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The Etruscan Aphrodite

David Mendelsohn

A Thesis

for

The Special Individualized

Program

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ABSTRACT

The Etruscan Aphrodite

David Mendelsohn

Most of the Etruscan heroes and deities depicted in Etruscan visual arts were borrowed from the Greek mythological corpus complete with divine attributes and iconography: Heracles wields his club, Athena, her aegis, and Perseus pursues Medusa. These are all standard images with few changes apparent in the myths and their representations. An exception, however, is Aphrodite (referred to as Turan by the Etruscans), who shows considerable Etruscanization in her donning of Etruscan clothing and adoption of Etruscan attributes. These indicate Etruscan mythological and artistic traditions and reflect Etruscan culture, especially the world of Etruscan women.

In Etruscan vase painting, images of Turan are found in scenes of the Judgement of Paris and Aphrodite and Adonis as well as in depictions with the greater Greek pantheon but represent only one segment of a diverse array of mythological themes. An examination of mythological depictions on objects belonging to women shows Turan appearing on a large number in a variety of contexts: specifically Etruscan, Greek mythological; and alone.

Various media are used to depict these Greek and Etruscan mythological themes, but the majority appear on vases, wall paintings and mirrors. Bronze mirrors represent the best examples of the mixture of Greek myths and Etruscan religious and ritual customs within the context of these female-owned objects. The appearance of Turan and/or her attendants on such female paraphernalia can be reconciled with the romantic cycle of a mature Etruscan woman: passion, love, marriage and childbirth.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AthMitt

Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenischen Abteilung

LIMC

H.C. Ackermann and J.R. Gisler, eds., *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 7 vols. To date (Zurich, 1981-)

BdA

Bollettino d'Arte

BM : Bronze Cat.

Walters, H.B. Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan. British Museum. London, 1899

CIE Corpus inscriptorum etruscarum. 1911-.

CSE Corpus speculorum etruscum. 1981-.

ES

Gerhard, E. Etruskische Spiegel. Vols. 1-4. Berlin, 1843-1867. Vol. 5, ed. A. Klügmann and G. Körte. Berlin, 1844-1897. Reprint (5 vols. in 4), Rome, 1960.

LGV

Rasmussen, T. & Spivey, N. (ed.) *Looking at Greek Vases*. Cambridge, 1991

ParPass

La Parola del Passato

RömMitt

Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung

JHS

Journal of Hellenic Studies

Introduction

This thesis follows the Etruscan journey of Aphrodite from her first entrance into Etruria as a Greek goddess to the point where she took an important role in the Umwelt of Etruscan women. Aphrodite's journey reveals a process through which Etruscan culture was modified by contact with the world of Greece yet consistently maintained a strong sense of its ethnic identity.

The development of the Etruscan civilization from its tribal stage in the Iron age to its latter urban form is a good example of an indigenous culture adapting itself to the strong influence of another developed civilization. The Etruscans held Greek culture in high regard and accepted much of what they had to offer. They were not assimilated but partook enthusiastically of the aspects that appealed to them, such as artistic techniques and Greek mythology, and applied those aspects into their own culture.

This thesis will attempt to demonstrate how the blending of Greek Aphrodite with Etruscan Turan did not entail a domination of Etruscan Turan by Greek Aphrodite, as much as it enriched her already well-established nature. The manner in which Etruscan artists portrayed Greek myths involving Aphrodite (who becomes Turan in such renderings) will be examined for their uniquely Etruscan characteristics. As the majority of mythological scenes involving Turan appear on bronze mirrors, the objects themselves must be considered not only for their relevance to Etruscan culture but also for the scenes engraved upon them.

It is significant that the majority of Etruscan mirrors have been identified as having belonged to women, through association with female burials or by inscription. This should not be understood to mean that the scenes engraved upon them are to be dismissed as catering to female tastes and thus not relevant in the context of an overall picture of the Etruscan world. Etruscan women enjoyed far higher status within their culture than the Greeks. Even in the Villanovan period (900 - 720 BC) women were regarded as the equals of men.¹ Women were accorded the same type of burial as men, receiving grave goods that were often elaborate, ranging from jewellery to incense burners and in some cases, containing horse trappings and carriages.² Biconical ash urns and hut urns were used for both genders also indicating that both sexes were given equal status, at least in their funerary treatment.³ The fact that hut urns were used as ossuaries shows the importance of the home within the culture even at this early stage.

Grave goods of the Orientalizing period (720-575 BC) indicate, yet again, that Etruscan women enjoyed equality with men.⁴ The objects deposited with female burials in monumental family tumuli rivalled those of the men in terms of quantity and worth. Terracotta statuettes of both sexes were placed in chairs of these tumuli, indicating that ancestor worship of both sexes was practiced.⁵

Inscriptions on pottery and funerary monuments show that women gave gifts and dedicated objects. All free women had their own individual name (praenomen) and family name (nomen).⁶

¹ S. Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, (2000: 28).

² Haynes, (2000: 133).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Haynes, (2000: 133).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid. This contrasts markedly with Roman custom, in which daughters were given no praenomina, but were instead named after the father.

The tumuli themselves imitated Etruscan homes complete with chambers, windows, chairs and beds showing that the home was an aspect of their culture deemed important enough to recreate in tombs. The tombs of the women in Cerveteri are particularly striking in that from the seventh to the fifth century, house-shaped sarcophagi encased their funerary beds.⁷

Haynes comments that the importance accorded to Etruscan women stemmed from the fact that they guaranteed the continuation of the family as well as possessing the potential of forging important family alliances.⁸ It is a valid point although alliance building through marriage was not exclusive to the Etruscans and thus does not entirely explain why their women were treated with such veneration.

Talented women, like the male haruspices, could also divine the future if one credits Livy's account (1.348f.) of an Etruscan woman named Tanaquil. According to his account, an eagle descended from the sky and removed her husband's hat only to return a moment later and replace it on his head. Tanaquil correctly predicted that the eagle's actions foretold that Lucomio, her husband would, one day rule Rome.

The Archaic period (575-480 BC) provides wall paintings (in tombs) and funerary reliefs as visual proof that Etruscan women were regarded with respect and affection and that they received similar honours in life and death as their husbands. They are present at banquets, and at athletic events and are depicted riding in carriages, apparently free to wander in public.⁹ They are also depicted performing in rituals and dances.¹⁰

⁷ Haynes. (2000: 133).

⁸ Haynes. (2000: 133).

⁹ Haynes. (2000: 255).

¹⁰ Ibid.

The behaviour of Etruscan women apparently scandalized the Greeks, judging from the writing of 4th century BC Greek historian Theopompos (quoted in Ath. 12.517d-518a), which referred to Etruscan wives as beautiful but promiscuous. Athaenaeus also quotes (1.23d) Aristotle's observation that Etruscans dined with their wives, reclining with them under shared blankets at banquets. Greek husbands, of the same time period, typically did not dine with their wives. Female companionship in banquets for Greek men were typically *hetairai* (courtesans), which may have contributed to Theopompos's defamatory passage after witnessing Etruscan women dining with their husbands.

Goddesses play an important role in Etruscan religious belief throughout these time periods. Many votive gifts and inscriptions attest to the worship of female divinities in aspects of fertility, nurturing, healing and also for death and rebirth.¹¹ The cult of Uni on the Pian di Civita in Tarquinia has been dated through an inscription on a bucchero cup to the second half of the seventh century.¹² She was also worshipped at Pyrgi and Tarquinia at the end of the sixth century.¹³

A fourth century BC terracotta votive model of a house displays a couple seated on a bed inside. They are embracing and the husband's right hand is placed on his wife's breast.¹⁴ Many statuettes depicting a seated mother holding or nursing her children at her breasts have been found at Etruscan sites dating from the from the first half of the sixth century to the first century BC.¹⁵ Terracotta figures of swaddled babies also turn up in

¹¹ Haynes, (2000: 259).

¹² Haynes, (2000: 28).

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Haynes, (2000: 360).

¹⁵ Haynes, (2000: 298).

Etruscan sites. Terracotta figures of young boys also turn up frequently from the fifth to the second century BC.¹⁶

Taking these realistic votive images into consideration, one can see that the many mirror images depicting Turan in scenes of birth, breastfeeding, adornment or love should not be dismissed as mere stories meant to entertain some wealthy, overly romantic Etruscan wife. Instead they should be viewed as specifically selected scenes that are viable expressions of Etruscan culture.

The difficulty of analyzing these scenes in terms of their Etruscan content lies in their representation of Greek mythological scenes. Only by examining the way in which Greek culture penetrated Etruria and understanding the changes Etruscan art underwent in reaction to Greek influence can one hope to understand which elements in Etruscan renditions of Greek myth are Greek and which are Etruscan.

Etruscan interaction with Greek colonies in Italy provided catalytic exposure to new heroes, gods and mythologies for the Etruscans. The Etruscans, fascinated by Greek culture with its alphabetic writing system, newly borrowed from the Phoenicians, and its tradition of painted ceramic, were eager to explore other facets of a civilization that had produced such interesting new tools.¹⁷ They were flexible in terms of their own pantheon and religious world view, often incorporating ideas, figures, and myths from many of the cultures with which they interacted, only too happy to listen to new stories, to retell those that particularly appealed to them, and, in time, to make some of the

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ O.W. Von Vacano. *The Etruscans in the Ancient World*, (1960: 33-38).

principal characters of those myths their own; whether semi-divine like Heracles and Perseus or divine as represented by the deities of the Greek pantheon.¹⁸

Most of the Etruscan heroes and deities appear to have been borrowed from the Greek corpus complete with divine attributes and iconography. Heracles wields his club; Athena wears her aegis; and Perseus pursues Medusa. These are all standard images with few changes apparent in the myths and their representations. Even the garb of the heroes and deities remains Greek in fashion. The exception is Turan/Aphrodite, who shows considerable Etruscanization in her frequent depictions with Etruscan clothing and attributes. Furthermore, she is often attended by several winged handmaidens who possess Etruscan names and are, judging by their frequent appearance, regular companions to this Etruscan version of the goddess. Many of the Etruscan images of Turan/Aphrodite are not found in Greek artistic depictions; for instance, the mirror (*Judgment of Paris* Cat. 3) that shows her being adorned by her rivals Uni (Hera) and Menrva (Athena) as *Elcsentre* (Alexandros) looks on, portrays a theme not known from Greek art.¹⁹ These depictions appear to derive from Etruscan mythological and artistic traditions and may indicate specific responses to the taste of Etruscan culture, especially of women.

The examination of Turan and her attendants serves to bring out the ambivalence that defines Etruscan representations of divine and supernatural beings. The borderline between Etruscan and Greek is difficult to delineate when a Greek deity is blended with an Etruscan god, as occurred with Aphrodite and Turan. All depictions of Turan occur

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ R.D. De Puma, "Greek Gods and Heroes on Etruscan Mirrors", (1982: 94).

after her integration with Aphrodite making it difficult to understand Turan's role and image before Greek influence.

Etruscans did not use art to portray mythology until the Archaic period by which time they had been exposed to Greek mythology as well as Greek artistic methods used to relate Greek stories.²⁰ The Etruscans had always been interested in realistic representations, judging from their efforts at recreating the features of the deceased on canopic urns in the Villanovan and Orientalizing periods and sarcophagi and wall paintings from the Archaic period onwards.²¹ Once they understood and accepted the concept of putting faces to members of their own pantheon (Archaic period) Etruscan artists began to attempt to give their deities recognizable features. They used Greek deities (particularly those with whom they had already identified an equivalent Etruscan god) as prototypes. This leads to confusion when examining an Etruscan object containing mythological scenes as to whether one is looking at an Etruscan rendition of a Greek god or an Etruscan deity in its own right. Inscriptions identifying the gods involved are helpful in such instances.

Aphrodite often appears in Etruscan garb in scenes of the Trojan cycle, familiar from Greek culture.²² In the *Iliad*, Aphrodite aligns herself with the Trojans and is instrumental in saving the lives of Paris and Aeneas by directly intervening on the battlefield. In Etruscan representations, the Trojans are represented in Etruscan clothing in contrast to their Greek counterparts, who are invariably represented with Greek outfits. For instance, the earliest Etruscan tomb painting, the Tomb of the Bulls at Tarquinia c.

²⁰ O.J. Brendel, *Etruscan Art*, (1995: 145).

²¹ Brendel, (1995: 103).

²² See *Adornment* Cat.5, 18, 19 (Bronze mirrors); *Judgment* Cat.2 (Pontic vase);

570 BC, includes the scene of Troilus' ambush by Achilles²³. Achilles is shown with Greek armour and a Boeotian helmet and shield while Troilus wears typically Etruscan shoes and hat. Despite the fact that Troilus is slain by Achilles and that the outcome of the Trojan War was well known, the Etruscans preferred to identify themselves with 'the losing team'.

It is intriguing to consider why the Etruscans were interested in portraying Aphrodite as Etruscan over other members of the Greek pantheon. Apollo, Artemis, and Heracles enter the Etruscan pantheon as Aplu, Artumes, and Hercle, still in possession of their original names (or close approximations of them) and iconography. Zeus, Athena, and Hermes (to name a few) blend with Tinia, Menrva and Turms, respectively, but are usually represented with their Greek attributes (thunderbolt, helmet and spear, petastos and messenger's staff respectively)²⁴. In Etruscan depictions, however, Aphrodite not only undergoes a change of name in her blending with Turan, she also receives many new attributes that are not part of her typical Greek iconography. For example, Aphrodite, in her Etruscan guise as Turan, is assigned several named attendants who are known as the so-called Circle of Turan on the basis of their frequent appearance with her.²⁵ Aphrodite as Turan has no consistent iconography to identify her with her Greek counterpart. She rarely appears with Eros and is frequently depicted as a full clothed, elegantly bejewelled woman, while her attendants are usually shown in various states of nudity.

Why Aphrodite undergoes these changes is difficult to understand. Perhaps Turan of the Etruscans had her own well-defined iconography that persisted even after they had incorporated other aspects of Greek Aphrodite into her persona. Turan may have

²³ Brendel, (1995: 167).

²⁴ The problems involving Roman Minerva will not be addressed as they are out of the scope of this thesis.

²⁵ Dumézil, (1996: 683).

borrowed attributes from fertility goddesses of other cultures before the Etruscans encountered the Greeks. The Etruscans were familiar with tales describing Astarte, the Phoenician goddess of love and fertility. They had engaged in trade with the Phoenicians for decades prior to their interaction with the Greeks, providing the Etruscans with the opportunity to become acquainted with their pantheon.²⁶

The goddess, Astarte, was worshipped in several capacities by the Phoenicians, including sexuality, fertility and childbirth. This helps account for her association by the Etruscans with two of their goddesses who possessed elements of both attributes, Turan and Uni. Several of the tales involving Astarte in her role as the fertility goddess resemble stories of Aphrodite in a similar role. Goddess/mortal lover tales were popular in the East, especially in the myths where a young lover dies, somehow returns, and is thereupon mourned annually. This fits in neatly with the Greek tale of Aphrodite and Adonis where the goddess is shown in a Sapphic fragment mourning for her dead mortal lover:

κατθνήσκει. Κυθήρη· ἄβρος Ἀδωνίς· τι κε θεΐμεν :
καττύπτεσθε. κόραι. καὶ κατερείκεσθε κίθωνας.
(Sappho 140 LP)

He is dying, Cythera, the delicate Adonis. What shall we do?
Beat your breasts maiden and rend your tunics.

The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite that tells of the love affair between Aphrodite and Anchises where Anchises expresses his reservations over engaging in a sexual encounter with the goddess is comparable to a far earlier epic tale set in the Near East, the tale of Ishtar (Astarte) and Gilgamesh, where Gilgamesh is reluctant to have an affair with the goddess based on his knowledge of her practice of spurning former lovers:

²⁶ J. Boardman. *The Greeks Overseas*, (1980: 141).

Which lover didst thou love forever?
Which of the shepherds pleased thee for all time?
Come and I will name for thee thy lovers:
For Tammuz, the lover of thy youth,
Thou hast ordained wailing year after year.
(Tablet VI. 42-47)²⁷

Based on the number of Etruscan representations of Adonis and Aphrodite engaged in amorous embrace (See Cat. *Turan and Adonis*), such goddess/lover encounters were particularly compelling to the Etruscans. They had in fact been trading with a Semitic people who worshipped Astarte as far back as the early eighth century.²⁸ The name *Adonis* is Semitic (*adon* means 'lord') and he was apparently imported by the Greeks and Etruscans from the Phoenicians.²⁹ Thus the Etruscans may have seen in the Greek tales of Aphrodite a resemblance to the stories they had probably heard eighty years prior to their first encounters with the Greeks determining that Astarte and Aphrodite were one and the same. Given the close connection the Etruscans and Phoenicians had maintained through trade it is possible that the Etruscans started to incorporate aspects of Astarte into their own pantheon.³⁰ In fact, the Greeks made this connection themselves by referring to Astarte as Aphrodite Ourania.³¹ A cult dedicated to Astarte at Pian di Civita, Tarquinia, dating to the second half of the seventh century, used the tortoise, associated by the Greeks with Aphrodite, as a sacrificial animal.³² The harbour at Pyrgi (also in Tarquinia) was dedicated to Uni (Lat. Juno)-Astarte at the end of

²⁷ J.B. Pritchard (ed), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, (1969: 84).

²⁸ J.M. Turfa, *Etruscan Life and Afterlife* (ed.), (1986: 66).

²⁹ D. Boedeker, *Aphrodite's Entry Into Greek Epic*, (1975: 40-41).

³⁰ Boardman, (1980: 14).

³¹ Haynes, (2000: 28).

³² *Ibid.*

the sixth century and included offerings made in hopes of increased fertility and birth.³³ Although Turan/Aphrodite was not mentioned in these contexts one can see that her attributes are nonetheless evident.

There is other evidence for the identification of Aphrodite with Turan in Italy. Excavations at Gravisca, Tarquinia's ancient harbour, have revealed that several Greek sanctuaries were built there, of which the earliest, dating to the early seventh century, was dedicated to Aphrodite.³⁴ Turan's association with Aphrodite was established at this point at the site, judging from several Etruscan inscriptions dedicated to Turan. One such inscription on a Laconian krater reads *mi turuns*, confirming that Etruscans as well as Greeks worshiped there.³⁵ Aphrodite was relevant to this port city in her guise as the protectress of navigation and of safe landing.³⁶

Turan has also been connected with certain aspects of the Phoenician armed Astarte.³⁷ The Laconians worshipped an armed Aphrodite as well.³⁸ The Gravisca sanctuary has produced a pair of Greek bronze votive statuettes representing a helmeted and armed female divinity, dating to the second quarter of the sixth century.³⁹ The Greeks started regular trading with the Etruscans in late eighth century BC.⁴⁰ The Phoenicians, having had the advantage of trading with the Etruscans for several decades prior to the Greeks, may have set up their sanctuary to the armed Astarte so that they might be granted safe and successful voyages; the Greeks, arriving later, may have merely substituted the name of their own navigational protectress. Whether or not Turan is a

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Haynes, (2000:172). Within the sanctuary was a γὰρῆν enclosure dedicated to Adonis.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Haynes, (2000:172).

³⁹ Haynes, (2000: 173).

⁴⁰ Turfa, (1986: 68).

direct reference to or transference of Astarte it is likely that the Etruscans, when they dedicated the temple to Turan, blended both the Greek and Phoenician traditions.

Nine epigraphic mirrors of known provenience engraved with scenes of Aphrodite and Adonis (henceforth to be referred to by their Etruscan designations of Turan and Atunis) have been identified: three come from Tarquinia; one from Montelcino; one from Castel d'Asso; one from Arezzo; and three from Perugia (see *Turan and Atunis* Cat. 1, 2, 3, 4).

The earliest Etruscan mirrors of known provenience portraying Atunis (c. 390 BC) are from Vulci and not Tarquinia, while the find-spot of the oldest mirror depicting Atunis (c. 410 BC) is unknown. The remainder date from the fourth to the beginning of the third century BC, when the sanctuary was still in common use.

There is another clue that does not relate directly to the Adonis myth but does implicate Gravisca as one of the earliest sources for the transmission of Greek mythology into Etruria. A marble anchor dedicated by one Sostratos was found in the temple. Haynes speculates that this refers to the merchant mentioned by Herodotus (4.152) as Sostratos, son of Laodamas of Aigina, a rich sixth century trader.⁴¹ The incised or painted Greek letters *SO* found on the bases of over two hundred Greek vases imported into Etruria are thought by Haynes among other scholars to be Sostratos's personal stamp.⁴² If Haynes is correct we have yet another example of Gravisca's role in introducing Etruria to Greek culture.

⁴¹ Haynes, (2000: 172).

⁴² Ibid.

Two late 5th c. BC Attic red figure hydriai of Meidias show scenes of Aphrodite and Adonis; these come from the San Cerbone necropolis at Populonia.⁴³ As these vessels are more or less contemporary with the first engraved scenes of Turan and Atunis, it may be proposed that the imported vases (or others like them) influenced the Etruscan engravers.

Another Etruscan characteristic of Aphrodite is that she is sometimes represented in the nude or semi-nude, when not dressed in Etruscan garb. She is also usually depicted with jewellery. The goddess' nudity contrasts strongly with the concept of Aphrodite in Greece. For instance, a temple was dedicated to Turan/Aphrodite at Orvieto in the late sixth century.⁴⁴ An Athenian visiting the temple would probably have been dismayed if not offended to see the nude statue of the goddess that was discovered at the site. Divine female nudity was not yet deemed appropriate in Greek art,⁴⁵ thus indicating the degree to which the Etruscans were altering the attributes of Aphrodite/Turan to suit their own religious/cultural needs.

The Etruscans, by retelling the tales and often choosing to alter the garb of Aphrodite, and by providing her with non-Greek companions, remove her from her Greek context and claim a prior knowledge and relationship to the goddess.

This thesis will explore the Etruscan images of Aphrodite in engravings, painted vases, sculpture and tomb paintings in an attempt to explain this phenomenon. These representations will be examined with the goal of identifying and explaining characteristics that are either of ambiguous origin or clearly non-Greek. These may then

⁴³ Van der Meer, (1995: 194).

⁴⁴ N. Spivey, *Etruscan Art*, (1997: 22).

⁴⁵ Spivey, (1977: 22). The half life size limestone statue originates from Orvieto. It can be seen in the Museo Etrusco Faina, Orvieto and is dated to c. 520 BC

help to clarify the Etruscan aims for Aphrodite and the meaning of her imagery in their culture.

Chapter One: Assimilation

The Question of Origin

Before beginning an investigation into the Etruscan concept and imagery of Aphrodite, it is necessary to provide a brief historical overview of the Etruscans as a people and when, why, and how they became susceptible to Greek cultural influence.

There are three opinions regarding the origins of the Etruscans: they were either Eastern, Greek or Italic. Herodotus, in the fifth century BC, describes the Ionian account of Etruscan roots: the Tyrhenoi, or Tyrsenoi, had emigrated from Lydia under the leadership of Tyrsenos, a Lydian prince, a short time after the Trojan War (*Histories*, I, 94). In contrast, the Greek historian Hellanicus, a contemporary of Herodotus, quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I 28), believed the Etruscans to be Pelasgians. These were a nomadic Greek tribe from Thessaly who, after wandering around the Aegean, eventually set up home on the Italian coast. Strabo includes in his geographical work (5.2.4) a quote of the third century BC historian Anticlides who agrees in part with Hellanicus: the Etruscans were Pelasgians who reached Italy under the leadership of Tyrsenos, though he first has them colonizing the Aegean islands of Lemnos and Imbros.⁴⁶

The only unanimous conclusion reached by these early historians lay in the Etruscans' eastern origins. They quibbled over whether they should be connected with the Pelasgians or Lydians and they placed their arrival in the heroic age before written history began. The source of these stories is unknown. It may be that the Etruscans

⁴⁶ The mention of Lemnos is intriguing bearing in mind that the Lemnos inscription is the only example we have of a language related to Etruscan outside of Italy.

themselves offered them when asked about their origins. Alternatively, the Greeks may have invented the tale of Lydian origin in order to explain the foreign aspect of the Etruscans as perceived by the Greeks.⁴⁷ In any case, this question is unlikely to be satisfactorily answered on available evidence.

Another proposal for the origins of the Etruscans was given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus several centuries later, c. 20 BC. After reviewing the evidence of historians that preceded him, he claimed that the Etruscans were in fact indigenous to Italy (I, 25-30), and criticized the entire tradition of Lydian origins by pointing out that the Etruscan language bore no resemblance to the Lydian tongue and that *they neither worship the same gods as the Lydians nor do they make use of similar laws or institutions* (I, 33-36). It is not a particularly compelling argument as the Lydians of Dionysius's day may very well have had little in common culturally or linguistically with the Lydians of prehistory referred to by Herodotus. Dionysius added that the Etruscans called themselves Rasenna rather than Tyrrhenians, which was a Greek appellation. On the basis of this evidence Dionysius concluded the Etruscans were autochthonous, basing his decision, in part, on the testimony of the Etruscans, whom he claimed to have consulted.

The debate concerning Etruscan origin is still alive today. The controversy is based in part on the opinions of the ancient historians and in part on the results of approximately one hundred and fifty years of archaeological excavation in Etruria. Modern scholars who ascribe to the theory of an Eastern origin use the evidence of the artifacts made during the Orientalizing phase in Etruria to bolster the testimony offered by the ancient writers. Followers of this school of thought conclude that the Etruscans'

⁴⁷ M Torelli, *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*, (ed.), (1986: 48).

arrival in Italy coincided with the 'Orientalizing phase' in Etruria.⁴⁸ This idea has decreased in popularity as archaeological research on objects found in Etruria such as sculpture, ossuaries and pottery reveal consistent native development from the Iron Age to that of the Orientalizing period.⁴⁹ There is also no interruption or sudden change in the archaeological record that would account for the arrival of a new culture whether by means of invasion or peaceful settlement.⁵⁰

Yet one should be wary of discounting out of hand these early Greek sources in a discussion of the close relationship between the Etruscans and the Aegean-dwelling Pelasgians⁵¹, or the Lydians of Anatolia. It may well be that the relationship existed and was itself the cause of the conclusion reached by ancient writers; namely, that ancestral ties lay behind the interaction.

Early Foreign Contact

The development of Etruscan culture was to a large extent defined by a series of foreign contacts. The Etruscans, as soon as they learned to extract metal from ore, began to use their convenient geographic location in metal-rich areas to develop their own smelting skills. Other cultures, both inland and overseas, desirous of obtaining metals for the production of bronze and iron, began to establish trade connections.⁵²

⁴⁸M. Torelli, *Etruscan Life and Afterlife* (ed.), (1986: 48).

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Torelli, (1986: 49).

⁵¹ The problem of the Pelasgians is somewhat different than that of the Lydians for whom we have physical evidence. The Pelasgians were first mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 2. 840) as Trojan allies. In *Od.* 19. 177 the Pelasgi are among the mixed population of Crete. Herodotus uses the term 'Pelasgian' to describe the origin of the Cretonians in Chalcidice (1. 57). Unlike the Lydians we have no archaeological evidence for the existence of the Pelasgians (See D. Briquel, *Les Pélasges en Italie*, (1984)).

⁵² M. Cristofani (ed.), *Gli Etruschi del Mare*, (1983: 11).

Based on the study of non-native artifacts found in Italy, the Phoenicians were the first culture to visit Italy from overseas.⁵³ According to stone inscriptions found at Nora, they had set up a trading post in Sardinia by the tenth century BC,⁵⁴ and by the eighth century they had set up colonies at strategic points throughout the western Mediterranean and established trade relations with Etruria.⁵⁵ Objects of Oriental origin begin to appear in tombs at Tarquinia, Veii and Vetulonia in the eighth century and are believed to have arrived via Phoenician traders.⁵⁶ In the seventh century the tomb-goods of Praeneste, Vulci and Cerveteri start to display bowls and vases made of bronze and silver as well as ostrich eggs decorated with incision, ivory, faience and glass. Bronze and silver plates of Phoenician production from the Barberini and Bernardini tombs and the Regolini-Galassi tombs at Cerveteri were decorated with friezes depicting royal hunts, exotic landscapes, warfare and hieroglyphic cartouches.⁵⁷ The scenes contain a blending or ‘hybridization’ of Assyrian and Egyptian motifs and are relevant in that they exhibit the Phoenician tendency to match various Eastern motifs deemed appealing to the Etruscans, a practice the Etruscans continue when they encounter the Greeks.

The presence of both unworked ivory and crafted ivory reliefs and inlays for furniture in many of these tombs suggests a close relationship between the Etruscans and the Levant.⁵⁸ Early Etruscan furniture like that of the funerary couches found at Populonia appears to have been inspired by Near Eastern models.⁵⁹ Craftsmen originating

⁵³ Turfa, (1986: 66).

⁵⁴ V. Tusa, “La statuetta fencia del Museo Nazionale di Palermo”. (1973: 174).

⁵⁵ Turfa, (1986: 66).

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ A. Rathje, “Oriental Imports in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC: Their Origins and Implications”, (1980: 152).

⁵⁸ Turfa, (1986: 67).

⁵⁹ Ibid.

from North Syria were responsible for much of the carved ivory found in the tombs and perhaps they even set up ivory carving schools in Etruria⁶⁰ as was done later by Greeks.

Oriental influence also appears to have penetrated beyond the appropriating of Eastern craft design and into the area of Etruscan fashion (and therefore culture). Luxury items like the parasols and fans that were used to indicate royalty in Assyrian and Persian reliefs begin to appear in Etruscan representations of aristocratic society and in scenes depicting an assembly of the gods.⁶¹ The abrupt entry of chariots in the grave-goods inventory of the seventh century also points to an Eastern connection as the Phoenicians were one of the few cultures still using them at this time.⁶²

The impetus for the Orientalizing period in Etruscan art was therefore inspired by the sudden exposure of the Etruscans to Phoenician goods, including many diverse objects bearing Near Eastern themes and designs.⁶³ Etruscan artists sometimes made copies of these goods and often used elements of Near Eastern themes on their own native products like bucchero vessels.⁶⁴ The flow of Oriental imports into Etruria begins to wane by the first quarter of the sixth century BC, and dries up almost completely soon after.⁶⁵ At around the same date large quantities of bucchero pottery begin to appear at sites on the Greek mainland⁶⁶, indicating that the Etruscans were investing in new business partnerships. These new partners were to have a profound cultural influence on the Etruscans. The penetration of Greek culture into the Etruscan mindset occurred swiftly but it must be borne in mind that the process did not transpire merely because the

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ P. Stary, "Foreign elements in Etruscan Arms and Armour", (1975: 83).

⁶² Stary, (1975: 98).

⁶³ Strom, *Etrusca Orientalizing*, *StEtr* 40 (1972: 565-69).

⁶⁴ Turfa, (1986: 66).

⁶⁵ Turfa, (1986: 68).

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Etruscans were eager to adopt the trappings of any culture with whom they made contact. The Etruscans had already gained significant experience with a foreign culture in their dealings with the Phoenicians by the time they encountered the Greeks. They imported and adopted aspects of both cultures enthusiastically but with discrimination.

Etruscan reception of Greek Culture

In the eighth century BC, Greek traders from the island of Euboea chose the island of Pithekoussai in the Bay of Naples as their site to set up an emporium.⁶⁷ It was no doubt selected due to its proximity to Etruria and its accessible Latium and Campania river systems.⁶⁸ Corinth responded a generation later to the Euboean initiative by setting up its trading post in Syracuse. These two sites were installed with the sole purpose of initiating and developing trade with the Italic cultures; the creation of actual Greek colonies occurred later once trade had been well established.⁶⁹

Etruscan demand for Greek artifacts grew quickly and around 760 BC, Euboean painted vases (skyphoi) begin to show up in large quantities in Italy along trade routes, following sites set up along the river valleys from Campania into Latium.⁷⁰ Greek pottery such as Corinthian aryballoi (miniature perfume vases) and fine table ware also turn up in tombs at Vulci, Tarquinia, and Bisenzio.⁷¹

Ionian and Corinthian vases continued to be exported to Etruria throughout the seventh century with the import quantity finally peaking at about 625 BC. Laconian

⁶⁷ D. Ridgeway, "The First Western Greeks: Campanian Coasts and Southern Etruria", (1992: 5).

⁶⁸ Turfa, (1986: 69).

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Turfa, (1986: 70).

⁷¹ Ibid.

painted ware increased substantially in Etruria from c. 600 to 550 BC, corresponding to the sudden appearance of Etruscan products such as *bucchero sotile* in Sparta.⁷² *Bucchero sotile* dated to before 600 BC has been found in other Greek sites such as the Heraion on Samos, the shrine of Hera at Perachora, and at various sites at Chios.⁷³

Permanent Greek bases were set up along the Tyrrhenian coast in conjunction with the powerful Etruscan cities of Cerveteri, Tarquinia and Vulci. In South Etruria archaeological excavations have revealed port towns, like Pyrgi, that were known previously only through literary evidence. Gravisca, the port town to Tarquinia, was inhabited by the Greeks from c. 600-480 BC. While close contact with these new Greek immigrants/traders worked some influence on Etruscan sculpture, pottery and wall-painting, it was in the area of Etruscan religion that the greatest changes took place.

Temples and sanctuaries dedicated to the Olympian gods were set up in Etruscan sites such as Gravisca.⁷⁴ Inscribed dedications discovered on these sites testify to the worship of Hera/Uni, Demeter/Vei and Aphrodite/Turan.⁷⁵ Several nude figurines dating to the early fifth century, apparently intended as votive offerings, and representations of nude goddesses have been found in both Pyrgi and Gravisca.⁷⁶ These votive offerings and figurines resemble the types found in the Levant and apparently were inspired by the earlier worship of Astarte at the same locations.⁷⁷ Dedications written in Etruscan at these temples identify the goddesses involved. The nude female votive offerings were

⁷² R.M. Cook, "Archaic Greek Trade: Three Conjectures", (1979: 153).

⁷³ See W. Technau, *Ath.Mitt* 54, (1929: 26-27) for Samos. For *bucchero* on Chios see Boardman, *Excavations in Chios 1952-1955, Greek Emporio*, (1967: 137), no. 480.

⁷⁴ M. Torelli, *Parola del Passato*, (1977: 398).

⁷⁵ Turfa, (1986: 70).

⁷⁶ Turfa, (1986: 71).

⁷⁷ Torelli, (1977: 447).

found in temples dedicated to the worship of Astarte, Turan, Hera and Demeter, implying a religious involvement of women and family within these cult contexts.⁷⁸

Most of the Greek pottery dating from 625-550 B.C found at Gravisca is Ionian. From 550 BC onwards, graffiti turns up on Attic cups written in the Ionic alphabet and dialect but the names are cosmopolitan. Names like Alexandros, Themistagoras, Eudemos identify the offerings made by Greeks while Paktyes indicates a Lydian and Ombrikos seems to refer to a Hellenised Umbrian.⁷⁹ The most intriguing Greek votary dedicated at Gravisca is that of Sostratos of Aegina⁸⁰ who dedicated a stone anchor to Apollo (discussed in the introduction).

The effects of the Hellenic influence on Tarquinia in the early sixth century BC included production of Etrusco-Corinthian pottery and the beginning of wall paintings in the Tarquinian tombs. The presence of artist workshops in Tarquinia was confirmed by the discovery of a wide array of painting pigments at Gravisca.⁸¹ Such workshops appear to have been created as a result of unrest in Persian controlled areas of Ionia, which drove many Ionians (including artists and craftsmen) to seek shelter in Greek colonies nearby.⁸²

The growing relationship between Greeks and Etruscans led to a blending of artistic techniques and the media in which ideas were expressed. Etruscans had long used clay for sculpture and pottery. The Greeks worked with marble and limestone for their sculpture. The result of Etrusco-Greek craftsmanship appears in the form of architectural terracottas. The rooftop of a c. 500 BC temple at Veii was decorated with several larger

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Turfa, (1986: 71).

⁸⁰ Probably the same Sostratos mentioned by Herodotus (IV.152) who traded with Tartessos in Spain.

⁸¹ Torelli, (1977: 447).

⁸² Ibid.

than life statues of terracotta.⁸³ Two of the statues have been identified with Turms (Hermes) and Aplu (Apollo), further emphasizing the degree to which the Etruscans were incorporating Hellenic elements into their culture.⁸⁴ A school of Etrusco-Corinthian vase painting at Tarquinia is linked to Corinthian immigration.⁸⁵ As early as 670 BC, a Greek artist in Cerveteri named Aristonothos painted a krater that depicted a naval battle on one side and the blinding of Polyphemus on the other.⁸⁶ This krater was found in a tomb at Cerveteri and is signed by Aristonothos. As Spivey notes, the Aristonothos krater reveals a key point about Etruscan society dwelling in seventh century Cerveteri: it now had the capacity to appreciate Greek myth.⁸⁷ In fact, this krater is the earliest sign of the acculturative process that resulted by the end of the fifth century BC in an independent non Greek society whose heroes and gods were so influenced by Greek mythology that it is only by means of careful scrutiny that we can recognize the non Greek aspects of any representational piece newly represented in the visual arts.

The influence of Greek immigration also had an impact on the political sphere of the Etruscans. Livy describes the political career of Lucomo, the son of a Corinthian father named Demaratus and an Etruscan mother, who married an Etruscan woman named Tanaquil and rose in power to become the king of Rome (Livy I.34). He was followed by a number of Etruscan kings who ruled at Rome.

Greek customs were also increasingly adopted by city-dwelling Etruscans. The Tomb of the Augurs, the Tomb of the Olympic Games at Tarquinia, and the Tomb of the Monkey at Chiusi represent the typically Greek athletic events of running, boxing and

⁸³ Brendel, (1995: 238).

⁸⁴ A. Rathje, *The Etruscans: 700 years of history and culture*, (1987: 45).

⁸⁵ A. Alföldi, *Die trojanischen Urahnen der Römer*, (1957: 183).

⁸⁶ N. Spivey, and S. Stoddart, *Etruscan Italy*, (1990: 97).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

wrestling.⁸⁸ Yet, these events were already removed from their Greek counterparts in that they were always shown in funerary contexts and included sensational aspects (such as a hooded man being attacked by a dog) clearly geared to spectators rather than as a source of attaining a 'fit body' for the participants.

From c.650 until 450 BC Etruscan armour and weapons also underwent a steady transformation in reaction to Greek influence. Corinthian, Chalkidian and Ionian helmets, Argive shields and greaves frequently appear among the Etruscan grave goods. Warfare tactics such as warships, cavalry and phalanx formations were also adopted.⁸⁹

The Etruscan household also felt the effect of Greek influence, especially in their dinnerware. Reclining on couches and using fine pottery-ware for eating and drinking are images typical of the Greek symposium. This was another custom adopted by the Etruscans, but adapted by them in that Etruscan women, presumably wives, were depicted in most Etruscan banqueting scenes. Wives are never represented in Greek symposia although hired female entertainers do provide a female presence.⁹⁰ The paraphernalia of these 'Etruscan symposia' were Greek in nature, and soon after Greek-style kraters for mixing water and wine as well as table amphorae, hydriae and drinking cups were being produced in large quantities in Etruria. T.B.L. Webster argues that many of the symposia scenes found on black figure vases in Etruria were commissioned for specific Athenian Symposia, and were subsequently shipped second-hand (perhaps even as ballast) to the Etruscans. Webster cites the prevalence of local Athenian names inscribed on the vases as proof that they were intended for specific patrons and

⁸⁸ Turfa. (1986: 72).

⁸⁹ Stary. (1975: 180).

⁹⁰ N. Spivey (ed.), *Looking at Greek Vases*, (1991: 135).

occasions.⁹¹ Spivey counters this argument by pointing out that regardless of original intent the Athenian merchants must have been responding to an Etruscan interest in symposium scenes.⁹² Etruscan funerary cippus scenes (often including images of the corpse laid out in state) dating as far back as the seventh century BC depict scenes of banqueting replete with musicians, jugglers, dancers and reclining couples. Etruscan tomb paintings from the mid sixth century BC until the Hellenistic period also frequently include banquet scenes.⁹³ It is easy to understand why symposium scenes with similar scenes of banqueting, musicians, dancers and general revelry would appeal to Etruscan tastes especially if these elements were present in Etruscan funerary ritual.⁹⁴

From the early sixth century on, native Etruscan fabrics of bucchero and impasto were used to copy typically Greek shapes.⁹⁵ Beginning in the sixth century BC, tomb-goods at Tarquinia, Cerveteri, Vulci and other Etruscan cities begin to be stocked with large quantities of Rhodian, Corinthian, Ionian, Laconian and (around 500 BC) Attic vases. Some vases were clearly intended for practical use as fine tableware or containers for salves and perfumes. Such, at least, would appear to be the case with a Corinthian olpe dated to c. 650 BC found at Formello. Better known as the Chigi Vase it contains a tiny but detailed painting depicting soldiers being led by a musician.

Panathenaic amphorae also appear among Etruscan grave goods, introducing a puzzling problem as to how a vessel awarded to the victor of the Panathenaic Games held every two years in Athens would end up in an Etruscan tomb. Turfa suggests that the

⁹¹ T.B.L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*, (1972: 298).

⁹² Spivey, (1991 : 135).

⁹³ Brendel, (1995: 165).

⁹⁴ It should be noted that Etruscan couples were typically male and female in their 'symposium' scenes while the Greek symposia were enjoyed by males with the only female accompaniment being that of hetairai, musicians or dancers.

⁹⁵ Spivey, (1991: 139).

amphorae were heirlooms acquired in Athens from the families of impoverished Greek athletes by Etruscans.⁹⁶ Literary evidence testifies that the Etruscans did visit Athens⁹⁷ and Spivey points out that non Greeks were not allowed to participate in the Games.⁹⁸ The Etruscans would therefore have had to find other means of acquiring these amphorae. One must then ask why the Etruscans would have found such trophies appealing. The answer may lie in the themes that were depicted upon such amphorae. Panathenaic amphorae are replete with sporting imagery: running, boxing, wrestling, and chariot races. Similar competitions (like the banquet) took place when the deceased had been placed in the tomb and appear to have been relevant to the Greeks (e.g. the funeral Games for Patroclus in the *Iliad*) and the Etruscans (Tomb of the Augurs, c. 520 BC, Tarquinia)⁹⁹. Thus it should come as no surprise that a Panathenaic amphora found in Etruria and used as an ossuary contains an Etruscan inscription *suthina* 'belonging to the grave'. It seems that for the Etruscans such objects (ideal as ash containers) and their fitting iconography did indeed belong 'to the grave'.¹⁰⁰

Greek potters were also responding to their new Etruscan market by producing shapes intended specifically for Etruscan tastes. Nikosthenes, an Athenian potter, made amphorae imitating bucchero vessels native to Etruria for export to Italy¹⁰¹. Other bucchero vessels apparently copied for export purposes by shrewd Greek potters include Etruscan kyathoi and kantharoi.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ Turfa, (1986: 72).

⁹⁷ Strabo V.2.3; V.1.7.

⁹⁸ Spivey, (1991: 143).

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Spivey, (1991: 140).

¹⁰² T. Rasmussen, "Etruscan shapes in Attic Pottery", (1985: 33-39).

Artists also altered themes that appeared on Attic vase painting in response to the Etruscan market. This seems to be the case with the vases found in Etruria that were produced in Athens by the sixth century *Perizoma Group* painters.¹⁰³ Several attributes mark them as unusual by Athenian standards yet perfectly suited to Etruscan taste. The shape of the vessel has no precedent in Attic tradition but does continue in the vein of the long established Etruscan funerary *stamnos* shape. Scenes of the symposium and athletic events are placed together on the same vase in apparent recognition of Etruscan funerary ritual.¹⁰⁴ In addition, the athletes shown on the Perizoma vases wear white painted loincloths in apparent deference to Etruscan taste, which did not typically portray their citizens in the nude.¹⁰⁵

Another class of Attic Black Figure amphorae are known as *Tyrrhenian* because they have almost all been found along the Tyrrhenian coast in Etruria. At first, due to this provenience, Tyrrhenian amphorae were thought to have been made in Etruria but are now believed by most scholars to have come from an Athenian workshop.¹⁰⁶ These Tyrrhenian amphorae reflect Etruscan taste both in shape and themes. Depictions of violent scenes such as the sacrifice of Polyxena usually show scenes of murder and carnage with blood gushing from wounds - scenes typically represented by Etruscan vase painters but that are atypical for mid sixth century Attic iconography.

Another vase group that should be considered in terms of the Etruscan reception of Greek vases are the so-called *Pontic* vases (Cat. 2, fig. 1). These date to 550 BC and

¹⁰³ T. Rasmussen (ed.), *Looking at Greek Vases*, (1991: 135).

¹⁰⁴ Rasmussen, (1991: 144).

¹⁰⁵ Spivey. (1991: 143). Etruscans were less prudish than the Greeks in depicting females in the nude. See Chapter Three for discussion on the iconography of nudity.

¹⁰⁶ Birgitte Girge in an article published in the *Third Copenhagen Symposium* makes a case for reconsidering this view citing exclusive provenience. Greek nonsensical inscriptions and their unique shapes as her principal reasons for arguing for an Etrurian workshop. N. Spivey (1991: 145) dismisses her arguments by arguing that the Tyrrhenians belong to a sequence in the development of Attic vase painting.

are found in Vulci, Orvieto, Tarquinia and Cerveteri. They were probably manufactured in Vulci¹⁰⁷ and indicate that painted vases had finally taken hold as common vehicles for the distribution of Greek myth into Italy. Themes such as the Labours of Heracles, the Judgment of Paris and the Theban cycle are shown on Pontic vases alongside Etruscan demons such as Vanth, Charun and Tuchulcha in addition to other unknown (perhaps Italic) deities.

Attic red-figure vases continued to be imported into Etruria in large quantities throughout the fifth and fourth centuries BC. The artists and workshops responsible for vases found in tombs at Vulci, Cerveteri and Tarquinia are varied, indicating the variety of tastes possessed by the Etruscan buyers.¹⁰⁸

Transport amphorae found in Etruria dating to the fifth and fourth centuries BC, have Attic graffiti describing their contents as olive oil.¹⁰⁹ An Adriatic port was opened at the site of modern Spina apparently (according to Turfa) to accommodate the Etruscan demand for Attic goods.¹¹⁰ Inscriptions show the port-town to have been inhabited by Greek, Etruscan and other Italian natives, creating an ideal atmosphere for an exchange and assimilation of culture. Large quantities of fifth century Attic red-figure vases were also found in Spina's tombs, suggesting that many times that amount may have been shipped into inner Etruria, perhaps even reaching the Tyrrhenian coast.¹¹¹ The large number of Attic stemmed plates and beaked jugs found at Spina in typically Italic shapes

¹⁰⁷ Brendel, (1995: 116).

¹⁰⁸ M. Torelli, *L'arte degli Etruschi*, (1998: 78).

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Turfa, (1986: 79).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

also bear testimony that the Athenian merchants were aware of the tastes of their clients.¹¹²

Vases painted by the Meidias Painter (modern designation) have been found in two tombs at Populonia and in one at Arezzo. Meidias's painting style, characterized by light drapery, windblown hair, and figures displaying emotion in expression and posture, was appreciated and copied in Etruria, and subsequently resulted in developments in Etruscan tomb and vase painting and monumental sculpture.¹¹³ Local imitations of Greek products appear to be the result of immigrant artists that set up workshops as well as of Etruscan artisans who may have studied at such schools or simply been inspired by them.¹¹⁴ For this reason, the Attic-type vases produced by one such fifth century group of artists are known collectively by the Etruscan name of Arnth Praxias.¹¹⁵ Several schools were set up in Etruria around 400 BC, by itinerant Greek artists.¹¹⁶ The Falerii Group of Dispater continued the Meidias tradition described above while the Group of Sokra operated in Cerveteri in the mid fourth century BC.¹¹⁷ The Greek mainland became less influential in the fourth century as the Greek colonies set up at Tarentum and Syracuse became the primary inspiration for Etruscan artists.¹¹⁸ Vase painting styles based on the styles of south Italian models become evident at Vulci, Chiusi, Perugia and Volterra.¹¹⁹

The lessening influence of the Greek mainland in the fourth century BC coincided not surprisingly with a decline in trade between Etruria and Greece. Excavations at the Greek settlement and sanctuary of Gravisca reflect the sudden absence of Greek

¹¹² Webster, (1972: 292).

¹¹³ I. Krauskopf, "Etruskische und Griechische Kannen der Form VI im 5. Jahrhundert.", (1981: 146-155).

¹¹⁴ Turfa, (1986: 79).

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ M. Torelli. *Hellenische Poleis II*, (1991: 832).

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Haynes, (2000: 261).

¹¹⁹ Turfa, (1986: 80).

influence. No dedications were made bearing Greek names or in the Greek language throughout the fourth and third centuries BC. Etruscan temple features replaced Greek attributes when the site of the sanctuary was integrated into the general city plan.¹²⁰ The period of direct Greek influence on the Etruscans was over and artistic production and cultural development of the next century in Etruria adjusted accordingly by assimilating into their own culture all that it had learned from the Greeks.

¹²⁰ Turfa, (1986: 80).

Chapter Two: Catalogue

This study includes Greek and Etruscan mythological scenes depicting Aphrodite/Turan and/or her attendants displayed on vases (both Greek and Etruscan), and mirrors. Whenever possible, a Greek prototype of a specific image or scene is included to allow for a better understanding of changes that occur when an Etruscan interpretation is applied. Etruscan painted vases aid in determining which myths the Etruscans found most compelling and thus worthy of reproduction. Etruscan depictions of Turan and/or her attendants as they appear on vases and mirrors will be compared for examples of female specific imagery on the mirrors. Etruscan mirror engravers depicting a Greek scene frequently changed some elements, omitted others or mixed themes from several myths to create a new image; this was also common practice among South Italian vase painters copying Attic themes. In both cases, this results in a specifically Etruscan creation significantly altered from the original source.¹²¹

Etruscan mirrors were produced from the middle of the sixth to the end of the second century BC. Approximately three thousand mirrors have been found. About 1500 of these contain engraved scenes and about three hundred of these are inscribed.¹²² The typical use of these mirrors is shown on a mid sixth century wall painting in Tarquinia, depicting a maid holding a circular mirror behind her mistress.¹²³ Mythological scenes on mirrors often include Turan and/or her attendants holding mirrors or having mirrors

¹²¹ A. Pffiffig, *Die Etruskische Religion*, (1998: 44).

¹²² Haynes, (2000: 240).

¹²³ Haynes, (2000: 225).

held for them by others while they perform their toilets. These figures are frequently named by inscription.

Many of these mythological themes were copied from Greek vases.¹²⁴ At first, the prototypes came from the Athenian red-figure vases imported in large numbers by the Etruscans. Apulian and Lucanian vases from South Italy may have been a source of inspiration as well.¹²⁵ This South Italian influence, however, is difficult to substantiate since no South Italian vases found in Etruria include mythological scenes that were copied on mirrors.¹²⁶ Other possible sources in Magna Graecia now lost to us, such as monumental wall paintings, should also be considered as sources for the motifs (templates) used by mirror engravers.

Beginning around 470 BC, the import of Attic vases into Etruria gradually declines. However, Greek characters, like Adonis and Phaon, who appear on the Meidias Painter's vases (c. 420 BC) found in Populonian tombs, reappear on Etruscan mirrors in the fourth century BC.¹²⁷ This confirms that the iconographic and mythological elements borrowed from the Greeks had now become independent and a secure part of the Etruscan artistic and religious corpus. This is seen in the continuation of Attic motifs through the fourth century BC, especially on mirrors. There are several possible explanations for this: 1) the vases were used for extremely long periods of time; 2) Etruscan tombs were occasionally reopened to permit a re-acquaintance with the Attic

¹²⁴ N. de Grummond, *Looking at Greek Vases* (ed.), (1982: 89).

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ L.B. Van der Meer, *Interpretatio Etrusca*, (1995: 28).

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

vases inside; and 3) models based on templates of the original models were circulated around South Italy and Etruria.¹²⁸

Mirrors have been found almost exclusively in tombs, usually of women, as has been deduced from the sex of the skeleton and the typically female contents, like jewellery and alabastra (perfume bottles).¹²⁹ The funerary context does not imply that the mirrors were made for the grave. Many appear to have been well used, judging from signs of wear on the mirrors as well as evidence of repair done in antiquity.¹³⁰ This would indicate that they were used in daily life and then placed in the tomb of the owner after her death.

When inscribed, mirrors mention the name of the owner they almost always refer to a woman. On other Etruscan art forms, for example on wall paintings and cistae, mirrors are typically shown in the hands of women.¹³¹ It therefore follows that most mythological scenes depicted on mirrors refer to the female world.

Turan and her attendants figure prominently on many of these images. Her participation in scenes from Greek mythology such as the Judgment of Paris or Menelaos and Helen are to be expected although, as will be seen, even these myths undergo some alteration when represented on mirrors. More unexpected is the presence and active involvement of Turan and/or her attendants in representations of the Birth of Athena (Menrva), and the Birth of Dionysus (Fufluns), and in scenes involving the apotheosis of Heracles (Hercle).

¹²⁸ Van der Meer, (1995: 5).

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Van der Meer, (1995: 6).

¹³¹ Ibid.

From c. 480 BC onwards, scenes with Heracles are common. Many involve the usual labours but even more popular are those pertaining to his apotheosis and acceptance in to Olympia (cats. 30, 31, 32, 33. figs. 14, 15).¹³²

Themes from the Trojan Cycle were popular from c. 480 BC until c. 300 BC, especially scenes involving the Judgment of Paris, the Seduction of Helen, and Helen threatened by Menelaos (cats 2,3,9,11; figs. 1,6). The love affairs between Adonis and Aphrodite and Dionysus and Ariadne became fashionable from c. 400 BC onwards. Aphrodite/Turan and/or members of her Circle are often shown assisting in the toilette of the female lover in such scenes (Cat.23, fig. 11, 12).

Conversational scenes between deities, particularly Turan, Hercle, Apulu and Menrva, become common after 350 BC. The reason these deities are typically present in such depictions is no doubt a result of their appearance in the earlier narrative themes mentioned above.¹³³

Apparently native Etruscan myths, including or excluding the presence of Greek characters are rare. Examples of such occurrences are : Hercle and Epiur (Cat.35; fig.16), Pavatarchies scrutinizing a liver and the Birth of Maris.¹³⁴

The subjects incised on the mirrors often refer to the world of women, making their interpretation easier than that of the tomb frescoes to which they are sometimes related in style in that both use horizontal friezes to separate scenes and in the similarity of the artistic style in which the scenes are rendered.. Due to the subject matter and number of engraved mirrors, many containing detailed inscriptions, they are extremely useful in determining the extent to which Greek mythology had succeeded in penetrating

¹³² A.J. Pfiffig. *Die etruskische Sprache*, (1969: 44).

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ G. Hermansen. *StEtr* 52, (1984: 147-164).

the Etruscan mythological world. Greek mythology was the most popular theme to be engraved on Etruscan mirrors although native Etruscan myths occur frequently as well.¹³⁵ As if to prove the extent to which Greek mythology had been absorbed into the Etruscan mythological world, Etruscan deities are often to be found casually mingling with Greek protagonists. Female nudes are a standard part of this imagery, as they are in contemporary Etruscan vase painting.¹³⁶ This differed from Greek art of the same time period and holds true for Aphrodite/Turan, her attendants (Lasa, Mean, etc.) and for Greek female protagonists like Helen or Atalanta whom Greek art does not typically portray in the nude (see discussion above for the precedent for female nudity in Etruscan art).¹³⁷

The art style of the Etruscan engravers as displayed on their mirrors closely resembles the Hellenic method as displayed on vase painting in terms of division of the scenes by horizontal friezes, the use of 'comic-strip' style narrative to tell a tale and in the interest in portraying scenes from Greek mythology. However, the partiality displayed by the Etruscans for mirrors and the inclusion of many uniquely Etruscan deities in the engraved scenes provide a key to the fusion of Greek and Etruscan characters.

¹³⁵ Brendel. (1995:365).

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

THE CATALOGUE

Judgment of Paris.

1. Attic black-figure amphora.

Provenience: Unknown. **Non Etruscan**

Current location: Louvre, Paris, France

Date: c. 575 BC

Biblio.: S. Woodford (1993), Fig. 7.

Inscr.: None

Description: The three competing goddesses are virtually indistinguishable from one another. Each goddess holds a wreath in her right hand and is garbed in the same type of garment with the same incised design. Hermes is the active element in the scene. He holds his staff in his right hand as he grasps Paris with his left.

2. Pontic amphora by the Paris Painter (Black-figure). Fig. 1.

Provenience: Vulci. **Etruscan**

Current location: Antikensammlung (837), Munich, Germany

Date: c. 550 BC

Biblio.: J. Beazley, *Etruscan Vases* (1947), Pl. 1-3.

Inscr.: None

Description: Hera, Athena and Aphrodite and another woman (one of Turan/Aphrodite's handmaids?) are led by Hermes, who carries his messenger staff. Hera is depicted as fully clad and veiled while Athena holds her spear and wears a helmet. Aphrodite wears a typically Etruscan hat and sports a pair of the pointy shoes seen on depictions of sixth and fifth century BC Etruscan women.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*. (1975: 204) fig. 146.

3. Five painted wall-panels (“Boccanera Panels”).

Provenience: Chamber tomb at Cerveteri. **Etruscan**

Current location: British Museum, London, England

Date: c. 550 BC

Biblio.: S. Haynes (1999:218).

Inscr.: None

Description: The panels are flanked by two sphinxes, which take up the first and last panels, the remaining three panels appear to be a type of ‘triumph’ to Aphrodite. The three remaining panels consist of nine figures, two male and seven female who are bordered on the bottom by vertical stripes and on the top by an intertwining cable pattern. The two left panels represent the Judgment of Paris with the god Hermes equipped with hat and staff, leading the three goddesses to Paris, who is shown clutching his shepherd’s staff as he receives Hermes. Aphrodite’s attributes in relation to Hera and Athena are advertised by her prominent breasts, the fact that she is the only one of the goddesses to remove her chiton, which she carries over her arm, and the fact that she is the only goddess to display her legs, which are clad in typically Etruscan pointed boots. Athena, wielding a spear, and Hera are modestly attired in mantles that cover them from their necks to the floor.

The third panel depicts a procession of three women with their backs to this scene the first two are veiled and carry alabastra, seemingly intended to adorn the leading female figure on the right. The leading figure has long hair that reaches the back of her knees and is occupied with wrapping a long belt around her waist. She has been identified by Haynes as Helen, Paris’s reward for choosing Aphrodite as the most beautiful goddess.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ Haynes. (2000: 219).

4. Bronze mirror. Fig. 2.

Provenience: Todi. Etruscan

Current location: Villa Giulia (2745), Rome, Italy

Date: c. 300 BC

Biblio.: Van der Meer (1995), Fig. 170.

Inscr.: teurs, elchsntre, uni, menrva, turan, snenathturns

Description: Teurs (Gr. Teukros) stands to the left of the scenes with his hand on Elchsentre's (Gr. Alexander) shoulder. Uni (Gr. Hera), Menrva (Gr. Athena) and Tran stand beside him in consecutive order. A female attendant, named by inscription as Sneathturns, stands beside Turan. Turan is the only one of the goddesses that uses nudity as part of her iconography. As it is the offer of attaining a woman famed for her beauty that finally wins Alexandros over, it seems appropriate that Aphrodite/Turan herself display the attributes that will typify Helen. She wears a one-piece mantle that she holds open revealing her breasts and vulva. Her hair is intricately bound on top with a few stray locks dangling down the nape of her neck. She is decorated with a tiara, earrings and necklace and wears a pair of simple sandals. She holds a six-leaved palmette in her left hand.

5. Bronze mirror.

Provenience: Todi. Etruscan

Current location: Archaeological Museum, Florence, Italy

Date: c. 300 BC

Biblio.: *StEtr* 9 (1935) 296. Van der Meer (1995), Fig. 71.

Inscr.: zirna....-enth(..) ...nath

Description: Turan presides over the adornment of Helen by Zirna, one of her attendants.

A woman identified by Van der Meer as Turan¹⁴⁰ stands in the background fully wrapped

¹⁴⁰ Van der Meer, (1995: 154). The presence of Zirna adds strength to his claim. See also *Menle and Elinai* (Cat. 11; fig. 6) for a veiled Turan, identified by inscription, standing in the background

in a mantle that also veils her face. Three assistants aid in the adornment of an unidentified seated figure.

Menle (Menelaos) and Elinai (Helen).

6. Red-figure hydria by the Syriskos Painter. Fig. 3.

Provenience: Unknown. **Non Etruscan**

Current location: British Museum, London, England

Date: c. 480 BC

Biblio.: S. Woodford (1993), Fig. 106.

Inscr.: None

Description: Menelaos is shown on the left side approaching Helen with his sword poised to run her through. Helen is depicted in the middle, drawing back, with her arms raised imploringly. Aphrodite is to the right of the scene. She holds out her arm in a protective gesture.¹⁴¹

7. Red-figure calyx-crater. Fig. 4.

Provenience: Unknown. **Etruscan**

Current location: Villa Giulia (1197), Rome, Italy

Date: Fourth century BC

Biblio.: Beazley (1945), pl. 23.

Inscr.: None

Description: Menelaos pursues Helen while Aphrodite intercedes by raising her right hand to stop him. Helen also attempts to check Menelaos's fury by opening her robe and exposing her upper body. She wears an Etruscan style belt and hat while the other participants (mortal and divine) are represented with their usual iconography.

¹⁴¹ S. Woodford. *The Trojan War in Ancient Art*, (1993: 112).

8. Apulian red-figure crater

Provenience: Unknown. **Non Etruscan**

Current location: Antikenmuseen (1968.11), Berlin, Germany

Date: c. 350 BC

Biblio.: Van der Meer (1995), Fig. 49.

Inscr.: None

Description: Helen sits on an altar embracing the armed Athena with her left arm.

Aphrodite restrains Menelaos by grasping his spear in her left hand and his shield in her right. Her hair is thick and curly and is tied over her forehead by means of a ribbon. She is elegantly clothed in a long garment that drops over her left shoulder to be absently caught by her forearm. The one-piece mantel reaches the bottom of her ankles where it meets her shoes. She wears earrings. A flying Eros helps Aphrodite in restraining Menelaos. To the left of the image a Trojan (identifiable through his Phrygian-style hat and trousers) and a woman are fleeing.

9. Bronze mirror.

Provenience: Cerveteri. **Etruscan**

Current location: British Museum (627), London, England

Date: 320 BC

Biblio.: *ES 398*

Inscr.: thethis, menle, turan, ainas, phulpsna

Description: Menle (Menelaos) prepares to kill Helen with his sword. With the exception of Helen all characters are named. Helen seeks refuge by a statue of Athena who stands on a base. Menelaos's attempt to run his wife through with the sword is thwarted by Thethis (Gr. Thetis) who holds back his arm. Turan stands in the background, her head and body wrapped in her mantle. She wears earrings and a hat

under her hood that holds back her hair which flows down to either side of her forehead

To the right of the statue stand Aivas (Gr. Aias) and Phulpsna (Gr. Polyxena).

Aphrodite (Turan) and Helen (Elinai)

10. Attic red-figure amphoriskos by the Heimarmene Painter. Fig. 5.

Provenience: Unknown. **Non Etruscan**

Current location: Staatliche Antikensammlung, Berlin, Germany

Date: 430 BC

Biblio.: S. Woodford, (1995), Fig. 12.

Inscr.: Aphrodite, Helen, Himeros, Peitho

Descr.: Aphrodite is shown holding Helen in her lap. A winged boy stands to the right of Aphrodite beside Paris. The youth is labelled 'Himeros' (Desire). A female attendant, holding a box, is named 'Peitho' (Persuasion).

11. Bronze mirror. Fig. 6.

Provenience: Todi. **Etruscan**

Current location: Villa Giulia (2745), Rome, Italy

Date: c. 300 BC

Biblio.: *StEtr* 9 (1935) 296).

Inscr.: zirna...-enth(..) ...nath

Description: Zirna is occupied with adorning a seated female figure while a woman identified by Van der Meer as Turan¹⁴² stands in the background fully wrapped in a mantle that also veils her face. The scene is interpreted by Van der Meer as the adornment of Elinai (Helen), under Turan's supervision, by Zirna, one of Turan's attendants.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Van der Meer. (1995:154).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* The presence of Zirna adds strength to his claim. See also *Menle and Elinai* Cat. 2 for a veiled Turan, identified by inscription, standing in the background

12. Bronze mirror.

Provenience: Praeneste. Etruscan

Current location: Villa Giulia (16691), Rome, Italy

Date: c. 450 BC

Biblio.: *ES 4*, pl. 379

Inscr.: turan, elina, elechsntre

Description: Turan (Aphrodite) visits a reclining Elina (Helen). Turan is represented with short cropped hair. She is clothed in a diaphanous garment that clearly reveals the body beneath. A flying sphinx hovers near Turan's raised left hand.

Elina (Helen) reclines on a bed and, judging from the hand gestures and angle of her head, appears to be engaged in a conversation with Turan. Hermione, Helen's daughter by Alexandros, is close beside her, covered by wrappings so that only her head shows. A pair of pointed boots are suspended just over Turan's right shoulder, probably belonging to Elinai as shoes were removed when reclining on couches or beds.¹⁴⁴ Elchsntre (Alexandros) sits at the side of the bed wrapped in a mantle that also covers his head.

¹⁴⁴ Bonfante, (1975: 205). Figure 147 shows four reclining women on a Pontic amphora with a corresponding four pairs of shoes suspended in the air .

Turan/Aphrodite and Atunis/Adonis:

13. Bronze mirror.

Provenience: Castel d'Asso. **Etruscan**

Current location: Villa Giulia, Rome, Italy

Date: 300 BC

Biblio.: *StEtr* 5, 23; *LIMC* 1,1 s.v. Adonis 18 (B. Servais-Soyez).

Inscr.: lasa, turan, atuns, menrva, amuce

Description: On the left a winged Lasa holds a nimbus while Aplu (Gr. Apollo), without inscription, holds a laurel branch. Turan stands to the right of Aplu embracing Atunis. Menrva stands to the right of Atunis and observes the couple. A male, identified as Amuce stands to Menrva's right. Turan is nude to the waist and wears a tunic that covers her from the waist to her ankles. She is adorned with earrings, necklace, armband, and bracelet. The embracing couple are tied symbolically to each other by means of a wreath that hangs around both their necks. Above them is a floral scroll and the background is dotted. The inscriptions are shown in cartouches.

14. Bronze mirror. Fig. 7.

Provenience: Unknown. **Etruscan**

Current location: Antikenmuseen (B 62), Berlin, Germany

Date: c. 300 BC

Biblio.: *ES* 176

Inscr.: turan, athrpa, meliacr, atlenta

Description: Turan embraces Atunis (unidentified by inscription). A winged naked figure identified as Athrpa (Gr. Atropos) wields a hammer and nail. To her right Meliacr (Gr. Meleager) is depicted embracing Atlenta (Gr. Atalanta). A boar's head is suspended above her left hand in the top centre of the mirror. Both Meliacr and Atlenta hold spears.

All the characters depicted on the mirror are shown in the nude save Turan, who appears fully clad.

15. Bronze mirror. Fig. 8.

Provenience: Unknown. **Etruscan**

Current location: St. Petersburg Museum (V 505), St Petersburg, Russia

Date: c. 350 BC

Biblio.: *ES* 4, 322.

Inscr.: Inscription in main scene of mirror: tusna, atunis, turan, zirna

Inscription in border around mirror: hathna, alpan, achvizr, muntuch, mean, ...uch

Description: In the central image a large swan labelled as Tusna (Etr. Adj. 'belonging to Turan'¹⁴⁵) stands on the left side craning its neck over Atunis who is embraced by Turan. The lovers are shown in the middle of the composition embracing, while standing. Atunis is represented as an adolescent boy, while the goddess is almost a head taller. Turan's winged attendant, Zirna, stands to the right holding an alabastron and a perfume stick shaped like a cross which she applies on Turan's back. A *lunula* (a moon-shaped pendant) hangs from her neck. Encircling this main scene is another larger border that contains six winged figures, three to the left and three to the right, that appear to be taking an active interest in what is transpiring in the middle. From left to right: Alpan holds two leafy branches while Achviser displays a large ribbon in her outstretched arms. Munthch has an alabastron and a perfume spatula and Mean (like Alpan)n holds two branches. An unnamed male figure holds a ribbon and another winged female, also unidentified, holds a lyre in her left hand.

¹⁴⁵ Van der Meer. (1995: 188).

16. Bronze mirror. Fig. 9. Lasa replaces Turan in embrace of Atunis

Provenience: Sperandio necropolis. **Etruscan**

Current location: Perugia Museum, Perugia, Italy

Date: c. 320 BC

Biblio.: A. Rallo (1974), 60-61.

Inscr.: atunis, lasa, achununa

Description: In this scene a swan cranes its neck over the neck of Atunis. Atunis has his left arm around a nude, winged, dancing Lasa. A lion rushes towards the couple from the left of the scene.

17. Bronze mirror. Fig. 10. Anchas and Thalna replace Turan and Atunis.

Provenience: Unknown. **Etruscan**

Current location: ?

Date: c. 320 BC

Biblio.: *ES* 4, pl. 326; Mansuelli (1948), 69.

Inscr.: anchas, thalna

Description: Anchas (Gr. Anchises) and Thalna are seated on a bed in a position usually associated with Turan and Atunis. A swan stretches its neck over Anchas's head. In this depiction both Thalna and Anchas are fully clothed without any jewellery apparent.

Thalna replaces Turan here, as Lasa does in Cat. 16, fig. 9.

Adornment

18. Bronze mirror. Fig. 11. Judgment of Paris/Adornment of Turan

Provenience: Unknown. **Etruscan**

Current location: Indiana Museum, Indiana, USA

Date: c. 320 BC

Biblio.: *StEtr* 45, pl. 22.

Inscr.: elcsntre, menrva, uni, turan, althaia

Description: Elchsentre accepts a flower from Menrva while Uni stands to the right and adjusts the tiara on the seated Turan's head. Althaia stands to the far right holding a branch in her right hand. The fully clothed Turan grasps a mirror and allows Uni to adorn her. Her hair is arranged in curly braids that frame her face and falls freely down her neck. She wears earrings and a necklace.

19. Bronze mirror.

Provenience: Praeneste. **Etruscan**

Current location: British Museum (634), London, England

Date: c. 350 BC

Biblio.: *ES* 319

Inscr.: achvizr, turan

Description: A winged Achvizr holds a mirror while adjusting the veil of the seated Turan. The goddess is elaborately dressed, wearing a necklace, earrings, tiara, bullae and bracelet. Another (wingless) female applies perfume using a spatula..

20. Bronze mirror. Fig. 12. 'Adornment of Malavisch'

Provenience: Unknown. **Etruscan**

Current location: British Museum (626), London, England

Date: c. 350 BC

Biblio.: *ES* 213.

Inscr.: zir(n)a, malavisch, hinthial, muntuch, turan

Description: Zirna fixes the hair of the seated Malavisch while Hinthial holds the mirror so that Malavisch can observe the proceedings. Munthuch adjusts Malavisch's tiara.

Turan stands to the left, dangling a leafy branch in her left hand, outside of the activities yet connected through her obvious interest. Turan's swan stands behind her with only its long neck visible.

Birth of Menrva and Fufluns

21. Attic black-figure Lip cup by the Phrynos Painter.

Provenience: Vulci. **Non Etruscan**

Current location: British Museum, London, England

Date: c. 560 BC

Biblio: *ABV* 169, 3.

Inscr.: None

Description: Zeus, Hephaistos and Athena emerging from the head of Zeus are the only characters represented in the scene. Zeus is seated on a throne clutching a thunderbolt in his right hand. Hephaistos holds his axe and looks towards Zeus's head at the result of his blow: the emerging goddess replete with shield and helmet.

22. Attic black-figure amphora. Group E.

Provenience: Unknown. **Non Etruscan**

Current location: Richmond Museum, Virginia, USA

Date: c. 540 BC

Biblio: Carpenter (1996), Fig. 100.

Inscr.: None

Description: Zeus is shown seated on an ornate throne. He is depicted in a frontal pose holding his thunderbolt and sceptre. Athena emerges fully armed, with her aegis, from Zeus's head. Hermes, Ares and two goddesses observe the event.

23. Bronze mirror. Fig. 13.

Provenience: Arezzo. **Etruscan**

Current location: Museo Civico, Bologna, Italy

Date: c. 350 BC

Biblio.: *ES* 1, pl. 66; Richardson (1976), Fig. 1.

Inscr.: thalna, tinia, thanr, sethlans

Description: Thalna holds Tinia around the waist in a steady pose while Thanr is occupied with delivering Menrva (identifiable through her iconography of helmet, shield and spear) from Tinia's head. Sethlans (Gr. Hephaistos) stands to the far right of the scene clasping his hammer.

24. Bronze mirror.

Provenience: Praeneste. **Etruscan**

Current location: British Museum (617), London, England

Date: c. 300 BC

Biblio.: *ES* 6

Inscr.: thanr, tinia, menrva, ethausva

Description: Thanr stands behind the seated Tinia to the left of the scene and applies a bandage to his head. Menrva has already emerged fully and stands atop Tinia's head in full armour. A woman, named by inscription as Ethausva, holds Tinia's shoulder as if to steady him.

25. Bronze mirror.

Provenience: Unknown. **Etruscan**

Current location: British Museum (696), London, England

Date: c. 300 BC

Biblio.: *ES* 284,2.

Inscr.: laran, thalna, menrva, tinia, uni, maristinsta

Description: A man, named Laran, stands to left observing with Thalna as Menrva emerges from the head of the seated Tinia. Uni stands to the right of her husband and witnesses the emergence of Menrva. Another male, identified by inscription as Maristinsta, watches the scene from the far right.

26. Attic red-figure lekythos by the Alkimachos Painter.

Provenience: Eretria. **Non Etruscan**

Current location: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, USA

Date: c. 460 BC

Biblio *ARV* 533.58

Inscr.: None

Description: Zeus is depicted nude and seated. He gazes down at his left thigh from where the head of Dionysus is emerging. Hermes stands opposite Zeus, wearing his petastos, and leaning on his staff.

27. Apulian red-figure crater.

Provenience: Taranto. **Non Etruscan**

Current location: Antikenmuseum, Berlin, Germany

Date: c. 400 BC

Biblio.: Trendall (1967), pl. 9.

Inscr.: Zeus, Dionysus, Hera, Eros, Aphrodite, Pan, Apollo, Artemis

Description: The centre of the scene is occupied by the seated Zeus from whose thigh Dionysus emerges, arms raised, in the direction of Hera. Eros, Aphrodite, Apollo and Artemis are arranged in a circular formation around Zeus, Dionysus and Hera. Their gazes are fixed on the figures in the centre. Pan hovers above Zeus, pipe in hand.

28. Bronze mirror. Thalna and Mean replace Turan.

Provenience: Praeneste. **Etruscan**

Current location: British Museum (617), London, England

Date: c. 300 BC

Biblio.: *ES* 82

Inscr.: apulu, thalna, tinia, mean

Description: Apulu stands to the far left of the scene holding a laurel branch. Thalna stands beside Tinia and helps extract Fufuns from Tinia's thigh. Tinia leans on his sceptre for support and holds a thunderbolt in his left hand. Another winged member of Turan's circle, Mean, stands on the right of Tinia holding a perfume stick in her raised right hand and an alabastron in her left.

Nursing

29. Apulian red-figure lekythos.

Provenience: Anzi (Lucania). **Non Etruscan**

Current location: British Museum (F 107), London, England

Date: c. 350 B

Biblio.: Trendall/Cambitoglou (1989), 395, no. 1, pl. 137,1.

Inscr.: None

Description: The vase scene shows from left to right, Aphrodite, Eros, Athena holding a lily, and in the centre a boyish naked Herakles being suckled by Hera. The female messenger of the gods, Iris, stands with her back to Hera facing an unidentified seated woman holding a wreath.

30. Faliscan red-figure krater by the Nazzano Painter. Fig. 14.

Provenience: Unknown. **Non Etruscan**

Current location: Villa Giulia (25191), Rome, Italy

Date: c. 350 BC

Biblio.: Van der Meer 1995, 127 fig. 59

Inscr.: None

Description: The young, naked Heracle holding his traditional club in his right hand, is suckled by Hera. Eros plays with a bird on the left while a woman approaches Hera from the right, carrying a chest and an oinochoe.

31. Bronze mirror. Fig. 15.

Provenience: Volterra. **Etruscan**

Current location: Archaeological Museum, Florence, Italy

Date: c. 300 BC

Biblio.: *ES* 5, 60

Inscr.: eca sren tva ichnac hercle unial clan thra sce

Description: Uni sits on a throne supporting her breast with her left hand while she holds Heracle's head to her nipple with the right. A bearded man holding a sceptre (Tinia?)

stands behind the throne and points to a board in which the inscription has been etched. Apollo stands to the left of the scene holding a laurel branch while the two remaining figures are identified as Turan and Hebe, Hercle's bride on Olympus.¹⁴⁶

32. Bronze mirror.

Provenience: Vulci. **Etruscan**

Current location: Staatliche Antikensammlung (7769), Berlin, Germany

Date: c. 300 BC

Biblio.: *ES* 5,59,

Inscr.: mean, turan, tinia, menrva

Description: At the far left, Mean holds leafy branches in both hands. Turan stands beside her decorated with earrings and necklace and also holds a leafy branch in her left hand. Tinia stands beside Turan in the centre of the scene. Beside him is a sitting, beardless Hercle (identifiable through his lion skin outfit) suckled by a standing Uni identified by the context. Menrva stands to the far right and observes the scene.

33. Bronze mirror.

Provenience: Tarquinia. **Etruscan**

Current location: British Museum, London, England

Date: c.. 300 BC

Biblio.: Van der Meer (1995), Fig. 62.

Inscr.: None

Description: A winged woman (of the Circle of Turan?) pours a libation to the left. Beside her is Hercle represented as beardless and standing. He stoops over to suckle at Uni's breast. A veiled woman (Turan or one of her attendants?) stands to the right supporting Uni under her arms as if helping her deliver. As this is an anepigraphic mirror,

¹⁴⁶ Van der Meer, (1995:126).

all the characters involved are identified on the basis of iconography and similar scenes depicted on inscribed mirrors.

Hercle and Baby.

34. Bronze mirror.

Provenience: Vulci. Etruscan

Current location: Cabinet des Médailles (1287), Paris, France

Date: c. 300 BC

Biblio.: : *ES* 181.

Inscr.: Upper register: turan, hercle, epiur, tinia, thalna

Description: The mirror contains two main scenes. The catalogue will concern itself with the upper register. The scene depicts Turan sitting to the far left of the scene beside Hercle who is presenting Epiur, a cherub-like winged boy, to Tinia. Tinia holds his thunderbolt in his right hand and is seated on an ornate throne. Thalna, who is seated to the far right of the scene, is shown nude to the waist, wearing a chiton draped over her left shoulder and wrapped around her waist and legs. She is adorned with earrings, necklace, and armband worn around her elbow joint. Turan is identically adorned.

35. Bronze mirror. Fig. 16.

Provenience: Unknown. Etruscan

Current location: Göttingen Museum, Göttingen, Germany

Date: C. 4th century B.C

Biblio.: *ES* 165; Van der Meer (1995), Fig. 42.

Inscr.: turan, menrva, hercle, munuthu

Description: Hercle is holding the baby with an old man's face (presumed to be Epiur, although his name is not included in the inscription) in the presence of Turan, Menrva and Munuthu. Munuthu is shown nude, wearing only a necklace and earrings. In her right hand she holds a laurel wreath high as she prepares to crown Hercle, while her left hand

contains an alabastron. Menrva wears a helmet and holds a spear in her left hand and caresses the child with her right. Turan stands on the far left of the scene and is depicted fully clothed. She has her right hand placed on Menrva's shoulder and gazes at the baby.

36. Bronze mirror.

Provenience: Unknown. **Etruscan**

Current location: Göttingen Museum, Göttingen, Germany

Date: C. 4th century BC

Biblio.: Van der Meer (1995), Fig. 41

Inscr.: mean, hercle, epiur, turan, menrva

Description: Mean is shown in the nude and is placing a laurel crown on Hercle's head. Hercle, nude (save for his lion-skin cloak hanging down his back), holds the baby identified as Epiur in the presence of Turan and Menrva. Turan stands behind Hercle. She is fully clad in a garment with heavy pleats and has a veil drawn over her head. She is not depicted wearing jewellery.

37. Bronze mirror.

Provenience: Unknown **Etruscan**

Current location: Göttingen Museum, Göttingen, Germany

Date: C. 4th century BC

Biblio.: *ES 335*

Inscr.: hercle, epiur

Description: Hercle is on the left of the scene and lifts an unwinged Epiur, this time shown as a youth rather than a baby with an old man's face. Menrva (identified through her iconography) is fully armed and holds a spear. An owl (Menrva's symbol) perches on a bush to Menrva's left.

38. Bronze mirror.

Provenience: Unknown. **Etruscan**

Current location: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, Germany

Date: c. fourth century BC

Biblio.: *ES 219*

Inscr.: menrva, turan, leinth

Description: Hercl holds a baby in his left hand in the presence of Menrva, Turan and Leinth. Another character is present but because the top left quarter of the mirror is missing, all that is visible are a pair of legs.

Family

39. Red-figure kylix. Fig. 17. Latva and the Egg

Provenience: Vulci. **Etruscan**

Current location: Archaeological Museum (MA 79720), Florence, Italy

Date: c. 360 BC

Biblio.: Van der Meer (1995), Fig. 64.

Inscr.: None

Description: The names of the participants were assigned on the basis of inscribed Etruscan mirrors in which the names were included. Turms (Gr. Hermes) hands the egg containing Helen (Elinai) to the standing Tuntle (Gr. Tyndareus) who leans on his staff while Latve (Gr. Leda), shown nude from the waist up, places an arm around her husband's shoulder.

40. Bronze mirror. Fig. 18. Latva and the Egg

Provenience: Porano (10 km south of Orvieto). **Etruscan**

Current location: Museo Archeologico, Orvieto, Italy

Date: c. 300 BC

Biblio.: *ES* 5, pl. 7

Inscr.: turan, pultuce, castur, latva, tuntle

Description: Turan stands to the left beside Pultce (Polydeukes). Castur (Gr. Kastor) who stands to the left of Latva (Leda) is shown handing the egg (presumably containing Helen) over to his father Tuntle (Gr. Tyndareos), king of Sparta. Tuntle is clothed while Castur is shown nude. Turan is the only one of the four females represented to appear without clothing.

41. Bronze mirror. Turan and Menrva with two babies and a youth

Provenience: Unknown. **Etruscan**

Current location: British Museum, London, England

Date: c. 275 BC

Biblio.: *ES* 2, pl. 166.

Inscr.: turan, menrva, leinth, marishalna, marishusrnana

Description: Turan and Menrva and an unidentified youth tend to two baby boys. Leinth holds Marishalna on her knee, while Marishusrnana sits alone, leaning on an amphora.

Chapter Three: Interpretation

Judgment Of Paris

The Cypria's version of the Judgment of Paris relates how Eris, the goddess of discord, incited Aphrodite, Hera, and Athena into a rivalry over which of them was the fairest. Zeus appointed Paris, a Trojan prince, as judge and had Hermes lead them to him. Other early accounts relate how all three goddesses attempted to sway Paris with various gifts but it was Aphrodite's promise to provide him with Helen that resulted in her being named the winner.

An early sixth century Attic depiction of the Judgment of Paris (Cat. 1) portrays the three competing goddesses almost as one entity in that they are dressed almost identically and are depicted in the same pose. Hermes is present, identifiable by his petastos and messenger's staff. Hermes holds Paris by his left hand as though preventing him from fleeing the scene. A red-figure Attic cup¹⁴⁷ dating to c. 490 BC, differentiates between the three goddesses by showing them with their traditional attributes: Hera is identifiable by the bridal gesture of lifting her veil, Athena is armed with helmet and spear, and Aphrodite is veiled and accompanied by a winged Eros.¹⁴⁸ They are led, once again, by Hermes. Paris is shown in a somewhat calmer pose as he sits with his lyre and attends to his flocks. All three goddesses are still depicted bunched close together and they strike similar poses with the left hand on their hip and the right stretched out at shoulder level.

¹⁴⁷ Woodford (1995: 19), Fig. 9. Attic red-figure cup, c. 490 BC, by Makron. Berlin, Staatliche Antikensammlungen.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

An Etruscan vase painter changed the traditional iconography somewhat on a Pontic vase (Cat.2), dated to c. 550 BC, by spreading the goddesses further apart and clearly differentiating between them. Hera is still shown lifting her veil, while Athena is depicted as a warrior goddess with her helmet and spear. It is Aphrodite who shows the greatest change as she wears an elegant pointed hat on her head and a pair of turned-up Etruscan style shoes. Both hat and shoes were fashionable among the Etruscans around the middle of the sixth century BC, but were still shown on depictions of deities for over a hundred years longer.¹⁴⁹ It is intriguing that Aphrodite is the only one of the three deities to appear in Etruscan garb, and this may indicate that she is already being accepted as the equivalent of the Etruscan Turan. Another Etruscan adaptation of Turan/Aphrodite occurs on the c. 550 BC Boccanera tablets (Cat.3), where she again wears Etruscan pointed shoes, and her role as the eventual winner of the contest is suggested by the arrangement of her clothing, as she exposes more flesh than her fellow competitors Menrva/Athena and Uni/Hera.

The largest body of Etruscan material depicting the Judgment of Paris is the engraved mirrors. As these objects were usually the property of women, they present good evidence for including the imagery of Turan as a women's goddess.¹⁵⁰ The Todi mirror (Cat. 5) reveals the Etruscan use of this theme as a way of expressing the female Etruscan's boudoir habits and the role such adornment played in married life. Here, Aphrodite displays uniquely Etruscan attributes in her footwear and hat, typical of sixth century BC Etruscan images.¹⁵¹ The background myth of the Judgement of Paris appears to be used merely as a tool to exhibit fashionable clothes and jewellery worn by an

¹⁴⁹ Bonfante, (1975: 82).

¹⁵⁰ Bonfante, (1986: 239).

¹⁵¹ Bonfante, (1975: 76).

Etruscan woman. The Etruscan mirror discussed in Cat. 5 uses the same myth to illustrate the preparation of a bride to meet her husband to be as Turan oversees her handmaid Zirna in adorning Elinai for her marriage to Elchsentre. This aspect of the theme was probably not of great interest to the Greeks, who usually interpreted the myth in terms of Menelaos's loss rather than Alexander's gain of a wife.

Turan's appearance in the Judgment of Paris scenes is often based on competitiveness and seduction. On the Todi mirror dating to c. 300 BC (Cat. 4, fig. 2), Turan is the only goddess who uses nudity as part of her iconography. As it is the offer of attaining a woman famed for her beauty that finally wins Alexandros over, it seems appropriate that Aphrodite/Turan herself display the attributes that will typify Helen. She wears a one-piece mantle that she holds open, revealing her breasts and vulva.

Other mirrors do not specifically represent Turan but show her attendants. In these instances, her attendants seem to represent her symbolically; in other words, she need not be shown in the scene but her presence is implicit. One such example, engraved on the Todi mirror (Cat. 4, fig. 2), shows the seated Elchsntre (Greek Alexandros) with three standing goddesses. This typically Greek scene is Etruscanized with the addition of Turan's attendant, who holds a fan in her right hand and is labelled Snenathturns. The latter part of the name is the genitive of Turan and the full name is translated as "Turan's helper."¹⁵²

The presence of Teurs (Gr. Teukros), the first king of Troy, may have been intended to foreshadow the future fate of Troy resulting from Elchsentre's judgment.¹⁵³ If the interpretation is correct, then the example indicates both a uniquely Etruscan addition

¹⁵² Van der Meer. (1995: 153).

¹⁵³ Ibid

to the scene and also shows the degree to which the Etruscans were acquainted with Greek myth.

Both Turan and an attendant are represented on another inscribed bronze mirror (Cat. 5). Here, a member of Turan's circle adorns a seated Helen while a modestly clothed and veiled Turan looks on in the background. The scene takes place after Turan has been awarded the apple and is preparing the prize for Elchsentre, who is here identified by inscription as the youth on the far right. Turan's role is related to marriage, namely to supervise the toilette of her prodigy as she is being prepared for Elchsentre. Turan, however, now has no need to advertise herself at all since she has already received what she desired.

Menelaos (Menle) and Helen (Elinai)

There are various versions of how the reunion of Menelaos and Helen transpired. The Homeric version tells how, at the end of the Trojan War, Menelaos went with Odysseus to the home of Deiphobus, whom Helen had married after Paris's death. Although his original intent had been to kill Helen, Menelaos was overcome by her beauty and forgave her (*Odyssey*, VIII 517-520). An account in *The Little Iliad* held that Aphrodite contrived that Menelaos catch a glimpse of Helen's breasts, resulting in his dropping his sword at the seductive sight:

ὁ γῶν Μενέλαος τὰς Ἑλένας τὰ μᾶλά πα
γυμνᾶς παπαιδῶν ἐξέβαλ' οἰῶ τὸ ξίφος

Menelaos at least, when he caught a glimpse somehow
of the breasts of Helen unclad, cast away his sword
methinks (*The Little Iliad*, 13).

A c. 480 BC red-figure vase painting by the Syriskos Painter (Cat. 6, fig. 3) shows Menelaos with his sword drawn threateningly against Helen, who extends her hand in an

imploring gesture. Aphrodite is depicted on the right, holding open her arms as if to receive the fleeing Helen. There is no hint of the seductive element present in the scene as Helen is respectably dressed. Perhaps the next event was intended to be imagined by the ancient Greek viewer. An Attic red-figure amphora by the Altamura Painter, dated to c. 450 BC, shows Aphrodite in a more active role: she stands between Menelaos and Helen with her hand raised. Once again, nothing in Helen's appearance suggests that she is using her naked beauty to mollify Menelaos, although the fact that the sword is falling from his hand might indicate that something overcame his fury.¹⁵⁴

A mirror dated to c. 320 BC, found at Cerveteri (Cat.9), depicts the climactic moment of reunion, with Menle (Menelaos) on the verge of running his wife through with the sword. Menle is prevented from killing Elinai (Helen) by Thethis (Thetis), who holds back his lower right arm. Elinai, who is at the front and centre of the scene, clings to a statue of Athena. Turan stands in the background, wrapped in a mantle. Ainas (Ajax) and Phulphsna (Polyxena) stand to the right of Elinai. Both hold spears. Elinai's mantle has fallen open revealing her nudity.

The basic scheme for Etruscan mirrors depicting this myth appears to have been borrowed from South Italian vase paintings.¹⁵⁵ An Apulian red-figure crater dated to c. 350 BC, (Cat. 8) offers a good basis for comparison. The painting shows Helen clinging with one arm to the statue of Athena while Eros and Aphrodite restrain Menelaos. Eros stands between the couple, and Aphrodite places her hand on his spear. Helen attempts to change Menelaos's resolve by opening her mantle and exposing her left breast. Here, the vase painter captures the moment of Menelaos's yielding to his love/lust for Helen as

¹⁵⁴ Woodford, (1993: 112).

¹⁵⁵ Van der Meer, (1995: 111).

Helen reveals her left breast and opens the fold of her mantle with her left hand. Helen's hair is arranged in the same manner as Aphrodite's and she wears the same kind of shoes. It is as though Helen and Aphrodite are working together as a team of seductive beauties in stopping Menelaos. The Cerveteri mirror (Cat. 9) departs from the theme of the Apulian crater by showing Thetis rather than Eros aiding Aphrodite (Turan on the mirror) in restraining Menelaos (Menle).¹⁵⁶ Two mid fourth century anepigraphic mirrors from Praeneste depict Eros rather than Thetis and resemble the South Italian representations in that Helen is naked, apparently due to the influence of themes representing Cassandra.¹⁵⁷

It is curious that the Cerveteri mirror (Cat. 9) depicts Helen embracing the statue of Athena, as ancient sources describe Helen as fleeing to the altar of Aphrodite.¹⁵⁸ This disparity may indicate confusion with the story of Aias attacking Cassandra who seeks refuge at Athena's statue.¹⁵⁹ Another possibility is that the artist's wish to include the participation of Turan/Aphrodite in the confrontation scene influenced the artist's decision to use the statue of Athena as a substitute rather than having Turan/Aphrodite present both as a statue and as a goddess.

Turan's presence can be explained as a lesson demonstrating the power of seduction/love. Phulphsna (Polyxena), on the far right, offers the warning that death is in store for those not under Turan's auspices. It is Elinai's naked beauty that mollifies Menle, rather than her clasping of Menrva's statue or Thetis's attempt to restrain him. The theme of love conquering all appears to be the element attractive to Etruscan women,

¹⁵⁶ A c. 330 BC mirror shows Thetis as a winged deity opposing Eris the goddess of strife (*ES 397*).

¹⁵⁷ Van der Meer, (1995: 111).

¹⁵⁸ Euripides, *Andromecha*, 627-631. Translated by A.S. Way. Loeb Classical Library.

¹⁵⁹ Van der Meer, (1995: 112).

as it is only through Turan's power that Elinai can be saved. Perhaps the presence of Phulphsna is meant to emphasise this fact, as she is to be sacrificed later to appease the shade of Achilles.¹⁶⁰ Athena's (Menrva) power, represented by her statue, is equally unhelpful in scenes of the *Iliou Persis*, as Cassandra was raped despite her attempt to seek refuge at Athena's statue.¹⁶¹

Aphrodite (Turan) and Helen (Lina)

Aphrodite and Helen are represented by Greek vase painters as having met prior to Helen's elopement to Troy with Paris. A fifth century BC red-figure vase painting by the Berlin Painter shows Menelaos greeting Paris and Aeneas, while the winged Eros, symbolizing the power of Aphrodite, sits by Helen's feet.¹⁶² The scene shows the first meeting of Helen and Paris, thus setting the scenes for the Trojan War.

A fifth century vase painting by the Heimarmene Painter (Cat. 10, fig.5) shows Aphrodite cradling Helen in her lap. A winged boy stands to the right of Aphrodite, beside Paris. The youth is labelled 'Himeros' (Desire). A female attendant, holding a box, is named 'Peitho' (Persuasion). Helen is trapped between Desire and Persuasion and held firmly on the lap of the goddess of love. According to the theme of the vase, Helen was given no choice by Aphrodite but to love Paris.¹⁶³ The depiction of Aphrodite in the centre of a love/seduction scene with two attendants representing Desire and Persuasion respectively, brings to mind Etruscan depictions of Turan in similar scenes with members of her circle in attendance.

¹⁶⁰ *Iliou Persis I*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Woodford. (1993: 23).

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

Aphrodite and Helen are shown meeting alone several times in Etruscan imagery. Both represent icons of feminine beauty so there should be little problem identifying their suitability and meaning on toiletry instruments such as mirrors. One such identification is confirmed on Cat. 12, where a shrouded male, identified as Elchsentre, appears seated at the foot of Elinai's bed. This scene may refer to the episode in the *Iliad* where Aphrodite commands the reluctant Helen (who has at this point apparently lost her taste for the cowardly antics of her Trojan husband) to adorn herself and seduce Paris.

δεῦρ' ἴθι· Ἀλέξανδρός σε καλεῖ οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι.
κεῖνος ὃ γ' ἐν θαλάμῳ καὶ δινωτοῖσι λέχεσσι.
κάλλει τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν.

Come hither: Alexander calls you to your home. There he is now in his chamber and on his inlaid couch, gleaming with beauty and fair raiment(*Il.* III. 390-392).

This interpretation also explains why Elchsentre is here wrapped entirely in a tunic. In Book Three of the *Iliad*, Aphrodite saves Paris from Menelaos by "shrouding him in a thick mist, and setting him down in his fragrant, vaulted chamber". Aphrodite then "went herself to summon Helen" (*Il.* III, 380-383). The cloak that envelopes Elchsentre in the mirror scene may refer to the shroud of mist wrapped around him by Aphrodite.

Such a scene where a wife is instructed or even ordered by Aphrodite to prepare herself for her husband fits neatly with the imagery of Aphrodite's Etruscan counterpart, Turan, as the goddess of sexual relations within a marriage, as seen in the mirror from Praeneste (Cat. 12). This interpretation can also be applied to other scenes depicting Turan and Elina, with the goddess as the divine attendant of the mortal woman. In these cases, Elchsentre need not be included, since he, according to the *Iliad*, is not actually present when Aphrodite converses with Helen.

Turan/Aphrodite and Atunis/Adonis

Despite the fact that the cult of Adonis had reached Etruria from Greece, the theme of mourning over his death, popular on Greek vases, is not included on Etruscan mirrors, which chose instead to focus on the love affair between Adonis and Aphrodite.¹⁶⁴ Greek imagery does not depict Aphrodite and Adonis locked in an embrace, while Etruscan depictions of the couple rarely show them in any other pose.

Adonis was the son of Myrrha and Cinyras, Myrrha's father. After his birth Aphrodite hid him in a chest and gave him to Persephone to guard, with orders not to look inside the chest. Persephone disobeyed the order and upon opening the chest promptly fell in love with Adonis and refused to return him to Aphrodite. The muse Calliope was called upon to judge the dispute and ruled that Adonis should spend a third of the year with Aphrodite, a third with Persephone, and have the last third for himself. Aphrodite violated the ruling by convincing Adonis to stay exclusively with her. She bore him a son, Golgos, and a daughter, Beroe. Aphrodite cautioned Adonis to beware of hunting, but he did not heed her warning and met his end when a wild boar he was pursuing turned around and tore him to pieces. Aphrodite was heartbroken at the death of her lover and persuaded Zeus to allow Adonis to spend the summer months of every year with her. The rest of the year his shade remained in the underworld (Apollod. 3. 14. 3-4; *Ov. Met.* 10. 300-559, 708-39).

Adonis was originally a Near Eastern deity and is identified with the god Tammuz, or Dumuzi, whose death was mourned annually by women who lamented publicly from the roofs of their houses.¹⁶⁵ This idea of mourning on rooftops appears in

¹⁶⁴ Roller (1988: 507).

¹⁶⁵ W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, (1985: 177).

Greek art as well, and the same lamentation for Adonis turns up in sixth century BC literary sources in East Greece (see *Introduction*, p. 1 for quote).¹⁶⁶ The earliest reference to the Adonis cult in Athens is found on a mid fifth century red figure vase fragment by the Methyse Painter that shows a woman in mourning sitting by a chest and an upright ladder.¹⁶⁷ An Attic hydria of the Meidias Painter, dated c. 400 BC depicts a group of seated, mourning women, while a standing woman prepares to climb a ladder on the right.¹⁶⁸

In contrast to these Greek representations, Etruscan depictions, especially the engraved mirrors, do not include the element of mourning, despite the fact that the cult of Adonis had already reached Etruria from Greece as Atunis. Instead, the Etruscan artists focus on the love affair between Adonis and Aphrodite. The relationship between a goddess and her consort is also important in Near Eastern religions, and it has been suggested that the tales of Aphrodite with a mortal lover had their origins in the Ishtar-Astarte myths, especially in the theme of the 'dying god'.¹⁶⁹ Adonis's relationship to Aphrodite is well documented, but he was also worshipped at temples to Astarte in Byblos and Paphos, thereby linking Astarte with Aphrodite, and Turan with both goddesses.¹⁷⁰

Aphrodite and Adonis became one of the Etruscans' favourite themes, as demonstrated by the large number of representations: Atunis and Turan are represented as lovers on 22 epigraphic mirrors. The variety of compositions indicates that the artists

¹⁶⁶ Roller. (1988: 506).

¹⁶⁷ Roller. (1988: 508).

¹⁶⁸ Roller. (1988: 506).

¹⁶⁹ Boedeker, (1974. 64).

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

who engraved these were not working from one model.¹⁷¹ One of the most detailed depictions of the lovers and their entourage appears on a mirror in St Petersburg (Cat.15). This contains an unusual image of Turan that is not seen in her traditional Etruscan depictions. There is a gender reversal implied: Turan is over a head taller than Atunis and is clearly the stronger and more dominant figure of the two, as she affectionately, almost playfully drapes her arm around her diminutive lover. Atunis, in reaction, seductively opens his mantle with his right hand in a gesture similar to that of Helen and Aphrodite/Turan in many other depictions of Greek and Etruscan. This gesture is typically associated with females in Etruscan art and is noted frequently in both seduction and marriage scenes.¹⁷² In the case of Turan and Atunis, a role reversal has occurred: Atunis is the object of desire and it is Turan who must engage in active wooing. This height difference has a literary basis in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, where Aphrodite sleeps with Anchises and then reveals her true identity and form to him.

ἔσσαμένη δ' εὖ πάντα περὶ χοροὶ διὰ θεάων
 ἔστη πάρ κλισίῃ, κεύποιήτοιο μελάθρου
 κῦρε κάρη· κάλλος δὲ παρειάων ἀπέλαμπεν
 ἄμβροτον, οἷόν τ' ἔστιν ἔυστεφάνου Κυθερείης.

And when the bright goddess had fully clothed herself,
 She stood by the couch, and her head reached to the well-
 hewn roof tree; from her cheeks shone unearthly beauty
 such as belongs to rich-crowned Cythera
 (*Homeric Hymns* V, 172-175).

The representation of the height difference between goddess and mortal indicates that the artist or patron of the mirror was aware of such a precedent, including perhaps this passage. It seems unlikely that such an unusual theme would have been represented

¹⁷¹ Van der Meer, (1995: 185).

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

coincidentally. The awkwardness evoked by the image must not have been very popular among the Etruscans as it is not used again for any romantic couple on engraved mirrors.

The death of Adonis is also represented in Etruscan mirrors. An example (Cat. 14, fig. 7) is engraved with two myths: Atunis and Turan; and Meleagor and Atalanta. The mirror illustrates the Etruscan concept of inevitable fate by showing a boar's head suspended over the heads of both couples. A boar plays a role in the death of Atunis and another Greek hero, Meleagor.¹⁷³ The Greek goddess of fate, Atropos, is represented by Athrpa, who also appears to have borrowed the hammer and nail from the attributes of Nortia, an Etruscan goddess of destiny.¹⁷⁴ The fixing of the nail refers to the Etruscan custom of hammering a nail every year into a temple wall to indicate the completion of another season and thus another year closer to the prophesied end of the Etruscan nation.¹⁷⁵ The nails are thus a uniquely Etruscan addition meant to signify the inevitability of fate for the two pairs of lovers. The weaving together of a ritual Etruscan custom about destiny and two separate Greek myths to illustrate fate indicates the degree to which Etruscans not only were acquainted with Greek mythology but also the uniquely Etruscan interpretation they derived from these tales. Even Turan's power was unable to stave off the effects of fate, and she was forced to part with Atunis.

The theme of Aphrodite and another lover, Anchises, is also represented on mirrors (Cat. 17), and it emphasizes that the Etruscans were well aware of the subject matter of the *Homeric Hymns*. This mirror depicts a couple in a similar pose to that of Turan and Atunis but replaces Turan with Thalna (a frequent member of Turan's circle)

¹⁷³ Von Vacano. (1960: 11).

¹⁷⁴ Von Vacano. (1960: 12).

¹⁷⁵ Pffiffig, (1998: 118).

and Atunis with Anchas (Anchises).¹⁷⁶ The depiction of Anchas and Thalna (Cat. 17) follows the typical love embrace of Turan and Atunis, only in this case Atunis is replaced, at least in name, by Anchas. If, as Van der Meer and Richardson believe, Anchas is meant to signify Anchises, perhaps Thalna, who is often associated with childbirth, is present as a prophetess foretelling his love affair with Aphrodite from which Aeneas will be born.¹⁷⁷ It is more probable that the artist intended the viewer to associate Thalna with an aspect of Turan, since Thalna often appears as Turan's double.¹⁷⁸ If this is the case, the scene probably depicts the moment before the lovemaking between Aphrodite and Anchises.¹⁷⁹

Another mirror depicts Atunis with Thalna rather than Turan (Cat. 16). The depiction shows a swan (perhaps meant to indicate the absent Turan) bending its neck, almost possessively, over Atunis. A bounding lion with a lolling tongue jumps at the feet of the couple, explained by Shapiro as foreshadowing Atunis's death through the attack of another wild animal, a boar.¹⁸⁰ Van der Meer believes that it represents the love frenzy (Lyssa) of the couple as it is personified in Greek art.¹⁸¹

Another aspect of Turan's scenes in her embrace of Atunis (and relevant in many other mythological depictions involving Turan) is the presence of named winged figures flying about, as seen in the broad frame of the St Petersburg mirror (Cat. 15, fig. 8). They frequently appear in other Etruscan epigraphic mirrors that depict episodes from Aphrodite/Turan's mythological corpus and often hold typical attributes: an alabastron

¹⁷⁶ Dunézil. (1996: 683).

¹⁷⁷ Sowder. (1982: 108); Van der Meer. (1995: 194); Richardson. (1964: 224).

¹⁷⁸ Richardson. (1964: 224).

¹⁷⁹ Van der Meer. (1995: 196).

¹⁸⁰ H.A. Shapiro. *Personifications in Greek Art*. (1993: 170), no. 111, fig. 130.

¹⁸¹ Van der Meer. (1995: 194).

and perfume stick.¹⁸² The named examples show a clear pattern. Alpan, shown clutching the branches on the bottom left of the St Petersburg mirror, appears in scenes where the love of a couple is demonstrated. Inscriptions with Alpan's name have been found on a statue and many statuettes, a candelabrum, and on seven mirrors.¹⁸³ On two other mirrors, she is shown embracing another female, Alpan with Achvizr and Alpan with Thanr.¹⁸⁴ Pairs like this recall the embrace of Turan and Atunis: a central couple accompanied by attendants. This indicates that she represents an Etruscan deity or personification of affection, companionship and marriage. Alpan is therefore a good candidate for Etruscan representations of Greek myth where such aspects are shown.

Zirna is also part of Turan's circle and is usually depicted arranging the hair of Turan, Helen or a bride. She, as well as the other labelled attendants, sometimes replace Turan in Etruscan representations of Greek Aphrodite myths. This may be because Turan and all her servants play the same role for Etruscan women in terms of marriage and sexuality that Aphrodite did for the Greeks.

Achvizr, like Alpan, is usually present in scenes involving love, adornment and bathing and birth.¹⁸⁵ The earliest mention of her occurs in a seventh century BC inscription, where she is referred to as *achvizr turan*, thus connecting her with Turan in writing. Munthch is present in adornment scenes and is rarely shown without Turan. Mean occurs in victory, adornment and birth scenes. She too is considered a regular member of the circle of Turan.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸² Dumézil, (1996: 683).

¹⁸³ *ES* 4. 51-53, pl. 319.4, 55-58, pl. 322; 4. 61-63, pl. 324; 5. 30-31, pl. 25, 158, pl. 122; G.A. Mansuelli, "La Mitologia." (1948: 70); Dumézil, (1996: 683); Pffiffig, (1998: 279-80).

¹⁸⁴ *ES* 4 pl. 324. (Alpan with Achvizr); *ES* 4 pl. 324a (Alpan with Thanr).

¹⁸⁵ *LIMC* III, 1 s.v. Achviser

¹⁸⁶ Dumézil, (1996: 544).

The emerging pattern reveals that the Turan's attendants represent well-known Etruscan personifications of love both passionate and matrimonial as well as female adornment. Turan herself embodies all these attributes but her handmaids allow a closer focus on each specific aspect of these depictions. This might also explain why Turan's attendants sometimes appear in Greek representations where we would expect to see Aphrodite/Turan.

Adornment

The boudoir or adornment scene is a common theme in Etruscan engraved mirrors and vase painting. Young women are shown bathing, dressing, and adorning themselves. The imagery is especially popular on objects belonging to a woman's toilette. Myths that in their Greek form (both in literature and art) provide no reference to toilette activities often include adornment scenes when used by Etruscan artists.

Etruscans imported relatively few Greek vases with scenes of women alone.¹⁸⁷ Perhaps Etruscans did not find personal meaning in such depictions, given that Etruscan women did not lead the separate, secluded lives experienced by women in Classical Greece.¹⁸⁸ Domestic scenes of women engaged in various activities among their female attendants often occur on Greek vases of the fifth and fourth centuries BC; many have been interpreted as preparations for a wedding.¹⁸⁹ But while Greek domestic scenes are usually limited to scenes of the toilette or weaving, the range of subjects chosen by Etruscan artists to portray what is essentially an adornment scene is much larger. Turan

¹⁸⁷ Webster. (1972: 228).

¹⁸⁸ Bonfante. (1986: 241).

¹⁸⁹ Bonfante. (1986: 240).

and/or her attendants are present in the majority of these representations, thus indicating her important role in the Etruscan boudoir, particularly when it pertained to marriage.

A mirror (Cat. 18) depicting Uni (Hera) and Menrva (Athena) busily engaged in adorning their rival Turan belongs to the Judgment of Paris theme in its inclusion of the three goddesses. The fact that aside from their presence no other element of Judgement of Paris myth is included illustrates the extent to which Greek myths were used to express the adornment habits of Etruscan women. In this case, Turan's adornment in the presence (even with the aid) of her competitors appears to be a concession of defeat on the part of Turan's rivals.¹⁹⁰ It is a uniquely Etruscan interpretation and one that is not found on Greek representations of the Judgment of Paris.

One of these boudoir scenes (Cat. 23) shows a woman identified as Malavisch, who is represented on six epigraphic mirrors from South Etruria.¹⁹¹ She is depicted, in every scene, as a young woman being adorned by attendants belonging to the circle of Turan.¹⁹² She is always the focal point, shown in profile, and facing the right; she is seated while her attendants style her hair, apply perfume and adjust her garments. Turan is present in every scene, four times as an onlooker, and twice as an active participant in Malavisch's adornment.

The Malavish mirror (Cat. 23, fig. 13), shows Turan standing to the left of the scene and observing, while Malavisch is assisted with her hair arrangement by Zirna and Muntuch (of Turan's Circle). The nudity so often present in other depictions of Turan where she is either acting as one of the protagonists, e.g. Judgment of Paris (Cat. 4, fig. 2) and Turan and Atunis (Cat. 14, fig. 7), is replaced by a modest robe with thick folds and

¹⁹⁰ Bonfante, (1977: 149).

¹⁹¹ *LIMC* VI, I s.v. Malavisch 1-11 (R. Lambrechts). Van der Meer, (1985: 94-98).

¹⁹² *ES* 2, pl. 211-216; 3, 201-208; 4, pl. 283, 284; 5 pl. 22, 85; Beazley, (1947: 9-10), pl. 8b, fig. 9.

pleats that allows no hint of what is covered to be revealed. Instead, Turan's attendants, Munthuch and Zirna, are clothed in diaphanous garments that hide nothing of their bodies. They share the attributes of sexuality that belong to a marriage. Another attendant, identified as Hinthial, holds a mirror so that Malavisch can supervise the work.¹⁹³ Hinthial, like Turan, is dressed in a pleated mantle that fully covers her body.

These adornment scenes with Malavisch probably represent a bride being dressed for her wedding.¹⁹⁴ The subject is certainly appropriate for a mirror, an object used for such activities in Etruscan life, and the Malavisch mirrors may have been commissioned as wedding presents for prospective brides. This would help in explaining the frequency of this imagery and Turan's consistent presence.¹⁹⁵

Birth of Menrva (Athena) and Fufluns (Dionysus)

Turan's assistants (in addition to Turan herself) appear in scenes of birth from Greek mythology such as the Birth of Menrva (Athena). This occurs on five epigraphic and four anepigraphic mirrors.¹⁹⁶ In Greek art, the theme is found on around 50 black-figure vases between c. 550 to the end of the century (see Cat. 20). There are far fewer depictions of the goddess's birth on red-figure vases.¹⁹⁷ It is also depicted in architectural sculpture, most notably on the east pediment of the Parthenon, dated around 448-432 BC.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ Van der Meer, (1995: 202). Malavisch is shown holding a mirror in two of the six mirror scenes in which she appears.

¹⁹⁴ Bonfante, (1975: 33).

¹⁹⁵ Bonfante, (1975: 60).

¹⁹⁶ Van der Meer, (1995: 119).

¹⁹⁷ Van der Meer, (1995: 119).

¹⁹⁸ J.G. Pedley, *Greek Art and Archaeology*, (1993: 243).

Although Attic vases depicting the birth of Athena had been exported to Italy as in the black-figure lip-cup by the Phrynos painter found in Vulci (cat 20), the theme is not reproduced in Italy until c. 350 BC.¹⁹⁹ Such images had ceased to be produced in Athens by the fourth century BC, perhaps indicating that the artists had re-learned the theme by examining Archaic Attic vases from re-opened tombs.²⁰⁰

Greek depictions of the myth on vase paintings (see cat 20, 21) typically do not represent the scene as a naturalistic birthing event per se, but rather as the violent entry into the Greek pantheon of the Greek war goddess released from Zeus's head by a blow from the axe of Hephaistos. In contrast, the Birth of Menrva is given an Etruscan slant, probably due to Turan's function as a goddess of birth.²⁰¹ Unlike the drama of the Greek versions, Etruscan artists treat Menrva's birth as though it were a typically mortal birthing scene, with Tinia (Zeus) relegated to the role of the straining mother to be while Turan and/or her attendants assist in the delivery

One mirror that illustrates this myth (Cat.23, fig. 13) shows Turan's attendants, Thalna and Thanr, in the role of Tinia's midwives. The scene depicts Sethlans (Hephaistos) standing to the side while Thalna grasps Tinia around the waist, offering him comfort and support, as Thanr delivers Menrva from his head.²⁰² Another bronze mirror engraving (Cat.24) shows the moments after Menrva's birth, when Thanr wraps a bandage around the open wound in Tinia's head; again, this is a detail that did not concern Greek artists. In antiquity, women would traditionally give birth seated, while a

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ de Grummond. (1982: 106).

²⁰² *ES* I, pl. 66.

midwife applied pressure to the woman in labour.²⁰³ Despite the fact that Menrva emerges from the head rather than the presumably non-existent vulva of Tinia, the Etruscan artist maintained a detail of the birthing process that would have been meaningful to the typically female owner of the mirror.

Etruscan engravers also chose to treat the Birth of Dionysus as an opportunity to include Turan and her circle acting out the role of midwives. Once again, there was no Greek precedent for such a role. The red-figure lekythos outlined in Cat. 26, illustrates the typical Attic theme in which Zeus is shown nude and seated as the head of Dionysus emerges from his thigh. Hermes stands opposite Zeus, wearing his petastos, and leaning on his staff. Just as in the Attic depictions of the Birth of Athena, the representation does not include midwives or depict Zeus in a child-birthing pose. Allowing Zeus to be shown in such a vulnerable position would probably have been considered unseemly to an Athenian. Etruscan artists were not blocked by the same cultural barriers and chose to alter the theme on mirrors by adding Turan and her attendants to act as midwives to the straining Tinia.

Turan's attendants are present once again in scenes where the bearded Tinia requires midwives. On a mirror from Praeneste (cat 28) he gives birth to Fufluns (Dionysus) from his thigh. Thalna stands over Tinia and helps to ease the passage. A winged Mean stands behind Tinia holding an alabastron in her left hand and a perfume stick in her right.

This theme was popular in other art forms as well. An Etruscan *bullā* from a necklace depicts two winged women flanking Zeus, with the woman on the right

²⁰³ Van der Meer. (1995: 119).

delivering Dionysus from Zeus's thigh.²⁰⁴ These scenes of a divinity born from a male god are particularly Etruscan in their depiction of realistic aspects of birth, such as midwives massaging and encouraging the figure in labour. This contrasts greatly with the Greek versions, which simply show the emergence of a new god. On Etruscan mirrors the effort of labour is highlighted by the inclusion of Turan and/or her attendants and takes precedence over the divine result.

Nursing

The apotheosis of Heracles is well documented in Attic vase painting. A c. 570 BC black-figure cup by the Phrynos Painter shows the typical Introduction Scene with Athena leading Heracles to Zeus on Olympus.²⁰⁵ The Athenian Acropolis preserves a c. 560 BC pediment dedicated to the same theme.²⁰⁶ None of these apotheosis depictions include scenes of Heracles being suckled by Hera, which was a popular theme in South Italy in the fourth century BC.²⁰⁷

Scenes of nursing do not always depict Turan, but all the inscribed mirrors do use at least one of her attendants if Turan is not present in the scene.²⁰⁸ The theme of Uni/Hera suckling Heracles/Hercle first turns up in Etruria during the fourth century BC.²⁰⁹ It appears on four Etruscan mirrors and once on a now-lost terracotta medallion from Praeneste.²¹⁰ Both the myth and its oldest known artistic representation are

²⁰⁴ F.H. Marshall, *Catalogue of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Jewellery*, (1911), no. 2285, fig. 75, pl. 46.

²⁰⁵ J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases*, (1974: 89), fig. 123.2.

²⁰⁶ R.F. Rhodes, *Architecture and Meaning on the Athenian Acropolis*, (1995: 49).

²⁰⁷ Van der Meer, (1995: 124).

²⁰⁸ Only one anepigraphic mirror lacks Turan or her attendants. The mirror, of unknown provenience, shows Uni breastfeeding a standing, beardless Heracles. On the right, a man rests his hand on Uni's left shoulder. Van der Meer, (1995: 128).

²⁰⁹ Van der Meer, (1995: 126).

²¹⁰ Van der Meer, (1995: 125); Bayet, (1926: 150-154); Fiesel, (1936: 130-136); Renard, (1964: 611-618).

Greek.²¹¹ Just as Etruscan representations of the Birth of Dionysus and the Birth of Minerva emphasize childbirth rather than the origin of the god, suckling scenes with Heracles focus on the aspect of breastfeeding rather than Heracles' acceptance as an Olympian, as is common in Greek art.²¹² When Turan or one of her circle is present, Uni is shown as a nurturing mother. This maternal relationship is clearly laid out on a mirror from Volterra (Cat.30) that includes a narrative description: *Eca sren tva ichanic hercle inial clan thra sce*. This is usually translated as either 'this decoration shows how Heracle became (?) son of Uni', or 'this decoration shows how Heracle son of Uni sucked milk'.²¹³ Both versions emphasize the relationship between motherhood and breastfeeding.

The mirror shows Uni seated on a throne supporting her left breast in her right hand as she suckles a bearded Heracle. Aplu is depicted on the far left of the scene holding his laurel branch. A nude Turan stands beside Apollo. Another unnamed female (from the Circle of Turan?) is busy removing Uni's tunic.²¹⁴

An anepigraphic mirror from Tarquinia (Cat. 32) depicts a beardless Heracles being suckled by Uni. An unnamed veiled woman supports Uni under her arms as she lies back in her throne. The pose is reminiscent of the depictions involving the births of Fufluns and Menrva where Thanr and Thalna aid Tinia (cats. 22, 26). Diodorus (a late source) recounts a version of Heracles's apotheosis in which Hera decides to adopt Heracles as her son. The adoption ritual involved Hera lying back on a bed and imitating

²¹¹ Van der Meer, (1995: 124).

²¹² For example, the c. 560 BC Introduction Pediment from the Athenian Akropolis (Archaic Period). Rhodes, (1995: 49).

²¹³ Bonfante, (1975: 204). The meaning of *thra: sce* is uncertain as the words only appear on this inscription. See Van der Meer, (1995:126), for a discussion of the possible interpretations of the inscription.

²¹⁴ Van der Meer, (1995: 128).

a real birth by holding Heracles close to her body and dropping her tunic to the ground (Diodorus 4,39,2-3).

If the late source is related to the depictions on these mirrors then the images of the Apotheosis of Heracles may indicate an adoption ritual involving simulated suckling and childbirth. Bonfante believed the Heracles nursing theme to have had its source in some Etrurian ritual practice.²¹⁵ The presence of Turan, Mean and Thalna in most of these scenes indicate that the ritual probably involved these deities.

Hercle and Baby

Turan and/or her winged attendants appear in scenes of Hercle holding a baby. The significance of these representations has not been adequately resolved, as they do not appear in any known Greek medium.²¹⁶ The most convincing theory suggests that these images follow a myth related by Ptolemaeus Hephaestion in which Euphorion (Epiur), a winged child born from the posthumous marriage of Achilles on Leuke, is accepted by Zeus into Olympia. Zeus desired Euphorion and brought him to Olympia.²¹⁷ The inclusion of Turan and/or her circle in these scenes indicate that they celebrate a birth or in this case, adoption.²¹⁸

Hercle and Epiur are present on five Etruscan mirrors.²¹⁹ The earliest dates to the fifth century and is unique in depicting Epiur as a young man rather than a baby.²²⁰ The

²¹⁵ Bonfante. (1986: 240).

²¹⁶ Van der Meer. (1995: 94).

²¹⁷ Van der Meer. (1995: 96).

²¹⁸ The appearance of Turan and/or one of her Circle on birth scenes can be seen in the *Birth of Fufluns* Cat. 28.

²¹⁹ *LMC* III. 1 s.v. Epiur (E. Mavleev).

²²⁰ Van der Meer. (1995: 95).

rest portray Epiur as a baby although two of them (Cat. 34, 35, 36, fig. 16) give the cherub-like baby an old man's head. The presence of Turan and her attendants (Munuthu, Thalna and Mean) in a scene with a baby indicates some aspect of child rearing that may refer to Hercle claiming Epiur as his son.²²¹

Finally, a mirror from Vulci showing Hercle holding Epiur (*Hercle and Epiur*, Cat. 34) contains a second scene below, namely the reunion of Menle (Menelaos) with Elinai (Cat. 34). Also present are the winged Lasa, who holds an alabastron and perfume stick, and Mean, who is shown placing a crown around Elecsntre's head. The addition of these figures makes this mirror a strong tribute to Turan's power in love, marriage and birth.

Family

Depictions of families taken from the corpus of Greek mythology is popular in Etruscan iconography. The scene of Helen and Turan has already been discussed (Cat. 12) but it is worth pointing out that the inclusion of Helen's infant, Hermione, tucked in snugly beside her mother is surely an Etruscan modification, as are Helen's shoes hanging on the wall. Turan's role in such a depiction appears to be both as a goddess for mothers, explaining the presence of Hermione, and seduction, as shown by the presence of Alexandros.

Hermione appears in an earlier Archaic Etruscan bronze mirror depiction in which she is also snuggled close to Helen, only in this case it is to nurse at Helen's bared breast as an unidentified woman approaches (Turan?).²²² In the fourth century BC, Etruscan

²²¹ Van der Meer. (1995: 95).

²²² *ES* 2. pl. 125.

interest in portraying children in the presence of Turan continues. Dionysus is represented as a child (Cat. 26) in Turan's presence as is Epiur (Cat. 33, 34, 35, 36; fig. 16). An early fourth century Etruscan red-figured cup depicts Pasiphae dangling her child, the baby Minotaur, on her lap.²²³ Such images emphasize Etruscan interest in using Greek myths to show aspects of a tale not usually considered, such as an infant Minotaur or the difficulties of childbirth (even if it was the male head of the pantheon who was in labour). The birth of Helen from the egg is also popular in Etruscan art, and an inscribed mirror from Orvieto (Cat. 39) depicts Turan as a key participant in the scene where Castur (Gr. Kastor) gives the egg to his father Tuntle (Gr. Tyndareos). The scene depicted on the Orvieto mirror (Cat. 39) does not agree with the mythological tradition that has Hermes receiving the egg containing the unhatched Helen from Nemesis who delivers it in turn to Tyndareus.²²⁴ Instead, the mirror turns it into a family matter by having Castur deliver the egg containing his sister over to his father while Turan presides, presumably in her aspect as family goddess. An Etruscan red-figure kylix (cat 38) dating to c. 300 BC is more faithful to the mythological tradition, showing Hermes giving the egg to Tyndareus. In this depiction Turan is conspicuously absent.

Turan's presence on a c. 250 BC bronze mirror with two babies (Cat. 40) indicates that around c. 275 BC she was identified with the rearing of children: another aspect integral to the love cycle of an Etruscan woman. There may be an unknown Etruscan myth behind the scene but that consideration should not lessen the fact that Turan was one of the goddesses with a role in the story.²²⁵ Her identification with babies

²²³ Brendel, (1995: 344).

²²⁴ Myth details taken from *LIMC VI, s.v. Leda (in Etruria)*.

²²⁵ Bonfante, (1986: 239).

completes her cycle as love goddess in the life of a Etruscan woman: from seduction to love, and from marriage to children.

Conclusion

The Etruscans had their own developed religion before they came into contact with the Greeks, based mainly on haruspices and augury. They had their own pantheon, which grew larger with the addition of gods from the Greek world. Many of the roles assigned to the Greek gods overlapped with those of Etruscan deities, resulting in a blending of both attributes and names, hence Tinia/Zeus, Hera/Uni, and Aphrodite/Turan.

A temple dedicated at Gravisca, Tarquinia's port, heralds Aphrodite's earliest appearance into Etruria. The same temple grounds were used by the Phoenicians as a sanctuary to Astarte for over eighty years prior to the arrival of the Greeks. Both people sacrificed to their respective goddess in her role as the protectress of sailors. The Etruscans, in turn, dedicated the temple to Turan-Aphrodite.

The blending of the iconographical attributes of Turan and Aphrodite continued in Etruria as the Etruscans grew more familiar with Greek mythology. By the fourth century BC, Turan/Aphrodite's role as a goddess of love, matrimony, and sexual relations began to be consistently expressed in artistic representations. Her importance to the world of women is evident in her frequent appearance on mirror and cista engravings. Scenes of Greek mythology in which Aphrodite plays a major role are often chosen for mirror engravings, such as the Judgment of Paris and her love affair with Adonis. Greek myths involving birth (as in the birth of Athena) and nursing (as in the apotheosis of Heracles), in which Aphrodite normally plays a minor role or is absent altogether, are frequently represented on Etruscan mirrors with Turan and/or her attendants having integral roles in the theme.

The examination of Turan and her attendants brings out the ambivalence that defines Etruscan representations of divine and supernatural beings. The border between Etruscan and Greek is difficult to delineate when a Greek deity is blended with an Etruscan god, as occurred with Aphrodite and Turan. All depictions of Turan appear after her integration with Aphrodite, making it difficult to understand Turan's role and image before Greek influence. The ever-changing appearance of Turan's attendants emphasize the uncertainty faced by Etruscans when trying to put a face to their own deities. Pallottino summarized it well when he stated: "Their conception of supernatural beings was permeated by a certain vagueness as to number, attributes, sex and appearance".²²⁶ The Greek gods and heroes are usually recognizable as they came equipped with their own iconography, although, as we have seen, they are often shown in roles or participating in scenes that would not be seen in Greece. The depictions of Etruscan gods can be quite inconsistent in their iconography. In the case of Turan's and/or her attendants, they are sometimes clothed often they are nude. They are shown winged and unwinged. The uncertainty even extends to gender, as Thalna, Achvizr, Alpan, Muntuch and Evan, all members of Turan's circle, appear as female in some scenes and male in others.²²⁷

While Turan is the principal goddess in mirror scenes of love, adornment, divination, toilette, marriage, and birth, her attendants are capable of joining in or even replacing Turan in any of these themes, perhaps indicating that they represent aspects of Turan. Alpan occurs in love-toilette- and oracle-scenes.²²⁸ Achviser appears in love, toilette, and bathing scenes and is associated with Turan as far back as the seventh

²²⁶ Pallottino, (1978: 140).

²²⁷ Dumezil, (1996: 683); Pffiffig, (1998: 281-282; 303-304).

²²⁸ *LIVC* I,1 s.v. Alpan. Van der Meer, (1995: 188). G. Colonna, (1993: 133-134).

century BC, judging from an inscription referring to her as *achviser turannuve*.²²⁹

Muntuch is included in toilette and birth scenes (Cat. 15, fig. 8), while Mean frequently appears in birth scenes (Cat.28).²³⁰

Various media are used to depict Greek and Etruscan mythological subject matter, including vases, wall paintings and mirrors. Bronze mirrors represent the best example of the blending of Greek myths and Etruscan religious and ritual customs within the context of the female owners of these objects. The appearance of Turan and/or her attendants on female paraphernalia, such as cistae and mirrors, can be understood as referring to the romantic cycle of a Etruscan woman: romance, passion, love, marriage and birth. Scenes of adornment can be seen as preparation both for meeting a lover as a prelude to a seduction. The theme of the Judgment of Paris can be equated to passion, sex and marriage. Turan and Adonis represent lovers. The birth of Fufluns and Menrva, with members of Turan's circle acting as attendants, are represented as naturalistic birth depictions rather than an awe-evoking introduction to a new, powerful god as it was for the Greeks. The breast-feeding of Heracles, again with Turan and/or her attendants present, is the next stage after birth: nursing, culminating in the exploration of the relationship between mother and son (Cat. 39, 40, figs. 17, 18).

Although the protagonists of narrative scenes depicted on vases, mirrors and cistae were borrowed from or fused with characters from Greek mythology, deities and mythological characters frequently appear who are not identifiable with any Greek god or hero. Sometimes, Etruscan native myths are represented on mirrors and wall paintings, as in the stories of Tages, Tarchon, Cacu and the Vipinas brothers. Even when the myth is

²²⁹ Van der Meer. (1995: 188).

²³⁰ LIMC s.v. Muntuch. De Grummond (1982: 118-119).

Greek, as in the Judgment of Paris (Cat. 1, 2, 3, 4), the Etruscan artists alter the myth by including Etruscan deities, such as Thalna, Achvizr, Alpan, Evan, Mean, Muntuch, Sneath, and Zirna. Their names are known to us through identifying inscriptions. and by examining the scenes portrayed, one can gain insight as to the sphere of influence exerted by Turan within an Etruscan context.

In vase paintings, images of Turan appear occasionally in scenes from the Judgment of Paris and Aphrodite and Atunis as well as in depictions involving the greater Greek pantheon, but on these objects they usually represent but one segment of a diverse array of mythological scenes. When one examines mythological references on objects belonging to women Turan appears on the majority of representations whether they are Etruscan or Greek.

It is on women's products, such as engraved mirrors, that we find the majority of scenes involving Turan. The Etruscan Turan, judging from the hundreds of inscribed bronze mirrors on which she appears, was involved in matrimony, sexual love and female adornment. She blends easily with Aphrodite, and her own attendants begin to figure in representations of the Greek myths, e.g. scenes involving Aphrodite and Adonis, and especially scenes of the Trojan War and the Judgment of Paris. The Etruscans appear to have used Greek themes containing Turan for three basic marriage contexts: the ceremonial, the sexual and the concept of the couple. The Greek storyline was used as a background theme to address these connubial aspects, and the myths that best fit these diverse but integral elements to an Etruscan marriage were inevitably the most popular. Turan and her attendants appear in scenes of Greek mythology, apparently unrelated in a Greek context, but become understandable when an Etruscan interpretation is applied.

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Appendix

Much of the argumentation in this paper rests on the identification of Turan in a number of scenes of Etruscan artwork, particularly Etruscan mirrors. The distribution of scenes involving Turan is largely comprised of instances where she is identified by inscription; however there are a number of instances where she is identified based on her iconographical attributes, or even where she is replaced by one or more of her attendants. Following is a chart resuming these identifications. The headings and the numbers from the catalogue entries have been preserved, for ease of consultation, and only those entries dealing with Etruscan pieces have been included. Additionally, items number 37 and 39, though they are Etruscan, have not been referenced in the chart since they are used to demonstrate the 'typical' Etruscan treatment of the themes of 'Hercle and Baby' and 'Family', and have no depiction of Turan. This chart visually confirms the frequency of Turan's identification by inscription, and also the frequency with which she is replaced by her attendants.

Appendix

	Turan identified by inscription	Turan identified by iconography	Turan replaced by Thalna	Turan replaced by Lasa	Turan replaced by Thanr	Turan replaced by Mean
Judgement of Paris						
4		X				
5	X					
Menle and Elinai						
7	X					
9	X					
Turan and Elinai						
11	X					
12	X					
Turan and Atunis						
13	X					
14	X					
15	X					
16				X		
17			X			
Adornment						
18	X					
19	X					
20	X					
Birth of Menrva and Fufluns						
23			X		X	
24					X	
25			X			
28			X			X
Nursing						
31		X				
32	X					
33		X?				
Hercle and Baby						
34	X					
35	X					
36	X					
38	X					
Family						
40	X					
41	X					

Fig. 1. Judgment of Paris. Cat. 2.



Fig. 2. Judgment of Paris. Cat. 4



Fig. 3. Menelaos and Helen. Cat. 6.



Fig. 4. Menelaos and Helen. Cat. 7.



Fig. 5. Aphrodite and Helen. Cat. 10



Fig. 6. Aphrodite and Helen. Cat. 11.

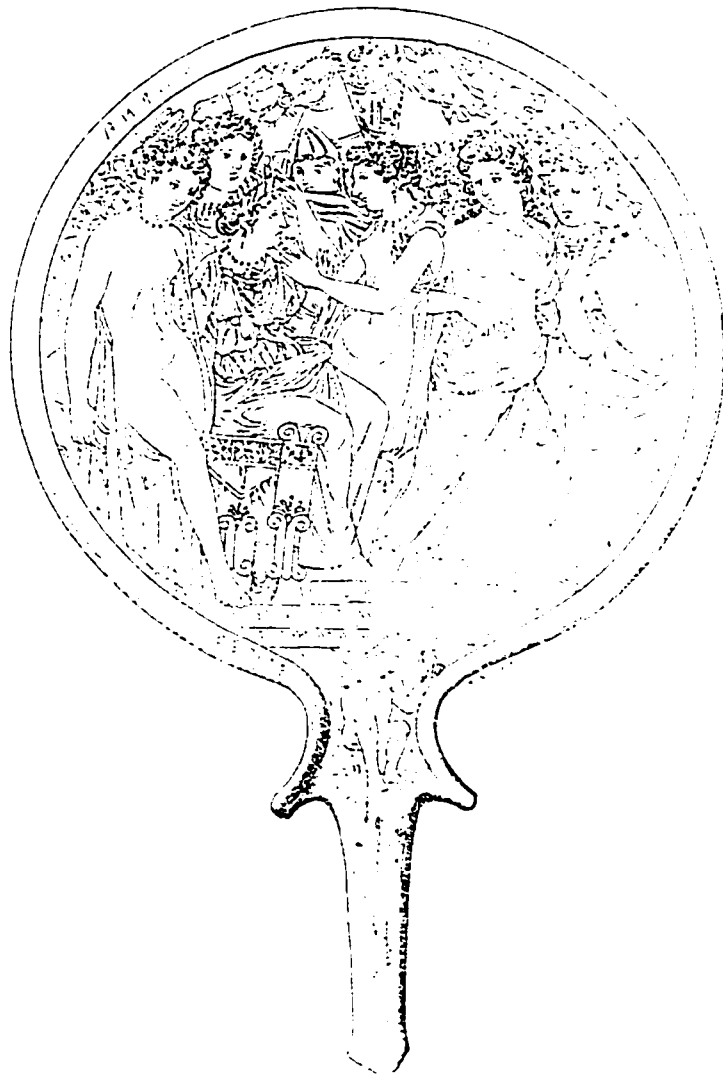


Fig. 7. Aphrodite and Adonis. Cat. 14.

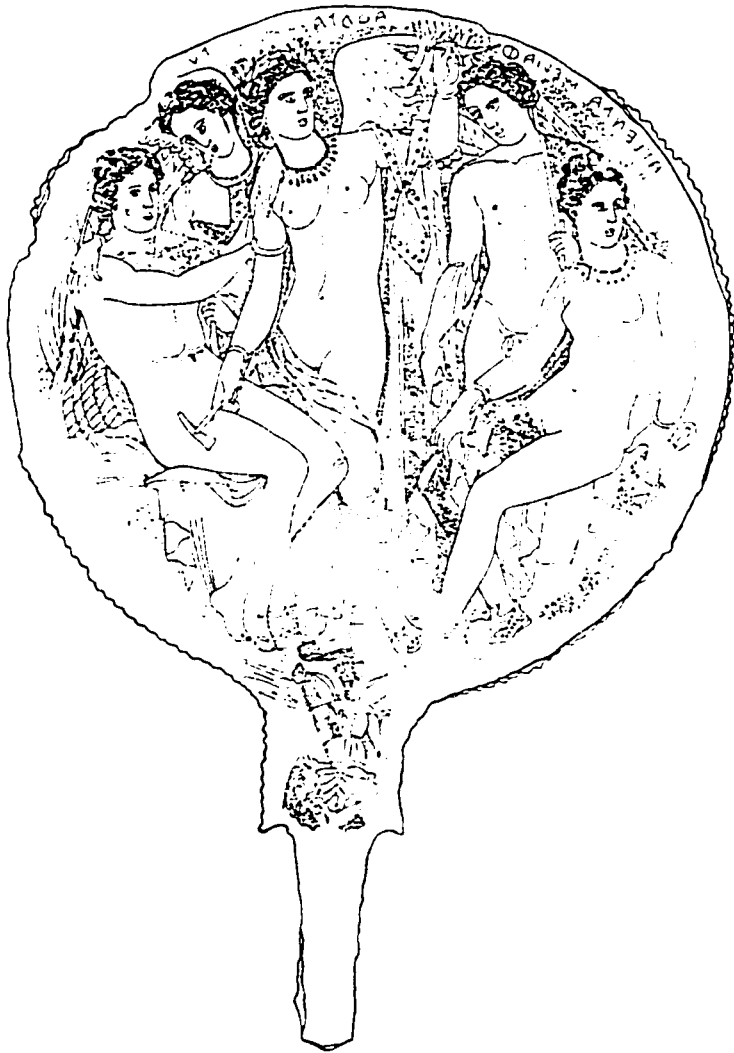


Fig. 8. Aphrodite and Adonis. Cat. 15



Fig. 9. Aphrodite and Adonis. Cat. 16.



Fig. 10. Aphrodite and Adonis. Cat. 17.



Fig. 11. Adornment. Cat. 18



Fig. 12. Adornment. Cat. 20.



Fig. 13. Birth of Menrva Cat 23



Fig. 14. Nursing. Cat. 30.



Fig. 15. Nursing. Cat. 31

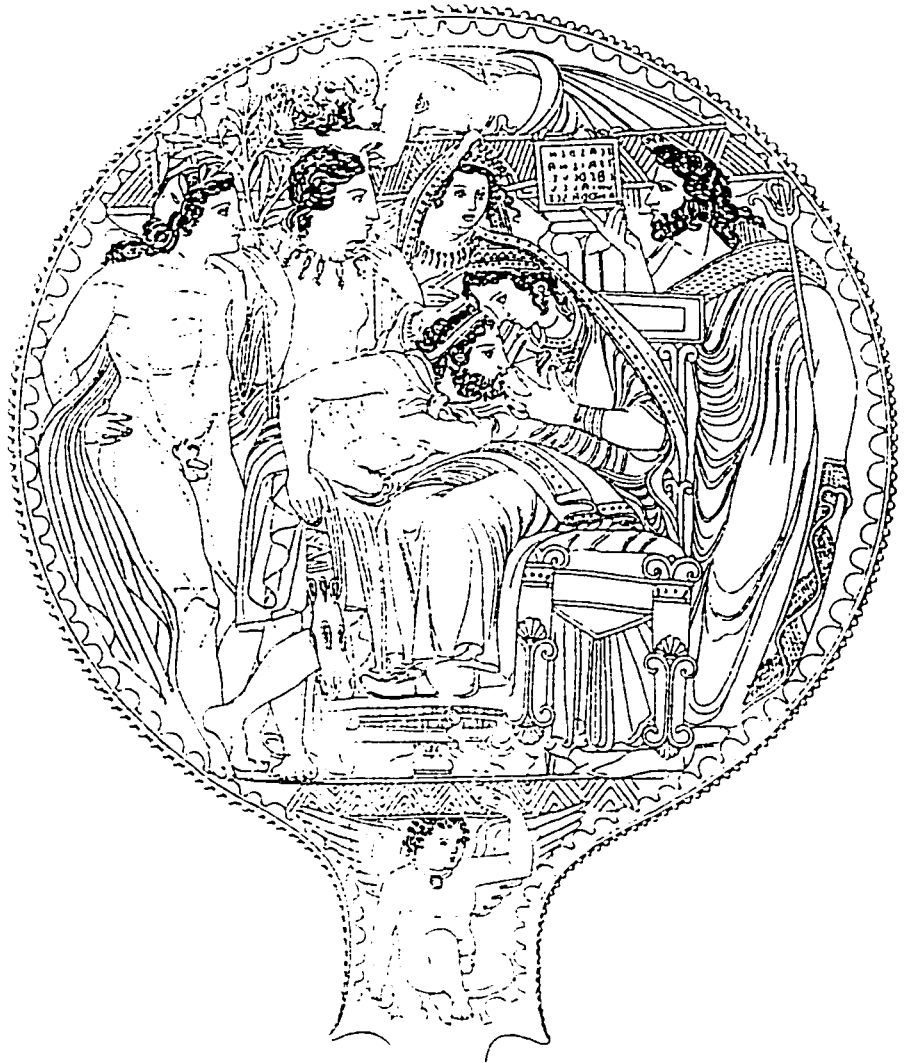


Fig. 16. Hercle and Baby. Cat. 35

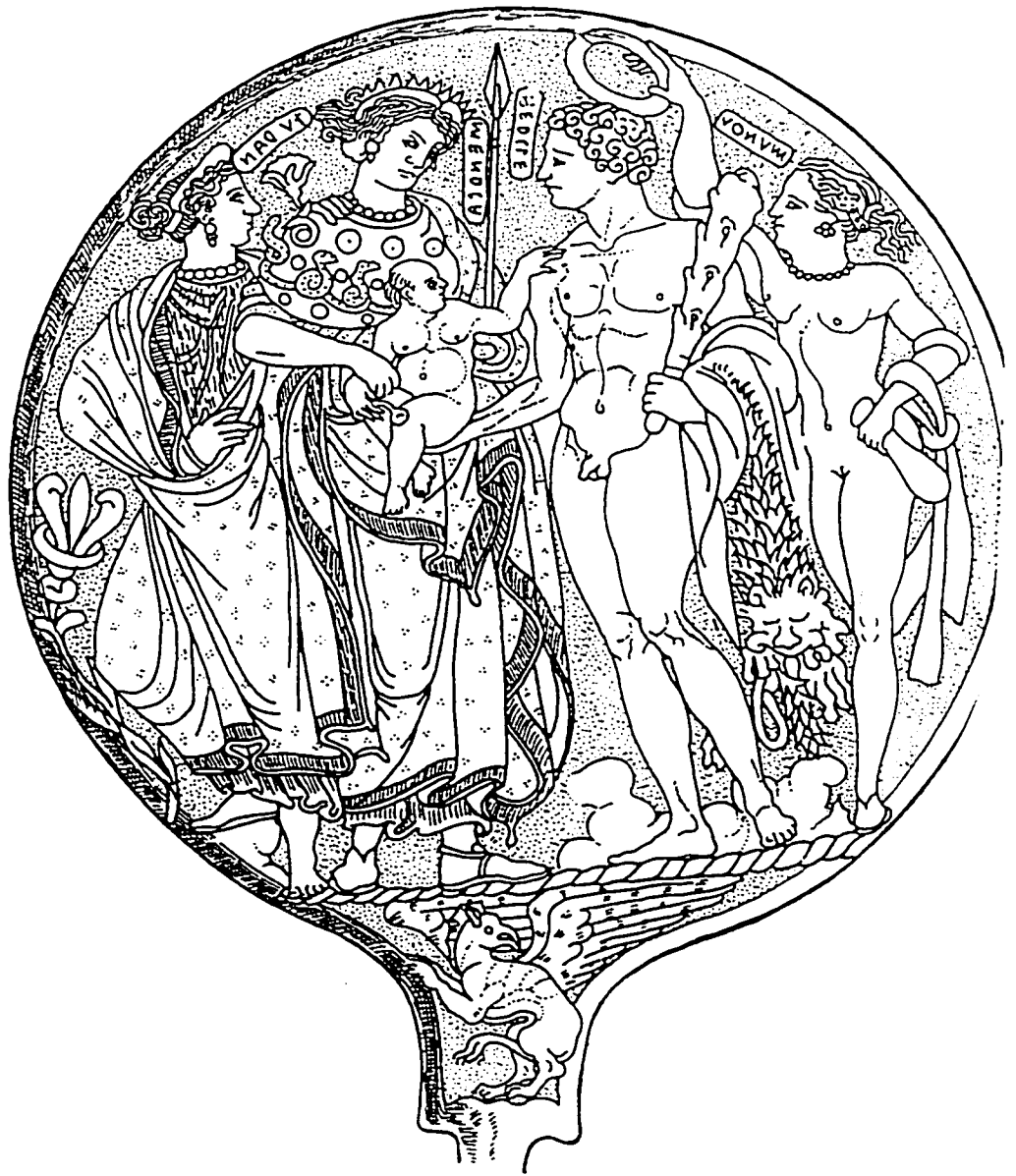


Fig. 17. Family. Cat. 39.

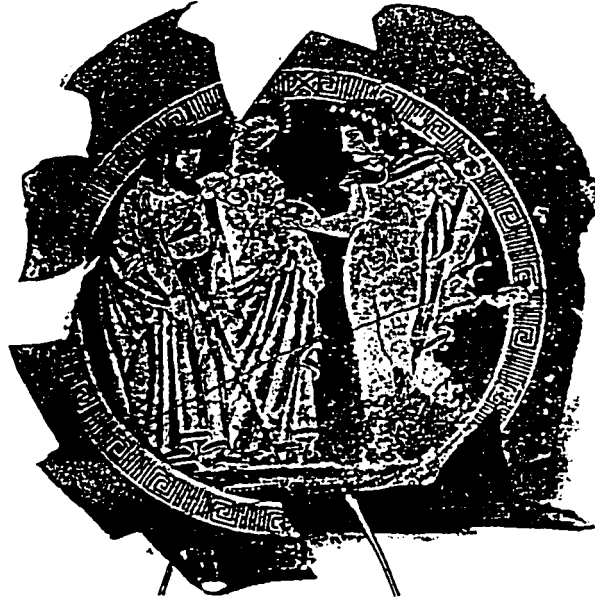


Fig. 18. Family. Cat. 40.

