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Textiles and Identity seen through Etruscan Tomb Paintings

Introduction

The subject of this article is the textiles depicted in Etruscan tomb painting, investigated recently for a BA project. They have been illustrated in great detail, posing a question whether this reflects a special meaning and status of textiles in Etruscan society? While it is usually the significance of the iconography of the tomb paintings that is discussed, it is also important to look at the depicted textiles because they may reflect social and economic conditions besides status, fashion and identity. In other words, the textiles can tell us about the standards and norms of the past and in that way provide us with a greater understanding of the society. This is particularly relevant because, except for a few inscriptions, contemporary literary Etruscan sources are lacking, so our knowledge about the Etruscans and their habits is based on what we know from Greek and Roman historians and writers, as well as archaeological and iconographic sources. The latter provide pictorial representations of textile production and technology (Gleba 2008, 29-30), while the tomb paintings give us examples of the finished products. Therefore, the iconography of the Etruscan tomb paintings is a useful instrument for studying textiles. Combined with other archaeological material they can provide us with new information. The aim of this paper is thus to examine the types and function of the textiles depicted in Etruscan tomb paintings, as well as to observe their change through time. I also want to explore if differences or changes in patterns and use of color are visible within different periods. Finally I want to investigate if there was any particular identity connected to certain textiles based on their patterns and colors.

Background

Etruria, usually referred to by Greek and Roman writers as Tyrrhenia, refers to a region in Central Italy which in its heyday was bordered by the Arno River to the north and the Apennines and the Tiber River to the south. To the west the region was bordered by the Tyrrhenian Sea. The Etruscans called themselves Rasna or Rasenna. Today the region is located in that area which covers Tuscany, and part of Latium, Emilia-Romagna and Umbria. Etruscan civilization developed from the beginning of the 1st millennium BC. The Early Iron Age settlements consisted of a small number of huts, but eventually they grew into larger urban centres with high social stratification. The monumental, chamber tombs of the 7th century BC (the Orientalising period) contained a huge amount of rich grave goods in precious materials, indicating that the upper class had adapted a common aristocratic culture belonging to the elite throughout the Mediterranean region. The Etruscans organized themselves into independent city states, each of which would control a larger territory. One of the most important and prominent Etruscan cities was Tarquinia, Tarchuna in Etruscan. The modern town formerly known as Corneto is located on a plateau c. 75 km north-west of Rome, some 6 km away from the Tyrrhenian coastline. In 1922 the town reverted to its ancient name, Tarquinia. The modern town is the medieval successor of the ancient city, which was located on a limestone plateau north of the current town, called Piano della Civita (Bonghi Jovino 2010, 161-180). The ancient city occupied a system of plateaus, hillocks and valleys flanking the river Marta (Leighton 2004, 32). According to some written sources, Tarchon, a mythological hero was probably the founder of Tarquinia. With a surface



Kat. A	himation	chiton	tebenna	loincloth	toga	mantle	hairband
Tomb 1	X						
Tomb 2	X						
Tomb 3	X	X		X			
Tomb 4	X	X	X				
Tomb 5	X		X				
Tomb 6	X	X		X		X	
Tomb 7	X			X			
Tomb 8	X						X
Tomb 9	X						
Tomb 10	X				X		

Kat. B	himation	chiton	tebenna	backmantle	hoodmantle	short tunic	tutulus	hairband
Tomb 1		X		X			X	X?
Tomb 2		X			X		X	
Tomb 3		X			X		X	
Tomb 4	X	X						
Tomb 5		X	X	X		X		
Tomb 6	X	X		X		X	X	
Tomb 7	X	X		X				
Tomb 8	X	X						X
Tomb 9	X	X						X ?
Tomb 10	X	X						

Kat. C	blankets	cover	cushions	ribbons	awning	baldachine
Tomb 1			X	X	X	
Tomb 2				X		
Tomb 3				X		
Tomb 4	X	X	X		X	
Tomb 5	X	X	X	X		
Tomb 6	X	X	X		X	X
Tomb 7	X	X	X	X		
Tomb 8	X	X	X		X	
Tomb 9					X	
Tomb 10	X		X			

Table 1. Textiles.

A) men

B) women

C) utilitarian textiles



area of some 133 hectares, Tarquinia was one of the largest cities in Etruria. Tarquinia became an important trade centre with the emporium at Gravisca, which was founded in the 6th century BC as the harbour of Tarquinia (Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 167). It was marked by the cosmopolitan atmosphere formed by the artists, craftsmen and merchants coming from Greece, Minor Asia and the Near East. A number of Greek sanctuaries have been excavated of which the earliest have been dedicated to Aphrodite. Tarquinia came into conflict with Rome on several occasions and was finally defeated definitively in the 3rd century BC.

Tomb Paintings

The city is famous and known for its painted chamber tombs. The tomb paintings span nearly four centuries, dating from the first quarter of the 6th century BC to the end of the 3rd century BC. The main cemetery of Tarquinia is the Monterozzi located on a ridge south-west of the ancient city. It contains mostly rock-cut chamber tombs dating from the 6th century BC. Roughly 80 % of all known examples are found here. Tarquinia was the most important site for Etruscan tomb painting. Besides Tarquinia, a number of tomb paintings are recorded in other Etruscan cities: 14 in Chiusi, 11 in Cerveteri, 3 in Vulci, 3 in the environs of Orvieto, 2 each in Veii, Blera, Sarteano, Magliano Toscano and Populonia and 1 each in Bomarzo, Cosa, Grotte San Stefano, Orte, San Giuliano and Tuscania (Steingraber 2006, 308-311). The oldest tomb paintings from the 7th century BC are found in Veii and Cerveteri. Roughly 6000 known chamber tombs have been located in Tarquinia and only 2.5% of these are painted. The chamber tombs tend to imitate houses and mostly have a single chamber, although two-, three- or four-chamber tombs with a cruciform ground plan are also known. In some cases, the chamber tomb tends to imitate a tent or pavilion with the painted ceiling imitating a textile. The floor plans of the rooms are mostly rectangular and the dimensions vary from 4 to 260 m² (Steingraber 2006, 15-16).

The paintings were executed on a foundation of plaster. In the early tomb paintings the layer was very thin but later on the foundation became roughly 2 cm thick. The initial preparatory drawing would be incised on the wall before painting was applied. In Archaic wall paintings (c. 6th century BC), the incising and the application of the colour were carried out while the plaster was still wet. The pigments used for colouring derived either from minerals or plants. It has been established that white was made of chalk, reds from oxide of iron, blue from lapis lazuli and black from charcoal. During the first half of the 7th century BC only black, white and red were used and

sometimes yellow was added. Later blue and green were introduced and by mixing and/or diluting these colours a varied and nuanced scale of tones was obtained. This is particularly seen during the Archaic period, since the palette became more restricted from the 4th century BC onwards (Pallottino 1952, 18-19). It is likely that leading artists would design the work but unfortunately no information about painters, artists and workshops exist, so they remain unknown to us, despite the research that has helped to identify the hands of several artists. The great majority of Tarquinia's tomb paintings were executed in the decades between 530 and 490 BC (Steingraber 2006, 16, 29).

Methods

My study is based on examination and registration of tomb paintings from ten tombs at Tarquinia, Monterozzi, dating roughly from 520 to 325 BC. The wide chronological dating enables me to follow developments over a period of 200 years allowing to observe change through time. Besides chronology, accessibility (only few of the painted tombs are publically accessible) and their present condition (many paintings have completely deteriorated since their discovery) have been important criteria for choosing these specific tombs. In each tomb only the registration of the back, left and right walls was done, since in most cases the paintings of the entrance walls have deteriorated. The dating for the tombs is based on Steingraber 2006 (pp. 308-309), revised since the original publication of his catalogue (Steingraber 1986). The tombs have been numbered consecutively. The ten tombs chosen are as follows:

Tomb 1: Tomb of the Lionesses (Tomba delle Leonesse), 520 BC, Steingraber no. 77.

Tomb 2: Tomb of the Baron (Tomba del Barone), 510/500 BC, Steingraber no. 44.

Tomb 3: Tomb Cardarelli (Tomba Cardarelli), 510/500 BC, Steingraber no. 53.

Tomb 4: Tomb of the Leopards (Tomba dei Leopardi), 480 BC, Steingraber no. 81.

Tomb 5: Tomb of the Triclinium (Tomba del Triclinio) 470 BC, Steingraber no. 121.

Tomb 6: Tomb of the Funerary Bed (Tomba del Letto Funebre), 460 BC, Steingraber no. 82.

Tomb 7: Tomb 5513 (Tomba 5513), 450 BC, Steingraber no. 162.

Tomb 8: Tomb of the Ship (Tomba della Nave), 450-425 BC, Steingraber no. 91.

Tomb 9: Tomb of the Warrior (Tomba del Guerriero), 400-350 BC, Steingraber no. 73.

Tomb 10: Tomb of the Shields (Tomba degli Scudi), 350-325 BC, Steingraber no. 109.

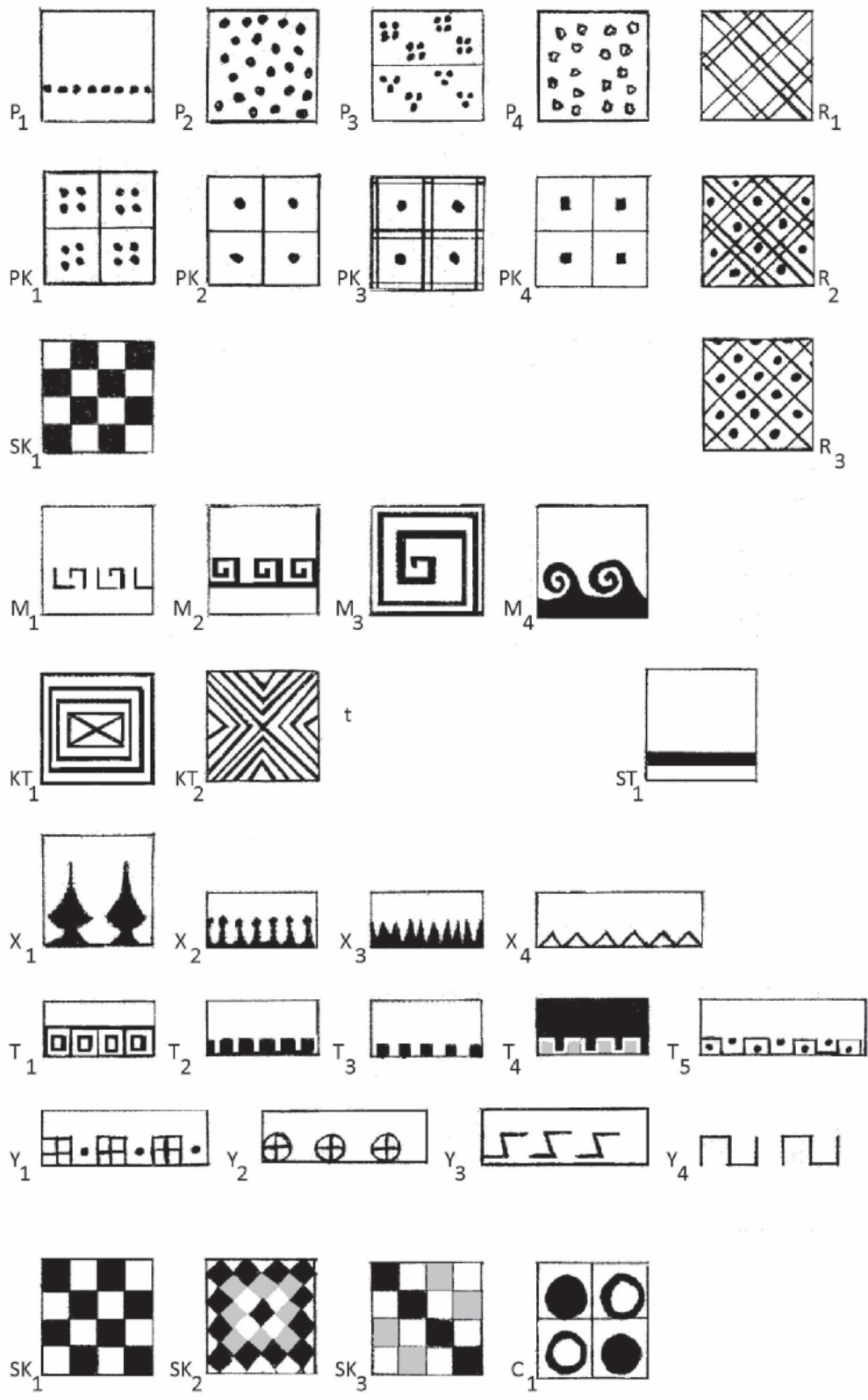


Fig. 1. Patterns in analysed tomb paintings (Drawing by the author).



In addition to the direct observations, I have consulted publications of the individual tombs for my study (Moretti 1966; Steingraber 1986; Moltesen and Weber-Lehmann 1992). I have divided the textiles into two categories: clothing textiles and utilitarian textiles. The clothing textiles are further divided into male and female, with further subdivisions for patterns and colours.

Analysis

The results of my investigation are summarised in Tables 1-3. Mutually they show connections between individual textiles, their patterns and colours. In addition, the patterns have been classified so that each pattern is given its own 'code', respectively a letter and a number (Fig. 1), which not only simplified the registration of the patterns, but also illustrates their variety. In the case of colours, nuances and shades have not been taken into consideration, as the colours change from tomb to tomb depending on the pigment, e.g. from a red-brown to dark red. Differences could also be a result of the state of preservation of specific tomb. Thus, the varieties of colours red and white are only registered as red and white in Table 3. Table 1 illustrates both clothing and utilitarian textiles depicted in the analysed tombs. Garments used by both men and women include the himation, chiton and the tebenna (Fig. 2). In Tomb 8 a hair-band is used by both male and female banqueters. Garments specific to men are the loincloth (Tomb 3), the toga (Tomb 10) and a 'warrior-mantle' seen in Tomb 6. Steingraber refers to a male dancer wearing both mantle and weapons as an armed dancer and a dancing warrior (Steingraber 2006, 141,193). Otherwise the back-mantle (Fig. 2.1) is used by women in four tombs (Tombs 1, 5, 6, 7) and the hood-mantle (Fig. 2.2) in two (Tombs 5 and 6). The female headgear tutulus is seen in three tombs (Tombs 1, 2, 3) and possibly in Tomb 6.

Clothing textiles, function

Male clothing textiles

The most common male garment depicted in the analysed tombs is a himation. In the vast majority of tombs it is used by the banqueters. Often banquet includes music and dance and the himation is also worn by musicians and dancers (Tombs 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9). In some cases, it is only wrapped around the lower part of the body as seen worn by musicians, servants and participants of processions (Tombs 1, 4, 6). Furthermore, it is also used by the banqueters in Tomb 1. The function of the himation does not change over time (Tombs 1-10). In Tombs 4 and 5 a change in style is noted. The depiction of the himation is more flowing and billowing.

The chiton is used in only three tombs (Tombs 3, 4, 6). In Tomb 6 it is used without a himation by two young men holding a horse. Chiton is no longer depicted in Tombs 7-10, suggestion it was no longer in use/fashion. The Etruscan mantle, tebenna (Fig. 2.1) is worn by a participant of a procession and a dancer in Tombs 4 and 5 respectively. The loincloth is worn by participants in funeral games. The toga is used by two musicians in Tomb 10. In one tomb hair-bands are used by men instead of the more common wreath.

Female clothing textiles

In female dress, the himation is always used over a chiton and is worn by banquet participants and, in a single case, in a procession (Tomb 10). Only in Tomb 6 it is draped over a chiton like a skirt around the lower part of the body. The chiton is worn under a hood-mantle in Tombs 2 and 3 and used by female dancers (Tomb 1, 3, 4, 5, 6) and by a single flute player in Tomb 3. Worn by servants and maids, it is used without any other garments as seen in Tombs 3 and 10. In Tomb 1, the chiton is used by itself by one of the dancers while it is worn with another garment by female dancers in other tombs. In Tomb 3, the dancer wears a hood-mantle, while in Tombs 1, 5 and 7 the dancers wear a back-mantle. In Tomb 4 a tebenna (Fig. 2.3) is worn by several of the female dancers but the garment is draped differently on each one, which may have both a practical purpose in their dance as well as a ritual one. One of the female dancers in Tomb 1 wears a tutulus; in Tombs 2 and 3 it is worn under a hood-mantle. Hair-band is only used in Tomb 8 by the male and the female banqueters. The hair-band does not look like a wreath or a diadem which usually adorns the hair of dancers in other tombs.

Women's use of the himation continues throughout the period examined and its function remain unchanged. The chiton changes its character and style in Tomb 5 where it appears more flowing and billowing on the dancing women compared to the dancers in Tomb 1. The chiton continues to be worn at a banquet. The tebenna, the hood-mantle and the short tunic (Fig. 2.3) which primarily seem to be used in connection with dance cease to be depicted in later tombs. The reason for this could be that the subject matter changes and female dancers are no longer depicted. This tendency is obvious in Tombs 8, 9, and 10 where only male dancers are shown.

The use of the hood-mantle also discontinues, although it is only depicted in Tombs 2 and 3. On the bell-shaped tintinnabulum from Bologna (Gleba 2008, 30, Fig. 8), all the women depicted wear the mantle pulled over the head and as they belong to the elite, it could signify a certain degree of status. It could also



Fig. 2.1. Tomb 5513 (reworked and adapted by author from Moltesen & Weber- Lehmann 1992, 37, fig. 1.23).

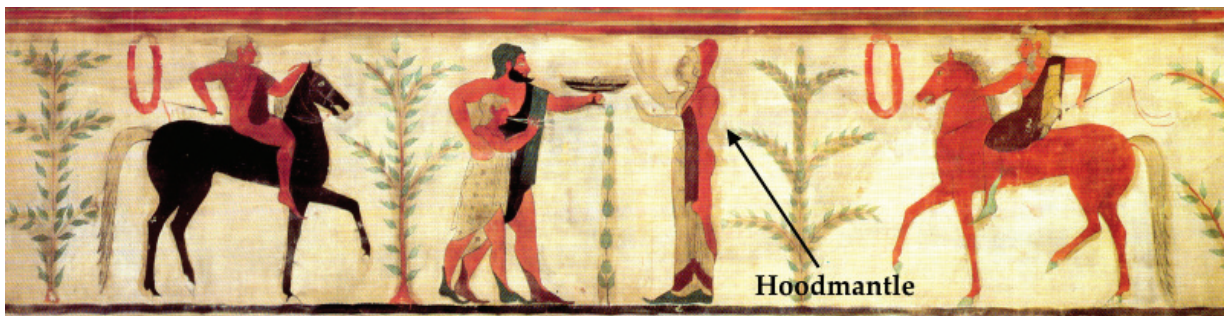


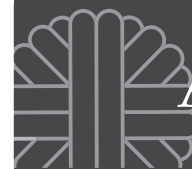
Fig. 2.2. Tomb of the Baron (reworked and adapted by author from Moltesen & Weber- Lehmann 1992, 70, fig. 1.63).



Fig. 2.3. Tomb of the Triclinium (reworked and adapted by author from Moltesen & Weber- Lehmann 1992, 37, fig. 1.24).



Fig. 2.4. Tomb of the Leopards (reworked and adapted by author from Moltesen & Weber- Lehmann 1992, 32, fig. 1.14).



Kat. A									
Tomb 1	P1	M4	ST1	X3					
Tomb 2	P3								
Tomb 3	P1	PK2	R3						
Tomb 4	P3	ST1							
Tomb 5	P1	ST1	X3						
Tomb 6	P1	ST1		ST1					
Tomb 7	P1	P2	P3	ST1					
Tomb 8	P1	M2	ST1	T3	X3				
Tomb 9	P1	ST1							
Tomb 10									

Kat. B									
Tomb 1	P3	ST1	T4						
Tomb 2									
Tomb 3	P1	P2	ST1	X4					
Tomb 4	ST1								
Tomb 5	P2	P3	ST1	X3	X4				
Tomb 6	P3	ST1							
Tomb 7	P2	P3	P4	ST1?					
Tomb 8	P1	P4	ST1	X3					
Tomb 9	P1	ST1							
Tomb 10	P1	ST1	T3	X1	X2	X3			

Kat. C									
Tomb 1	P1	P3	P3						SK1
Tomb 2									
Tomb 3									
Tomb 4	R1								SK3
Tomb 5	PK1	ST1	X3						SK3
Tomb 6	P3	PK4	Y1	Y2	Y3	Y4			SK2
Tomb 7	P1	PK3	T4?	T5					
Tomb 8	P1	SK1	ST1	X3					SK3?
Tomb 9									C1
Tomb 10	SK1	M1	M2	M3	KT1	KT2	T1	T3	T4

Table 2. Patterns.

A) men

B) women

C) utilitarian textiles.

(The codes in bold to the right refer to the patterns of the awnings).



be a symbol connected to death and in the specific tombs symbolise the deceased woman. In the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing (Tomba della Caccia e Pesca; (Steingraber 1986, no. 50) a female banqueter is also depicted with her mantle pulled up over her head.

Patterns

Table 2 shows that in seven tombs the patterns (Fig.1) used with most frequency on clothing textiles are P1 and ST1 (Tombs 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9). P3 and X3 are both used in three tombs. In Tomb 2 only a single pattern P3 is used on a himation. In Tombs 1 and 8 several different patterns are depicted respectively M4, M2 and T3. Likewise Tomb 3 offers a unique use of patterns, PK2 and R3, depicted on the clothing textiles. In Tomb 10, a lack of pattern on male garments is registered, it is rather unusual. In a few cases there appears to be a differentiation in the use of pattern shown on male and female garments. Patterns M4 (Tomb 1) and M2 (Tomb 8) only appear on men, while patterns T4 (Tomb 1) and X4 (Tomb 5) are only shown on women. Otherwise, it seems that the same patterns are used for male and female garments. Pattern ST1 is the most common, with P1 (Tombs 1, 3, 8, 9, 10) and P3 (Tombs 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7) also being frequent. In tomb 10 a new repertoire of patterns shown on women, X1 and X2, seems to be introduced.

Colours

Table 3 shows that in male clothing, both red and white are the most registered colours. Black, brown and blue are used relatively regularly throughout the period examined. The colour green is used in Tomb 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7. The only colour not registered for men is orange. On the other hand it is used by women as Tombs 1, 3 and 5. Blue and green are used less in for female clothing than for male and colour black is only registered in two tombs (Tombs 1, 3) Otherwise, the use of red, white and brown are nearly the same in female and male clothing.

Discussion

Tables 1-3 demonstrate that there was no sharp division in the use of textiles between the two sexes, but instead a common use of certain garments, patterns and colours is in evidence. Himation and chiton are the garments most frequently used by both sexes. The typical Etruscan garments including tebenna, hood-mantle, back-mantle, tutulus and short tunic seem to disappear over time and are no longer depicted after the middle of the 5th century BC. It could be the result of a change in fashion, or influence of Greek style (Haynes 2000, 132). In later period, the expansion of Roman civilization probably also affected the fashion.

The commonest patterns are P1, P3, ST1 and X3, with P2 and T3 following. In terms of colours, red and white are the most used colours both in male and female garments, with brown, green and blue following. Orange is the only colour seen only on women.

Utilitarian textiles

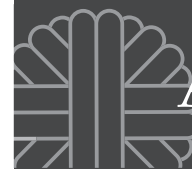
Category C mostly includes blankets, covers, cushions and ribbons. Blankets (Fig. 2.4) and cushions are depicted most frequently as they are associated with banqueting scenes which are depicted in Tombs 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10. Tomb 9 shows a banquet scene but registration of blankets and cushions in that specific tomb are omitted as they do not appear clearly. Couch covers (Fig. 2.4) are depicted in five tombs (Tombs 4, 5, 6, 7, 8) as are ribbons (Tombs 1, 2, 3, 5, 7). Awning is depicted in Tombs 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9, hence appearing throughout the period considered here. A baldachin is only seen in Tomb 6.

Function

In category C the use of blankets is primarily connected to banqueting where they are used to cover couches and their function continues throughout the period under consideration. In Tomb 6 the blankets are also used as bedcovers. The combination of blankets and covers (Fig. 2.4) is used on couches in five tombs. This practice ceases after the end of the 5th century BC. Unfortunately in Tomb 9 it has not been possible to register if the combination of blanket and a cover was used. In Tomb 10 blankets used without covers are seen on the couch. Cushions are usually used at the banquet by reclining participants to support the left arm and their function continues throughout the period. In Tomb 6 the cushions are piled on the bed. Ribbons are depicted in five tombs. Their use is mostly connected to banqueting and dancing scenes. They are also depicted in Tomb 2 which is interpreted as a parting scene. The ribbons are draped on trees and on walls. In Tomb 5 a ribbon is also used by a dancing woman (Fig. 2). The ribbon changes character and appearance as it looks like a piece of cloth in Tomb 1 where it is carefully draped and hanged on the wall, while in Tomb 3 the ribbons look like narrow bands. After the middle of the 5th century BC they are no longer depicted. When the banqueting appears to take place outside, an awning is registered.

Patterns

On the utilitarian textiles, patterns P1 and P3 (Table 2) are the commonest, although they are only registered in four tombs. Pattern ST1 which is the commonest pattern in clothing textiles is less frequently used in category C (Tombs 5, 8). Patterns PK1, PK3 and



Kat. A	black	brown	red	orange	green	blue	white
Tomb 1	X		X		X	X	X
Tomb 2	X	X	X		X		X
Tomb 3	X	X	X				X
Tomb 4			X		X	X	X
Tomb 5			X			X	X
Tomb 6		X	X		X	X	X
Tomb 7	X		X		X	X	X
Tomb 8		X	X			X	X
Tomb 9	X	X	X			X	X
Tomb 10	X	X					X

Kat. B	black	brown	red	orange	green	blue	white
Tomb 1	X	X	X	X		X	X
Tomb 2		X	X		X		X
Tomb 3	X	X	X	X			X
Tomb 4			X			X	X
Tomb 5			X	X		X	X
Tomb 6			X		X		X
Tomb 7			X		X		X
Tomb 8			X				X
Tomb 9		X	X			X	X
Tomb 10		X					X

Kat. C	black	brown	red	orange	green	blue	white
Tomb 1	X		X	X		X	X
Tomb 2			X				X
Tomb 3		X	X				
Tomb 4		X	X		X	X	X
Tomb 5		X	X		X	X	X
Tomb 6		X	X		X		X
Tomb 7	X		X			X	X
Tomb 8		X	X			X	X
Tomb 9	X		X				X
Tomb 10	X		X		X		X

Table 3. Colors.

A) men

B) women

C) utilitarian textiles.



PK4 appear once in different tombs (Tombs 5, 6, 7). X3 is depicted in two tombs (Tombs 5, 8). Tomb 6 introduces new patterns Y1, Y2, Y3 and Y4. Tomb 10 also shows new designs and at the same time is also the tomb where most patterns are used. The pattern-code indicating awning is emphasized with black in Table 2. It shows that the most popular patterns in this category are SK1, SK2 and SK3. In Tomb 8 it is difficult to establish whether it is SK2 or SK3 which is depicted. But it is a checked pattern where more than two colours are used for the design.

Colours

In category C the same tendency is seen as in categories A and B where red and white are the most frequently depicted colours (although white is mostly a background, used for covers with colored pattern). Next come brown and blue which are used in five tombs evenly distributed throughout the period. Green and black are only used in four tombs. Green is depicted in Tombs 4, 5, 6 and 10. Black is depicted in Tomb 1 and occurs again in Tombs 7, 9 and 10. Orange is only used in Tomb 1.

Discussion

Among the utilitarian textiles, blankets and cushions are most common items depicted in all ten tombs. Ribbons are depicted in five tombs (Tombs 1, 2, 3, 5, 7). Besides having a practical function as either a decorative object or a marker for an outdoor banquet setting, they could have also a ritual significance. A ribbon (Fig. 2) is used in a dancing scene in Tomb 5 by a female dancer. Other ribbons are hung in the trees or they are wrapped around the tree trunks in various ways. The ribbon or rather a cloth seen in Tomb 1 is carefully tied as a knot and hung on the wall, which may have a ritual significance. Among the patterns, the commonest besides P1 and P3 are the geometric patterns such as PK1, PK3 and PK4. They are only used on the covers. In tomb 10 a completely different style is used as the blankets and the cushions are decorated with diverse patterns and colours, which contrast with the very quiet choice of pattern and colours in clothing textiles. Finally, in Tomb 6 new designs are introduced Y1, Y2, Y3 and Y4. In category C, the colours red and white are the commonest.

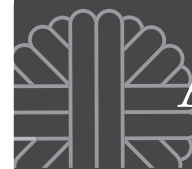
Interpretation and Conclusion

Based on my analysis it is possible to establish that in some cases a certain function and identity can be connected to the textiles and in other cases there is no division between gender and hierarchical order. The female dancers are dressed in the same chiton as the women attending the banquet. The young maid

is wearing the same long chiton with three-quarters-length sleeves as her mistress. Lack of hierarchical order is furthermore emphasized by the shoes/boots, which both the female banquet participant and the young maid are wearing in e.g. Tomb 10.

The textiles are depicted in nuanced ways, which enables us to see the variation in the types of textiles produced. We know from the archaeological record that both wool and flax were used for textile production in Etruria. Very small spindle whorls have been found indicating that it was possible to produce a very thin, fine yarn which in turn could be used to weave a fine, delicate cloth. In several of the tomb paintings the differences between the textiles are clearly depicted. In Tomb 1 for example, the female dancer on the left is dressed in an almost transparent chiton which contrasts with the heavy wool mantle she is wearing. The chitons worn by the women in this tomb are depicted as a transparent material clinging to their bodies. It is primarily the female attire which is depicted as being made of a delicate and transparent fabric. It is not only the material but also the cut and shape which mark the depicted textiles. It looks like some of the garments must have been cut and sewn in order to have that kind of shape. For instance the short tunic (Fig. 2.3) and the back-mantle (Fig. 2.1) depicted on dancers in Tomb 5 must have required some kind of fixture or else they would slip off while dancing. Sewing needles were found for example at the site at Poggio Civitate, Murlo, which appears to have been a significant textile-producing centre (Gleba 2008, 169). As mentioned above, there is no correlation between textiles, patterns and colours in this analysis, but it shows that certain patterns like P3 and P1 were depicted on both male and female garments, as well as on utilitarian textiles. In Tomb 1 for instance, pattern P3 is used on the female dancer's garment and also on a pillow used for by a male banqueter. Furthermore, it is depicted on a male flute player's himation as seen in Tombs 2 and 7. Pattern P3 is also seen used on a female banqueter's chiton in Tomb 7, and on a himation worn by a male banqueter and a male participant of procession in Tomb 4. The same goes for pattern P1. In Tomb 1, it is depicted both on a male musician's and a banqueter's himation. It is also depicted on a pillow used on the couch for banqueting. Furthermore, it is depicted on the dancing woman's chiton in Tomb 3, as well on a female banqueter's chiton in Tomb 7. The examples mentioned indicate that a pattern did not necessarily have a special function or identity linked to it. However, most of the functions are connected to banqueting, so certain patterns may have had a special meaning in connection to it.

The analysis also shows that specific patterns were



not connected to gender. There seems to be a general use of the patterns. Only in a few cases there seems to be a unique use of their designs, for instance, in Tomb 3 where geometric patterns as PK2 and R3 are used on the male clothing textiles or in Tomb 6 where completely new designs are introduced on the utilitarian textiles.

The checked pattern is primarily seen depicted on the ceilings reflecting awnings but with variations on a theme. It may have been associated with a special workshop which used it as a signature. It could also be used or connected with a funerary contest as Gleba mentions (Gleba 2008, 26). Investigation of the colours shows the same tendency as seen with the garments and patterns. The same colours have on the whole been used on both men and women. Just in a few cases a difference is seen. The colour orange is solely used by women and the colour black is only used by women in two tombs versus men's use of black in six tombs. Like the patterns, the colours may be associated with value as seen in the case of the colour purple. In the Tomb François at Vulci, Vel Saties is depicted in a purple mantle which also has a figural decoration, the purple indicating his status. In later times the Romans also used purple-decorated garments for instance, *toga picta*, as markers of status. Other colours may have also had special meaning.

So what signals did the Etruscan tomb paintings sent to the outside world in their use of textiles, patterns and colours? Most of the tomb paintings reflect banqueting, which is associated with the elite as the tomb paintings themselves do. Most likely it would have been possible to choose between a selection of scenes which would reflect family's specific choices and wishes. To what extent do the textiles reflect a reality then? Depictions of textile production on prestige objects such as the Verucchio Throne (Eles 2002, Tav. II-III, Tav. XXV-XXVI) and the Bologna tintinnabulum (Gleba 2008, 30, fig. 8) indicate that textile production was kept under the control of the élite. It is likely that the upper class families of Tarquinia have been involved in textile production and I think it is not accidental that the textiles have been in focus and depicted in such great details in the tomb paintings. Until more actual textiles are analysed, these textile depictions provide us with a glimpse of what Etruscan textiles would have looked like. While only ten tombs have been examined in this study, they demonstrate certain tendencies. A more extensive study of all tomb paintings in the future would be useful in order to draw more accurate conclusions.

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