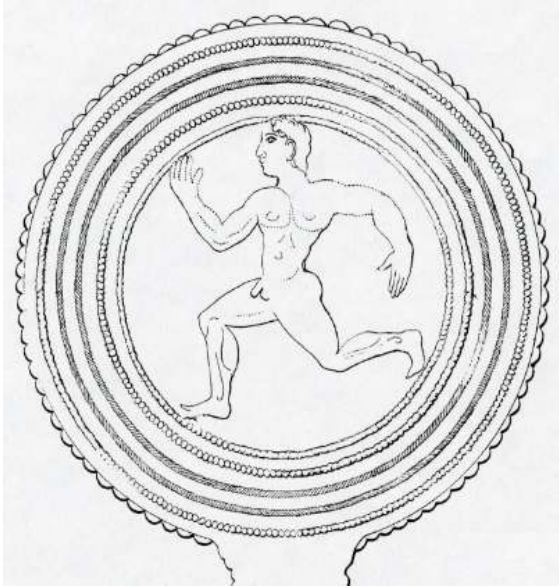
A005   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Chiusi, late 6th century BC
        Male running to left
        ES 5.138.1; Thullier 1985, 155, no. 6

A006   London, British Museum 1824.04-89.82, 525-500 BC
        Male running to right
        CSE Great Britain 1.1.14; *ES* 4.289.2

A007   New York, on loan to the Brooklyn Museum L78.17.47, 520 BC
       Dancer with *thymiatarion*
       Bonfante 1986, 273, fig. 8.59

5th Century

A101   London, British Museum 1865.07-12.06, from Cerveteri, Archaic Period
       Phaun playing lyre next to Eurphia and seated female, satyr playing kottabos in
       exergue
       ES 5.32

A102　London, British Museum GR 1853.1-10.3, early 5th century BC
　　　　Satyr on right with aulos, satyr and female companion dancing on right
　　　　CSE Great Britain 1.1.19

A103　Copenhagen, Danish National Museum ABa 265, 470 BC
　　　　Satyr and Maenad dancing
　　　　CSE Denmark 1.2; *ES* 1.101

A104   Göttingen, Sammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität M 57, 475-
       450 BC
       Top register with three banqueters reclining on cushions, bottom register with
       central female and two satyrs flanking
       CSE Germany 2.4; de Marinis 1961, 32, no. 101; *ES* 5.37

A105   Tübingen, Sammlung des Archäologischen Instituts 88.181, 450 BC
       Dance and Music
       CSE Germany 3.18

A106   Berlin, Staatliche Museen Fr 18 (Misc 3354), 490 BC
       Central male aulos player, two dancing female krotala players on right and left
       CSE Germany 4.5; *ES* 1.98

A107   Berlin, Staatliche Museen Fr 20, 490-480 BC
       Central lyre player, two dancing males on right and left
       CSE Germany 4.6; *ES* 4.415.1

A108   Berlin, Staatliche Museen Fr 22 (Misc. 2972), 470 BC
       Apulu on left, Artumes playing lyre on right
       CSE Germany 4.7; de Grummond 1982, fig. 82; de Grummond 2006, 104, fig.
       v.35; *ES* 4.293; Krauskopf 1981a 347, no. 79

A109   Berlin, Staatliche Museen Fr 23, 470 BC
       Male dancer with patera on left, female dancer on right
       Carpino 2003, pl. 7; *CSE* Germany 4.8; *ES* 1.89; *ES* 3.93

A110   Berlin, Staatliche Museen Fr 24 (Misc 3311), 475 BC
       Female dancer
       CSE Germany 4.9; *ES* 1.96

A111   Volterra, Museo Guarnacci MG 4344 (n. 921), 500 BC
       Two female dancers facing center
       CSE Italy 3.1.33

A112   Rome, Villa Giulia 12973, 500-450 BC
         Male and female reclining banqueters on kline
         CSE Italy 6.1.13; de Marinis 1961, 32, no. 102; *ES* 4.419

A113   Rome, Villa Giulia 12997, first 3rd of 5th century BC
         Female playing krotala
         CSE Italy 6.1.30

A114   Rome, Villa Giulia 24896, 500-450 BC
Female on left, satyr on right, both dancing and playing krotala
CSE Italy 6.3.29; *ES* 4.315.1

A115   Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.73, 500 BC
Aulos player on right, central long jumper making landing, servant on left with strigil
CSE USA 2.5; *ES* 5.144; Thullier 1985, 155, no. 5

A116   Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 5th century BC
        Two nude athletes
        ES 5.138.2; Thullier 1985, 155, no. 7

A117   Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, late 5th century BC
        Peleus and Atalanta wrestling
        de Grummond 1982, fig. 88; de Grummond 2006, 197, no. VIII.26; *ES* 2.224;
        Thullier 1985, 156, no. 8

A118   Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3971, early 5th century BC
       Male and female dancer moving towards left
       Carpino 2003, pl.4; *ES* 4.414.1

A120   Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, from Viterbo, 470 BC
       Dancing satyr and female companion
       de Grummond 2006, 114, fig. VI.1; *ES* 4.314
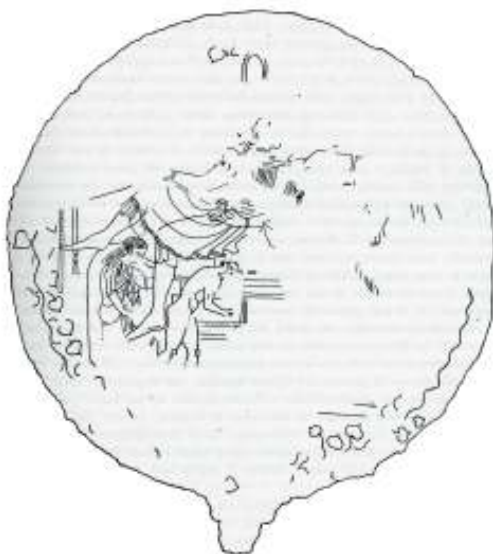
A121   Rome, Villa Giulia 24900, 6th or 5th century BC
Central banqueting couple, two servants on bottom left
Mansuelli 1943, 489, fig. 1

4th Century

A202   Leipzig, Museum für Kunsthandwerk 20.162, late 4th century BC
Two reclining male banqueters, female *aulete* on left
CSE DDR 2.19

A203 Hannover, Kestner Museum 3266, late 4th century BC
Hercle on right, winged female with lyre arriving on left
CSE Germany 2.25; *ES* 2.144

A204 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Fr. 52 (Misc 3344), 4th century BC
Turan and Atunis embracing in center, seated male on left and seated female on right
CSE Germany 4.33; *ES* 1.111

A205   Berlin, Staatliche Museen Fr. 54 (Misc. 3316), 400-350 BC
        Seated female on left with *iynx*, standing female on right holding ball above the
        central winged male figure.
        CSE Germany 4.35; *ES* 4.328.1

A206   Rome, Villa Giulia 6425, 4th century BC
        Two males playing a game
        Mansuelli 1943, 502, fig. 4

A207   Paris, Louvre 1731, 340-330 BC
       Apulu on left with lyre, Artumes on right with aulos
       CSE France 1.3.9; *ES* 4.294

A208   Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 745 (1816), 350 BC
       Lyre
       CSE Italy 1.1.38

A209   Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1020 (1004), 340-330 BC
       Turnu on left with *iynx*
       CSE Italy 2.1.6

A210   Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1035 (997), 325-300 BC
       Fufluns with lyre on right, winged female on left
       CSE Italy 2.1.17; *ES* 5.31

A211   Viterbo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 121.009, 400-350 BC
        Two female dancers facing center
        CSE Italy 5.1.36

A212   Rome, Villa Giulia 12976, 350-325 BC
        Reclining female on left with three satyrs
        CSE Italy 6.1.16; *ES* 5.42

A213   Rome, Villa Giulia 12983, 350-325 BC
       Apulu on left, Marsyas in center, female seated on right
       CSE Italy 6.1.20; *ES* 4.296; Krauskopf 1981a 349, no. 107

A214   Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, 400 BC
       The seer Chalchas examinging a sheep's liver
       de Grummond 2006, fig. II.9; *ES* 2.223

A215   Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 325-300 BC
       Athrpa afixes a boars head with hammer and nail
       de Grummond 2000, 37; de Grummond 2006b, 100, fig. V.30

A216   Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.207, 400-350 BC
       Apulu or Urphe playing lyre
       CSE USA 2.14; de Grummond 2000, 39-40; *ES* 5.160; Krauskopf 1981a 348, no.
       88

A217 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 09.221.16, 350 BC
Thethis on left, Pele in center looking into mirror
CSE USA 3.14; *ES* 5.96

A218 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 21.88.29, late 4th century BC
Nude female on left, nude male on right with lyre
CSE USA 3.19

A219   Vatican, Museo Gregoriano 5344, 400-350 BC
       Two boxers engaging in combat
       CSE Vatican 1.9; *ES* 4.409.2; Thulier 1985, 154-155, no. 4

A220   Berlin, Staatliche Museen MI 3276, 400-350 BC
       Fufluns and Semle embracing on right, seated aulos player
       CSE DDR 1.5; de Grummond 1982, fig. 91; de Grummond 2006, 117; *ES* 1.83;
       Simon 2006, 50, fig. IV.5

A221   Orvieto, Museo Nazionale, from Castel Viscardo, 375-350 BC
Turnu plays with the *iynx* on the left, Turan and Atunis embrace on the right
de Grummond 2006, 99, fig. V.29; Simon 2006, 51, fig. IV.6

A222   Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN 1971.896, 4th century BC
Equestrian event; naked rider and *meta*
CSE Great Britain 3.22

A223   Tübingen, Sammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Eberhard-Karls-
       Universität 60, 350-325 BC
       Winged figure and male playing dice or casting lots
       CSE Germany 3.12

A224   Rome, Villa Giulia 12992, 350-300 BC
       Female seated on right with umbrella, two males on left
       CSE Italy 6.1.27

A225   Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, from Praeneste, late 4th century BC
Central couple embracing, standing female on right with mirror
CSE Great Britain 2.6

A226   Rome, Villa Giulia 24864, from Praeneste, 4th century BC
Amuke seated on right, Poleduces standing on left, standing female on right
CSE Italy 6.3.1; *ES* 2.171; Thullier 1985, 154, no. 3

A227   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Tarquinia, 350-300 BC
Amuke tied to a tree by Castor; Poleduces sits nearby
de Grummond 2006, 194, fig. VIII.23; *ES* 5.91.2; Thullier 1985, 154, no. 1

A228   Toledo, Museum of Art 80.1340, from Praeneste, 4th century BC
Amykos is tied to a tree in the center and Poleduces stands on right
Carpino 2003, pl. 32; *ES* 5.90; Thullier 1985, 154, no. 2

A229   London, British Museum 719, from Praeneste, late 4th century BC
       Thetis on left, Aiax in center, Alcumena on right with left, silenos on bottom right
       Carpino 2003, pl. 84; *ES* 5.120

A230   London, British Museum 1847.11-01.21, from Chiusi, 350-325 BC
       Areatha embracing Fufluns, who is holding a lyre
       de Grummond 2006, 118, fig. VI.6; *ES* 4.299

A231   Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 1302, 4th century BC
         Seated female on left with lyre
         ES 4.291; Krauskopf 1981a 348, no. 86

A232   Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Zv. 30.1, from Tarquinia, 4th century BC
         Sethlans freeing Uni from chair
         de Grummond 2006, 136, no. VI.30; Krauskopf 1981b, 656, no. 15, tav. 405

3rd Century

A301   Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Hellenistic
Fufluns and winged figure embracing on left, female playing kithara on right
CSE Great Britain 2.3

A302   London, British Museum 1898,07-16.4, from Praeneste, 3rd century BC
Male and female play a game
Bonfante 1986, 239, fig. 8.7; *ES* 5.146

A303   Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, from Praeneste, 3rd century BC
      Humerous "Judgement of Elcsntre," in which Elcsntre stands in the center, lifting
      his skirt, one female on left and two females on right watch the central figure
      de Grummond 2006a, 94, V.24

A304   Stuttgart, Antikensammlung des Württembergischen Landesmuseums 3.839, 250-
      200 BC
      Fufluns and winged figure embracing on left, female playing kithara on right
      CSE Germany 3.6

A305   Esslingen, Private Collection, 2nd half of the 3rd or 2nd century BC
Fufluns and winged figure embracing on left, female playing kithara on right
CSE Germany 3.20

A306   Berlin, Staatliche Museen Fr. 59 (misc 3349), 3rd century BC
Satyr dancing
CSE Germany 4.38; *ES* 1.93.1

A307   Paris, Louvre 1-1833, 2nd half of the 3rd or early 2nd century BC
       Fufluns and winged figure embracing on left, female playing kithara on right
       CSE France 1.4.1

A308   Rome, Villa Giulia 24897, late 4th – early 3rd century BC
       Dancing satyr
       CSE Italy 6.3.30; *ES* 3.93.2

A311   Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.7525, from Praeneste, 300 BC
       Satyr dancing with thyrsos on left and krater on right
       CSE USA 2.12

A312   Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.2875, 250-200 BC
       Satyr playing aulos on left, Fufluns and winged figure carrying thyrsos on right
       CSE USA 2.15; de Grummond 1982, fig, 19

A313 Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and
      Anthropology MS 1500, 300-250 BC
      Two dancers
      CSE USA 4.20

A314 Paris, Louvre 1723, 300 BC
      Thalna with *iynx*
      CSE France 1.3.3; de Grummond 2006, 156, fig. VII.11; *ES* 4.326;

A315   Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 5431 and 5431a, early 3rd century BC
       Boxers engaged in combat, oil flask in center
       CSE Vatican 1.14

A316   London, British Museum 1973.08-20.105, 3rd century BC
       Cacu playing the lyre and the Vipinas brothers
       de Grummond 1982, fig. 103; de Grummond 2006, 28, fig. II.5; *ES* 5.127

A317   Berlin, Staatliche Museen fr. 51, 300-275 BC
       Turms guiding Sethlans to Mt. Olympus
       de Grummond 2006; Krauskopf 1981b, 656, no. 13

Undetermined Date

A401   Private Collection
       Achle and Aivas playing on the *tabula lusoria*
       de Grummond 1982, 83; *ES* 5.109

A402   Private Collection
Seated female on left playing aulos, three satyrs reclining on kline, one of which
is playing kottabos
ES 5.43

A403   Private Collection, from Bomarzo
Dancing female
ES 1.93.3

A404   Male aulos player on left, female dancer on right
       ES 1.97

A405   Private Collection
       Central male aulos player, female dancing krotala players on right and left
       ES 1.99

A406 Private Collection
Satyr dancing on left, dancing female in center and female on right holding
thyrsos
ES 1.103

A407 Private Collection, from Cerveteri
Pan with pipes on left, Herkle in center embracing male, siren on right
ES 2.150

A408 Paris, from the collection in the cabinet of Pourtalès-Gorgier
Standing male on left central female, standing male on right with lyre
ES 2.219

A409 Private Collection
Central female carrying lyre and two seated males. Possibly Helen, Paris, and
Hektor
ES 2.221

A410   Rome, Museum di Collegio Romano
       Standing male on right holding lyre, two standing males in center and on left.
       Possibly Paris, Hektor, and Deiphobos
       ES 2.222

A412   Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 1.30.1
       Apulu playing lyre on left, with seated female aulos player on right and standing
       female in center
       ES 4.297.1

A414   Private Collection
         Female krotala player
         ES 4.312.1

A415   Private Collection, from Praeneste
         Dancer playing krotala, lebes on stand in right field
         ES 4.312.2

A416   Private Collection, from Praeneste
Seated woman on left with umbrella, Turms standing on right
ES 4.404

A417   Private Collection, from Praeneste
Rhodopis and Phaon
ES 4.407

A420   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
       Seated Atunis on left playing lyre, seated Turan on right
       ES 5.26

A422   Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Orvieto
       Seated male on left playing kithara, standing female and seated male on right
       ES 5.33

A423 Collection of Alfonso Garovaiglio
Female dancer
ES 5.143.1

A424 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen
Seated male on right playing kithara, standing female in center and seated female
on left
ES 1.78

A425   Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 12232
       Reclining couple on kline
       de Marinis 1961, 33, no. 103, tav. XIII; Nogara 1934, 129, tav. XXXI

Appendix B – Funerary Wall Painting

7th Century

B001   Tomb of the Ducks, Veii, 675-650 BC
        Five painted ducks
        Steingraber 1985, 382, no. 175; Steingraber 2006, 33-36, 49

6th Century

Rear wall: Central door, two priests gesturing greeting and farewell

Right wall: Boy carrying stool, man gesturing left, priests with *lituus*, pair of wrestlers, Phersu and opponent, canine

Left wall: Remains of three (dancing?) figures on left, dancing Phersu on right

B101   Tomb of the Augurs, Tarquinia, 520 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 291, no. 42; Steingraber 2006, 92-93; Thuillier 1985, 123-124, no. 1.2

Rear wall: Three dancing figures

Left wall: Three dancing figures and one aulos player

Right wall: Aulos player, dancer

B102   Tomb of the Bacchantes, Tarquinia, 510-500 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 292, no. 43; Steingraber 2006, 67, 89

Rear wall: Two horsemen, man with kylix, aulos player, central female

B103   Tomb of the Baron, Tarquinia, 510-500 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 293, nr. 44; Steingraber 2006, 54-55, 98

Rear wall, front room: banqueting scene in pediment

B104   Bartoccini Tomb, Tarquinia, 520 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 294-295, no. 45

Front room, rear wall: Dancers in central register

B105   Tomb of the Clay, Cerveteri, late 6th century BC
        Steingraber 1985, 269, no. 4

Rear wall: Central door, aulos and kithara player

Left wall: Male dancing on left, aulos player, servant with fan, dancing female, servant with mirror

Right wall: Dancing male, lyre player, male with oinochoe, male with kylix

B106   Cardarelli Tomb, Tarquinia, 510-500 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 304-305, no. 53; Steingraber 2006, 100; Thuillier 1985, 128-129, no. 1.8
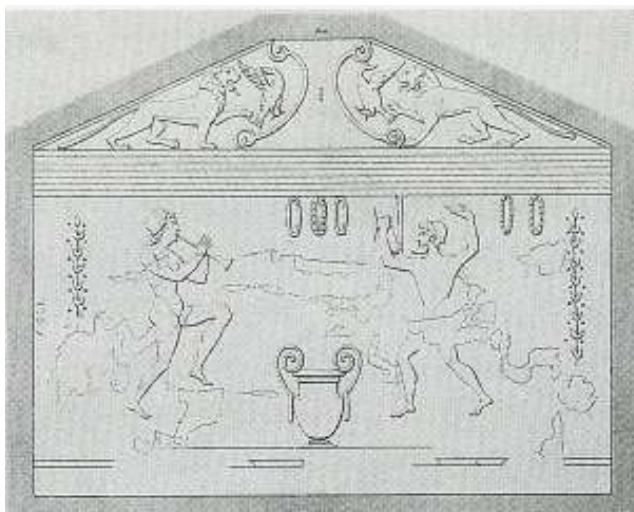
Rear wall: Aulos player on left, dancer with kylix on right, central krater
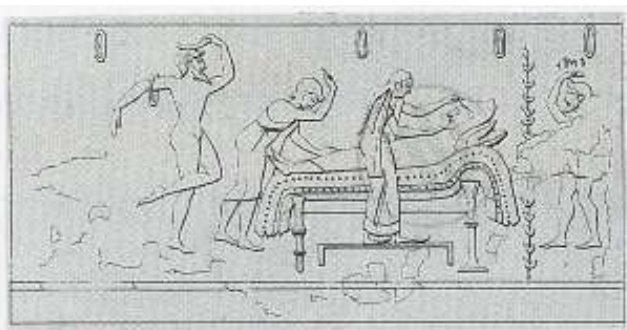
Left wall: Dancer, two mourners with prothesis, mourner on right
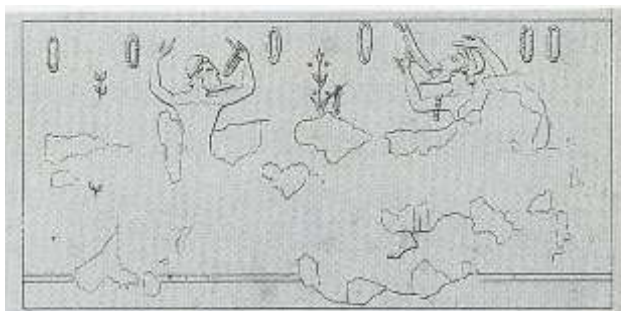
Right wall: Two dancing males

B107   Tomb of the Dead Man, Tarquinia, 510 BC
             Steingraber 1985, 333-334, no. 89; Steingraber 2006, 101

Rear wall: Banquet in pediment

B108   Frontoncino Tomb, Tarquinia, 510-500 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 314, no. 66

Entrance room, left wall: Six dancing males

Entrance room, right wall: Four dancing males, aulos player

Entrance room, rear wall: Banquet

B109   Tomb of Hunting and Fishing, Tarquinia, 510 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 301-302, no. 50; Steingraber 2006, 86-87, 96-97
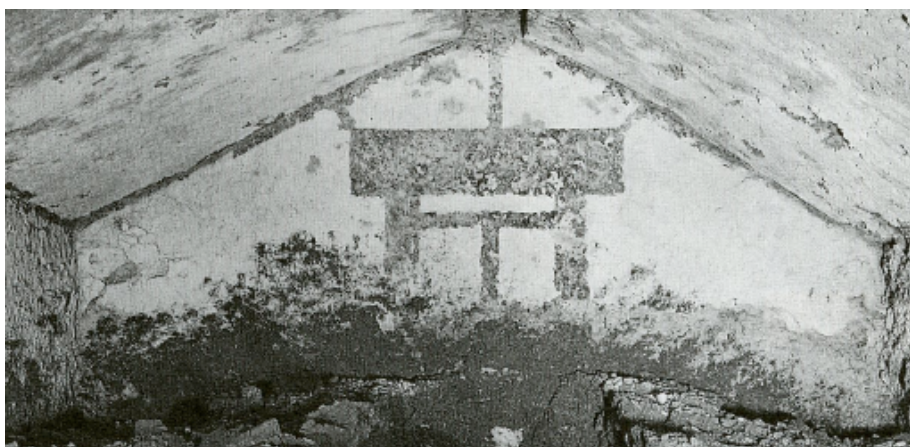
Rear wall: Central door

B110   Tomb of the Hut, Tarquinia, 575-550 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 304, no. 52
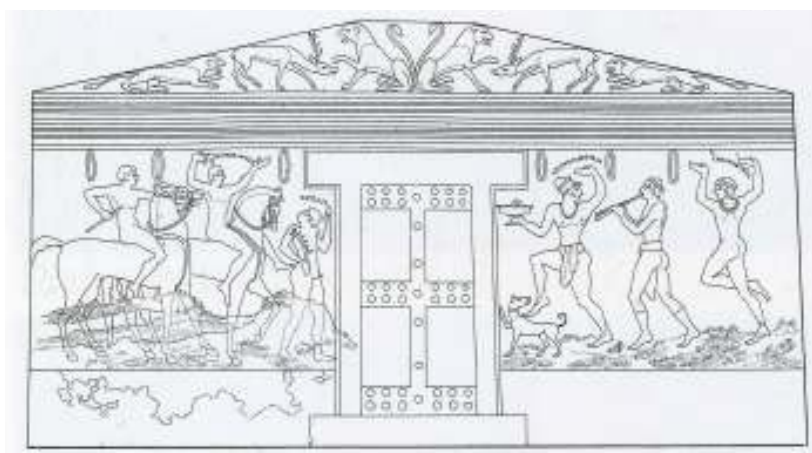
Rear wall: Central door, two men on horseback, dancers and aulos player
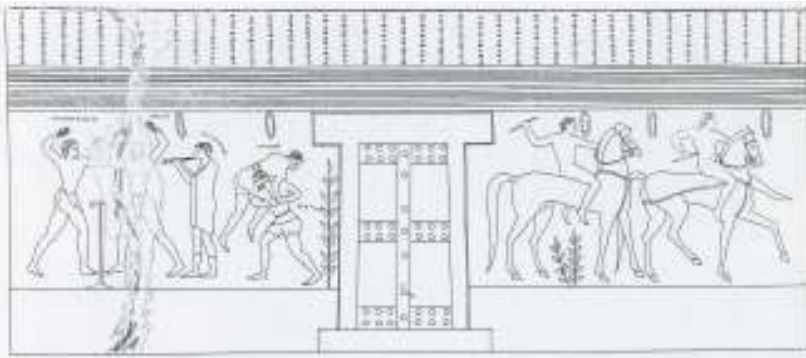
Left wall: Central door, boxers, aulos player, wrestlers, horseback rider
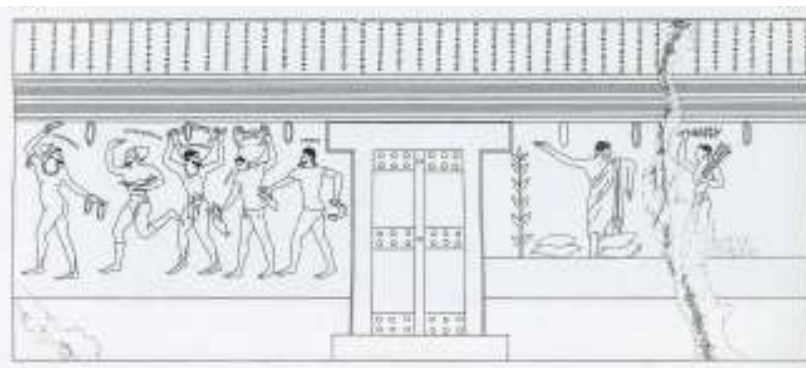
Right wall: Central door, dancers, servants with kraters

B111   Tomb of the Inscriptions, Tarquinia, 520 BC
       Jannot 2004, 396 no. 26; Steingraber 1985, 322-323, no. 74; Steingraber 2006,
       102

Rear Wall: Central door

B112   Tomb of the Jade Lions, Tarquinia, 530-520 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 326, no. 79

Right wall: Dancer, three female

Left wall: Man striding with *lituus*, man with staff and boy, defecating man by tree

Rear wall: Aulos player, central juggler, man tossing disks, seated male

B113   Tomb of the Jugglers, Tarquinia, 520-510 BC
        Moretti 1970, 18-31; Steingraber 1985, 318-319, no. 70; Steingraber 2006, 95

Rear wall: Three dancers, kithara and aulos player, central krater

Right wall: Two reclining banqueters

Left wall: Two reclining banqueters

B114   Tomb of the Lionesses, Tarquinia, 520 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 324-325, no. 77; Steingraber 2006, 94

Rear wall: Central door

B115   Tomb of the Mouse, Tarquinia, 520 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 357, no. 119; Steingraber 2006, 68, 76-77, 91

Rear wall: Central door, dancers
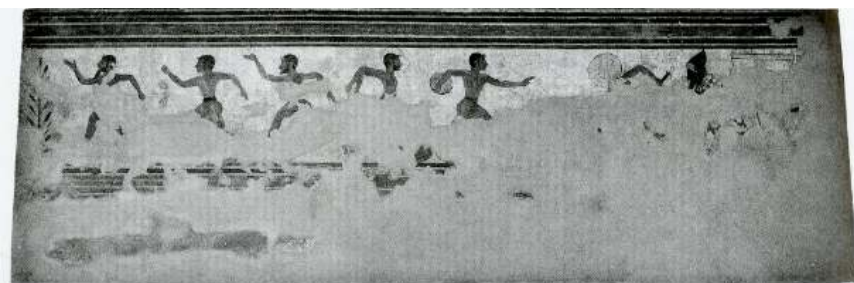
Right Wall: Footrace, discus thrower, Phersu combat

Left Wall: Boxers, horserace

B116   Tomb of the Olympic Games, Tarquinia, 510 BC
       Steingraber 1985 336-337, no. 92; Thuillier 1985, 124-125, no. 1.3
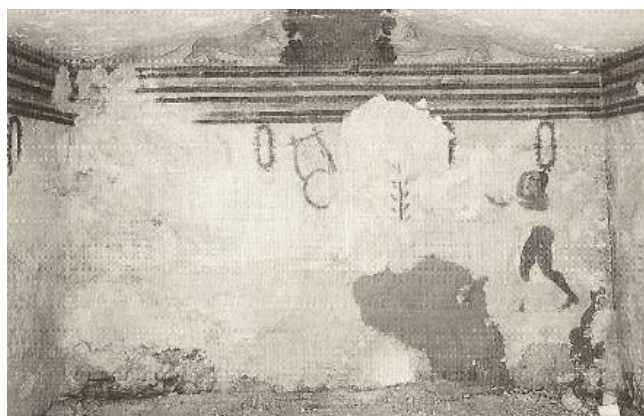
Rear wall: Kithara player

Left wall: Man on horseback, Phersu

B117   Tomb of Pulcinella, Tarquinia, 510 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 345, no. 104

Corner of left and entrance wall: Dancing (?) male

B118   Tomb 1999, Tarquinia, 510-500 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 368, no. 141

5<u>th</u> Century
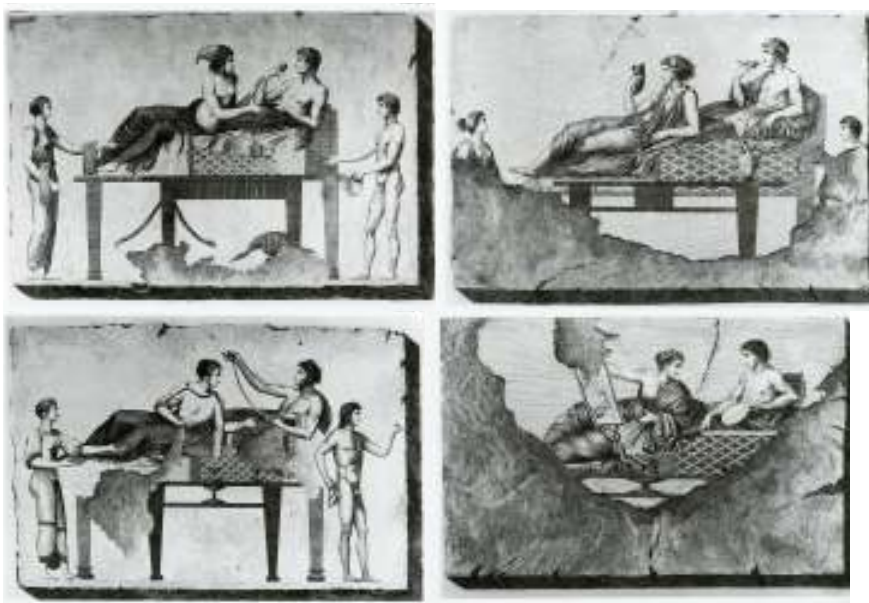
Unknown location in tomb: Four banqueting couples

Rear wall: Center door, servants

B201   Tomb of the Biclinium, Tarquinia, 450-425 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 296, no. 46
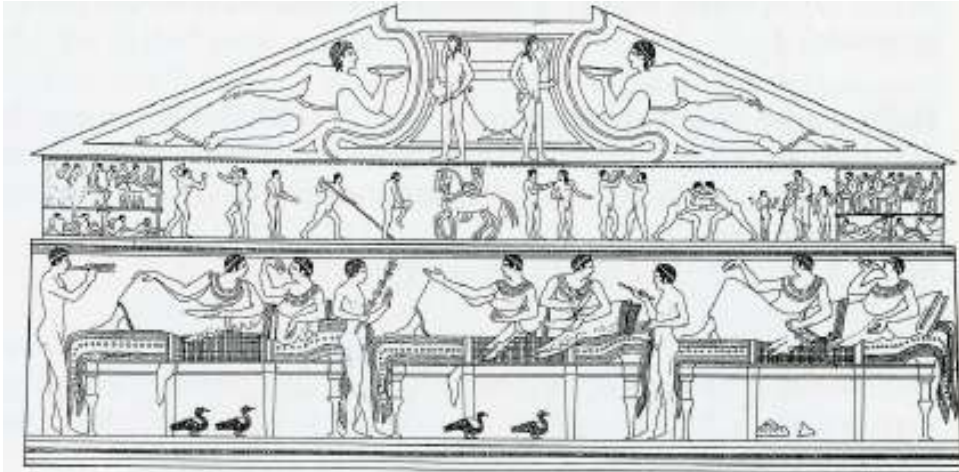
Rear wall: Banquet, aulos player; in painted frieze, spectators, boxers, pole vault, *desultores*, wrestlers
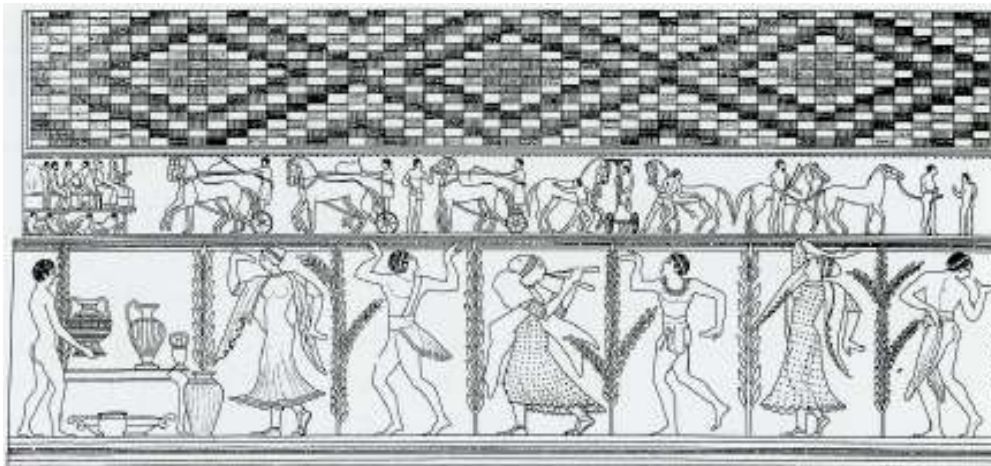
Right Wall: Dancers, aulos player; in painted frieze, spectators, bigas

Left Wall: Spectators, discus thrower, Pyrrhic dancer, wrestler

B202   Tomb of the Bigas, Tarquinia, 490 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 297, no. 47; Steingraber 2006, 103; Thuillier 1985, 126-127, no. 15

Right wall: Banqueters

B203 Tomb of the Black Sow, Tarquinia, 450 BC
Steingraber 1985, 348-349, no. 108

Rear wall: Boat and man with oar, central female, underworld demons

B204 Tomb of the Blue Demons, Tarquinia, late 5th century BC
Jannot 2005, 62; Krauskopf 2006, 74; Roncalli 1996, 48; Steingraber 2006, 163, 181, 183

Rear wall: Banqueting

B205 Tomb of the Deer Hunt, Tarquinia, 450-425 BC
Steingraber 1985, 300-301, no. 49

Rear wall: Dancers and aulos player

B207   Francesca Giustiniani Tomb, Tarquinia, 450-425 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 313, no. 65; Steingraber 2006, 155

Rear wall: Central bed, reclining banqueters

Left wall: Discus thrower, dancers, aulos player, banqueters

Right wall: Banqueters, aulos player, men with horses

B208   Tomb of the Funeral Bed, Tarquinia, 460 BC
         Steingraber 1985, 327-328, no. 82; Steingraber 2006, 140-141; Thuillier 1985,
         128, no. 1.7
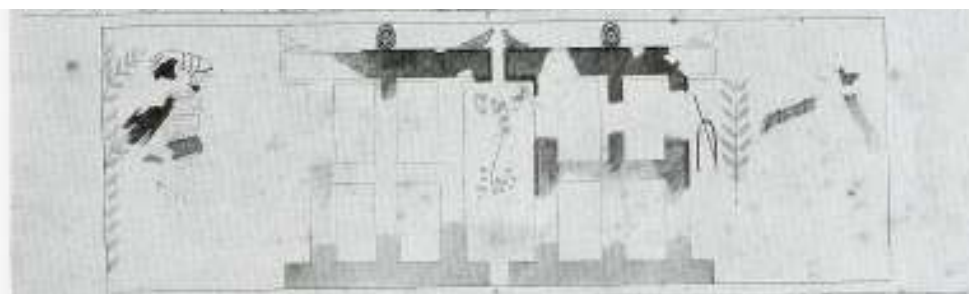
Rear wall: Two doors, dancers

Entrance wall: Boxers

Left wall: Dancers, lyre and krotala players

Right wall: Dancers, aulos player

B209   Tomb of the Kithara Player, Tarquinia, 490-480 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 309, no. 57; Thuillier 1985, 127-128, no. 1.6

Rear wall: Banqueters

Right wall: Procession with aulos and lyre players

Left wall: Procession with kithara and aulos player, carrying alabastron and pyxis

B210   Tomb of the Leopards, Tarquinia, 480 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 327, no. 81; Steingraber 2006, 130, 133

Right wall: Dancers

B211   Tomb of the Little Flowers, Tarquinia, 475-450 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 312, no. 64

Rear wall: Banqueters

B212   Tomb of the Maggi, Tarquinia, mid 3rd quarter of 5th century BC
        Steingraber 1985, 330, no. 84; Steingraber 2006, 143

Entrance Wall: Kithara and aulos player

Right wall: Banqueters

B213   Tomb of the Maiden, Tarquinia, late 5th century BC
        Steingraber 1985, 344, no. 103; Steingraber 2006, 158-159; D'Agostino and
        Cerchiai 2004, 266 no. 41

Rear wall: Banqueters

B214   Tomb of the Old Man, Tarquinia, 500 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 363, no. 124

Right wall: Footrace, *desultores*

Left wall: Horse race

B215   Tomb of the Master of the Olympic Games, Tarquinia, 500 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 329, no. 83; Steingraber 2006, 99; Thuillier 1985, 126, no. 1.4

Rear wall: Banqueters, couple seated upright

Right wall: Dancers

Left wall: Dancers

B216   Tomb of the Painted Vases, Tarquinia, 500 BC
          Steingraber 1985, 361-362, no. 123; Steingraber 2006, 69
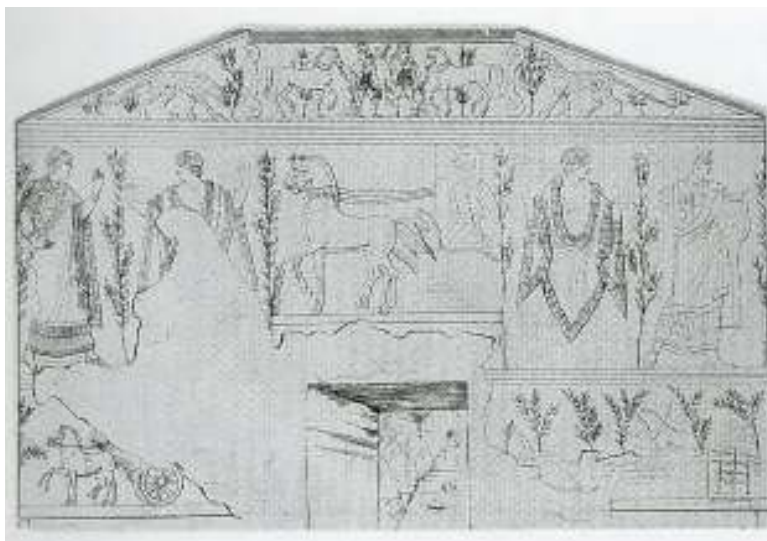
Entrance wall: Procession, lyre player
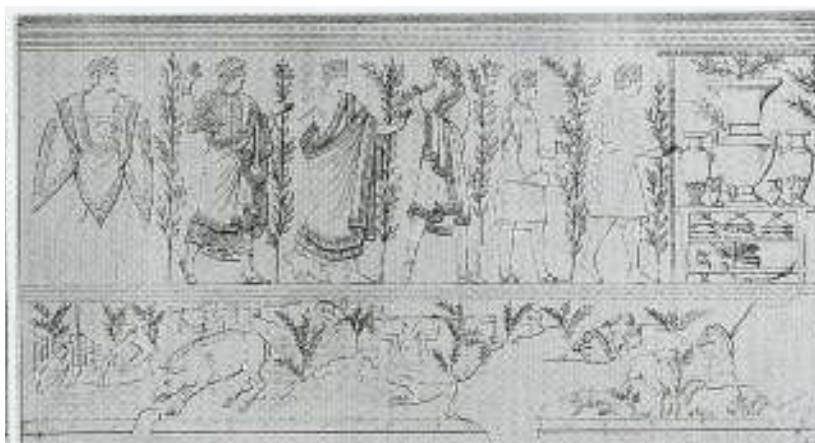
Left wall: Dancers, aulos player

Rear wall: Banqueters
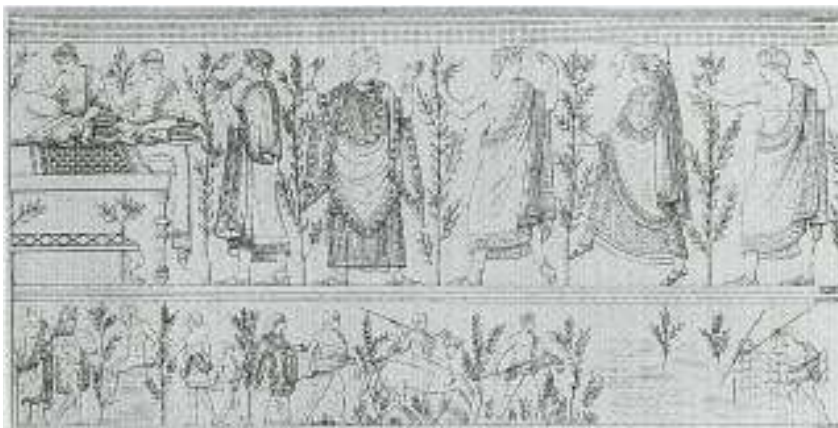
Right wall: Dancers, aulos player

B217 Tomb Querciola I, Tarquinia, late 5th century BC
D'Agostino and Cerchiai 2004, 266 no. 39; Steingraber 1985, 346-347, no. 106;
Steingraber 2006, 156-158

Left wall: Procession, ship, lyre

Right wall: Procession

Rear wall: Banqueting

B218　Tomb of the Ship, Tarquinia, 450-425 BC
　　　　Steingraber 1985, 335-336, no. 91; Steingraber 2006, 153-154

Rear wall: Central door

B219　Tomb of the Skull, Tarquinia, 480 BC
　　　　Steingraber 1985, 354, no. 116

Right wall: Four dancers, aulos player

Left wall: Four dancers, lyre player

Entrance wall: *Desultores*

Rear wall: Banqueting

B220   Tomb of the Triclinium, Tarquinia, 470 BC
          Steingraber 1985 361, no. 121; Steingraber 2006, 136-139

338

Rear wall: Central door, dancer, lyre player

Left wall: Central door, dancers

Entrance wall: Boxers

Right wall: Central door, man whipping a woman performing sexual act

B221   Tomb of the Whipping, Tarquinia, 490 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 315, no. 67, Steingraber 2006, 100, 114-115; Thuillier 1985,
       129, no. 1.9

Rear wall: Reclining banqueter

B222 Tomb 994, Tarquinia, 450-400 BC
Steingraber 1985, 365, no. 134

Rear wall: Dancers

B223 Tomb 2015, Tarquinia, 450-400 BC
Steingraber 1985, 368-369, no. 142

Rear wall: Dancers, aulos player
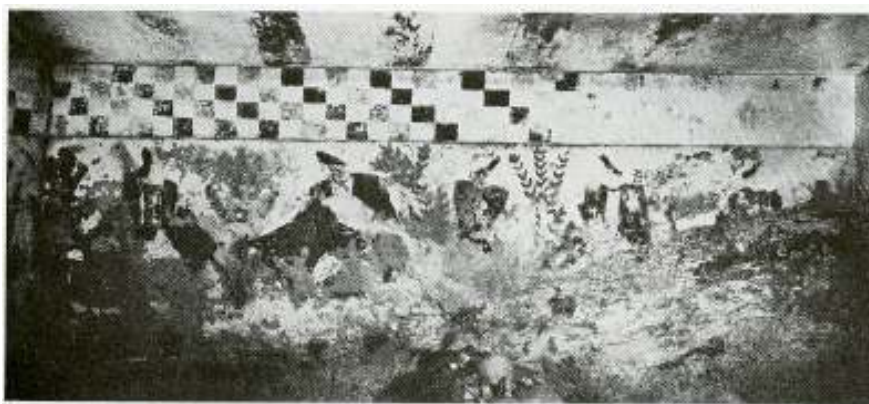
Right wall: Dancers

B224   Tomb 4021, Tarquinia, 475-450 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 374, no. 153

Rear wall: Banqueters

Right wall: Lyre and aulos player, dancers

Left wall: Barbiton player

B225   Tomb 5513, Tarquinia, 450 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 377-378, no. 162; Steingraber 2006, 134-135

Rear wall: Dancer, aulos player

Left wall: Dancers

Right wall: Dancers

B226   Tomb 5591, Tarquinia, 500-490 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 378-379, no. 164; Steingraber 2006, 28

Front chamber: left wall to rear wall: Long jumper, aulos player, dancers, wrestlers

Front chamber: rear wall to right wall: Chariot race

Front chamber: right wall to entrance wall: Banqueters

Front chamber: entrance wall to left wall: Banqueters

Rear chamber: Dancers and aulos player

B227   Tomb of Casuccini Hill, Chiusi, 475-450 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 274-276, no. 15; Steingraber 2006, 122; Thuillier 1985, 133-
       134, no. 22.2

Rear and right wall: Chariot race, aulos player, dancers, boxers, footrace, acrobats
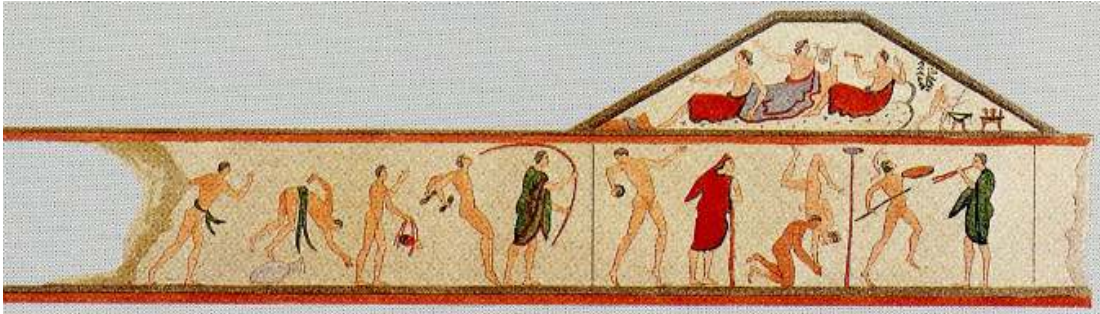
Left and entrance wall: Long jump, discus thrower, wrestlers

B228   Tomb of the Hill of the Moro, Chiusi, 475-450 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 279-280, no. 22; Thuillier 1985, 135-137, no. 2.3a

Corner of entrance and left wall: Chariot racers, men with branches

Corner of left and rear wall: *Desultores*, wrestlers
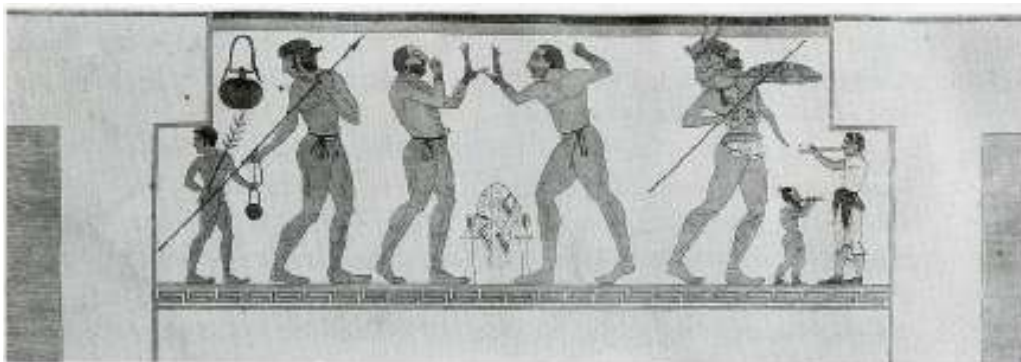
Corner of right and rear wall: Boxers, Pyrrhic Dancers, aulos players

Corner of right and entrance wall: *Desultores*, man throwing disks, juggler, aulos player, seated female under umbrella

B229   Tomb of the Monkey, Chiusi, 480 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 281-283, no. 25; Steingraber 2006, 121; Thuillier 1985, 132-133, no. 2.1

Painted frieze: aulos player, boxers, seated men, wrestlers

B230   Montollo Tomb, Chiusi, 500-475 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 277, no. 17; Thuillier 1985, 137, no. 2.3b

Side chamber, right wall: Lyre player, dancers

Side chamber, rear wall: Dancer, table with ceramics
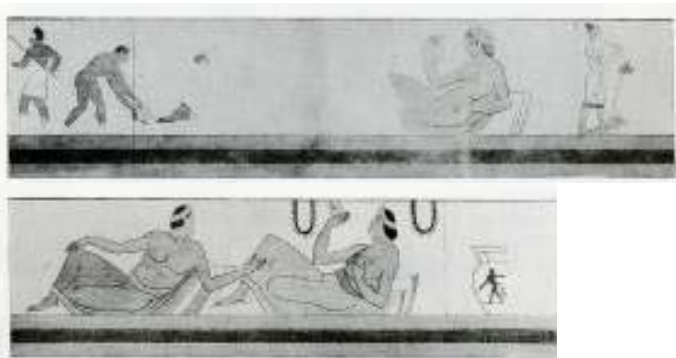
Rear chamber: Reclining banqueters

B231   Tomb of Orpheus and Euridice, Chiusi, 480-470 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 277-278, no. 18; Thuillier 1985, 137-138, 2.3e

Main chamber, rear wall: Banqueters

B232   Tomb of the Well, Chiusi, 500-475 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 280-281, no. 24

Entrance wall: Dancer
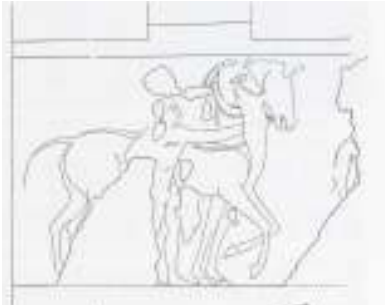
Left wall: Man with horses
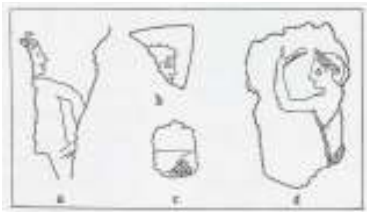
Rear wall: Dancers

Right wall: Dancers

B233   Painted Tomb, Grotte Santo Stefano, 450 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 285, no. 29

4th Century

Entrance wall: Kithara and aulos player

Right wall: Banqueters

Left wall: Dancing Phersu, dancing female, aulos player

B302   Tomb of the Cock, Tarquinia, 400 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 316, no. 68; Steingraber 2006, 159

Rear wall, loculus: Reclining banqueters

Rear wall: Demon

Right wall: Reclining banqueters

B303   Tomb of Orcus I, Tarquinia, 2nd third of the 4th century BC
        Steingraber 1985, 337-340, no. 93

Rear wall: Aita and Phersipnai, armed man

Right wall, loculus: Winged male, servant, table with ceramics

B304   Tomb of Orcus II, Tarquinia, 2nd third of the 4th century BC
       Steingraber 1985, 337-340, no. 94

Rear wall of main chamber: Seated couple

Right wall of main chamber: Reclining couple, servant with fan

Left wall of main chamber: Reclining couple, aulos and lyre player

B305　Tomb of the Shields, Tarquinia, 350-325 BC
　　　Bruschi 2004, 28, no. 59; Steingraber 1985, 349-351, no. 109; Steingraber 2006, 188

Left wall: aulos player, boxers, dancers, table with ceramics

Rear wall: Banqueters

B306　Tomb of the Warrior, Tarquinia, 400-350 BC
　　　Steingraber 1985, 321, no. 73; Steingraber 2006, 193-194; *ThesCRA* II 266, no. 40; Thuillier 1985, 129-130, no. 1.10

Rear wall, loculus: Dancers

Right wall, loculus: Dancers

B307 Tomb 3242, Tarquinia, early 4th century BC
       Steingraber 1985, 371-372, no. 147

Rear wall: Banqueters

B308 Tomb 3697, Tarquinia, early 4th century BC
       Steingraber 1985, 372, no. 148

Rear wall: Dancers
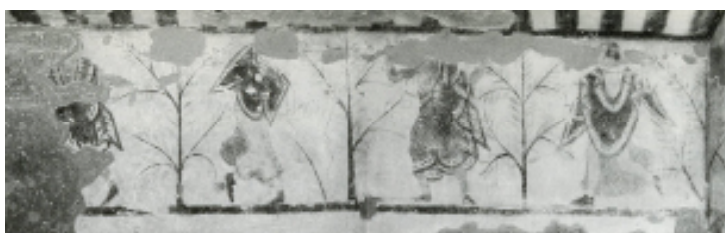
Left wall: Dancers
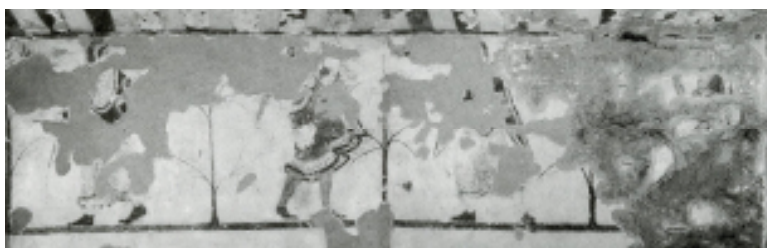
Right wall: Dancers

B309   Tomb 3713, Tarquinia, early 4th century BC
       Steingraber 1985, 372-373, no. 149

Rear wall: Banqueters on cushions, servants, lyre players
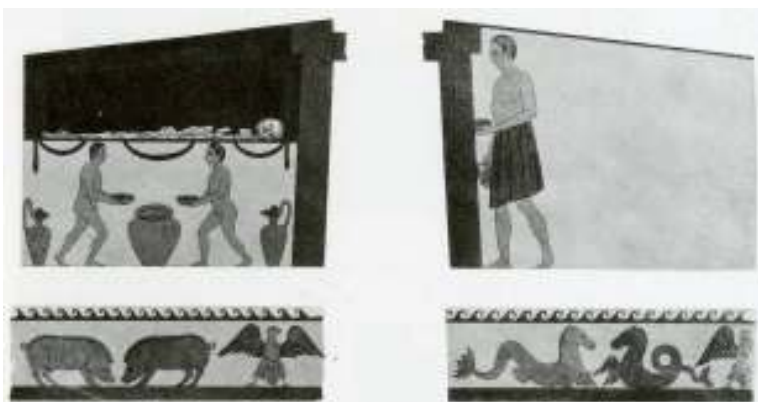
Entrance wall: Servants

Right wall: Banqueters on cushions

Left wall: Banqueters on cushions

B310   Tomb of the Triclinium, Cerveteri, late 4th century BC.
          Steingraber 1985, 273, no. 11; Steingraber 2006, 263
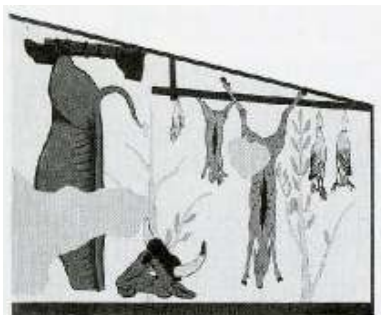
Left chamber, entrance wall: Hanging meat, preparations for banquet

Left chamber, left wall: Servants preparing for banquet
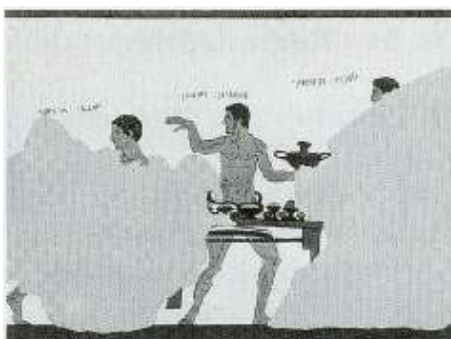
Left chamber, right wall: Servants preparing for banquet
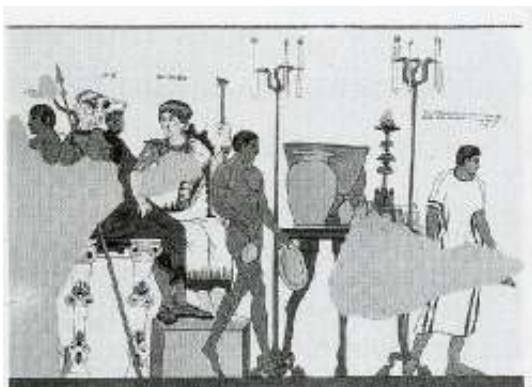
Right chamber, left wall: Aita and Phersipnai, servants
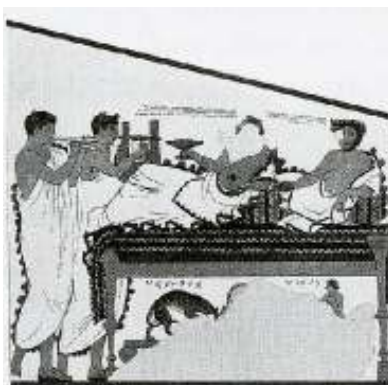
Right chamber, rear wall: Reclining banqueters, aulos and lyre players
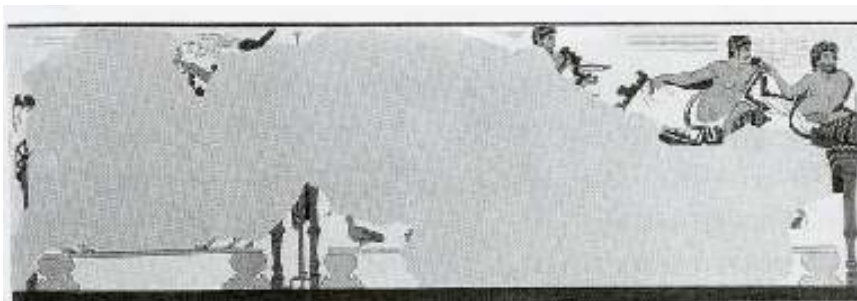
Right chamber, right wall: Reclining banqueters
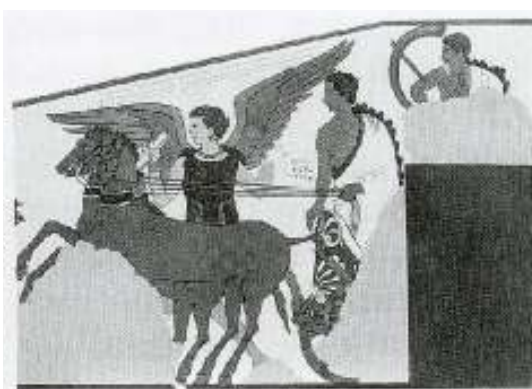
Right chamber: entrance wall

B311   Golini Tomb I, Orvieto, removed to Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Orvieto, 350
       BC
       D'Agostino and Cerchiai 2004, 266-267, no. 46; de Grummond 2006, 232, fig.
       X.28; Steingraber 1985, 286-287, no. 32; Steingraber 2006, 211-213

Left wall: Procession, reclining banqueters
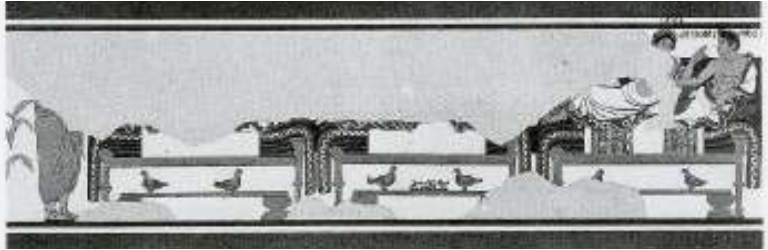
Right wall: Reclining banqueters

B312   Golini Tomb II, Orvieto, removed to Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Orvieto,
350-325 BC
D'Agostino and Cerchiai 2004, 267 no. 47; Steingraber 1985, 287, no. 33;
Steingraber 2006, 213

Right wall: Chariot with demon

Left wall: Banqueters

B313   Tomb of the Infernal Quadriga, Sarteano, 325-300 BC
Minetti 2004, tav. XXV, XXVI, XXXI; Steingraber 2006, 216-218

Entrance wall: Servant with table and ceramics

Right wall: Procession, horn players, winged underworld demons

B314   Tomb of the Hescanas, Orvieto, 325-300 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 288, no. 34

Central room, left wall: Slaughter of prisoner to appease the spirit of Patroclus, Vanth and Charun witnessing

B315   François Tomb, Vulci, 350-325 BC
       Steingraber 1985, 385-388, no. 178

Left wall: Procession

Rear wall: Banqueting

B316   Tomb of the Pygmies, Tarquinia, 400 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 341-342, no. 97

3rd Century

Entrance wall: Charun and Vanth

B401 Tomb of the Anina Family, Tarquinia, 3rd century BC
      Steingraber 1985, 290, no. 40

Wall A: Procession, female holding mirror

Wall B: Procession
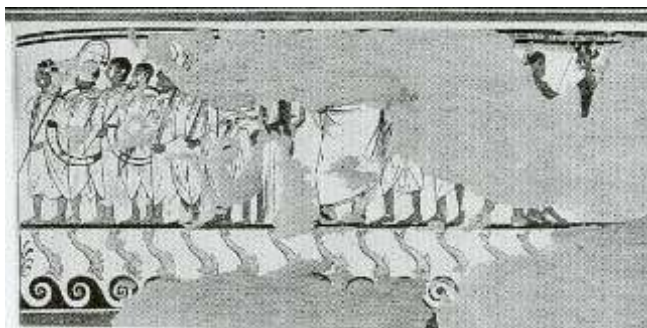
Wall C: Procession

B402   Bruschi Tomb, Tarquinia, 300-250 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 300, no. 48
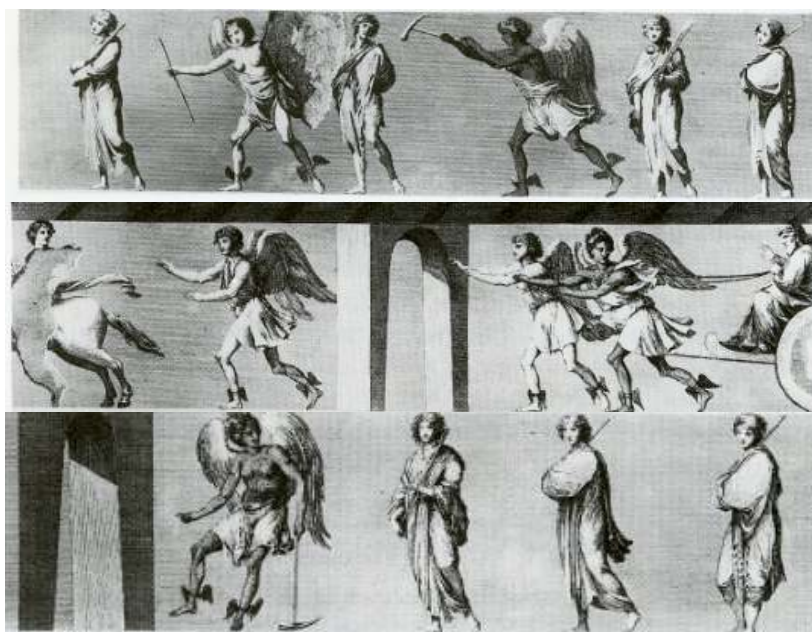
Wall Decoration (now lost): Arched doorways, winged females, Charun with hammer

B403   Tomb of the Cardinal, Tarquinia, 300-250 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 305-307, no. 54

Rear and left walls: Central doors, four Charun figures

B404 Tomb of the Charuns, Tarquinia, 375-350 BC
Steingraber 1985, 308, no. 55; Steingraber 2006, 258

Wall 1: Dancers

Wall 2: Dancer and lyre player

Wall 3: Dancers

B405 Tomb of the Dancing Priests, Tarquinia, Hellenistic
Steingraber 1985, 320, no. 72

Rear wall: Closed arched doorway, men shaking hands, Charun

B406   Querciola II tomb, Tarquinia, 250-200 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 347-348, no. 107; Steingraber 2006, 261

Right wall: Arched door, seated Charun, three males, Vanth

B407   Tomb 5636, Tarquinia, 250-200 BC
        Steingraber 1985, 379, no. 165; Steingraber 2006, 262

Left wall: Procession

Rear wall: Procession

B408   Tomb of the Meeting, Tarquinia, 300-250 BC
        Bruschi 2004, 29, no. 61; Steingraber 1985, 309-310, no. 58

Right wall: Procession

B409   Tomb of the Typhon, Tarquinia, late 3rd century BC
        Bruschi 2004, 29, no. 62; de Grummond 2006, 221, fig. 10.15; Steingraber 1985,
        355-356, no. 118

Appendix C - Bronze Figurines, Objects, and Containers

<u>8th century</u>

C001 Rome, Villa Giulia 57066, from Bisenzio, 730-700 BC
      Bronze Amphora, men dancing around central figure
      Haynes 1985, 132, 246-7, no. 5

<u>7th century</u>

C104 Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 91379, 615-550 BC
      Bronze javelin thrower
      Richardson 1983, pl. 135, fig. 453

6th century

C201 Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 12725 BC, from Vulci, 575-550 BC
      Bronze jug handle, naked youth
      Haynes 1985, 141, 253, no. 22

C202 London, British Museum 1965.7-26.1, 550 BC
      Bronze vessel, female acrobat handle
      Haynes 1985, 141, 253-254, no. 23
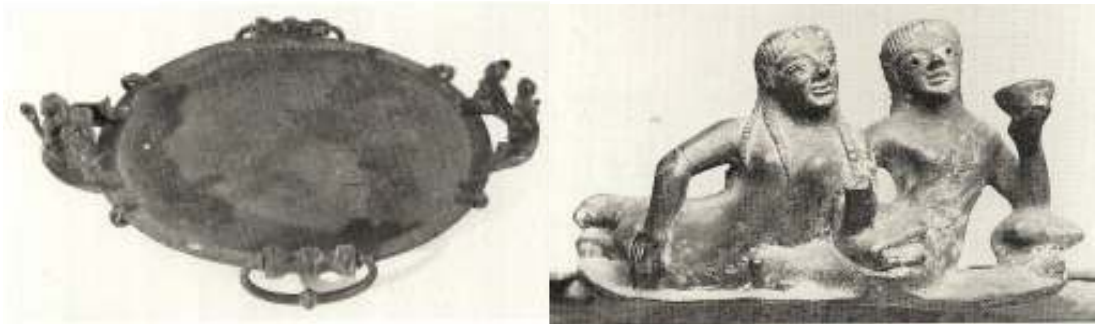
C203   London, British Museum 1873.8-20.217, 525-500 BC
       Bronze four handled basin, banqueting couples
       Haynes 1985, 146, 259, no. 39

C204   Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen Cat. 55, from Vulci, 6th century BC
       Bronze candelabrum, acrobat
       Goldscheider 1941, no. 65

C205 Paris, Louvre BR 3147, late 6th century BC
Bronze candelabrum, acrobat
Photo by author

C206 Paris, Louvre BR 4270, 525-500 BC
Bronze statuette, dancer
Photo by author

C208   Berlin, Staatliche Museen FR 694, from Vulci, late 6th century BC
       Bronze *thymiaterion*, dancer
       Franken 2010, 88, fig. 8.2

C209   Rome, Villa Giulia 24547, 550-520 BC
       Bronze statuette, javelin thrower
       Richardson 1983, pl. 136, fig. 458

C210   London, British Museum 512, 550-520 BC
       Bronze statuette, javelin thrower
       Richardson 1983, pl. 138, fig. 465

C211   Berlin, Staatliche Museen fr. 2167, 550-520 BC
       Bronze statuette, discobolus
       Richardson 1983, 207, pl. 145, fig. 481

C212   Paris, Louvre 117, 550-520 BC
       Bronze statuette, discobolus
       Richardon 1983, 208, pl. 145, fig. 482; Thuillier 1985, 156-157, no. 2, fig. 40

Late 6th - early 5th century
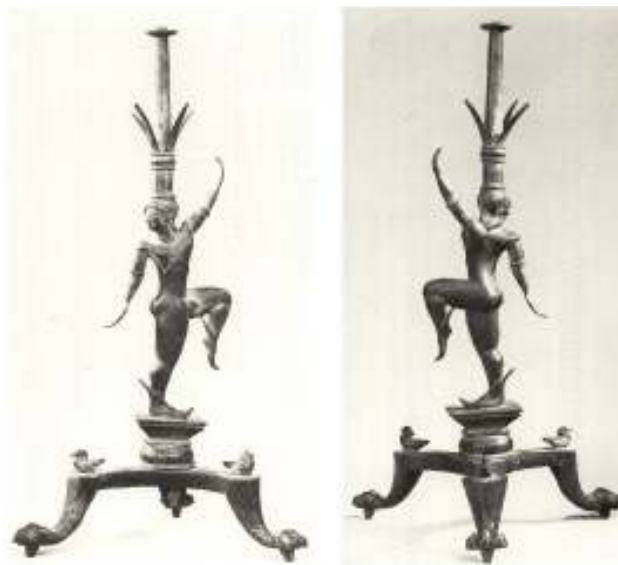
C301   Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 62/93, 510-490 BC
       Bronze incense burner, male dancer
       Haynes 1985, 156, 265, no. 54

C302 London, British Museum 1847.11-1.23, from Vulci, 510-490 BC
Bronze incense burner, dancing girl on table
Ambrosini 2013, 17-18; Haynes 1985, 160, 266, no. 58; Macnamara 1982, 91, no. 3

C303 London, British Museum 1848.6-19.11, 510-490 BC
Bronze incense burner, girl dancing
Haynes 1985, 265-266, no. 56; Macnamara 1982, 93, no. 12a

C304   Switzerland, Private Collection, 510-490 BC
        Bronze Krater, handles with male acrobats
        Haynes 1985, 160, 268, no. 62

C305   Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco 2048, 520-470 BC
        Bronze statuette, dancer
        Richardson 1983, 280-281, fig. 652, pl. 193

C306   Berlin, Staatliche Museen Fr. 2168, 520-470 BC
       Bronze statuette, dancer
       Richardson 1983, 281, fig. 653, pl. 193

C307   Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 110, 520-470 BC
       Bronze statuette, dancer
       Richardson 1983, 294, fig. 695, pl. 205

C308   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Fonte Veneziana, 520-470 BC
       Bronze statuette, female dancer
       Lazzeri 1927, pl. 9, top left; Richardson 1983, 280, no. 16

C310   Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 130244, 520-470 BC
       Bronze discobolus
       Richardson 1983, pl. 146, fig. 486

C311   Venice, Museo Archeologico 2L, 520-470 BC
        Bronze horse and rider
        Richardson 1983, pl. 148, fig. 490

5th Century

C401   Berlin, Staatliche Museen FR 692, from Vulci, 500 BC
        Bronze *thymiaterion*, dancer
        Photo by author

C403 London, British Museum 1859.3-1.19, 475-400 BC
   Bronze vessel, Bronze satyr decoration
   Photo by author

C404 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 7872, from Capua, 500 BC
   Bronze cinerary urn, male figure playing horn
   Kästner 2010, 112, fig. 10.3

C405   London, British Museum 1855.8-16.1, from Capua, 490-480 BC
       Bronze ash-urn, flute player
       Haynes 1985, 162-163, 269-270, no. 64; Haynes 2000, 200

C406   London, British Museum 1824.4-66.1, from Pistoia, 500-475 BC
       Bronze statuette, reclining satyr
       Haynes 1985, 278, no, 89

C407 London, British Museum, 68.5-20.51, from Chiusi, 500-475 BC
      Bronze incense burner, naked girl with acrobat's stance
      Haynes 1985, 177, 278, no. 90

C408 Berlin-Charlottenburg, Antikenabteilung 693, from Chiusi, 475-460 BC
      Bronze incense burner support, male performer
      Haynes 1985, 177, 279, no. 91

C409   Ferrara, Museo Archeologico 2898, from Spina, 480-460 BC
       Bronze utensil holder, female dancer with krotala
       Haynes 1985, 280, no. 95; Haynes 2000, 194

C410   London, British Museum 1831.12-1.1, 500-480 BC
       Bronze statuette of reclining banqueter
       Haynes 1985, 280-281, no. 96

C411   London, British Museum 1865.1-3.44, from Vulci, 475-450 BC
        Bronze amphora, handles depicting youths
        Haynes 1985, 184-185, 284, no. 105

C412   London, British Museum 1814.7-4.963, 475-450 BC
        Bronze statuette, dancing satyr
        Haynes 1985, 188, 286, no. 112

C414 Saint Petersburg, Hermitage B 485, from Perugia, 420-400 BC
      Bronze cinerary urn, reclining banqueter
      Haynes 1985, 207, 298, no.144

C415 Paris, Louvre BR 3145, from Vulci, 500 BC
      Bronze candelabrum, female dancer with krotala
      Goldscheider 1941, no. 64; Hus 1975, pl. 24

C416   London, British Museum GR 1905.7-10.2, 480-450 BC
       Bronze statuette, dancing satyr
       Photo by author

C418   Paris, Louvre BR 3233, early 5th century BC
       Bronze candelabrum, female dancer
       Photo by author

C419   Paris, Louvre 241, 500-450 BC
       Bronze figurine, female dancer
       Photo by author

C420   Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 12398, late 5th century BC
       Bronze candleholder, athlete using strigil
       Sannibale 2004, 129-130, no. 47

C421   Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 18122, 430-420 BC
        Bronze candleholder, athlete holding strigil
        Sannibale 2004, 130-131, no. 48

C422   Rome, Villa Giulia 24418, 500 BC
        Bronze candleholder, athlete holding discus
        Sannibale 2004, 179, no. 96

C423 Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 17353, from Bologna, 450-425 BC
   Bronze candleholder finial, athlete holding a discus
   Sannibale 2004, 181, 99

C424 Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 22166, 425-400 BC
   Bronze Candleholder finial, shot-put athlete
   Sannibale 2004, 183, no. 101

C425 Folsom, Civic Museum 106, 500-475 BC
Bronze figurine, diskobolus
Sannibale 2004, 269, no. 201

C426 Paris, Louvre, from Cerveteri, 490-470 BC
Bronze statuette, javelin thrower
Hus 1975, 80-81, pl. 16; Thuillier 1985, 156, no. 1
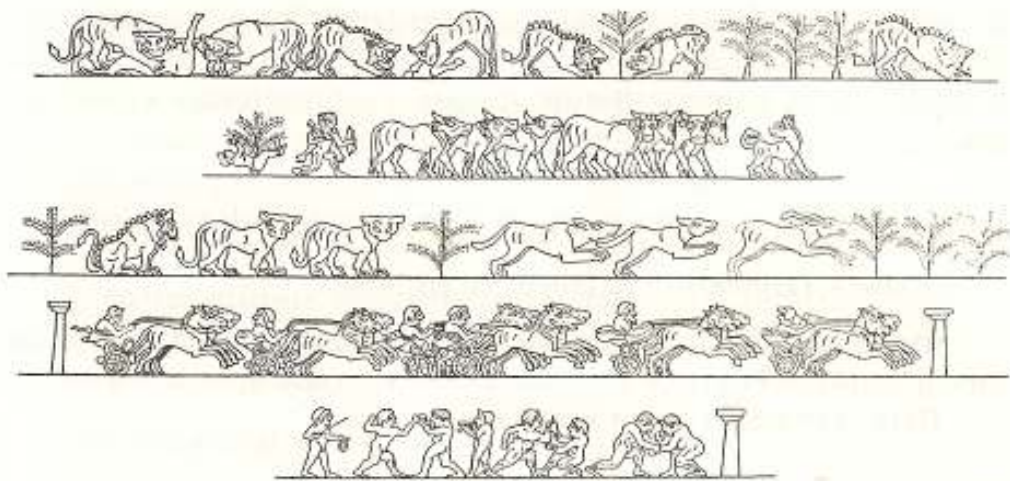
C427 London, British Museum 1855.08-16.01, from Capua, early 5th century BC
Bronze Barone lebes, animals, chariot racers, boxers, wrestling
Sannibale 2004, 94, fig. 9; Thuillier 1985, 152-153, fig. 26

C428 Private Collection, 500-490 BC
Bronze figurine, Phersu
Haynes 1963, 15, fig. 4-6

C429   Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, 500-490 BC
       Bronze figurine, Phersu
       Haynes 1963, 19, fig. 9-10

C430   London, British Museum, 500-490 BC
       Bronze figurine, Phersu
       Haynes 1963, 17, fig. 7-8

C431   London, British Museum 589, 500-490 BC
      Bronze incense stand, Phersu and acrobats
      Haynes 1963, 14, fig. 1-3

4th century

C501   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 70825, from Telamone, 360-340 BC
      Bronze incense-burner, woman with mirror
      Haynes 1985, 223, 308-309, no. 168

C502   Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 12650, 350-325 BC
       Bronze incense-burner, satyr playing kottabos
       Haynes 1985, 223, 309, no. 169

C503   Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 37, from Ferentinum, 4th century BC
       Bronze handles, acrobatic youths
       Goldscheider 1941, 33, no. 103

3rd Century

C601   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 7472, from Bolsena, 300-250 BC
       Bronze situla, return of Sethlans
       Krauskopf 1981b, 656, no. 12

2nd Century
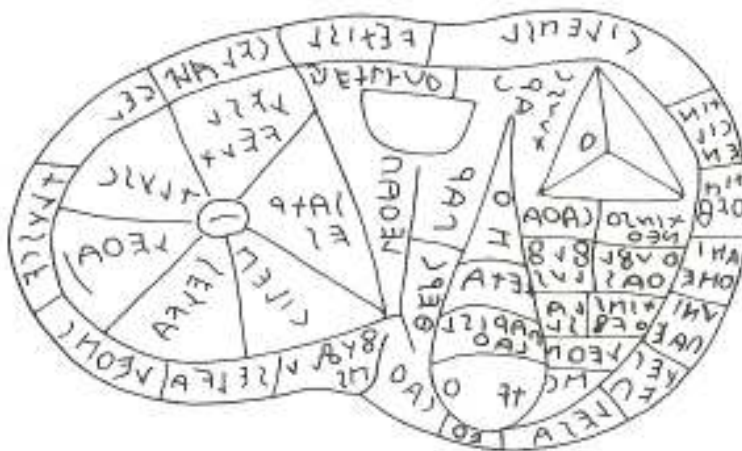
C701   Piacenza, Piacenza Museum, from Perugia, 150-100 BC
       Bronze liver model
       Haynes 2000, 277, fig. 224

Appendix D – Engraved Gems

D001   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 15469
       Orpheus sitting next to a snake on a rock holding a lyre.
       Martini 1971, no. 109, p. 141, taf. 22.1

D002   New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 35.11.11, 480 BC
       Singing satyr, kneeling on the ground with lyre
       Picon, C. et al. 2007, 297, fig. 346; Richter 1968, no. 758; Zazoff 1968, no. 57

D003   Private Collection, 500 BC
       Dancing satyr
       Boardman 1975, no. 122

D004   Private Collection
       Satyr, kneeling over a goat, holding pipes
       Boardman 1975, no. 153

D006   Private Collection
       Satyr playing aulos
       Boardman 1975, no. 175

D007   Private Collection
       Youth in acrobatic position
       Boardman 1975, no. 193

D008   Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1964.299, 2nd quarter of 5th century
       BC
       Reclining satyr playing kottabos with kylix
       Richter 1968, 189, no. 757; Zazoff 1968, no. 56; Zazoff 1983, 56.7

D011   Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum XI B 355, 4th century BC
       Male seated on rock, playing lyre, wineskin on right
       Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, 23, no. 564

D012   Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IX B 168, 350-300 BC
       Woman seated in klismos chair, holding lyre
       Zazoff 1968, no. 192; Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, 46, no. 44

D013   Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IX B 1270, late 4th - early 3rd century BC
       Woman seated on rock holding lyre
       Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, 48, no. 50

D014   Middle of 5th century
       Jumping athlete making a landing
       Gardiner 1904, 184, fig. 5; Thuillier 1985, 160, 293, no. 4, fig. 39

D015   From Santa Marinella, middle of 5th century BC
       Nude male running; carrying a stick, potentially a disk in field
       Thuillier 1985, 160, no. 3; Torelli 1967, tav. LIXa, 335

D016 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, early 5th century BC
Eryx represented as an athlete, preparing to throw the discus he is holding in the right hand; the strigil and arybalos are in the field, jumping weights are on the ground
Richter 1968, 183, no. 723; Thuillier 1985, 160-161, no. 5

D017 Berlin, Altes Museun 195, early 5th century
Tydeus, a nude youth, scrapes his leg with a strigil
Richter 1968, 183, no. 724; Thuillier 1985, 159, no. 1a; Zazoff 1968 no. 60; Zazoff 1983, 57.1

D018 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 82, early 5th century BC
Tydeus, as a nude athlete, scrapes his leg with a strigil
Richter 1968, 183, no. 725; Thuillier 1985, 159, no. 1b; Zazoff 1968 no. 61; Zazoff 1983, 57.2

D019　Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 21.1201, from Vulci, 500-475 BC
　　　　A nude athlete pours sand on his thigh
　　　　Richter 1968, 183, no. 726

D020　London, British Museum 11343 (nr. 691), 450-400 BC
　　　　An athlete holds an unidentified object out to a neighboring dog; in the left hand
　　　　he holds two spears, and a strigil is in the field
　　　　Richter 1968, 185, no. 736; Zazoff 1968, no. 91

D021　Paris, Louvre 1200, 450-400 BC
　　　　Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion
　　　　Richter 1968, 196, no. 788

D022   Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1953.133, early 5th century BC
        Hermes, knucklebone in the field
        Boardman 1968, 111-113, no. 338

D023   Lost, early 5th century BC
        Kneeling, naked girl, with a sponge, strigil, aryballos, and small discus
        Boardman 1968, 111-113, no. 339; Thuillier 1985, 160, no. 2

D024   London, British Museum 490, early 5th century BC
        An athlete holds a strigil, discus hangs behind him on hook
        Boardman 1968, 111-113, no. 340

D025   London, British Museum 697, 5th century BC
       Male in a himation playing a kithara
       Zazoff 1968, no. 88

D026   London, British Museum 696, 5th century BC
       Nude male, kneeling, playing a kithara
       Zazoff 1968, no. 90

D027   Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
       A naked youth, double flute blowing
       Zazoff 1968, 116, no. 217

D028   Berlin, Staatliche Museen 378
       A clothed winged figure carries a lyre; a *thymiaterion* is in the nearby field
       Zazoff 1968, 112, no. 213

Appendix E - Stone and Terracotta Relief Sculpture

6th century

E001   Naples, Museo Nazionale, from Velletri, 550-525 BC
       Terracotta revetment plaque, banquet scene
       Andrén 1940, 411-412, pl. 128.447; Buranelli 1992, 51, no. 18; D'Agostino and
       Cerchiai 2004, 263, no. 4; de Marinis 1961, 11, no. 9; Dunbabin 2003, 33, fig. 13

E002   Murlo, Antiquarium, from Poggio Civitate, 590-580 BC
       Terracotta frieze plaque, banqueting scene
       Haynes 2000, 123

E003   Murlo, Antiquarium, from Poggio Civitate, 590-580 BC
       Terracotta frieze plaque, banqueting scene
       Haynes 2000, 123
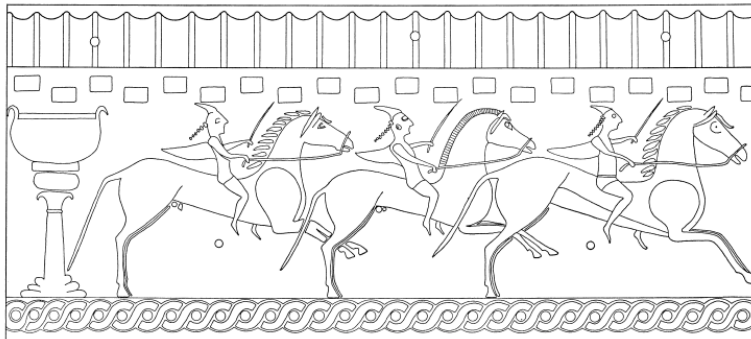
E004   Murlo, Antiquarium, from Poggio Civitate, 590-580 BC
        Terracotta frieze plaque, horse race
        Root 1973, 122, ill. 1
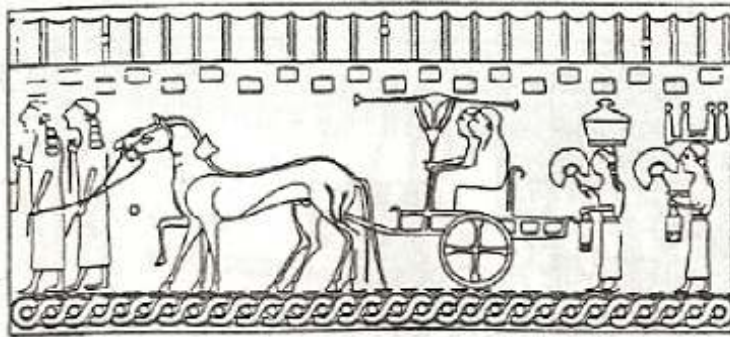
E005   Murlo, Antiquarium, from Poggio Civitate, 590-580 BC
        Terracotta frieze plaque, procession
        Bruni 2004, 24-25, no. 15

E006   Palermo, Museo Nazionale 8450, from Chiusi, 550 BC
        Funerary base, line dance
        Jannot 1984, 8, fig. 62; Shapiro 2004a, 337, no. 339

E007   Naples, Museo Nazionale, from Velletri, 550 BC
        Terrracotta frieze plaque, procession
        Andrén 1940, 409-410, pl. 126.442

E008   Velletri, Museo Nazionale, from Velletri, 550 BC
        Terracotta frieze plaque, procession
        Andrén 1940, 410, pl. 126.443

E009   Rome, Villa Giulia, from Palestrine, 550 BC
        Terracotta frieze plaque, procession
        Andrén 1940, 373-374, pl. 115.406

E010   London, British Museum D 14 a, late 6th century BC
        Ash urn, banqueting
        de Marinis 1961, 28, no. 86; Jannot 1984, 52-53, fig. 179

E011   Velletri, Museo Nazionale, from Velletri, 550 BC
        Terracotta frieze plaque, banqueting
        Andrén 1940, 411-412, pl. 128.448

E012   Velletri, Museo Nazionale, from Velletri, 550 BC
        Terracotta frieze plaque, seated figures
        Andrén 1940, 412-413, pl. 128.449

E013   Naples, Museo Nazionale, from Velletri, 550 BC
        Terracotta frieze plaque, seated figures
        Andrén 1940, 412-413, pl. 128.450

E014   Viterbo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Acquarossa, mid 6th century BC
        Molded revetment plaques, banqueting,
        Haynes 2000, 140, fig. 120; Strandberg Olofsson 1985, 58, no. 33

E015   Oxord, Ashmolean Museum, from Latina, late 6th century BC
       Terracotta frieze plaque, procession
       Jannot 2004, 392, no. 7

E016   Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, from Poggio Buco, early 6th century BC
       Terracotta frieze plaque, horserace
       Andrén 1940, 78, pl. 24.90

E017   Viterbo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Acquarossa, 550 BC
       Terracotta frieze plaque, procession
       Haynes 2000, 140, fig. 122; Strandberg Olofsson 1985, 58, no. 30

E018   Viterbo, National Museum A 1, from Acquarossa, 550 BC
       Terracotta frieze plaque, procession
       Bruni 2004, 27, no. 49; Haynes 2000, 140; Strandberg Olofsson 1985, 58, no. 31

E019   Viterbo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Acquarossa, c. 550 BC
       Terracotta frieze plaque, procession
       Haynes 2000, 140; Strandberg Olofsson 1985, 58, no. 32

E020   London, British Museum D 14 b, 510-500 BC
       Ash urn, banqueting
       de Marinis 1961, 28, no. 87; Jannot 1984, 53, fig. 180

E021   Viterbo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Aquarossa, 550 BC
         Terracotta frieze plaque, revelers
         Haynes 2000, 140, fig. 121; Strandberg Olofsson 1985, 58, no. 35

E022   Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 340, from Perugia, late 6th century BC
         Sarcophagus, religious procession
         Bruni 2004, 28, no. 57; Jannot 1984, 42-44, fig. 155-159
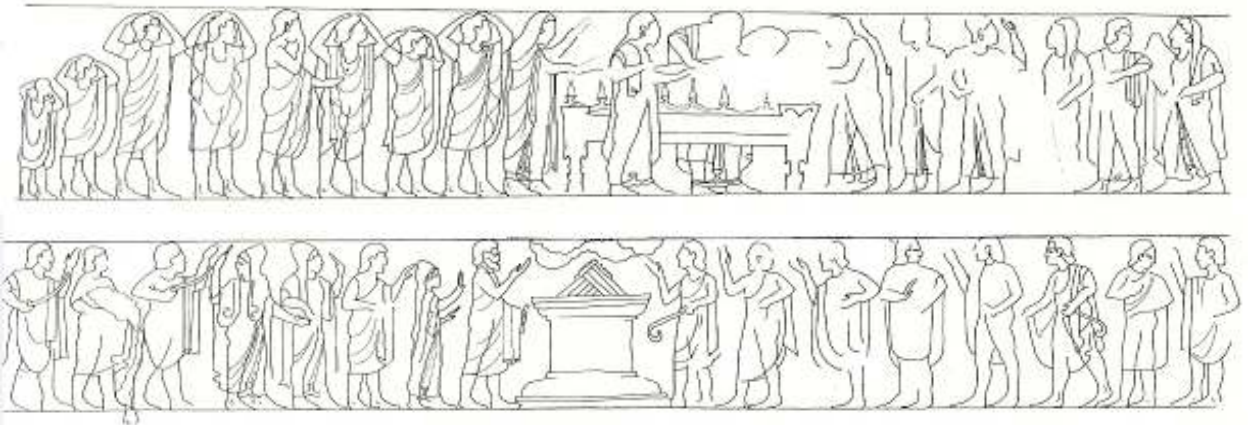
E023   Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 634, late 6th century BC
         Religious procession, sacrifice
         Bruni 2004, 24, no. 11; Jannot 1984, 151-153, fig. 519-524

E024   Paris, Louvre (MA) 3610, 3611, 3603, from Chiusi, late 6th century BC
        Sarcophagus, banqueting
        de Marinis 1961 26-27, no. 78, tav. IXa, Xa; Jannot 1984, 23-5, fig. 106
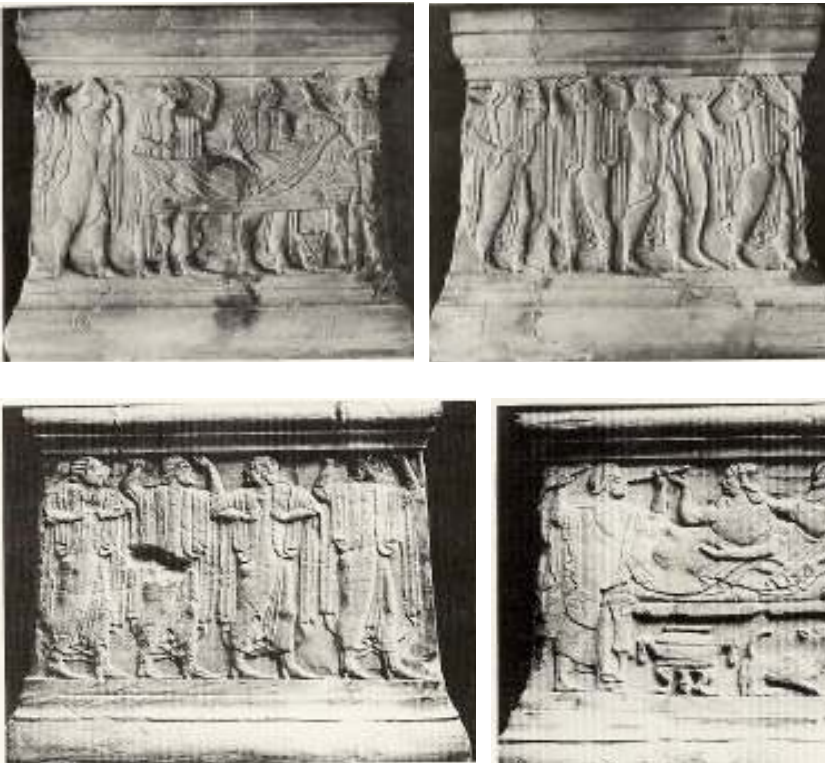
E025   London, British Museum D 17, from Chiusi, 510-500 BC
        Stone base, prothesis, mourners, revelers, banqueting
        D'Agostino and Cerchiai 2004, 265, no. 25; 337 no. 344; de Marinis 1961, 27, no.
        82; Jannot 1984, 144-146, fig. 497-500
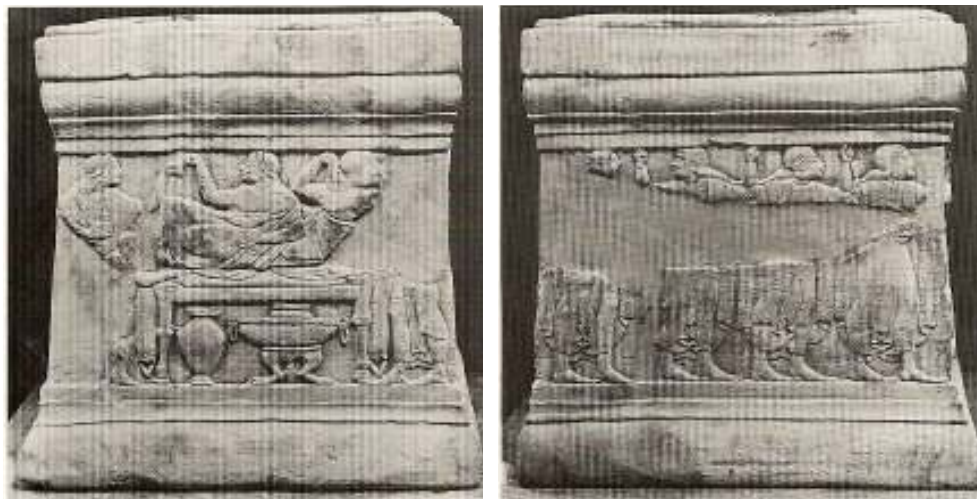
E026   Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1222, from Chiusi, 520 BC
        Stone base, prothesis, banqueting, mourners, horses
        Jannot 1984, 142-144, fig. 492-495

E027   Chiusi, Museo Nazionale 2273, from Chiusi, 510-500 BC
        Sarcophagus, reclining banqueters
        D'Agostino and Cerchiai 2004, 265, no. 26; de Marinis 1961, 26, no. 77; Jannot
        1984, 86-88, fig. 308

Late 6th - early 5th century
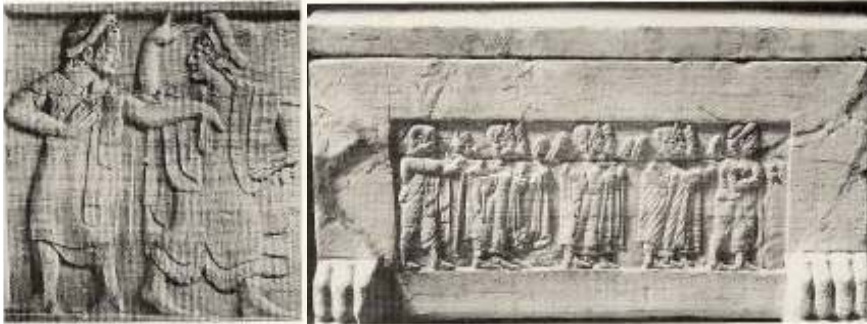
E101   Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco 2277, from Chiusi, 520-480 BC,
        Ash urn, procession, dancers
        Bruni 2004, 25, no. 20; Jannot 1984, 63-64, fig. 214-215

E102   Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1226, from Chiusi, 520-480 BC
        Funerary base, procession
        Bruni 2004, 25, no. 21; Jannot 1984, 95-96, fig. 332-334

E103   Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1229, from Chiusi, 520-480 BC
        Base, men pulling rope
        Bruni 2004, 25, no. 18; Jannot 1984, 67-68, fig. 224
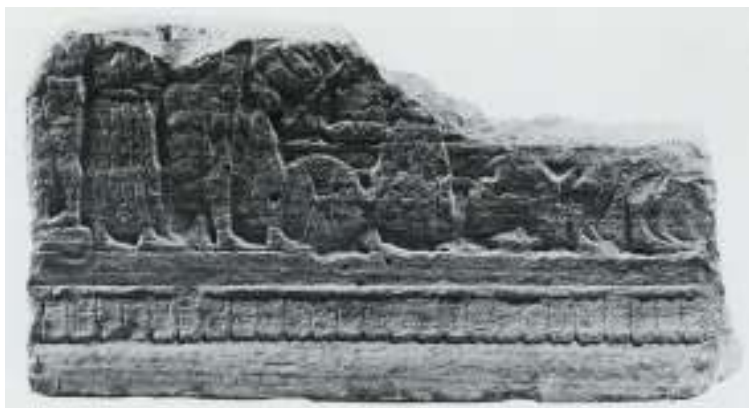
E104   Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1227, 520-480 BC
        Base, men pulling chariot
        Jannot 1984, 68, fig. 225-227

E105   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 93488, late 6th - early 5th century BC
        Funerary base, prothesis, mourners, revelers, men on horseback
        Jannot 1984, 27-28, fig. 112-115

E106   Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco 2276, late 6ᵗʰ - early 5ᵗʰ century BC
       Ash urn, banqueters, prothesis, mourners
       de Marinis 1961, 23, no. 63; Jannot 1984, 28-29, fig. 119

E107   Private Collection, from Colle Ferroni, late 6ᵗʰ- early 5ᵗʰ century BC
       Sarcophagus, prothesis
       Jannot 1984, 47, fig. 169

E108   Paris, Louvre MA 3602, from Chusi, late 6ᵗʰ- early 5ᵗʰ century BC
       Funerary base, prothesis
       Jannot 1984, 92-93, fig. 322

E109   Palermo 8385, late 6th - early 5th century BC
Funerary base with reward ceremony and chariot race
Jannot 1984, 48-49, fig. 171-172; Sannibale 2004, 97

E110   Palermo, Museo Nazionale 8394, from Chiusi, late 6th - early 5th century BC
Funerary base, acrobat, dancers
Jannot 1984, 74-75, no. 20, fig. 260-261

E111　Palermo, Museo Nazionale 8393, from Chiusi, late 6th - early 5th century BC
　　　Funerary base, acrobat
　　　Jannot 1984, 75, no. 21, fig. 262-263

E112　Paris, Louvre MA 3634, late 6th - early 5th century BC
　　　Ash urn, banqueting
　　　Jannot 1984, 65, fig. 220

E113　Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 5501, late 6th - early 5th century BC
　　　Funerary base, banqueting, dancers
　　　de Marinis 1961, 22, no. 55; Jannot 1984, 19-21, fig. 93-94

E114   Copenhagen, Ny Carsberg H 204, from Chiusi, late 6th - early 5th century BC
        Funerary base, banqueting, dancers
        de Marinis 1961, 26, no. 75; Jannot 1984, 21-22 fig. 95-98
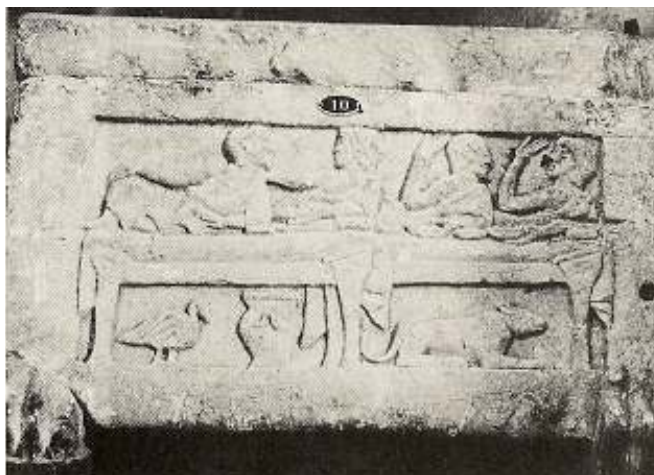
E115   Castiglione sul lago, hôtel de ville, cabinet du maire 10, from Cimbano, late 6th-
        early 5th century BC
        Ash urn, banqueting, man on horseback
        Jannot 1984, 29-30, fig. 121
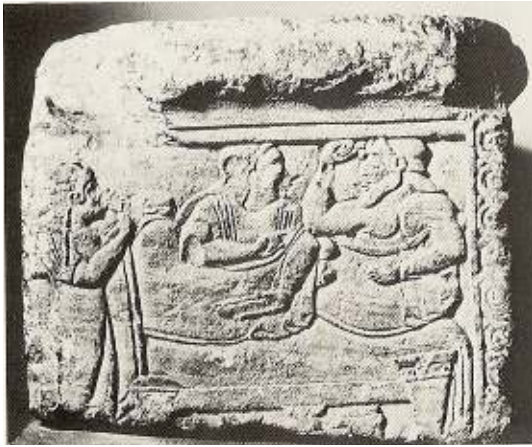
E116   Rome, American Academy, late 6th - early 5th century BC
        Ash urn, prothesis, banqueting
        Jannot 1984, 32-33, fig. 132

E117   Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1237, from Chiusi, 520-500 BC
        Ash urns, banqueting, dancers
        Jannot 1984, 35-36, fig. 143-145

E118   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81928, from Chisui, 510-500 BC
        Ash urn, banqueting
        D'Agostino and Cerchiai 2004, 265, no. 20; de Marinis 1961, 27, no. 79; Jannot
        1984, 45, fig. 162

E119   Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco 2278, from Chiusi, late 6th - early 5th century
        BC
        Ash urn, banqueting
        Jannot 1984, 45-46, fig. 164
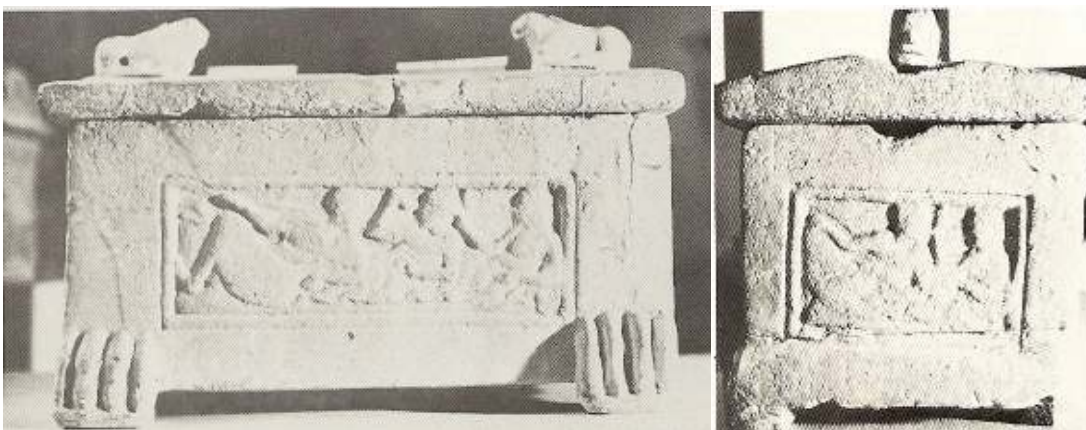
E120   Siena, Museo Archeologico, from Chiusi, late 6th- early 5th century BC
        Ash urn, banqueting
        Jannot 1984, 46-47, fig. 165-166

E121   Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco 2275, from Chiusi, late 6th - early 5th century
        BC
        Ash urn, banqueting
        de Marinis 1961, 25, no. 72; Jannot 1984, 53-54, fig. 181
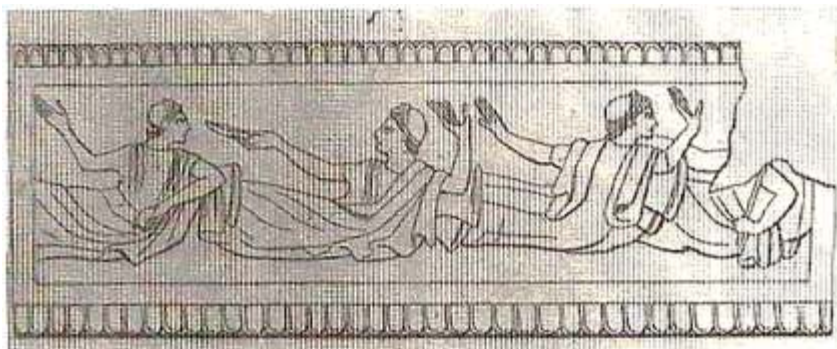
E122   Palermo, Museo Nazionale 8425, from Chiusi, late 6th - early 5th century BC
Ash urn, banqueting
Jannot 1984, 62-63, fig. 212-213

E123   Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1239, from Chiusi, 510-500 BC
Ash urn, banqueting
D'Agostino and Cerchiai 2004, no. 22; Jannot 1984, 84, fig. 300-302

E124   Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1238, from Chiusi, 510-500 BC
       Ash urn, banqueting
       D'Agostino and Cerchiai 2004, 265, no. 23; Jannot 1984, 85-86, fig. 305-307

E125   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6508, from Chiusi, 510-500 BC
       Circular base, banqueting
       D'Agostino and Cerchiai 2004, 265, no. 24; Jannot 1984, 101-104, fig. 352-357

E126   Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 198, late 6th - early 5th century BC
       Ash urn, banqueting
       Jannot 1984, 106, fig. 360

E127   Paris, Louvre 3612, late 6th - early 5th century BC
        Funerary relief fragments, banqueting, dancing
        Jannot 1984, 148-149, fig. 512-513

E128   Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco 2288, from Chiusi, late 6th - early 5th century BC
        Funerary relief fragments, banqueting
        de Marinis 1961, 26, no. 76; Jannot 1984, 169-170, fig. 574

E129   Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etusco 14234, late 6th - early 5th century BC
        Funerary relief fragments, footrace
        Jannot 1984, 57, fig. 195-196
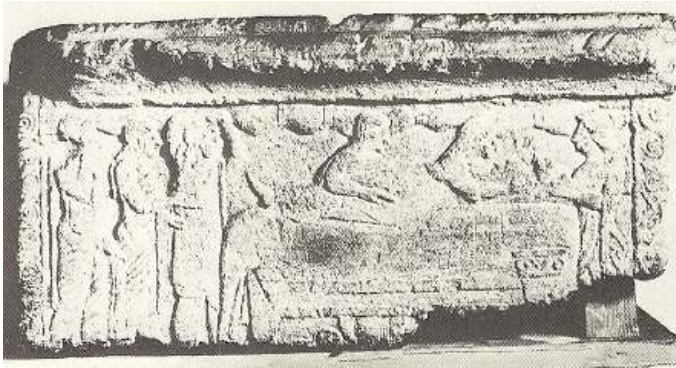
E130   Rome, American Academy, late 6th - early 5th century BC
       Ash urn, prothesis, banqueting, warriors
       Jannot 1984, 32-33, fig. 132-134

E131   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 5588, late 6th - early 5th century BC
       Funerary relief fragment, athletic competitions
       Jannot 1984, 158-159, fig. 540-541

E132   Dorow Collection, late 6th - early 5th century BC
       Funerary relief fragment, aulos player, Pyrrhic dancer
       Jannot 1984, 55-56, fig. 187

E133   Palermo, Museo Nazionale 8382, late 6th - early 5th century BC
       Funerary base, Pyrrhic dancer
       Jannot 1984, 26-27, fig. 108-110

E134   Palermo, Museo Nazionale 8414, late 6th - early 5th century BC
       Funerary base, prothesis, men with horses
       Jannot 1984, 15, fig. 80-83

E135 London, British Museum D10, late 6th - early 5th century BC
Ash urn, fighters, prothesis, man riding in biga
Jannot 1984, 15-17, fig. 84-87

E136 Palermo, Museo Nazionale 8435, late 6th - early 5th century BC
Funerary relief fragment, prothesis, mourners
Jannot 1984, 30-31, fig. 123-124

E137 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 10010, late 6th - early 5th century BC
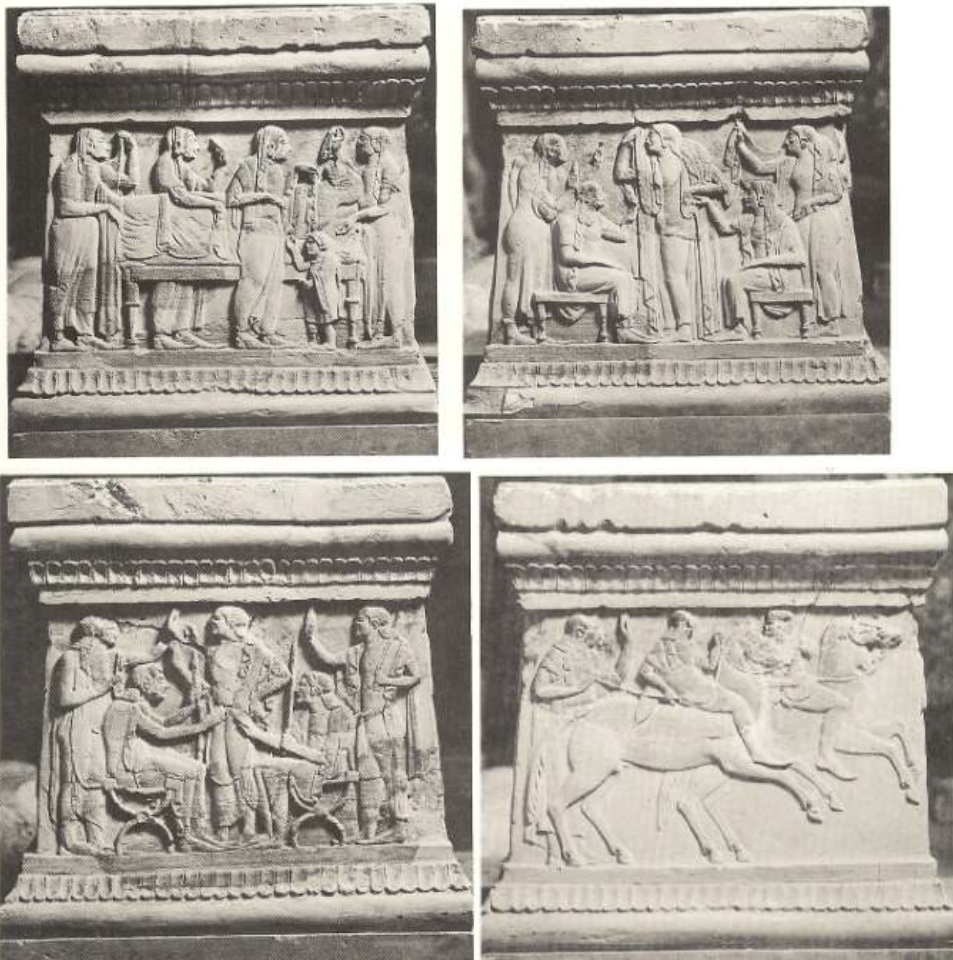Funerary base, prothesis
Jannot 1984, 77-78, fig. 271-274

E138 Palermo, Museo Nazionale 8391, late 6th - early 5th century BC
Funerary relief fragment, prothesis
Jannot 1984, 98, fig. 339-340
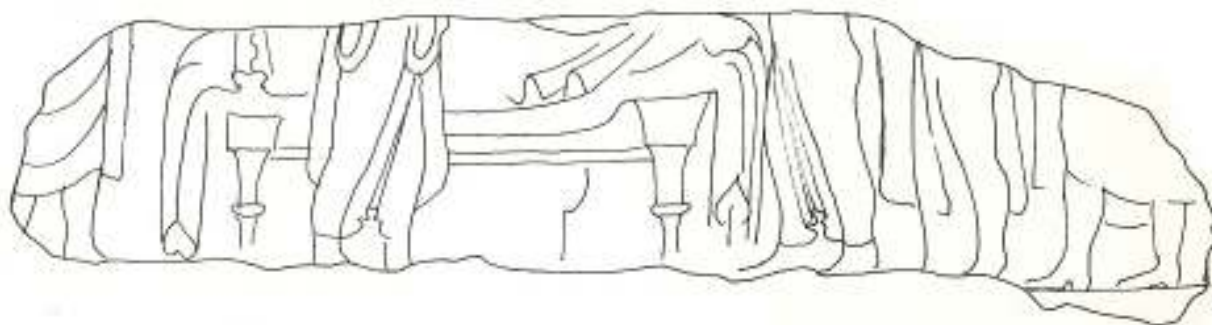
E139 Arezzo 14150, late 6th- early 5th century BC
Funerary relief fragment, prothesis
Jannot 1984, 98-99, fig. 341-342

E140   Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlugen, late 6th - early 5th century BC
        Funerary base, prothesis, woman's room, men's room, men on horseback
        Jannot 1984, 164-166, fig. 561-564

E141   Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco 2248, late 6th - early 5th century BC
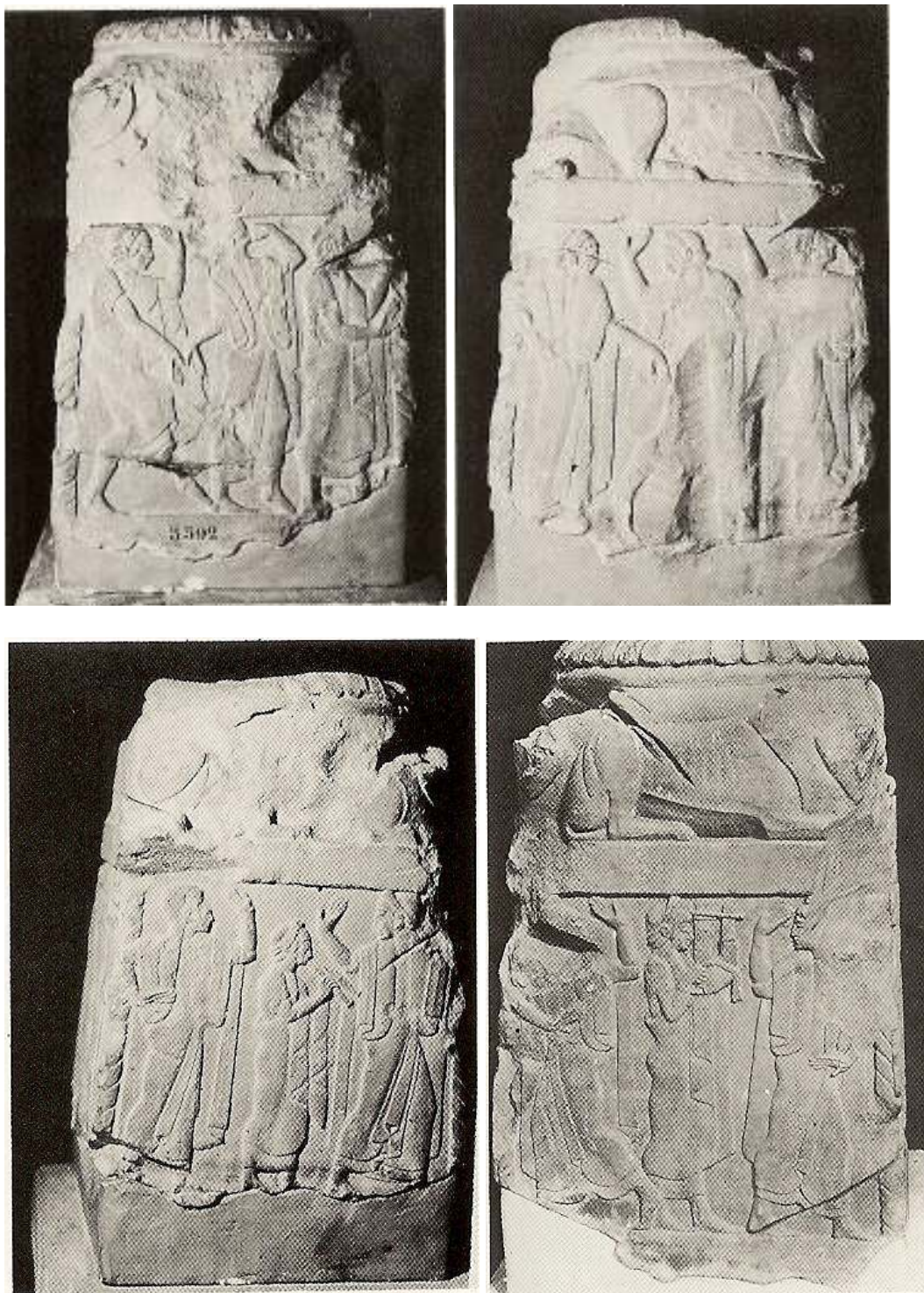   Circular base, revelers
        Jannot 1984, 100-101, fig. 348-351

E142 Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 530, late 6th - early 5th century BC
Funerary base, dancers, aulos players
Jannot 1984, 128-129, fig. 444-447

E143   Palermo, Museo Nazionale 8376, late 6th - early 5th century BC
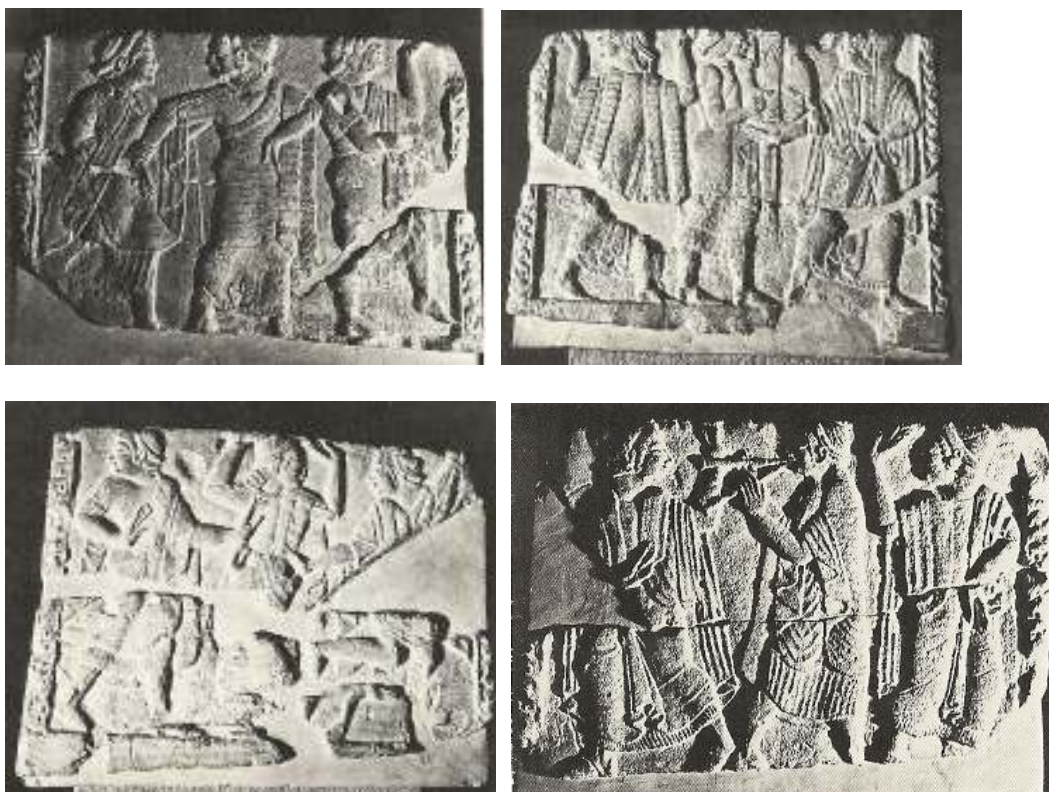   Funerary base, dancers
        Jannot 1984, 136-137, fig. 472-475

E144   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 5592, late 6th - early 5th century BC
        Funerary base, dancers, lyre player
        Jannot 1984, 135-136, fig. 467-470

E145   Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 329, late 6th- early 5th century BC
        Funerary base, dancers, aulos player
        Jannot 1984, 133-134, fig. 460-463

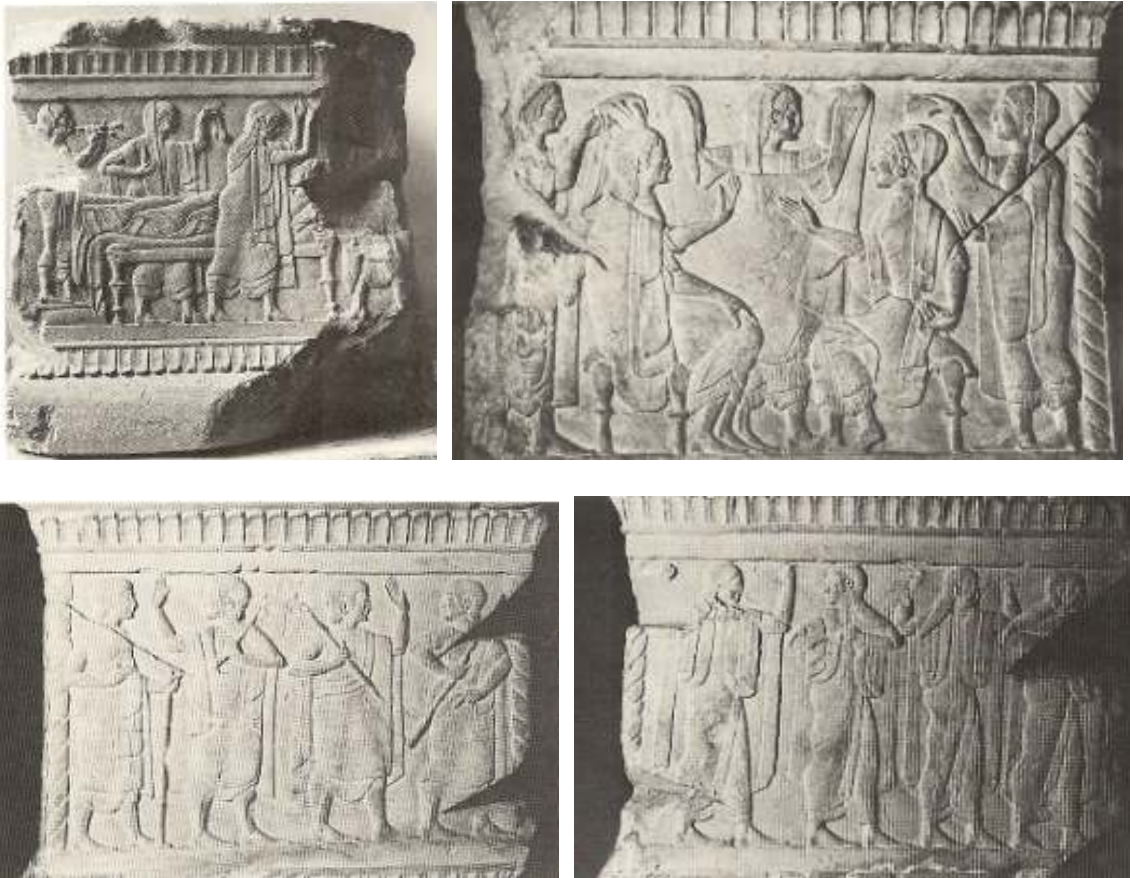E146   Palermo, Museo Nazionale 8373, late 6th- early 5th century BC
        Funerary base, dancers, aulos player
        Jannot 1984, 161-162, fig. 550-553
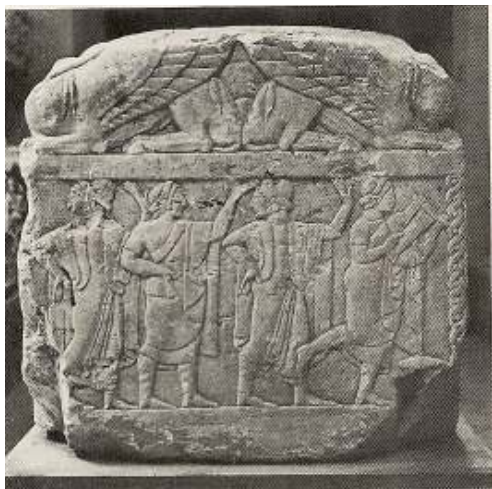
5th Century

E201   Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg H 205, from Chiusi, early 5th century BC
        Relief stone base; prothesis, mourners, procession, women
        Jannot 1984, 81-82, fig. 292-295

E202   Rome, Museo Barracco 201, from Chusi, early 5th century BC
        Funerary base, prothesis, procession of priests, mourners, women's room
        Jannot 1984, 90-92, fig. 318-321

E203   Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco 2247, from Chiusi, 500-480 BC
       Funerary base, dancers, aulos player, lyre player
       Jannot 1984, 129-130, fig. 448-451; Jannot 2004, 394, no. 13

E204   Palermo, Museo Nazionale 8387, from Chiusi, c. 480 BC
       Funerary base, footrace
       Jannot 1984, 57-59, fig. 198; Thuillier 1985, 140, no. 3

E205   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 5587, from Chiusi, c. 490-480 BC
       Funerary relief fragment, footrace
       Jannot 1984, 83, fig. 297; Thuillier 1984, 141, no. 10

E206   London, British Museum D 15, from Chiusi, 490-470 BC
       Funerary base, banqueting, processions, men with horses
       Jannot 1984, 146-147, fig. 502-505

E207   London, British Museum D 18, from Chiusi, 490-470 BC
       Funerary base, prothesis, banqueting, procession
       Jannot 1984, 162-164, fig. 554-558

E208   Fiesole, Museo Civico 0001, from Travignoli, early 5th century BC
       Upper register with banqueting couple, central register with dancers, aulos player
       D'Agostino and Cerchiai 2004, 265, no. 17; de Marinis no. 92

E209   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 75347, from Varlungo, early 5th century
BC
Upper register: banqueting couple, lower register: couple seated upright
D'Agostino and Cerchiai 2004, 265, no. 18; de Marinis 1961, 30, no. 90; Magi
1932, 44, no. 14, tav. X

E210   Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, from Cerveteri, 5th century BC
Caeretan Stone sarcophagus
Holliday 1990, 75-76
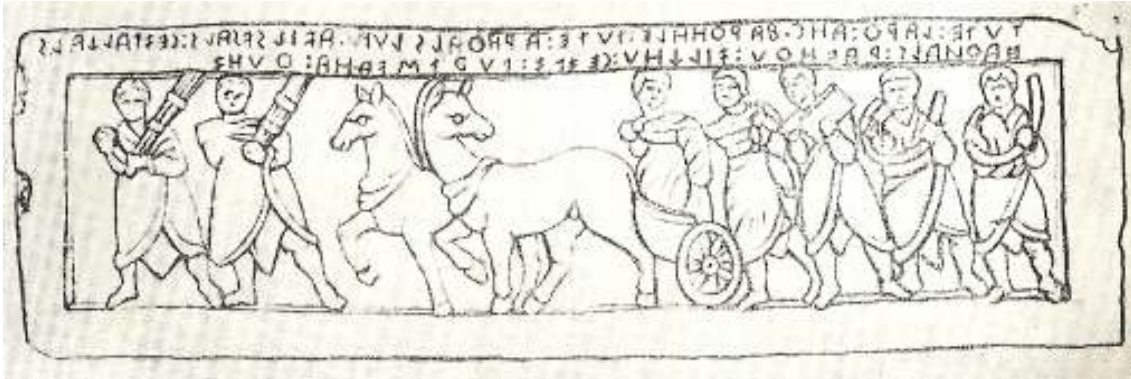
3rd Century

E301   Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 124, 300-250 BC
       Sarcophagus, Procession
       Lambrechts 1959, pl. XV, no. 18

E302   Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 65, 310-290 BC
       Sarcophagus, procession on biga
       Lambrechts 1959, pl. II, no. 1
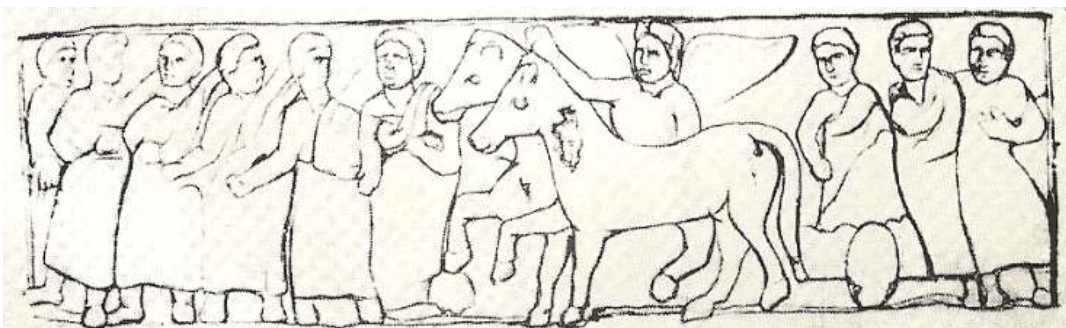
E303   Lost sarcophagus, 300-250 BC
        Sarcophagus, procession on biga
        Bruni 2004, 29, no. 70; Lambrechts 1959, pl. IV, no. 3

E304   London. British Museum D 25-26, 300-250 BC
        Sarcophagus, procession on biga
        Bruni 2004, 29-30, no. 71; Lambrechts 1959, pl. VII, no. 7

E305   Lost sarcophagus, 250-200 BC
        Sarcophagus, procession on biga
        Bruni 2004, 30, no. 72; Lambrechts 1959, pl. IV, no. 4

E306   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 250-200 BC
Sarcophagus, procession on biga
Bruni 2004, 30, no. 73; Lambrechts 1959, pl. IX, no. 10

E307   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 250-200 BC
Sarcophagus, procession on biga
Bruni 2004, 30, no. 76; Lambrechts 1959, pl. XIII, no. 14

E308   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 250-200 BC
Sarcophagus, procession on biga
Bruni 2004, 30, no. 77; Lambrechts 1959, pl. XIV, no. 15

E309   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 1415, 250-225 BC
       Sarcophagus, procession on biga
       Bruni 2004, 30, no. 78; Lambrechts 1959, pl. VI, no. 5

E310   Viterbo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 232, 230-200 BC
       Sarcophagus, procession on biga
       Bruni 2004, 30, no. 79; Lambrechts 1959, pl. III, no. 2

E311   Palermo, Museo Nazionale 24, from Chiusi, 250-200 BC.
       Sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei, journey of the dead to the afterlife
       Krauskopf 1986b, 308; Krauskopf 2006, 68; Paschinger 1992, 303; Steiner 2003,
   332; fig. 21

E312   Palermo, Museo Nazionale, from Perugia, 3rd-2nd century BC
        Ash urn, deceased journeying to the afterlife
   Paschinger 1992, 306, Fig 33

E313   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1424, from Tarquinia, 300-250 BC
        Bruschi sarcophagus, journey of the deceased to the underworld
        de Ruyt 1934, 66; Mavleev, E. and I. Krauskopf 1986, 231; Steiner 2003, 333, fig.
        37.

2nd Century
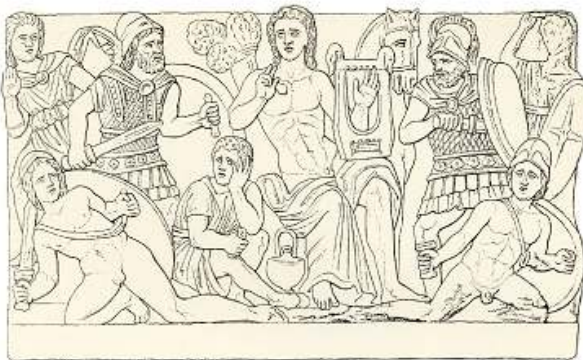
E401   Siena, Museo Archeologico, from Sarteano, 2nd century BC
        Ash urn, seer Cacu at center is attacked by the Vipinas brothers
        Brunn 1965, Vol. 2.2, 254-258, CXIX; de Grummond 2006, 174, no. VIII.1
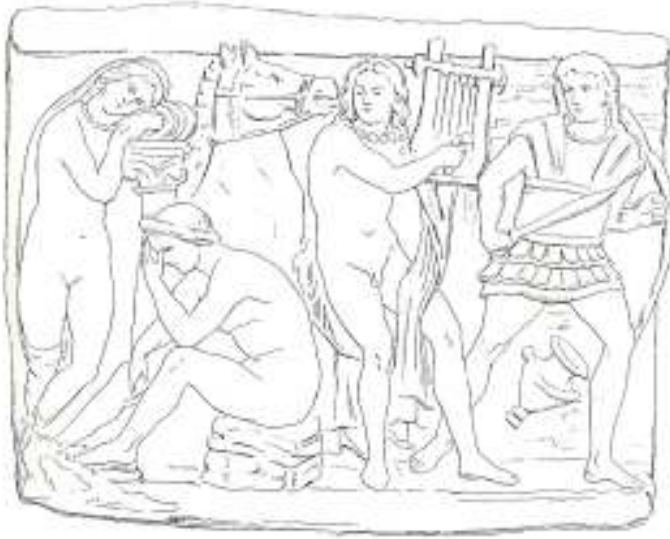
E402   Berlin, Staatliche Museen, from Chiusi, 2nd century BC
        Ash Urn, seer Cacu at center is attacked by the Vipinas brothers
        de Grummond 2006, 29, fig. II.6

E403   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1414, 200-180 BC
        Sarcophagus, procession in a quadriga
        Bruni 2004, 30, no. 80; Lambrechts 1959, pl. V, no. 4
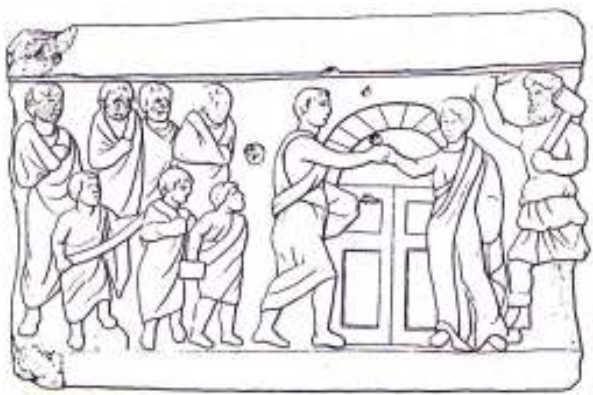
E404   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 200-150 BC
        Sarcophagus, procession in biga
        Bruni 2004, 30, no. 81; Lambrechts 1959, pl. VIII, no. 9

E405   Viterbo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 200-150 BC
        Sarcophagus, procession in biga
        Bruni 2004, 30, no. 82; Lambrechts 1959, pl. X, no. 11

E406   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 552, from Volterra, 2nd century BC
        Ash urn, journey of the deceased into the underworld
        de Ruyt 1934, 33; Mavleev and Krauskopf 1986, 230; Steiner 2003, 340, fig 38

E407   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 5483, from Chiusi, c. 150-100 BC
Ash urn, journey of the deceased into the underworld
Paschinger 1992, 306; Steiner 2003, 339, fig. 28

E408   Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1302, from Chiusi, 150-100 BC
Ash urn, journey of the deceased into the underworld, two doorways
de Ruyt 1934, 83-85; Mavleev and Krauskopf 1986, 233; Steiner 2003, 338, fig. 26

E409   Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1311, from Chiusi, 150-100 BC
Ash urn, journey of the deceased into the underworld
Paschinger 1992, 306; Steiner 2003, 338, fig. 27

Appendix F – Decorated Ceramics

<u>7th Century</u>

F001   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Montescudaio, 650-625 BC
Impasto ash urn, seated banqueter
Haynes 2000, 111, fig. 92

F002   Now lost, from Veii, 630 BC
Bucchero olla, boxers
Bonamici 1974, 29-30, no. 28, tav. XIV; Thuillier 1997, 372, fig. 1

F003   Cerveteri, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 110976, from Ceveteri, 630 BC
Bucchero olpe, boxers, Argonauts carrying fabric
Sannibale 2004, 83, fig. 2

F004   Rome, Musei Capitolini 358, from Tragliatella, 7th century BC
Oinochoe with Truia game
Brunit 2004, 26, no. 34; Turfa 2012, fig. 20

F005   Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, 670 BC
Black-figure amphora, acrobat
Martelli 1987, no. 38

F006   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 85629, from Bisenzio, early 7th century
        BC
        Olla, line dancing
        Martelli 1987, no. 18; ThesCRA 2, 337, no. 336
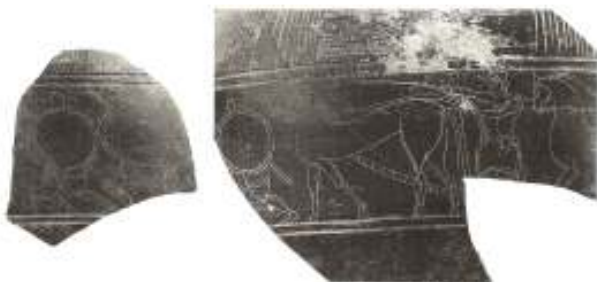
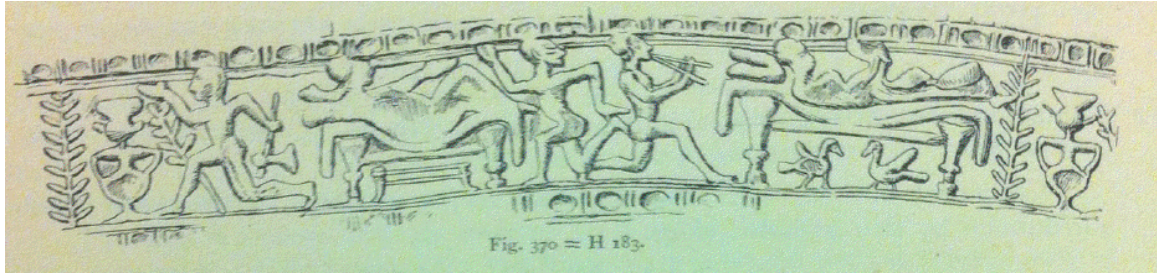F007   Private Collection, 620-600 BC
        Fragment of bucchero oinochoe, procession
        Bruni 2004, 26, no. 37; Camporeale 1993, 10, fig. 1

6th century

F101   Monaco, Antikensammlungen 837, from Vulci, 550-540 BC
        Pontic amphora, Paris Painter, Judgment of Elcsentre
        Hampe and Krauskopf 1981, 500, no. 14; Martelli 1987, no. 102

F102   London, British Museum 1978.05-11.6, from Cerveteri, 550-500 BC
       Red ware pinax on stand, banquet, dancers, aulos player
       de Marinis 1961, 31, no. 94; Walters 1912, 242

F103   London, British Museum B63, from Vulci, 510-500 BC
       Black-figure hydria, Micali Painter, prothesis
       Spivey 1987, 2, 27, no. 177

F104   Zürich, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule 415 (B 14), 530-520 BC
       Black-figure amphora, return of Sethlans
       Krauskopf 1981b, 655-656, no. 9, tav. 405

F105   Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L 793, 530-520 BC
        Black-figure amphora, return of Sethlans
        Krauskopf 1981b, 655, no. 8, tav. 405

F106   Rome, Palazzo Conservatori no. 203, Cerveteri, 530-510 BC
        Black-figure hydria, the Eagle Painter
        Hemelrijk 1984, 28-29, no. 14, pl. 64-65

F107   Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3577, from Cerveteri, 525-500 BC
        Black-figure hydria, the Eagle Painter, Return of Sethlans
        Hemelrijk 1984, 14-15, no. 5, pl. 36-40

F108   Civitavecchia, National Archaeological Museum, 530-500 BC
        Black-figure amphora, wrestlers
        Bastianelli 1940, 365, tav. XXIX; Thuillier 1985, 150, no. 1.2

F109   Paris, Louvre 10.227, from Cerveteri, late 6th century BC
        Caeretan Hydria, Eagle Painter, dancers
        Hemelrijk 1984, 25-26, no. 12, pl. 59-60

F110   Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen ZV 1653, 520-470 BC
        Black-figure amphora, Pyrrhic dancer
        Spivey 1988, 593, fig. 1

F111   Orvieto, Faina Museum 2736, 520-470 BC
          Black-figure amphora, armed men
          Spivey 1988, 593, fig. 4

F112   London, British Museum 1950.5-30.1, 520-470 BC
          Black-figure amphora, armed men
          Spivey 1988, 593, fig. 3
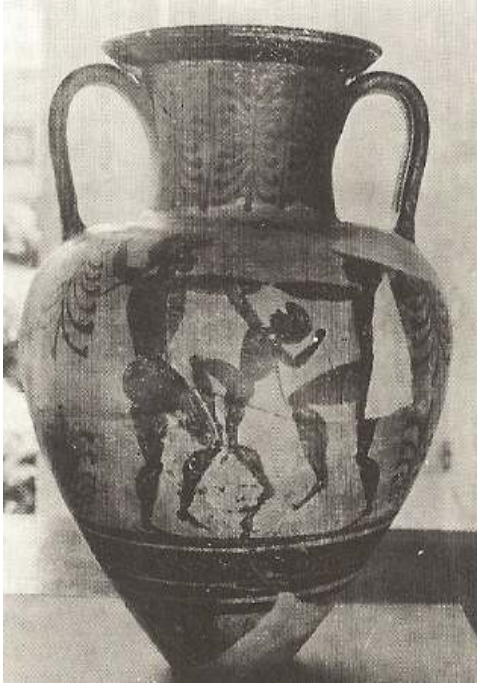
F113   Rome, Villa Giuila 42042, 520-470 BC
        Black-figure amphora, Pyrrhic dancers
        Spivey 1988, 597, fig. 9

F114   Orvieto, Museo Faina, 2703, 520-510 BC
        Black-figure stamnos, Micali painter, dancer, aulos player
        Martelli 1987, no. 125

F115   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale RC 6884, 515-490 BC
        Black-figure neck amphora, Micali Painter workshop, dancers
        Ginge 1987, 47-48, tav. XXVII-XXIX, no. 20

F116   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale RC 5311, 500-475 BC
        Black-figure neck amphora, Pyrrhic dancers
        Ginge 1987, 78-79, tav. LXXI-LXVIIIb, no. 40; Spivey 1988, 597, fig. 8

F117   Copenhagen, National Museum 13567, from Cerveteri, last quarter of the 6th century BC
        Caeretan hydria, religious procession
        Bruni 2004, 24, no. 9; Hemelrijk 1984, 29, no. 15, tav. 67-68

F118   Heidelberg, Heidelberg University Museum E 4, from Orvieto, 570-550 BC
        Bucchero ollette, procession
        Bruni 2004, 27, no. 41; Camporeale 1972, tav. 24b

F119   New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 55.7, 540 BC
       Pontic neck amphora, Paris Painter, banqueting couple, men herding bulls
       Hemingway, et al. 2007 287, fig. 330

F120   Orvieto, Museo Faina 879, from Orvieto, 570-550 BC
       Bucchero kylix, procession
       Bruni 2004, 27, no. 42; Camporeale 1972, tav. 24a

F121   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6th century BC
       Black-figure amphora, footrace
       Pallottino 1937, 282, fig. 63

F122   Paris, Louvre E703, from Vulci, 540-530 BC
       Pontic amphora, Silenus Painter, dancing satyrs
       Martelli 1987, no. 105

F123   Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, from Vulci, 530-510 BC
        Black-figure oinochoe, Painter of the Bibliothèque nationale, dancers
        Martelli 1987, no. 110
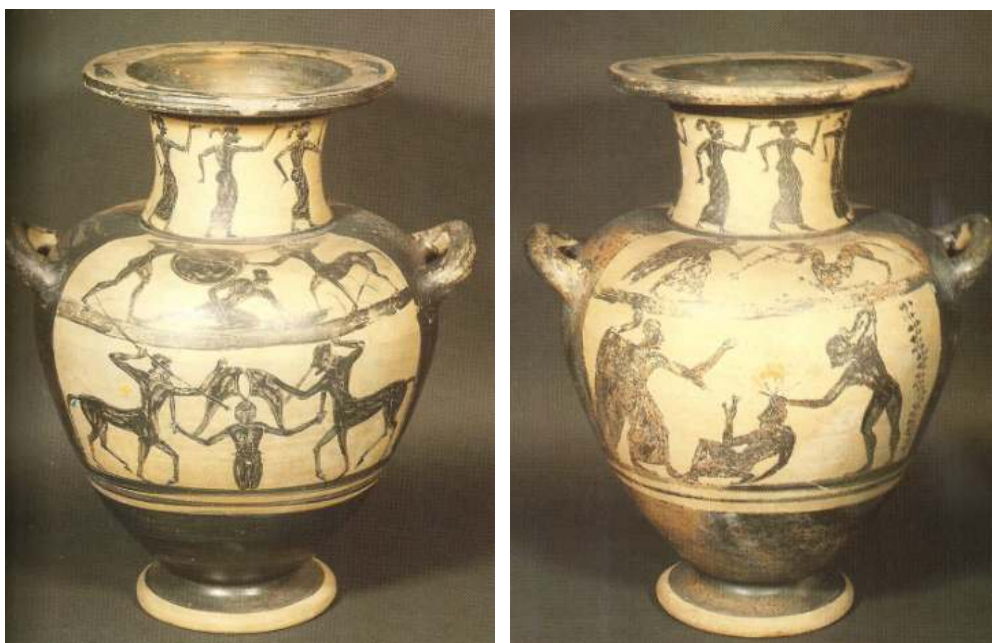
F124   Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 510-500 BC
        Black-figure stamnoid amphora, Vatican painter, dancers
        Martelli 1987, no.129

F125   Leiden, Rijksmuseum K 1956.8.1, 520-510 BC
        Black-figure olpe, Micali Painter, procession
        Bruni 2004, 27, no. 43; Spivey 1987, 24, fig. 26

F126   Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 146a, 530-520 BC
        Black-figure amphora, Paris Painter, Judgment of Elcsentre
        Bruni 2004, 31, no. 94; Hannestad 1974, 48, no. 28, fig. 18

F127   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 543, 530-510 BC
        Black-figure Pontic vase, footrace
        Ginge 1987, 25-26, tav. IX-X, no. 5

F128   Rome, Villa Giulia 84444, 520 BC
        Black-figure plate, Tityos painter, central wolfman
        Martelli 1987, no. 101.5

5th Century

F201   London, British Museum B64 (1865.1-3.25), from Vulci, c. 500 BC
       Black-figure neck amphora, Micali Painter, horse race, procession, boxers, aulos
       player, Pyrrhic dancers
       Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 253, fig. 100; Beazley 1947, pl. II-IIa; Bruni 2004,
       337 no. 343; 395 no. 15; Spivey 1987, 19, no. 102, pl. 18a-b; Thuillier 1985, 148-
       148, no. 1.1; van der Meer 1982, 439.
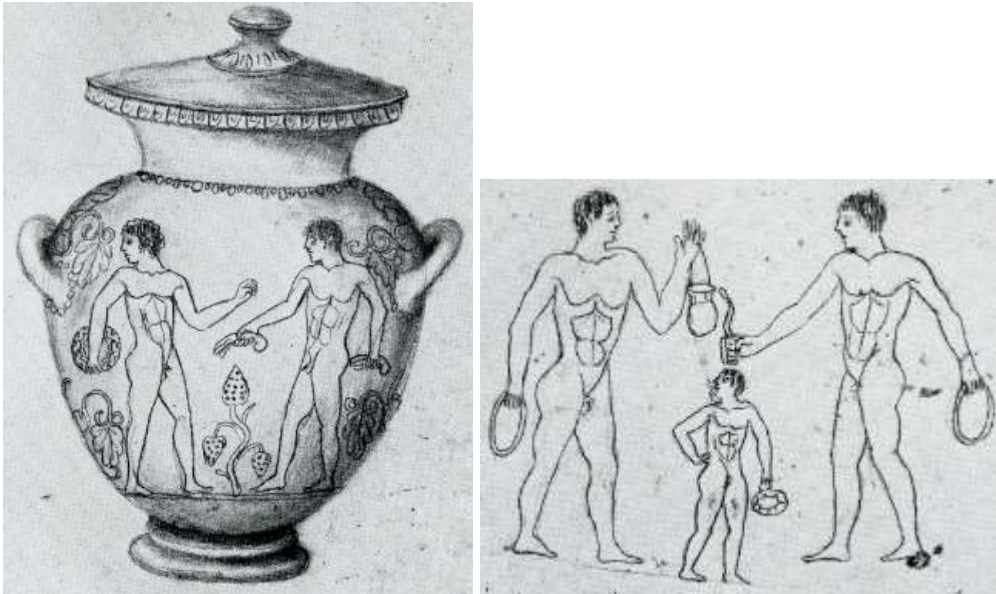
F202   Now lost, 470-460 BC
        Red-figure stamnos, longer jumper, discus thrower, athletes with wreaths
        Greifenhagen 1978, 61-62; Thuillier 1985, 151, no. 2.1

F203   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale RC 3216, 500-475 BC
        Black-figure neck amphora, dancers
        Ginge 1987, 74-75, tav. LXVb-LXVI, no. 37

F204 Private Collection, 480-470 BC
      Black-figure amphora, the Vatican Painter 265, discus throwers
      Hus 1957, 326-328, pl. 19; Thuillier 1985, 151, no. 1.5

F205 Pienza, Museo Archeologico Vescovile, early 5th century BC
      Black figura amphora, Vatican Painter Group, discus thrower
      Monaci 1965, 462-463, tav. XCIXd; Thuillier 1985, 151, no. 1.6

F206   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2432, 500-475 BC
        Black-figure amphora, boxers
        Ginge 1987, 76-77, tav. LXVII, no. 38

F207   New Castle upon Tyne, King's College 411, from Vulci, 5th century BC
        Red-figure amphora, quadriga race
        Greifenhagen 1978, 66-67, tav. 33-35

F208   New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.42, from Capua, 460-450 BC
        Black-figure amphora, religious procession
        Bruni 2004, 24, no. 12; Parise Badoni 1968, tav. 29.

F209   Karlsruhe, Badisches Landes Museum, 5th century BC
        Amphora, Phersu
        Jannot 1993, 291, fig. 6; Szilagy 1981, 12, fig. 15

F210   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale RC 1881, 500-480 BC
        Black-figure neck amphora, Followers of the Micali Painter, aulos player, dancer
        Ginge 1987, 61-63, tav. LI-LII, no. 29

F211   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale RC 5310, 500-475 BC
        Black-figure neck amphora, dancers
        Ginge 1987, 77-78, tav. LXIX-LXX, no. 39

F212   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1939, 500-475 BC
        Black-figure neck amphora, dancer
        Ginge 1987, 80, tav. LXXII-LXXIII, no. 41

F213   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale RC 1760, 500-475 BC
        Black-figure stamnos, dancers
        Ginge 1987, 82-83, tav. LXXV-LXXVIb, no. 44

F214   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale RC 3869, 500-475 BC
        Black-figure stamnos, dancing satyrs
        Ginge 1987, 83-84, tav. LXXVIa-LXXVII, no. 45
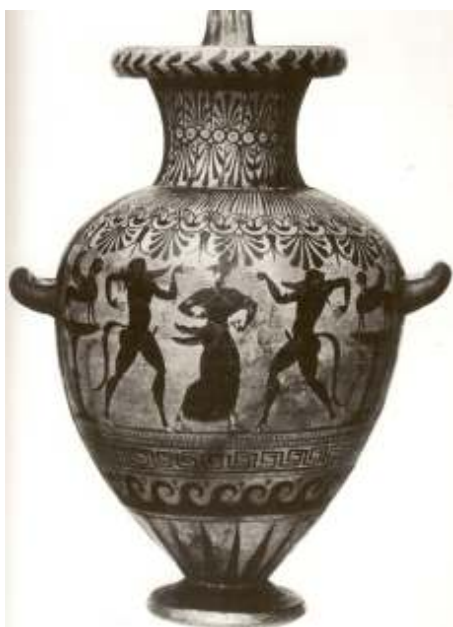

F215   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 860, 500-475 BC
        Black-figure column krater, dancers
        Ginge 1987, 84-85, tav. LXXVIII-LXXXIb, no. 46

F216　Copenhagen, Danish National Museum, 500 BC
　　　Black-figure hydria, Micali Painter, satyrs dancing
　　　Spivey 1997, 125, fig. 109

F217　Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 17060, 420-410 BC
　　　Red-figured krater, Palermo Painter, banqueter, aulos player
　　　Buranelli 1992, 129, fig. 104

F218   Richmond, Museum of Fine Arts, 500-490 BC
       Black-figure amphora, Monaco group, dancer
       Martelli 1987, no. 135

F219   Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, from Cerveteri, 480 BC
       Black-figure amphora, Dancing Satyr Painter, dancing satyrs
       Martelli 1987, no. 136

F220   Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 480 BC
        Black-figure stamnos, dancing satyrs painter, dancing satyrs
        Martelli 1987, no. 137

F221   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 859, 500-475 BC
        Black-figure, neck amphora, dancers
        Ginge 1987, 69-70, tav. LVIII-LIX, no. 33

F222   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale RC 2779, 500-475 BC
       Black-figure, neck amphora, dancers
       Ginge 1987, 72-73, tav. LXIb-LXIII, no. 35

F223   Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale RC 2780, 500-475 BC
       Black-figure amphora, nude athletes
       Ginge 1987, 73-74, tav. LXIV, no. 36

4th Century

F301   Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 07.862, 400-350 BC
        Red-figure stamnos, Painter of the Oxford Ganymede, Poleduces and Amuke
        Beazley 1947, 4-5, 57-61, pl. 14.1; Thuillier 1985, 152, no. 2.2

F302   Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 2945, from Chiusi, 4th century BC
        Red-figure kylix, dancing satyrs, aulos player
        Harari 1980, 30, tav. VII.1, cat. 10

F303   Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 14962, from Chiusi, 350-300 BC
       Etruscan red-figure kylix, Clusium group, dancing satyr, woman holding mirror
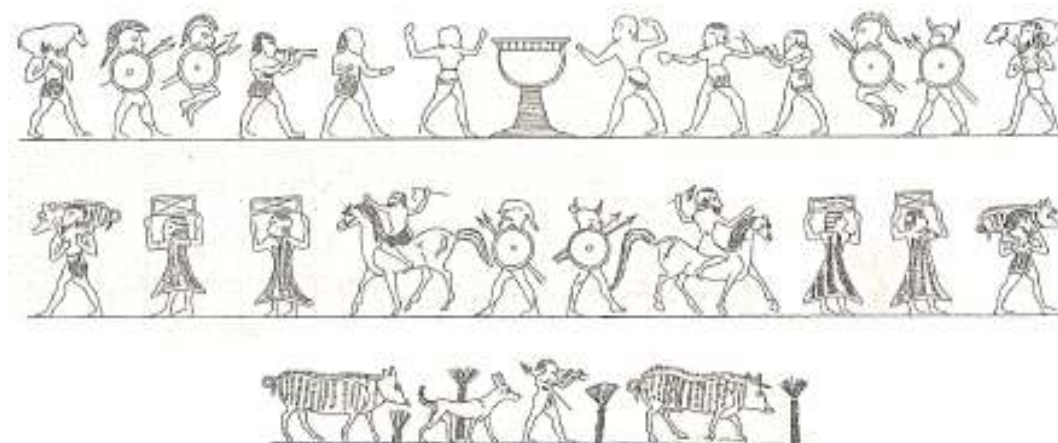   Buranelli 1992, 111, fig. 84; Harari 1980, tav. VIII.1, cat. 13

F304   Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 82.137, 370 BC
       Red-figure calyx-krater, Nazzano Painter, dancing satyrs and female
       Mayo 1998, 75

F305   Rome, Villa Giulia, from Vulci, 380 BC
       Red-figure kylix, dancers, aulos player
       Martelli 1987, no.16

Appendix G – Architecture and Miscellaneous Objects

<u>7th Century</u>

G001   Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2594, from Chiusi, c. 650 BC
       Silver Plikasna situla, procession, boxing, Pyrrhic dancers
       Sannibale 2004, 83, no. 3.
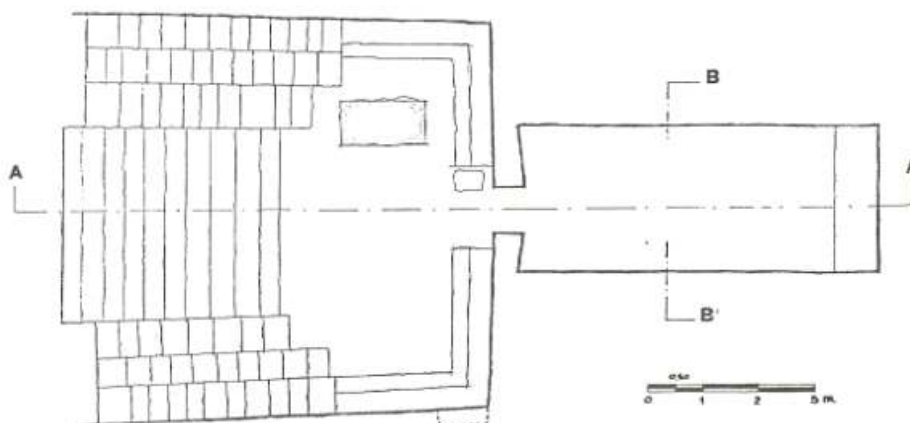
G002   Tomba dell'Infernaccio, Tarquinia, 7th century BC
       Ground plan of tomb
       Colonna 1993, 326, fig. 2

G003 Tomba dell'Infernaccio, Tarquinia, 7th century BC
Dromos with steps
Colonna 1993, 327, tav. 1
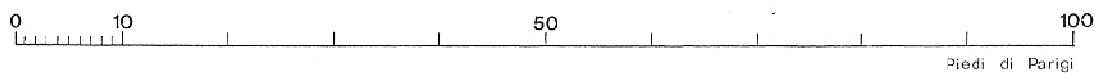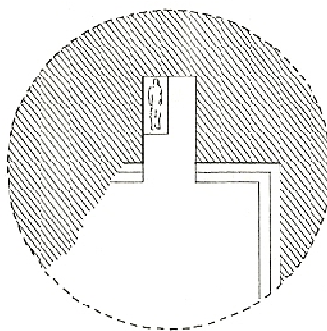
G004 Tomb, Tarquinia, 7th century BC
Stepped entrance of tomb
Colonna 1993, 324, fig. 1a

G005   Banditaccia Necropolis, Cerveteri, mid 7th century BC
         Tumulus tomb
         Haynes 2000, 71-74
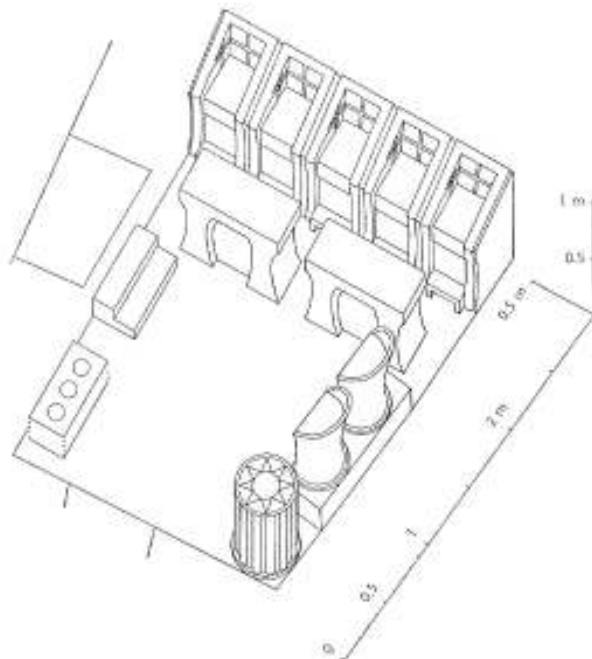
G006   Tomb of the Five Chairs, Cerveteri, 650-600 BC
         Interior of tomb, chairs with stools
         Haynes 2000, 92-94

<u>6th Century</u>
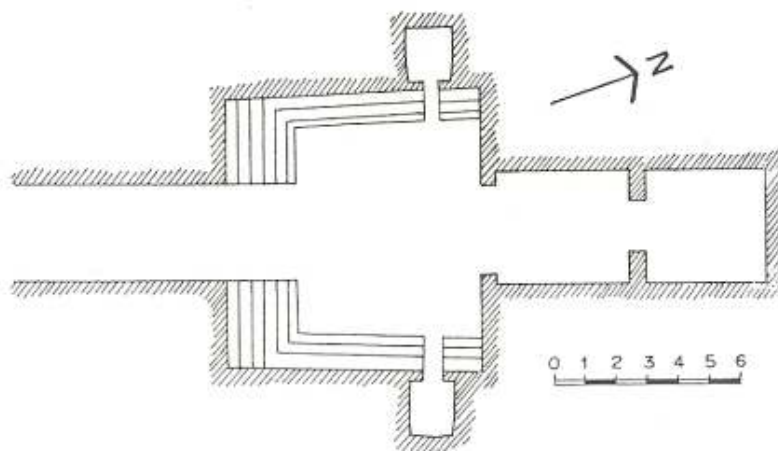
G101   Cuccumella Tomb, Vulci, 6th century BC
       Chamber tomb
       Colonna 1993, 330, fig. 3
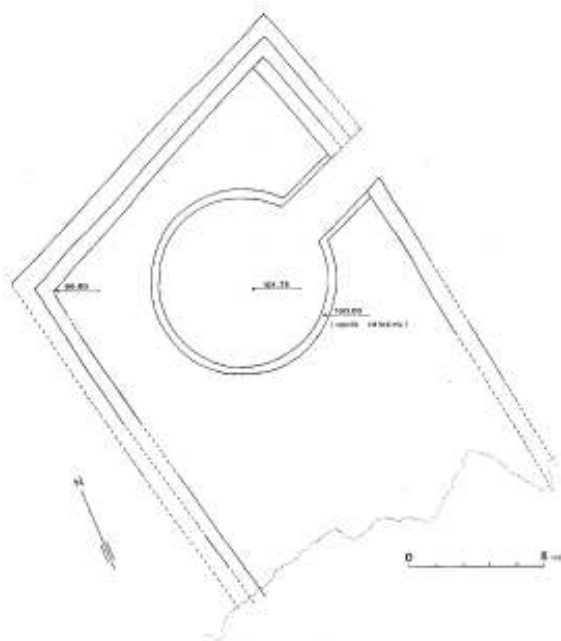
G102   Grotta Porcina, 600-550 BC
       Rock structure with stepped base
       Colonna 193, 334, fig. 4
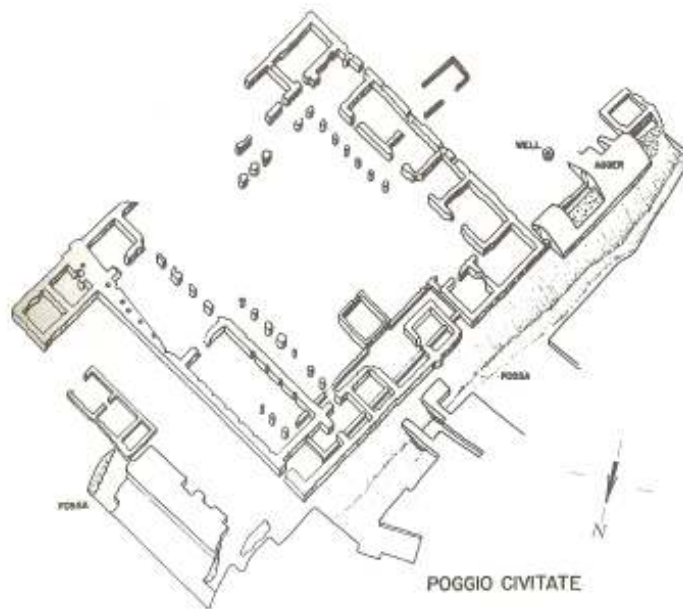
G103   Poggio Civitate
        Archaic building complex
        Phillips 1993, 11, fig. 8

G104   London, British Museum 1889.04-10.1-5, from Cerveteri, 550 BC
        Boccanera slabs
        Haynes 2000, 218-219; Steingraber 2006, 125

5th Century

G201   Cerveteri, early 5th century BC
       Performance Space
       Colonna 346, fig. 10

4th Century

G301   Tomb of the Reliefs, from Cerveteri, 4th century BC
       The *Tabula lusoria* relief
       Blanck and Proietti 1986, 25, fig. 13
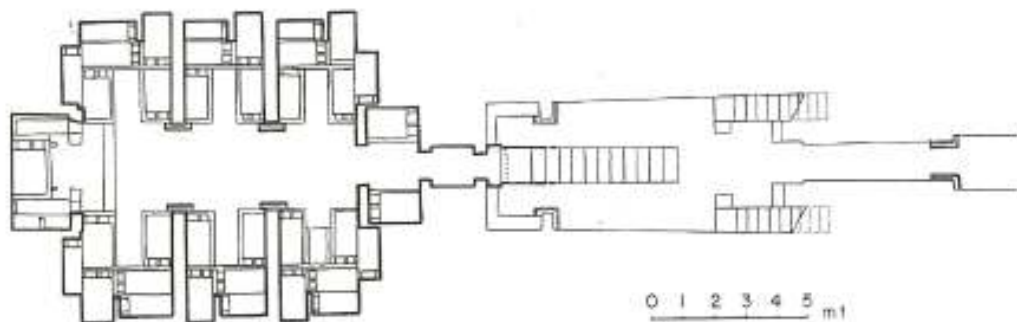
G302　Tomba Torlonia, from Cerveteri, 4th century BC
　　　Chamber tomb
　　　Colonna 341, fig. 8

G303　Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France 816, 4th - 2nd century BC
　　　Numbered dice
　　　Artioli et al 2011, 11, fig. 7

G304　Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France 816, 4th - 2nd century BC
　　　Numbered dice
　　　Artioli et al 2011, 11, fig. 8

G305   Tomb of the Reliefs, Cerveteri
       Interior
       Haynes 2000, 315-318

2nd Century
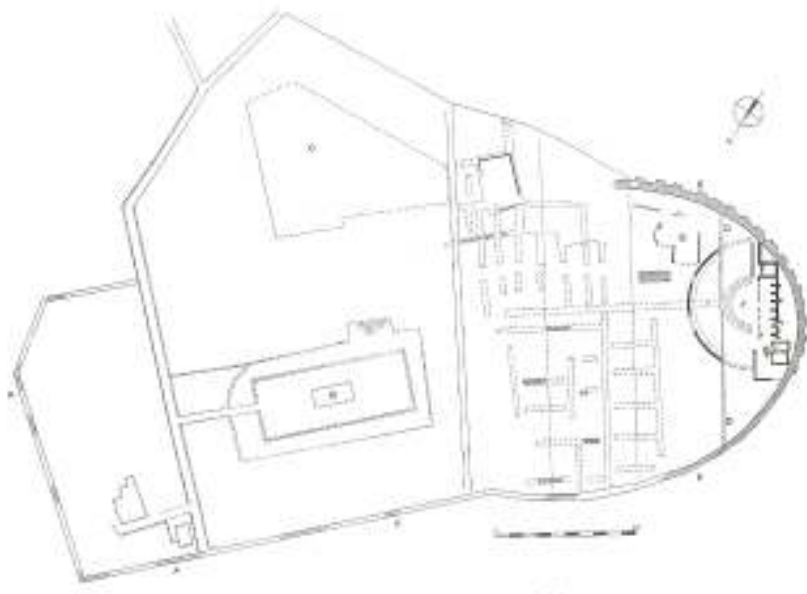
G501   Castelsecco at Arezzo, mid 2nd century BC
       Sanctuary
       Colonna 1993, 344, fig. 9

G502   Rome, Villa Giulia, Hellenistic Period
       Ivory dice
       de Grummond 2006, 21, fig. I.2

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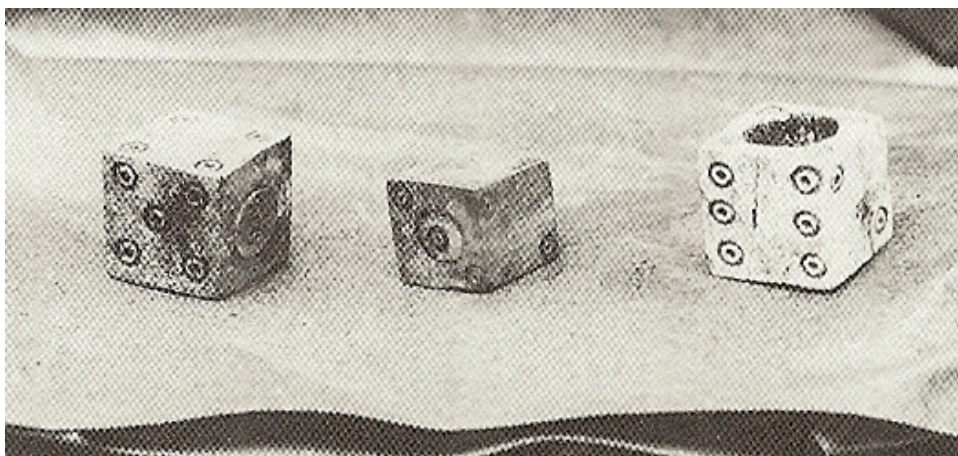Andrén, A. 1939. *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples. Plates*. Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup.

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