

GENDERED ADORNMENT AND DRESS SOUNDSCAPE IN ETRUSCAN DANCE¹

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The Etruscans excelled in jewellery. They conceived and produced amongst the most refined and elaborated pieces in the Ancient Mediterranean. Their jewellery is usually interpreted as luxury good and aristocratic item, as proposed by Larissa Bonfante in 1975 in her famous book entitled *Etruscan Dress*.² Thus, it was considered as part of the Etruscan aristocratic dress, and it would be sign of luxe, prestige and *tryphé*.³ The adult female figure represented at right on the left wall in the *Tomba Cardarelli*, Tarquinia, is said to be dressed in an aristocratic manner (fig. 01). She is wearing a conic hat (*tutulus*), disc earrings, a long tunic, a mantle held on the shoulders and that covers the head, and boots called *calcei repandi*. In other representations, a diadem and bracelets are added to the dress. The visual evidences from the 6th century BCE onwards are numerous. Specifically from that period, and as underlined by Larissa Bonfante⁴, the female dress is enriched by several kind of adornment. Male adornment is limited to belts during the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. Then, from the 6th century BCE, it consists in rare necklaces such as on top of the back wall in the second funerary chamber of the *Tomba della Caccia e della Pesca*, Tarquinia (fig. 02), and bracelets that are worn by naked male ritual performers.

As recalled by Florence Gherchanoc and Valérie Huet,⁵ scholars have developed different approaches to the study of adornment in Ancient Greece and Rome. First, the approach developed from 1860s tackle the aesthetics of adornment and clothes, their materiality, their form and diffusion. The works are limited to encyclopaedias or comprehensive studies that aim at identifying and dating clothes, and reconstructing fashions. The second approach, that is open by the groundbreaking article of Roland Barthes in 1967, raises the symbolic values of clothing, integrating an anthropological and sociological dimension into historical analysis. It develops the values and practices of representation, and the symbolism of body adornments that is often correlated with the question of identity. Indeed, clothes and adornment contribute to define affiliation, membership, association, and thus exclusion as well. This has led to studies on the links and relations between adornments and behaviour, and consequently to analysis of the active role of adornment in political, social and religious performances.

The aim of this article is to study the communicative potential of adornment in Etruria. The belts, bracelets, necklaces, earrings and diadems added to the male and female body highlighted, shaped and performed a gender, an identity and a status. But they also could blur, transform and reverse gender, identity and status, especially in the context of ritual performances. Consequently, the ritual use and the symbolic function of adornment in various

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² Bonfante 1975.

³ Bonfante, « Aggiornamento : il costume etrusco », in *Atti del Secondo congresso internazionale etrusco*, Firenze 26 maggio-2 giugno 1985, vol. III, 1989, p. 1388 (p. 1373-1393).

⁴ Bonfante 1975.

⁵ V. Gherchanoc, V. Huet, “Le corps et ses parures dans l’Antiquité grecque et romaine: bilan historiographique”, in *DHA supplément* 14, p. 127-149.

types of performances will also be explored. The analysis is based on Central Etruria visual evidences of dance from 6th and 5th centuries BCE.⁶

The performances taken into consideration in this article are the collective and ritual manifestations found in iconographic sources. Those performances display physical capabilities (sport, dance, etc.) and specific gestures (libation, sacrifice, etc.) with or without any objects. The collectiveness of the action is characterized by the fact that different actors are engaged in a same performance, a public audience is attending,⁷ and the presence of possible viewers of the picture. The rituality of the action is characterized by: the context depicted in the picture; the context of the picture itself; the objects manipulated in the picture by the actors; the objects displayed in the image field. The performance is also recognizable by the fact that the action constitutes the efficient implementation of specific capacities and skills in particular moments (marriage, death, or any other event to mark, celebrate, and commemorate). Dance is one of the most common ritual performances in Antiquity. It is an entertainment during which one or more persons perform non-ordinary (such as walking or running), rhythmic and aestheticized movements to the sound of instrumental or vocal music. It is recognizable in pictures by specific body postures and clothes, and the presence of musicians. In Etruria, the visual sources are numerous, and range from funerary paintings to ceramics, bronzes and reliefs.

The study of clothes in ritual performances and dance in particular through Etruscan iconography is crucial as it shows that specific clothes were worn by the different actors and performers and that those clothes were contributing to define the performance as ritual. Adornment contributes as well to define the rituality and the elitist characteristics of the ritual performances.

The definition of adornment in this article needs to be specified. It is not only the objects that embellished the body and that are intended today as jewels, but all the objects that cover the body and which are not essential to its protection such as tunics, mantles, hats and shoes. In this context, this article aims at exploring and proposing interpretations regarding the use and meaning of earrings, bracelets, necklaces, diadems, belts and garlands in dance. Indeed, what was the aim of such adornment in ritual performances such as dance? Was there a gendered distinction and function among the dancers? What could have been their symbolic function? Did they have a sensory impact in dance? How could a gendered distinction of adornment have impacted dance performances?

The excavations of the *Tomba Regolini-Galassi*, Cerveteri, in 1836, permitted the discovery of extraordinary and precious adornment and furniture dated from 675-650 av. J.-C., possible properties of the so-called Larthia, who was possibly buried in the main funerary chamber. Among the adornment found on the remains of the body placed in the main chamber, was discovered a gold fibula of an extraordinary size, now kept at the *Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, in the Vatican, Italy (fig. 03). This fibula, the tomb's icon and Etruscan jewellers' masterpiece, is said to have been used for parades. The size must have made any simple movement difficult. And this could lead to the interpretation that during parades the fibula-adorned person was sit in state and enthroned (fig. 04). The gold object highlighted the wealth and the prestige of the owner, but created as well a sensory impact on the audience, which

⁶ Those sources for the study of adornment in Etruria are the best conserved and can give a better view of the use of adornment.

⁷ Such as in the *Tomba delle Olimpiadi*, Tarquinia, in which spectators are represented sitting on bleachers and attending various sport performances.

possibly reinforced the owner's power over people. Indeed, the golden aspect of the fibula could have played as a light reflector. And, to the glittering and shining aspect of the object, the small spiral-patterned pendants fixed at the ends of the hinges might have added a light sound of rattling. Moreover, to the visual and sound expression of power, the perfume that Etruscan *élites* were using extensively was also possibly added. Finally, the dress and adornment had a landscape and a temporality. The gold adornment were visible from the distance, such as the golden statues in temples, the light sound of rattling produced by the pendants were audible when the Prince or the Princess was coming closer, and the perfume constituted olfactory traces left in the air such as divinities. In this context, the ostentation of power in Etruria can be seen as a multi-sensory experience and performance, and adornment as a crucial part of it. Studying adornment through representations of dance from the 6th and 5th centuries BCE can tell us about the possible performative functions and powers of adornment in ritual performances. The present study will focus especially on ecstatic forms of dance through Etruscan iconography, this because they constitute the only form of dance in Etruscan visual sources in which performers are shown with adornment that seems to present an impact in dance.⁸

Dress in Etruscan ecstatic dances

In Etruscan representations of ecstatic dance, the costume worn by female performers are of five types, summarized in Table 01.⁹ The first one is composed by one short tunic, as illustrated on the hydria n° inv. 10227, dated from 520 BCE, and kept at the Musée du Louvre in Paris (fig. 05).¹⁰ The second type of costume, that is worn by the female dancer on the left wall of the *Tomba Cardarelli* in Tarquinia (fig. 01), is composed by two parts. The first part is a long, light and floral patterns-adorned *chiton*. It is transparent and decorated with horizontal or vertical, blue and red borders. To the *chiton* is added a long blue and red *himation* held in place on the shoulders by two pieces pulled back over the chest. The third form of clothing is composed by two long *chitons*. The first *chiton* is transparent, as we can see on the back wall of the *Tomba delle Leonesse* (fig. 06). To this first *chiton* is added another one, long, red with blue hems (fig. 07). The fourth kind of costume is composed by a long *chiton*, and a short tunic overlaps this first long *chiton*. While most of the female dancers wear the second or the third type of clothes, a feminine figure always wear significant different clothes: she is a female castanets player. As illustrated on the right wall of the *Tomba del Triclinio*, Tarquinia (fig. 08), she wears a long and transparent *chiton*, on which is placed a short *chiton*, red and sleeveless. Those two distinctive garments are very well indicated on two *thymiateria* and on the left wall of the *Tomba del Gallo* in Tarquinia (fig. 09) where the female player go with a flautist and dances with a fancy figure that is usually interpreted as a Phersu. The choice of the clothes, this is a long and transparent *chiton* on which is placed another *chiton*, that is red and shorter, distinguishes clearly this female figure. The aim was to show a clear difference with the other female dancers and to underline this difference. This point will be discussed further in this article. The fifth kind of clothes is composed of a long *chiton* and an animal

⁸ The Etruscan dance has been extensively studied: see A. Gouy, *La danse étrusque (VIIIe-Ve siècle av. J.-C.). Étude icono-anthropologique des représentations du corps en mouvement dans l'Italie préromaine*, PhD thesis, École pratique des Hautes Études, Paris and Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, Italy, 2017. To be published.

⁹ It appears to me that no female dancer ever appear naked. On a painted terracotta plaque, possibly discovered in the necropolis of Banditaccia in Cerveteri and kept at the Musée du Louvre in Paris, the figure placed at left has been interpreted as a naked female. However, the state of conservation of the figure does not permit to see any biological features that could allow interpreting it as a female. Moreover, nudity is usually an attribute of men. I would rather see the representation of two male figures dancing towards the left, instead of one woman followed by a man.

¹⁰ Bonaudo 2004, fig. 117, p. 198, and see the bibliography indicated.

skin that is knotted around the chest and thus wraps the figure. This costume is worn by female figures that appear to be maenads. In all these types of female costume, the adornment is composed by large earrings (disc earrings), bracelets, garlands, necklace and diadems. Earrings, bracelets, garlands and necklaces appear in iconography in the second half of the 6th cent. BC. The diadems appear in the second half of the 5th cent. BC.

The costume worn by male performers in ecstatic dances are of eight types, summarized in Table 02. The male dancers can be naked – this is the type one. In some cases, they also wear shoes and/or adornments such as bracelets as we can see on a bronze kept at the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe (fig. 10). The second type of dress is composed of what has been called a *tebenna*¹¹. This *tebenna* is worn in two different ways. First, it can be knotted, held around the hips and worn as a loincloth as illustrated in the *Tomba delle Iscrizioni* in Tarquinia (fig. 11). This type of costume appears as well in representations of sport. Thus, it is linked to high-performance activities. Secondly, it can be worn as a light mantle, like a scarf or a shawl, and placed on the arms as represented on the right wall of the *Tomba dei Leopardi* in Tarquinia (fig. 12). The third type of male costume in Etruscan ecstatic dances is a short tunic that covers the chest until the waist. It is usually worn by the *Phersu*, a specific Etruscan performer that is also wearing a face mask (fig. 09). The fourth type is a half-long tunic that covers the body until the thighs. It is worn by figures that present satyr-features such as a long tail, a snub nose and baldness (fig. 13). It appears among the male dancers on the *komos* scenes represented on the terracotta plaques from Acquarossa and related (fig. 14). This specific tunic appears also among some few musicians (fig. 15). But in this last case, the tunic is decorated with grid patterns and overlaps another tunic that is longer. The fifth type of male costume is a long mantle that wraps the body and is held on one shoulder as illustrated on the right wall of the *Tomba del Triclinio* in Tarquinia (fig. 08). The sixth type uses the mantle as well, and similarly wraps the body, but it is placed over a long tunic such as illustrated on the face b of the relief inv. 529 from Chiusi kept at the Archaeological Museum in Perugia (fig. 16). The seventh type of male costume is a long tunic that is covered and overlapped by a chasuble. This outer piece is a wrap-around garment with two panels, like a mantle but without sleeves, as represented on the face a of the relief inv. H 201 from Chiusi that is kept at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen (fig. 17). The eighth type is an animal skin that is commonly worn by satyr-like figures as illustrated on a mirror (n° inv. R 1270) discovered in the area of Viterbo, Italy, dated from 470 BC and kept in the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels (fig. 18).¹²

Adornment in dance: types and gender.

Not all female and male costumes present adornment (see Tables 03 and 04). However, most of the types of the female dress (types 2 to 5 in Table 03) and almost half of the types of the male dress (types 1, 2, and 5 to 7 in Table 04) present adornment that appear in visual sources as following:

¹¹ Bonfante 2003.

¹² On a neck-amphora attributed to the Silenus Painter, dated from 530-520 BC and kept at the Antiquities Museum of Munich (inv. n° SH 840), the animal skin is knotted around the chest. The right side of the second satyr figure from the left presents two animal paws that are hanging. Cf. Y. Olivier-Trottenberg, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland, Band 96, München, Band 17, Antikensammlungen, ehemals Museum Antiker Kleinkunst, Etruskisch Schwarzfigurige Keramik*, Munich, 2014, p. 31-32, pl. 11, 5-6. The knotting is the same on male human figures that are represented on the amphora n° inv. 463 kept at the Museum of the Dome in Florence (n° 228). The feature indicates that it could be an animal skin as well instead of a *tebenna*. Cf. Hannestad 1974, p. 48, cat. 30, pl. 7c and Jannot 1984a, fig. 619.

Earrings. The earrings have a circular form and their colour – bright and light yellow ochre – invites us to think they were in metal.¹³ They are part of the female clothing composed by the *tutulus* (conic hat), the long tunic, and the mantle, as illustrated on left wall in the *Tomba Cardarelli*, in Tarquinia (fig. 01).

Necklaces. The wearing of necklaces appears more common during the fourth century BCE, as highlighted by Larissa Bonfante. In the representations of dance taken here in consideration, two examples must be mentioned. One is the candelabra n° Br 598 kept at the British Museum, London, and that is the best preserved (fig. 19). The necklace is remarkable for the presence of a ram's head in its middle. This is a necklace usually worn by male figures, such as the one represented on the back wall of the second chamber in the *Tomba della Pesca e della Caccia*, Tarquinia (fig. 02). This necklace is also pictured hanging in the trees that are depicted on the walls of the first chamber in the same tomb (fig. 20-a). According to the work of Agnès Rouveret published in 1988, this jewel is part of the male adornment and constitutes a sign of authority and power. Indeed, the presence of a ram's head in the middle of the necklace shows a possible link to specific practices such as the ritual of sacrifice. Also, and as Agnès Rouveret highlighted it as well, the trees and more broadly the grove depicted in the first chamber of the *Tomba della Pesca e della Caccia* (fig. 20 a and b) are adorned with female objects (mirrors, cistae, garlands) and male objects (necklaces, amphorae). These objects refer to two gendered worlds that are reunited in the second chamber, in the scene of banquet that is represented on the back wall (fig. 02). Indeed, there would be, at left, the woman's world with the weaving activities executed by the little girls and the feminine toilette in the image field. On the opposite, at right, is figured the man's world with the wine consumption and the reference to the sacrifice with the necklace worn by the male banqueter. Surprisingly, this necklace with a ram's head in the middle does not have any Mediterranean parallels yet but does in the Kingdom of Meroe, in ancient Nubia and Sudan. A statue from Tago, on the island of Argo, has a similar necklace which constituted, with the diadem, a royal emblem and that emphasized the character's ability to reign (fig. 21). In an Etruscan funerary context and as Francesco Roncalli highlighted it convincingly, the ram is a reference to sacrifices. Thus, it is plausible to consider this necklace as a reference to a specific ritual status. Wearing it could have conferred to the bearer the same prestige linked to religious and sacrificial spheres. Regarding the bronze n° Br 598 (fig. 19), the question that is raised is: what a male adornment worn on a woman could have produced and symbolized?

Bracelets. The bracelets are regularly displayed in representations of dance as there are no less than twenty-eight occurrences in total. They tend to regularly appear in iconography in the second half of the 6th cent. BCE and they are particularly diffused in Southern Etruria's iconography, such as in Tarquinia and Vulci. The bracelets are often worn by dancers, with no distinction of gender. But the men wearing them are always young naked boys. Differences can be noted among dancers: the number of bracelets and their place on the body vary. In two cases, the dancing figures wear one bracelet only, that is placed on one of the two arms. In fifteen cases, the figures are shown with two bracelets, one at each arm such as on the bronze Br 598 kept at the British Museum (fig. 19). On this *thymiaterion*, the female dancer is wearing one bracelet at each forearm. And more specifically, one bracelet is placed at the wrist while the second one is placed on the forearm, thus confirming the movements of up-and-down that a serialization of representations of Etruscan dance has highlighted¹⁴ and that is suggested by the position of the arms. On the candelabrum n° 62/93 kept at the Badisches

¹³ Jean-René Jannot has convincingly proposed to interpret the objects represented with no colour or filled with a light colour as in metal. Cf. Jannot XXX.

¹⁴ Gouy 2017.

Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe (fig. 10) and on the one kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (fig. 22), the bracelets represented on the arms are above the elbow indicating that the brisk movement, suggested by the body posture of the two male dancers, have fixed the bracelets on the upper part of the arms. Finally, in nine cases, the figures wear four bracelets, two at each arm, as illustrated in the *Tomba dei Giocolieri* in Tarquinia (fig. 07). Those bracelets are placed at the wrist or on the forearm.

Diadems. Diadems appear in Etruscan iconography during the second half of the 5th century BCE. In representations of dance, they appear on the head of female castanets players, and maenads, that are both marginalised figures. The female castanets player is indeed marginalised from the other female dancers by the costume she commonly wears: a long and transparent *chiton*, on which is placed a short *chiton*, red, and sleeveless (fig. 08 and 09). This difference of costume had possibly the aim to underline a specific and crucial function in ritual performance. And adding a diadem on this particular figure marginalised her even more. The fact the diadems are mostly limited to the female castanets players and the maenads, during the period taken into consideration in this article, is striking. The study of the left wall of the *Tomba del Gallo* in Tarquinia allows to draw some first interpretations (fig. 09). The scene depicts three figures: a male dancer dressed up as a satyr (animal-patterned tunic, satyr-like mask), a female castanet player wearing a diadem and an *aulos* player. The male dancer is bending towards the female player who is focused on the dance and the sound that she produces with the castanets she is holding in her hands. The scene is very common in Greek Dionysian iconography that is composed with satyrs and maenads,¹⁵ and that is regularly found also in Etruscan ceramics. In the *Tomba del Gallo*, the female dancer presents similarities with maenads: the diadem, the body posture, the extasis. Thus, could this woman be playing a religious role similar as the one of the maenads? The interpretation needs to be deepened.

Belts. In Etruscan representations of dance, three types of belt can be found.¹⁶ The first one is a waist belt and it is exclusively worn by male dancers. It is illustrated on three objects. On the *kyathos* n° 883.71.1 kept at the Musée du Berry in Bourges, France (fig. 23), and on the *kyathos* n° H 4881 kept at the Martin Von Wagner Museum in Würzburg (fig. 24), the belt is fixed at the waist by a main horizontal structure and is composed with several pendants. On the neck of the amphora n° HA 16 (L 780) kept at the Martin Von Wagner Museum in Würzburg (fig. 25), the ends of those pendants present a circular form. But as no similar belt has been found in archaeological context and as the visual documents do not show exhaustive details, it is difficult to go further into the interpretation. The second and third types of belt are placed on the chest. They are exclusively worn by female figures. The second type is thus illustrated in two tombs: on the back wall of the *Tomba dei Giocolieri* in Tarquinia (fig. 26 a and b) and between the right wall and the entrance wall of the main chamber in the *Tomba della Scimmia* in Chiusi. It is composed with numerous overlapped small disks of which the colour – light ochre – recall the disk earrings that were supposedly in metal. In the *Tomba dei Giocolieri*, there is no distinction between the belt and the earrings, which suggests that the belt could be composed of several metal disks. Finally, the third type of belt is twisted around the chest and fixed around the shoulders, as illustrated on the bronze n° BR 3145 / R 126 kept at the Musée du Louvre in Paris (fig. 27). This kind of belt, that is turned into a ∞-

¹⁵ See the latest work of François Lissarrague on the topic: Lissarrague 2015, and the related bibliography.

¹⁶ A third one can be found on two amphorae: one supposedly kept in Genève (Cf. Jannot 1984, fig. 615) and the other kept in Munich, at the Antikensammlungen (inv. n° SH 880 – V.I. 970). The belt is indicated by a horizontal white line at the waist. It is similar to the garland worn on the head. However, as we have no other example and as the details appear blurred and inaccurate, I don't integrate this type to the study.

shape, is illustrated in four cases. It appears on female figures that are most of them possibly maenads.¹⁷ One is identified as a female castanets player. This chest belt is worn by a male dancer as a female feature on the black-figure amphora inv. SH 839 / V.I.268 that is attributed to the Silenus Painter, dated from 530-520 BCE, and kept at the Antikensammlungen in Munich (fig. 28). This male figure appears to be dressed with pieces of female clothing. Jointly with the belt, he is wearing the female hat called *tutulus*. This chest belt appears finally on the amphora n° 184310 kept at the *Museo Nazionale Archeologico* in Naples (fig. 29). The figure that wears the chest belt is winged, and can be interpreted as Vanth, an Etruscan female daemon appearing in pre-Roman iconography during the second half of the 5th century BCE. In all cases, this particular chest belt appears on figures that are in strong movement. Thus, it could have the same function as the Greek *strophion* that is mentioned in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophorias*.¹⁸ This belt was working as a bra and was maintaining the clothes tight to the chest. It could thus ease the body movements.¹⁹ However, on the amphora n° 184310 kept in Naples (fig. 29), the winged figure that wears the belt appears with no clothes. But what is the use of the belt then? It would possibly maintain the wings that are placed in the back of the figure. If the wings are thus fake and if consequently the figure is not a daemon, then it is staging. In all cases, the belt is used to maintain fabrics on the body. On the bronze n° BR 3145 / R 126 kept in Paris (fig. 27), the clothes appear very tight and in opposition with the Greek clothes that, according to Larissa Bonfante, were made large in order to fit everyone. Indeed, the Etruscans were used to tail clothes. In this particular case, what would have been the function of such a belt on the female castanets player? If the belt is normally used to maintain the clothes on moving figures in Greece, and if the device would have been known by the Etruscans through Greek iconography that was massively imported, could this adding be a visual construction to highlight the strong movement of the female player? Another interpretation is also possible. This belt appears to be similar to those that are represented to delineate the sacral space in Etruscan tombs.²⁰ In this context, could this belt be rather a garland that highlights the specific position in rituals of the female castanet player and her sacred function among the other dancers. Many interpretations are possible.

Garlands. In this article, a garland is defined as a circular ritual object, sometimes composed of leaves, that is worn on the head, around the neck or on other part of the body. It can also be hung in a room, a house, a tomb, a temple. In Etruscan representations of dance, the garlands are often depicted as if they were hung. In the *Tomba del Morto* in Tarquinia, garlands are represented hanging from the painted cornice in the top of the walls (fig. 30-a, 30-b and 30-c). In the first chamber of the *Tomba della Caccia e della Pesca*, the garlands hang from the trees among which male figures are dancing (fig. 20-a and 20-b). Those garlands contributed to permanently make the space sacred. When these objects were adorning people, as seen in the *Tomba del Morto* on the left, right and back walls (fig. 30-a to c), they were also making them sacred. Adorning people with leaves garlands was a specific ritual at a banquet opening. It

¹⁷ Bronze *sympulum* from Castelbellino and kept at the Museo Nazionale in Ancona, Italy (see Mancieni-Betti 2006, p. 59 and 256, fig. p. 251); fragment of black-figure amphora possibly produced in Vulci, attributed to the Micali Painter, dated from 520 BCE, and kept at the Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, Los Angeles (n. inv. 86.AE.397).

¹⁸ It is presented as a bra and as a specific female belt that goes with the female *chiton*. Cf. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, III, 931 and *Thesmophorias*, IV, 251.

¹⁹ Parisinou 2002, 65: "Belts are a common accessory on both demonic and conventional huntresses probably as an allusion to their virgin status in some cases, but in any cases, to articulate their bodies and emphasize movement."

²⁰ As in the *Tomba della Caccia e della Pesca* in Tarquinia. Cf. Rouveret 1988 regarding the use of these garlands in a funerary and sacred space.

highlighted the union between the God invoked and the banqueters. The garlands were kept on the heads also during the dances that were following the ritual consumption of wine. In most Etruscan representations of dance, the figures have their heads covered with a garland, indicating their involvement in the ritual. In three cases, the garlands are worn around the neck.²¹ The figures are exclusively male, and in two cases there are satyrs.²² In two cases, the garlands are worn on the arms, such as in the *Tomba del Morto* (fig. 30-a to c) and the *Tomba delle Iscrizioni* (fig. 11) in Tarquinia. It appears on one male figure in the *komos* of the *Tomba delle Iscrizioni*: one garland is worn on the right arm and two garlands are worn on the left arm. On the left arm especially, one garland is placed on the forearm. The other one is placed on the hand and seems to be proposed and ready to be delivered to the figures following the male dancer. In the *Tomba del Morto*, three male dancers have a garland placed on one arm. On the back wall of the tomb (fig. 30-b), the male figure at right has one garland on his head, the other one is placed on one arm. On the left wall, the male dancer at left is putting a garland on his head and has another garland on one arm (fig. 30-a). On the right wall, the male dancer at right has only one garland that is placed on his left arm (fig. 30-c). The dancer facing him has a garland on his head, and hold another one in his right hand. Holding a garland in one hand means it is ready to be offered or placed on one's head. In this context, will the garland be offered to the first dancer on a same wall whose head is garland-free?²³ In one case,²⁴ the garland is placed on the leg, more precisely on the thigh and right above the knee. The figures that wear the garland on the leg are satyrs. In four cases,²⁵ strips replace the garlands and the clothes, and they are worn as scarfs and shawls on the arms. They are similar to those we can find hanging in the trees of sacred groves such as those represented on the walls of the *Tomba del Triclinio* and of the first chamber in the *Tomba della Caccia e della Pesca* in Tarquinia. Both garlands and strips were used to mark and delineate a sacred space. When placed on the body, they might have made the dancers themselves sacred as well.

Sound-effective adornment in dance

As part of the communicative potential of adornment is sound. Indeed, adornment could have produced sound through the clash of bracelets or belts for example. From the data that has been gathered, and among the pieces of adornment that have been previously analysed, it is possible to consider that the bracelets worn by the dancers, especially when two bracelets are placed on a same arm, as well as the male waist belt and the female metal chest belt could

²¹ In the *komos* scene depicted on the right and the back walls in the *Tomba delle Iscrizioni* in Tarquinia; on the amphora n° inv. 13.158 kept at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston; on the amphora n° inv. SH 840 kept in the Antikensammlungen of Munich.

²² On the amphora n° inv. 13.158 kept at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston; on the amphora n° inv. SH 840 kept in the Antikensammlungen of Munich.

²³ The combination of garlands in funerary iconography must be deepened as it might contribute to better understand the meaning and construction of pictures.

²⁴ Black-figure amphora from Cerveteri, attributed to the Dancing Satyrs Painter and dated from 480 BCE. The object is kept at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (n. inv. 13.158).

²⁵ A black-figure crater kept in a private collection (see the sales catalogue *Auktion sale XVI, June 30, 1956, Classical Antiquities, Monnaies et médailles S. A. Basle*, p. 41 & 48, object n. 178); a black-figure amphora from Orvieto kept at the Museo Archeologico in Florence, Italy (n. inv. 75787); a black-figure amphora attributed to the Munich 883 Group and kept at the National Museum of Natural History in Washington D.C. (n. inv. 136413); a red-figure kyathos kept in a private collection (see the sales catalogue *Royal-Athena Galleries, New York-London, Art of the Ancient World, Greekn Etruscan, Roman, Egyptian, & Near Eastern Antiquities, volume X, 1999 Edition*, p. 34, object n. 130).

have produced sound during the dance. Moreover, a preliminary study of the sound produced indicate the possible existence of a gendered soundscape in the dance.²⁶

As previously analysed, the Etruscan iconography of dance shows adornment that are worn accordingly to gender, except for the bracelets which are part of both male and female dress. However, if we look at the number of bracelets worn, only the female figures seem to have been able to produce a sound from the rattling of bracelets. Among the twenty-eight occurrences of dancers with bracelets that exist in Etruscan iconography of dance, the nine occurrences that show two bracelets at each arm (so four bracelets in total) correspond indeed to female dancers only.²⁷ Furthermore, those female dancers are engaged in specific forms of ecstatic dances: they are maenads or female castanet players, and/or they are engaged in final phases of such dances. When the arms were moving, the bracelets were thus clanking and lightly accompanying the sound produced by the *aulos* and the stringed instruments. But how could have been, more precisely, the sound produced by the bracelets?

Rattling adornment has started to become very fashionable in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., and then especially between the end of 6th and the first half of 5th centuries B.C., period during which its use culminates.²⁸ In 1977, the tomb 60 found in the Temperella zone of the cemetery of Macchiabate in Calabria and dated back to the 8th century B.C. is published by Paola Zancani Montuoro. The tomb reveals a rich burial assemblage that still remains unparalleled. The deceased was identified as a woman as well as a ritual performer by the author. Indeed, according to the discovery, among the rich set of furniture, of a calcophone and several little bronze objects that could have been used as rattling jewels, the woman could have been a dancer and a priestess. Angela Bellia has studied the possible use and sound produced by these different objects. And she has first identified the bronze object composed of parallel coils fixed between two bars as a percussion instrument, and interpreted it as a “bronze laden *sistrum*”.²⁹ Giulia Saltini Semerari, in a recent article on sound instruments in Early Iron Age Southern Italy, interprets it as a calcophone.³⁰ In addition to this object, several little bronze pieces could have formed idiophones, this is objects that were producing a rattling or clanking sound when shackled together. The first set of pieces is composed of seventeen small tubes that could form the end of a rattle necklace.³¹ The second one is identified as a *sistrum* by Angela Bellia. It is “made up of nine concentric elements in the form of a ring. Each of them was four centimetres in high and had a decreasing diameter”.³² The third set of bronze pieces is composed of a probable “stick *sistrum*”, or a scraper that is forty centimetres long and made of forty-one rings that could slide along a stick. These objects could have been “sound jewels”, as proposed by Katerina Kolotourou.³³ The sound or

²⁶ Further investigations and experiments will be conducted within the project TEXDANCE (Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions, grant agreement ID 839799) to confirm and develop the hypothesis proposed in this article.

²⁷ A bronze *armilla*, kind of spiral bracelet, of unknown origin and kept at the Archaeological Museum of Chiusi, has been rediscovered and analysed by Mario Iozzo. Radiographic analysis has shown that the object was hollow and internally provided with several small bronze pieces that were making sound when the object was set in motion. The bracelet has been interpreted as a specific device used in ritual dances. Cf. Iozzo 2009, and in particular p. 486 for the interpretation regarding its use.

²⁸ Kolotourou 2007, p. 85.

²⁹ Bellia 2010, p. 2. Regarding the handling of the object, Angela Bellia adds that “the absence of clasps for chains or other means of suspension leads to the assumption that the instrument must have been held in the hand”.

³⁰ Saltini Semerari 2019.

³¹ Bellia 2010 p. 2-3.

³² Bellia 2010, p. 3.

³³ Kolotourou 2007, p. 80 : “These noisy dress accessories characterised by multiple pendant and colliding parts could be defined as suspension or strung rattles, since they share the same structural features with this time-old

the sonorous effect were thus produced by the little bronze objects that, grouped together, were colliding with each other, rattling and clanking. The material used to make up the objects determines the timbre and the sound level.³⁴ The use of bronze in particular is relevant as it is a highly resonant material.³⁵ Other examples are known in Italy, such as a boat-shaped fibula with five chains and bottle-shaped pendants hanging from a ring that has been found in Tomb 246 in Este and dated at the late 7th and early 6th century B.C., and rattling bangles of bronze chains found in an Enotrian female burial at Cazzaiola dated back to 600-550 B.C.³⁶

A similar clanking sound must have been produced by the chest belt that is worn by the female figure illustrated in the center of the back wall of the *Tomba dei Giocolieri* in Tarquinia (fig. 26-b). As discussed previously, this chest belt must have been in metal because of its light ochre colour. Indeed, no distinction is made between the belt and the earrings, which suggests that the belt could be composed of several metal disks. These disks are similar to the two small objects held in the hands of the young man facing the female dancer. The study of the objects held by the young man might help to understand the female belt. They have been diversely interpreted: as little sacred breads or as rings that are thrown to the woman – the last interpretation has been the most relayed. I would like to add another one to the discussion. I identify the disks held by the little man as cymbals.³⁷ The use of cymbals in Greece is known for the same period, this is 6th-5th centuries BCE. And recent discoveries in Italy, such as in Agrigento, show that these objects had reached the Italian area at that time.³⁸ According to the data available for the same period, the cymbals represented in the *Tomba dei Giocolieri* in Tarquinia could have had a specific form: slightly convex and with a hole in the center. The musical gesture was to hit or rub them together, depending on the expected sound. These little objects are similar to those that are part of the belt worn by the female in the center of the back wall in the same tomb. So, it is possible to interpret the numerous overlapped round objects from the chest belt as small metal disks and cymbals. Moreover, as those disks appear to overlap each other – each are covering a part of the following ones, it is possible that the belt was intended to make noise when the female figure was moving. At first glance, the female figure in the *Tomba dei Giocolieri*, who is holding a candelabrum on her head, appears static. But her dancing movement is visually suggested through her dress. The inflated lower part of the long inner tunic indicates indeed that she is spinning around. To conclude, I suggest that the sound produced by the female chest belt would have been a kind of clanking.

While the sound of specific female dress could have been light, high-pitched and clanking, the sound of male dress and adornment appears to me to have been, on the opposite and in very specific cases, rattling and low-pitched. As presented previously, some male dancers that are parts of specific male ecstatic dances appear to be wearing a waist belt. On the *kyathos* n^o

musical instrument. The suspension rattle consists typically of a number of resonant objects suspended from a rigid bar or ring, or threaded on a pliant cord; the latter variety is also known as strung rattle. The rattling components must be arranged loosely and closely enough so as to clash together when the rattle is shaken (Hornbostel and Sachs 1961, 15; Marcuse 1975, 90). Whether it is viable to classify body ornaments with sound properties as musical instruments in the strict sense of the word is an issue of consideration for musicologists (Dournon 1992, 247-8). Nevertheless, true instruments such as bells, rattles and jingles equally blur the line between a musical device and a body supplement when they double as jewellery or clothing frippery.”

³⁴ Kolotourou 2007, p. 80.

³⁵ Kolotourou 2007, p. 85.

³⁶ Kolotourou 2007, p. 86.

³⁷ I thank Annie Bélis, eminent specialist of ancient music, who suggested me this very original and convincing idea.

³⁸ Bellia 2012, p. 3-14.

883.71.1 kept at the Musée du Berry in Bourges, France (fig. 23), and on the *kyathos* n° H 4881 kept at the Martin Von Wagner Museum in Würzburg (fig. 24), the belt is fixed at the waist by a main horizontal structure and is composed with several pendants. On the amphora n° HA 16 (L 780) kept at the Martin Von Wagner Museum in Würzburg (fig. 25), the ends of those pendants present a circular form. During the dance, those pendants may have collided together and produced sound. However, were those pendants containers? Were they flat or spherical? Could have they been used as spherical rattling instruments filled with little hard pieces such as rattles or maracas? The discovery of specific archaeological finds in pre-Roman Italy that can be interpreted as rattles,³⁹ allow to think that such kind of belt was plausible. Indeed, most of the objects found are containers, in ceramic and were possibly containing seeds or pebbles.⁴⁰ The first objects found are dated from the end of 9th and 7th centuries BCE. They are also known in Greece at the same period, and are similarly piriform.⁴¹ In pre-Roman Italy, these objects have been found in bronze as well, such as the examples that are known from Veio, Chiusi and Spoleto.⁴² If these kind of objects were parts of belts, as I tend to propose from the visual evidences taken into consideration in this study, they were most probably moving and colliding on the male naked body, and around the hips. If this was the case indeed, it does not seem possible however that the rattling round pendants were in ceramic or in metal. The belt would have been too heavy and would have made the movements more difficult. Also, it would have been painful for the dancer. Thus, we propose that this belt was made with organic material such as leather, which could also explain why we have not found such belts in archaeological contexts.

The gender dimension of dress and adornment's soundscape in Etruscan dance

Those preliminary considerations lead to think that the sound of adornment and dress in dance had three dimensions. The first one is the gender distinction that possibly existed between the male and the female sound. Indeed, the female one that is related to the chest belt seems to have been preferably light, high-pitched and clanking, while the male one that is related to the waist belt could have been rattling and low-pitched. Those possible differences of sound between young men and women in dance lead to think that a gender soundscape of dress could have been performed in Etruscan dance, and specifically in ecstatic forms of performances. In this context, the sound of dress could have been used to perform gender and identity – the chest belt performing female gender and the waist belt performing male gender.

The use of similar adornment both by men and by women in ecstatic forms of dance raises question of identity. The bracelets are of primary importance on this point. As highlighted before, the number of two bracelets per arm is reached only on female dancers. Consequently, I consider that only the female dancers wearing the bracelets were making a sound. The sound produced must have been close to the one produced by the chest belt, this is light, high-pitched and clanking. Moreover, it is possible that those bracelets were contributing to the performance of a female gender and of a specific female soundscape during the dance. In this context, how can we interpret the bracelets worn by the male young naked dancers in ecstatic forms of dance? Because of the limited number of bracelets on their arms, they were not

³⁹ As recalled by Flavia Morandini: cf. Morandini 2009.

⁴⁰ These objects have been found for example in Tarquinia (necropolis of Bruschi Falgari, tombs 63 and 205), Osteria dell'Osa (tomb 218), Tivoli, Praeneste or Verucchio (Lavatoio, tomb Ripa 45). See the list provided in Carrese 2010, p. 266-267, and also Brocato-Zhara Buda 1996, p. 82-84, Bietti Sestieri-De Santis-La Regina 1989-1990, p. 68-71, Morandini 2009,

⁴¹ Morandini 2009, p. 141-142.

⁴² Morandini 2009, p. 144, Brocato-Zhara Buda 1996, p. 78, Carrese 2010, p. 231 and 266-268, Maggiani 2013.

making any noise. Thus, what was the use and the aim of these objects? What were they performing in terms of identity within the dance? In a latter period, during the Roman time, children and teenagers were commonly taking part to the rituals. This was possibly favored by their age: they were not infants anymore but there were not adults yet. So, they were lying in an in-between state that could symbolically fit with the communicative and in-between nature of rituals. In this context, we tend to consider the male young naked dancers engaged in ecstatic forms of dance in Etruria as in-between individuals: there are not children anymore as they are big, but they are not complete adults yet as they don't have any beard. They are ambivalent figures, and apart dancers. Moreover, they commonly perform high yield movements and body postures, and thus more intensive dance movements compared to the male dancers that have a beard, are wearing the cloak, the *tebenna* or a loincloth and that do not have any bracelets.

The question of male nudity in Etruscan pictures must be tackled here. In the middle of the right wall in the *Tomba dei Vasi Dipinti* in Tarquinia, a man and a woman, lying on a couch as a couple, are engaged in a banquet (fig. 31). They are served by a small, completely naked figure, who holds utensils related to the consumption of wine. Nudity, such as in this case, has often been linked to the character's probable inferior status.⁴³ However, it is possible to propose a different interpretation. In the tomb Golini I, Orvieto, a banquet is represented on the walls in the right part of the funerary chamber (fig. 32-a and 32-b). A figure identified as the deceased, and represented on the left side of the entrance wall, arrives in his chariot and heads towards the banquet.⁴⁴ This banquet would gather, on the right and back walls, the ancestors of the deceased. On the left wall, would be attending as well the guardian couple of the Underworld and that was composed of *Aita*, characterized by the wolf skin placed on his head, and *Phersipnai*, his companion.⁴⁵ This couple is however separated from the rest of the guests by a *kylikeion* on which are placed various drinking vases such as a crater and several jugs. On this same table is placed a candelabrum above which incense is most likely burning. In this context, the *kylikeion* would mark a boundary between the ancestors and the world of the gods. The important detail for the present study is that, in the scene, the servant at the right of the table is fully clothed while the one at the left of the gods' side is completely naked. The difference in clothing would attest and highlight the limit between the world of the living and that of the gods. Nudity would refer indeed to an in-between state – here a heroic state – while clothing would evoke human reality. Consequently, the incense burner placed on the *kylikeion* would participate in the definition of a border between the world of the gods and the one of the living, and in which nudity would make sense as well.

In this context, the wearing of bracelets by male young naked dancers in ecstatic forms of dance in Etruscan visual sources presents a gender fluidity. On this point, I would like to add a specific necklace that I mentioned in introduction of this article and that is specific to male figures. This is the necklace composed of a ram's head in its middle that is worn by the male figure banqueting on top of the back wall in the second funerary chamber of the *Tomba della Caccia e della Pesca*, Tarquinia, and that is dated from the end of the 6th century BCE (fig. 02). As studied by Agnès Rouveret, this specific necklace is part of the male adornment that is displayed on the walls in the first chamber in the same tomb.⁴⁶ Thus, on the walls, according

⁴³ See, indeed, the interpretations of Karl Sittl who defines the little naked boy, because of his nudity, as a servant, as well as of Mauro Cristofani: Sittl 1885, Cristofani 1989.

⁴⁴ Regarding the identification of the figure as the deceased and owner of the grave, see for example Massa-Pairault 1992, p. 112-115 and Steingraber 1984, p. 284-285.

⁴⁵ Steingraber 1984, p. 284.

⁴⁶ Rouveret 1992.

to the scholar, a gender diversity is expressed. The trees are adorned with various objects: bandages, crowns, garlands, necklaces, mirrors, boxes. An analysis of the suspended objects reveals a gender division.⁴⁷ Some are linked to the male gender indeed, while others are specific to the female sphere. The motif of the necklace adorned with rams' heads is regularly found among the trees, and echoes the one that is worn by the male figure participating to the banquet in the second chamber. This necklace would be an "emblem of the male character".⁴⁸ It would be a mark of sovereignty, in particular with the motif of the ram's head, which would refer to sacrifice, to an eminent religious and sacrificial status, and would thus constitute a sign of authority.⁴⁹ On the opposite, the female world is expressed through the *cistus* – kind of jewellery box –, and the mirror. These objects are linked to the female toilet and are found in other scenes linked to the banquet, such as on the left wall of the *Tomba Cardarelli* in Tarquinia (fig. 01), on which a similar division of gender is represented.

The wearing by a female dancer of the male necklace, which is composed of a ram's head in the middle, is thus exceptional. It shows that the barriers of gender are blurred in very specific occasions and possibly with very specific purposes. Moreover, what does it indicate in terms of function and status regarding the female dancer? It could highlight a specific position, possibly similar to the man represented on the back wall of the second chamber in the *Tomba della Pesca e della Caccia*, Tarquinia, who sits in state in the *symposion* scene (fig. 02). The presence of a ram's head in the middle of the necklace indicates a possible link to specific practices such as the sacrifice that is among the most important ritual duties. However, if the female dancer function is not directly linked to sacrifices, it is related in any case to performances in which she possesses a crucial and dominant role, and that is equality ritually and symbolically efficient.

⁴⁷ Rouveret 1992, p. 170.

⁴⁸ Rouveret 1992, p. 170: "emblème du personnage masculin".

⁴⁹ It is frequently represented on arms and adornments since the Orientalizing period. Cf. Rouveret 1992, p. 170, footnote 5.