

## CHAPTER TWENTY FIVE

# GODS AND DEMONS IN THE ETRUSCAN PANTHEON

—◆—  
*Ingrid Krauskopf\**

### SOURCES

**W**e owe what we know about Etruscan gods and demons to three groups of sources:

**Representations in art:** These are by far the largest group, but they give a somewhat one-sided impression. The gods are often shown in Greek mythological scenes; they are identifiable through the mythological context, attributes, and/or inscriptions, which can, above all, be found on engraved bronze mirrors from the fifth century BC on. In such cases, those gods who have a Greek counterpart are preferentially depicted, but there are also exceptions. At the Birth of Athena, for example, not only are Tinia/Zeus, Menrva/Athena, and Sethlanś/Hephaistos named by inscriptions, but so too are two female figures who correspond to Greek depictions of Eileithyia. However, in contrast to the Eileithyia they have names that have also been handed down in other contexts: Thalna, Thanr, and Ethausva<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 25.1). Inscriptions are numerous also on mirrors that show no mythological scenes, but that do show groups of gods and demons, especially from Turan's/Aphrodite's entourage; here the inscriptions characterize a number of purely Etruscan demons and gods at least approximately: they fit the circle of Turan/Aphrodite<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 25.2).

**Roman and Greek literature:** Etruscan gods are named in Roman and Greek literature primarily in connection with divination techniques, in which the Etruscans specialized, and which also interested the Romans. And so we learn that, besides Jupiter (Tinia), and which also interested the Romans. And so we learn that, besides Jupiter (Tinia), eight other gods could hurl thunderbolts: those named are Juno (Uni), Minerva (Menrva), Volcanus (Sethlanś), Mars (Laran), Saturnus (Satre?), probably also Hercules (Hercle) and Summanus. Jupiter can throw three different types of thunderbolts; in the case of the two more dangerous types of thunderbolt, councils of gods have to give their consent, the *dii consentes* or *complices*, respectively, the *dii superiores et involuti*.<sup>3</sup> In connection with lightning-interpretation, the division of the sky into 16 regions is mentioned, a reminiscence of which is preserved in the Late Antique pantheon constructed by the author Martianus Capella (see below and, above all, Chapter 26). Arnobius (*Adv. nat.* 3, 40, following

\* The author would like to thank Robert Avila for his help with the English translation of this text.

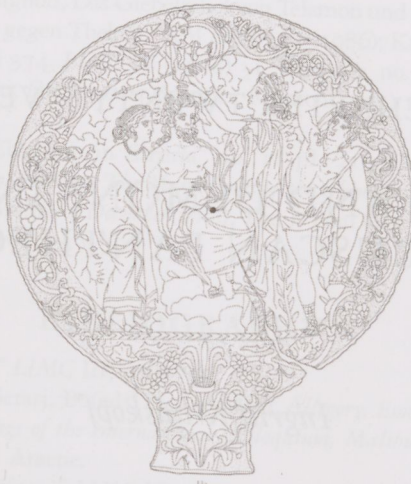


Figure 25.1 Mirror Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico It. 1073: Birth of Athena.  
After Gerhard, *ES* pl. 66.



Figure 25.2 Mirror St. Petersburg B (or V) 505. Turan and Atunis, with trabants in the outer circle.  
After Gerhard, *ES* pl. 322.

Nigidius Figulus) hands down a subdivision of the sky in which the Penates of Jupiter (N-E), Neptune (E-S?), the Underworld (*inferorum*, W-N) and the mortals (*mortalium omnium*, S-W?), are assigned to the four sections.<sup>4</sup> In another schema (Pliny *NH* 2.143-144), the regions of the sky are ordered according to their effects: in the north-western quarter there are the *regiones maxime dirae*, in the north-east, the *regiones summae felicitatis*, in the south-east, the *minus prosperae*, and in the south-west, the *minus dirae* (Fig. 25.3).

Occasionally, the chief divinities of sanctuaries which were of interest to the Greeks or Romans are named: Leukothea (or Eileithyia) or Mater Matuta, as well as Apollo in Pyrgi (see below); in Veii Juno, who (as a statue), after the Roman conquest of Veii, had been brought to Rome in the rite of *evocatio*, and was dedicated a temple on the Aventine as

Juno Regina (Livy 5. 21.1; 23.7; 31.3); as well as Voltumna, in whose sanctuary (*fanum*) near Volsinii the Etruscan "League" convened (Livy 4.23.5; 25.7; 61.2; 5.17.6; 6.2.2, cf. also 5.1), and who is elsewhere known as the *deus Etruriae princeps* (Varro, *L.L.* 5.46).<sup>5</sup>

**Etruscan literary sources:**<sup>6</sup> These are undoubtedly the most authentic source, but are very limited in number. The few longer Etruscan texts, such as the mummy-wrappings from Zagreb, hand down several gods' names. However, these are not very helpful as far as the characterization of the gods named is concerned. The most important source are the inscriptions on the model of a sheep's liver found in 1877 near Piacenza, and which has 16 compartments along its edges with – in some cases, abbreviated – gods' names, and there are others inside (see Chapter 26).<sup>7</sup> The compartments along its edges show some striking parallels to Martianus Capella's pantheon, so that a combination of the Roman sources with the liver provides substantial information for a number of gods. But many of the divinities known from pictorial art can't be found there, for example, Aplu, Menrva, Sethlanś, and Turan. In other words, some of the gods who, according to Roman tradition, could also hurl thunderbolts. Surprisingly, Hercle (Herakles) is represented on the liver. Tinia has three compartments on the outer edge, and two more in an inner field between the edge and the gall bladder, and is, in this manner, associated with another deity: Cilens thvf(ltha), thne, neth(uns); other gods are also named in another god's compartment, which points out a peculiarity of Etruscan religion (see below). In the past decades, inscriptions on votive offerings have increasingly been consulted – those already known to us, as well as numerous new finds – which have strongly promoted understanding of the Etruscan pantheon.<sup>8</sup>

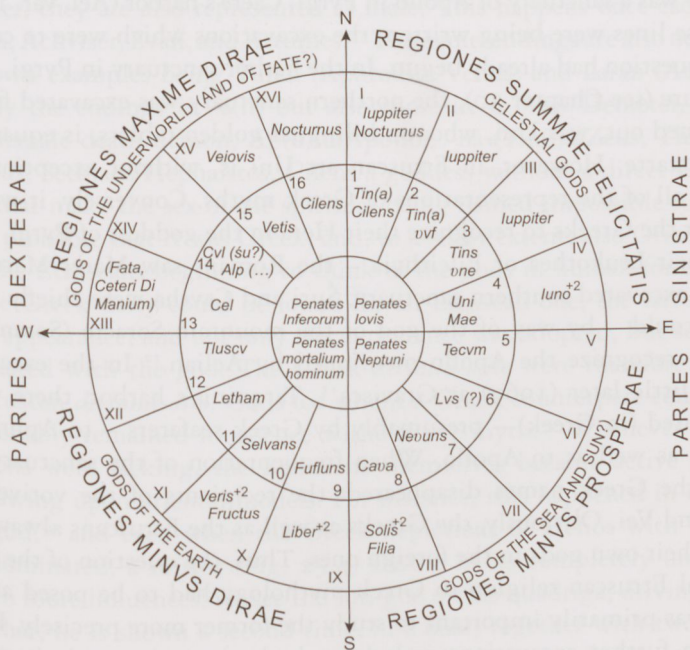


Figure 25.3 Schema of the regions of the sky, following Nigidius Figulus (inside), the liver of Piacenza (middle), Martianus Capella (outer circle) and Pliny and others (margin). The fields marked with +2 in the circle of Martianus Capella are shifted by two fields compared with the liver of Piacenza. After A. Maggiani in M. Cristofani (ed.) *Gli Etruschi. Una nuova immagine* (1984) Fig. on p. 139.

## A LOOK AT THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH: CULT DEITIES VS. MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES AND THE LOOSENING OF THE RIGID SCHEMA

While the amalgamation of Etruscan and Greek conceptions in the Etruscan realm of the gods had long been accepted, the discrepancy between the gods depicted in art and those on the liver from Piacenza eventually resulted in some scholars wanting to separate the Etruscan cult divinities radically from those of Greek mythology. The suggestion that depictions of Greek gods had a religious background in Etruria was disputed and they were compared to the representations of Greek gods and myths in the Renaissance:

Simply using a subject which belongs to a foreign religion or belief does not necessarily mean that the religion is accepted<sup>9</sup>. . . In Etruria, one finds Apollo only in mythological scenes. It is not only the case that there is no votive inscription with his name, but the god is not named on the liver from Piacenza, which is an indication that he had no cult in Etruria.<sup>10</sup>

At this point, it should really have been asked how the ancient reports could then be judged, according to which Caere, after the stoning of the prisoners from the battle of Alalia, had sent a delegation to Delphi to ask how this killing could be expiated (Herodotus 1.167); that Caere and Spina had treasuries in Delphi (Strabo 5.214.220); and that there was a sanctuary of Apollo in Pyrgi, Caere's harbor (Ael. var. 1.20).

When these lines were being written, the excavations which were to call this rigid schema into question had already begun. In the harbor sanctuary in Pyrgi, known from Greek literature (see Chapter 30), the northern sanctuary was excavated first. Its chief god, as it turned out, was Uni, who, on bilingual golden tablets, is equated with the Phoenician Astarte. However, in Etruscan art Uni is, without exception, identified with Hera in all of the representations of Greek myths. Conversely, it was obviously impossible for the Greeks to recognize their Hera in the goddess of Pyrgi. Rather they saw in her their Leukothea or Eileithyia – the Romans saw Mater Matuta.<sup>11</sup> In the subsequently excavated southern sanctuary, Śuri and Cavtha were chiefly worshipped; in Śuri, one could – by way of the god of the mountain Soracte (Soranus – Apollo – Dispater) – recognize the Apollo mentioned by Aelian.<sup>12</sup> In the excavations that began just a little later (1969) at Gravisca<sup>13</sup>, Tarquinia's harbor, there were at first votives dedicated (in Greek) – presumably by Greek seafarers – to Aphrodite, Hera, and Demeter, as well as to Apollo. When frequentation of the sanctuary by Greeks diminished, the Greek names disappeared: the recipients of the votives were now Turan, Uni, and Vei. Obviously, the Greeks as well as the Etruscans always took pains to recognize their own gods in the foreign ones. Thus, the question of the relationship of the original Etruscan religion to Greek mythology had to be posed anew. In this endeavor, it was primarily important to study the former more precisely. Progress was made through further excavations and through the intensive analysis of the votive inscriptions.<sup>14</sup>

## THE PRESENT STATE OF RESEARCH: THE ANTHROPOMORPHIZATION OF THE ETRUSCAN PANTHEON UNDER GREEK INFLUENCE

At present, there is a broad consensus that the Etruscan deities were not originally conceived in human form, but rather as forces which manifested themselves through their effects. In modern terminology, the term *numen* was often used, which, however, does not quite correspond to the ancient meaning of the word, and is very controversial;<sup>15</sup> for that reason, the term coined by A. Prosdocimi, *divinità-atto* (divinities defined by their actions), is preferred.<sup>16</sup> A certain parallel to Roman religion could be recognized in this, in which this concept is sometimes unduly exaggerated. For example, Aius Locutius was worshipped there, who had been perceived only once as a voice that spoke in the Grove of Vesta and warned against the approaching Gauls (Liv. 5, 32, 6; 50, 5). The Romans did not question from which god this voice could have come, but immediately named it (Aius Locutius). This principle led to a large number of divinities in Rome, but did not exclude the existence of chief gods with a great plenitude of power. There were such chief gods in Etruria as well, and, in fact, there was also a multitude of gods' names; but on this basis it is not possible to know with certainty to what extent the Roman system can be taken as a model for Etruscan religion.

It is quite probable that the gods had originally not been envisioned in human form. Some observations speak in favor of this assumption, as, for example, the lack of clarity regarding their sex. Some figures are represented mostly as female, but in individual cases, however, they are also represented as male. This happens once each for Thalna, Alpan/Alpnu, Achviser, Evan, and Artumes.<sup>17</sup> The name-endings are also not sex-specific, the best-known examples being Turan (Aphrodite/Venus) and Laran (Ares/Mars). But it is not only the endings in -a(n) but also those in -i (Vei/ Demeter, Šuri/Apollo), -u (Culsu/a female death-demon, Ap(u)lu/Apollo), -na (Tin(i)a/Zeus, Thalna), and -ns (Culsans/Janus, Sethlanš/Hephaistos, Cilens/a goddess without a direct Graeco-Roman equivalent) that make the sex of the spiritual being named impossible to recognize. It is also quite probable that it was Greek, and, to a lesser extent, also Oriental influences that led to the Etruscans beginning to think of the gods in human form.<sup>18</sup> Whenever a comparable Greek deity could be found for an Etruscan one, the latter is shown in the former's appearance; and not only the appearance was adopted, but so too were the myths associated with the god. The Greek *divinità-mito* were therefore amalgamated with the Etruscan *divinità-atto*. Gods for whom a Greek counterpart couldn't so easily be found probably remained in essence without any myth.<sup>19</sup> Whenever only pictorial representations were lacking, the Etruscans themselves became active designers, for example, drawing upon oriental models. For instance, this happened in the depictions of the sun-god,<sup>20</sup> and even when the Greek depictions of Helios with his four-horse chariot predominated, a mirror (Fig. 25.4) shows, in its completely unique pictorial creation, even more influences: we see the sun-god on his quadriga, driving to the right, and, above that, he is shown a second time, in a boat, together with two companions, moving to the left. A waterspout, out of which a thick stream flows, separates both of these scenes. It is Okeanos, on which Helios in the sun-barque returns to the sunrise during the night. Neither the waterspout nor Helios' companions are elements of Greek iconography. The sun-barque recalls depictions of the Egyptian sun-god's nightly voyage through the Underworld.<sup>21</sup>

In spite of the superimposition of the original Etruscan conceptions of gods by foreign, above all, Greek archetypes and myths, the nature of Etruscan beliefs remained essentially the same. A good example for this is the representation on a mirror<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 25.5), on which Thetis and Eos/Thesan, the immortal mothers of Achilles and Memnon, implore Zeus/Tinia that he allot life and victory to their respective sons. In the Greek myth, Zeus uses a scale<sup>23</sup> for the decision. Tinia, on the other hand, holds two different thunderbolts in his hands. Memnon will die, which means that the thunderbolt directed toward Thesan is the Destroyer – it has the typical Etruscan form with a point, whereas



Figure 25.4 Mirror Florence, Mus. Arch. 73798: the sun-god on his quadriga, and, above, returning in the sun-barque, together with two companions. After Gerhard, *ES V* pl. 159.



Figure 25.5 Mirror Vaticano, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12257; Thetis and Eos/Thesan, the immortal mothers of Achilles and Memnon, implore Zeus/Tinia for the lives of her sons, Achilles and Memnon. Tinia with two types of thunderbolts. After Gerhard, *ES* pl. 396.

the milder one, by Thetis, consists of symmetrical wavy lines. Usually, Tinia is shown with a single thunderbolt, the one with the point, his most dangerous one (Fig. 25.6).<sup>24</sup>

The equation of Etruscan and Greek gods was not always as unproblematical in all cases as in that of Zeus and Tinia. It was obviously especially difficult for Apollo. Due to a lack of name inscriptions, we do not know how this god was named in the Archaic Etruscan illustrations of Greek myths. The Caeretans worshipped Šuri in Pyrgi, the god that Greek historians later equated with Apollo, and they had made this identification presumably as early as the sixth century BC; it is appropriate to Šuri's sinister nature that Apollo, in Archaic Etruscan depictions, mostly appears with the bow as a death-sending, crime-punishing god (Fig. 25.7).<sup>25</sup> In the Portonaccio sanctuary in Veii, where the well-known Apollo from Veii was found, Menrva is, in fact, the chief divinity, but there are also terracotta votive gifts, which depict Aplu. Giovanni Colonna<sup>26</sup> has identified this Aplu with the god Rath, who is named in a votive inscription in the Portonaccio sanctuary, and is named as the owner of the sanctuary (Rathlth: in the sanctuary of Rath) on the mirror on which the liver inspection of Pavatarchies takes place (see Fig. 26.1).<sup>27</sup> Rath would then, above all, be a prophetic god. Finally, Ap(u)lu is added, at first only in inscriptions on mirrors, but then also in a votive inscription.<sup>28</sup> His name is obviously derived from the Latin Apollo, because the final "n" is missing, which is otherwise always retained when Greek names are adopted (Agamemnon-Achmemrun, Iason-(H)eiasun). Possibly, the introduction of the Apollo-cult in Rome, and the dedication of the temple of *Apollo medicus* in the year 431 BC after an epidemic, contributed to making the Roman form of the name known in Etruria.<sup>29</sup> The three Etruscan names of the Greek Apollo cannot be brought into full agreement with the three functions of avenging wrong, prophecy, and warding off plagues and diseases, but it is conceivable that, among the three gods, one of these aspects respectively stood out. On the liver from Piacenza, none of the three is mentioned. The functions named were, therefore, presumably still associated with other gods.



Figure 25.6 Bronze statuette of Tinia, Heidelberg, Antikenmuseum der Universität F. 148.



Figure 25.7 a–b Pontic amphora Paris, Bibl. Nat. 171: a) Aplu killing Tityos who tried to abduct Aplu's mother, Letun. b) Two demons dragging the unfaithful Koronis and her lover Ischys to Aplu and Artumes. After *MonInst.* II (1835) pl. 18 (= Hampe/Simon 6–7).

Etruscan divinities and their Greek counterparts do not fully correspond to one another in other cases either. Even in the case of the Dioscuri, which had been borrowed without direct Etruscan parallels from Greek religion under the translated name of *tinas cliniar* (“Sons of Zeus”), new functions were added which, in fact, fit well with their myth, but are not known from Greece for them. In Etruria, they belong to the divinities who protected the dead on their way to the Underworld (see Chapter 28).<sup>30</sup> The Greek Hermes was divided into two gods: Turms,<sup>31</sup> who was associated with Tinia, and Turms Aitas, associated with Aita/Hades, and who corresponds to the Greek Hermes Psychopompos (Fig. 25.8). Even more examples could be given, but that would far exceed the bounds of this article.

### A PECULIARITY OF ETRUSCAN RELIGION: CIRCLES AND COUNCILS OF GODS

With Turms Aitas, we have reached an area that could belong to the core of Etruscan religion: the attribution of a god to the circle of another, or the combination of two divinities, as in some of the compartments on the liver from Piacenza (s. above). F. D. Maras<sup>32</sup> has drawn attention to circles of gods which form themselves around a divinity: in an inscription, for example, Turan(?) and Selvans are designated as *thanral* (“belonging to Thanr”); there is a group centered on the underworld-god Calus, to which Tinia and





Figure 25.8 Stamnos, red figure, Vaticano, Mus. Greg. Etr. Z. 38: Turms discusses with his underworld counterpart Turms Aitas. Photo Mus. IV.34.17.

Pethan belong; and there are apparently such groupings around Fufluns and Thufttha. One naturally recalls, under this aspect, the god-councils mentioned in Latin literature, the *dii consentes* and the *dii superiores et involuti*, as well as the groups in the division of the sky (and those known as Penates) handed down by Arnobius. The cooperation of several *divinità-atto* was obviously necessary, or at least beneficial, if a certain effect was to be brought about. Further, it is characteristically Etruscan that gods and groups of gods have a fixed seat in the sky,<sup>33</sup> and that this division makes certain techniques of divination in earthly matters at all possible, as, for instance, the sheep's liver reflects. While god-groups have a certain parallel in Umbrian religion,<sup>34</sup> the *deorum sedes* are apparently specifically Etruscan.

## DEMONS AND THE ETRUSCAN PANTHEON

The numerous demon-figures are also an Etruscan peculiarity, for which Greek parallels can scarcely be found. In this regard, the Etruscans were, so to speak, compelled to become inventive image-designers, and they did it with great success. Depictions of death-demons,<sup>35</sup> above all, are numerous, which is probably due to the fact that in Etruria the cemeteries were better preserved, and for a long time they were more intensively excavated than cities and sanctuaries. There were probably demons in all of the manifestations of Etruscan religion.

What are demons, and how can they be distinguished from gods? The modern use of the term with regard to ancient demons corresponds roughly to the use that Plato gives in the *Symposium*; there, the priestess Diotima characterizes Eros. Walter Burkert has given a summary:<sup>36</sup>

Eros would be a being that is neither god nor mortal, but mid-way, a *daimon*; because of such kind are the *daimones*: they stand in the middle between gods and men, they are interpreters and ferrymen, who transmit the messages and gifts of men to the gods, and from gods to men, prayers and sacrifices from the one group, orders and rewards from the other side.<sup>37</sup>

Accordingly, demons stand in closer contact with humans than gods, but they can always only be recognized by the fact that they affect something. They are inconceivable as pure existence without any relationship to human beings. The question is, how this can be reconciled with the hypothesis of the Etruscan *divinità-atto*, who could be perceived only through the effects of their actions. A thesis imposes itself which is not in the least provable, and has probably been developed out of the question posed: it could be that there were originally many beings that were each responsible for a certain process, approximately corresponding to the Roman “special gods” (*Sondergötter, indigitamenta*),<sup>38</sup> and whose necessary cooperation one later ascribed to direction by higher gods.

If we take a closer look at the few sources on Etruscan demons with this thesis in mind, then the result is as follows:

- 1) Demons are presumably those spirits which appear in plural, or at least, in close relationship to many other beings of similar, or of the same sort. The best examples for this concept are the male and female death-demons<sup>39</sup> which, in general, are summarized under the names of Charun and Vanth. While, however, Vanth is named in inscriptions only in the singular, several Charun-depictions are found together with various epithets (Fig. 25.9). In addition, there is also a demon, Tuchulcha, which is obviously different in appearance from Charun. For the female death-demons of the Late Classical and Hellenistic epochs, which closely resemble each other, besides Vanth, there is another name attested that brings its bearer unambiguously in connection with a passage or a gateway: Culsu (Fig. 25.10). She therefore exercised the function of a gate-keeper or door-opener. One should then consider dividing the large throng of death-demons into a multitude of spirits, each respectively responsible for a single aspect, but this theory finds no support, either in iconography, or in the – not all too common – name inscriptions. And the god that they all do the groundwork for is, in the hellenized version, Aita/Hades,



Figure 25.9 Tarquinia, Tomba dei Caronti: *Charun chunchulis* and *Charun buths*.  
After DAI Rom neg. 81.4359.

not simply the supreme organizer, but rather the ruler over the kingdom of the dead, something fundamentally different. Here, the hypothesis cited above obviously does not quite work out.

- 2) Turan is just as little a summarization of all of the figures that are assembled on mirrors in her realm. Some of them have names that originally seem to have been plural forms: Achvizr and Ethausva.<sup>40</sup> They were, therefore, originally a group. It is possible, as Mauro Cristofani has assumed,<sup>41</sup> that some of the figures of her circle correspond to the personifications that are found on Attic vases since the later fifth century BC. Because they too stand for certain characteristics or effects they could fit unproblematically into the circle of the original Etruscan demons.
- 3) Maris,<sup>42</sup> who is always portrayed as youthful, and even twice in plural as a small child, has various epithets, some of which are derived from other gods' names (Turan, Hercle). He also appears alone, and is represented three times on the liver from Piacenza, in two of them without any epithet. The conception of demons defined above does not seem to be quite appropriate for him, but he can nonetheless appear in plural.
- 4) When we consider the area of the divinities of the weather and of the heavenly bodies,<sup>43</sup> we find plural beings, winged female figures who pour water out of a vessel, perhaps personifications of clouds (Fig. 25.11). And in the series of antefixes from the



Figure 25.10 Sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei, Palermo, Mus. Arch. Reg. Coll. Casuccini: Culsu and other female demons. After Herbig, *Steinsarkophage* pl. 57a (photograph in the possession of the Arch. Inst. Heidelberg).

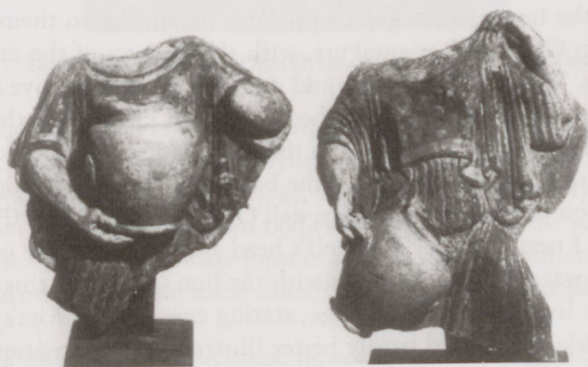


Figure 25.11 Terracotta antefixes, Rome, Villa Giulia. From Veio, Macchia Grande: Female demons with water jars, representing clouds (?). Photo Mus. 26919 and 35499.

building with the many rooms in Pyrgi (see Chapter 30), we find a being with the head of a rooster, which, as the harbinger of the day, hurries ahead of the sun-god. One would like to designate such apparitions as demons, although they do not come into contact with human beings.

All of these difficulties may probably be explained by three circumstances: 1) In Etruria, there was no fundamental difference, between gods and demons – it was a gradual difference. Both of them had the same origin. 2) The Etruscan pantheon was not a closed, dogmatic system, but – to express it casually for once – it was an open society, into which foreigners were integrated and in which the old-established could change their appearance, partly according to foreign models, or even extend their competence under foreign influence, or remain what they had always been. Some of them had probably had different names in different places of worship. Some of them became dominant (gods), others were more concerned with the concrete execution of divine plans (demons); this second group must have been more numerous than the first one. 3) We are acquainted with this society only in its latest phases, which permits only some few conclusions on its original state. Typically, Etruscan gods had a pronounced inclination to cooperation and to group formation, as well as fixed “domiciles” in the sky.

### SUPPLEMENT: ON THE THERIOMORPHISM OF ETRUSCAN GODS AND DEMONS: THE ART OF SHAPING THE DEMONIC

In Etruscan art, theriomorphic components are seldom combined with the human form in the case of the “great” gods, but this occurs more frequently among demons. This led to the assumption that gods – in a primitive stage of religion, and precisely also in Etruria – were first imagined in the form of animals, and later – perhaps under Greek influence – in human form.<sup>44</sup> Even if this “prehistoric theriomorphism”<sup>45</sup> is scarcely discussed in the meantime, it is nevertheless not to be overlooked that, at least in the case of death-demons and underworld-gods, something of the sort can be perceived: demons by which human traits are combined with wolf- or vulture-traits occur from the sixth century BC into the Hellenistic period. During the Orientalizing period, hybrids of lions and wolves stand for the realm of death.<sup>46</sup> At that time, the Etruscans had probably begun to furnish the lion, the dangerous predator unfamiliar to them, and which they had borrowed from Greek and oriental art, with the features of the most-feared animal of the native fauna. The fact that wolves and vultures, likewise native animals, could be emissaries of a nearing death must have been common knowledge then. Wolf-demons are depicted in the subsequent centuries in the most varied combinations of human and animal characteristics (Fig. 25.12), until the basic concept found its perfect expression in the representation of Aita in the Tomba dell’Orco II in Tarquinia (Fig. 25.13) and in the Tomba Golini I near Orvieto. The wolf’s head appears above the god’s human head. The formal model was probably Herakles with the lion’s skin, but this isn’t the skin of a dead animal, but a living wolf with a huge, staring eye. Behind Aita’s human body, the wolf’s body is visible. One could hardly better illustrate the conception that the God of Death can appear in more than one form. But he is neither a human being nor a wolf, he is the God of Death.



Figure 25.12 Plate, Pontic. Rome, Villa Giulia 84444: wolf demon.  
Photo Mus. detail, tondo: wolf demon.



Figure 25.13 Tarquinia; Tomba dell'Orco II, head of Aita. After DAI Rom neg. 82.635.

Aita is an exception inasmuch as animal parts are more frequently seen on “lesser” gods and on demons. But in their realm, the hybrid form became accepted: there are youths above whom a swan appears<sup>47</sup> (Fig. 25.14); they probably personify the stimulating, refreshing coolness, which radiates from bodies of water during the summer heat. Gods or demons of the sea wear a cap in the form of a Ketos-head (reptilian sea-monster, Fig. 25.15), or of an entire dolphin; on some coins,<sup>48</sup> the animal reproduced (boar?) cannot be exactly identified.

On the basis of all of these depictions, however, one should not conclude that the Etruscans thought of the gods in an earlier phase as animals and then later as human beings. It is much rather a question of two possibilities for giving an abstract concept,



Figure 25.14 Bronze statuette, Florence, Mus. Arch. 547, so-called Jason.



Figure 25.15 Bronze coin, (incuse) = LIMC VII Poseidon/Nethuns 17. After plaster cast.

for example, death, a concrete form. In one case, this could have been the animal form, in another, the human form, or both forms could have been developed in parallel. The Etruscans' image-shaping imagination, which otherwise receded behind the overwhelming influence of Greek art, also expressed itself in details. Many death-demons have huge, staring eyes, as in a vulture-demon on a red figure vase (Fig. 25.16);<sup>49</sup> in the Tomba della Quadriga infernale,<sup>50</sup> this eye is emphasized by being shown *en face*, while all of the eyes of humans there are shown, as is usual in the stylistic convention of the time, in profile. Every animal, and human beings as well, finds it an unpleasant experience when someone stares at them; one involuntarily has the feeling that it cannot mean anything good. It must have been much more eerie when two eyes suddenly become visible in the dark (Fig. 25.17); they constituted a very real, lethal menace.



Figure 25.16 Red-figure oinochoe, vulture demon. Vatican Mus. Greg. Etr. 18200.  
(See *LIMC Supplementum* 2009 *Daemones anonymi* 5). Photo Mus.



Figure 25.17 Wolf at night, "photo trap" near Daubnitz in the Lausitz. By permission of  
Wildbiologisches Büro LUPUS. Dorfstrasse 16 02979 Spreewitz (Sachsen).

This table shows a selection of the gods about whom we know more than just their names.

## NOTES

\* Denotes numbers after Maggiani 1982 and de Grummond/Simon 2006, Fig. II.2; () = second in the field of another god, e.g. tin/cilen; field 41 and 42 are on the other, convex side of the liver denoting day and night. Divinities mentioned only in one field and otherwise unknown. For reasons of space it was not possible to include the names mentioned in the mummy-wrapping of Zagreb (e.g. Letham, Nethuns, Thesan, Tinia, Uni) and the tile from Capua (Tabula Capuana), where Letham(s) seems to dominate. For both texts, see Chapters 22–28.

\*\*bold = a probable main deity of a sanctuary.

<i>Etruscan (and similar Etr. deities)</i>	<i>Equivalent Greek</i>	<i>Equivalent Roman</i>	<i>Equiva-lent Other Rel.</i>	<i>Possible attributes (and some remarks)</i>	<i>Field in the Liver from Piacenza*</i>	<i>Evidence for cult places**; I = inscriptions (after Maras 2009), S = votive statues or statuettes (more than five expl.)</i>
Aita, Eita (Calu)	Hades	Pluto, Dis/pater		Wolf's cap, sceptre		
Ap(u)lu (Šuri, Rath)	Apollon	Apollo		Bow, lyre or kithara, laurel branch		Arezzo, presso Santa Croce (I, sors); Cerveteri, Vignaccia (S); Niarce, Monte Li Santi (?; I: apalus); Veii, Campetti (S); Veii, Portonaccio (S), for I s. Rath. Campania: Pontecagnano, north sanctuary
Artumes, Aritimi	Artemis	Diana		Bow, as huntress short chiton and boots		Cerveteri, Vignaccia (S); Gravisca (I); Roselle (I); Tarquinia, Ara della Regina (I, sors); Veii, Portonaccio (I)
Calu (god of the Underworld, s. also Aita)						Roncoferrato (Mantova) (I); Cortona (I). Calusnal or Kalusnal (=Circle of C.); Orvieto, Belvedere (I: tinia calusna), Vulci, town (I) Corciano (Pethns calusnal)

8.23

Catha (sun god or =cavtha?, s. Maras 2009, 303)



<i>Cav(a)tha, Kav(a)tha Sech</i> [= daughter, Kore]	<i>Persephone, Kore</i> (Colonna 1991/ 92), <i>Artemis, Hekate</i> (Maggiari 1997)				<i>Pyrgi, South Sanctuary</i> (I), <i>Populonia, San Cerbone</i> (I), <i>Orvieto</i> (I), <i>San Feliciano</i> (east of Lago Trasimeno) (I)
Cel	Ge, Gaia	Tellus, Terra Mater		13	<i>Castiglione del Lago</i> (West of Lago Trasimeno) (I); <i>Volterra, Casabianca</i> (I?). Campania: <i>Nola</i> (I)
Cilen(s)		Nocturnus (?)	Female in a terracotta relief from Bolsena (see note 19)	16. 36. (1)	
Culsans		Ianus	Head with two faces	14? (= cvlalp)	<i>Cortona, Piazza del Mercato</i> presso <i>Porta Ghibellina</i> (I, S). cvl: <i>Bagnoregio</i> (Orvieto) (I. Culsans or Culsu?)
Esplace	Asklepios	Aesculapius	Thyrros, ivy, kantharos	9,24	<i>Pyrgi, south sanctuary</i> (I: circle of F.); <i>Todi</i> (I); <i>Vulci, Pian dell'Abbadia</i> (I).
Fufluns, Fufluns Pachies, Pacha	Dionysos	Bacchus, Liber	Lion's skin, bow, club	29	<i>Caere?</i> (I); <i>Caere, San Antonio</i> (I); <i>Pyrgi, south sanctuary</i> (I); <i>Veii, Portonaccio</i> (S);
Her(e)(e)le	Herakles	Hercules	Cuirass, helmet, lance, shield		<i>Bettona</i> (Perugia) (I); <i>Cerveteri, Vignaccia</i> (S?); <i>Orvieto, Belvedere</i> (I: circle of?); <i>Veii, Campetti</i> (S); <i>Vulci</i> (I?)
Laran	Ares	Mars	Wings, often represented in the circle of Turan	19	
Lasa				11.18.32.37. 27? (= Ietra)	
Letham(s), Lethan			With sword together with Tinia on a mirror		<i>Bolsena, Il Poggetto</i> (I); <i>Corchiano, necropoli di San Antonio tomb 20</i> (I); <i>Graivisca</i> (I); <i>Perugia</i> (I); <i>Vulci, Poggio Olivastro</i> (I)
Lurs, Lurmi					

*Table continued overleaf*

Table continued

Etruscan (and similar Etr. deities)	Equivalent Greek	Equivalent Roman	Equivalent Other Rel.	Possible attributes (and some remarks)	Field in the Liver from Piacenza*	Evidence for cult places**; I = inscriptions (after Maras 2009), S = votive statues or statuettes (more than five expl.)
Lyssa					6.34	
Maris		Genius (de Grummond)		Young male (Baby or youth, frequently plural with different bynames)	26.30.39	Chiusi (I)
Men(e)rva	Athena	Minerva		Helmet, aegis, lance, shield		Veii, Portonaccio (I. S); S. Marinella, Punta della Vipera (I, S); Cerveteri, Vignaccia (S); Perugia, Palazzone, tomba degli Acsi (I); Pyrgi, south sanctuary (I); Tarquinia (I); Tarquinia, Monterozzi (I)
Nethuns	Poseidon	Neptunus		Trident	7.28. (22)	Caere, Banditaccia(?) (I); Pyrgi, north sanctuary (I.?: net[...])
Phersipnai, Phersipnei	Persephone	Proserpina		Snakes in the hair		
Rath (Aplu)	Apollon?	Apollo?		Laurel branch		Bolsena, Fosso di Arlena (I); Caere, San Antonio (I); Chiusi (I); Pyrgi, south sanctuary (?; I); San Polo d'Enza (I); Veii, Portonaccio (I);
Satre		Saturnus?			35	
Selvans		Silvanus			10.31	Bolsena, Pozzarello (I); Cortona, Piazza del Mercato presso Porta Ghibellina (I on S); probably Sarteano (I); Tarquinia, town (I) see also Maras 2009, 391sg. (Umbria)
Sethlanś	Hephaistos	Vulcanus		Hammer, tongs		

Śuri ( <i>Aplu</i> )	<i>Apollon</i>	Soranus (Apollo, <i>Disipater, Pater</i> <i>Pyrgensis?</i> )			Pyrgi, South Sanctuary (I); Arezzo, presso Santa Croce (I, sors); Bettona (Perugia), necropoli (I); Orvieto, Belvedere (I); Tarquinia, town (I); Viterbo, Cipollara (I, sors); Vulci, Pian di Maggio(?) (I); Vulci, town (I)
Tectum, Tec sans			5	Together with Cel and Cavtha ( <i>keuthas</i> ) part of a <i>templam</i> formed by the lake (s. above note 14)	Tuoro (north of Lago Trasimeno) (I)
Thanr					Perugia (?; I), probably Sarteano (I: circle of Thanr), cf. also Maras 2009, 313 ( <i>originis incertae</i> ); Spina, Valle Mezzana (town) (I)
Thesan	Eos	Aurora		Quadriga, wings	Pyrgi, north sanctuary (I); Spina, Valle Pega, tomb 102C (I)
Thupltha, Thuiftha			21 (2. 20)		Chiusi region (I); Montalcino, loc. Castello di S. Angelo in Colle (I); Montecchio (Cortona) (I); Mucigliano (Siena) (I); Tarquinia, town, edificio d (I); Vulci, Pian di Maggio (?) (I, circle of Th.?)
Tin(i)a	Zeus	Iupiter	1.2.3. 20.22	Lightning bolt	Bolsena, Il Pogetto (I); Marzabotto, temple in regio I (I); Adria, town (I); Bolsena, town (I); Feltrre (Belluno) (I); Pyrgi, north sanctuary (I?); Roselle, town; Tarquinia (I); Tina calusna: Orvieto, Belvedere (I). For <i>tinsevil</i> see Maras 2009, 91 s.
Tinas climiar	Dioskouroi	Castores		With Horses, stars, amphorae, dokana	Tarquinia, Monterozzi, in a tomb (I)

Table continued overleaf

Table continued

<i>Etruscan (and similar Etr. deities)</i>	<i>Equivalent Greek</i>	<i>Equivalent Roman</i>	<i>Equivalent Other Rel.</i>	<i>Possible attributes (and some remarks)</i>	<i>Field in the Liver from Piacenza*</i>	<i>Evidence for cult place**; I = inscriptions (after Maras 2009), S = votive statues or statuettes (more than five expl.)</i>
Tiv, Tiur	Selene	Luna		Crescent of the moon	41	Chianciano, loc. Acquasanta(?) (I); Veii, Camperti (I)
Tluscv					12.33-40	
Turan	Aphrodite	Venus				Gravisca (I); Probably Sarteano (I); Veii, Portonaccio (I); Narce, Monte in Mezzo ai Prati, tomb 5 (I, circle of T.); Caere, San Antonio (I)
Turms	Hermes, as Turms Aitas = Hermes Psycho-pompos	Mercurius		Kerykeion, hat with wings		
Uni	Hera, Uni of Pyrgi in Greek interpretation: Leukothea, Eileithyia	Iuno, Uni of Pyrgi in Roman interpretation: Mater Maruta	Phoenic. Astarte	Iuno Sospita type: goat's skin	4	Pyrgi, north sanctuary (I); Cortona (I); Gravisca (I); Vulci, Fontanile di Legnisina (I)
Usil (Catha?)	Helios	Sol		Quadriga, sun disk	42	
Vanth				As a female death demon: wings, boots, torch, snakes, scroll		Marsiliana d'Albegna, loc. Petrazzeta, in a tomb (I); Spina, Valle Pega tomb 707C

Proposed as god of Vetulonia (Vat.) by Banti (*StEtr* 5, 1931, 185–201), in that case with a dolphin or ketos on the head: coins *L/MC VII Po-Poseidon/* Nethuns 16–19, but inscriptions from inner Etr.

Corchiano, necropoli di San Antonio romb 20 (I) cf. two other I of uncertain origin (Maras 2009, 304–305.315)

Vei	Demeter	Ceres	Caere, Vigna Parocchiale (I); Gravisca (I.S); Orvieto, Canicella (I); Pian delle Vigne presso Norchia (I); Pyrgi, north sanctuary (I). Regae, loc. Le Murelle (I); Roselle, town (I); San Polo d'Enza (I); Vulci, Fontanile di Lenigsina (I)
Veltune, Voltumna, Vortumnus (Latin) (= Tinia?)		Vertumnus (?)	<i>Deus princeps Etruriae. Fannus Voltumnas</i> , see above (note 5)
Vetis, Veive		Veiovis?	Pyrgi, south sanctuary (I)

## BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

Lists and short characterizations of the most important divinities in: Jannot 1998, 153–174; de Grummond 2006, 53–172; Simon 2006, 152–167; see also Bentz 1992; Maras 2009, 101–153; for the gods of the Piacenza liver, van der Meer 1987, 30–140.

In the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* I–VIII (1984–1997, Zurich Munich Duesseldorf: Artemis Verlag), there are articles on gods and demons who are identifiable in pictorial art (in individual cases, when false interpretations have to be refuted, figures without an own iconography are also included). In the case of figures which are attested only once in inscriptions, it is sometimes uncertain whether this is a case of demons or heroes of an unknown myth. In this case, the name is italicized.

I 214–216 Achvizr; 573–576 Alpan; 665 Aminth. II 169–176 (Aphrodite)/Turan; 335–363 (Apollon)/Aplu; 498–505 (Ares)/Laran; 774–792 (Artemis)/Artumes; 1050–1074 (Athena)/Menerva. III 1–2 Athrpa; 184 Catha; 185 Celsclan (Sohn der Cel, Erde = Giant); 225–236 (Charon I)/Charun; 294–295 Cilens; 306–308 Culsans; 308–309 Culsu; 531–540 (Dionysos)/Fuflungs; 597–608 (Dioskouroi)/Tinas Cliniar; 789–797 (Eos)/Thesan; 810–812 Epiur; 1070–1077 (Ariadne)/Ariatha. IV 1–12 Eros (in Etruria) with Svutaf und Purthisph, on the last, see Snenath; 24–25 Esplace (= Asklepios); 38 Ethausva; 126–128 Evan; 128–129 Evrphia; 330–345 Gorgones (in Etruria); 394–399 (Hades)/Aita, Calu; 654–659 (Hephaistos)/Sethlans; V 196–253 (Herakles)/Hercle; 1038–1047 (Helios)/Usil. VI 217–225 Lasa; 249–250 Leinth; 256 Letham; 264–267 (Leto)/Letun; 296 Lur; 346–349 Malavisch; 358–360 Maris; 383–385 Mean; 627 Mlacuch; 681–685 Mousa, Mousai (in Etruria); 688–689 Munthuch; 711–712 Nathum; 934–935 Nortia. VII 329–332 Phersipnai (= Persephone); 479–483 (Poseidon)/Nethuns; 506 *Preale*; 622 Reschualc; 623 Rescial; 648 *Rutapis*; 718 Selvans; 795 *Sleparis*; 823–824 Suri; 900–902 Thalna; 908 Thanr. VIII 19 Thupltha; 52 Tretu; 85–90 Tritones (in Etruria); 97–98 Tuchulcha; 98–111 Turms (= Hermes); 114 *Tvami*; 159–171 Uni (= Hera); 173–183 Vanth; 183–184 Vegoia; 185 *Veltune*; 236 Vesuna; 281–282 Voltumna; 400–421 (Zeus)/Tinia; 488–489 Zinthrepus; 489–490 Zipna.

*LIMC Supplementum* 2009: 19–20 Achvizr; 73–78 (Aphrodite)/Turan; 79–82 (Apollon)/Aplu; 86 (Ariadne)/Ariatha; 143–156 Daemones anonymi (in Etruria); 180–183 (Dionysos)/Fuflungs; 205–206 (Eos)/Thesan; 212–213 Eros (in Etruria); 232–233 Gorgo, Gorgones (in Etruria); 244–264 (Herakles)/Hercle; 279–281 (Hermes)/Turms; 457–458 Snenath; 472 Thalna; 473 Thanr; 483–484 *Tbuluter*; 484 Thupltha.

## NOTES

- 1 *LIMC* VIII Zeus/Tinia 40. 41\*. 43\*; *CSE Italia* I Bologna, Museo Civico I (Roma: “LERMA” di Bretschneider, 1987) 32–35 no. 13 fig. 13a.b; de Grummond 2006, 64s. fig. IV.12.13; 81 fig. V.10.
- 2 Ill.: St. Petersburg, Hermitage B 505; *LIMC* I Achvizr 5\* = VI Lasa 15 = VIII Zipna 3; de Grummond 2006: 98 Fig. V.28; de Grummond/Simon 2006 52 fig. IV.7. Besides those named, there also appear together with Turan: Alpan, Aminth, Evan, Lasa, Malavisch, Mean, Munthuch, Reschualc, Snenath, Thalna and Thanr, mainly the two latter and Lasa are not at all confined to that circle. For the satellites of Turan see M. Cristofani, “Faone, la testa di Orfeo e l’immaginario femminile,” *Prospettiva* 42 (1985) 2–12 = *idem*, *Scripta Selecta* (Pisa-Roma, Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 2001) II, 587–597.
- 3 The sources are listed by Pffiffig 130f. and de Grummond/Simon 2006, 213–217. Who the eighth thunderbolt-casting god was, hasn’t been handed down. The most important source for thunderbolt-hurling: Pliny *NH* 2.138–144.

- 4 S. de Grummond/Simon 2006, 217 Source IX.3. For the problem of the *deorum sedes* see, most recently, A. Maggiani, “*Deorum sedes*. Divinazione etrusca o dottrina augurale romana?” *AnnFaina* 16 (2009) 221–237.
- 5 On Voltumna: Cristofani, M., “Voltumna: Vertumnus,” *AnnFaina* 2 (1985) 75–88; Capdeville, G., “Voltumna ed altri culti del territorio volsiniese,” *AnnFaina* 6 (1999) 109–135.
- 6 See Chapter 22 and Bonfante, L., “Etruscan Inscriptions and Etruscan Religion” in de Grummond/Simon 2006, 9–26.
- 7 van der Meer 1987; Colonna, G., “A proposito degli dei del Fegato di Piacenza,” *StEtr* 59 (1993) 123–136. L. Bonfante in de Grummond/Simon 2006, 10–11. Details in Chapter 26. The study by Maggiani (1982) took a decisive step forward.
- 8 Bentz 1992, 185–218; Maras 2009, 101–158.
- 9 Banti, L. (1973) *Etruscan Cities and Their Culture*, London, B. T. Batsford, 186 (= *eadem*, *Il mondo degli Etruschi* (1969) Roma: Biblioteca di Storia Patria, 246.
- 10 Translated from Banti, L., (1960) *Die Welt der Etrusker* (Stuttgart: Cotta’sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger) 116.
- 11 Literary source, attempts at an explanation, and more: *Die Göttin von Pyrgi. Akten des Kolloquiums Tübingen* 16.–17.1.1979 (Biblioteca di Studi Etruschi 12, Firenze 1981: Olschki)
- 12 G. Colonna, “Novità sui culti di Pyrgi,” *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* ser. 3, 57 (1984–1985) 57–88.
- 13 Fiorini, L./Torelli, M., “Quarant’anni di ricerche a Gravisca” in *Material Aspects of Etruscan Religion. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leiden, May 29–30, 2008* (ed. L. Bouke van der Meer). *BaBesch* Suppl. 16 (2010) Louven – Paris – Walpole: Peeters, 29–49, see also Chapter 29.
- 14 Some examples: Colonna, G., “La dea etrusca Cel e i santuari del Trasimeno,” *Scritti in memoria di Gianfranco Tibiletti* (= *Rivista Storica dell’Antichità* 6–7, 1976/77) 45–62; Rendeli, M., “Selvans tularia,” *StEtr* 59 (1993) 163–166; Maras, D. F., “La dea Thanr e le cerchie divine in Etruria: nuove acquisizioni,” *StEtr* 64, 1998 (2001) 173–197; Maras, D. F. (2000) “Le iscrizioni sacre etrusche sul vasellame in età tardo-arcaica e recente,” *Scienze dell’Antichità* 10 (2000) 121–137; a summary now by Maras 2009.
- 15 See on this point concisely Scheid, J. (2003) *An Introduction to Roman Religion*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 153.
- 16 Prosdocimi, A. L., “Le religioni degli Italici” in: *Italia omnium terrarum parens* (ed. G. Pugliese Carratelli, 1989, Milano: Libri Scheiwiler) esp. 484–448. The opposite are the *divinità-mito*.
- 17 On this aspect and on the following: M. Cristofani, “Sul processo di antropomorfizzazione nel pantheon etrusco” in: *Miscellanea etrusco-italica* 1 (= *QuadAEl* 22) (1993) 9–21; *idem.*, “Masculin/Féminin dans la théonymie étrusque” in: *Les Étrusques, les plus religieux des hommes. État de la recherche sur la religion étrusque. Actes du colloque international Grand Palais* 17.–19.11.1992 (eds F. Gaultier and D. Briquel, Paris: La Documentation Française, 1997) 209–219; in summary: Krauskopf, I., “Männlich / weiblich in der etruskischen Welt” in *ThesCRA* VIII.5.a (p. 263f) 2012. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum. Polarités de la vie religieuse a. Abschnitt 3 [in print, appears at the end of 2011].
- 18 Some deliberations on this point: Krauskopf, I., “Seefahrtsgeschichten – Göttergeschichten oder der Hunger nach Bildern. Zur Faszination des griechischen Mythos in der etruskischen Kultur” in *Corollari. Scritti di antichità etrusche e italiche in omaggio all’opera di Giovanni Colonna* (a cura di D. F. Maras, Pisa-Roma: Fabrizio Serra editore, 2011, 133–137.
- 19 They can, however, at least in the late period, be present in mythological scenes, as for example, Letham at the Birth of Athena (*LIMC* VI Letham 1 = VIII Zeus/Tinia 45; van der Meer 1987 68 fig. 31) and Cilens, who is depicted as a woman, together with Menrva in an unidentifiable scene (*LIMC* II Athena/Menerva 140\* = III Cilens 1; de Grummond 2006 color pl. II on CD Rom).

- 20 Krauskopf, I., "EX ORIENTE SOL. Zu den orientalischen Wurzeln der etruskischen Sonnenikonographie," *Archeologia Classica* 43 (1991) = *Miscellanea etrusca e italica in onore di Massimo Pallottino*, 1261–1283; *LIMC* V addenda s. v. Helios/Usil. Another "oriental" demon: Maggiani, A., "Vita effimera di un mostro etrusco," *RdA* 30 (2006) 47–56.
- 21 Mirror Firenze, Mus. Arch. 73798: *LIMC* VI Helios/Usil 30\* with bibl.; Pfiffig 1975 243f., fig. 106; M. Tirelli, "La rappresentazione del sole nell' arte etrusca," *StEtr* 49 (1981) pl. 16d; The inscription "Cathesan" can be interpreted in various ways, s. *loc. cit.* 1046; *LIMC* III s. v. Catha.
- 22 Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12257: *LIMC* II Athena/Menerva 168° = III Eos/Thesan 33 = VIII Zeus/Tinia 65\*; de Grummond 2006 54 fig. IV.1; de Grummond/Simon 40 Fig. III.16. We owe the discovery of this *interpretatio etrusca* to J. Heurgon: "De la balance aux foudres (à propos du miroir étrusque, Gerhard, E.S. IV 396)" in *Melanges de littérature et d'épigraphie latines, d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie. Hommage à la mémoire de Pierre Wuilleumier* (1980, Paris: Soc. d'édition les belles lettres) 165–196.
- 23 *LIMC* III Eos/Thesan 293–298.
- 24 Bronze statuette Heidelberg, the University's Museum of Antiquities F 148: *LIMC* VIII Zeus/Tinia 105\*. De Grummond/Simon 2006, 46 fig. IV.1
- 25 S. *LIMC* II 338–341. 352–355 s. v. Apollon/Aplu. Here fig. 6 :Pontic amphora, Paris, Bibl. Nat. 171 (*LIMC* Apollon/Aplu 3\*. 7\*)
- 26 Colonna 1987, 431–435.
- 27 *LIMC* VII Pavatarchies 1; Colonna 1987, 436 Abb. 21; de Grummond/Simon 2006, 30 Fig. III.4.30.
- 28 M. Bentz./D. Steinbauer, "Neues zum Aplu-Kult in Etrurien," *AA* (2001) 69–77.
- 29 Livy 3.63.7, see, for example, E. Simon, *Die Götter der Römer* (Munich: Hirmer, 1990) 28. On M.-L. Haack's thesis ("Apollon médecin en Étrurie," *Ancient Society* 37 (2007) 167–190, who recognizes an *Apollo medicus* in the god of the Portonaccio sanctuary on the basis of the votive terracottas, see Krauskopf, I., *LIMC Supplementum* 2009, 82 s.v. Aplu.
- 30 G. Colonna, "Il *dokanon*, il culto dei Dioscuri e gli aspetti ellenizzanti della religione dei morti nell' Etruria tardo-arcaica" in: *Scritti di antichità in memoria di Sandro Stucchi* II (= *StMisc* 29, 1996) 165–184.
- 31 Besides the articles in *LIMC* VIII and *LIMC Supplementum* 2009 see also M. Harari, "Turms: il nome e la funzione" in *Image et religion dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine. Actes du Colloque de Rome 11.–13. décembre 2003* (Napoli : Centre Jean Bérard, 2008, 345–354. Sannibale, M., „Gli Etruschi e l'Aldilà," in: *Aldilà. L'ultimo mistero. Cat. exhibition Illeggio* 2011 (ed. Castri, S.-Geretti, A.) pp. 222f. no. 33.
- 32 Maras 1998/2001; Maras 2009, 153–157.
- 33 It is controversial to which extent these *deorum sedes* are reflected in the orientation of temples. S. F. Prayon, "Deorum sedes. Sull'orientamento dei templi etrusco-italici," *ArchCl* 43 (1991) 1285–1295 with earlier literature. One also has to consider that, e. g., the sunrise-point oscillates through the seasons, and that we can't be certain that the Etruscans didn't find this point to be more important than the fixed point of the sun's zenith in the south, see on this N.L.C. Stevens, "A new reconstruction of the Etruscan heaven," *AJA* 113 (2009) 153–164.
- 34 Literature by Maras 1998/2001, 196f. n. 78.
- 35 See note 38.
- 36 W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart Berlin Köln Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1977, pp. 487f. There and pp. 278–282 on the complex ancient terms, *daimon* and *daimonion*.
- 37 Original quote from W. Burkert: "Eros sei ein Wesen, das weder Gott noch sterblich ist, sondern ein mittleres, ein *daimon*; denn solcher Art seien die *daimones*: sie stehen in der Mitte zwischen Göttern und Menschen, sie sind Dolmetscher und Fährleute, die Botschaften und



- Gaben von den Menschen zu den Göttern und von den Göttern zu den Menschen übermitteln, Gebete und Opfer von der einen, Aufträge und Belohnungen von der anderen Seite.”
- 38 D. Elm, “Die Kontroverse über die Sondergötter,” *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 5.1 (2003) 67–79; M. Perfigli, Indigitamenta: divinità funzionali e funzionalità divina nella religione romana. *Antropoi* 2. Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2004.
- 39 See the respective articles in *LIMC*, further Krauskopf 1987, J.-R. Jannot, “Charun, Tuchulcha et les autres,” *RM* 100, 1993, 59–81; *idem*, “Charu(n) et Vanth, divinités plurielles?.” In *Les Étrusques, les plus religieux des hommes. État de la recherche sur la religion étrusque. Actes du colloque international Grand Palais* 17.–19. 11. 1992 (eds F. Gaultier and D. Briquel, Paris 1997) 139–166.
- 40 See Maras 1998/2001, p. 193, see also n. 2.
- 41 See n. 2.
- 42 *LIMC* VI s. v. Maris; de Grummond 2006, 140–144.
- 43 *LIMC Supplementum* 2009, s. v. Daemones anonymi (in Etruria) 151–153 with bibl.
- 44 So, for example, A. Stenico, “Di alcune divinità italiche,” *Athenaeum* 25 (1947) pp. 55ff. esp. 58.
- 45 F. Dirlmeier, *Die Vogelgestalt homerischer Götter* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 1967, 2. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag) p. 35.
- 46 I. Krauskopf, “Sul teriomorfismo di dèi etruschi e italici” in *Forms and Structures of Religion in Ancient Central Italy, III Convegno Internazionale dell’Istituto di Ricerche e documentazione sugli antichi Umbri (IRDAU)* Perugia-Gubbio, 21.–25. settembre 2011. For Aita s. also the *LIMC*-article and Krauskopf 1987.
- 47 *LIMC Supplementum* 2009, 153–155; I. Grau, “Der sogenannte Jason im Archäologischen Museum von Florenz,” *Hefte des Archäologischen Seminars Bern (HASB)* 18, 2002, 23–44.
- 48 *Loc. cit.* 151; *LIMC* VII Poseidon/Nethuns 16–19 = VIII Tyrsenos 2–5
- 49 For example, the wolf-demon on the Pontic plate Rome, Villa Giulia (*LIMC Supplementum* 2009 Daemones anonymi 1 = Monstra anonyma in Etruria 22\*); de Grummond/Simon 2006 75 fig. V.14) and the wolf’s “cap” of Aita in the Tomba dell’Orco (*LIMC* IV Hades/Aita 6\*); de Grummond/Simon 2006, 71 Fig. V.7–8), the vulture-demon on an oinochoe in the Vatican (*LIMC Supplementum* 2009 Daemones anonymi 5\*) or the Charun in the Tomba degli Aninas (*LIMC* III Charon/Charun 60\*).
- 50 *LIMC Supplementum* 2009 Daemones anonymi 26\*); S. Steingräber, *Abundance of Life. Etruscan Wall Paintings*, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006, pl. 230; Minetti, A., *La tomba della Quadriga Infernale nella necropoli delle Pianacce di Sarteano* (Roma, L’ERMA di Bretschneider 2006).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bentz, M. (1992) *Etruskische Votivbronzen des Hellenismus*, Florence: Biblioteca di Studi Etruschi 25, Florence: Leo Olschki.
- Colonna, G. (1987) “Note preliminari sui culti del santuario di Portonaccio a Veio,” *Scienze dell’Antichità* 1, 419–446.
- (1991/92) “Altari e sacelli. L’area sud di Pyrgi dopo otto anni di ricerca,” *RendPontAcc* 64, 63–115.
- (1997) “Divinités peu connues du panthéon étrusque” in F. Gaultier and D. Briquel (eds) *Les Étrusques, les plus religieux des hommes. État de la recherche sur la religion étrusque. Actes du colloque international Grand Palais* 17.–19. 11. 1992, Paris: La Documentation Française, 167–184.
- (2012) “Il pantheon degli Etruschi – ‘i più religiosi degli uomini’ – alla luce delle scoperte di Pyrgi,” *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, anno CDIX – 2012 classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Memorie ser. IX vol. XXIX fasc. 3557–595.*

- de Grummond, N. T. (2006), *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History and Legend*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- de Grummond, N. T. and Simon, E. (2006) (eds) *The Religion of the Etruscans*, Austin: University of Texas Press, with English translations of the important literary sources to Etruscan religion, 191–218.
- Herbig, R. and Simon, E. (1965) *Götter und Dämonen der Etrusker*, edited and revised by Erika Simon, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Jannot, J. -R. (1998) *Devins, dieux et démons. Regards sur la religion de l'Étrurie antique*, Paris: Picard.
- Krauskopf, I. (1987) *Todesdämonen und Totengötter im vorhellenistischen Etrurien. Kontinuität und Wandel*, Biblioteca di Studi Etruschi 16, Florence: Leo Olschki.
- Maggiani, A. (1982) "Qualche osservazione sul fegato di Piacenza," *StEtr* 50, 53–88.
- (1997) "Vasi attici figurati con dediche a divinità etrusche." Suppl. 18 alla *RdA*, Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider.
- (2002) "I culti di Perugia e del suo territorio," *AnnFaina* 9 (Roma: Edizioni Quasar) 267–299.
- (2004) "L'homme et le sacré dans les rituels et dans la religion étrusque" in J. Ries (ed.) *Les civilisations méditerranéennes et le sacré*. Turnhout: Brepols. 183–203, (translated from original Italian edition J. Ries (ed.) (1991) *Le civiltà del Mediterraneo e il sacro*, Jaca Book: Milano).
- Maras, D. F. (1998/2001) "La dea Thanr e le cerchie divine in Etruria: nuove acquisizioni," *StEtr* 64, 1998 (2001) 173–197.
- (2009) *Il dono votivo. Gli dei e il sacro nelle iscrizioni etrusche di culto*, Pisa Rome: Fabrizio Serra.
- Pfiffig, A. (1975) *Religio Etrusca*, Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt.
- Simon, E. (2006) "Gods in Harmony: The Etruscan Pantheon" in N. T. de Grummond and E. Simon (eds) *The Religion of the Etruscans*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 45–65.
- ThesCRA = Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* I–VIII Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum 2004–2012.
- van der Meer, L. B. (1987) *The Bronze Liver of Piacenza. Analysis of a Polytheistic Structure*, Amsterdam: Gieben.