



FROM ARTEMIS TO DIANA

THE GODDESS OF MAN AND BEAST

12 ACTA HYPERBOREA 2009

From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast

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Cover illustration: A wall tapestry from Egypt depicting Artemis.

Dated to the 5th or beginning of the 6th century AD.

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The Goddess of Man and Beast

Edited by

Tobias Fischer-Hansen and Birte Poulsen

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ARTUMES IN ETRURIA

– THE BORROWED GODDESS

MARJATTA NIELSEN AND ANNETTE RATHJE

The discussion on Etruscan religion and deities (*aiser*)¹ remains very abstract, unless we define time and place. The way the Etruscans dealt with religious matters was praised by ancient authors,² though they cannot have fully understood it. A massive Greek impact is clear especially in the coastal territory, which has led many to believe that the Etruscans were entirely Hellenized. Countless depictions show that Greek myths were, indeed, adopted and well-known to the Etruscans, but not always in complete contexts, and the gods themselves were composed of more complex elements.³ A major characteristic of the Etruscans was that they adopted, rather selectively, not only ‘foreign’ material goods, styles and iconographies, but also ideas, whether belonging to the secular or the sacred world, and adapted them to their own culture.⁴

The Etruscans organised themselves in city-states (**Fig. 1**), each of them with its own specific features. Thus the material culture exhibits considerable differences from South to North, and from the coastal areas to the interior of Etruria. While the Greek impact has always been recognised, too little focus has been given to the Etruscan selection from Greek and especially Attic idioms and iconographic schemes. Here we wish to discuss the extent and limits of the Greek – iconographic and religious – impact on the anthropomorphisation of the Etruscan gods, confined to one, seemingly imported, Greek goddess, Artumes.⁵

Inscriptions with the name of Artumes

Different forms of the name of the goddess *Artumes* appear in inscriptions pertaining to cultic contexts at Veii, Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Gravisca⁶ and Roselle, and also on mirrors from various places; since mirrors were highly portable, the find spot does not necessarily correspond to the production site. The name of the goddess appears first in the coastal cities, but with time at least her images were spread into the inner and northern parts of



Fig. 1 Map of Etruria, with the towns and sites mentioned in the text.

Etruria. *Artumes* is the oldest form of the name handed down to us, but *Artam[e]s* and *Aritimi* are also found.⁷

When discussing the Greek impact on the Etruscan pantheon in general, the oldest borrowings are considered to be Apollo (as the god of oracle and revenge),⁸ Artemis,⁹ and Herakles (**Fig. 2**). It has been argued by most scholars that the goddess *Artumes* represents a clear-cut Greek import,

ARTUMES IN ETRURIA

ETRUSCAN NAME	GREEK NAME	LATIN NAME
Aita	Hades	Pluto
Apulu/Aplu	Apollon	Apollo
Aritimi/Artumes	Artemis	Diana
Cavtha/Catha (Sun)	–	–
Cel (mother earth)	Gaia	Tellus
Culśanś	–	Janus
Fufluns/Pacha	Dionysos	Bacchus
Heracle	Herakles	Hercules
Laran	Ares	Mars
Menerva/Menrva	Athena	Minerva
Nethuns	Poseidon	Neptunus
Phersipnai	Persephone	Proserpina
Selvans	–	Silvanus
Sethlans	Hephaistos	Vulcanus
Śuri	Apollon	Pater Soranus
Thesan	Eos	Aurora
Tinia	Zeus	Juppiter
Tiur/Tivr	Selene	Luna
Turan	Aphrodite	Venus
Turms	Hermes	Mercurius
Uni	Hera	Juno
Usil	Helios	Sol
Vei	Demeter	Ceres
Veltha/Veltune	–	Vertumnus/Vortumnus

Fig. 2. Table with a list of Etruscan gods and deities, and their Greek and Latin equivalents.

while Pfiffig questions the extent of her “Greekness”.¹⁰ The precise name of the importing agent of both Aplu and Artumes has been suggested: Sosstratos from Samos, who dedicated a stone anchor to the Temple of Apollo at Gravisca.¹¹ Ingrid Krauskopf is of the opinion that there was no previous goddess in Etruria whose position could have been taken by Apollo’s sister.¹² However, it is only from the 5th century BC that we can observe and

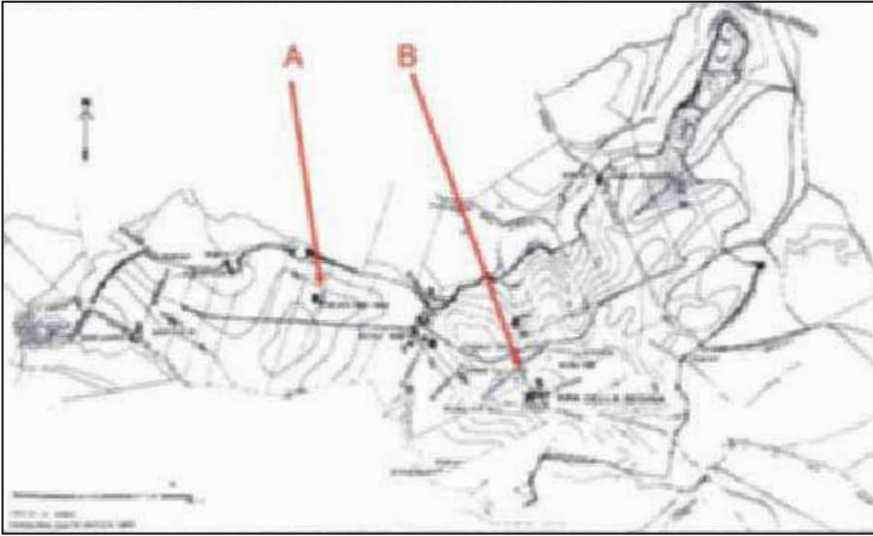


Fig. 3 Map of ancient Tarquinia: A. *Area sacra*; B. The temple of *Ara della Regina* (published by courtesy of G. Bagnasco Gianni).

elucidate divine functions and powers in the images on movable objects such as ceramics and mirrors that were both distributed widely.

Before Artumes

At the beginning of the Iron Age, not to go further back, in most parts of Italy the practice of water cults has been testified.¹³ Since sacred groves and areas in the open air are very difficult to trace archaeologically, only the presence of votive gifts reveals such sacred places. This group of objects is indeed the most tangible evidence of cult, not only in the remote periods of Protohistory, but also during the whole existence of Etruscan culture.¹⁴

At one place, however, we find more substantial evidence for early cult activities. This is in the so-called “Sacred Area” on Pian di Civita in Tarquinia, which is situated at the highest point of a site, which later was to become one of the most important Etruscan cities (**Fig. 3**) and considered the very cradle of Etruscan religion: in the fields near Tarquinia, the child Tages would have revealed the *etrusca disciplina*, which was written down in books (the tradition presupposes the art of writing, which was not yet practised at this early stage). These books concern time and space – the

ARTUMES IN ETRURIA

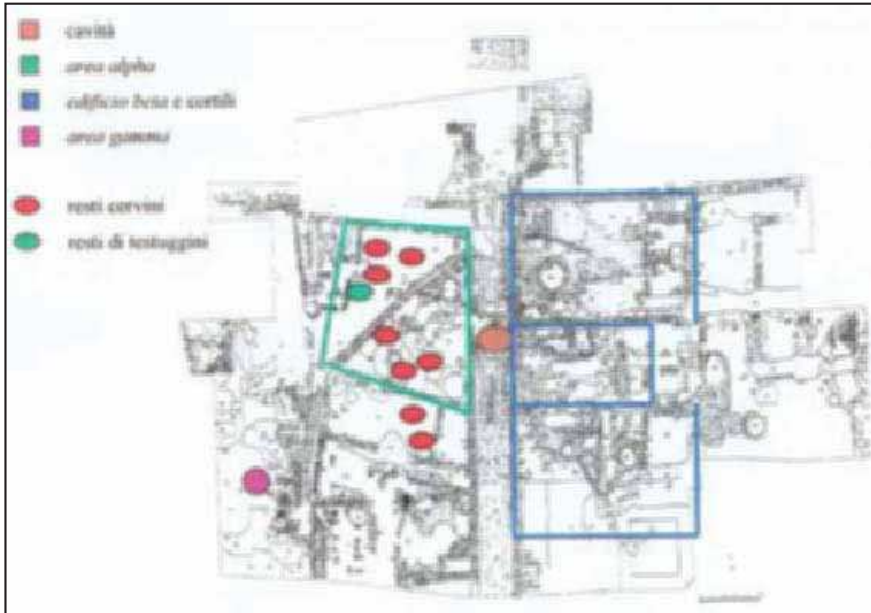


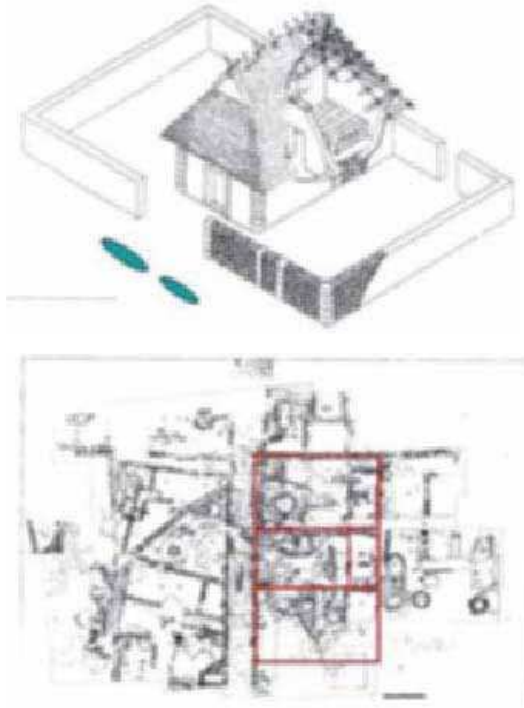
Fig. 4 Tarquinia, *Area sacra* in the 7th century BC (published by courtesy of G. Bagnasco Gianni).

cosmic order of the Etruscans – and the art of divination, which were the foundation of their religion.¹⁵

It is also in this area of Pian di Civita that archaeologists from the University of Milan have documented the very process of the earliest formation of cult. In the Sacred Area (**Fig. 4**) various significant features and structures have been discovered: 1) a cavity together with a foundation trench from the oldest settlement, 2) the so-called area *alpha*, 3) the building *beta*, 4) the area *gamma*. In this sacred area the development of cultic practices can be followed from prehistoric times down to the 5th century BC, when the sanctuary lost its significance.¹⁶

Luckily, modern excavations also deal with palaeobotanic, palaeozoologic and osteologic material, so the director of the excavations, Maria Bonghi Jovino, rightly states that the vegetal and animal sacrifices have served to widen the interpretative horizons considerably.¹⁷ Many remains of deer (*cervus elaphus*) – bones as well as antlers that have been worked – have been found in such stratigraphic contexts, which provide evidence of cult. They were found together with ceramics, ash, and burned earth

Fig. 5 Tarquinia, *Area sacra*, reconstruction of building “Beta” (published by courtesy of G. Bagnasco Gianni).



in all phases of this cult-centre. In addition, remains of tortoise shell have come to light.¹⁸ It is reasonable to suppose that the deity worshipped here must have been female, a mixture of a patron(ess) of animals and a deity of the hunt.

However, votive gifts associated with the cavity, which represents a liminal area between the upper world and the underworld, make us suggest that she had also a chthonic aspect. In the course of the Iron Age, the area was enlarged, and, although the offerings of deer and antlers (worked and not) continue, it was characterised by many finds of loom weights, spools, and other objects pertaining to textile production. The goddess must be seen as a protector of female activities. However, votive sickles made of antlers are also found, and the excavator therefore suggests that the deity worshipped might also be a harvest goddess.

At the time when the structure *beta* was built in the 7th century BC, the eastern area was monumentalised with a complex measuring ca. 15.70×25 m, in which blood sacrifices presumably took place (**Fig. 5**). The structure reflects a Levantine style of building with walls built *a pilliers* and the whole plan of the complex (a central *temple/altar* in a courtyard) seems

related to Near Eastern sacred buildings.¹⁹ This structure is decidedly one of the most important buildings from the Orientalising period.

Now the question is: which deity or deities were worshipped here? In the *alpha* area an inscription with the name of *uni* on a *bucchero* drinking vessel (*kotyle*) from the 7th century BC has been found.²⁰ However, this does not necessarily mean that Uni was the only goddess worshipped in the area. To the Archaic period belong hunting weapons *en miniature*: arrow and javelin heads as well as sling stones. Evidently both the goddess of hunt and the patroness of animals are represented here.²¹ Possibly more goddesses were involved, as the Etruscans often worshipped gods and goddesses in family groups, around one deity. Evidence of such phenomena has been verified at least in Veii, Pyrgi, and Gravisca.

The patroness of animals

Potnia Theron, worshipped all over the Mediterranean area, was fused with Artemis in Greece. In Etruria we find her image on different objects of various materials: gold, bronze, ivory, and the black Etruscan pottery, *bucchero*.²² Good examples of such images on Etruscan ceramics have recently been published from the important site of Murlo, where the *bucchero* pieces come from a dated context, the so-called Lower Building.²³ It seems to have been constructed around the middle of the 7th century BC and destroyed at the very beginning of the 6th century BC.²⁴ Here the mould-made Patroness of the Animals is standing with small birds on her shoulders, while holding two panthers by their forepaws on the inner side of a *kyathos* handle (**Fig. 6**). She is also represented with double wings holding birds and on the top of these representations owls are seen. These *kyathoi* are believed to have been produced in the Chiusine area.²⁵

The origin of this specific decoration has never been discussed, neither has the significance of the presence of the goddess on the inner side of these *bucchero* cups.²⁶ The goddess was also represented on chalices as caryatids. Helle Damgaard Andersen has identified the representations of Potnia Theron (and her many variants) with the Phoenician goddess, Astarte.²⁷ We might ask, whether many goddesses were identified with Potnia Theron. One very suitable candidate for inclusion would be Tanit, who surely might fit in very well also. The Phoenician goddess Tanit, who has been identified with the Ugaritic goddess Anat, has also been identified with Artemis.²⁸

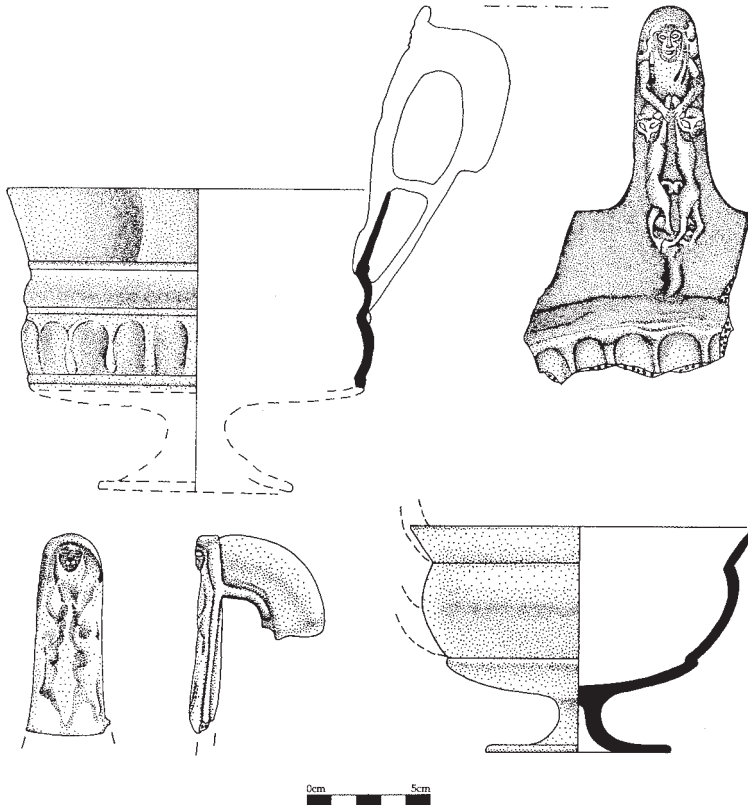


Fig. 6 Bucchero *kyathoi* with *Potnia Theron* from Murlo (Stephanie Gleit Weinstein, *del.* from Birkin 2003, fig. 13).

All this material deserves further study in the future. Although the Phoenician impact on Etruria has now been widely accepted by scholars dealing with the Orientalising period,²⁹ we have to admit that we are still at the beginning when dealing with Etruscan religion (except in the case of the early fifth-century sanctuary of Uni/Astarte at Pyrgi). In fact, we believe that Ingrid Krauskopf is too severe when stating: “im Gegensatz zu Griechenland ist in Etrurien und Mittelitalien keinerlei Verbindung zwischen Artumes und Potnia Theron festzustellen”.³⁰

The suburban Veian sanctuary

At the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii (**Fig. 7**) we have secure evidence for the cult of *Artumes*. The sanctuary was of great importance: the dedicatory

ARTUMES IN ETRURIA

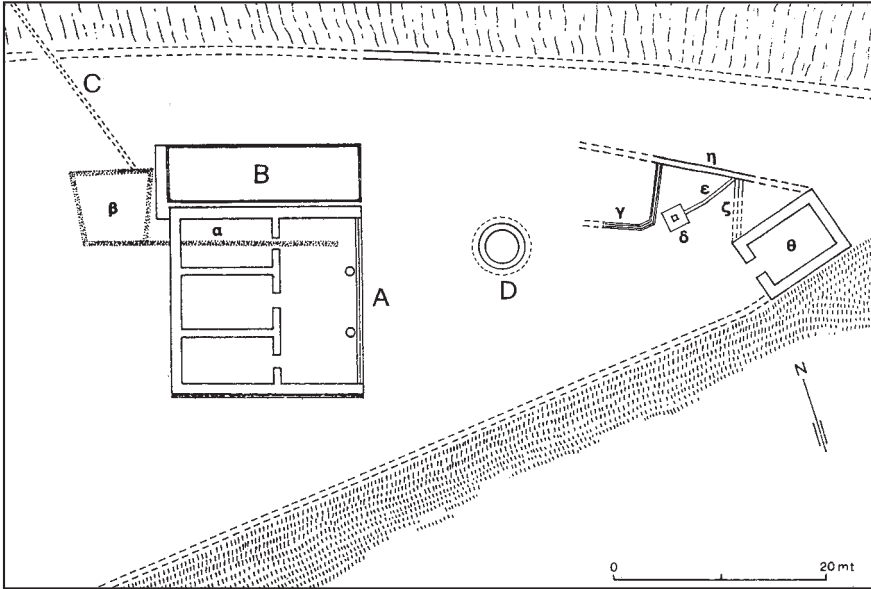


Fig. 7 Veii, the sanctuary of Portonaccio, reconstruction of the plan (published by courtesy of F. Boitani).

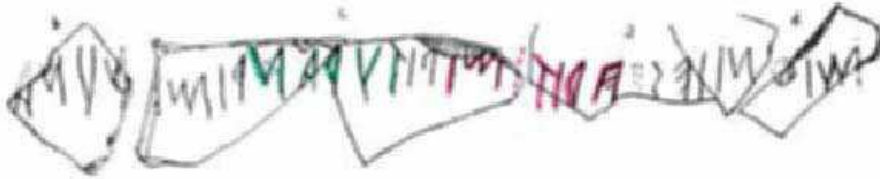
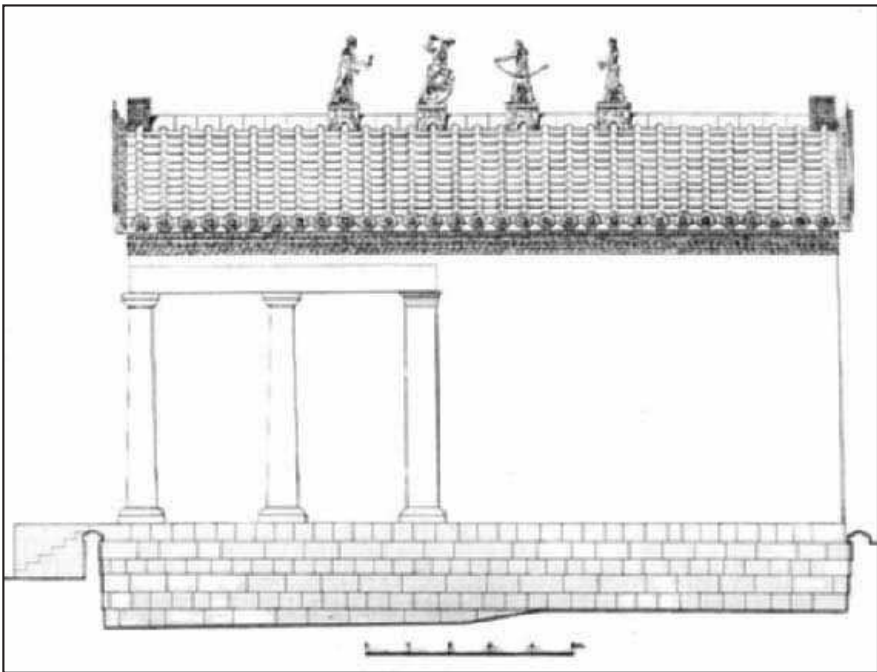


Fig. 8 Veii, the sanctuary of Portonaccio, inscription on bucchero fragments, reading *pi aritimi pi turan pi m[enerva pi?]* (After *Studi Etruschi* 16, 1942, 280, fig. 8).

inscriptions on pottery testify that among the visitors were not only local inhabitants, but also Etruscans from other city-states, as well as members of important families from a wider Middle Italic region.³¹ The sanctuary is situated immediately outside the city-wall, on a terrace with a very marked position in the landscape and connected to water with *cuniculi*, which filled a pool. To a considerable extent we are dealing with a chthonic and oracular cult which goes back to the 7th century BC. The votive inscriptions show that *Menerva* is the main goddess together with *Turan* and *Aritimi* and an otherwise unknown goddess *Venai* (**Fig. 8**).³² These inscriptions belong to the first phase of the sanctuary, when offerings – mostly pottery



Fig. 9 Veii, the sanctuary of Portonaccio, reconstruction of the roof decoration and the restored acroterial statues of Hercle and Aplu (published by courtesy of F. Boitani).



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and personal objects – were placed around an irregular plateau. One of the biggest finds of votive offerings from the Orientalising/Archaic period in Etruria was found connected to the archaic altar and its predecessor.

No inscriptions can enlighten us about the cult deity from the second phase of the sanctuary, but to this phase belongs a statuette representing a hunter, also pointing to the cult of *Artumes*.³³

The third phase of the sanctuary, the temple from the end of 6th century BC, is best known for its splendid terracotta decoration, including several full-scale figures of gods and goddesses that were originally placed on top of the roof (**Fig. 9**). Besides the famous *Apollo/Aplu*,³⁴ the figure of *Kourotrophos* was also found, and identified as Apollo's and Artemis' mother, Leto (**Fig. 10**).³⁵ Twelve of the figures are believed to have decorated the roof ridge, and eight were placed along the slanting gables.³⁶ No representation of *Minerva/Menerva* has been identified, whereas *Heracles/*



Fig. 10 Veii, the sanctuary of Portonaccio, *Kourotrophos* acroterion. Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia (published by courtesy of F. Boitani).



Fig. 11 The foundations of the temple, *Ara della Regina*, on Pian di Civita, Tarquinia. The largest building phase from the early 4th century BC (photo M. Nielsen).

Hercle and Apollo/Aplu have been identified twice: apart from the above-mentioned free-standing figure, Apollo is also seen as a child in Leto's arms, whereas Heracles is seen both fighting the Kerynian Hind and the Lernaean Hydra. This would imply that different episodes of the myth were depicted to form one narrative, which is quite common in Etruscan art. Since Heracles is seen fighting the hind, it would perhaps not be too daring to suggest that *Artumes* would also be present, although she has not yet been identified – just as we have not found any traces of a *Menerva*. We may ask why the *Kourotrophos* absolutely has to be identified with Leto. Perhaps she might be *Artumes* instead.³⁷ At any rate, it is important to stress that this sanctuary was linked to the *rites de passage* of girls, since the votive offerings refer to fertility, childbirth, and health.³⁸

The evidence presented so far has been rather circumstantial. We are dealing with hints rather than hard facts, and this will continue to be the case in the following. During the last five centuries BC, *Artumes* was obviously not one of the most prominent cult deities, and yet she turns up on several sites, and not only in strictly Hellenised forms.



Fig. 12 The winged horses from the temple *Ara della Regina*, early 4th century BC. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 2726.

“Ara della Regina” at Tarquinia: The “Temple of the Winged Horses” – and that of Deer?

We may start the search by returning to Tarquinia. On the highest point of Pian della Regina, the eastern part of the city plateau (**Fig. 3**), are the imposing remains of the largest temple building known from Etruria, called “Ara della Regina” (**Fig. 11**). The podium from the most active building phase, from the early 4th century BC, measures 34×77 meters.³⁹ The ruins of the stone foundations, which have always been partly visible, were so monumental that they were regarded as vestiges of a huge funerary monument, a pyramid, or of a city wall.⁴⁰ When still intact, the temple must have been visible from a long distance, even from the sea.

Part of the architectural decoration, of the late-Classical building phase, are the famous winged horses of terracotta, of about two thirds natural size, unearthed in 1938 (**Fig. 12**).⁴¹ Mauro Cristofani has proposed that two

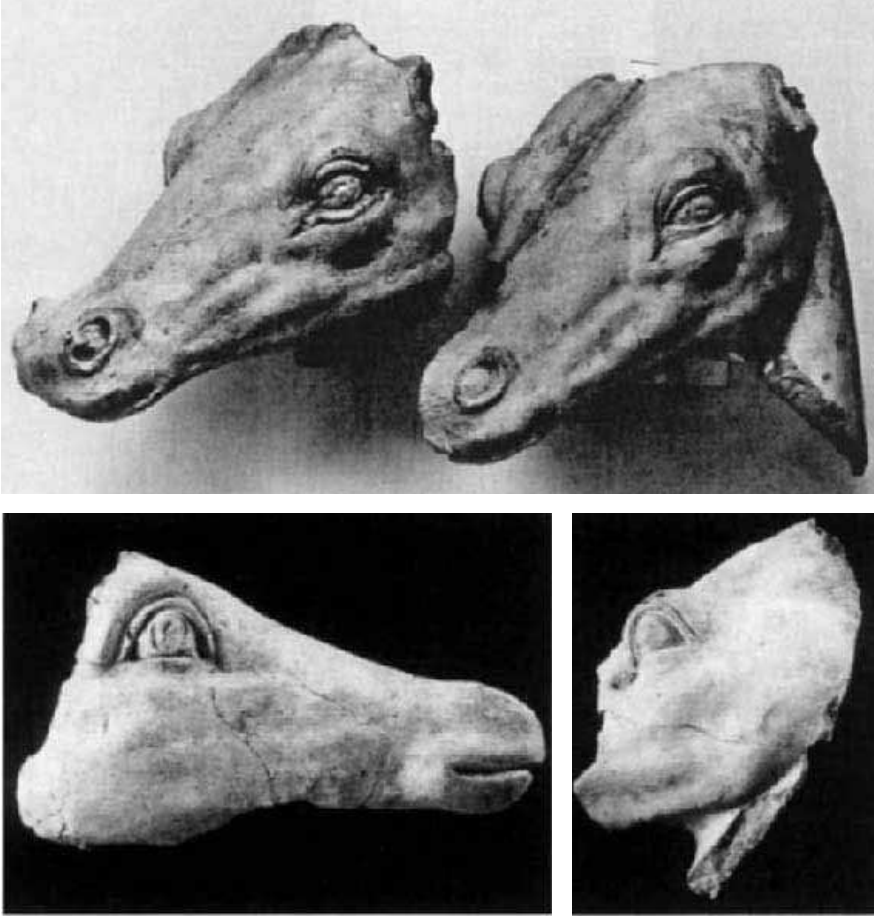


Fig. 13 Terracotta deer heads probably from the *Ara della Regina* area in Tarquinia from the first excavations in 1829-1830. A-B: August Kestner Museum in Hannover; C-D: Martin von Wagner Museum in Würzburg (after Cristofani 2001, vol. 2, 816).

pairs of terracotta deer heads might also come from there, namely one pair kept in the Martin von Wagner Museum in Würzburg, and another pair in the August Kestner Museum in Hannover (**Fig. 13**).⁴² Their find spots are unknown, but it may not be pure coincidence that August Kestner was excavating at Tarquinia (in the necropolis of Monterozzi) in 1829-30, during the very years when the first excavations on the site of *Ara della Regina* took place. Also Martin von Wagner was collecting Etruscan antiquities in these years; his membership of the *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*

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Fig. 14 The skirt and feet of a demurely clad female figure of terracotta, probably Artumes riding sideways on deer. From the architectural decoration of the *Ara della Regina*, Tarquinia. Early 4th cent. BC (after *Tarquinia etrusca* 2001, 70, fig. 74).

was announced in the same volume of *Bollettino dell'Instituto*, where we can read about the excavations of “the pyramid”.⁴³

All these four deer heads were made in the same mould. While the bodies were probably attached to the background slab, the heads were executed in the round, and furnished with holes for inserting metal antlers. The fabric of the clay, the dimensions and the technique correspond to those of the winged horses, which still retain some of the raking background slab.⁴⁴

Also belonging to the architectural decorations of the temple, found in later excavations, are the legs of a female figure, wearing a long, tight, star-patterned skirt with flame-patterned hem (**Fig. 14**). Mauro Cristofani has proposed that we might be dealing with the figure of Artumes, riding on a pair of deer,⁴⁵ represented in the same manner as on a mirror engraving from Orvieto (**Fig. 15**).⁴⁶ The winged horses would have belonged to her brother, Aplu, the principal god of the sanctuary.

More substantial evidence for Artumes being at least one of the deities venerated in the sanctuary, is provided by a bronze arrow-head coated with

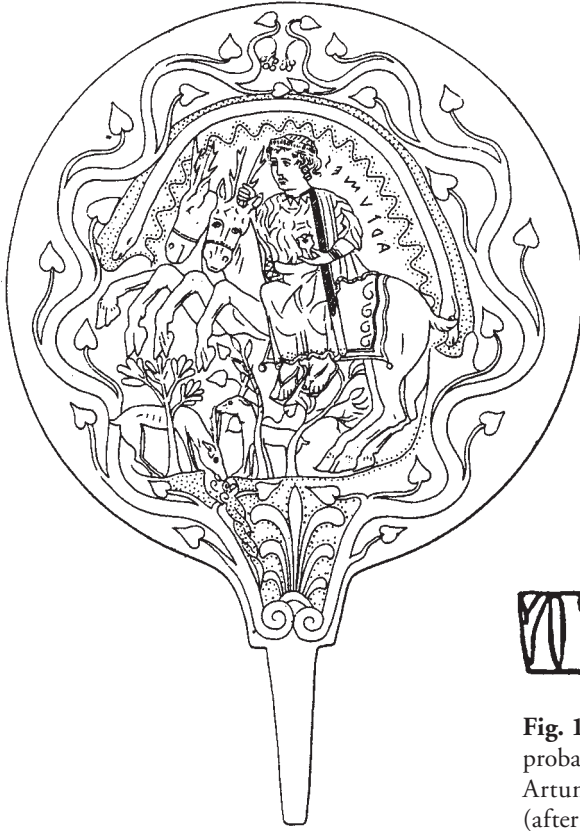


Fig. 15 A mirror engraving from Orvieto, with Artumes riding on a pair of deer. Late 4th century BC. Providence, Rhode-Island School of Design, inv. 25.071 (after *ES V*, pl. 10).



Fig. 16 A fragmentary bronze staff, probably a *sors*, with the inscription Artum[es], from *Ara della Regina* (after Maggiani 1994, pl. 17a).

gold sheet, and especially by a bronze staff with the inscription “Artum[es]”, found there (**Fig. 16**).⁴⁷ Adriano Maggiani has identified the bronze staff as part of a “*sors*”, used in the practice of divination: Artumes as part in her brother’s oracles. While Aplu has been recognised as the principal deity venerated in the temple as far back as the Archaic period, the fourth-century enlargement and monumentalisation of the temple has also been linked to Tarquinia’s own foundation myth, the founding father, Tarchon, who received the revelations of *etrusca disciplina* from the *puer senex*, Tages. In fact, when enlarging the temple, its orientation was changed, following that of a stone sarcophagus under the foundations. The empty chest has been interpreted as a cenotaph commemorating Tarchon.⁴⁸ In that case, the cults of Aplu and Artumes would have been integrated in the Etruscan art of divination.

Dating from the fourth to the first centuries BC a wealth of votive gifts have been found, whose main purpose was to secure health and fertility for the worshippers: numerous terracotta heads (male, female, and children), models of swaddled babies, or those of wombs, genitals, breasts, hearts, and feet, and so forth.⁴⁹ Regrettably, no names of deities appear on these gifts: the only inscription says that a certain Vel Tipples wanted a better knee.⁵⁰

However, a first-century CE dedication, written in Latin on a cylindrical base, is addressed to *Iustitia Augusta*. Might it be possible that this Goddess of Justice had her predecessor in the Etruscan Artumes, among whose Hellenised properties were wrath and revenge, and perhaps, thereby, also Justice? When discussing the nature of this goddess and her possible predecessor, Mario Torelli recollected Livy's account (7.18.3) of the sacrifice of 307 Roman captives in the forum of Tarquinia in 358 BC.⁵¹ Mauro Cristofani has concluded that the nature of the sanctuary and the cult practised at the "Ara della Regina" would appear closer to that of the Aventine Diana in Rome, than that of the Latio Diana, not to mention the Greek Artemis. The Aventine Diana was considered by ancient authors as based on the model of the Ephesian Artemis.⁵² But here, the aspect of divination, Artumes as the companion to Aplu, is also strong.⁵³

Other possible cults of Artumes, with or without Aplu

Discovered in the southern temple terrace at Roselle was a fragmentary, Attic, stemless cup by the Marley Painter, dated to ca. 440-430 BC. The inscription, "Artmsl", on its bottom only shows that Artumes has received a small gift. The two youths painted on the vase were part of the standard repertoire of the period, and do not necessarily give a clue to the nature of the cult, although also epebes were under Artemis' protection.⁵⁴

The tight cultic connection between Artumes and her twin-brother Aplu is illustrated by a votive statuette of bronze (27.20 cm high), from about 375-350 BC (**Fig. 17**).⁵⁵ The statuette shows the almost naked figure of Aplu/Apollo, who is wearing a rich necklace and armlet with typically Etruscan *bullae*, as well as short boots, and a more conventional laurel wreath around his curly head. In spite of his clear identification as Aplu/Apollo, the inscription along his left thigh and leg informs us that "I (am) the statue of Aritimi's *spulare*, Fasti, Rufri's wife, gave (me) on behalf/ because of (her) son". What "*spulare*" means, is not known, but perhaps

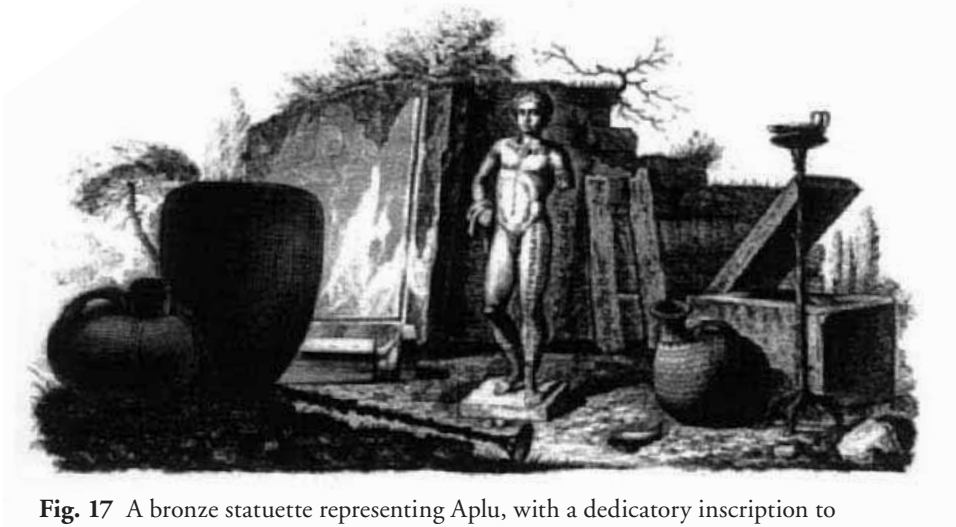


Fig. 17 A bronze statuette representing Aplu, with a dedicatory inscription to Artumes' brother at the centre of the picture. Ca. 350 BC. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, B.B. 101 (after Hamilton 1791, 112/113).

“brother” or “twin-brother” are legitimate guesses; *i.e.*, the gift was to Arimimi's brother. Ingrid Krauskopf regards the style of the statuette as Volsinian, while Giovanni Colonna considers the palaeographic features of the inscription as Chiusine. The dedicator's husband's name, Rufri, is known from the south-Etruscan town Tuscania. Be that as it may, the most probable find spot is the north-Etruscan harbour town Spina in the Po estuary, since the statuette was first mentioned as forming part of the collections kept in the library of the Duke of Ferrara, Alfonso I d'Este (1476-1534).

Unearthed in the Faliscan sanctuary of Apollo at Civita Castellana were the terracotta statues (used as antefixes) of several deities and heroes, including the sun-tanned Apollo and his sister wearing a hunting costume. A terracotta model of the liver of a sacrificial animal, likewise found in the sanctuary, points to *haruspices* being attached to his oracular sanctuary.⁵⁶

Among the abundant votive gifts from Gravisca, there is also one terracotta figure representing Artumes clad in a short chiton, and belonging to the Hellenistic period.⁵⁷

Palms and purification rites: the case of Cerveteri

There are also indications at Cerveteri of Artumes as a cult deity. Found in the votive deposit at Vignaccia were numerous cheap votive gifts in the form of small, relief-like terracotta statuettes, dating from the 4th to the

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Fig. 18 Painted palms and a dedicatory inscription on the walls of an underground nymphaeum in the urban area at Cerveteri, soon after 273 BC (after *Gli Etruschi, Una nuova immagine* 1984, 55, 208).



C GENVCIO CLVSINO PRAI

3rd centuries BC. Many of them show a goddess standing or sitting with a young deer or a kid by her side, and holding a *phiale mesomphalos* in her hand. The young deer seems to be the goddess' attribute rather than a sacrificial animal. Further, she may be flanked by musicians and palms.⁵⁸

There are many variants of these symbolic gifts to the gods, and Artumes may also appear here as a *Kourotrophos*,⁵⁹ or in the company of Aplu, or with female figures, such as their mother Leto, or Eileithyia, the helper at childbirths. With the whole material in view, it seems that several deities were worshipped and that the main function of the cult was to secure health, protection and fertility. Judging from the number of the statuettes, Artemis played a significant role here.⁶⁰

Discovered in the urban area of Cerveteri was an underground room, which is connected to a well through a *cuniculum*. Incised in a niche, flanked by palm trees painted on the wall, is a Latin inscription, “*C. Genucio(s) Clousino(s) prai(tor)*” (**Fig. 18**). Mauro Cristofani has identified the man as the very same C. Genucius Clepsina, who was consul in Rome in 276 and 270 BC, and who was appointed by the Romans to rule as a praetor at Cerveteri, after a conflict with Rome in 273 BC. In spite of

the hostilities, a man with good Etruscan connections was chosen to hold the office: his family name is known both from Cerveteri and from Tarquinia, and his *cognomen* (Clepsina/Clevsina), referring to Chiusi, is also known from Tarquinia and Rome.⁶¹

The underground room seems to have functioned as a nymphaeum, and the palms allude to both Delos and other places related to the story and cult of Artemis and Apollo. The votive terracottas from Vignaccia come into mind. In the cult room, the presence of water and the painted palms may point to purification rites, perhaps as preparation of brides and bridegrooms for their wedding.⁶²

The (Etrusco-)Roman praetor has seemingly taken on the responsibility of founding this “sacred bathing establishment”, but the Vignaccia terracottas suggest that analogous rites were practiced even before: this would mean that the “conqueror” wished to win the acceptance of the local population. The underground establishment would have a long life: on the walls there are many inscriptions from the Roman Imperial period, relating to the spring feast of Rosalia, celebrated in April-May (perhaps continuing Apollo’s and Artemis’ “birthday” on the 6th-7th April). The names given in the Latin inscriptions show that those needing a wash were now boys.⁶³

*From Artumes to Luna and Diana? The spring sanctuaries
in the Chiusine area*

In the last centuries BC, almost all sanctuaries were supposed to bestow healing cures and fertility on the worshippers. In the rituals, water played a very important role. In most parts of Etruria, the subterranean volcanic activity creates geothermic effects, and there is a wealth of springs and fountains with water of varying temperatures, or of sulphuric or other mineral composition. They are still functioning, and have themselves been objects of cult through the ages.⁶⁴

In the Chiusine territory, especially at Chianciano Terme, where healing cures with sulphurous water are still thriving, several spring sanctuaries have been discovered, related to the Sun and especially to the Moon – Apollo’s and Artemis/Diana’s cosmic appearances, or vice versa.⁶⁵

Here, the Moon also plays the role of a cult deity, without assuming an anthropomorphic identity. Discovered halfway between Chiusi and Cetona is a big bronze crescent with a dedicatory inscription: “*Mi Tiiurís Kathuníiašul*”, to be interpreted as “I (am of) the Moon, (that) of the Sun”

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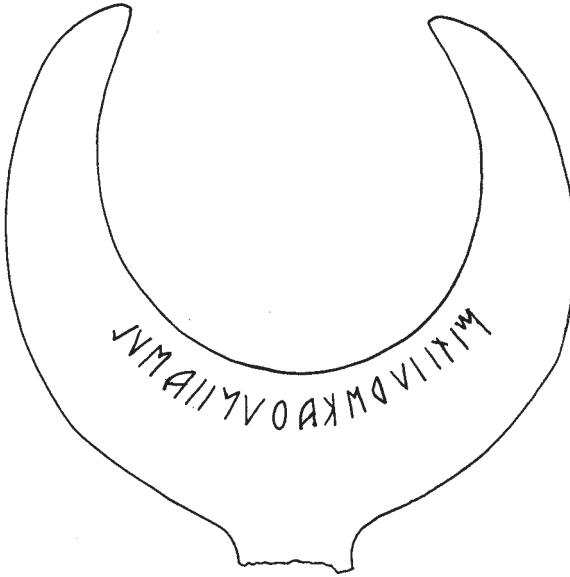


Fig. 19 A bronze crescent with the inscription *mi Tiiur's Kathuniasul*: "I (am of) the Moon, (that) of the Sun). End of 6th century BC. From halfway between Chiusi and Cetona. Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. 11065 (del. M. Nielsen).

(**Fig. 19**).⁶⁶ The double genitive has been interpreted as referring to the lunar deity *Tiur* as the daughter of the solar deity, *Kathuni* (more commonly known as *Cavtha/Catha*), *i.e.*, the Night would be the daughter of the Day. This is also corroborated by some other inscriptions, so *Tiur's* and *Kathuni's* identities as the twins *Aplu* and *Artemis*, both children of *Tin/Zeus* (derived from *tin*, which means "day"), is more tangled than that.⁶⁷ – The palaeography of this inscription points to a date as far back as the 6th-5th centuries BC – the peak of Chiusine power, under the legendary king *Porsenna*.

Also from the same area between Cetona and Chiusi is a stone obelisk, kept since 1622 in the monastery of San Francesco at Città della Pieve. The relief decorations on the obelisk have been interpreted as referring to a solar sanctuary: a boat (of the sun?), the heads of *Helios* and *Thesan* (the latter corresponding to *Aurora*), and a cock (likewise referring to the sunrise).⁶⁸

In second-century Chiusi, the vaulted chamber tomb, "Tomba delle Tassinaiè", was constructed for some members of the family *Tiu*, whose name corresponds to the "moon" in the Etruscan language. Hardly by accident, the wall-paintings show a round shield with a crescent-shaped emblem. Without knowing the meaning of their name, we would probably interpret it as a round window, seen in perspective.⁶⁹



Fig. 20 The Moon goddess riding in a chariot pulled by winged horses. A fragmentary bronze group of natural size. Florence, Museo Archeologico, exhibited in Chianciano Terme, Museo delle Acque (published by courtesy of Giulio Paolucci and Mario Iozzo).

From the Chiusine area there are, however, also representations of more Artemis- and Apollo-like deities, but still combined with lunar and solar aspects. At Chianciano Terme, at the site with the significant toponyms, Acquasanta/Poggio Sillene, a sacred area on a ridge connecting two hills with a hot-water spring have been excavated. The area seems to have been in use from the 6th century BC onwards, but about 300/250 BC a temple was built here.

In the late 19th century it was not only small-sized votive bronze statuettes that were unearthed, but also parts of large bronze statues, which, after many years in the Archaeological Museum in Florence, have been reassembled at the Museo delle Acque at Chianciano (**Fig. 20**).⁷⁰ One group of fragments, of natural size and of Hellenistic date, seem to pertain to a female goddess, who, with a torch in her hand, is steering a chariot pulled by two horses, a biga. All that remains of the chariot is the pole and yoke, of the horses the tails and hooves, and of the goddess herself the bent left arm with flying drapery. Comparisons to analogous groups represented

on vases suggest that both the goddess and the horses were winged. Also belonging to this group is a large, but non-joining and uninscribed bronze crescent. The statue group must have been quite impressive.⁷¹

Where Artumes ends and the Moon goddess or the Latial Diana begins, is impossible to say,⁷² but she is still connected to Aplu: also from the same area are bronze fragments pertaining to a male statue of somewhat over natural size: they comprise the long hair, the right hand, the slightly turned right shoulder, and the left foot. These fragments of the probable figure of Apollo are, however, dated to about 500-450 BC, *i.e.*, to the early phases of the sacred area. The fingers of his hand seem to play a lyre. The posture may correspond to that of Apollo, represented as predicting Orestes' fate, or the analogous figure of the Etruscan soothsayer, Cacū, depicted on several reliefs of Chiusine cinerary urns from the early 2nd century BC.⁷³ Publicly visible works of art have everywhere had a long-term impact on artists. Oracular gods and goddesses appear so often on urn reliefs, made of local alabaster, that we may suppose that soothsayers and spring sanctuaries played an important role in the economy and prestige of influential families living in the area.⁷⁴

Some graves have been discovered at Sillene in the temple terrace. The graves contained bones, human as well as those of oxen and horses, *i.e.*, rituals reminiscent of those of *Rex Nemorensis* or the cult of the Latial Diana, as a deity of forests and of hunting, an astral and lunar goddess active in the night and in the afterlife.⁷⁵ Such similarities may not be surprising, since the Chiusine area has been closely connected to Rome and Latium through the Tiber and its tributaries.

Many other cult sites with springs and sacred caves are situated in the Chiusine area, and the votive gifts testify to peoples' desire for procreation and health. The names of several such caves are associated with milk, as *grotta Lattaia*. In the last centuries BC, the array of archaeological material and the inscriptions were still Etruscan.⁷⁶ The identities of the deities in question are, however, open to speculation – among the many candidates, nothing particular points to Artumes. In the Roman Imperial period, the spring sanctuaries were turned into veritable bathing complexes, for example at Mezzomiglio, Chianciano Terme, where Roman baths and a swimming pool are being excavated.⁷⁷ Cultic purification was replaced by hygiene and hedonism.



Fig. 21 Artumes playing the lyre to her brother Apulu. A mirror from Vulci, ca. 470 BC. Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. 2972 (after *ES III*, pl. 293).

Aspects of Artumes in Etruscan iconography

Iconography may also contribute to throwing light on those aspects and myths regarding Artumes, which were known among the Etruscans. On a Pontic vase she is following Apollo, conventionally armed with her bow.⁷⁸ Surprisingly, on a mirror from Vulci, we see her playing the lyre for Apulu, the real authority in music (**Fig. 21**).⁷⁹ Two red-figure stamnoi of the Funnel Group (ca. 350-300 BC), regrettably of unknown provenance, show an Artemis-like huntress in Oriental costume, combined with deer, fish, trees and birds, and perhaps with mud smeared on faces for camouflage. This might point to enigmatic cult practises with parallels in the Greek world.⁸⁰

Here we will leave aside representations which cannot be attached to specific places,⁸¹ and instead take up figured scenes, in which Artumes appears in temple gables, or in reliefs on cinerary urns or sarcophagi. The gables were publicly visible, whereas the funerary monuments were hidden in chamber-tombs under the earth, but they can be connected to single

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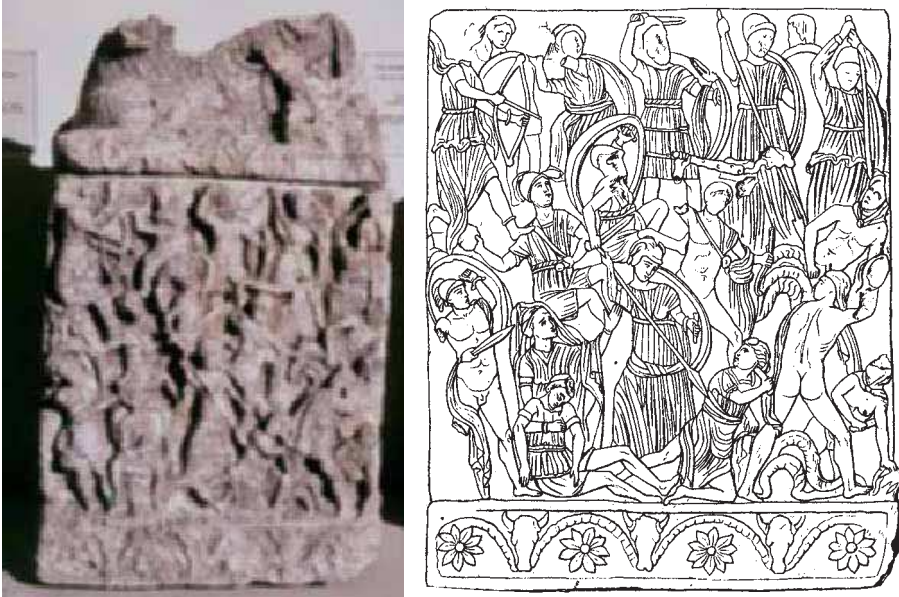


Fig. 22 The Olympian gods fighting the Giants. Artumes with her bow is seen in the left upper corner. Cinerary urn of travertine, early/mid 1st century BC. Perugia (A. Photo M. Nielsen; B. Brunn and Körte II:1, 1890, pl. 1:1).

sites, individuals, or families. The material is very abundant indeed,⁸² so we will only mention a few examples.

In a brilliantly executed terracotta pediment, Artumes appears in the Olympian gods' battle against the Giants,⁸³ as she does on a Perusine cinerary urn of poor workmanship (**Fig. 22**).⁸⁴ Together with Apollo, she kills the Niobids, because their mother had insulted Leto by boasting about the number of her children. This motif appears both on an Etruscan sarcophagus from about 300 BC, where both gods are winged (**Fig. 23**),⁸⁵ and on the mid-second-century gable at Luni.⁸⁶

As an avenging goddess Artemis forces Actaion's dogs to kill their master, because he had seen her naked (**Fig. 24**).⁸⁷ We can see that – as happened in the Greek world – her previously demure clothing was in the Hellenistic age changed into a short hunting skirt and boots, very much like the ones worn by Vanth, the Etruscans' female goddess of death.⁸⁸ In fact, sometimes she is shown almost naked, so Actaion could hardly avoid seeing too much of her.

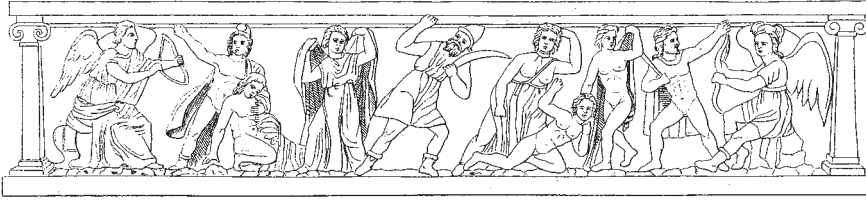


Fig. 23 A sarcophagus with the winged figures of Artumes and Aplu killing the Niobids. From Tuscania, ca. 300 BC. The lid in Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 75962, the chest in the Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. 14947 (A. after Stark 1863, pl. 9:2; B. Photo M. Nielsen).

As a whole, she is a very useful assistant to her brother. She – or Artumes-like Furies or priestesses – defend his sanctuary at Delphi from the plundering Gauls, while Apollo himself is not even present. Also this, “historical” motif appears both on urns and on the Civitalba gable.⁸⁹

At Perugia, “The Sacrifice of Iphigenia in Aulis” was the most popular among all Greek mythological subjects on cinerary urns. We see Iphigenia being carried by Odysseus and Diomedes almost like a log to the altar, for Agamemnon to immolate her. In the background, Artemis is waiting with a deer in her arms, ready to rescue Iphigenia by substituting a deer for her (**Fig. 25**).⁹⁰ The popularity of the motif suggests that Artemis was understood as a rescuing, redeeming goddess, protector at the last *rite de*



Fig. 24 The death of Actaion. Cinerary urn of alabaster, ca. 100 BC. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 356 (photo M. Nielsen).

passage, from life to death, again very much like the Etruscan Vanth. As a *Kourotrophos*, she also rescues Esia (Ariatha/Ariadne), thus securing her immortality, on a Praenestine mirror, on which also Menerva and Fuflunus (Dionysos) are present.⁹¹

But, perhaps we also have a scene where Artumes is depicted in her opposite role, as the one who had the right to decide on capital punishment. On some Volterran urn reliefs from the early first century BC human sacrifices are shown as historical scenes, without the presence of any demons or deities. However, there is one relief, and a fragment of another, where a divinity is present at a human sacrifice or assassination in a sacred grove (**Fig. 26**).⁹² The victim, a naked man, has fallen down by the altar, killed by the person holding a sword or knife, seen to the left. Three persons (two men and a woman?), holding ritual vessels in their hands, look horrified to the right. A female figure, probably a priestess, seems to explain the situation with her eloquent gestures: while touching the murder weapon



Fig. 25 The sacrifice of Iphigenia. Cinerary urn of travertine, early/mid 1st century BC. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, inv. 236 (photo M. Nielsen).

with her right hand, she is pointing with her left hand towards a winged, long-gowned deity, who is calmly sitting on the tree branch above, with a book-scroll in her hand. She might be Vanth, but perhaps the palm-like tree to the left rather identifies her as Artumes, who has decided upon the victim's death. The second, fragmentary urn,⁹³ only preserved the right half of the scene: the same three persons to the right, with the same ritual vessels, and the fallen man: but here the deity is significantly sitting on the victim's back. Perhaps the Volterrans had recourse to the age-old practice of ritual sacrifices of prisoners in the turbulent years of the Sullan siege in 82-80/79 BC, or they recalled similar propitiatory rites of earlier times, such as the immolation of Roman prisoners in the forum of Tarquinii, referred to above.

The changing roles of the Etruscan Artumes

When summing up Artumes' roles and her adoption in Etruria, we may, by and large, state that many aspects and stories regarding the Greek Artemis were well known, understood, and respected in Etruria, but that she also

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Fig. 26 A human sacrifice in a sacred grove with palms; perhaps it is Artumes, assimilated with Vanth, who is sitting on the tree branch and implacably judging over life and death. Relief of a cinerary urn of alabaster, ca. 80-60 BC. Volterra, the Museo Guarnacci, inv. 199 (after Inghirami 1823, vol. 1:2, pl. 78).

had properties transmitted from other regions, as well as deep, local roots – with tangled interrelations.

Several mirror engravings seem to contradict the Etruscan familiarity with Greek myths, and instead corroborate the common opinion that the Etruscans had only a vague notion of Greek culture, and were not at all able to read or depict Greek images. There have, indeed, been many over-stressed or under-educated mirror engravers in the late, mass-producing phase of bronze mirror workshops. For instance, on a mirror in the National Museum in Copenhagen, a naked youth is labelled “Artumes” (**Fig. 27**).⁹⁴ The mirror belongs to the so-called “Spiky Garland Group” from about 300 BC, in which there are often errors in the provision of names for the figures, especially in “conversation” scenes without narrative content. Here, the scene undoubtedly represents Paris and Helen flanked by the Dioscuri, but they have been labelled Aplu, Artumes, Malavis (the beautiful Helen), and Hercle. The mirror, reported to come from Tarquinia, was sold to the museum in 1883 by the antiquity dealer Pasinati, who (with the even more notorious Francesco Martinetti) had been responsible for the faked engravings on the lid of “Cista Pasinati”, acquired by the Brit-



Fig. 27 Mirror engraving with the inscription “Artumes” designating the youth, second from the left. The others are labelled Aplu, Malavis and Hercle. Ca. 300 BC. Allegedly from Tarquinia. Copenhagen, the National Museum, Department of Near Eastern, Greek and Roman Antiquities, inv. 2059 (after Salskov Roberts 1981, no. 21).

ish Museum the year after. Therefore, there may be some doubts about the authenticity of the clumsy inscriptions, also because the patina in the area where they were incised was scratched before acquisition.⁹⁵

In a table (**Fig. 28**) we have tried to sum up the main fields of “competence” of Artumes and Artumes-like deities, in a more or less chronological order. Some of the features have old roots, deriving from Pre- and Proto-historic times, before the introduction of writing about 700 BC, or before the various Hellenising waves swept over Etruria. The Etruscans’ contacts with the Phoenicians and the Phocaeans may well have contributed to endowing the goddess with certain Near-Eastern and Micro-Asiatic features. On the other hand, we cannot deny that the Etruscans did adopt her Greek name, her role as Apollo’s sister, and many Greek myths regarding her. In addition, especially in those inland areas which were closely connected with Rome and Latium, she seems to have developed into a genuine Moon goddess with rituals resembling those of Diana Nemorensis, but she was increasingly active in the service of healing, based on water. Yet, she is still venerated together with Apollo, whose oracular gifts were willingly combined with the Etruscan expertise in divination.

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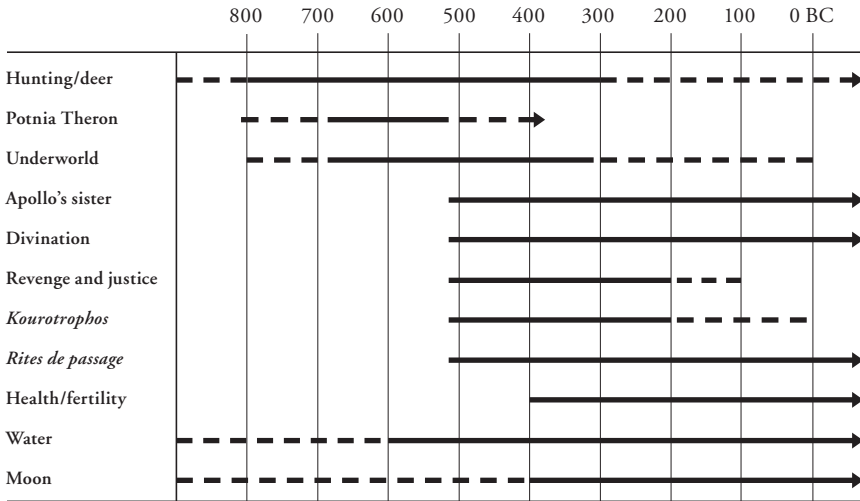


Fig. 28 Table with Artumes' different powers and spheres of influences shown in a roughly chronological order.

Significantly, the names of Artumes and Aplu do not appear among the numerous deities on the Piacenza bronze liver (ca. 100 BC), designed to serve as an *aide-memoire* for an insecure *haruspex*. Here, Hercle is the only theonym of Greek origin.⁹⁶ However, the smooth underside of the liver model is only divided into two halves, one pertaining to the Sun (Usil), the other to the Moon (Tivr).⁹⁷ Perhaps the Etruscans' willingness to buy the whole package of Apollo's and Artemis' identities was mainly due to their solar and lunar characters, familiar and significant to them, also predating the Hellenised phase of their culture.

The early impact of the Latial Diana in the Chiusine area must have furthered the diffusion of her cult in the Roman Imperial period in Etruria, where the worship of Diana was relatively widespread, judging from dedicatory inscriptions.⁹⁸

Indeed, when studying the various appearances of the Etruscan Artumes, we may conclude that she had decidedly not been adopted as a fixed package borrowed from the Greeks. On the contrary, at different places and times, she was constantly being modified, depending on the varying contacts with the outside world. However, Artumes' and Aplu's identities were carefully adapted to fit the cosmic system governing the *disciplina etrusca*.

NOTES

- 1 This glossa is confirmed both by literary sources (e.g. Suet., *Aug.* 97: “*quod aesar [...] Etrusca lingua deus vocatur*”) and by Etruscan texts.
- 2 E.g. Livy 5.1.6: “*Gens itaque ante omnes magis dedita religionibus*”.
- 3 For the religion of the Etruscans and the formation of their pantheon, see e.g. Torelli 1986, esp. 183, 209; Maggiani 1992; Simon 1996 and 1998; *Les Étrusques, les plus religieux* 1997 (esp. Krauskopf 1997, Maggiani 1997a); *Etrusca disciplinal/Culti stranieri* 1998; Pfiffig 1998; Cristofani 2001, vol. 1, 317-334, with further refs. (n. 2); Camporeale 2004, 131-146; Jannot 2005; *The Religion of the Etruscans* 2006; Bonfante & Swaddling 2006, 71-78; de Grummond 2006.
- 4 As to Etruscan adaptations of Greek myths, see latest e.g. Pairault Massa 1992, Massa-Pairault 1996, and 1999; Nielsen 2005; Bonfante & Swaddling 2006 (esp. 9-10); de Grummond 2006.
- 5 The iconographic evidence and the sources, collected by Krauskopf (1984a and 1998), have provided us with a convenient short-cut to much of the material.
- 6 The Tarquinian harbour-town Gravisca has been identified with modern Santa Marinella. The town was characterised by the presence of immigrant artisans, labourers and traders. In the sanctuary of Turan/Aphrodite, votive inscriptions to Hera, Aphrodite, Aretum[es], Demeter, Dioscuroi and Zeus have been found: Johnston & Pandolfini 2000, 17-19; Cristofani 2001, vol. 1, 268-269, fig. 4.
- 7 De Simone 1, 1968, 25-26; vol. 2, 1970, 327-328; Krauskopf 1984a, 774; Jannot 1998, 156; Krauskopf 1998, 179-180, 193 (Pfiffig 1998, 30, 268-269; Cristofani 2001, vol. 1, 265-273, esp. n. 14 (Aretume, Artamis, Artume); Colonna 2005, vol. 1:2, 461-463; vol. 3, 1995-1997.
- 8 E.g. Krauskopf 1984b; Torelli 1986, 183; Maggiani 1997a, 432.
- 9 Cristofani 2001, vol. 1, 332: “*Aritimi, le cui competenze rimangono sostanzialmente sconosciute*”. Pfiffig (1998, 269) assigns her such competencies as Pothia Theron, hunting, *kourotrophos*, protectress of girls and child-births.
- 10 Pfiffig 1998, 30.
- 11 On the dedicatory inscription, e.g. Pfiffig 1998, 252-254; Johnston & Pandolfini 2000, 15-16. For Aplu in Etruria, see e.g. Krauskopf 1984b; Pfiffig 1998, 251-255; Colonna 2005, vol. 1:1, 213-219; vol. 4, 2337-2366.
- 12 Krauskopf 1984a, 774; *ead.* 1998, 178-181.
- 13 Cf. note 63.
- 14 See further below.
- 15 Pfiffig 1998, 36-43 and *passim*; *Etrusca disciplinal/Culti stranieri* 1998; Briquel 1999, 265-268, with references on p. 339.
- 16 Bonghi Jovino 2000; *ead.*, in *Tarquinia etrusca* 2001, 21-29 (a new plan on p. 21). The loss of importance of the “*area sacra*” was undoubtedly due to the growing importance of the temple of “*Ara della Regina*”, on which below. We thank Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni for letting us publish the photos.
- 17 Bonghi Jovino 2005a, 73: “*Ritenendo che affrontare il tema delle offerte dal regno vegetale e dal regno animale nella dimensione del sacro possa allargare gli orizzonti interpretativi*”.
- 18 Cf. a terracotta figure of a tortoise from Portonaccio, Veii: *Veio, Cerveteri, Vulci* 2001, 52; Colonna 2005, 1998-1999, note 45, fig. 12.
- 19 Bonghi Jovino 1992; *eaem* 1999; Ciafaloni 2006.
- 20 Bagnasco Gianni 2005, 96.
- 21 Bonghi Jovino 2002, 35, hints at Artemis.
- 22 Krauskopf 1984a, 776; 1998, 174-176.
- 23 Berkin 2003, 17 fig. 5.
- 24 Berkin 2003, 118-119.
- 25 Berkin 2003, 100-101.
- 26 Valentini 1969, 416, dealing with 136 representations: “*Su una parte del vaso bene in vista e comunque funzionale, alla quale però è difficile stabilire quanta importanza venisse attribuita dal punto di vista iconografico*”.
- 27 Damgaard Andersen 1996.
- 28 Barrelet 1955, 250-1, pl. XXIIIa; Hvidberg-Hansen 1979, 86, 89-95.
- 29 Cf. the contributions in *Der Orient und Etrurien* 2000 and *Principi etruschi* 2000.
- 30 Krauskopf 1984a, 787, and also *eadem* 1998.
- 31 For the sanctuary, see Colonna 2002, 147-149; Michetti 2002; Colonna 2005, 1989-2014.
- 32 *TLE* 45; Cristofani 2001, vol. 1, 330; Colonna 2002; *idem* 2005, 1995-97, fig.10; De Simone 1997, 193-194. The god called *Rath* was also venerated: *ibidem*, 2003.
- 33 Colonna 2002, pl. LIII, no. 593.
- 34 Colonna 2002, 136-143, presents a reconstruction of the excavation. For the statues, cf. also *idem* 154-158. The famous statue of Apollo has been recently restored, with an almost black sun-tan: Boitani 2004. Winter

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- 2005, 248-250, has proposed linking it to the Bacchiads. We thank Francesca Boitani for letting us publish the photos.
- 35 Pallottino 1950, 122.
- 36 Colonna 2001, 41.
- 37 As stated 30th of May 1939 by M. Pallottino: Colonna 2002, 139.
- 38 Colonna 2005, 2000, 2011.
- 39 The excavations of the University of Milan have unearthed earlier, more modest building phases from about 600 BC onwards, attributed to Aplu: Bonghi Jovino 1997, 69-70.
- 40 Manzi & Fossati, in: *BI* 1829, 199; *BI* 1830, 73; *BI* 1833, 74. For the monument, see e.g. Colonna and Cristofani, in: *Santuari d'Etruria* 1985, 51, 70-78; *Etruschi di Tarquinia* 1986, 355-359 (Cataldi), 364-372; Pairault Massa 1992, 101-101; Cataldi 1994; Massa-Pairault 1996, 162-163; Camporeale 2004, pls. 209-210; Colonna 2005, vol. 2:1, 1055, 1143; for the most recent excavation results, e.g. Bonghi Jovino 1997; Bonghi Jovino *et al.*, in: *Tarquinia etrusca* 2001, 45-51, 54-56, 61-67; Cataldi, *ibidem* 69-72 (the late-classical phase, with further refs.); Bonghi Jovino 2005b, 318-322; Colonna 2006, 154-155, 162 (as to the deity, he opts for Artumes).
- 41 Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 2726: Torelli 1975, 21; *Santuari d'Etruria* 1985, 73-74, no. A.1; *Etruschi di Tarquinia* 1986, 359, no. 903; Cristofani 2001, 2, 817, pl. 89:A.
- 42 Cristofani 2001, vol. 2, 813-817.
- 43 *BI* 1830, x, in the membership list of 1829, "Consiglier Kestner" is described as "Archivista dell'Instituto"; xii, von Wagner appears; on 257, Kestner is told to collect, among other things, Etruscan terracottas.
- 44 Cristofani 2001, vol. 2, 813-814, 816, pl. 88: A-D.
- 45 *Santuari d'Etruria* 1985, 73-78, no. A2; *Etruschi di Tarquinia* 1986, 359, no. 904; Cataldi, in: *Tarquinia etrusca* 2001, 70, fig. 74; Cristofani 2001, vol. 2, 814.
- 46 Providence, the Rhode-Island School of Design, inv. 25.071, from the Castellani collection: *ES* V, 16-17, pl. 10; Hoenn 1946, 135, fig. 25; de Simone, 1968, vol. 1, 26 (3); Krauskopf 1984a, 778, Artumes 21; Cristofani 2001, vol. 2, 817, pl. 89:B; *CIE* 10722.
- 47 Krauskopf 1984a, 478, nos. 21-24; *Santuari d'Etruria* 1985, 77, no. 4.4 B; Maggiani 1994, 71, figs. 11, 17b; Krauskopf 1998, 180-182; Cristofani 2001, vol. 1, 269, n. 15; vol. 2, 814. – Also a fragment of an Attic red-figure kylix seems to depict Artemis: *Tarquinia etrusca* 2001, 55, fig. 61.
- 48 F. Chiesa in: *Tarquinia etrusca* 2001, 49; Bonghi Jovino 2005b, 320-321. The Tarchon/Tages connection of the sanctuary was also proposed by Massa-Pairault before the discovery of the sarcophagus: Pairault Massa 1992, 101-102; Massa-Pairault 1999, esp. 536.
- 49 Comella 1982, esp. 221-222. More widely on the phenomenon, see *Depositiv votivi* 2005.
- 50 Comella 1982, 112, 226; *Etruschi* 2000, 490, cat. 308.
- 51 Torelli 1975, 22, 118-131, 150 no. 1; Krauskopf 1998, 182, discards the connection.
- 52 Cristofani 2001, vol. 2, 815. On the complex nature of the Micro-Asiatic goddess, spread to the Western Mediterranean by Phocaeans, see also Colonna 2005 (from 1962), vol. 2:1, 461-463; Pairault 1969, 429-430; Krauskopf 1998, 171-174.
- 53 Aplu with the power of divination was also known as Šuri in Etruria, among others in the Southern Area at Pyrgi: Colonna 2005, vol. 4, 2337-2355.
- 54 Roselle, Museo Archeologico, inv. 25275: E. Mangani, in *REE* 1978, no. 117; Maggiani 1997b, 23, 80, pl. 91; Krauskopf 1998, 180. – For ephebes in the cult of Artemis, see Giuman 1999, 126.
- 55 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, B.B. 101: *mi fletis spulare aritimi fasti rufriis t(u)rcle clen cecha*: de Simone 1968, 1, 25, no. 2; *REE* 1983, 274, no. 181 (Colonna); Adam 1984, 166-167, no. 244; Krauskopf 1984b, 352, Aplu 124, pl. 297; Simon 1984, 154; Cristofani 1985, 206, 284, no. 100; Torelli 1986, 202, fig. 124; Maggiani 1997b, 34, Ferrara 1; Krauskopf 1998, 180-181; Pfiffig 1998, 254-255; Simon 1998, 124, 137 fig. 11; de Grummond 2006, 103, fig. V.34; 247 n. 36 she regards the male statue as evidence for Aritimi being understood here as a male god. Although some ambiguous deities do have different gender identities in Etruria, we do not agree in this case.
- 56 Rome, the Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia, inv. 2678: Krauskopf 1984a, 779, Artumes 28, pl. 584; Melis & Colonna, in: *Santuari d'Etruria* 1985, 86-88. For the Delphic connections of the Faliscan Apollo Soranus in the Faliscan territory, see Mastrocinque 2006.
- 57 Comella 1978, 28, C19; cf. above.
- 58 Nagy 1988; *eadem* 1990; *eadem* 1994, esp. 213-215, with refs.; Krauskopf 1984a, pls. 582, 585; *eadem* 1998, 182-191, 196-204, figs. 5-13; Cristofani 2002; Ducatè-Paarmann 2003, 856 (two identical women with a child; one of them bears the inscription "AR";

- as the cult deities, she suggests Artemis, perhaps Menerva, Herclé and Aplu.
- 59 Nagy 1994, 215 prefers Eos; for the many possibilities, Krauskopf 1998, esp. 186-188. Cf. Ducaté-Paarmann 2003, 856, of the type of two identical women sitting with a child, from a cultic context of Artemis, Menerva, Herclé and Aplu; she is preparing a doctoral thesis on kourotrophic deities in Central and Southern Italy.
- 60 From the male sphere are the warrior figures from the Vignaccia deposit, Maule & Smith 1959; Cristofani & Gregori 1987, 9-11.
- 61 *Etruschi nuova immagine* 1984, 55, 208; Cristofani & Gregori 1987, 4, no. 1; Cristofani 1989, 169, with refs. For another reading, Torelli 2000.
- 62 Cristofani & Gregori 1987, 11, comparing the custom to the sacred law of Cyrene, which stipulates that the bride has to purify herself in an underground room dedicated to Artemis. Also on Attic red-figure vases Artemis may appear as a protector of young girls about to marry. The Vignaccia terracottas also have correspondences in Sicily. – Cf. Livy, 1.45, on the requirement of purifying oneself in a living stream before sacrificing to the Aventine Diana in Rome; Hoenn 1946, 140.
- 63 Cristofani & Gregori 1987, 4-7. – Also another Caeretan spring sanctuary was reconstructed in the Hellenistic period and again reshaped in the Roman Imperial period as ordinary baths, but under the auspices of Hercules: Nardi 2005.
- 64 Aebischer 1932 has collected evidence from dedications written in Latin as well as from later sources, tracing many sites back to Etruscan times; further, Gasperini 1988; Prayon 1990 and 1993; Maggiani 1999 stresses that there is a difference between the role of water in ritual, and the cult of water and springs; Chellini 2002, 40-41 (San Giovenale); *Acqua degli dei* 2003; Nardi 2005, with further refs.; Ciafaloni 2006; Mezzetti 2006.
- 65 Gury 1994, for the literary and iconographic evidence, where Selene/Luna largely overlaps Artemis/Diana. – “Tiu/Tivr” (moon, month) has its counterpart also in “Tin” (day), also related with Tinia, the Etruscan equivalent of Zeus/Jupiter: Cristofani 2001, vol. 1, 322; de Grummond 2006, 133, 171-172.
- 66 Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. 11065: Colonna, in: *Santuari d'Etruria* 1985, 19, no. 1.4; Roncalli, in: *Gens antichissima Italiae* 1988, 78-82, no. 4.5; Rastrelli 1993a, 121, fig. 1, and *eadem*, in discussion, in *Civiltà di Chiusi* 1993, 477, information on the find-spot; Bonamici 2003, 54; de Grummond 2004, 366.; Mezzetti 2004.
- 67 Cf. de Grummond 2004, esp. 359-361, 365; for the relationship of Aplu – Süri and Cavatha, Cristofani 2001, vol. 1, 311-316; Colonna 2005, vol. 3, 2125-2131; de Grummond 2006, 133. – The name of the Latial lunar deity, Losna/Luna (latest de Grummond 2004, 364-365), may have left traces of her name in the Perusine family name Luesna/Lusinia, known from a “women’s tomb” at Casaglia: Nielsen 1999, 101-103, 133-135.
- 68 Roncalli, in: *Gens antichissima Italiae* 1988, 78-82, no. 4.6.
- 69 A. Rastrelli 1985, 120-121; Steingraber 1985, 276, no. 27; Colonna 2005, vol. 2:1, 984, fig. 33.
- 70 Aebischer 1932, 136; Stibbe-Twiest 1977; Paolucci 1988, 39-40, 58-59; Gury 1994, 711, Selene/Luna 57, 714; Maggiani 1999, 188; Rastrelli, in: *Chiusi Etrusca* 2000, 109, fig. 108 (late Archaic Apollo), 112, 169-171, figs. 222-223 (the Hellenistic Moon goddess and horses); Bonamici 2003 (for the whole complex); Mezzetti 2004. For the sanctuary of I Fucoli at Chianciano Terme, Rastrelli 1993a-b. Warm thanks to Giulio Paolucci for providing us with the photo and to Mario Iozzo for the permission to publish it.
- 71 Further evidence for the cult of a lunar deity in the interior might be the bronze and terracotta statuettes with torches and crescent pendants, deriving from the long-lived votive deposit of Colle Arsiccio di Magione in the Perusine territory, in the Umbrian Apennines. They appear in the context of a healing cult, Potnia Theron, Kourotrophos, some chthonic deity and Herclé, but seemingly without the presence of water: Maggiani 2002, 279-281, 283-286.
- 72 Cf. van der Meer 1997, 227.
- 73 Brunn & Körte 1, 1870, pl. 84-85.
- 74 Nielsen 2005, with refs.
- 75 Bonamici 2003, 51, 54-55.
- 76 *Acqua degli dei* 2003, 143-147, 153-164. Some of the caves had been in use from the prehistoric times onwards, but for other purposes, Maggiani 1999, 199; cf. Martinelli and Paolucci 2006, 148 (Paolucci).
- 77 *Archeo*, 14:11, 1998, 16-17, Roman baths reknown in the first century CE, and rebuilt in AD 114; for Rapolano Terme, see Mancianti, Marini and Vilucchi 2005. At Sasso Pisano between the Volterranean and Populonian territories, Anna Maria Esposito has excavated a late-Etruscan bathing establishment, where no hypocausts were needed either, since they

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- are connected with hot, cold and lukewarm springs (which still function); here, a bronze statuette of a Menrva gives the identity of the deity: Maggiani 1999, 189, fig. 1; Esposito, in: *Acqua degli dei* 2003, 141-142; *ead.* 2005. Cf. Nardi 2004, 594, the Caeretan *fons Herculis*, with references to several other cases.
- 78 Krauskopf 1984a, no. 50, pl. 585; *eadem* 1998, 177-178, 194, fig. 1.
- 79 Berlin, Antikensammlungen, Fr. 22, Inv. 2972, from ca. 470; de Simone 1, 1968, 26, no. 2; Krauskopf 1984a, 78, no. 33; Simon 1984, 153; de Grummond 2006, 104-105.
- 80 Schneider-Herrmann 1970; Krauskopf 1984a, no. 18, Taf. 582; *eadem* 1998, 191-192, fig. 14.
- 81 *E.g.* mirror engravings or vase paintings, since the objects were not necessarily produced in the same town, where they were unearthed. For mirrors, see van der Meer 1995, Artemis, Arthem, Artumes in the index.
- 82 Again, much of the evidence has been collected by Krauskopf 1984a and 1998.
- 83 Chicago, The Art Institute, inv. 1984:2, regrettably without provenance: Strazzulla 1991; De Puma 1994, 58-59, no. 38.
- 84 Perugia, Museo Archeologico, from Villa Bordini-Uffreduzzi: Krauskopf 1984a, 785, no. 69.
- 85 From Tuscania: Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 75962/Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. 14947: Stark 1863, 198-202, pl. 9:2; Herbig 1952, 44-45, no. 80, pl. 30; Krauskopf 1984a, 782, no. 52; van der Meer 2004, 53-54. On a mirror from about 350-300 BC from Cerveteri, Artumes and Aplu (as children) are shooting at a serpent (ES IV, 291 A; de Grummond 2006, 105, fig. V.36).
- 86 Florence, Museo Archeologico: Krauskopf 1984a, no. 53.
- 87 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 356: Brunn & Körte vol. 2:1, 1890, pl. 3; Krauskopf 1984a, 784, nos. 66-67.
- 88 Krauskopf 1984a, 788-789, 791.
- 89 Krauskopf 1984a, 785, nos. 70-73, tav. 586; because of the absence of Apollo himself, she excludes the possibility of the scene happening at the Delphic sanctuary.
- 90 Brunn & Körte vol. 1, 1870, pls. 35-47 (with also Volterrann urns); Heurgon 1984; Krauskopf 1984a, 783-784, nos. 62-65; *eadem* 1990; van der Meer 1991; *idem* 1995, 179; Steuernagel 1998, pls. 5-9 (the one shown here, pl. 6:2).
- 91 van der Meer 1995, 51-54, fig. 19.
- 92 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 199: Inghirami 1823 (vol. 1:2), pl. 78; Brunn & Körte 2:2, 1896, 248-249, pl. 114:1.
- 93 Volterra, inv. 496: Brunn & Körte 2:2, 1896, 249, pl. 114:1a.
- 94 Copenhagen, The National Museum, Department of Near Eastern, Greek and Roman Antiquities, inv. 2059: de Simone 1, 1968, 26 no. 8; Salskov Roberts 1981, no. 21; Krauskopf 1984a, 780 no. 45; Krauskopf 1984b, Aplu 123; van der Meer 1995, 232 no. 32; de Grummond 2006, 101, fig. V.32. For Helen's epithet, *Malavisch*, e.g. van der Meer 1995, 201-203.
- 95 The scratches may also be due to a desire to clean the area in order to reveal the inscriptions. For the *Cista Pasinati*, see Robert 1919, 327-332; Bordenache Battaglia 1979, no. 36; Borelli, in: *Les Etrusques* 1992, 396, no. 459, 435-436.
- 96 Maggiani 1982; *idem*, in: *Etruschi una nuova immagine* 1984, 140; Torelli 1986, 209; Maggiani 1997, 432.
- 97 Cf. note 65. The two theonyms of the solar deity, Usil and Catha are not necessarily totally overlapping.
- 98 Taylor 1923, 98 (Nepet), 108 (Sutri), 128 (Fregene), 130 (La Tolfa), 157 (Nortia), 164 (Castello Parrano in the Volsinian territory), 243. Cf. Paribeni 1979, an archaic marble head of Diana from Volterra.

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