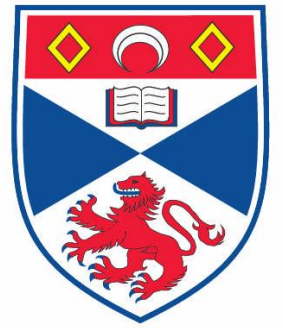
Footsteps of the Dead: Iconography of Beliefs about the Afterlife and Evidence for Funerary Practices in Etruscan Tarquinia

Allison Jean Weir



This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

5 November 2012

Declarations

1. Candidate's declarations:

I, Allison Jean Weir, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2008, and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September 2009; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2008 and 2012.

DATE: _____ SIGNATURE OF CANDIDATE: _____

2. Supervisor's declaration:

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

DATE: _____ SIGNATURE OF SUPERVISOR: _____

3. Permission for electronic publication:

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and the abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker, that my thesis will be electronically accessible for personal or research use unless exempt by award of an embargo as requested below, and that the library has the right to migrate my thesis into new electronic forms as required to ensure continued access to the thesis. I have obtained any third-party copyright permissions that may be required in order to allow such access and migration, or have requested the appropriate embargo below.

The following is an agreed request by candidate and supervisor regarding the electronic publication of this thesis:

Access to all of printed copy but embargo of all of electronic publication of thesis for a period of three years on the following ground: publication would preclude future publication.

DATE: _____ SIGNATURE OF CANDIDATE: _____

SIGNATURE OF SUPERVISOR: _____

Abstract

This thesis is a study of Etruscan attitudes to the afterlife, based on analysis of the funerary archaeology, architecture, and iconography of death from the ancient city of Tarquinia. The focus on one settlement allowed for a more precise reconstruction of funerary attitudes; it also avoided the pitfalls of approaching Etruscan civilisation as uniform and homogeneous across its varied city-states; and it made clear when particular beliefs about the afterlife changed or developed. After a general discussion of approaches to the subject in the published literature and of the specific conditions at the site of Tarquinia, it proceeds through a series of case studies chosen from each of the major periods of Etruscan civilisation from the Villanovan to the Hellenistic period. The analysis is based on published excavations and studies, supplemented by fieldwork conducted in Rome and at Tarquinia. The case studies were chosen based on the type of information that they can give about the way the underworld was imagined. No one tomb can be used to illustrate the entire set of beliefs and traditions that occurred at one time. Throughout the course of this study, I focus on the changes and developments of funerary traditions over the nine centuries of Etruscan civilisation at Tarquinia.

The main finding to emerge from these studies relates to the long term stability of funerary practices at Tarquinia. As elsewhere in Etruria, there are changes in the scale and design of tombs and in the subjects and manner of their decoration. Yet it is difficult to identify any sudden discontinuities of practice. In a number of cases, it is argued that motifs that are well attested only in later periods can already be seen in the earlier material, while few themes introduced into the repertoire are ever completely lost. Rather, the same motifs are occasionally represented in different form from period to period. Whether the explanation is to be sought in the conservative influence of a small number of ruling families, or in the absence of social revolutions of the kind that characterised some Greek poleis, or in a conscious desire to preserve local, i.e. Tarquinian, traditions and styles, it seems that the history of Etruscan death is – in this case at least – not to be written in terms of dramatic changes so much as of gradual evolution and development. On this basis, a tentative account of the (local) Etruscan underworld is offered as it emerges from material drawn from all the periods studied.

Acknowledgements

This thesis was written with the help, support, and inspiration of a great number of people. Whilst it would be impossible to name everyone, I would like to acknowledge a few contributions. I would like to begin by thanking the Guthrie Scholarship Fund, the Thomas and Margaret Rodden Trust, the Classical Association of Canada Bursary Fund, and the Weidemann Trust Fund, and, of course, the University of St Andrews for their generous financial support, without which I would not have been able to embark on my studies, conduct first hand research in Italy, and present my findings at conferences. In Rome, I am greatly indebted to Ms. Maria Pia Malvezzi and the staff at the British School at Rome for their help and support during my time there. In addition, I am also greatly indebted to the *Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma* for access to closed tombs at Tarquinia, Sarteano, as well as museums in Orvieto and Rome. In addition, the School of Classics has provided the necessary facilities and resources, as well as the essential administrative support from Irene Paulton, Margaret Goudie, and Carol Wright.

Turning to academic matters now, I owe much to the advice and support of my team of supervisors. Most especially, I am eternally grateful to my phenomenal supervisor Greg Woolf, who ceaselessly supported me in all aspects of my studies. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the rest of my team of primary supervisors, Rebecca Sweetman, and last, but never least, the incomparable Jon Coulston. Furthermore, thanks must be extended to my external supervisor Phil Perkins for a wealth of great suggestions and many interesting discussions over Italian wine after days of digging in the mud at Poggio Colla. Along similar lines, I would like to express my gratitude to my examiners, Robert Leighton and Christopher Smith, without whom I might never have discovered an interest in the Etruscans. I also owe thanks to the staff in Classics at the University of St Andrews, most especially, Emma-Jayne Graham for her invaluable assistance with many questions regarding the archaeology of death, as well as Felix Racine. Thanks must also be extended to Vedia Izzet. Special mention must also be made to my good friends Julietta Steinhauer and Elsbeth Hymes for their friendship, support, and advice. I cannot fail to mention three people in particular from my time as an undergraduate, Roland Jeffreys, Gregory MacIsaac, and last but not least, Josh Beer from the College of the Humanities at Carleton Univeristy. Without Josh

Beers' fascinating and sometimes theatrical Latin classes I never would have gone into Classics.

Of course, this thesis would never have been possible without the support of my family. Firstly, I would like to thank my father, Bruce Weir, who not only has supported me throughout the course of my long journey as a student, but whose skills with computer photoshop programs was highly appreciated in creating the maps for this thesis. Similarly, I would like to thank my mother Cynthia, my sister Elizabeth, my mother-in-law Debbie, and my sister-in-law Heather and her husband Steve. And of course my nephews and niece for whom I am "the best at digging up dead people and dinosaurs." And, last but not least, my most heartfelt thanks must be extended to my dearest husband Trevor, for listening ad nauseam to my comments about Etruscan funerary art and whose support and assistance was unceasing.

I would like to take this opportunity to dedicate this thesis to the memory of three special individuals. First of all, my aunt Sophia Steadman, who fought for the day when women would be allowed to go to university, let alone undertake postgraduate studies, and always told me that I could be whatever I wanted. Secondly, my grandmother Barb Weir, who was one of the kindest people I have ever met. And, last but not least, my Annie Kuna, who always kept me company when I was working in Canada and ensured that I refreshed my mind and got some exercise by taking her for many walks a day.

Table of Contents

List of Figures & Tables

Note to Reader

All ancient dates are BCE unless otherwise noted. All quoted Greek and Latin texts are from the most recent Loeb edition. All translations of Greek and Latin are adapted from the most recent Loeb edition. All translations of Etruscan inscriptions are from Bonfante and Bonfante (2002) unless otherwise noted. All primary and secondary source abbreviations follow the most recent edition (3rd revised) of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. In citations of secondary sources in the footnotes, the date given is from the edition that I have used. All secondary source abbreviations in the bibliography follow those given by *L'année philologique: bibliographie critique et analytique de l'antiquité gréco-latine*. Unless otherwise noted, all images are my own. All painted tombs are from Tarquinia unless otherwise noted. The dates assigned to all painted tombs are based on those given by Steingräber *Etruscan Wall Painting: Catalogue Raisonné of Etruscan Wall Painting* (1986). Much of the material for this study has been derived from this catalogue. S. Steingräber contributed chapters I (the Distribution of Tomb Painting in Etruria), II (Tarquinia: Topography, History, and Art), IV (Funerary Architecture), V.A. (The Orientalising Period), V.D. (The Hellenistic Period), as well as the incredibly important XI (Catalogue of Etruscan Tomb Paintings). Contributions by Steingräber are referred to in this thesis as Steingräber 1986, and different chapters are cited based on page number.

Chapter I: Introduction

I: Setting the Scene: the Archaeology of Death at Tarquinia

> *[The Etruscans] believed in the materiality of the soul; and their Elysium was but a glorification of the present state of existence; the same pursuits, amusements, and pleasures they had relished in this life they expected in the next, but divested of their sting, and enhanced by increased capacities of enjoyment. To celebrate the great event, to us so solemn, by feasting and joviality, was not with them unbecoming. They knew not how to conceive or represent a glorified existence otherwise than by scenes of the highest sensual enjoyment.*[1]

George Dennis saw in the Etruscan tomb paintings at Tarquinia a vibrant and colourful afterlife, one that was complex and unique in ancient Etruria. This study focuses primarily on the material evidence about the afterlife from one settlement in Etruria, that of Tarquinia. My reason for approaching Etruscan ideas about the afterlife through a detailed study of a single city is that Etruscan culture varied considerably between regions, and, within the same region between cities.[2] Therefore, it is important to consider each city as separately as possible in order to prevent skewed conclusions based on irrelevant evidence. Thus, for example, the three-headed serpent creature,[3] which is found only on funerary art from areas around Orvieto and Chiusi, should not feature in a discussion on Tarquinia where the creature does not appear. It will sometimes prove necessary, however, to make cautious use of evidence from outside of one city. For example, there is not as much evidence from Tarquinia during the Orientalising period as during other periods, and so we must consider evidence from nearby San Giuliano, with due caution, to illustrate what may have been the case at Tarquinia.

I have chosen to focus on Tarquinia for this study for two reasons: first of all, Tarquinia boasts some of the richest and most varied archaeological evidence in all of Etruria, and, secondly, the continuous use of the Monterozzi necropolis as a place of burial from the 9th century until the end of Etruscan civilisation in the early 1st century means that developments and changes over time can be traced. The variety of evidence,

[1] Dennis 1878: 294.
[2] Haynes 2000: xviii.
[3] This serpent is noticeably to be found depicted in the recently discovered Tomb of the Infernal Quadriga at Sarteano, and, with clawed feet, on the Vanth group Amphorae from near Orvieto.

which includes many different types of media, such as wall painting, sarcophagi, monumental tombs, tomb layout, and cinerary urns, constitutes a good focal point for a comprehensive study of funerary beliefs and traditions in one location over time. Other settlements may have as good, or even better, individual examples to provide evidence for beliefs about the afterlife (such as the Golini Tomb I at Orvieto), but only Tarquinia has such a wide variety of evidence surviving from throughout the entire period of Etruscan civilisation.

The main necropolis at Tarquinia is on the Monterozzi ridge across from the hill where the main Etruscan settlement, Pian di Cività, was located. The painted tombs in the Calvario section of the necropolis (see Figure II.1) can now be visited as part of a UNESCO world heritage site paired with the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri. The current town, much of which has survived from the Medieval period, was built on top of part of the necropolis, and, as a result many tombs may never be fully discovered.[4] Tarquinia has been known as a prominent Etruscan settlement since the Renaissance. A long line of scholars, antiquarians, literary figures, and, unfortunately, tomb robbers visited Tarquinia, and were very impressed by what they saw. Although not the first to write about the Etruscans, Thomas Dempster is notable for the size and scope of his study and its role in furthering the phenomenon of Etruscheria, or the interest in the Etruscans, that was predominant in the 18th and 19th centuries. Dempster was an Aberdonian antiquarian who was commissioned by Cosimo II de Medici of Florence in 1616 to write *de Etruria regali*, which attempted to look at every aspect of Etruscan civilisation.[5] Although not published until the 18th century, it was widely acclaimed and popular.[6] Subsequently, the *Hypogaei or Sepulchral Caverns of Tarquinia* (1842), by the antiquarian James Byres, was important in preserving records of many Etruscan paintings which have deteriorated since discovery in the 19th century.[7] Unfortunately, many of these drawings were done with much artistic licence; nevertheless, they are still better than not having anything at all. At around the same time, between the years of 1842 and 1847, George Dennis was conducting his tours of Etruria in preparation for his comprehensive *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, originally published in 1848.[8] Dennis'

[44] Mandolesi 1999: 211.
[5] Leighton and Castelino 1990: 337.
[6] Leighton and Castelino 1990: 337.
[7] Byres 1842.
[8] Dennis 1878.

description of the town of Corneto, the tombs on Monterozzi, and the Palazzo Vitelleschi museum are not only precise, but they also provide an interesting read. His work has never ceased to be regarded as seminal.[9] Perhaps more influential in recent Etruscan scholarship is the *Sketches of Etruscan Places* by D.H. Lawrence.[10] In this now classic work, Lawrence provides a descriptive account of various sites and museums from Etruria. The accounts, especially of the painted tombs at Tarquinia, are very imaginative, and present something of an idealised and romantic view of Etruscan civilisation. They were based on travels made through Tuscany in 1927, and were heavily influenced by the atmosphere created by Fascist Italy. Lawrence did, however, contribute much to the popularity of Tarquinia in the 20th century.

A rich and diverse portion of the finds from Tarquinia are currently displayed in the Palazzo Vitelleschi (15th century), which houses the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Tarquinia. The palazzo was acquired by the Italian state in an auction in 1892. The items on display cover a wide span of the ancient city and necropolis, from the Villanovan period up until Roman times. Wall paintings from four tombs were also removed from their original contexts and placed in the museum in order to ensure their preservation. The collection consists of material owned by the commune, as well as those previously belonging to Count Bruschi. The Bruschi collection was assembled in the 1860's and 1870's and donated to the state in 1913. The museum has recently begun publishing catalogues of old finds in order to enable them to be accessible to a wider audience. The most recent volume is the 17th, and presents all the finds pertaining to the Hellenistic period Bruschi tomb.[11] Other catalogues include Orientalising period sculpture,[12] mirrors,[13] and luxury goods in the Villanovan and Orientalising period.[14]

Many of the famous tombs at Tarquinia were discovered in the 1800's, and, unfortunately, were not properly excavated.[15] Tomb robbing was a major problem at this time, and, continues to be so. This has resulted in a wide dispersal of Tarquinian objects, including even bits of wall painting, such as the head of a figure from a fresco in the Tomb of the Pulcella that was removed and then surfaced again decades later in

[9] Rhodes 1973: 12.
[10] Lawrence 1992.
[11] Vincenti 2009.
[12] Bruni 1986.
[13] Neri 2002.
[14] Colivicchi 2007.
[15] Examples include the tombs of the Lionesses, Leopards, Augurs, and Bulls.

Germany. The piece of the fresco was returned to Tarquinia and is now in the Palazzo Vitelleschi. Major excavations of the Monterozzi necropolis were conducted in the 1960's. Ground penetrating radar surveys by the Lerici foundation have revealed over 6000 tombs along the Monterozzi ridge.[16] However, because of the locations of many of these tombs, and the cost and time it takes to excavate, only a small percentage have actually been opened up and studied.[17] This survey identified another section of the necropolis on the Scataglini estate and has since been the focus of extensive archaeological excavation.[18] Significant excavations have also been undertaken on Pian di Cività in the residential areas, as well as the sacred area of the Ara della Regina, by the Università di Milano.[19] New exhibits in the museum are organised thematically, rather than chronologically, and include some of the most recent finds. Evidence discovered on Pian di Cività, such as around the sacred complex and city walls, further confirms, along with the abundant funerary material, that Tarquinia was one of the most prominent Etruscan settlements.

II: Exposition of Thesis Argument

This thesis is a study of Etruscan attitudes to the afterlife, based on an analysis of some aspects of funerary archaeology, architecture, and iconography of death from the ancient city of Tarquinia. The purpose of this thesis is to provide an analysis of a wide variety of the evidence available in order to present a comprehensive view of the beliefs about the afterlife at one specific settlement over time. This thesis brings together different aspects of funerary culture in a single framework, including, treatment of the dead, veneration of ancestors, and a journey in the afterlife. The chronological approach allows for the identification of when beliefs or specific motifs appeared, how long they were in use, and how they were used.

This thesis takes a different approach in looking at a diverse body of evidence, and it is one that is neither exclusively art historical nor archaeological, but rather a combination of the two. Most of the interpretation of beliefs about the afterlife and funerary rituals hinges on iconographic and architectural decoration found in tomb

[16] Linington et al. 1978; Cavagnaro Vanoni 1987; Leighton 2004: 86.
[17] Leighton 2004: 86.
[18] Linington and Serra Ridgway 1997.
[19] Bonghi Jovino 2010.

contexts. This study included a large variety of visual evidence, largely because of the lack of context for grave goods. This is an unfortunate underpinning of the methodological approach of this study that is a result of the evidence that has survived and the popularity of Tarquinian paintings since the Renaissance period. It does, however, present a unique opportunity to study objects created exclusively for a funerary purpose. Wall paintings depicting scenes of funerary rituals and the dead in the underworld are, of course, very important for understanding how the afterlife was envisioned.[20] As the afterlife was envisioned solely in the realm of imagination, the prime area of evidence for such beliefs in a material culture such as the Etruscans is within iconographical material. There is a direct correlation with the images painted on the walls of tombs, as well as other decoration found in funerary contexts (e.g. images on stone sarcophagi), with the beliefs about the afterlife. The importance of the tomb to the memory of the deceased meant that everything was deliberate, and therefore must have held meaning. This meaning is what was believed to happen to one after death. Although this link between the tomb decoration and existence after death is only assumed in the earlier period, the presence of the deceased and other chthonic indicators show that the image represents the deceased in the afterlife. These indications, such as blue demons, are clearly Etruscan, and therefore can be used as evidence to show that the artists are not Greek.[21] With the absence of written literature about Etruscan religion, it is necessary to only use such iconographic evidence to reconstruct beliefs about the afterlife. There are, of course, set-backs to such an approach, however, it also presents a unique opportunity to analyse material without literary evidence taking precedent.

This study restricts the scope of evidence to those items that were created exclusively for a funerary purpose; such as burial boxes, tomb decoration, and tomb form. It is important to note that all these items were created, and thus decorated, for the purpose of being placed in a tomb and not to be used first in the realm of the living. This focus on funerary evidence is the starting point for what will be a more

[20] The term 'underworld' is used loosely in this thesis, and it should be remembered that the image of the Etruscan underworld was not the same as those conjured up by famous literary accounts, such as those by Homer, Vergil and Dante. Regarding the Etruscan underworld, the term refers to the realm of the dead and the afterlife in general. See section VI.iii in Chapter VI for a discussion of how the realm of the dead changed over the centuries of Etruscan civilisation at Tarquinia.

[21] There are also stylistic indications to show that the artists of wall paintings were not Greek.

comprehensive study of all of the evidence from Tarquinia, including grave goods such as pottery. The focus on the types of evidence analysed in this thesis, namely the material created exclusively for a funerary purpose, however, allows for the most direct reproduction of the belief system throughout Etruscan Tarquinia. The iconographic evidence all indicates that the Etruscans at Tarquinia had an elaborate belief about the afterlife and the realm of the dead, one that was not merely a copy of the Greek underworld.

Tomb forms and funerary rituals can also provide evidence about funerary beliefs. It is important to note both the connection and differentiation between funerary rituals and beliefs. Although funerary rituals can be the active realisation of a system of beliefs, it is also possible that some rituals are a matter of practice. For example, funerals are today often held in churches, regardless of whether the deceased or his or her family and friends are religious.

My approach in this thesis is to focus strictly on the evidence from Etruscan Tarquinia itself, and not to draw any conclusions based on the funerary or literary evidence from the Greek and Roman traditions. There is an abundant and diverse literary tradition that describes the afterlife in both Greek and Roman authors, and it is tempting to find parallels with these in the vibrant wall paintings of Tarquinia.[22] This is, however, potentially misleading, as there were indeed many differences between Etruscan culture and the rest of the Mediterranean. Only when each tradition is understood on its own terms can comparisons be made between them, and questions of influence and appropriation be properly addressed. Thus, the conclusions about funerary beliefs in this thesis are not skewed by foreign or anachronistic material.

It will be demonstrated that Etruscan beliefs about the afterlife and the realm of the dead are indeed not entirely unknowable. If there is much we still do not know about Etruscan funerary culture, there nevertheless remains a large amount that can be discovered. Furthermore, the specific focus on one settlement over the different periods of Etruscan civilisation will reveal some important points about continuity of beliefs and traditions. Not only will this thesis reveal beliefs that were present in specific periods, but it will also illustrate that there were no drastic changes in funerary customs. Even the change from cremation to inhumation did not occur immediately, but slowly

[22] As can be seen especially in Roncalli (1996).

began to be the predominant custom near the end of the Villanovan period. Likewise, there was a long process of development and elaboration of beliefs and attitudes towards the dead. The same motifs continued to be included in funerary contexts over time, but they may have been represented in different ways and on different media. The methodology of this thesis, in focussing on such a broad basis of evidence, will thus improve the understanding of a set of beliefs at one settlement over time.

III: Thesis Methodology and Outline

This thesis is structured into five chapters framed by an introduction and a conclusion. The study is organised chronologically. Thus, each of the chapters focuses on a single time period of Etruscan civilisation: Villanovan, Orientalising, Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic. The period of time covered in this thesis spans from the 9th century to the late 2nd century. Each chapter is in turn organised by case studies. The main justification for the use of specific case studies is to allow for close readings and detailed contextual studies of some iconographically rich material. Furthermore, this study also seeks to look at changes and developments of the material over time. This means that it would be impossible to look at all of the material in depth. The use of case studies allows for an exploitation of a varied selection of rich material. This enables the close examination of one tomb or object, and what it can say about funerary traditions in Tarquinia at that time. The case studies number between three and five for each of the time periods. They have been chosen on the basis of being the most illustrative examples to represent each period; this selection was only made after careful study of a much wider basis of material. Considered together, the case studies for a specific time period give as comprehensive a picture as possible about the beliefs about the afterlife and funerary traditions in a single time period.

Throughout the course of this study, I have focused primarily on published material. I have consulted such material in libraries in the United Kingdom, as well as in Italy. First hand examination of objects and tombs in order to provide a basis for comparison with material that is not as common in publications was conducted as far as

was possible.[23] In most cases, I have managed to visit the sites that have been chosen as case studies in order to conduct first-hand analyses not only of the images in tombs or on sarcophagi, but also, when possible, the larger context of the tomb itself. This field work was conducted primarily on two separate visits to the British School at Rome and to Tarquinia, one in July 2008 and again in January 2011, thanks to a generous grant from the Thomas and Margaret Roddan Trust fund.[24] As a result of this field work, a large number of the images included in this thesis are my own.

The first two chapters of the body of the thesis examine three case studies from the Villanovan period, and three from the Orientalising period. There is not as much funerary art during this early phase of Etruscan civilisation as in the later periods; accordingly, the majority of the evidence discussed is based on vessels for burial, tomb form, and evidence for ritual at the grave. There is, on the other hand, an abundance of iconographic evidence in the later three periods. Thus, the subsequent three chapters not only look at the form of the tomb or vessel for burial itself, but also the decorative schemes as a whole. It is striking to note how many predominant motifs about the afterlife that are depicted in the later period can actually be found hinted at in the material evidence of the Villanovan period. These hints further emphasise the continuity and longevity of a set of funerary beliefs at Tarquinia over the centuries.

IV: Previous Scholarship

This study follows some new methods but also attempts to branch away from certain modern trends. A combination of recent discoveries and new theoretical approaches is leading to a reassessment of the role of the Greeks in the central Mediterranean, and in Etruria in particular. This has resulted in a more widespread realisation that the Greeks did not have "unchallenged cultural superiority."[25] Most importantly, this study takes an Etrusco-centric approach to the evidence, one that is becoming increasingly used in Etruscan scholarship.[26] The current focus in Etruscan

[23] Material from museums in Volterra, Chiusi, Orvieto, Sarteano, Tarquinia, Cerveteri, and Florence, the British Museum in London, as well as the Villa Guilia and Museo Gregoriano Etrusco in Rome were consulted.
[24] Visits to the closed tombs of Tarquinia, Sarteano and Orvieto would not have been possible without the kind assistance and unparalleled contacts of Maria Pia Malvezzi at the British School at Rome.
[25] Izzet 2007a: 213.
[26] Following the approaches of Etruscologists such as de Grummond 2006; Izzet 2007a.

scholarship tends to be on areas of the civilisation that were previously not as well known, including cities, sanctuaries, epigraphy, and language.[27] As a result of the excellent survival of many tombs throughout Etruria, there has been a rich history of interest in the archaeology of death of the Etruscans. Unfortunately, the Etruscan material has previously been studied primarily in comparison with Greece and Rome.[28] Evidence is frequently still approached in Etruscan scholarship with a Helleno-centric lens, a situation which has persisted since the 18th century.[29] This thesis returns to the funerary evidence in part to reconsider some elements that have previously been taken for granted as Greek imitations or misconceptions. A widespread preference for Greek culture is difficult to overcome. There are notable examples of recent work that has overcome this setback, and instead take an Etrusco-centric approach to the material.[30] Thus, this thesis follows the tradition of these scholars, and looks at what the Etruscans at Tarquinia actually believed, rather than trying to find connections between anachronistic and alien customs described in the Greek and Roman accounts of funerary rituals and the afterlife.

The methodological approach in this thesis of looking at both funerary art and also, to a lesser extent, archaeological evidence (i.e. tomb form, layout, and evidence for ritual at the tomb), is not a common approach in Etruscan scholarship.[31] It is especially the case with regards to funerary art, such as tomb painting, that the contexts of the images are not taken into account. For example, it is often the case that paintings are reproduced in published literature, but without any indication as to where the painting is positioned in the tomb. This can be important not only in considerations of narrative schemes of the paintings, but also in relation to where the image is actually found. It is essential not to consider types of evidence separately; for example, mirrors, when examined in isolation and without the context of the tomb where they were grave goods,

[27] Studies on various aspects of religion include Bonfante and Swaddling 2006; de Grummond 2006a; de Grummond and Simon 2006; Gleba and Becker 2009. For a summary of recent excavations at the settlement of Pian di Cività, see Bonghi Jovino 2010. For Etruscan literacy and language, see Wallace 2008; Whitehouse, Wilkins and Lomas forthcoming.

[28] For example, Pallottino (1986: 15) has written that Etruscan art is useful "for the revealing contrast it affords to the achievement of the Greeks.". Furthermore, he states (1986: 16) that Etruscan painting provides an introduction to "the Hellenistic Roman decorative domestic paintings surviving largely in Campanian cities.".

[29] Izzet 2007c: 226.

[30] Leighton 2004; de Grummond 2006a; Izzet 2007a, 2007c; Riva 2010.

[31] This recent development in Etruscan scholarship is especially noticeable in Barker and Rasmussen 1998; Leighton 2004; Riva 2010.

can give a misleading impression. Ignoring the funerary context of such objects, and only focussing on the elaborate scenes engraved on the mirrors, might lead to a decontextualisation of the mirrors from their final purpose of being placed in the tomb as grave goods.[32]

The focus of this thesis on a specific site and period is also a new type of approach in Etruscan scholarship. Previously, scholarship focussed on "the Etruscans" as a homogenous culture, rather than considering the differences between settlements. Such an approach does not take into account how the communities might, and did in fact, differ.[33] There were, indeed, rather a large number of differences between the regions of Etruria.[34] Comparative conclusions are important to make, but they require initial studies of specific locations first.

V: Typology of Burial

As one would expect of a millennium long tradition of burying the dead, there were a number of significant changes and developments in burial practices throughout the five conventional periods of Etruscan civilisation at Tarquinia. The conventional periods are based on those of Ancient Greece, and so are not an accurate reflection of changes in Etruria (let alone in Tarquinia itself). The results of this thesis, moreover, will contribute to a demonstration of the limitations of such periodisation. All the same, some noticeable changes did occur over the centuries as new practices appeared and sometimes as old ones were once again adopted. A general overview of the methods of burial in each of the five periods illustrates the general pattern of developments.

[32] Izzet 2007a: 10.
[33] Notable exceptions include Olshki 1993; Small 1994; Terrenato 1998; Leighton 2004. Riva (2010) does not focus on a specific region but a specific time period, which is a different, but equally useful, approach.
[34] Haynes 2000: xviii.

Table I: Overview of burial practices and tombs at Tarquinia, 9th – 2nd century

	Villanovan	Orientalising	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic
Cremation[35]	**x**				**x**
Inhumation[36]	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**
Tumuli		**x**	**x**	**x**	
Family Tombs				**x**	**x**
Sarcophagi				**x**	**x**
Multi-chambered Tombs[37]		**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**
Monumental Tombs		**x**			**x**
Painting			**x**	**x**	**x**
Outdoor Rituals		**x**	**x**		
Symbolic Architecture[38]		**xx**	**x**	**x**	**xx**
Loculi				**x**	**xx**
Cemetery	Impiccato, Arcatelle, Le Rose	Infernaccio, Doganaccia	Calvario, Secondi Archi	Calvario, Secondi Archi	Scataglini, Calvario, Secondi Archi

It is particularly important to note that cremation and inhumation occurred simultaneously throughout the entire period, but the predominant form of disposal of human remains in each period is highlighted in the chart. A more detailed discussion of the chronological developments can further elaborate the changes that occurred.

[35] The most predominant form is displayed with an x.
[36] Elements which appeared late in the period are marked by a justification to the far right of the column.
[37] Referring to painted tombs that have more than one chamber.
[38] Symbolic architecture refers to the imitation of architectural elements in tombs, such as beams, windows, furniture, and columns, where they serve the purpose of decoration, and are a reflection of contemporary funerary beliefs, but are not structurally required in the tomb, and, therefore, not necessary in tomb construction. The periods in which symbolic architecture, especially rock-cut elements, were particularly common are highlighted with xx.

Table II: Chronology of Etruscan Civilisation at Tarquinia

Periods of Etruscan Civilisation:	Dates:
Villanovan Period (Early Iron Age)	10th – mid-8th century
Orientalising Period	750-600
Archaic Period	600-450
Classical Period	450-330
Hellenistic Period	330-100

During the Villanovan period, the dead were buried in a variety of different cemeteries around the Monterozzi ridge and what would later become the main settlement on Pian di Città. This is the only period in which cremation was the predominant burial rite. The ashes were placed in a receptacle which was then deposited in a pozzo, or well-shaped grave.[39] There is very little known about the arrangement of tombs in the Early Iron Age, however, those that have been properly documented do seem to show a deliberate arrangement or patterning. Any grave markers have, of course, long since disappeared. It should be noted that, unlike other necropoleis, this is the case for the entirety of Etruscan Tarquinia.[40] Most extant burials included only a small number of grave goods, but some urns were buried with a large number of pottery, jewellery, and other items.[41] Especially in the later part of the Villanovan period, a portion of graves began to contain more numerous and elaborate grave goods. At this time, the dead were buried in rock-cut fossa, or trenches, as well as in pozzo graves. The fossa became increasingly larger in size and eventually would develop into rock-cut burial chambers.

Although cremation was the dominant form of disposal in the Villanovan period, inhumation came to be preferred during the late 8th century. The Orientalising period (750-600) is characterised by a marked difference in the landscape of cemeteries. It was at this time that some of the dead began to be buried in monumental tombs that were made visible by an earthen mound, or tumulus. Tombs thus greatly increased in size, and also included a large visible superstructure. It has been noted that many of the entrances to the tombs inside these tumuli were orientated towards the northwest;

[39] Hencken 1968b: 55.
[40] Steingräber 1986: 33.
[41] Hencken 1968b: 54.

however, this was not the case for the tumuli at Tarquinia.[42] The grave goods were particularly numerous and extravagant during this period.[43] The entrances to the tombs at Tarquinia were very large and some contained rows of rock-cut benches.[44]

In the Archaic period (600-450), the tombs underneath the tumuli were located at the end of a steep and stepped dromos. The tombs were cut much deeper than previous ones and the internal shape became much smaller. The focus began to be more on internal features than on external ones. This was the high point of Etruscan tomb painting. Tombs of this period were most commonly small rectangular chambers with a gabled ceiling that were designed to house one or two inhumations.[45] The dead were laid out on funerary beds that were fixed into the floor by rock-cut depressions. The walls were painted initially with motifs of animals and vegetation, and then more commonly with lively scenes of dancing and musicians by the middle of the 6th century.

The predominant form of the tomb, as well as the motifs depicted on the walls, (450-330) were much the same in the Classical period as those in the Archaic period. By the end of the first half of the period, the form of the tomb developed with the use of rock-cut alcoves (loculi) and trenches inside the tomb to hold the deceased. The painted themes on the walls continued to represent much of the same subjects, and the alcoves themselves were also painted with these same motifs. In the second half of the Classical period, burial methods, as well as tomb type, developed significantly. The small rectangular shaped tomb was abandoned in preference for larger chambers, in which many individuals were placed in sarcophagi or cinerary urns. The walls were no longer decorated as elaborately as tombs of previous periods.[46] This shift in focus on the decoration and layout of the tomb, however, was not so much a drastic change, but was more of a development. Many elements from previous tombs can still be found in these large chambers of the late Classical period, albeit represented in different ways. Painted decoration on walls did not cease, but topics developed to focus more on the underworld. The realm of the dead is clearly identifiable by the presence of chthonic

[42] Prayon 1975: 16-23.
[43] Riva 2010: 39.
[44] Riva 2010: 132-133.
[45] Even in the multi-chambered tombs, the burial chambers were still small rectangular rooms with gabled ceilings, e.g. Steingräber 1986: 350.
[46] Roncalli 2001: 362.

demons or deities.[47] Themes depicted on sarcophagi during this period are mostly mythological scenes, especially Amazons. The deceased is occasionally depicted on the lid, and generally in a sleeping position.

The trend towards building large chambered tombs that occurred at the end of the Classical period continued even further in the Hellenistic period (330-100). Cremation began to become more common, but inhumation was still the predominant means of disposal of remains. The painted decoration of tomb walls was much less than in the Archaic period, and now only consisted of a few motifs. Tombs of this period included raised benches along the walls so that the sarcophagi could be visible. Occasionally, trenches were cut into the benches, floor, or wall of the tomb to allow for inhumations. Individuals inside these family chambers were differentiated from one another by inscriptions on the walls or sarcophagus, as well as individualised imagery and portraits on the sarcophagus itself. Sarcophagi in this period were most commonly decorated with themes of a procession of magistrates, battles, or, more commonly, the journey to the underworld. The deceased was frequently depicted on the lid sitting upright as if at a banquet.

[47] Chthonic demons are referred to as demons throughout this thesis for ease of classification. It should be noted that the majority of the depictions of Etruscan demons are very unlike what is commonly referred to as demons in modern culture (i.e. those that torture the damned in Hell). For a discussion of what Etruscan demons were like see Appendix IV. For examples of other types of Etruscan demons see Chapter V.III.iii.

Chapter II: The Villanovan Period

I: Introduction

This chapter looks at the evidence for ritual and beliefs about the afterlife from the earliest period of Etruscan civilisation, commonly referred to as the Villanovan period (10th to mid-8th century).[1] This period is important not only for the comparatively abundant funerary material from Tarquinia,[2] but also because the beliefs and traditions established at such an early time set the scene for the better documented later periods. The current consensus is that there was no sharp break in culture or ethnicity between the so-called Villanovans and the early Etruscan periods.[3]

As indicated by the many separate Iron Age cemeteries on the Monterozzi hill and around what would later become the main settlement on Pian di Cività, Tarquinia was one of the most prominent Villanovan settlements.[4] The abundance of material evidence can be used to develop a chronology of Iron Age material that has been used as a point of reference for settlements elsewhere.[5] Monterozzi, the main cemetery at Tarquinia, is a unique situation as it was used as a burial place continuously from the early 9th century to the 1st century.[6] This was also the location of the main settlement in the 9th century (Calvario).

As is the case for the later periods of Etruscan civilisation, the evidence from the Villanovan era is primarily derived from funerary material. The Villanovan period is a logical starting point for a study of Etruscan attitudes towards death and the afterlife as some of the elements that were to become very important in the later periods can be traced back to these early centuries. This chapter identifies those elements of Villanovan funerary culture that can be pieced together from the surviving evidence and those which were then elaborated and expanded during the following centuries of Etruscan civilisation.

---

[1] More recently, this period has begun to be referred to as Proto-Etruscan.
[2] Mandolesi 1999: 212.
[3] Ridgway 1988: 640; Cornell 1995: 46; Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 60; Haynes 2000: 4; Bartoloni 2001: 57; Leighton 2005: 363. Ridgway (1988: 641) is particularly critical of the term Villanovan, and sees it as an "unjustified ethnic extrapolation from the modern description of an archaeological culture."
[4] Mandolesi 1999: 194, 212.
[5] Riva 2010: 3.
[6] Hencken 1968a: 19; Hencken 1968b: 18.

I.i: Funerary Evidence from Villanovan Graves

The cemeteries are scattered over a wide area around modern Tarquinia (Figure II.1).[7] The earliest graves can be found in the Poggio delle Arcatelle section of Monterozzi across from what would become the settlement on Pian di Cività (Ancient Tarquinia on the map). Later Villanovan graves are found slightly to the West (Arcatelle, near the Calvario settlement). Other Villanovan burials have been found in the Selciatello, Selciatello Sopra, and Poggio dell'Impiccato areas in the East, much closer to the settlement (Figure II.1). All of these cemeteries were used throughout the Villanovan period at Tarquinia, from the 10th to 8th century.

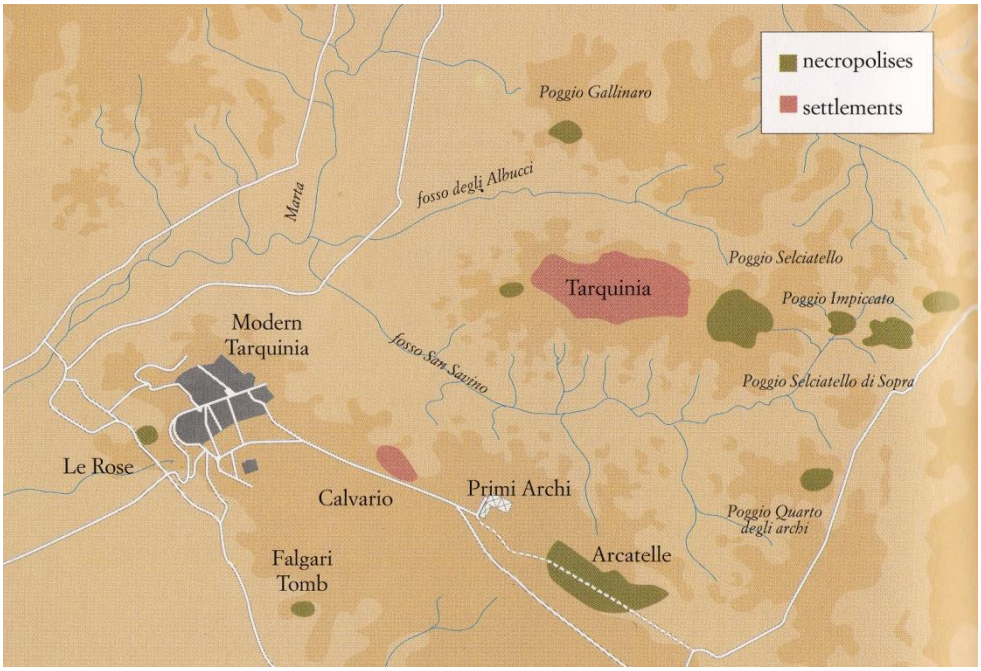


Figure II.1, Map of settlements and cemeteries around Tarquinia, after Donati 2001: 336.

As was the case elsewhere in Etruria during this time, cremation was the most widely used way of disposing of human remains. Funerary evidence from this period includes cinerary urns, some grave goods, and the holes dug for the graves themselves. Tarquinia is exceptionally rich in evidence for funerary rituals. The cemeteries around Tarquinia have collectively yielded the largest number of burials and grave goods of any of the settlement sites in Etruria in this period.[8] Looking at the holes for the graves

[7] Mandolesi 1999: 196.
[8] Bartoloni 2001: 57-58.

can also indicate distributions of graves and the organisation of cemeteries. It was most common in this period from the 9th to mid 8th century to place the vessel containing the remains in a pozzino, or shaft or well-shaped, grave, found at the bottom of a larger pozzo, which was then covered by a stone slab to protect the contents of the tomb (Figure II.2).

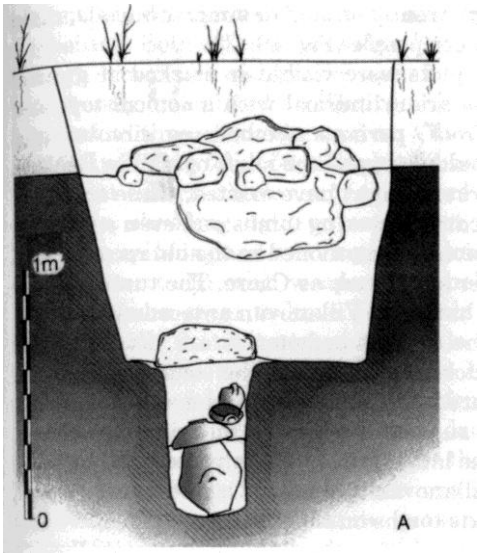


Figure II.2, Reconstruction of an Iron Age pozzo tomb, after Leighton 2004: 49.

The organisation of the graves can give indications of social make-up as well as elements of funerary rituals. The graves sometimes were connected by passages, suggesting family groups, such as can be found with the interconnected shafts on Monterozzi (Figure II.3).[9]

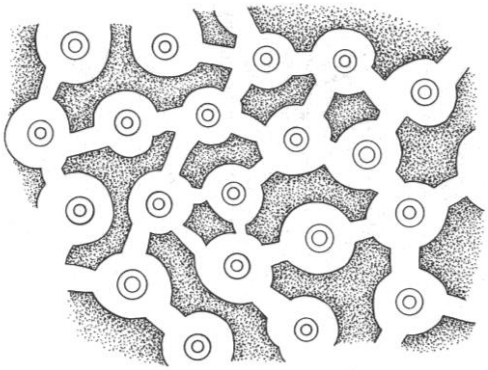


Figure II.3, Interconnected shafts at Monterozzi, after Hencken 1968a: 21.

[9] Hencken 1968a: 21; Leighton 2004: 48. Various other Villanovan sites also suggest an organised cemetery space (Toms 1992-1993: 148).

That these graves were connected indicates a desire to be close to the other burials. Furthermore, the graves at Le Rose, Impiccato, and Arcatelle were deliberately spaced in a systematic manner.[10] For example, 41 of the 110 graves at Impiccato (Figure II.1) were placed about two metres apart in concentric circles.[11] This deliberate and systematic arrangement indicates that much thought went into the placement of the graves. For this level of organisation to have been possible, the graves must have been marked by something visible on the surface, such as wooden markers, stone slabs, boulders or small earthen mounds. Without a marker to indicate where previous tombs were, it would not have been possible to place the graves in such a systematic way. This can be taken one step further: if there was a sort of grave marker, then it is possible that the living would regularly visit the graves of the dead. One must be wary, however, of making such a conclusion based on negative evidence. There is similarly no evidence to suggest otherwise, and so it must remain merely a possibility.

I.ii: Case Studies

Case studies of three specific graves, and the urns that held the ashes of the deceased, will be used to illustrate beliefs about the afterlife in this period. The first case study is a house urn from the 9th century found in the Arcatelle cemetery that originally had painted decoration around the door to the urn. The second is another house urn from Selciatello (Tomb 45) that was decorated with many geometric designs. The third case study consists of an analysis of the contents of Tomb I from Impiccato in which an impasto biconical cinerary urn was placed in the tomb with grave goods and covered with a false warriors' helmet.

[10] Leighton 2004: 50; Pacciarelli 2006: 244. Unfortunately, the majority of the excavations that were undertaken in the 19th century did not attempt to preserve any indication of the layout of trenches. It is, therefore, impossible to say if the systematic ordering at Le Rose, Impiccato and Arcatelle were unique (Toms 1992-1993: 143).
[11] Hencken 1968a: 25.

II: Case Study 1, House Urn from Arcatelle Cemetery

II.i: House Urns

Cinerary urns of the Villanovan period were made in a variety of different shapes and styles. Although the most common was a single handled urn with an inverted bowl on top, there are also some examples of urns in the shape of long oval houses. Some Villanovan huts were rectangular or square shaped, but yet the house urns that have survived only imitate the long oval shaped buildings. The burial of the cremated remains of the deceased in an impasto urn in the shape of a long house was a rare occurrence in Iron Age Italy. There are approximately 200 known cinerary urns in the shape of long houses found throughout Etruria and Latium.[12] Though the house urn phenomenon was not as common in Etruria as in Latium,[13] some exceptional examples have come from Tarquinia. There are seven extant house urns from the area around Tarquinia.[14] Long houses built to accommodate a large number of people in the Villanovan period were connected with elite status, and so the house urns have been associated with special status males.[15] The imitation of the house in funerary contexts evoked many powerful images, such as the concept of the household and the power that was held by the leader of that family group.[16] This connection between death and the house suggests that the use of house urns as a burial receptacle was a mark of status, and the reference to the house is a symbol of the individual's position in the family and society. Indeed, the majority of the house urns found at Tarquinia were in the context of wealthy graves with especially rich goods.[17] These house urns, made of either impasto or very rarely bronze, can be very detailed, and have been used by scholars to reconstruct Villanovan domestic dwellings, which were made largely of organic material, and therefore do not survive.[18] This reconstruction in itself is a circular

[12] Bartoloni et al 1987; Leighton 2005: 367.
[13] Bartoloni 2001: 55.
[14] Five of those came from Monterozzi (Hencken 1968b: 36) and only five had contexts of grave goods (Riva 2010: 82).
[15] Bartoloni 2001: 55; Riva 2006: 120. Some urns, however, held the remains of two humans, a male and a female, Becker 2001; Leighton 2005: 370; Riva 2006: 121. Due to difficulties with access, Iaia 1999 has not been consulted.
[16] Bradley 1996: 245.
[17] Hencken 1968b: 35.
[18] Smith 1996: 35-36; Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 69; Haynes 2000: 5; Bartoloni 2001: 59.

argument. The house urns are believed to resemble houses, though they are needed to reconstruct the houses themselves, which do not survive. The urns display a wide variety of decoration, including architectural elements such as windows, smoke holes, and doorways.[19] The urn that is the subject of this first case study is not one of the most elaborately decorated of the extant house urns, but the elements that are present, as well as the shape of the urn itself, are interesting to look at in terms what can be derived from it about beliefs about the afterlife as well as continuity of funerary architecture between the Villanovan period and later eras.

II.ii: Poggio delle Arcatelle 2 House Urn[20]

This house urn is made out of impasto, the most common material for urns in this period at Tarquinia (Figure II.4). It is one of the earliest house urns from Tarquinia and has been dated to sometime in the second half of the 9th century.[21] It is the oldest in a sequence of five house urns from Monterozzi that are all in the similar plain style with limited decoration and rows of ducks on the roof.[22]

Figure II.4, House urn from Arcatelle, 9th century, after Hencken 1968a: 61.

[19] Bartoloni et al 1987: 135-43.
[20] Pozzo with House Urn No. 3, Hencken 1968a: 60.
[21] Hencken 1968a: 238-239.
[22] Hencken 1968a: 238-239; Bartoloni et al 1987: 47.

The urn was discovered in a pozzo, with some grave goods, including a bronze tripod, and some vessels.[23] All five of these house urns were found with more than average grave goods, including weapons and/or razors, and in all five cases, extra care was taken to the protect the urn. In the case of Arcatelle 2, the urn was placed in a small nenfro receptacle and covered with a lid. The military nature of many of the grave goods found with these urns has led to the suggestion that there is a close connection between house urns and warrior status.[24] Arcatelle is a unique cemetery with regards to the large number of house urns found as well as the large number of exceptional burials.[25]

A broken bronze razor was found inside the urn itself, an item commonly found with the ashes of cremation burials in this period.[26] Since it was found inside the urn, it was likely that the razor had been broken before being placed into the grave, possibly signifying a ritual breakage or killing of the artefact, thus making it suitable for the tomb and the realm of the dead since, once broken, it was no longer usable by the living. Since this razor is now lost, it is impossible to tell for sure whether there was any further ritual purpose of the razor other than that which would be associated with it as a funerary item placed in a tomb with the deceased. It is possible, though, that the razor may have had a function as part of the funeral process in preparing the corpse for display.

II.iii: Decoration of the Urn

Very little has been said about the decorative schemes of house urns, largely because of the form of the geometric figures in comparison to the rich iconography of the later period.[27] All of the elements of the urns are important, however, and may be able to be used to derive some information about funerary traditions. The house urn from Arcatelle 2 has birds' heads along the roof. There is only one other urn from Tarquinia that has similar figures lining the top of the urn. The other example is a 9th century house urn from Impiccato (Tomb 25) that displays similar decoration on the

[23] Hencken 1968a: 238-239.
[24] Riva 2010: 82.
[25] Riva 2010: 33.
[26] Hencken 1968a: 60.
[27] Leighton (2005: 367) has identified the important point that Bartoloni's catalogue of house urns in Etruria and Latium (1987) focuses primarily on chronology and distribution, rather than decoration.

roof.[28] The choice of birds to decorate the top of the urn is interesting, given the tradition of Etruscan haruspicy. There is, however, no evidence for such priests at this early time. This decoration on top of the structure is generally compared to the roof beams that had statues placed on top of an early 6th century building at Murlo, and on top of later temples.[29] The images on the decorated roof could be seen as representing statues that may have once stood atop Villanovan long houses.

The concentric frames around the doorway are specifically interesting to note and were originally painted white and black (Figure II.5).[30]

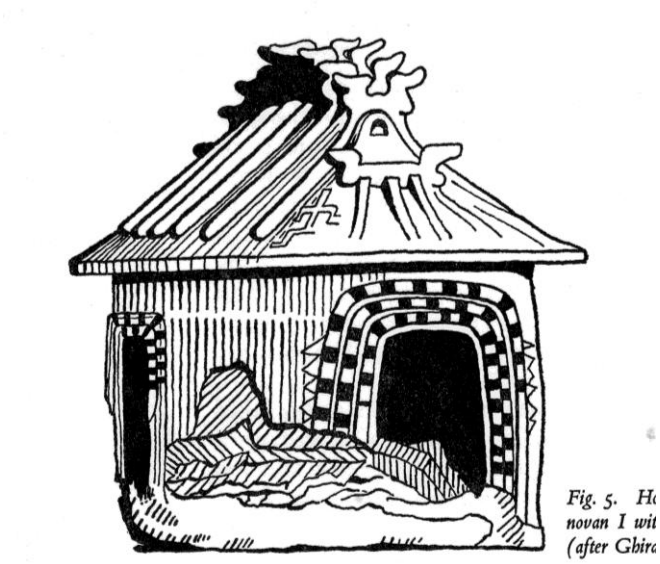


Figure II.5, Reconstruction of house urn from Arcatelle, after Hencken 1968b: 32.

Although the frames around the door to the urn are still visible, the paint has unfortunately not survived. Painting on a Villanovan cinerary urn is exceptional, though this may be a chance of survival and not a mark of prestige or wealth. It has been noted that the presence of paint on a house urn is very unusual, and that the only substantial comparison can be found on an urn from the Roman forum.[31] The concentric frames and the painting on the frames around the doorway to the urn from Arcatelle serve to draw attention to the entrance. This focus establishes the importance of doorways and liminality, which would become much further delineated in the Orientalising period.

[28] Hencken 1968a: 57.
[29] Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970: 52; Ridgway 1988: 666; Damgaard Andersen 1993: 29; Leighton 2005: 367; Colonna 2006: 156.
[30] Hencken 1968b: 36; Leighton 2005: 367.
[31] Hencken 1968a: 27; Bartoloni 1987: nos. 64 and 124; Leighton 2005: 367.

The form of the urn as a house is interesting to consider in terms of separation of space. External and internal spaces are in fact reversed in these graves. The cinerary urn, which displays the external features of a house, is actually hidden inside the grave. These urns display, on the one hand, that the external space is important in the decorative design on the outside of the urn, and, on the other hand, it is also internally focussed as the cinerary urn would have been placed inside a pozzo grave. The question of who the decoration was intended to be seen by is thus an important one. Since the urn was otherwise hidden to the living, it may have been meant to be seen by the living during the funeral, or it could also have been meant for the dead.

II.iv: The Tomb as the House of the Dead

The use of cinerary urns in the shape of a domestic dwelling cannot only help reconstruct the now disintegrated long houses, but can also raise questions about beliefs about the afterlife during the Villanovan period. It is commonly accepted by modern scholars that these house urns were in imitation of domestic houses.[32] The shapes of the house urns from Tarquinia do, in fact, match the shapes of the long houses that can be reconstructed based on post holes in the Calvario settlement.[33] Thus, the urn could be seen as the dwelling place for the ashes of the deceased, and the shape of the urns raises the possibility that in the early Iron Age there was a belief in the afterlife; that the deceased required a place to live, even in death. The shape of the cinerary urns indicates that the tomb may have been seen as a symbolic dwelling place for individuals even after death; it may indicate that something of an individual existed after death and even after cremation. However, the shape of the house could just as easily also allude to the former home of the deceased.[34]

There is a distinct lack of uniformity between the preference in shapes of the cinerary urns (i.e. biconical urns were the most common, house urns were the least common,[35] and urns with a warrior's helmet as the cover are also not frequently

[32] Cornell 1995: 51; Haynes 2000: 6, 11; Bartoloni 2001: 59; Leighton 2005: 367.
[33] Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 69; Haynes 2000: 6.
[34] Leighton 2005: 370. For a classic discussion about the archaeological debate over the relationship between houses and tombs in prehistoric societies, see Hodder 1995: 51-68.
[35] For example, of the 78 graves found at the Selciatello necropolis at Tarquinia, only one contained a house urn. Furthermore, this was by far the most elaborate grave in this cemetery as the trench walls were lined with tufa slabs (Hencken 1968a: 24).

found[36]). The burial of ashes in house urns, however, was reserved for extremely few individuals, which suggests that there was a codified practice of differentiation based on social status. The choice (or right as the case may have been) to bury one's ashes in an urn in the shape of a house is so unique that it seems to emphasise status and the power that comes with being the head of a clan. It also brings up the question of private space rather than communal land ownership.[37] The shape of the house could then reflect the individual's position in society, or aspired position.[38] This is not to say, however, that the tomb could also not be seen as the house of the dead. The assumptions for the identification of the house urns as symbolising the house of the dead is based on the painted decoration and architectural elements found in later tombs. There is simply not enough evidence from this period to conclude precisely why the form of the house was chosen for the shape of the urn in a small number of cases at Tarquinia.

II.v: Miniaturisation

The house urns were not merely a functional vessel to hold the ashes of the deceased, but were also a part of a tradition of miniaturised objects of daily life that have been found in Villanovan tombs. Miniature versions of everyday items, such as horses, carts, tables, and weapons, have been found in graves accompanying the urn. As items purposefully placed in the grave,[39] these objects had some sort of special connection to the deceased or contemporary funerary beliefs. For example, the horses, as a great expense, may indicate social eminence, while weapons may represent those used by a warrior. Such conclusions, however, should be treated with caution, as the goods do not necessarily reflect the status of the individual, but rather his or her aspirations, or, as more likely was the case, those of the family. Indeed, funerary evidence often reflects idealised and exaggerated representations of reality.[40] For example, one grave at Tarquinia displays elaborately made weaponry; however, the remains indicate that the person buried was a young boy, and therefore probably did not

[36] For example, of the 69 graves found at the Le Rose necropolis at Tarquinia, only four graves contained pottery bell helmets (Moretti 1959: 120, 126, 128; Hencken 1968a: 424).
[37] Capogrossi Colognesi 1988: 266.
[38] Haynes 2000: 11; Riva 2010: 82.
[39] It must be remembered that everything found in a grave or tomb has a significant purpose and was not arbitrarily placed with the dead (Metcalf and Huntington 1991: 24; Izzet 2007a: 47).
[40] Smith 1996: 14; Parker Pearson 1999: 23; Izzet 2007a: 48.

have an opportunity to use the weapons.[41] The weapons in this case might signify hope that the boy would grow up to become a warrior. These miniaturised objects have an otherworldly significance, representing the objects of the living to the dead.[42] The urn itself is an example of such an object, in this case a house, miniaturised in order to be acceptable for the grave. The miniatures indicate that the dead were believed to require, and maybe even use, objects in the afterlife. These objects need not be functional, but as in the later periods, symbolic objects were appropriate. This does not explain why most were buried without grave goods, and so is most likely a result of display of status. It would appear that provisions in the afterlife were not a requirement but varied based on individuals and wealth. As a result, upper class individuals were afforded the prestigious position of being buried with items to use in the afterlife.

III: Case Study 2, House Urn from Selciatello

III.i: Selciatello 45 House Urn

The grave that constitutes the second case study also dates to Villanovan I A in the 9th century. The elaborate incised decorations on the sides of this house urn make it a useful contrast to the Arcatelle urn. The urn was found in grave 45, a fossa style tomb at Selciatello cemetery (Figure II.1). In contrast to a pozzo type grave, fossa tombs were trenches. Extra care was made to protect the urn as the fossa was lined with slabs of tufa. This indicates a concern to separate the urn and designate the space for the deceased and the funerary goods.

Incised motifs are the more common form of decoration and, unlike painting, can be found on many cinerary urns of different shapes and sizes.[43] The incised decorations on this impasto cinerary urn make it one of the most elaborately decorated urns. These images are in the geometric style, and include elaborate swastikas, frames, waves, and figures (Figure II.6). The urn also has ridges shown on each side of the

[41] Leighton 2004: 51.
[42] Damgaard Andersen 1993: 17; Smith 1996: 42.
[43] Leighton 2005: 367.

gabled roof, perhaps representing logs that weighed down the thatched roof.[44] There are also smoke holes, a window, and a removable door.

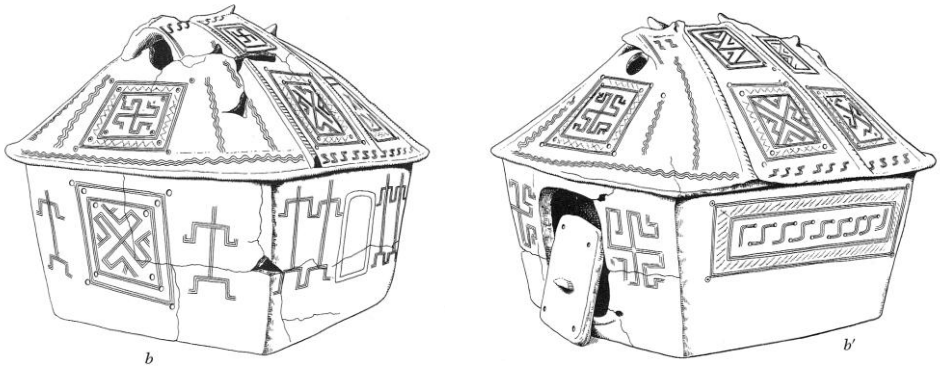


Figure II.6, Four sides of the house urn from Selciatello, 9th century, after Hencken 1968a: 39.

III.ii: Decoration of the Urn

The elaborate decoration on this house urn allows for some possible reconstructions of beliefs in the afterlife. Like the concept of the tomb as the house of the dead, however, these are based on similar motifs in the iconography of funerary art in the later periods and so must be treated with much caution. Thus, these reconstructions must simply remain possibilities and nothing more.

This urn has many swastikas depicted on it, making it the best example of elaborate swastikas in Villanovan funerary art from Tarquinia.[45] It has been concluded that real long houses were decorated with similar motifs in paint.[46] This conclusion, however, is based on the house urns and therefore highly tentative. The swastikas on this urn have been identified by Hencken as also representing seated figures with the swastika.[47] It is difficult to discern if this is the case, however, as a result of the geometric nature of the image, thus making human figures difficult to discern with any certainty. Differentiating the lines of the figures from the swastika motif makes this identification highly tentative. This type of depiction, whether it is a representation of figures or of a very elaborate swastika, is unique in Villanovan funerary art.

[44] Hencken 1968a: 38.
[45] Hencken 1968a: 31.
[46] Haynes 2000: 6.
[47] Hencken 1968a: 31; Damgaard Andersen 1993: 24.

Scholars have identified the images on one long side and one short as figures.[48] Hencken notes that the figures on the long side are in the pose typical of a man holding a spear (Figure II.6).[49] His basis of comparison, however, is the depiction of a figure holding a spear on the scabbard of a sword from Impiccato I (Figure II.7).

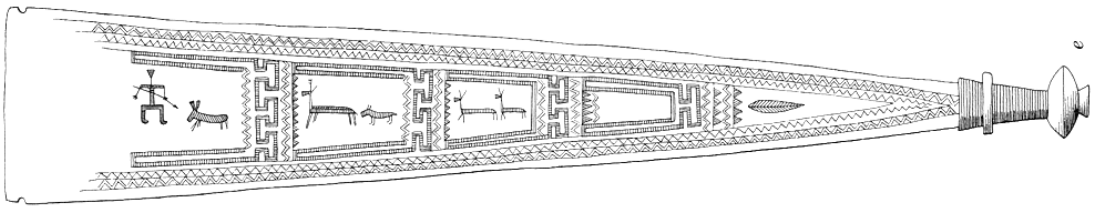


Figure II.7, Scabbard from Impiccato I, late 9th century, after Hencken 1968a: 117.

However, this image is clearly more detailed, including the depiction of a head, which is lacking on the "figures"[50] depicted on the side of the urn from Selciatello 45. The omission of the heads, though, does not signify that these images were not meant to be human figures. There are also examples of geometric figures that appear to be humans without heads sitting facing each other right above the handles of many biconical urns. These are most certainly human figures, however, since there are some urns which indeed do depict these figures with heads (Figure II.8).

[48] Hencken 1968a: 38; Haynes 2000: 7.
[49] Hencken 1968a: 38.
[50] These images are hereafter referred to as human figures for simplicity.

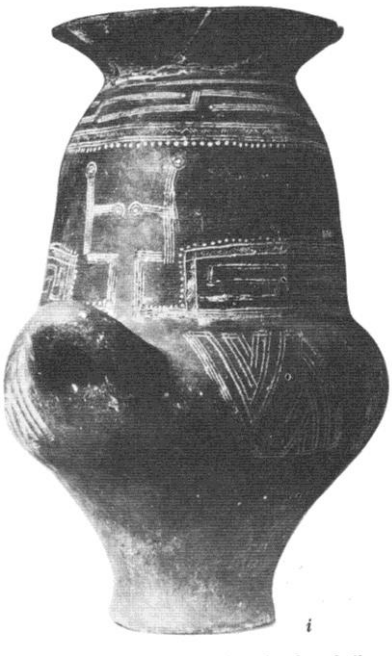


Figure II.8, Biconical urn with human figures, Selciatello 17, early 9th century, after Hencken 1968a: 222.

Furthermore, the two pairs of figures on either side of the window on the long side of the house urn are holding hands, which has been seen to symbolise a dance.[51] They may also resemble a procession scene. Procession scenes are very common in later Etruscan funerary art, and were most likely a part of the funeral process itself. Such a procession may be seen on the left hand wall of the Cardarelli Tomb (510/500). A journey scene is also found on the left hand wall of the Tomb of the Juggler (510), in which a youth is holding the hand of an elderly man. It is difficult, however, to compare these very detailed scenes painted on the walls of tombs from the Archaic period with the miniature geometric scene on the side of the cinerary urn, not only because of the very different style, but also because of the difference in scale.

It may be reading too much into these images to suggest that they are figures; however, comparisons with figures painted on walls of tombs at Tarquinia in later periods illustrate some interesting similarities. The figures on the house urn from Castel Gandolfo (Figure II.9) provide a useful comparison as they are placed in a similar manner as some later tomb paintings, thereby suggesting that they represent people rather than abstract images or mere random decoration. For example, depicted on this urn are what appear to be two figures flanking the false window with a swastika on the

[51] Haynes 2000: 7.

rear side of the urn. This is precisely in the same position as the two mourners flanking the false door at the rear wall of the late 6th century Tomb of the Augurs (Figure IV.11). Further support for the identification of these two images as human figures can be found on another urn from Latium. This house urn from Castel Gandolfo South of Rome not only depicts the figures in the same position as the mourners in the Tomb of the Augurs, but also depicts them in the same pose with one hand upraised.[52]

Figure II.9, Figures inside the door of a house urn from Castel Gandolfo with gesture of mourning, after Leighton 2005: 373.

IV: Case Study 3, Impiccato Tomb I

IV.i: The Tomb

Tomb I at the Impiccato cemetery on the Monterozzi hill constitutes the third and final case study for illustrating attitudes towards the dead in the Villanovan period. This tomb is a useful case study to focus on as that not only did it have multiple grave goods, but the context of the cinerary urn and the objects buried with it were well documented. Therefore, much can be derived from an analysis of the context of the tomb about funerary rituals. Furthermore, the burial in Tomb I, as well as in Tomb II,

[52] Leighton 2005: 371.

display interesting ritual ceremony, and, therefore, are particularly useful for this study.[53] Tomb I is dated to Villanovan I C, the later period which corresponds to the late 9th and early 8th century. The urn and accompanying goods were placed in a nenfro receptacle, thus indicating a concern to protect the objects inside. The cinerary urn from this tomb is not, like the two above case studies, in the shape of a long house, but rather is an impasto biconical urn (Figure II.10).

Figure II.10, Biconical cinerary urn from Impiccato I, late 9th century, after Hencken 1968a: 119.

The urn was accompanied by a wide range of bronze and impasto grave goods, much more so than the two previous house urn burials discussed above. Included in the grave goods was the aforementioned scabbard with figurative decoration on it, namely a man holding a spear (Figure II.7).

The use of a biconical urn to hold remains of the dead was the most commonly used type of vessel at Tarquinia.[54] These one-handled urns were often decorated with geometric patterns, including meanders and swastikas. There are also frequently two seated figures facing one another over top of the handle, as is the case in the urn from Impiccato I (Figure II.10). Often, the remains in the urns were protected by an inverted

[53] Riva 2010: 33.
[54] Riva 2010: 32.

bowl placed on top of the opening. There are some exceptional cases, like Tomb I at Impiccato, in which the covering of the urn was actually a bronze warrior helmet.[55]

IV.ii: Grave Goods

The numerous grave goods found in this tomb (Figure II.11) display a contrast with the earlier graves of the 9th century, which generally contained few and modest items.[56]

Figure II.11, Grave goods and cinerary urn from Impiccato I, after Haynes 2000: 13.

The number of elaborate burials and the wealth of grave goods increased greatly in the later period, thus reflecting not only an increased wealth and prosperity, but also a change of funerary ritual as an occasion for display.[57] Furthermore, this change reflected the perceived/projected status of the deceased. The wealth of grave goods increased even more so after the middle of the 8th century, and later on included luxury items and personal items such as gold, silver, pottery, miniature horses, razors, or fibulae.[58]

[55] The use of a bronze helmet is found in only three other tombs at Tarquinia in the Arcatelle and Impiccato cemeteries (Riva 2010: 33).
[56] Haynes 2000: 12.
[57] Haynes 2000: 13; Leighton 2004: 54; Izzet 2007b: 117.
[58] Haynes 2000: 12; Bartoloni 2001: 59; Leighton 2004: 50, 53.

The objects found in Impiccato I are especially interesting in that many are elaborately decorated, most notably, of course, the aforementioned scabbard. The scene on what has remained of this scabbard appears to show a hunter and a boar, as well as four other animals (Figure II.7). The sides, and in between the panels with the figures, are also elaborately decorated with borders of chevrons and meanders. That this scabbard is so elaborately decorated suggests that it was ceremonial, rather than functional. There are other objects of a similar militaristic nature, including a spear and a short sword. The sword also has an intricately decorated blade. These items, as well as the helmet covering the urn, would suggest that the deceased was a warrior. Thus, the choice of objects associated with warrior status, whether chosen by the deceased or by his descendants, indicates that his role in society was important to commemorate, and not just his role within the domestic setting. This tomb, then, represents a development from the earlier graves containing house urns or limited grave goods, one that exemplifies the individual's role in society over his position in the family.[59]

Also found in the tomb were vessels for drinking and holding materials. The vessels are of either impasto or bronze, some of which have hammered decoration. Like the house urn from Arcatelle, a razor was found inside the urn itself.[60] Other luxury goods include a fibula, gold bits, bronze plated with gold and decorated with raised dots, lead, and a large triton shell. These grave goods also display how much more elaborate Villanovan graves were becoming by the end of the 9th century.

IV.iii: Decoration on the Biconical Urn

The urn itself that held the ashes of the individual who was buried in Impiccato I is not entirely unremarkable. There are many very similar types of urns from throughout Etruria, from Tarquinia to Volterra, of the same shape and similar decorative motifs. The decoration on this urn, however, is what makes it exceptional, as it is very detailed. Elaborate swastikas are found around the lower portion of the urn, much like those found on the house urn from Selciatello 45 (Figure II.6). Also depicted on this urn is a meander around the neck with a border of chevrons. In the case of biconical urns such

[59] Riva 2010: 34.
[60] Hencken 1968a: 123.

as this one, there is no clear link between the gender and status of the deceased and the decorative scheme of the urn itself.[61] Based on the large number of grave goods, the individual buried in Impiccato I, or those burying him or her, wanted to be remembered, amongst other roles and identities, as wealthy. The nature of the grave goods indicates that the individual was most likely a high status male warrior.

Special note should be made of the two figures depicted above the handle of the urn (Figure II.9). The two figures are depicted seated and facing with arms outstretched towards each other. The placement of these figures above the handle, a focal point on the urn, is testament to the importance of the image. This motif has been represented in a variety of different ways, and is very commonly found in this specific place on biconical urns.[62] Sometimes the figures were given heads and hands in the form of circles (Figure II.8); however, this is not the case for the urn in Impiccato I. It is impossible to identify what these two figures are doing. The figures have outstretched arms, as is often the case, thereby suggesting that the two are interacting with each other, or at least meant to be seen together. Thus, it is possible that the figures above the handle are seated at a banquet. The earliest depictions of feasting in funerary art appear in the early Orientalising period, and show the banqueters seated rather than reclining as in the later periods.[63] The absence of a table, however, might suggest otherwise. It is more likely, however, that the figures are greeting one another. Indeed, greeting and parting scenes were to become a very commonly depicted theme on funerary art in the later periods of Etruscan civilisation.

IV.iv: The One Handled Biconical Urn

It is significant to note that almost all of the biconical urns from Villanovan graves have only one handle. Many of the urns were made that way, but some of them originally had two handles. Of the urns that had two handles, one handle was almost always purposefully broken off prior to being deposited in the tomb.[64] This action

[61] Leighton 2005: 367.
[62] Hencken 1968a: 29.
[63] Tuck 1994: 617.
[64] Tuck 1994: 626; Haynes 2000: 12; Bartoloni 2001: 59; Leighton 2004: 51-52; de Grummond 2009: 176 n. 9. There is, however, one urn from Tarquinia (Selciatello Sopra 72) in which the cremated remains were placed in a two handled urn.

makes the item unable to be used in the real world as it can no longer be carried properly. Therefore, this practice has been seen as a ritual "killing" of the urn.[65] By making the item no longer useful in the realm of the living, the biconical urn was specifically designated for the afterlife and the realm of the dead.

The shape of the biconical urn is characteristic of the type of vessel used for carrying water.[66] However, these vessels that have been found in non-funerary contexts had both handles intact.[67] This indicates that the vessels that were used to hold the cremated remains of the dead specifically needed to have only one handle, which also served to separate them from similar pots used by the living. Thus, the one handle on the urn may signify a desire to separate that which was meant for the tomb, rather than what was meant to be used by the dead in the afterlife. Whatever the original reason for the one-handled urns, it reflects a change in the function of the artefact as well as the artefact itself, one that makes it appropriate for a funerary context through ritual.

IV.v: Anthropomorphisation of the Biconical Urn

The shape of the biconical urn has long since been noted to resemble that of a human form, especially that of the female body.[68] There are many instances of urns being treated as if they were a body rather than a vessel to hold cremated remains.[69] Since the urn held the ashes of the deceased, this form is likely to represent the deceased himself or herself. There is evidence that some urns, many of which were found in the Impiccato cemetery at Tarquinia, were actually dressed in cloth and fastened with fibulae.[70] One bronze urn from a tomb at Tarquinia was dressed in a bronze girdle,[71] which was believed to have been the type worn by women.[72] It is possible that the girdle held a piece of cloth that has long since disintegrated. Similarly, spindle whorls were

[65] de Grummond 2009: 175.
[66] Bartoloni 1989: 123-124; Haynes 2000: 12; Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 71; de Grummond 2009: 176 n. 9.
[67] Toms 1992-1993: 148; de Grummond 2009: 176.
[68] Toms 1992-1993: 148; Haynes 2000: 12.
[69] For many more examples, see Toms 1992-1993: 148-150; Tuck 1994: 623-625. Cf. Damgaard Andersen 2003: 26-27.
[70] Hencken 1968a: 25.
[71] Tuck 1994: 625.
[72] Bonfante 2003: 23.

placed around the urn as if they had been worn as a necklace.[73] The dressing of the urn as if it was a body strongly indicates that it was believed to be the deceased whose ashes it held.[74]

Regarding Impiccato I, the context of the grave can give three important indications that the urn was treated like a body. Firstly, the pendant that was found in the tomb was originally around the neck of the urn.[75] Secondly, the urn in Impiccato I was laid on its side in the type of tomb that was generally used for inhumations.[76] This deliberate positioning of the urn as if it was a body can also be seen in Impiccato II. This tomb is from the mid 8th century (Villanovan II B), therefore somewhat later than Impiccato I. The urn in Impiccato II has even further indications that it was viewed as a body. The urn was not covered by the usual inverted impasto bowl, but was, like that in Impiccato I, covered by a bronze helmet. This helmet, however, was elaborately decorated in bosses and dots in a pattern that seems to some to resemble a face (Figure II.12).[77] This could, however, simply be a coincidence.

Figure II.12, Bronze urn cover in the shape of a helmet with a face, Impiccato Tomb 2, Tarquinia, late 8th century, after Tuck 1994: 624.

[73] Hencken 1968a: 25.
[74] Tuck 1994: 625; Damgaard Andersen 2003: 27.
[75] Hencken 1968a: 123.
[76] Hencken 1968a: 115; Toms 1992-1993: 150.
[77] Hencken 1968a: 172; Damgaard Andersen 1993: 27; Tuck 1994: 623-624.

This helmet did not have holes to fasten a chin strap, and, therefore, would not have been useable as an actual helmet.[78] Consequently, it was intended only to be ceremonial or to serve the purpose of covering the urn.

The concept of the urn as representing the body of the deceased appears consistently throughout Etruscan funerary art. It is most clearly seen, however, in the canopic urns from late 7th century Chiusi. In these graves, the cremated remains of the deceased were placed in an urn that was sometimes enthroned and clearly displayed human elements, such as arms, a head with facial features, clothing, and jewellery (Figure II.13).

Figure II.13, Canopic urn from Chiusi, second half of 7th century, after Haynes 2000: 106.

It would be logical to see these Canopic urns as stemming from a Villanovan tradition, as this would be an example of a later Etruscan funerary tradition that has origins in the Villanovan period. These similarities in shape indeed do suggest these two forms are related, but any further connection is uncertain at this time.

IV.vi: Feast for the Dead

The third factor of the context of the urn in Impiccato I contributing to the identification of the cinerary urn as the body of the deceased consists of the ritual of the

[78] Hencken 1968a: 172.

meal for the dead. Through shape and decoration, the urn represented a human body. As a result of an analysis of the vessels placed in the tomb around the body that were for the consumption of food and drink, it has been concluded that the dead were believed to partake in a banquet in the grave.[79] Many graves included items of pottery, especially drinking cups, plates, jugs, and bowls. The cinerary urn (i.e. the body of the dead) was placed in the pozzo amongst vessels for eating and drinking. These were placed deliberately to surround the urn, such as was the case for Impiccato I, thus suggesting that they were meant to be used by the urn. There is as of yet no evidence to indicate whether the family participated in a funerary meal at the grave, and then deposited the vessels in the grave, or whether they were placed there first. It is important to note that not all graves with biconical urns contained such vessels. Some graves, however, give indications for both. There is a late Villanovan II B grave from Tarquinia with a large number of goods; not only do banqueting items surrounding the urn, but the bronze ossuary was also dressed in the clothes of a woman.[80] Therefore, in this tomb, the connection between the anthropomorphised cinerary urn and feasting in the grave is clearly seen. Furthermore, it also highlights that vessels for banqueting have been found in tombs for both men and women.[81]

When one considers the vessels for food and wine that were placed surrounding the urn (i.e. the dead), it can be concluded that in Villanovan burials the dead were believed to partake in a meal in the afterlife. This has strong implications about the beliefs about the afterlife. It is also possible that the dead were thought to be participating in rituals similar to those undertaken by the living, rituals such as feasting that legitimated status while honouring the dead. That there was some sort of meal held at the grave, whether it was by the living and the dead, or only for the dead, during the Villanovan period is significant as this was to become a very important ritual in Etruscan funerals as well as the most commonly depicted theme in funerary art until the Hellenistic period. It is worth noting, once again, that there are many archaeological and ethnographical parallels for providing the dead with food. This is one trait that Villanovan burials share with those of Urnfield cultures north of the alps.

---

[79] This analysis with the conclusion that there was the ritual of a funerary banquet in the Villanovan period was conducted by Tuck (1994: 627).
[80] Hencken 1968a: 191-192; Tuck 1994: 625.
[81] Damgaard Andersen 1993: 17.

V: Conclusions

These three case studies illustrate that two important funerary traditions and beliefs that were to become common in the later period can already be identified in the Villanovan funerary evidence: the idea of the grave as the house of the dead in the form of house urns,[82] and the establishment of the funerary banquet in the belief that the deceased enjoyed a meal in the tomb.[83] The house urn from Arcatelle (Figure II.4) displays an achieved or projected status of the deceased, one that refers to the important role that the deceased might have held in the household. Furthermore, it also represents a starting point for what would be a long tradition of imitating domestic architecture in a funerary setting. It is uncertain if the shape of the house urn is a reflection of the belief that the tomb is the house of the dead at this point. The painted decoration on the door is highly significant in that it represents an early origin for the importance of doorways and thresholds in Etruscan tombs. The house urn from Selciatello (Figure II.6) also testifies to the importance of domestic buildings in funerary contexts, and also displays extensive use of geometric decoration. The elaborate figures might reflect funerary rituals, such as a procession. Finally, Tomb I from Impiccato can be used to derive a number of aspects of Villanovan funerary ritual. Most significantly, the urn (Figure II.10) was treated as if it was a body and was given a final feast in the grave. The contrast between the more widely used biconical urn symbolically representing the human body with the less common use of the urn in the shape of a long house is significant, as while one symbolises the individual, the other symbolises the family. The wealthy displays in graves such as Impiccato I and II anticipate the immense tombs of the Orientalising period with the elaborate tomb architecture and large quantities of luxury, personal, and practical goods. The study of funerary rituals supports the current view that there were major continuities from the Villanovan to early Etruscan periods.

[82] Bartoloni et al 1987: 135-143; Leighton 2005: 367. How accurately the house urns might actually imitate domestic dwellings is another question.
[83] Tuck 1994.

Chapter III: The Orientalising Period

I: Introduction

The Orientalising period (750-600) was marked by urbanisation and increased trade contacts with other parts of the Mediterranean world. These developments were necessarily reflected in changes in the funerary material. The changes, however, were not sudden. Villanovan funerary practices became increasingly elaborate throughout the course of the 8th century.[1] There was no sudden appearance of wealthy tombs at Tarquinia. Rather, there was an increasing size of the fossa tombs and larger quantity of luxury grave goods that were deposited within. Explicit social differentiation became evident in Tarquinian graves as early as the 9th century.[2] The Orientalising period is characterised by the monumental scale of the tombs as well as the lavish and numerous grave goods, some of them of exotic origin; all of this served to display status. Not all beliefs and traditions, however, had their origins in the Iron Age. The new traditions can be used to piece together further elaborations of attitudes towards the dead.[3] There are significant developments in the Orientalising period, most notably the scale of the largest tombs. Even the most drastic change (i.e. the shift from the preference to dispose of the dead by cremation to inhumation), however, was not a sudden one. Villanovan society was already stratified, but the tombs of the Orientalising period indicate a growing gulf between the richest families and the rest of the population. It also indicates that there was competition amongst the richest families in each city.

This chapter focuses on the material evidence from the Orientalising period. The abundant evidence can be used to indicate that there were increasingly developing beliefs about the afterlife. With the extensive elaboration of tomb forms, there is much more evidence to indicate that the tomb was a place for cult activity. The form and position of the visible tumuli also indicate a conscious interest in where the tombs were placed.

---

[1] Riva 2010: 12.
[2] Riva 2010: 32.
[3] This is undoubtedly a result of the higher level of preservation of tomb forms from this period. Such beliefs and traditions may have existed earlier, but there is no longer any evidence for them. Unfortunately, this was not the case for the Orientalising tombs at Tarquinia, where the form of the tomb, and thus the contents, did not survive well.

I.i: Funerary Evidence

The evidence from Tarquinia for this period is less abundant than in other locations. During the 7th century, Cerveteri was a very prominent settlement, as indicated by the rich graves and extremely elaborate tombs. This may indicate that Cerveteri was more predominant at this time; however, it could simply be an accident of survival. Indeed, there are significant wealthy aristocratic tombs at Tarquinia that date to this period, but they have not survived as well.[4]

Tombs from the Orientalising period were found mainly at three sites: the Doganaccia necropolis, Villa Tarantola area, and especially Infernaccio (Figure IV.2).[5] The location of the Monterozzi cemetery was specifically chosen to be away from the settlement and overlooking the Tyrrhenian Sea, as well as the settlement at Pian di Cività.[6] The tombs were constructed along an ancient road.[7] Many of the tombs at Tarquinia that have been dated to the Orientalising period are very problematic. For example, the largest tumulus of the Doganaccia section of the Monterozzi necropolis was mostly ruined during excavation at the beginning of the 20th century.[8] Furthermore, many items from the wealthy tombs have been dispersed throughout the world as a result of improperly conducted excavations in the 19th century.[9] Similarly, the external features of the tombs themselves have suffered greatly from erosion and farming, or were filled in and are now lost (such as the famous Bocchoris and Avvolta tombs).[10] Therefore, the grave goods that have remained lack an original context.

The change from burial in small shaft graves to large chamber tombs necessarily resulted in a very different landscape of Etruscan cemeteries. Instead of cremated human remains deposited in cinerary urns and buried in pozzi graves, the dead were sometimes inhumed in chambers cut out of the tufa and covered by earth in a conspicuous location and made visible by a small mound (i.e. a tumulus).[11] A part of the tomb was thus now visible above ground. This visibility is a stark change from the previous period both regarding the size of the monument and conspicuousness. The

[4] Mandolesi 2008: 11.
[5] Mandolesi 2008: 13.
[6] Previous Iron Age settlements had been abandoned for more strategic locations (Mandolesi 2008: 12).
[7] Hencken 1968b: 25.
[8] Hencken 1968a: 378.
[9] Leighton 2004: 56, 65.
[10] Leighton 2004: 10, 65.
[11] Naso 1996: 70-71; Haynes 2000: 71; Mandolesi 2008: 12.

location of tombs along well travelled roads ensured that the now conspicuous monuments to the dead would be seen.[12] The conscious decision to bury the dead in large visible mounds collectively in specific areas indicates a concern for commemoration that may be interpreted as reflecting social differentiation. Large tumuli served a purpose of aristocratic display.[13] Mounds also gave the opportunity to assert dynastic stability, as many tumuli included multiple generations of burials (e.g. the Avvolta tomb at Tarquinia).[14] They were also a venue for competitive display between aristocratic families.

The tombs developed from the trench style graves to chambers that became larger as the period went on. The first chamber tombs at Tarquinia date to the end of the 8th century.[15] By the 7th century, the dominant tomb form for elites throughout Etruria was a chamber tomb under an earthen mound with a resealable door. The tombs of Southern Etruria were cut deep into the rock, and the tumuli built-up with earth and rubble mounds, whereas the tomb chambers of Northern Etruria were built up of either cut blocks of rock or piled stones. This is generally assumed to be a result of the type of volcanic tufa found in Southern Etruria (e.g. at Cerveteri), which is soft to cut into, but hardens after exposure to oxygen, thereby allowing for a better chance of survival.[16]

The increasing number of grave goods, and the display of wealth that was found in some late Villanovan tombs, progressed to reach a high point in the Orientalising period, in which some elite tombs contained extremely large quantities of objects. For example, the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Cerveteri was found with large amounts of bronze, gold, a chariot, and large scale pottery.[17] Not only were the number of grave goods increased, but new symbols of status were adopted. Full size chariots and thrones were placed in tombs, as well as luxury items such as fans, sceptres, and incense burners, all of which served to express a new political or social authority.[18]

[12] Mandolesi 2008: 14.
[13] Leighton 2004: 66.
[14] Leighton 2004: 65; Mandolesi 2008: 12, 14.
[15] Leighton 2004: 61.
[16] Prayon 2001: 335; Steingräber 2006: 16.
[17] Haynes 2000: 75-77.
[18] Riva 2010: 106.

I.ii: Non-Elite Burials

The majority of the people, however, were not buried with such symbols of status. Most were buried in rock-cut trenches with a limited number of grave goods. In the late Villanovan period, the tomb form developed from trenches to become small chambers with a bench for the body of the deceased by about the end of the 8th century.[19] The preferred form of disposal of human remains was largely inhumation, though cremation did occur intermittently. The chambers displayed much care in construction of tombs that were either cut from the rock or masonry constructed. The types of chambers varied greatly. Some were cut from the rock with arched roofs (e.g. Cultrara's Tomb 60),[20] whereas some were double gabled, thus imitating architectural elements. Some tombs were partly constructed with barrel vaulted roofs (e.g. Romanelli's 92) overtop of two benches for inhumations with some vessels of local ware and fibulae.[21]

The grave goods are of the same type found in the more elaborate tombs of the elite. For example, jugs, vessels for eating and drinking, and fibulae and razors are all very common. The difference is in the materials themselves and the quantity of items. The vessels were locally made impasto or, on occasion, bucchero, as well as Greek and Phoenician vessels.[22] Like the elite tombs, the contents of these smaller, more modest, chambers were protected by slabs of tufa.[23] They are lacking, of course, the wealthy goods that served to display status, such as chariots and sceptres. There would mostly likely have been, moreover a large number of people from lower classes who were buried without grave goods and in unmarked graves. It is impossible to know, unfortunately, what proportion of the population were actually buried in rock-cut chambers, and how many could not afford such a tomb.

I.iii: Case Studies

It is necessary, however, to focus on the wealthy tombs for the purposes of this study as they give the most comprehensive evidence for beliefs about the afterlife. They

[19] Leighton 2004: 61.
[20] Hencken 1968a: 386.
[21] Hencken 1968a: 391.
[22] Leighton 2004: 68.
[23] Leighton 2004: 59.

contained the largest amount of material found within and around them, and, therefore, provide the most information about beliefs about the afterlife and attitudes towards the dead. Although these elite tombs reflect only a narrow section of the population, they are the most useful in reconstructing funerary ideology from a small number of case studies. Three tombs have been specifically chosen because together they can provide a comprehensive view of death and the afterlife in the Orientalising period. It is unknown, however, how far elite ideas were shared by the community as a whole.

The first case study is an analysis of the famous Bocchoris tomb (700-675), which contained the remains of a wealthy aristocratic woman as well as a large variety of grave goods, including items from Egypt. The second case study is of the largest tumulus in the Doganaccia section of Monterozzi necropolis, namely Doganaccia Tumulus I. The third and final case study for this chapter will consist of the Cima Tumulus and the largest and oldest tomb inside the mound at San Giuliano near Tarquinia. This tumulus, although not in Tarquinia, is nearby (around 20 miles away), and has survived in much better condition than the tumuli at Tarquinia. It also displayed unique facilities that indicate an ancestor cult. Therefore, it can be used to provide much information about funerary rituals and beliefs.

II: Case Study 1, Bocchoris Tomb

II.i: The Tomb

The Bocchoris tomb is famous largely because of the display of wealthy items found in the tomb, and most especially the Egyptian items. The tomb has been dated to the first quarter of the 7th century, and is believed to be the tomb of a woman because there were no items connected with warriors or military status found inside.[24] The tomb, however, was plundered through the ceiling before the 19th century, so it is uncertain what the original contents may have been. The items left inside by the grave robbers were, nevertheless, indicated that the dead were still very wealthy and opulent. There are many pottery vessels, as well as items of gold, bronze, and faïence figurines. Accounts of the collection over the last hundred years have varied, and there are some

[24] Hencken 1968a: 365

items attributed to the tomb that do not match early descriptions.[25] The tomb was named after one of the items found inside: an Egyptian faïence that displays the hieroglyphic cartouche with the name of the pharaoh Bokenranf (Bocchoris in Greek), who ruled from 720-715.

It is difficult to reconstruct the shape of the tomb as it was filled in after the contents were removed, and so subsequent studies have been restricted to descriptions of the chamber by the workmen.[26] The tomb consisted of a rock-cut rectangular chamber sealed with slabs of nenfro. There was a bench for grave goods on one side, and it appears that the roof was gabled, perhaps in such a way as the later Cima Tomb was gabled (Figure III.1).

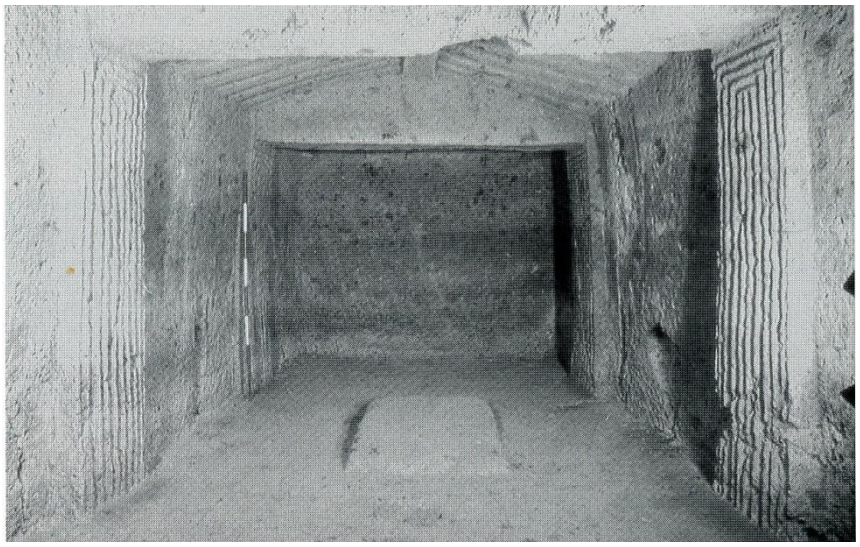


Figure III.1, Left chamber of the Cima Tomb with remains of altar and elaborately carved ceiling and walls, after Steingräber 2009: 265.

II.ii: Grave goods and Foreign Contacts

The grave goods in this tomb are indicative of the differentiation of social spheres that occurred in the late Villanovan period and reached much more heightened proportions in the funerary sphere in the Orientalising period. The goods deposited in tombs were a way of reaffirming the status or aspired status of not only the deceased, but also his descendants. For example, items associated with warriors and hunting

[25] Hencken 1968a: 365.
[26] Hencken 1968a: 365.

display skill and prowess. Objects associated with meat consumption and wine drinking (thus, banqueting) are also connected to this.

Even plundered, the tomb was still found with many items, both locally and foreign made. The eponymous Bocchoris Vase (Figure III.2) is one of the more famous items found in this tomb, as it displays the cartouche of the Egyptian pharaoh. Therefore, this vase has been used as an indication of Etruscan contacts with foreigners in the Orientalising period.[27]

Figure III.2, The faience Bocchoris Vase (late 8th century) with the cartouche of the Egyptian Pharaoh Bokenranf, after Naso 2001: 115.

Also worthy of note is the gold plaque stamped with an image of a female figure between two sphinxes (Figure III.3). This is a very common arrangement of figures found in Eastern art. It is also in the style of a potnia theron, or mistress of the beasts. Such a motif appears frequently in early Etruscan art.[28] The concept of the mistress or

[27] Turfa 1986: 66; Ridgway 1999; Naso 2001: 114.
[28] Icard-Gianolio 1997: 1026-1027; de Grummond 2006a: 99.

master of the beasts is extremely ancient; it is known from Mesopotamia from the 3rd millennium, and is often associated with victory in combat.[29]

Figure III.3, Gold plaque with Potnia Theron (late 8th century) between two sphinxes from the Bocchoris Tomb, after Hencken 1968a: 366.

The degree of luxury goods found in this tomb can be compared to other "princely" tombs in Etruria, such as the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Cerveteri (ca. 650). This tomb also contained the inhumed remains of a wealthy woman, while another chamber contained the cremated remains of a male.[30] Like the Bocchoris tomb, the Regolini-Galassi tomb itself must be analysed using only eyewitness accounts.[31] The tomb at Cerveteri had extremely opulent grave goods, including the carriage that would have transported the body of the deceased.[32] This increased display of wealth indicates an emerging social and political power that manifested itself in displays of status.[33] This also shows that there was a growing disparity between the elite and lower classes.

II.iii: Funerary Banquets

Inside the Bocchoris tomb were vessels for drinking as well as a large oinochoe for mixing wine and water.[34] It is unclear as to whether these items were intended to be offerings for the dead or to be used by the dead. The presence of banqueting equipment inside tombs does bring up the important point of dining with the dead. The belief that the dead enjoyed a banquet in the tomb is one that most likely originated in the

[29] Steingräber 1986: 41.
[30] Haynes 2000: 77.
[31] Recently an extraordinary and successful attempt has been made to create a virtual reconstruction of the Regolini-Galassi tomb (Hupperetz et al. 2012).
[32] Haynes 2000: 77.
[33] The emergence of a new political power through the funerary evidence is carefully analysed by Riva (2010: 95-107).
[34] Hencken 1968a: 374.

Villanovan period.[35] There is, however, much more evidence in tombs from the Orientalising period for not only the belief that the dead consumed a meal nearby the tomb and deposited the goods in the grave, but that a ritual banquet was a part of the funeral itself.

Before discussing the evidence for dining with the dead in this period, it is first important to say something about the various forms of funerary banquets. The funerary banquet appears to have had three separate forms in both reality and imagination, and in later Etruscan periods there is evidence of all three. Firstly, the banquet could be consumed by the living as a last chance to share a meal with the deceased and say farewell. This in itself could be used as a display of the status of both the deceased and the descendants as well as a reaffirmation of genealogy. Secondly, and almost identical to the first type, banquets could be held near the tomb in commemoration of the deceased, perhaps on regular occasions. This banquet would have likely been the same as a farewell banquet, but was held for a different purpose, that of annual commemoration. Graveside meals can have many important implications. Feasting at the grave not only connects the living with deceased ancestors, but also the ostentatious display and dynastic connotations serve to reaffirm elite status and family connections.[36] And, finally, this meal could be envisioned as held by the dead and shared with ancestors in the underworld, as can be seen in the funerary art of the later periods.[37] Only the third type occurred completely in the realm of the dead. The first two were in the realm of the living, although that is not to say that the dead were not believed to also take part. There is evidence that indicates that the first two types occurred in the Orientalising period in tombs; however, it is impossible to differentiate the two of them. The close connection between banquets and funerals can be found on the first depiction of a banquet on a mid 7th century cinerary urn from near Volterra. The lid of this urn (the Montescudaio urn) appears to depict people seated at a table (Figure

[35] Tuck 1994: 617.
[36] Riva 2010: 58.
[37] There is strong evidence to suggest that the dead were believed to enjoy a banquet in the afterlife in the Villanovan period as well (see above Section IV.iv in Chapter II), however, the evidence from the Hellenistic period is undoubtedly clear that the final destination in the afterlife was a banquet with ancestors (see below in Section II.iii in Chapter VI and especially Figure VI.4).

III.4). The funerary context of a cinerary urn strongly suggests that this meal is a funerary banquet, although it is unclear which type.[38]

Figure III.4, Biconical cinerary urn (675-650) from Montescudaio with banquet scene on the lid, after Riva 2010: 87.

Although there is only limited evidence to suggest that the individual buried in the Bocchoris tomb was believed to participate in a banquet or that a banquet was held at the tomb, there is much better documented evidence for such a ritual from the Regolini-Galassi tomb, a similarly wealthy tomb at the Sorbo cemetery in Cerveteri. Carbonised remains of wood, as well as pottery and cooking equipment, such as spits and cauldrons, were found in the entranceway to the Regolini-Galassi tomb.[39] This indicates that not only was food left in the tomb, but that it may have been prepared and perhaps consumed nearby and the instruments for cooking were then deposited in the tomb by the living. It is uncertain, however, whether this was a farewell banquet as part of the funeral, or whether it was conducted in honour of the dead some time after burial. Evidence that perhaps a meal was held inside the tomb was also found in the now lost Avvolta Tomb at Tarquinia, which had burnt pottery in the middle of the chamber.[40] This practice, however, is most notably seen at Cerveteri, where there is much evidence

[38] Tuck 1994: 617.
[39] Pieraccini 2000: 38.
[40] Leighton 2004: 65.

for banqueting items that were left in dromoi.[41] Such items were not restricted solely to either male or female burials, but have been found in both cases.[42]

It is important to note that the evidence, such as cooking utensils and dining equipment, for the majority of graveside feasts indicates that they were most commonly left in the entrances to tombs.[43] Much can be inferred regarding beliefs about the afterlife from the shape and treatment of the dromos. The entrances of many monumental tumuli from this period were long and narrow, and thus emphasised the passageway into the tomb.[44] The vestibule of a tumulus was an appropriate place for the banquet in honour of the dead as it was between the outside world and the burial chamber itself. Accordingly, it was a liminal area that was not associated with the space for the living (i.e. the world outside), nor with the space for the dead.[45] This separation of appropriate space is consistent with later Etruscan burials.[46] There was a specific place and form for things associated with the funerary sphere. The ritualistic actions associated with these sacred areas (such as pouring libations or feasting in honour of the deceased) have significant implications regarding beliefs about the afterlife, since the farewell banquet was likely a part of the funeral process. The evidence for deposits or feasting at the grave is, unfortunately, skewed by the reuse of tombs by subsequent generations, as well as by plundering in more recent times. It is, therefore, difficult to differentiate between annual visits at the grave and later burials.

It may have been the case that such a banquet may have been held, or believed to have been held, in the entrance to the Bocchoris tomb. This is unfortunately speculation, however, as a result of the entranceway and the tomb itself were filled in after the items were removed. It is so commonly found in Cerveteri that it is possible that this may have been the case in tombs at Tarquinia, where the preference to bury the dead in tumuli continued for much longer. Nevertheless, the vessels found in the Bocchoris tomb do indicate that items for consumption were left in the tomb in an unspecified capacity.

---

[41] Pieraccini 2000: 38, 40; Riva 2010: 58.
[42] Riva (2010: 93) points out a good example of a female burial in Camera degli Alari at Cerveteri, in which wine-drinking vessels, as well as an entire banqueting set, have been found.
[43] Pieraccini 2000: 38, 40.
[44] Izzet 2007a: 91.
[45] Izzet 2007a: 93.
[46] For example, separation of space can be found in the raised rows of benches in the family chambers of the Hellenistic period, in which each deposition had a specific place and was meant to be visible by those entering the tomb (see Chapter VI.II.ii).

III: Case Study 2, Doganaccia Tumulus I

III.i: The Tomb and Doganaccia Necropolis

The Doganaccia section of the Monterozzi necropolis is located directly across from the main settlement on Pian di Cività, on the main ancient road leading towards the coast (Figure IV.2).[47] The largest tumulus (Doganaccia Tumulus I) can be found right beside another slightly smaller tumulus (Doganaccia Tumulus II). The close proximity of the two mounds might suggest that the individuals buried inside both tumuli were closely connected.[48] The Doganaccia necropolis was not separate, but was a part of the massive collection of cemeteries on the Monterozzi hill.

The tumulus is in very poor condition, despite being restored in the early 20th century; this state of preservation, or rather the lack thereof, is consistent for the tumuli of this period at Tarquinia (e.g. Figure III.5). Tumulus II is also in a very poor state of preservation.

Figure III.5, Doganaccia Tumulus II (7th century),
after http://www.viadeiprincipi.it/en/doganaccia-necropolis/queens-mound.html

[47] Cultrera 1932: 100; Hencken 1968b: 25.
[48] Mandolesi 2008: 17.

Only a small mound of what was once a tumulus with a 35m diameter can be seen now, unlike the well preserved massive tumuli at Cerveteri, some of which are as wide as 50 metres in diameter.[49] The tombs at Cerveteri are much better preserved mostly because of the type of tufa, but also because the Banditaccia necropolis is situated in a valley rather than on a ridge. Furthermore, the tufa in Cerveteri is much harder than the calcareous limestone of Tarquinia.[50] Therefore, destruction by erosion and the elements was not as much a problem. Despite the poor state of the tumuli in the Doganaccia section, it is clear that these burial mounds were meant to be seen. Close proximity to a major road further emphasises the desire that the tumuli be seen by the living.[51]

The Doganaccia Tumulus I was cut into the rock and covered by an earthen mound on top of a section of stone masonry. The lower part of the mound was faced with a revetment of masonry.[52] The tomb was plundered extensively before excavations in the 1920's, and, therefore, it is difficult to make any observations about the status of the deceased, cult activity inside the tomb, or to derive any beliefs about the afterlife from grave goods. Furthermore, complete records were not made during excavations, thus making it even more difficult to construct a detailed tomb context.[53] Sherds of pottery indicate that there were locally made cups and jars.[54] Fragments of bucchero were decorated with images of a lion and figures of a proto-Corinthian style, all of which are typical of the Orientalising period in Etruria.[55] The number of different types of sherds and fragments left behind (such as iron fittings for a chariot) suggest that the tomb was indeed very wealthy. This is in accordance with the large and ostentatious form of the tomb itself.

III.ii: Funeral Rites

The entranceway is a very important part of the tomb as it connects the world of the living with the space for the dead. This space was maximised in Cerveteri as a place for ritual activities in honour of the deceased. The entrances to the tombs of this period

[49] Izzet 2007a: 91.
[50] Steingräber 2006: 16.
[51] Mandolesi 2008: 14.
[52] Hencken 1968a: 378.
[53] Mandolesi 2008: 19.
[54] Cultrera 1932: 109-112; Hencken 1968a: 380.
[55] Hencken 1968a: 380.

at Cerveteri are characterised by a narrowing of the entrance the closer it gets to the doorway of the tomb.[56] In Tarquinia, however, the entranceways of many of the tumuli were widened considerably. Indeed, there were actually rows of benches in a sunken forecourt that looked over the entrance to the tomb.[57] This gives important indications of how the funeral was conducted in the Orientalising period.

This forecourt (piazzaletto) in the entrance to the tomb indicates that a part of the funeral, most likely the deposition of the corpse in the tomb, was intended to have an audience. That the complex was outside of the tomb would have allowed for a larger number of viewers. Thus, they may have also been used for subsequent rituals held at the tomb in honour of the deceased, without disturbing the body itself.[58] Similar forecourts are also found in other tumuli of this period at Tarquinia, including, the Luzi Tumulus (Infernaccio section), Avvolta Tumulus II, Doganaccia Tumulus II and the Poggio Gallinaro Tumulus.[59] The forecourts had the capacity to hold a large number of people, thus making the deposition of the deceased a very public event. For example, there was space for up to 150 observers in the piazzaletto of the Luzi Tumulus (Figure III.6).[60] The monumental complex of stairways in front of this tomb was organised in a theatre-like arrangement, thus emphasising the spectacle of the funeral.

Figure III.6, Forecourt of the Luzi Tumulus,
after http://www.viadeiprincipi.it/en/doganaccia-necropolis/queens-mound.html

[56] Izzet 2007a: 95.
[57] Cultrera 1932: 106; Naso 1996: 74; Mandolesi 2008: 15.
[58] Colonna 2005: 1014; Mandolesi 2008: 15; Riva 2010: 133.
[59] Riva 2010: 132.
[60] Riva 2010: 131-132.

It was not unique to have a part of the funeral witnessed by the living around Orientalising tombs in Etruria. The forecourts of these tumuli can be compared to ramps that led up the drum and mound of tumuli in Cerveteri (Figure III.7).[61]

Figure III.7, Ramp leading up the drum and mound of Tumulus I, Cerveteri.

These ramps led to a platform partway up the tumulus. Evidence for an acroterium, as well as antefixes and terra cotta plaques depicting processions found near the Archaic Sodo II tumulus, suggest that there was an altar at the top of the steps leading up the side of the tumulus.[62] The tumuli at Cerveteri do not have any altars anymore; however, the platforms that the ramps led up on the sides of the tumuli were most likely not empty. It is possible that, like the Sodo II tumulus, the tumuli at Cerveteri once contained altars. This space outside the tomb would have probably been for funerary rituals, conducted either when the deceased was interred in the tomb or afterwards in honour of the deceased. Like the forecourts of the tumuli at Tarquinia, this space would allow rituals to be conducted without disturbing the human remains.

Not only was the tomb meant to be visible for those passing by, but the external complex around the tumuli at Tarquinia indicates that funerary or cultic rituals in honour of the deceased were meant to be witnessed by a large audience.[63] Thus, the tomb served a double function; it was a place to bury the dead as well as a location for cultic rituals.[64] It is also important to note the dual function of the funeral itself. The funeral was an opportunity for personal display and was not just an opportunity to give the deceased a fond farewell. This may have also been the case in the Villanovan

[61] Izzet 2007a: 92. Examples of tumuli with ramps include the Tumulus of the Colonel, Tumulus II, Tumulus I, Campana Tumulus, and the Tumulus of the Shields and Chairs. Steingräber (2009: 132) notes that, as of yet, no detailed study of the upper section of tumuli has been undertaken.
[62] Zamarchi Grassi 2000: 142; Riva 2010: 131.
[63] Naso 1996: 76.
[64] Riva 2010: 130.

period; however, in the 7th century this display reached monumental proportions in certain elite burials.

The majority of funerary rituals, although ostensibly about the dead, are actually more for the living.[65] The dead may have been believed to be present, but it was the living that witnessed the display of wealth and status in the funeral itself. Public displays at funerals served to establish genealogy and continuity of family status.[66] This message of family stability and genealogy is also enforced through the burial of multiple generations of families in a single tumulus.[67] The practice of using the same burial mound for subsequent generations would allow for the honouring, and reminder, of the status of ancestors. This also indicates a desire to be buried (or to bury the dead) in close proximity to ancestors.

The much better preserved interiors of tombs at Cerveteri indicate a largely internally focussed decoration scheme. The inside of the Tomb of the Beds and Sarcophagi in Tumulus II contains very elaborate rock-cut architectural features and furniture (Figure III.8).

Figure III.8, Interior of the Tomb of the Beds and Sarcophagi, Tumulus II, Cerveteri.

[65] Ucko 1969. Parker Pearson (1993: 203) very accurately summarised it when he stated that "the dead do not bury themselves." See also Smith 1996: 15; Laneri 2007: 5.
[66] Laneri 2007: 5.
[67] Riva 2010: 134.

Such rock-cut architectural elements and furniture could not have been easy to include. These were deliberately chosen to resemble those used by the living, and so represent a conscious desire for the tomb to appear in a certain way. The outside, however, only has concentric moulded circles around the circumference of the tomb (Figure III.9).

Figure III.9, Exterior of Tumulus II, Cerveteri.

The concentric circles serve to reinforce the shape of the tomb. It is striking, however, to compare the degree of decoration to the extent of care put into the rock-cut decoration on the inside. This could, however, be from the degree of protection that the rock-cut chambers would afford the internal features. The external features may have been elaborately decorated as well, but, if so, they did not survive. It is most likely the case that the piazzaletti at Tarquinia and the ramps leading up to altars on tumuli at Cerveteri were indeed elaborately decorated, as such a display would be part of the reaffirmation of the social, political and economic status of the deceased and his family.

IV: Case Study 3, Cima Tumulus

IV.i: The Cima Tumulus Complex

The Cima Tumulus, located in San Giuliano near Tarquinia, constitutes the focus for the third case study of the evidence from the Orientalising period. The tumulus contains seven tombs, the largest of which (Cima Tomb) is dated to 650-600 and is the focal point of this study. The tumulus itself is approximately 35 metres in diameter, thus

making it roughly the same size that the Doganaccia Tumulus I originally was. The Cima Tomb is very elaborate and consists of seven chambers and an open trapeziform dromos (Figure III.10).

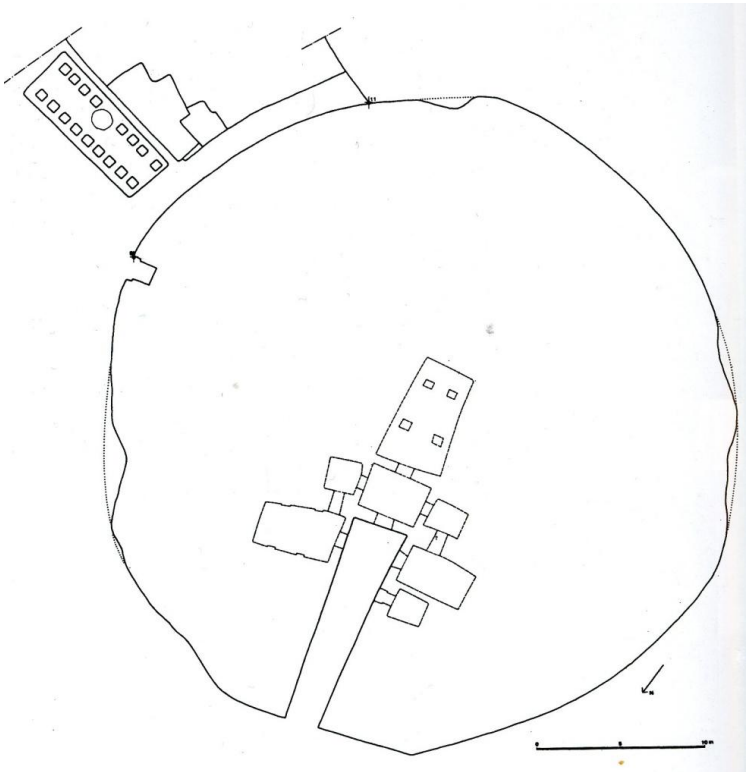


Figure III.10, Plan of the Cima Tumulus with the Cima Tomb and cippus monument, after Steingräber 2009: 262.

It is entirely cut from the rock, like those of Cerveteri, but unlike the Doganaccia tombs.[68] This type of construction is unique for San Giuliano, where other tumuli of this period were built with tufa blocks.[69] The tomb is the oldest of the seven tombs inside the tumulus; the remaining six are more recent and much smaller.

The external features of this tomb are also significant to note. It is orientated to the North-Northwest, the direction that many tumuli from this period in Etruria face.[70] Outside of the tumulus is a unique complex of cippi arranged in a systematic manner. This monument is unique in Etruria.[71]

The interior of the Cima Tomb has elaborate rock-cut architectural features, such as windows and pillars. These architectural elements are very similar to those found in

[68] Steingräber 2009: 123.
[69] Steingräber 2009: 124.
[70] Prayon 1975: 85-90.
[71] Steingräber 2009: 126.

many chamber tombs at Cerveteri from this period. In such cases, the features do not serve a structural purpose, but are entirely symbolic. The form of the tomb itself is important to consider as it reflects current beliefs about the afterlife and how the dead were expected to be treated in the other world. Thus, the form of the chambers and the rock-cut architectural features inside these chambers are a starting point for this case study.

IV.ii: Domestic Architecture in a Funerary Setting

The many architectural elements that decorate the inside of the Cima Tomb can be used to derive information about what type of environment the dead were believed to dwell in. These features were cut into the rock, and therefore originate from when the tomb was created. This indicates that the tomb was created with the specific desire to imitate, symbolically, architectural elements of actual buildings. There are windows, beams, painted decoration on the ceiling, pillars, doors, and furniture, all of which serve no structural purpose.[72] These elements are likely in imitation of domestic architecture, and, therefore, indicate that the tomb may have been conceived of as the house of the dead.[73] It should be noted, however, that with some exceptions, the conclusion that the architectural decoration is based on homes is a somewhat circular argument. There is very little evidence for houses from this period, and so it is the architectural elements in the tombs that are used to reconstruct domestic dwellings.[74] Therefore, although it is not conclusive that the architectural elements were in imitation of houses, it is referred to as such with the tentative nature of this in mind.

The representation of domestic architecture in a funerary context is a development from the urns in the shape of long houses from the Villanovan period.[75] These house urns may have the dual purpose of indicating that the tomb was seen as the house for the dead as well as representing the status of the deceased as the leader of a household or social group. The architectural features of Orientalising tombs are completely internal. Although they are on a massively different scale from the house

[72] These elements were emphasised with painting as well (Naso 1990: 456).
[73] Prayon 1986: 180; Haynes 2000: 87; Izzet 2007a: 108; Riva 2010: 94, 108.
[74] E.g. Prayon 1986: 174.
[75] Prayon 1986: 180; Prayon 2001: 338; Jannot 2005: 55-56; Riva 2006: 121; Izzet 2007b: 118; Riva 2010: 94.

urns, the rock-cut architectural elements in tombs of the Orientalising period are an elaboration of the same concept: the tomb as the house of the dead. It should be noted, however, that for most chambers it is inconclusive whether these architectural features were meant to resemble domestic buildings, architecture in general, or even something else entirely.

The Tomb of the Hut in Tumulus II (Cerveteri), however, is one such example where the tomb is an imitation of a house, and is noted to be the first known instance of the imitation of domestic architecture in a funerary context in the Orientalising period.[76] The tomb is so called after the form and structure of the tomb, namely that of a hut (long house). The dead was laid to rest in the furthest chamber, accessible through an arched door (Figure III.11a). The tomb is oval shaped, with a sloped roof that resembles the interior of a thatched roof (Figure III.11b).

Figure III.11a, Interior of the Tomb of the Hut looking towards the rear burial chamber.

[76] Naso 1996: 70-71; Haynes 2000: 73; Jannot 2005: 56; Izzet 2007a: 108.

Figure III.11b, Interior of the Tomb of the Hut looking out to the dromos.

As the 7th century progressed, the architectural elements became progressively more and more developed. This complexity is exemplified by the elaborate internal form of the Cima Tomb (Figure III.1). The clear references to domestic architecture found in the Tomb of the Hut might suggest that the later tombs were also intended to resemble domestic dwellings. Such a conclusion, however, must be made with caution.

The internal focus of such symbolic architectural features indicates that they were created for the benefit of the dead and the few individuals that would actually be visiting the inside of the tomb. They were not to be noticed by those passing on the road to and from the settlements, unlike the external form of the tomb. The tumulus itself served this purpose as an external marker, but the care put into the decorative elements inside the tomb was for the deceased and a small number of individuals.

The interest in separation of space between the living and the dead can also be seen in the entrances to tombs. The emphasis on doorways shows that there was a concern to separate the space between the living and the dead. Doors are often highlighted with lines around the frame, a common motif even in later funerary art.[77] These mouldings emphasise and draw attention to the doorway. There may be a Villanovan precedent for this emphasis as the mouldings can be compared to the concentric circles around the door to the 9th century house urn from Arcatelle (Figure

[77] For the persistence of doors and emphasised doorways in tombs, see Chapter IV.III.iii, Chapter V.IV.ii, and Chapter VI.VI.iii.

II.4). It is significant to note that the doorways in the Cima Tomb are in the same shape as this early urn, as well as some of the tombs at Cerveteri (e.g. the Tomb of the Hut), but without the concentric mouldings around the passageway. Inside the tomb, however, the more common shape of door is the Doric type (commonly referred to as porta dorica), which was to become the predominant doorway type in Archaic tomb painting at Tarquinia.[78] The aspect that characterises these doors are the broad lintels projecting at the sides.[79]

IV.iii: Cult of the Dead

There are a variety of ways in which tombs of the Orientalising period served as a place for funeral rites as well as ancestor worship.[80] There is an abundance of evidence, both inside and around tombs, from the late 7th and 6th century for cultic space that was specifically set aside for honouring the dead. Evidence for cultic space can be found inside and outside the Cima Tumulus. There is no evidence for a piazzaletto in the Cima Tumulus, such as the forecourt found in the Doganaccia Tumulus I. There are, though, two areas set aside for cultic activity that indicate that the tomb was used as a place for honouring the dead and a place for funeral rites. Such cult space has fortunately been preserved because it was cut into the rock. The evidence for cultic space outside of the tumulus is unique in Etruria.

One of the chambers inside the Cima Tomb has a rock-cut base for what was most likely an altar.[81] Although only a base remains, it is believed to be an altar through comparisons with an altar depicted on the Campana panel from Cerveteri (6th century), which shows the altar built up in a section of levels. This chamber is the first one on the left, and the walls and ceiling are heavily decorated with symbolic architectural elements, such as fluted wall pillars, windows, and beams. The ceiling is decorated with elaborate coffered patterns comprised of intersecting beams and crossbeams. The shape of the chamber resembles that of a house (Figure III.1). The rock-cut base is located in the centre of the chamber. The elaborately decorated walls and ceilings with rock carved elements and remnants of painting may indicate that this chamber was frequently

[78] Staccioli 1980: 2; Jannot 1984: 273.
[79] Weber Lehman 1986: 46.
[80] Prayon 1986: 186; Prayon 2001: 343.
[81] Steingräber 2009: 125.

visited. It is logical to have the cult space in a secondary chamber in the tomb, as it would allow funerary rituals to be held without disturbing the remains of the deceased.

There are other rock-cut altars found inside tombs elsewhere in Etruria, mostly at Cerveteri, that are worth considering as comparisons. The right side of the rear wall of the main chamber of the Campana Tomb has a rock-cut platform with depressions for leaving libations(Figure III.12). These depressions might suggest that it was an altar before which the dead were honoured with offerings.

Figure III.12, Rock-cut altar in the Campana Tomb (second half of the 7th century), Cerveteri, after Haynes 2000: 95.

Similarly, the late 7th century Tomb of the Five Chairs, also at Cerveteri, has an elaborate chamber inside the tomb that gives evidence for a cult of the dead, all of which are cut out of the rock in a smaller than life scale.[82] This chamber, which was also located to the left of the dromos, has an altar with three depressions for offerings. There are two thrones side by side, which could be intended to be for the two occupants of the tomb, who were interred in the main burial chamber on two rock-cut beds.[83] On the left hand wall are the eponymous five chairs behind two tables, which can be

[82] Prayon 1975: 18; Steingräber 1997: 101; Haynes 2000: 95; Prayon 2001: 143.
[83] Haynes 2000: 93. Similarly, the Tumulus of the Shields and Chairs at Cerveteri also has empty thrones.

interpreted as a setting for a funerary banquet.[84] On these chairs originally sat three male and two female terracotta statues of seated figures, perhaps representing the ancestors of the occupants of the tomb partaking of a banquet in the afterlife.

Steingräber uses the altar in the Campana tomb as comparative evidence that the rock-cut base in the Cima Tomb was indeed for an altar.[85] The altar in the Campana tomb, however, is extremely different as it is against the wall and not built up, but is in fact incorporated in the form of the tomb (Figure III.12). Nevertheless, a built up altar can be seen in the wall painting of an early Archaic painted tomb at Tarquinia (Tomb of the Bulls). Although this painting is in a tomb, the altar in the scene is not one in which funerary rituals were held, but a scene of human sacrifice from Greek mythology (Figure IV.5). Therefore, this image cannot be used to give evidence for Etruscan funerary cult.

The permanence of such features also indicates how important leaving offerings for the dead actually was. These rock-cut areas may be a place for the living to leave nourishment for the dead, perhaps annually, but it also may indicate that the dead were venerated with more elaborate offerings. The most basic conclusion that can be derived from such evidence of ancestor cult is that there was a belief in an afterlife in which something of the deceased was believed to exist after death. It is possible that individuals were believed to be reunited with ancestors after death. Furthermore, permanent platforms (altars?) also indicate that ancestors could access the world of the living and required veneration and libations.

Although the tomb architecture of the Cima Tomb is much like that of contemporary tombs at Cerveteri, there is an outdoor cult complex to the East of the tumulus that is not found in Cerveteri, or elsewhere in Etruria. It is uncertain as to the function of this area. Based on proximity, the cippus monument is most likely connected to the tumulus; however, it is uncertain as to whether it is connected to the main tomb inside it or indeed to all the tombs in the mound. This monumental complex may be another external location for funerary rites and the cult of the dead to take place.[86] This conclusion is based on the circular depression in the Southern row which

[84] Tuck 1994: 618. This is the earliest depiction of both sexes participating in a funerary banquet on equal terms (Haynes 2000: 93).
[85] Steingräber 2009: 125.
[86] Colonna 1986: 420; Steingräber 2009: 126.

may have originally been for an altar.[87] The monument consists of 17 square cippi, which are believed to have originally been stumps for obelisk-shaped cippi, arranged in two parallel rows with one larger base set between the second row (Figure III.13).[88]

Figure III.13, Image of the Cippus monument outside the Cima Tumulus, after Haynes 2000: 95.

There are no specific parallels for the shape of the monument and arrangement of the cippi. There is a similarity between the Cima monument and the later cippi-topped cube tombs at Norchia.[89] The tombs at Norchia, however, are much later (4th – 3rd century) and therefore should not be used to make conclusions for a 7th century tumulus. This monumental complex near the Cima tumulus suggests that the site was the centre of an ancestor cult for an important local family, the identity of which is, unfortunately, obscured by the absence of any inscription.[90] What may have occurred at this monumental complex is uncertain at this time.

The evidence for a cult of the dead at this time is a dramatic increase in available cult evidence compared to the earlier period. In the Villanovan period, the suggestion that graves were revisited by the living can only be assumed based on the careful organisation of cemeteries, such as the interconnected shafts at Monterozzi (Figure II.3). In the monumental tombs of the Orientalising period, these rituals were meant to be conducted in space that was set aside specifically for honouring the dead. Furthermore, in two of the three tombs mentioned from this period, this space was in a secondary chamber on the left hand side of the tomb.[91] That there was sacred space set

[87] Steingräber 2009: 128.
[88] Haynes 2000: 95; Steingräber 2009: 128.
[89] Steingräber 2009: 131.
[90] Steingräber 2009: 126, 130.
[91] Studies in Etruscan religion would benefit from a comprehensive analysis of the locations of all the cultic spaces in funerary contexts throughout Etruria.

aside for rituals in honour of the dead both inside the tomb and outside indicates that ritual performances were both private and public, such as in the case of the tumuli at Tarquinia with piazzaletti. Therefore, like the visible form of the tomb itself, rituals would have been a way of the aristocracy to encourage elite ideals and status.

Considering the various types of cultic space inside and outside tombs, it is important to note one general point: there was a specific space, separated from both the realm of the living and that of the dead, for these rituals to occur. The living were required to honour the dead in a liminal space, one that was neither in the realm of the living nor the dead.

IV.iv: Orientation of the Cima Tomb

The long entrances to tombs highlight this difference between the interior of the tomb and the outside world (Figure III.14).

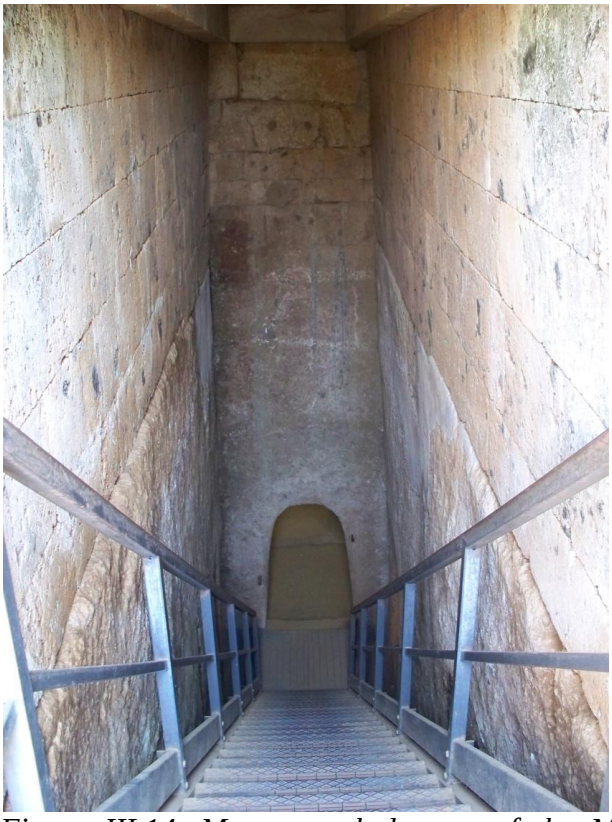
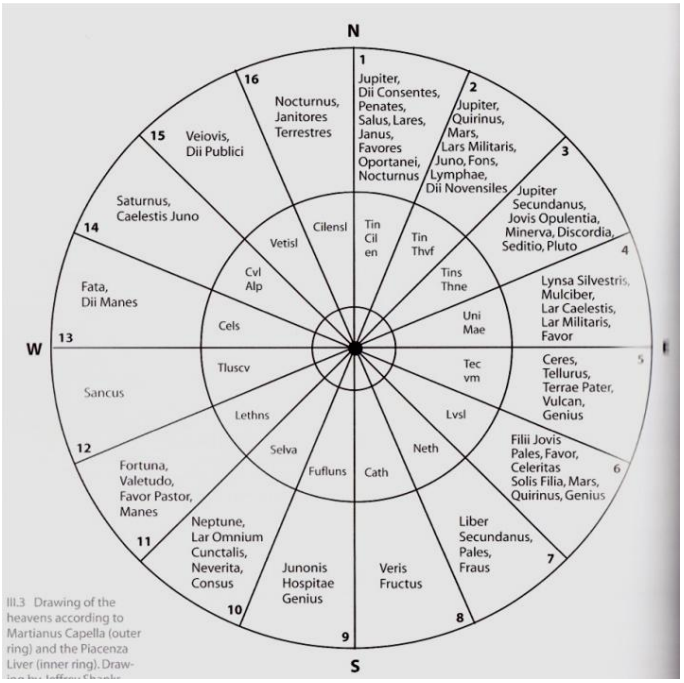


Figure III.14, Monumental dromos of the Mengarelli Tumulus (early 6th century), Cerveteri.

The long entrances also create a distinct space that is neither the tomb nor outside.[92] The dromos thus represents a transitional or liminal space between two realms, that of the living and the dead.[93] This liminal space was then a logical place for funerary rituals, through which the mystical world was sought. This liminal area also includes the cult activity that occurred in chambers on the left hand side of the dromos. These chambers were located before the main burial chamber, as such secondary chambers are neither in the tomb proper nor are they outside.

These entrances themselves may have been more than just locations for rituals, and may also have held some sort of cultic meaning. It has been noted that many monumental tombs in tumuli that can be dated to the 7th century are orientated in the Northwest or thereabouts.[94] This is believed to be the part of the sky in which the chthonic deities dwell, and, therefore, the direction of the underworld (Figure III.15).[95]



III.3 Drawing of the heavens according to Martianus Capella (outer ring) and the Piacenza Liver (inner ring). Draw-

Figure III.15, Plan of the heavens according to Martianus Capella, after de Grummond 2006a: 50.

[92] For an in depth discussion of liminality and ritual, see V. Turner 1977.
[93] Prayon 1997: 360; Izzet 2007a: 93.
[94] Prayon 1975: 16-23. Examples include the aforementioned Tomb of the Hut at Cerveteri, the Tumulus of the Ship at Cerveteri, the Tumulus of the Painted Animals at Cerveteri, the Sodo Tumulus II at Cortona, as well as Orientalising tombs at Castellina in Chianti and San Cerbone at Populonia (Prayon 1986: 183; Naso 1996: 80). The entrances of tombs in tumuli at Tarquinia, however, are not orientated to the Northwest (Steingräber 1986: 33). For example, the two Doganaccia tumuli and the very late Orientalising Tomb of the Panthers are orientated in the direction of the Southwest.
[95] Prayon 1975: 85-90.

This identification, however, is based on evidence from only one ancient text, that of Martianus Capella. In his satire, *de Nuptiis*, he described the dwelling places of the Etruscan gods (1.45-61). He was, however, writing in the early 5th century CE, and thus over a millennium after these tumuli were erected. The identification of the realm of the dead as being in the Northwest, therefore, is highly tentative. The important point remains, however, that many tombs inside monumental tumuli of this period are indeed orientated in the same direction. This is unlikely to be a coincidence, especially considering how widespread this practice was, and how much effort went into creating the rock-cut tombs in general. It is worthwhile, therefore, to consider what this might mean.

The stone funerary bed in the Cima Tomb was aligned with the door. That the dead was pointed in a specific direction suggests that there was a destination that they were believed to travel to.[96] Without any context of the locations of the bones, however, it is impossible to tell whether the dead were facing the entrance or the rear wall of the tomb. This destination was, of course, the realm of the dead, which would become very commonly represented in later funerary art.[97] The specific orientation of the tombs in a certain direction could be used to suggest that the dead were believed to embark on a journey in the afterlife.[98] Thus, orientating the tomb to the direction of the Northwest (and possibly to the realm of chthonic deities) would have significant implications on the direction that the dead were meant to travel, if that was indeed the case outside of Tarquinia.

Tombs added in tumuli by subsequent generations were not orientated to the Northwest. It was physically impossible to have every tomb in a circular mound orientated in the same direction. Such is the case for the other tombs in the Cima Tumulus, as well as other tombs in Etruria, including the two latest tombs inside Tumulus II (Cerveteri) and the Sodo II Tumulus (Cortona). This lack of concern for the entrances to be orientated to the Northwest (i.e. possibly towards the underworld) indicates that it was perhaps no long a uniform belief that the dead needed to be pointed

[96] The positioning of the body may, but not necessarily, indicate the direction in which the dead were believed to travel (Ucko 1969: 272).
[97] For this motif, see Chapter V.III.iii, Chapter VI.V.v, and VI.VI.ii.
[98] Briquel 1997: 419; Parker Pearson 1999: 6.

in a specific direction. It may have been a belief that quickly died out, or it may have simply been personal choice.

V: Conclusions

These three case studies, and comparative material from Tarquinia and settlements nearby, illustrate the continuity and the developments of earlier traditions that already display a different belief about the afterlife. The use of the grave as an opportunity to display status was heightened. Not only were grave goods important in establishing status and power, but the internal decoration of the tomb was an important venue for such display. The imitation of domestic architecture for certain elite tombs reached monumental proportions throughout the course of the 7th century in the symbolic representation of architectural elements inside chambers.

During the Orientalising period, there is much more abundant evidence that can help to piece together attitudes toward the dead and substantially more developed systems of beliefs. One of the most important changes with regards to attitudes toward the dead can be found as a result of the change in tomb form. The long entrances to chamber tombs inside tumuli allowed for an ideal liminal space for funerary rituals; they may also be an indication of the direction of the underworld. The funeral itself was an important venue for status as well as connection to ancestors, as is shown by the public theatre-like forecourt in the entrances. The large amount of evidence for banqueting indicates that this was a very important part of the funerary process. Such evidence is not as predominant after the Orientalising period at Cerveteri, where most of the evidence for funerary meals is found.

Also in this period there was an emergence of social stratification. This social ranking was not a new concept in the 7th century, but there is evidence for only limited social stratification in the Villanovan period. Equally, Southern Etruria stands out in contrasts to neighbouring regions in the precocity of social ranking. The gap between classes evidently was expanding during the Orientalising period, and gave the elite the opportunity to use the tomb and funerals as a way to display family continuity and social status. This is not to say that non-elites did not venerate the dead or worship ancestors. Although there is not enough evidence to make such a conclusion at this

time, the possibility cannot be ruled out. In the case of the lower classes, however, funerals and tomb cult may have been a means of displaying family continuity, but it would not have been a way of reaffirming social and political power.

Chapter IV: The Archaic Period

I: Introduction

There can be seen in the Archaic period (600-450) a continuation of many of the methods of burial and beliefs about the afterlife from earlier periods.[1] One element that was particularly developed further was the imitation of architectural elements in tomb contexts. In the Archaic period, these elements were represented in painting at Tarquinia rather than in rock-cut features. In the early 6th century tombs, boundaries and thresholds underwent an important development as they began to be marked by false doors painted on tomb walls. Tomb paintings also indicate the importance that was placed on banquets. In fact, it was the most commonly represented subject in this period.[2] The intricate tomb painting that has survived from Tarquinia can allow for the identification of certain funerary rituals for which there was little evidence in the earlier periods. These rituals include a prothesis of the dead, a banquet, and funerary games. A specialised funerary iconography was developed for the first time in Tarquinia.[3] The large amount of material from this period, including an abundant amount of iconographic evidence, allows for a detailed reconstruction of funerary beliefs and attitudes.

I.i: Funerary Evidence from Tombs and Cemeteries

As well as a continuation of some funerary practices from earlier periods, there were a number of significant changes that occurred. The layout of some cemeteries throughout Etruria, for example, changed in the midst of the Archaic period (late 6th and early 5th century). Instead of massive tumuli, some necropoleis were constructed with

[1] The period of approximately 490-450 is referred to by Steingräber (1986: 388) as the Subarchaic Period.
[2] An overwhelming 57% of the extant chambers at Tarquinia depict some type of feasting, drinking, and/or dancing (Appendix I).
[3] This is a much clearer funerary iconography than the geometric figures on biconical and house urns that may have been intended to resemble human figures (Figure II.6), but this is uncertain. This practice was much more common at Chiusi with the funerary statues (Damgaard Andersen 1993: 32).

rows of small rock-cut chambers.[4] These cemeteries were organised in a systematic grid-like manner, resembling that of urban planning.[5] In this way, the concept of the house of the dead was extended to the scale of the city itself. The best preserved example of this can be found at the Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis at Orvieto (Figure IV.1). This change gave Etruscan necropoleis a very different appearance. The streets of chambers suggest that viewers were no longer meant to focus on the massive individual tumuli with multiple generations of burials, but rather on the visual impact of the tombs all laid out in a systematically organised manner and identified by inscriptions over the doorways.

Figure IV.1, Street of tombs in the Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Orvieto. Note the limited entranceways that are now just thresholds.

It is important to note that there were exceptions. The Monterozzi necropolis, which was continuously used until the 1st century,[6] was not organised in this way.[7] The tombs, rather, are scattered across the Monterozzi ridge. There is a limited knowledge of spatial relationships between the tombs at Monterozzi. A large number of tombs are visible from aerial photos, but original external shapes have long since disappeared.

[4] This change did not occur immediately, but that there was a progression from the monumental tumuli with multiple chambers can be seen at Cerveteri, where the interior chambers decreased greatly in size and the dromos became increasingly shortened until it disappeared almost altogether in these cube tombs.
[5] Jannot 2005: 72; Izzet 2007a: 117.
[6] Leighton 2004: 86.
[7] Steingräber 2006: 24. It is interesting that there is no clear organisation of the tombs at Tarquinia, especially when considering that there was a deliberate organisation of the graves at multiple cemeteries in the Villanovan period. The part of the Monterozzi necropolis that can be found on the Scataglini estate in some ways resembles this type of layout with the rock-cut streets; however, it is not formally organised, and the tombs date to much later Hellenistic period.

The tombs themselves underwent a change in the Archaic period. These are mostly found at Tarquinia in the Calvario region, and between the Poggio delle Arcatelle and Secondi Archi sections (Figure IV.2). In the 7th century, tumuli were not completely cut from the rock, but were partially built up with blocks.[8] The tombs of the Archaic period were instead entirely rock-cut. Cut deep into the macco bedrock, they were also covered by small mounds. The steep dromos of many Tarquinian tombs is a stark contrast to the tombs of other necropoleis in Etruria, which have much more limited entranceways (e.g. Figure IV.1). Unlike the Orientalising tombs at Cerveteri, very few of the tombs had side chambers in the dromoi. The entrances do not appear to be orientated in any specific direction, such as in the direction of the Northwest, as some tombs were in the Orientalising period. It has been noted that many of the Archaic period tombs face the Tyrrhenian sea.[9] There is, however, no deliberate orientation of the entrances of groups of tombs at Tarquinia.

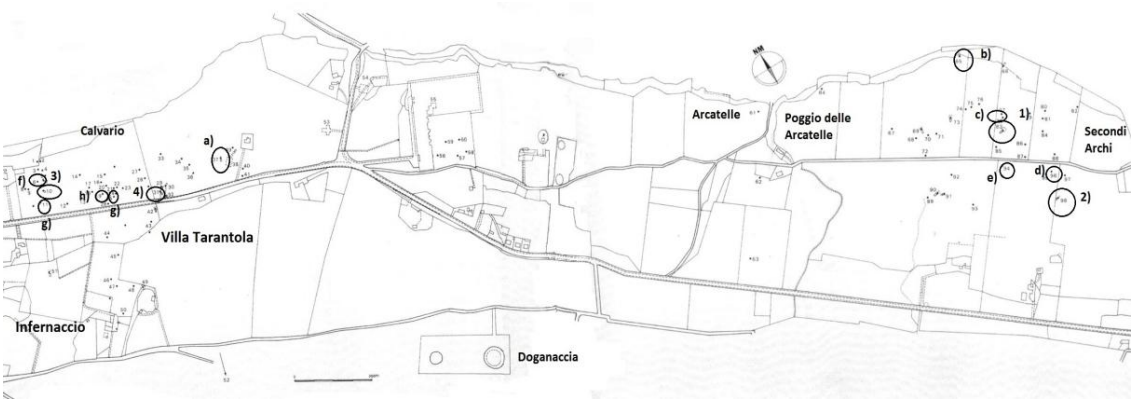


Figure IV.2, Location of Archaic case studies in the Monterozzi necropolis, adapted from Steingräber (1986: 384-385) by Bruce Weir and Allison Weir. **1)** Tomb of the Bulls (ca. 530), **2)** Tomb of the Augurs (ca. 520), **3)** Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing (ca. 510), **4)** Tomb of the Funeral Bed (ca. 460). Others referred to in this chapter: **a)** Tomb of the Dead Man (ca. 510), **b)** Tomb of the Dying Man (ca. 500), **c)** Tomb of the Jade Lions (530-520), **d)** Tomb of the Olympians (ca. 510), **e)** Tomb of the Ship (ca. 425), **f)** Tombs of the Hunter (510-500) and Lionesses (ca. 520), **g)** Tomb of the Juggler (ca. 510), **h)** Tombs of the Whipping (ca. 490) and 5513 (ca. 450).

There is some evidence for activity outside the tombs in the cemeteries. Rock-cut thrones can be found beside some tombs.[10] These thrones may have developed from the theatre-like forecourts of some Orientalising period tumuli, in which funerary rites

[8] Haynes 2000: 71.
[9] Steingräber 1986: 33. Of the 25 painted tombs from this period for which the orientation can be identified, 19 of them face the Tyrrhenian sea (76 %).
[10] Damgaard Andersen 1993: 52; Steingräber 1997: 106.

were meant to have an audience.[11] Thus, the thrones may be an extension of this tradition, but on a much smaller scale. That the thrones are life size would suggest that they were used in funerary or commemorative rituals. Alternatively, the thrones may have once held images of the dead. This is, however, entirely speculative. There is no indication as to whether these thrones originally held statues, such as in the Tomb of the Statues at Ceri.[12] It has been noted that the thrones face the settlement at Pian di Civitàà.[13] It is also just as possible that the thrones were simply chairs to sit on for those visiting the tomb. Furthermore, the thrones may have been intended to be empty, and thus symbolically meant for the deceased.

The Archaic tombs may have further emphasised the entranceways with monumental decoration. Nenfro slabs decorated in relief with mythological scenes, depictions of the dead, warriors battling, and mythical creatures are believed to have once served as door markers elaborating the entrances into tombs.[14] Unfortunately, these slabs were removed from their original context without a systematic recording of where they came from, so it is impossible to ascertain their original function.

From the beginning of the 6th century, tombs were hollowed completely from the rock, and often consisted of only one chamber.[15] This chamber was frequently a small rectangular shape with a gabled roof like a house.[16] This shape is not exclusive to domestic dwellings, however, and could just as easily refer to a shrine or temple (i.e. a house of a god). The deceased were laid out on a funerary bed made of bronze or wood, which was secured to the floor by rock-cut indentations. These indentations can be used to reconstruct how the body was positioned. The position of the body may indicate a belief in the direction of travel after death. Looking at the images near the body itself, and especially the head, can also indicate what was important for the deceased. For example, in the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing, the bed was placed in the rear left hand corner perpendicular to the entranceway, and underneath the image of the diving figure (Figure IV.15). The tombs held the remains of only one or two inhumations.

---

[11] Riva 2010: 131-132.
[12] For the statues at Ceri, see Damgaard Andersen 1993: 45; Camporeale 2009: 224-225. For the thrones at Tarquinia see Damgaard Andersen 1993: 52; Steingräber 1997: 106.
[13] Damgaard Andersen 1993: 52.
[14] Cultrera 1930: 116-120; Haynes 2000: 148. Alternatively, it has been suggested that they were stepping stones leading up to the tomb (Steingräber 1986: 27).
[15] Steingräber 1986: 24.
[16] Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 44.

I.ii: Tomb Painting

The iconographical evidence constitutes the most notable and significant change in the Archaic period. The Archaic period is the high point of Etruscan tomb painting. A significant number of all extant painted tombs in Etruria, a striking 40%, are dated to this period.[17] Of the approximately 180 tombs that display wall painting,[18] there are 72 at Tarquinia alone from 600 to 450, all of varying levels of preservation and detail in the scenes depicted.

These are not the earliest painted chambers in Etruria, as there are a few poorly preserved tombs from the Orientalising period with painting.[19] Only Veii and Cerveteri have significant remains of such painting, most of which now are lost.[20] Early painted chambers depict mostly geometric themes.[21] Vegetal motifs and animals are both common themes, and the characters are mostly grouped around doorways, as in the Campana Tomb at Veii. The themes on tomb walls developed extensively throughout the Archaic period to become more detailed, and the paintings were arranged on three or four of the walls in a form of mural composition.[22] The topics also changed to focus more on the human form. Animals continued to be present in paintings, especially in the pediments of the Archaic painted chambers, but were no longer the central focus or the only subjects represented. The paint was added directly to the tufa in the Orientalising period, thus resulting in its extremely poor survival rate. In the Archaic period, however, the walls were plastered with a clay mixture before the paint was added.[23]

For the most part, chambers with painting are scattered throughout Monterozzi. It is not possible, unfortunately, to detect any sort of horizontal stratigraphy with any degree of certainty.[24] Concentrations of paintings, however, are found in both the Calvario and Secondi Archi sections.[25] The Secondi Archi section (Figure IV.2)

[17] As of 1986, 180 tombs have been catalogued; however, new tombs have been discovered since.
[18] This figure is approximate, and does not include a further 100 or so tombs with plain decorated painted bands (Steingräber 2006: 15).
[19] Only 6.6% of all painted chambers throughout Etruria have been dated to the Orientalising period (Steingräber 1986: 39).
[20] Steingräber 1986: 39; Naso 1990: 451-452.
[21] Naso 1990: 458.
[22] Brendel 1995: 165.
[23] Leighton 2004: 104.
[24] Steingräber 2006: 15.
[25] Some locations of tombs have been lost, but of those that have survived, a striking 49 (68% of this period) are in the Calvario and Secondi Archi sections of the Monterozzi necropolis.

contains the largest concentration of tombs from this period (40%), including the earliest painted chambers as well as some of the latest. The Calvario section of the necropolis also has an unusually large concentration (28%) of painted chambers from this period (Figure IV.2).[26] This concentration may indicate that a certain type of social group that favoured painted chambers wanted to be buried in a specific area in proximity to other painted chambers. This specific desire to be buried in proximity to other similarly painted tombs may be said for the tombs buried in the Calvario area, in which a great number have been dated to 510 or 500. It should be noted, however, that the scheme for dating these tombs is based on similarities between the figures on the painted walls and Greek vase painting.[27] Thus, the dates are completely derived from the artistic styles of a foreign culture and a completely different genre. These paintings are the key evidence for the case studies discussed in this chapter.

I.iii: Case Studies

The case studies for the Archaic period are necessarily those from wealthy aristocratic tombs. The elaborate paintings in such wealthy tombs provide a more comprehensive perspective on funerary rituals and beliefs about the afterlife. This will continue to be the case throughout the subsequent periods of Etruscan civilisation. Although a striking number of painted chamber tombs have survived, this is still only a miniscule percentage of the tombs in the Monterozzi necropolis. Four tombs have been chosen for close analysis as they give the most information about the afterlife and funerals in the Archaic period. Whether these beliefs and rituals were shared by society in general is unfortunately unknown and unknowable.

The first case study focuses on the Tomb of the Bulls, which is most famous for its eponymous erotic imagery over the doors to the burial chambers (ca. 530). This tomb includes the earliest painted depiction of the deceased in the underworld at Tarquinia. The second case looks at the Tomb of the Augurs (ca. 520), which depicts a type of funerary game as well as the representation of mourners flanking a false door painted onto the rear of the chamber. The layout of the chamber itself can also give information

[26] Leighton 2004: 100. This is a much higher percentage than anywhere else in Etruria for concentration of tomb paintings in one locality.
[27] Leighton 2004: 102. These dates, especially for tombs that are dated to before 450, are by no means fixed (Steingräber 1986: 257).

about how the tomb was viewed. The third case study, the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing (ca. 510), has a different organisation from the first two case studies. It has been chosen because of the seascape in the burial chamber, in which a figure, probably the deceased, is depicted diving into the sea. It also contains an elaborate image of a richly dressed couple sharing a banquet. Finally, the Tomb of the Funeral Bed (ca. 460) is one of only three from this period that specifically depicts events at a funeral. Three funerary rituals can be inferred from the paintings in this chamber: the prothesis of the dead, funerary games, and a funerary banquet.

II: Case Study 1, Tomb of the Bulls

II.i: The Tomb

The Tomb of the Bulls (ca. 530) is located in the Secondi Archi section of the Monterozzi necropolis (Figure IV.2). Unlike the majority of the tombs that are dated to this period, it is in fact a multi-chambered tomb with an entrance area and two burial chambers at the back (Figure IV.3).[28]

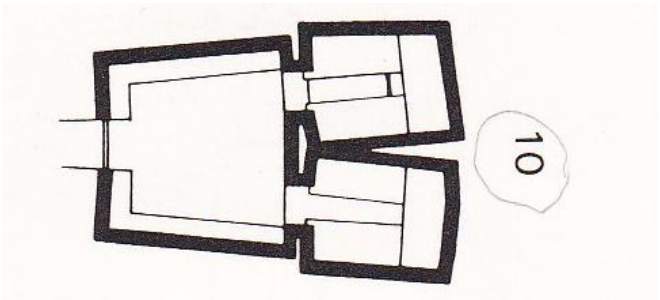


Figure IV.3, Plan of the Tomb of the Bulls, after Steingräber 1986: 386.

According to an inscription in the antechamber between the eponymous bull scenes, the tomb belonged to Arath Spuriana.[29] The two burial chambers at the rear are each themselves in the same form as the majority of tombs in Tarquinia in this period.[30] They are both rectangular in shape with gabled ceilings, and painted pediments on either

[28] Prayon Type E. Multi-chambered tombs are more common in Cerveteri. In fact, there are only six multi-chambered Archaic tombs from Tarquinia: Tombs of the Bulls, 1646, Labrouste, Sea, Bartoccini, and Hunting and Fishing
[29] Oleson 1975: 192.
[30] Prayon Type A.

end. The tomb is located at the bottom of a stepped entrance facing the West-Southwest.[31] There are narrow benches running along the walls of the main chamber.[32] Such benches could have been intended to hold grave goods. It is the painted decoration of the tomb, however, which is frequently the topic of analysis.[33]

The paintings in this tomb are notable for many reasons. Not only does it include one of the first depictions of the deceased in the underworld, but it is also one of the earliest examples of the depiction of figures and detailed narratives in tomb painting. All three of the chambers have some sort of painted decoration, but the more elaborate scenes are in the main entrance chamber. This is a stark contrast to many of the early painted tombs, many of which have only limited decoration (e.g. the rows of painted bands near the ceiling, animals in the pediment, and/or a false door, Figure IV.4).

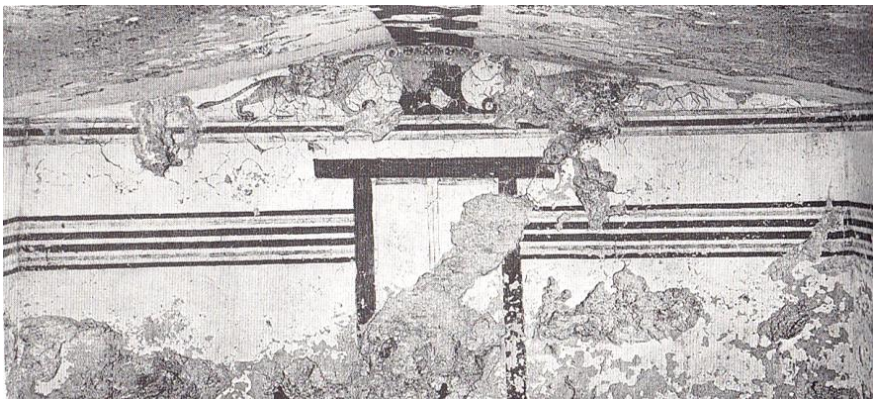


Figure IV.4, Simple false door, painted bands, and lions in pediment in the Tomb of the Jade Lions (530-520), after Steingräber 1986: 318.

II.ii: Tomb Decoration

The themes found in the two rear chambers of the tomb are typical of the painted tombs from the early Archaic period. The continuous rows of painted bands in the architrave zone are an especially common feature of Archaic tomb painting.[34] Although it has not previously been pointed out, the parallel coloured bands may also be in the same vein as the moulded concentric circles that surrounded tumuli of the Orientalising period, namely the marked surface between the realm of the living and the dead. The internal decorated space of almost all painted tombs of the Archaic period is separated

[31] Steingräber 1986: 350.
[32] Steingräber 1986: 350.
[33] Oleson 1975; Holloway 1986; Roncalli 2001: 353; Jannot 2005: 60.
[34] Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 44.

by such rows of painted bands (e.g. Figure IV.4), and mark the point in which long crossbeams in houses would have helped to distribute the weight.[35] The painted bands in the main chamber are bordered by a pomegranate and lotus frieze on both the bottom and the top.[36] The bands in the burial chambers, however, do not include the same motif. The pediments consist of more vegetal motifs in the form of flowers at the top of a large midpost in the centre, and volutes at the base. This central image on the pediment is repeated in the other pediments throughout the tomb. The depiction of volutes has been noted to be reminiscent of Ionic columns.[37] There is a constant theme throughout the three chambers of sea creatures, and of bulls in two of the chambers.

There are two separate images of trees in the entrance chamber. These are the only decoration on the walls that are not associated with the various scenes on the rear wall (Figure IV.5a). The central area between the doors to the two rear chambers has what has been identified[38] as a mythological scene, namely Achilles waiting to ambush and kill the Trojan prince Troilus.[39]

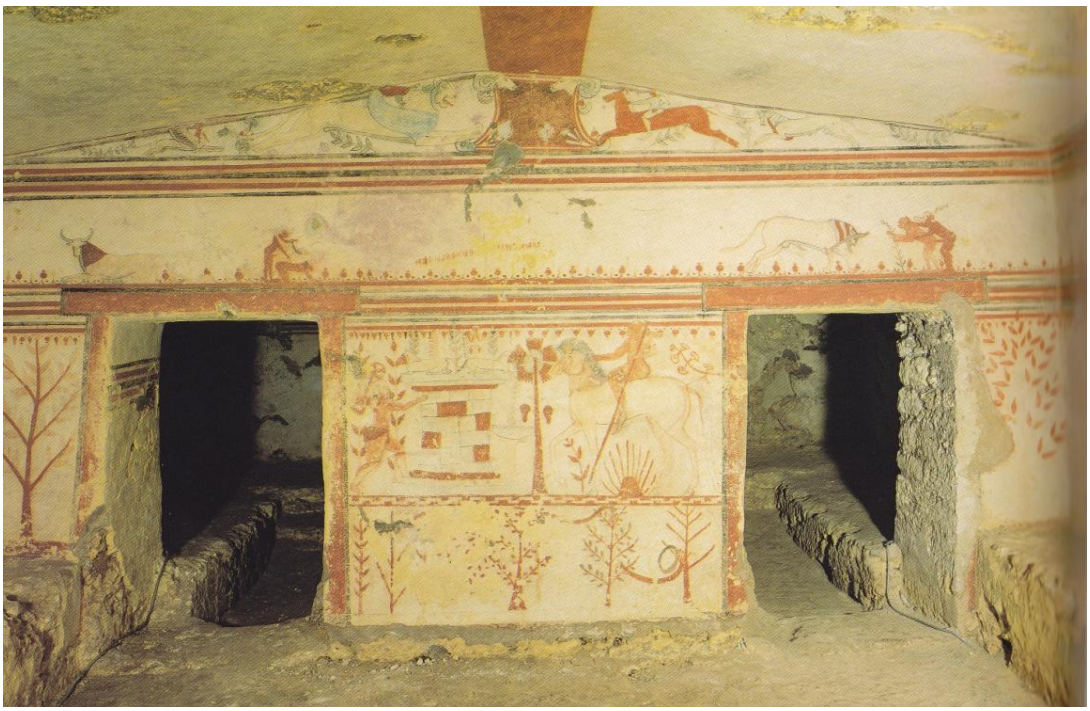


Figure IV.5a, Rear wall of the main chamber in the Tomb of the Bulls, after Steingräber 1986: pl. 157.

[35] Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 44.
[36] Steingräber 1986: 350.
[37] Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 44.
[38] Camporeale 1981: 210, 214; Paschinger 1983: 34.
[39] Hom. *Il*. 24.257; Apollod. *Epit*. 3.32; Serv. *ad Aen*. 1.474.

Figure IV.5b, Close-up of the fountain in the Tomb of the Bulls.

If in fact this scene has been correctly identified, this would make the Tomb of the Bulls the only tomb from the Archaic period to have a mythological scene depicted on its wall painting. Without any identifying inscriptions, however, this identification is not entirely conclusive. This scene has been the focus of much scholarly attention, most of which has been on the mythological scene and the transmission of Greek mythology to Etruria.[40]

One cannot help but notice the large fountain that dominates the left hand side of the scene (Figure IV.5b). It has been noted that the fountain closely resembles an Etruscan sacrificial altar, as seen on the Campana panel from Cerveteri.[41] This similarity to an altar has been interpreted as implying a tone of sacrifice to the story.[42] Upon close inspection, however, it is clearly a fountain and not an altar, as indicated by the water gushing from the lions on either side. The large palm tree in the middle serves to

[40] E.g. Oleson 1975: 189-200; Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 50; Brendel 1995: 166-167; Spivey 1997: 72-74; Roncalli 2001: 353; Leighton 2004: 119; Bonfante and Swaddling 2006: 17-18 Lowenstam 2008: 139-141.

[41] Oleson 1975: 192; Steingräber 1986: 350.

[42] Holloway 1986: 448; Haynes 2000: 223. Steingräber (2006: 91) even suggests that this scene is a hidden allusion to the sacrifice of Liparian prisoners of war to Apollo in the 6th century as reported by Theodotus. Why this mythological scene might be an allusion to an historical event is not clarified, nor is the specific reference from Theodotus given by Steingräber (2006: 91).

separate the scene. Due to the depiction of the large pieces of fruit on either side, the fountain may also be a symbol of rebirth.[43] Images of eggs and fruit are common symbols of life, birth, and regeneration in funerary contexts.[44] This tree is not a separate motif, but is a part of the enclosed mythological scene, and, therefore, should be seen as playing a part in the main scene. The right hand side of the pediment shows a youth in a Phrygian cap riding a horse, which has been seen as depicting the deceased Troilus on his way to the underworld.[45] This is, however, highly speculative, especially considering that the pediment scene is completely separated from the main scene. Scenes in pediments, furthermore, are not a part of the thematic schemes present on the chamber walls. They would have all been connected as part of the larger message of the tomb as a whole, but not a specific narrative motif that was depicted on the walls.

Why this particular scene was specifically chosen to be the central focus to those entering the antechamber of the tomb is unclear. The fountain in the shape of an altar may suggest that it symbolised a funerary sacrifice. Achilles, then, may have been intending not just to kill Troilus, but to offer him as a sacrifice.[46] This tone of sacrifice is further emphasised by the sacrificial knife that Achilles carries.[47] It must be remembered, however, that the death that is about to occur is not connected to the funerary sphere in any way, except on the most basic level that Troilus would indeed die. Everything in a tomb was deliberately chosen; unfortunately, the reason why the depiction of this scene in the Tomb of the Bulls was chosen is not clear.

It is apparent that the painted decoration in the Tomb of the Bulls is more extensive in the antechamber than the two burial chambers at the rear. Also, more care and expense was put into the painting on the walls of the main chamber. This may indicate that the tomb was unfinished and that further plans to finish the decoration were unfulfilled. On the other hand, it is relatively common in Etruscan tombs that have multiple chambers for the burial chambers themselves to have only limited decoration, while the entrance chambers are elaborately decorated with either rock-cut or painted

[43] Oleson 1975: 197.
[44] Pieraccini 2000: 44; Jannot 2005: 47.
[45] Holloway 1986: 452.
[46] Cerchiai 1980: 25.
[47] Holloway 1986: 448; D'Agostino and Cerchiai 1999: 92; Lowenstam 2008: 140.

elements.[48] The lessening of decoration in tombs did not originate in the Archaic period but can be found in earlier tombs as well. It has not yet been noted in modern scholarship that in the multi-chambered tombs at Cerveteri, for example, the domestic architecture becomes increasingly less elaborate as one goes further into the tomb. In the largest tomb inside the Maroi tumulus (Banditaccia necropolis), dating from the end of the Orientalising period, the decoration on the ceiling is less detailed and intricate as one moves through two antechambers towards the main burial chamber at the rear (Figure IV.6). The entrance burial chamber includes rock-cut architectural features such as windows, a doorway, and two pillars flanking the entrance, and interconnected beams on the ceiling. The final chamber, however, has no decoration.

Figure IV.6, Rock-cut decorative ceilings in the entry chambers of the Maroi Tumulus (mid 7th century). Note the painted decoration and lattice cross beams (rhombus design) on the ceiling of the first chamber, which is not present on the ceiling of the second chamber.

Such embellishment in the antechambers of tombs brings up questions of the intended audience. The degrees of decoration in the multi-chambered tombs can give an indication of who was meant to be viewing the room; such a large amount of decoration suggests that there would be an audience for it.[49]A similar comparison would be with real houses, in which one would decorate areas that are more public with different motifs than in private areas. There is inconclusive evidence, however, for regular

[48] An important exception is the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing, which has more elaborate painting in the burial chamber.
[49] This has to my knowledge not yet been noted in modern scholarship.

visitations of tombs. In some cases, tombs were at least visited when subsequent generations were buried (e.g. the three tombs inside the Maroi tumulus represent three generations). It could be that the artistic decoration inside a sealed tomb was meant for the deceased only. This does not, though, take into account those who would see the tomb when the deceased was interred. The degree of elaborate decoration in the antechambers of some tombs could suggest that they were revisited. Perhaps a part of the funeral occurred in the antechamber, such as a procession of the dead and placement of grave goods. This is, of course, speculation, as it is uncertain during this period whether the tomb was visited subsequent to deposition.

II.iii: Apotropaism

The Tomb of the Bulls contains images of creatures that could be seen as apotropaic (i.e. intended to ward off evil).[50] Such apotropaic images are common in Etruscan funerary art throughout the centuries.[51] It is uncertain what type of evil they were intended to scare away. It is possible that they were meant to help the dead in the afterlife, and so they warded off evil spirits. Or, it is also possible that they were symbolically meant to protect the tomb from those who might be wishing to harm it or its contents. Apotropaic creatures could be images of real creatures, such as lions or bulls. More often, however, they are mythological creatures, especially hybrids, such as sphinxes or chimaeras. The Tomb of the Bulls includes depictions of both and more. There are many such images throughout the tomb, including sea monsters, a chimaera, and the ever fearsome (albeit random) duck. Two of the images associated with bulls are unique in Etruscan tomb painting, and therefore require specific discussion.

There are two small scale erotic scenes overtop of the doorways to the two burial chambers, both of which are accompanied by bulls. The images are most likely more than a simple reference to the sexual preferences of those who are buried in the chamber. The erotic scenes themselves have been seen as apotropaic.[52] The group on the right consists of a homosexual couple, while the group on the left consists of two

[50] Holloway 1986: 448; Steingräber 2006: 92; Izzet 2007a: 93.
[51] See Chapter VI.III.v.
[52] Holloway 1986: 448; Steingräber 1986: 350. This conclusion may be a result of the obscure nature of the scenes. It is important to remember, however, that just because the images might not make sense to us, that does not necessarily mean that they must belong exclusively to one category or another and be classified as bizarre. This is a result of modern sensitivities.

men and one woman.[53] That the scenes show sexual activities would suggest that they are references to fertility, or, as is more likely the case in a sepulchral context, to rebirth. An image of a bull might also be a reference to vitality and life force. Furthermore, two of the three bulls in the main chamber are shown as sexually aroused. The theme of life and vitality would be similarly enforced by the frieze of pomegranates – a fruit known for its seeds, and thus a further reference to birth or rebirth. The placing of these erotic scenes is significant. That they were both put above the doorways to the burial chambers makes them necessarily seen by those entering the chambers that hold the bodies of the deceased themselves. Furthermore, the two small scenes flank the name of the owner of the tomb, Arath Spuriana. Thus, they could be seen as protecting both the name of the deceased, as well as the entrance to the burial chambers. As of yet, no one has been able to explain these settings. It is entirely possible that they illustrate a mythic narrative that is lost.

The bulls themselves require further discussion. The one on the right appears to be the river god Acheloos, who is familiar from Greek mythology, and referred to in Etruria as Achlae (Figure IV.7).[54] He is identifiable by his human face, beard, and horns.[55]

Figure IV.7, Human-faced bull (Acheloos?) over the door to the burial chamber on the right in the Tomb of the Bulls, after Steingräber 1986: pl. 160.

[53] Steingräber 1986: 350; de Grummond 2006a: 184.
[54] Leighton 2004: 97. It may or may not be a strange coincidence that Achlae is depicted near Achilles, who was known in Etruria as Achle.
[55] Isler 1981: 30.

This image has two important connotations in a funerary context. Firstly, as a hybrid creature, it is suitable to be placed in a tomb, which is neither in the world of the living or the dead.[56] Just as the deceased is between a state of living and that of venerated ancestor, Achlae is also between states as he is neither human nor bull. Thus, these liminal creatures are suitable for the tomb, which is the threshold between the realms of the living and the dead, and also where the change of status from alive to dead occurs. Secondly, as a river god, Achlae is especially appropriate in the tomb, as water is connected to movement and, therefore, transition.[57] Achlae appears frequently in Etruscan funerary art, and, indeed, on bronze shields that were deposited in a small number of tombs in the Archaic period.[58] Such shields have been found that were decorated with raised relief masks of creatures such as lions, rams, and not just Achlae.[59] These objects were not functional shields; they are actually circular plaques of hammered bronze designed as tomb ornaments.[60] The images in the centre are suitable for funerary purposes as they could, like the animals in tomb painting, be seen as apotropaic. They appear to have been made purposefully to be placed in the tomb, and, more specifically, to be attached to wooden furniture, such as a funerary bed, or to a chariot, or to tomb walls.[61]

II.iv: Sea Journey

There is one motif in the Tomb of the Bulls that is actually more frequently found than the theme of bulls, namely sea creatures. This tomb is the first in a long line of tombs and objects that include images that depict or refer to the sea in funerary art that stretches through all subsequent centuries of Etruscan Tarquinia.[62] It is also significant to note that references to the sea appear on a large variety of types of

[56] V. Turner 1977: 38; Spivey and Stoddart 1990: 116-117; Izzet 2007a: 134.
[57] Izzet 2007a: 134. The tomb itself is a transition zone (Steingräber 2006: 90).
[58] Isler 1981: 35.
[59] Brendel 1995: 213; Leighton 2004: 97.
[60] Brendel 1995: 213.
[61] Leighton 2004: 97-98.
[62] There is a slightly earlier funerary statue found (ca. 540) at Vulci now in the Villa Giulia that shows a youth riding a sea monster (inv. no. prov. EX2/VU) in much the same motif (Briquet 1986: 107).

funerary art, from all of Etruria.[63] Furthermore, water is a common liminal motif in a large number of cultures.[64] The sea is referred to in a variety of different ways. Some examples include images of mythical water animals (Figure IV.9), dolphins and waves (Figure IV.10),[65] or even sea vessels (Figure IV.19).[66] The earliest references are images of hippocamps and cynocamps, while later tombs often depict a wave or wave and dolphin frieze. The Tomb of the Lionesses, previously mentioned because of its noteworthy symbolic depictions of architecture, includes a seascape frieze on the lower dado of the tomb (Figure IV.10). This frieze includes dark waves, leaping dolphins, and birds in flight. It was evidently an important part of the decorative theme of the tomb as it takes up almost half of the space on the walls. That the sea imagery is so prominent and is depicted below the reclining banqueters may indicate the importance of water in the afterlife. The rest of the decorative scheme includes depictions of banqueters reclining on the ground, and lionesses in the pediments whose swollen teats symbolise fertility and rebirth.[67] The paintings in this tomb, and subsequent funerary art, indicate that this motif was not only common, but developed throughout Etruscan civilisation in general.

The predominance of water imagery in funerary contexts might suggest that water formed an important component in the Etruscan afterlife; travel across water might feature as a part of a journey in the afterlife.[68] References to some sort of journey over water are common in many cultures.[69] Water represents passage but can also reflect the unknown, and, therefore, is suitable for the place that the dead must pass through as they go from the realm of the living to that of the dead. The constant references to water in Etruscan funerary art show that it was not merely a river or a small body of water that needed to be crossed, but a sea. This is indicated by the large

[63] For example, on an engraved bronze mirror depicting a domestic scene from Tarquinia (see above, Figure IV.18). Although this item was found in a tomb, like all bronze Etruscan mirrors, it was most likely not created initially for a funerary purpose.
[64] V. Turner 1977: 52.
[65] Such motifs, however, are also found on pottery and other forms of art not created exclusively for a funerary purpose.
[66] The Tomb of the Ship is an example of a sea vessel depicted on the wall painting. A total of twelve tombs (16.6%) depict sea creatures such as hippocamps (Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 47). Water motifs, such as waves and hippocamps, can be found in a total of 16 tombs of this period (22%), making it the second most common motif alongside false doors (see Appendix 1).
[67] This motif is also reinforced on the right wall where a man is shown holding an egg.
[68] Paschinger 1983: 37; Krauskopf 2006: 67.
[69] Van Gennep 1960: 153.

mythical creatures, such as hippocamps as well as cynocamps, leaping dolphins, large waves, and the large scale ships that are depicted in later funerary art.[70] That part of the afterlife included a sea indicates that the underworld was indeed, in at least some cases, conceived of as vast.

Further evidence to suggest the important connection between the tomb as a place to hold the remains of the deceased and water imagery can be found in Tomb 5513. The predominant theme in the paintings of this tomb is that of a banquet (Figure IV.16). The paintings, however, in the trench cut into the floor of the chamber that held the body of the dead show a wave motif (Figure IV.8).[71] The body was placed in this trench in the left hand corner rather than on a funerary bed secured by rock-cut indentations. This painted wave motif displays the importance of water imagery, not just in the tomb context, but for the connection of water with the body of the deceased itself. The specific reference to waves are difficult to see unless very close to the trench, i.e. in the grave itself.

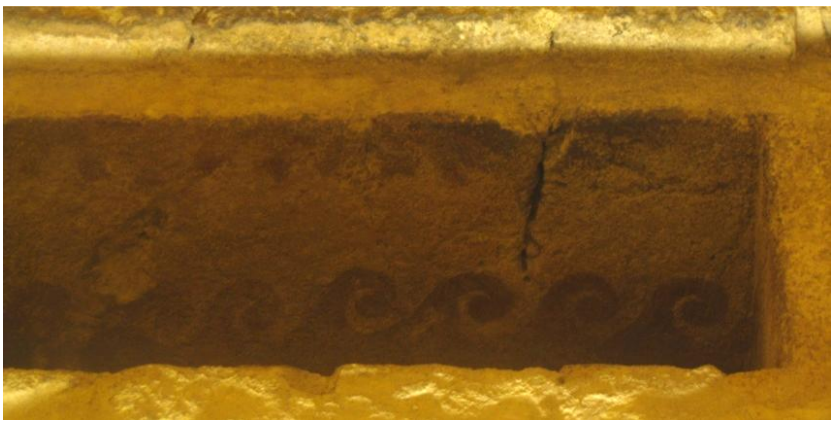


Figure IV.8, Wave motif in the burial trench in Tomb 5513.

One of the images of sea creatures found in the Tomb of the Bulls, a hippocamp, is especially important for the purposes of this study as a human is riding its back (Figure IV.9). Based on the image in this tomb, it has been claimed that hippocamps are not simply mere allusions to the sea, but also serve to carry the dead in the underworld.[72] This conclusion encompasses a large number of images of hippocamps,

[70] Krauskopf 2006: 67.
[71] The trench and the paintings inside it are not mentioned by Steingräber in the 1986 catalogue of Etruscan tomb painting.
[72] Jannot 2005: 60.

however, and is slightly misleading as it is entirely based on this one image: the rider of the hippocamp in the Tomb of the Bulls.

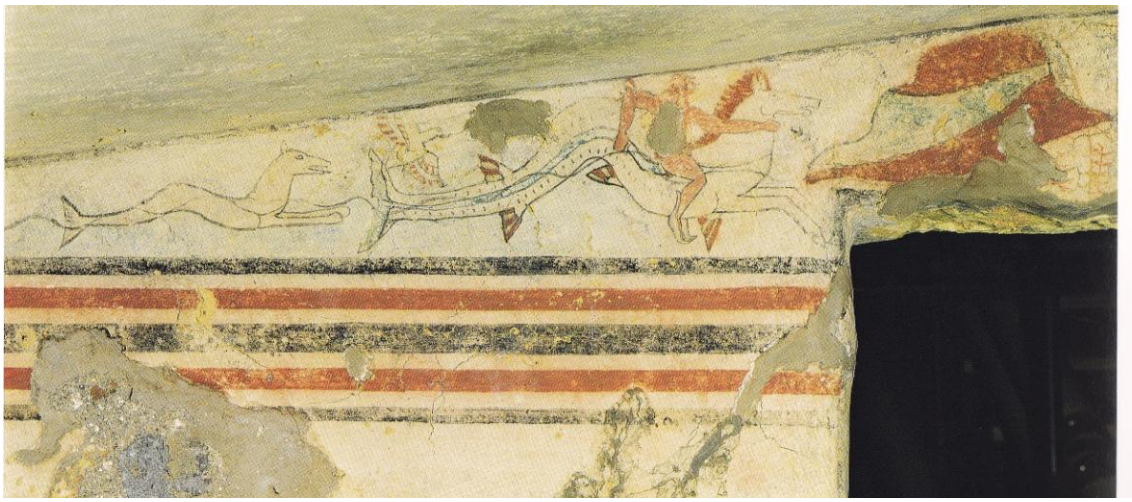


Figure IV.9, Human riding a hippocamp and leading a cynocamp, Tomb of the Bulls, after Steingräber 1986: pl. 165.

This image is found in the pediment above the entrance to the tomb facing the door and is directly across from another figure that is facing the same direction but riding a horse in the pediment of the rear wall.[73] The figure on the entrance wall is even more mysterious when one notices that the figure is holding what appears to be a leash that is connected to another sea creature (a cynocamp) that follows behind him. It is generally assumed that this image is of a deceased individual on a journey in the afterlife.[74] This is based on the context of the tomb as well as the fact that the creature is obviously not of the real world; if it is not a journey to a specific place in the underworld, then it at least takes place in the underworld. That the creature is pointed towards the entrance (and exit) to the tomb may indicate a connection between the deceased and the direction of travel. The hippocamp itself is another hybrid creature connected with liminality and passage. Unfortunately, the image is too small and poorly preserved to make any sort of definite conclusions that this figure was meant to be the deceased on his way to the underworld.

[73] This figure has been identified as Troilus riding the horse to the underworld (Holloway 1986: 452). On the other hand, because of the proximity of this scene with the chimaera, he has also been identified as the hero Bellerophon (Haynes 2000: 223; Steingräber 2006: 91). One should be wary, however, of making identifications of Greek myths based on such little evidence.

[74] Haynes 2000: 223; Leighton 2004: 120.

III: Case Study 2, Tomb of the Augurs

III.i: The Tomb

The Tomb of the Augurs (ca. 520) can be found near the Tomb of the Bulls in the Secondi Archi section of the Monterozzi necropolis (Figure IV.2). The small rectangular shaped tomb is located at the base of a stepped dromos underneath a now very low mound facing the West or Southwest.[75] It may be significant to note that in this period 25 out of the 39 tombs (64%) in which it is known which direction they face are similarly orientated this way (Appendix I). The tomb is in the standard shape consistent with many single-chambered tombs of this period.[76] There is very little tomb architecture employed in the form of this chamber, with the exception that the roof is gabled like a house. There are eight depressions in the floor of the chamber.[77] These might indicate that there were originally two funerary beds, but it also might represent a funerary bed and one bench for grave goods that have no longer survived.

There are excellently restored paintings on three of the four walls in the chamber, all of which can be used to derive many different aspects about contemporary beliefs. The themes include decorative painted bands, a large scale false door flanked by mourners, and two walls depicting dancing, musicians, and, sporting events such as wrestling. All of these events are shown as happening out of doors. It is possible that these were part of a larger process of rituals in honour of the dead or part of the funeral. Also included on the walls are painted inscriptions identifying eight of the figures. Although the majority of the beliefs are reconstructed from the scenes depicted on the three walls of this tomb, the form of the chamber itself can also give important information about such beliefs.

---

[75] This is in the direction of the Tyrrhenian Sea, which Steingräber (1986: 33) notes may be an indication of the importance of water in the afterlife. It might, however, merely be a result of the natural geography of the location, in which it is difficult not to see the sea from most points on the Monterozzi cliff. The location of the cemetery on the Monterozzi ridge was deliberate and indeed far off from the settlement. It may, therefore, have been chosen because of the views it offered of the Tyrrhenian Sea. It is important to remember, though, that the Orientalising tombs at Tarquinia did not follow the same pattern or deliberate orientation that tombs of other cemeteries did in the Orientalising period. It may or may not be significant that this is in the direction of the setting sun.

[76] Prayon Type A.

[77] Steingräber 1986: 283.

III.ii: Domestic Architecture in Tomb Form

One of the most important aspects of the form of rock-cut tombs in the Orientalising period was the symbolic imitation of domestic architecture. The representation of symbolic architectural elements is not found in the Archaic period in rock-cut features, but rather is represented in painted form.[78] Nevertheless, there are also subtle references to domestic architecture in the tomb form itself that cannot be overlooked. The shape of many of the tombs of this period resembles architecture of actual buildings with the gabled ceilings and pediments on either end. These buildings may have been houses. Also worthy to note is that, although the Tomb of the Bulls is not of this type of form, the two burial chambers are indeed shaped in a similar manner. The concept of the tomb as the house of the dead, or at least that the tomb was desired to imitate the dwellings used by the living, was indeed still prominent in the Archaic period. Throughout the course of the 6th century, though, it began to be represented in different ways.

III.iii: False Doors

Many different elements were painted on walls, which indicated that the burial chamber was meant to symbolise a domestic building. Elaborately decorated ceilings are the most noticeable, such as can be seen in the Tomb of the Lionesses (Figure IV.10). Although ceilings were painted, and included rock-cut cross beams in the Orientalising period, the painted ceilings of many Archaic tombs are much more detailed. The ceiling of the Tomb of the Augurs has unfortunately not survived very well. That being said, a pattern of small red and black four-leafed flowers can be seen, as well as a wide main "beam" down the centre of the ridge. The Tomb of the Lionesses not only includes an elaborately decorated ceiling, but there are also false columns spaced throughout the tomb.[79]

[78] Steingräber 2006: 65. This is in contrast to many tombs of the Orientalising period throughout Etruria, such as the Cima Tumulus (see above Chapter IV.IV.ii).

[79] This is, of course, a place where real columns would be if the tomb were a free standing structure rather than a rock-cut subterranean chamber. The presence of columns might suggest temple or shrine architecture, rather than domestic. Thus, since the houses no longer remain, any such conclusions must be tentative.

Figure IV.10, Painted architectural elements (columns, ceiling and beams) as well as banqueters above a seascape in The Tomb of the Lionesses (ca. 520).

The painting in Archaic tombs was most commonly designed to complement the shape of the tomb itself (i.e. that of a house or building). The gabled ceilings allowed for the pediments to be decorated, often with midposts and heraldic animals or sea monsters on either side.[80] The architectural element that is most predominant in the Tomb of the Augurs is the almost full scale false door in the middle of the rear wall of the chamber (Figure IV.11). This door is in the Doric style with elaborate studded "bronze" fittings on the door. It is flanked by a figure on either side of the door facing it with one arm raised in a gesture of mourning.[81]

[80] Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 45, 47.
[81] Steingräber 1986: 283; Bonfante 1986: 268; Haynes 2000: 231.This gesture is also seen in the Tomb of the Dead Man (Steingräber 1986: 325). It can, furthermore, be found on the rear wall of the Tomb of the Baron, where it is instead identified as a gesture of greeting by Steingräber (1986: 285).

Figure IV.11, False door on the rear wall of the Tomb of the Augurs flanked by two mourners, after Steingräber 1986: pl. 13.

Doors of this type are very common in Tarquinia in the Archaic period, all of which are elaborately decorated in the same fashion.[82] The motif of the false door is found in 22% of the painted chambers of this period, making the door the second most common theme in Etruscan painting after banqueting (57%).[83] With the exception of the tombs with more than one false door, the door is often on the rear wall in line with the entrance of the tomb (75%). The false doors imitate doors to buildings, but whether they are of a domestic, religious, or some other type, is unknown. The common conclusion is that they refer to the doors of domestic buildings.[84] Interestingly enough, they are among the first subjects painted on walls of tombs and can be found in the early Archaic tombs of the Capanna and Marchese (575-550).[85] The doors of these two early tombs are not as elaborate as later doors, but are instead narrow and do not include as much

[82] Staccioli 1980: 1. Tombs from the mid to later Archaic period include Whipping, Topolino, Inscriptions, Olympians, Cardarelli, Bronze Door, and Lyre.
[83] For a list of these tombs see Appendix I.
[84] Staccioli 1980: 8-9, 10; Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 46; Prayon 2001: 338; de Grummond 2006a: 212.
[85] Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 45.

decoration (Figure IV.4). The frame of the doors is emphasised by the dark red colour as well as a thick border in the tombs of the mid Archaic period (520-500). This type of door and frame can also be found in rock-cut form in the entrances to burial chambers from Cerveteri (Figure IV.12).

Figure IV.12, Emphasised entrance (porta dorica type) in a tomb in Cerveteri (Banditaccia necropolis).

It is interesting to note that all the false doors of this period are shown as closed. This, of course, begs the question as to what is behind the door. By nature, false doors are not functional and therefore must be symbolically meant for the dead. There are a variety of interpretations as to what these doors might represent, none which can be stated with any satisfactory conclusion at this time. Firstly, from a more practical perspective, it has been noted that the doors often line up with precisely the location of other chambers in larger multi-chambered tombs.[86] It is possible that it served a symbolic function.. Thus, if there was not enough space or funds to make the tomb larger, the door could symbolically represent another room.[87] However, based on the amount of care put into the decoration of the tomb, as was the case with most of the painted chambers that include doors, it is unlikely that it was merely a case of lack of funds to create a larger tomb.

Secondly, the false doors may represent a belief in what happened to the deceased in the afterlife. That the mourners are depicted flanking this door (Figure

[86] Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 46.

[87] For example, the door in the Tomb of the Augurs would line up precisely with the rear chamber in the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing. Similarly, the doors in the Tomb of the Lyre corresponds somewhat with the unique shape of the Tomb of the Bulls, and the three false doors found on each of the walls in the Tomb of the Whipping line up with precisely with the actual doorways in the Bartoccini tomb.

IV.11) might suggest that the dead had passed through it.[88] Although the doors appear to be in imitation of domestic architecture, they could also represent the door to the realm of the dead.[89] In the later images, such as the mourners in the Tomb of the Augurs, figures are shown interacting with the door.[90] This indicates that the door was meant to serve a purpose in the scene depicted and was not merely decoration. More importantly, the figures interacting with the door reaffirm that it was not merely a substitute for a larger tomb. The mourners themselves serve an important double purpose. Not only do they signify that the deceased has gone through the door, but that the deceased is mourned eternally, even if only symbolically. Furthermore, that the door is partly submerged is most likely not accidental, and may refer to some sort of passage below. It has not been noted as of yet that the dark colour of the lower dado region of this tomb is very similar to the seascape dado in the Tomb of the Lionesses (Figure IV.10), and may indicate a subtle reference to water imagery. There is, however, no conclusive evidence for this and so it must remain merely a speculation.

The door then functions as a threshold that separates the realm of the dead from those who are still in that of the living.[91] Doors are a way to pass from one area to another.[92] Thus, it is an important liminal motif. A door at the same time belongs to neither area as well as both of the two spaces it defines, but serves both the coming and going. It is significant to note that, even though these doors are always shown as closed, it does not represent something finite, such as closure between the living and the dead. Furthermore, doors are not an impenetrable wall. The door suggests that there is something beyond; however, because it is closed, and indeed non-functional, it also implies that what lies beyond is out of reach – at least for the living.[93] This impassable boundary may not be the same for the dead and the living. The deceased may be able to return back through it, perhaps to witness commemorative rites in his or her honour, or

[88] Staccioli 1980: 5; Jannot 2005: 56.
[89] Bonfante 1986: 268; de Grummond 2006a: 215; Krauskopf 2006: 77. Brendel (1995: 168), on the other hand, sees the door as the entrance to the tomb, and sees the tomb as transformed to being outside.
[90] Roncalli 2001: 356.
[91] False doors are not only found in Archaic tombs, but reappear in various forms throughout the subsequent centuries of Etruscan civilisation. Furthermore, there are actually rock-cut false doors in 4th century tombs from Norchia and Castel d'Asso near Tarquinia. These doors are not cut into the rock, but in fact protrude from the stone, which indicates that the door was planned to be a part of the tomb from the outset (Izzet 2007a: 99).
[92] Izzet 1996: 61.
[93] Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 46; Roncalli 2001: 351; Leighton 2004: 116.

perhaps to partake in commemorative banquets or libations in honour of the dead.[94] That the doors are even depicted may serve as a reminder that the realm of the dead is not that distant. The images illustrate further the Etruscan concern for the separation of space; the space that is beyond the door is not of this world. What the painted and rock-cut doors ultimately represent is not entirely certain. They do, however, indicate an importance in symbolic representation. The false doors may indicate deeper implications about the afterlife for a small number of individuals with regards to connections between the realm of the living and the dead.

III.iv: Funerary Games

The two side walls and the painting on either side of the entrance depict different groups involved in sporting events or games that have been identified as being held at the funeral in honour of the deceased.[95] The right hand wall has attracted the most interest as the scene near the entrance has, much like the small erotic scenes in the Tomb of the Bulls, not yet been satisfactorily explained.

Figure IV.13, Phersu "game" in the Tomb of the Augurs, after Steingräber 1986: pl. 20.

[94] Krauskopf 2006: 75.
[95] Steingräber 1986: 283.

A masked figure labelled Phersu is here controlling a "game" in which a man with a covered head is pitted against a chained up dog that is biting the leg of the blinded man (Figure IV.13).[96] This scene, although a mystery, is far from unique, and can be seen in a small number of other painted tombs of the same period.[97] This suggests that it was not a random action depicted on the wall, but a codified game that may have even been a part of the funerary process.[98] Two nude figures are engaged in a boxing match on the left hand wall while a semi-nude figure much like Phersu is shown mid-dance. The right hand wall also shows two nude figures wrestling. This is not simply an ordinary battle, as the contestants are watched by an umpire. There is no specific indication, however, that these activities took place at a funeral. As a result of the context of the tomb, it is assumed that they represent rituals in honour of the dead, which seems very likely. The blood on the body of the blinded man in the Phersu game, however, might be an attempt at realism, and does not necessarily indicate a ritual bloodletting, as has previously been suggested.[99]

That funeral games may have been held in honour of the dead indicates a belief that something of the dead existed after death, something that has been well established in the funerary material thus far. It also, however, reaffirms the social status of the deceased and his or her family by allowing individuals to compete in honour of the dead. The fighters (e.g. the wrestlers Teitu and Latithe) could be seen as professionals hired by the family to perform a spectacle as part of the funeral, like early gladiatorial matches in Rome.[100] This is, however, uncertain.

Unlike a small selection of later painted tombs, it is not entirely conclusive that the sporting events depicted in the Tomb of the Augurs were indeed funerary games.[101]

---

[96] A similar pair of figures can be seen in the Tomb of the Olympians, but unfortunately they cannot aid in clarification of what is going on in the scene as only the heads have survived. The Phersu scene here is also associated with other types of competitions. A total of three tombs at Tarquinia in this period depict the Phersu game (Rebuffat-Emmanuel 1983: 421).

[97] A dancing Phersu not involved in any sort of blood sport can also be found in the Tomb of the Pulcinella.

[98] Cf. The tombs of the Olympians, the Rooster, Pulcinella and Tomb 1999.

[99] Haynes 2000: 233.

[100] Gladiatorial matches began as part of a funeral ritual, where they served as an opportunity for display (Futrell 2000: 30; Dunkle 2008: 7). See also Serv. *Ad Aen*. 3.67, 10.519-520. It has even been proposed that the Phersu game was a kind of gladiatorial game (Rebuffat-Emmanuel 1983: 422; Steingräber 2006: 93). Futrell notes how tentative this conclusion is (1997: 15-16). It is interesting to note, however, that the Romans themselves attributed the origins of gladiatorial games to the Etruscans (Nic. Dam. FGrH 90 F78). Barker and Rasmussen, however, note that the evidence for this is actually very weak (1998: 294).

[101] This has, however, never been called into question (Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 48).

Nevertheless, there are two factors which suggest that the sports were connected to the funeral. Firstly, the context of the tomb would make funerary games a very suitable theme. In this way, the rituals would be continuously (albeit symbolically) held for the deceased as long as the tomb itself survived. Secondly, and perhaps more convincingly, is the presence of the two mourners flanking the door on the rear wall. The mourners would not otherwise fit in a scene of sports and combative display unless it was a funerary event. The slightly later Tomb of the Dying Man combines sporting activities with the prothesis of the dead, thus indicating that at least at some point the two were connected as part of the funerary process. If these paintings did indeed represent funerary games, then it would appear that they were formal demonstrations (as indicated in this tomb by the umpire and the augur standing nearby) perhaps by hired professionals, and that they served a religious purpose beyond, or perhaps in addition to that of entertainment.[102] Similarly, the contemporary Tomb of the Juggler depicts a more explicit reference to funerary games, one that suggests that they were even believed to be witnessed by the deceased. In the pediment at the rear wall of this tomb, the deceased is depicted seated on a chair and watching the games and revelry in his honour (Figure IV.14). He has been identified as the deceased due to the status associated with sitting in a throne while watching the activities.[103]

Figure IV.14, Painting on the rear wall of the Tomb of the Juggler (ca. 510).

[102] Jannot 2005: 50.

[103] Damgaard Andersen (1993: 56-57) uses this criteria to identify the deceased or ancestors in the Bartoccini tomb, which she states is the only example. The seated figure in the Tomb of the Juggler, however, as well as the seated woman in the Tomb of the Monkey from Chiusi, should also be added to this catalogue of the enthroned deceased. See also Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 49.

IV: Case Study 3, Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing

IV.i: The Tomb

The Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing (ca. 510) is part of a large number of painted chambers from the Calvario section of the Monterozzi necropolis (Figure IV.2) that are dated to the close of the 6th century. Like the Tomb of the Bulls, the tomb is one of the few dating to the Archaic period that has more than one room. It consists of two chambers: an antechamber and a small burial chamber at the rear with indentations in the bedrock for the feet of the funerary bed. Both chambers are shaped in the manner typical of this period, with a gabled roof, pediments, and the central beam along the middle of the ceiling. The bed was orientated perpendicular to the entrance and located at the back left of the burial chamber. The loculus at the back right of the burial chamber was a later addition to the tomb, which is indicated by the destruction it caused to the painting on the rear wall. The wide stepped dromos of the tomb faces South-Southeast.

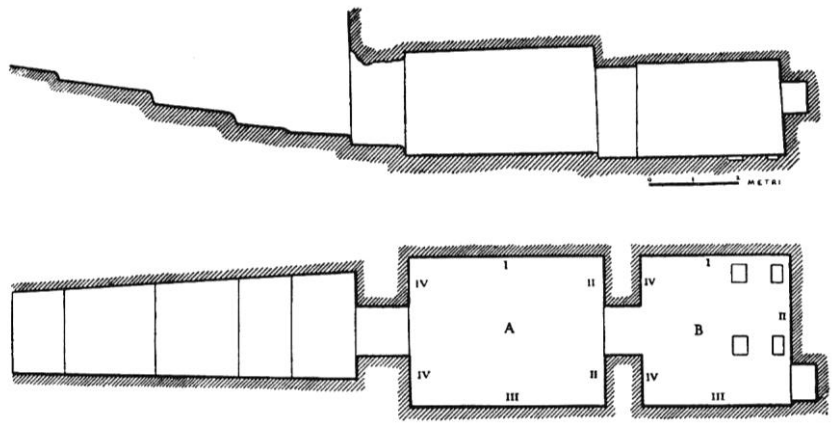


Figure IV.15, Plan of the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing, after Holloway 1986: pl. 75.

The predominant theme of the paintings on the walls of the entrance chamber is one of vegetation and returning from the hunt. The second chamber depicts scenes of swimming and fishing at the seaside; a somewhat similar theme to hunting as both resulted in obtaining meat to be consumed. Thus, it is not surprising that the one theme that is present in both chambers is that of a banquet.

IV.ii: Funerary Banquets

At this point it is beneficial to step back from the narrow focus on the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing, and to provide a recap on banqueting in a funerary context in general. This motif was indeed very frequently portrayed in funerary art from all over Etruria. There are many different forms of funerary banquets, the first of which comprised a part of the funeral itself.[104] In the Archaic period, there is evidence, albeit entirely iconographical, for a new type of banquet. This banquet can be seen as happening in the underworld, and therefore took place entirely in the realm of the imagination.

Although there was evidence to suggest a graveside meal from very early on, the first artistic representation of a funerary banquet that has survived dates from the late Orientalising period. This is the famous Montescudaio biconical urn (650-625) from near Volterra that depicts two seated figures on top of the inverted bowl who appear to be dining together.[105] This is generally assumed to be the deceased dining with an ancestor or loved one as a result of the funerary nature of the vessel (i.e. that it is a cinerary urn containing the ashes of the deceased).[106] Later images of banqueting, however, are not so clearly connected to the funerary sphere.

With regards to subjects in wall paintings, there was suddenly an explosion of interest in depicting a banquet on the walls of tombs in the late 6th century. This coincides with the increased number of tomb paintings at this time. Despite this, it is still striking to note that there were no tombs with banquet scenes painted on the walls before about 520 (approximately 22% of the painted tombs from this period). Between 520 and 500, however, banqueting was represented on 67% of the tombs that can be dated to these two decades (see Appendix I). Banqueting was to become a very common theme throughout all of Etruria (63.6% of Archaic tomb paintings show some form of banqueting or associated activities, see Appendix I). There are depictions of banqueting on various other types of media, including terracotta plaques, pottery, and cippi. With

[104] Carbonised remains of food and wood, as well as the presence of dining equipment in and around tombs indicate a ritual funerary banquet, whether it be for the dead, with the dead, or from later visits to the tomb (Pieraccini 2000: 38).
[105] Tuck 1994: 617. See above Chapter II.IV.vi for a discussion of the possibility that the dead were believed to enjoy a banquet in the afterlife in the Villanovan period.
[106] Tuck 1994: 627.

the exception of the cippi, many of these items were not created for a funerary purpose, and, therefore, could just as easily refer to a banquet in a non-funerary context.[107]

Images of banquets were no longer the simple depictions of diners, but instead were often much more detailed series of events. In tomb painting, the topic of banqueting and those activities associated with it (such as dancing, musicians, and the drinking of wine) replaced animals as the most common theme. As a result, bright colours and lively figures are standard for this period. The earliest tombs that depict some sort of banquet, dancing, and/or scenes of drinking wine date to about 520 (e.g. Tarantola, Inscriptions, Lionesses, Topolino). The banqueters are depicted as reclining on couches or the ground, rather than seated as on the Montescudaio urn.[108] It is striking to compare how frequently scenes of revelry are depicted when compared to the number of scenes showing the second most common activity depicted in this period, namely, sporting events.[109] Games are depicted in 16.6% of the painted tombs from this period, a rather small percentage compared to the 57% that display scenes of banqueting.[110] There are, moreover, certain elements that are present throughout many of the images of banqueting in this period. For example, there are often multiple diners, both male and female, who recline holding their wine cups in sometimes oddly contorted ways, or who act playfully (Figure IV.16).

Figure IV.16, Rear wall of Tomb 5513. Note the diner on the far right who is playfully hitting the nude slave with his empty cup.

[107] Rathje 1994: 95.
[108] Damgaard Andersen 1993: 32; Tuck 1994: 617; Pieraccini 2000: 35.
[109] False doors are the second most common motif (tied with water imagery), but sports or funerary games are the second most commonly depicted activity.
[110] See Appendix I.

Servants are depicted in smaller scale and usually nude as above. There are also often musicians, and the revellers usually dancing vividly to the music, which is both celebratory and has also be seen as apotropaic.[111] Furthermore, items for banqueting, such as kraters, amphorae, and oinochoe are represented.

The Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing contains two banquet scenes: komastic dancers in the first chamber, and a detailed banquet scene in the pediment of the burial chamber. It was not as common to depict banquets in pediments as it was on walls, but the scene in this chamber is extremely detailed and is worth examining closely (Figure IV.17). The focus is on the richly dressed couple dining together in the middle.

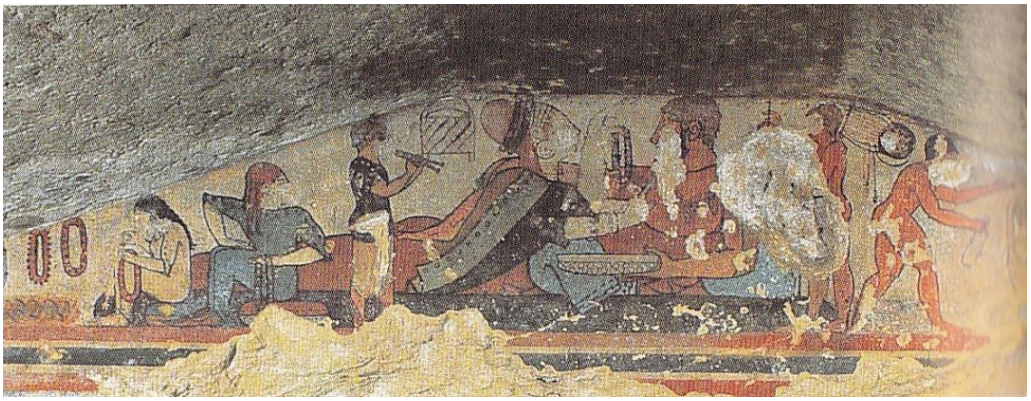


Figure IV.17, Pediment of the burial chamber in the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing, after Spivey 1997: 46.

The man and the woman, who recline on the ground, are in much larger scale than the others in the tomb, especially the nude servants. The couple are most certainly aristocratic (or wanted to be remembered as such), as is indicated by the rich clothes and jewels. The intimate setting is emphasised not only by the affection apparent between the couple, but also by the image of the hanging cista. These baskets symbolised the inner chambers of the house because they normally held female items of adornment, such as perfume.[112] This cista is exactly the same as the cista on a late 6th century mirror from Tarquinia, in which it, as well as a suspended aryballos, serve to emphasise the intimate setting (Figure IV.18).[113]

[111] Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 254.
[112] Haynes 2000: 240.
[113] Haynes 2000: 240.

Figure IV.18, Bronze mirror of a domestic scene from Tarquinia (late 6th century), after Haynes 2000: 240.

Also depicted in the tomb is a musician playing an aulos, as well as a suspended cithara (Figure IV.17). Two smaller figures on the far left are weaving wreaths. The aristocratic couple depicted in the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing can be identified as the owners of the tomb because of their important position and prominent size.

This pediment and the many other images of banqueting in tombs during this period raise two significant questions: do these images represent funerary banquets, and, if so, what type of funerary banquet? Of the paintings that are dated to the Archaic period, it is impossible to tell, with one main exception, whether they were intended to occur specifically in the realm of the dead or the living. It could simply be that the banquet was seen as merely a representation of a necessary activity (eating and drinking) that also happened to be a display of wealth and status.[114] It is unlikely, however, that the images are simply representations of feasting. As a result of the deliberateness of tomb art, it is more probable that they are funerary. There are three criteria for identifying a funerary banquet: firstly, the context can be used (i.e. the tomb itself), secondly, any inscriptions that identify the deceased and his or her ancestors, and, most importantly, the presence of iconographic features that might identify the underworld or the funerary ritual itself. For example, the one main exception during the Archaic period is the Tomb of the Funeral Bed (Figure IV.21).[115] On the walls of this tomb are depicted banqueters and revellers around an empty funerary couch, thus

[114] Riva 2010: 137.
[115] This tomb is discussed in detail in Case Study IV.4.

connecting the two events. The similarity of other scenes of banqueting, as well as the context of the images inside the tomb, would suggest that the banquets depicted are for the most part related to the funerary sphere. The presence of mourners, such as those seen in the Tomb of the Dead Man (Figure IV.22), could also be used to identify a funerary context.

On that note, however, there are two types of banquets that are both closely related to the funerary sphere. The Tomb of the Funeral Bed, with the obvious narrative connection between the funeral bed and banqueters, suggests a banquet that is part of the funeral itself, or a subsequent one that is in commemoration of the dead.[116] The majority of the images from this period, however, do not depict mourners or funerary couches. Yet, it should be remembered that they were purposefully depicted in a tomb context. The context of the tomb strongly indicates that the images inside are related in some way to the funerary sphere. There is another suggestion for the location of these banquets. It is possible that the scenes of banqueting and activities associated with it that are so common in the Archaic period are actually taking place in the afterlife where the deceased has been reunited with ancestors.[117] This image of the life after death is, then, not one to be feared, but one that could be seen as comforting, especially to those who may have just recently lost loved ones and were in the process of depositing the remains in the tomb.[118] Later Etruscan funerary art does clearly depict banquets in the underworld, and, as such, it is tempting to use the later evidence to make conclusions about beliefs in this period.[119] This, however, is misleading, as there is no such differentiation in this period.

IV.iii: Depicting the Dead

Such images of the deceased partaking of banquets with his or her ancestors bring up the important point of how the dead were depicted. Representations of the

[116] Subsequent references to banqueting will be referred to as funerary banquets for simplicity and in order to prevent repetition, but with reservations that this is not conclusive.
[117] Roncalli 1997: 353, 357; Serra Ridgway 2000a: 312; Leighton 2004: 116; Jannot 2005: 62; Krauskopf 2006: 70; de Grummond 2006a: 233 (in the case of the Tomb of the Leopards). It could also be the case however, that these are banquets for honouring the dead, Spivey and Stoddart 1990: 117; de Grummond 2006a: 231.
[118] de Grummond 2006a: 231.
[119] See below Chapter VI.II.iii.

deceased are a feature of the Archaic period throughout Etruria.[120] There is no explicit indication that these images depict the occupants of the tomb, and such identifications must be deduced from the context. The deceased is generally identifiable based on his or her position and role in the scene. In many tomb paintings, and indeed other types of funerary art,[121] the central figure may be generally assumed to be the deceased. This central figure is often larger than the rest, such as is the case with the reclining couple in the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing,[122] and may have individual features that suggest that the image is a portrait. That the dead were represented in images indicates a strong belief in the afterlife, one that is much more visually defined than in the earlier periods. It is possible that these figures are deities; however, there are no attributes that are generally associated with any of the gods of the Etruscan pantheon. It should also be pointed out that the iconographic evidence for Etruscan gods does not appear in abundance in funerary art until the engraved mirrors of the 5th century.[123] Furthermore, the figures in the images in question do not contain idealised features, in the way that Etruscan deities are often represented. Therefore, it is very unlikely that they are deities. The inscriptions on tomb walls can be used as another way to support the conclusion that the images represent the deceased rather than deities. Some of these paintings were labelled with inscriptions (10% of the painted tombs from this period), indicating that they sometimes represented actual people and not only generic funerary or mythological subjects.

IV.iv: The Diver in the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing

The Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing is a tomb that displays one of the most elaborately developed and explicit depictions of the sea. It also includes a representation of individuals interacting with the sea and the creatures in and around it. The sea is depicted in this tomb and others in more detail than in the earlier part of the Archaic period, including the elaborate dolphin and wave frieze that was an important motif in

[120] Damgaard Andersen 1993: 29; Camporeale 2009: 229.
[121] This is especially the case on decorated cinerary urns from Chiusi, which, like the Villanovan biconical urns, symbolically represented the deceased who were also dressed in clothing fastened by fibulae, decorated with jewellery, and given human features.
[122] Holloway (2006: 375), however, suggests that, due to the placement of this banquet in the pediment, it is most likely apotropaic.
[123] Early engraved mirrors depicted domestic scenes such as Figure IV.18.

the Tomb of the Lionesses (Figure IV.10). In the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing, references to the sea take on a whole new level; there are not just images of water or references to water, but an actual seascape is depicted. The walls of the rear chamber of the tomb are filled with scenes taking place at the sea. All of the walls in the rear chamber depict a seascape with small figures hunting and fishing in boats or on rocks. Of particular interest is the scene on the left wall on the far right: a youth dives into the sea while another figure climbs up the rocks in preparation to dive as well (Figure IV.19). Such a continuous narrative indicates a concentrated effort and deliberate choice of the images depicted.

Figure IV.19, Diver in the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing, after Steingräber 1986: pl. 47.

This scene is in a place of importance and, therefore, should not be taken for granted. Although it is not on the rear wall or underneath the banquet scene with the aristocratic couple, it is extremely close to the funerary bed. This scene has been interpreted as the deceased making his way to the underworld.[124] This is, however, a case of jumping to conclusions based entirely on the funerary context of the burial chamber, which is not in line with the rest of the decorative scheme in the chamber.

That so much else is going on with the sea might suggest that the painting simply depicts a youth diving into the water, rather than starting on a journey in the realm of the dead. Furthermore, the dominant theme of seascapes could suggest the

[124] Holloway 2006: 381; Steingräber 2006: 96. The Pythagorean interpretation of this scene as the flight of the soul from the body after death is one of many different possibilities (Napoli 1970: 165).

occupation of the owner of the tomb, rather than a belief in the afterlife.[125] Such an occupation (e.g. that of a fisherman or a sea merchant), however, would be unlikely for elite members of society. The funerary context probably implies that the painted scene was more than just a random depiction of a boy swimming. The deceased on the way to the underworld would seem a possible interpretation based on the proximity to the funerary bed. Similarly, the consistent representations of water in funerary contexts would be evidence in support of an interpretation of this scene as one depicting a journey to the underworld and the landscape, or seascape, of that journey. It should be noted, however, that this is the only depiction of a figure diving into water in Etruscan tombs. References to water imagery are very important in tombs starting in the Archaic period (e.g. Figure IV.8, IV.9), the location of this image within a greater context of fishing and swimming would suggest that in the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing this is not the most likely conclusion. It is more likely that the tomb depicts recreational events. It must, however, remain a possibility.

This motif is also seen in the slightly later Greek Tomb of the Diver at Paestum. In this case, though, the scene with the diver in the Tomb of the Diver appears to be very brief, whereas the images in the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing suggest something more complex.[126] The scene in the Greek tomb is only that of the diver, which leaves the possibilities for interpretation open. It is entirely possible that the image represented was one of an event in a sporting competition.[127] This is further suggested by the podium that the diver has jumped from (Figure IV.20),[128] which is a stark contrast to the high rock that the diver has jumped from in the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing (Figure IV.19). The context of the sea and the fishermen in the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing indicates that it was not a sporting event in the Etruscan tomb, where the diving is more of a recreational type or a connection with the journey to the underworld.

Comparisons with the Etruscan tomb might suggest that the Tomb of the Diver similarly depicts recreational swimming; however, there is simply not enough imagery in the Greek tomb to allow for such a conclusion. It is interesting to note that both

[125] Steingräber 1986: 293.
[126] Holloway 2006: 375.
[127] Napoli 1970: 157.
[128] In contrast, Holloway (2006: 381) states that the diver is passing the tower, rather than having jumped from it.

tombs depict diving scenes accompanied by banqueting scenes. There is, though, a major difference between the two, in that the Tomb of the Diver depicts only men in a symposium-like setting. Nevertheless, both depict such a similar theme (and the diver being a rather unique one at that), and in so similar a manner; this may, even though the depictions are for very different purposes, indicate a connection between the Etruscans at Tarquinia and the Greeks at Paestum. Further consideration of such a connection, unfortunately is beyond the scope of this study.[129]

Figure IV.20, The diver in the Tomb of the Diver (ca. 470), Paestum, after Napoli 1970: pl. 44.

V: Case Study 4, Tomb of the Funeral Bed

V.i: The Tomb

The Tomb of the Funeral Bed (ca. 460) is also found in the Calvario section of the Monterozzi necropolis, where a large number of the Archaic painted tombs are located. This single chambered tomb is found at the bottom of a stepped dromos facing

[129] Holloway (2006: 385) has stated that the Tomb of the Diver represented Etruscan tomb painting at Paestum. Similarly, Torelli (1997: 138) has even gone so far as to claim that the tomb at Paestum was that of an Etruscan. These are, however, rather decisive conclusions to be made simply on the basis of a similar theme represented, and one that is depicted in entirely different ways and different settings.

the Southwest. Like many of the chambers discussed above, the tomb has a gabled ceiling allowing for a sloped roof and pediments on either end. There are six depression cut into the bedrock floor of the tomb for the funeral bed. The paintings depict the common theme of banqueting, but the rear wall also shows the large eponymous funeral bed that dominates the tomb.[130]

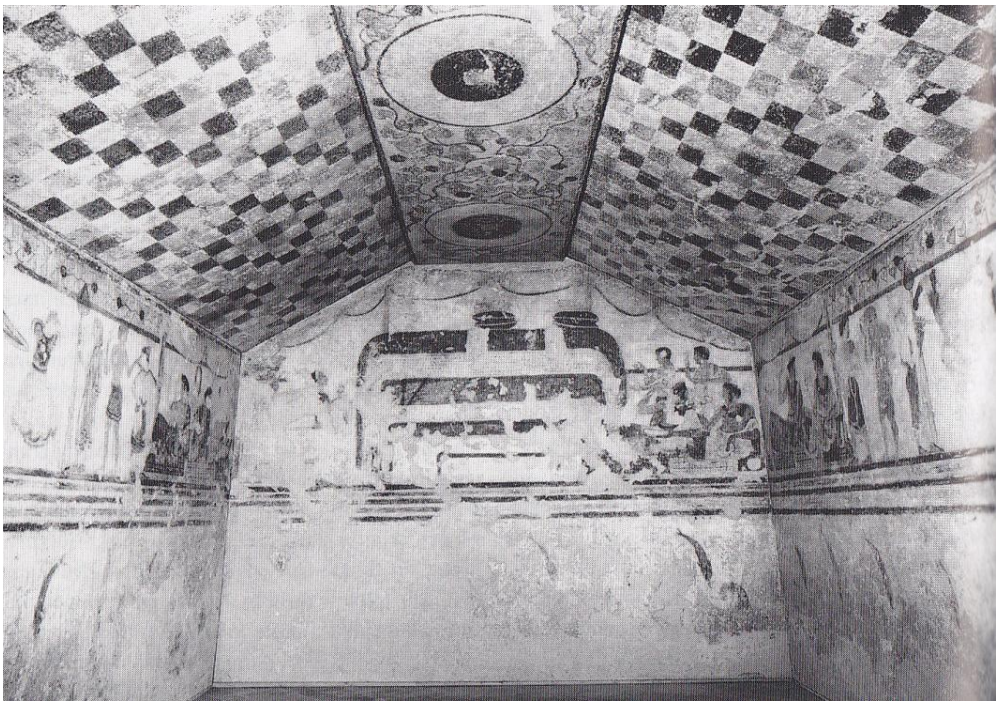


Figure IV.21, Tomb of the Funeral Bed, after Brendel 1995: 264.

The representation of the funeral bed is unique in Archaic tomb painting. This tomb is only one of three (4.2%) from this period that explicitly depict an event that can be construed as part of a funeral.[131] The paintings in this tomb can, therefore, be used to indicate that there were games and a banquet held as part of the funeral ritual. Below the scenes of banqueting and funerary games is a frieze of waves and leaping dolphins, as well as an ivy leaf frieze above painted bands. The paintings in this tomb are now excellently restored and displayed in the Villa Giulia museum in Rome.

[130] Roncalli 1990: 239.

[131] The two other tombs are that of the Dead Man and the Dying Man. A further five may depict the deceased on a journey in the afterlife (tombs of the Bulls, Juggler, Baron, Cardarelli, and Leopards), however, there are no such explicit references to confirm this.

V.ii: Funeral Rituals

Rituals at the funeral may suggest two things about the deceased. Firstly, that they were able to return to the realm of the living, and to be a part of, or at least to witness, the rituals in his or her honour. Secondly, it may also suggest that, after death, the deceased was believed to undergo a period of mourning, in which they were still present in the realm of the living and able to witness social events even though they were physically dead.[132] This liminal period would mirror the period of mourning that the living might be observing. The paintings in the Tomb of the Funeral Bed show banquets being held in the presence of the funerary bed itself (Figure IV.21). This tomb indicates that, at least in some cases, a banquet was a part of the funerary process, and was not just symbolically represented on walls as an event that the occupant might have enjoyed. This type of banquet was held by the living in honour of the dead during the funeral. The ritual meal appears to have taken place underneath a canopy, perhaps in a tent near the entrance to the tomb itself.[133] The styles of the banqueters and poses of the dancers are all very similar to those found in other tombs that do not include a specific reference to a funeral. The paintings in this tomb, then, can be used to make more general conclusions about graveside meals as a part of the funeral at Tarquinia. Thus, the scenes of banqueting and activities associated with it are symbolic depictions of a part of the funeral that honours the dead who were buried in the tomb with an eternal banquet. It is significant to note, then, that the funerary bed is actually empty. It is uncertain as to why there is no body on the funeral couch. The empty bed might be further evidence as to the symbolism of the image. Steingräber has suggested that the occupants of the bed are in fact the two figures dining in the lower right.[134] Perhaps it is empty because the corpse that was supposed to lay on it was in the tomb. Similarly, it could also be a symbolic image of fate; in other words, it is the funeral bed of the viewer.

---

[132] Van Gennep 1960: 147.
[133] Holloway 1965: 345-346.
[134] Steingräber 1986: 320. Jannot (2005: 48), similarly, believes that the empty bed indicates the presence of the dead. Bonfante (1986: 268) notes that the bed symbolically refers to the dead.

Although there are scenes of banquets on the right, left, and rear walls, the left wall also depicts images of sporting events.[135] The activities correspond to other scenes found in a large number of Archaic tombs. Like the banquets, this tomb can be used to indicate that games were in some cases a part of the funeral process.[136]

The funerary bed, despite being empty, also indicates that there was a prothesis of the dead. Displaying the dead is a theme found in two other tombs: the Tomb of the Dead Man and the Tomb of the Dying Man.[137] Both of these tombs depict a prothesis scene on one wall, and other aspects of the funeral process on the others. The small image of the prothesis in the Tomb of the Dead Man is an interesting example to consider in that the figures are labelled.[138] That the figures can be identified by the inscriptions indicates that real individuals were depicted. They were not symbolic of mourners in general, but had an actual connection to the deceased, Thanarsas. In this scene, the deceased on the funeral bed is attended by mourners (Figure IV.22), one of whom is gesturing in the same way as the mourners flanking the false door in the Tomb of the Augurs (cf. Figure IV.11).

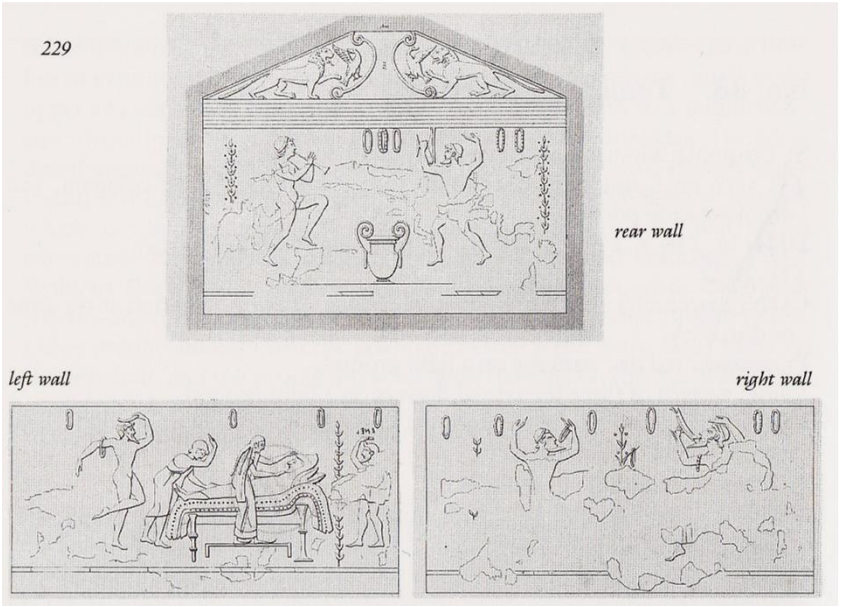


Figure IV.22, Rear, right, and left (prothesis scene) walls of the Tomb of the Dead Man, after Steingräber 1986: 326. Note the upraised right hand of the mourner at the foot of the bed on the left wall.

[135] Sporting events may be found in the earlier Tomb of the Augurs (see above section III.iv in this chapter).
[136] Jannot 1987: 279; Steingräber 1986: 320.
[137] Brigger and Giovannini 2004: 237.
[138] Steingräber 1986: 325.

Images of displaying the deceased naturally bring up the question of the intended audience of the prothesis. For whom was the body being displayed? The prothesis would allow for personal or public farewells, as well as to ensure that the individual was indeed dead. It also may be that the deceased was displayed for the banqueters, or those attending the funeral. In the Orientalising period, some aristocratic tombs indicate that funerals or commemorative ceremonies were held with a large audience.[139] It may have been the case in the Archaic period as well that those that had more extended relationships with the deceased might come to pay their respects before the dead was interred in the tomb. Furthermore, that the funerary banquet and prothesis was held outdoors (as indicated by the presence of the canopy overtop the bed) might be an indication that a larger number of people attended this part of the funeral.

V.iii: Temporary Funerary Structures

The canopy over the couch clearly suggests that a part of the funeral ritual was held outdoors, and, consequently, requires closer discussion. Similarly, further comparison with the painted ceilings of other tombs suggests decoration of linen, and thus the canopy of a tent, rather than wooden beams.[140] The location of the funeral bed underneath a canopy and in the open air raises some significant questions about the concept of the tomb as the house of the dead. Two painted ceilings, in the Tomb of the Lionesses and the Tomb of the Hunter, are decorated with an intricate chequered pattern that looks similar to the awnings of a canopy (Figure IV.23). It has also been noted that the ceiling in the Tomb of the Hunter appears to be held up by a pole, rather than a column or wooden beam.[141]

[139] See above Chapter III.ii.
[140] This was first proposed by Holloway (1965: 345).
[141] Holloway 1965: 344.

Figure IV.23, Tomb of the Hunter (510-500). Note the four rock-cut indentations for the funerary bed.

This similarity has led to the proposal that the decorated ceilings actually represent the canopy over which the prothesis of the body or some other funerary ritual was held.[142] This conclusion is based largely on the unique Tomb of the Funeral Bed, in which the rear wall depicts an empty bed under a tent (Figure IV.21), and the ceiling of the later Tomb of the Pulcella (Figure V.4), of which the red and white stripes seem to sag towards the middle.[143] Although many scholars have accepted this theory,[144] it has also faced much criticism because of the widespread association of Etruscan tombs with house structure since the early periods.[145] Thus, the proposal is strongly rejected by Weber-Lehmann, namely on this basis that the majority of tombs throughout Etruria

[142] This was noted by Holloway (1965: 344), drawing from a suggestion made by Pallottino (1937: 264). See also Brendel 1995: 264. It should be noted that the proposal that a tent was used to cover the body for all instances of a prothesis is speculation, one that is seen by Izzet (2007a: 113) to be very plausible based on the post holes that are set before the entrance of a small 6th century burial mound from Pian della Conserva. This, however, is a very small sample on which to be making such wide ranging conclusions.
[143] Holloway 1965: 345. The sag in the stripes, however, is difficult to see, and so the coloured stripes may actually be considered as painted beams.
[144] For example, Spivey and Stoddart 1990: 117; Leighton 2004: 104; Izzet 2007a: 112.
[145] Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 46.

clearly seem to her to be designed to resemble domestic architecture.[146] This is, of course, one feature of Etruscan burial that can arguably be traced all the way back to the Iron Age with the Villanovan house urns, and seems to continue to the end of Etruscan civilisation in a variety of different forms. This is, unfortunately, something of a circular argument as there is such little evidence remaining of Etruscan houses that would be needed in order to make the initial comparison between funerary and domestic architecture. The limited evidence for the representation of tents is not enough to conclude anything with confidence about general Etruscan funerary rituals.

It is important to allow for the possibility of personal choice when considering funerary evidence. Not all of the Villanovans chose to place cremated remains in urns in the shape of a long house, and there are similar variations in tombs of the Archaic period. Although the majority of the painted tombs appear to imitate domestic architecture, with the depiction of columns, doorways, windows, and crossbeams, it is clear that, in the case of the Tomb of the Funeral Bed, there is a pavilion over the bed itself (Figure IV.21).[147] Even Weber-Lehmann acknowledges that the Tomb of the Hunter appears to resemble a tent (Figure IV.23).[148] It should be noted, however, that the Tomb of the Funeral Bed is in the usual tomb shape, with gabled ends and heraldic animals in the pediment, and is, therefore, itself still reminiscent of a building.

Since there is evidence for both associations, it should not be seen that it has to be one or the other. Weber-Lehmann has convincingly suggested that in the case of the Tomb of the Hunter, the ceiling is a depiction of the hunting pavilion rather than a place for a funerary ritual.[149] The occupant of the Tomb of the Funeral Bed preferred the tomb to display an empty bier placed under a tent, though with the tomb still in the shape of a house. This is a rare instance where the tomb depicts a scene connected to funerary rituals, and indicates that a prothesis occurred amongst banqueters outdoors.

---

[146] Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 46. A consideration of the tomb painting in Tarquinia alone shows an overwhelming majority for domestic architecture in tombs rather than what could possibly be seen as tent-like awnings, as only 4 of the 136 (0.03%) painted tombs, including the depiction of the tent on the wall painting in the Tomb of the Funeral Bed, can arguably be seen as depicting a tent.

[147] All from this period seem to imitate domestic architecture to some extent, whether it be the shape of the tomb itself or the painted decoration; even the Tomb of the Hunter and the Tomb of the Funeral Bed are in the typical shape with the gabled roof.

[148] Weber-Lehmann (1986a: 46) has declared that only in this tomb is the decoration clearly meant to resemble a tent with the depiction of narrow poles instead of the broad ridgepole. Furthermore, the red Tuscan columns clearly depicted in the corners of the Tomb of the Lionesses strongly suggest that it was not meant to resemble a tent.

[149] Weber-Lehmann 1986a: 46.

VI: Conclusions

Analysis of the tomb form and painted walls in the four case studies has indicated a greater elaboration and variety of visual imagery that can be used to identify beliefs about the afterlife. Throughout the course of the Archaic period, it became increasingly common for elites to be buried in elaborately painted chambers, a large number of which are clustered in Calvario and Secondi Archi (Figure IV.2). The major change in this period is the increase in iconographic evidence. This change did not occur abruptly, but has its origins in the late Orientalising period and reached a peak in Tarquinia at the close of the 6th century. Archaic tombs indicate that much care was spent on the interior of the tomb. Decorating the interior of the tomb allowed for three significant opportunities for display: 1) in some cases the images of the deceased were represented, thus allowing for his or her likeness to survive, 2) paintings on walls allowed for the deceased or his or her family to indicate social status not only in the paintings themselves, but also through depicting aristocratic activities (e.g. hunting), 3) the depiction of funerary rituals allowed for the symbolic and continuous honouring of the dead.

The most marked change is the artistic representation of different stages of the funeral, which ensured that these stages would be symbolically held in the tomb. The Tomb of the Funeral Bed is integral in reconstructing what events might have occurred at the funeral, as it displays the connection between the prothesis, funerary games, and the banquet in honour of the deceased. Comparisons of other tomb paintings with those in this tomb would suggest that, during this period, the banquets represented on walls of tombs are a part of the funeral.

Non-elites may have had the same rituals held at funerals and similar beliefs about the afterlife, but there is no surviving evidence. For example, the practice of honouring the dead with a farewell banquet was probably held by a large segment of the population, but most could not afford to include representations of the banquet in tomb art. That being said, the evidence that does remain from this is remarkable for the quantity and quality of the iconographic evidence for attitudes towards death and the afterlife.

Chapter V: The Classical Period

I: Introduction

This chapter continues to trace the development of beliefs about the afterlife and attitudes towards the deceased in Tarquinia through the relatively short Classical period (conventionally dated to 450-330). The dates for the start of the period, and for its end, however, are not clear cut, and should be seen as merely a convenient guideline.[1] Further difficulty arises because the material evidence from the end of the period (i.e. 350 onwards) is so similar to the styles and motifs found in the Hellenistic period, with the result that a large number of tombs could be assigned to both (e.g. the Tomb of the Underworld and the Tomb of the Shields [see Appendix II and III]).

The majority of the evidence for beliefs about the afterlife from this period is iconographical, although there is also a significant amount of information that can be derived from changes in tomb form and locations of where the body itself was buried. During the middle of the Classical period, the iconography in tombs changed from the previous period now to illustrate clearly the realm of the dead.[2] It is also significant that these same types of scenes can be found on various types of funerary art (e.g. wall painting, sarcophagi, cinerary urns, painted pottery, etc.) from all over Etruria. This period establishes how important the afterlife became in some funerary contexts at Tarquinia throughout the course of the 4th century. This does not represent a change in the importance of the afterlife, but rather a change in its visibility. There was, however, no single uniform way of envisioning the afterlife, and so these depictions cannot be said with any certainty to represent the beliefs of the entire population.

I.i: Funerary Evidence from Tombs

The tombs of the Classical period continued to be cut from the rock and in the early decades (450-400), were small chambers with each used for only one or two inhumations. There was minimal innovation in funerary architecture and decoration in

[1] Weber-Lehmann (1986b: 53) has proposed that this period should be referred to as "Interim Period" rather than the misleading Classical period.
[2] Steingräber 2006: 187-188.

the 5th century.[3] The dead were buried in all parts of the Monterozzi necropolis, although there are concentrations of tombs especially in the Calvario section (Figure V.1).

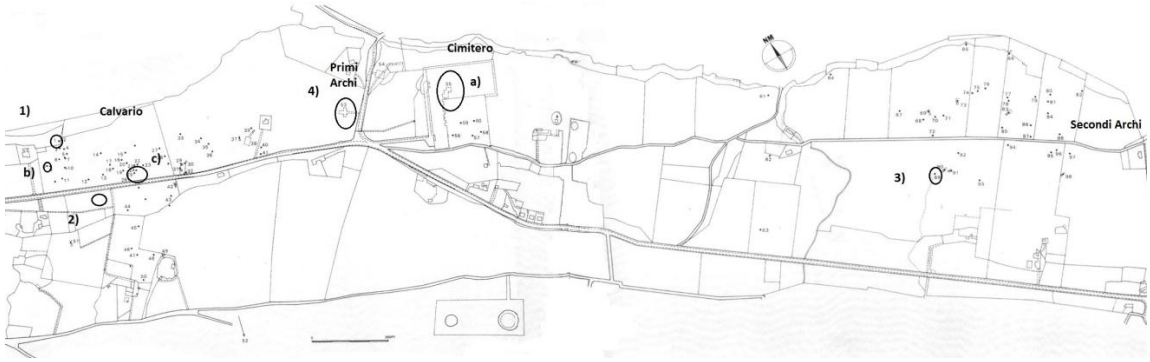


Figure V.1, Location of Classical period case studies in the Monterozzi necropolis, adapted from (Steingräber 1986: 384-385) by Bruce Weir and Allison Weir. **1)** Tomb of the Pulcella (425-400), **2)** Tomb of the Blue Demons (ca. 400), **3)** Tomb 2327 (400-350), **4)** the Tomb of the Shields (350-300), **a)** Tomb of the Underworld I-III (350-300), **b)** Tomb 3242 (400-350), **c)** Tomb 5513 (ca. 450).

A significant number of tombs from this period are now lost, with the result that a comprehensive analysis of any concentrations of painted chambers is impossible.

At the onset of the Classical period, the form of the tomb and the wall paintings that decorated the interior were very similar to those of the earlier period.[4] Soon afterwards the form of the tomb changed to include rock-cut trenches (e.g. Tomb 5513) or alcoves (loculi) cut into the walls (e.g. the Tomb of the Pulcella). These were meant to hold the remains of the deceased, whether they be cremated or inhumed. Although inhumation was still the dominant form of disposal of human remains, cremation occurred intermittently throughout the 5th and 4th centuries.[5] Such loculi were hollowed out of the wall and extend beyond the shape of the tomb itself, but were not in line with either the ceiling or floor of the tomb. Thus, they were simultaneously inside the tomb and outside of it. These loculi were often decorated with painted scenes, which were in close proximity to the body of the deceased, and, therefore, should be analysed with this in mind.

[3] Steingräber 2006: 132.
[4] Compare, for example, the dancing and banquet scenes in the Tomb of the Pulcella with those in the Tomb of the Funeral Bed (Chapter IV.V.ii).
[5] Leighton 2004: 34.

The single-chambered rectangular style of tomb used in Tarquinia since the early Archaic period was the most common type of tomb until the middle of the 4th century.[6] It was replaced by larger chambers that did not contain painted architectural elements, and in some cases, have less painted decoration. This shift represents the most notable change in tomb form during the Classical period. At this time, the internal arrangement of the tomb itself underwent a change. The form consisted of a large chamber intended for multiple depositions. In these tombs, the dead were laid out on funerary beds or deposited in sarcophagi or cinerary urns. This is a stark shift from the small rectangular tombs that were designed to house only one or two inhumations. This shift indicates a desire to be buried in close proximity to family members.

The use of family chamber tombs meant that multiple burials were placed in one large room. Thus, individual features, such as inscriptions or decoration, were needed in order for one burial to be able to be differentiated amongst the others. The solution to the possibility that one burial might not be visible in the large chamber tomb was to place the dead in sarcophagi or cinerary urns. These sarcophagi were often decorated, thus allowing for a certain degree of personal display, and they were sometimes labelled with inscriptions identifying the occupant. There were three key ways for an individual deposition to be differentiated amongst many: 1) in terms of visual imagery by portraying the deceased in a way that he or she wanted to be remembered, 2) in epigraphic references to the deceased and his or her family members, thus enabling the name to live on, or, 3) a combination of both. These objects can be especially useful for reconstructing funerary rites and beliefs, since they were created exclusively for a funerary purpose.

I.ii: Tomb Painting

The themes painted on chamber walls are familiar from the Archaic period and include depictions of banquets, games, and hunting, as well as processions of musicians, dancers, and figures who most likely represent the deceased.[7] There is, however, an overwhelming focus on banqueting in this period (see Appendix II). Approximately 72% of the painted tombs of this period depict some form of banquet or the activities

[6] Roncalli 2001: 351.
[7] Weber-Lehmann 1986b: 54.

associated with it. There was also an increase in the number of hunting scenes depicted.[8] Like the location of many of the tombs, the paintings inside many of them have unfortunately been lost. In some cases, the evidence is limited to drawings or reports made in the 19th century.[9] Drawings by Byres[10] are especially inadequate as much artistic licence was used in representing the scenes depicted. The Tomb of the Biclinium is one such example, as the figures depicted are completely different from any other style of painting in Etruria (Figure V.2).

Figure V.2, Banquet scene in the Tomb of the Biclinium, 4th century, after Steingräber 1986: 288.

Since the tomb is lost, however, there is no way to identify exactly how much artistic licence was used.[11] The greatest change in iconographic evidence occurred at the beginning of the 4th century, in which the underworld was specifically depicted. This change in focus to the underworld replaced representations of activities that are commonly ascribed to be taking place at the funeral. This focus on the realm of the dead, nevertheless, did not become more common in wall painting until the end of this period. The underworld was at this time specifically identifiable by two key signifiers: dark clouds surrounding the figures, and, more importantly, by the presence of chthonic

[8] Only two tombs from the Archaic period depict hunting scenes (0.03%), whereas hunting scenes can be found on 19% of the wall paintings in the Classical period, thus making it the second most common theme after banqueting (Appendices I and II).
[9] Leighton 2004: 8.
[10] Byres 1842: IV pls. 4-8.
[11] A comparison can be made to the still extant Hellenistic Tomb of the Cardinal, in which similar figures were depicted, but close inspection of the paintings in the tomb indicates how different the painted figures actually are to the drawings in Byres' publication. The figures in the Tomb of the Cardinal are actually sketched figures like those found in Tomb 5636 (Figure VI.8), and not at all like those shown in the drawing of the Tomb of the Biclinium.

deities. Inscriptions identifying deceased family members, although much less common, can also aid in identifying underworld scenes.

I.iii: Case Studies

As a result of the rise of interest in depicting the underworld, the iconographic evidence for the afterlife in this period is very rich. Four tombs and one sarcophagus have been chosen as case studies to represent the range of beliefs and funerary attitudes attested in this period. These case studies together help provide a fuller view about the afterlife, and the great variety even amongst these five studies indicates that there was not one specific way of envisioning the underworld. The case studies consist largely of elaborate and well preserved tombs that are suggestive of wealthy families, with the exception of the third tomb.

The first tomb discussed is the Tomb of the Pulcella (425-400), which has painted motifs familiar from the Archaic period. The subjects represented are for the most part similar to the images of banquets in the Archaic period; however, the rear wall also includes a loculus for cremated remains, and the wall around it is decorated as if it was a shrine. The use of a loculus inside the tomb is the start of a gradual change in tomb form. The second case study is of the recently discovered Tomb of the Blue Demons (ca. 400). The painted decoration on the walls place this tomb at the beginning of what would become a common trend of depicting the realm of the dead. This is the first extant tomb to depict clearly the deceased on a journey in the underworld. It also connects the procession scene with a banquet, which is unmistakably held in the realm of the dead. The third case study focuses on Tomb 2327 (400-350). The form of this tomb is a development from the Tomb of the Pulcella, but it is also something of a precursor of the large chamber tombs with multiple burials in decorated stone sarcophagi. The somewhat larger than average tomb has one rock-cut and painted loculus in each of the three walls. These loculi are painted with the same themes that can be found in earlier tombs of the Classical period, as well as those in the Archaic period. The fourth case study is an elaborately decorated sarcophagus now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Florence referred to as the Sarcophagus of the Amazons (ca. 350). It is one of the earliest sarcophagi from Tarquinia, and also the most elaborately painted of any extant sarcophagus. Its paintings depict an Amazonomachy scene, but

the form of the sarcophagus itself can also say much about funerary beliefs. Unfortunately, this object was discovered in the 19th century and removed to Florence. Thus, unlike the other four studies, it lacks an actual tomb context. The fifth and final case study for the Classical period is the Tomb of the Shields (350-300). This tomb is one of the most elaborately decorated tombs at Tarquinia, both in form of painting and rock-cut elements. Painted scenes on the walls show many important motifs about the afterlife, including demons, banquets, a procession, and ancestors enthroned.

II: Case Study 1, Tomb of the Pulcella

II.i: The Tomb

The Tomb of the Pulcella (dated to sometime between 425-400) is a single-chambered tomb with the typical gabled roof, and is located in the Calvario section (Figure V.1). The tomb is significant to note for two reasons: it is one of the first tombs of the Classical period to develop from the rectangular shape to include a loculus protruding from the rear wall into the bedrock away from the tomb, and, secondly, it has an unusually long dromos which faces the settlement at Pian di Cività. The dromos was not a rock-cut tunnel, as was most frequently the case, but was cut down through the rock from the surface (Figure V.3).

Figure V.3, Dromos of the Tomb of the Pulcella, 425-400.

The loculus reflects a development in the separation of space inside the tomb. The rock-cut spaces (trenches or loculi) in some tombs were specifically designed to be used to hold the deposition of human remains, and thus indicate a desire for a separation from these and the other contents in the tomb. The liminal nature of the tomb is further emphasised by this process, as the deceased is not entirely buried in the tomb itself. Since the loculus is the realm of the dead, and outside the tomb is the realm of the living, what connects the two is the tomb. Such a delineation of space can be found in a variety of ways throughout the centuries of Etruscan civilisation.[12]

The paintings in the Tomb of the Pulcella are in relatively good condition, and depict themes that were common in the Archaic period: banqueting, dancing, musicians, and an elaborately painted ceiling. The two side walls depict banqueters with elegant clothing and reclining on richly furnished couches. The banquet is in the same style as those of the Archaic period, and there are no new developments that require discussion.[13] The entrance wall is, unfortunately, in extremely poor condition, but it appears that it might have originally depicted a woman carrying a torch.[14] There is not enough evidence to allow for a secure identification, but one could speculate that this might be an early depiction of Vanth, who is the female figure that is most commonly depicted holding a torch.[15] Further suggestion for mythological or otherworldly creatures can be found in the painted decorations of the loculus. On the rear wall are the scant remains of two winged figures.[16] It is not clear, however, who these figures are. It is possible that they are early depictions of chthonic demons. The presence of wings does suggest that they pertain to the realm of the dead. The proximity of the figures to the body of the deceased also supports this identification. The ceiling of the tomb is elaborately decorated with alternating red and white stripes (Figure V.4).

[12] The earliest example can be found in the Orientalising period in the space set aside for honouring the dead (see above Chapter III.IV.iii).
[13] See above Chapter IV.IV.ii.
[14] Steingräber 1986: 336.
[15] There is iconographic evidence for Vanth in this early period. A funerary statue from Chianciano near Chiusi depicts a winged demon holding a scroll that has been dated to a few decades earlier (Briquet 1986: 115). See also Appendix IV.
[16] Steingräber 1986: 336.

Figure V.4, Rear wall, loculus and ceiling of the Tomb of the Pulcella, after Steingräber 2006: 158.

Holloway has noted that the stripes moving horizontally from the centre of the tomb to the left and right sides appear to sag.[17] The stripes then may not represent beams of a house but rather the awnings of a canopy.[18] Thus, this tomb has been used as evidence that some paintings appear to depict a canopy that may have been used for the funeral itself.[19] The tomb may then symbolically represent the canopy under which the funerary banquet was held (e.g. Figure IV.21). The stripes, however, may present an optical illusion and only appear to be sagging.

II.ii: Shrine for the Dead

The painted decoration on the rear wall suggests yet another possibility of how the tomb was viewed: it was seen as a shrine. This possibility further emphasises that there was not one style of decoration or form of the tomb, and so should not be used to make conclusions regarding funerary art in general. The loculus was intended to be the bed for the deceased, as indicated by the rock-cut pillow on the right side. The painted decoration around the loculus is significant. The rear wall does not show a canopy, like that on the rear wall of the Tomb of the Funeral Bed (Figure IV.21), but there are

[17] Holloway 1965: 345.
[18] Holloway 1965: 345.
[19] Holloway 1965: 345; Spivey 1997: 108; Izzet 2007a: 112-113.

architectural elements that resemble a shrine (Figure V.4).[20] Thus, the deceased in this tomb was enshrined in an honorary, albeit symbolic, position. The sima and wave motif of the shrine borders most of the loculus. Volute-palmette acroterions and Tuscan columns are also found. The Gorgon head in the pediment further suggests temple architecture.[21] This creature can also be seen in the pediment of the slightly later eponymous Tomb of the Gorgon (400-375), and gorgon heads in pediments are commonly found on later sarcophagi. These do not exclusively suggest temple architecture, but could indicate a house for the dead. Since shrines and temples of many cultures could be seen as the house of the god or gods, this image combines both sacred and domestic architecture.[22] It could also refer to the apotropaic creatures found in pediments of tombs and later sarcophagi.[23] The important thing to note is that tomb architecture does not need to imitate either domestic or temple architecture exclusively, but can be a combination of both.

The loculus in this tomb is located precisely where the false door can be found on a small number of Archaic period tombs (e.g. the Tomb of the Augurs, Figure IV.11). The motif of the false door is no longer found in tomb painting in the Classical period, with but one exception: in the now lost Tomb of the Biclinium a false door can be found in the centre of the rear wall. The suggestion that the false door leads to the realm of the dead,[24] however, is more plausible when the loculus in the Tomb of the Pulcella is taken into account. This loculus was specifically intended to hold the remains of the dead. It is significant to note that the loculus is in precisely the same place as doors to funerary chambers in larger tombs were located, as well as false doors. For example, this form of tomb and specific place for burial also follows the layout of the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing, in which the burial chamber was accessed through a door in the centre of the rear wall of the entrance chamber (Figure IV.15). The loculus in the Tomb of the Pulcella is flanked by two musicians; similar figures can also be found flanking false doors of earlier tombs (e.g. examples from the Archaic period

[20] Steingräber 1986: 336.
[21] Etruscan temples were commonly decorated with scenes in the pediments (Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970: 48), such as the Ara della Regina at Pian di Cività (Colonna 2006: 162).
[22] Steingräber 1986: 336.
[23] For an example of apotropaic creatures in tomb pediments see above Figure IV.10 and for apotropaic creatures in pediments of sarcophagi see below Figure V.18 and Figure VI.14.
[24] Bonfante 1986: 268; de Grummond 2006a: 215; Krauskopf 2006: 77. False doors in tombs have been discussed extensively in Case Study 2, section III.iii in Chapter IV.

include the tombs of the Whipping, Skull, Bronze Door, and Cardarelli Tomb). The loculus may not replace false doors, but rather show what was behind them (i.e. the realm of the dead).[25]

The shrine as a location for the body of the deceased can be used to suggest that the dead were venerated by the living. Previous evidence can be concluded from tomb form, such as the altars and hollowed places for depositions in antechambers in Orientalising tumuli. This type of evidence, however, being iconographic is much more symbolic. The proximity to the body of the deceased gives further indication of the importance of these images. The architectural scheme may suggest that the deceased was honoured symbolically, which in turn might suggest that an actual veneration of the dead occurred in some other form.

III: Case Study 2, Tomb of the Blue Demons

III.i: The Tomb

The Tomb of the Blue Demons (ca. 400)[26] is a unique case in that it was discovered intact by surveys conducted by the Lerici foundation in 1985.[27] Grave goods, such as pottery, chariot pieces, and carbonised remains of bone and ash, were found in the tomb, as well as in rock-cut depressions in situ.[28] The tomb is located in the Calvario section of the necropolis (Figure V.1, map). The tomb can be accessed via a long uncovered dromos facing the sea. The shape of the chamber is similar to many others of the 6th and 5th centuries; it is a rectangular room with a gabled ceiling. This is indicated by the six rock-cut depressions for one funeral bed in the floor in the right hand side of the chamber. There are four banqueting couches depicted on the rear wall as opposed to the three (tombs of the Leopards and the Ship) or two (Tomb 5513) found in earlier tombs.

[25] Steingräber 2006: 132.
[26] It is extremely difficult to date this tomb, most likely as a result of the combination of innovative motifs as well as previous ones. The range of possible dates spans almost a century, from the middle of the 5th century to the first half of the 4th century (Steingräber 2006: 163). A date of ca. 400 fits appropriately in the middle of this range.
[27] Cataldi Dini 1987: 37; Roncalli 1997: 37; Haynes 2000: 238.
[28] Leighton 2004: 93; Steingräber 2006: 163.

This tomb is important in that not only does it depict typical motifs from the Archaic and earlier Classical period (such as a banquet), but it also includes a new motif, namely, the underworld.[29] This new motif would become the predominant theme in funerary art in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. The Tomb of the Blue Demons displays the two motifs in a traditional yet innovative way.[30] Three of the four walls contain scenes that, when read together, form a detailed narrative. The rear wall displays a banquet theme, but the two side walls each have separate scenes of the deceased on a journey in the underworld (Figure V.5).[31]

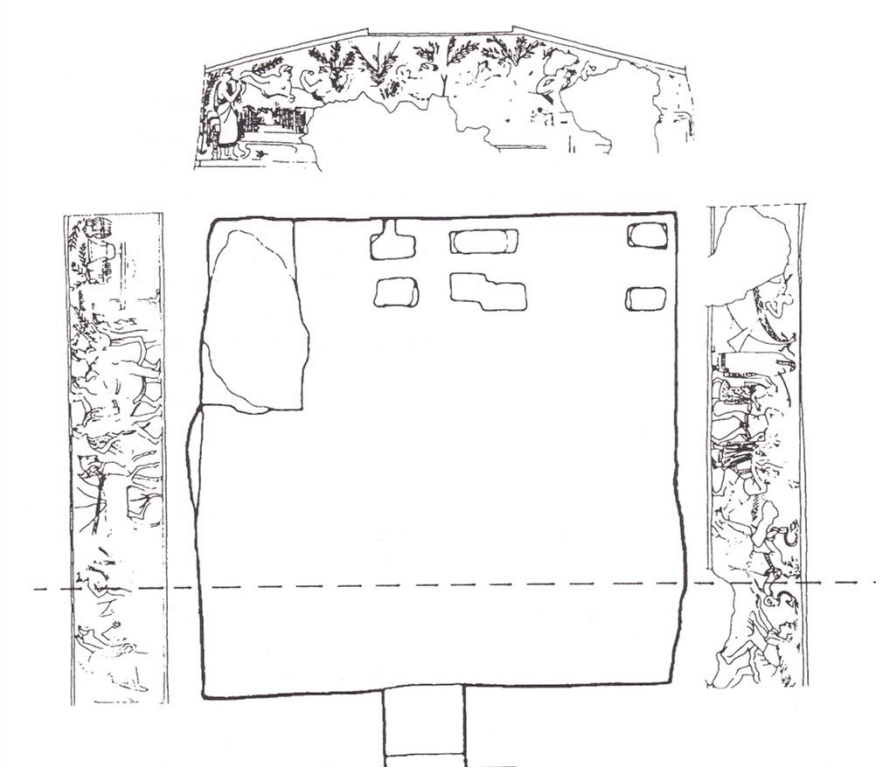


Figure V.5, Layout and decorative scheme in the Tomb of the Blue Demons (ca. 400), after Roncalli 1997: 42.

The realm of the dead is clearly identifiable by the presence of demons on the right hand wall who guide the deceased. There are also other demons that threaten her on the way. The procession scene on the left wall and the journey in the underworld scene both lead

[29] Roncalli 1997: 37; Spivey and Stoddart 1990: 118; Roncalli 2001: 362; Krauskopf 2006: 73; Steingräber 2006: 163.
[30] Steingräber 2006: 163.
[31] As of yet, no comprehensive images of the Tomb of the Blue Demons have been published.

to the banquet at the end of the tomb.[32] Unfortunately, the painted decoration on the entrance wall is in very poor condition, and, indeed, is often not included in reconstructions and discussions of the tomb as a result of this.[33] They may, however, depict either funerary games or hunting scenes.[34]

III.ii: Change in the Representation of Banquets

There are many images of banquets represented in Etruscan tombs, of which the majority can be identified as some type of funerary banquet based on the context of the tomb. Banquets in the Archaic period can be identified as funerary not by iconographic representations, but by comparison with the Tomb of the Funeral Bed (Figure IV.21), which clearly shows a banquet as a part of the funeral. The scene depicted on the rear wall of the Tomb of the Blue Demons is in the same style as these earlier banqueting scenes that show diners reclining to their left on couches. When considered within the context of the entire tomb, however, a different location of the banquet must be identified. The narrative scheme of the banquet and the two travel scenes indicates a new type of banquet that appears in wall painting in the Classical period, one that takes place in the underworld. In previous centuries, such a location for a banquet can only be assumed,[35] whereas in the Tomb of the Blue Demons it is explicitly shown. The change in iconography so as not to differentiate between the world of the living, and that of the dead, is one of the most momentous changes of the Classical period.

That being said, however, there are no demons or chthonic deities taking part in the banquet here, such as in later tomb painting (e.g. Underworld I and the Golini Tomb I at Orvieto), that would immediately allow for an identification of the banquet as taking place in the underworld. The context, though, of the two side walls, which are symmetrical and with each depicting travel scenes, as well as their association with the scene on the rear wall, strongly indicate a connection between the three walls. Both the

[32] The identification of procession scenes leading to banquets has to my knowledge not yet been pointed out in modern scholarship.
[33] Roncalli 1997: 38; Krauskopf 2006: 74.
[34] Roncalli 1997: 42; Steingräber 2006: 181.
[35] This conclusion is made too hastily without taking into account the different centuries (e.g. by Krauskopf [2006: 75] "On the basis of these observations [regarding the Tomb of the Blue Demons], we must take a second look at the numerous symposia in the Archaic and sub-Archaic tombs at Tarquinii."). For a discussion of the tentative nature of identifying such scenes as funerary banquets see above Chapter IV.IV.iii.

journey scene (right) and procession scene (left) depict travel towards the banquet scene on the rear wall. The journey scene on the right is the key, and it is what indicates that the journey is taking place in the realm of the dead. This suggests, moreover, that the other two scenes are similarly taking place in the realm of the dead. The scene on the left is a procession scene of a male in a chariot preceded by musicians and dancers (Figure V.6).[36]

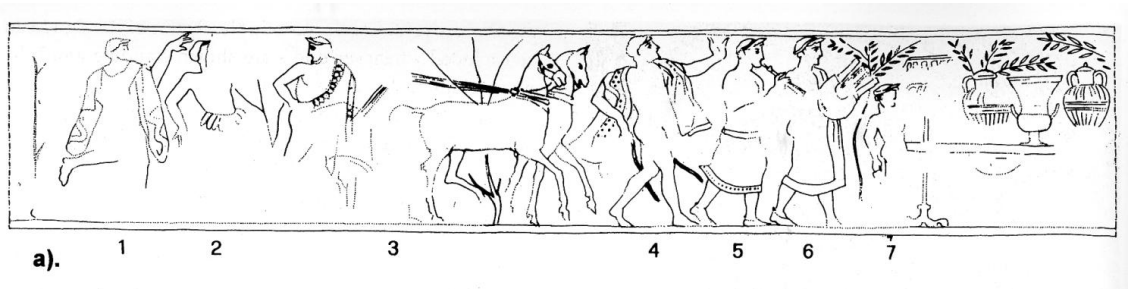


Figure V.6, Procession scene on the left hand wall in the Tomb of the Blue Demons, after Krauskopf 2006: 74.

The procession leads towards a table laden with vessels. These vessels may be for banquets, or they may represent grave goods left as part of the funeral process. This scene mirrors that of the journey of the aristocratic woman on the right hand side. The direction of travel in both scenes is movement from left to right. Although, the scene on the left wall is that of an indeterminate procession, it is likely, based on the tomb context, that it is a funerary procession. The procession serves to distinguish ritual from the mundane,[37] thus indicating that the order of participants and the particular emphasis on the figure in the chariot were deliberate and served a specific purpose. Whether it is one occurring as part of the funeral, however, or as part of the journey of the deceased in the underworld is uncertain. Comparing this scene to the journey scene on the right hand wall, though, strongly suggests that it is taking place in the underworld. The scenes on both walls depict progress towards the banquet on the wall, which means that they are most likely in the same stage: a journey in the underworld after death.

The concept of a procession leading to a banquet can be seen in the Archaic period, though it is uncertain where exactly it is taking place. The first instance of a procession scene leading to a banquet is the late Archaic Tomb of the Leopards from 480/470 (Figure V.7).

[36] The journey by chariot became much more commonly depicted in the 3rd century (Holliday 1990: 83).
[37] Holliday 1990: 73.

Figure V.7, Procession scene leading to banquet scene in the Tomb of the Leopards.

It is interesting to note that the procession scene in this tomb is also on the left hand wall. There are no indications, however, that this is taking place in the underworld. As just discussed, however, the comparable procession scene in the Tomb of the Blue Demons can be relatively securely assigned to the realm of the dead. Procession scenes are commonly found in Etruscan funerary art,[38] and may even date as far back as geometric figures on Villanovan house urns (Figure II.6). In the middle of the Classical period, the procession scenes include the deceased, musicians, and dancers, as well as tables with offerings. That this image could depict either of two different types of funerary processions highlights an important point about the funeral and the afterlife: aspects of the funerary ritual are also occurring in the underworld. Just as there may have been a funerary procession of the body, and a graveside banquet like the ones seen on the left hand wall of the Tomb of the Funeral Bed (Figure IV.21), so the dead also undertook a procession that ended in a banquet in the underworld. The banquet is the same, whether as a part of the funeral ritual or held by ancestors and the deceased in the realm of the dead. The journey of the dead thus mirrors the funeral held by the living.[39]

[38] Holliday 1990: 73.
[39] Van Gennep (1960: 147) has noted that in some cases "the transitional period of the living is a counterpart of the transitional period of the deceased."

Since the left hand wall depicts the procession of a male, and the right hand wall shows the journey of a female, these two have been seen as a married couple and the occupants of the tomb.[40] Thus, they are each undertaking their own journey to the realm of the dead. The two different methods of travel represented in this tomb indicate that what happened in the afterlife was not set in stone, but could be changed based on the individual. The change in types of representation need not indicate a change in beliefs. The procession to a banquet scene in the Tomb of the Blue Demons is not in contrast to the type of banquets depicted in earlier painted chambers (such as the tombs of the Funeral Bed and Leopards), but rather is a development of the motif. This is not a completely different banquet, and, indeed, is the same type as in earlier tombs; it has, however, evolved to show the process of getting there. This process of the journey to a banquet may be absent in earlier tombs, but this does not mean that it did not exist. In the Tomb of the Blue Demons this was merely expressed in a different form, one that is more explicitly defined.

III.iii: Journey to the Underworld Scene

The scene depicted on the right hand wall in the Tomb of the Blue Demons represents a significant development in the iconography of Etruscan tomb painting. The scene shows an aristocratic woman in the underworld accompanied by demons and being greeted by ancestors. This wall is the first extant scene from Tarquinia[41] that explicitly shows the deceased embarking on a journey in the realm of the dead (Figure V.8).

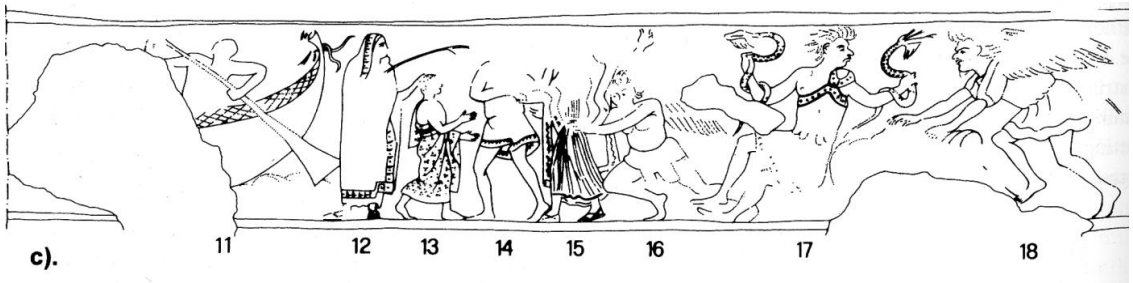


Figure V.8, Right hand wall of the Tomb of the Blue Demons, after Krauskopf 2006: 74.

[40] Steingräber 2006: 181.
[41] Steingräber (2006: 163) states that this is the first time when the underworld can be clearly identified in Etruscan painting.

The two blue-skinned fearsome demons on the far right (17 and 18) appear threatening; especially the one holding snakes. Another winged demon (16) is reaching for the richly dressed woman (15), who is led and protected by a psychopomp (14). Two family members, a woman and a child (12 and 13), stand waiting to greet the deceased. They have come out of the realm of the dead to meet her.[42] The boat indicates that this scene is midway through the journey of the deceased to the underworld. The aristocratic lady (15) has been identified as the deceased as a result of her rich clothing, and because she is the central figure in the scene, as well as the one being led through the underworld.[43]

The presence of demons clearly identifies the realm of the dead. The demons are visibly separated from the humans by their blue skin, hybrid appearances, and occasionally by the presence of wings. Two other criteria have been mentioned that can help to identify the underworld in funerary iconography: the presence of a rocky landscape, [44] and shadows around the figures of the deceased. [45] It should be remembered, however, that there are plenty of rocks in the world of the living as well, and the presence of rocks should not be used to exclusively indicate the underworld. Occasionally, an inscription will label the figure as "*hinthial*," referring to a spirit or soul of the deceased, and thereby clearly indicating the realm of the dead.[46] There are, however, no such inscriptions in this tomb. The demons, one of whom is leading the deceased and another who is gently holding onto her arm, are the psychopomps leading the way (14). These demons are clearly male as they have blue skin, and, therefore, should be identified as a Charu type demon.

This scene illuminates five characteristics of the underworld. Firstly, the underworld has a defined topography: it is possible to conclude that it was a rocky landscape, in which there was also a body of water. Secondly, the deceased is here shown to be on a journey in the underworld, and, one that could be somewhat dangerous. Thirdly, the deceased needs a guide and protector, who in this tomb appears to be a Charu type demon. Fourthly, already deceased family members are able to come

[42] Krauskopf 2006: 74.
[43] Krauskopf 2006: 74; Steingräber 2006: 181.
[44] de Grummond (2006a: 219) sees the rocks as a liminal boundary that marks the underworld.
[45] Roncalli 1996: 48. Roncalli (1996) cites a large number of Greek and Latin literary sources as evidence for the claim that rocks symbolise the underworld, which should not be used to make firm conclusions about Etruscan funerary iconography.
[46] Briquel 1987: 266; Jannot 2005: 54. For example, the dead Patrocles is identified as "*hinthial Patrucles*" in the François Tomb at Vulci (Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 171).

out to greet the deceased and accompany her and the psychopomp. This is another new innovative theme, one that would become very common on stone sarcophagi and later tombs.[47] The ancestors have presumably come from the banquet on the far wall, the final destination of the deceased. That both scenes of movement on the side walls are going towards this banquet indicate that it was the purpose of the journey. Finally, the scene represents a culmination of the development in the importance of references to water in funerary art in Tarquinia that is first attested in the Tomb of the Bulls (ca. 530). The boat with an oarsman on the far left indicates that a part of the journey to the realm of the dead occurred over water.[48] The narrative continuity of the scenes would suggest that the boat was there to take the deceased to the banquet on the rear wall. The oarsman has been identified as the psychopomp Charu simply because the figure is standing in a boat. Therefore, scholars have identified the figure in the boat as Charu acting in the role of Charon.[49] The scene, however, is far too fragmentary to see any identifiable attributes of the figure in the boat. Needless to say, the boat depicted in the Tomb of the Blue Demons is not a raft. Furthermore, there are no images of Charu actually depicted in a boat. All that can be said for certain is that there is a figure in the boat holding onto an oar or rudder. He should not be identified as Charu simply because that is Charon's role in the Greek underworld. Charu does not appear to have that same role in Etruscan funerary art.[50] The presence of water imagery, although found on funerary art since the Archaic period, is not uniformly depicted. The large number of depictions, however, would suggest that it was for some people an important concept.[51]

Despite the often fearsome appearance of the psychopomp who has blue skin (14), the posture of the demon in this tomb is not threatening but rather comforting. A similar Charu type psychopomp can be seen on a cinerary urn from Chiusi (Figure V.9).

[47] Haynes 2000: 239.
[48] Alongside the boat, other methods of travel include a sea monster, which, taken together with the boat, indicate that the water is the sea rather than a river (Jannot 2005: 62).
[49] Cataldi Dini 1987: 40; Roncalli 1996: 47; Roncalli 1997: 40; Haynes 2000: 238; Steingräber 2006: 181; de Grummond 2006a: 218.
[50] Mavleev and Krauskopf 1986: 235.
[51] References to water, such as wave motifs or mythical water creatures, can be found in 7 (19%) of the painted tombs of the Classical period, making it the second most common motif (tied with hunting scenes) after banquets.

Figure V.9, Marble cinerary urn from Chiusi with the deceased escorted by two demons.

On this cinerary urn the fearsome demon on the right is guiding, rather than threatening the deceased, while a Vanth-like demon leads the way for the trio to go to the underworld. The fearsome demons who appear to be approaching the deceased threateningly in the Tomb of the Blue Demons (16, 17, and 18) have been inappropriately identified as depictions of a Greek demon named Eurynomos.[52] This demon was depicted in a painting that no longer survives in Delphi, and is only referred to by one source. This fresco is described in a few lines by Pausanias, who states that Eurynomos is "one of the demons in Hades... He is of a colour between blue and black, like that of meat flies; he is showing his teeth and is seated, and under him is spread a vulture's skin."[53] This small description, which really only describes his skin, is not detailed enough to make the claim that the demons in the Etruscan tomb were modelled on a painting in Delphi.[54] Furthermore, since this painting no longer survives, there is no way to tell for sure if the figures are similar in any way. It is incorrect and misleading to attempt to connect unidentifiable Etruscan scenes with Greek scenes.

The events occurring on the side walls, therefore, are taking place in a liminal period between the realm of the living and that of the dead.[55] That the travel scenes are depicted lengthwise on the left and right walls of the tomb may indicate that the tomb

[52] This was first proposed by Cataldi Dini 1989: 150-153. Roncalli (1996: 48) states that they are "the Etruscan equivalent of the Eurynomos depicted by Polygnitos." See also Jannot 1993: 60; Roncalli 1997: 41; Jannot 2000: 86; Krauskopf 2006: 73.
[53] Paus. 10.28.7.
[54] It should also be noted that Pausanias was writing more than five centuries after the Tomb of the Blue Demons was painted.
[55] Referred to by Roncalli (1997: 40-44) as the antechamber to the underworld.

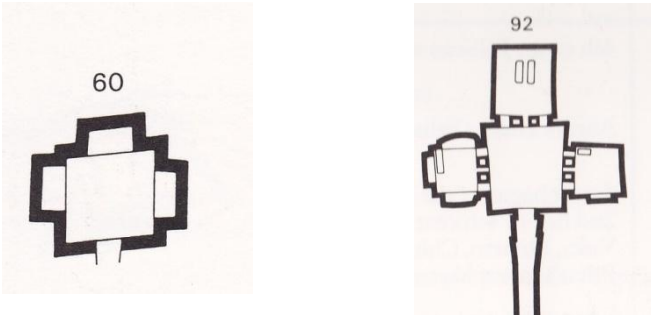
itself was seen as a transitional space between the two realms. The long dromos may also be seen to work with the scenes on the side walls to emphasise further the concept of travelling towards the banquet scene. Thus, the outside world (i.e. the dromos) leads to the liminal period of the tomb and the realm of the dead at the rear.

IV: Case Study 3, Tomb 2327

IV.i: The Tomb

The third case study focuses on Tomb 2327 (approximately 400-350), located in the Secondi Archi section of the necropolis (Figure V.1).[56] The tomb is a fairly large rectangular shaped tomb with a gabled roof in the same style as the tombs of the Pulcella and Blue Demons. It was originally painted in what appear to be scenes of dancing and musicians, and the pediment on the rear wall appears to have once had a hunting scene.[57] The paintings now, however, are poorly preserved. The tomb also includes three rock-cut loculi. There is one each on the rear, left, and right side walls. The loculi were hollowed out of the wall protruding away from the tomb, and were specifically intended to hold the bodies of the deceased. They are raised up, and not level with either the floor or the ceiling. Therefore, like the alcove in the Tomb of the Pulcella, it may be said that the loculi were at the same time a part of the tomb but not in the tomb itself. As such, the tomb was a liminal space between the realm of the living and that of the dead, one that must be passed through in order to approach the place where the deceased was interred. They may be meant to symbolise, in small scale, a multi-chambered tomb. Indeed, the layout of the tomb appears to be much like that of cruciform shaped tombs, such as the slightly later Tomb of the Shields (Figures V.10a and b).[58]

[56] This tomb has not received much scholarly attention, most likely because of the poor level of preservation of the paintings. The form of the tomb itself, as well as the subjects represented in the loculi, are, however, very relevant to look at.
[57] Steingräber 1986: 361.
[58] Prayon Type B.



Figures V.10a and b, Plans of Tomb 2327 (left) and the Tomb of the Shields (right), after Steingräber 1986: 386-387.

Like the loculus in the Tomb of the Pulcella, the three loculi in 2327 were painted. The paintings inside the loculi are slightly better preserved than that on the walls. Banquet scenes and elaborately decorated scenes are identifiable.[59] The loculus at the rear of the tomb, and thus the one afforded the most central and important position, is the best preserved of the three. Representations of hunting and activities associated with banqueting (such as dancing and drinking) naturally go together. Upon returning from the hunt, it would then be possible to celebrate and feast on the spoils. Both were among typically aristocratic subjects that were intended to demonstrate the social status of the tomb owner's family.[60]

IV.ii: Miniaturisation and Loculi

The introduction of burying the dead in rock-cut loculi began with the Tomb of the Pulcella at the end of the 5th century.[61] They became increasingly commonly used in tombs after the turn of the century. The loculi are very important to consider as these held the actual bodies of the deceased. Close proximity to the body of the deceased indicates their importance. Thus, the decoration of the loculi, which would have been specifically chosen, would have been significant to the deceased or to his family members.

By the time of Tomb 2327, loculi have developed extensively. The paintings in these hollowed out spaces are especially important to consider. All three of the loculi in

[59] Steingräber 1986: 361.
[60] Steingräber 1986: 361.
[61] There is, however, a loculus on the rear wall of the burial chamber Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing (ca. 510), which was added sometime after, as indicated by the destruction to the painted scene on the wall caused by the addition of the loculus.

2327 were decorated with painted motifs familiar from the large scale paintings in earlier and contemporary tombs (Figure V.11).

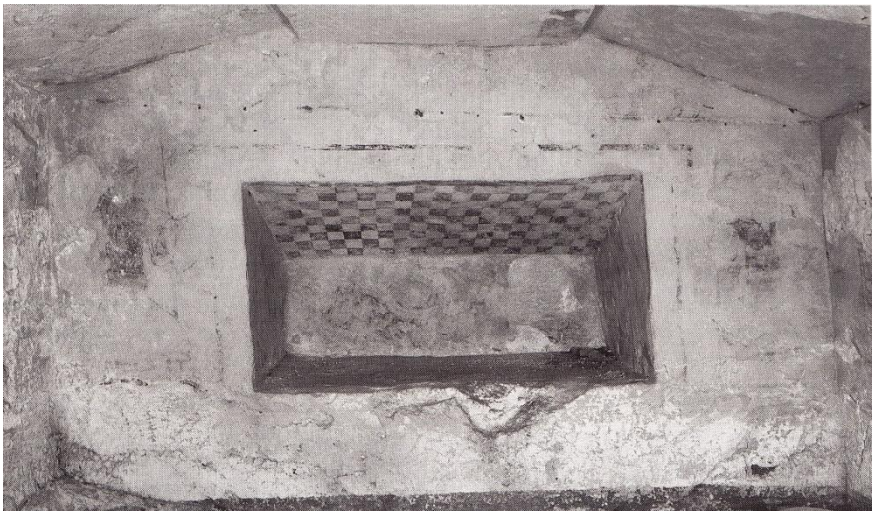


Figure V.11, Rear wall with painted loculus in Tomb 2327, after Steingräber 1986: 361.

The loculi are indeed decorated with elaborate painted schemes. The ceilings are all decorated in a chequered pattern that closely resembles those found in other tombs (e.g. the ceiling of the Tomb of the Leopards, Figure V.7). The rear walls of all three loculi have remains of banquet scenes with two reclining couples.[62] It is uncertain whether the diners are only men reclining together, or both men and women. The side walls continue the theme of banqueting, and depict musicians and dancers.[63] The banquet scene in the right hand loculus is the best preserved, whereas the central loculus has the best preserved painted ceiling. The space around all three loculi was emphasised by a red framing.

The framing around the loculi is not simply mere decoration, but has important significance regarding liminality. The painted framing draws attention to the border of the loculus. The frames further emphasise that the space inside the loculus, and thus for the body itself, was specifically set apart from the tomb. This style should be familiar, as it is the porta dorica style seen around false doors from the Archaic period (Figure IV.11).[64] Such a style is also found around the entrances to burial chambers in rock-cut tombs since the early Archaic period (Figure IV.12), as well as on rock-cut false doors

[62] Steingräber 1986: 361.
[63] For a discussion of banquets in the other periods at Tarquinia see above Chapter II.IV.vi, Chapter III.II.iii, Chapter IV.IV.iii and Chapter V.III.ii above.
[64] For the Doric style doorways with emphatic frames see above Chapter IV.III.iii.

on the outsides of tombs at Norchia and Castel d'Asso of the 5th and 4th centuries.[65] A further use of the porta dorica leading to the space for the dead can be found on a cinerary urn in the shape of a shrine from Vulci (the Guglielmi altar [3rd century]).[66] The doorway leading to the area where the ashes of the deceased were to be placed was emphasised by a similar framing. This is another case of where the space for the depositions of remains of the deceased was particularly set apart through emphatic borders. It is indeed striking how frequently the porta dorica appears in funerary art from all over Etruria. In most of the cases, with the exception of the false doors from Norchia and Castel d'Asso, the porta dorica leads specifically to the place where human remains were deposited. This most likely indicates that there was a specific form for the door to the burial place, and that it was shown in the same way regardless of the medium. Alternatively, it may have originated in doorways to burial chambers in the Orientalising period, and then continued to be imitated ever since. Either way, this has important connotations regarding the false doors found in Archaic period tombs, many of which are located in places where additional rooms are found in other tombs. These various representations can furthermore be used to conclude that the false doors in the Archaic period were envisioned as leading to the symbolic realm of the dead.

The decoration of the loculus is strikingly similar to the painted scenes on the walls and ceilings of most tombs of the Classical and Archaic periods. The banquet scenes on the rear walls, dancers on the side walls, and the chequered ceilings, all indicate that the loculus itself was seen as a tomb within a tomb. These spaces are, naturally, of a different scale than the tomb itself. The shape of the loculus on the rear of the contemporary Tomb 3242 even more closely resembles the architecture and painted decoration of a tomb. This tomb is organised in precisely the same way as 2327, with a loculus on each of the three walls that is separated from the tomb by not being level with the floor as well as the ceiling. Unlike 2327, the three loculi are not equally decorated. The loculus in the rear wall of the tomb is much more elaborately decorated than the other two. It is this loculus that most closely resembles both the shape and decoration of a chamber tomb. The painted decoration again shows dancers and musicians, who are also depicted in large scale on the walls of the chamber itself.[67] The

[65] Izzet 2007a: 98.
[66] Jannot 1998: 68.
[67] Steingräber 1986: 363.

shape of Tomb 3242 itself is very close to the Tomb of the Pulcella (see above Figure V.4), but on a smaller scale, and with much less depth. The gabled ceiling is even painted with the same red and white bands that may be symbolic beams (Figure V.12).

Figure V.12, Rear wall and main loculus of Tomb 3242.

Also noteworthy are the volute-palmette decorations in the pediment of the loculus, which also resemble painted chamber pediments.[68] This loculus further indicates the importance of the space for the remains of the dead as it even includes rock-cut pillows on either end, thereby indicating that the loculus was intended to be a funerary bed.[69] Thus, 3242 is very much a miniaturised version of a tomb.

It is important to note that the loculi decorated like a tomb do not replace the painted decoration in the tomb. The walls of 3242 and 2327 were still decorated with similar motifs of dancing and drinking, and the ceiling of 3242 still had painted bands. In fact, the painted bands in the loculus in the rear wall of 3242 continue from the ceiling of the tomb itself (Figure V.12). The process of separation of space specifically kept the body of the deceased outside of the liminal area of the tomb proper, but they were still connected through the same motifs.

[68] E.g. such as the one found in the Tomb of the Pulcella.

[69] Rock-cut pillows are less common in Tarquinia than in other Etruscan necropoleis, such as Cerveteri and Orvieto. This is likely a result of the preference for rock-cut funerary beds at Cerveteri (e.g. Figure III.8) versus alternative forms of beds (e.g. beds could be wooden, bronze, or burial vessels, such as sarcophagi) at Tarquinia.

V: Case Study 4, Sarcophagus of the Amazons

V.i: The Sarcophagus

The Sarcophagus of the Amazons (350-325)[70] is one of many stone sarcophagi from Tarquinia. A significantly large number of extant decorated stone sarcophagi have been found in Tarquinia: 52 out of 148 extant decorated sarcophagi (35%), the largest concentration of sarcophagi in any Etruscan settlement.[71] It may be a result of local preference that caused sarcophagi to become commonly used at Tarquinia. The nenfro was sourced locally,[72] however, and access may have been a major contributing factor. The Amazon sarcophagus, with its intricate and elaborate paintings, is arguably the most famous. It is one of only three decorated sarcophagi from Tarquinia made out of imported marble.[73] It was found in a tomb in the Monterozzi necropolis in 1862, along with two undecorated marble sarcophagi.[74]

The context of the tomb was unfortunately not recorded, nor was there any mention of whether there were other items found inside the tomb besides the sarcophagi. The sarcophagus is dated to the mid to late 4th century, a time in which many were being buried in sarcophagi in large family tombs. Dating of stone sarcophagi, though, is very difficult. It appears that early ones tend to depict mythological scenes, whereas the themes on later ones favour processions of magistrates or journey to the underworld scenes. The identification of these trends in itself, however, is something of a circular argument. The wealthy material and elaborate decoration of the sarcophagus of the Amazons indicates that it is most likely one of the earliest extant ones. Later tombs and sarcophagi of the Hellenistic period indicate a decline in economic prosperity at Tarquinia. In tombs that contained multiple sarcophagi it might have been difficult to differentiate between burials. Thus, elaborate decoration and inscriptions allow for one sarcophagus to stand out amongst many. For example, the sarcophagus of Laris Partunus (also known as the Sarcophagus of the

[70] According to Haynes 2000: 293. This date is not certain, and other scholars hold different opinions. For example, specific dates have been suggested, such as 350 (Brendel 1995: 342) or 325 (Van der Meer 2004: 129) or a more uncertain date of the second half of the 4th century (Bottini and Setari 2007: 10).
[71] Van der Meer 2004: 15.
[72] Steingräber 1986: 27.
[73] The other two being the Sarcophagus of Laris Partunus and of his grandson, another Laris Partunus.
[74] Van der Meer 2004: 17.

Priest) stands out amongst the 14 other sarcophagi and one cinerary urn that was found in the Partunus family chamber tomb.[75] Although there are other decorated sarcophagi in the tomb, of a wide variety of levels of adornment, that of Laris Partunus is unique in the degree of decoration as well as the material (it is of Parian marble rather than local limestone or nenfro).[76] Indeed, a basic chronology can be derived from the inscriptions on the sarcophagi in this tomb, thus showing that the most elaborately decorated ones are the earliest. The sarcophagus of Laris Partunus is very similar to the Amazon sarcophagus, which further suggests that the Amazon sarcophagus can be dated to the end of the Classical period. Both have painted Amazonomachy scenes (as opposed to relief), and both are made of imported marble. Comparison of the context of the Partunus sarcophagus, which has been somewhat better recorded, may be used to claim a tentative conclusion about the lost original context of the Amazon sarcophagus. Therefore, it is most likely that the Amazon sarcophagus was found with other sarcophagi, which may not have been as elaborately decorated, and thus were forgotten or not recorded.

Inscriptions are commonly found on sarcophagi, and are also a way to ensure an individual sarcophagus, and indeed the deceased within, would be able to stand out in the tomb. The inscriptions on the Amazon sarcophagus are long. There are two inscriptions, one on the base and one on the lid. Both inscriptions say almost exactly the same thing.[77] They identify the person buried in the sarcophagus as a woman named Ramtha Huzcnai, who was either the mother or grandmother of a magistrate named Larth Apaiatrus.[78] It is uncertain what the word next to the one identifying Larth Apaiatrus as a magistrate ("*eteraias*") refers to, but it most likely describes the type of magistracy that he held.[79] This repetition is rather useful, since it ensures that the lid can be securely attributed to the base.[80] The inscription on the base actually cuts through the

[75] Blanck 1983: 79; Haynes 2000: 292.
[76] Turfa 1986: 81-82. Much has been said about this sarcophagus as a result of the relief scene on the lid, which is Punic rather than Etruscan (Colozier 1953: 79; Turfa 1977: 369-373; Blanck 1983: 80; Haynes 2000: 292; Leighton 2004: 157; Van der Meer 2004: 32); however, such a digression is outside the scope of this study.
[77] "*ramtha:huzcnai:thui:cesu:ati:nacnva:larthial:apaiatrus zileteraias*" can be found on the base and "*ramtha:huzcnai:thui:ati:nacnva:larthial:apaiatrus zil:eteraias*" is found on the lid (Bottini and Setari 2007: 90-91).
[78] Haynes 2000: 294.
[79] Haynes 2000: 294.
[80] This can be a major problem, especially in tombs where the contents were disturbed; upon being removed to museums, the lids were simply placed on top of any sarcophagus or cinerary urn. The cinerary

painted decoration, which might indicate that the name of the individual buried, and of course her descendant, was more important than the painting itself. It could, however, also be an example of ritual killing, by which the object was made suitable for the tomb with a symbolic "killing" or destruction of a part of the object.[81]

The predominant decorative scheme on the sarcophagus is a violent one. The base exclusively depicts scenes of unspecified battles between the Greeks and Amazons (Figure V.13).[82]

Figure V.13, The Sarcophagus of the Amazons, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Firenze.

There is no indication that a specific battle from Greek mythology, such as one with Hercules and the Amazons which would be identifiable by the depiction of Hercules' lion skin pelt, is here represented on the sarcophagus. That the sarcophagus was painted with the same level of decoration on all four sides indicates that it was at some point meant to be seen from all sides, perhaps in the centre of the chamber, or as part of the

urn from Chiusi mentioned above is a prime example, as the lid obviously does not fit the base (Figure V.9).

[81] The same sort of ritualistic destruction can be seen on Villanovan biconical cinerary urns as well as 32 known bronze mirrors, de Grummond 2009: 171-172. These mirrors, however, were specifically designated for the funerary realm, as is indicated by the fact that the word "*suthina*" is inscribed across the reflective surface of the mirror, meaning "for the tomb," (de Grummond 2009: 172).

[82] Mavleev 1981: 662.

funeral itself. Therefore, its intended placement might have been in the centre of the chamber, and not along the wall like in later family tombs.[83] The paintings are well preserved, and have recently been excellently restored, making it one of the most intricate examples of Amazonomachies in Etruscan art.

The excellent level of preservation and detail of the figures involved in the battles have made it the object of much modern scholarship.[84] It is indeed somewhat rare in Etruscan funerary art, as it is one of only two sarcophagi in which the base is decorated exclusively with painted scenes and no low relief. Recently, it has been said that the paintings were almost identical to the decorated long sides of the Vienna Amazon Sarcophagus from Cyprus (ca. 320).[85] This Greek sarcophagus also depicts an indeterminate battle between Greeks and Amazons. Consequently, it has been claimed that the Etruscan sarcophagus is based on the one from the East.[86] The later dating of the Vienna sarcophagus aside,[87] the two scenes, although similar in theme, are different in most other respects (Cf. Figure V.14a and 14b).

Figures V.14a and b, Close-up of the Amazon Sarcophagus from Tarquinia (left), and an Amazon sarcophagus from Cyprus (right).

The primary difference is, however, the medium on which the scene is displayed: low relief as opposed to painting. Furthermore, not only are mounted warriors more commonly seen on the Vienna sarcophagus, but the dress of the figures, or lack thereof

[83] For example, the sarcophagi placed in the Anina family tomb from the Hellenistic period were intended to be along the walls.
[84] Colvin 1883; Mavleev 1981; Van der Meer 2004: 35-36; Bottini and Setari 2007.
[85] Van der Meer 2004: 35 n. 18.
[86] Van der Meer (2004: 35 n. 18) has used this sarcophagus to claim that the Etruscan sarcophagi have "precedents in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean."
[87] Although the Vienna sarcophagus has been dated to ca. 320, whereas some have dated the Amazon sarcophagus to ca. 350, it cannot be said with any certainty which one was first. Furthermore, it should not even matter.

in the case of the Greek sarcophagus, is completely different. It should not be surprising that the male warriors on the Greek sarcophagus are depicted nude, whereas on the Etruscan object they are in full dress and armour. Although these are both scenes of Amazonomachies, it is quite clear, based on the styles of the figures (and especially the armour of the Greek hoplites), that the Amazon sarcophagus is not a mere copy of the sarcophagus in Vienna. There should be no need for a specific Greek precedent for the elaborately painted Etruscan sarcophagus of the Amazons.

V.ii: Painted Mythological Scenes on the Base

The most notable parts of the Amazon Sarcophagus are the painted scenes of Amazons fighting Greeks on all four sides of the base (Figure V.13). Both Greek and Amazon warriors are elaborately dressed. The Greeks are in hoplite armour and carrying spears or short swords and shields, while the Amazons are depicted in long tunics, Phrygian caps, and armed with spears, axes, or swords.

The theme of an Amazonomachy was commonly depicted in Etruria, and especially in Tarquinia and nearby Tuscania.[88] Representations of Amazons in some capacity can be seen on a variety of media, including sarcophagi, painted pottery, and decorated mirrors.[89] It is not as easy, however, to identify any sort of greater meaning behind the choice of such a mythical battle. It cannot hold the same political connotations as in Greece, where Amazons in Amazonomachies stand for "the other" or non-Greek barbarians.[90] That being said, it is uncertain, and likely unknowable, what the Amazons might have meant to the Etruscans. Furthermore, it is uncertain why Amazonomachies were popular at Tarquinia and Tuscania, whereas other cities favoured different myths (for example, people in Chiusi favoured the fratricide of Eteocles and Polynices). Surely, it was not the case that the Etruscans did not understand the myths of Amazons.[91] On the Amazon sarcophagus, the battles depict an equal mixture of victors. One long and one short side show the Amazons winning, whereas the other two depict the Greeks winning. This type of symmetry could not have been accidental.

[88] Van der Meer 2004: 38.
[89] Camporeale 1959: 107; Mavleev 1981: 662.
[90] Van der Meer 2004: 34.
[91] As proposed by Camporeale 1959: 137.

Another contemporary depiction of an Amazonomachy provides a worthwhile comparison as it is also on a sarcophagus from Tarquinia. This representation is on the aforementioned sarcophagus of Laris Partunus, which is similar to the Amazon sarcophagus in a number of ways. The two objects share four major similarities. The most notable of which is that these two are the only remaining sarcophagi with painting and no relief decoration on the base itself. Secondly, they are both made of imported Greek marble. Thirdly, the ends of the Partunus sarcophagus and the Amazon one are also gabled like a house. And, finally, they both show Amazonomachy scenes on the base. The Amazonomachy scene on the sarcophagus of Laris Partunus, however, is only on one long side and two short sides, rather than all four (Figure V.15).

Figure V.15, Amazonomachy scene on the Sarcophagus of Laris Partunus, after Bottini and Setari 2007: 81.

On this panel, it should be noted that the Greeks are shown in hoplite armour, whilst the Amazons are wearing chitons, thus making the two Etruscan sarcophagi similar in this respect, and differentiation both from the Vienna sarcophagus from Cyprus. One interesting difference is that the Amazons are winning most of the paired battles. The Greeks and Amazons are not shown with an equal number of victories as on the Amazon sarcophagus.

The important difference between the two, however, is that, on the Partunus sarcophagus, Etruscan demons were also included in the Amazonomachy scene (Figure V.16a). These demons are similar in type to two of the demons seen in the Tomb of the Blue Demons (Figure V.16b). They are not the fearsome ones that threaten the

deceased, but are more like the psychopomps who are gently leading the aristocratic lady to her family (Figure V.8).

Figures V.16a and b, Close-up of a blue demon on the Sarcophagus of Laris Partunus (left), and fearsome demons in the Tomb of the Blue Demons (right), after Haynes 2000: 238.

These blue winged demons on the sarcophagus are catching fallen warriors and, presumably, preparing to guide them and protect them on their way to the underworld.[92] They can also be found on the other long side of the Partunus sarcophagus, which depicts the execution of Trojan prisoners.[93] The warriors are also accompanied by

[92] The blue skin clearly indicates that these demons are not Vanths as de Grummond (2006a: 223) has previously claimed.

[93] This scene is referred to as the slaughter of Trojan prisoners at the funeral of Patrocles (Haynes 2000: 292; Van der Meer 2004: 32) as described by Homer (*Il.* 23), and has been interpreted as suggestive of ritual sacrifice (as identified by Van der Meer 2004: 33). There are, however, no religious elements, such as an altar, that would suggest that anything is being done to the prisoners other than their execution. Unlike the painting in the François tomb, where the hinthial of Patrucle oversees the killings, the scene on the Sarcophagus of the Priest could just as easily depict the execution of prisoners of war. This type of scene has been used to indicate that the Etruscans practiced human sacrifice as a funerary rite (Bonfante 1984: 536). It should, however, be remembered that this is an episode from a Greek myth, as are all the scenes that show human sacrifice in Etruscan funerary art. Furthermore, Greek mythology underwent many changes and variations in Etruria, and it would be incorrect to assume that the scene from the *Iliad* was exactly recreated in Etruscan funerary art (i.e. it may simply represent an execution rather than ritual killing). Bonfante (1984: 536; 1986: 262) claims that the commonplace of scenes of death and slaughter in funerary art reflects an actual practice that was intended to honour the dead. She uses this claim as well as other evidence to conclude that the Etruscans practiced human sacrifice (1984: 539). The evidence, however, is problematic. As well as the mythological scenes of blood and slaughter on funerary art, Bonfante also used two passages for literary evidence that the Etruscans practiced human sacrifice (1984: 536). These passages do not describe a funerary context like the games during the funeral for Patrocles. The first is a paraphrased passage from Herodotus that states "the citizens of Caere [Cerveteri] sacrificed the Greek prisoners taken during the naval battle fought by the combined forces of the Etruscans and Carthaginians near Sardinia around 540 B.C," (1984: 536). The reliability of Herodotus is not questioned, nor the historicity of this alleged incident. The passage referred to (1.166-167), furthermore, is not faithfully paraphrased. The text actually states that "the Agyllaeans [the Etruscans at Cerveteri] led them out and stoned them to death [ἐχαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν]," (1.167). This line only mentions that the Greek prisoners were stoned to death, and according to the LSJ there is no connotation of human sacrifice

winged blue skinned demons, who serve both to signify the death that is about to occur, and may await to take them to the underworld. This scene has inappropriately been seen as influenced by the sacrifice of Roman captives by the Tarquinians in 358 (Livy 7.15.10-11), and the subsequent slaughter of Tarquinian prisoners by the Romans in 353 (Livy 7.19.2-3).[94] There are, though, many significant problems with the attempt to connect a mythological scene in a tomb with an alleged historical event. It goes without saying that the historical accuracy of Livy's account cannot be taken for granted, especially for an episode alleged to have occurred in the 4th century.[95] The uncertain dating of the sarcophagus aside, there is nothing in the scene to suggest a human sacrifice; rather, the scene depicts the execution of prisoners of war. Therefore, the decoration on the sarcophagus should be seen for what it is: a mythological scene fused with local Etruscan chthonic demons. The demons on the Partunus sarcophagus represent a completely local aspect of the mythological scene.

The presence of victorious female fighters on these two sarcophagi has led to the implausible suggestion that the women of Tarquinia in the 4th century were emancipated.[96] However, modern concepts, such as gender equality, should not be anachronistically applied to a civilisation in which they did not exist. The images in the pediments of the Amazon sarcophagus (Figure V.13) have also been used as evidence for this suggestion.[97] The central figure is often identified as Actaeon,[98] and so is used as an example of a woman (n.b. actually a female deity) overcoming a man. This suggestion, furthermore, relies upon the assumption that it was the deceased herself, Ramtha Huzcnai, who commissioned the sarcophagus. The inscription, however, is more about the son or grandson, and might very well indicate that it was his choice of

---

associated with καταλεύσιμος. In fact, the LSJ cites the line in Herodotus as an example of the translation "stoned to death." Bonfante (1984: 536) goes even further to make the claim that "the practice may have been normal for the Etruscans, for another instance is recorded..." The second passage mentioned is an episode described by Livy, who wrote that the Tarquinians "slew three hundred and seven captured Roman soldiers as a sacrifice [*Tarquinienses immolarunt*]...," (7.15.10), which, though referring to a sacrifice, does not mention anything about funerary rituals. It is, therefore, misleading to say that it may have been normal for the Etruscans on the basis of only two (problematic) literary examples.

[94] Van der Meer 2004: 33.

[95] The similarities of this account with the alleged sacrifice of two Gauls and two Greeks in the Roman Forum during the Punic War (Livy 22.57.6) further call the historicity of this episode into doubt.

[96] Van der Meer (2004: 35) states that the sarcophagus "shows on one long and one short side the Amazons in the act of winning the struggle whereas on both opposite sides they are represented as losing it. The choice for this thematic symmetry may possibly have been inspired by emancipatory motives."

[97] Van der Meer (2004: 36) describes the image of Actaeon in the pediments as a "theme unsympathetic towards the male, possibly even feminist.".

[98] Bottini and Setari 2007: 30.

images. If so, it is doubtful that he would choose motifs intended to depict the so-called emancipation of Etruscan women.

V.iii: Miniaturisation and Domestic Architecture

It is worthwhile now to consider the sarcophagus as a funerary object. As it was made with the sole intention to hold the body of the deceased itself, the entire object is important. Not only was the sarcophagus decorated in a certain way, but the shape itself was specifically chosen. Close inspection of the form of the Amazon sarcophagus as well as the decorative scheme of the entire object (and not just the base) reveals many other architectural features that have been depicted in miniature form. These architectural features were previously represented in painting on the walls of the tombs in Tarquinia, or cut from the rock in other areas (such as Cerveteri). On the sarcophagus such architectural elements were depicted in a variety of ways, including painted decoration as well as the shape of the object itself.

The base is a rectangular shape, and the lid is gabled like a house with pediments on the ends of the two long sides. This shape is common with all Etruscan sarcophagi. Most later ones, though, depict the deceased on the lid reclining as if at a banquet. The Amazon sarcophagus more explicitly suggests a house or temple than later sarcophagi, since the lid is simply imitating the roof of a building. This shape is not new in Etruscan funerary contexts, but the same gabled ends can also be seen in the Orientalising and Archaic period rock-cut funerary beds that have survived in Cerveteri (Figure III.8). This indicates that the association of the gabled roof and ceiling of the house or temple with that of the funerary bed or where the remains of the dead were placed was already well established in Etruria since the Orientalising period. Furthermore, this shape is the predominant internal form of all Archaic painted tombs, as well as most of the tombs from the Classical period (including the tombs of the Pulcella, Blue Demons, and Shields).

The pediments on either ends of sarcophagi result from the gabled form. These pediments were, like painted chamber tombs, decorated with a variety of motifs. Such themes include palmettes, volutes, or, as was more frequently the case, real or mythical creatures. Due to the scale of the object, it was not possible to depict elaborate scenes, such as those found in pediments of Archaic tombs (e.g. the banquet scene in the Tomb

of the Hunting and Fishing [Figure IV.17]). It is not always apparent what purpose the images served, and they may have, in some cases, merely served to fill space. Creatures, especially mythical ones, may, however, have served a heraldic or apotropaic function.[99] Sea monsters or other hybrid creatures, likewise, may emphasise the liminal nature of the tomb (e.g. Figure V.18).[100] Gabled ends of the sarcophagus, with decorated pediments, are also an imitation of architecture in a miniaturised form; whether it is in imitation of domestic, religious, or a combination of both is unknown. The pediments of the Amazon sarcophagus are symmetrically arranged. They both depict a nude male placed between two animals who appear to be devouring the legs of the figure (Figure V.13). This has frequently been identified as Actaeon being devoured by his dogs after having been turned into a bear by Artemis as a punishment for witnessing her bathing nude.[101] There are, however, a number of problems with the identification of this figure with a story from Greek mythology. It is assumed to be the myth of Actaeon because it appears that the animals, which are most likely dogs, are consuming the figure. It is possible that the dogs are not actually eating the nude man, since his hands are not upturned as if pushing them away or attempting to protect himself. Rather, his arms might appear to be reaching for the animals. The position of the three figures is similar to that of a master of the beasts (potnios theron) motif.[102] This theme includes a female or male figure between two animals. The animals are shown in profile and are both facing the human figure between them. The master or mistress of the beasts motif appears in Etruscan art as early as the Orientalising period (e.g. there is a mistress of the beasts on a small gold plaque from the Bocchoris tomb, Figure III.3) and can also found in the Stefani tomb (ca. 520). A mistress of the beast scene has also been found on a terracotta antefix of a temple at Pyrgi, the port of Cerveteri.[103] In this image, the human is between two standing horses, whom she is embracing with outstretched arms (Figure V.17).

[99] Holloway 1986: 447.
[100] V. Turner 1977: 38.
[101] Haynes 2000: 294; Van der Meer 2004: 36.
[102] This motif was more common in the Orientalising period (Steingräber 1986: 41). Cf. Figure III.3.
[103] Haynes 2000: 177.

Figure V.17, Potnia Theron terracotta antefix from Temple B at Pyrgi, after Haynes 2000: 177.

This antefix indicates that the mistress of the beasts motif can be seen in religious contexts in temples as well as tombs. The gesture of the potnia theron from Pyrgi is similar to that of the figure in the pediments of the Amazon sarcophagus, the main difference being that the man on the sarcophagus is seated. This could be because he was overwhelmed by the attack of the dogs, but it could also simply be because the dogs are low down, and, thus, in order to reach out to them or touch them he was required to sit.

The symmetrical scenes depicting the nude male and dogs are not the only decoration on the lid. There are heads placed at each of the corners, also symmetrically organised. While the scenes in the pediments on either end of the sarcophagus may not have been based on a Greek myth, it should also be considered that it could be based on a local myth of which we are the ones who are ignorant of the details. Further to the comparisons with temple architecture, the heads resemble the terracotta antefixes that decorated temples.

As well as the rock-cut decoration, there are also painted architectural elements. The action taking place in the scenes painted on the base is taking place outside; however, the four corners of the sarcophagus have painted columns, as if they were holding up the lid (Figure V.13). Columns in a funerary context are present in tombs since the early Archaic period.[104] Elaborate capitals of symbolic columns can be seen in the Tomb of the Capitals in Cerveteri (early 6th century). Such symbolic architecture was also represented in painted form at Tarquinia, such as in the Tomb of the Lionesses

[104] See above Figure IV.10.

(Figure IV.10). Columns can be found on each of the corners on other sarcophagi, where they also appear to be supporting the lid (Figure V.18).

Figure V.18, Rock-cut Ionic columns, volutes, and Acheloos in the pediment of the Sarcophagus with a Deer.

Like the shrine in the Tomb of the Pulcella (Figure V.4), the columns holding up a "roof" with creatures in the pediments might suggest that the sarcophagus was the home and/or the place of veneration for the dead.

All of these architectural features, whether in decoration (columns, antefixes) or as part of the shape of the sarcophagus (pediments, gabled roof), are found in tombs of earlier periods.[105] These elements, therefore, indicate that the sarcophagus was a miniaturised version of earlier tombs. The same architectural features can be found on items that have been dated to the Classical period, but were represented in different form. With the progression to burial in large chambers with multiple depositions, these specific features shifted from tomb decoration and form to the sarcophagus. This shift is a logical development resulting from the practice of burying the dead in rock-cut loculi in walls of tombs, which themselves were also miniaturised tombs. Thus, throughout the Classical period, the location for the burial of the dead became increasingly miniaturised. In the case of sarcophagi, the symbolic decorative scheme replaces the decoration of the tomb. This was not the case, however, with the loculi of tombs from

[105] See especially the Tomb of the Lionesses for painted architectural features (Figure IV.10 above), and for such rock-cut architectural features see Figure III.8 and Figure IV.12 above and Figure V.19 below.

earlier in the Classical period, where the chambers kept the same form and had the same decorative motifs. The large chambers of the late Classical period, on the other hand, in which the sarcophagi were placed were not decorated (e.g. with dancers and musicians), and were also not shaped in the form of a house.

Colonna has noted that the imitation of domestic architecture in tombs throughout Etruria began to dwindle by the end of the 5th century and finally disappeared by the end of the 4th century.[106] This conclusion, though, is based almost entirely on the form of the tomb itself, and does not take into account the imitation of many elements of tombs, including symbolic architecture, on stone sarcophagi such as the Sarcophagus of the Amazons.

VI: Case Study 5, Tomb of the Shields

VI.i: The Tomb

The fifth and final case study focuses on the Tomb of the Shields (350-300), a large multi-chambered tomb that belonged to the Velcha family. It is located in the Primi Archi section of the necropolis (Figure V.1), and is a cruciform shape tomb with three burial chambers and one large entrance room (Figure V.10b).[107] This form reflects the same type of layout seen anticipated in Tomb 2327 and 3242, but the loculi are replaced with actual chambers. The range of the proposed dating of the tomb spans both the Classical and Hellenistic periods. There is, however, a large degree of overlap between the two, and the earlier range for its date ensures that it should be included in the discussion here of the Classical period. There are an unusually large number of inscriptions in the tomb (27 in total), most of which are found in the entrance chamber.[108]

The tomb is notable in five ways: its large size, the multiple chambers, the number of inscriptions, the extensive painted decoration, and the elaborate rock-cut decoration. It is one of the only tombs at Tarquinia that includes rock-cut symbolic

[106] Colonna 1986: 495; Steingräber 1986: 36; Izzet 1996: 59.
[107] Prayon Type B.
[108] The inscriptions are discussed in detail by Morandi 1987.

architectural features rather than painted ones.[109] As artists in the Classical period began to depict more scenes that take place in the underworld, painted architectural elements, such as columns and beams, were not as frequently represented in Tarquinia. The Tomb of the Shields, though, is one exception. The main chamber was given the shape typical of tombs at Tarquinia, that is, with a gabled roof, and the walls decorated with painted scenes (Figure V.19).

Figure V.19, View of rear wall of main chamber in the Tomb of the Shields.

The ceiling, however, was decorated with elaborately cut beams and cross beams instead of painted bands (Tomb 3242) or chequered pattern (Tomb 2327). There are also windows and doors into the three burial chambers. Such rock-cut elements are commonly found in tombs of Cerveteri, where the tufa bedrock is ideal for such intricate designs (Figure V.20).

[109] The other contemporary tombs from this period in which the ceilings are decorated with elaborate rock-cut architectural elements are the tombs of the Underworld I and II, which coincidentally the Tomb of the Underworld I also displays a banquet scene attended by demons and deities.

Figure V.20, Rock-cut tomb in the Banditaccia necropolis, Cerveteri.

The dead were placed in burial chambers in shallow rock-cut trenches, as well as loculi in the walls. The loculi and trenches were not elaborated with painting like those found in 3242, 2327, and 5513. They were undecorated and only meant for the body itself. There is no imitation of a funerary bed or the painted scheme commonly found on tomb walls.

The main entrance chamber is far more elaborately decorated than any of the three burial chambers. The three burial chambers are not decorated with either painted narrative scenes or symbolic architectural features. Furthermore, the ceilings are flat rather than gabled. Only the rear chamber has a painted frieze, and the eponymous shields with inscriptions on them identifying the tomb occupants.[110] This degree of decoration can also be seen in other tombs in Cerveteri (such as the largest tomb in the Maroi Tumulus, Figure IV.6) and in Tarquinia, most notably in the Tomb of the Bulls.[111] This suggests that the tombs were visited, and it was in the entrance chambers in which this occurred. Further indication that it was in the entrance chamber where the living came to visit is the fact that the majority of the inscriptions are found in the main chamber (20 out of 27). Visitors to the tomb would then see the names and be reminded of the deceased.

[110] Steingräber 1986: 342.
[111] See above Chapter IV.II.ii.

The main theme depicted on the walls of the entrance chamber is that of a funerary banquet in the underworld. There is also a wave frieze along the base, thus indicating that references to the sea were still important in funerary contexts at the end of the Classical period. The doors to the burial chambers are emphasised by borders in the same porta dorica style mentioned above. The importance of the rear chamber is emphasised by multiple borders around the door, whereas the two sides chambers were only given a small amount of border, very similar to the frame around the loculus in 2327 (Figure V.11).

VI.ii: Changes in Depictions of Banquets

The rear wall of the main chamber is the most elaborately decorated in the tomb. The focus on this wall indicates the importance of the burial chamber on the other side. This wall contains the doorway with multiple borders that serve to emphasise the space, which is flanked by a banquet scene on either side. The portrait-like details of the figures are particularly striking. The two women especially are depicted with individual details. This shows that not only was it desirable to have the name remembered, but also the likeness.

There are two key points with regards to these banqueting scenes in this tomb that are different from previous representations, and so require individual discussion.[112] Firstly, the couples are not shown reclining together on couches as is most commonly found. Banquets most commonly depicted women reclining with men and men reclining with men, or sometimes a combination of the two. In the Tomb of the Shields, the women are seated on the dining couch at the feet of their husbands (Figure V.21), and thus in a more typically Greek fashion.[113]

[112] Early changes to banqueting scenes can be found in the Tomb of the Blue Demons (see above Chapter V.III.ii).
[113] Haynes 2000: 309. Women seated at banquets can be seen in the earlier Archaic Bartoccini Tomb, however, in this tomb they are shown seated apart from men on chairs, rather than at the feet the men, Steingräber 1986: 286.

Figure V.21, Ravnthu Aprthnai and Velthur Velcha dining in the Tomb of the Shields. Note the emphasised doorway to the right that leads to the burial chamber.

This is a new format of presenting a banquet that appeared in the Classical period. This change has been used by Izzet to support the conclusion that women were objectified by men by the late 5th and 4th centuries.[114] Izzet claims that women underwent a change in status in the late Classical and early Hellenistic period whereby they became ornaments of men at banquets.[115] Such a change would indeed represent a significant lessening of status. Although there are a few representations of women seated at the ends of couches in tombs in the Classical period, these are very much a minority. Izzet, however, refers to these scenes as if they are commonplace.[116] It should be noted that there are only two painted tombs that can be identified as depicting a woman seated rather than reclining. This number amounts to only 10% of the images of banquets in which it is possible to identify the sex of the participants. On the other hand, the number of images that depict women reclining equally with men constitute 55% of the identifiable banquet scenes.[117] Therefore, these two tombs cannot be used on their own to support the claim that women underwent a change of status in the late Classical period. Although there may be other material evidence for this conclusion, there are not enough representations of such unequal banqueting pairs on painted tomb walls to be a large basis of evidence to

[114] "By the late fifth and fourth centuries, the objectifying tendency in the treatment of Etruscan women appears highly developed" (Izzet 2007a: 85).
[115] Izzet (2007a: 85) states that the woman in the Tomb of the Shields "has been demoted from a position on a couch as equal participant to that of a subordinate servant."
[116] "By the fourth century, the presence of Etruscan women at banquets was a privilege that was double-edged at best" (Izzet 2007a: 85).
[117] See Appendix II.

support this. Furthermore, it should also be noted that funerary material is not an exact mirror of social values.[118] Having a woman honoured, or not, in a funerary monument need not an accurate reflection of what her position in society might have been; indeed, it may have been more intended to reflect on her male relatives.[119]

The second key point about the banquet scenes depicted in the main chamber is that it represents not a change but rather a development. Like the Tomb of the Blue Demons (see above Chapter V.III.ii), there is iconographic evidence that shows that the banquet is taking place in the underworld. In the Tomb of the Shields, however, this identification has developed to become even more explicit, both in terms of iconographic and epigraphic evidence. The most obvious indication that this banquet is taking place in the realm of the dead is the presence of the chthonic demon above the door on the rear wall of the main chamber. This unidentifiable nude demon holds a diptych, which may represent the fate of the deceased.[120] The demon, identified as such by his wings, reinforces the otherworldliness of the scene. He has blue wings and carries a hammer, and so it is most likely that he is a Charu type (i.e. a psychopomp rather than a threatening demon).

Like the Tomb of the Blue Demons, there is also a procession scene of robed men, musicians and Larth Velcha on the way to the banquet scene. In the Tomb of the Shields, however, the procession is shown on the entrance wall rather than the left. Elements of status have been added to the procession scene. Larth Velcha is preceded by two lictors who carry axes bundled with rods; they serve to show his position as a high ranking magistrate.[121] It is uncertain what type of procession this is. It could be one like in the Tomb of the Blue Demons and lead to the underworld, or it may be a part of the funeral itself. It is also possible that the image represents a procession that occurred while he was in office.

The parents of Arnth Velchas, Velthur Velcha and Ravnthu Aprthnai, are depicted on banquet couches in one of the two scenes that flank the door to the main burial chamber (Figure V.21). The two couples are each labelled with painted

[118] Smith 1996: 14; Parker Pearson 1999: 23; Izzet 2007a: 48.
[119] For example, the inscription on the Sarcophagus of the Amazons says more about the son or grandson than about Ramtha Huzcnai herself.
[120] Weir forthcoming.
[121] Steingräber 1986: 341.

inscriptions that indicate not only their names, but also the family connection.[122] Bonfante and Bonfante believe that the inscription specifically refers to the tomb as a place for offerings for the dead, and translate it as "During the praetorship of Vel Hulchnie, Larth Velcha, son of Velthur and of Aprthnai, having made offerings here in this tomb, made [the grave]."[123] The inscription shows that there was an emphasis on genealogy and the desire to remember and connect oneself with one's ancestors. Elsewhere, Velthur and Ravnthu are represented enthroned in a venerated position.[124] It is the presence of the ancestors at the banquet, though, that indicates that this scene is taking place in the realm of the dead. The demon nearby also serves to emphasise the location in the underworld.

The Tomb of the Shields indicates that the banquet, by the end of the Classical period, was in some cases explicitly shown to be in the underworld. The location of the banquet in the realm of the dead as the end point of the journey to the underworld is accordingly more securely identifiable here than in earlier tombs, where such an identification is often based on context. A similarly identifiable banquet in the underworld can also be seen in the contemporary Tomb of the Underworld I.[125] A banquet scene that is even more explicitly set in the underworld can be found in the Golini Tomb I (350-325) at Orvieto. In this tomb, the deceased is shown arriving to a banquet held by ancestors in the underworld and joined by the rulers of the realm of the dead, Aita and Phersipnei, most of whom are labelled by inscriptions.[126] Whereas the Golini Tomb I and the Tomb of the Blue Demons depict a journey scene as well as the banquet, the journey to the underworld itself is not represented in either the Tomb of the Shields or Tomb of the Underworld I.

VII: Conclusions

Both the internal layout and the decoration of tombs from the Classical period were different in appearance and form compared to earlier periods. There is no reason to believe that these changes corresponded to significant changes in beliefs about the

[122] Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 172.
[123] Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 172.
[124] Haynes 2000: 309; Steingräber 2006: 188.
[125] Briquel 1997: 266.
[126] de Grummond 2006a: 231.

afterlife. It is, rather, the case that previous traditions were represented in different ways. The most significant developments in this period were the change in tomb form and the change in interest in subjects represented on funerary art. Both of these changes occurred in the mid to late Classical period.

With regards to tomb painting, there was an increasing preference over the Classical period for depicting the deceased in the underworld, as opposed to depicting the rituals associated with the funeral process (as had been the case in the Archaic period). By the end of the 5th century, the underworld was given a more specific iconographic form. By the end of the third quarter of the 4th century, there is clear iconographic evidence, not only for a conception of the underworld, but also that, in some cases, it was believed that the deceased needed to embark on a multi-staged journey therein, one that sometimes required a guide.[127] The change in focus may reflect a change in beliefs; however, it may also simply reflect a change in tastes.

Such imagery gives solid evidence for a belief that has so far only been speculated to have existed in Etruria since the Orientalising period. For example, in the Archaic period, scenes of banqueting and revelry are assumed to be taking place in the realm of the dead.[128] In the Classical period, for example, some of the banquet scenes (e.g. tombs of the Blue Demons, and Shields) are clearly taking place in the underworld.

There is not as much evidence in the Classical period as there is in earlier periods for cult activity inside, and around tombs. The iconographic evidence, however, does indicate that the practice of venerating the dead did not disappear, but they were occasionally honoured symbolically in painted scenes. For example, the Tomb of the Pulcella venerates the deceased through the context of the loculus, which is painted with architectural elements that resemble a shrine. Similarly, the parents of the founder of the Tomb of the Shields are depicted in an honoured position seated on thrones.

The representation of symbolic architectural elements can be seen as taking a monumental size in the Archaic period in the organisation of necropoleis as city streets. Thus, the necropolis resembled domestic architecture on a broader scale. In the Classical period, however, this was represented in the opposite way, and was manifested in miniature form in loculi and stone sarcophagi.[129] The loculi and sarcophagi represent

[127] Krauskopf 2006: 68.
[128] Krauskopf 2006: 75.
[129] The two main exceptions are, of course, the Tomb of the Shields and the Tomb of the Underworld I.

different levels of miniaturisation; they are both tombs within a tomb, but sarcophagi were on a smaller scale than the loculi. Thus, the imitation of symbolic architectural elements was still present in funerary contexts of the Classical period; it was merely represented in a different way.

Chapter VI: The Hellenistic Period

I: Introduction

This chapter looks at the evidence for funerary beliefs from the final stage of Etruscan civilisation at Tarquinia (approximately 330-100). As was noted in the previous chapter, the tombs of the mid to late 4th century tend to be included in discussions of the Hellenistic period.[1] One reason is the broad stylistic continuity of both tomb painting and tomb design. It is, as a result, extremely difficult to date many of these tombs precisely, and, indeed, some scholars have opted to assign a more general date on them rather than to attempt to allocate particular cases to either the late Classical or Hellenistic periods.[2] The situation is made worse by the poor state of preservation of many of the tombs from this period, as well as the lack of diagnostic grave goods that could help to establish a more secure date.[3] More generally, these issues illustrate the limitations in attempting to identify periods of Etruscan civilisation in terms of a periodisation based on a foreign culture. One consequence of all this is that the painted tombs of the Hellenistic period, with the exception of some of the more famous ones,[4] are often overlooked in modern scholarship.[5]

There are no significant innovations during this period; many of the styles of burial and motifs of decoration of the tomb that originated in the late Classical period continued to be very common in the Hellenistic period. Yet there are some trends that are evident. Firstly, there is a marked preference for larger family tombs containing multiple inhumations. Secondly, depictions of demons, and of the journey to the underworld, both became much more commonly represented in period. And, more generally, conceptions of the underworld, and of what was believed to happen to the deceased in the afterlife, are much more visually represented in this late period.

[1] Steingräber 1986: 58.
[2] Steingräber 2006: 247.
[3] Steingräber 2006: 246.
[4] In fact, the most famous tombs of this period are actually the ones that are borderline with the end of the Classical period, such as the Tomb of the Underworld I-II, and the Tomb of the Shields (see Appendices II and III).
[5] Steingräber 1986: 58.

I.i: Funerary Evidence from Tombs

Tombs from the Hellenistic period are found throughout the Monterozzi hill (Figure VI.1), though there is a new concentration of tombs in the Scataglini section of the Monterozzi necropolis.[6] Large chambers for multiple inhumations are now much more common than in earlier periods. The deceased were placed in stone or terracotta sarcophagi, or cinerary urns for cremated remains, and then deposited in the tomb. These large chambers occasionally had rows of benches lining the walls for holding the body or sarcophagus.

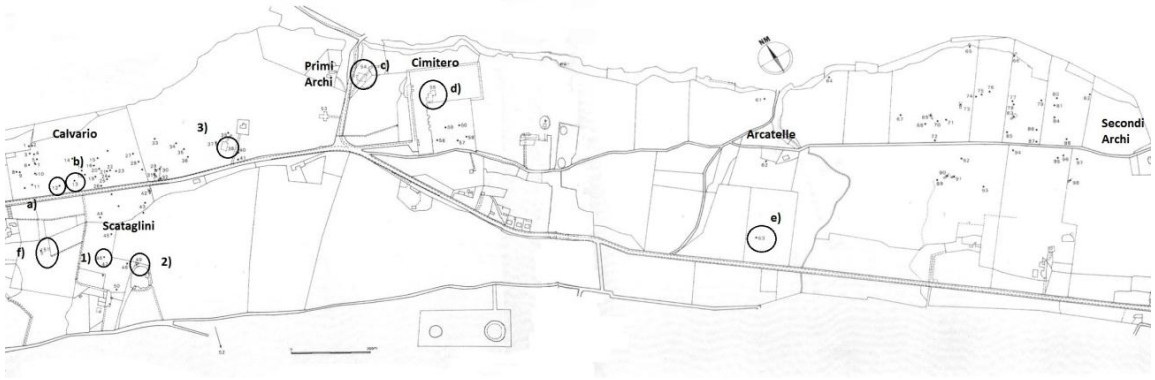


Figure VI.1, Map of Hellenistic tombs in the Monterozzi necropolis, adapted from Steingräber (1986: 384-385) by Bruce Weir and Allison Weir. **1)** Anina Tomb (250-100), **2)** Mercareccia Tomb (350-275), **3)** Tomb of the Typhon (200-150), **a)** Tomb of the Charus (225-175), **b)** Tomb 5636 (200-100), **c)** Tomb of the Cardinal (300-100), **d)** Tomb of the Underworld II (325-300), **e)** Tomb of the Procession (150-100), **f)** Tomb of the Garlands (ca. 250).

The comparatively lower number of elaborate painted scenes and features on tomb walls is a direct result of the popularity of family tombs. The interior architecture of these large chambers with multiple depositions required use of the walls to place the sarcophagi against, and, as a result, there was not as much space left for large scale narrative scenes. Furthermore, the decorative schemes transferred from the tomb walls to the individual sarcophagi. Some tombs still had large amounts of wall painting, but the motifs were less detailed than in previous periods. For example, the Tomb of the Garlands includes a garland and shield frieze, but no narrative scene.[7] This is not to say that these paintings are not as important. On the contrary they often include inscriptions

[6] Leighton 2004: 143.
[7] Serra Ridgway 2000a: 308-309; Steingräber 2006: 249.

identifying the occupant and his or her family, as well as images of processions of magistrates on their way to the underworld. Such individual themes can be very useful for identifying beliefs about the afterlife. Another type of tomb that is found included multiple chambers on different levels.

From the 3rd century onwards, the underworld and the journey of the deceased thereto became the most common theme for funerary art (Appendix III). Representations of mythological creatures, demons, and, most especially, the chthonic journey, are far more numerous than in any other period.[8] This is a striking change from the earlier periods, in which banqueting was the most common theme depicted in the middle of the Archaic period. It is possible to identify the underworld in later funerary art through the presence of chthonic deities or demons.[9] There are, likewise, standard ways of depicting the realm of the dead, such as simple sea monsters, or more elaborate narratives depicting the deceased on horseback led by demons, or greeted in the underworld by ancestors. The ancestors often greet the deceased just outside of an arched doorway, which can be seen as a city gate.[10] Although the motif of a false door is common in all periods of Etruscan civilisation, it is only in the Hellenistic period that the door takes on the appearance of a city gate. It is important to note that, as in earlier periods, there was still no one specific way of representing the afterlife.

I.ii: Case Studies

This study will look at five case studies; three chamber tombs and two stone sarcophagi. The first case study is the recently discovered and excavated Anina Tomb I on the Scataglini part of the Monterozzi necropolis. This tomb is in a very good state of preservation and presents a unique example of a mostly undisturbed tomb; thus, it has a much fuller context of the evidence found within. The second case study is the Sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus from the now lost Partunus family chamber tomb. This sarcophagus is elaborately decorated, and much can be derived about individual

[8] With regards to tomb painting alone, 60.7% of the tombs at Tarquinia depict events occurring in the underworld, a striking increase from the 8.6% of the earlier period (Appendices II and III).
[9] It has also been noted that dark clouds and a rocky landscape symbolise the realm of the dead (Roncalli 1997: 48; de Grummond 2006a: 212-213). Rocks, however, are also a typical feature of the realm of the living.
[10] Herbig 1965: 60; Krauskopf 2006: 67; de Grummond 2006a: 213. Scheffer (1994: 196, 204), on the other hand, does not believe that these arched doors are gates of a city.

beliefs about the afterlife from it. The third and fourth case studies consist of two very different chamber tombs. The Mercareccia tomb in the Villa Tarantola part of the Monterozzi necropolis is currently in poor condition; nevertheless, some funerary rituals and beliefs can be reconstructed based on the form of the tomb and on drawings published by Byres in the 19th century.[11] The Tomb of the Typhon similarly has painted decorations that give evidence about the afterlife, as well as evidence for ritual activity in the tomb. Finally, the scene on the front panel of the box of the Bruschi Sarcophagus can be used to fill in further holes in the beliefs about the afterlife, namely that the underworld may have been conceived of as a city of the dead. A careful analysis of these three tombs and the two sarcophagi together helps us to reconstruct how the afterlife was envisioned in Hellenistic Tarquinia.

II: Case Study 1, Anina Tomb I

II.i: Introduction

The Anina tomb I is a large family chamber tomb, and is by far the wealthiest in the Villa Tarantola section of the Scataglini estate on the Monterozzi hill (Figure VI.2).[12] The tomb was in use for many generations, but the earliest depositions can be dated to approximately 300.[13] It was designed from the outset to house multiple depositions, as indicated by the rows of raised benches lining the edges.

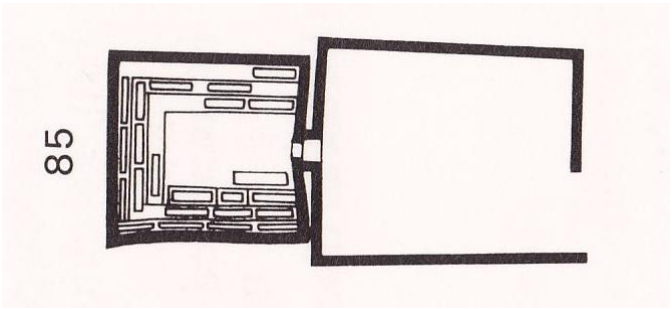


Figure VI.2, Plan of the Anina tomb, after Steingräber 1986: 387.

These benches were rock-cut, thereby indicating that they were part of the original plan of the tomb. The rows of benches held sarcophagi for inhumed remains, and some

[11] Byres 1842: I, pls. 5-8.
[12] Lininton and Serra Ridgway 1997: 95.
[13] Serra Ridgway 2000a: 303.

pseudo-sarcophagi were cut into the bench itself.[14] There is only limited painted decoration in the tomb itself. There are also a small number of rock-cut details such as elaborately decorated ceilings and furniture that are common in other periods. The Anina tomb includes large scale painted figures of demons flanking the entrance to the tomb.[15] Furthermore, the form of the tomb itself can also provide much information about beliefs in the afterlife. Except for these two large figures, and a frieze of garlands around the tomb, the remaining paintings are specific to certain depositions and independent of each other. This is not unusual in family chamber tombs with multiple burials of this period, as can also be seen in the Tomb of the Typhon and Tomb 5636.

II.ii: Tomb Form: Family Chamber Tombs

The Anina tomb was cut into the rock in the form typical of this period and the late Classical: a large single chamber designed to hold multiple inhumations. The large family chamber form of tomb was not new to Tarquinia in the Hellenistic period, but can also be seen in the Tomb of the Shields, as well as the Partunus family tomb from the late Classical period.

The nature of the single chamber with multiple depositions raises questions about personal display and differentiating one burial from another. The personal images could have been chosen by the deceased before death, or by his descendants with his memory in mind. Differentiation between burials would be required in order for each burial to not get lost amongst the multitude. Thus, those visiting the tomb would be able to see which burial was which. One deposition has a painted epitaph above it, of which the inscription is flanked by two chthonic demons (Figure VI.3).[16]

[14] The 23 sarcophagi and pseudo-sarcophagi are catalogued in Linington and Serra Ridgway (1997: 98-100).
[15] For more information on these demons see below Section II.iv and Appendix IV.
[16] The appearances and attributes of these demons closely resembles that of the psychopomps Vanth and Charu (see Appendix IV).

Figure VI.3, Left wall of the Anina tomb with epitaph flanked by two demons.

The epitaph indicates that the small scale demons are specific to the one deposition directly underneath. The images of the deceased on the lids of the sarcophagi are occasionally decorated with lavish jewellery. In contrast, the tombs around the Anina tomb are of a much smaller size and would not have allowed for such display.[17] Some of the tombs are small rock-cut shafts which would fit only the body of the deceased and a few meagre grave goods.[18] This may indicate differing levels of social status. Furthermore, it might suggest that the Anina family was a leading member of society in the late Hellenistic period.

The concern in this large chamber tomb, and others like it, is not so much on personal display through elaborate grave goods. The venue for display that ensures differentiation in the tomb could be through portraits, inscriptions and imagery, and instead prioritises connections to ancestors. Family connections are indicated by inscriptions.[19] This indicates a continuity of family stability from one generation to the next, along with a generally stable social structure. The tomb was used for a length of time, as indicated by the subsequent depositions in the tomb. For example, the entrance of the tomb was widened at one point, thus partly destroying the frescoes that depict Charu and Vanth, in order to accommodate a large sarcophagus.[20] That the tomb

[17] For example, tomb 145 (4911) is only a simple shaft grave without a cover (Linington and Serra Ridgway 1997: 89).
[18] Leighton 2004: 147-149.
[19] Linington and Serra Ridgway 1997: 100-104.
[20] Steingräber 1986: 282; Serra Ridgway 2000a: 308-309.

entrance was widened at one point indicates that the sarcophagi intended to be deposited were not chosen at the point of construction. It might also indicate a continued desire over multiple generations to be buried in proximity to one's family members. Further evidence for this can be found in the care that was given to repainting inscriptions in the tomb.[21] It should be noted, however, that it is unclear how the Etruscans at Tarquinia defined family connections. There may, for example, have been the process of adoption that is seen in Rome. In order for a family to be able to bury multiple generations of the dead in one location, there must be some degree of social and economic stability to allow them to stay in that location for such a period of time. Furthermore, the desire to stay in a specific location, and indeed the same tomb, also indicates a degree of stability with regards to beliefs about the underworld and its relationship to the tomb.

II.iii: Burial in the Tomb and Subsequent Visitations

Some depositions were placed in rock-cut depressions (pseudo-sarcophagi) cut into the benches lining the walls, or in stone sarcophagi. Like some of the other tombs of this period (for example, the tombs of the Typhon and Garlands), the tomb was deliberately organised so that the front panels of all the sarcophagi could be seen. This has important implications for how the tomb was used.

The inscriptions, along with the different styles of painting, indicate that the tomb was used over a large span of time (approximately 250-100).[22] The six inscriptions refer to ancestors, some of whom were buried in the tomb.[23] These inscriptions allow for partial family trees to be reconstructed. The widening of the entrance chamber can be used to identify subsequent depositions to the tomb. That it needed to have a wider entrance indicates that the items in the tomb were visible, at least periodically, to some of the living when those larger items were brought to the tomb. It was not simply a matter of sealing it up and forgetting about it.

Lining the rear, left and right sides of the chamber are three raised benches for displaying the dead. The raised rows of benches in the tomb indicate that the tomb was visited, at least when subsequent depositions were placed in the tomb. That the benches

[21] Serra Ridgway 2000a: 309.
[22] Steingräber 1986: 282.
[23] For example, inscription 153-16, commemorating a Larth Anina, is six lines long (Linington and Serra Ridgway 1997: 102).

were raised indicate that the depositions would have been seen if funerary rituals were conducted inside the tomb. That the rows of benches were raised up allowed for all sarcophagi to be visible to those entering the tomb. Thus, the sarcophagus, with the image of the deceased on the lid, as well as the deliberately chosen themes on the base, was not obscured by another sarcophagus. There are not, however, any indication that there were altars or banqueting structures inside this tomb. Their absence might suggest that visitations occurred only when another deceased family member was interred, or at an annual visit to the tomb, such as on the anniversary of a death or a festival in honour of the dead. This is not to say, of course, that sacrifice did not occur elsewhere. This apparent lack of cult activity inside the Anina tomb may not be the case with other tombs, such as the Tomb of the Typhon (see below) which has a rock-cut altar inside the tomb itself.[24] In any case, visitations must have been a somewhat regular occurrence for the visibility of the sarcophagi to have been a concern to those who built or maintained the Anina tomb.

The raised benches divided the dead from each other, whilst the tomb itself divided the living from the dead. This division of space meant that there was a specific area intended for each deposition. The space between each deposition of individual corpses is specifically delineated so that there is no blurring of boundaries. In tombs such as this at Tarquinia, the sarcophagi themselves served to separate the depositions. There was no need for concern about blurring of boundaries because the sarcophagi themselves were the containers for individual burials. They were akin to a self-contained tomb (see below).

II.iv: Banquet of the Dead

The images of the deceased on the lids of sarcophagi are shown in semi-reclining poses; they closely resemble the pose of banqueters on couches depicted on tomb walls. Some of the images of the dead are shown holding cups in their left hand. This would be consistent with the importance of the funerary banquet in Etruscan funerals since the Villanovan period.[25] This identification of the pose of the images of

[24] See Section IV, Case Study 3 below.
[25] For the persistency of the importance of banquets in funerary contexts see above Chapter II.IV.vi, Chapter III.II.iii, Chapter IV.IV.iv and V.i, Chapter V.III.ii and VI.ii.

the dead on sarcophagi, however, should be made with caution. None of the extant sarcophagi actually show the dead eating or drinking. Furthermore, one of the most common objects shown in the left hand of the deceased is actually a patera, a sacrificial object used for pouring libations. Nevertheless, the poses do resemble those of a banqueter on a funerary couch. Given the importance of the funerary banquet in the earlier periods, it is possible to speculate on what this could mean.[26] There are some important implications about the afterlife that can be derived from this common pose, which is found on sarcophagi and cinerary urns of both terracotta and stone throughout Etruria. It may suggest that, in death, individuals were believed to partake in a feast, such as one that is seen represented on the walls of the Golini Tomb I (Figure VI.4).

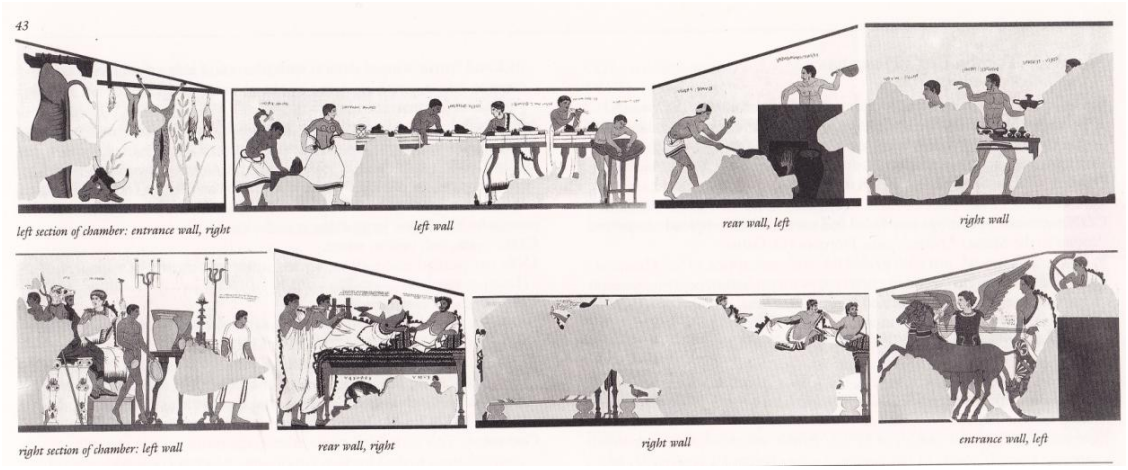


Figure VI.4, Banquet in the underworld in the Golini Tomb I (350-325), after Steingräber 1986: 279.

This would also be consistent with many cinerary urns and sarcophagi that show the dead welcomed to the underworld by ancestors who are already engaged in revelry. The images of the deceased on the lids of sarcophagi may, therefore, depict a banquet that the dead partake of in the underworld, rather than a feast as part of a funerary ritual. Another possibility, on the other hand, is that the dead were believed to feast periodically with the living. This could be a part of an annual banquet held at the tomb, in which the dead were believed to be able to return to.

Furthermore, if this pose of the deceased on the lid was intended to be that of a diner on a banqueting couch, then perhaps the rows of benches in the Anina tomb could

[26] For funerary banquets in earlier periods see above Chapter II.IV.vi, Chapter III.II.iii, Chapter IV.IV.iii, Chapter V.III.ii, VI.ii, Chapter VI.II.iii.

be seen as a replacement for banqueting couches. In this case, the tomb itself is laid out as a large triclinium. This type of layout of banqueters can also be seen in tomb painting of the Archaic period, albeit with much fewer participants. For example, the Tomb of the Triclinium (ca. 470) has scenes associated with banqueting (i.e. feasting, musicians, and dancers) on three sides of the tomb.[27] There is also a tradition of depicting the deceased at a banquet (or going to the feast) with ancestors in the underworld (e.g. the Tomb of the Blue Demons, ca. 400 [Figure V.5], which can be compared with the aforementioned Golini Tomb I at Orvieto [Figure VI.4]). The paintings in these tombs similarly do not actually depict individuals eating, but they are shown holding drinking vessels and there is also food nearby.

It should be remembered, at this point, that in the Hellenistic period, the banquet was not as commonly depicted in funerary art as in earlier periods.[28] The scarcity of banqueting scenes is a stark contrast to the Archaic, and especially Classical periods, where banqueting was the single most frequently depicted topic.[29] This shift, however, need not represent a change in the beliefs (i.e. that the dead were no longer believed to feast in the afterlife). The theme of dancing and playing music that accompanies banquets can occasionally be found on small scale tomb painting, as well as decorated stone sarcophagi. One example is the Tomb of the Cardinal, where the scenes of dancing musicians are shown to be in the underworld by the presence of multiple chthonic deities.[30] The change from large scale representations of banquets to smaller scale is a result of the use of large family chambers rather than small tombs for one or two burials. Thus, it is not simply that funerary banquets were no longer important, but that they were represented in different ways.

[27] This motif is also found on a large number of other tomb paintings from many different periods, including the tombs of the Bacchantes (510-500), Maggi (450-425), and Maiden (425-400).
[28] In fact, there is only one painted tomb (Tomb of the Dancing Cybele) that is definitely from this period at Tarquinia which depicts activities associated with banqueting; unfortunately, it is now lost. The Tomb of the Shields and the Tomb of the Underworld I are both borderline with the Classical period.
[29] In the case of the Classical period, banqueting scenes appear on 74.3% of the painted tombs at Tarquinia (Appendix II).
[30] Steingräber 1986: 297-299.

II.v: Domestic Architecture in a Funerary Context

Unlike many of the tombs of earlier periods, the Anina tomb does not have any painted, moulded or rock-cut architectural details that can be construed as imitating domestic architecture. This motif, which is common in Etruria, and especially so in Tarquinia, in painted elements (e.g. Tomb of the Lionesses), can also be found in rock-cut features (e.g. Tomb of the Underworld II). This is not the case with all the tombs of this period at Tarquinia, but is a general feature of the large family chambers.[31] Like references to banqueting, representation of architectural elements did not disappear, but were depicted in a different manner. As tomb form evolved, so did tomb architecture. Instead of the tomb form reflecting architectural elements, some of the sarcophagi found in the Anina tomb were decorated with painted architectural features, such as dentils, volutes, rosettes, and wave patterns.[32] There is, however, no indication that these architectural elements refer specifically to domestic buildings. Therefore, it is not possible to conclude with any certainty from the Anina tomb that the tomb was seen as the house of the dead. On a basic level, however, it is still a room with a door.

II.vi: Psychopomps

The painted decoration in the Anina Tomb is rather limited compared to the narrative scenes on walls of tombs from the Archaic (e.g. Tomb of the Augurs) and Classical (e.g. Tomb of the Blue Demons) periods. This is not unusual among the large family chambers in the Monterozzi necropolis, but is also the case, for example, for the Tomb of the Typhon (see below).

The large scale demons flanking the entrance to this tomb dominate the chamber. These demons, as well as the garland frieze around the upper section of the walls of the tomb, are the only decoration that are not associated with one specific burial. The demons are depicted in their roles as psychopomps; guardians and guides of the dead to the underworld. The paintings of the psychopomps also include inscriptions identifying the figures as Vanth (Figure VI.5a) and Charu (Figure VI.5b).[33]

---

[31] See also tombs of the Typhon, Cardinal, and 5636.
[32] Serra Ridgway 2000a: 307.
[33] The images of the psychopomps in this tomb constitute one of the eight (possibly nine) inscribed images of Vanth (Spinola 1987: 57; Weber-Lehmann 1997: 173) and one of nine inscribed images of

Figures VI.5a and b, Charu (left) and Vanth (right) flanking the entrance to the Anina tomb.

Both demons were very frequently depicted together in this period, both guiding and protecting the deceased on his or her way to the realm of the dead.[34] They can be found a second time in this tomb, now flanking the aforementioned epitaph (Figure VI.3), which is a unique arrangement in Etruscan painting.[35] It is the large figures on either side of the inside of the entrance, however, that have received the most attention in modern scholarship.[36] Vanth and Charu are often similarly depicted together in such ways and have been seen as parallel deities whose roles complement one another.[37]

Only the figures of the demons themselves are represented in this tomb, and not alongside the deceased whom they are generally depicted as escorting. Therefore, it is difficult to identify whether or not they had any more specific role other than the basic

---

Charu (Mavleev and Krauskopf 1986: 225). For a summary of the major images, roles and attributes of Vanth and Charu see Appendix IV.

[34] Jannot 1997: 139; de Grummond 2006a: 221.

[35] Jannot 1993: 73; Serra Ridgway 2000a: 307.

[36] The images of Vanth and Charu are often mentioned without any context of the tomb except that they flank the doorway (Haynes 2000: 275; Krauskopf 2006: 69; de Grummond 2006a: 221). Serra Ridgway (2000a) is a notable exception.

[37] Jannot 1997: 139-140.

one of escorting the dead.[38] The role of escort is identifiable in the image of Vanth.[39] She is depicted in motion, and holding a torch as if leading someone. Some conclusions, therefore, can be made based on their attributes. Vanth guides and protects the dead, while Charu guards and opens the gate to the underworld. The difference in appearances, however, is very noticeable between the two. Vanth lights the way for the dead, and, with the exception of her wings, has a very human appearance. Charu is a very visual contrast in that he has a much more un-human and, indeed, sometimes fearsome appearance. Charu has been seen as a demon that threatens the deceased with his mallet.[40] For example, on the Sarcophagus of Laris Pulenas, there are two Charu type demons that appear to be about to hit the deceased on the head (Figure VI.6).

Figure VI.6, Sarcophagus of Laris Pulenas with a scene in the underworld and an image of the deceased on the lid. Note that the deceased is presumed to be depicted a second time in the centre on the base; his head, however, is unfortunately missing.[41]

[38] See below (especially Section III.viii) for a discussion of other images of both Vanth and Charu can allow for a more detailed reconstruction of their roles, indicating that they were conceived of as very complex deities.
[39] Spinola 1987: 58.
[40] Roncalli 1996: 46; de Grummond 2006a: 215.
[41] Roncalli 1996: 46.

In the Anina Tomb, however, Charu does not appear to be in a threatening pose. The reason for the mallet might be connected to his role of guarding the gates to the underworld (as is seen in the depiction of a Charu type demon in Tomb 5636 [Figure VI.7]).

Figure VI.7, An unlabelled Charu on a pilaster in front of the rear wall in Tomb 5636.

It has been suggested that the mallet was used to unbar the gates to the underworld, rather than as a weapon with which to attack the deceased.[42] The roles of both Vanth and Charu are, perhaps, more easily identifiable in the aforementioned Tomb 5636. There is in this tomb a small painting above a pseudo-sarcophagus that shows a greeting in the underworld scene (Figure VI.8). In this painting, a Charu type demon sits at the gate to the underworld waiting to let in the deceased who is gently being led by a female demon resembling Vanth.

Figure VI.8, Painted scene on the right wall of Tomb 5636.

[42] Jannot 1997: 141-142; Serra Ridgway 2000a: 307; de Grummond 2006a: 215.

The motif of demons flanking the door to the tomb is rather common, and can also be found on other types of funerary art of this period, namely stone sarcophagi and cinerary urns. A particularly good example is now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Chiusi, which shows a greeting scene as well as two unidentifiable demons (perhaps to be identified as Charu and Vanth) on either side of a door (Figure VI.9).

Figure VI.9, Cinerary urn from Chiusi in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale (Hellenistic period).

Like the door in Tomb 5636, this door resembles a city gate rather than the door of a building. The arched shape suggests a gate, and the large lion-head knockers might suggest a gate rather than a building.[43] Similar knockers are found on the gate in Tomb 5636. In the Anina tomb the demons flank the door to the tomb on the inside; it is unclear whether this door was meant to be the entrance to the realm of the living, to the underworld, or simply to the tomb itself.

It is significant to consider what role the images of the demons might have had, since this in turn reflects the beliefs held about the afterlife. The presence of psychopomps, guides of the dead to the underworld, indicates that the dead were believed to go on some sort of journey. This journey must have been somewhat extensive if it required a guide to show the way. Furthermore, Vanth carries a torch which indicates that the journey may have passed through darkness. In this case, therefore, the tomb itself is not the underworld or the final destination (i.e. the

[43] For a discussion of the representation of doors that resemble city gates in funerary art see below Section VI.iii.

reintegration of the deceased in his or her new status in the realm of the dead). The demons are on the inside of the tomb; accordingly, they were not meant to be escorting the dead into the tomb, but, rather, from the tomb. It is possible that, in the Anina tomb, the demons are there in order to prepare to escort the dead out of the tomb and to the underworld.[44] This could indicate that the tomb was a place of separation between the realm of the living (i.e. the outside world) and that of the dead as symbolised by the sarcophagus itself.

The motif of two symmetrical figures on either side of a door was not a new concept in Etruscan funerary art, but was common since the Villanovan period.[45] One of the case studies from the Villanovan period examined above was a cinerary urn in the shape of a long house that had incised decoration on the sides (Figure II.4). The frame of the door was emphasised with borders and painted decoration alternating between light and dark. This house urn had a doorframe highlighted in a manner much like the door to the underworld in Tomb 5636, and the cinerary urn from Chiusi, which was also flanked by two figures (Figure VI.8). This motif of figures on either side of a door can also be seen in painted tombs of the Archaic period; for example, the Tomb of the Augurs has two mourners on either side of a false door (Figure IV.11).[46] In the later Cardarelli Tomb, the figures on either side of the door are musicians. In the Hellenistic period, this motif is most notably found in the Tomb of the Charus, in which two sets of demons flank two false doors (Figure VI.10).[47]

[44] This would be much like the orientation of entrances of tombs in the Orientalising period in the direction of the underworld (supposedly the Northwest), in which the dead may have been aligned with the entrance in order to be pointed in the direction that they were supposed to travel. We must, however, be wary of making assumptions based on evidence from different periods, especially considering that the tombs at Tarquinia were not orientated to the Northwest.

[45] For some examples of the case studies discussed in this thesis, see Chapter II.III, Chapter IV.III.iii, and Chapter V.II.

[46] Staccioli 1980.

[47] The presence of the demons further emphasises the funerary nature of the door (Staccioli 1980: 15).

Figure VI.10, Rear wall of the Tomb of the Charuns with a false door flanked by two Charuns.

III: Case Study 2, Sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus

III.i: The Sarcophagus

The Sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus is currently housed in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Tarquinia (RC 9873). His father, Laris Partunus, was also interred in another intricately painted sarcophagus, the aforementioned Sarcophagus of the Priest. Both were found in the now lost Partunus family chamber tomb amongst 15 sarcophagi and one cinerary urn.[48] Although this tomb is no longer accessible, it most likely had an internal organisation similar to many of the family chamber tombs at Tarquinia in this period, namely multiple sarcophagi placed against the walls of the tomb (such as in the Anina tomb (Section II.i in this chapter), and the tombs of the Typhon, Ceisinie, and 5636). This sarcophagus, however, is elaborately decorated on all four sides, thus suggesting that it was at one point meant to be in the centre of the tomb. The lost tomb, although probably a large chamber, might not, therefore, have had the same rows of raised benches as the aforementioned tombs.

[48] Blanck 1983: 79.

The inscription on the sarcophagus indicates that Velthur Partunus was a magistrate in Tarquinia.[49] The sarcophagus dates to the very early decades of the Hellenistic period, sometime between 330-300.[50] It is made of local white limestone, not of imported marble like the sarcophagus of his father. There is an abundance of imagery on the sarcophagus in both low and high relief. There is an inscription that identifies Velthur, his status, as well as who his father was: "Velthur Partunus, son of Laris and of Ramtha Cuclni, served as magistrate in charge of sacred functions. He lived for 82 years."[51] Velthur lived to a considerably more advanced age than most at Tarquinia at this time.[52] The inscription, as well as inscriptions on the other sarcophagi from this tomb, have allowed for a partial family tree to be constructed.[53]

It is both the imagery, as well as the form of the sarcophagus itself, which can give indications of the beliefs held about the afterlife. Sarcophagi reflect the personal beliefs of an individual. They were specifically chosen by either the deceased himself before death or by his family after death. Like tombs, the form and decorative scheme all were deliberately chosen. Unlike tombs, however, the lids of sarcophagi allowed for the representation of the image of the deceased. Therefore, the likeness of the individual could continue to survive. Sarcophagi can be collectively used to piece together wider social attitudes towards the afterlife. In particular, decorated sarcophagi provide the opportunity for personal display, and for an individual to stand out inside a tomb with multiple depositions.

The rich decorative scheme is wide ranging and can, therefore, be used to assess beliefs about death and the afterlife. It is the iconographical evidence from this object that is the primary focus of this case study, which will provide an illuminating contrast to the tomb form discussed above in Case Study 1.

[49] Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 149.
[50] Van der Meer 2004: 142.
[51] "*Velthur Partunus larisalisa clan ramthas cuclnial zilch cechaneri tenthas avil svalthas LXXXII*" (Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 149).
[52] Leighton 2004: 145.
[53] Van der Meer 2004: 142.

III.ii: Banquet of the Dead

Like the sarcophagi found in the Anina family tomb, the image of Velthur Partunus is depicted on the lid semi-reclining as if he was at a banquet (Figure VI.11).[54]

Figure VI.11, Front side of the sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus (330-300), after Borrelli and Targia 2004: 70-71.

This pose is a contrast to the sarcophagus of Velthur's father, in which the image shows a man lying flat as if dead or asleep. The pose of the statues on the lids of sarcophagi of this period is very similar to that of banqueters in wall paintings of the Archaic and Classical periods (e.g. banqueters on couches in Tomb 5513, Figure IV.16). Earlier sarcophagi of the mid 4th century had either no image of the dead (e.g. Sarcophagus of the Amazons [Figure V.13], and the Sarcophagus of the Poet [see below]), or an image of a figure or figures reclining completely, such as the Sarcophagus of the Priest. As the Hellenistic period progressed, the pose of the figure on the lids of sarcophagi and cinerary urns became progressively more upright. For example, the lids with images of the dead in the Anina Tomb show the deceased sitting almost upright. Furthermore, the Sarcophagus of Laris Pulenas shows the deceased sitting up. Thus, the sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus constitutes an important place in the evolution of decorated stone sarcophagi. Velthur is in a somewhat more reclining position, halfway between that of the image on the lid of his father's sarcophagus and the upright pose of the statues on later sarcophagi. The object in Velthur's left hand is not a drinking vessel, but, rather, is

[54] See Section III.iv below for a discussion of portraits on sarcophagi.

a sacrificial patera. It may not be the case, then, that Velthur Partunus was depicted participating in a feast. There are a number of ritual activities, however, that might be associated with a feast.[55] The libation vessel indicates that a sacred act is being shown, one that was immortalised in stone. The reclining position might suggest a ritual banquet. Without any representations of food or drink, though, this is uncertain.

III.iii: Domestic Architecture in a Funerary Context

The form of the sarcophagus itself, as well as decorative features that contain architectural elements, have previously been seen in painting and rock-cut tombs. Although the lid is not completely gabled like earlier sarcophagi (e.g. Figure V.13, 14), the ends are gabled like the roof of a house. Other architectural elements are present, such as volutes on the short side and rosettes, which were common in temple architecture.[56] Furthermore, the pediments created by the gabled ends on both of the short sides contain apotropaic creatures, commonly seen painted in the pediments of Archaic and Classical period tombs at Tarquinia. All of these features – gabled roofs, pediments, volutes (referring to columns), rosettes, and apotropaic creatures – are present in painted chamber tombs.[57] Therefore, the architectural decorations all contribute to the concept of the sarcophagus as a miniaturisation of the tomb.

It is uncertain whether such architectural features refer to domestic or religious architecture. It should be noted, however, that the gabled ends, rosettes and volutes do not necessarily imitate domestic architecture, but could just as easily refer to temples or architecture in general. The possibility that architectural elements in funerary contexts represent domestic buildings is speculated for all periods of Etruscan civilisation at Tarquinia.[58] These architectural features, however, do not need to refer to one or the other. The concepts of the tomb as a house of the dead, and as a location for venerating the deceased, are not incompatible, but, rather, complement one another.[59]

---

[55] Such as the modern tradition of some cultures that ceremoniously give thanks before a meal.
[56] Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970: 53.
[57] For these painted architectural features see Chapter IV.III.ii above, and especially the Tomb of the Lionesses (Figure IV.10).
[58] See above Chapter II.II.iv, Chapter III.IV.ii, Chapter IV.III.ii, Chapter V.V.iii and VI.ii, Chapter VI.II.iii and III.iii and IV.iii and V.iii.
[59] Compare, for example, the case of the alcove in the shrine of the Tomb of the Pulcella, which in itself was shaped like a house (Chapter V.II.ii above)

Other sarcophagi from this period at Tarquinia display architectural features, some in the same manner, and some in more detailed form. For example, the Sarcophagus of Arnth Paipnas is in the shape of a building, with a statue of Cerberus on top (Figure VI.12).

Figure VI.12, Cerberus Sarcophagus (325-300) with the three headed dog on top and apotropaic lions at the corners. Note the unfinished journey of the deceased and a winged demon on the short sides. The long side depicts an unidentifiable scene that includes a human battling an animal, a human battling a gryphon, a flying feline, and an Amazon fighting a Greek.

Statues were placed on top of both temples and domestic houses throughout Etruria.[60] The Sarcophagus with a Deer has even more clearly defined architectural elements amongst the scene on the short sides. Like the sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus, it includes mythical creatures in pediments and volutes (Figure V.17). It also includes, however, clearly defined Ionic columns flanking the scene in the middle of the short sides.

The painted and rock-cut architectural elements of earlier tombs, such as beams, windows, and roof tiles, were not structural but symbolic. Architectural elements in large chamber tombs in the Hellenistic period are much less of a dominant theme than in earlier periods. The depictions of architecture on sarcophagi take this purpose even further, as the depictions are not only symbolic, but are, in fact, too small to be used by

[60] Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970: 53; Haynes 2000: 130.

either the living or the dead. At this time, the mere reference to architectural elements was enough to display that the tomb or the sarcophagus was seen as a figurative house of the dead. The large chamber tombs for multiple depositions allowed for each individual burial to have personal decoration, and the references to architecture were, accordingly, not one shared by all. There was not a shift in beliefs, but, rather, a shift in how they were represented.

III.iv: Portraits

Consideration of the pose of the image on the lid raises questions about the identity of the figure. Identifying whether or not the image on the lid of the sarcophagus was imagined to be at a banquet has important implications about whom the image represented. As noted above, it is generally assumed that the image depicted on the lid of the sarcophagus represents the deceased that was interred inside.[61] Similarities in dress of the figures depicted on the lid and on the base, when possible to compare, strongly suggest that the figure on the lid was a representation of the deceased. This is, however, not entirely conclusive.

From a broad point of view, individualised features are displayed on many of the images. Some of the faces are very realistic and evidently some care has been given to ensure that they were represented in a specific way.[62] The use of specific features, rather than stock or idealised images, suggests that the artist had a real subject. For example, the image on the lid of the Sarcophagus of Laris Pulenas, with the sunken eyes and aged features, appears to be an effort at realism rather than idealisation (Figure VI.6). It is unfortunate that the head of the central figure on the lower panel, assumed to be Laris Pulenas in the underworld by modern scholars, has not survived, since it would be useful to compare faces.[63] It is possible to make such a comparison between the image of the deceased on the base with that of the image on the lid in the case of the Sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei from Chiusi, in which the deceased is represented twice, with the same jewellery and clothing (Figure VI.13a, b).[64]

[61] Martelli 1975: 14.
[62] Brendel 1995: 387.
[63] Roncalli 1997.
[64] Although the figure on the lid is missing the head, the elaborate necklace found on both figures allows for this identification.


Figures VI.13a and b, Image of Hasti Afunei on the lid of the sarcophagus (left), and image of Hasti Afunei on the base (right) on the journey to the underworld led by Vanth (3rd century), after Haynes 2000: 276.

The necklace worn by the woman on the base is not exactly the same as on the lid; nevertheless, she is the only figure wearing an elaborate piece of jewellery. Furthermore, this could be a result of differences in scale. Therefore, in this case, the image on the lid is most likely a portrait of Hasti Afunei at some point in her life. Regarding the sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus, the image on the lid is not consistent with the age in which he died. The inscription notes that Velthur Partunus died at the age of 82.[65] The image, however, is of a middle aged man with smooth skin and a full head of hair (Figure VI.14).

Figure VI.14, Close-up of the head of Velthur Partunus on the lid of the sarcophagus.

This does not, though, preclude the possibility that the image was intended to represent Velthur Partunus; it may simply depict him at an earlier point in his life in which he wanted to be remembered. This appearance could, of course, also represent idealised characteristics. Funerary art can provide the opportunity for one to choose how he or

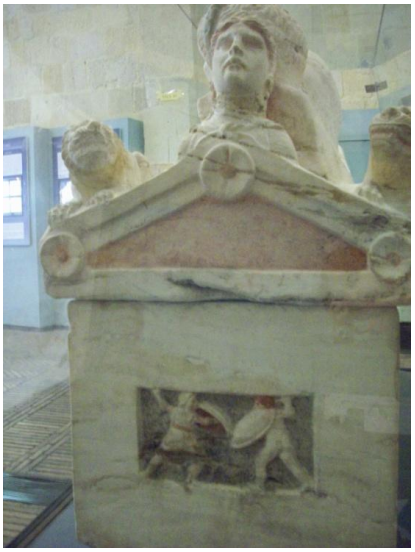
[65] Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 149.

she is remembered. Thus, idealised representations are not wrong, but can indicate what was important to the individual or to those burying him. Whatever the case may be, it is important to note that they were specifically chosen.

III.v: Apotropaism

The pediments of the sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus have many images in high relief. These images include sphinxes, lions, a female head, and the head of the river god Acheloos. Such figures have been identified as guarding the sarcophagus or warding off evil.[66] Like the representations of architectural elements, this apotropaic function is symbolic. Apotropaic creatures, such as Gorgons or lions, represented in pediments as a way to ward off evil was a well known motif from wall paintings since the Archaic period.

The sphinxes that sit atop one of the short sides (Figure VI.15a) serve a similar purpose as the image of Cerberus on the sarcophagus of Arnth Paipnas (Figure VI.12) in that both are statues on top of roofs. Sphinxes were common elsewhere in funerary art at Tarquinia, such as on the sarcophagus of Larth Vestarcnies (RC 9886) from the second half of the 4th century. Lions can also be seen depicted on the four corners of the Cerberus Sarcophagus (Figure VI.12).



Figures VI.15a and b, two short sides of the sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus. Acheloos, volutes, and heavily eroded sphinxes on the left (a), and rosettes, a female head, and two lions on the right (b).

[66] Holloway 1986: 448; Izzet 2007a: 93.

The lions on the opposite side are parallel images of the sphinxes. That these creatures are atop the gabled ends of the sarcophagus also emphasises the architectural connections, in that they are like statues placed on the roofs of temples or houses.[67] It is unusual that the apotropaic creatures are not in the pediments themselves, but this may be a result of the desire to depict them in high relief, which in turn allowed for the creatures to be a larger size. The head of Acheloos above the pediment on one of the short sides of the sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus (Figure VI.15a) is similarly not a new figure in Etruscan funerary art, and was first depicted at Tarquinia in the Tomb of the Bulls (Figure IV.5). Representing Acheloos above the pediment of this sarcophagus suggests water and passage, over which part of the journey to the underworld may have occurred. Although Acheloos may be an apotropaic figure, he could also symbolise the passage from the realm of the living to the realm of the dead.

On the short side opposite to the image of Acheloos, and in between two lions, is a woman's head (Figure VI.15b). This image has been frequently identified as a Maenad.[68] There are, however, no specific iconographical attributes to allow for such a secure identification. The close proximity of the female head to that of the head of the image of the deceased on the lid is significant to note. It is more likely that the head represents a female deity that Velthur Partunus sought to be connected with, or a chthonic deity, such as a psychopomp. The sepulchral context would also support this. Furthermore, the Etruscans have been known to put sculptured heads on gates of cities. For example, the three heads on the Porta all'Arco gate in Volterra (Figure VI.16a) are still visible.[69] There is also a Volterran cinerary urn which depicts a city gate that is similarly adorned with three sculptured heads (Figure VI.16b).

[67] Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970: 53.
[68] Bonghi Jovino 1986: 340.
[69] Scheffer 1994: 204. Notable comparisons can be made with the Porta Marzia gate in Perugia which has three heads over the arch (Haynes 2000: 376).

Figures VI.16a and b, Porta all'Arco gate in Volterra (left), cinerary urn (right) from the Hellenistic period from Volterra with a city gate on the right.

Although there is only one head on the pediment of the sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus, the placement of the female head is strikingly similar to the central head on the cinerary urn as well as actual gates. The heads on the gates in both Perugia and Volterra are unfortunately too damaged by erosion to identify any physical characteristics. The cinerary urn, on the other hand, provides a significant point of comparison, as the head in the middle of the gate appears to be that of a woman. There is no need to identify the head of the woman with a well-known Greek figure (i.e. a Maenad). It must be acknowledged that we simply do not have enough information to understand fully the images on this sarcophagus. In light of the architectural elements depicted on this sarcophagus, including the pediments over the short sides, it is probable that the female head represents a head in an architectural composition as found on a city gate, rather than a Maenad as is commonly believed.

It is not possible to discuss apotropaic creatures in funerary contexts without considering who or what the image was meant to guard against. It is doubtful that the small images on a sarcophagus were meant to ward off grave robbers as they would have only posed a superstitious threat to the offenders. It is possible, however, that the images may perform a similar function to curse tablets, in that they warn those

intending to harm the tomb that there will be repercussions in the afterlife.[70] Such curse tablets have been found in other areas of Etruria.[71] It is also possible that the apotropaic images were meant to ward off dangers in the afterlife, and, therefore, served a symbolic purpose on the sarcophagus. The journey to the underworld was evidently a dangerous one, as seen on countless sarcophagi and wall paintings where the dead encounter demons, sea monsters, and other monsters along the way. It is possible, therefore, that such figures were intended to help the dead, along with the psychopomps, on the way to the underworld. Without an identifying inscription or literary reference, the purpose of these images, unfortunately, must remain a reasonable hypothesis.

III.vi: Mythological Scenes on the Base

The elaborate mythological scenes in low relief on the base of the sarcophagus are frequently the topic of scholarly discussion.[72] Iconographic interpretations of this sarcophagus are largely based on finding precedents in Greek mythology, which have led to the need for a new analytical scheme of the mythological scenes on the base. The Amazonomachy scene is enclosed in a self contained frame which suggests that all the figures are part of a narrative and intended to be seen together.

The battle occurs outside, perhaps in a forest, as indicated by the trees and blue background.[73] The panel consists of paired Greek and Amazon warriors, with single individual figures in symmetrical positions on each far side (Figure VI.11).

Figure VI.17, Close up of the Amazonomachy panel on the sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus.

[70] Gager 1992: 192-193.
[71] Bonfante 1990: 25.
[72] For example, Van der Meer (2004: 34, 142) only mentions scenes on the base and the inscription in his catalogue.
[73] The blue background, however, may not represent the sky but is along the same lines as the blue background in temple pediments.

Amazonomachies are very common in Etruscan funerary art, especially in Tarquinia and nearby Tuscania.[74] Indeed, one of the most famous examples of Amazonomachies in Etruscan art is found on one long side of the sarcophagus of Laris Partunus, the father of Velthur (Figure V.14).[75] The figures are depicted very differently on these two sarcophagi. On the sarcophagus of Laris Partunus, the Amazons are wearing long chitons, as opposed to here, where they are wearing short tunics with crossed straps. Furthermore, the earlier sarcophagus depicts the Greek warriors in full armour, whereas here they are depicted nude.

The panel on the rear side of the sarcophagus is less frequently discussed in modern scholarship. In fact, an image of the rear panel has not yet been included in publications. This may be a result of the complexity of the panel and the difficulties involved in identifying what is being represented. It is unfortunate, however, as it is the rear panel that is perhaps more relevant to the purposes of this study. Unlike the front panel, the figures on this side are not always grouped together in pairs. As was the case for the rest of the panels on this sarcophagus, the figures were purposefully enclosed in a self contained frame. This frame suggests that the entire scene was meant to be read together in a narrative. However, the panel clearly depicts more than one event or theme (Figure VI.18).

Figure VI.18, Rear side of the sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus.

[74] Bonghi Jovino 1986: 340; Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 290. The theme of Amazons was not only popular on sarcophagi, but also on Etruscan pottery, urns, mirrors and cistae (Camporeale 1959: 107; Mavleev 1981: 654-662).
[75] Bonfante 1986: 83; Haynes 2000:292; Van der Meer 2004: 34.

The scenes on this side have been identified as the flight of Orestes and Pylades from the Furies on the left, and a centauromachy on the right.[76] There is no evidence, however, such as an inscription, to indicate that any of the figures represent Orestes and his companion. Furthermore, although a connection may have existed between Orestes and a battle of humans and centaurs in ancient Etruria (there is none in Greek mythology), there is no indication of one on this sarcophagus. The right hand side of the panel clearly shows a centauromachy. One of the warriors is depicted in a short tunic and cloak, while three of the humans are depicted nude. There is a warrior in full hoplite armour on the far right. He is not placed there to flank the scene like the two single figures on the Amazonomachy panel, as there is no corresponding single figure on the left side.

The left hand side of the panel shows two Etruscan demons engaged in battle with humans. The human figures appear to be women in short tunics; however, it is impossible to tell for sure because of the current state of the sarcophagus. A comparison with the female figures on the other panels suggests that they are indeed women, especially when it is taken into account that the majority of the male figures on the sarcophagus are depicted nude. Unlike the centauromachy part, the figures in battle with the Etruscan demons are neatly grouped into pairs, just like the Amazonomachy scene on the front. The female figures appear in the same dress as the Amazons on the other three sides.[77] It is possible, then, that the left hand side of the rear panel depicts a continuation of the Amazonomachy scene, in which the Greeks were replaced with demons.

Like the front panel, the figures are depicted outdoors, with trees in between and in the background. Although the figures are all shown in a self contained panel, the two battles appear to be split approximately down the middle by a robed figure. It is unclear whether this figure is a man or a woman. The figure is facing towards the centauromachy scene and has an arm raised in a mourning gesture. This pose can be compared to the two mourners flanking the false door on the rear wall of the Tomb of the Augurs (Figure IV.11), who were originally identified as augurs, but are now seen

[76] Van der Meer 2004: 15.
[77] The similarities between female demons and Amazons have been noted by Scheffer (1991: 52) as being a result of their active roles in scenes.

as mourners.[78] That the figure is heavily clothed is a large contrast to the nude warriors that she or he faces. This figure is specifically gesturing and facing towards the centauromachy scene, which suggests an association with that scene. The figure also specifically closes off the other scene by turning his or her back to it, and so might have been intended to separate the two battle scenes. This panel is extremely detailed. It is impossible to discern what the connection is between the battle scene on the left, the mourning figure, and the centauromachy scene on the right, if there is any at all. It is the scene of the four figures on the left that are more amenable to interpretation, as will be discussed below. Without any literary accounts of Etruscan mythology, however, it is difficult to identify one particular theme, or to explain how the different figures are connected.

III.vii: Etruscan Female Demons

The two sets of paired figures in battle include female Etruscan demons and what most likely are Amazons. The identities of the demons have not been properly addressed in modern scholarship, and they have been identified merely as "demons," if addressed at all.[79] The two figures have also been identified as Lasas.[80] There are, however, significant problems with this identification. A Lasa is a type of winged female spirit or nymph generally associated with Turan, the goddess of love, as well as with activities of female adornment.[81] Therefore, Lasas are often depicted on mirrors with attributes such as alabastrons, and perfume dippers; they are also often shown as helping women dress by holding mirrors.[82] This association with mirrors and perfume indicates that they are related to the realm of the living, and not the dead. Lasas are not commonly found on objects created exclusively for a funerary purpose, like a sarcophagus. Rather, Lasas are, for the most part, found depicted on mirrors and engraved gems.[83] An identification of these winged demons as Lasas does not make sense for an explicitly funerary object. Furthermore, there are other examples of demons

[78] Steingräber 1986: 283.
[79] Haynes 2000: 295.
[80] Pallottino 1959: 47; Bonghi Jovino 1986: 340.
[81] de Grummond 2006a: 171.
[82] Serra Ridgway 2000b: 417; Izzet 2007a: 61. There are, however, some unique examples of Lasas being connected with prophecy (de Grummond 2006a: 171).
[83] de Grummond 2006a: 168-172.

taking part in battles on scenes on stone sarcophagi. A notable example is, once again, Laris Partunus' sarcophagus (i.e. the Sarcophagus of the Priest), which shows Charu-like demons involved in the Amazonomachy scene (Figure V.15a). Since this was his father's sarcophagus, it was something that Velthur Partunus would have seen before, presumably on numerous occasions. As stated above, the demons on the left hand side of the rear panel of Velthur Partunus' sarcophagus have also been identified as Furies, who are tormenting Orestes and Pylades.[84] As previously stated, however, there is no indication that any of the figures depicted on this panel are Orestes and Pylades. Indeed, the figures with the female demons resemble Amazons more than male warriors (Figure VI.19).

Figure VI.19, Close-up of the paired Etruscan demons and Amazons (?) on the sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus.

The demons are winged and wearing short tunics similar to that of the Amazons. Close inspection of the two demons shows that they are not holding weapons in their hands, but attributes which can lead to their identification. The torch and snakes in the hands of the demons indicate that they should be seen as the uniquely Etruscan demon Vanth.[85] The demons are wielding these torches and snakes against the Amazons as if they were weapons. Although there are no labels identifying the demons, such as on the sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei from Chiusi (VI.13a), the female demons are iconographically identical to other labelled depictions of Vanth. The red boots, short tunics, and wings are also common attributes of Vanth found in the Anina Tomb (Figure VI.5a). Other comparisons could be made with a bronze mirror from Bolsena depicting

[84] Van der Meer 2004: 35. Van der Meer (2004: 35) does not explain why he has attributed this identification, nor does he indicate which figures these are supposed to be.
[85] For an overview of the roles and attributes of Vanth see Appendix IV.

the murder of Troilos by Achilles, in which Vanth is depicted observing the scene dressed in a short tunic, wearing high boots, and holding a torch. In this period, Vanth, like her counterpart Charu, is often depicted as a plural demon.[86] She can often be represented more than once in a single scene. For example, on that sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei, there are three female demons that resemble Vanth. One, however, is labelled as Culsu, a name that does not appear elsewhere.[87] As a result of the similarities of the name Culsu with Culsans, the Etruscan god of gates, it has been suggested that Culsu is actually the name of a Vanth who guards the gates to the city of the dead.[88] This suggests, therefore, that the name Vanth refers to a type of demon, rather than to a specific individual one.[89]

III.viii: New Suggestion for the Roles of Vanth

Having now established that the female demons are most likely Vanths, it is appropriate here to introduce a discussion about who Vanth is, and what her role in this particular scene could be. As has been stated in this thesis, it is difficult to say with any certainty what type of demon Vanth was, or even if the name refers to a single demon or to a class of demons.[90] Furthermore, a comparison of all nine images of Vanth in which she is identified by an inscription indicates that she has a large variety of different attributes and dress. There are only two images in which she is depicted in the same manner in both; however, they are on two very different types of objects. These are the bronze mirror from Bolsena and Vanth in the Anina family tomb (Figure VI.5a), which shows her in the same dress and with the same attributes. Vanth is primarily a psychopomp, who accompanied the deceased to the realm of the dead.[91] She is also seen as a harbinger of death, a symbol that death will occur.[92] She should not be confused, however, with causing the death.[93] It might be the case that the psychopomp was placed

[86] Jannot 1997.
[87] Krauskopf 1986: 308-309; Spinola 1987: 58; de Grummond 2006a: 223.
[88] Spinola 1987: 58; Krauskopf 1987: 78-85; de Grummond 2006a: 220-221.
[89] de Grummond 2006a: 220.
[90] de Grummond 2006a: 220.
[91] Spinola 1987: 56; Scheffer 1991: 61; Haynes 1993; Jannot 1997; Weber-Lehmann 1997; Krauskopf 2006: 67; de Grummond 2006a: 220.
[92] Scheffer 1991.
[93] Vanth has incorrectly been seen as ominous and causing death by Scheffer (1991: 62).

near where death would occur so that she could immediately escort the deceased to the underworld.

The two Vanths on this panel are not depicted in the usual role of escorting and protecting the dead on the way to the underworld. Furthermore, on this sarcophagus, they are not mere symbols of death, but take part in the action of the scene. The demons as depicted here necessitate that the roles and nature of Vanth be reconsidered. The two previously mentioned roles do not account for the depiction of female demons engaged in the action with humans. In this panel, instead of being a comforting presence (e.g. Tomb 5636, Figure VI.8), the two Vanths are wielding snakes and a torch against the humans. It is a very threatening pose. Furthermore, unlike images of Charu wielding his mallet against humans who are oblivious to him (e.g. Figure VI.6), these humans are actively engaged in battle with the two Vanths.

A similar type of human versus demon interaction can be seen on the Sarcophagus of the Poet, another sarcophagus from Tarquinia that is contemporary with that of Laris Partunus. The scenes on the two long sides have been identified as mythological scenes from the Theban cycle.[94] Like the sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus, these scenes show female demons involved in the action. These demons are iconographically identical to many of the labelled depictions of Vanth; they are also winged, wearing high boots, and tunics (Figure VI.20).[95] Furthermore, not only do they hold torches and snakes, but they are also wielding them against humans.

Figure VI.20, One of the long sides with female demons on the Sarcophagus of the Poet (ca. 300).

[94] Van der Meer 2004: 49-51.
[95] For a list of Vanth's attributes, see Appendix IV.

This type of violent interaction between humans and demons raises questions about what would be the purpose of wielding snakes or torches against humans. A consideration of this scene and the roles of Vanth can help lead to suggestions of what the female demons are doing on this sarcophagus. As a result of the nature of Vanth as a chthonic demon, and her connection to the journey to the underworld, it is possible that she is depicted there as an enforcer of fate. The weapons that the demons wield, snakes and torches, also support this identification, as they are not real weapons, such as swords or daggers, but may represent the symbols of both the journey to the underworld as well as fate in general. The purpose of brandishing these items against humans is not so much to wound them. Rather, threatening a human with a torch or a snake may have served the purpose of instilling fear in the human. If this scene is indeed connected to the Amazonomachy panels on the other sides, then it is possible that these Amazons were reluctant to accept that their fate was death and refused to venture on the journey to the realm of the dead. In this case, the female demons who arrived to escort the dead may also have had to compel them to accept their fate.

The scene on the rear panel of the sarcophagus as well as others that depict a Vanth engaged in action with humans suggests that Vanth has in fact three roles: a guide in the realm of the dead, a passive symbol of death and fate, and, when need be, an active enforcer of fate. This third role is closely connected with the previous two and need not be separate from the use of Vanth as a symbol of death and fate as well as an escort to the underworld. The three roles may be seen as taking a logical sequence: Vanth appears, symbolises that death will occur, and escorts them to the underworld; if, however, the deceased refuses to accept fate, Vanth then compels them and leads them to the underworld by force if necessary.

IV: Case Study 3, Tomb of the Mercareccia

IV.i: Introduction

The Tomb of the Mercareccia represents yet another type of Hellenistic tomb found at Tarquinia. The tomb dates to the second half of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd

century.[96] This tomb was found with relief sculpture inside decorating the left, front, and right walls.[97] It is very difficult, however, to make any firm conclusions based on the sculpture as well as the decorative scheme as a whole due to from the poor current state of preservation. Furthermore, the tomb has had a long and varied history since its discovery in 1735, in which it was used at some point even as a sheep pen, and later as a hearth.[98] As a result, the paintings are naturally in extremely poor condition. Therefore, it is necessary to rely on drawings that were published by Byres in the mid 19th century.[99] The images must be used with caution, given how much artistic licence was exercised. Nevertheless, much can still be derived from the form of the tomb itself.

This tomb consists of two chambers, an entrance room with a loculus at the rear wall (which is no longer intact)[100] over top of a sloped passageway that leads to the burial chamber, which was cut much deeper into the rock than the entrance chamber (Figure VI.21).

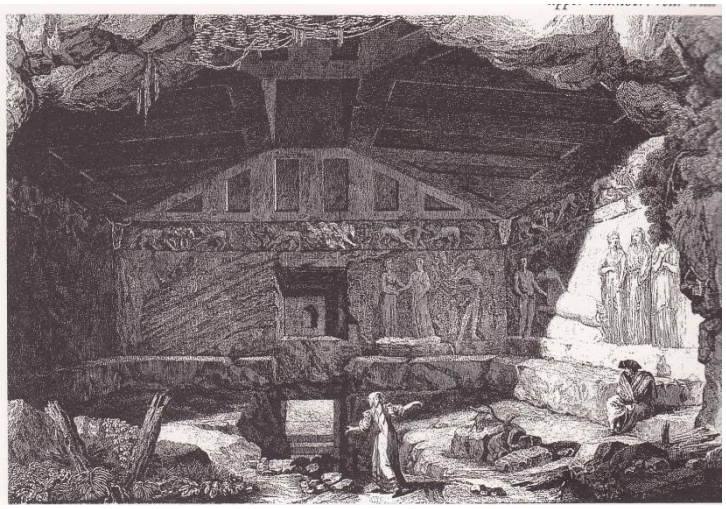


Figure VI.21, Entrance chamber of the Tomb of the Mercareccia, after Steingräber 1986: 324.

There may have also been at one point an antechamber.[101] This is not an entirely uncommon form of tomb, and can also be found in the slightly later Tomb of the Charus.[102] The entrance chamber is different, however, in that there is a flue-like

[96] Steingräber 1986: 324.
[97] Jannot 1982: 102.
[98] Steingräber 1986: 323-324.
[99] Byres 1842: I, pls. 5-8.
[100] Jannot 1982: 114.
[101] Jannot 1982: 115.
[102] Jannot 1982: 112.

aperture that leads up to the surface. Unfortunately, it was likely the presence of the shaft that made the tomb suitable for use as a hearth. It is this shaft, and its possible implications for ancestor cult, that makes this tomb a suitable case study for gathering evidence for beliefs about the afterlife.

IV.ii: Ancestor Cult

The flue-like aperture in the entrance chamber is unique in Tarquinian tomb architecture.[103] It is, however, found elsewhere in Etruria, such as in Orvieto and Vulci.[104] The shaft may have originally been a part of rituals that were held for the deceased, either in the tomb or on the surface. The shaft connects the realm of the living with the tomb, and would have been a way for libations or goods to have been sent down to the tomb without opening the tomb itself. This sort of opening to the realm of the living can also be found in later Roman tombs, such as the much later columbarium of Pomponius Hylas in Rome, which has an opening for libations to be poured for the dead.[105] It should be noted, however, that in the Mercareccia tomb this aperture leads to the entrance chamber, and not, therefore, to the chamber in which the dead were actually buried; this makes it different from the columbarium. The benches lining the walls of the entrance chamber may have at one point held grave goods, and the flue would have then served as a way to replenish them. It may also have served the purpose of allowing smoke to exit the chamber, if any feasts or burnt offerings were being held in the tomb. The presence of rungs on the flue,[106] however, cannot be reconciled with this purpose. The rungs indeed present something of a mystery as to the purpose of the shaft; without, however, any identifying inscriptions or actual archaeological context, it is impossible to tell what purpose the shaft was originally intended to serve. It must have been a part in a funerary ritual, but to what extent is uncertain at this time.

[103] Steingräber 1986: 324.
[104] Steingräber 1986: 324.
[105] Hope 2007: 116.
[106] Steingräber 1986: 323.

IV.iii: Domestic Architecture

The Mercareccia Tomb was not a large family chamber tomb with rows of benches for sarcophagi, urns, or pseudo-sarcophagi. There are benches, but it is unknown whether these were intended to hold depositions or grave goods.[107] Like the somewhat earlier Tomb of the Shields (see above Chapter V.VI.i), this tomb includes detailed rock-cut architectural elements. This tomb displays more symbolic architectural features than most of the tombs of this period (for example, compared to the Anina family tomb).[108] The ceilings of both chambers were elaborately cut to include symbolic beams (Figure VI.22).

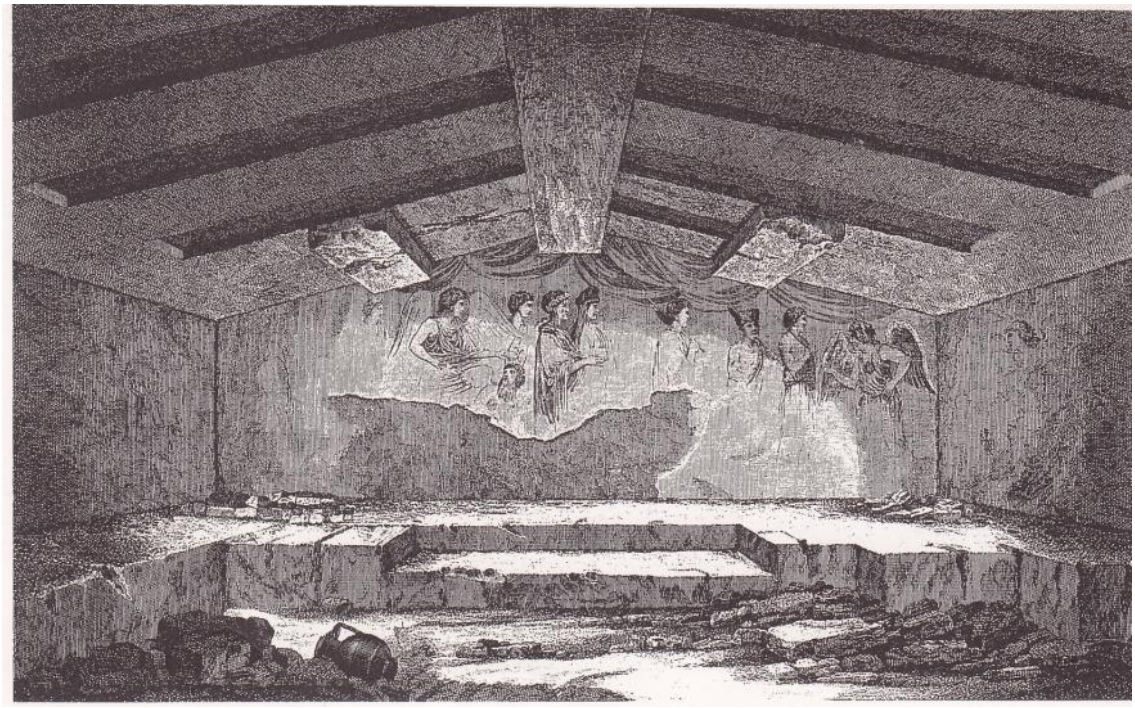


Figure VI.22, The burial chamber in the Mercareccia tomb with procession scene on rear wall, after Steingräber 1986: 324. Note the elaborate rock-cut architectural features on the ceiling.

The features on the walls and over the entrance to the rear chamber have, unfortunately, not survived, but the drawings suggest that there were pilasters framing the loculus or alcove above the entrance to the rear chamber.[109] The shape of the tomb itself allows for the imitation of symbolic architectural elements, as the front chamber includes a

[107] Jannot 1982: 112.
[108] Jannot 1982: 115.
[109] Jannot 1982: 112.

pediment on the far wall. The pediment form is much like the earlier chamber tombs at Tarquinia. Unlike other tombs from the Archaic period at Tarquinia and the sarcophagi from this later period, the pediment is not decorated with apotropaic animals or figures. According to the drawings made by Byres, the pediment only included symbolic support beams, like those on the ceiling.

IV.iv: Procession

Despite the poor preservation of the painted scenes, a discussion of the paintings should not be omitted. On the rear wall of the burial chamber is a scene depicting a procession from left to right (Figure VI.22). This scene is located on the wall of the tomb that, in previous periods, most commonly displayed a banquet theme. Instead of processions on side walls leading to a banquet scene on the rear wall of the chamber (e.g. in the Tomb of the Blue Demons [Chapter V.III.ii]), the focus in this tomb is now on the procession itself. It is possible that this procession is taking place in the realm of the dead, as indicated by the presence of an unidentifiable winged demon on the far right and another on the left. The two demons may show that the procession is part of the journey to the underworld, commonly found on stone sarcophagi and cinerary urns in this period (see section VI.ii in this chapter below). Scenes of the procession towards the underworld are more commonly found in Tarquinia than in other Etruscan cities.[110] The majority of procession scenes depict the deceased on the way to the underworld, and accompanied by family members and demons.[111] Most depictions of processions, in this period, however, show the figures moving in the direction from right to left. The procession scene in the Tomb of the Mercareccia, however, is moving from left to right.

The quality of the paintings, however, at the time that Byres' drawings were made makes it difficult to identify what role the figures in the procession played in the scene. Closer analysis of the figures, especially the two demons, reveals some interesting points about the scene. The demon on the far left has one hand raised towards one of the humans, in a pose similar to others that depict female demons escorting the dead. Elsewhere in the scene, two of the human figures appear to be holding hands. This could suggest that they are a married couple walking together in the

[110] Van der Meer 2004: 74.
[111] Holliday 1990: 76.

procession. Alternatively, it could also indicate that this scene is a greeting scene.[112] The demon on the far right that faces the other figures also supports this identification, as the demon is not facing the direction of travel, but, rather, the procession itself.

V: Case Study 4, Tomb of the Typhon

V.i: Introduction

The Tomb of the Typhon, so named because of the eponymous creatures painted on the central pillar, from the Calvario section of the Monterozzi cemetery, is one of the latest Etruscan tombs at Tarquinia (200-150). This later date is indicated by the bilingual inscriptions which are in both Latin and Etruscan.[113] The Tomb of the Typhon is a large family chamber tomb intended for multiple inhumations, much like the Anina family tomb and others from this period. This tomb is also the second largest at Tarquinia, second only to the slightly earlier Tomb of the Cardinal.[114] The tomb is notable for the large pilaster in the middle of the chamber, which artificially supports the ceiling. Like the Anina tomb (Section II.i in this chapter), there are three rows of raised benches on which sarcophagi were placed (Figure VI.23); many of these, unfortunately, have been stolen, but eight still remain, and are in the Palazzo Vitelleschi.[115] There are also pseudo-sarcophagi depressions in the benches. The benches for depositions do not take the same tripartite form like the triclinium, but also line the entrance wall.

[112] Davies 1985: 632.
[113] Steingräber 1986: 347; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 13.
[114] Steingräber 1986: 297.
[115] Van der Meer 2004: 160.

Figure VI.23, Entrance and raised rows of benches in the Tomb of the Typhon, after Steingräber 2006: 247.

V.ii: Ancestor Cult

The focal point of the tomb is the large pillar in the centre. The pillar is decorated with mythical creatures, and would have been "visible" by all sarcophagi and the pseudo-sarcophagi in the chamber. The pillar bears an inscription of a dedicatory nature, and has a rectangular altar in front (Figure VI.24).[116]

Figure VI.24, Pillar and altar in the Tomb of the Typhon, after de Grummond 2006a: 221.

The altar suggests that the pillar may have had a sacred nature, and may have been used for funerary rituals. This altar indicates that some sort of cult activity was conducted in the tomb itself. The nature of that activity, however, is uncertain. It is possible that the altar was used when depositing new remains into the tomb. This would indicate that a

[116] Steingräber 1986: 347.

part of the funeral was actually held inside the tomb. It is also just as possible that it was reused in commemoration of those buried in the chamber.[117] This would mean that the contents were disrupted. If the remains of the dead were all in sarcophagi and pseudo-sarcophagi, however, then this might not be problematic. The altar was painted, but is, unfortunately too poorly preserved to identify any of the scenes depicted. This is especially unfortunate, as this could indicate the purpose for the altar, and, in turn, would have been very useful for piecing together the aspects of the funeral, and what role, if any, the altar may have had in it.

V.iii: Domestic Architecture in a Funerary Setting

The Tomb of the Typhon is of the same shape, style, and degree of decoration as the Anina family tomb. There are some architectural elements, as well as large scale painted figures. Most notable is, of course, the aforementioned rock-cut symbolic pilaster in the centre of the chamber. Lining the walls, there are also painted rosettes and dentils, like those seen on stone sarcophagi of the same period. It is not surprising that there is less symbolic architecture in this tomb than in the Tomb of the Mercareccia, as it was intended to hold multiple inhumations. Therefore, the onus for decoration would have been up to individuals and how they wanted to have their specific part of the tomb or sarcophagus decorated.

V.iv: Apotropaism

The large scale image of the eponymous Typhon on the pillar in the centre of the chamber most likely served an apotropaic function. The image of a sea monster is particularly fitting for a tomb, because of the connotations of passage and travel that are associated with water.[118] The tomb is a liminal space between two worlds and the need for travel through the tomb to get to a new state is illustrated through references to water.[119] This is a common theme in Etruscan funerary art at Tarquinia since the

[117] This uncertainty is also present in the Orientalising period tombs, in which there is evidence for banquets held in funerary contexts, but it is unclear as to when these were held (see Chapter III.II.iii above).
[118] Izzet 2007a: 134-135.
[119] See above Chapter IV section II.II.iv.

Archaic period. The sea monsters may simply serve an apotropaic function to ward off evil; however, they may also refer to the topography of the underworld, which has been noted in some cases may occur partly over water. Further references to water can be found in the frieze of leaping dolphins and waves around the tomb. This motif is very common in earlier tombs,[120] and indeed from contemporary tombs throughout Etruria. In the Tomb of the Typhon, though, the wave frieze is on the upper section of the walls rather than closer to the bottom as was more frequently the case (e.g. Figure IV.10). This change in location does not represent a change in beliefs, but is a result of the development in tomb form: the raised rows of benches against the walls made it no longer possible to have a frieze along the bottom section of the walls.

The apotropaic image of the Typhon can be compared to similar images of mythological figures depicted on stone sarcophagi from Tarquinia that also perform apotropaic functions. Such water creatures are particularly common in funerary art, such as the images of Acheloos on the Sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus (Figure VI.15a). Such images may also be reflecting the liminal nature of the journey to the underworld. They may be apotropaic, but they also may represent the difficulties on the way to the realm of the dead.

V.v: Procession

The procession on the rear wall of the tomb is progressing in the common direction of right to left (Figure VI.25).[121]

Figure VI.25, Procession scene in the Tomb of the Typhon, after Steingräber 1986: 348.

[120] For some examples, see above Figure IV.8, IV.10, IV.14, IV.21, V.21
[121] Steingräber 1986: 348.

This was the most commonly seen direction of travel in funerary art of many different media found in this period (e.g. cinerary urns, stone sarcophagi and wall painting) that show the deceased on a journey to the underworld.[122] A further good example of this direction of travel can be found in the many separate journey scenes depicted on the very long frieze of the Tomb of the Cardinal. The topic of this frieze is almost entirely the journey to the city of the dead scenes, where the deceased is depicted accompanied by demons and greeted by ancestors at the gates of the underworld. To return back to the Tomb of the Typhon, there are, moreover, inscriptions identifying the human figures as real people. Lictors accompany the deceased (Laris Pumpu), and indicate his status as a high ranking magistrate.[123] The chthonic figures accompanying the deceased in the procession as well as elsewhere in the tomb can also provide important evidence for beliefs about the afterlife.

V.vi: Demons

Demons appear in multiple contexts in this tomb. Amongst the fragmentary painting on the pillar in the centre of the chamber, there are remnants of what may have been unidentifiable demons. Also depicted on the pillar is a roughly sketched painting of a winged female figure with her arms raised, seemingly as if to support the ceiling. It has been suggested that this is a Lasa.[124] As noted above, this is a figure more commonly associated with the adornment of women and the goddess of beauty, Turan. Besides the nudity of the figure, there are no iconographical attributes depicted that are commonly associated with a Lasa. Nor is Lasa ever depicted in a pose with her arms outstretched. She is more frequently shown standing beside women, or mid-stride, and holding a mirror or perfume bottle. Indeed, Vanth is also depicted nude on the Vanth group amphorae from Orvieto.[125] Therefore, this is most likely not a Lasa, but rather must be identified as an unlabelled demon. This type of sketch type of painting is common in tomb painting of this period and can also be found in Tomb 5636 (Figure VI.8), the Bruschi Tomb (see below Section VI), and the Tomb of the Cardinal. It is

[122] Holliday 1990: 81.The main exception to this is the Tomb of the Mercareccia, in which the procession is seen moving from left to right.
[123] de Grummond 2006a: 221.
[124] Steingräber 1986: 347.
[125] Paschinger 1988: 42; Weber-Lehmann 1997: 180.

also common to find large scale demons depicted on pillars in this period. For example, an unlabelled image of Charu can be found depicted on the pilaster at the rear of Tomb 5636 (Figure VI.7). This depiction of Charu, like the depiction here of the female demon in the Tomb of the Typhon, is associated with all those buried in the tomb.

Chthonic demons also take part in the procession depicted on the rear wall of the chamber. The demons accompany many different figures in this procession, including humans carrying litui, horns, lictors' axes, and caducei. All these items suggest a procession of magistrates or some sort of religious venture. The clear presence of chthonic demons, however, shows the funerary nature of this procession. Furthermore, there are smaller figures in the procession, which may indicate lower social status, but they may also represent children, and thus may depict family members, rather than a purely civic group of figures. The demon accompanying the procession appears to be female and carrying a torch and a snake, both common attributes of the psychopomp Vanth. There are other demons in the procession. One has snakes for hair, which is also a feature of the goddess of the underworld, Phersipnai (e.g. as depicted in the Tomb of the Underworld II).[126] Laris Pumpu is especially honoured in the tomb, as he is mentioned in two inscriptions, and has a central role in the procession scene on the rear wall. Escorting Laris Pumpu is a bearded demon holding a hammer, typical attributes of the psychopomp and guardian of the gates of the underworld, Charu. Like the Golini Tomb from Orvieto, the demons are not labelled by inscriptions as the human figures are.

VI: Case Study 5, Bruschi Sarcophagus

VI.i: Introduction

The fifth and final case study to consider is the Bruschi Sarcophagus from the Camna III tomb at Tarquinia (250-225).[127] This sarcophagus is not as elaborately decorated as that of Velthur Partunus; however, the relief decoration on the base displays other elements and, therefore, can give evidence for an entirely different set of beliefs. It is unfortunately, currently on display as a decorative feature, without any sort

[126] Mavleev 1994: 329-332; de Grummond 2006a: 229.
[127] Van der Meer 2004: 92.

of identification, in the courtyard of the Palazzo Vitelleschi, rather than in the main rooms that exhibit local stone sarcophagi. This sarcophagus is also referred to as the Sarcophagus of the Underworld-Gate, due to the scene shown on the front panel of the base, where the deceased is shown on the way to what appears to be the city of the dead.[128]

VI.ii: Journey to the Underworld on Horseback

The front panel on the sarcophagus depicts a journey to the underworld scene. This type of scene has not been encountered in the four aforementioned case studies in this chapter, but is very common in funerary art from all over Etruria. This scene shows the deceased being welcomed by his or her ancestors at the gates of the underworld (Figure VI.26).[129]

Figure VI.26, Base of the Bruschi Sarcophagus. Note that the lid does not match.

The deceased is escorted by two demons; a female one, holding a torch (most likely Vanth), and a male demon, holding a hammer (most likely Charu). Vanth is shown with

[128] Van der Meer 2004: 92. It is possible that the sarcophagus shows the deceased leaving the city of the living on the way to a journey in the afterlife, however, the direction of travel is clearly heading towards the city gates. Furthermore, the customary directions of travel scenes show the figures moving from right to left. Therefore, it is most likely that the deceased and the demon escorts are heading towards the city.
[129] Jannot 1998: 81.

similar dress to her depiction on the Sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus; here, however, she is without snakes and is not in a fearsome pose brandishing her torch and snakes against the dead (Figure VI.19). Rather, she is in her more common role as a psychopomp, leading the deceased to the underworld and lighting the way with her torch. Similarly, Charu is not threatening the deceased with his hammer, as he is doing on the Sarcophagus of Laris Pulenas (Figure VI.6), but is merely carrying it lazily over his shoulder. It is likely, therefore, that the purpose of this hammer is to unbar the gates to the underworld.

On the Bruschi sarcophagus, the deceased is travelling to the underworld on horseback. This is another common mode of transport found on funerary art of this period, most notably seen in the contemporary Tomb of the Cardinal where it is depicted multiple times.[130] The similarly contemporary Bruschi Tomb also shows the dead on horseback, and being welcomed to the underworld by ancestors.[131] The pose of the main figures in this type of scene, namely the deceased and his or her ancestors, is very similar to farewell scenes. Indeed, it is difficult to tell farewell scenes apart from greeting scenes.[132] The iconography, however, can be used as an indication of where the scene is taking place. The presence of psychopomps indicates that the individual on horseback is deceased. Therefore, it is most likely not taking place in the realm of the living. Furthermore, the open gates, which are discussed further below, are most likely in the underworld, rather than in the realm of the living.[133] On a similar greeting scene on the Sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei, the city gate is in a very similar position: on the far left hand side and half open (Figure VI.13b). It is, moreover, a gate to the city of the dead, as there is a chthonic demon emerging from it.

VI.iii: City of the Dead

The half-open door is a motif that has not been encountered in the aforementioned case studies, but, like the theme of the journey on horseback, is common in funerary art of this period.[134] On the Bruschi sarcophagus, the deceased is

[130] Steingräber 1986: 298-299.
[131] Holliday 1990: 80; Vincenti 2009.
[132] Davies 1985: 627.
[133] Haarløv 1977: 25, 26.
[134] Haarløv 1977: 13, 25.

led by demons to an arched door that resembles a city gate.[135] Such arched doors are different from other representations of false doors in Etruscan funerary art, where they seem to be a part of a building.[136] Thus, in this instance, the realm of the dead seems to be bipartite. Firstly, there is the liminal area that the dead must pass through in order to be reunited with his or her ancestors. The dead may be faced with multiple dangers along the way. It was evidently a large space, as in some images there was a sea that needed to be crossed.[137] The final destination of this journey is in the underworld proper, which was conceived of, in some cases, as a city of the dead. [138] This liminal period that the dead must travel through can be compared to the liminal period that the living also go through on the way to the tomb, ie. the dromos. The door stands as a symbol of the barrier between life and death, as well as the change in status from the living to the underworld.[139] The scene on this sarcophagus, and other similar images from this time period (such as the wall painting in Tomb 5636 (Figure VI.8), and the Tomb of the Cardinal), have important implications about the topography of the underworld. This sarcophagus and other similar images from this period seem to show the destination of the journey to be a city, with gates resembling those used at actual cities in the realm of the living (Figure VI.16a). The identification of these doors as city gates is based on the arched shape; similarly, the crenulations clearly resembles that of a tower. [140] Furthermore, some examples of arched doors on various types of funerary art (cinerary urns, sarcophagi and wall paintings) appear to have bricks that make up the arch with a keystone at the top.[141]

---

[135] Herbig 1952: 60. Scheffer (1994: 204), however, gives an unconvincing argument that concludes that the arched doors are not city gates and claims that there was no city of the dead. The main point of her argument is that arched doorways, though they are found in city gates, are also found in sewers, bridges, and tombs, and so, in funerary art, do not necessarily refer to a city gate. Furthermore, she does not take into account the deliberate organisation of certain cemeteries to resemble cities (e.g. the Banditaccia necropolis in Cerveteri), thus making them literal cities of the dead.

[136] Scheffer 1994: 196.

[137] For the representation of seascapes in tombs at Tarquinia, see section IV.iii in Chapter IV above, as well as section III.iii in Chapter V above.

[138] Haarløv 1977: 26; Jannot 1993: 76.

[139] Scheffer 1994: 204.

[140] Herbig 1952: 60; Haarløv 1977: 26; Staccioli 1980: 10-11.

[141] Scheffer notes the appearance of heads on actual gates (1994: 196, 198), but does not see the connection with the heads on sarcophagi and those on the gates. On the other hand, she states (1994: 207 n. 11) that the arguments are "refuted by the monuments themselves," but does not make it clear how this is so. For the discussion of heads (human protomes) on gates see above Chapter VI section III.III.v.

False doors are common in Etruscan funerary art from the earliest painted chambers of Archaic Tarquinia.[142] The doors from the Archaic period resemble the internal doors of a building, perhaps those of a domestic dwelling.[143] They are not, though, as commonly found in the Hellenistic period, but false doors are notably seen in the Tomb of the Charus (Figure VI.10).

The presence of a city-gate indicates that the destination of the journey in the afterlife was seen as being a city of the dead. The realm of the dead was thus conceived of as a liminal space, one which separated the realms of the living and the dead, and the destination of the journey through this liminal space was a city. The dead go from the realm of the living to the liminal period, then to the city of the dead. It is significant to note that the gate is in fact open. This indicates that the dead can go in and out of the city.[144] Thus, ancestors can welcome the deceased outside of the gates, and help to ease transition. Indeed, on the Bruschi sarcophagus, two family members have emerged out of the city gates to welcome the deceased. That the journey ends in a city of the dead is also an expansion of the motif of the dead as "living" in the underworld. This motif first appeared in the archaeological evidence in the Orientalising period with the imitation of domestic architecture in tomb form and layout, and perhaps even as early as the Villanovan period with the shape of the house urns. In the case of the Bruschi sarcophagus, however, the dead were seen as living within a city, rather than the tomb.

VII: Conclusions

Considerations of these five case studies indicate that there was a very detailed set of beliefs about the afterlife in this later period. There were no stark changes throughout the period, but rather developments from motifs that had their origins in the late Classical period. Large chambers for multiple inhumations continued to be the preferred tomb type; however, in the 3rd century these tombs developed to include rock-cut benches that were raised up so that all depositions could be visible. These rows indicate a desire for the depositions to be visible to those visiting the tomb. It is also possible that there was a concern to be buried in proximity to ancestors. Multiple

[142] Staccioli 1980. The Tomb of the Augurs, the Bartoccini Tomb, and the Tomb of the Whipping are some notable examples.
[143] For the previous discussion of false doors see above Chapter IV section III.III.iii.
[144] Haarløv 1977: 100.

depositions in a single tomb also brought about a requirement for a new opportunity for personal display. As in the late Classical period, one means of differentiating an individual burial amongst many can be found in the decoration of stone sarcophagi as well as the tomb wall near the individual deposition.

The iconographical evidence is much more abundant in the Hellenistic period. This evidence allows for a much more vivid and image-based reconstruction of what was believed to happen after death. However, not only can it allow for an identification of the journey of the deceased in the afterlife, but iconographical evidence can also give much information about other funerary aspects. For example, the procession scenes are not just a stage in the chthonic journey, but are an opportunity to display the status of the deceased and reaffirm the status of the living.

There was a change in the preferred subjects represented in tombs, one that started occurring in the late Classical period. Instead of banquets being the predominant subject represented in wall painting, the focus was now overwhelmingly on the realm of the dead. This change does not indicate a change in beliefs, however, as banquets were still important; they were simply represented differently. Similarly, the representation of symbolic architectural elements in tomb form does not disappear completely. Such architectural features were transferred instead to the sarcophagus. The focus in the tomb was thus transferred to individual sarcophagi, which were in essence tombs within a tomb. Decorative elements meant that it could be used for personal commemoration and expression.

Evidence for cult activity at the tomb can be used to derive three important conclusions about the afterlife: 1) on a purely basic level, it indicates that something of the dead continued to exist, 2) that there was a belief that the dead either remained in the tomb or could return to the realm of the living, 3) and, finally, that the tombs were revisited by the living.

There was not so much any significant change in this period, but, rather, a noticeable shift in balance. Representations of the underworld replace depictions of banquets in popularity. Tomb form and funerary art were specifically chosen surroundings for those buried in the tomb. They cannot reflect an accurate image of the individual and his or her family. Both can, however, be used to indicate what was deemed to be important by a family.

Chapter VII: Conclusion

I: Introduction

> *But one radical thing the etruscan people never forgot, because it was in their blood as well as in the blood of their masters: and that was the mystery of the journey out of life, and into death; the death-journey, and the sojourn in the after-life. The wonder of their soul continued to play round the mystery of this journey and this sojourn.*[1]

D.H. Lawrence's descriptions of the painted tombs at Tarquinia are often imaginative, but he did accurately note that the afterlife and the journey of the deceased in the realm of the dead was indeed an important part of funerary culture at Tarquinia. Only careful analyses of the abundant evidence from Tarquinia can help illustrate further the mystery of the dead, and thus demonstrate that it was actually not so mysterious at all. This thesis has sought to examine the evidence, both archaeological and iconographical, for beliefs about the afterlife and funerary rituals at Tarquinia from the 9th to 1st century in order to reconstruct a comprehensive overview of beliefs about, and attitudes towards, the dead in this one Etruscan city. The focus has been neither solely art historical nor archaeological. For this reason, the basis of evidence employed for the reconstruction of these beliefs was as wide ranging as possible, and has included tomb form, wall painting, cinerary urns, sarcophagi, grave goods, evidence for ritual at the tomb, and rock-cut decoration. There is, unfortunately, very little written evidence to contribute to this particular enquiry, except for the relatively few instances when a name or a label accompanies an image or a tomb. By exploring the beliefs in a specific location over an extended period of time, it has proven possible to identify significant changes and the developments of certain ideas. A summary of such beliefs illustrates that, for the most part, these significant changes and developments did not involve sudden, drastic changes. Instead, there was the progressive development of the same ideas over time. Certain apparent changes reflect changes in the evidence available. Many of the same beliefs were evidently present at Tarquinia for centuries, but changes in the way that they were represented bring some to the fore at different periods than others.

[1] Lawrence 1992: 60.

II: Summary of Findings

II.i: The Villanovan Period

There was a system of beliefs about the afterlife even in the earliest period of Etruscan civilisation at Tarquinia, namely the Villanovan period.[2] The evidence from this period is, although not as abundant in imagery like in the later periods, the amount of material remains are still comparatively significant for an Iron Age civilisation. There is evidence in this early period that the dead were believed to have a meal inside the tomb.[3] Funerary banquets, both as part of the funeral itself, as well as held by the dead in the underworld, were increasingly important in subsequent centuries.[4] The imitation of architectural elements in funerary contexts can also be traced back to this early period.[5] Such symbolic elements probably refer to the status of the leader of a household. They are only found in a limited number of burials, thus also indicating an early form of social differentiation in funerary contexts.[6] Indeed, this can be seen in later graves of the Villanovan period, some of which included richer and more numerous grave goods than others. The treatment of the vessel holding the remains of the dead as if it was the body itself can be seen not only in the shape and decoration of biconical urns, but also in the treatment of the urn in the tomb. In some cases, the urn was treated as if it was a body.[7] The decoration on both biconical urns and house urns may also indicate that some conceptions that were given more explicit iconographical form in the later periods had their origins in the Villanovan period. For example, the geometric figures on the side of a house urn may represent a funerary procession. More important, however, are the figures flanking the door to the house urn. The representation of figures flanking doors, whether they are on either side of false doors or actual entrances to rooms, was a motif that was constant throughout all of Etruscan civilisation.

[2] The Villanovans are for the most part no longer seen as distinct from Etruscans (Riva 2010: 6).
[3] Tuck 1994.
[4] Pieraccini 2000: 41.
[5] Leighton 2005: 367.
[6] Riva 2010: 82.
[7] Hencken 1968a: 115; Toms 1992-1993: 150.

II.ii: The Orientalising Period

The evidence for burial and ritual at Tarquinia from the Orientalising period is not as well preserved as in other locations.[8] Therefore, a certain degree of comparison must be utilised, but with the caution that Etruscan settlements were independent of one another, and so may have had varying practices or beliefs. During the Orientalising period, there were shifts in the disposal of human remains. First of all, the dead began to be inhumed, rather than cremated, in the late Villanovan period, and, by the 7th century, inhumation was the most common form of disposal of remains. Secondly, there was also a shift in tomb form. The topography of the cemeteries changed to include permanent monuments for the dead. These monuments were placed in conspicuous locations and made visible to the living. The mounds could contain multiple burials, which may indicate a desire to be buried close to one's ancestors. The change in tomb form shifted to a significantly larger shape which ultimately included a long dromos. The tomb was then accessed via a long rock-cut entranceway. Although this was not the case in Tarquinia, the entrances of many tumuli from the early 7th century were orientated to the Northwest.[9] This trend suggests a deliberate orientation, and, therefore, may reflect a belief in the direction that the deceased was intended to travel. The lack of this orientation at Tarquinia, however, reaffirms the autonomous nature of Etruscan settlements. The dromos indicates a need for the separation of space; the realm of the living had to be separated from that of the dead.[10] Similarly, it also indicates that the two worlds were not entirely closed off to one another; they could be accessed via the dromos. In the case of some tumuli at Tarquinia, these entrances included space for spectators to observe the funeral. Not only was the tomb itself clearly visible, but the funerary rituals, or subsequent rituals in commemoration, were also meant to be seen.[11] Funerary rituals were performed inside the tomb, in a specifically designated chamber. This is most notably seen at the Cima tumulus at San Giuliano,[12] whereas tumuli at Tarquinia appear only to include outdoor ritual complexes.[13] Chambers specifically

[8] For example, tombs of the 7th century, and, indeed, for much of Etruscan civilisation, are much better preserved at Cerveteri (Prayon 2001: 335).
[9] Prayon 1975: 16-23.
[10] Prayon 1977: 360; Izzet 2007a: 93.
[11] Leighton 2004: 66.
[12] Steingräber 2009.
[13] Riva 2010: 132.

intended for ritual can be found at Cerveteri, in which there was also a separate room in the tomb set aside for cult activity. Each of these tombs included rock-cut cultic objects, such as offerings and statues of ancestors before a table, perhaps specifically a banqueting table. Such outdoor spaces for funerary rituals can be found elsewhere in Etruria. The altar at the Sodo tumulus at Cortona, for example, and the ramps up the side of tumuli at Cerveteri, both indicate that outdoor funerary rituals were held throughout Etruria. Thus, the funeral itself could serve as a reaffirmation of the status of the deceased and, of course, his or her descendants. It is also important to note that there was a specific location for cultic activity: they could be held in a specifically designated chamber, or in the liminal passageway between the living and the dead (i.e. the dromos).

The use of grave goods as a means of social differentiation, which was seen at the close of the Villanovan period, can now be seen to reach a massive scale in the "princely" Orientalising tombs. Grave goods also indicate a larger degree of foreign contacts and, consequently, access to luxury goods from the East.[14] Furthermore, many elements of funerary rituals and belief that can be seen in the Villanovan period continued or were developed further in the Orientalising period. The remains of feasting in the dromoi of tumuli indicate that there was a ritual banquet held at the tomb.[15] Banqueting vessels left in the burial chamber itself, furthermore, would indicate that the deceased enjoyed a feast in the afterlife. Moreover, the concept of the tomb as the house of the dead, which can be seen in the Villanovan house urns, is elaborated to a full scale extent in the burial chambers of the 7th century. Rock-cut architectural elements, such as beams, windows, doors, and pilasters, were structurally unnecessary, and, therefore, were symbolic references to real architectural features.[16]

II.iii: The Archaic Period

There is an abundance of both archaeological and iconographic evidence from the Archaic period. During this time, many burial traditions and rituals continued in much the same way as in the Orientalising period. There were, however, some changes in the early 6th century. Unlike other Archaic necropoleis in Etruria, the organisation of

[14] Turfa 1986.
[15] Pieraccini 2000: 39.
[16] Izzet 2007a: 108.

the Monterozzi cemetery did not change to include streets of tombs which resemble that of a city. The preferred type of tomb form, yet again, shifted during the Archaic period at Tarquinia. The most common shape was now a smaller rectangular chamber. These chambers were shaped like rooms with gabled ceilings and pediments on either end. The room itself, therefore, resembled the architecture of buildings.[17] There was, though, a lessening of rock-cut architectural features and rock-cut furniture was now very limited. The chambers continued to be located at the end of long and sometimes steep, stepped entrances.

The greatest change in evidence, however, is in regards to the increase in iconographical material. This is also the period to which the earliest tomb paintings have been dated. Indeed, the Archaic period is the high point of Etruscan tomb painting. This change did not occur at the outset of the period. Painted chambers from the Orientalising period are found elsewhere in Etruria, especially in Veii, Vulci, and Cerveteri. In Tarquinia, tomb painting began in the second quarter of the 6th century, but did not become common until the last quarter of the 6th century. Not only were a large number of tombs decorated with painted scenes, but these scenes can also give much important evidence for a large number of beliefs about the afterlife. These scenes allow for the identification of much more specific ideas about the afterlife.

The dead are identifiable in tomb painting as they are placed in the most prominent positions, and are often of larger stature than other figures.[18] There is limited decoration amongst the earliest painted tombs at Tarquinia. One early motif is that of the false door, which was to become consistently represented throughout the subsequent periods. The false door has three important connotations: 1) it represents a threshold between the living and the dead; 2) a door by nature is for coming and going and therefore indicates that whatever is behind it (perhaps the realm of the dead) is not inaccessible; 3) the door also indicates the importance of liminality and the separation of space.[19]

The lessening of rock-cut architecture did not mean that the tombs no longer included symbolic architectural features. On the contrary, this motif was developed even further, albeit now in painted architectural features, such as columns, beams, and

[17] Weber-Lehmann 1986: 44.
[18] Damgaard Andersen 1993: 29.
[19] Scheffer 1994: 204.

elaborately decorated ceilings. Thus, the tomb still included symbolic architectural motifs, but these motifs were transferred from the form of the tomb to the decoration itself.[20]

There is not as much archaeological evidence for graveside meals held as part of the funeral or in honour of the dead. This did not mean, however, that the funerary banquet was no longer a part of Etruscan funerary culture. Like the imitation of symbolic architecture, the evidence for banquets was represented in a different form. Images of banquets and associated activities, such as singing, dancing, and drinking, were the most commonly represented motifs in Etruscan tomb painting in this period (Appendix I). The sepulchral context of the tomb suggests that they are representations of some type of funerary banquet. It is uncertain, though, what type this may be. They could be representations of the banquet held by the living at the graveside as part of the funeral itself (such as those found in the Tomb of the Funeral Bed), or perhaps commemorative rituals. There is also the possibility that the figures banqueting are in fact the deceased and his or her ancestors, who would, therefore, be feasting in the underworld.[21] There are, however, no specific indications that the location of the banquet was in fact in the underworld in wall painting at this time. Similarly, there is no indication, except for the unique Tomb of the Funeral Bed, that the banquet depicted was held as part of the funeral itself. The similarity in depictions of figures in other tombs with the figures in the Tomb of the Funeral Bed would suggest that this was, indeed, the location of the banquet in this period. These representations of banquets, then, may have been of funerary banquets in honour of the dead as part of ritual. Thus, the image symbolically commemorates the deceased in an eternal feast. Other parts of the funerary ritual were also symbolically represented on tomb walls, including funerary games, a funerary procession, and the prothesis of the dead.

II.iv: The Classical Period

There were no significant changes in tomb form, burial, and funerary art at the outset of the Classical period. The dead continued to be buried in rectangular shaped

[20] Weber-Lehmann 1986: 44.
[21] Krauskopf 2006: 75.

tombs with wall paintings depicting the same themes of banqueting, hunting, and dancing. In the middle of the period, however, there were some changes with regards to both tomb form and funerary iconography. These changes do not, though, appear to represent a change in beliefs about the afterlife. Indeed, many of the same elements were still represented, albeit in different contexts.

In the first half of the Classical period, tomb form began to change slightly to create a more delineated space for the dead inside the tomb. The concept of separation of space between the realm of the living and the dead, as well as the liminal nature of the tomb, can be traced back to the Orientalising period. With the introduction of loculi in the late 4th century, this concept was taken even further. There was in some tombs a specific place for the dead that protruded out from the walls of the tomb, thus creating a space that was neither in the tomb nor outside of it. These loculi were something of a tomb within a tomb, as they were occasionally shaped like a small version of the rectangular shaped tomb with a gabled roof. Furthermore, they were also decorated with the same elements found in previous tombs, such as scenes of dancing, banqueting, images in pediments, and an elaborately decorated ceiling. One instance (i.e. the loculus in the Tomb of the Pulcella) is decorated as if it was a shrine, and the body inside it was thus given honorary status.[22] Thus, the tomb in this case was seen as both the house of the dead as well as a place for venerating the dead.

There was in the latter half of the period, however, a significant change with regards to tomb layout and depositions. Instead of small chambers for one or two inhumations, tombs were now enlarged significantly to contain multiple depositions. Individuals were now placed on benches lining tomb walls, in sarcophagi, or in rock-cut pseudo-sarcophagi. Thus, the concept of specific space for depositions changed again to be inside the tomb, though it was even more delineated by the use of benches and vessels for the remains.

Another significant change appeared with the use of large chambers for multiple inhumations that can be used to indicate much about funerary beliefs: the sarcophagus. These objects allowed for an individual burial to be differentiated amongst others in the tomb. This could be done by portraits on the lid, inscriptions identifying the occupant, and a varying degree of personal images that decorate the lid and base. Sarcophagi offer

[22] Steingräber 1986: 336.

a unique window into visual commemoration in a tomb where there are multiple other burials. Sarcophagi were decorated with many images that had been seen previously decorating first the walls of tombs, and then later the loculi inside tombs. These elements include architectural features in the shape of the sarcophagus and images of volutes, columns, and apotropaic animals in the pediments. There are also allusions to banqueting with the pose of the deceased on the lid. Thus, the concept of the loculus as a tomb within a tomb is developed even further with the miniaturisation of tomb elements on sarcophagi.

There is an overwhelming focus on banqueting in the tombs from this period that have survived (Appendix II). With the change in tomb form, the benches for depositions occupied a large percentage of the wall. Thus, this change in layout of the tomb meant that there was also a shift in painted decoration. This change also coincided with the introduction of clear representations of the realm of the dead in funerary art. In the case of many tomb paintings, it can be assumed that the events depicted occurred in the realm of the dead as a result of the sepulchral context. In this late period, however, the deceased were clearly depicted in the realm of the dead.[23] The location of the underworld can be identified based on the presence of chthonic demons or deities, whose otherworldliness is signified by the presence of wings and other attributes.

II.v: The Hellenistic Period

Many of the methods of burial, tomb forms, and decorative schemes that appeared in the late Classical period continued to develop in the Hellenistic period. One of the main differences with regard to tomb form was that the large chambers included rock-cut benches; the presence of these meant that the vessels holding the remains of the deceased were all intended to be seen by those visiting the tomb. The tomb was in some cases still a place for cult activity, as it had been since the Orientalising period.[24] Furthermore, decoration of stone sarcophagi with architectural elements indicates that it may still have been conceived as a house or shrine of the dead. The concept of the funerary banquet similarly did not disappear, but can be seen represented in the pose of

[23] Steingräber 1986: 58.
[24] Prayon 2001: 343.

the images of the deceased on the lids of sarcophagi.[25] In short, many of the symbolic elements that give evidence for beliefs about the afterlife were transferred in this period from tomb walls or form to individual sarcophagi inside the large chamber tombs.

The abundant iconographic evidence from the late 4th century onwards allows for a much clearer reconstruction of the topography of the underworld, along with what was believed to happen to an individual after death. A notable change from the Classical to Hellenistic period is this preference for depicting the realm of the dead on various forms of funerary art, such as stone sarcophagi, cinerary urns, wall painting, and painted pottery. The realm of the dead was indicated by a number of attributes, such as dark shadows around figures, inscriptions labelling figures as a "*hinthial*," and, most frequently, the presence of chthonic demons. Not only was this a new development that first originated at the end of the Classical period, but in the Hellenistic period, the realm of the dead became the most commonly depicted theme in funerary art (Appendix III).[26] This abundance of evidence can allow for secure identifications of beliefs that, in earlier periods, had to be assumed by context.

III: Footsteps of the Dead: the Journey to the Underworld

There is evidence from almost all periods of Etruscan civilisation at Tarquinia that the dead were believed to embark on a multi-staged journey to the realm of the dead.[27] In the absence of any written account of the Etruscan afterlife, we are forced to reconstruct it entirely from archaeological and iconographic evidence. Religious texts, such as the *libri Acherontici*, had they survived, would obviously have been quite valuable in confirming what the non-literary evidence seems to suggest. There are two separate aspects of this journey: one that is undertaken in the realm of the living, and one that involves what may have been believed to happen to the dead in the underworld.

[25] This is not the first time such poses can be seen on sarcophagi, of which there are a few unique examples from the Archaic period, notably two terracotta sarcophagi from Cerveteri, one in the Louvre and one in the Villa Giulia.
[26] Steingräber 1986: 58.
[27] The exception to this is of course the Villanovan period, in which there is simply not enough iconographical evidence to support such an interpretation. There is evidence for many elements that were important in the journey to the underworld in later periods (such as the banquet and the procession), but, overall, it is inconclusive. Despite the lack of abundant visual evidence, however, there is still some suggestions that there was the conception of a journey after death in the Early Iron Age as well.

The journey of the deceased to the realm of the dead ultimately starts in the realm of the living with the funeral itself. Aspects of the funeral can be reconstructed based on the wall paintings of the Archaic period, most especially in the Tomb of the Funeral Bed, which shows the connection between such rituals and the funeral.[28] In this tomb, there are images of funeral games, which suggest that games were held in honour of the deceased. It is uncertain where these were held; that is, whether they were held near the tomb, or at another designated location. Another aspect of the funeral was a ritual procession. There is iconographic evidence for a procession since the Archaic period. This seems likely to have been a part of the funeral ritual even as far back as the Villanovan period, based on the lines of figures on the side of some house urns.[29] In the tombs of the late Archaic period, however, the painted decoration on the side walls of some tombs more securely indicates that there was, in fact, a procession that led to a funeral banquet.

The banquet was one of the most prevalent and longstanding elements of the funeral found in both funerary art and archaeology throughout the entire period of Etruscan Tarquinia. There is evidence for a banquet as part of the funeral itself from as far back as the Orientalising period.[30] This banquet was most likely a part of the funeral itself, and may have been held at the grave, or perhaps underneath temporary structures that had been created for that purpose.[31] There is evidence from as early as the Orientalising period for the practice of graveside meals when the dead were deposited in the tomb, and/or perhaps in annual commemorative meals. These were held in the entranceways to tombs, and so were in the liminal space between the tomb and the realm of the living.[32] In the Archaic period, however, this banquet was given iconographic form. The farewell banquet as part of the funeral was the most commonly represented topic on tomb paintings from the Archaic period (Appendix I). There is clear indication that this banquet was a part of the funeral in the Tomb of the Funeral Couch, where the banqueters are depicted beside a large empty funeral bed.[33] Similar types of banqueters reclining on couches, or on the ground, are found elsewhere in

[28] Holloway 1965: 345-346.
[29] Hencken 1968a: 38; Haynes 2000: 7.
[30] Pieraccini 2000.
[31] Pallottino 1952: 44; Holloway 1965: 344; Rathje 1990: 279-285; Izzet 2007a: 109.
[32] Pieraccini 2000: 38.
[33] Holloway 1965: 345-346.

Archaic and Classical tomb painting; however, there is no image of the funeral bed or prothesis scene to signify that the banquet was a part of the funeral. Representations of all these elements, namely the ritual banquet, games held in honour of the dead, and the procession, continuously honoured the dead through the symbolic representations on wall paintings.

The events that occurred in the realm of the living were to some extent mirrored by what was believed to happen to the deceased after death. The dead would be met by the psychopomps, Vanth and Charu, who would then escort them safely through the realm of the dead. The dead may also have been given a chance to say farewell to his or her family members before embarking on this journey.[34] After this, they would be led through the realm of the dead by one or more psychopomps, whose role was to guide and protect them on their way to rejoin ancestors. For example, Vanth lights the way through the dark with her torch. This part of the journey may take place on foot or by means of some mode of transport, including a chariot, a horse, or even a mythological creature. A rocky landscape and the high red boots of Vanth might suggest a rough journey.[35] It is also possible, moreover, that a part of this journey occurs over water. References to water consistently appear in funerary contexts as far back as the Archaic period. [36] There may be dangers along the way, such as fearsome demons or mythological creatures. Finally, the dead accompanied by the psychopomp, is greeted by his or her ancestors in the underworld. This is symbolised by a formal handshake. This can occur in the middle of the underworld, or at a doorway. The arched doorway, moreover, suggests the gates of the underworld, and, thus, the final destination of the journey. These scenes of greeting, however, closely resemble those of parting, and, in cases, without the presence of the gates of the underworld, it can sometimes be uncertain which is which.[37] In both cases, the presence of the psychopomps indicates that it is the journey of the deceased that is depicted. Finally, now that the deceased has arrived at the final destination in the underworld, he or she is able to join his or her ancestors in a banquet. This event is anticipated in many scenes where the dead is greeted by ancestors at the gate to the underworld, which is often shown flanked by

[34] Davies 1985: 631.
[35] Roncalli 1996: 48.
[36] Weber-Lehmann 1986: 47.
[37] Davies 1985: 631.

demons playing musical instruments. Charu is often a part of this journey, in which his role is to unbar the gates to the underworld with his mallet.[38]

The important thing to note here is that there was no one specific way of depicting the journey to the underworld. In fact, it is rare to find more than two of these stages depicted in one context at a time. The Tomb of the Blue Demons contains the largest number of stages in one tomb, and, even here there are, at most, five represented. These stages are 1) the procession in the underworld, 2) journey with the psychopomp, 3) the journey over water, 4) meeting ancestors in the underworld, and, most importantly, 5) the destination of the banquet in the underworld. These are not, however, all from the same journey. The procession and banquet pertain to the journey on the left hand wall, whereas the journey with the psychopomp, the greeting scene with ancestors, the journey over water, and also the banquet scene, all pertain to the journey on the right hand wall. Nor are all elements clearly identifiable in each period, as is illustrated by the tables below (Tables V and VI).

Table III: Stages of the Journey in the Realm of the Living

Stage	Villanovan[39]	Orientalising	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic
Funerary games			X	X	
Procession	X (?)		X	X	X
Funerary banquet		X	X	X	
Sacrifice/libations for the dead		X	X	X	X
Architecture[40]	X	X	X	X	X

[38] de Grummond 2006a: 215.

[39] N.B. There may have been evidence for all of these elements that have subsequently been lost. This is especially the case for the evidence from the Villanovan period.

[40] The imitation of domestic or religious architecture in tomb contexts is not a stage of a journey but gives important connotations about beliefs about the afterlife. Furthermore, it is one of the most persistant motifs in Etruscan tomb contexts, whether that be in the shape of the cinerary urn, tomb form, wall painting, or the shape of sarcophagi. It is included in this table because the symbolic representation of architecture is so important throughout Etruscan civilisation, but also because it is opposition to the concept of a journey in the afterlife. Thus, the imitation of domestic architecture that designates the tomb as the house of the dead represents an alternative concept of the afterlife.

Table IV: Stages of the Journey in the Realm of the Dead

Stage	Villanovan	Orientalising	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic
Psychopomp		X (?)	X (?)	X	X
Farewell to family					X
Journey by horse, foot, chariot, mythological creature			X	X	X
Dangers			X	X	X
Journey over water			X	X	X
Greeting by ancestors	X (?)				X
Procession	X (?)			X	X
Banquet in the underworld	X			X	X

The evidence for the part of the journey that occurs in the realm of the living is both iconographical and archaeological. By painting images of banquets on the walls of the tomb, it was ensured that they would be continually held for the deceased; that is, at least, symbolically. Unsurprisingly, the evidence for the part of the journey of the deceased that takes place in the underworld is entirely iconographic. The smaller amount of iconographic evidence from the earliest periods might then explain why so many of these stages are more prevalent later; in that iconographic evidence is simply more visible later. The increase in iconographical evidence coincides with, and may even result in, the increasingly developed view of the afterlife. It should be noted that some of the elements are present in both the realm of the living and that of the dead, thus suggesting that the journey of the deceased mirrors that of what happens in the world of the living. The journey is then something of a ring cycle, in that it starts with farewell rituals, including a banquet, and then ends with greeting rituals and another banquet.

IV: Implications for Etruscan Studies

The focus of this study has been almost exclusively on the evidence from one Etruscan settlement: Tarquinia. A chronological overview of the attitudes towards death and the beliefs about the afterlife at one Etruscan settlement can say much about the

development of funerary traditions. A similar study of another settlement, such as Cerveteri or Orvieto, might well have produced very different results. This focus on a single location, however, opens up avenues for further comparative study. Thus, the question could be posed as to whether the beliefs about the afterlife differed significantly elsewhere in Etruria. Or, as may be the case, whether the same concepts are present, but simply represented in different forms.

This survey indicates that there were no significant ruptures, but rather a steady stream of innovation through the development of existing concepts. Tomb forms and decorative schemes changed, but the same elements remained. This is perhaps reflective in the extraordinary use of the Monterozzi ridge as a burial location for such an extended period of time; indeed, the entire span of Etruscan Tarquinia. The chronological approach in this study has highlighted an important problem inherent in Etruscan studies, namely that of chronology. Many of the significant developments in tomb form, rituals, and art, occurred not on the borders between periods as commonly defined, but, actually, directly in their middle. This was the case for the major changes in both the Archaic and Classical periods. The inadequacy of the organisation of the time periods to follow those of Greece rather than the material evidence in Etruria highlights the problems of defining the periods of one civilisation based on those of another.

V: The End of Etruscan Tarquinia

The relationship between Tarquinia and Rome in the beginning of the Hellenistic period appears to have been a tumultuous one. Perhaps its most famous event involved the Romans being terrified (and subsequently embarrassed) at the sight of the Tarquinian priests, dressed up as Furies and brandishing torches and snakes in 356.[41] The sacrifice of Roman prisoners in Pian di Cività (358), and the subsequent retaliation by the Romans with the execution of Tarquinians in the forum (353), represents a high point in hostilities.[42] Unfortunately, such literary evidence as there is for this period is almost entirely found in accounts written much later by Livy, and thus

[41] Livy 7.17.2-5.
[42] Livy 7.15.10; Livy 7.19.2-4.

is unreliable.[43] Precisely when Tarquinia became under Roman power is unknown. It does not, however, appear to have been a violent takeover, but the gaps in Livy's account make it difficult to tell for certain as there are no references to wars between Tarquinia and Rome after 308 when a 40 year peace was established.[44] Indeed, the Etruscan aristocracy at Tarquinia continued to be prominent long after this date (such as the Anina and Camna families).[45] It is clear that tombs continued to display great wealth during the Roman period.[46] After almost a century of shaky relations with Rome, a foedus appears to have been agreed upon between Tarquinia and Rome in the second quarter of the 3rd century.[47]

Precisely when Etruscan Tarquinia ceased, and the city became more Roman, however, is difficult to identify. The Roman presence most likely increased greatly after the establishment of a colony at Gravisca, the port of Tarquinia, in 181.[48] Ultimately, the Etruscan language was abandoned in favour of Latin. Finally, by late 90/89, with the passing of the *Lex Julia*, Tarquinia ceased, at least politically, to be an Etruscan city.[49] Tarquinia became a municipium and its inhabitants Roman citizens. Whether or not this final date can be applied to burial customs, on the other hand, is uncertain at this time. The Roman presence may have culminated in the 80's, when Tarquinia became a stronghold for Gaius Marius' followers in Etruria.[50]

The archaeological evidence for this period is not as abundant as in earlier periods, and it is difficult to plot in detail when the Etruscan settlement at Tarquinia began to go into decline.[51] The increasing presence of Rome in Tarquinia can perhaps be identified through inscriptions. Bilingual inscriptions in tomb contexts at Tarquinia have been dated to as early as the 3rd century, and indicate the increasing importance of

[43] Leighton 2004: 137.
[44] Livy 9.41.5.
[45] Steingräber 1986: 26; Leighton 2004: 143. Terrenato (1998: 94) has highlighted the importance of re-evaluating each settlement individually and the abandonment of the concept of "Romanisation" as a misleading and sometimes inappropriate, term.
[46] Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 287.
[47] The evidence for this foedus is, unfortunately, based on a 3rd century CE inscription, and, therefore, this is uncertain (Harris 1965: 282; Harris 1971: 86; Steingräber 1986: 25; Leighton 2004: 142).
[48] Leighton 2004: 143.
[49] Harris 1971: 230.
[50] Harris 1971: 251.
[51] Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 273. The irony of the loss of the remains from the Roman period, but not the Etruscan period, has been noted by Leighton (2004: 175).

Latin.[52] The adoption of Latin names, whilst retaining the Etruscan form, however, shows that the two cultures existed simultaneously.[53] Similarly, the *elogia tarquiniensia* indicate a nostalgic interest in the local past.[54] Etruscan funerary culture, such as that at Tarquinia, did not disappear, and many elements of it can be found in various aspects of Roman practices. Thus, the Etruscans, so idealised as mysterious and overly religious by the Greeks and Romans, continued to live on through the end of the Republic and Imperial Rome in various forms, including the very first Etruscologists.

[52] An example is the 2nd century Tomb of the Typhon that has inscriptions in both Latin and Etruscan (Steingräber 1986: 347; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 13).
[53] Farney 2010: 149.
[54] The *elogia tarquiniensia* are not discussed in this thesis as they do not pertain to Etruscan Tarquinia or to beliefs about the afterlife. The *elogia* are Latin inscriptions from the 1st century CE on the bases of statues from the Ara della Regina temple on Pian di Cività at Tarquinia that depict local "heroes," especially those who have distinguished themselves in battle against other Etruscan cities many centuries earlier (Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 100; Leighton 2004: 139; Steingräber 2006: 22). The *elogia* from Tarquinia have been extensively studied by Torelli (1975).

Appendix I: Painted Tombs from the Archaic Period

Table V: Painted Tombs from the Archaic Period

	Date:	**Tomb:**	**#Ch:**	**NESW:**	**Loc:**	**Principle Characteristics:**
1.	600-575	Panthers (inaccessible)	1	W-NW	SA	Animals
2.	575-550	Capanna (inaccessible)	1	NW	SA	False door
3.	575-550	Marchese (inaccessible)	1		Arca	False door
4.	550-525	5892 (inaccessible)	1		Cimi	N/A
5.	550-525	6120 (inaccessible)	1		Arca	False door
6.	550-525	5899 (inaccessible)	1		Cimi	N/A
7.	550-500	6119 (inaccessible)	1		Cimi	N/A
8.	530	Bulls	3	W-SW	SA	Animal, mythological scene, sea monsters, journey, inscription (1)
9.	530	Labrouste (lost)	2			Sea creatures, animals, false door
10.	530	939 (inaccessible)	2	NW	SA	Animals
11.	530	1646 (inaccessible)	1	E-SE	SA	Animals
12.	530	Red Lions	1	SW	SA	Animals
13.	530	343 (inaccessible)	1		SA	N/A
14.	530/520	352 (inaccessible)	1			N/A
15.	530/520	3011 (inaccessible)	1		SA	Sea creatures
16.	530/520	356 (inaccessible)	1		SA	Animals
17.	530/520	Jade Lions (inaccessible)	1	SW	SA	False door, animals
18.	530/520	Cat's Paw (inaccessible or lost)	1		Cimi	Animals
19.	530/520	Doors and Cats (lost)	1	W	Arca	False doors (3), animals
20.	520	Augurs	1	W	SA	False door, funerary games, mourners, inscriptions (8)
21.	520	Lionesses	1	N-NW	Calv	Sea creatures, wave and

						dolphin frieze, dancing, banquets Loculus: banquet scene
22.	520	Lions (lost)	2	SW	SA	Animals
23.	520	Bartoccini	4	SW	Calv	Banquet, sea monsters
24.	520	3010 (inaccessible)	1		SA	Vegetation
25.	520	Stefani (inaccessible)	1		VT	Animals, sea monsters, potnios theron
26.	520	Inscriptions (inaccessible)	1		SA	False door, dancing, altar, musicians, funerary games, inscriptions (18)
27.	520	Lotus Flower	1	SW	Calv	Animals, vegetal motifs
28.	520	Sea	2	W	SA	Sea creatures
29.	520	Tritons	1	E-NE	SA	Sea creatures
30.	520	Tarantola (lost)	1		VT	Banquet
31.	520	3986 (inaccessible)	1		Calv	Animals
32.	520/510	Dionysus and Sileni (lost)	1		Arca	Dancing satyrs and sileni (supposedly)
33.	520/510	5039 (inaccessible)	1		VT	Banquet
34.	520/510	Mouse	1	NE	Arca	Banquet, sea monsters, false door, winged phallus
35.	510	Hunting and Fishing	2	S-SE	Calv	1st: Hunting, dancing 2nd: Fishing, banquets, seascape
36.	510	Juggler	1	W	Calv	Musicians, dancers, wave frieze, journey scene, inscription (1), games
37.	510	3098 (inaccessible)	1	E-SE	SA	Animals, banquet
38.	510	5898 (inaccessible)	1		Cimi	Banquet, sea creatures
39.	510	Dead Man	1	SW	Calv	Prothesis, dancing, inscriptions (3)
40.	510	Olympians	1	SE	SA	Funerary games, false door, banquet
41.	510/500	Baron	1	SW	SA	Farewell/greeting of the dead, sea monsters
42.	510/500	Bacchants	1	SW	Calv	Dancers, musicians
43.	510/500	Cardarelli	1	SW	Calv	False door, dancing, processional dance (greeting scene?)
44.	510/500	Pediment	1	SW	SA	Banquet
45.	510/500	1000	1		SA	Banquet

		(inaccessible)				
46.	510/500	1999 (inaccessible)	1	NW	SA	Dancing, banquet
47.	510/500	Hunter	1	SW	Calv	Hunting frieze, tent (?)
48.	500	Antelopes (inaccessible)	1		SA	Animals in pediment
49.	500	Pulcinella	1	S-SW	SA	Funerary games, dancing, musicians
50.	500	Olympic Master (inaccessible)	1	SW	VT	Banquet, funerary games
51.	500	Dying Man (inaccessible)	1	N	SA	Prothesis, funerary games
52.	500	Bronze Door	1		Arca-SA	False door, dancing, musician
53.	500	Painted Vases	1		Cimi	Sea creatures, banquets, dancing
54.	500	Old Man	1		Cimi	Banquet
55.	500	4780 (inaccessible)	1		VT	Banquet
56.	500-475	4260 (inaccessible)	1		Calv	Banquet
57.	500-450	3988 (inaccessible)	1		Calv	Banquet
58.	500-450	4813 (inaccessible)	1		Arca	Banquet, winged youths
59.	500-450	Unnamed Tomb (lost)	1			Dancing, funerary games
60.	500/490	Pyrrics (lost)	1		SA	Banquet, dancing
61.	500/490	5591	1	SW	Calv	Dancing
62.	490	Whipping	1	SE	Calv	False doors (3), dancing, funerary games
63.	490	Bigas	1	W-SW	SA	Funerary games, banquets, dancing
64.	490/480	Lyre (lost)	1		Arca	False doors (2), dancing and musicians
65.	480	Skull (inaccessible)	1	NE	SA	False door, dancing, musicians, funerary games
66.	480	4255 (inaccessible)	1		Calv	False doors (2), dancing, horsemen
67.	480/470	Leopards	1	SW	Calv	Banquets, procession
68.	470	Triclinium	1	SW	Calv	Banquet, wave frieze, inscriptions (2)
69.	475-450	Flowers	1	SW	Calv	Banquet, dancing
70.	475-450	994	1	SE	SA	Banquet, inscriptions (6), dancing

71.	475-450	4021 (inaccessible)	1		Calv	Dancing, musicians
72.	460	Funeral Bed	1	SW	Calv	Banquet, funeral games, wave and dolphin frieze

Abbreviations:

SA: Secondi Archi
Calv: Calvario
Arca: Arcatelle
Cimi: Cimitero
VT: Villa Tarantola

Appendix II: Painted Tombs from the Classical Period

Table VI: Painted Tombs from the Classical Period

	Date:	**Tomb:**	**#:**	**NESW:**	**Loc:**	**Principle Characteristics:**
1.	450	Francesca Giustiniani	1	S-SW	SA	Dancing, games
2.	450	5513	1	SW	Calv	Banquet (men only), dancing, waves in loculus
3.	ca. 450	Deer Hunt	1	S-SW	Calv	Hunting, dancing, banquet (reclining equally), bench with 7 depressions
4.	450-425	Black Boar (578)	1	SE	SA	Hunting, dancing, banquet (reclining equally)
5.	450-425	Maggi (5187)	1	S	VT	Banquet (men only), dancing, hunting
6.	450-400	4170 (inaccessible)	1		Calv	Warriors (?), hunting (?)
7.	450-400	2015 (inaccessible)	1	SW	SA	Dancing
8.	450-400	5517 (inaccessible)	1			Banquet (men only), weapon dancer
9.	425-400	Pulcella	1	NE	Calv	Banquet (reclining equally), loculus (spirits), waves
10.	425-400	Ship	1	N-NE	SA	Banquet (reclining equally), large ship
11.	425-400	810 (inaccessible)	1		Calv	N/A
12.	425-375	Querciola I	1	S-SW	VT	Games, hunting, dancing, banquet (reclining equally), inscription (1)
13.	ca. 400	Blue Demons	1		Calv	Procession, journey scene, demons, banquet (reclining equally), boat
14.	400-375	Gorgon	1	SW	Calv	Gorgon, greeting scene, trees
15.	400-375	Rooster	1	S-SW	SA	Dancing, banquet (reclining equally), Phersu
16.	400-375	808 (inaccessible)	1	S-SW	Calv	Inscriptions (2), banquet (seated)
17.	400-375	1200 (inaccessible)	1	SE	SA	Banquet (uncertain), games, dancing
18.	400-375	3716 (inaccessible)	1		Calv	Loculus
19.	400-375	3713	1	N-NE	Calv	Dancing

20.	400-300	Biclinium (lost)	1			Banquets (reclining equally), scroll (boar hunt), false door
21.	400-350	6071 (inaccessible)	1			Banquet (?)
22.	400-350	1144 (inaccessible)	1		Arca	Loculus
23.	400-350	1560 (inaccessible)	4	SW	Calv	Games, dancing, 2 false doors
24.	400-350	1822 (inaccessible)	1	SW	Calv	Loculus
25.	400-350	2327 (Bertazzoni)	1	W	SA	3 Loculi (chequered ceilings, banquets), dancing, hunting
26.	400-350	3242	1	SW	Calv	3 Loculi (painted ceilings, dancing), dancing
27.	400-350	3697 (inaccessible)	1	E-SE	Calv	Banquet (reclining equally)
28.	400-350	Alberelli (lost)	1			N/A
29.	375-350	Warrior	1	SW	Calv	Banquet (reclining equally), games
30.	ca. 350	Unnamed tomb (inaccessible)	1		Ster	Dogs
31.	350	Underworld I	1	S-SW	Cimi	Banquet (reclining equally), inscriptions (9), demon (Charu type), wave frieze
32.	350	Pygmies (inaccessible)	1	W-NW	SA	Sea creatures, games, banquet (uncertain), loculus, procession, pygmyomachy
33.	350-300	Guasta (lost)	1			Demons, dancing
34.	350-300	Ceisinie (lost)	4			Snakes,[1] demons (Charu type), inscription (1), pilasters
35.	350-300	4467 (inaccessible)	1	NW	Calv	Loculi, inscriptions (3 Etruscan, 1 Latin), runner (games?)
36.	350-300	Shields	4	E-SE	PA	Banquets (seated), loculi (many), wave frieze, inscriptions (27), ancestors, procession, demon holding diptych

Abbreviations:

Ster: Sterrantino estate
SA: Secondi Archi
Calv: Calvario
Arca: Arcatelle
VT: Villa Tarantola
Cimi: Cimitero

[1] Only known from Byres' drawings. Snake belt on a demon is compared with Vanth in the Golini tomb I from Orvieto to establish a (somewhat problematic) chronology.

Appendix III: Painted Tombs from the Hellenistic Period

Table VII: Hellenistic Painted Tombs in Tarquinia

	Date:	**Tomb:**	**Principle Characteristics:**
1.	350-275	Mercareccia	Animals, demon, procession Flue-like aperture; Pilasters: now destroyed, rock-cut architecture
2.	325-300	Ceisinie (lost)	Snakes, inscriptions (Ceisini, Matulna) Pilasters: demons (Charu type), youth
3.	325-300	Underworld II	Demons, mythological figures, inscriptions (12), chthonic gods Loculus: jugs and other vessels on table
4.	300-200	Underworld III	Painted niche: inscriptions (2), mythological (Polyphemus)
5.	325-275	Giglioli	Military equipment (shields, cloaks, swords, javelins, greaves, helmets, cuirass), inscriptions (Pinie)
6.	300-200	Drapery (lost)	Demons, architectural elements (domestic?)
7.	300-100	5035 (Side Road)	N/A, inscriptions (Paparsi/Paprsinei)
8.	300-100	Procession of Cybele (lost)	Enthroned Cybele (?), dancing, musicians
9.	300-100	Double Tomb (842)	N/A, Inscription (3)
10.	300-100	With Ship (lost)	Journey by sea to the underworld?
11.	300-100	Woman with Diadem... (lost)	Man on elephant, woman with a diadem
12.	300-100	Vestarcnie (lost)	N/A, Inscriptions (2) (Vestarcnie), sarcophagi
13.	300-100	Cardinal	Demons, journeys by foot/horse/cart, procession, false doors (gates) Pilasters: battles, snake riders, inscriptions (Vestrcni, Cuthna, Felce)
14.	300-100	Head of Charu (lost)	Demon, escorting deceased
15.	250	Festoni	Demons (Charu type), garlands, shields, painted nails Ceiling: erotes, hippocamps, garlands
16.	250-175	Querciola II (lost)	Demons (Charu type), greeting scene in underworld, false door, wave motif, inscription, sarcophagi
17.	250-	Tartaglia (lost)	Demons, farewell scene, torture scenes (?),

	150		false door (arch type)
18.	250-150	4912	Demons, escorting the dead, inscription, sarcophagi
19.	250-100	Anina I	Demons, Charu and Vanth (inscriptions), inscriptions (6), garlands, raised rows of benches for sarcophagi
20.	200-150	Eizene	Demons, inscriptions (Eizene), false door (gate type)
21.	225-175	Charuns	Demons (labelled as Charus), false doors (house type)
22.	225-150	Bruschi	Procession, demons, greeting scene, 13 inscriptions (Apnu), ancestors, mirror
23.	225-150	Pulenas Chamber tomb (lost)	Sarcophagi (21), painted ceiling (domestic architecture?), garlands
24.	225-100	Spitu	N/A; Sarcophagi (4), inscriptions (Spitu)
25.	200-150	Typhon	Demons, escorting dead, procession, sea monsters, Inscriptions (6 Etruscan, 2 Latin: Pumpu), raised rows of benches for sarcophagi
26.	200-100	5512	Ceiling: unique coffering with crenulated and dogtooth frieze, demons, escorting dead, 2 greeting scenes, inscriptions
27.	200-100	5636	Demons, greeting scene, false door (gate type), inscriptions (2) Pilaster: large Charu type demon
28.	150-100	Meeting (inaccessible)	Procession of magistrates, inscriptions

Appendix IV: Vanth and Charu

Vanth and Charu are two demons that appear in funerary art and inscriptions over many of the centuries of Etruscan civilisation. As a result, this section discusses them in detail. Vanth and Charu are both uniquely Etruscan deities, whose natures and roles are not entirely certain. They appear to be psychopomps, who guide and protect the dead in the underworld.[1] The evidence for both is almost completely iconographic, along with a few inscriptions identifying their names. It is necessary, therefore, to look at their appearances, attributes, and the scenes in which they are depicted in order to try and understand more about their identities.

Vanth is not a fearsome demon who tortures souls of the dead, but instead has a human appearance (with the exception of her wings) and is often shown comforting the deceased. She is most frequently depicted in scenes of the journey to the underworld, where she acts as a psychopomp. Her association with the deceased makes her a suitable subject to be depicted on funerary art, and images of her are, indeed, found on many objects and wall paintings from the 4th century onwards.

Vanth first appears in the archaeological record in a 7th century inscription, but not in iconographic form until the late 5th century. This early inscription is on an aryballos from Marsiliana d'Albegna and dates to 640-620.[2] Therefore, the inscription is one of the earliest pieces of evidence for Etruscan writing.[3] It is also longer than any of the inscriptions labelling Vanth on Classical and Hellenistic funerary art. The funerary context of the inscription suggests that the object was placed there as a votive offering. The inscription, "*mi malak Vanth*," declares the object to be the beautiful Vanth.[4] It is possible that the inscription refers to the owner of the pot; however, this is unlikely, as the other inscriptions referring to Vanth are those that identify the chthonic deity and are

[1] Spinola 1987: 61; Jannot 1997: 139.
[2] Krauskopf 2006: 84, n. 99.
[3] Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 11.
[4] "Je suis la belle Vanth" (Colonna 1997: 171). Jannot (2005: 71), on the other hand, translates it as "I am a beautiful offering to Vanth." He does not clarify, however, why he thinks malak should go with the pot rather than with Vanth. In contrast, Cristofani (1969: 286) uniquely transliterates the inscription as "mi malak zanth," which he notes is problematic.

not identifying occupants in a tomb.[5] Furthermore, "talking pots" are common in this period and refer to the pot in the first person, rather than the dedicator.[6] Therefore, it is likely that the pot is a votive offering that speaks saying "I am [for] the beautiful Vanth." It is impossible to tell for certain if this early inscription to Vanth is referring to the psychopomp that was so commonly depicted in funerary art of the later periods. The uniqueness of the name, however, does suggest that this was an early deity who received a votive offering.

Funerary art from all over Etruria, from the mid Classical to Hellenistic period, frequently depicts scenes in the underworld in which the deceased are accompanied by a winged female demon. Often the demon is not labelled. This demon is normally identified as Vanth because of the similarities in appearance with the eight (or perhaps nine)[7] scenes in Etruscan funerary art that show Vanth accompanied by an identifying inscription.[8] It is interesting to note the variety of media on which these nine images occur; there are two (perhaps three) wall paintings, two engraved bronze mirrors, two painted amphorae, and one sarcophagus.

[5] Spinola 1987: 56-59.
[6] Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 13.
[7] The image on the left hand side of the entrance wall of the Golini Tomb I from Orvieto (350-325) may be a ninth image of Vanth that is accompanied by an inscription. This wall has an image of a female demon dressed in a tunic holding a scroll and with a belt of snakes leading the deceased, who is in a chariot, to the banquet with his ancestors. It is interesting to note that all of the figures are labelled, even the dog Krankru (Steingräber 1986: 278), however, with the exception of Vanth. There is, however, a "v" and an "a" above the inscription identifying the deceased on the chariot, two letters that are not part of his name. This may indicate that the inscription originally had the two other letters of Vanth's name (i.e. "n" and "th"), but that they have since disappeared.
[8] The number is mistakenly referred to as seven by modern scholars (Spinola 1987; Paschinger 1988; Weber-Lehmann 1998: 179), because two of the inscriptions are found on two pots of the Vanth group. However, these pots are different, as they have more than subtle variations, and so should constitute separate entries.

Table VIII: Labelled Images of Vanth

	Vanth	Type of Object	Provenance	Date
1.	François Tomb	Wall Painting	Vulci	350-300
2.	Golini Tomb I (?)	Wall Painting	Orvieto	350-325
3.	Mirror with Urste	Mirror	?	325-300
4.	Vanth Group 1	Amphora	Orvieto	300
5.	Vanth Group 2	Amphora	Orvieto	300
6.	Mirror with Achle	Mirror	Bolsena	300-275
7.	Anina Tomb	Wall Painting	Tarquinia	250-200
8.	Cupna Tomb	Cinerary Urn	Chiusi	200-175
9.	Hasti Afunei	Sarcophagus	Chiusi	200-175

These images show Vanth with a large variety of common attributes and dress, all of which are related to her role as a psychopomp. Such differences indicate that Vanth was a very complex demon. Without any accompanying literature, it may be impossible to understand fully who she was. Further difficulties arise from the fact that she is sometimes depicted multiple times in the same scene. Thus, perhaps Vanth should be seen more as a type of deity, rather than a specific single deity.

Table IX: List of attributes in the labelled depictions of Vanth

Attribute	François Tomb	Golini Tomb I	Urste Mirror	Achle Mirror	Vanth Group 1	Vanth Group 2	Anina Tomb	Cupna Tomb	Hasti Afunei
Nude					x	x			
Chiton	x	x							
Short Tunic			x	x			x	x	x
Wings	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Torch				x			x	x	
Boots				x			x		x
Snakes		x							
Key									x
Scroll		x			x	x		x	
Sceptre						x			

The variety of attributes and characteristics of Vanth from the labelled depictions are striking. The most common attribute of Vanth, namely her wings, serve the dual purpose of indicating the need to travel quickly, as well as signifying the otherworldliness of both the demon and the scene (e.g. Figure VI.5b). The torch shows that Vanth was seen as a guiding light in the realm of the dead. The snakes and scrolls show that Vanth was connected to fate. The scroll is seen as containing the destiny of the deceased, or fate in general (especially Figure VI.4).[9] Sometimes it is rolled up, thus symbolising secret knowledge to the uninitiated (i.e. those still alive), but often it is unrolled and thus symbolises that the fate has been revealed to the deceased. The majority of the scenes showing a female demon depict her in her role as a guide to the underworld, thus indicating that this was her primary function.[10] She is shown escorting the dead in a variety of different ways: in a chariot (Golini Tomb I at Orvieto, Figure VI.4), by horseback (e.g. Underworld Sarcophagus, Figure VI.26), or by foot (e.g. Tomb 5636, Figure VI.8).

In this way, the beautiful Vanth provides a comforting presence to the deceased as they undergo the transition from the realm of the living to the realm of the dead. She is, however, not always depicted as such. There are a large number of images of female demons with similar attributes who are depicted in a variety of different manners.[11] The second most common depiction of these Vanth-like demons shows her as a silent observer to the scene; one that may not be visible to the living. Often such scenes are those of battles or mythological stories that end violently. Thus, Vanth takes part in scenes that involve both the living and the dead. In these images, Vanth is more of a witness to the scene, or perhaps a symbol that death will occur.[12] She may also be waiting for death in order to escort the deceased to the realm of the dead. Very rarely, Vanth may act as an enforcer of fate, that is, to compel the dead to go to the underworld.[13]

There is a bowl from Spina from the early Hellenistic period that may have an inscription that labels the vessel as a votive offering for the demon. The graffiti

[9] de Grummond 2006a: 222.
[10] Spinola 1987: 61.
[11] For purposes of simplicity, these demons will be referred to as Vanths, albeit with the knowledge that this is not a certain identification.
[12] Scheffer 1991: 51.
[13] For more on this new suggestion for the roles of Vanth, see Chapter VI.III.viii.

inscription says "*mi vant*," which may refer to the demon Vanth.[14] If this was indeed meant to read "Vanth" rather than "vant," then it would have important implications about a cult of the chthonic deities in the Hellenistic period. This is, however, very uncertain. There was a separate letter for "t" and "th" in the Etruscan alphabet,[15] and it would not be appropriate to suggest that whoever wrote the inscription made a mistake. Furthermore, the Etruscan letter "t" (which resembles a "t" in the Latin alphabet) looks nothing like the Etruscan letter "th" (which resembles an "O" in the Latin alphabet in this later period).

Vanth is often not depicted alone in a scene, but is frequently accompanied by a much more fearsome demon Charu. He provides an interesting contrast to the mostly human looking Vanth: he has a beaked nose, a misshapen face, donkey ears, and blue (sometimes spotted) skin. Though the name Charu is very similar to that of the Greek ferryman Charon, they are very different.[16] Charu has a variety of roles in the underworld that, like Vanth, are connected with the transition of the deceased from the living to the realm of the dead.

Like Vanth, Charu first appears in the archaeological record in an inscription without any image associated. The inscription states that the item was originally a votive offering. This object dates to the last quarter of the 6th century, thus indicating that Vanth appeared approximately a century before.[17] This inscription is found on a painted kylix from 530-520, attributed to the Oltos painter, and is of uncertain provenance.[18] The inscription consists only of one word in graffiti, which is the name of Charu in the genitive ("*Charus"*).[19] The use of the genitive indicates that the inscription is not labelling a figure on the kylix, but rather specifies that the object is dedicated to the chthonic deity Charu. There is no image of Charu, but it is likely that it refers to the demon that was so commonly depicted in the later periods.[20] The funerary context of the object further indicates that the dead were believed to encounter deities in the afterlife, who were given cult offerings.

---

[14] Colonna 1997: 171.
[15] Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 76.
[16] Jannot 1993: 64-65; Jannot 1997: 140; de Grummond 2006a: 213.
[17] Colonna 1997: 171; Jannot 1997: 144.
[18] Colonna 1997: 171; Jannot 1997: 144.
[19] Colonna 1997: 171.
[20] Colonna 1997: 170-171.

Later funerary art of the Hellenistic and very late Classical periods include many depictions of a male demon that can be identified as Charu. The name Charu accompanies an image in only eight instances in all of Etruscan funerary art.[21] Two of those images are on wall paintings where labelled images of Vanth are also found, thus emphasising the paired role that the two demons might have had. These paintings include the scene showing the execution of Trojan prisoners in the François Tomb at Vulci, and on the entrance wall of the Anina family tomb. In five instances the demon is labelled as Charu; in the remaining three, he is referred to as Charun.

Table X: Labelled images of Charu

	Charu(n)	Type of Object	Provenance	Date
1.	François Tomb	Wall Painting	Vulci	350-300
2.	Krater	Krater	?	
3.	Underworld II	Wall Painting	Tarquinia	325-300
4.	Urn	Cinerary urn	Volterra	
5.	Charuns[22]	Wall Painting	Tarquinia	225-175
6.	Charuns	Wall Painting	Tarquinia	225-175
7.	Charuns	Wall Painting	Tarquinia	225-175
8.	Anina Tomb	Wall Painting	Tarquinia	250-200

Charu is often to be found accompanying the deceased on the way to the underworld, and his attributes are those that are suitable for such a role. Like Vanth, he is often depicted winged and wearing high boots (e.g. Figure VI.5a). In a few rare occasions, Charu is depicted in the role of a psychopomp, such as on a cinerary urn from Chiusi where he is gently leading the deceased to the underworld (Figure VI.9).[23] Two of the deities depicted on the Amazonomachy side of the Sarcophagus of the Priest are shown carrying warriors who have fallen in battle, perhaps as if to begin taking them

[21] Jannot 1997: 140. Three of these names are actually found in the same context, in the Tomb of the Charuns.
[22] Although there are four Charuns flanking the two false doors in this tomb, there are inscriptions identifying only three of them (Steingräber 1986: 300).
[23] This same motif is also found in the Tomb of the Cardinal at Tarquinia, the frieze of which depicts many journey to the underworld scenes.

to the realm of the dead (Figure V.16a).[24] He is also seen brandishing snakes against humans in a similar manner to how Vanth is sometimes depicted. Like these images of Vanth, the humans are unaware of the presence of the demon.

The most common depiction of Charu is that of the guardian of the door or gate to the underworld. This role is most clearly seen in the Tomb of the Charuns, which depicts two sets of Charus flanking two painted doors.[25] These demons all hold a mallet, the most common attribute of Charu. He is sometimes shown holding the mallet against a human in a threatening manner (e.g. Figure VI.6). The humans, however, are often unaware of the fearsome blue demon brandishing a mallet or hammer against them. The mallet could be seen more as a tool than a weapon. It is possible that the mallet or hammer was not seen as threatening the dead, but, rather, controlled the bolted door to the underworld.[26] This would be suitable for a demon who guarded the gates to the underworld. Like Vanth, Charu can appear more than once in a scene. For example, in the Querciola II tomb, Charu is shown both as an escort of the deceased to the city of the dead, as well as a guardian of the gate to the underworld.

[24] This winged deity has been mistakenly identified by de Grummond (2006a: 223) as Vanth. The blue skin, however, indicates that these figures should all be identified as Charu.
[25] Staccioli 1980: 15.
[26] Jannot 1993: 68-76; Jannot 1998: 81-82; Haynes 2000: 275; de Grummond 2006a: 215. The door to the underworld appears as a city gate on later funerary art (see above, Chapter VI.VI.iii).

Bibliography

Acquaro, E. 1988: "Phoenicians and Etruscans". In Moscati, S. (Ed.). *The Phoenicians*. 532-537. Milano.

Amann, P. 1998: "Die Tomba del Barone: Überlegungen zu einem neuen ikonologischen Verständnis". *SE* (64): 71-93.

Arafat, K.W. & C. Morgan 1994: "Athens, Etruria and the Heuneburg: Mutual Misconceptions in the Study of Greek-Barbarian Relations". In Morris, I. (Ed.). *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*. 108-134. Cambridge.

Avramidou, A. 2009: "The Phersu Game revisited". *EtrSt*: 73-87.

Banti, L. 1967: "Disegni di tombe e monumenti etruschi fra il 1825 e il 1830". *SE* (35): 575-593.

Barker, G. & T. Rasmussen 1998: *The Etruscans*. Oxford.

Barley, N. 1995: *Dancing on the Grave: Encounters with Death*. London.

Bartoloni, G. 1989: *La cultura villanoviana: all'inizio della storia etrusca*. Roma.

--- 2001: "The Origin and Diffusion of Villanovan Culture". In Torelli, M. (Ed.). *The Etruscans*. 53-71. London.

Bartoloni, G. & M.P. Baglione 1987: "Elementi scultorei decorativi nelle tombe tarquiniesi del primo ellenismo". In Bonghi Jovino, M. & T.C. Chiaramonte (Eds.). *Tarquinia. Ricerche scavi e prospettive. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi La Lombardia per gli Etruschi, Milano 24-25 giugno 1986*. 233-242. Milano.

Bartoloni, G., F. Buranelli, V. D'Atri & A. De Santis 1987: *Le urne a capanna rinvenute in Italia*. Roma.

Becker, M.J. 1989: " Human skeletons from Tarquinia: a preliminary analysis of the 1989 cimitero site excavations with inferences for the evaluation of Etruscan social classes". *SE* (58): 211-248.

--- 2001: "Multiple Cremations in a Volterran Cinerary Urn". *ARID* (27): 47-65.

Binford, J. 1971: "Mortuary Practices: their study and their potential". In Brown, J. (Ed.). *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices (Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology)*. 6-29. Washington.

Bispham, E. 2007: *From Asculum to Actium: the municipalization of Italy from the Social War to Augustus*. Oxford.

Blanck, H. 1983: "Le pitture del 'sarcofago del sacerdote' nel Museo Nazionale di Tarquinia". *DArch* (3): 79-84.

Bloch, M. & J. Parry 1982: *Death and the Regeneration of Life*. Cambridge.

Boardman, J. 1999: *The Greeks Overseas*. London.

Bocci, P. 1960: "Il sarcofago tarquiniese delle Amazzoni al Museo Archeologico di Firenze". *SE* (28): 109-125.

Boëthius, A. & J.B. Ward-Perkins 1970: *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*. Harmondsworth.

Boitani, F., M. Cataldi & M. Pasquinucci 1975: *Etruscan Cities*. London.

Bonfante, L. 1984: "Human Sacrifice on an Etruscan Funerary Urn". *AJA* (88): 531-539.

--- 1986: "Daily Life and Afterlife". In Bonfante, L. (Ed.). *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*. 232-278. Warminster.

--- 1994: "Etruscan Women". In Fantham, E. (Ed.). *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*. 243-259. Oxford.

--- 1996: "Etruscan Sexuality and Funerary Art". In Kampen, N.B. (Ed.). *Sexuality in Ancient Art: Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy*. 155-169. Cambridge.

--- 2000: "Classical Nudity in Italy and Greece". In Ridgway, D., et al. (Eds.). *Ancient Italy in its Mediterranean Setting: Studies in Honour of Ellen Macnamara*. 271-293. London.

--- 2003: *Etruscan Dress*. Baltimore.

--- 2006: "Etruscan Inscriptions and Etruscan Religion". In de Grummond, N.T. & E. Simon (Eds.). *The Religion of the Etruscans*. 9-26. Austin.

Bonfante, L. & G. Bonfante 2002: *The Etruscan Language: An Introduction*. Manchester.

Bonfante, L. & J. Swaddling 2006: *Etruscan Myths*. London.

Bonghi Jovino, M. 1986: *Gli Etruschi di Tarquinia*. Modena.

--- 2010: "The Tarquinia Project: A Summary of 25 Years of Excavation". *AJA* (114): 161-180.

Bottini, A. & E. Setari 2007: *Il Sarcofago delle Amazzoni*. Milano.

Bradley, R. 1996: "Long Houses, Long Mounds and Neolithic Enclosures". *JMC* (1): 239-256.

Brendel, O. 1995: *Etruscan Art*. London.

Brigger, E. & A. Giovannini 2004: "Prothésis: étude sur les rites funéraires chez les Grecs et chez les Étrusques". *MEFRA* (116): 179-248.

Briquel, D. 1987: "Regards étrusques sur l'au-delà". In Hinard, F. (Ed.). *La mort, les morts et l'au-delà dans le monde romain*. 263-277. Caen.

--- 1997: "La religiosité étrusque ou le regard de l'autre". In Gaultier, F. & D. Briquel (Eds.). *Les Étrusques: les plus religieux des hommes: état de la recherche sur la religion étrusque*. 415-429. Paris.

Briquet, M.F. 1986: "Art". In Bonfante, L. (Ed.). *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*. 92-173. Warminster.

Brown, J. 2007: "Mortuary Practices for the Third Millennium: 1966-2006". In Laneri, N. (Ed.). *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. 299-308. Chicago.

Bruni, S. 1986: *Materiali del Museo archeologico nazionale di Tarquinia, IX: I lastroni a scala*. Roma.

--- 2001: "Sculpture". In Torelli, M. (Ed.). *The Etruscans*. 365-391. New York.

Buranelli, F. 1983: *La necropoli villanoviana Le Rose di Tarquinia*. Roma.

Byres, J. 1842: *Hypogaei, or Sepulchral Caverns of Tarquinia*. London.

Camporeale, G. 1959: "L'Amazzonomachia in Etruria". *SE* (27): 107-137.

--- 1972: "Buccheri a cilindretto di fabbrica tarquiniese". *SE* (40): 115-149.

--- 1981: "Achle". In Ackermann, H.C. & J.-R. Gisler (Eds.). *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Vol. 1. 200-214. Zurich.

--- 1993: "Aperture tarquiniesi nella pittura tardo arcaica di Chiusi". In Olshki, L.S. (Ed.). *La civiltà di Chiusi e del suo territorio: atti del XVII convegno di studi etruschi ed italici*. 183-192. Firenze.

--- 2000: *Gli Etrusci. Storia e Civilita*. Torino.

--- 2001: *The Etruscans Outside Etruria*. Los Angeles.

--- 2009: "The Deified Deceased in Etruscan Culture". In Bell, S. & H. Nagy (Eds.). *New Perspectives on Etruria and Early Rome*. 220-250. Madison.

Capogrossi Colognesi, L. “La Citt e la sua terra”. In Momigliano, A. *Storia di Roma*. 263-289. Torino.

Carpino, A. 2003: *Discs of Splendor: The Relief Mirrors of the Etruscans*. Madison.

--- 2008: "Reflections from the Tomb: Mirrors as Grave Goods in Late Classical and Hellenistic Tarquinia". *EtrSt* (11): 1-33.

Carroll, M. 2006: *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe*. Oxford.

Cataldi Dini, M. 1987: "La tomba dei Demoni Azzuri". In Bonghi Jovino, M. & T.C. Chiaramonte (Eds.). *Tarquinia: Ricerche scavi e prospettive*. 37-42. Milano.

--- 1989: "Tomba dei Demoni Azzuri". In Rizzo, M. (Ed.). *Pittura etrusca al Museo di Villa Giulia*. 150-153. Roma.

Cataldi, M. 2001: *Tarquinia: Museo archeologico nazionale guida breve*. Tarquinia.

Cataldi, M., et al. 2011: "Via dei Principi, Grandi Tumuli della Necropoli etrusca di Tarquinia". URL: http://www.viadeiprincipi.it/en/doganaccia-necropolis.html. Accessed on 30 January 2012.

Cavagnaro Vanoni, L. 1987: "Tarquinia. Aspetti inediti dei lavori della Fondazione Lerici nella necropoli dei Monterozzi". In Bonghi Jovino, M. & T.C. Chiaramonte (Eds.). *Tarquinia. Ricerche scavi e prospettive. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi La Lombardia per gli Etruschi, Milano 24-25 giugno 1986*. 243-253. Milano.

--- 2000-2001: "Tarquinia (Viterbo). Necropoli dei Monterozzi: tombe a buca e a fossa in loc. Calvario". *NSA* (11-12): 373-463.

Cavagnaro Vanoni, L. & F. Mallegni 1977: "Tarquinia (Viterbo). Sei tombe intatte nella necropoli dei Monterozzi in località Calvario". *NSA* (31): 157-210.

Cerchiai, L. 1980: "La μάχαιρα di Achille. Alcune osservazioni a proposito della Tomba dei Tori.". *AION (archeol)* (2): 25-43.

--- 1995: "*Daimones* e Caronte sulle Stele Felsinee". *PP* (50): 375-394.

Chapman, R. 2003: "Death, society and archaeology: the social dimensions of mortuary practices". *Mortality* (8): 305-312.

Chiesa, F. 2005: *Tarquinia: archeologia e prosopografia tra ellenismo e romanizzazione*. Roma.

Colivicchi, F. 2007: *Materiali del Museo archeologico nazionale di Tarquinia. 16, Materiali in alabastro, vetro, avorio, osso, uova di struzzo*. Roma.

Colonna, G. 1984: "Per una cronologia della pittura etrusca di età ellenistica". *DArch* (3 ser.): 1-24.

--- 1985: "Il Culto dei Morti". In Cristofani, M. (Ed.). *Civilità degli Etruschi*. 290-306. Milano.

--- 1995: "Scavi e Scoperte: Tarquinia". *SE* (61): 454-456.

--- 1997: "Divinités peu connues du panthéon étrusque". In Gaultier, F. & D. Briquel (Eds.). *Les Étrusques, les plus religieux des hommes: état de la recherche sur la religion étrusque*. 167-184. Paris.

--- 2005: "Italia ante Romanum Imperium. Scritti di antichità etrusche, italiche e romane (1958-1998)". In Colonna, G. (Ed.). *Urbanistica e architettura etrusca*. 996-1065.

--- 2006: "Sacred Architecture and the Religion of the Etruscans". In de Grummond, N.T. & E. Simon (Eds.). *The Religion of the Etruscans*. 132-168. Austin.

Colozier, E. 1953: "Les Étrusques et Carthage". *MEFRA* (65): 63-98.

Colvin, S. 1883: "Paintings on the Amazon Sarcophagus of Corneto". *JHS* (4): 354-369.

Cornell, T.J. 1978: "Principes of Tarquinia". *JRS* (68): 167-173.

--- 1995: *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000-264 B.C.)*. London.

Cristofani, M. 1969: "Un'iscrizione arcaica da Marsiliana di Albegna". *SE* (37): 283-287.

--- 1986: "Pittura funeraria e celebrazione della morte: Il caso della Tomba dell'Orco". In Bonghi Jovino, M. & T.C. Chiaramonte (Eds.). *Tarquinia: Ricerche, scavi e prospettive*. 191-202. Milano.

Cultrera, G. 1920: "Corneto-Tarquinia. Nuove scoperte nella necropoli tarquiniense". *NSA* (17): 244-276.

--- 1930: "Tarquinia. Scoperta nella necropoli". *NSA* (6): 15-184.

--- 1932: "Tarquinia. Il primo tumulo della Doganaccia". *NSA*: 100-116.

Curti, E., E. Dench & J.R. Patterson 1996: "The Archaeology of Central and Southern Roman Italy: Recent Trends and Approaches". *JRS* (86): 170-189.

D'Agostino, B. 1983: "L'immagine, la pittura e la tomba nell'Etruria arcaica". *Prospettiva* (32): 2-11.

--- 1989: "Image and Society in Archaic Etruria". *JRS* (79): 1-10.

D'Agostino, B. & L. Cerchiai 1999: *Il mare, la morte, l'amore: Gli etruschi, i greci, a l'immagine*. Roma.

Damgaard Andersen, H. 1993: "The Etruscan Ancestral Cult: Its Origin and Development and the Importance of Anthropomorphization". *AnalRom* (21): 7-66.

Davies, D.J. 2002: *Death, Ritual and Belief: the Rhetoric of Funerary Rites*. London.

Davies, G.M. 1985: "The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art". *AJA* (89): 627-640.

de Cazanove, O. 2000: "Some thoughts on the 'religious romanisation' of Italy before the Social War". In Bispham, E. & C.J. Smith (Eds.). *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy: Evidence and Experience*. 71-76. Edinburgh.

de Grummond, N.T. 2002: "Etruscan Mirrors Now: review article". *AJA* (106): 307-311.

--- 2006a: *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History and Legend*. Philadelphia.

--- 2006b: "Prophets and Priests". In de Grummond, N.T. & E. Simon (Eds.). *The Religion of the Etruscans*. 25-44. Austin.

--- 2009: "On Mutilated Mirrors". In Gleba, M. & H. Becker (Eds.). *Votives, Places and Rituals in Etruscan Religion*. 171-182. Leiden.

de Grummond, N.T. & E. Simon (Eds.). 2006: *The Religion of the Etruscans*. Austin.

De Marinis, S. 1961: *La tipologia del banchetto nell'arte Etrusca arcaica*. Roma.

De Puma, R.D. & J.P. Small 1994: *Murlo and the Etruscans*. Madison.

De Ruyt, F. 1934: *Charun, démon étrusque de la mort*. Bruxelles.

Delpino, F. 1991: "Documenti sui primi scavi nel sepulcreto arcaico delle Arcatelle a Tarquinia". *ArchClass* (43): 123-151.

Dennis, G. 1878: *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*. London.

Dumézil, G. 1970: *Archaic Roman Religion*. London.

Dunkle, R. 2008: *Gladiators: violence and spectacle in ancient Rome*. Harlow.

Edlund-Berry, I.E.M. 2002: "Etruscan Architectural Traditions: Local Creativity or Outside Influence?". *EtrSt* (9): 37-43.

--- 2006: "Ritual Space and Boundaries in Etruscan Religion". In de Grummond, N.T. & E. Simon (Eds.). *The Religion of the Etruscans*. 116-131. Austin.

Elliott, J. 1995: "The Etruscan Wolfman in Myth and Ritual". *EtrSt* (2): 17-33.

Enking, R. 1943: "Culsu und Vanth". *RM* (58): 48-69.

Falconi Amorelli, M.T., M. Torelli, L. Cavagnaro Vanoni & M. Pallottino 1965: "Rivista di epigrafia etrusca". *SE* (33): 469-513.

Farney, G.D. 2010: "The name-changes of legendary Romans and the Etruscan-Latin bilingual inscriptions: strategies for Romanization". *EtrSt* (13): 149-157.

Flower, H.I. 1996: *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*. Oxford.

Futrell, A. 1997: *Blood in the Arena: the Spectacle of Roman Power*. Austin.

Gager, J. 1992: *Curse tablets and binding spells from the Ancient world*. Oxford.

Garland, R. 1985: *The Greek Way of Death*. Ithaca.

Ginge, B. 1996: "Identifying Gender in the Archaeological Record: Revising Our Stereotypes". *EtrSt* (3): 65-73.

Giuliano, A., Buzzi, G. 2002: *Etruschi*. Milano.

Guimond, L. 1981: "Aktaion". In Ackermann, H.C. & J.-R. Gisler (Eds.). *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Vol. 1. 454-469. Zurich.

Haarløv, B. 1977: *The half-open door: A common symbolic motif, within Roman sepulchral sculpture*. Odense.

Hallam, E. & J. Hockey 2001: *Death, Memory and Material Culture*. Oxford.

Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1945: "Etruscan Reliefs of the Hellenistic Period". *JHS* (65): 45-57.

Harris, W.V. 1965: "Roman Foedera in Etruria". *Historia* (14): 282-292.

--- 1971: *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*. Oxford.

Haynes, S. 1993: "Thoughts on a Winged Female Figure in the Funerary Sculpture of Chiusi of the Classical Period". In Olshki, L.S. (Ed.). *La civiltà di Chiusi e del suo territorio: atti del XVII convegno di studi etruschi ed italici*. 297-307. Firenze.

--- 2000: *Etruscan Civilization*. London.

Hencken, H. 1968a: *Tarquinia, Villanovans and Early Etruscans*.

--- 1968b: *Tarquinia and Etruscan Origins*. London.

Herbig, R. 1952: *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage*. Berlin.

Hodder, I. 1995: *Theory and Practice in Archaeology*. London.

--- 1999: *The Archaeological Process*. Oxford.

Holliday, P.J. 1990: "Processional Imagery in Late Etruscan Funerary Art". *AJA* (94): 73-93.

--- 1993: "Narrative Structures in the François Tomb". In Holliday, P.J. (Ed.). *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*. 175-197. Cambridge.

Holloway, R.R. 1965: "Conventions of Etruscan tomb painting in the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing at Tarquinia". *AJA* (69): 341-347.

--- 1986: "The Bulls in the Tomb of the Bulls at Tarquinia". *AJA* (90): 447-452.

--- 2006: "The Tomb of the Diver". *AJA* (110): 365-388.

Hope, V. 2007: *Death in ancient Rome: a sourcebook*. London.

Houlbrooke, R. 1989: *Death, ritual and bereavement*. London.

Humphreys, S.C. & H. King 1981: *Mortality and Immortality: The Anthropology and Archaeology of Death*. London.

Hupperetz, W., E. Pietroni, D. Pletinckx & M. Sannibale 2012: "The Regolini-Galassi Tomb revisited. 3D reconstruction as a research instrument". In Lulof, P.S. & I. van Kampen (Eds.). *Etruscans: Eminent Women, Powerful Men*. 172-176. Amsterdam.

Iaia, C. 1999: *Simbolismo funerario e ideologia, alle origini di una civiltà urbana. Forme rituali nelle sepulture 'villanoviane' a Tarquinia e Vulci, e nel loro entroterra*. Firenze.

Icard-Gianolio, N. 1997: "Potnia". In Ackermann, H.C. & J.-R. Gisler (Eds.). *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Vol. 8. 1021-1027. Zurich.

Isler, H.P. 1981: "Achlae/Acheloos". In Ackermann, H.C. & J.-R. Gisler (Eds.). *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Vol. 1. 12-36. Zurich.

Izzet, V. 1996: "Engraving the Boundaries: Exploring Space and Surface in Etruscan Funerary Architecture". In Wilkins, J. (Ed.). *Approaches to the Study of Ritual: Italy and the Ancient Mediterranean*. 55-72. London.

--- 2000: "Tuscan order: the development of Etruscan sanctuary architecture". In Bispham, E. & C.J. Smith (Eds.). *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy: Evidence and Experience*. 34-53. Edinburgh.

--- 2001: "Form and Meaning in Etruscan Ritual Space". *CArchJ* (11): 185-200.

--- 2007a: *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society*. Cambridge.

--- 2007b: "Etruria and the Etruscans, recent approaches". In Bradley, G., E. Isayev & C. Riva (Eds.). *Ancient Italy, Regions without Boundaries*. 114-130. Exeter.

--- 2007c: "Greeks make it; Etruscans fecit: the stigma of plagiarism in the reception of Etruscan art". *EtrSt* (10): 223-237.

Jacoby, F. (Ed.). 1926: *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker (F GR Hist)*. Vol. 2. Berlin.

Jannot, J.R. 1982: "La Tomba della Mercareccia à Tarquinia". *RBPh* (60): 101-135.

--- 1984a: "Sur les fausses portes étrusques des morts". *Latomus* (43): 273-283.

--- 1984b: *Les reliefs archaïques des Chiusi*. Paris.

--- 1987: "Sur la représentation étrusques des morts". In Hinard, F. (Ed.). *La mort, les morts et l'au-delà dans le monde romain*. 279-291. Caen.

--- 1991: "Charon et Charun: À propos d'un démon funéraire étrusque". *CRAI*: 443-464.

--- 1993a: "Charun, Tuchulcha et les autres". *MDAI(R)* (100): 59-81.

--- 1993b: "Phersu, Phersuna, Persona: À propos du masque étrusques". In *Spectacles sportifs et scéniques dans le monde étrusco-italique: actes de la table ronde organisée par l'Équipe de recherches étrusco-italiques de l'UMR 126 (CNRS, Paris) et l'École française de Rome, Rome, 3-4 mai 1991*. 281-320. Roma.

--- 1997: "Charu(n) et Vanth, divinités plurielles?". In Gaultier, F. & D. Briquel (Eds.). *Les Étrusques, les plus religieux des hommes: état de la recherche sur la religion étrusque*. 139-166. Paris.

--- 1998: *Devins, dieux et démons: regards sur la religion de l'Étrurie antique*. Paris.

--- 2000: "The Etruscans and the Afterworld". *EtrSt* (7): 81-99.

--- 2002: "Sur quelques rites villanoviens, et sur leur permanence". *SE* (65-68): 3-12.

--- 2005: *Religion in Ancient Etruria*. Madison.

Johnson, M.J. 1996: "The Mausoleum of Augustus: Etruscan and other influences on its design". In Hall, J.F. (Ed.). *Etruscan Italy: Etruscan influences on the civilizations of Italy from antiquity to the modern era*. 216-239. Provo.

Kaimio, J. 1975: "The Ousting of Etruscan by Latin in Etruria". In *Studies in the Romanization of Etruria, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae V*. 85-245. Roma.

Krauskopf, I. 1986: "Culsu". In Ackermann, H.C. & J.-R. Gisler (Eds.). *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Vol. 3. 308-309. Zurich.

--- 1987: *Todesdämonen und Totengötter im vorhellenistichen Etrurien. Kontinuität und Wandel*. Firenze.

--- 2006: "The Grave and Beyond". In de Grummond, N.T. & E. Simon (Eds.). *The Religion of the Etruscans*. 66-89. Austin.

Laneri, N. 2007: "An Archaeology of Funerary Rituals". In Laneri, N. (Ed.). *Performing death, social analyses of funerary traditions in the ancient near East and Mediterranean*. 1-13. Chicago.

Lawrence, D.H. 1992: *Sketches of Etruscan Places and Other Italian Essays*. Cambridge.

Leighton, R. 2004: *Tarquinia, an Etruscan city*. London.

--- 2005: "House Urns and Etruscan Tomb Painting: Tradition Versus Innovation in the 9^{th}-7^{th} centuries BC". *OJA* (24): 363-380.

Leighton, R. & C. Castelino 1990: "Thomas Dempster and Ancient Etruria: a Review of the Autobiography and de Etruria Regali". *PBSR* (58): 337-352.

Lewis, S. 1997: "Shifting Images: Athenian Women in Etruria". In Cornell, T. & K. Lomas (Eds.). *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy*. 141-154. London.

--- 2003: "Athenian pottery in its Italian context". In Wilkins, J.B. & E. Herring (Eds.). *Inhabiting symbols. Symbols and image in the ancient Mediterranean. Accordia Specialist Studies in the Mediterranean 5*. 175-192. London.

Linington, R.E. & F. Serra Ridgway 1997: *Lo scavo del Fondo Scataglini a Tarquinia: scavi della Fondazione Ing. Carlo M. Lerici del politecnico di Milano per la Soprintendenza archeologica dell'Etruria meridionale*. 2 vols. Milano.

Linington, R.E., F. Delpino & M. Pallottino 1978: "Alle origini di Tarquinia: scoperta di un abitato villanoviano sui Monterozzi". *SE* (46): 3-23.

Lowenstam, S. 2008: *As witnessed by images: the Trojan War tradition in Greek and Etruscan art*. Baltimore.

Lulof, P.S., M. Torelli, R. van Beek & M. Akkerman 2012: "The Etruscans and the others". In Lulof, P.S. & I. van Kampen (Eds.). *Etruscans: Eminent Women, Powerful Men*. 145-169. Amsterdam.

Lulof, P.S., T. van der Zon, L.B. van der Meer, R. van Beek & I. van Kampen 2012: "Goddesses, priests and temples". In Lulof, P.S. & I. van Kampen (Eds.). *Etruscans: Eminent Women, Powerful Men*. 109-143. Amsterdam.

Maggiani, A. 1997: "Réflexions sur la religion étrusque 'primitive': de l'époque villanovienne a l'époque archaique". In Gaultier, F. & D. Briquel (Eds.). *Les Étrusques, les plus religieux des hommes: état de la recherche sur la religion étrusque*. 431-447. Paris.

Mandolesi, A. 1999: *La 'Prima' Tarquinia: l'insediamento protostorico sulla Città e nel territorio circostante*, Firenze.

--- 2008: "Ricerca sui tumuli principeschi orientalizzanti di Tarquinia: prime indagini nell'area della Doganaccia". *Orizzonti* (9): 11-25.

Manino, L. 1980: "Semantica e struttura della figura demonica nel pittore orvietano della 'Vanth'". *AnnFaina* (1): 59-72.

Marchese, L. 1944-1945: "Tarquinia. Tombe etrusche e romane in località <Monterozzi, ai primi archi>". *NSA* (5 and 6): 7-22.

Martelli, M. 1975: "Un aspetto del commercio di manufatti artistici nel IV secolo a.C.: i sarcofagi in marmo". *Prospettiva*: 9-17.

Mavleev, E. 1981: "Amazones Etruscae". In Ackermann, H.C. & J.-R. Gisler (Eds.). *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Vol. 1. 654-662. Zurich.

Mavleev, E. & I. Krauskopf 1986: "Charu(n)". In Ackermann, H.C. & J.-R. Gisler (Eds.). *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Vol. 3. 225-235. Zurich.

Mengarelli, R. 1900: "Corneto-Tarquinia. Scavi nella necropoli tarquiniese". *NSA* (8): 561-569.

Metcalf, P. & R. Huntington 1991: *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*. 2nd ed. Cambridge.

Minetti, A. 2005: "La Tomba della Quadriga Infernale di Sarteano". *SE* (70): 135-159.

--- 2006: *La Tomba Della Quadriga Infernale nella Necropoli delle Pianacce di Sarteano*. Firenze.

Moltesen, M. & C. Weber-Lehmann 1991: *Catalogue of the Copies of Etruscan Tomb Paintings in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*. København.

Morandi, A. 1987: "La tomba degli Scudi di Tarquinia". *MEFRA* (99): 95-110.

Morandi, M. & G. Colonna 1996: "La gens titolare della tomba tarquiniese". *SE* (61): 95-102.

Moretti, M. 1959: "Tarquinia. La necropoli villanoviana <alle Rose>". *NSA* (13): 112-141.

Morris, I. 1992: *Death Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge.

--- 1994: *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*. Cambridge.

Moscati, S. 1999: *The Phoenicians*. New York.

Murray, O. 1988: "Death and the Symposion". *AION (archeol)* (10): 239-257.

Naccarato, V. 2000: *Cronaca degli scavi archeologici a Tarquinia dal 1862 al 1880. L'opera di Luigi Dasti.* Tarquinia.

Napoli, M. 1970: *La Tomba del tuffatore. La scoperta della grande pittura greca*. Bari.

Naso, A. 1990: "All'origine della pittura etrusca: decorazione parietale e architettura funeraria in Etruria meridionale nel VII sec. a.C.". *JRGZ* (37): 439-499.

--- 1996: *Architetture dipinte: Decorazioni parietali non figurate nelle tombe a camera dell'Etruria meridionale (VII-V sec. a.C.)*. Roma.

--- 1996: "Osservazioni sull'origine dei tumuli monumentali nell'Italia centrale". *ORom* (20): 69-85.

--- 2001: "Dalla capana alla casa: riflessi nell'architettura funeraria etrusca". In Rasmus Brandt, J. & L. Karlsson (Eds.). *From Huts to Houses: Transformations of Ancient Societies. Proceedings of an international seminar organized by the Norwegian and Swedish Institutes in Rome, 21-24 September 1997*. 29-39. Stockholm.

--- 2007: "Etruscan Style of Dying: Funerary Architecture, Tomb Groups, and Social Range at Caere and Its Hinterland during the Seventh-Sixth Centuries B.C.". In Laneri, N. (Ed.). *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. 141-162. Chicago.

Neri, L. 2002: *Materiali del Museo archeologico nazionale di Tarquinia. 14, Gli specchi etruschi*. Roma.

Oakley, S. 1998: *A Commentary on Livy: Books VI-X*. Vol. 2. Oxford.

Oleson, J.P. 1975: "Greek myth and Etruscan imagery in the Tomb of the Bulls at Tarquinia". *AJA* (79): 189-200.

--- 1982: *The Sources of Innovation in Later Etruscan Tomb Design*.

Osborne, R. 2001: "Why did Athenian Pots Appeal to the Etruscans?". *World Archaeology* (33): 277-295.

Pace, B., R. Vighi, G. Ricci & M. Moretti 1955: *Caere, scavi di Raniero Mengarelli*. Roma.

Pader, E.J. 1982: *Symbolism, Social Relations and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains*. Oxford.

Pacciarelli, M. 2006: *Dal Villaggio Alla Città: la svolta protourbana del 1000 a.C. nell'Italia tirrenica*, Firenze.

Pairault Massa, F.-H. 2001: "La tombe des Lionnes à Tarquinia. Emprion, cultes et société". *SE* (64): 43-70.

Pallottino, M. 1937: *Tarquinia*. Milano.

--- 1943: "Tarquinia. Rinvenimenti fortuiti nella Necropoli e nel Territorio (1930-1938)". *NSA* (4): 213-264.

--- 1952: *Etruscan Painting*. Geneva.

--- 1971: *The Etruscans*. London.

--- 1986: "Introduction". In Steingräber, S. (Ed.). *Etruscan Wall Painting: Catalogue Raisonné of Etruscan Wall Painting*. 11-17. New York.

Parker-Pearson, M. 1993: "The Powerful Dead: Archaeological Relationships Between the Living and the Dead". *CArchJ* (3): 203-229.

--- 1999: *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. Sutton.

Paschinger, E. 1983: "Die Giebelfresken in der Tomba dei Tori/Tarquinia". *AW* (14): 33-39.

--- 1988: "Die etruskische Todesgöttin Vanth". *AW* (19): 39-45.

Perkins, P. 1999: *Etruscan Settlement, Society and Material Culture in Central Coastal Etruria*. Oxford.

Pernier, L. 1925: "Tumulo con tomba monumentale al Sodo presso Cortona". *MAAL* (30): 89-127.

Pfiffig, A. 1975: *Religio Etrusca*. Graz.

Pieraccini, L. 2000: "Families, Feasting, and Funerals". *EtrSt* (7): 35-49.

Pontrandolfo, A. 1995: "Simposio e Élites Sociali nel Mondo Etrusco e Italico". In Murray, O. & M. Tecusan (Eds.). *In Vino Veritas*. 176-195. London.

Prayon, F. 1975: *Frühetruskische Grab-und Hausarchitektur*. Heidelberg.

--- 1977: "Todesdämonen und die Troilossage in der frühetruskischen Kunst". *RM* (82): 165-179.

--- 1986: "Architecture". In Bonfante, L. (Ed.). *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*. 174-201. Warminster.

--- 1997: "Sur l'orientation des édifices cultuels". In Gaultier, F. & D. Briquel (Eds.). *Les Étrusques, les plus religieux des hommes: état de la recherche sur la religion étrusque*. 357-372. Paris.

--- 2001: "Tomb Architecture". In Torelli, M. (Ed.). *The Etruscans*. 335-434. London.

Rathje, A. 1990: "The Adoption of the Homeric Banquet in Central Italy in the Orientalizing Period". In Murray, O. (Ed.). *Sympotica: A symposium on the Symposion*. 279-288. Oxford.

--- 1994: "Banquet and Ideology: some new considerations about banqueting at Poggio Civitate". In de Puma, R.D. & J.P. Small (Eds.). *Murlo and the Etruscans*. 95-99. Madison.

--- 1995: "Il Banchetto in Italia Centrale: Quale Stile di Vita?". In Murray, O. & M. Tecusan (Eds.). *In Vino Veritas*. 167-175. London.

Rebuffat-Emmanuel, D. 1983: "Le jeu du Phersu à Tarquinia; nouvelle interprétation". *CRAI*: 421-438.

Rhodes, D.E. 1973: *Dennis of Etruria: the Life of George Dennis*. London.

Ridgway, D. 1988: "The Etruscans". In Boardman, J., et al. (Eds.). *Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 4. 2nd ed. 634-675. Cambridge.

--- 1999: "The rehabilitation of Bocchoris: notes and queries from Italy". *JEA* (85): 143-152.

Riva, C. 1998: "Funerary Ritual, Cultural Identity and Memory in Orientalizing South Etruria". In *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*. 331-335. Amsterdam.

--- 2006: "The Orientalizing Period in Etruria: Sophisticated Communities". In Riva, C. & N. Vella (Eds.). *Debating Orientalization: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Change in the Ancient Mediterranean*. 110-134. London.

--- 2010: *The Urbanisation of Etruria*. Cambridge.

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 de ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome et l'Unité de recherches étrusco-italiques associée au CNRS (UA 1132): Rome 19-21 novembre 1987*. 229-243. Roma.

--- 1996: "Laris Pulenas and Sisyphos: Mortals, Heroes and Demons in the Etruscan Underworld". *EtrSt* (3): 45-64.

--- 1997: "Iconographie funéraire et topographie de l'au-delà en Étrurie". In Gaultier, F. & D. Briquel (Eds.). *Les Étrusques, les plus religieux des hommes: état de la recherche sur la religion étrusque*. 37-54. Paris.

--- 2001: "Painting". In Torelli, M. (Ed.). *The Etruscans*. 345-363. London.

Scheffer, C. 1991: "Harbingers of Death? The female demon in late Etruscan funerary art". In Leander Touati, A.M., E. Rystedt & Ö. Wikander (Eds.). *Munuscula Romana*. 51-63. Stockholm.

--- 1994: "The Arched Door in Late Etruscan Funerary Art". In Small, J.P. (Ed.). *Murlo and the Etruscans*. 196-210. Madison.

Scullard, H.H. 1967: *The Etruscan Cities and Rome*. London.

Serra Ridgway, F. 1991: "Etruscan art and culture: a bibliography (1978-1990)". *JRA* (4): 5-27.

--- 2000a: "The Tomb of the Anina Family: some motifs in late Tarquinian painting". In Ridgway, D., et al. (Eds.). *Ancient Italy in its Mediterranean Setting: Studies in Honour of Ellen Macnamara*. 301-316. London.

--- 2000b: "Etruscan Mirrors and Archaeological Context". *JRA* (13): 407-418.

Sgubini Moretti, A.M. (Ed.). 2001: *Tarquinia etrusca: una nuova storia*. Roma.

Simon, E. 2006: "Gods in Harmony: The Etruscan Pantheon". In de Grummond, N.T. & E. Simon (Eds.). *The Religion of the Etruscans*. 45-65. Austin.

Sinos, R.H. 1994: "Godlike Men: A Discussion of the Murlo Procession Frieze". In Small, J.P. (Ed.). *Murlo and the Etruscans*. 100-117. Madison.

Small, J.P. 1981: *Studies Related to the Theban Cycle on Late Etruscan Urns*. Wisconsin.

--- (Ed.). 1994a: *Murlo and the Etruscans*. Madison.

--- 1994b: "Eat, Drink, and Be Merry: Etruscan Banquets". In Small, J.P. (Ed.). *Murlo and the Etruscans*. 85-94. Madison.

Smith, C.J. 1994: "A review of the archaeological studies in Iron-Age and Archaic Latium". *JRA* (7): 285-302.

--- 1996: *Early Rome and Latium: economy and society, c. 1000 to 500 BC*. Oxford.

--- 2007: "Cult and Ritual: The Archaeology of Roman Religion". In Alcock, S. & R. Osborne (Eds.). *Blackwell Companion to Classical Archaeology*. 263-285.

Sordi, M. 1987: "Tarquinia e Roma". In Bonghi Jovino, M. (Ed.). *Tarquinia: Ricerche, Scavi e Prospettive*. 159-170. Roma.

Spinola, G. 1987: "Vanth: Osservazioni iconografiche". *RdA* (11): 56-67.

Spivey, N. 1997: *Etruscan Art*. London.

Spivey, N. & S. Stoddart 1990: *Etruscan Italy*. London.

Staccioli, R.A. 1980: "Le finte porte dipinte nelle tombe arcaiche etrusche". *QIASA* (1): 1-17.

Stefani, E. 1954: "Tarquinia (Viterbo). Scoperta di due tombe etrusche dipinte". *NSA* (8): 185-194.

Steingräber, S. 1986: "The Distribution of Tomb Painting in Etruria; Tarquinia: Topography, History, and Art; Funerary Architecture; The Orientalising Period; The Hellenistic Period; Catalogue of Etruscan Tomb Paintings". In Steingräber, S. (Ed.). *Etruscan Wall Painting: Catalogue Raisonné of Etruscan Wall Painting*. New York.

--- 1987: "Neuentdeckung eines bemalten Kammergrabes in Tarquinia". *AW* (18): 56-57.

--- 1995: "Funerary Architecture in Chiusi". *EtrSt* (2): 53-83.

--- 1996: "New Discoveries and Research in Southern Etruscan Rock Tombs". *EtrSt* (3): 75-104.

--- 1997: "Le culte des morts et les monuments de pierre des nécropolises étrusques". In Gaultier, F. & D. Briquel (Eds.). *Les Étrusques, les plus religieux des hommes: état de la recherche sur la religion étrusque*. 97-116. Paris.

--- 2001: "The Process of Urbanization of Etruscan Settlements from the Late Villanovan to the late Archaic Period". *EtrSt* (8): 7-33.

--- 2006: *Abundance of Life: Etruscan Wall Painting*. Los Angeles.

--- 2009: " The Cima Tumulus at San Giuliano-an Aristocratic Tomb and Monument for the Cult of the Ancestors of the Late Orientalizing Period". In Gleba, M. & H. Becker (Eds.). *Votives, Places and Rituals in Etruscan Religion*. 123-133. Leiden.

Tanci, S. & C. Toroioli 2002: *Materiali del Museo archeologico nazionale di Tarquinia. 15, La ceramica italo-geometrica*. Roma.

Terrenato, N. 1998: "Tam Firmum Municipium: the Romanization of Volaterrae and Its Cultural Implications". *JRS* (88): 94-114.

Tesei, C. 1991-1992: "I rinvenimenti di monete etrusche: primi risultati di una ricerca". *AAEC* (25): 171-249.

Thuillier, J.-P. 1997: "La Tombe des Olympiades de Tarquinia ou Les jeux étrusques ne sont pas les concours grecs". *Nikephoros* (10): 257-264.

Toms, J. 1992-1993: "Symbolic expression in Iron Age Tarquinia: the case of the biconical urn". *HBA* (19-20): 139-161.

Torelli, M. 1969: "Senatori etruschi della tarda repubblica e dell'impero". *DArch* (3): 285-363.

--- 1975: *Elogia Tarquiniensia*. Firenze.

--- 1997: *Il rango, il rito e l'immagine: Alle origini della rappresentazione storica romana*. Milano.

--- 2001: "The Hellenization of Etruria". In Torelli, M. (Ed.). *The Etruscans*. 141-155. London.

Toynbee, J.M.C. 1971: *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. London.

Tuck, A.S. 1994: "The Etruscan Seated Banquet: Villanovan Ritual and Etruscan Iconography". *AJA* (98): 617-628.

--- 2009: "On the origin of Vanth: death harbingers and banshees in the Etruscan and Celtic worlds". In Sinclair, B. & H. Nagy (Eds.). *New perspectives on Etruria and early Rome*. 251-263.

Turfa, J.M. 1977: "Evidence for Etruscan-Punic Relations". *AJA* (81): 368-374.

--- 1986: "International Contacts: Commerce, Trade, and Foreign Affairs". In Bonfante, L. (Ed.). *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*. 66-91. Warminster.

Turner, T.S. 1977: "Transformation, Hierarchy and Transcendence: A Reformulation of Van Gennep's Model of the Structure of Rites de Passage". In Moore, S. & B.G. Myerhoff (Eds.). *Secular Ritual*. 53-70. Amsterdam.

Turner, V. 1977: "Variations on a Theme of Liminality". In Moore, S. & B.G. Myerhoff (Eds.). *Secular Ritual*. 36-52. Amsterdam.

Ucko, P.J. 1969: "Ethnography and Archaeological Interpretations of Funerary Remains". *World Archaeology* (1): 262-280.

Van der Meer, L.B. 1993: "Tragédie et réalité: programmes iconographiques des sarcophages étrusques". In *Spectacles sportifs et scéniques dans le monde étrusco-italique: actes de la table ronde organisée par l'Équipe de recherches étrusco-italiques de l'UMR 126 (CNRS, Paris) et l'École française de Rome, Rome, 3-4 mai 1991*. 379-393. Roma.

--- 1995: *Interpretatio Etrusca: Greek Myth on Etruscan Mirrors*. Amsterdam.

--- 2001: "Decorated Etruscan Stone Sarcophagi: A Chronological and Bibliographical Appendix to R. Herbig, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage* (Berlin 1952)". *BABesch* (76): 79-100.

--- 2004: *Myths and More on Etruscan Stone Sarcophagi (c. 350 - c. 200 B.C.)*. Louvain.

--- 2007: *Liber Linteus Zagrabiensis: the Linen Book of Zagreb*. Louvain.

--- 2011: *Etrusco ritu. Case studies in Etruscan Ritual Behaviour*. Louvain.

van Gennep, A. 1960: *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago.

van Kampen, I. 2009: "Stone Sculpture in the Context of Etruscan Tombs: a Note on its Position". In Gleba, M. & H. Becker (Eds.). *Votives, Places and Rituals in Etruscan Religion*. 135-155. Leiden.

van Kampen, I., G. Bartoloni, R. van Beek, J.H. Crouwel & F. Boitani 2012: "Princes, princesses and palaces". In Lulof, P.S. & I. van Kampen (Eds.). *Etruscans: Eminent Women, Powerful Men*. 77-106. Amsterdam.

Vickers, M. 1985-1986: "Imaginary Etruscans: changing perceptions of Etruria since the fifteenth century". *Hephaistos* (7-8): 153-168.

Vincenti, V. 2007: "La Tomba Bruschi di Tarquinia". *Ostraka* (16): 93-103.

--- 2009: *Materiali del Museo archeologico nazionale di Tarquinia. 17, La tomba Bruschi di Tarquinia*. Roma.

von Freytag-Löringhoff, B. 1986: *Das Giebelrelief von Telamon und seine Stellung innerhalb der Ikonographie der "Sieben gegen Theben"*. Mainz.

Walberg, G. 1986: "The Tomb of the Baron reconsidered". *SE* (54): 51-59.

Wallace, R.E. 2008: *Zikh Rasna: a manual of the Etruscan language and inscriptions*. Ann Arbor.

Weber-Lehmann, C. 1985: "Spätarchaische Gelagebilder in Tarquinia". *RM* (92): 19-44.

--- 1986: "The Archaic Period; The "Classical" Period". In Steingräber, S. (Ed.). *Etruscan Wall Painting: Catalogue Raisonné of Etruscan Wall Painting*. 44-53; 53-57. New York.

--- 1995: "Polyphem in der Unterwelt? Zur Tomba dell'Orco II in Tarquinia". *RM* (102): 71-100.

--- 1997: "Die sogenannte Vanth von Tuscania: Seirene anasyromene". *JdI* (112): 191-246.

--- 1998: "Vanth". In Ackermann, H.C. & J.-R. Gisler (Eds.). *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. 8. 173-183. Zurich.

Weir, A.J. Forthcoming: "Books of the Dead: Symbolic Representations of Writing in the 5^{th} – 2^{nd} centuries BC". In Whitehouse, R., J. Wilkins & K. Lomas (Eds.). *Etruscan Literacy in its Social Context*. London.

Whitehouse, R., J. Wilkins & K. Lomas (Eds.). Forthcoming: *Etruscan Literacy in its Social Context*. London.

Wiseman, T.P. 2004: *The Myths of Rome*. Exeter.

Zamarchi Grassi, P. 2000: "Il Tumulo del Sodo di Cortona (Arezzo)". In Dore, A., M. Marchesi & L. Minarini (Eds.). *Principi etruschi tra Mediterraneo ed Europa*. 140-142. Bologna.