CHAPTER V

THE GRAVE AND BEYOND
IN ETRUSCAN RELIGION

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About twenty years ago, Larissa Bonfante remarked that "Etruscan concepts of the Afterworld are not clear."[1] This statement still holds true today, if perhaps to a lesser degree, after many years of further intensive research.[2] One reason for this persisting lack of knowledge is obvious: we know that books about death, the grave, and the Afterlife existed in Etruria; they were known in Roman tradition as *Libri Acheruntici.* But we know almost nothing about their contents, except for one aspect: Servius (quoting Cornelius Labeo) and Arnobius (Appendix B, Source nos. IX.1 and IX.2) reveal that the Etruscans believed that certain animal sacrifices existed that could transform human souls into gods. These gods were known as *dii animales,* because they were transmuted souls and were assumed to be equivalent to the Penates, the elusive ancestral gods of the Roman household.[3]

Obviously, these texts include a good portion of Roman interpretation and cannot be taken at face value for Etruscan ideas of the sixth or fifth centuries BCE. We shall see, however, that these passages are by no means merely random fragments preserved by chance; on the contrary, they hand down to us a central element of Etruscan beliefs about life after death.

Another reason for our lack of knowledge lies in the basic human fact that everything having to do with death, burial, and the grave in general concerns emotional acts and customs. We cannot rationally analyze these acts and customs down to the most minute detail and thus create a logically coherent conception of the Afterlife and of the way to get there. A modern example could make the meaning clearer: almost no one would be able to explain the act of planting flowers on the graves of one's grandparents. Do we really believe that the dead can see the flowers? And why do we plant flowers and not, for instance, an apple tree? Most people would be extremely surprised when asked these questions and would not show the least interest even in looking for an explanation. The reasons they might give, in any case, would be many, in spite of the uniformity of this custom in some countries.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries are, of course, not comparable to the time of the Etruscans. Traditional beliefs have now become a private matter and also somewhat superficial. Today, graves are memorials devoted to remembrance from the viewpoint of the living. For many people, this remembrance obviously has to be bound to a concrete place. Ritual needs of the deceased that have to be satisfied by the living to insure the dead soul's well-being in the hereafter are of no importance in our times. Nonetheless, the other side of the coin—the emotional needs of the mourners—would have been just as strong in antiquity as today.[4] Particularly in this respect, individual embellishments are possible, which—even in the case of strictly canonized rites—would be inexplicable without knowledge of the specific circumstances.

Thus we will never be able to fit every single grave gift or every picture painted on a tomb wall into the framework of a logically consistent and uniform conception of the Underworld and of the transition into that realm. It is not possible to avoid a certain degree of uncertainty in the interpretation of all the material excavations have provided. The simultaneous usage of cremation and inhumation shows that there was obviously leeway for individual preferences in Etruscan

burial practices.[5] At different times and in different places, one or the other method of burial predominates; there are, however, exceptions observable everywhere.

Jean-Réné Jannot has shown that the themes of reliefs on the numerous Archaic urns, as well as on the relatively rare sarcophagi from Clusium (Chiusi) are basically identical and show the same burial rituals and the same concepts of life after death.[6] Much the same could apply for all of the Etruscan cemeteries. In no case can the different methods of burial be interpreted as evidence for divergent beliefs about the hereafter. Even if a synthesis of all those beliefs concerning death, burial, grave, and the netherworld was laid down in the *Libri Acheruntici* (by a time unknown to us, but probably not too early) as a part of the *Etrusca disciplina*,*[7] we are forced to interpret the archaeological sources without the help of texts, since they are not preserved to us. We may assume that the depictions used to decorate urns, sarcophagi, or the walls of the tomb chambers transform at least a part of the ideas held by the artists and their employers into a generally intelligible form. This is actually true, easily understandable particularly in the case of several representations dating to the later epochs, that is to say, to the Late Classical (fourth century BCE) and Hellenistic (third–first centuries BCE) periods, with which we should like to begin. After considering these relatively clear examples, we shall proceed to examine the more problematic earlier Etruscan material.

THE LATE CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC PERIODS

The Way

On the sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei,[8] originating from Chiusi, we see a half-open gate (Fig. v.1). A demoness is shown stepping out of the gateway. Her inscribed name, Culśu,[9] brings her into connection with it: she obviously opens, locks, and guards this gate, which possibly leads to the Realm of the Dead. Beside the gate, a second demoness, Vanth,[10] is waiting. At the opposite end of the relief, a third demoness, whose name is no longer legible, is coercing the deceased in the direction of the gate. Along the way stand a number of people, probably relatives of the deceased, but it remains uncertain whether they belong to the realm of the living or to that of the dead. Both of the persons immediately to the left of Hasti Afunei, and to whom she is apparently saying good-bye, are most probably living. We see, therefore: (1) There is a Realm of the Dead surrounded by walls and a gatekeeper.[11] (2) A journey to the Afterlife, accompanied by demons, begins at the moment of death. Gates

and thresholds are important as passages or places of transition, and they must be guarded. This principle applies not only to the gate to the Realm of the Dead but to the door of the tomb as well, which also had to be guarded by demons, depicted, for instance, near the doors of the Tomb of the Aninas[12] (Fig. v.2) and the Tomb of the Caronti[13] (Figs. v.3 and v.4) at Tarquinii. (3) There are male and female demons who apparently have different functions, which we can only occasionally discover. By means of epithets, for example, the demon Charun can be divided into various beings, each of which probably has particular functions.[14] (4) The journey into the hereafter begins with the rites celebrated at burial among the living. This can be seen most clearly on the Hellenistic urns and sarcophagi that depict a funeral procession similar to the Roman *pompa funebris**; it depicts an event in the world of the living but already accompanied by demons.[15] The procession continues to the frontier where the living have to stay behind and at the end of which the gate to the Realm of the Dead comes into sight. On a sarcophagus from Tarquinii[16] and the fresco in Tomb 5636,[17] also from Tarquinii, two persons are waiting for the deceased outside that gate. More clearly than on Hasti Afunei's sarcophagus, we have the impression that they have come through the gate to welcome the new arrival.

Another conception of the journey to the Underworld diverges widely from the belief that it could be reached by land, inasmuch as it presupposes a sea voyage. Many funerary monuments decorated with sea monsters, and on which the deceased is sometimes portrayed as a rider, make reference to this idea.[18] The same is true of the stylized waves in some tombs, which can look back on a long tradition, beginning with the Tomb of the Lionesses.[19] Sometimes, most clearly on a sarcophagus in Chiusi[20] (Fig. v.5), it seems that the journey to the Afterlife has to be taken in a series of stages. There we see, on the right, the moment of death;[21] then, the deceased on horseback; and on the left, a sea monster waits to carry him further. Herbig rejects this simple explanation and describes the sarcophagus as an "atelier-pattern book" (*Werkstattmuster*) or as the "quite artless work of a bungler." Even a bungler, however, would have to make the figures he chiseled out of the stone at least minimally significant for or appropriate to the situation or assign them names. The assumption of a collection of "atelier-patterns" would merely question the necessity of *combining* a sea route and a land route. Originally, these may well have been two different concepts; it seems, however, not implausible, that in Etruria, where both versions were known, attempts would be undertaken to combine them. Exactly that, or so it seems

v.1. *Sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei, with Culśu. From Chiusi. Second century* BCE. *Palermo.*
(Photo: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg.)

to me, was undertaken on this humble sarcophagus, if in a somewhat naive manner of execution. The same concept may be seen on grave *stelai** from Felsina/Bologna dating about 400 BCE, where waves or sea monsters are combined with a journey by coach.[22]

What follows out of all this, in any case, is that for the Etruscans, the journey into the Underworld, and not only the destination, was of great importance. A detailed portrayal of many different persons on their way into the Underworld, which may have been based on literary sources, has survived in the Tomb of the Cardinal.[23] Unfortunately, it is in a poor state of preservation, and so the details of interpretation remain quite disputable. It apparently treats the different "routes" and the various types of accompaniment by different demons. It also shows the "prologue" or prelimi-

nary stage: the death of the various individuals, including the mother, the child, and men killed in a surprise or in combat—an ancient version of the medieval "danse macabre." For our purposes, it is important to note how very detailed and how very differently ideas about the passage into the hereafter could be imagined.

It is, however, inconceivable that the last journey was believed to be as harmless and as unproblematic as it is shown in many representations. What is depicted there is doubtless the ideal case. The quite frightening appearance of some demons can only partially be explained by the universal human fear of death, and—in spite of all promises of reunion—the pain of the surviving. Figures like Tuchulcha, with his bird-like beak (Fig. v.6), show that there were threats and dangers along the way,[24] which possibly not everyone mastered. Sup-

v.2. Tomb of the Aninas, with Charu and Vanth. Third century BCE. Tarquinii. (Photo: Schwanke. DAI Rome 82.565.)

porting rites might be helpful. Servius and Cornelius Labeo mentioned sacrifices that transform the dead into *dii animales*.[25] If we combine this information with the pictorial representations shown and discussed to this point, we could venture to say that certain sacrifices were necessary to insure that the dead reached their goal: the symposium with their ancestors and the gods of the Underworld, Aita and Phersipnei (Figs. v.7–8). A sacrifice of this type is probably shown in the Tomb of Orcus II and in a quite similar way on a Hellenistic urn from Volaterrae, now in the British Museum.[26]

The Destination

Which fate awaited the newly deceased behind the walls of the Underworld? Here, too, the pictorial representations come to our assistance: In the Tomb of Orcus I (Fig. v.9), we see a sort of banquet of the members of the *gens** in the presence of demons.[27] The same theme, integrated in a Greek Nekyia scene, evidently was represented in the Tomb of Orcus II, where only the table displaying the vessels, the *kylikeion,** is preserved, with young demons as cup bearers[28] (Fig. v.10). Life after death, therefore, can be a banquet, as we

v.3. Tomb of the Caronti. Third century BCE. Tarquinii. (Photo: Schwanke. DAI Rome 81.4359.)

also see it in the Tomb of the Shields at Tarquinii[29] and even more clearly in the Golini Tomb I of Orvieto, where Eita and Phersipnai[30] take part. Here, as in the Golini Tomb II and the Tomb of the Hescanas,[31] newly deceased are just starting on their way into the Realm of the Dead; relatives who arrived earlier are waiting for them at the banquet. They do not go to meet them, as in some of the depictions we have seen earlier, but, in some way, the dead are taken into the society of their ancestors who died before them and now participate in an eternal banquet.

The numerous reclining figures on the lids of sarcophagi and urns from all around Etruria evidently allude to this symposium in the hereafter. Those who are depicted as not reaching the goal of the banquet because of their crimes or misdeeds are Greek heroes, for example, Theseus and Sisyphos.[32] The notion that misdemeanors would be punished in the Underworld is, as far as we know, among the Etruscan paintings reflected only in scenes of Greek origin, and the concept itself might be Greek.[33] We have no evidence at all that judgment and punishment in the hereafter were a native element of Etruscan religion.[34]

Messages Intended for the Living

The depiction of a *gens,* ancestors and newly deceased, in the Realm of the Dead serves as a kind of self-portrait of a clan, a message addressed to the living but discernible only during the few hours they spent in the tomb. More or less far-reaching political statements could also be combined with this self-portrayal (they were obviously disguised in the form of myths), most strikingly in the François Tomb at Vulci[35] (Fig. v.11). But messages of this type, addressed to the living and intended to influence the life on earth, are of less interest

v.4. Tomb of the Caronti. Third century BCE. *Tarquinii. (Photo: Schwanke.* DAI *Rome 81.4358.)*

v.5. Sarcophagus from Chiusi, with Journey to Underworld. Second century BCE. *Chiusi, Museo Etrusco. (Alinari 37521.)*
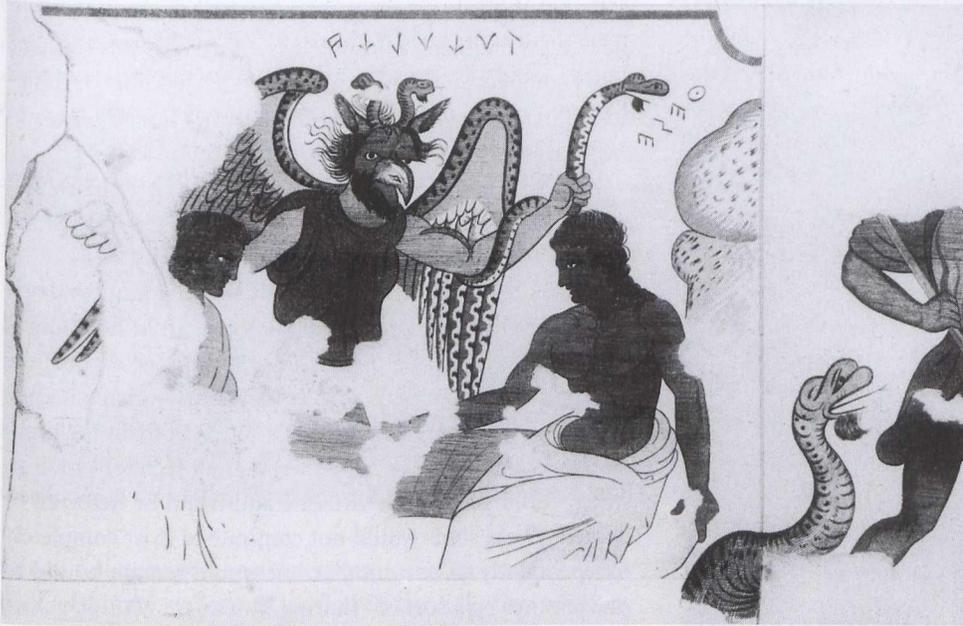
v.6. *Tomb of Orcus II, with Tuchulcha. Fourth century* BCE. *Tarquinii. (After MonInst 8, 1870, pl. 15.)*
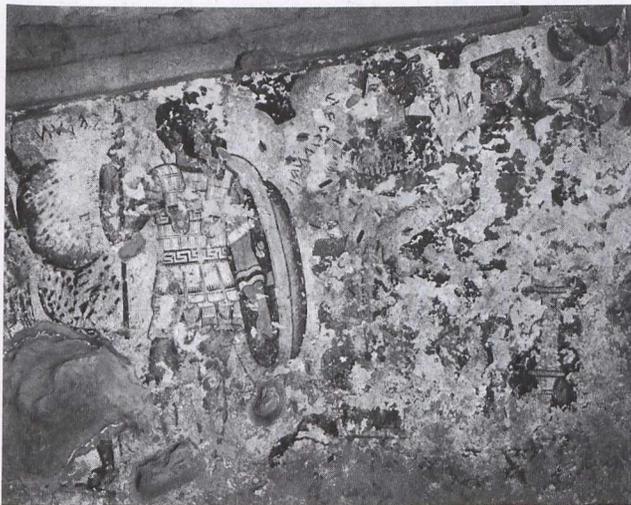
v.7. *Tomb of Orcus II, Aita and Phersipni. Fourth century* BCE. *Tarquinii. (Hirmer 754.1088.)*


v.8. *Tomb of Orcus II, Aita. Fourth century* BCE. *Tarquinii. (Photo: Schwanke.* DAI *Rome 82.635.)*

for our topic, and for that reason, I would prefer to refrain from discussing the François Tomb in detail here.

Tomb or Underworld?

One phenomenon may, at first sight, seem to be incompatible with the relatively simple and presumably generally accepted view of Etruscan beliefs about the Underworld: some graves—in the late period, which we have treated up to this point—above all, the Tomb of Reliefs at Caere (Cerveteri),[36] are so lavishly furnished that the deceased would have every-

v.9. *Tomb of Orcus I, Banqueting Scene. Fourth century* BCE. *Tarquinii. (Photo: Schwanke.* DAI *Rome 82.640.)*
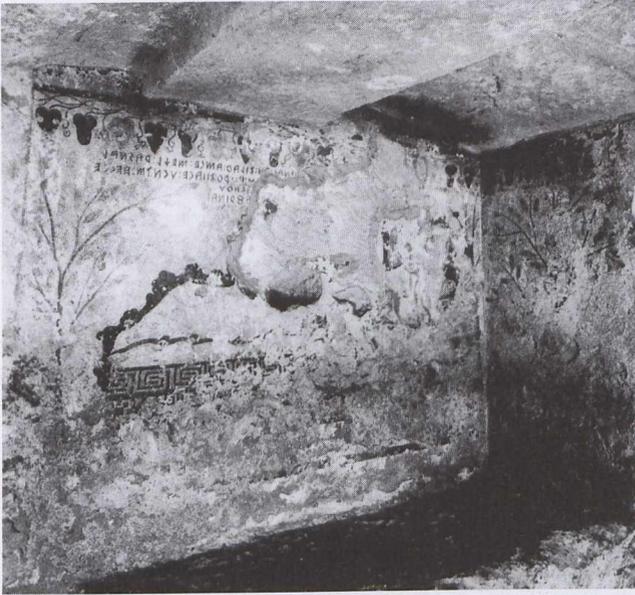
thing he (or she) needed to continue life as if on earth. In the case of the Tomb of the Reliefs (Fig. v.12), this meant a fully equipped household. Similar evidence for a continuation of life in the tomb is plentiful in earlier times,[37] down to the house urns of the ninth and eighth centuries BCE.[38]

Ambros Pfiffig[39] tried to explain these contradictions—on the one hand, life as usual in the tomb; on the other, a Realm of the Dead, a long journey away—by postulating a dualism of the soul, that is to say, by dividing whatever part is supposed to survive the body's death in two. Just as living people are made up of body and soul, he argued, the soul itself is now supposed to consist of two elements: the "corpse-soul," bound more closely to the body in the grave or tomb, and the "I-" or "self-soul," more freely mobile, which could go into the Afterlife and could be heroized or deified. These souls would not continue to exist completely independently of one another but would remain bound to one another by a sort of "sharing."

Pfiffig's explanation is extremely complicated, hardly a basis for understanding a popular funeral rite, and conceivable only as a modern philosophical interpretation of a no

v.10. *Tomb of Orcus II, Kylikeion. Fourth century* BCE. *Tarquinii. (Photo: Schwanke.* DAI *Rome 82.628.)*
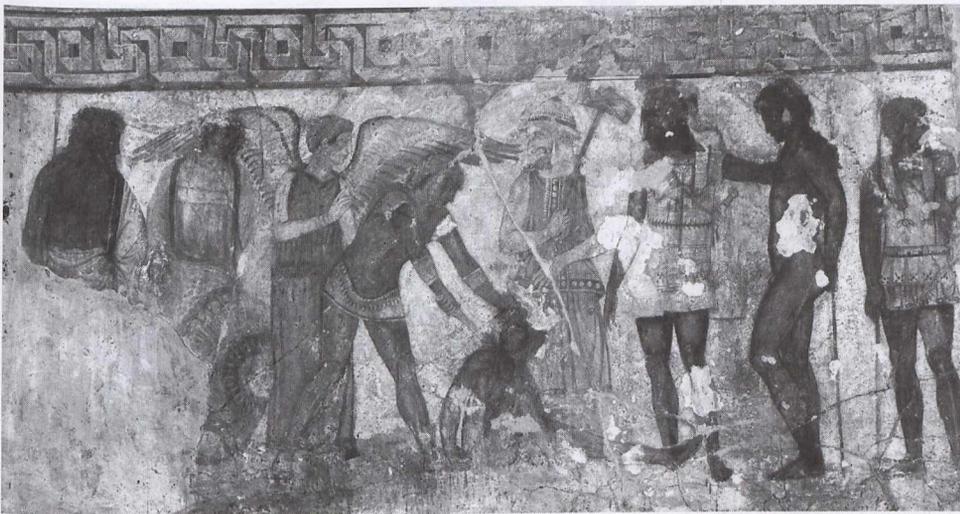
v.11. Painting in François Tomb, sacrifice of prisoners. From Vulci. Fourth century BCE. Rome, Villa Albani. (Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, NY E 8186.)

longer fully comprehensible custom or of an ancient, complex, elaborate system, as we find in the Egyptian religion. The belief that sacrifices offered at the grave comfort a dead soul in the grave or at least in a place where he can perceive them is widespread in early times. The idea of a faraway Realm of the Dead may well have superceded that of an Afterlife in the tomb. In most cases, people accept new ideas without necessarily wanting to abandon old ones. Of course, we do need to look for models that help us to explain such a striking juxtaposition of beliefs as we find in Etruria. It is unlikely, however, that we would come nearer the truth by setting up hypotheses that are too complicated to ever have found a place in ancient popular religion.[40]

THE ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL PERIODS

Tomb, Underworld, and the Vestibulum Orci

In the search for such a model, it might be useful to go back a step and take a look at graves of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE. As late as the 1980s, scholars generally assumed that something must have happened between this phase and the subsequent Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, which resulted in a radical change of older beliefs. Before the Archaic and Classical periods there were cheerful symposia and dancing in the realm of the living or of the dead; after, there were sinister, melancholic gatherings in the Underworld, in the company of frightful, threatening demons.[41] Gradually, the conviction gained ground that the postulated change was not really so fundamental, and in fact perhaps did not take place at all.[42]

The discovery of the Tomb of the Blue Demons finally closed the supposed gap perfectly[43] (Fig. v.13). We learned
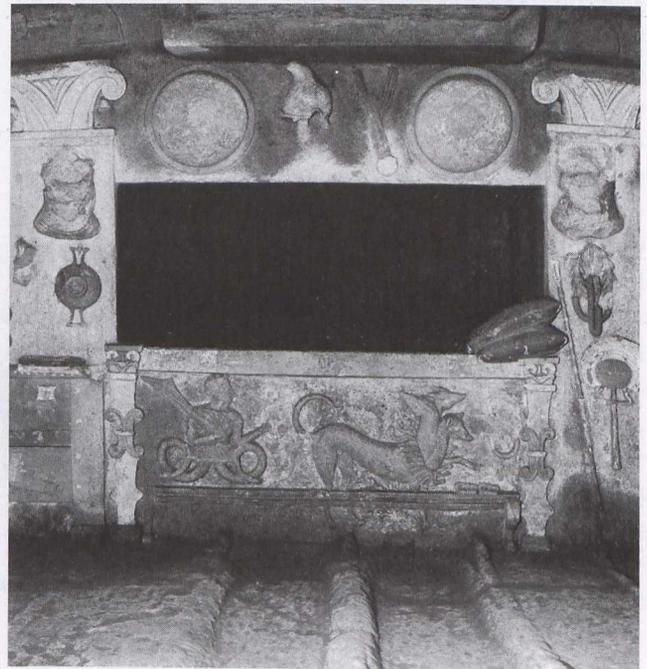
v.12. Tomb of the Reliefs, with Kerberos. Ca. 300 BCE. Caere. (Photo: Schwanke. DAI Rome 83.436.)

that death demons existed already at the end of the fifth century. Their representations had been developed even earlier on the basis of Greek models: Charon, the Greek ferryman of the dead;[44] Thanatos ("Death") on Attic white-ground *lekythoi**;[45] Eurynomos, a demon known from the fresco of Polygnotos at Delphi;[46] and the Erinyes (Furies).[47] These figures were noted particularly in Etruscan settlements of the Po Valley and in North Etruria[48] (cf. Fig. v.16) and immediately adapted to Etruscan needs.[49] Etruscan predecessors for these
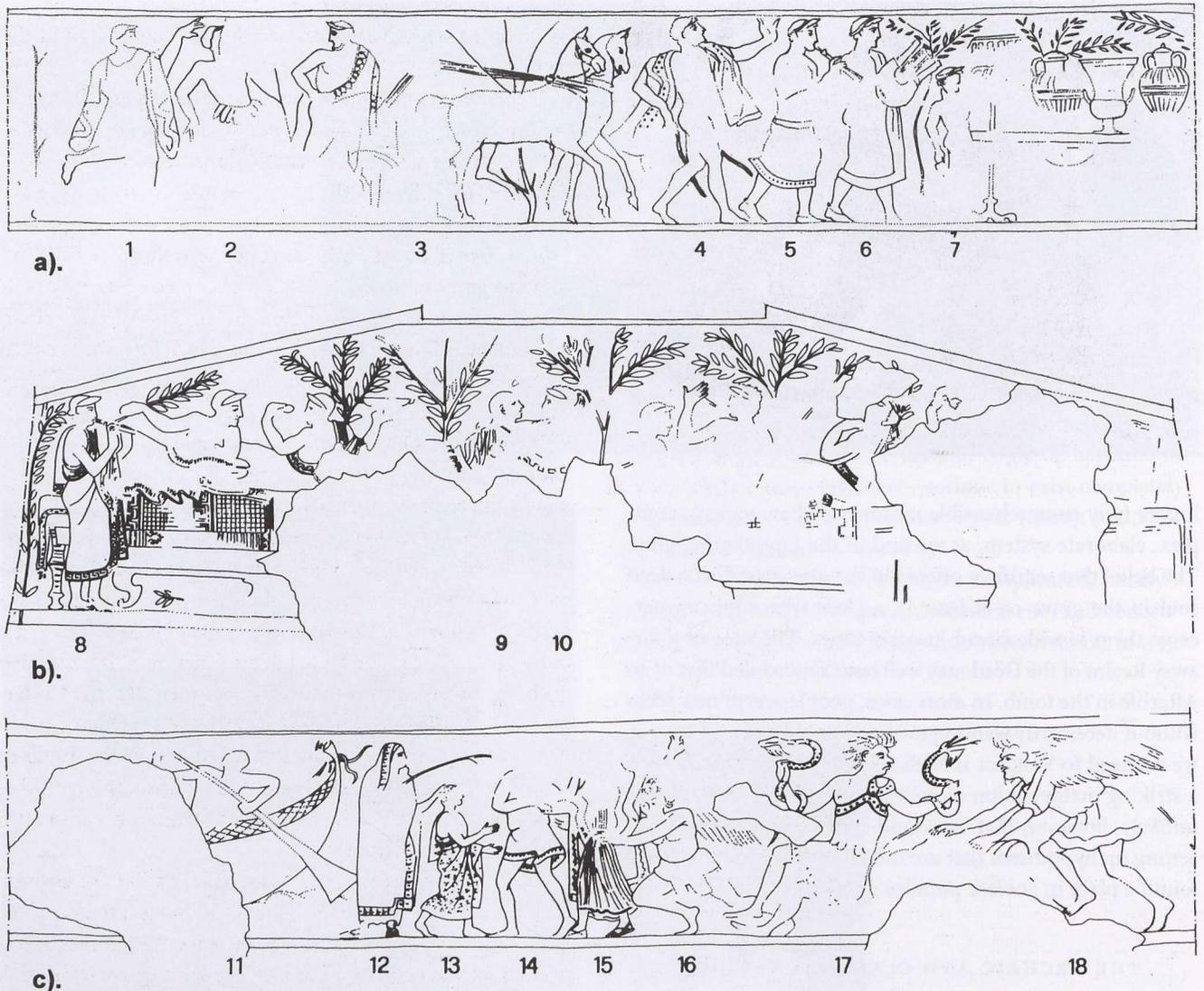
v.13: a, b, and c. Tomb of the Blue Demons. Ca. 400 BCE. Tarquinii. (After Pittura etrusca, *figs. 108, 109, 110.)*

"hellenized" demons can be found in the sixth century, however, in creatures that combine a generally human shape with the heads of wolves or predatory birds[50] (Fig. v.14).

Further, in the Tomb of the Blue Demons, the journey to the Underworld and the welcome among the ancestors are depicted in a similar way (Fig. v.12c), as we had already seen them on Hellenistic sarcophagi and frescoes.[51] Francesco Roncalli[52] has convincingly shown that the scene takes place in a sort of antechamber to the Underworld, which is bounded on the one side by the dead souls' ferryman, Charun (? the figure is not well preserved), and on the other by a rock or cliff, which marks the threshold to the earthly world of the living, analogous to some Greek representations

of the Nekyia. Demons have driven the dead into this antechamber and lead her to the ship that will take her to the final destination. Obviously, it is also possible to gain entrance to this anteroom from the other side, as the two figures on the left, who come to meet the newly deceased, show. If we replace the ship with the walls and gate of the Underworld, we have exactly the same scene as on the sarcophagus discussed above. The ship in the Tomb of the Blue Demons is seaworthy and not a mere skiff, like that of the Greek Charon. On Hellenistic sarcophagi and in tombs we have already seen allusions, in the sea monsters and stylized waves, to a sea that had to be crossed on the way to the Realm of the Dead. These can be traced back to the sixth century, with the waves to the

v.14. Black-figured vessel with Wolf god. Sixth century BCE.
Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia. (Photo: Courtesy of the
Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell' Etruria Meridionale.)

Tomb of the Lionesses,[53] the riders on sea monsters to the Tomb of the Bulls[54] and the *nenfro** statues from Vulci.[55]

The man in the *biga** on the left wall of the Tomb of the Blue Demons, moving toward the *kylikeion* (Fig. v.12a) is an early forerunner of the processions known from Hellenistic urns and sarcophagi; comparable scenes are found also among the frescoes in the tombs of Orvieto.[56] In the fifth century, we encounter the same motif in other Tarquinian tombs,[57] on Felsinian grave *stelai*,[58] whereas the real *pompa funebris*, the *ekphora*,* that is, the transport of the corpse from the house to the burial place, seems to be represented only in the funerary monuments of Chiusi.[59] The symposium[60] depicted on the back wall is a key motif of earlier and subsequent funerary art. The context of both side walls suggests that the symposium depicted in the Tomb of the Blue Demons (Fig. v.12b) takes place in the Afterlife, as does that in the Tomb of Orcus I and all its descendants.

On the basis of these observations, we must take a second look at the numerous symposia in the Archaic and sub-Archaic tombs in Tarquinii. In the case of the frescoes, they are slightly earlier than those of the Tomb of the Blue Demons; from the Querciola Tomb I up to the Tomb of the Black Sow,[61] there is no concrete evidence that would forbid an analogous interpretation. Trees, which are abundant on the frescoes in Tarquinii,[62] also grow in the Underworld, as the Tomb of Orcus I[63] shows. A location in the Realm of the Dead is more problematic where tentlike constructions can be seen sheltering the symposium guests.[64] Such constructions could easily be explained as provisional shelters built for the burial rites, but they would be almost inexplicable in

the Underworld. Localization in the Realm of the Dead can be excluded whenever doors are shown standing amid the symposium or the dance scenes.[65]

Doors[66] obviously have the same function as the ship in the Tomb of the Blue Demons and the city gates on the Hellenistic monuments. They mark the transition from an "antechamber" (in this case, the tomb) into the Afterlife. We have seen that such doors and thresholds can apparently open for a short time in the opposite direction as well, when the dead come to greet newcomers. This is also true of the doors in Tarquinian tombs: the deceased has to pass through them but under certain circumstances can return for a while not to the earth but to the tomb or to the anteroom of the Underworld, in Latin, *vestibulum Orci*.

A vestibule of this type is described by Vergil in the *Aeneid*:[67] monsters and spirits who can endanger living human beings, and even drive them into the Realm of the Dead, dwell there: War, Disease, Anxiety, Grief, Fear, Discord, Poverty, Hunger, and other figures. The spirits who have their abode here can exercise their powers above all on earth, which is why they live in an intermediate zone. In a more abstract manner, they have a function similar to that of the Etruscan demons: they conduct men into the Underworld. Of course we cannot equate Vergil's *vestibulum Orci* directly with the intermediate zone shown in the Tomb of the Blue Demons and on Hasti Afunei's sarcophagus. Related conceptions, however, probably form the basis for both of these representations.

If the hypotheses we have discussed so far are correct, then the question where the banquet is thought to take place is no longer so important. In many cases, the location was probably felt to be ambivalent.[68] The feast as depicted took place as part of the burial rites, and one hoped that the deceased—and all the others who were then still among the living—would be able to enjoy it further in the Afterlife. The symbol of a door, which is not quite as impenetrable as a wall, guarantees that the deceased could take part in the festivities celebrated to his (or her) benefit. Possibly the Etruscans also believed that the deceased needed a certain amount of time for the journey into the Underworld corresponding to the Roman *novendiale* (the nine days of display of the body) and remained in the grave for the duration of the funeral ceremonies.[69]

At the outset, I mentioned the uncertainty in regard to our understanding of many burial rites and customs. No attempt to explain the tomb frescoes of the fifth century can really succeed without taking this "uncertainty principle" into consideration. When it is employed, even singularities
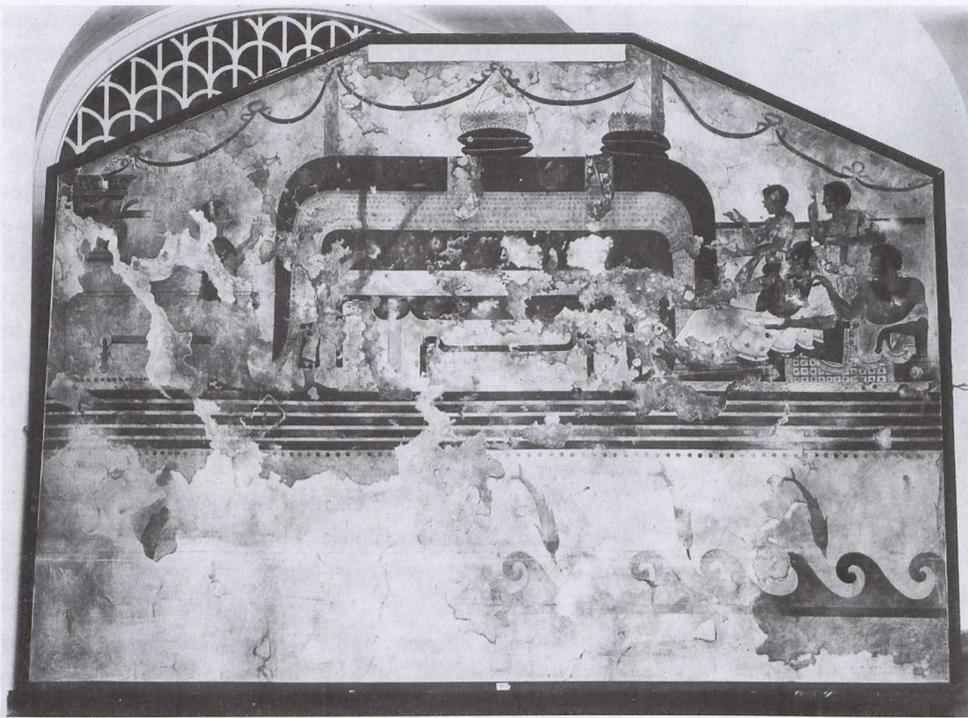
v.15. *Tomb of the Funeral Couch, Tarquinii, back wall. Watercolor copy in the Ny Carlsberg Museum. Ca. 460 BCE. (Photo: Archive of the Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg.)*

like the hunting tent in the Tomb of the Hunter[70] become less problematic. This tent has been interpreted as having been set up to shelter the body laid out on the bier. The reason it was "decorated" with game hung up on it remained enigmatic. This fresco becomes more intelligible if we assume that the mourners wanted to surround the deceased, whom they believed to be present in the tomb as long as the body was lying in state, or also on other occasions, with the things he had appreciated in life. The ship in the Tomb of the Ship[71] or the scenes in the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing[72] could possibly be interpreted in this sense.

Sacrifices and Helping Gods

In the case of the hunting scenes, another aspect has been emphasized in recent scholarship: one sees in them an allusion to the sacrifices of animals, which Roman sources[73] have handed down to us. Taking into account the "uncertainty principle" that I postulated, this conjecture does not seem utterly impossible, but I find it improbable that such an extremely vague hint should be the sole purpose of the hunting scenes.[74] The real meaning of the hunt as a popular aristocratic pastime would hardly have let itself be so easily overshadowed. Nevertheless, the belief that blood was necessary to placate the anger of the dead on the one hand, and to strengthen and to protect their souls magically against the dangers of the transition to the Afterlife on the other, was a widespread ancient conception.[75] It probably forms the basis

for the Etruscan sacrifices to the dead and becomes tangible in the blood-thirsty Phersu game,[76] in other dangerous games,[77] and, in mythical guise, in the sacrificing of the Trojans in the François Tomb and other monuments of funerary art.[78] The striking similarity to altars of the kingposts in the pediments in some Archaic tombs can best be explained as an allusion to those sacrifices,[79] in much the same way as can the impending death of Troilos in the Tomba dei Tori[80] and the animal-combat groups in the pediments.[81] These last can of course be more simply interpreted as a symbol of death, which suddenly overwhelms human beings. It will be prudent to formulate the argument very cautiously: kingposts and animal-combat groups may have been seen sometimes in this way, but there are also other possible interpretations, which may have been intended more frequently.

We might logically see the gods of the Underworld and the demons who lead the dead as the beneficiaries of the sacrifices under discussion. This view would fit well with the dedicatory inscription χarus, "of Charu(n)," found on a sixth-century vessel of unknown provenance (ET, OA 0.4).[82] But, as Giovanni Colonna[83] has demonstrated, other gods could also be invoked as companions on the last journey: Castur (Castor) and Pultuce (Pollux), who, as far as we know, did not have any such function in Greece. According to their myth, however, which had them constantly migrating between the Underworld and immortality, they were predestined to serve as guides in this zone of transition. The dedi-

v.16. *Stone tomb figure from Chiusi. Ca. 600 BCE. Florence, Museo Archeologico. (Photo: Archive of the Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg.)*

v.17. *Grave stele with deceased escorted by demons. Fourth century BCE. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico. (Photo: Archive of the Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg.)*

cation to the *tinas cliniiaras* ("sons of Tinia"; ET, Ta 3.2)[84] as well as the *lectisternium** in the Tomb of the Funeral Couch (Fig. v.15)[85] clearly point out this *interpretatio Etrusca* of the Greek divinities. Another god who, in complete contrast to his Greek nature, could play a role in the funerary cult is Apollo, as Erika Simon has shown.[86] On the other hand, the Dionysus/Bacchus worshipers among the Etruscans had apparently seen their god as a helpful guide and guard for their way to the desired destination in the Underworld in much the same manner as the Greeks did.

Mario Torelli attempted to ascribe the new emphasis given to the symposium in the Tarquinian tombs of the late sixth century to the introduction of Dionysian cults into Etruria, noting the moving of the symposium from the pediment to the main part of the rear wall, a change that allowed the representation of a larger number of participants.[87] But inasmuch as (1) the conception of a banquet in the Afterlife or in the tomb was an ancient Etruscan tradition and (2) the Greek symposium was, above all, a social phenomenon and not a religious one, the general attribution of the "new" symposia to the introduction of special Dionysian cults would probably be an overinterpretation. The Etruscans may have recalled Fufluns/Dionysos whenever satyrs are shown taking part in the symposium[88] or possibly also when a large, wine-filled *krater** (not a cinerary urn in the shape of a *krater*) stands in the midst of the rear wall;[89] a door is more frequently shown on this wall, symbolizing the passage into the Underworld and, at the same time, the deceased. A Dionysiac symbol in this particular location could indicate that the deceased was a follower of Fufluns/Dionysos, as the vases with dedications to *fufluns paxies* found in tombs at Vulci (ET, Vc 4.1–4) also indicate.[90]

To sum it all up: we could repeatedly confirm Greek influences, but these merely supplemented fundamental Etruscan beliefs, without completely transforming them. The concep-

tion of an Afterlife, which can be thought of as a banquet, and the idea of a journey into the Underworld, which was probably subdivided into a series of stages and was replete with dangers, most likely belong to the Etruscan substratum. The dangers had to be averted by means of sacrifices, which either the living had to bring on behalf of the dead or the deceased themselves could carry out in the tomb: this is probably the purpose of the small, altarlike objects found, for example, in the Tomb of the Five Chairs[91] and in the Campana Tomb[92] in Caere.

Giovanni Colonna and Stephan Steingräber have compiled any and all allusions found in Archaic tombs to places where the survivors could make sacrifices[93] and to venues for games (e.g., Grotta Porcina; Fig. VIII.12), for games[94] were also believed to fortify the dead for the journey into the Underworld. It would seem that these sacrifices and games not only secured a safe journey into the hereafter but also gave the souls of the dead the possibility to come back, under certain circumstances, to receive ritual honors and (as ancestors) to assist their descendants in one manner or another. This aspect may indicate what was meant by the *dii animales* of Roman tradition.

THE EARLIEST PHASE

Now that we have reviewed the evidence of the later periods of Etruscan culture, in which we find the clearest articulation of concepts of the Afterlife, we may examine briefly the earliest period of Etruscan culture and make several conjectures about the first manifestations of these concepts.

The terracotta statuettes from the Tomb of the Five Chairs at Caere and the sculptures in the Tomb of the Statues in Ceri[95] and in the "Pietrera" Tumulus at Vetulonia[96] could be interpreted as ancestors, whereas the so-called *xoanon** figures from Chiusi[97] (Fig. v.16), which are always feminine, and the statues from the Isis Tomb of Vulci[98] more probably depict a goddess or a demoness, an early form of Vanth (whose name has been discovered in a dedicatory inscription of the seventh century).[99] The famous urn from Montescudaio[100] can probably be seen as an early example of the Afterlife symposium. The Sardinian ship models in the tombs of Vetulonia,[101] the chariots found in some tombs, and the scene on the "Pietra Zannoni"[102] may already have been allusions to a journey into the Underworld. A chariot or a depiction of it can also be used to indicate the social status of the deceased, which does not necessarily conflict with this interpretation. The discussion could be extended to the Villanovan tombs with miniature chariots and boats that also "could be meant as a magical and symbolic instrument of the deceased's journey into the after life."[103]

All these early monuments could hardly have been understood on the basis of internal criteria alone. They can, however, with all due caution, be interpreted as early evidence for Etruscan beliefs about death and the Afterlife, some of which, in Greek "disguise," were retained into the later periods.

To close this chapter, I would like to return to the beginning of this paper concerning the difficulties of interpretation, and close with the words of Arnold van Gennep, taken from the English translation of his noted book *Les rites de passage,* one of the incunabula of anthropology and the history of religion: "Funeral rites are further complicated when within a single people there are several contradictory or different conceptions of the afterworld which may become intermingled with one another, so that their confusion is reflected in the rites."[104]

NOTES

1. Bonfante 1986, 268.

2. An extensive listing of publications since 1984 is included in the bibliography, which therefore contains not only the literature cited in the notes but all the studies concerning Etruscan funeral rites and eschatology since 1984 that were accessible to me. Publications of excavations of necropoleis or of single tombs are listed only when combined with discussion of rites or eschatological concepts, not when confined to the presentation of the material or to sociological aspects. Likewise, only a selection of studies concerning the types of architecture is given.

3. See esp. Briquel 1985 (1987), 267–277; Briquel 1997, 19, 128–135.

4. Generally on death, burial, and mourning: Humphreys and King 1981; Metcalf and Huntington 1991; Barley 1995; see also Burkert 1972, 60–69. For Greece: Kurtz and Boardman 1971; Vermeule 1979; Garland 1985; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995; Díez de Velasco 1995; Johnston 1999.

5. The best summary of types of burial and of tombs: *Dizionario,* 298–303, s.v. tomba (G. Nardi). Important considerations on the coexistence of inhumation and cremation at Tarquinii and the use of different types of vases in different Etruscan cities: de La Genière 1986 (1987). See also Coen 1991, 119–133; Izzet 1996; Bruni 1995; Prayon 1975a; Prayon 1989; Steingräber 1995.

6. Jannot 1984a, 406–419.

7. See above, n. 3. Generally on the *Etrusca disciplina:* Pfiffig 1975, 36–43, and the series dealing with ancient authors as sources for the *disciplina* in *Caesarodunum* Suppl. 61 (1991), Suppl. 63 (1993), Suppl. 64 (1995), Suppl. 65 (1996), and Suppl. 66 (1999).

8. Herbig 1952, 41, no. 76, pls. 55–57a; Colonna 1993a, 358–359, 364–365, pls. 21–23; Jannot 1993, pl. 9.1.

9. The root *culś* is also contained in Culśanś, the name of a double-faced god corresponding evidently to the Roman Janus; *culś* probably has the same meaning as the Latin *ianua,* door, gateway. For Culśanś and Culśu, see Simon, Chap. 4, glossary of gods.

10. The name Vanth is more frequent: it occurs seven times with pictures of female demons, but we are not yet certain whether it is a collective name for all female demons of death (ultimately derived from the name of an old divinity of death [see below, n. 47]) or if Vanth has special functions. If Vanth is the collective name, Culśu would mean "Vanth Culśu," "the Vanth of the gate." See Spinola 1987; Krauskopf 1987, 78–85; Scheffer 1991; Haynes 1993; Jannot 1997; Weber-Lehmann 1997.

11. There has been a long discussion on the interpretation of the arched door. Some see it as a city gate (most decidedly Jannot 1998, 81–82: "La cité des morts"; the mallet of Charun as instrument for opening and closing the bars of gates: Jannot 1993, 68–76). Others prefer to interpret it as the door of the tomb (most decidedly Scheffer 1994). Cypresses decorated with garlands growing on the sides of it (Scheffer 1994, 198, fig. 18.3) probably mean that the door of a tomb is intended. It is, however, difficult to identify the door as belonging to the tomb when the door has merlons (e.g., sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei) and a procession of men and demons is moving towards it, while others, evidently coming out of the gate, wait for the newly arriving person. But, of course, both doors, the gate of the Underworld and the door of the tomb, can be guarded by demons. The first door the deceased has to pass, the door to the tomb, might in its shape and its surroundings foreshadow the second one, the city gate of the Realm of the Dead.

Generally on the topography of the Underworld: Roncalli 1997.

12. *Etruscan Painting,* 282, no. 40, figs. 48–51, pls. 11–12.

13. *Etruscan Painting,* 300, no. 55, pls. 61–63. The T-shaped false doors that the Charuns flank are an old motif of the tombs of the late sixth and fifth centuries (see below, n. 66), resumed here.

14. For the four Charuns of the Tomba dei Caronti (*ET,* Ta 7.78–81), see Jannot 1993, 63–64. For Charun generally, see Mavleev 1986; Krauskopf 1987, 73–78; Jannot 1997, 139–145; Jannot 1993.

15. Sarcophagi and urns: Lambrechts 1959, 123–197; Weber 1978, 94–116; Moscati 1997; frescoes (Tomba Bruschi, Tomba del Cardinale, Tomba del Convento, Tomba del Tifone): Cristofani 1971, 27–32. Especially in German literature, the interpretation of the so-called *Beamtenaufzüge* as voyages to the Realm of the Dead has been contested (Höckmann 1982, 156–157; Schäfer 1989, 36), but the decisive argument is the presence of demons as Weber (1978, 110–113) correctly points out. It is not possible to separate the representations with demons from those without the demons.

16. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Inv. 1424: Herbig 1952, 60, no. 116, pl. 74c; Mavleev and Krauskopf 1986, 231, no. 71*; Jannot 1993, pl.10.2.

17. Tomb 5636: Colonna 1985a, 156, fig. 29; *Etruscan Painting,* 371, no. 165, pl. 180; Jannot 1993, pl. 10.1. See also Tomba Querciola II (Colonna 1985a, 154, fig. 25; *Etruscan Painting,* 339, no. 107, fig. 286).

18. Etruscan sea monsters: Boosen 1986. Riders: Boosen 1986, 161–162 (nos. 89–94), 179–182, 206 (no. 79), 220 (pl. 29).

19. Waves are to be found in the following tombs (with the numbers of the catalogue of *Etruscan Painting,* 259ff.): Tarquinii, Leo-nesse (no. 77), Triclinio (no. 121), 5513 (no. 162; see also Weber-Lehmann 1989, pl. 1a); Letto Funebre (no. 82), Scudi (no. 109), Bruschi (no. 48), Querciola II (no. 107), Tifone (no. 118); Blera, Grotta dipinta (no. 1); Bomarzo, Grotta dipinta (no. 2); Cerveteri, Tomba delle Onde Marine (no. 8); dei Sarcofagi (no. 10); del Triclinio (no. 11); Orvieto, Tomba degli Hescanas (no. 34); Populonia, Tomba del Corridietro (no. 35). The motive occurs also on sarcofagi (e.g., from Viterbo, locality of San Francesco-La Cipollara, Proietti 1977, 293, no. 24, pl. 43; Colonna 1985a, 161, fig. 41; Pairault Massa 1988, 82, pl. 15.2) and on other objects of funeral character (bronze *krater** from the Tomba dei Curunas of Tuscania (Moretti and Sgubini Moretti 1983, 28–29, pls. 21, 22, 25).

20. Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Archeologico Inv. 860: Herbig 1952, 18, no. 15, pl. 49; Boosen 1986, 189, no. 17, pl. 25; Colonna 1993a, 359–360.

21. The wounded warrior has a long, Gallic shield, and therefore G. Colonna proposes that originally a Galatomachia had been intended and changed into the more modern theme of the voyage to the Realm of the Dead. This seems plausible, but nevertheless the actual state of the sarcophagus gives, in a rather careless way, the sequence "fight, voyage by horse, sea monster," which can be understood as continuous.

22. E.g., a *stele** (Ducati 1910, 437, no. 164, pl. 11; *Rasenna,* fig. 570) gives the sequence (from below) "lady with demon announcing the moment of the death, voyage by car, sea monsters"; another (Ducati 1910, 439, no. 168, pl. IV; Bonfante 1986, 117, fig. IV:30) "fight with a Gaul, voyage by car, sea monsters."

23. Morandi 1983, with rich parallels and bibliography for all the themes represented; *Etruscan Painting,* 297–299, no. 54, pls. 59–60, figs. 109–132.

24. For the dangers of the way, see Roncalli 1997, 41; Bonamici 1998. The common demons of death such as Charun and Vanth usually are more friendly, they accompany the deceased, and eventually they even defend them against threatening monsters and demons. Attributes such as swords and other arms may be explained in this way (Jannot 1997, 156; Jannot 1993, 68, 76, pl. 7.3). Pictures in which Charun or Vanth seem to attack the dying or dead persons are extremely rare; some are discussed in the still useful book of De Ruyt 1934, 89–91, 202. Vanth(?) seems to be aggressive especially on a *stamnos* from Vulci (Greifenhagen 1978, 70–71, no. 8, pl. 41) and has been interpreted as watching a prisoner (Peirithoos?) in the Underworld on a stamnos of the Funnel Group in the British Museum with a very aggressive Charun at the other side of the vase(F 486: Del Chiaro 1974, 41–42, no. 3, pls. 46–47; Mavleev 1986, 233, no. 102; Weber-Lehmann 1997, no. 11), but Marisa Bonamici (1998, 8, 10–11, 8, fig. 14) has shown that even the interpretation of these demons as malignant is not unequivocal. The most famous "victim," Laris Pulenas on his sarcophagus in Tarquinia (Herbig 1952, 59, no. 111, pl. 70a; Mavleev 1986, 233, no. 103; Jannot 1993, pl. 7.1; Roncalli 1996, 46, fig. 1), has been interpreted in a completely different and convincing way by F. Roncalli 1996 as crossing calmly the threshold of the Underworld, unworried by the flanking demons. This Roncalli sees as an allusion to the sacrifices held for Laris Pulenas in the figure of the young man with the knife (in the left part of the relief), and an allusion to the destiny of less happy individuals, in this case, Sisyphos—(in the right part). For the frescoes of the Tomba del Cardinale, see above, n. 23.

For Tuchulcha, see Krauskopf 1987, 72–73, pl. 13; Jannot 1993, 78–80, pl. 11.3; Harari 1997a. The only evidence for the name is the fresco in the Tomb of Orcus II, where the demon is watching over and threatening Theseus and Peirithoos. Demons with the same bird-like features occur in some vase paintings (e.g., volute *krater* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles Inv. 918 with Admetos and Alkestis: Krauskopf 1987, pl. 13b; Roncalli 1996, 56–57, fig. 11; Harari 1997a, 97–98, no. 2) and may be also named Tuchulcha. In the Tomb of Orcus, the menacing, frightening character Tuchulcha is evident and well justified; it should be studied to determine whether reasons for a similar menace can be found in other representations of the demon with the birdlike features. For the Alkestis *krater*, Roncalli (1996, 56–57; 1997, 43, 47) proposes the interpretation that one of the demons is making the way between the entrance of the Underworld and the final goal of the journey dangerous, just as a successor of the two demons is doing on the left side of the Tomba dei Demoni Azzurri (see below); the same could apply to the demon on the kalyx *krater* of the same painter at Trieste Museo Civico Inv. 2125 (Mavleev and Krauskopf 1986, and n. 85; Cristofani 1992, 98, pl. 37; the different gestures of the two demons are convincingly interpreted by Bonamici 1998, 8, fig. 8).

25. See above, n. 3.

26. Cristofani 1987a, 198, pl. 49; Roncalli 1997, 44–45, fig. 5. The urn: Scott Ryberg 1955, pl. 5.11; Felletti Maj 1977, pls. 7, 12a. The scene in the Tomb of Orcus has also been interpreted as Ulysses' sacrifice at the entrance to Hades, as his position (right next to the Greek Nekyia) might suggest (Weber-Lehmann 1995, 91). It is extremely difficult, however, to see Ulysses in the left figure with the wide cloak (Weber-Lemann's explanation for this divergence from his usual iconography is not convincing), and the small scale of the right figure (reconstruction Cristofani 1986 [1987] pl. 49, 12) is inappropriate for the supposed companion of Ulysses. For a possible allusion to the sacrifice on the sarcophagus of Laris Pulenas, see above, n. 24.

27. *Etruscan Painting*, 329–330, no. 93, figs. 244–250, with preceding bibliography. A good reconstruction of the original chamber: Torelli 1975, 45–56, pls. 6–7. A new inscription: Morandi and Colonna 1995.

28. *Kylikeion: Etruscan Painting*, pl. 132; Cristofani 1987a, pl. 52.19. The main part of the banquet scene (not preserved) must have been painted at the right wall of the so-called corridor, in continuation of the *kylikeion*. A mythological interpretation of it seems to be extremely difficult (hypothesis discussed by Weber-Lehmann 1995, 99–100). At first view, it is difficult to understand why the banquet is separated from the sacrifice, which has opened the way to the banquet, by Underworld scenes with the punishment of Theseus, Peirithoos, and Sisyphos (the best survey of the location of the scenes is Weber-Lehmann 1995, fig. 2.10). The distribution of the scenes is more intelligible if one combines the sacrifice with the arrival of the deceased in the Underworld, as supposed by Cristofani 1987, 199, pl. 51.16.

29. *Etruscan Painting*, 341–343, no. 109, pls. 145–149.

30. The direct participation of Eita and Phersipnai at the banquet of the *gens* in the Golini Tomb I is unparalleled and could eventually be influenced by Orphic-Pythagorean ideas emphasizing the intimacy of the *mystai* (initiates) and the gods of the Underworld in the common symposium (see Graf 1974, 98–103). The couple of the sovereigns of the Realm of the Dead may have been conceived, as their names are, under Greek influence with some originally Etruscan ingredients, e.g., the affinity of Aita to the wolves, which Hades did not share. The old Etruscan name of the ruler of the Underworld was probably Calu; Phersipnei may have been preceded by a single Vanth, eventually—but here we enter the region of complete hypothesis—a divinity of dying, i.e., the passage from life to death, but nothing points to the presumption that they were imagined as a couple. The existence of a great goddess of death in the archaic Etruscan religion, which had been postulated especially by A. Hus (1961, 545–548; 1976, 181), is difficult to prove. For Etruscan divinities of death: Pfiffig 1975, 319–323; Hostetter 1978, esp. 262–265; Krauskopf 1987, 61–68; Krauskopf 1988; Mavleev 1994.

31. For the three Orvietan tombs, see *Pittura Orvieto; Etruscan Painting*, 278–280, nos. 32–34, figs. 43–47, pl. 3–10; Pairault Massa 1985.

32. Theseus, Peirithoos, watched by Tuchulcha, and Sisyphos in the Tomb of Orcus II, and Sisyphos and Tantalos(?) in the François Tomb: *Etruscan Painting*, 331, figs. 254, 259, 261, pl. 131; *Etruscan Painting*, 379, fig. 408; Cristofani 1987a, 200, pls. 53–54; Tomba François 1987, 103, fig. 16; Roncalli 1997, 46–48, figs. 7–8; Manakidou 1994, 238, no. 86; Oakley 1994, 784–785, nos. 27–28; Weber-Lehmann 1994, 955, no. 39; Harari 1997a, 97, no. 1. For other eventual pictures of Peirithoos in Etruscan vase painting, see Manakidou 1994, 238–239, nos. 85, 88 (but for the stamnos London F 486, cf. the different interpretation Bonamici 1998, 10–11).

33. Graf 1974, 103–126.

34. The only possible representation of one of the Greek judges over the dead, Rhadamanthys, on an Etruscan mirror at Boston incorporates him in a context of Greek gods: De Puma 1993, 41–43, no. 21. pl. 21a, b, d; De Puma 1998. In the first half of the twentieth century there was a long discussion on punishment in the Etruscan Underworld, beginning with the book of Weege 1921 (esp. 24–56), who saw Orphic influence especially in supposed scenes of punishment, and the critique of van Essen 1927. From that time on, Weege's corpus of pretended punishment scenes has been more and more reduced until it is nonexistent. What remained may be classified as the dangers of the way (see n. 24), and of course, it is possible that those dangers may be caused not only by missing or false sacrifices and rites of passage but also by a misguided life. Because we lack any written sources, however, we know absolutely nothing about this point.

35. Pallottino 1987; Coarelli 1985; on the Tomba Giglioli, see Pairault Massa 1988 and generally Pairault Massa 1992. Considering our poor knowledge of Etruscan history, all these studies must remain highly hypothetical, but this does not mean that they should not be done.

36. Blanck and Proietti 1986.

37. E.g., the canopic urns from Chiusi: Gempeler; Colonna and von Hase 1984, 37; Maetzke 1989 (1993); Damgaard Andersen 1993, 37, fig. 44, 42–43, nos. 41–42, fig. 55.

38. Urns in the shape of a hut or a house, Orientalizing period: Buranelli 1985, 34–77; Coen 1991, 119–133; earlier: Bartoloni, Buranelli, D'Atri, and De Santis 1987, esp. 223–225; cf. also Damgaard Andersen 1993, 7–29.

39. Pfiffig 1975, 13–15, 162–167.

40. The contradiction between offerings in or upon the tomb and the belief in an Afterlife in a faraway world is nearly ubiquitous in antiquity; for Greece, see, e.g., Vermeule 1979, 48–56.

41. The discussion began with the studies of Weege and van Essen (see above, n. 34). A short summary can be found in Pensa 1977, 14–15; Manino 1980, esp. 59–61; Krauskopf 1987, 11–18.

42. Krauskopf 1987, passim.

43. Cataldi Dini 1986 (1987); Cataldi Dini in *Pittura etrusca*, 151–153, pls. 39–41; Krauskopf 1987, 105–107; Roncalli 1997, 37–44, figs. 1–4; Rendeli 1996, 12–25, figs. 6–10, 12, 14, 17, 20, 23, 24, 28.

44. Sourvinou-Inwood 1986; Sourvinou-Inwood 1987; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 303–361; Mugione 1995; Díez de Velasco 1995, 42–57.

45. Bažant 1994. The demon on the right in the Tomb of the Blue Demons (Fig. v.12c) is similar, even if far larger, to the Thanatos on the white-ground *lekythos* Louvre CA 1264 (Bažant 1994, 906, no. 27; Krauskopf 1987, pl. 7a; Díez de Velasco 1995, 57–60, fig. 2.24; Rendeli 1996, 20, fig. 23). Evidently the type was more widespread than one might assume: a demon very similar to the Etruscan one occurs in a painted tomb at Paestum, dating about 340–330 BCE: Gaudo tomb 2/1972 (Pontrandolfo-Rouveret 1992, 63, 264, fig. 2.3, 387). Thanatos and Hypnos carrying a corpse (Bažant 1994, 904–905, nos. 2–25) have parallels in Etruria, too, but only for a short period in the fifth century: Krauskopf 1987, 25–30, pls. 2a.b, 3.

46. Pausanias 10.28.7; Robertson 1988. Among the figures in the Tomb of the Blue Demons, the demon with the snakes, sitting on a rock, is the figure most likely influenced by the Eurynomos of Polygnotus' Nekyia, even if the latter has no snakes. Snakes appear in the hands of a related Etruscan demon on a *stele* from Felsina/Bologna, not sitting but also seen frontally, in the middle panel of the *stele*, isolated and surely not belonging to the group of demons escorting men, frequent on the *stelai* from Felsina. Therefore, this demon possibly belongs to the same category of demons as Eurynomos and the sitting demon of the Tomb of the Blue Demons (Ducati 1910, 449, no. 182, fig. 5; Krauskopf 1987, 44–45). The vase in the shape of a demon's head with black skin, made by the Attic potter Sotades and found at Spina (Krauskopf 1987, 40–44, pl. 4), may also represent Eurynomos; E. Paribeni (1986, 46–47, figs. 4–6) gives another, non-funerary interpretation, but whatever the head may have meant for Sotades, for the Etruscan owner it rather probably had a demonic aspect. At least vases like this one furnished the model for the Etruscan vase in the shape of Charun's head at Munich (Mavleev and Krauskopf 1986, 227, no. 29; Krauskopf 1987 pl. 4c–d; Elliot 1986, 41, 283, fig. 72, Donderer 1998, pl. 1).

47. Sarian 1986; Aellen 1994, 24–90, especially in relation to the Etruscan demonesses: von Freytag 1986, 136–162, 287–294. The Erinyes may have furnished the model already for the first type of Vanth (see the bibliography above, n. 10) in a long garment, but the demoness or goddess Vanth is certainly older, as the inscription on an *aryballos** of the second half of the seventh century (see below, n. 99) clearly proves. Weber-Lehmann 1997 stresses too much the Greek influence in the genesis of Vanth. Vanth originally was, as far as a demon of death can be that, a kind guide, like the Greek Hermes Psychopompos, and not an *interpretatio etrusca* of the Erinyes. She maintained this manner even when the West Greek "huntress" type of the Erinyes with a short chiton or skirt and crossed shoulder straps and boots was adopted for her. Only slowly, under the influence of those West Greek Furies, her character began to include less benevolent aspects.

48. Within that geographical and chronological horizon the Greek Hermes Psychopompos, too, entered Etruscan iconography and religion (Hostetter 1978; Krauskopf 1987, 45–60; Harari 1997b, 106–107). For the various types of demons on the *stelai* from Felsina, see Sassatelli 1984; Stucchi 1986; Krauskopf 1987, 35–45; Mastrocinque 1989 (1991); Morigi Govi and Sassateli 1993; Cerchiai 1995. For the *stelai*, see further Sassatelli 1989; Sassatelli 1993.

49. This applies to all the types, but the case of Charon and Charun (Sassatelli 1984; Krauskopf 1987, 38–44, 73–78) is especially interesting. Considering the Etruscan idea of a voyage to the beyond by sea, it is a little surprising that the Etruscans did not use the figure of the Greek ferryman more extensively. This might be caused by two factors: (1) Charon was a ferryman and no sailor and therefore not precisely the figure needed to substitute for the Etruscan sea monsters and (2) the Etruscans probably looked for a representable appearance for demons already existing in their concept of demonic powers, guiding the deceased to the gates of the Netherworld, and they found it, with some modifications, in Charon. It makes no great difference whether they imagined two or more completely different types of Charun—the ferryman with the oar and the guide of the overland route with the mallet or the torch (Jannot 1993, 60–61)—or used different attributes to characterize the actual function of Charun in the respective pictures. It is nevertheless important to realize that in the later Etruscan periods, Charun is not a single figure but a plurality. Whether he was originally one or many beings is not clear. The dedicatory inscription χarus on an Attic cup seems to point to a single demon, possibly even with an original Etruscan name (Louvre F 126, by Oltos: CVA Paris Louvre 10, France 17, III 1b, pls. 1.5–8 2.1; Briquel and Gaultier 1989–1990, 361–362, no. 78, pl. 66, with a critical commentary by M. Cristofani; Jannot 1993, 64–65, with summary of discussion; Colonna 1996, 183–184, fig. 21, connecting the name with the Greek Charon).

50. There are a considerable number of possible combinations; the inverse scheme, human head, including Gorgoneia, with animal's body, has also been used. Cf. Krauskopf 1987, 20–25, pls. 1b–d, 2c–d. For the demons with the heads of wolves or lions, see also Simon 1973; Richardson 1977; Prayon 1977; Elliott 1995. For late Etruscan reminiscences of these mixed creatures, see Simon 1997.

51. Above, nn. 16–17.

52. Roncalli 1997, 40–44. Less convincing is the interpretation of Rendeli (1996), who sees the *anagoghe* ("leading up") of Persephone (the woman on the right), who is met by Demeter (the woman on the left), and the boy Eubouleus, based on the resemblance of this group to that of the great Eleusinian relief. Rendelli's interpretation is not, however, very compelling: the figures on the relief are not walking, Eubouleus as a guide to the Netherworld should not be a boy, and the generally accepted interpretation of the goddess on the left as Demeter and the figure on the right as Persephone had to be reversed. In addition, the demons are the dominant figures in the painting, which seems improbable in the supposed presence of the queen of the Underworld and her mother. Rendelli himself (1966, 23) already mentioned the main problem with the interpretation:

we have absolutely no evidence for a *katabasis* (descent) of Demeter and Eubouleus in Classical Greek art, which usually represented the *anodos* (ascent) of Persephone. Even if a version of the myth including a *katabasis* of Demeter should have existed in Classical literature (Rendeli 1996, nn. 114–116; Harrison and Obbink 1986), it is hard to see how anybody could have recognized the Underworld as the place of the meeting in the Eleusinian relief. The only motive for such a locale is the supposed resemblance of the scene to the Etruscan fresco, and there, the only argument to identify the figures as the Eleusinian goddesses is the (not very strong) resemblance to the Greek relief, evidently a kind of circular reasoning.

53. Above, n. 19.

54. *Etruscan Painting*, pl. 165; Boosen 1986, 158, no. 78, pl. 23.33; Torelli 1997a, 144, fig. 126 (= Torelli 1997b, 80, fig. 38).

55. Hus 1961, 39, no. 5, pl. 21 (Rome, Villa Giulia; Boosen 1986, 158, no. 77, pl. 22.32); Hus 1961, 51, nos. VI–VII, pl. 8 (lost), 176–179; Bonfante 1986, 112, fig. IV.23. Hippocamp without rider: Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 252, no. 391. with illustration (= Boosen 1986, 138, no. 5).

56. Above, nn. 15 (sarcophagi) and 31 (Orvieto).

57. All of the same period of transition as the Tomb of the Blue Demons: Tomba Querciola I (*Etruscan Painting*, 338–339, no. 106, figs. 279–280; Adam 1993), where the chariot with the warrior, directly above the entrance, is inserted in a line of dancing figures moving to the banquet on the rear wall, as a newcomer is arriving at the place of the eternal banquet; the Tomb of Francesca Giustiniani (*Etruscan Painting*, 305, no. 65, pl. 70); and the Tomb of the Pygmies (*Etruscan Painting*, 333, no. 97, fig. 265, pl. 135), where riders are on the way to the eternal banquet. Problematic is the Tomb of the Warrior (*Etruscan Painting*, 313, no. 73, figs. 180–182), where the *biga* on the entrance wall is being used in acrobatic performances, and the action of the warriors on the right wall is not clear.

58. Ducati 1910, 582–606; Weber 1978, 74–93.

59. Jannot 1984a, 370–373. Generally on the reliefs from Chiusi, realistic scenes like the *prothesis,** the *ekphora* and dances and games in honor of the deceased, seem to be preferred to more symbolic ones.

60. The term *symposium* is used here, because in the majority of the tombs, indeed only drinking vessels are represented. A meal may also have been imagined, as the preparations for a meal in the Golini Tomb I (see above, nn. 30 and 31, and *L'alimentazione* 1987, 107, 109, 112, 119–121, 168–169) clearly prove. Probably the symposium was the last part of a complete banquet. For banquets and symposia, see De Marinis 1961; Cristofani 1987, 123–132; Rathje 1994, 95–99; Small 1994, 85–94; Rathje 1995, 167–175. For Chiusi: Jannot 1984a, 362–368. For Archaic tombs of Tarquinii: Weber-Lehmann 1985; d'Agostino 1987, 215–219.

61. For these tombs, see Stopponi 1983, 62–65, with a list of all tombs with banqueting scenes at p. 64.

62. A range of interpretations exists for the trees in the frescoes: as elements marking the boundaries of the *templum,** as the sacred place of the rituals of "passage" in the period immediately after death (Rouveret 1988), as sacred groves of Aplu/Apollo (Simon 1973, 28–38, with a list of tombs with laurel trees at p. 28), or as the trees of the Elysian Fields. Given that more than one hundred years separate the Tomb of the Bulls from the Tomb of Orcus, however, trees may have changed their meaning more than once.

63. *Etruscan Painting*, 330, fig. 244; Torelli 1975, pl. 7.

64. The most famous examples are the Tomb of the Lionesses and the Tomb of the Funeral Couch: Stopponi 1968, 60–62; Rouveret 1988, 203–204, with further bibliography; Jannot 1988, 59–65, with a reconstruction of a tent. For the tent in the Tomb of the Hunter, see below, n. 70.

65. Only once, in the Tomb of the Biclinium (*Etruscan Painting*, 288, no. 46, figs. 72–76), is the false door combined with a symposium; the false door is often combined with dances (*komos* in Torelli's terminology: Torelli 1997a, table on p. 127) that cannot be separated from the symposia, because the two scenes fuse very often in Tarquinian frescoes (see Torelli 1997a, table on p. 143).

66. The meaning of the painted or sculptured "false" doors is one of the most intensively discussed problems of Etruscan funerary art. For the arched doors of the Hellenistic period, see above, n. 11. For the T-shaped doors of earlier periods, see Staccioli 1980, 1–17; Jannot 1984b; D'Agostino 1987, 215, 217–218; Camporeale 1993, 186–187; Torelli 1997a, 127–131; Dobrowolski 1997, 133, with bibliography for both types of doors in n. 42. The T-shaped door is one of the oldest and most important motifs of Etruscan funerary art that is not connected directly with the banquet, dance, games, or voyage. It occurs in the following Tarquinian tombs, always in the middle of the rear wall and in the oldest tombs (the tombs of the Hut, Marchese, 6120, Jade Lions, and Labrouste); in the Tomb with Doors and Felines, there are three doors, one door on each wall; the door occurs as the only or main motif, among trees (the Tomb of the Mouse) and sometimes flanked by persons turning towards it (Augurs, Cardarelli, Bronze Door, Skull). Doors may be combined with dances or games: Olympiads, Inscriptions and Flagellation=1701 (both with three doors, one on each wall), Citheroid and 4255 (both with two doors on the rear wall, evidently destined for two persons buried there) and Biclinium (symposium). A *loculus** is framed as a T-shaped door in 3098; the motif of the door has a Hellenistic revival in the Tomb of the Charons at Tarquinii. Tombs at Chiusi with the false door: Colle Casuccini, Poggio al Moro (Camporeale 1993, pls. 1–2). *Stelai* of Felsina: Ducati 1910, 634–635 fig. 65; Sassatelli 1989, 935, no. 16, pl. 3b.

67. *Aeneid* 6.273–294.

68. The various models of interpretation (realistic, magic, and social) and the difficulties that result if one strictly uses only one of these models are discussed by d'Agostino 1988.

69. This concept has been elaborated very convincingly by Torelli 1997a, 126–127. There the tomb, too, in a slightly different sense, is interpreted as an intermediate room.

70. *Etruscan Painting*, 295, no. 51, figs. 100–104, pls. 52–53; Bonfante 1986, 158, fig. IV.90; Rouveret 1988, 212, fig. 49.2: "tend à créer autour du mort un lieu familier"; Roncalli 1987, 237. A different interpretation: Torelli 1997a, 131, 134, fig. 113.

71. Moretti 1961; *Etruscan Painting*, 327–328, no. 91, figs. 236–239, pls. 118–120; *Pittura etrusca*, 145, fig. 100, pl. 37, with further bibliography. Torelli (1997a, 134) sees in the ships on the left wall an allusion to the voyage of the deceased by sea, but a harbor scene with a cargo vessel and its crew seems to me too realistic scenery for a voyage to the beyond; it would be better compared with the warship on the *stele* of Vele Caicna from Felsina, likewise realistic (Ducati 1910, 369–372, no. 10 fig. 82; Bonino 1988, 76–77, fig. 7 with bibliography).

The case of the Tomb of the Ship I of Caere (*Etruscan Painting*, 262, no. 7, fig. 5), dating from the end of the seventh century, is different. The ship is represented in the middle of the rear wall, where usually the most important theme is placed.

72. *Etruscan Painting*, 293–294, no. 50, figs. 92–99, pl. 41–51; *Pittura etrusca*, 133–135, figs. 84–85, pls. 13–19, with further bibliography; Cerchiai 1987; Rouveret 1988, 208–209.

73. Above, p. 66.

74. Tombs with hunting scenes: Stopponi 1983, 68–77. For the funerary hunts: Jannot 1984a, 357–362; Roncalli 1990, 237; Adam 1993, 80–85. It cannot be excluded that in some cases, hunts were part of the funerary games (Jannot, Adam), but the other "aristocratic" aspect must also be taken into consideration in the hunting-scenes of the fifth century. The aristocratic aspect is certainly the only one in the fresco with the returning from the hunt in the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing (*Etruscan Painting*, pl. 50).

75. Dobrowolski (1997, 135, n. 46) and Blome (1986, 99) give references to the literature. Blome (1986, 101–102) insists that the living have an interest in blood for calming the *Trauerwut,* that is, the rage of the surviving relatives because of the loss. Blome cites Burkert 1972, 64–65, and Meuli 1946, 201–209 (= Meuli 1975, 924–932), but this is, of course only the other side of the coin and not a contradiction.

76. In the tombs of the Augurs and Olympiads (*Etruscan Painting*, pls. 20, 122; Bonfante 1986, 160, fig. IV-93). For the interpretation of these and other "Phersu" figures: Elliott 1986, 22–26; Blome 1986; Jannot 1993; Adam 1993, 85.

77. For these games: Jannot 1993, 307–309, 317–320; Adam 1993, passim. Other athletic games: Jannot 1984a, 340–355; Thuillier 1985; Jannot 1986 and various contributions in *Jeux* 1987, 159–222 and in *Spectacles.* For games of dexterity: d'Agostino 1993.

78. Bonfante 1986, 162, fig. IV-96; Camporeale 1981, 205–206, 211; Blanck 1985, 83–84; Roncalli in *Tomba François,* 85–89, fig. 3.

79. Roncalli 1990, 232–235, figs. 1 (Bulls), 2 (3098), 4 (Bacchants), 6 (Little Flowers), 9 (Deer Hunt).

80. Bonfante 1986, 236, fig. VIII-3; Cerchiai 1980, 25–39; for the *machaira,* see also Adam 1993, 93–94.

81. Jannot 1982, 124–130; Roncalli 1991, 236; Dobrowolski 1997, 135.

82. Above, n. 49.

83. Colonna 1996.

84. Colonna 1996, 174–175, fig. 15; see also Cristofani 1988–1989, 14–16.

85. Colonna 1996, 177–179, figs. 16–17; Roncalli 1990, 239–241, fig. 12; *Etruscan Painting*, pl. 110. For the tomb, see also Jannot 1988.

86. Simon 1973.

87. Torelli 1997a, 135, 138, with tables on pp. 127, 143; Torelli 1997b, 75–76.

88. For various observations on the tombs of Dionysos and the Silenoi, of Hunting and Fishing, of the Inscriptions and Number 1999, cf. Weber-Lehmann 1985, 27, 37–38, fig. 1 and pl. 11; pl. 20.1; pl. 21.1; Torelli 1997a, 135, 139–141, fig. 119 (= Torelli 1997b, 75–76, fig. 26).

89. Tombs of the Lionesses, of the Dead Man, of the Chariots. Normally the *krater* for the symposium is placed at the side, close to the *kylikeion.* Nevertheless, the "central" *kraters,* too, are thought to contain wine and not ashes, since in the Tomb of the Lionesses, a ladle hanging down near the *krater* and a jug on the floor (*Etruscan Painting*, pl. 97) and in the Tomba delle Bighe cupbearers (*Etruscan Painting*, 290, fig. 79) demonstrate the intended use of the *krater* (see also d'Agostino 1987, 217–218). Of course, the association with the vessel containing the ashes of the deceased is not impossible, but this is only an analogy and not a reality. *Kraters* as cinerary urns: Valenza Mele 1981, 113–118; de la Genière 1986 (1989), 271–282; Pontrandolfo 1995, 190–195.

90. Cristofani and Martelli 1978. For the cult of Fufluns, see further Colonna 1991; Cristofani 1995; Krauskopf forthcoming. For the "Orphic-Pythagorean" influences, which did exist but not in the manner supposed by Weege and others (above, n. 34), see Harari 1988 (with bibliography) and above, n. 30.

91. For the reconstruction of the tomb: Prayon 1974.

92. Prayon 1975a, 112–113, pl. 39.62; Colonna 1986, fig. 278; Colonna 1996, 166, fig. 2.

93. Colonna 1986, passim; Colonna 1993b; Colonna 1996, 165–171; Colonna and Di Paolo 1997, 160–167; Steingräber 1982, 103–116; Steingräber 1995, 74; Steingräber 1996. See also Rafanelli 1997; Zamarchi Grassi 1992, 121–138 (English summary by M. Torcellan Vallone in *EtrSt* 2, 1995, 126–129); Zamarchi Grassi 1998; Rastrelli 1998, 75–78. For the Cuccumella tomb at Vulci, see Sgubini Moretti 1994, 29–33.

94. Above, nn. 76 and 77.

95. Prayon 1975b, 165–179, pls. 41–46; Colonna and von Hase 1984, with a discussion of the other statues of *"maiores"* (Pietrera, Five Chairs) at 35–41, and a list of thrones in tombs at 55–59; Damgaard Andersen 1993, 45–49, figs. 56a–57d.

96. Hus 1961, 23–35, 98–134, 496–498, pls. 1–3, 17–18: goddess of death, with male demons? (see also above, n. 30); Damgaard Anderson 1993, 49–50, no. 45, fig. 59.

97. Hus 1961, 58–65, no. 1–17, 257–264, pls. 10–11, 29–32. Damgaard Anderson 1993, 50–52, nos. 46–47, fig. 60 interprets them as ancestors, too, but also notes that they have always been found at the entrance of the tombs. In my opinion, the placement at the entrance fits better with an interpretation of the *xoanon* figures as tomb guardians or demonic guides, like the later figures of Vanth and Charun at the doors of tombs. For a goddess in the tomb, cf. also the winged figurines in Damgaard Anderson 1993, 43, fig. 55b. Especially the busts from Chiusi, but sometimes also the Pietrera statues, have been interpreted as mourners or wailing women, perpetuating the ritual lamentation (e.g., Camporeale 1986, 289–290). That interpretation, however, is made difficult by their gestures, which are not unequivocal. Further, in the case of the Pietrera statues, men are present, and the Chiusi busts are apparently only single figures, not parts of a group, and in both cases their large size raises questions (some of the Chiusi busts measure more than 50 cm, the Pietrera statues are even taller).

98. Haynes 1965, 13–25, pls. 6–11; Cristofani 1985, 289, no. 111, pl. 217; Haynes 1991, 3–9, pls. 1–3; Roncalli 1998. It seems plausible to reconstruct the bronze bust from the Isis Tomb with a cylindrical lower part resembling that of the Chiusi statues, but it is impossible to combine the bust with the damaged alabaster stand, as proposed by Roncalli, since the latter is a companion piece to the alabaster "pyxis" from the same tomb and not only has identical measure-

ments but also shows the beginning of the flaring top of the "pyxis"; see Haynes 1991 and Bubenheimer-Erhart forthcoming.

99. *Aryballos* from Marsigliana d'Albegna, ca. 640–620 BCE: *ET*, AV 2.3; Colonna 1996, 182, with bibliography in n. 83; Weber-Lehmann 1997, 173.

100. Nicosia 1969, 369–401, pls. 93–98; Damgaard Andersen 1993, 30–32, no. 24, fig. 37; Bonfante 1986, 99, fig. IV.7; Torelli 1997a, 33, fig. 21.

101. Camporeale 1967, 138–140, pl. C.5; Lilliu 2000, 189–193, 195–196; F. LoSchiavo and M. Bonino in *Mache* 2000, 117–134 and 135–145. The concept of a Realm of the Dead beyond the sea usually has been traced back to the Greek idea of the Isles of the Blest. At least in the Archaic and Classical periods, however, the isles are imagined only as the mythic residence of a few heroes (for the discussion of a supposed voyage by sea in Minoan times, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 45–49) and therefore an improbable model for the Etruscan Beyond. Frequently in ancient religions we find the idea of crossing a river or a lake but not the sea. In the Near East we have the immense mass of fresh water under the earth, the isle of Uta-napishti beyond the ocean, and the Waters of Death in the *Epic of Gilgamesh,* which may have furnished the model for the Greek Isles of the Blest (for the text telling the search for and the story of Uta-napishti, see George 1999, 75–95) but not for a general Realm of the Dead beyond the sea. For a first survey of Near Eastern concepts of death and beyond, see various articles in *Death in Mesopotamia* 1980; Kappler 1987, 47–116; and *Mort* 1982, 349–418; Chiodi 1994.

102. An initial list of models of chariots and chariots in tombs: Ducati 1943, 412–415, but see also Colonna 1980, 188, n. 39. An extensive catalogue of the chariots found in Italy and the problems involved: Carri 1997; Adam 1993, 88.

"Pietra Zannoni": Ducati 1910, 583–586, fig. 46; Meller Padovani 1977, 52–56, no. 25, figs. 45–47. A chariot is also represented on the *stele* of Via Tofane, second phase: Meller Padovani 1977, 44–45, no. 20, figs. 31–32. The tendency of the interpretation has been moved in the past decades to a more "realistic" meaning, an aristocratic parade: Colonna 1980, 188; Sassatelli 1988, 208; Cerchiai 1988, 232–233, fig. 57.1, who compares Assyrian friezes with the royal chariot (fig. 56.1; the whole frieze: Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936, Album pl. 49), but that comparison shows exactly the important difference between the two pictures: the Assyrian warrior, who does not hold the reins but a lance, is no taller than the horses and in no case could his head be higher than that of the person in the chariot. The excessive size of the man leading the horses on the *stele* of Zannoni, however, which nearly exceeds the frame and certainly is not attributable to a lack of skill of the sculptor, makes him the dominant figure; he cannot be a groom. Torelli (1986, 173) interpreted the chariot scene on the ivory pyxis from the Tomba della Pania at Chiusi in an eschatological sense; contra: Cristofani 1996, 8–9 (= *Scripta selecta* II 903).

103. Iaia 1999, 142 (English summary); 24–25.

104. Van Gennep 1960, 146.

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