Women in Etruscan Tomb Painting

By

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Abstract

Previous scholarship on women in Etruscan tomb painting has grounded its conclusion on a number of select, well distinguished tombs that have been used to support or disprove the claim that women held a prominent position in Etruscan society. This research paper aims to expand the literature by compiling an extensive catalogue of tomb paintings at the Etruscan site of Tarquinia, to examine the representation and iconography of women between the sixth and fourth centuries BCE. Of the 135 painted tombs known in the Monterozzi necropolis of Tarquinia, there are 62 tombs that contain the depiction of women in various settings, including scenes of dance, athletics, the journey to the afterlife, and most frequently, the banquet. By analyzing the 24 tombs that contain scenes of the banquet where women are present, through their positioning, attire, and iconography, it is evident that the elite women in Etruscan society played an important role in the family. In comparison to scenes of the banquet in Greek art, as well as the accounts from ancient authors who comment on the scandalous actions of Etruscan women, a different picture emerges. The women depicted on the walls of these Etruscan tombs are not entertainers or subordinate companions. They are wives and mothers who, as members of the aristocracy, were essential figures in maintaining the family lineage and as such held greater authority and power. It is within these family tombs that they were honored and respected in this role.
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I. Introduction

As one of the lasting remains of the Etruscan civilization, Etruscan tomb paintings are preserved in the necropolises of Tarquinia, where the largest number of them is found, and other Etruscan sites such as Chiusi, Cerveteri, Orvieto, Grotte Santo Stefano, Tuscania, Veii and Vulci. Dating back to the seventh century, paintings were commissioned in the tombs of the wealthy, not only as expressions of their status, but also to express ideas and beliefs pertaining to life and hope in the afterlife. It is through these tomb paintings that we can better understand the society and culture of the Etruscans. Extensive research and publications have been done by scholars on Etruscan tomb painting, which has greatly deepened our understanding of the lives of the Etruscans.\(^1\) In particular, the 1986 publication of Stephen Steingräber’s, *Etruscan Painting: Catalogue Raisonné of Etruscan Wall Paintings*, provided universal access to the wall paintings, through the extensive compilation and description of all known Etruscan painted tombs, complimented with large-scale photographs and drawings. This work is complemented by Steingräber’s more recent work *Abundance of Life: Etruscan wall painting* of 2006, which includes new tombs with a comprehensive review of tomb painting as a whole accompanied by an extensive bibliography. Furthermore, advances in technology have also allowed scholars to uncover elements of the paintings previously unseen and to manage the preservation of the paintings, both within and outside of their original settings.\(^2\)

The study of Etruscan tomb painting, particularly within the last fifty years, has expanded the study of paintings beyond its artistic value and instead incorporates the paintings within the

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\(^1\) Steingräber’s works are the standard resource on Etruscan painted tombs. For a recent treatment of the development of Etruscan tomb painting see Naso 2010, 63-86. For previous general works on Etruscan tomb painting see: Brendel 1978; Pallottino 1952; Poulsen 1922.

\(^2\) For the use of technology in preservation and analysis of the paintings see: Barone et al. 2018, 390-403; Gadia et al. 2016, 904-09; Steingräber 2006.
broader study of Etruscan civilization. It is within this discourse that the study of Etruscan women and their presence within tomb paintings has developed alongside the growing studies of gender and sexuality in antiquity. The works of Larissa Bonfante and Vedia Izzet have notably shaped the study of Etruscan women into its own unique topic, looking at features such as motherhood, status, literacy, dress, and daily life. As exemplified by Bonfante and Izzet, tomb painting has been used as evidence for certain claims on Etruscan women, particularly in regards to their representation of dress, relationship with men, status, and process of marginalization. Other scholars who have contributed to the debate from the European scholarly tradition are A. Rallo and recently P. Amann. However, apart from references to individual tombs, groups of tombs, or studies of particular themes, no extensive publications have come forth solely discussing the representation of women in Etruscan tomb painting as a whole.

This research essay aims to fill the gaps regarding our understanding of women in Etruscan tomb painting through a compilation and analysis of the tomb paintings in Tarquinia that contain the representation of a female, particularly in scenes of the banquet, in order to better understand the life of Etruscan women. The Monterozzi necropolis of Tarquinia contains the largest number of Etruscan painted tombs, totaling 135 out of the 180 known monuments. The 135 painted tombs in Tarquinia are amongst the total c. 6,000 known chamber tombs within the Monterozzi necropolis, which exemplifies the unique nature of this decoration. Tarquinia has been chosen as a case study for this project as it contains the highest number of representations of females, and as a result, the largest variety of themes. A detailed analysis of the representation

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4 For women in tomb painting as evidence for marginalization see: Izzet 2007, 84-86.
5 Rallo 1989; 2001, 131-140.
6 In particular Amann 2000.
7 One publication solely on women in Etruscan tomb painting is from Scheffer 2007, 35-56.
of females in other Etruscan cities will not be included. The preceding catalogue compiles the 62 out of 135 tombs at Tarquinia, that each contain a painted representation of a female, either a girl or a woman. Females are found in scenes of mourning, processions, festivities and games in honour of the deceased, but most frequently, in scenes of the banquet. The representation of women in banquet scenes is the focus of the following analysis, which examines the placement, dress, and iconography associated with the females found within banquet scenes, alongside the relationship they have to other figures within the paintings. Banquet scenes have been chosen for further analysis since they are the most frequent scene to contain the depiction of females and the most important theme within the repertoire of Etruscan tomb painting as a whole. A comparison to Greek banquet scenes and the accounts of ancient authors regarding Etruscan women is also included.

II. Current Scholarship

The study of tomb painting has become a growing subject within the realm of Etruscan scholarship. In 1986, Stephan Steingräber published *Etruscan Painting: Catalogue Raisonné of Etruscan Wall Painting*, a catalogue that comprehensively compiles together images, descriptions, and bibliography on all of the known painted tombs, totalling 180 across several Etruscan cities. This publication was largely possible due to the recently found tombs during the Lerici Foundation’s work in Tarquinia during the 1950’s to 1970. The excavations and surveying by the Lerici Foundation quadrupled the number of known painted tombs in Tarquinia and as a result, ignited the study of Etruscan tomb painting even further.

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8 Steingräber 1986.
9 Steingräber 2006, 9.
One of the main areas of study within Etruscan tomb painting is researching their production and style. Scholars have examined the production of how the paintings were applied on the tomb walls and the techniques used by craftsmen. They have been able to find common trends across certain paintings, suggesting that they were painted by the same workshop and even the level of skill between different painters working within the same tomb. Additionally, scholars have been able to discern the influence of style from certain painters, which does suggest that some painters came from abroad, had access to, and were influenced by, styles and trends of art from elsewhere, highlighting the connections that Etruscan cities had across the Mediterranean. Another important thread of research has been the study of tomb imagery to investigate Etruscan ideas about death and the afterlife. In comparison to the main stream of studies on Etruscan tomb paintings, very few are those which have used them specifically for the investigation of the role of women.

One notable exception is the article of Charlotte Scheffer, who looks at women across tomb paintings from all Etruscan cities.\textsuperscript{10} Scheffer’s work, aimed at understanding gender-roles, gender ideology, and gender relations, is a quantitative study that looks at the number of female figures and male figures that appear in paintings over time. Scheffer provides statistics on the frequency and overall percentage of women found within tomb paintings, stating that of all 1121 persons found within tomb paintings, there are 201 women and 920 men.\textsuperscript{11} This work is valuable when analyzing the number of women found within paintings over time. She also includes a section of the presence of women in banquet scenes, demonstrating that in all of the banquet scenes found, women only make up approximately 25\% of the banqueters.\textsuperscript{12} Scheffer concludes

\textsuperscript{10} Scheffer 2007, 35-56.
\textsuperscript{11} Scheffer 2007, 37.
\textsuperscript{12} Scheffer 2007, 40.
by arguing that when looking at tomb paintings, women appear to be accepted as crucial members of the family, but that this depiction cannot be accepted as a lived reality outside of the tomb painting, due to their funerary nature. While this work is an important point of reference for statistics and offers a general overview of women found in Etruscan tomb paintings, Scheffer does not offer a detailed examination of the particularity of the tombs, iconography, and possible interpretation of the scenes. In addition, Scheffer does not distinguish between women and girls, rather, she conflates the two age groups.

Beyond research on tomb painting, studies on Etruscan women have expanded to encompass other relevant aspects of archaeological evidence regarding women. One of the leading scholars on Etruscan women, Larissa Bonfante, has published numerous works incorporating evidence from grave goods, mirrors, and other works of art, to support the claim that women held a higher level of status in Etruscan society in comparison to other societies across the Mediterranean region. In particular, Bonfante focuses on evidence showcasing aristocratic couples and the important role that women played within this dynamic. Bonfante has also published numerous works on Etruscan dress, which has greatly impacted the current understanding on trends, designs, and fashions pertaining to both men and women in Etruscan society.

Though extensive, the current literature does not comprehensively account for all depictions of females in Etruscan tomb painting, often using certain paintings to support particular claims. For example, Vedia Izzet argues for the marginalization and objectification of women in Etruscan society during the late fifth and fourth centuries. Her argument is largely

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13 Scheffer 2007, 43-44.
15 Bonfante 1975.
16 Izzet 2007, 85-86.
based on the paintings found in Tomb 5513 and the Tomb of the Shields. The women are depicted standing and seated at the foot of the banqueting couch, respectively, as opposed to reclining with the men as seen in earlier tomb paintings. However, this analysis does not take into consideration other tomb paintings, from the same period, that do in fact depict women reclining with men. Consequently, Izzet’s interpretation of only a selection of tomb paintings presents an inaccurate interpretation of the evidence, at least in regard to tomb paintings during this period. Therefore, a full compilation of all representations of women in Etruscan tomb painting is needed to further, and more accurately, analyze the life and status of Etruscan women.

III. Banquet Scenes

Banquet scenes are the most frequent theme portrayed in Etruscan tomb painting. It is the theme that contains the highest frequency of depictions of women. There are 24 tombs that contain paintings of banquet scenes where there is a woman present. The practice and participation in the banquet were of strong cultural and social significance in the ancient world, and was one of the most important and ideologically significant components of the lifestyle of the upper classes. It is natural that the Etruscans chose to represent this subject in their funerary art, both as a representation of real life or as a figurative banquet in the afterlife, and possibly both concepts at the same time, with the expectation that the deceased would spend their afterlife engaged in the most pleasant and rewarding experiences of their previous life. In addition to the banquet being a time for individuals and groups to come together, it reiterated and established

17 The tombs between T. 5513 (No. 34) and T. of the Shields (No. 53) that depict a man and woman reclining together on the same couch during the period Izzet examines; T. of the Black Sow (No. 35), T. of the Stag Hunt (No. 36), T. of the Ship (No. 38), T. of the Maiden (No. 39), T. of the Boar Hunt (No. 40), T. of the Biclinium (No. 41), T. 3697 (No. 47), T. of the Warrior (No. 48), T. of Orcus I (No. 50).
social customs, rituals, and beliefs.\textsuperscript{18}

Etruscan tomb painting with human figures dates between the second half of the sixth and third centuries BCE and banquet scenes appear consistently across this period.\textsuperscript{19} The first banquet scene in Tarquinia to contain the depiction of a woman occurs as early as 520 BCE, and the latest to the last quarter of the fourth century BCE. Though women are not found in every banquet scene in Etruscan tomb painting, the frequency of their presence is unique.\textsuperscript{20} Even when banquet scenes and tomb painting as a whole begins to fade, banquet scenes do not disappear from Etruscan art after the fourth century. Rather, banqueters, male and female, are expressed on stone sarcophagi between the later 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. The continued use of the banquet over centuries highlights the importance that this imagery held within Etruscan society and as one in which females could take part. Though it is not certain whether the banquet scenes of tomb paintings, as pieces of funerary art, are representations of a real-world scenario or solely imagined realities, it is clear that the Etruscans accepted women within the banquet, even if only pertaining to banquets in the afterlife.

The following section will begin with an overview of the development of the banquet scene within tomb architecture and style, followed by a description of the various positions women are represented in. Additionally, there will be a discussion on the attributes connected with women, their attire, as well as how the representation of women in Etruscan tomb painting compares to Greek artistic representations of the banquet and ancient literary sources.

\textsuperscript{19} In the earliest phase, there were only architectural patterns or figures of animals.
\textsuperscript{20} Regarding banquet scenes in tomb paintings from all Etruscan cities, Scheffer notes that between the sixth and fourth centuries, females only ever make up 25\% of the banqueters. This increases over time, for in the sixth century there are 14 banquet scenes with only 6 that contain females, but by the fourth century, women are present in all banquet scenes of this period. However, Scheffer notes that in total, only c. 25\% of banqueters are female. Scheffer 2007, 39-40.
IV. Location

Beginning in the sixth century, banquet scenes in tombs are located on the pediment of the rear wall, a trend of which continues until the first half of the fifth century BCE. In c. 500 BCE, banquet scenes also begin to occupy the rear wall, which continues until the latest representations of banquet scenes in tombs dating to the end of the fourth century. The rear wall is the most visible part of the tomb, and the pediment of the rear wall is an especially prestigious space, which shows the importance of these scenes. Occasionally, banquet scenes also appear on the side walls of tombs, found between 500 BCE and the mid-fourth century BCE, most often being a continuation of the banquet scene on the rear wall. Generally speaking, some patterns regarding the location of specific scenes within the larger tomb structure can be discerned. For example, scenes related to the world of the living are located near the entrance wall of tombs. This could contain scenes related to the preparation of the funeral and games in honour of the deceased. The side walls of the tomb served as spaces for transitional scenes to mark the distinction between the world of the living and the world of the dead, and the

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21 Sixth century tombs: T. Bartoccini (No. 2), T. of the Hunting and Fishing (No. 7), T. 4780 (No.14).
Fifth century tombs: T. 4260 (No. 19).
22 Fifth century tombs: T. of the Painted Vases (No. 11), T. of the Old Man (No. 12), T. 4813 (No. 17), T. of the Leopards (No. 26), T. of the Triclinium (No. 27), T. of the Little Flowers (No. 28), T. 5513 (No. 34), T. of the Black Sow (35), T. of the Stag Hunt (No. 36), T. of the Ship (No. 38), T. of the Boar Hunt (No. 40).
Fourth century tombs: T. 3697 (No. 47), T. of the Warrior (No. 48).
23 Continuation of rear wall banquet scene;
Rear wall pediment, rear, right, and left walls: T. 3988 (No. 16).
Rear and left walls: T. of the Funeral Couch (No. 31).
Rear and right walls: T. of Orcus I (No. 50), T. of the Shields (No. 53).
No rear wall banquet scene;
Right and left walls: T. of the Maiden (No. 39), T. of the Biclinium (No. 41).
Left wall: T. 808 (No. 44).
passage from one to the other. For example, tombs containing a banquet scene on the rear wall may also have dance scenes depicted on the side walls, and precisely in the section closer to the entrance, as seen in the Tomb of Painted Vases from 500 BCE, and Tomb 5513 from the middle of the fifth century. The back wall is the space for representations pertaining to the afterlife, in the allusive form of a painted door or in the form of a banquet, which has to intended as taking place in the afterlife.

Towards the end of the fifth century, scenes related to the afterlife and underworld begin to occupy the entirety of the tomb paintings, as banquet scenes now begin to spread over a larger portion of the walls and there are visual signs that the event is taking place in this realm, such as the presence of demons. In addition, the later tomb paintings of the fourth century, such as the Tomb of the Shields, are more concerned with the individual being commemorated in the tomb, and so more personalized representations of individuals are found taking part in the banquet.

V. Reclining Women

Of the 24 tombs with banquet scenes that contain depictions of women, 18 tombs consist of a man and woman reclining together, either on a couch or a mattress. In a recent article P. Amann has proposed to distinguish between banquets centered around male participants, where women are rarely seen and, when present, may be entertainers, and banquets with marital couples, either one couple only or multiple ones, reclining on mattresses or klinai. The distinction is not always clear and the scenes of the first group featuring women are very few and ambiguous. However, it is evident that the large majority of banquet scenes with women

25 Steingräber, Catalogue Raisonné, 132.
26 Steingräber, Catalogue Raisonné, 189.
emphasize the importance of the married couple as a subject.\textsuperscript{27} Of the 18 tombs that have men and women reclining together, 12 tombs have equal numbers of men and women reclining together, while the remaining six tombs have an unequal ratio of men to women, with men predominating as the banqueters.\textsuperscript{28} In addition to men and women reclining together, one tomb contains women and men reclining on separate couches.\textsuperscript{29} The final four tombs contain women who are not reclining with the men who are banqueting, but rather seated at the foot of the banqueting couch, seated on a separate seat, or standing.\textsuperscript{30} These will be discussed in section VI. In addition, females who are found in scenes where there are also banqueting women, will be discussed in section VI.

When there is a representation of a man and woman reclining together on a couch or mattress, the woman is always placed to the left of the man. Reclining woman are never represented on the right side of the man. When reclining together, both of their legs extend towards the left end of the couch. In the sixth century banquet scenes, there is also a gesture of intimacy between the man and woman, with either the woman’s hand extending to offer the man an object, or the man resting his hand on the woman’s chin or shoulder. This gesture of intimacy

\textsuperscript{27} Amann 2016, 43-62.
\textsuperscript{28} Tombs with an equal ratio of men to women reclining:
T. of the Hunting and Fishing (No. 7), T. of the Old Man (No. 12), T. of the Painted Vases (No. 11), T. of the Triclinium (No. 27), T. of the Little Flowers (No. 28), T. 3988 (No. 16), T. 4813 (No. 17), T. of the Stag Hunt (No. 36), T. of the Ship (No. 38), T. of the Maiden (No. 39), T. of the Warrior (No. 48), T. of the Biclinium (No. 41)
Tombs with unequal ratio of men to women reclining:
T. 4780 (No. 14), T. of the Leopards (No. 26), T. of the Black Sow (No. 35), T. of the Boar Hunt (No. 40), T. 3697 (No. 47), T. of Orcus I (No. 50).
Tomb 4260 (No. 19) will not be included within either classification of banqueting with or without equal numbers of men and women because the scarce information available can only suggest that a man and women reclined in a banquet scene, though it is not clear how this was depicted, and/or if there were originally other figures. Therefore, Tomb 4260 is only included in the larger categorization of women in a banquet scene.
\textsuperscript{29} T. of the Funeral Couch (No. 31).
\textsuperscript{30} T. Bartoccini (No. 2), T. of the Funeral Couch (No. 31), T. 5513 (No. 34), T. 808 (No. 44), T. of the Shields (No. 53).
in a banquet scene occurs in three tombs from the sixth century, where the man and woman
recline together on the same couch or mattress, and there are no other banqueters. The earliest
scene of this regard dates to 510 BCE in the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing. In this scene, the
woman is reclining to the left of the man, holding up a wreath to the man with her left hand, and
has her right hand on his shoulder. The man has his right arm extended to the woman’s shoulder,
and his left hand holds a drinking cup between them. This dynamic is similarly represented in the
Tomb of the Old Man, dating to 500 BCE, and again, in the Tomb of the Painted Vases, of 500
BCE. There are no other reclining couples within these scenes, but there are other figures
attending to the banquet. The remaining banquet scene with a man and woman reclining
together in the sixth century belongs to Tomb 4780, where three men and one woman recline
together on a mattress, also suggests a sign of intimacy between the banqueters. The woman in
this scene is embracing the man to her right. However, the paintings of this tomb were destroyed
by tomb robbers in 1971, consequently leaving no visual remains to compare with other banquet
scenes of this period.

The fifth century tombs depart slightly from this model of intimacy, with banquet scenes
now often containing multiple couches, more figures, and more variety in the positioning of
figures. Of the twelve tombs dating to this period, seven contain equal numbers of men and
women reclining either with one or multiple couches depicted, three tombs have additional
couches with only men reclining, and one tomb with only men reclining. In the instances where
a man and woman are reclining together during this period, there is less emphasis on showing

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31 T. of the Hunting and Fishing (No. 7), T. of the Old Man (No. 12), T. of the Painted Vases (No. 11).
32 T. of the Old Man also has a reclining couple on the right wall, but they are not a part of the rear wall
banquet scene.
33 Steingräber 1986, 367.
34 The remaining scene, Tomb 4260, will again be omitted from further analysis in regard to its
fragmentary condition.
their union as intimately as presented in the sixth century tombs. Unique, however, is the Tomb of the Boar Hunt, dating between the end of the fifth century and first half of fourth century BCE. In this banquet scene, three couches are present, with the centre couch containing a man and woman, who are portrayed kissing one another. This is the only example in a banquet scene, between the sixth and fourth centuries, where such an intimate connection is depicted between the two banqueters.\(^{35}\)

Of the seven tombs that contain equal numbers of men and women reclining in the fifth century, two scenes contain a single banqueting couch with a man and woman reclining, while the remaining five scenes contain multiple couches of men and women.\(^{36}\) Tomb 4813, dating to the first half of the fifth century BCE, contains only one banqueting couch, on which a man and woman recline together. Unfortunately, no visuals are available of this tomb, but the description in Steingräber is standard to other banqueting scenes where a man and a woman recline together with a male flute player and cupbearer, though there is no indication of a sign of intimacy between the couple. Additionally, the Tomb of the Little Flowers dating to the second quarter of the fifth century, contains one couch with a man and woman reclining, a flute player, and servant on the rear wall, though again, the paintings on this wall are in poor condition, preventing further analysis on the positioning of the figures.

The scenes containing multiple couches of men and women reclining in equal numbers portray some direct signs of intimacy between the man and woman, as seen in the sixth century tombs, but overall, there is more variety in the body positioning of men and women. The Tomb

\(^{35}\) Intimate scenes of an erotic nature are also found in the T. of the Bulls (No.1) and T. of the Whipping (No. 20), though there are no banquet scenes present within these tomb paintings. These scenes are probably connected to the Greek tradition of explicit sexual scenes.

\(^{36}\) Single couch: T. 3988 (No. 16), T. of the Little Flowers (No. 28). Multiple Couches: T. of the Triclinium (No. 27), T. 4813 (No. 17), T. of the Stag Hunt (No. 36), T. of the Ship (No. 38), T. of the Maiden (No.39).
of the Triclinium dating to 470 BCE contains two couches, each with a man and woman reclining together, with the women placed to the left of the men. However, unlike the sixth century scenes where the woman faces towards the man, in this scene, the woman and man face in opposite directions, as particularly visible on the left couch. The right couch, though more fragmentary, also appears to have the woman facing left, and away from her male partner. The Tomb of the Stag Hunt, dating to around 450 BCE, contains three couches each with a man and woman reclining together, though there appears to be a mix between how the woman recline. On the right couch, the woman looks towards the man reclining, with his arm stretched around her, while the centre couch, seems to have the woman facing away from the man. The left couch is extensively damaged. The Tomb of the Ship, from the end of the fifth century, contains three couches on the rear wall, each with a man and woman reclining, though only the centre couch has the woman facing towards the man. On the left couch, the woman is facing towards the left, while the man her right faces towards the right, towards the male cupbearer beside him. The right couch is fragmentary. The right wall also contains a couch with a banqueting couple, though it is not possible to determine if the figures are male or female.

The Tomb of the Maiden, from the end of the fifth century, contains two banquet couches on each the left and right walls. The left wall, left couch, has the woman and man both facing towards the right, while the right couch has the man and woman facing towards one another. The right wall, left couch, resembles the sixth century depictions, in which the man touches the chin of the woman reclining with him. Lastly, Tomb 3988 from the first half of the fifth century contains two couches on each the rear, right and left walls, as well as the rear wall pediment, though no visuals are available to discern how the figures were positioned in relation to one another. Steingräber indicates that one couch on the rear wall has the man facing right, which,
could suggest that the woman reclining with him either also faced right, or she faced left, as seen in the Tomb of the Triclinium.³⁷

Additionally in the fifth century, there are scenes with men and women reclining alongside additional couches that only men recline on.³⁸ The Tomb of the Leopards, 480/470 BCE contains three couches, with the centre and right couches containing a man and woman. On the centre couch, the man and woman both face right, each with their left arms raised. On the right couch, the man and woman face towards one another, with the woman’s left hand reaching out towards the man’s chest. The left couch contains two men reclining. The Tomb of the Black Sow, from the third quarter of the fifth century BCE, contains three couches, with the centre couch with a man and woman reclining, as well as a seated woman. The right and left couches have two reclining men each. Unfortunately, this tomb painting is extensively damaged, so no further comments can be made on the positioning of the women in this scene. Lastly, there is the Tomb of the Boar Hunt, dating between the end of the fifth century and first half of the fourth century BCE, which contains three couches, with only the centre containing a man and woman, who are depicted kissing one another.

Additionally, there is a depiction of men and women reclining separately in the banquet — an image unique in the fifth century and overall in Etruscan tomb painting. This appears in the Tomb of the Funeral Couch, dating to 460 BCE and is the only scene where women recline in the banquet separately from the men. On the rear wall, two men recline on a mattress to the right of a large bed, which has two cloaks, two pillows, and two hats on top of it.³⁹ Scholars have

³⁷ Steingräber argues that the paintings in Tomb 3988 could even be modern fakes. Steingräber 1986, 366.
³⁸ T. of the Leopards (No. 26), T. of the Black Sow (No. 35), T. of the Boar Hunt (No. 40).
³⁹ On the right side of the bed, Steingräber has suggested the possibility that there were originally two reclining women and a female flute player as well. Steingräber 1986, 320.
interpreted the empty bed as either a symbolic representation of the deceased couple, or a divine pair.\textsuperscript{40} On the right wall, two men recline on a mattress and on the left wall, three women recline on a mattress. Both of these scenes are depicted in a very similar style, with the banqueters on the side of the wall closest to the rear wall, with the remaining figures extending towards the entrance wall. Each scene also takes place beneath a canopy and there are other figures attending to the banquet. On the left wall, there is a female dancer, as well as a male and female servant standing beside the three reclining women. The male servant has his hand extended to touch the chin of the female servant, which is similar to the representations found in the sixth century banquet scenes of the reclining couple, though this time the female is located to the right of the male.

Of the six banquet scenes from the fourth century BCE, four scenes contain a man and woman reclining together, all with multiple banquet couches present.\textsuperscript{41} Two out of these four scenes contain an unequal number of men to women reclining. The first found in Tomb 3697, where two couches are present, but only the left couch containing a man and a woman. The rear wall banquet scene from the Tomb of Orcus I, also has an uneven ratio of male to female banqueters, with two men and one woman reclining on the same couch, while the right wall has a couch with a man and a woman reclining. In the Tomb of the Warrior and the Tomb of the Biclinium, there are equal numbers of men and women reclining together. In the Tomb of the Warrior, from the second quarter of the fourth century BCE, the woman reclining on the left couch is faced towards the right, and the reclining man to her left, faces towards her. The right couch is extensively destroyed. In the Tomb of the Biclinium, dating to the fourth century BCE,

\textsuperscript{40} Haynes 2000, 237.
\textsuperscript{41} T. of the Warrior (No. 48), T. 3697 (No. 47), T. of the Biclinium (No. 41), T. of Orcus I (No. 50).
the drawings that are available show a variety of body positions, from the woman facing towards the man (Kline A, C, D), or the woman and man both facing towards the left (Kline B).

VI. Standing and Seated Females

Apart from reclining as a banqueter with a man, females are also depicted in other capacities in the banquet scene. This occurs in 13 tombs, where females are either seated beside the banquet scene, seated beside the banquet couch completing a task, standing behind or between the banqueting couch, or seated at the foot of the couch to which a man is reclining.⁴²

First, there are seven tombs that depict women standing in the banquet.⁴³ Tomb Bartoccini, dating to 520 BCE, contains the earliest representation of a banquet scene with women, in which a woman stands behind the couch, and two women are seated to the right of the scene. The Tomb of the Triclinium of 470 BCE, contains two couches each with a man and woman reclining, with a woman standing between the two couches. Also dating to 460 BCE, the Tomb of the Funeral Couch depicts a female dancer and a standing female holding a jug on the left wall, where three women recline. Tomb 5513 from the middle of the fifth century BCE, contains two couches each with two men reclining, and four women standing behind the couches. One woman stands behind the left couch, facing the man on the far left, another woman stands between the two couches, facing towards the man on the right end of the left couch, and two more women are behind the right couch. The Tomb of the Maiden, dating to the end of the fifth century BCE, contains two couches each with a man and a woman reclining, as well as a

⁴² One possible exception: T. of Orcus I (No. 50) if the children are both to be interpreted as boys instead of either being a girl, then females in other roles apart from reclining in the banquet would occur in 12 tombs with banquet scenes.
⁴³ T. Bartoccini (No. 2), T. of the Triclinium (No. 27), T. of the Funeral Couch (No. 31), T. 5513 (No. 34), T. of the Maiden (No. 39), T. of the Biclinium (No. 41), T. of the Shields (No. 53).
female standing to the left of the right couch, who holds a drinking cup. In the fourth century, the Tomb of the Biclinium and the Tomb of the Shields also contain standing females who hold different objects, such as drinking vessels and wreaths within the Tomb of the Biclinium, and a fan within the Tomb of the Shields.

There is a difference between where standing women are depicted, depending on if it is a male-only banquet, or if a woman is also reclining, and also to what age the female is represented as. In the tombs where only men recline, the standing female appears to be a woman as opposed to a girl, based on the size of the figure, comparable to the size of the men reclining. In the Tomb Bartoccini, the standing woman does not appear smaller than any of the other figures, and she is located behind the right couch on which two men recline. In Tomb 5513, the females again appear to be adults, painted as the same size as the men reclining, and are located behind and between the couches, each facing towards one of the reclining men, who are also facing towards them. In contrast, when there is a woman reclining in the banquet scene, the standing female seems to be directly associated with the reclining woman. This is first seen in the Tomb of the Triclinium in 470 BCE, where a woman is standing between the couches that each have a man and woman reclining. This standing woman is facing right, towards the woman who is reclining on the left couch, and though the painting is fragmentary, the woman reclining appears to be facing left towards the standing female. Both women even appear to have their arms extended to one another, though neither are holding any objects in their hands.

A similar relationship is found in the Tomb of the Maiden at the end of the fifth century BCE. In this painting, a standing girl appears in front of the right couch that a man and woman recline on, standing directly in front of the woman. The girl has her left arm extended towards the reclining woman, but unlike in the Tomb of the Triclinium, the reclining woman does not
turn towards the girl, rather, she faces her male counterpart. This positioning of figures appears again in the Tomb of the Shields at the end of the fourth century BCE, where the standing female is located directly next to the woman on the banquet couch. The woman does not recline alongside the man, and rather sits at the foot of the banquet couch, and the standing girl is placed on the woman’s left side. She is facing the woman, and holds a fan up to her, though again, the woman does not look at the girl, but rather at the reclining man.

An exception of standing females when a woman reclines is found in the Tomb of the Biclinium, where both a male and female appear standing at either end of the couch that a man and a woman recline on. Though there are limitations in the reproductions of this tomb’s paintings, if one accepts that there are females standing beside the banqueting couch, then it is possible to assume that these females were likely girls and that they were located on the left side of the reclining woman, as in the Tomb of the Maiden and Tomb of the Shields.

In scenes where only men recline on the couch or mattress and women are depicted sitting separately from the banqueting couch, the woman is always located to the right of the scene. This is visible in Tomb Bartoccini from 520 BCE and Tomb 808 at the beginning of the fourth century BCE. In Tomb Bartoccini, two women are seated on chairs in the far right, but their bodies are turned left, facing towards the banqueting scene in the centre. In Tomb 808, a man is reclining on a couch, while a woman is seated to the right, on a diphros.

However, the location in a scene of a female sitting separately also changes when there is a woman who is also reclining on the banqueting couch, found in the sixth century. This is visible in two tombs. In the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing, there are two females seated to the left side of the mattress, crouching and weaving wreaths. They are depicted on the side of the woman who is reclining, as opposed to the right side of the man, as is the case in banquet scenes
where only a man reclines. Additionally, this is visible in the Tomb of the Painted Vases, where a female sits alongside a male on the left side of the banqueting couch, once again closer to the reclining woman, rather than on the side of the reclining man.\textsuperscript{44}

Furthermore, there are also three scenes in which the woman is seated at the foot of the couch on which a man is reclining.\textsuperscript{45} The first appears in the Tomb of the Black Sow, from the middle of the fifth century BCE. The woman is seated at the foot of the couch, where a man and a woman are reclining together, though she is placed on the end closer to the reclining woman. The seated woman also holds a lyre, which could suggest that her role is as a musician, rather than a banqueter. The next two scenes come from the Tomb of the Shields, between the third and fourth quarters of the fourth century BCE. On the rear wall, a man reclines on a couch, while a woman is seated at the foot, and hands the man an egg. Similarly, on the right wall, a man reclines on a couch, while a woman is seated at the foot, and though she does not hold any attributes, the man has his hand on her shoulder. In conclusion, women are represented reclining, seated at the foot of the banqueting couch, seated separately, or standing within the banquet. When there is the presence of a girl within the scene, they are always either seated separately or standing beside the reclining woman. Women who do not recline on couches are clearly of lesser status than their reclining counterparts, though there is a broad range of options reflecting different statuses and roles, as also visible in Greek art of the same period.\textsuperscript{46} Seated figures are in principle of higher status than standing ones. Age difference is also important, with mature figures usually having a higher role.

\textsuperscript{44} In the T. of the Shields there is also a seated couple located on the left wall. However, they will not be examined in relation to the banquet scene as the paintings on this particular wall do not show explicitly indicate a banquet.
\textsuperscript{45} T. of the Black Sow (No. 35), T. of the Shields (No. 53).
\textsuperscript{46} See e.g. the Geneleos group on Samos, featuring reclining, sitting and standing female figures. See Steuben 1989, 137-144; Walter-Karydi 1985, 91-104; Baughan 2011, 19-53.
Some of the non-reclining figures may be servants and attendants, especially when serving the reclining banqueters, or minor family members (daughters), others may be adult women of full status, but depicted in a less prestigious posture, either in relation to reclining men or also to other women who recline, if there are any in the scene. The next section will look at the attributes connected to women and girls within the banquet and an analysis of this iconography.

VII. Attributes

This section will examine attributes that are depicted with women in the banquet. In ten of the 24 banquet scenes, women are depicted holding an object and/or performing an action.\(^{47}\) One attribute represented with women is the wreath. The only representation of wreaths being weaved in a banquet scene is from the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing, where two girls are weaving wreaths to the left of the reclining couple. However, more frequently is a woman holding a wreath up to a reclining man or holding a wreath while reclining with a man, which occurs in four scenes, in three tombs, dating between 510-500 BCE.\(^{48}\) In the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing and the Tomb of the Old Man, the woman is shown holding the wreath up to the reclining man. In the Tomb of the Painted Vases, rather than holding the wreath up to the man she is reclining with, the woman is shown holding the wreath down to the side of her body. This is also the action shown in the remaining depiction from the Tomb of the Painted Vases, where a girl is holding a wreath above her lap, while seated beside a naked boy on the same couch.

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\(^{47}\) T. Bartoccini (No. 2), T. of the Hunting and Fishing (No. 7), T. of the Painted Vases (No. 11), T. of the Old Man (No. 12), T. of the Leopards (No. 26), T. of the Funeral Couch (No. 31), T. of the Black Sow (No. 35), T. of the Maiden (No. 39), T. of the Biclinium (No. 41), T. of the Shields (No. 53).

\(^{48}\) T. of the Hunting and Fishing (No. 7), T. of the Painted Vases (No. 11), T. of the Old Man, (No. 12). We do find men holding wreaths after this period, such as in the T. of the Leopards (No. 26) where one of the reclining men holds a wreath to the man beside him on the same couch.
After 500 BCE, there are no representations in banquet scenes of women holding or weaving wreaths. Instead, wreaths are worn on the heads of the banqueters, both male and female, where along with diadems they become the standard headpiece for figures in banquet scenes.\textsuperscript{49} Wreaths are also visible hanging in the background of many of the paintings, suggesting a festive nature within the scene.

The iconography of the wreath must have held significance within the decade where the wreath is found in the hands of a woman, though it is hard to be definitive regarding what this could have been. Since the presence of wreaths is found consistently decorating the background of many paintings, it is no doubt that their basic function was as ornamental and celebratory pieces. However, it is possible that the wreath, especially since it is found as a headpiece later on, could serve as a symbol denoting status.\textsuperscript{50} In this regard, the woman handing a wreath to the man could indicate the importance of the man that she hands it to, similar to an offering. Furthermore, one could interpret the woman as being equally important, since she is passing the wreath to the man.

Another attribute depicted with women is the egg. This is visible in two banquet scenes, at the end of the fifth century, and again at the end of the fourth century.\textsuperscript{51} In the Tomb of the Maiden, the right wall shows a woman holding up an egg to the man she is reclining with on the banquet couch. In the Tomb of the Shields, on the rear wall, the woman seated at the foot of the couch of the reclining man, holds an egg in her left hand and the man reaches out his right hand towards the egg. The attribute of an egg also appears in the Tomb of the Leopards, 480/470 BCE, however, it is not directly connected with a woman. In this scene, it is the reclining man who

\textsuperscript{49} Headpieces are discussed further in section VIII.
\textsuperscript{50} See section VIII for a discussion on the significance of headpieces.
\textsuperscript{51} T. of the Maiden (No. 39), T. of the Shields (No. 53).
holds an egg up towards the woman who is reclining on the couch with him. The woman does not reach out her arm to the egg, but rather her arm only extends towards his chest. The attribute of an egg is not found in any other banquet scene where women are present as banqueters. However, the earliest depiction of an egg is in the hands of males. This is seen in the Tomb of the Lionesses of 530 BCE, where one reclining man is holding egg, at a male-only banquet. Therefore, the imagery of the egg is used continually over time and is connected to both males and females.

The egg has been interpreted as a symbol of rebirth and fertility, to which their placement in a funerary context, may therefore not be surprising, especially when the egg is found with both men and women. Additionally, egg-shells have been found in tombs, suggesting that they were foods given as offerings to the deceased. Pieraccini argues that eggs could be a symbol that distinguishes the deceased, or an important member of the family, since most frequently only one banqueter is found to be holding an egg as opposed to several. In addition, she argues that the egg, depicted in a gesture of being held out to the viewer or between figures in the scene, must denote an aristocratic funerary ritual where the egg is a ritualized food, beyond being a symbol of life and rebirth. In following this interpretation, the presence of the egg attributed with women in the Tomb of the Maiden and the Tomb of the Shields would therefore suggest that these women are the most important figures within the scene and the family.

There are also representations of women connected with music in the banquet, particularly the flute and lyre. This occurs in two scenes, from 510 BCE and the middle of the

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52 T. of the Lionesses (No. 3). Women are only represented as dancers in this scene, as men partake in a banquet. Steingräber 2006, 94.
53 Riis 1954, 83.
54 Poulsen 1922, 31.
55 Pieraccini 2014, 271.
fifth century BCE. In the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing, there is a female flute player located to the left of the reclining couple. This is the only instance in a banquet scene where there is a female flute player, diverging from the usual male flute player. However, female flute players are present in other tomb paintings that do not include banquet scenes, such as in the Tomb of the Chariots. The second representation of a woman and an instrument is in the Tomb of the Black Sow, where a woman seated at the foot of a couch to which a man and woman are reclining, holding a lyre. The depiction of music found within numerous tomb paintings, adds to the celebratory nature found in some paintings, for example, in scenes of dance. However, in the two occasions where female musicians are found in the banquet, they seem to solely provide music for a reclining couple, who are male and female, and are located on the side of the reclining woman. This is similar to the female attendants that are located closest to the reclining female, adding to her importance. Nevertheless, since there is the presence of female musicians in scenes outside of the banquet, it appears that this was a normal and accepted role for females to take part in. In regard to the banquet, these females are most likely hired musicians for entertainment, though again, they are directly connected to a woman who takes part in the banquet.

Another attribute that appears is the drinking vessel. Although drinking vessels are depicted in all of the banquet scenes, they are only represented directly with women in four banquet scenes, belonging to three tombs. The first appears in the Tomb of the Funeral Couch, dating to 470 BCE, where a standing female holds a jug while the male beside her touches her

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56 T. of the Hunting and Fishing (No. 7), T. of the Black Sow (No. 35).
57 T. of the Chariots (No. 23), ca. 490 BC; right wall, two female flute players amongst male and female dancers. For female flute players in other scenes, see also: T. of the Weapon Dancers (No. 22), T. Francesca Giustiniani (No. 33), T. of the Funeral Couch (No. 31).
58 T. of the Funeral Couch (No. 31), T. of the Maiden (No. 39), T. of the Biclinium (No. 41).
chin. The second scene dates to the end of the fifth century in the Tomb of the Maiden. Here, a smaller female, presumably a servant, stands between the two couches of men and women reclining and holds a *kantharos*. The remaining representations come from the left and right walls of the Tomb of the Biclinium, from the fourth century BCE. Here, two of the couches depict the woman reclining while holding a drinking vessel, one of which can be identified as a *rhyton*. Unfortunately now lost, the only visual copies of the tomb come from drawings made for James Byres, to which there is a possibility of misrepresentation of the drinking vessels, considering no other banquet scenes show the women who are reclining to be holding drinking vessels.59 As a result, further analysis will not include the Tomb of the Biclinium as an accurate depiction of women holding drinking vessels at the banquet.

Apart from women being represented physically holding a drinking vessel, the drinking vessels of their male counterparts who recline with them often extends between the two figures, which could possibly signify the sharing of the banquet cup. For example, this is seen in the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing and the Tomb of the Painted Vases, where the man appears to be extending the drinking vessel towards the woman. However, in all of the tomb paintings, a woman is never depicted in the physical act of drinking by holding a cup up to her mouth, or the reclining women even holding a drinking vessel.60 It is always the man reclining who holds a drinking vessel, the male servant, and in only two instances, does the female servant hold the drinking vessel. This would suggest that in this particular moment of the banquet that is represented, women did not take part in the drinking of the wine.61 However, since there are representations of female servants holding drinking vessels, one cannot definitively argue that

59 Steingräber 1986, 288.
60 See: section X for the ancient authors position on Etruscan women and wine.
61 Regarding the importance of what stage of the banquet is being represented, see: Small 1994, 85-87.
women did not drink wine in a real-life banquet, especially if female servants are there to solely attend to the reclining woman. This is significant since wine was an essential component of banqueting. Additionally, since drinking vessels are represented elsewhere in the banquet scene, such as on tables, this could also suggest that wine was consumed by both men and women at some point during the banquet, even if the moment of drinking is not depicted.\textsuperscript{62}

Lastly, there is a representation of a woman holding a staff and a female holding a fan.\textsuperscript{63} A woman holding a staff occurs in Tomb Bartoccini, where she is seated on the far right of the scene, separate from the reclining men.\textsuperscript{64} In the Tomb of the Shields, there is a female holding a fan up towards the reclining woman. The attribute of a fan does not appear with women or men who are reclining, in any other banquet scenes.\textsuperscript{65} The significance of these objects could be that they are markers of status or luxury, similar to the function of headpieces and specific clothing.

In Tomb Bartoccini, the other figures in the scene are facing towards the women who is seated and holding the staff, which could denote added importance to her within the scene. In the Tomb of the Shields, the fan might also suggest a sign of luxury associated with the woman who is represented, since the imagery of a fan is not present in any of the other banquet scenes. If the fan was to be interpreted as an everyday item, then surely it would be present in more of the banquet scenes.

In conclusion, many attributes connected to women in the banquet are found such as, wreaths, eggs, musical instruments, drinking vessels, a staff, and a fan. As these objects were

\textsuperscript{62} In addition to the act of drinking, there are no paintings that show men or women in the act of eating.
\textsuperscript{63} Staff: T. Bartoccini (No. 2).
Fan: T. of the Shields (No. 53).
\textsuperscript{64} The attribute of the staff does appear again in a banquet scene in the T. of the Shields (No. 53), left wall, where a man is depicted holding a black staff while seated beside a woman. Additionally, a staff appears in T. Francesca Giustiniani (No. 33), left wall, in the hands of a man.
\textsuperscript{65} The attribute of a fan does appear in another tomb that contains the depiction of women, however not within a banquet scene: T. Cardarelli (No. 10), left wall, in the hands of a boy.
specifically chosen by the painter and those commissioning the scene, they must have held a specific value. Although commonly found, the presence of musical instruments and drinking vessels could denote status. Arguably, other attributes such as a wreath, egg, fan, or staff are more likely to denote increased status due to their placement and the exchange between men and women. Nonetheless, what is significant for our understanding of Etruscan women is that these different objects are attributed with women and as such, have significant value within the imagery of the tomb paintings.

VIII. Attire

The attire of women in banquet scenes also helps to illustrate the role women may have played in the banquet and the different styles and fashions that women wore over time. Furthermore, the attire of females can indicate status, as servant or distinguished banqueter, as well as providing indication to the age of the woman and what possible role they held within the family.

Headpieces and the *tutulus*, are frequently found depicted on women in banquet scenes, occurring in 15 out of the 24 banquet scenes where women are present.66 A selection of headpieces are represented, ranging from hairbands, wreaths, diadems. Headpieces appear on women as early as 510 BCE and until the end of the fourth century BCE, though they are most frequent in the fifth century, depicted in 8 out of the 13 tombs of this period containing banquet scenes. Headpieces are depicted on women in 3 out of 6 tombs in the sixth century, and in 4 of

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66 T. of the Hunting and Fishing (No. 7), T. of the Painted Vases (No. 11), T. of the Old Man (No. 12), T. 3988 (No. 16), T. of the Leopards (No. 26), T. of the Little Flowers (No. 28), T. of the Funeral Couch (No. 31), T. of the Stag Hunt (No. 36), T. of the Ship (No. 38), T. of the Maiden (No. 39), T. of the Boar Hunt (No. 40), T. of the Biclinium (No. 41), T. of the Warrior (No. 48), T. of Orcus I (No. 50), T. of the Shields (No. 53).
the 6 tombs in the fourth century. Almost all headpieces are worn by the women who are reclining in the banquet, though in two scenes, it is the additional seated or standing female who is also adorned with a headpiece. This appears to be the confirmation of the high status of reclining women. In the Tomb of the Painted Vases, a girl wears the *tutulus*, pointed shoes, and earrings, while seated beside a naked boy, to the left of the reclining couple. The reclining woman in this scene is dressed very similar to the seated girl, being adorned with the *tutulus*, earrings, and elaborate robes. In this case, the two younger figures sitting next to the reclining couple appear to be their children. Additionally, in the Tomb of the Maiden, the female servant wears a hairband, while the banqueters and naked cupbearer wear either a diadem or wreath. Perhaps the difference in the type of headpiece could indicate a marker of status.

Headpieces appear to be one of the popular fashions pertaining to women, particularly when hairstyles change from the long braid of the seventh century to curls hanging in front of the face during the middle of the sixth century. As a contemporary fashion, the presence of headpieces is therefore not unusual and suggests that these women were aware of current fashions and adopted them accordingly. As a result, banquet scenes of men and women reclining together, where both the men and women are adorned with the same headpieces, could suggest a degree of equality amongst the figures, or at least distinguish them as the banqueters. However, most frequently the additional figures in the scene are also adorned with a headpiece, including the cupbearers, female attendants, musicians, and especially dancers of other paintings. Consequently, the common imagery of headpieces is not unique only to women.

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67 T. of the Painted Vases (No. 11), T. of the Maiden (No. 39). Male banqueters are also depicted with headpieces, mainly a wreath.
68 Bonfante 1975, 70-71.
The clothing of women follows a general pattern, as women are shown wearing a pale chiton and a darker cloak, often with a different colour on the border. All of the banqueting women appear in respectable dress, that follow the current fashions of the time.⁶⁹ Women who are shown in any position in the banquet scene are never depicted in the nude. Within the paintings, there are changes regarding the colour and pattern of fabrics, such as the red-flowered chiton and red-dotted robe. In banquet scenes where there are multiple women reclining, they are always shown in different dress, even if there is just a slight alteration. For example, in the Tomb of the Leopards, the woman in the centre couch wears a pale chiton with red border, while the woman on the right couch wears a pale chiton with a red border and red vertical stripes. However, the robes on all three couches of the left banqueter in this tomb are identical, being red with green and pale borders. In addition, most frequently an exceptionally richly dressed woman is found reclining when only one banqueting couch is present, although on some occasions, this occurs with multiple couches as well.⁷⁰

Another feature of Etruscan dress, becoming prominent in the fourth century BCE, is a piece of fringe or a tassel that would be attached to the shoulder of a woman’s chiton, on both the front and back. According to Bonfante, this fringe was a symbol of high status and honour, especially pertaining to goddesses, priestesses, and women of status.⁷¹ Bonfante argues that this fashion was unique to the Etruscans and that it is depicted on mirrors, reliefs, statues and vase paintings.⁷² One would therefore expect this fashion to be found within the tomb paintings,

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⁶⁹ For further discussion on the different styles of chitons and mantles see: Bonfante 1975, 31-56.
⁷⁰ Single couch: T. of the Hunting and Fishing (No. 7), T. of the Painted Vases (No. 11), T. of the Old Man (No. 12), T. of Orcus I (No. 50), T. of the Shields (No. 53). Multiple couches: T. of the Maiden (No. 39).
⁷² Bonfante 1975, 39. Bonfante provides an example of a sarcophagus from Vulci where one woman is adorned with the tassels, while the other attendants on the panel are not.
however, this is not depicted. In the six tombs containing banquet scenes dating to the fourth century, none of the women are depicted with this fringe. If this was a common, real life fashion, one would except to find it represented on at least one woman in the tomb paintings, especially when other common fashions and styles are found. It is unlikely that none of the women depicted within these banquet scenes were of this high status needed to wear the tassel, since they were the highest class of Tarquinia. Perhaps the fringe was not appropriate in a banquet setting, or this fashion was not as widespread among the aristocratic families.

Jewelry is also represented on women, particularly disc-shaped earrings, necklaces, and bracelets. The most luxurious representations of jewelry on women appear in the banquet scenes where there is only one couple reclining.73 Beyond being a statement of fashion, jewelry distinguishes women in several ways. For example, rich jewelry with extensive detailing shows a high degree of wealth and access to luxurious goods, understandable since these are aristocratic tombs. However, it is not just jewelry that alludes to the elite class of women. There is also the representation of shoes on both women and girls, which Bonfante argues is a marker of status particularly after 475 BCE.74 Therefore, the imagery of women’s attire, in all of its aspects, highlights the wealth, accessibility, and status of the banqueting women.

Girls who appear in banquet scenes, those standing or seated beside the reclining women, are always fully dressed. In contrast, the male cupbearers are almost exclusively represented in the nude or with one piece of clothing. This could denote a level of hierarchy between the figures, where the girls who are dressed, have a higher status than the boys. However, this interpretation is dependent on who the younger figures in the scene are. For example, in the

73 See: T. of the Hunting and Fishing (No. 7), T. of the Painted Vases (No. 11), T. of Orcus I (No. 50), T. of the Shields (No. 53).
74 Bonfante 1975, 281.
Tomb of the Painted Vases, the seated girl who is richly dressed, has been interpreted as the daughter of the reclining couple.\textsuperscript{75} Beside her is a nude boy, who is also interpreted to be the son of the reclining couple. This complicates our understanding of the significance of dress, as one would therefore assume the girl is more important than the male, even though they are both the children of the couple. However, as discussed previously, when there are girls who are likely servants in the banquet, they are fully dressed as well, as opposed to the naked cupbearers. This may denote a degree of status, especially when the inclusion of a female attendant is to add more prominence to the reclining women. The representation of respectable dress for girls therefore seems to suggest that they have some degree of status, or that at the most basic level, more elaborate dress was the fashion attributed to all Etruscan females of the time.

IX. Greek Banquet Scenes

The representation of women in Etruscan banquet scenes can be further analyzed when compared to representations from Greek societies of the same period. Different mediums such as vase-painting, terracottas, and reliefs, show images of the banquet that present women in different capacities. Though it is possible to discern similarities and differences found in Etruscan and Greek art of banqueting, the Greek \textit{symposia} in its social function, is fundamentally different than what is present in the banquet scenes of Etruscan tomb painting. Etruscan banquet scenes come from a funerary setting, unlike the Greek scenes which are found on drinking vessels, used within the setting that they depict. As a result, caution when drawing conclusions between the two societies is needed, keeping in mind that these examples do not necessarily

\textsuperscript{75} Steingräber 2006, 68.
depict the same social setting, but rather only the closest comparison available. This section does not undertake a comprehensive analysis of all representations of women in banquet scenes in Greek art, rather a general overview is presented to provide a comparison to Etruscan tomb painting.

Greek art that portrays the *symposia* occurs mostly on vase painting, to which there are women depicted in a multitude of different roles beyond those depicted in Etruscan tomb painting. Most strikingly when compared to portrayals of Etruscan women, Greek art depicts women in the nude, traditionally defined as *hetairai*. Nude women appear sitting at the foot of the banqueting couch (Fig. 1), standing to serve and entertain the reclining men (Fig. 2), and partaking in intimate gestures (Fig. 3).76 Recent scholarship has argued that Greek representations of females in the nude does not necessarily classify women as *hetairai*, but rather each scene must be analyzed within its specific context.77 However, in regard to the Greek *symposium*, Lewis argues:

The symposium is the only scenario in which the identification of the hetaira is secure: by definition all women depicted at symposia would be hired entertainers — musicians, dancers and prostitutes — since the fact of attendance at symposia is one of the touchstones used by the orators to distinguish respectable women from hetairai.78

In this regard, women in the nude or clothed, still would fall under the category of *hetairai* at *symposia*. Thus, they are seen not as respectable women of Greek society, even though they held a prominent role in the banquet.79 This differs from the women present in Etruscan tomb painting, where women are fully clothed, as respectable women of the family, and only ever sitting or standing during the banquet rather than taking part in any activities.

76 For representations of the banquet motif in ancient art see: Dentzer 1982.
77 Lewis 2002, 101-104.
78 Lewis 2002, 112.
Women depicted in Greek banquet scenes are also frequently represented holding drinking vessels. Drinking vessels are seen when a woman reclines with a man, when she stands refilling the cups of the banqueters, and even partaking in drinking games. It is apparent that the women in these scenes actively partakes in the drinking of the wine, an action that as discussed, is not found explicit in Etruscan representations. The drinking of wine is therefore a clear mark of distinction between Greek women and Etruscan women at banquets, where the former is accepted to take part in this activity.

Women are also depicted as musicians in the Greek symposium, which as discussed, is a role that Etruscan women are found fulfilling during the banquet, though not extremely common. In the Greek scenes of the symposia, there are female musicians as hired entertainers amongst the men who attend. As previously discussed, it is possible that the two representations of female musicians in the Etruscan banquet are also hired musicians, though in the Etruscan scenes they are directly connected to a woman banqueter in the scene, as opposed to the men. In this regard, there is a similarity between the female musicians of Greek and Etruscan banquet scenes where female musicians are accepted, though they are there to entertain different audiences. However, it is much more common to find male musicians in Etruscan tomb painting, in banquet and dancing scenes, which does suggest that the instances of female musicians are possibly a unique exception as opposed to the standard female musicians of the Greek symposia.

There are also ten Greek pots that depict symposia where only women attend.\textsuperscript{80} These are important in the discussion of women and the banquet not only because scenes of this nature are not found in Etruscan tomb painting, but because 9 of the 10 pots were found in Italy. Though scholars debate the degree to which these scenes reflect any lived reality for women, it has been

\textsuperscript{80} Lewis 2002, 113-115.
argued by Lewis that more importantly, “from the point of view of the end-users the banquet was an occasion in which women could participate as equals, not one where their presence was degrading.”\textsuperscript{81} This would suggest that even as consumers, the Etruscans were not concerned with the representation of women banqueting, even without the presence of men. One cannot say that women-only banquets were a reality within Etruscan society, as there are no Etruscan representations to suggest this, but these representations further suggest the acceptance that Etruscan society had towards women and their inclusion within the banquet as participants, unlike entertainers in Greek society.

In conclusion, it is clear that despite the different settings in which the Etruscan banquet and Greek symposium took place, women were accepted as active participants and necessary members. There are, however, striking differences between the role that women had at the Greek symposium, where women were entertainers of various professions, while the women in Etruscan scenes attended the banquet as equal companions to the banqueting men. By extension, the status of the women in society differs between the Greek women and the Etruscan women, the latter being regarded as the important members of the family.

X. Literary Sources

While Etruscan tomb painting provides an expansive resource to research women in Etruscan society, ancient literary sources can also provide a contemporary interpretation of the life and society of the Etruscans. Unfortunately, we are left with no literary works of the Etruscans themselves, apart from inscriptions, and so the ancient authors of Greece and Rome provide the most contemporary literary descriptions on the Etruscans. The claims made by

\textsuperscript{81} Lewis 2002, 115.
ancient authors can be analyzed alongside the tomb paintings for a more comprehensive analysis on Etruscan women in order to check for parallels and discrepancies. This section will discuss the literary sources available that discuss Etruscan women, followed by a comparison to what is represented in the tomb paintings of Tarquinia.

Ancient literary accounts present a scandalous portrayal when discussing the behaviours of Etruscan women, highlighting the differences between the Etruscans and Greek society. The most famous account comes from Theopompus, a Greek historian of the fourth century BCE, as recorded by Athenaeus. This passage illuminates several beliefs and accusations placed against Etruscan women and the banquet:

Sharing wives is an established Etruscan custom. Etruscan women take particular care of their bodies and exercise often, sometimes along with the men, and sometimes by themselves. It is not a disgrace for them to be seen naked. They do not share their couches with their husbands but with the other men who happen to be present, and they propose toasts to anyone they choose. They are expert drinkers and very attractive.

The Etruscans raise all the children that are born, without knowing who their fathers are. The children live the way their parents live, often attending drinking parties and having sexual relations with all the women. It is no disgrace for them to do anything in the open, or to be seen having it done to them, for they consider it a native custom. So far from thinking it disgraceful, they say when someone asks to see the master of the house, and he is making love, that he is doing so-and-so, calling the indecent action by its name.

When they are having sexual relations either with courtesans or within their family, they do as follows: after they have stopped drinking and are about to go to bed, while the lamps are still lit, servants bring in courtesans, or boys, or sometimes even their wives. And when they have enjoyed these they bring in boys, and make love to them. They sometimes make love and have intercourse while people are watching them, but most of the time they put screens woven of sticks around the beds, and throw cloths on top of them.

They are keen on making love to women, but they particularly enjoy boys and youths. The youths in Etruria are very good-looking, because they live in luxury and keep their bodies smooth. In fact all the barbarians in the West use pitch to pull out and shave off the hair on their bodies.\(^{82}\) (Theopompus, *Histories 115*. Athenaeus 517d-518a)

\(^{82}\)Lefkowitz and Fant 2005, 88-89.
Athenaeus also quotes Aristotle: “and Aristotle, in the *Customs of the Tyrrhenians*: The Tyrrhenians dine in company with their women, lying back under the same robe” (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* I. 23D). As there are no Etruscan writings that survive discussing their own practices, Greek sources remain the only literary description, contemporary to the period in which the later tomb paintings containing banquet scenes were made, that provide subsequent material to understand the role of women and the banquet in Etruscan society. However, like most literary sources, one must ask how reliable this information is. It is highly unlikely that Theopompus, Athenaeus, or Aristotle came into contact with the Etruscans themselves, therefore one must account for their own moral and cultural bias present in their writings, intentional or not.

Beginning with the claim that the Etruscans share wives, this is not found represented in the tomb paintings. One could possibly expect to find a woman depicted with several men, but in almost every banquet scene that contains the presence of women, either reclining or standing, they are connected to only one man within the banquet. Often, individual couples are found represented in the banquet, where it is clear that the man and woman are a couple. Even in scenes where there are multiple couches, the depiction of a woman is always connected to one man in the scene, confirming their relationship as a couple. Although in some scenes there are multiple men depicted, the woman is always represented with one. There is only one example of a woman reclining with multiple men on the same couch.83 One can even infer a monogamous dynamic even when women are not reclining with men. For example, in Tomb 5513 there are four women standing amongst the four men who are reclining. Each woman is depicted in relation to one of

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83 T. of Orcus I (No. 50). On the rear wall, there is a couch with three reclining figures: a man, a woman, and a bearded man. Additionally, there are two children standing in front of the couch. The right wall also contains a banquet scene with a man and woman reclining together.
the reclining men, which is visible through their body language, as they are facing towards one another.

In depictions where there are multiple women to one man, there is also a clear distinction between who these women are, and the role they play within the banquet. This is visible in the Tomb of the Black Sow, where there is a reclining man, a reclining woman, and an additional woman seated at the foot of the banqueting couch. This seated woman appears to be of a different status to the couple, as she is holding a lyre and possibly is serving as an entertainer for the couple or attendant to the reclining woman, as discussed in section VII. Therefore, these tomb paintings show no indication of the custom of sharing wives, or even women in general, amongst the men. The importance of Etruscan women within the dynamic of a married couple, therefore, highlights their crucial role within the family.

Theopompus and Athenaeus claim that Etruscan women regularly exercise, possibly even in the nude. Within our tomb paintings, there are no examples of women exercising, though there are scenes of celebration and games, where women are spectators, dancers, and in one instance, an acrobat. Dance and athletics are therefore used in a celebratory nature, as opposed to routine exercise. There are 27 tombs that contain representations of dance and athletic scenes, 11 of which are found within tombs that have a central banquet scene as well.84 There are not any scenes that show women exercising in the formal sense, such as wrestling, throwing a javelin or

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84 Dance scenes found in tombs with banquet scenes; T. of the Painted Vases (No. 11), T. of the Triclinium (No. 27), T. of the Little Flowers (No. 28), T. 994 (No. 29), T. of the Funeral Couch (No. 31), T. 5513 (No. 34), T. of the Black Sow (No. 35), T. of the Stag Hunt (No. 36), T. Maggi (No. 37), T. of the Ship (No. 38), T. of the Boar Hunt (No. 40). Athletic scenes; T. of the Jugglers (No. 4), T. of the Olympic Games (No. 5), T. of the Chariots (No. 23), which also includes female dancers. Dance scenes; T. of the Lionesses (No. 3), T. of the Bacchants (No. 9), T. Cardarelli (No. 10), Unnamed Tomb (No. 18), T. of the Kithara Player (No. 24), T. of the Skull (No. 25), T. 4021 (No. 30), T. 2015 (No. 32), T. Francesca Giustiniani (No. 33), T. of the Cock (No. 42), T. 3713 (No. 43), T. Bertazzoni (No. 45), T. 3242 (No. 46).
The only scene in which a woman could be interpreted as taking part in athletics, would be the Tomb of the Jugglers, ca. 510 BCE, where there is the presence of a female acrobat, balancing a candelabrum on her head. Located on the rear wall, this female is standing in the centre, with two male figures on either side facing towards her. She is not nude, but rather dressed in a chiton, a robe, wearing disc earrings, and the tutulus. Therefore, one cannot definitively comment on the accuracy of Athenaeus and Theopompus, especially when women nudity and exercise are used as a point of difference between Greeks and other cultures or even between Greek cities. For example, Plutarch in the Life of Lycurgus, comments on the role that exercise had for Spartan women. He writes:

He made the young women exercise their bodies by running and wrestling and throwing the discus and the javelin, so that their offspring would have a sound start by taking root in sound bodies and grow stronger, and the women themselves would be able to use their strength to withstand childbearing and wrestle with labour pains. He freed them from softness and sitting in the shade and all female habits, and made it customary for girls no less than boys to go naked in processions and to dance naked at certain festivals and to sing naked while young men were present and looking on.85 (Plutarch, Life of Lycurgus 14-16, excerpts, 2nd cent. CE)

In this passage, exercise and nudity is used as a way to differentiate Spartan women from Athenian women, just as was done for Etruscan women. Spartan girls participating in processions and festivals is arguably more similar to Etruscan youths and women participating in banquets, in that these were settings to which the Greeks would not have necessarily allowed their participation to be a regular occurrence.

The claim that Etruscan women participate in drinking and proposing toasts, again, is something that is not present in the paintings that contain banquet scenes. As discussed in section VII, the representation of women and wine is not something that is explicitly shown in any of the tomb paintings. The paraphernalia that is connected to drinking is never in the hands of the

85 Lefkowitz and Fant 2005, 85.
banqueting women, women never hold up a drinking vessel to propose a toast, and one cannot definitely say that the drinking vessels in the hands of female attendants were to be enjoyed by the banqueting women. As a result, the moment of the banquet chosen to be represented in the tomb paintings give no indication that Etruscan women drank or proposed toasts, aside from their physical presence at the banquet.

Athenaeus states that there was the communal raising of children within Etruscan society. Presumably this in reference to the practice in the Greek world of exposing children, to which he believes the Etruscans did not take part in. From the tomb paintings, there is no clear indication if the communal raising of children took place, however, in instances where there is the presence of children, they are most often connected to a particular family lineage. For example, in the Tomb of the Painted Vases there are two children seated to the left of the reclining couple, though it is clear they are there to distinguish the couple who is reclining in the centre. The boy and girl are represented as the children and the lineage of the couple who is represented in this painting, and by extension, the family buried in this tomb. This can be discerned particularly in regard to the seated female, who is richly dressed especially in comparison to the nude, male attendant to the right of the reclining couple. It therefore becomes clear that these two children are specifically connected to their parents, rather than being any children from within the larger community, as Athenaeus’ comments would lead one to believe. These are family tombs, representing the importance of each of the family members and the continuance of the family lineage.

Additionally, Atheneaus remarks that even the Etruscan children attend drinking parties, yet children are not represented in banquet scenes apart from the family dynamic, to be actively participating in the banquet. Youths are depicted as attendants to the banquet, however, they are
serving in the banquet, not seated or reclining, which would be the defining action needed for Atheneus to be correct. As attendants, they are there to serve the reclining couple, and highlight the status of those partaking in the banquet. Furthermore, in reference to the communal raising of children, even in regard to the children who serve as attendants, there is no indication that these attendants are raised by any member of the community.

Lastly, decadence and excess luxury are arguably two of the key traits that are attributed to the Etruscans by ancient authors. Keeping in consideration that these tomb paintings were commissioned by the wealthiest members of society, there was clearly dispensable income to be spent adorning their tombs. The families who chose to do so undoubtedly felt there was value in such work, as ideological statements, or a form of social capital. Therefore, it is no surprise that wealth is displayed within the content of the paintings themselves and that this wealth was most likely a representation of the lived realities of these individuals; and if it was not, regardless, the patrons had no problem in imagining this reality for themselves in either their world or in the afterlife.

Features of decadence and luxury were used to adorn the women present in the tomb paintings. In fact, this luxury is arguably more visibly connected to women as opposed to the men. In section VIII, the attire of women in banquet scenes highlights how women were depicted with rich clothing, jewelry, head pieces, and holding objects that denote status. Additionally, young girls are adorned more lavishly than the young boys, with their presence also adding to the status of the women or the couple as a union. Even when looking at other scenes beyond that of the banquet, luxury and decadence is connected to women time and time again. Therefore, the

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86 For the role that tomb paintings played in elite material culture see: Roth 2013, 187-201.
87 T. of the Jugglers (No. 4): athletic and dance scene with a richly dressed and jeweled female acrobat. T. with Woman with Diadem, Cymbals and Man on Elephant (No. 57): procession with a woman with diadem and cloak.
content of the tomb paintings, especially in reference to women, do suggest that the ancient authors were correct in citing luxury and wealth as an element of Etruscan society. However, these tomb paintings are reflections of the ideals, realities, and possibly even the imaginations, of the elite members of society. As a result, one must be hesitant in regarding all Etruscan women as having access to luxury goods, as they certainly did not. For those women that did, it was a part of their elite culture, a culture that also had a manifestation in other groups of the Mediterranean at the same time, despite being referenced as a negative quality of decadence in this regard by some authors.

In conclusion, the literary accounts of Athenaeus and Theopompus contain discrepancies with the representations found in the tomb paintings. The writings of the ancient authors are filled with observations, interpretations, and opinions that are an outsiders’ perspective and with a clear agenda to support. Nonetheless, the tomb paintings are also carefully constructed images, that choose to represent certain themes, in particular viewpoints, not so different from the way in which literary writings are crafted. Despite their differences, the points of similarity especially regarding luxury and women reclining in banquets, are confirmed by both pieces of evidence and as such, we must interpret these similarities, if nothing else, to be possible realities for Etruscan women.
Appendix

The Symposium in Greek Art
Fig. 1. Attic krater with red figures: Naples; Mus. Nat. H 2202; after H. Metzger, *Representations*, PL. 48, 2.

Fig. 2. Lucanian Oinochoe VLu 6, at London, Brit. Mus. F 187; after Trendall, *LCS*, pl. 57, 3-4.
Fig. 3. Campanian Krater VCa 10, Naples Mus. Nat. RC 144; photogr. Gallimard - La Photothèque, Paris.
XI. Catalogue

The following catalogue compiles the 62 painted tombs in Tarquinia that contain the representation of a girl or a woman. These are based on the images of the tombs and the descriptions of lost images recorded in Steingräber’s catalogue, where a female is concretely identifiable. Depictions where it is not clear whether there is a female or male have been excluded, except regarding tombs where another female can be clearly identified within the scene as well. Representations of female goddesses or female demons have been excluded, as this study is solely looking at human representations. Each entry contains the location of the tomb within Tarquinia, the period to which the tomb is dated, a brief description of the contents of the wall paintings where there is a female, the condition of the paintings, as well as a bibliographic reference to the entry of the tomb in Steingräber, where complete bibliography is listed. Images have been provided, except with tombs where there are none available.88

88 Lack of images are either due to the tomb being lost, paintings destroyed, or when there are no clear photographs or drawing reconstructions available. Preference has been given to include photographs of the paintings, though in some instances drawings have been used where the paintings have been greatly damaged, destroyed, or lost.
No. 1. **Tomb of the Bulls** (Tomba dei Tori)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.
D: ca. 530 BCE
P: Troilus myth, main chamber, rear wall: erotic group of two men and one woman.
C: Accessible; paintings recently restored.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 120., pg. 350.
No. 2. Tomb Bartoccini; 905 (Tomba Bartoccini)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.
D: ca. 520 BCE
P: Banquet scene, pediment, rear wall: two klinai, each with two reclining men; a standing cupbearer between the two klinai; behind the right kline, a standing figure (perhaps female) wearing pointed shoes; in the right spandrel: two women seated on chairs (the one on the right with a staff), a standing figure between them, a krater and two kylixes on the extreme right.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 45., pg. 286.
No. 3. Tomb of the Lionesses (Tomba delle Leonesse)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.
D: ca. 520 BCE
P: Dancing scene, rear wall: a female dancer facing left and wearing a flowered light red chiton under a dark red and blue cloak, a light red tutulus, and red pointed shoes; a black haired young woman wearing a transparent chiton, holding castanets and dancing with a blonde naked youth.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 77., pg. 316.
Dancing pair, rear wall, right

Dancing woman, rear wall, right
No. 4. Tomb of the Jugglers; 2437 (Tomba dei Giocolieri)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.
D: ca. 510 BCE
P: Dance scene, rear wall: richly jeweled female acrobat in pale transparent chiton, short red robe and red *tutulus*, balancing a candelabrum on her head.
right wall: female dancer in red and blue dress with bracelets, female dancer in red and blue robe facing right, female dancer in long red robe with raised arms facing left, traces of another female dancer.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 70., pg. 310.
No. 5. Tomb of the Olympic Games; 53 (Tomba delle Olimpiadi)

L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.

D: ca. 510 BCE

P: Athletic scenes and ceremonies in honor of the deceased, rear wall: false door in the centre; on the left, remains of three figures moving to the left: a man in a dark red robe with head viewed and hand raised; a woman wearing a helmet (?), gathering up her light red robe; a woman gathering up her pale robe with dark red hem. On the right of the door, a woman wearing a red robe, a pale tutulus, and disc earrings; a naked youth running to the right and looking over his shoulder.

C: Accessible; paintings removed in 1958 and located in the Museo Archeologico, Tarquinia.

BIBL: Steingräber, No. 92., pg. 328.
No. 6. Tomb of the Dead Man (Tomba del Morto)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Fondo Lancioni, Calvario area.
D: ca. 510 BCE
P: Prothesis scene, left wall: remains of a prothesis scene; the deceased (Thanarsnas) laid out in a red robe and hood, lying on a richly furnished kline; a woman (Thanacheri) wearing a long robe, standing on a footstool arranging the head covering of the deceased.
C: Accessible; paintings in poor condition.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 89., pg. 325.
No. 7. Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing (Tomba della Caccia e Pesca)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.
D: ca. 510 BCE
P: Banquet scene, pediment, rear wall: banquet scene taking place on the ground with a male and female couple reclining in the centre on a mattress. The woman is richly robed, jeweled and wearing the double-wreathed *tutulus*, bracelets, and disc earrings, and is holding a wreath. To the left, a wreathed female flute player, and two female servants crouching weaving wreaths. To the right of the couple, two naked cupbearers.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 50., pg. 293.
Pediment, rear wall, centre
No. 8. Tomb of the Baron (Tomba del Barone)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.
D: ca. 510/500 BCE
P: Rear wall: blonde naked youth on black horse, holding a whip; bearded man with kylix in short, dark cloak and pointed shoes, with his right arm around a small blonde flute player; a woman in pale chiton, red cloak, tutulus, and pointed shoes facing left with gesture of greeting; blonde rider in short, dark cloak and pointed shoes on red horse, holding a whip and facing left; five small trees with green leaves among the figures; two red wreaths hanging from the top.
left wall: centre: a woman in tutulus flanked by two blonde men each with his arm raised and holding a black (left) or red (right) horse by the rein; all three figures in red and green robes and pointed shoes.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 44., pg. 285.
No. 9. Tomb of the Bacchants (Tomba dei Baccanti)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Fondo Lancioni, Calvario area.
D: ca. 510/500 BCE
P: Dance scene, rear wall: in the centre, a small tree; in the left and right corners, other small trees; on the left, a dancing lyre player, naked and wreathed; on the right, a dancing couple—a bearded, half-naked man with a kylix, and a young woman in a long robed, pointed shoes, tutulus, and earrings; wreaths hanging down from the top.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 43., pg. 284.
No. 10. Tomb Cardarelli; 809 (Tomba Cardarelli)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.
D: ca. 510/500 BCE
P: Dance, music and athletic scenes, left wall: bearded dancer in loincloth with kylix; small wreathed flute player in chiton, cloak, and pointed shoes; small tree with red fillet; naked boy with fan; wreathed female dancer with transparent chiton, red cloak, tutulus, and pointed shoes; girl in dotted robe and pointed shoes; red wreaths and fillets hanging from the top.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 53., pg. 296.
No. 11. Tomb of the Painted Vases (Tomba dei Vasi dipinti)

L: Monterozzi cemetery; east of the Cimitero area on the northern slope.

D: ca. 500 BCE

P: banquet, music and dance scenes, rear wall: left, a girl wearing a pale chiton, a short red cloak, *tutulus*, and disc earrings, holding a wreath and seated on a skin-covered *diphros* with a naked boy holding a bird (both girl and boy wear pointed red shoes); in the centre, a banquet scene with a *kline*, reclining a woman wearing a pale, red-flowered chiton, a short red cloak, *tutulus* and disc earrings, holding a wreath; accompanied by a bearded man wearing a red, pale-bordered robe and a hair band, holding a large yellow *kylix* and fondling the woman’s chin; on the right, a small, naked cupbearer with hair band, holding two ladles and a strainer; six red wreaths, two golden chains, and a pale cista hanging down from the top.

entrance wall: to the left of the door, remains of a flute player, of a small tree with a red wreath, and of a red wreath hanging down from the top; to the right of the wall, remains perhaps of a lyre player (or of a female figure). right wall: *kylikeion* with a krater and two amphorae on top, and two upturned *kylikes* underneath; a bearded dancer with a hair band, a red sash around his hips, and red boots, holding a large yellow *kylix* and turning to the right; remains of a female dancer in a pale chiton, a red cloak, and pointed shoes; between them, small trees with red wreaths.

left wall: a female castanet dancer in a pale, red-flowered chiton, a red cloak, and *tutulus*; a bearded dancer with a red sash around his hips and pointed shoes, facing left; a dancer with a hair band, a red sash around his hips, and boots; between them, small trees with red wreaths and fillets.

C: Accessible.

Rear wall and right wall, left

Left wall
No. 12. Tomb of the Old Man (Tomba del Vecchio)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; east of the Cimitero area on the northern slope.
D: ca. 500 BCE
P: Banquet scene, rear wall: richly furnished *kline* in the centre with an elderly, white-haired and bearded man reclining, wearing a sash and a pale robe, holding a drinking cup; a woman reclining wearing a pale, red-flowered chiton, a red cloak, *tutulus* and sashes, handing a wreath to the man while he caresses her with his right hand; in front of the *kline*, a table; on the left, a naked cupbearer with a ladle.
entrance wall: on the left of the door, the remains of a male and a female figure holding hands; right side is completely destroyed.
right wall: remains of a flute player in a red robe; a girl in a pale chiton; a *kline* with a man and a woman reclining.
left wall: remains of a standing female figure in a pale chiton, a *kline* with a table in front of it, and a dog below.
C: Accessible.
Rear wall
No. 13. Tomb of the Dying Man (Tomba del Morente)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.
D: ca. 500 BCE
P: Prothesis scene, ceremonies in honor of the deceased, rear wall: red and blue horse; running naked youth; standing female figure in green cloak with arms extended to the right to prothesis scene on the right wall; two small red trees between the figures; red wreaths hanging from the top.
right wall: prothesis scene; kline with deceased laid out in hood; on the left, a girl (or youth) wearing a green robe in an attitude of mourning; on the right, at the head, a woman in a pale chiton and dark cloak.
C: Inaccessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 88., pg. 325.
No. 14. Tomb 4780
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Fondo Scataglini, Villa Tarantola area.
D: ca. 500 BCE
P: Banquet scene, rear wall pediment: banquet scene on the ground; a lyre player seated on the ground and looking to the right; a floral mattress with a reveler reclining and placing a wreath on his head; a revealer looking to the right; a woman, looking to the right while embracing another reveler; all the revelers wearing himatia; a flute player facing left and behind him, a volute krater, on it, a large kylix; in the left spandrel, a duck; in the right spandrel, two large amphorae with garlands; wreaths hanging from the top.
C: Inaccessible; paintings destroyed by tomb robbers in 1971.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 157., pg. 367.
No. 15. Tomb 1000
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.
D: end of sixth century BCE
P: remains of possible banquet scene: left wall: remains of trees and of a brightly coloured female figure, apparently reclining, possibly part of a banquet scene.
C: Inaccessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 135., pg. 358.

Images not available

No. 16. Tomb 3988
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Fondo Lancioni, Calvario area.
D: first half of fifth century BCE
P: Banquet scene, rear wall pediment: banquet scene with a bearded man reclining and facing right and a woman with tutulus reclining. rear, right and left walls: banquet scenes, each wall having two klinai, with a man and a woman reclining on each; animals and vases.
C: Inaccessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 152., pg. 366.

Images not available

No. 17. Tomb 4813
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Arcatelle area.
D: first half of fifth century BCE
P: Banquet scene, rear wall: a man and a woman reclining on a richly furnished kline; in front of the kline, a table; on the left, a flute player between two small trees; on the right, a naked cupbearer with two vases.
C: Inaccessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 158., pg. 367.

Images not available
**No. 18. Unnamed Tomb**
L: Monterozzi cemetery.
D: first half of fifth century BCE
P: Dance, music and athletic scenes, rear wall: a female dance with long black hair, wearing a red and green robe; three small trees; a bearded dancer with a *kylix*; a flute player; a female figure.
C: Lost.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 173., pg. 373.

Images not available

**No. 19. Tomb 4260**
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Fondo Lancioni, Calvario area.
D: first quarter of fifth century BCE
P: Banquet scene, rear wall pediment: on the left, a reclining man; an amphora in the centre; on the right, a reclining woman.
C: Inaccessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 156., pg. 367.

Images not available
No. 20. Tomb of the Whipping; 1701 (Tomba della Fustigazione)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.
D: ca. 490 BCE
P: Erotic scene, right wall; false door in the centre; to the left an erotic group of two naked men and one woman between them; man on the left bearded, woman wearing a *tutulus*. On the right of the false door, another erotic group; two naked men; man on the right is bearded and wearing a red sash, man on the left is wreathed; between them a woman wearing a *tutulus*, being whipped by the men with a rod.
C: Accessible.
No. 21. Tomb behind the Tomb Cardarelli; 5591 (Tomba dietro Cardarelli)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.
D: ca. 500/490 BCE
P: Dance scene, rear wall: a flute player; a komast with a raised kylix; a woman in a pale chiton, a light red cloak, tutulus, dark red pointed shoes, disc-shaped earrings, a necklace, and bracelets, facing left; a small bird in flight; small red trees with green leaves between the figures, garland with red fillets; five wreaths hanging from the top.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 164., pg. 370.
No. 22. Tomb of the Weapon Dancers (Tomba dei Pirrichisti)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.
D: ca. 500/490 BCE
P: Games in honour of the deceased, rear wall pediment: remains of a female flute player, of another woman, of a green krater, and of a man playing with a cat.
C: Lost.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 99., pg. 335.

Images not available
No. 23. Tomb of the Chariots (Tomba delle Bighe)

L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.

D: ca. 490 BCE

P: Banquet, dance and ceremonial games in honor of the deceased, right wall: figured frieze on red ground; naked servant at kylkeion with vessels; female dancer in chiton, short cloak, and tutulus; dancer with sash around his hips; dancing female flute player in chiton, short cloak, and tutulus; dancer with sash around his hips; female dancer in chiton, short cloak, and tutulus; dancer with sash around his hips; small red trees with blue leaves alternating with the figures.


BIBL: Steingräber, No. 47., pg. 289.
No. 24. Tomb of the Kithara Player (Tomba del Citaredo)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Arcatelle area.
D: ca. 490/480 BCE
P: Dance and music scenes, rear wall: centre, two false doors; above, acroteria and doves; on either side, remains of a female dancer; corners, small tree with blue leaves. 
left wall: centre, a singing lyre player with a shoulder mantle; to the left and right, two female dancers in transparent chitons and shoulder mantles; the second with castanets; the fourth with flute small trees with wreaths and fillets between them. Female dancers only occupy the left wall and male dancers the right wall.
C: Lost since 1888.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 57., pg. 301.
No. 25. Tomb of the Skull; 300 (Tomba del Teschio)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.
D: ca. 480 BCE
P: Dance, athletic and music scenes, right wall: traces of a female dancer wearing a pale chiton and red cloak, disc earrings and bracelets, with castanets; a small tree; a dancer with a red sash around his hips
C: Inaccessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 116., pg. 346.
No. 26. Tomb of the Leopards (Tomba dei Leopardi)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Fondo Lancioni, Calvario area.
D: ca. 480/470 BCE
P: Banquet, dance, music and procession scenes, rear wall: banquet scene with three *klinai* with reclining couples; all banqueters wreathed; left *kline*, two men; centre *kline*, a man and a woman; right *kline*, a man and a woman; the men wear pale cloaks with blue boarders, the upper body bare; women wear pale, red-patterned chitons and red cloaks with green and pale boarders; second man from the left holds a wreath; man on the right holds egg and a *kylix*; both women hold conventional attributes; naked cupbearers stand between the *klinai*; small red trees with green leaves and dark berries below and behind the *klinai*.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 81., pg. 319.
Rear wall, centre

Rear wall, right
No. 27. Tomb of the Triclinium (Tomba del Triclinio)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Fondo Lancioni, Calvario area.
D: ca. 470 BCE
P: Banquet scene, ceremonies in honor of the deceased, rear wall: banquet scene with two couples, man and woman, in red and pale robes, red-flowered, reclining on klinai; in front of each of them, a red table with vases. On the left, a flute player in a pale robe; between the klinai, a standing woman wearing a pale red-flowered chiton and a blue robe; a young naked cupbearer with a jug in front of the right kline; on the right, remains of the short side of a kline, with a red cover and two reclining figures; red wreaths hanging down from the top.
right wall: a female dancer with castanets, wearing a pale, red-flowered chiton and a short red bodice with a blue border; a dancing flute player wearing a blue cloak with a red and pale border and red shoes; a female dancer in a pale, red-flowered chiton and a red cloak, facing right; a male dancer in a blue cloak with a red and pale border; a wildly animated female dancer in a pale, red-flowered chiton, red cloak, and red shoes; between the figures, small red trees.
left wall: a female dancer in a pale, red-flowered chiton and a red cloak; a dancing barbiton player in a blue cloak with a red and pale border; a female dancer wearing a pale, red-flowered chiton and a red cloak, tuning to the left; a dancer wearing a blue cloak with red and pale border, facing left; a female dancer in a pale, red-flowered chiton and a red cloak; between the figures, small trees and birds, the tree on the right with fillet.
C: Accessible; paintings removed in 1949 and are now in the Museo Archeologico, Tarquinia. BIBL: Steingräber, No. 121., pg. 352.
Left wall
No. 28. Tomb of the Little Flowers; 1695 (Tomba dei Fiorellini)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.
D: second quarter of fifth century BCE
P: Banquet, dance and music scenes, rear wall: traces of a banquet scene; in the centre, a man with a drinking cup and a woman with *tutulus*, reclining on a *kline*; on the right, a small tree with red wreaths, a naked servant with a flute, and a small tree with red fillets; on the left, a naked servant between red fillet and a small tree.
right wall: in the centre, a male dancer with blue sash around his hips, on both the left and right, a female dancer in a red-dotted chiton with blue sash around her hips; between them, small trees with red fillets.
left wall: similar to the right wall, with flute-player in the centre; two female dancers and trees.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 64., pg. 304.
Right wall, right
No. 29. Tomb 994
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.
D: second quarter of fifth century BCE
P: Banquet and dance scenes, rear wall pediment: a banquet scene on the ground with a reclining reveler, bearded and wreathed (Laris Varnie, inscription) with a kylix; on the left, remains of another reveler; on the right, a small, naked cupbearer facing left and holding up a black kylix. On the right, remains of a female dancer wearing a red robe (Thanech[vi]l Luvciies).
C: Inaccessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 134., pg. 357.
**No. 30. Tomb 4021**

L: Monterozzi cemetery; Fondo Lancioni, Calvario area.

D: second quarter of fifth century BCE

P: Dance and music scenes, rear, right, and left walls: groups of male and female dancers with small trees between them; five figures on each wall; male dancers wearing cloaks; female dancers wearing pale chitons and cloaks, some with *tutulus*; a flute player in the centre of the rear wall.

C: Inaccessible.

No. 31. Tomb of the Funeral Couch (Tomba del Letto funebre)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Fondo Lancioni, Calvario area.
D: ca. 460 BCE
P: Ceremonies in honor of the deceased, rear wall: centre, richly furnished bed; to the right of the bed, two wraithed men in red and blue robes, reclining on mattresses, and two wraithed men standing in an attitude of greeting or devotion; to the left of the bed, a woman in a red robe, possibly a flute player, standing at a kylikeion with a calyx krater, below which there were perhaps originally two reclining women; entire scene suspended under a canopy, suspended across two posts.
left wall: traces of perhaps two figures; a dancer; a naked discus thrower; a weapon dancer with helmet, shield, and spear; a female dancer in a red bodice and pale flowered skirt; a small blue tree or meta; a flute player; a servant with a red sash around his hips, touching the chin of a female servant on the right who holds a jug and is wearing a pale flowers chiton, a sash around her hips, and a tutulus; three wraithed women in red or blue robes reclining on a mattress beneath a canopy suspended from a blue post and with a hanging red wreath.
C: Accessible; paintings removed in 1953 and now in the Museo Archeologico, Tarquinia.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 82., pg. 319.
Left wall
No. 32. Tomb 2015
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.
D: second half of fifth century BCE
P: Dance and music scenes, rear wall: two pairs of dancers (predominately red): the men with sashes around their hips, the women in long, richly decorated robes; small trees between the figures.
left wall: two pairs of dancers (mainly red) with small red trees between them; the man on the left originally in a short blue cloak; the man on the right with a sash around his hips; the women in long, richly decorated robes.
C: Inaccessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 142., pg. 360.
No. 33. Tomb Francesca Giustiniani (Tomb Francesca Giustiniani)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.
D: around or soon after 450 BCE
P: Festive games in honor of the deceased, rear wall: biga with charioteer in a pale robe and red and blue horse; female flute player in a pale, red-flowered chiton and red cloak; richly jeweled female dancer in red-flowered bell skirt and red bodice with castanets; youth or male dancer in blue, yellow-bordered short cloak with hooked stick and raised right hand.
right wall: largely destroyed, on the left, traces of a female dancer in a pale, flowered robe with sash and hanging ribbons in her hair; in the centre, remains of two more dancers.
left wall: traces of a youth leading a horse; man in blue cloak with staff; athlete facing left; another athlete traces of a man in a lock and of a woman in a red and green robe.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 65., pg. 305.
No. 34. Tomb 5513 (Tomba vicino Fiorellini)

L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.

D: Middle of fifth century BCE or soon after.

P: Banquet, dance and music scenes, rear wall: banquet scene with two *klinai*, two men reclining on each in green, dark red and pale robes and making animated gestures; a woman in a dark red cloak stands behind the left *kline*; another woman in a green robe, stands between the *kline*; two more women, in dark red cloaks, stand behind the right-hand *kline* on the left. The men on the right-hand *kline* are holding respectively a flower and a *kylix*. On the right, a naked cupbearer with a strainer, turning from a dark red *kylikeion* holding numerous vases.

Right wall: a small, naked servant holding a branch; a naked *kithara* player, turning; two small red trees with green leaves and two red birds; a female dancer with raised arms facing right, wearing a pale, red-spotted chiton and a dark red cloak a small tree with two birds, one red and one black; the remains of a flute player in a blue robe; the remains of a cloth suspended above remains of a red colour, perhaps of a female dancer, on the right.

Left wall: remains of a *barbiton* player, of a small tree, of a female dancer in a dark red robe, and of a second small tree; a small, naked servant facing right; remains of a robed flute player.

C: Accessible.

BIBL: Steingräber, No. 162., pg. 369.
Right wall
No. 35. **Tomb of the Black Sow** (Tomba della Scrofa nera)

L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.

D: between middle and third quarter of fifth century BCE

P: Hunting and banquet scenes, rear wall: banquet scene with three *klinai*; on the left a standing servant; on the left *kline*, two reclining men in red and blue robes, a wild cat below; on the centre *kline*, a man and woman reclining in red and blue robes; at the foot of the *kline*, a seated woman in a pale chiton and a red and blue cloak, with a lyre; a footstool and two doves; to the right, a standing servant holding an *aryballos*; on the right *kline*, two reclining men in red and blue robes.

left wall: remains of; a female dancer in a short, blue cloak with red boarder, over a pale chiton; a second female dancer in a short, dark red cloak with pale border, over a pale chiton; a male figure and naked servant facing right; a second male figure; a *kline* with perhaps two reclining men, two pale doves below; small trees between the figures.

C: Accessible; paintings removed in 1959 and now in the Museo Archeologico, Tarquinia.

No. 36. **Tomb of the Stag Hunt** (Tomba della Caccia al Cervo)

L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.
D: around or soon after 450 BCE
P: Banquet, dance and hunting scenes, rear wall: banquet scene with three wreathed couples, each a man and a woman, reclining on richly furnished *klinai*; naked cupbearers stand between them; small trees behind them.
entrance wall: traces of a red figure on each side of the false door; the one on the left perhaps a female dancer.
right wall: five walking or dancing figures with small trees between them; only a man on the left, with a green, red-bordered robe, is visible; to the right, remains of two male and two female dancers.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 49., pg. 292.
No. 37. Tomb Maggi; 5187 (Tomba Maggi)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Fondo Maggi, Villa Tarantola area.
D: third quarter of fifth century BCE
P: Banquet, dance and music scenes, rear wall: banquet scene with three klinai with reclining men.
left wall: on the right, a female dancer wearing a red bodice and pale flowered bell skirt; a flute player wearing a red and green robe.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 84., pg. 322.
No. 38. Tomb of the Ship; 238 (Tomba della Nave)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.
D: end of fifth century BCE
P: Banquet, dance and seascape scenes, rear wall: banquet scene with three *klinai* with mattresses and covers, a man and a woman reclining on each, all wearing a hair band; man in a red and blue robe; woman in a pale, red-flowered chiton and red cloak; man on the left *kline* has a drinking cup; man in the middle *kline* with food in his hand; naked cupbearers stand between the *klinai*; small red trees without leaves behind them.
right wall: remains of another banquet scene on a *kline*; remains of a servant; remains of a man, perhaps a musician, in a pale robe with a red border; a female dancer in a pale, red-flowered robe; a male dancer in a blue robe with red boarder; a female dancer in a pale, red-flowered robe; a flute player; small red trees without leaves behind the *kline* and between the figures.
C: Accessible; paintings removed in 1958 and now in the Museo Archeologico, Tarquinia.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 91., pg. 327.
Right wall
No. 39. **Tomb of the Maiden** (Tomba della Pulcella)

L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.

D: end of fifth century BCE

P: Banquet scene, entrance wall: on the left, remains of a woman with a torch (?); on the right, remains of a male profile head and of a small tree.

right wall: banquet scene with two couples reclining on *klinai*; each *kline* has a man and a woman wearing a diadem or wreath, and red, blue-green, and pale robes; below the *klinai*, red footstools with sandals; behind them, small red trees with blue-green leaves; on the left, a female servant in a red and pale robe; the man on the left is stroking the chin of the woman next to him; the woman on the right holds an egg, her male companion a drinking cup.

left wall: banquet scene with two couples reclining on *klinai* as on the right wall; on the left, a naked cupbearer carrying a jug and a strainer; the man on the left holds a lyre; between the *klinai*, a small female servant in a red robe, holding a *kantharos*; the man on the right holds up a decorated drinking cup; behind them, small trees.

C: accessible.

BIBL: Steingräber, No. 103., pg. 336.
Right wall, right
**No. 40. Tomb of the Boar Hunt** (Tomba Querciola I)

L: Monterozzi cemetery; Maggi estate, Villa Tarantola area.

D: between end of fifth and first half of fourth century BCE

P: Banquet and dance scene, upper large frieze, rear wall: banquet scene with three *klinai*; a standing flute player in a blue cloak with red border; two men in red cloaks reclining on a *kline*, the one of the left holding a *kithara*; a standing cupbearer in a red robe, holding a strainer; a couple reclining on a *kline* and kissing, the woman wearing a yellow, green, and red robe and the man in a red robe; another reclining man in a yellow, blue, and red cloak with a drinking cup; a *kottabos* stand; a blonde standing servant; two men reclining on a *kline*, playing the *kottabos* game with drinking cups. All the figures appear to be wreathed.

entrance wall: a female dancer wearing a pale chiton and a red-brown cloak with a red and blue border; a male dancer wearing a short blue cloak with a red border; a helmeted warrior on a red *biga*, with two horses in front; a male dancer wearing a short blue cloak with a red border; a female *kithara* player wearing a pale chiton and a red cloak with a pale border.; small red trees between all the figures. All dancers seem to be wreathed or to have diadems.

right wall: a *kline* with two cloaked (blue; red) men reclining; a footstool below; a small tree behind; a flute player wearing a blue cloak with a red border; a female dancer wearing a pale chiton and a red cloak with a blue and red border; a male dancer wearing a blue cloak with a red and blue border; a female dancer wearing a pale chiton and a red cloak with a blue a red border; a male dancer in a blue cloak with a red border; small red trees with green leaves between all the figures. The male figures seem to be wreathed.

left wall: a male dancer wearing a short blue cloak with a red border; a female dancer in a pale chiton and a red cloak; a male dancer wearing a blue cloak with a red border; a flute player wearing a blue cloak with red border turning to the left; two servants in pale robes, the one on the left carrying a jug and a strainer; a *kottabos* stand; a red *kylieion* with a large krater, two *amphorae*, *oinochoai*, and *kylikes*; between the figures and behind the *kylieion*, small red trees with green leaves. Most of the figures seem to be wreathed.

C: Accessible.

BIBL: Steingräber, No. 106., pg. 338.
No. 41. Tomb of the Biclinium (Tomba del Biclinio)
L: Monterozzi cemetery.
D: fourth century BCE
P: Banquet scene, right and left walls: each have two richly furnished klinai with a man and a woman reclining; tables in front of them, holding drinking vessels; at each end of the klinai, a naked male servant and a female servant in a chiton, holding drinking vessels or wreaths; kline A: a woman with tutulus, man with kylix and egg; kline B: a woman with a rhyton and a man with a kylix; kline C: a man holding a fillet; kline D: a woman with a drinking vessel and an open scroll, a man with a stringed instrument.
C: Lost.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 46., pg. 288.
No. 42. Tomb of the Cock; 3226 (Tomba del Gallo)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.
D: between 400 and first quarter of fourth century BCE
P: Festivities in honor of the deceased and dance scene, rear wall: traces of a female dancer in pale robe with red border; of another woman; of a small red tree with blue leaves; of a man in a blue cloak with red border, perhaps a musician.
left wall: male dancer with dark red bearded mask and flecked skin jacket; female dancer holding castanets and wearing red, blue, and pale flowered robes; flute player in blue cloak with red border.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 68., pg. 308.
Entrance wall
No. 43. Tomb 3713
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.
D: beginning of fourth century BCE
P: Dancing scene, rear wall: female dancing wearing a pale transparent chiton and dark red cloak with pale boarder between two male dancers, small trees between the figures.
right wall: a female dancer wearing a pale chiton and dark red cloak with pale border, a male dancer, a female dancer clothed like the one on the right, small trees between the figures.
left wall: a female dancer wearing a pale chiton and dark red cloak with pale border, a male dancer, a female dance clothed like the one on the right, small trees between the figures.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 149., pg. 364.
Right wall, left
No. 44. Tomb 808
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.
D: first quarter of fourth century BCE
P: Banquet scene, left wall: remains of a man wearing a pale robe with red circle patterns, reclining on a *kline*; a woman wearing a pale, red-dotted robe and a red bodice, seated beside the *kline* on a *diphros*; below it, a brown bird.
C: Inaccessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 130., pg. 356.
No. 45. Tomb Bertazzoni; 2327 (Tomba Bertazzoni)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.
D: first half of fourth century BCE
P: Hunting, dancing, music and banquet scenes, rear wall: to the left and right of the black-framed loculus, remains of a female dancer with a diadem and a red, blue-bordered robed (the one of the left also with castanets); they are flanked by two small trees. rear-wall loculus, left wall: a female figure between two small red trees; on the right, a tall vessel with opened lid.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 143., pg. 361.
No. 46. Tomb 3242
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.
D: first half of fourth century BCE
P: Dance and music scenes, rear-wall loculus, rear wall: a dancer in a blue cloak with red border; a small red tree; a flute player in a blue robe; a female dancer wearing a pale chiton and a red clock with a pale border; in each corner, a small red tree.
left wall: a female dancer in a pale chiton and a red cloak with a pale border; a small tree with grey-green leaves.
entrance wall: to the left of the door, remains of a dancer in a red robe; to the right of the door, remains of a female dancer in a red robe.
right-wall loculus: rear wall: remains of a female dancer wearing a pale chiton with black geometric ornaments and a red cloak with a pale border; a male dancer; a female dancer with raised arm; small red trees between the figures.
left-wall loculus: rear wall: remains of a female dancer in a pale skirt and red bodice; a male dancer in a blue robe; a female dancer in a red robe with blue border; small trees between the figures.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 147., pg. 363.
Left wall loculus

Right wall, right, and entrance wall, left
No. 47. Tomb 3697
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.
D: first half of fourth century BCE
P: Banquet scene, rear wall: two couples reclining on *klinai*; two men on the right *kline*; on the left a wreathed man with a *kylix* and a robed woman with raised arms wearing bracelets; small tree behind them.
C: Inaccessible.
No. 48. Tomb of the Warrior; 3243 (Tomba del Guerriero)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.
D: second quarter of fourth century BCE
P: Banquet scene and festivities in honor of the deceased, rear wall: banquet scene with two klinai, each with a man and a woman reclining; robes are mainly red, the men wreathed and women wearing diadems; footstools with sandals below the klinai, and small red trees behind them.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 73., pg. 313.
No. 49. **Tomb of the Pygmies; 2957** (Tomba dei Pigmei)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Secondi Archi area.
D: middle of fourth century BCE
P: Mounted procession, banquet scene, and festivities in honor of the deceased, entrance wall: a figure (presumably female) wrapped in a green cloak and mounted on a red horse; remains of another figure mounted on a red horse.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 97., pg. 333.
No. 50. Tomb of Orcus I (Tomba dell’Orco I)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Cimitero area.
D: middle of fourth century BCE
P: Banquet scene, rear wall: richly furnished *kline* with three reclining figures; a woman (Ravnth Thegrinaï) in a pale robe, a man no longer extant ([Sp]urinas) and a bearded man ([…]inas); two children in pale robes standing in front of the *kline*.
right wall: richly furnished *kline* with man (Arnth Velcha) and woman (Velia[a]) are reclining; Velia has a diadem of leaves, ear jewelry and two necklaces; Arnth Velcha is wreathed and holding a branch in his hand; originally there was another female figure.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 93., pg. 329.

Rear wall loculus
Right wall

Right wall
No. 51. Tomb with the Pilaster and Female Figure; 4467 (Tomba con Pilastro e Figura di Donna)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Fondo Lancioni, Calvario area.
D: second half of fourth century BCE
P: Large figures and inscriptions, entrance wall: a woman facing left and wearing a pale cloak with dark border, diadem and ear jewelry. On her left, a fragmentary black inscription (Ramtha […]).
C: Inaccessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 98., pg. 334.
No. 52. Tomb Mercareccia (Tomba della Mercareccia)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Mercareccia/Villa Tarantola area.
D: between second half of fourth and beginning of third century BCE
P: Animal fight and possible farewell scene, right wall: a standing figure; rearing horse facing left; a group of three richly robed standing women.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 87., pg. 323.
No. 53. Tomb of the Shields (Tomba degli Scudi)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Primi Archi area.
D: between third and fourth quarters of fourth century BCE  P: Banquet and procession scenes, cult of the ancestors: main chamber,
rear wall: a banquet scene with a bearded wreathed man (Larth Velcha) in a red and pale robe, reclining on a kline; a woman (Velia Seitithi) wearing a red and pale robe and diadem, earrings, necklace, bracelet, and ring, sits at the foot of the kline and hands her husband an egg; in front of the kline, a brown table with food, and a footstool below; on the left, a female servant wearing an ochre robe, holding a fan.
entrance wall: to the left of the door: remains of three pale-robed men facing left, two lictors, and Larth Velcha; remains of a servant with sella; a horn player and a trumpet player in pale robes. To the right of the door: remains of a trumpet player, a horn player, and three pale-robed women facing right; remains of inspirations above.
right wall: kithara player and flute player in pale robes facing right; a banquet scene, similar to the rear wall, with a bearded wreathed man (Velthur Velcha) holding a patter and reclining on a kline; he lays a hand on the shoulder of his wife (Ravnthu Aprthnai), who is seated at the food of the kline, wearing a diadem; both wear pale robes with dark borders; in front, a table with food, and a footstool below; two inscriptions above the couple; a red-framed window; a red-framed door. To the right of the door: a naked servant, a red-framed window; one man and two women standing, wearing pale robes with dark borders; the two women named in inscriptions above (Velchai; Velia Seitithi)
left wall: traces of three standing robed figures with inscriptions above a red-framed window, with an inscription to the right; a red-framed door; a red-framed window with an inscription on the right-hand frame; seated on ochre diphiro with cushions, a bearded man with a black staff (Velthur Velcha), and a woman (Ravnthu Aprthnai) wearing a diadem and pointing to her husband with her right hand; both wear pale robes with dark borders; a brown footstool below each dipho.
No. 54. **Tomb with Ship** (Tomba con Nave)
L: Monterozzi cemetery
D: Hellenistic
P: Limited information available: journey by sea to the afterlife: a sailing ship with oars and a crowned man in a cloak; on either side of him, two women; tritons in the sea blowing conches.
C: Lost.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 90., pg. 327.

Images not available

No. 55. **Tomb of the Drapery** (Tomba della Tappezzeria)
L: Monterozzi cemetery.
D: third century BCE
P: Limited information available: a man and a woman flanking a door, each with two snakes in one hand and a sceptre or olive branch in the other; cloth draperies suspended on painted nails.
C: Lost.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 113., pg. 345.
No. 56. Tomb of the Cardinal (Tomba del Cardinale)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Primi Archi area.
D: between third and second centuries BCE
P: Deceased procession with demons: around 200 figures with several motifs; male and female demons taking the deceased away; woman with a vase on her head.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 54., pg. 297.

No. 57. Tomb with Woman with Diadem, Cymbals, and Man on Elephant (Tomba con Diadema, Cimbali, Uomo su Elefante)
L: Monterozzi cemetery.
D: between third and second centuries BCE
P: Procession: woman with diadem and cloak holding a man’s hand; opposite her, a wreathed man on an elephant with ceremonial trappings preceded and followed by men with spears.
C: Lost.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 60., pg. 302.

Images not available
No. 58. Tomb with Charun Heads (Tomba con Teste di Charun)
L: Monterozzi cemetery.
D: between third and second centuries BCE
P: Remains of the paintings only known from a brief description, appear to have been part of a farewell scene or a procession with demons: Charun laying his hand on the shoulder of a man; another man and youth; a woman’s head.
C: Lost.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 117., pg. 347.

Images not available

No. 59. Tomb Tartaglia (Tomba Tartaglia)
L: Monterozzi cemetery; former Tartaglia estate.
D: Middle Hellenistic (between second half of third and first half of second century BCE)
P: Deceased procession with demons, long wall A: a man and a woman in long robes; a demon wearing a short tunic and boots, carrying a torch and holding a woman by the shoulder. long wall B: two winged demons escorting in between them, a woman to the right; woman wearing a long robe: short wall; a woman in a long robe taken by the hand of a demon who is wearing a short robe and boots.
C: Lost.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 115., pg. 346.
No. 60. Tomb 4912
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Fondo Scataglini, Villa Tarantola area.
D: Between second half of third and first half of second century BCE
P: Deceased procession with demon, rear wall: left corner, a bearded male demon with blue skin, wearing a short red robe and boots, carrying a large hammer on his shoulder; in front, a veiled and wreathed woman wearing a pale chiton and cloak with red outline.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 159., pg. 367.
No. 61. Tomb Bruschi (Tomba Bruschi)

L: Monterozzi cemetery; former Bruschi estate.

D: between end of third and first half of second century BCE

P: Deceased procession with demons, wall A: remains of a man facing left, a man facing right, of a rider, and of two men walking; remains of an inscription above; wreathed, richly jeweled woman in a chiton and cloak with pomegranate; female servant in chiton holding a mirror. Pilasters: crouching, half-naked Charun with hammer standing robed woman in frontal view, possibly the deceased; female figure known only from 19th century drawings.

C: Remains of paintings now in the Museo Archeological, Tarquinia.

BIBL: Steingräber, No. 48., pg. 292.
No. 62. Tomb 5512
L: Monterozzi cemetery; Calvario area.
D: second century BCE
P: Deceased procession with demons, entrance wall: on the left of the door, a winged, bearded
demon in short waist-length jacket and boots, carrying a hammer and clutching a woman by the
shoulder; woman wearing a long robe; two men in long robes facing each other and shaking
hands. Inscription on left wall names the deceased woman Vela P[...]slinei.
C: Accessible.
BIBL: Steingräber, No. 161., pg. 368.
XII. Conclusion

An analysis of the representation of females in Etruscan tomb painting has revealed several aspects regarding the position and role of women and girls in Etruscan society. The Monterozzi Necropolis of Tarquinia contains the largest number of painted tombs out of all Etruscan cities, where there are 62 tombs that contain the painted representation of a female. The inclusion of female musicians, dancers, spectators, banqueters, attendants, mourners, and the activities they engage in such as processions and erotic scenes, highlights the diversity of roles females were attributed to within the tomb paintings. As paintings that were specifically commissioned by individuals and their families, the inclusion of females was a deliberate choice, especially noteworthy since we do not find females in every tomb painting to contain human figures. As such, it is evident that females fulfilled specific roles based on the various scenes they are presented in.

Banquet scenes are the most common theme in Etruscan tomb painting where females are represented. There are 24 tombs that contain banquet scenes that have the depiction of a female, most frequently being a woman who is reclining as a banqueter. This representation is found in 18 tombs, where a woman is reclining to the left of a reclining man on the same couch. In only one tomb are women represented reclining separately from the men.⁸⁹ There is a change in the dynamic that is represented between the woman and man who are reclining over time. In the earlier paintings of the sixth century BCE, there is usually only one couch represented, with a couple reclining and the woman extending her hand to offer the man an object. After the beginning of the fifth century, more common is the representation of multiple couches, with a mixture of men and women reclining in pairs, though not always in equal numbers of men and

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⁸⁹ T. of the Funeral Couch (No. 31).
women. Despite the addition of couches and banqueters, women are still represented with only one reclining man. This dynamic suggests an equal relationship between the men and women, as they are represented as the same size and wearing similar attire through the use of colours and patterns. In addition, this suggests that the relationship of a man and woman as a couple was of importance within Etruscan society, as the imagery of the couple appears consistently within the banquet scenes. This separates the Etruscan imagery from the representations of the banquet in Greek art, where women do not appear as frequently and when they do their role is clearly a subordinate one, that of attendants and entertainers. The Greek institution of the symposium was not open to the participation of wives and daughters of citizens and was primarily intended to build and strengthen male solidarity. Etruscan banquets represented in tomb paintings are clearly different and revolve around the married couple, with the addition of other family members.

Females in banquet scenes are also found standing, seated at the foot of the banqueting couch, or seated separately, which may indicate different roles. In scenes where females are found standing, the dynamic that is represented changes based on whether there is an additional reclining woman within the scene. When there are no women who are reclining in the banquet, the standing women appear to be connected to one of the reclining men, where they face towards one another. This is important because even though they are standing as opposed to reclining, the relationship of a couple seems to still be vital to the representation. Due to this relationship, it is possible that the standing women are still important figures in the banquet as opposed to being attendants to the men. However, when there is the presence of a reclining woman, the standing female, who most often appears to be a girl, is always associated with the reclining woman as opposed to the reclining man. The standing girl appears on the side closest to the reclining woman, often holding an object for the reclining woman. This illustrates that the reclining
woman has her own female attendant, as opposed to a male attendant who could serve anyone in the banquet, further distinguishing the woman. Previous literature has examined women and girls as one, however, by differentiating age, this reveals that girls fulfilled a unique role in the banquet scene, where they only attend to women or are represented as daughters of the reclining couple.

Women that are depicted as seated at the foot of the banqueting couch or seated on a separate seat, also seem to have a specific role within the banquet. One example of a woman seated at the foot of the banqueting couch, as a musician, suggests that she is attending to the reclining couple as an entertainer. She is seated closest to the reclining woman and since there is only one other example of a female musician in a banquet scene, it is possible that similarly to the female attendants, the seated female musician is to solely serve the reclining woman. This, again, points to the importance of the reclining woman, but also to the uniqueness of finding a female musician as most commonly there is a male musician within the banquet. Furthermore, since there is only one other example of a woman seated at the foot of a banqueting couch, as opposed to reclining, this could simply be an influence of style that the painter has adopted.

This is especially important since the women in this tomb’s paintings are arguably the most elaborately dressed out of all women in any other banquet scenes. As a result, the positioning at the foot of the banqueting couch as opposed to reclining does not seem to indicate any dissolution of status.

Females seated separately suggest differing roles as well. When we find females seated to the left of the scene, they appear to be girls who are the children of the reclining couple in the

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90 T. of the Black Sow (No. 35).
Other example of a female musician in a banquet scene: T. of the Hunting and Fishing (No. 7).
91 T. of the Shields (No. 53).
centre. This reiterates the importance of representing the family within the banquet, but more importantly, that daughters were honoured within the paintings as well, not just adult women. When we find women who are seated separately, they are located to the right of the scene, while the male figures are in the centre, which could indicate that they are not the central figures of importance within the scene. However, in the earliest example of a seated woman, all the figures in the scene turn towards the two seated women, which indicates that they are the most important figures in the scene, particularly the woman who is holding a staff. Additionally, the only other example of a seated woman who appears to the left of a reclining man could be there simply due to a stylistic choice, similar to the Tomb of the Shields, since this representation is not found in any other banquet scene. As a result, the position of a seated woman does not seem to indicate any degree of unimportance or lower status within the banquet scene even though the women are not reclining as central figures.

The attire and iconography attributed to females also suggests the importance of females within scenes of the banquet. All of the females who are represented in the banquet, in any capacity, are the most elaborately dressed figures within the scene. The reclining women are almost always adorned not just with lavish dress of different patterns and colours, but with jewelry and headpieces that highlights the wealth attributed to them. Furthermore, the objects that they hold also indicate wealth and luxury, and could even symbolically be indicators of status. The male counterparts within the banquet scenes, in contrast, are not as elaborately adorned, except for headpieces which are equally represented. Additionally, men most often are depicted holding drinking vessels, which we do not find attributed with the reclining women.

92 T. of the Hunting and Fishing (No. 7), T. of the Painted Vases (No. 11).
93 T. Bartoccini (No. 2).
94 T. 808 (No. 44).
Therefore, it is possible that the females in Etruscan banquet scenes held an important role as banqueters who are equal to the men, and as attendants who appear to only serve the reclining women. Unlike the representations found in Greek art, where females in the Greek *symposium* are solely providers of entertainment, the females in Etruscan scenes first and foremost are there to participate in the banquet. Since this is such a different representation than what is found in Greek art, this could suggest that the Etruscan iconography of the banquet served the elites is a different way, where females and their role in the family and as individuals, was of vital importance. This is further strengthened by the fact that these paintings are funerary art in family tombs, which as a result, reiterates the importance of representing and honoring family members within the paintings, as opposed to scenes of celebration, party, and drinking. In the elite tombs of Tarquinia, the couple and their legitimate offspring are the focus of the representation, certifying the successful transition of status, power and wealth from one generation to the next, a concept that was especially important to the aristocracy. Greek figured vessels for wine consumption were common in Tarquinia and are found in the tombs, and it is clear that the imagery of the Greek *symposium* represented on them influenced the banquet scenes painted on the walls. Those images were well known and enjoyed. However, only in very few cases does the banquet of the wall paintings include the most typical aspects of the Greek *symposium* representations, such as explicit sexual scenes. Those images were apparently considered appropriate for the cup of an individual banqueter, while they were not for the decoration of a family tomb, where the Greek male *symposium* was replaced by a dignified family banquet with a strong emphasis on the couple and the participation of all members, including children.

The ancient authors present a mixed portrayal of Etruscan women in comparison to what
is represented in the tomb paintings. It is clear that luxury and wealth were accessible to Etruscan woman, found in both the tomb paintings and literary sources. The decoration of wreaths, garlands, and banqueting equipment highlight the luxury accorded to the banquet itself. As discussed prior, the attire of the banqueters and presence of attendants also showcases this wealth. Since these tombs belonged to the most elite members of society, it is no doubt that expressions of luxury were common within their lifestyle while living and would therefore naturally find a representation within the afterlife as well. The ancient authors also claim that Etruscan women shared their couches with any men, proposed toasts, and were expert drinkers, but this is not visible within the tomb paintings. It is evident that the women are wives, as they are always represented as a couple, sharing their couches their husbands. Women are not represented with drinking vessels or proposing toasts, which suggests that this was an activity that women did not take part in, though we must keep in mind that a specific moment of the banquet is being captured within these paintings. Consequently, it is possible that if Etruscan women were present at the banquet, they could have taken part in proposing toasts and drinking, though the lack of any such representation indicates that within the tomb, this was not an action that was deemed suitable or relevant. Surely if Etruscan society accepted women drinking within the banquet, a representation would be visible in at least one of the tomb paintings, especially since men are frequently represented with drinking vessels. The lack thereof suggests that these Etruscan families did not find value in representing women drinking or proposing toasts. When using sources that are external to Etruscan culture, it is highly probable that their understanding of foreign customs was partial and biased. Ancient authors who recorded the customs of foreign peoples also have usually a clear agenda, using them as examples- either good or bad- for their own discourse on social mores. Historical accuracy was not their main concern, so they did not
refrain from distortion and exaggeration. The fact of the presence of women at Etruscan banquets was cast in a very negative light to paint a picture of immorality and disorder, where women drink wine, act in a way that would be indecent for a Greek woman and where not even the paternity of children is certain. As we have seen, nothing could be farther from the truth, since legitimacy and family values were the main concern of Etruscan elites.

In examining the roles of females in Etruscan tomb painting, previous literature has been misleading. This paper has compiled the 62 tombs in Tarquinia that contain painted representations of a female. A discussion of banquet scenes has revealed that females played a crucial role in the banquet, where they were distinguished participants often accompanied by their own personal attendants and children. The attire of females highlights the wealth and luxury that was available to Etruscan women and by representing the females in such a way, this suggests a high degree of honor and respect that was attributed to the deceased females. It is clear that the elite women who came to be represented in these paintings played an important role within their families and alongside their husbands, particularly in regard to their importance within the family lineage. This is the sense in which the “freedom” of Etruscan women should be understood. Of course, Etruscan women did not have the concept of freedom and equality of modern women. Their society, like most ancient ones, was based on clear difference of roles and fields of actions between men and women. The special “freedom” of Etruscan women, which became a stereotype for Greek and Roman authors, is a consequence of the highly aristocratic fabric of Etruscan society. In a society where lineage is the foundation of status and power, elite female members must be allowed to have more active and visible authority, so that they can take the lead during crises, when adult male members are not available. This authority was reserved
to elite women, whom we can see represented on the walls of their tombs. Whether or not the rest of Etruscan women shared this privilege, that is open to speculation.
References


