

AUDREY GOUY

Gendered adornment and dress soundscape in Etruscan dance

Abstract

The Etruscans produced some of the most refined and elaborate pieces of jewellery in the ancient Mediterranean. While Etruscan jewellery is often interpreted as a sign of luxury, and prestige or as a means of legitimisation, the aim of this article is to show the communicative potential and function of adornment. In particular, what was the aim of such adornment in ritual performances and was there a gendered distinction between the jewellery worn by dancers? Did they have a sensory impact in dance? Based on visual evidence of dance from central Etruria from the sixth and fifth centuries BC, this article will focus on the sound these items could have produced. It appears that belts, bracelets, necklaces, earrings, and diadems added to the male and female body highlighted, shaped, and performed gender, identity, and status; however, they could also blur, transform, and reverse them.

Introduction

The Etruscans excelled in creating jewellery.¹ They conceived and produced amongst the most refined and elaborate pieces in the ancient Mediterranean. Etruscan jewellery is usually interpreted as part of Etruscan aristocratic dress and a sign of luxury, prestige, and *tryphé*, or as an heirloom or means of legitimisation.² For example, the adult female figure represented to the right on the left wall in the Tomba Cardarelli, Tarquinia, is said to be dressed in an aristocratic manner.³ She is wearing a conic hat (*tutulus*), disc earrings,⁴ a long tunic, a man-

¹ This article is part of a project on dress, adornment, and dance in pre-Roman Italy entitled *TEXDANCE. Textiles in Etruscan Dance*. It has received funding from the European Commission, REA, Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions, Individual Fellowship under the Grant ID number 839799.

² Bonfante 1989a, 1388; Castor 2016, 276. For Etruscan jewellery, see De Puma 1981; Scarpignato 1981; Cristofani, Martelli 2000; Gaultier, Metzger 2005; Castor 2009; 2010; Turfa 2009; Causey 2011; Gaultier 2013. On Etruscan dress more generally, see Bonfante 1971; 1973; 2003; Gleba 2008; 2017.

³ Steingraber 1984, 302. The tomb is located in the Monterozzi necropolis, loc. Calvario. It is dated c. 510-500 BC. The bibliography is quite extensive. See, for example, Lericci 1960, 72-73; Moretti 1966, 93-102; Camporeale 1968, 46-50;

tle held on the shoulders that also covers the head, and boots (*calcei repandi*). In other representations, a diadem and bracelets are added to the dress.⁵ The visual evidence for jewellery is numerous from the sixth century BC onwards. From this period, as stressed by Larissa Bonfante,⁶ female dress was enriched by several kinds of adornment such as bracelets and necklaces. Male adornment, on the other hand, was limited to belts during the eighth and seventh centuries BC, but from the sixth century BC, it also consisted occasionally of necklaces. This can be seen on the top of the back wall in the second funerary chamber of the Tomba della Caccia e della Pesca, Tarquinia (FIG. 1).⁷ Bracelets were also worn by naked male ritual performers (FIGS. 2 and 3). The use of these adornments by men appears in this context as extra-ordinary and ritual.⁸

The wearing of necklaces on both male and female figures appears more common in the fourth century BC.⁹ Two examples from the sixth and fifth centuries BC must be mentioned with regard to representations of dance. One is a *thymiaterion* kept at the British Museum, London, that shows a female dancer wearing a remarkable necklace with a ram's head in the middle (FIG. 4).¹⁰ This type of necklace is usually worn by male figures, such as the one represented in the second example, on the back wall of the second chamber in the Tomba della Pesca e della Caccia, Tarquinia. This type of necklace is also hanging in the trees that are depicted on the walls of the first chamber in the same tomb. According to Agnès Rouveret, the necklace is part of male adornment and constitutes a sign of authority and power.¹¹ Moreover, following the work of Francisco Roncalli on sacrifices, the ram's head in the necklace shows a possible link to specific practices such as sacrifice.¹² It is plausible, therefore, to con-

D'Agostino 1983, 9-11; Steingraber 1984, 198 no. 53, 302-303; Rouveret 1988, 204, 210-211; Markussen 1993, 162-163; Steingraber 2006, 21, 67, 70-71, 99; Marzullo 2016; 2017.

⁴ The earrings have a circular form and their colour – bright and light-yellow ochre – invites us to think that they were metal. Jannot 1995 has convincingly proposed the interpretation of objects represented with no colour or filled with a light colour as metal. Alternatively, the bright and light-yellow ochre colour of the objects in these paintings could indicate that they were in amber, as suggested by Causey 2011. However, the archaeological evidence for such disc earrings show that they were produced in gold; Cristofani, Martelli 2000.

⁵ As illustrated on reliefs from Chiusi, such as inv. no. 2284 at the Museo Civico in Chiusi, dated to the very end of the sixth century BC; Jannot 1984a, 66-67, figs. 221-223. However, in this case, and specifically when a diadem is worn, the female figures can be identified as maenads as they are represented with satyrs. On diadems and crowns, see Coen 1999.

⁶ Bonfante 2003, 8-10.

⁷ The tomb is located in the Monterozzi necropolis, loc. Calvario. It is dated to 510 BC. The bibliography is quite extensive. See primarily Brizio 1873, 79-85, 97-98, 197; Dasti 1878, 311-314; Sittl 1885; Pallottino 1937, 27, 53, 116, 122, 251, 260-262, 297, 301; 1952, 49-52; Ducati 1939, 204-205, 208-214, 216; 1942, vii-viii; Leisinger 1953, 20-26; Mansuelli 1965, 1-4; 1967, 50-51, 69; Ross Holloway 1965; Camporeale 1968, 44; 1984, 124-134, 149, pl. 55-57; Steingraber 1984, 299-300; 2006, 20-21, 65-67, 68, 70-71, 95-96; Weber-Lehmann 1985, 24-25, 27; Cerchiai 1987; Rouveret 1988, 208-209, 214; Rizzo 1989, 133-135; Roncalli 1990, 237-238; Moltesen *et al.* 1992, 21-24; Rouveret 1992; Markussen 1993, 161-162; Fontaine 2009, 373-378; Marzullo 2016; 2017.

⁸ The majority of our information is based on funerary contexts, which has led researchers to think that much of the jewellery had a solely funerary use; Castor 2016, 276. As noted by Castor (2016, 277): "The lack of full context for the majority of Etruscan jewellery constitutes a significant loss of information for archaeologists."

⁹ Bonfante 2003, 8-10.

¹⁰ Inv. no. Br 598.

¹¹ Rouveret 1988.

¹² Roncalli 1990. See also Roncalli 1997; 2001; 2003, for the spatial organisation of visual funerary programmes in Tarquinian tombs. In the grove depicted in the first chamber of the Tomba della Pesca e della Caccia the necklaces hanging from the branches constitute, with the amphorae, the male *kosmos*, while objects such as mirrors, *cistae*, and garlands

sider this necklace as a reference to a specific ritual status. Wearing it could have conferred to the bearer the same prestige linked to the religious and sacrificial spheres. The question then is what did a male adornment worn by a woman symbolise?

As noted by Florence Gherchanoc and Valérie Huet,¹³ scholars have developed different approaches to the study of adornment from ancient Greece and Rome. The first approach developed in the 1860s tackled the aesthetics of adornment and clothes, their materiality, their form, and their diffusion. The works are limited to encyclopaedias or comprehensive studies that aim to identify and date clothing and reconstruct fashions. The second approach, which was first presented in the ground-breaking article of Roland Barthes in 1957,¹⁴ raises the symbolic value of clothing, integrating anthropological and sociological dimensions into historical analysis. It develops the values and practices of representation, as well as the symbolism of body adornment and questions of identity. Indeed, clothing and adornment contribute to the definition of affiliation, membership, association, and thus exclusion as well. This has led to studies on the links and relationships between adornment and behaviour, and consequently to the 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, specifically in performative ritual contexts. The belts, bracelets, necklaces, earrings, and diadems added to the male and female body highlighted, shaped, and performed gender, identity, and status; however, they could also blur, transform, and reverse gender, identity, and status. This occurred especially in contexts during which staging and representation of the body were at the heart and in which communities were created and organised. Performance was a central part of these ritual contexts. A performative approach to rituals helps to understand their communicative potential as well as their importance in the organisation of societies.¹⁵ Rituals create and perform common social actions based on order and hierarchy. Dance constitutes one of the performances at the heart of rituals. Indeed, dance is the result of stagings of bodily representation. It consists of arrangements of scenes in which the participants perform different tasks or different bodily positions and gestures following the sound and rhythm produced by musicians. Together these dance movements and actions create ritual action.

Methodology

The performances taken into consideration in this article are defined as collective and ritual manifestations. They are documented by visual evidence. These performances display physical capabilities (sport, dance, etc.) and specific gestures (libation, sacrifice, etc.) with or without objects. The collectiveness of the action is characterised by the fact that different actors

constitute the female *kosmos*. Those two *kosmoi* are then reunited in the second chamber, in the scene of banquet that is represented on the back wall.

¹³ Gherchanoc, Huet 2015.

¹⁴ Barthes 1957.

¹⁵ The performative approach to rituals is one of the four research approaches historically and internationally developed; Wulf 2010. It emphasises the practical, performative, and staging dimension of rituals. Consequently, it focuses on the role of rituals as actions that help societies to form, to maintain themselves, and to negotiate their conflicts. On the performative approach to rituals, see Bourdieu 1972; Schechner 1977; Tambiah 1979; Wulf 2004.

are engaged in the same performance and that a public audience may be present.¹⁶ The rituality of the action is characterised by the context depicted in the picture, the context of the picture itself, the objects manipulated in the picture by the actors, and the objects displayed in the image field.¹⁷ The performance is also recognisable by the fact the action constitutes the efficient implementation of specific activities and skills in particular moments (marriage, death, or any other event whose purpose is to mark, celebrate, and/or commemorate).

Dance was one of the most common ritual performances in antiquity.¹⁸ It was an entertainment during which one or more persons performed non-ordinary (i.e. not including activities such as walking or running), rhythmic, and aestheticised movements to the sound of instrumental or vocal music. It is recognisable in pictures by specific body postures and clothing and by the presence of musicians. In Etruria, the visual sources are numerous and range from funerary paintings to ceramics, bronzes, and reliefs. By focusing on adornment in dance, this article will explore the ritual use and performative function of objects applied to the participant's costume that are usually considered as decorative and/or as symbols of wealth and status. The current analysis is based on the sound these items could have produced. It will focus on visual evidence of dance from central Etruria from sixth and fifth centuries BC. This evidence will be compared to archaeological finds.

The type of dance taken into consideration in this analysis is ecstatic, as the sound potential of adornment seems limited to this type of performance.¹⁹ The ecstatic form of dance is identified by the body posture of the different actors, many of whom are jumping, spinning around, represented with their head bent backward or frontward in signs of ecstasy, or with their body visually shattered as to indicate their lively movements. In this article, the term adornment is used for objects that embellished the body and that are identified today as jewellery, as well as objects that covered the body and which are not essential to its protection, such as tunics, mantles, hats, and shoes. In this context, the current article aims to explore and propose interpretations for the use and meaning of specific types of adornment, such as belts and garlands, in dance. Indeed, what was the aim of such adornment in ritual performances? 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? And how could a gendered distinction of adornment have impacted dance performances?

¹⁶ For example, in the Tomba delle Olimpiadi, Tarquinia, spectators are represented sitting on bleachers and attending various sports performances. See, for example, Bartoccini, Moretti 1958; Bartoccini *et al.* 1959; Lericci 1960, 68-69; Bartoccini 1961; Moretti 1966, 103-120; Akerström 1970; Steingraber 1984, 333-334; Weber-Lehmann 1985, 25-26, 31; Markussen 1993, 175; Battista 2002, 64-65; Steingraber 2006, 15, 67, 92, 98.

¹⁷ Gouy 2022.

¹⁸ Consequently, the bibliography on this topic is extensive. See Naerebout 1997 and the associated bibliography. More recently, see Garelli 2007; Webb 2008; Soar, Aamodt 2014; Gianvittorio 2017; Schlapbach 2018; Alonso Fernandez 2020; Olsen 2020.

¹⁹ Etruscan dance has been extensively studied: Gouy 2017. Forms of ecstatic dances are well known in Greece: Delavaud-Roux 1995.

Dress in Etruscan ecstatic dance

The excavations of the Tomba Regolini-Galassi, Cerveteri, in 1836, permitted the discovery of extraordinary and precious adornments and furniture from 675-650 BC,²⁰ possibly belonging to 'Larthia',²¹ who was buried in the main funerary chamber. Among the adornment found on the body of the deceased was a gold fibula of an extraordinary size, now kept at the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, in the Vatican, Italy.²² This fibula, the tomb's icon and a masterpiece of Etruscan jewellery, may have been used for parades. The size must have made any simple movement difficult, leading to the interpretation that during parades the fibula-adorned person was seated in state and enthroned. This gold object not only highlighted the wealth and the prestige of the owner but also created a sensory impact on the audience, which possibly reinforced the owner's power over the people. Indeed, the golden surface of the fibula could have been a light reflector. In addition 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 or clicking. Moreover, the perfume that Etruscan elites used extensively would also possibly have added to the expression of power.²³ In this regard, the dress and adornment created both a scenery and a temporality intended to give a ceremonial aspect to the wearer and the moment. The gold adornment was visible from a distance. The light sound of rattling produced by the pendants was audible when the prince or princess came closer to the public, and the perfume represented olfactory traces left in the air by deities.²⁴ In this context, the demonstration of power in Etruria can be seen as a multi-sensory experience and performance, and adornment was a crucial part of this. Thus, studying adornment through representations of dance from the sixth and fifth centuries BC can tell us more about the possible performative functions of adornment in rituals.

The study of clothing in ritual performances, and dance in particular, based on Etruscan iconography is crucial as it shows specific clothes were worn by performers. It also shows that these clothes contributed to defining the performance as ritual. In Etruscan representations of ecstatic dance, the costume worn by female performers are of five types, summarised in Table 1.²⁵ The first costume type is composed of a short tunic, as illustrated on a *hydria*

²⁰ The tomb has been extensively published since its discovery in 1836: Pareti 1947; Woytowitsch 1978, 50; Paschinger 1993; Colonna, Di Paolo 1997; Torelli 1997, 589-598; Bartoloni 2000, 166; Buranelli, Sannibale 2004, 363-373.

²¹ The gender of the main deceased is discussed in Colonna, Di Paolo 1997.

²² Cristofani, Martelli 2000, 54, fig. 9 and cat. nos. 148-152.

²³ An unprecedented study on perfumes and perfumed oils in Etruria was carried out by Dominique Frère (University of Bretagne-Sud, UBS) as part of the "Perhamo" research program funded by the French National Research Agency (ANR). See, for example, Bodiou *et al.* 2006; 2008.

²⁴ In Greek beliefs, the presence of divinities in a sacred space was indicated and perceived through smells and perfumes left in the air. On this aspect, see for example Deonna 1922; 1939; Borgeaud 2016.

²⁵ It appears to me that no female dancer ever appears 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 to interpret it as 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. For the bibliography related to this painted terracotta plaques and the corpus related, see Roncalli 1965 and 2013 and Agnoli *et al.* 2019.


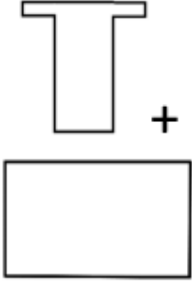
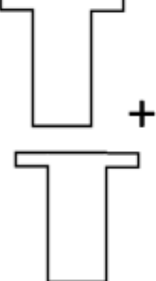
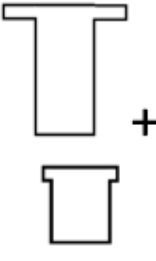
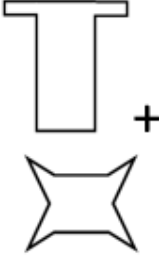
Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5
				

Table 1 – Typology of female dress in Etruscan representations of ecstatic dance. By Audrey Gouy.

from 520 BC and kept at the Musée du Louvre in Paris.²⁶ The second type, worn by the female dancer on the left wall of the Tomba Cardarelli in Tarquinia, is made up of two parts.²⁷ The first part is a long, light, and floral patterned *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 type is composed of two long and overlapped *chitons*. The first *chiton* is transparent, as we can see at right on the back wall of the Tomba delle Leonesse in Tarquinia.²⁸ To this first *chiton* is added another one that is long and red with a blue hem. The fourth type is made up of a long *chiton* and a short tunic overlapping it. While most of the female dancers wear the second or the third type of costume, one female figure always wears significantly different clothing: the female castanet player. As illustrated at the far left on the right wall of the Tomba del Triclinio in Tarquinia,²⁹ this figure wears a long and transparent *chiton* on which is placed a short *chiton* that is red and sleeveless. The choice of this costume, type 4, is meant to distinguish clearly this female figure from the other dancers. The fifth type is composed of a long *chiton* and an animal skin that is knotted around the chest and wrapped around the figure. This costume is worn by female figures appearing to be maenads.³⁰ In all five types of female costume, the adornment is made up of large disc earrings, bracelets, garlands, necklaces, and diadems. Earrings, bracelets, garlands, and necklaces appear in iconography from the second half of the sixth century BC. The diadems appear in the second half of the fifth century BC.³¹

²⁶ Inv. no. 10227. Bonaudo 2004, 198, fig. 117, and associated bibliography.

²⁷ Steingraber 1984, figs. 57-58. See also the female dancer at left on the back wall of the Tomba delle Leonesse in Tarquinia; Steingraber 2006, 83 and 94.

²⁸ Steingraber 2006, 23 and 94.

²⁹ Steingraber 2006, 138-139.

³⁰ See, for example, a mirror (inv. no. Fr 24/ Misc 3311) from Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung (Zimmer 1995, 19-20, 79-81, fig. 8 a-d, and associated bibliography) and a mirror from the H. Wald collection in Hamburg (Liepmann 1988, 50-51, 151-153, fig. 21a-d; Wiman 1990, 106, 129, fig. 11-9).

³¹ In representations of dance, diadems appear on the heads of maenads and on female castanet players. These two kinds of figures are both marginalised in images. The female castanet player is marginalised from the other female dancers by the costume she commonly wears (type 4), and maenads are marginalised as they belong to another world.



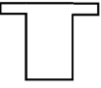

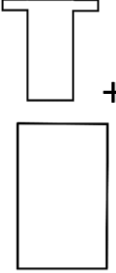


Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	Type 7	Type 8
∅							

Table 2 – Typology of male dress in Etruscan representations of ecstatic dance. By Audrey Gouy.

There are eight types of costume worn by male performers in ecstatic dances, summarised in Table 2. The male dancers can be naked – this is type 1. 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.³² The second type is composed of what has been called a *tebenna*.³³ This *tebenna* is worn in two different ways. Firstly, it can be knotted and held around the hips, or worn as a loincloth; both ways are illustrated in the Tomba delle Iscrizioni in Tarquinia.³⁴ This type of costume appears as well in representations of sport. Therefore, it is linked to high-performance activities.³⁵ Secondly, it can be worn as a light mantle, scarf, or shawl and placed on the arms, as represented on the male figure placed at far left on the right wall of the Tomba dei Leopardi in Tarquinia.³⁶ 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 who also wears a face mask.³⁷ The fourth type is a half-length tunic that covers the body until the thighs. It is worn by figures presenting satyr-features, such as a long tail, a snub nose, and baldness, as illustrated on the black-figured amphora kept in the Musée du Louvre, in Paris.³⁸ It also appears among male dancers in *komos* scenes, as represented on terracotta plaques from Acquarossa,³⁹ and among some musicians, such as on the back wall of the Tomba Cardarelli in Tarquinia.⁴⁰ But in this last case, the tunic is deco-

³² Inv. no. 62/93. On the bronze, see Hus 1975; Jurgeit 1999, 494ff.; AA.VV. 1995, 124 and 127-128; Torelli 2000, 612, no. 231; Torelli, Moretti Sgubini 2008, 227, no. 87.

³³ Bonfante 2003, 48-51. See also Bonfante 1973. According to Polybius, the *tebenna* is typically Etruscan (*Histories* 10, 4, 8 and 26, 1-6).

³⁴ Steingraber 1984, 319-320.

³⁵ See the one-handed *kantharoi* from the Perizoma Group, produced and painted by Attic workshops at the end of sixth century BC and dedicated to Etruscan markets (Tonglet 2013, 41-42). The name of this group is determined by the loincloths added to the male athlete figures represented on the *kyathoi*. Indeed, these objects, produced by Attic potters and painters who were used to representing naked Greek athletes, were adapted for the Etruscans by covering the male nudity with long white loincloths.

³⁶ Steingraber 2006, 133.

³⁷ On the *Phersu*, see Altheim 1929; Baldi 1961; Caffarello 1966; Emmanuel, Rebuffat 1983; Jannot 1984b; 1993; Blome 1986; Szilágyi 1981b.

³⁸ Inv. no. CA 6046. Schauenburg 1980, 439ff., pl. 81, 3-4; Szilágyi 1981a, 2ff., fig. 1-2, 4; Thuillier 1992, 201-208, fig. 5; Jannot 1993, 295, fig. 12; Jolivet 1993, 361; Gaultier 2003, 73-74, pl. 38 (1-4), pl. 39 (1-2).

³⁹ Haynes 2000, 138-141, figs. 120-123; Fontaine 2016. On this type of object, see Winter 2009.

⁴⁰ Steingraber 2006, 100.

rated with grid patterns, and it overlaps another tunic, which is longer. The fifth type of male costume is a long mantle that wraps around the body and is held on one shoulder, as illustrated on the right wall of the Tomba del Triclinio in Tarquinia.⁴¹ The sixth type is made up of a mantle, which similarly wraps the body, but it is placed over a long tunic, as illustrated on a relief from Chiusi that is kept at the Archaeological Museum in Perugia.⁴² The seventh type 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 another relief from Chiusi and kept at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.⁴³ The eighth type of male costume is an animal skin that is commonly worn by satyr-like figures, as illustrated on a mirror discovered in the area of Viterbo, Italy, dated from 470 BC, and now kept in the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels.⁴⁴

Adornment in dance: types and sound-effectiveness

The adornments that appear in representations of dance in Etruria are earrings, necklaces, bracelets, diadems, belts, and garlands. However, as underlined in Tables 3 and 4, not all female and male costumes in Etruscan visual sources present adornments. Moreover, among all the adornments that we can observe, only bracelets and belts would have been able to produce sound during dance, when the body of the wearer was moving.

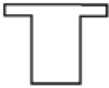
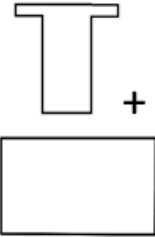
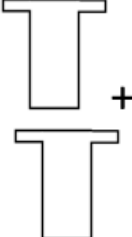
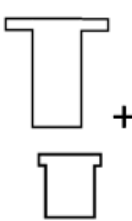
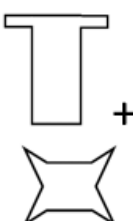
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5
Types of female costume in Etruscan ecstatic dances					
Forms of adornment		Bracelets; necklace; earrings; garlands; diadems	Bracelets; earrings	Chest belts; earrings; bracelets; diadems	Bracelets; garlands

Table 3 – Typology of female dress in Etruscan representations of ecstatic dance and forms of adornment.
By Audrey Gouy.

⁴¹ Steingraber 2006, 138-139.

⁴² Inv. no. 529 (face b). Jannot 1984a, 133-134, figs. 460-463.

⁴³ Inv. no. H 201 (face a). Jannot 1984a, 34-35, figs. 136-139.

⁴⁴ Inv. no. R 1270. Lambrechts 1978, 127-132, no. 20; Thomson de Grummond 2006, 114, pl. VI.1; Sannibale 2007, 115-147. On a neck-amphora attributed to the Silenus Painter, dated from 530-520 BC and kept at the Antiquities Museum of Munich (inv. no. SH 840), the animal skin is knotted around the chest. The right side of the second satyr figure from the left presents two hanging animal paws. See Olivier, Trottenberg 2014, 31-32, pl. 11, 5-6. The knotting is the same on male human figures that are represented on another amphora (inv. no. 463) kept at the Museum of the Dome in Florence; Hannestad 1974, 48, cat. 30, pl. 7c; Jannot 1984a, fig. 619. The features indicate that it also could be an animal skin instead of a *tebenna*.








	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	Type 7	Type 8
Types of male costume in Etruscan ecstatic dances	∅							
Forms of adornment	Bracelets; waist and chest belts; garlands;	Garlands			Garlands	Garlands	Garlands	

Table 4: Typology of male dress in Etruscan representations of ecstatic dance and forms of adornment.
By Audrey Gouy.

Bracelets

Bracelets are regularly displayed in representations of dance with no less than 21 confirmed occurrences. They tend to regularly appear in iconography dated from the second half of the sixth century BC, and they are particularly found in southern Etrurian iconography, such as at Tarquinia and Vulci. The bracelets are often worn by dancers, with no distinction of gender; however, the men wearing them are always young, naked boys. Moreover, differences can be noted among dancers: the number of bracelets and their placement on the body vary. In one case, the dancing figures wear only one bracelet, which is placed on one arm.⁴⁵ In seven cases, the figures are shown with two bracelets, one on each arm, such as on a bronze kept at the British Museum (FIG. 4).⁴⁶ On this bronze *thymiaterion*, the female dancer is wearing one bracelet at the wrist while the second one is placed on the forearm. This confirms the up-and-down movements that a serialisation of Etruscan dance representations has highlighted⁴⁷ and that is suggested by the position of the arms. On a *thymiaterion* now in Karlsruhe (FIG. 2) and one kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (FIG. 3), the bracelets are placed above the elbow indicating that the brisk movements, suggested by the body posture of the two male

⁴⁵ See a bronze from Vulci kept at the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia in Rome; Bianchi Bandinelli 1976, no. 107. The figure is a young boy.

⁴⁶ Inv. no. Br 598. On this particular object, dated c. 500 BC and possibly from Vulci, see Banti 1960, 319-320, pl. 57; Haynes 1965, 18, 22, 27, pl. 3 and 5; Hus 1975, 88-89, pl. 23 Brendel 1995, 219, fig. 145. The other six examples are the following: 1. *thymiaterion* inv. no. 62/93 kept at the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe (AA. VV. 1995, 124, 127-128, fig. 119; Jurgeit 1999, 494ff., fig. 819; Torelli 2000, 612, no. 231; Torelli, Moretti Sgubini 2008, 227, no. 87); 2. the Etruscan bronze kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des Monnaies, Médailles, Antiques in Paris (Giglioli 1935, pl. CCIX, 3; Neugebauer 1943, 275-276; Richter 1966, 94, fig. 468; Hus 1975, 80; Adam 1984, 45-46); 3. an Etruscan bronze kept at the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe (Jurgeit 1999, fig. 27); 4. the bronze inv. no. GR.17.1864 kept in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Michaelis 1882, 268; Neugebauer 1943, 274); 5. an Etruscan *thymiaterion* in bronze kept in the Jean-David Cahn collection, Switzerland (Cahn 2012, no. 199); 6. the mirror inv. no. Fr 17/ Misc 3370 kept in the Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Berlin (Neugebauer 1924, 86; Mayer-Prokop 1967, 29, 33, 86-89; Heilmeyer 1988, 230-231, no. 3; Zimmer 1995, 16-17, 66-69, fig. 4a-d; Izzet 2007, 63-64, fig. 2.3).

⁴⁷ Gouy 2017.

dancers, have fixed the bracelets on the upper part of the arms.⁴⁸ Finally, in nine cases, the figures wear four bracelets, two at each arm, as illustrated by the female dancer represented at far left on the right wall in the Tomba dei Giocolieri in Tarquinia (FIG. 5).⁴⁹ These bracelets are placed at the wrist or on the forearm.

Belts

In Etruscan representations of dance, three types of belt can be found. Type 1 is a belt that is twisted around the chest and fixed around the shoulders, as illustrated on a bronze from the Musée du Louvre in Paris.⁵⁰ This particular kind of belt creates a ∞-shape and appears on figures that are in vigorous motion.⁵¹ It seems to have had the same function as the Greek

⁴⁸ Inv. no. 26/93, Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe and inv. no. bronze.958, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, respectively.

⁴⁹ The other twelve examples are the following: 1. the bronze mirror inv. no. R 1270 kept at the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels and dated from 470 BC (Mansuelli 1946, 13, 74-75, 128; 1948, 65, 71; Mayer-Prokop 1967, 28, 31, 86, 104, 112, 115, pl. 27, 1 and 2; Lambrechts 1978, 127-132, no. 20; Wiman 1990, 106, 128 fig. 11-6; Thomson de Grummond 2006, 114, ill. VI.1); 2. the bronze mirror inv. no. 24896 kept at the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia in Rome (Pacetti 2011, 93-94, 212-215, fig. 29 a-d); 3. the bronze mirror inv. no. 540 from the British Museum in London (Swaddling 2001, n. 19); 4. the bronze mirror inv. no. Fr 18/ Misc 3354 from the Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung in Berlin (Freytag 1990, 40; Zimmer 1995, 17, 70-72, fig. 5 a-c); 5. the bronze mirror inv. no. MG 4344 from the Museo Guarnacci in Volterra (Cateni 1995, 41-42, 174-177, fig. 33 a-d); 6. the bronze mirror dated from 500-480 BC that is kept in the H. and I. Jucker collection, in Bern, Switzerland (Jucker 2001, 68-70, 232-235, fig. 33 a-f); 7. the bronze mirror inv. no. Fr 23 kept in the Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, in Berlin (Mansuelli 1946, 47-49, no. 12; Mayer-Prokop 1967, 7-15, 51ff., 104, 115, pl. 7, 1-2; Gerhard 1974, I, 89; III, 93; Zimmer 1995, 19-20, 79-81, fig. 8 a-d; Di Blasi 2000, 100, figs. 24-25); 8. the bronze mirror inv. no. Fr 24/ Misc 3311 kept in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung (Mayer-Prokop 1967, 27-29, 84, 108, 111; Neugebauer 1924, 86ff.; Mansuelli 1946, 11; Gerhard 1974, I, 96; Liepmann 1988, 25; Zimmer 1995, 19-20, 79-81, fig. 8 a-d); 9. the *hydria* fragment inv. no. 86.AE.397 from Los Angeles, Malibu, Paul J. Getty Museum, dated from 520 BC and attributed to the Micali Painter (Frel, True 1983, 83, no. 203; Spivey 1987, 25, no. 160, pl. 23b; De Puma 2000, 36, pl. 507, 4); 10. the Tomba del Triclinio in Tarquinia, left and right walls (Steingräber 1984, 355-356, figs. 166-171, no. 121; 2006, 15, 133-134, 138-139, fig. on p. 132, 136-139, 150-152); 11. the Tomba Francesca Giustiniani in Tarquinia, back wall (Steingräber 1984, 310-311, pl. 70-71, no. 65; 2006, 21, 155, fig. on p. 145, 155); 12. the Tomba del Gallo, in Tarquinia, left wall (Steingräber 1984, 313-314, figs. 76-78, no. 68; 2006, 93, 132, 158-159, fig. on p. 159).

⁵⁰ Inv. no. BR 3145 / R 126. de Ridder 1915, 151, pl. 111; Riis 1941, 79, no. 9; Neugebauer 1943, 258; Banti 1960, 316-317, pl. 54; Hus 1975, 88-89, pl. 24; De Testa 1989, 43, no. 1 and 4, 86, no. 8; Buccioli 1995, 364, no. 38 and 46, 389, no. 145, 401, no. 14; Ambrosini 2002, 197, fig. 12; Bodiou *et al.* 2008, 139, 382-384, fig. on p. 140.

⁵¹ It is illustrated in four examples: 1. bronze *sympulum* from Castelbellino, kept at the Museo Nazionale in Ancona, Italy (Mancini, Betti 2006, 59, 256, fig. on p. 251); 2. fragment of a black-figure amphora possibly produced in Vulci, attributed to the Micali Painter, dated to 520 BC, and kept at the Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, Los Angeles, inv. no. 86.AE.397 (Frel, True 1983, 83, no. 203; Spivey 1987, 25, no. 160, pl. 23b; De Puma 2000, 36, pl. 507, 4); 3. black-figure amphora, inv. no. SH 839/ V.I.268, attributed to the Silenus Painter, dated to 530-520 BC, and kept at the Antikensammlungen in Munich (Dohrn 1937, 146, no. 75; Hannestad 1974, 13; 1976, no. 55; Cohen 2000, 321, fig. 21; Isler-Kerényi 2009, 487; Olivier-Trottenberg 2014, 31, pl. 11, 1 to 4); 4. black-figure amphora, inv. no. 184310, from Santa Maria Capua Vetere, loc. Fornaci, tomb 832, dated to 490-480 BC, and kept at the Museo Nazionale Archeologico in Naples (Parise Badoni 1968; Johannowsky 1983, 198, XC, pl. 35b, 36 a-b; Cristofani 1985, 172, no. 3). In the first two examples, the chest belt appears on female figures that are most likely maenads, although one has also been identified as a female castanet player. In the third example, the chest belt is a female feature worn by a male dancer, who also wears the female *tutulus*. Finally, in the fourth example, the belt is worn by a winged female figure that can be interpreted as Vanth, an Etruscan female daemon appearing in pre-Roman iconography in the second half of the fifth century BC.

strophion that is mentioned in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophorias*.⁵² This belt, therefore, functioned as a bra and was used to keep the fabric tight against the body, especially the chest. Thus, it could have facilitated the movement of the body.⁵³ However, unlike the belts of types 2 and 3, this belt might not have produced any sound. The representations of belts of types 2 and 3 indicate that they could have produced a sound when the bearer was moving. Type 2 is a waist belt worn exclusively by male dancers. It is illustrated on three objects: in two *kyathoi*⁵⁴ (FIGS. 6 and 7), the belt is composed of several pendants and fixed at the waist by a main horizontal structure, while an image on the neck of an amphora⁵⁵ (FIG. 8) shows the belt with the ends of the pendants with a circular form. No type-2 belt has been found in archaeological contexts, and as the visual representations do not show exhaustive details, it is difficult to take the interpretation further. The type-3 belt, which was placed on the chest, was exclusively worn by female figures.⁵⁶ This belt type is illustrated on the back wall of the Tomba dei Giocolieri in Tarquinia and between the right wall and the entrance wall of the main chamber of the Tomba della Scimmia in Chiusi. It comprises numerous overlapping small discs whose colour – light ochre – recalls (probably) metal disc earrings.⁵⁷ In the Tomba dei Giocolieri (FIG. 9), there is no distinction between the depiction of the belt and the earrings, suggesting that the belt was composed of several metal discs.

Sound-effectiveness of adornment in dance

Sound is part of the communicative potential of adornment. From an analysis of the material discussed above, it is likely that the bracelets worn by dancers, especially when two were worn on the same arm, the male waist belt, and the female metal chest belt all produced sound during a dance. Moreover, preliminary investigation suggests the existence of a gendered soundscape in dance.⁵⁸

Etruscan depictions of dance show a distinction in adornments by gender, except for bracelets which were part of both male and female dress. However, if we look at the number of bracelets worn, it appears that only the female figures produced a sound through the rattling of bracelets. Of the 21 occurrences of dancers with bracelets in Etruscan iconography of dance, nine show two bracelets on each arm (for a total of four bracelets), and these are all

⁵² It is presented as a bra and as a specific female belt that went with the female *chiton*. Cf. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, III, 931 and *Thesmophorias*, IV, 251.

⁵³ 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 case, to articulate their bodies and emphasize movement."

⁵⁴ For the *kyathos*, inv. no. 883.71.1, kept at the Musée du Berry in Bourges, France, see Rouillard 1980, 59. For the *kyathos*, inv. no. H 4881, kept at the Martin Von Wagner Museum in Würzburg, see Riccioni, Falconi Amorelli 1968, no. 38-39; Rizzo 1981, 40; Wehgartner 1983, 52.

⁵⁵ Inv. no. HA 16 (L 780), the Martin Von Wagner Museum in Würzburg, see Ducati 1932, 24; Dohrn 1937, 46ff., 148; Delplace 1980, 43, 180; Edlund 1980, 39, no. 51; Rizzo 1981, 26 n. 46, 40; Cristofani 1981, 267; Neuser 1982, 116, no. 60; Wehgartner 1983, 49-51.

⁵⁶ The type-3 belt was also found on two amphorae: one supposedly kept in Genève (see Jannot 1984a, fig. 615) and the other kept in Munich, at the Antikensammlungen (inv. no. 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 there are no other examples and the details appear blurred and inaccurate, I do not include this belt type in the current study.

⁵⁷ See note 5 *supra*.

⁵⁸ Further investigation and experiments will be conducted to test this hypothesis.

related to female dancers. Moreover, these female dancers are engaged in specific forms of ecstatic dance: they are maenads, female castanet players, or simple female dancers in final phases of these dances. When their arms moved, the bracelets rattled and lightly accompanied the sound produced by the musicians who were playing stringed instruments and the *aulos*. The exact sound produced by these bracelets is unknown. It is not possible to say, based on the visual sources, if the bracelets were flat, hollow, or convex, which would have impacted the sound.⁵⁹ However, the fact that bracelets were clanking with each other allows us to draw some preliminary conclusions.

Rattling adornment started to become very fashionable during the eighth and seventh centuries BC, and their popularity peaked between the end of the sixth and the first half of the fifth centuries BC.⁶⁰ In 1977, the eighth-century tomb 60 uncovered in the Temperella zone of the cemetery of Macchiabate in Calabria revealed a rich burial assemblage that still remains unparalleled. The deceased was identified by Paola Zancani Montuoro as a woman and a ritual performer.⁶¹ Indeed, the discovery of a rich set of furniture, a calcophone (FIG. 10), and several small bronze objects that could have been used as rattling jewellery, led to the interpretation of the deceased as a former dancer and priestess. Angela Bellia has studied the possible use and sound produced by these different objects, and she was the first person to identify the bronze object composed of parallel coils fixed between two bars as a percussion instrument. She interpreted it as a “bronze laden *sistrum*”.⁶² Giulia Saltini Semerari, in a recent article on sound-producing instruments in Early Iron Age southern Italy, interprets this object as a calcophone.⁶³ The several small bronze pieces may have formed idiophones, objects that produced a rattling or clanking sound when shaken together, similar to the set from Molino della Badia (FIG. 11).⁶⁴ The first set of bronze pieces is composed of 17 small tubes that may form the end of a rattle necklace.⁶⁵ The second set is identified as a *sistrum* by Bellia. It is “made up of nine concentric elements in the form of a ring. Each of them was four centimetres in high [*sic*] and had a decreasing diameter”.⁶⁶ The third set of bronze pieces probably belonged to a “stick *sistrum*”, or a scraper that is forty centimetres long and made of 41 rings that could slide along a stick. These objects likely represent “sound jewels,” as proposed by Katerina Kolotourou.⁶⁷ The sound or sonorous effects were produced by the little

⁵⁹ A bronze spiral bracelet, or *armilla*, of unknown origin, kept at the Archaeological Museum of Chiusi, was analysed by Mario Iozzo. Radiographic analysis showed that the object was hollow with several small bronze pieces inside that made sound when the object was set in motion. The bracelet has been interpreted as a specific device used in ritual dances. See Iozzo 2009, 486 in particular, for the interpretation of its use.

⁶⁰ Kolotourou 2007, 85.

⁶¹ Zancani Montuoro 1974-1976.

⁶² Bellia (2010, 2) 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.”

⁶³ Saltini Semerari 2019, 13-16.

⁶⁴ Saltini Semerari 2019, 16-17 with bibliography in n. 9.

⁶⁵ Bellia 2010, 2-3.

⁶⁶ Bellia 2010, 3.

⁶⁷ Kolotourou 2007, 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 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, 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

bronze objects that, grouped together, collided with each other, rattled, and clanked. The material used to make these objects determined the timbre and the sound level.⁶⁸ Bronze, for example, is a highly resonant material.⁶⁹ Other examples of such jewellery from Italy include a boat-shaped fibula with five chains and bottle-shaped pendants hanging from a ring, found in Tomb 246 in Este and dated to the late seventh or early sixth century BC (FIG. 12), and bunches of rattling bronze chains found in an Enotrian female burial at Cazzaiola dated to 600-550 BC.⁷⁰ From the sixth and fifth centuries BC, however, visual evidence for this type of jewellery is abundant; but, from the fifth century BC, the archaeological evidence for the production and use of rattling jewellery or objects applied to dress appears to decline.

The (presumably) metal discs of the chest belt worn by the female figure in the Tomba dei Giocolieri in Tarquinia (discussed above) are similar to the two small objects held by the young man facing the female dancer. These objects have been variously interpreted as sacred buns⁷¹ or as rings being thrown to the woman.⁷² This last interpretation is the most accepted and widespread; however, I would like to suggest that the discs held by the man represent cymbals.⁷³ Cymbals were used in Greece during the sixth and fifth centuries BC, and recent discoveries from Agrigento (FIG. 13) and Palermo, for example, show that these objects had reached Italy by this time.⁷⁴ Based on contemporary evidence, the cymbals represented in the Tomba dei Giocolieri were likely slightly convex with a hole in the centre. They were hit or rubbed together, depending on the desired sound. Their similarity to the overlapping discs on the chest belt worn by the female figure in the same tomb suggests that the latter could be interpreted as small metal discs or as cymbals. It is possible that the belt was intended to make a sound every time the wearer moved. While at first glance, this female figure with a *thymiaterion* on her head appears static, her movement in dance is visually suggested by her dress. Indeed, the inflated lower part of the long inner tunic indicates that she is spinning. In this context, the chest belt would have likely produced a kind of clanking sound.

Unfortunately, there are no known archaeological examples of the waist belt worn by male dancers in specific male ecstatic dances (e.g. FIGS. 6-8).⁷⁵ While it is probable that the pen-

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.”

⁶⁸ Kolotourou 2007, 80.

⁶⁹ Kolotourou 2007, 85. For a similar discussion for eastern Hallstatt culture, see Grömer, Pomberger 2023.

⁷⁰ Kolotourou 2007, 86. On Etruscan sound objects specifically, see Carrese 2010.

⁷¹ D’Agostino 1993.

⁷² Moretti 1966.

⁷³ I thank Annie Bélis, eminent specialist of ancient music, who suggested this very original and convincing idea. On the use of cymbals in Antiquity, see Bélis 1988, 19: “Les cymbales de bronze appartiennent en propre au culte dionysiaque et au culte de Cybèle ; elles sont l’accompagnement indispensable de l’aulos phrygien ; on les joue des deux mains, en les tenant par un anneau de fer fixé au centre ; elles sont reliées entre elles soit par une chaînette, comme le sont celles de Pompéi, soit encore par un cordon d’étoffe, comme sur l’autel de Scipio Orfitus. Instruments venus d’Orient, les cymbales passaient auprès des Grecs pour des instruments éminemment barbares, destinés seulement à «faire du bruit», selon la formule de Dicéarque. Les cymbales, disent les textes, produisent des sons aigus et retentissants. L’effet recherché est double: scander, une fois de plus, la danse ou les évolutions et, par des timbres aigus et métalliques, s’opposer aux sonorités extraordinairement rauques et graves des instruments à vent.”

⁷⁴ Bellia 2012, 3-14.

⁷⁵ It is possible to distinguish three forms of Etruscan ecstatic dance from visual representations: 1. the *komos* (a Greek form adapted in Etruria); 2. the gendered ecstatic dances (exclusively female or male, both genders never met); 3. the

dants collided and produced sound during the dance, the nature of these pendants remains unknown. Were they flat or spherical, and could they have acted as containers? Could they have been used as spherical rattling instruments filled with little hard parts like maracas? The discovery of specific objects in pre-Roman Italy that can be interpreted as rattles⁷⁶ suggests that the existence of such a belt is plausible. Most of these objects are ceramic containers that possibly contained seeds or pebbles and date from the end of ninth through the seventh centuries BC (e.g. FIG. 14).⁷⁷ Examples, similarly piriform, are also known from Greece in the same period.⁷⁸ In pre-Roman Italy, examples in bronze have been found in Veio (FIG. 15), Chiusi, and Spoleto.⁷⁹ If these types of objects were parts of belts, as I propose from the visual evidence in this study, they most probably moved and collided on the nude male body, particularly around the hips. In this case, however, it does not seem plausible that the rattling round pendants were made of ceramic or metal, as this would have been too heavy (and painful) for the dancer and would have made movement more difficult. Thus, the belt was more likely composed of organic material such as leather, perhaps explaining the lack of such belts in archaeological contexts.

Conclusions

It seems, therefore, that a gender distinction existed between male and female sounds and sound jewellery. Female sounds, produced by the chest belt and bracelets, seem to have been light, high-pitched, and clanking, while male sounds, produced by the waist belt, could have been rattling and low-pitched.⁸⁰ These potential differences in the sound produced by young men and women in dance suggest a gendered soundscape of dress in Etruscan dance and specifically in ecstatic performances. In this context, the sound of dress could have been used to perform gender and identity – the chest belt and bracelets performing female gender and the waist belt performing male gender.

This gender distinction of sound has ethnographic parallels.⁸¹ Indeed, in Tunisian *stambeli* possession rites, the sound produced by the *gumbri*, a three-stringed plucked lute, creates a means of communication between humans and the spirit world. Specifically, it creates variations in sound from low- to high-pitched in order to specify the gender of certain spirits. In this regard, the loud *shqashiq* clappers that accompany the *gumbri* are used sometimes to create masculine associations, particularly for the male saint Bilal, Islam's first muezzin. In

ecstatic choirs (male and female ecstatic dancers met and interacted in various ways). In the male ecstatic dances, (*i.e.* type 2), the poses are comparable to those of the *komos* (on the *komos*, see Smith 2010), but the former dances differ from the *komos* due to the nudity of the dancers, the overly performative and ecstatic character of the movements, the presence of bracelets on some dancers, and a reference to Dionysism. See Gouy 2017, 762-859.

⁷⁶ As noted by Morandini 2011.

⁷⁷ These objects have been found for example in Tarquinia (necropolis of Bruschi Falgari, tombs 63 and 205), Osteria dell'Osa (tomb 218), Tivoli, Praeneste, and Verucchio (Lavatoio, tomb Ripa 45). For a detailed list of finds, see Bietti *et al.* 1990, 68-71; Brocato, Zhara Buda 1996, 82-84; Carrese 2010, 266-267; Morandini 2011.

⁷⁸ Morandini 2011, 141-142.

⁷⁹ Brocato, Zhara Buda 1996, 78; Carrese 2010, 231, 266-268; Maggiani 2013; Morandini 2011, 144.

⁸⁰ This can also recall the differences in sound between male and female voices. See Carson 1995, 119*f.*, on the difference of voice pitches between men and women in Antiquity and how it was perceived and regulated.

⁸¹ See Doubleday 2008.

South India, the Karnatic *vina* is specifically played by girls ready to get married, at parties organised by their (wealthy) families.⁸² As noted by Veronica Doubleday, “musical instruments are important symbolic tools used within the construction of human gendered identities. They play a key role in conventional rites of passage, and they may also be used to help establish transgendered identities”.⁸³ This can be seen, for example, in ritual performances by shaman in Mapuche. Here, the performers’ genders are blurred through sound, allowing them to move “between masculine and feminine polarities”.⁸⁴

The use of similar adornment by both men and women in specific forms and moments of dance raises question of identity. As noted above, while both men and women wore bracelets, only female dancers wore more than one on each arm. Consequently, only the bracelets of female dancers would have made a sound. The sound produced must have been similar to the one produced by the chest belt: light, high-pitched, and clanking. In the context of bracelets as part of a female soundscape during dance, how can we interpret those worn by young, nude, male dancers in the same ecstatic forms of dance? Since the bracelets on the arms of these male dancers did not make any sound, why were they used and what was their role in performing identity within the dance? In the Roman period, children and teenagers commonly took part in rituals,⁸⁵ possibly because of their age: they were no longer infants but not yet adults. This in-between or liminal state could symbolically correspond to the communicative and liminal nature of the rituals.⁸⁶ Similarly, the nude male youths engaged in Etruscan ecstatic dance can be seen as liminal individuals: not children but not adults as they lack beards. Moreover, these youths commonly perform highly energetic movements and seem to be engaged in more intensive dance movements than other male dancers with beards, cloaks, loin-cloths (*tebenna*), but no bracelets.

It is worth considering male nudity in Etruscan images. In the middle of the right wall in the Tomba dei Vasi Dipinti in Tarquinia, a man and a woman lie on a couch as a couple at a banquet.⁸⁷ They are served by a small, completely naked figure, who holds utensils related to the consumption of wine. Nudity, particularly in this case, has often been linked to a character’s probable inferior status.⁸⁸ However, it is possible to propose a different interpretation. In the Golini I tomb in Orvieto, a banquet is represented on the right walls in the funerary chamber (FIG. 16). On the left of the entrance, a figure identified as the deceased arrives on his chariot and heads towards the banquet,⁸⁹ where the ancestors of the deceased were gathered on the right and back walls. The guardian couple of the Underworld, *Aita* with the wolf skin on his head and his female companion *Phersipnai*, were depicted on the left wall.⁹⁰ This couple was separated from the rest of the guests by a *kylikeion* on which was placed various

⁸² Doubleday 2008, 22.

⁸³ Doubleday 2008, 29.

⁸⁴ Doubleday 2008, 25.

⁸⁵ See *ThesCRA* 2005 V, 2.a, 116 Personnel of cult; *ThesCRA* 2004 I, 2.a, 197 Acteurs du rite: “D’après les sources littéraires et épigraphiques, les *pueri patrimi* et *matrimi* assistant aux sacrifices publics sont des enfants (garçons et fillettes) de haute naissance.”

⁸⁶ On liminality in ritual practices, see Van Gennep 1909.

⁸⁷ For an interpretation of the scene, see Gouy 2022, 62-66.

⁸⁸ E.g. the interpretations of the nude boy as a servant; Sittl 1885; Cristofani 1989.

⁸⁹ For the identification of the figure as the deceased and owner of the grave, see Steingraber 1984, 284-285; Massa-Pairault 1992, 112-115.

⁹⁰ Steingraber 1984, 284.

drinking vases, including a crater and several jugs, and a *thymiaterion*, most likely with burning incense. In this context, the *kylikeion* marked the boundary between the ancestors and the world of the gods. For the present study, the two servants in the scene are important: the servant to the right of the table is fully clothed, while the one to the left of the gods is completely naked. The difference in clothing here highlights the contrast between the world of the living and that of the gods. Nudity would refer to a liminal or heroic state, while clothing would evoke human reality. Consequently, nudity, as well as the incense burner placed on the *kylikeion*, helped to define the border between the world of the gods and the one of the living.

In this context, the wearing of bracelets by nude male youths in representations of Etruscan ecstatic dance can be seen as a mark of gender fluidity. Similarly, the ram's head necklace mentioned at the beginning of this article seems to be part of a specifically male adornment.⁹¹ It can be seen in the Tomba della Caccia e della Pesca at Tarquinia, where an analysis of the depiction of suspended objects reveals a gendered division.⁹² The motif of the ram's head necklace is regularly found among the trees pictured in the first chamber and echoes the necklace worn by the male figure in the banquet of the second chamber (FIG. 1). This necklace, particularly the ram's head motif, was a mark of sovereignty, as it referred to sacrifice or an eminent religious and sacrificial status. Therefore, it was also a symbol of authority.⁹³ The female world was expressed through the *cistus* – a kind of jewellery box – and the mirror. These objects are linked to the female toilet and are found in other banquet scenes, such as on the left wall of the Tomba Cardarelli in Tarquinia,⁹⁴ where a similar gender division is represented.

The wearing of this male necklace by a female ecstatic dancer on the bronze *thymiaterion* from the British Museum (FIG. 4) is therefore exceptional. It shows that the barriers of gender were blurred in very specific occasions and possibly with very specific purposes. This could highlight that the female figure held a specific position, possibly similar to the man sitting in state in the banquet scene in the Tomba della Pesca e della Caccia. The presence of a ram's head in the middle of the necklace of this female dancer indicates a possible link to ritual practices, including sacrifice, which was among the most important ritual duties. However, if the female dancer can not be directly linked to sacrifices, what does her wearing of this necklace indicate in terms of her function and status? It seems likely that she played a crucial and important role in performances and that this role was possibly as important as ritual or symbolic sacrifices.

In conclusion, sound effects seem to have been produced by specific adornments (bracelets, chest belts, and waist belts) that were an important part of the dress worn for dance in Etruria. The sound produced by this jewellery undoubtedly impacted the dance, the flow of the music, and the movements of the dancers who were wearing them. There is archaeological evidence for this type of adornment for pre-Roman Italy from the eighth century BC, but this decreases from the sixth century BC. Therefore, visual representations of adornment on dress for dance are of primary importance for the sixth and fifth centuries BC. The study of

⁹¹ Cf. Rouveret 1992, 170: “emblème du personnage masculine.”

⁹² Rouveret 1992, 170.

⁹³ This motif was frequently represented on arms and adornment from the Orientalising period onward; Rouveret 1992, 170, n. 5.

⁹⁴ See note 4 *supra*.

the jewellery used in dance has highlighted their performative function. Indeed, in addition to producing sound, they were crucial for marking ritual and high status functions, performing identity, creating gendered soundscapes, and reinforcing community organisation.

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to Dr. Courtney Ward for all her help, kindness, patience, and impeccable editorial work during the writing of this paper. I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Eva Andersson Strand and Prof. Marie Louise Nosch for discussing the article with me and for their insights.

Audrey Gouy
Université de Lille
audrey.gouy@univ-lille.fr

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AA.VV. 1995: *Antiken Kulturen. Orient, Ägypten, Griechenland, Etrurien, Rom und Byzanz. Führer durch die Antiken sammlungen. Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe*, Karlsruhe.
- Adam A.M. 1984: *Bronzes étrusques et italiqes*, Paris.
- Agnoli N., Bochicchio L., Maras D.F. and Zaccagnini R. (eds.) 2019: *Colori degli Etruschi. Tesori di terracotta alla Centrale Montemartini*, Roma.
- Akerström A. 1970: "The tomba delle Olimpiadi in Tarquinia: some problems in Etruscan tomb painting", in L. Cavagnaro Vanoni, S. Ponzanelli, *Scritti di archeologia ed arte in onore di Carlo Maurilio Lerici*, Stockholm, 62-72.
- Alonso Fernandez Z. 2020: "Roman Dance", in T. Lynch, E. Rocconi (eds.), *A Companion to Ancient Greek and Roman Music*, Malden, MA, 173-185.
- Altheim F. 1929: "Persona", in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 27, 35-52.
- Ambrosini L. 2002: *Thymiateria etruschi in bronzo, di età tardo classica, alto e medio ellenistica*, Roma.
- Baldi A. 1961: "Perseus e Phersu", in *Aevum* 35, 131-135.
- Banti L. 1960: *Il Mondo degli Etruschi*, Roma.
- Barthes R. 1957: "Histoire et sociologie du vêtement. Quelques observations méthodologiques", in *A.E.S.C.* 3, 430-441.
- Bartocchini R., Moretti M. 1958: "Tomba delle Olimpiadi", *StEtr* 26, p. 289-295.
- Bartocchini R. 1961: "La tomba delle Olimpiadi nella necropoli etrusca di Tarquinia", *Atti del Congresso internazionale di archeologia classica VII*, Roma, 177-190.
- Bartocchini R., Lerici C.M., Moretti M. 1959: *La tomba delle Olimpiadi*, Milano.
- Bartoloni G. (ed.) 2000: *Principi Etruschi tra Mediterraneo ed Europa*, Venezia.
- Battista A. 2002: "I sistemi decorativi delle tombe dipinte tarquiniesi di età arcaica", in I. Colpo, I. Favaretto, F. Ghedini, *Iconografia 2001. Studi sull'immagine, Atti del convegno, Padova, 30 maggio - 1 giugno 2001*, Roma, 63-70.
- Belis A. 1988: "Musique et transe dans le cortège dionysiaque", in P. Ghiron-Bistagne (ed.), *Transe et théâtre. Actes de la Table Ronde Internationale. Montpellier, 3-5 mars 1988*, Montpellier, 9-29.
- Bellia A. 2010: "A Female Musician or Dancer of Iron Age in Southern Italy?", in *Alma Mater Acta. Contributi di ricerca dell'Alma Mater Studiorum*, Università di Bologna, 1-8.
- Bellia A. 2012: *Strumenti musicali e oggetti sonori nell'Italia meridionale e in Sicilia (VI-III sec. a.C.). Funzioni rituali e contesti*, Lucques.
- Bérard C., Bron C., Pomari A. 1987: *Images et société en Grèce ancienne: l'iconographie comme méthode d'analyse. Actes du colloque international, Lausanne, 8-11 février 1984*, Lausanne.
- Bermond Montanari G. (ed.) 1987: *La formazione della città in Emilia Romagna. Prime esperienze urbane attraverso le nuove scoperte archeologiche. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico (26 settembre 1987 - 24 gennaio 1988)*, Bologna.
- Bianchi Bandinelli R. 1976: *L'arte dell'Antichità classica*, Torino.
- Bietti Sestieri A.M., De Santis A., La Regina A. 1990: "Elementi di tipo culturale e doni personali nella necropoli laziale di Osteria dell'Osa", in G. Bartoloni, G. Colonna, C. Grottanelli, A. Vivante (eds.), *Anathema: regime delle offerte e vita dei santuari nel Mediterraneo antico. Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma, 15-18 giugno 1989*, Roma, 65-88.
- Blome P. 1986: "Das Opfer des Phersu: ein etruskischer Sündenbock", *RM* 93, 97-108.
- Bodiou L., D. Frère and Mehl V. (eds.) 2008: *Parfums et odeurs dans l'Antiquité*, Rennes.
- Bodiou L., D. Frère and Mehl V. (eds.) 2006: *L'expression des corps: gestes, attitudes, regards dans l'iconographie antique*, Rennes.
- Bonaudo R, 2004: *La culla di Hermès. Iconografia e immaginario delle hydriai ceretane*, Roma.
- Bonfante L. 1971: "Etruscan Dress as Historical Source: Some Problems and Examples", *AJA* 75-73, 277-284.
- Bonfante L. 1973: "Roman Dress. Etruscan Derivations and a Glossary", in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Teil 1. Von den Anfängen Roms bis zum Ausgang der Republik, Band 4. Philosophie und Wissenschaften, Künste*, Berlin-NewYork, 584-614.
- Bonfante L. 1989a: "Aggiornamento : il costume etrusco", in *Atti del Secondo congresso internazionale etrusco, Firenze 26 maggio-2 giugno 1985*, vol. III, 1373-1393.
- Bonfante L. 1989b: "Nudity as a costume in classical art", *AJA* 93, 543-570.

- Bonfante L. 2003 (1975): *Etruscan Dress*, Baltimore-Londres.
- Bonfante L. 2009: "Ritual Dress", in M. Gleba, H. Becker (eds.), *Votives, Places and Rituals in Etruscan Religion: Studies in Honor of Jean MacIntosh Turfa*, Leiden, 183-191.
- Bonfante L. 2012: "Luxury in Funerary Rituals in Ancient Italy: The Dress", in P. Amann, *Kulte – Riten – religiöse Vorstellungen bei den Etruskern und ihr Verhältnis zu Politik und Gesellschaft Akten der 1. Internationalen Tagung der Sektion Wien/Österreich des Istituto Nazionale di Studi Etruschi ed Italici (Wien, 4.–6. 12. 2008)*, Wien, 335-344.
- Bourdieu P. 1972: *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique, précédé de trois études d'ethnologie kabyle*, Genève, Droz S. A.
- Borgeaud P. 2016: "Fumigations antiques. L'odeur suave des dieux et des élus", in D. Barbu and P. Matthey, *Exercices d'histoire des religions : comparaisons, rites, mythes et émotions*, Leiden, 219-225.
- Brendel O.J. 1995: *Etruscan Art*, New Haven-London, [1st ed. 1978].
- Brizio E. 1873: "Tombe dipinte di Corneto", *BdI* 45, 73-105.
- Brocato P., Zahra Buda C. 1996: "Phormiskos o Platagé? Crepundia? Sulla funzione di un oggetto fittile in ambito greco, etrusco e latino", in *Annali di archeologia e storia antica* 3, 73-90.
- Buccioli S. 1995: "Thymiateria", in M.P. Bini, G. Caramella, S. Buccioli, *Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia, XIII, I bronzi etruschi e romani*, Roma, 299-450.
- Buranelli F. and Sannibale M. 2004: *Vaticano. Museo Gregoriano etrusco*, Città del Vaticano.
- Caffarelli N. 1966: "Phersu", in *Tetraonyma. Miscellanea graeco-romana*, Genova, 85-89.
- Cahn Auktion AG 2012: *Cahn Auktion AG. Auktion 7. 3. November 2012*, sale catalogue.
- Camporeale G. 1968: "Pittori arcaici a Tarquinia", *RM* 75, 34-53.
- Camporeale G. 1984: *La Caccia in Etruria*, Roma.
- Carrese M. 2009: "La documentazione degli strumenti e oggetti sonori in Etruria alla luce della classificazione organologica", in M. Carrese, E. Li Castro and M. Martinelli (ed.), *La Musica in Etruria. Atti del convegno internazionale, Tarquinia 18/20 settembre 2009*, Tarquinia, 229-268.
- Carson A. 1995: *Glass, Irony and God*, New York.
- Castor A.Q. 2009: "An Early Hellenistic Jewelry Hoard from Poggio Colla", *MemAmAc* 54, 245-262.
- Castor A.Q. 2010: "Late Classical Representations of Jewelry: Identifying Costume Trends in Etruscan-Italic Art", *EtrSt* 13, 31-48.
- Castor A.Q. 2016: "Etruscan Jewelry and Identity", in S. Bell and A.A. Carpino, *A Companion to the Etruscans*, Chichester, 275-291.
- Cateni G. 1995: *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, Italia 3, Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, fasc. I*, Roma.
- Cavallotti Batcharova A. 1967: "Veio (Isola Farnese). Continuazione degli scavi nella necropoli villanoviana in località "Quattro Fontanili". Settima campagna di scavo (Ottobre-Novembre 1964)", *Notizie degli Scavi*, 171-260.
- Casey F. 2011: *Amber in the Ancient World*, Los Angeles.
- Cerchiai 1987: "Sulle Tombe del Tuffatore e della Caccia et della Pesca. Proposta di lettura iconologica", *DialA* 5, 113-123 (id. in D'Agostino-Cerchiai 1999, 61-71).
- Coarelli 1966: *L'Oreficeria nell'arte classica*, Milano.
- Coen A. 1999: *Corona etrusca*, Viterbo.
- Cohen B. 2000: *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the construction of the other in Greek art*, Leiden.
- Colonna G., Di Paolo E. 1997: "Il letto vuoto, la distribuzione del corredo e la 'finestra' della Tomba Regolini-Galassi", in *Etrusca et Italica. Scritti in ricordo di Massimo Pallottino*, Pise-Rome, 131-172.
- Cristofani M. 1981: *Gli Etruschi in Maremma. Popolamento e attività produttive*, Milano.
- Cristofani M. 1985: *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, Firenze.
- Cristofani M. 1989: "Celebrazioni della morte nella pittura funeraria etrusca", in M.A. Rizzo, *Pittura etrusca al Museo di Villa Giulia*, Roma, 27-31.
- Cristofani M., Martelli M. 2000 (1983): *L'Oro degli Etruschi*, Novara.
- D'Agostino B. 1983: "L'immagine, la pittura e la tomba nell'Etruria arcaica", *Prospettiva* 32, 2-12 [id. in Bérard et al. 1987, 213-220; id. in D'Agostino-Cerchiai 1999, 13-30].
- D'Agostino B. 1993: "Per una lettura iconografica delle immagini etrusche: la Tomba della Scimmia", in G. Maetzke (dir.), *La Civiltà di Chiusi e del suo territorio, Atti del XVII convegno di studi Etruschi ed Italici, Chianciano Terme (28 maggio - 1 giugno 1989)*, Firenze, 193-202 [id. in D'Agostino-Cerchiai 1999, 41-50].
- D'Agostino B., Cerchiai L. 1999: *Il mare, la morte, l'amore*, Rome.
- Dasti L. 1878: *Notizie storiche archeologiche di Tarquinia e Corneto*, Roma.
- Delavaud-Roux M.-H. 1995: *Les danses dionysiaques en Grèce antique*, Aix-en-Provence.
- Delplace C. 1980: *Le griffon de l'archaïsme à l'époque impériale: étude iconographique et essai d'interprétation symbolique*, Bruxelles-Rome.

- Deonna W. 1922: "Le parfum céleste et la rose de la mort", *Revue d'ethnographie et des traditions populaires*, 3, p. 48-58.
- Deonna W. 1939: "Euôdia. L'odeur suave des dieux et des élus", *Genava* 17, p. 167-262.
- De Puma R. 1981: "Etruscan Gold and Silver Jewelry from Poggio Civitate (Murlo)", *ArchCl* 33, 78-89.
- De Puma R. 1986: "Orientalising Jewellery from the Tomba Galeassi at Palestrina", in J. Swaddling, *Italian Iron Age Artefacts in the British Museum. Papers of the Sixth British Museum Classical Colloquium, London, 10-11 December 1982*, London, 383-387.
- De Puma R.D. 2000: *Corpus vasorum antiquorum. United States of America. Fascicule 34. The J. Paul Getty museum, Malibu. Fascicule 9. Etruscan painted pottery*, Malibu.
- De Ridder A. 1915: *Les Bronzes antiques du Louvre, t. 2, les instruments*, Paris.
- Di Blasi L. 2000: "Alcuni aspetti della documentazione grafica degli specchi etruschi", in M.D. Gentili (ed.), *Aspetti e problemi della produzione degli specchi etruschi figurati. Atti dell'incontro internazionale di studio (Roma, 2-4 maggio 1997)*, Roma, 79-113.
- Dohrn T. 1937: *Die Schwarzfigurischen etruskischen Vasen aus der zweiten Hälfte des VI. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin.
- Doubleday V. 2008: "Sounds of Power: An Overview of Musical Instruments and Gender", in *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 17-1, 3-39.
- Dournon G. 1992: "Organology", in H. Myers (ed.), *Ethnomusicology. An Introduction*, New York-London, 245-300.
- Ducati P. 1932: *Pontische Vasen*, Berlin.
- Ducati P. 1939: "Osservazioni cronologiche sulle pitture arcaiche tarquiniesi", *StEtr* 13, 203-219.
- Ducati P. 1942: *Pittura etrusca, italo-greca e romana*, Novara.
- Edlund I.E.M. 1980: *The Iron age and Etruscan vases in the Olcott collection at Columbia University, New York*, Philadelphia.
- Eles Masi P. Von 1986: *Le fibule dell'Italia settentrionale*, Prahistorische Bronzefunde, 14-5, Munich.
- Emmanuel-Rebuffat D. 1983: "Le jeu du Phersu à Tarquinia: nouvelle interprétation", in *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, 421-438.
- Fontaine P. 2009: "Plantes et nature dans la peinture funéraire étrusque. Observations à propos de la Tombe de la Chasse et de la Pêche à Tarquinia", in S. Bruni (ed.), *Etruria e Italia preromana. Studi in onore di Giovannangelo Camporeale*, vol. I-II, Pise-Rome, 373-378.
- Fontaine P. 2016: "La fête au palais. Un autre regard sur le relief aux danseurs de la regia d'Acquarossa", in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 128-1, [online]. URL: <http://mefra.revues.org/3300>; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefra.3300>.
- Frel J., True M. 1983: *Greek Vases: Molly and Walters Bareiss Collection, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu*.
- Frère D., Massar N., Verbanck-Piérad A. 2008: *Parfums de l'Antiquité : la rose et l'encens en Méditerranée*, Musée Royal de Mariemont.
- Freytag B. von 1990: *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum. Bundesrepublik Deutschland 3, Stuttgart, Tübingen, Privatsammlungen Esslingen, Munich*.
- Garelli M.-H. 2007: *Danser le mythe. La pantomime et sa réception dans la culture antique*, Louvain-Paris.
- Gaultier F. 2003: *Corpus vasorum antiquorum. France. 39. Musée du Louvre. Fascicule 26*, Paris.
- Gaultier F. 2013: "Etruscan Jewelry", in J.M. Turfa (ed.), *The Etruscan World*, New York, 914-927.
- Gaultier F., Metzger C. (eds.) 2005: *Trésors antiques. Bijoux de la collection Campana*, Paris.
- Gaultier F., Metzger C. (eds.) 2007: *Les bijoux de la collection Campana. De l'antique au pastiche*, Paris.
- Gerhard E.F.W. 1974, *Etruskische Spiegel*, vol. 1, Berlin-New York [1st ed. Berlin 1843].
- Gherchanoc V., Huet V. 2015: "Le corps et ses parures dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine: bilan historiographique", *DialHistAnc* 14, 127-150.
- Gianvittorio L. 2017: *Choreutika: performing and theorising dance in Ancient Greece*, Pisa-Rome.
- Giglioli G.Q. 1935: *L'arte etrusca*, Milano.
- Gleba M. 2008: *Textile production in Pre-Roman Italy*, Oxford.
- Gleba M. 2017: "Textiles in Pre-Roman Italy : from qualitative to quantitative approach", in M. Gleba, R. Laurito (ed.), *Origini. Prehistory and protohistory of ancient civilizations. Contextualising textile production in Italy, 1st millenium BC*, XL, 9-28.
- Gouy A. 2017: *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, Venezia.
- Gouy A. 2022: "Some aspects of non-verbal communication and rituality in Preroman banquets: The gestures of union (8th-5th centuries BCE)", in A. Maitland Gardner, C. Walsh (ed.), *Tracing Gestures. The Art and Archaeology of Bodily Communication*, London, 55-68.
- Grömer K., B. Pomberger 2023: "Soft cloth and sounding jewellery – sound fields of rich women in Eastern Hallstatt culture", in A. Gouy (ed.), *Textiles in Motion. Dress for dance in the ancient world*, Oxford, 95-105.

- Hannestad L. 1974: *The Paris Painter. An Etruscan Vase-Painter*, Copenhagen.
- Hannestad L. 1976: *The followers of the Paris Painter*, Copenhagen.
- Haynes S. 1965: *Etruscan bronze utensils*, London.
- Haynes S. 2000: *Etruscan Civilization: a Cultural History*, Londres-Los Angeles.
- Heilmeyer W.-D. 1988: *Antikemuseum Berlin: die ausgestellten Werke, Staatliche Museen, Mreussischer Kulturbesitz*, Berlin.
- Higgins R. 1980: *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, Berkeley.
- Hornbostel E.M. von, Sachs C. 1961: "Classification of Musical Instruments", *Galpin Society Journal* 14, 3-29.
- Hus A. 1975: *Les bronzes étrusques*, Bruxelles.
- Iozzo M. 2009: "Un nuovo strumento musicale nel Museo Archeologico di Chiusi", in S. Bruni, L. Agostiniani, *Etruria e Italia preromana. Studi in onore di Giovannangelo Camporeale*, Pisa-Roma, 481-486.
- Isler-Kerenyi C. 2009: "Satiri etruschi", in S. Bruni, *Etruria e Italia preromana. Studi in onore di Giovannangelo Camporeale*, vol. I-II, Pise-Rome, 487-490.
- Izzet V. 2007: *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society*, Cambridge.
- Jannot J.-R. 1984a, *Les Reliefs archaïques de Chiusi*, Rome.
- Jannot J.-R. 1984b, "Un avatar étrusque du mythe grec. Actéon, Calu et le jeu de Phersu", *Latomus* 62, 45-56.
- Jannot J.-R. 1993: "Phersu, Phersuna, Persona. A propos du masque étrusque", in J.-P. Thuillier, *Spectacles sportifs et scéniques dans le monde étrusco-italique. Actes de la table ronde. Rome, 3-4 mai 1991*, (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 172). Rome, 282-320.
- Jannot J.-R. 1995: "Les vases métalliques dans les représentations picturales étrusques", *REA* 97, 167-182.
- Johannowsky W. 1983: *Materiali di età arcaica dalla Campania*, Napoli.
- Jolivet V. 1993: "Les jeux scéniques en Etrurie. Premiers témoignages (VIe-IVe siècles av. J.-C.)", in J.-P. Thuillier (ed.), *Spectacles sportifs et scéniques dans le monde étrusco-italique. Actes de la table ronde. Rome, 3-4 mai 1991*. (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 172), Rome, 349-377.
- Jucker I. 2001: *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum. Schweiz I. Basel-Schaffhausen-Bern-Lausanne*, Bern.
- Jurgeit F. 1999: *Die etruskischen und italischen Bronzen sowie Gegenstände aus Eisen, Blei und Leder im Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe*, vol. 1, Pise.
- Kolotourou K. 2007: "Rattling jewellery and the cypriot coroplast", *KypA* 5, 79-99.
- Lambrechts R. 1978: *Les miroirs étrusques et pré-nestins des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire à Bruxelles*, Bruxelles.
- Lerici C.M. 1960: *Nuove testimonianze dell'arte e della civiltà etrusca*, Milano.
- Leisinger H. 1953: *Les Peintures étrusques de Tarquinia*, Lausanne.
- Liepmann U. 1988: *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum. Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2*, Munich.
- Maggiani A. 2013: "Crepitacula bronzei dall'Etruria", in *Philikè Synaulia. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology for Mario Benzi*, Oxford, 345-358.
- Mancini M., Betti M. 2006: *Istruzioni per l'uso: indice analitico topografico e fotografico della Guida illustrata del Museo nazionale di Ancona di Innocenzo Dall'Osso*, Urbino.
- Mansuelli G.A. 1946-47: "Gli specchi figurati etruschi", *StEtr* 19, 9-137.
- Mansuelli G.A. 1948-49: "Studi sugli specchi etruschi. IV. La mitologia figurata negli specchi etruschi", *StEtr* 20, 59-98.
- Mansuelli G.A. 1965: *Le Tombe di Tarquinia*, Firenze.
- Mansuelli G.A. 1967: "Le sens architectural dans les peintures des tombes tarquiniennes avant l'époque hellénistique", *RA*, 41-74.
- Marcuse S. 1975: *A Survey of Musical Instruments*, London.
- Markussen E.P. 1993: *Painted Tombs in Etruria. A Catalogue*, Rome.
- Martha J. 1889: *L'art étrusque*, Paris.
- Marzullo M. 2016: *Grotte cornetane: materiali e apparato critico per lo studio delle tombe dipinte di Tarquinia*, Trento.
- Marzullo M. 2017: *Spazi sepolti e dimensioni dipinte nelle tombe etrusche di Tarquinia*, Trento.
- Massa-Pairault F.-H. 1992: *Iconologia e politica nell'Italia antica. Roma, Lazio, Etruria dal VII al I secolo a.C.*, Milano.
- Mayer-Prokop I. 1967: *Die gravierten etruskischen Griffspiegel archaischen Stils*, Heidelberg.
- Michaelis A. 1882: *Ancient marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge.
- Moltesen M., Weber-Lehmann C. 1992: *Etruskische Grabmalerei, Faksimiles und Aquarelle Dokumentation aus der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek und dem Schwedischen Institut in Rom*, Mainz am Rhein.
- Morandini F. 2011: "All'origine della comunicazione musicale in Etruria", in C. Antonetti, G. Masaro, A. Pistellato, L. Toniolo, *Comunicazione e linguaggi. Contributi della Scuola di Dottorato in Scienze Umanistiche. Indirizzo in Storia antica e Archeologia. Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità*

- e del Vicino Oriente – Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, vol. 8, Padova.
- Moretti M. 1962: *Mostra di recenti acquisizioni e di opere restaurate: 25 marzo-1 aprile 1962, Museo di Villa Giulia, Roma*, Roma.
- Moretti M. 1966: *Nuovi monumenti della pittura etrusca*, Milano.
- Naerebout F.G. 1997: *Attractive performances: Ancient Greek dance : three preliminary studies*, Amsterdam.
- Neugebauer K.A. 1924: *Führer durch das Antiquarium, I, Bronzen*, Berlin.
- Neugebauer K.A. 1943: "Archaïsche Vulcenter Bronzen", *Jdl* 58, 206-278.
- Neuser K. 1982: *Anemoi. Studien zur Darstellung der Winde und Windgottheiten in der Antike*, Rom.
- Olivier-Trottenberg Y. 2014: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland, Band 96, München, Band 17, Antikensammlungen, ehemals Museum Antiker Kleinkunst, Etruskisch Schwarzfigurige Keramik*, Munich.
- Olsen S. 2020: *Solo dance in archaic and classical Greek literature: representing the unruly body*, Cambridge.
- Pacetti M.S. 2011: *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, Italia 6, Roma, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Antiquarium: la collezione del museo Kircheriano, fasc. III*, Roma.
- Pallottino M. 1937: "Tarquinia", *MonAnt* 36, col. 1-162.
- Pallottino M. 1952, *La Peinture étrusque*, Genève.
- Pareti L. 1947: *La Tomba Regolini-Galassi del Museo Gregoriano Etrusco e la civiltà dell'Italia centrale nel sec. VII a.C.*, Città del Vaticano.
- Parise Badoni F. 1968, *Capua preromana. Ceramica campana a figure nere*, Firenze.
- Parisinou E. 2002: "The 'Language' of the Female Hunting Outfit in Ancient Greece", in L. Llewellyn-Jones (ed.), *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, Swansea, 55-72.
- Paschinger E. 1993: "Über ein mögliches familiäres Verhältnis der in der Tomba Regolini-Galassi bestatteten Personen", *Antike Welt : Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte* 24-2, 111-124.
- Riccioni G., Falconi Amorelli M.T. 1968: *La Tomba della Panatenaica di Vulci*, Rome.
- Richter G. 1966: *The furniture of Greeks Etruscans and Romans*, London.
- Riis P.J. 1941: *Tyrrhenika. An archaeological study of the etruscan sculpture in the archaic and classical periods*, Copenhagen.
- Rizzo M.A. 1981: "Corredi convasi pontici da Vulci", *Xenia*, 2, 31-42.
- Rizzo M.A. (ed.) 1989: *Pittura etrusca al Museo di Villa Giulia*, Roma.
- Roncalli F. 1965: *Le Lastre dipinte da Cerveteri*, Firenze.
- Roncalli F. 1990: "La definizione pittorica dello spazio tombale nella 'età della crisi'", in *Crise et transformation des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au Ve siècle av. J.-C. Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome et l'Unité de recherches étrusco-italiques associée au CNRS (UA1132), Rome, 19-21 novembre 1987*, Rome, 229-243.
- Roncalli F. 1997: "Iconographie funéraire et topographie de l'au-delà en Etrurie", in F. Gaultier, D. Briquel, *Les plus religieuses des hommes. État de la recherche sur la religion étrusque. Actes du colloque international, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 17-19 novembre 1992*, Paris, 37-54.
- Roncalli F. 2001: "Spazio reale e luogo simbolico : alcune soluzioni nell'arte funeraria etrusca", *ActaHyp* 8, 249-272.
- Roncalli F. 2003: "La definizione dello spazio tombale in Etruria tra architettura e pittura", in A. Minetti, *Pittura etrusca: problemi e prospettive. Atti del Convegno, 26 ottobre 2001-27 ottobre 2001*, Sienne, 52-62.
- Roncalli F. 2006: "La Tomba dei Giocolieri di Tarquinia: una proposta di lettura", in B. Adembri, *AEIMNHETOS. Miscellanea di studi per Mauro Cristofani*, Firenze, 407-423.
- Roncalli F. 2013: "Les plaques peintes", in *Les Étrusques et la Méditerranée. La cité de Cerveteri*, Paris, 242-249.
- Ross Holloway R. 1965: "Conventions of Etruscan Painting in the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing at Tarquinii", *AJA* 69, 341-347.
- Rouillard P. 1980: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. France. 30. Musée des Beaux-Arts à Tours, Musée du Berry à Bourges*, Paris.
- Rouveret A. 1988: "Espace sacré, espace pictural: une hypothèse sur quelques peintures archaïques de Tarquinia", *AION(archeol)* 10, 204-216.
- Rouveret A. 1992-1: "La Tombe tarquinienne de la Chasse et de la Pêche : quelques remarques sur la peinture de paysage à l'époque archaïque", *RA*, 170-171.
- Saltini Semerari G. 2019: "Calcophones in Context. Gender, Ritual and Rhythm in Early Iron Age Southern Italy", *RM* 125, 13-47.
- Sannibale M. (2006) 2007: "Tra cielo e terra. Considerazioni su alcuni aspetti della religione etrusca a Vulci", *StEtr* 72, 117-151.
- Scarpignato M. 1981: "Oreficerie vulcenti nel Museo Gregoriano", *BMonMusPont* 2, 5-19.

- Schauenburg K. 1980: "Szenische Aufführungen in Etrurien?", in F. Krinzinger, B. Otto, E. Walde, *Forschungen und Funde. Festschrift Bernhard Neusch*, Innsbruck, 439-443.
- Schechner R. 1977: *Essays on Performance Theory 1970-1976*, New York.
- Schlabach K. 2018: *The Anatomy of Dance Discourse. Literary and Philosophical Approaches to Dance in the Later Graeco-Roman World*, Oxford.
- Sittl C. 1885: "Le pitture della tomba Cornetana detta della Pesca e della Caccia", *AdI* 57, 132-146.
- Smith T.J. 2010: *Komast dancers in archaic Greek art*, Oxford.
- Soar K., Aamodt C. (eds.) 2014: *Archaeological Approaches to Dance Performance*. (BAR International Series), Oxford.
- Spivey N.J. 1987: *The Micali Painter and his Followers*, Oxford.
- Steingräber S. 1984: *Catalogo ragionato della pittura etrusca*, Milano.
- Steingräber S. 2006: *Les Fresques étrusques*, Paris.
- Swaddling J. 2001: *Corpus speculorum etruscorum. Great Britain. 1. The British Museum: fascicule 1, archaic and classical mirrors (early tanged and related mirrors)*, London.
- Szilágyi J.G. 1981a: *Corpus vasorum antiquorum. Hongrie, fascicule 1, Budapest, Musée des Beaux-arts, fascicule 1*, Bonn.
- Szilágyi J.G. 1981b: "Impletæ modis saturate", *Prospettiva* 24, 2-25.
- Tambiah S. 1979: "A Performative Approach to Ritual", in *Proceedings of the British academy*, London, vol. 65, London, 113-163.
- Testa A. 1989: *Candelabri e Thymiateria. Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, Roma.
- ThesCRA 2004*: *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA). I. Processions. Sacrifices. Libations. Fumigations. Dedications*, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum – Bâle, Fondation pour le LIMC.
- ThesCRA 2005*: *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA). V. Personnel of cult, cult instruments*, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum – Bâle, Fondation pour le LIMC.
- Thomson de Grummond N. 2006: *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History, and Legend*, Philadelphie.
- Thuillier J.-P. 1992: "Sur les origines étrusques du théâtre romain", in *Spectacula-II. Le théâtre antique et ses spectacles, actes de colloque*, Lattes, 1989, Lattes, 201-208.
- Tonglet D. 2013: "Kyathoi étrusques et attiques. Double réception d'une forme de buccero dans les ateliers de vases figurés à Athènes et Vulci", *Annales d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie* 35, 27-49.
- Torelli M. 1997: *Il rango, il rito e l'immagine. Alle origini della rappresentazione storica romana*, Milano.
- Torelli M. (ed.) 2000: *The Etruscans*, Milan, 2000 / *Id., Gli Etruschi*, Milano.
- Torelli M., Moretti Sgubini A.M. 2008: *Etruschi: le antiche metropoli del Lazio (mostra, Roma, palazzo delle esposizioni, 21 ottobre 2008 - 6 gennaio 2009)*, Napoli.
- Turfa J.M. 2009: "'Etruscan' Gold from Cerveteri (and Elsewhere) in the University of Pennsylvania Museum", in S. Bell, H. Nagy (eds.), *New Perspectives on Etruria and Early Rome*, Madison WI, 91-118.
- Van Gennep A. 1909: *Les rites de passage*, Paris.
- Webb R. 2008: *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, MA.
- Weber-Lehmann C. 1985: "Spätarchaische Gelagebilder in Tarquinia", *RM* 92, 19-44.
- Wehgartner I. 1983: *Corpus vasorum antiquorum. Deutschland. Band 51. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum. Band 3*, Munich.
- Wiman I.M.B. 1990: *Malstria – Malena. Metals and motifs in Etruscan mirror craft*, Göteborg.
- Winter N. 2009: *Symbols of wealth and power: architectural terracotta decoration in Etruria and Central Italy, 640-510 B.C.*, Ann Arbor.
- Woytowitsch E. 1978: *Die Wagen der Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit in Italien*, Munich.
- Wulf C. (ed.) 2004: *Penser les pratiques sociales comme rituels. Ethnographie et genèse de communautés*, Paris.
- Wulf C. 2010: "Les rituels, performativité et dynamique des pratiques sociales", in A. Yannic (ed.), *Le Rituel*, Paris.
URL:<http://books.openedition.org/editions-cnrs/14607>.
DOI:<https://doi.org/10.4000/books.editions-cnrs.14607>.
- Zancani Montuoro P. 1974-1976: "Tre notabili enotri dell'VIII sec. a. C.", *AttiMemMagnaGr* n.s. 15-17, 9-82.
- Zimmer G. 1995: *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum. Bundesrepublik Deutschland 4. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Antikensammlung 2*, Munich.

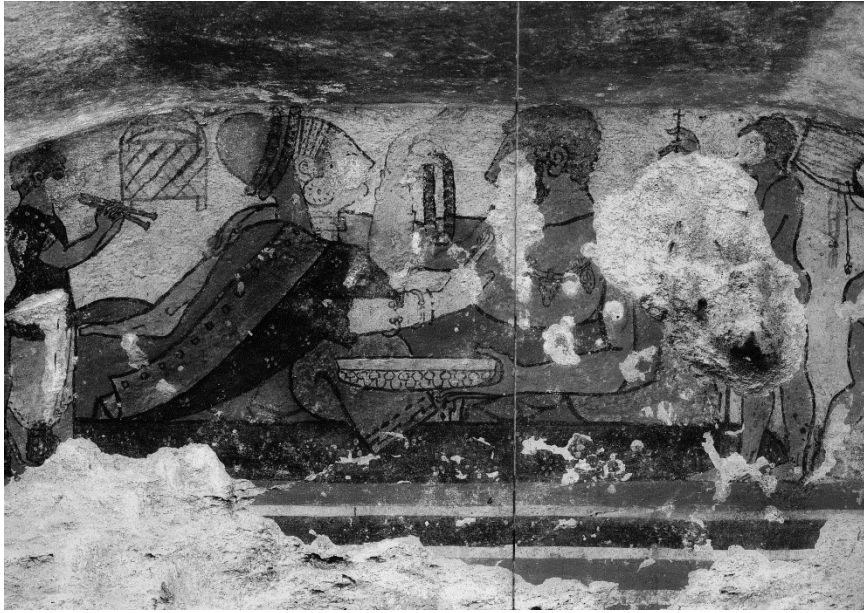


FIG. 1 – Tarquinia, *Tomba della Caccia e della Pesca*. Detail of the back wall in the second funerary chamber. After Steingraber 2006, 86-87.



FIG. 2 – Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum. *Thymiaterion* in bronze (inv. n. 62/93) from Vulci. Dated to the end of sixth/beginning of the fifth century BC. After Jurgeit 1999, fig. 819.



FIG. 3 – Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Monnaies, Médailles, Antiques. *Thymiaterion* in bronze. After Adam 1984, 45-46.



FIG. 4 – London, British Museum. *Thymiaterion* in bronze (inv. n. Br 598) from Vulci. Dated to the end of the sixth century BC. After Haynes 2000, 161, fig. 142.



FIG. 5 – Tarquinia, *Tomba dei Giocolieri*. Detail of the right wall.
After Steingraber 2006, 85.



FIG. 6 – Bourges, Musée du Berry. Black-figured *kyathos* (inv. n. 883.71.1). After Rouillard 1980, pl. 19, 1-3



FIG. 7 – Würzburg, Martin Von Wagner Museum. Black-figured *kyathos* (inv. n. H 4881). After Wehgartner 1983, pl. 35 (2, 3, 4, 5).



FIG. 8 – Würzburg, Martin Von Wagner Museum. Black-figured amphora dated from 520-510 BC (inv. n. HA 16 (L 780)). After Wehgartner 1983, 49-51, pl. 32 (1-2), 33 (1-2), 34 (1), 35 (1), 36 (3, 6, 8).

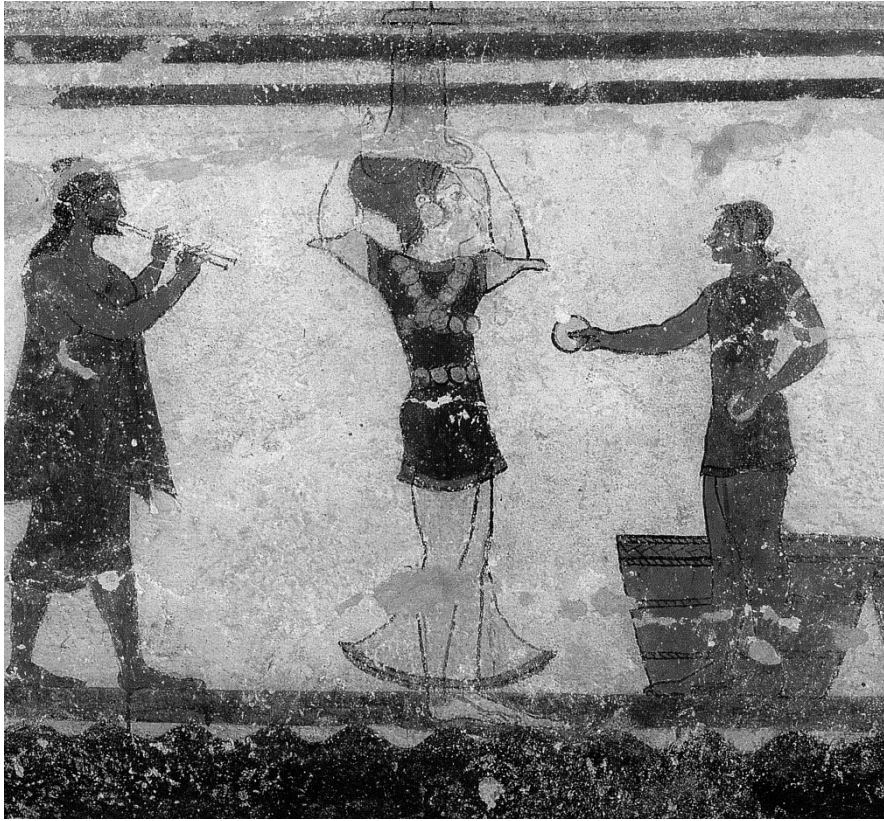


FIG. 9 – Tarquinia, *Tomba dei Giocolieri*. Detail of the back wall. After Steingraber 2006, 95.

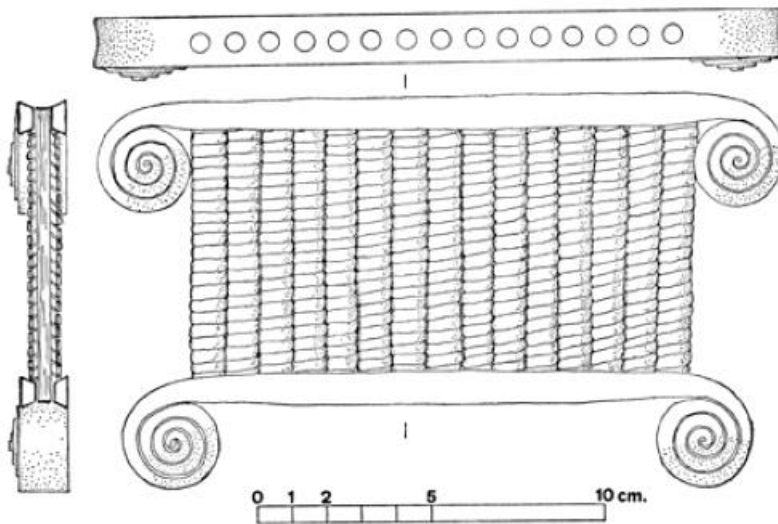


FIG. 10 – Macchiabate in Calabria, tomb 60, Temperella zone of the cemetery. Calophone in bronze. Drawing after Saltini Semerari 2019, 14, fig. 1.

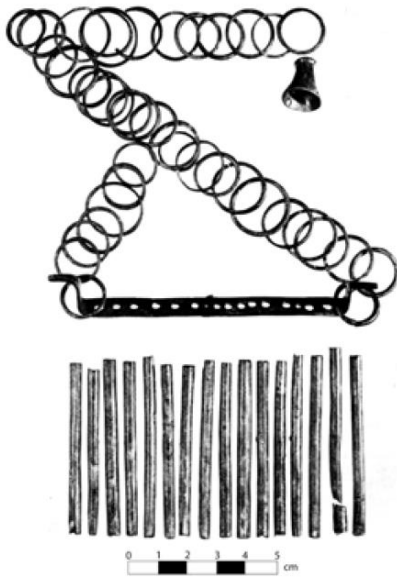


FIG. 11 – Sicily, Molino della Badia. Chime in bronze. After Saltini Semerari 2019, 16, fig. 3.



FIG. 12 – Central Italy, Este, tomb 246. Boat-shaped fibula with five chains and bottle-shaped pendants hanging from a ring. Dated to the late seventh/ early sixth century BC. After Kolotourou 2007, 85, fig. 4 (drawing from Eles Masi 1986, pl. 72, n. 958).

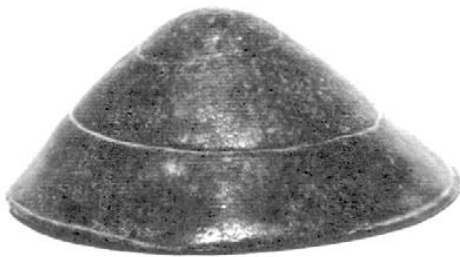


FIG. 13 – Sicily, Agrigento, sanctuary of Contrada S. Anna. Cymbal in bronze. Dated to the sixth/fifth century BC. After Bellia 2012, 4, fig. 1.



FIG. 14 – Verucchio, Campo del Tesoro, podere Lava-toio, tomb 45. Piriform/vascular rattle. Dated to the eighth/seventh century BC. After Morandini 2011, 157, fig. 3 (Bermond Montanari 1987, 222, fig. 151).

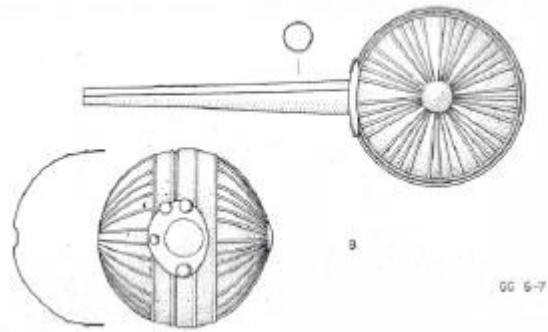


FIG. 15 – Veio, Quattro Fontanili, GG 6-7. Rattle in bronze. Dated to the eighth century BC. After Morandini 2011, 157, fig. 6 (Cavallotti Batcharova 1967, 248, fig. 98, 8).

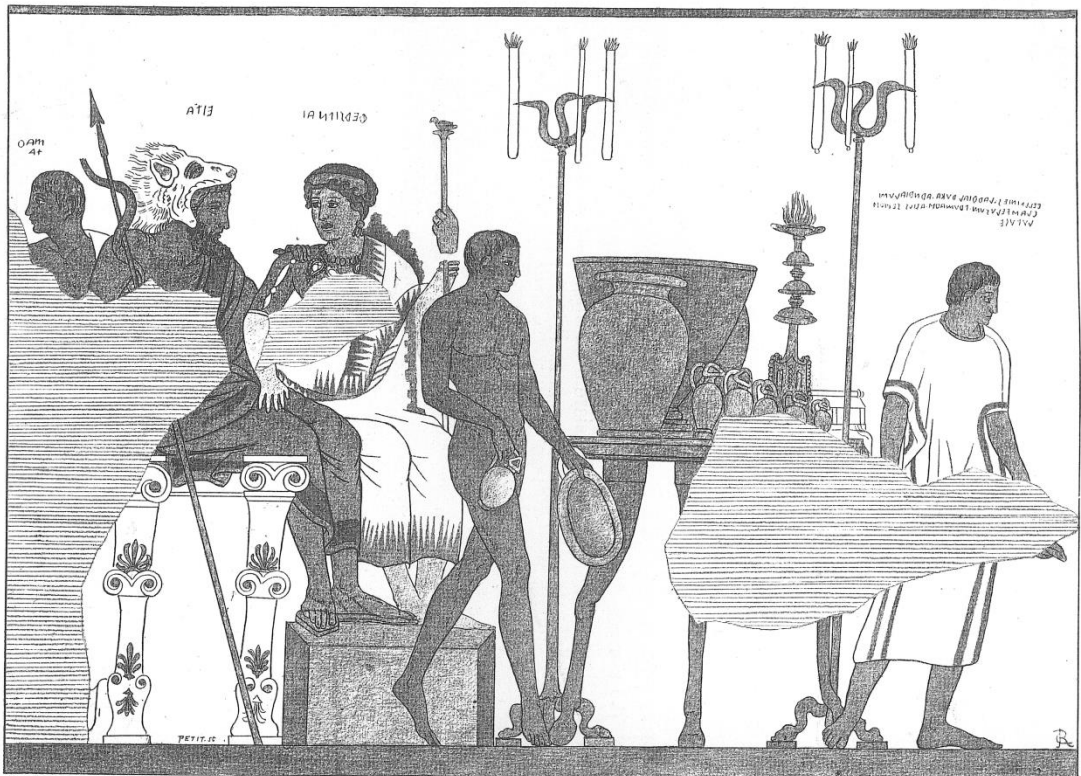


FIG. 16 – Orvieto, tomb Golini I. Detail of the left wall in the right part of the tomb. Dated to the mid-fourth/early third century BC. After Martha 1889, fig. 292, 443.