

*Late Classical Representations of Jewelry:
Identifying Costume Trends in
Etrusco-Italic Art*

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Etruscan jewelry of the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C. has several distinctive characteristics.¹ It highlights the reflective properties of gold by contrasting smooth convex and concave components with little surface decoration to detract from the gleam of the metal. More decorative ornaments, usually necklace pendants, were made using engraved molds to create figural scenes in high relief rather than by adding filigree or granulation to the surface of the sheet gold. A mid 4th century tomb group from Vulci, now in the Vatican, is representative of the forms in vogue during this era.² (Fig. 1)

This jewelry includes two gold leaf crowns, one of laurel, the other of oak. The gold leaves were set in flat, overlapping rows and the headdress would have tied closely around the head, creating a wide, gleaming band. A pair of horseshoe or *a grappolo* earrings from the tomb illustrate the impressive size of some late Classical ornaments; these are 7.6 cm long. Here, the smooth convex boss contrasts with the alternating rows of plain and embossed bands on the upper disk and the cluster of concave hemispheres below. Several pendants formed two different necklaces, one made up of eleven alternating rectangular and oval pendants, the other using the three large (6.5 cm) round pendants. All of the pendants had figural decoration in relief: sphinxes and a bejeweled frontal female head on the rectangular and oval pendants respectively, a divine group of Aphrodite, Eros and Adonis in high relief on two of the round pendants, and Helios driving a winged quadriga on the third. The crown, large earrings and the three large round pendants, in addition to the other pieces, would have created a notable impression simply because of the sheer amount of reflective surface the set produces. Less apparent would be the fact that, although the pieces themselves are sizeable, their sheet gold construction makes them quite lightweight. There are two practical benefits to this type of jewelry manufacture; the objects are easy to wear and they required relatively little gold even for large pieces. In short, Late Classical Etruscan jewelry can be characterized as golden, smooth, displaying myth as its main decorative element, and perhaps even economical.³



figure 1 – Vulci tomb group. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco.
Photograph © Art Resource

If we turn from the objects themselves to the study of how women may have worn their ornaments, contemporary art provides valuable secondary evidence. To compare some of the Vulci jewelry, for example, we can look to a female votive terracotta from Lavinium who wears three necklaces, a bead choker, a chain with alternating rectangular and oval pendants and a longer chain strung with three round pendants.⁴ (Fig. 2) The terracotta figure demonstrates the manner in which the pendants were strung and also shows that, at least sometimes, women might be ostentatious and wear multiple necklaces. This is but one of many examples of Late Classical Etrusco-Italic art that shows jewelry types accurately and inform us about their arrangement. The correspondence between reality and

image in this genre is so close that museum displays and catalogs frequently juxtapose a bejeweled terracotta votive head with an example of a horseshoe earring or wreath, since these are jewelry types found most often in Late Classical votives. Often the catalogs will point out the fidelity of the representation to the original jewelry, a feature studied by Arvid Andrén in 1948. In his research on jewelry in terracotta sculpture, Andrén argued that molds taken directly from metal jewelry accounted for the crisp ornaments.⁵ Such an interest in faithful, realistic jewelry is a new phenomenon in Etruscan art in the 5th century and it suggests that these ornaments were imbued with strong emblematic force that was lacking in earlier imagery.

In contrast, contemporary Greek jewelry draws on different techniques and decorative themes.⁶ Gold is enlivened with added color – green, blue and red – and the sheet gold used to make the pieces is entirely covered with filigree and granulation.⁷ Elaborate floral designs, rather than the mythical creatures or gods seen in the Vulci pendants, spread across most jewelry. Miniature human figures were embedded deep within the ornament. These decorative

details would be best appreciated through close inspection of the piece by the wearer and her intimates, in contrast to Etruscan jewelry that would have been easily visible from afar. Jewelry from a group of cist burials at Derveni (c. 330) shows typical Greek forms of the 4th century.⁸ From Tomb B, a gold myrtle leaf crown bristles with leaves and flowers set on small coils; its many springs and attachments would have shimmered as the wearer moved. (Fig. 3) The nearby Tomb Z produced, among other ornaments, elaborate disk earrings with a boat-shaped pendant (Fig. 4) that overflow with rosettes and tendrils; minute patterns in granulation cover the boat, and two tiers of chains with seed-shaped terminals dangle along the lower edge of the boat pendant. Also from Tomb Z, a wide, braided strap necklace that was enriched with a row of spearpoint pendants set closely together. (Fig. 5) An extravagant amount of gold wire was necessary to create the thick strap necklaces that were popular in the day; the Derveni necklace and others like it represents a significant investment of luxury material and time for its manufacture. Movement, texture and color were clearly the hallmarks of Greek jewelry at this time, and some pieces that may appear at first glance to be simple were, in fact, deceptively extravagant.

The distinction between the jewelry of the two cultures



figure 2 – Terracotta statue. *Lavinium, Museo Archeologico.*
After Carandini and Capelli 2000, 205.



figure 3 – Gold crown from Derveni Tomb B. *Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum.* After Themelis and Touratsglou 1999, pl. 10

sharpens when we examine artistic representations. Detailed renderings of Greek jewelry types do appear, but not normally as part of Greek female costume. Instead, the most accurate representations are found on black-glaze vases where the ornament emphasizes anthropomorphic features of the vessel. A pair of disk earrings with boat pendants, similar to the Derveni Tomb Z earrings, is found above the handles, or “ears,” of a calyx krater in London, and painted strap

necklaces encircle the lid of a pyxis from a 4th century tomb in Sedes, Macedonia.⁹

In the Late Classical Mediterranean, then, Etruscan jewelry and by extension, its wearers would have stood apart from Greek counterparts. The dissimilarity continues into the realm of imagery: jewelry was a regular feature in depictions of Etruscan female costume, while such accessories were the exception, rather than the rule, in images of Greek dress. May we then conclude that the fashions of the Greeks and Etruscans as well as images of them were distinct from each other? And given the separate cultural fashions of Etruscans and Greeks, what does this difference tell us about those societies? Since the late 20th century, studies of dress have focused on the importance of dress in conveying the identities of wearers. Clothing and personal ornaments have long been explored as markers of ethnicity, particularly in regions like Italy, where many groups lived in close proximity to each other.¹⁰ The achievement of significant stages of life – childhood initiations, marriage and childbirth are among the most meaningful – may have been denoted by



Fig 4 – Gold earrings from Derveni Tomb Z. Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum. After Themelis and Touratsglou 1999, pl. 143

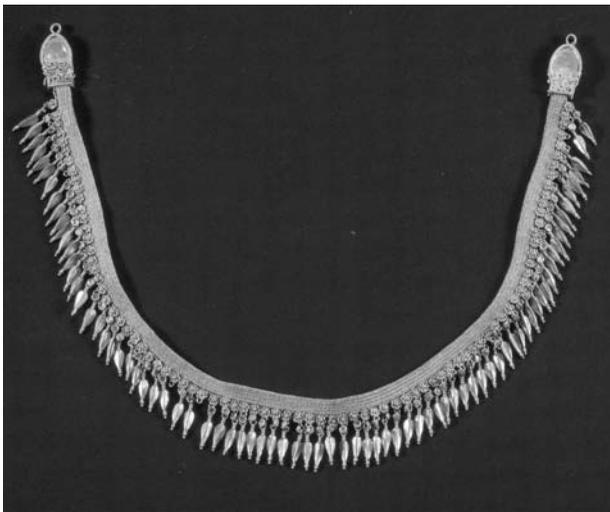


figure 5 – Gold necklace from Derveni Tomb Z. Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum. After Themelis and Touratsglou 1999, pl. 24

different dress.¹¹ Special garb was likely required for ritual acts and occasions.¹² This study applies these theoretical models of identity roles to a period during which the visual evidence for jewelry is especially rich: the 4th century. Its goal is to survey the main genres of art – terracotta votive sculpture, engraved mirrors, tomb-painting, sarcophagi and red-figure vase-painting – in order to assess the way that jewelry enhances and defines female costume and therefore, female social roles.

AUTHENTIC ETRUSCAN JEWELRY TYPES IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

Before we turn to the artistic replicas of jewelry, it will be useful to establish the actual types that have been found in Etruria. Earrings are one of the most commonly discovered accessories with two earring types dominating the archaeological record of this era. Tubular hoops with a knob at one or both terminals have been found mainly in northern Etruria and may be a regional type. The diameter of these pieces can range from small 2 cm hoops that seem child-size to large 6 cm hoops with decorative pendants.¹³ Horseshoe earrings of the sort found in the Vulci tomb group have been retrieved from burials in southern, central and northern Etruria.¹⁴ The *a sanguisuga* or boat earring is the likely predecessor of the horseshoe type and is dated stylistically to the late 5th to early 4th century.¹⁵ Hemispherical and amphora- or heart-shaped pendants were strung on necklaces; these were usually undecorated and join with the round relief pendants as typical forms.¹⁶ Plain hemispheres or round beads also appear regularly as pendants. Finger rings were made entirely of gold, usually engraved or inset with a carved or plain semi-precious stone.¹⁷ Classical bracelets are rarely found.¹⁸ Other 5th and 4th century ornament types may well be missing from this list, given the random deposit and recovery of jewelry in the archaeological record, but the surviving jewelry forms a cohesive group in both manufacturing techniques and style and permits us to reconstruct a recognizable Late Classical “look” for Etruscan women’s accessories.

As Higgins and others have pointed out, the style of Late Classical Etruscan jewelry deviates from earlier styles and techniques.¹⁹ At the same time, it circulates for somewhat longer than jewelry from other phases of Etruscan history, from the mid to late 5th century to the early 3rd century. Historical circumstances peculiar to 5th and 4th century Etruria may have contributed to the longevity of these styles. The so-called 5th century crisis in central Italy is represented by a widespread break in the material record.²⁰ Fifth century gold jewelry is famously scarce. The living apparently retained luxury goods, like jewelry, and perhaps even melted down these valuables instead of depositing them in the grave. When personal ornaments re-appear at the end of the 5th century, the style has evolved significantly. Gone are the 7th century fibulae and pins dotted with small creatures; fine granulation no longer fills in spaces between filigree rosettes as on 6th century *a baule* or valise earrings. The embossed, sheet gold jewelry created in the Late Classical period could be produced quickly and required relatively little expertise. While I would not argue that economic motives were the sole reason for this conspicuous change in jewelry styles during the Classical period, there is no doubt that a practical result of it would have made gold ornaments more affordable to a wider segment of the population. Groups with new civic or eco-

nomic prestige may well have wanted to show themselves as sophisticated users of luxury goods like gold jewelry. Social and economic shifts of this sort have far-reaching ramifications that could help to explain the costume depicted in 4th century art.

LOOKING FROM REALITY TO IMAGE

Terracotta Votive Sculpture

As already noted, jewelry is featured prominently, and precisely, in terracotta votive sculpture. The following discussion will focus on the large scale of jewelry and the specific types shown as two of the significant aspects of jewelry found in this genre. These particular characteristics suggest that a special set of jewelry was donned for ritual occasions.

Most 4th century Etrusco-Italic votive sculptures with earrings are shown wearing the horseshoe earring type. These earrings could be made separately and fastened after both pieces were fired or could be carved into the original mold. The relative size of horseshoe earrings in terracotta sculpture far exceeds the average size of the surviving earrings, as they typically equal about one-third or even one-half the size of the figure's head.²¹ Two examples of sizeable (12-14 cm) horseshoe earrings have been discovered, so

it is conceivable that artists drew inspiration from real ornaments.²² Another explanation, however, is that artistic conventions exaggerated the size of the jewelry to express the importance of a particular dress being represented. Value perspective of this sort, in which key components of a figure are depicted in exaggerated scale, was used regularly in Etruscan art.²³ Other jewelry types are shown in similarly exaggerated scales. A typical necklace found on votive sculpture is seen on a bust from the "Vignaccia" at Cerveteri. (Fig. 6) Five large pendants are arranged along a chain, with the largest, a heart-shaped pendant, in the center, a lenticular- or J-shaped pendant on either side and finally, pointed ovals on each end.²⁴ Traces of relief decoration appear and it is



figure 6 – Terracotta bust. Berkeley, Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology. After Nagy 1988, fig. 24.

possible to see the details of the suspension loop and decorative motifs around the edge of the pendant.²⁵ In addition to the earrings and necklaces, the female wears a wide, woven crown scattered with rosettes. The accessories overwhelm the female, whose face recedes into the background of the bust. Nagy proposed that busts wearing the largest ornaments should be dated to the late 5th to early 4th century and that the smaller accessories appear later on.²⁶ Since the jewelry shown represents the new style developed during the 5th century, perhaps there was a desire to ensure visibility in the artistic representations of it.

An important collection of votive sculpture from the Latial sanctuary in Lavinium further enriches our investigation. At least five votives, busts and full-length statues, show females wearing horseshoe earrings; all of the earrings are situated to ensure the earring is fully visible, even if the placement results in an unrealistic position.²⁷ The complete figures were draped with an astonishing quantity of ornaments, multiple necklaces, occasional massive relief pectorals, armbands with amulets and bracelets. (Fig. 7) A well-preserved example illustrates the different forms. A pectoral that covers most of the woman's bust is the most immediately noticeable ornament. It recalls the interest in reflective ornaments discussed in connection with the Vulci jewelry. The interior of the pectoral is decorated in high relief with three male deities, and five large pendants, familiar heart-shaped and lenticular forms, hang from the lower edge of the pectoral. Two more necklaces, a choker made of rectangular beads alternating with spacers and a necklace of oval relief pendants fill the space between the earrings and the pectoral with accessories. A plain armband was set above the elbow. Even within an exceptionally well-adorned crowd of votives, these women wear a distinguishing *parure*.

Torelli has suggested that these figures wear a bridal costume, and such an interpretation is certainly a possibility given the focus on married women and mothers in Etruscan art.²⁸ Most of the females shown wearing substantial jewelry, however, appear to be fully adult and mature women. If these figures were adult, married women, they may be



figure 7 – Terracotta statue. Lavinium, Museo Archeologico. After Carandini and Capelli 2000, 204.

commemorating another role, one that was significant in the sanctuary and the community. The relief pectoral is an ornament type that appears only in votive sculpture and in no other artistic genre. Its decoration, as represented by the surviving sculptural evidence, consistently shows at least three deities, sometimes more. This iconography carries significant religious and ritual overtones. Few details of female cult roles in Etruscan religion are known, although inscriptions referring to a *hatrencu*, a term usually defined as meaning a priestess, in Early Hellenistic burials have attracted much scholarly attention.²⁹ Nielsen sought traces of ritual dress in late 4th century funerary sculpture, looking specifically at rich jewelry as a possible means to identify women as priestesses.³⁰ Although the evidence linking rich jewelry and dress with religious ritual is circumstantial, such a connection would accord with the dominant presence of Etruscan elite in public ritual roles.³¹

Another aspect of the jewelry worn by these figures concerns the origin and dissemination of certain types. Horseshoe earrings had no stylistic predecessor, nor did any other cultures produce similar ornaments. They are a wholly Etruscan creation that circulated mainly in Etruria. Pendants with relief decoration are another local jewelry type that, as far as the record shows, did not spread beyond Etruria. When a woman fastened her horseshoe earrings in place and clasped a necklace with relief pendants around her throat, then she was publicly defining herself as wearing Etruscan jewelry. Among the Greeks, Romans, Sabines and other Latin peoples who lived in close proximity to Etruria, no other ethnic group showed themselves wearing this costume. Jewelry, then, created an identity: perhaps ethnic identity, elite status, religious roles or some blend of these key concepts.

This focus on ornaments in votive female sculpture does not mean that all female images were bedecked with jewelry. In fact, Comella's study of Etrusco-Latium-Campanian votives revealed that only five of the 14 types of female heads show females wearing jewelry, and three of those five depict the woman wearing a single ornament such as a crown or earrings.³² The observation is important because it underscores the point that the votive heads with jewelry represented a special case and a special donation. This, in combination with the limited types of accoutrement added to the heads and busts – horseshoe earrings, relief pendants, and relief pectorals – argues that the jewelry represents a specific costume that was not available to all worshippers. It may have been reserved for Etruscan or Latin females who served in the cult and commemorated their participation with a dedication.

Terracotta sculpture supplies the only non-funerary evidence for jewelry in images reviewed here. Special costumes may have been called for in this religious context and some of the most elaborate collections of jewelry could refer to a woman's religious role.

Mirrors

Adornment of the body with jewelry is one of the persistent themes in Etruscan mirror iconography and the self-referential relationship between scenes of female beautification and mirrors has been well explored in recent discussions.³³ Although engraving could not rival the accurate reproduction possible in terracotta sculpture, it is still possible to recognize the minutiae of female accessories.³⁴ A small group of mirrors shows women wear-



figure 8 – Bronze mirror with Uni and Hercle. Florence, Museo Archeologico. After ES V, 60.

ing horseshoe earrings and the familiar heart-shaped and lenticular pendants appear repeatedly.³⁵ Fourth century mirrors also draw on the rich Greek artistic traditions and a strong current of Greek-style jewelry emerges side-by-side with the Etruscan forms. Engravers exploited the numerous accessory options available to them by mixing and matching a few recognizably Etruscan forms – crowns, necklace with pendants, armbands – with Greek earrings, the inverted pyramid and its variants, or disks with pendants. As far as necklaces, artists selected one of three types: the bead choker, chain with Etruscan pendants, and chain with pendants inspired by the spearpoint form. These mixed categories of jewelry – Etruscan, Greek, Greco-Etruscan – are thus more often found in representations on mirrors than we see in other media, but such a mixture of costume ele-

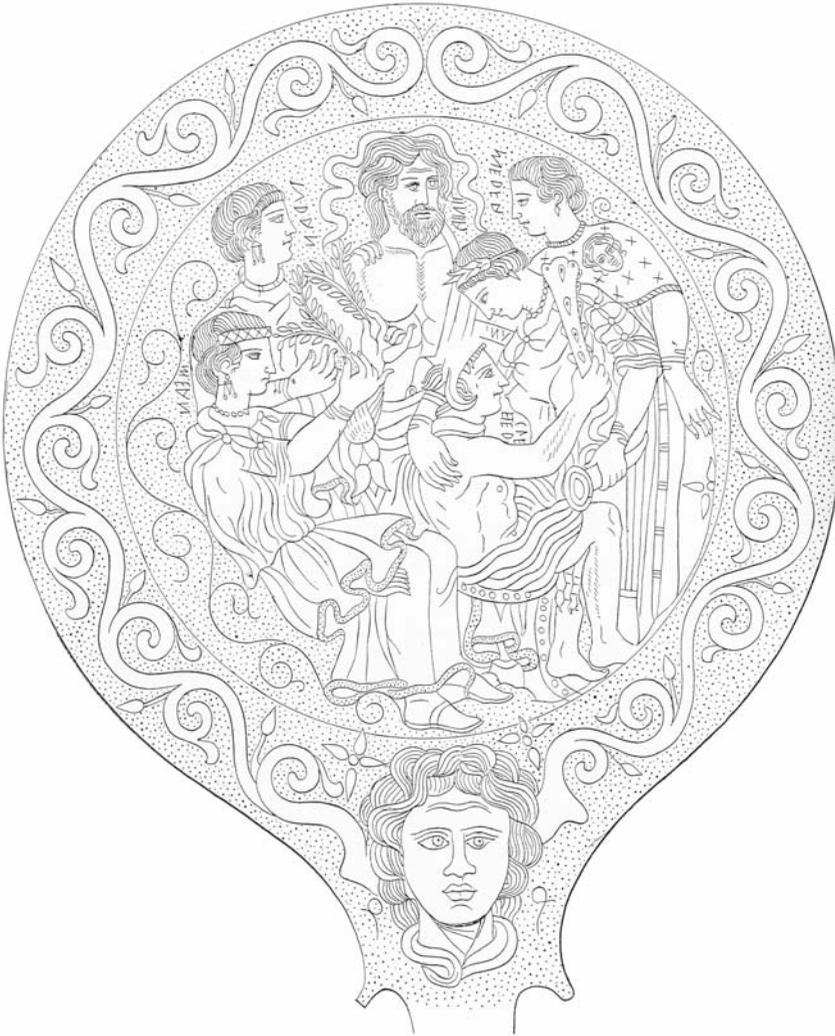


figure 9 – Bronze mirror with Uni and Hercle. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. After ES V, 59.

ments between Greek and Etruscan is not surprising in a medium in which the myths themselves are so heavily intertwined.

Jewelry plays a prominent role in mythological stories of heroines and deities adorning themselves. The Etruscan visual construct of female beauty was built from a tool kit of jewelry, perfume and cosmetic containers, so it is not surprising that earrings, necklaces and bracelets are prevalent on mirrors.³⁶ Malavisch, who likely stands for an idealized bride being readied for her wedding day, wears a full set of jewelry.³⁷ Attendants, themselves already prepared with lavish jewelry and dress, fuss over the seated woman. A mirror in London shows Malavisch being attended to by four female figures, including Turan.³⁸ On Turan, we see only the preferred Etruscan types of jewelry, armbands with

pendants, necklaces with pendants, and a horseshoe earring. Greek and Etruscan jewelry is blended in other scenes of Malavisch, although on 4th century mirrors, she is likely to wear a necklace with Etruscan pendants.³⁹ Necklaces of this type may have been part of the bridal costume or the attire of married women.

Turan and Uni almost always wear multiple pieces of jewelry: crowns, earrings, necklaces with pendants, and in many cases, armbands equipped with pendants worn above the elbow, and bracelets. In a scene where Uni suckles Hercle, Uni wears a typical set of jewelry: an engraved crown and a necklace with large inverted triangle-shaped pendants hanging from a decorative chain. (Fig. 8) Horizontal lines cross the pendants and small circles on the edge of the pendants suggest that they represent the relief pendants. A spiraling bracelet finishes off her jewelry.⁴⁰ A second mirror showing the same scene indicates the much different “look” created when Greek jewelry is used.⁴¹ Here, Uni wears a modest crown with just a few leaves over the forehead, an inverted pyramid earring, a simple bead choker, and bracelet. (Fig. 9) In 4th century mirrors, Uni is likely to wear Etruscan style necklaces with large pendants and an armband with pendants. As a general rule, Artumes and Menrva wear fewer ornaments than their fellow goddesses. In a late 4th century scene of the judgment of Elscntre in Indiana, for example, Menrva wears a simple earring, armband with pendants and a bracelet.⁴² Her two competitors, Uni and Turan, are decked out with long, dangly earrings and necklaces.

Jewelry forms a more consistent, regular part of female dress in mirrors than in any other genre. This may be explained by the function of the object as an aid in fashioning costume and a general sensitivity to the significance of appearance. General conclusions concerning specific jewelry types and costume are difficult to draw from this material, but close inspection of costume as portrayed in specific myths may yield insight into the significance of jewelry in that context.

Funerary Art: Tomb Painting and Sarcophagi

Two of the most frequently reproduced images of Classical Etruscan females are Velia Seithiti from the Tomb of the Shields in Tarquinia and the “lovely” Velia from the Tomb of Orcus.⁴³ For modern scholars, they have come to epitomize the status of Etruscan women and the wealth of elite families. Both women appear with their husbands in key settings and both wear gold horseshoe earrings, although only the lower part of the earring, the cluster of spheres, is visible beneath their hair. Velia Seithiti appears at banquet with her husband, and she wears a gold leaf crown and a gold bead necklace in addition to the earrings.⁴⁴ Only the head and neck of the “lovely” Velia are preserved; she wears two gold necklaces, a small bead choker and a second necklace made up of round beads alternating with spacers, while her crown is made of green leaves, not gold.⁴⁵ In comparison to the jewelry depicted in sculpture and on mirrors, both women seem in step with 4th century fashions. The jewelry is not oversized, as in some votive sculpture; instead, the painting presents the earrings and necklaces in a realistic manner and scale. Comparisons with other tomb paintings, however, show that, once again, we can see hints that jewelry communicated certain female roles or status.

Other adorned females depicted in tomb paintings normally wore only one piece of jewelry, often a necklace, and they rely on Greek accessories. In the Tomb of the Shields, Ravnthu Aprthnai wears a gold bead choker and a low gold diadem. Phersipne/Persephone in the Tomb of Orcus II wears only a double strand of beads around her neck.⁴⁶ Finally, in a banquet scene from the Tomb of the Triclinium in Cerveteri, two females recline on couches with males. They wear Greek ornaments, and each has a necklace with spearpoint pendants, while one wears a disk earring with three chains, a type known from Greek art.⁴⁷

Once again, as was true for terracotta sculpture, we find that women who wear the horseshoe earring form a select group. Tomb painting as a genre is less repetitive and plentiful, than votive sculpture and general conclusions can be difficult to tease out of this scanty evidence. We can note that the imagery in the Tomb of the Shields and the Tomb of Orcus I draws on a standard Etruscan jewelry type, the horseshoe earring, that also features prominently in votive sculpture, and that it may denote the Etruscan ethnic or ritual identity of the wearer. Most jewelry in other tombs resembles generic Greek forms and does not contribute significantly to this analysis.

Hellenistic sarcophagi depict an abundance of jewelry. More women than not are decked out with inverted pyramid earrings, strap necklaces, crossed chains over the breast, a pair of bracelets and sometimes, finger rings. Fewer 4th century sarcophagi survive and jewelry is less frequently a component of dress. The two women on the married couple sarcophagi in Boston both wear an earring as their sole accessory. Ramtha Visnai, the older woman, wears a large disk earring, an antique form found most often in Archaic art, and one of the most generic earring types.⁴⁸ Her son's wife, Thanchvil Tarnai, sports a more up-to-date earring, a well-carved inverted pyramid pendant with a chain on each side.⁴⁹ It is possible that the second sarcophagus was the work of a Greek artist, which could help to explain the Greek earring, although it is equally likely that this couple commissioned a piece that represented them as Hellenophiles in their artistic taste and perhaps in their personal dress.

The significance of jewelry as a component of dress in funerary art varies widely. Individual (or familial) and artistic choices seem to determine the costume. Much of the evidence reproduces Greek jewelry, with the exception of the two Velias, who present themselves in Etruscan accoutrements.

Red-figure Vases

The female head drawn in profile was a common decorative theme employed by Etruscan and Faliscan vase-painters. (Fig. 10) The image is ubiquitous on containers such as *oinochoai* and *askoi*, as well as on Genucilia plates.⁵⁰ Although only the head and a bit of the neck are shown, these female heads are highly decorative. Most women are shown wearing a headdress, either a full *sakkos* or a partial *sphendone*, an earring and a necklace. Bead chokers are standard necklace forms. An exception on a plate from Monterozzi shows a female with unusually old-fashioned jewelry: a disk earring and a thin choker with round pendants.⁵¹ Earrings are a more varied group than the necklaces. Disks with three dangling chains, inverted pyramid pendants

– sometimes suspended from a disk and often with chains hanging on either side – cross-shaped pendants are the usual types. All of these were originally Greek, and some, such as the disk with the three dangling chains and the cross-shaped pendant, show up with some regularity in vase-painting. No real examples of either of these earrings have been discovered and it is quite possible that they were artistic creations.

Although vases make few specific contributions to this discussion they remind us that even if Greek jewelry types were not widely used, Etruscans would have been familiar with the styles and forms of Greek dress both from artifacts such as these and from their own interactions.



figure 10 – Red-figure plate. Providence, RISD Museum of Art. After Martelli 2000, fig. 149.

CONCLUSIONS

As I hope to have demonstrated in this review, the depiction of ornaments takes on a new importance in female costume during the 4th century. Just as the style of jewelry itself evolved from Orientalizing and Archaic models, the representation of ornaments became more deliberate, exacting and consistent in the Late Classical period. Terracotta votive sculpture supplies the most compelling evidence for this trend, with precise replicas of the key types such as the horseshoe earring, relief necklace pendants and most importantly, the relief pectoral. I have suggested that the assemblages of those three jewelry types on certain busts could represent a ritual costume. In sanctuaries such as Lavinium, where Greek, Romans, Etruscans and other Italic peoples regularly intermingled, these three ornaments may have signified the wearer was an Etruscan priestess.

Mirror engravers eagerly and lavishly incorporated jewelry into their images of women and even men. Some scenes focused on the act of adornment, such as the toilette of Malavisch. Necklaces, earrings and armbands enhanced beauty and desirability, as did perfume and cosmetics. Greek and Etruscan jewelry often mingled on a single figure; this blend of styles appears most commonly in mirrors.

4th century funerary art preserves only a scattering of ornaments. Horseshoe earrings appear in two tomb paintings, the Tomb of the Shields and the Tomb of Orcus I, but

these are the only surviving examples of Etruscan style jewelry in tomb paintings or sarcophagi. If horseshoe earrings were a component of some ritual costume, the two Velias who wear them may be referencing their own position in the community. Other females are equipped with Greek ornaments, perhaps because the artist selected them, or perhaps because they wanted to be seen adopting new trends. In red-figure vase painting, virtually all of the females wear common Greek forms of jewelry. In both funerary art and in vase painting, it is clear that Etruscans were well aware of foreign dress styles, and in some instances, they adopted them.

At first glance, a woman wearing jewelry suggests that she has the wealth and the luxury to decorate herself for public appearances. This study has shown that a closer look at the type of jewelry worn, the arrangement of accessories and the context in which the wearer is presented can communicate essential ideas about women's roles in society. The status conscious Etruscans certainly realized this, since they chose to make jewelry such a prominent feature of female appearance in the Late Classical period. A woman with a pair of horseshoe earrings and a set of necklaces may have been recognizable as conducting rituals, or perhaps as a bride or married woman; she certainly proclaimed herself as intimately familiar with elite Etruscan fashion. By the end of the 4th century the main forms of jewelry that had decorated Etruscan women for a century and a half began to be replaced by Greek accessories. A century later, a "uniform" of inverted pyramid earrings and strap necklaces became standard in mirrors and on sarcophagi. With respect to their jewelry, Etruscan women now blended in with Mediterranean women living in Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor and South Italy.

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NOTES

1. The term Etrusco-Italic is intended to signify the art of the main cultures living in central Italy – the Etruscans and Latins chief among them, but also nearby groups such as the Umbrians and Faliscans. It is difficult to tease out specific ethnic identities of the central Italian peoples, particularly in the Late Classical era, but it is clear that the Etruscans played a major, although not exclusive, role in the Etrusco-Italic tradition. I would like to thank Gretchen Meyers, Ann Steiner and P. Gregory Warden for discussing the ideas in this article with me. Any mistakes that remain are my own.

2. Scarpignato 1981.
3. Higgins 1980, 150.
4. Carandini and Capelli 2000, 203, Inv. P 77.33.
5. Andr en 1948 and Andr en 1955-56.
6. Late Classical Greek jewelry is represented by artifacts found in Macedonia, Asia Minor and South Italy. Higgins 1980, De Juliis 1984, Williams and Ogden 1994, for Classical jewelry.
7. Williams and Ogden 1994, 16-17.
8. Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997, 163-69.
9. Calyx krater: British Museum GR 1871.7-22.3, Williams and Ogden 1994, 31, Fig. 33; Sedes pyxis (325-300): Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum 5233. *La Civilisation grecque. Mac doine, Royaume d'Alexandre le Grand* 1993, 230 no. 272.
10. Coldstream 1993, Shepherd 1995; Lyons 2000.
11. Meskell 1999; Sebesta and Bonfante 2001; Bonfante 2003.
12. Gawlinski 2008; Bonfante 2009.
13. Hadaczek 1903, 64-66; Higgins 1980, 151; Cristofani and Martelli 1985, 308, no. 224.
14. Cristofani and Martelli 1985, 307 and 311, nos. 219, 239-40.
15. Hadaczek 1903, 61; Higgins 1980, 141.
16. Marshall 1911, 2271, 2307; Cristofani and Martelli 1985, 314-15, nos. 258-65.
17. Cristofani and Martelli 1985, 316-18, nos. 269-83.
18. Cristofani and Martelli 1985, 316, no. 268. Bracelets are typically underrepresented in the Mediterranean as a whole. See Deppert-Lippitz 1998, on the paucity of Greek bracelets.
19. Higgins 1980, 149-50.
20. See essays in *Crise et transformation des soci t s archa ques de l'Italie antique au Ve si cle av. J.-C.* 1987; Haynes 2000, 263-64.
21. Nagy 1988 IA3.
22. Dallas Museum of Art 1966.25.a-b, Deppert-Lippitz 1996, 127 no. 23; British Museum 2256 Marshall 1911, 2256.
23. Brendel 1995, 231-32; 323-35, for Archaic and Classical sculptural styles.
24. Nagy 1988, IA16.
25. Nagy 1988, IA16₂.
26. Nagy 1988, 15-16.
27. P77.28, *Enea nel Lazio* D202, earrings set over hair; P77.25, *Enea nel Lazio* D217; P77.39, *Enea nel Lazio* D226; P77.37, *Enea nel Lazio* D227, earring set perpendicular to face; P77.51, *Enea nel Lazio* D228.
28. Torelli 1984, 31-50.
29. Nielsen 1990; Lundeen 2006, 34-38, discusses the evidence for the *batrencu* and argues that it is a civic, rather than a religious, title.
30. Nielsen 1990, 58-60.
31. Bonfante 2009.
32. Type BI wears a diadem and horseshoe earrings; Type BII: diadem and necklace; Type BV: horseshoe earrings; Type BX: inverted pyramid earrings; Type BXI: seed pendant necklace.

33. Izzet 2007, 52-55, with earlier bibliography.
34. Males too appear wearing jewelry far more regularly in mirrors than in any other artistic medium. Armbands with pendants were worn by both sexes, and necklaces too, were apparently male accessories. For example, Gerhard *ES* 1.74 shows Tinia wearing a large necklace with a central heart-shaped pendant and two lenticular pendants on either side. To his left, Aplu also wears a necklace of elongated oval pendants.
35. *LIMC* s.v. “Malavisch”; Picon et al. 2006, no. 370; Gerhard *ES* 2.197; Gerhard *ES* 5.155.4, 156.2
36. Izzet 2007, 59-61.
37. Wiman 1993; van der Meer 1995, 201-3; Serra Ridgway 2000, 416; de Grummond 2006, 159-60; Izzet 2007, 60.
38. Gerhard *ES* 2.213.
39. Gerhard *ES* 2.211.
40. Gerhard *ES* 5.60.
41. Gerhard *ES* 5.59.
42. *CSE* U.S.A. 1.4a.
43. Haynes 2000, figs. 249, 251.
44. Maggiani 2005.
45. Steingraber 1985, 329-30.
46. See detail in Steingraber 2006, 200.
47. Steingraber 2006, 263.
48. Comstock and Vermeule 1976, no. 384; Vermeule and Comstock 1988, 116
49. Comstock and Vermeule 1976, no. 383; Vermeule and Comstock 1988, 116.
50. Del Chiaro 1957; Martelli 1987, 43-53; Poulsen 2002.
51. Cavagnaro Vanoni and Serra Ridgway 1989, 73, no. 55.

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