

53

SEIANTI HANUNIA TLESNANA

An Etruscan aristocrat

Judith Swaddling

Somewhere between about 200 and 150 BC, an Etruscan noblewoman named Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa came to the end of her life and was buried in a single-chambered tomb near to Chiusi, an important city in northern Etruria. Neither she nor her contemporaries could have possibly realised that some 2,000 years later her tomb would be re-opened, and that her remains, her sarcophagus and the goods with which she was buried would soon be on their way to a country of which she may never have heard, to be on public display in a museum where she was to become an unofficial ambassador for her Etruscan compatriots (Figure 53.1).¹



Figure 53.1 The painted terracotta sarcophagus of Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa, second century BC. British Museum 1887,0402.1. (© Trustees of the British Museum.)

The Etruscans and Chiusi²

Situated in the hilly country of northern Etruria, Chiusi was one of Etruria's oldest areas of habitation. By Seianti's time, many small Roman settlements had appeared in the territory of the city, dedicated to agriculture and administered by ex-soldiers. Seianti would therefore have been familiar with the presence of Romans in her Etruscan homeland. Even after the defeat of the Etruscan cities by Rome, some Etruscans continued to hold high office in government and Seianti's family apparently continued to flourish.³

Seianti's name and family history

It was important in the afterlife that you should retain your identity, and many sarcophagi have the name of the deceased inscribed or painted on them. The names Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa are incised right to left, as was common for Etruscan script, across the base of her sarcophagus. The presence of the lettering may imply that Seianti herself was literate, and names of women on their possessions, for example on mirrors and vessels, though not many in number, and lettering on loom weights (spinning and weaving were aristocratic female activities) suggest that at least some Etruscan female aristocrats could read and write, whether more so than men, we simply do not know.⁴

The inscription in fact lacks Seianti's first name, which we shall never know, and this was not unusual in tomb inscriptions. 'Seianti' should be pronounced with an initial soft 'sh' sound, according to north Etruscan dialect. Seianti and Hanunia are family and clan names, and Tlesnasa indicates that she was the wife of Tlesna.⁵ Both she and her husband were of families which had long dominated Etruscan society in Chiusi, Roman Clusium, home of the famous Lars Porsenna who attacked and captured Rome in the early years of the Republic. Rome and Chiusi, however, were not always enemies, and in 387 BC, as a result of Rome's support for Chiusi on the occasion of a Gallic invasion, Rome itself was captured and sacked by the Gauls. It has been suggested that Seianti's family may originally have hailed from Sentinum in the adjacent region of Umbria, but had been displaced following the battle of Sentinum in 295 BC. Several generations of Seianti's family are however known from the locality of Chiusi and the migration of the family, if indeed there was one, may have pre-dated the battle. What is interesting is that a mother's name is often given in the case of both Etruscan men's and women's tomb inscriptions, evidencing the importance of the matriarchal line.

Seianti's sarcophagus and tomb

Seianti, the simple name by which we now know her, offers a major focal point in the Etruscan gallery at the British Museum, her likeness present in the form of a reclining figure on the lid of her magnificent painted terracotta sarcophagus.⁶ It is not made of marble, as we have come to expect of such tomb monuments, because the Etruscans had virtually no access to marble, the nearest quarries at Carrara only being opened up in the first century BC. In Etruria different types of local stone were employed for building and for cinerary urns and sarcophagi (the choice of cremation or inhumation seems to have been purely a personal matter), but, apart from the alabaster mainly found in the region of Volterra, they were hard to carve and render in any detail. Terracotta was the Etruscan preferred material for the elaborate sculptures with which they decorated their stone and wood temples, while public statues, almost all of which have long disappeared, were very often of bronze.

The Etruscans were known in antiquity for their exquisite metalwork in bronze, silver and gold – vessels and utensils often with figured decoration – and their jewellery.⁷ Etruscan women took delight in adorning themselves with opulent displays of gold and gems, as evidently did Seianti herself, a subject to which we shall return. Although sarcophagi of terracotta are common in Etruria, there are only two very elaborate examples known, one of which is Seianti's and the other that of an apparent relation, Larthia Seianti, who was buried in a multiple-chambered tomb a few miles away from Seianti's burial place.⁸ Larthia's sarcophagus is now in the National Archaeological Museum in Florence.⁹ The figures of the deceased on terracotta sarcophagi are normally far more rudimentary, the chests have much simpler decoration and there is far less evidence of polychromy than on the two Seianti family sarcophagi. Many plainer examples have been found in the vicinity of Tuscania, south of Lake Bolsena.¹⁰ We tend to forget that in antiquity pigments were harder to come by than nowadays and that the rarer ones, like Egyptian blue, found for example on the representation of the mirror which Seianti holds, were quite expensive.¹¹ In fact, the manufacture of Seianti's sarcophagus as a whole required great skill. The weight of the clay would have needed support to prevent it from collapsing before firing, which is why some of even the simpler figures of the deceased on sarcophagi have intricate gridworks of clay walls within them.¹² To counteract the risk, Seianti's figure appears to have been propped up with wooden struts until the clay became leather-hard. In addition, the sarcophagus was made in five parts, two for the figure, with the split across the upper legs, two for the slab which formed the actual lid of the chest on which the figure reclines, while the chest itself was made in one piece.¹³ The rarity and grandeur of the monument, attesting access to the best craftsmen, are only two of the factors which bear testimony to the wealth and high status of this Etruscan aristocrat. The sarcophagus is stunning now, but was even more so in antiquity, being originally coated in a stark white slip, imitating marble, and brilliant with colour. The tomb was reached by a narrow subterranean *dromos* or passageway, and as we know that in Etruria descendants visited the tombs of their ancestors for rites and offerings, we can imagine the impact that the monument would have had when it was suddenly illuminated by their torches. In the small chamber, the structure almost reached the roof and filled the back wall of the tomb. Fortunately for us, the conditions inside the tomb were such that Seianti's skeleton remained virtually intact (Figure 53.2).

Etruscan women were renowned in antiquity for the status and freedom which they enjoyed, and it is tempting to think that Seianti must have been of considerable rank to merit a tomb of her own, when most families and even clans shared multiple-chambered tombs. Single tombs do however survive, probably located originally on personal estates. For a modern parallel one has only to think of the burial of Diana Princess of Wales in the grounds of the Spencer family home at Althorp Park, Lincolnshire.

Seianti's silver tomb goods

Despite all that we have learned about Seianti from multi-disciplinary studies, there are still questions which we shall never be able to answer, such as why her burial goods were so frugal in comparison with those of her relative, Larthia.¹⁴ Seianti had a simple set of silverware (Figure 53.3),¹⁵ all associated with toiletry, including a mirror, a round *pyxis* or small lidded casket, an *aryballos*, which would have been used for oil, probably perfumed, and a strigil, an instrument with a curved blade used in the Classical world normally by athletes for scraping sweat, dust and sand from their oiled skin.¹⁶ In the Classical world athletics was an almost entirely male-dominated field, but in Etruria there is ample evidence that strigils were used by



Figure 53.2 The skeleton preserved within Seianti's sarcophagus. British Museum 1887,02402.2. (© Trustees of the British Museum.)

women,¹⁷ presumably for cleansing, but some have suggested that strigils may also have been used for depilation. Whether they were regularly employed by women in Etruria it is impossible to say: the limited evidence includes a large bronze strigil in the British Museum, with the handle in the form of a naked girl herself holding a strigil.¹⁸ The Greek historian, Theopompus, writing in the fourth century BC, tells us that Etruscan women took special care of their bodies and exercised often, sometimes along with the men, and sometimes by themselves. He adds that, very much opposed to custom in Greek and Roman society, it was not a disgrace for Etruscan women to be seen naked.¹⁹

It has been claimed that in Etruria tomb goods encapsulate the various stages of the person's life, so perhaps strigils found in tombs refer back to an energetic youth. Sadly, the only visual evidence that we have for Seianti's silver is an old black and white photograph, as the objects themselves disappeared during the evacuation of the British Museum in the Second



Figure 53.3 Silver objects found in Seianti's tomb. British Museum 1887,0402.3–7. (© Trustees of the British Museum.)

World War. From what we can tell, Seianti's silverware was made of thin sheet metal and probably non-functional, made specifically for the grave, a not unusual practice. The items were nailed to one of the tomb walls. Larthia's tomb goods, on the other hand, were certainly fit for use in life.²⁰ They included various small silver vessels, tweezers, bronze and alabaster oil flasks and glass jewellery, and also, found within the sarcophagus itself, a coin, a Roman *as*, presumably the fare for Charon (Etruscan Charun) to ferry her to the underworld. Despite her modest tomb goods, we cannot imagine that Seianti was anything other than wealthy, and the information we have gained about her throws light almost exclusively on aristocratic Etruscan women rather than their poorer counterparts, about whom we know relatively little. Indeed the mass of information which we have about Etruscan daily life still comes from the burials and necropoleis of the well-to-do, since it was here that they attempted to preserve or recreate their favoured lifestyles.

A fashionable cosmopolitan

Seianti's dress and jewellery are further indications of her wealth. She has a *parure* typical of jewellery in fashion around the Mediterranean at the time, and Seianti thereby reveals herself to be a fashionable cosmopolitan lady. Etruria had always been captivated by the artistic production of Greece since some four to five centuries earlier when it was at the height of its trade relations with the Greeks. With the far-reaching conquests of Alexander the Great, culture and artistic production all began to follow similar trends over a widespread area. Moreover, all the jewellery can be paralleled by surviving examples.²¹ The gold snake bracelet is of a type favoured over a long period, between the fourth century BC and first century AD, with a particularly close example from Cumae near Naples, and others from Pompeii. Higher up Seianti's

arm is an armband, ribbed and beaded, which may also have terminated in snakes' heads on the other side. Both the diadem, or tiara, and so-called strap necklace, often with pendants in the form of miniature amphoras or beech nuts, can be paralleled from elsewhere, with very close examples coming from the Kyme Treasure on the coast of Asia Minor.

Seianti's earrings are a more local product, with discs and inverted pyramid pendants, in reality consisting of gold and garnets, of a type popular in central Italy and likely to have been made there. Beneath her bust is a gold belt, particularly favoured in the Hellenistic period, which is the period following the death of Alexander in 323 BC up until the first century BC. Such belts had the effect of elongating the figure as was fashionable at the time. It is noteworthy that, on her left hand, Seianti has no fewer than six gold rings, on various segments of her fingers and the thumb. The fact that she has none on her right hand may reflect the custom of dining while reclining on couches, with the right hand being used for eating, and thus the risk of getting particles of food in the rings was avoided. Seianti wears a Greek style of dress, a *chiton* or tunic, with a *himation* or veil drawn over her head.²² Yet for all this she is essentially an Etruscan, with an Etruscan name, written in Etruscan, buried in a characteristically Etruscan manner, in a sarcophagus within an underground tomb, yet in an area under Roman control. This is testimony to the freedom and independence which many Etruscans still enjoyed, and to the interesting times in which Seianti lived.

Mortuary practice

What else can we learn about Seianti? Her skeleton has revealed a great deal (Figure 53.2). It is the most complete Etruscan skeleton in existence, for although many skeletons survived in the tombs their significance and potential was not realised until well into the twentieth century, long after the majority of the best preserved tombs had been opened up and the bones discarded. In addition, conditions within the tombs have not always been favourable for the preservation of human remains.²³ One of the reasons that Seianti's skeleton was preserved so well seems to have been that the bones were placed in the sarcophagus completely clean and dry. So far, Seianti's remains are the only archaeological evidence from the ancient world that we have for this kind of mortuary practice, though there is literary evidence from various periods (and various cultures) for the washing of cremated bones, with instances from Homer's *Iliad* and Virgil's *Aeneid*.²⁴

Identification of the manner of deposition of the bones was just one of the results of the multi-disciplinary 'Seianti project', which studied the many aspects of the tomb, the sarcophagus and human remains, culminating in the publication of the findings in 2002.²⁵ The evidence from the staining on the bones indicates that the body was drained of fluids, in a seated position, before the bones were somehow de-fleshed: we do not know how but it was not mechanically as there is no sign of tooling on the bones, and it has been suggested that wrapping the body in cloth soaked in volcanic clay, as found in the neighbourhood of Chiusi, may have accelerated the process.

Great care was taken in collecting the bones as virtually all are present apart from the *sternum* (breast bone) and *patellae* (knee-caps). Removal of the sternum may have had something to do with the draining process. It is possible that the bones were not placed in the sarcophagus until many years after Seianti's death, and for all we know the process may have resembled one continued down into modern times in the area of Naples, where descendants have periodically visited the tomb, unwrapped the bones of the deceased, powdered them in volcanic earth and re-wrapped them until eventually they are bare. Over time, this presents the risk that some of the tiniest finger or toe bones are lost, as in the case of Seianti.

Doubt had been expressed about whether a more recent skeleton might have been placed in the sarcophagus to increase its appeal to a purchaser, since during the nineteenth century, even when the archaeological importance of the bones was not routinely acknowledged, the appeal of skeletons as evocative elements in public exhibits recreating the tombs certainly was.²⁶ Radiocarbon analysis, however, confirmed the probability that the individual died between the mid-third and end of the first centuries BC, which is entirely consistent with the dating of Seianti's sarcophagus and tomb.²⁷ The size of the corridor leading to the tomb suggests that the large, weighty sarcophagus (about three quarters of a ton) would have been carried into the chamber in sections and then assembled once there, with the bones either transported in the chest or installed once it was in situ.

Seianti in life: a traumatic accident

Study of Seianti's skeleton has revealed fascinating details about events that happened to our Etruscan, inevitably with tantalising lacunae, but enough to make her a tangible human being with whom we can connect across the intervening two millennia. She died at the age of around of 50 to 55 years, though it is not possible to ascertain the cause.²⁸ Studies have shown that Etruscans often lived considerably longer.²⁹ Seianti was of average height, just 153.7 cm (5 ft. 2 in.) tall, and though well-built, not nearly as monumental as the sarcophagus lid implies: the portrait figure is shown semi-reclining so that its full height, if able to stand, would be nearing 2 metres.³⁰ Pathological evidence reveals that she bore one child.³¹ Seianti suffered from arthritis, dental abscesses and slight curvature of the spine (*scoliosis*). The main cause for speculation, however, was the presence of damage to the joints down Seianti's right side, along with loss of teeth also on the right, and a fracture to the orbital bone beneath the right eye. From the nature of the trauma, it appeared that the injuries had been sustained, probably all at the same time, when she was no more than 15 to 20 years old; no bones had been broken, and although the pain would have been acute for some time, she would have made a fair recovery, apart from reduced mobility in the pelvic area (right sacroiliac joint and right hip).

The small osteophytes or bony nodules which materialised over time across the surfaces of the affected joints, the result of tissue damage, may not have caused arthritic pain until a short period before Seianti's death. The tooth loss is consistent with a fall on to a hard object, conceivably a stone or log, and what would have particularly plagued her throughout her life following the injuries described was damage to the right temporomandibular joint. The lower jaw had become recessed inside the top one, resulting in restricted movement and opening of the jaws on that side, perhaps painful and at least stiff, so that she could only eat soft or liquid foods and possibly had a little difficulty in speaking. Nonetheless, it seems that Seianti was well-nourished and presumably in her aristocratic position was well-looked after. She was probably fairly active until some years before her death, and we can only guess at how her decreasing mobility, arthritis and long-term dental problems, including the abscesses, may have affected her lifestyle and temperament. Increasing pain, decreasing mobility and bad breath from her dental problems may have made her a difficult patient for more reasons than one.

A keen horsewoman?

The pathologist who worked on her remains, Dr Bob Stoddart, used other evidence, this time from the leg bones, to deduce a possible scenario for the major accident which Seianti had

suffered.³² Her upper leg bones display extremely strong muscle attachment, of a type usually associated only with horse riders. The injuries would be consistent with an accident in which the horse fell, partially trapping the leg and hip of the rider on the side on which it landed, and producing joint damage very much of the kind we have seen.

The dental and jaw injuries could have been caused by Seianti striking the side of her head on some object as she fell. It is a very plausible theory for the damage, but one of course which we can never substantiate. If we could, it would be important evidence for Etruscan women horse-riding, which is indeed unattested elsewhere. But even though such a pastime is not documented or illustrated, it might be difficult to stop a healthy teenage girl from pursuing an activity popular among the male youth of her time. What we frequently observe in the surviving representations, mainly scenes on cinerary urns, are high-society women being driven around in little high-wheeled carts, protected from the sun by parasols.³³ Perhaps this was a pastime that Seianti herself enjoyed. From Greece, there is rare evidence that women owned chariots which they entered in races at the Olympic Games,³⁴ and though in earlier centuries chariots are found in the rich graves of some Etruscan women (20 per cent of the known Etruscan chariot burials), these are ceremonial war chariots which presumably had some hereditary or power-based significance.³⁵

Reconstructing the face of Seianti

We have seen that the figure on Seianti's sarcophagus gives a deceptive impression of her physique. The depiction of her face, however, is a very different matter (cf. Prag, this volume).³⁶ From the 'air-brushed' woman of an uncertain age that we see represented in the terracotta portrait, we can now turn to a naturalistic reconstruction of how she looked at around 50 to 55 years old shortly before she died, based on her actual skull (Figure 53.4). The technique employed in facial reconstruction is now fairly well-known: in simple terms a cast is taken from the skull and gradually layers of clay are added, according to the thicknesses of skin and muscle in consideration of the person's age and health.³⁷ Computer-generated virtual reconstruction is now an alternative method of making a 3D model. What made this particular exercise so important was the unique ability to use the ancient portrait as a control. Although one is instantly struck by the prettifying of the ancient image to make Seianti look younger, the photo comparison highlights consistencies between the two faces. The size of the features and the relationship between them is markedly similar. With very close observation, there is even a slight asymmetry, perhaps hinting at her facial injuries, which may have been in any case only mildly evident.

The difference in age of Seianti as represented in the terracotta portrait and in the reconstruction raises intriguing questions. Did Seianti herself have her portrait commissioned in life-time, in which case did it sit in storage until her burial? Or did her relations commission the sarcophagus and the craftsman base his study on a painted portrait of her in her younger days? Did he use his knowledge of her in life, or his imagination of what she must have looked like in earlier days? We shall never know the answers to these questions. As often, advances in technology satisfy one set of questions and pose a whole series of new ones.

Our research made Seianti's representation the first verifiable attempt at realistic portraiture in western art, ahead of Greek art which was still obsessed with perfection and idealism.³⁸ Other details shown in depictions of the dead on Etruscan sarcophagi and cinerary urns, such as lines, wrinkles and sagging skin, show that the Etruscans did not shy away from imperfections and embraced the concept of the individual rather than the ideal. Seianti's self-esteem



Figure 53.4 Photocomparison of the clay reconstruction of the head and the portrait on the terracotta sarcophagus, showing the morphological similarities and differences. Reconstruction: Richard Neave. (Imaging © Richard Neave.)

or the preference of her relatives may not have permitted such down-to-earth realism, but she nonetheless comes across as an imposing character.

A reunion?

The glamorising of Seianti's appearance may have had a significant purpose. The jewellery which she wears and her finery, as has already been remarked, are typical of sets and outfits from around the Mediterranean. Could they symbolise a particular event, a wedding perhaps? One recalls the practice of Victorian women being buried in their bridal wear.³⁹ As you approach, Seianti seems to glance up from her compact mirror, pulling her veil aside. Perhaps she is expecting someone: a loved one, her husband? Recent research has shown that what used

to be interpreted as farewell scenes in tomb paintings are actually greetings, those already in the underworld coming to welcome the new arrivals.⁴⁰ The possibility of this further human interest is another element that transcends the centuries, yet another way Seianti offers us an inroad into Etruscan culture and beliefs.

Notes

- 1 See Swaddling 2002a.
- 2 For a comprehensive study of the Etruscans, Haynes 2000 and 2005, and more recently MacIntosh Turfa 2013. For daily life, Bonfante 1986 and Heurgon 1964. See also Stoddart 2009.
- 3 On Chiusi: Swaddling 2002b; Haynes 1985: 99–105; Boitani *et al.* 1975. On Romanization of Etruria: Jolivet 2013; Haynes 2000 and 2005: 327–333.
- 4 For Etruscan writing, see Agostiniani 2013; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002; Wallace 2008. For textile production, Gleba 2013a, 2013b and 2008; Haynes 1989.
- 5 Ginge 2002: 13–14.
- 6 British Museum 1887,0402.1. Excavated at Poggio Cantarello, Chiusi, in 1886.
- 7 Bronzes: Haynes 1985; Cristofani 1985; Gaultier 2013.
- 8 Haynes 2000 and 2005: 335–340.
- 9 Ginge 2002: 12–13.
- 10 Gentili 1994; Moretti and Sgubini Moretti 1983.
- 11 Joyner 2002; Gage 1999.
- 12 E.g. British Museum 1838,0608.10; 1838,0608.11. All objects referred to in the British Museum can be found in the British Museum’s Collections Online database.
- 13 Barlow *et al.* 2002.
- 14 Florence, Museo Archeologico 70968–70987.
- 15 British Museum 1887.0402.3–7.
- 16 Miller 2004a: 15–16, 2004b: 20–21; Swaddling 2011: 43, 48.
- 17 Serra Ridgway 1996.
- 18 British Museum 1873,0820.2, Haynes 1985: 312–313, n. 176.
- 19 Theopompus, *Histories* 115 *FGrHist* F204 = Athenaeus 517d–518a.
- 20 Ginge 2002: 12–13.
- 21 Swaddling 2002b: 6.
- 22 For Etruscan women’s dress, see Bonfante 2003.
- 23 For a survey of other Etruscan human remains, see MacIntosh Turfa, “Health and medicine for Etruscan women” this volume, and MacIntosh Turfa and Becker 2013.
- 24 Stoddart 2002; bones of Hector, Homer, *Iliad* Bk XXIV: 764–804, and bones of Patroclus, Bk XXIII: 108–191 (trans E. V. Rieu, Penguin, Harmondsworth 1950); bones of Misenu, Virgil, *Aeneid*, pp. 215–235, trans N. Horsfall, Virgil, “*Aeneid*” 6, *A Commentary*, De Gruyter, Berlin, 2013.
- 25 The study was led by Judith Swaddling (British Museum) and John Prag (University of Manchester): see Swaddling and Prag (eds) 2002.
- 26 Cf. papers by J. Swaddling and L. Haumesser, forthcoming, in J. Swaddling (ed.) *An Etruscan Affair: The Impact of Early Etruscan Discoveries on European Culture* (British Museum Research Publication no. 211).
- 27 Ambers 2002.
- 28 Becker 2002; Stoddart 2002; Whittaker 2002; Lilley 2002. On health and life expectancy in Etruria: MacIntosh Turfa and Becker 2013; Kron 2013.
- 29 See MacIntosh Turfa, this volume.
- 30 The chest of the sarcophagus is 180 cm long and that of the figure 152 cm.
- 31 Stoddart 2002.
- 32 Stoddart 2002.
- 33 Haynes 2000 and 2005: 287–289; Emiliozzi 2013.
- 34 Swaddling 2011: 41; Reese and Vallera-Rickerson 2003: 58–61.
- 35 Stoddart 2009: 216–217.
- 36 Neave and Prag 2002; Prag 2002.
- 37 Prag and Neave 1997.
- 38 Neave and Prag 2002; Carpino 2013.

- 39 In the Netherlands, brides to be would make themselves a special nightshirt for the wedding night and then it would be put aside and stored for their burials.
- 40 Serra Ridgway 2000.

References

- Agostiniani, L. (2013) The Etruscan language. In J. MacIntosh Turfa (ed.) *The Etruscan World*. London: Routledge, pp. 457–477.
- Ambers, J. (2002) Radiocarbon analysis of the skeleton. In J. Swaddling and J. Prag (eds) *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: The Story of an Etruscan Noblewoman*. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 100. London: British Museum Press, p. 39.
- Barlow, A., Barlow, M., Brodrick, A. and Quinton, J. (2002) A technical investigation of the life-sized painted figure. In J. Swaddling and J. Prag (eds) *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: The Story of an Etruscan Noblewoman*. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 100. London: British Museum Press, pp. 41–48.
- Becker, M. J. (2002) Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: A re-evaluation of her skeleton in the British Museum. In J. Swaddling and J. Prag (eds) *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: The Story of an Etruscan Noblewoman*. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 100. London: British Museum Press, pp. 17–22.
- Boitani, F. M., Cataldi, M. and Pasquinucci, M. (1975) *Etruscan Cities*. New York: Putnam.
- Bonfante, G. and Bonfante L. (2002) *The Etruscan Language: An Introduction*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Bonfante, L. (ed.) (1986) *Etruscan Life and Afterlife: A Handbook of Etruscan Studies*. Warminster, UK: Aris and Phillips (esp. Bonfante, L. ‘Daily life and afterlife’, pp. 252–278).
- Bonfante, L. (2003) *Etruscan Dress*. Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Carpino, A. (2013) Portraiture. In J. MacIntosh Turfa (ed.) *The Etruscan World*. London: Routledge, pp. 1007–1016.
- Cristofani, M. (1985) *I Bronzi degli Etruschi*. Novara, Italy: Istituto Geografico de Agostini.
- Emiliozzi, A. (2013) Princely chariots and carts. In J. MacIntosh Turfa (ed.) *The Etruscan World*. London: Routledge, pp. 778–797.
- Gage, J. (1999) The Classical inheritance. Chapter 1 in *Color and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, pp. 9–28.
- Gaultier, F. (2013) Jewelry. In J. MacIntosh Turfa (ed.) *The Etruscan World*. London: Routledge, pp. 914–927.
- Gentili, M. D. (1994) *I Sarcofagi Etruschi in Terracotta di Età Recente*. *Archaeologica* 108, *Tyrrhenica* 4. Rome: G. Bretschneider.
- Ginge, B. (2002) The sarcophagus, the tomb and the Seiante family in their archaeological context. In J. Swaddling and J. Prag (eds) *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: The Story of an Etruscan Noblewoman*. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 100. London: British Museum Press, pp. 11–16.
- Gleba, M. (2008) *Textile Production in pre-Roman Italy*. Oxford, UK: Oxbow Books.
- Gleba, M. (2013a) The world of Etruscan textiles. In J. MacIntosh Turfa (ed.) *The Etruscan World*. London: Routledge, pp. 798–811.
- Gleba, M. (2013b) Textile making in central Tyrrhenian Italy: Questions related to age, rank and status. In M. Gleba and J. Pásztoókai-Szeőke (eds) *Making Textiles in pre-Roman and Roman Times: People, Places, Identities*. Ancient textiles series, no. 13. Oxford, UK: Oxbow Books.
- Haynes, S. (1985) *Etruscan Bronzes*. New York: Sotheby’s Publications, Harper and Row.
- Haynes, S. (1989) *Muliebris Certaminis Laus*: Bronze documents of a changing ethos. In G. Maetzke et al. (eds) *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale Etrusco*, Vol. 3 (Proceedings of a conference, Florence 1985). Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, pp. 1395–1405.
- Haynes, S. (2000 and 2005) *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*. London: British Museum Press, 2000 and California: J. Paul Getty Trust Publications, 2005.
- Heurgon, J. (1964) *Daily Life of the Etruscans*, trans. J. Kirkup. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Jolivet, V. (2013) ‘A long twilight’: Romanization of Etruria. In J. MacIntosh Turfa (ed.) *The Etruscan World*. London: Routledge, pp. 151–179.
- Joyner, L. (2002) Scientific examination of the pigments and ceramic fabric of the sarcophagus of Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa. In J. Swaddling and J. Prag (eds) *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: The Story of an Etruscan Noblewoman*. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 100. London: British Museum Press, pp. 49–52.

- Kron, G. (2013) Fleshing out the demography of Etruria. In J. MacIntosh Turfa (ed.) *The Etruscan World*. London: Routledge, pp. 56–75.
- Lilley, J. D. (2002) Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: Some observations on the dental features. In J. Swaddling and J. Prag (eds) *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: The Story of an Etruscan Noblewoman*. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 100. London: British Museum Press, pp. 23–26.
- MacIntosh Turfa, J. (2013) *The Etruscan World*. London: Routledge.
- MacIntosh Turfa, J. and Becker, M. J. (2013) Health and medicine in Etruria. In J. MacIntosh Turfa (ed.) *The Etruscan World*. London: Routledge, pp. 855–884.
- Miller, S. G. (2004a) Women and athletics. In *Ancient Greek Athletics*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, pp. 150–159.
- Miller, S. G. (2004b) *Arete: Greek Sport from Ancient Sources*. Oakland, CA: University of California.
- Moretti, M. and Sgubini Moretti, A. M. (eds) (1983) *I Curunus di Tuscania*. Rome: De Luca.
- Neave, R. A. H. and Prag, A. J. N. W. (2002) The face of Seianti: The reconstruction and the portrait. In J. Swaddling and J. Prag (eds) *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: The Story of an Etruscan Noblewoman*. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 100. London: British Museum Press, pp. 53–58.
- Prag, A. J. N. W. (2002) Seianti and Etruscan portraiture. In J. Swaddling and J. Prag (eds) *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: The Story of an Etruscan Noblewoman*. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 100. London: British Museum Press, pp. 59–66.
- Prag, J. and Neave, R. (1997) *Making Faces: Using Forensic and Archaeological Evidence*. London: British Museum Press.
- Reese, A. and Vallera-Rickerson, I. (2003) *Athletries: The Untold History of Ancient Greek Women Athletes*. Oklahoma City, OK: Nightowl Publications.
- Serra Ridgway, F. (1996) *I Corredi del Fondo Scatagliani a Tarquinia*. Milan, Italy: Comune di Milano, Settore cultura e spettacolo, Raccolte archeologiche e numismatiche, 295 with refs (On Etruscan women's use of strigils).
- Serra Ridgway, F. (2000) The tomb of the Anina family: Some motifs in late Tarquinian painting. In D. Ridgway, F. R. Serra Ridgway, M. Pearce, E. Herring, R. Whitehouse and J. Wilkins (eds) *Ancient Italy in Its Mediterranean Setting. Studies in Honour of Ellen Macnamara, Specialist Studies on the Mediterranean* 4. London: Accordia Research Institute, pp. 301–316.
- Stoddart, R. W. (2002) Remains from the sarcophagus of Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: Pathological evidence and its implications. In J. Swaddling and J. Prag (eds) *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: The Story of an Etruscan Noblewoman*. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 100. London: British Museum Press, pp. 29–38.
- Stoddart, S. K. F. (2009) *Historical Dictionary of the Etruscans (Historical Dictionaries of Ancient Civilizations and Historical Eras)*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.
- Swaddling, J. (2002a) The Seianti project. In J. Swaddling and J. Prag (eds) *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: The Story of an Etruscan Noblewoman*. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 100. London: British Museum Press, pp. 1–2.
- Swaddling, J. (2002b) The world Seianti knew. In J. Swaddling and J. Prag (eds) *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: The Story of an Etruscan Noblewoman*. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 100. London: British Museum Press, pp. 3–10.
- Swaddling, J. (2011) 'Women at Olympia' and 'The Games of Hera' in *The Ancient Olympic Games*, fourth edition. London: British Museum Press, pp. 40–43.
- Swaddling, J. and Prag, J. (eds) (2002) *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: The Story of an Etruscan Noblewoman*. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 100. London: British Museum Press.
- Wallace, R. (2008) *Zikh Rasna. A Manual of the Etruscan Language and Inscriptions*. Ann Arbor, MI: Beech Stave Press.
- Whittaker, D. K. (2002) Seianti's age at death: Determination by microscopic methods. In J. Swaddling and J. Prag (eds) *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: The Story of an Etruscan Noblewoman*. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 100. London: British Museum Press, p. 27.