DIVINE TRIADS ON AN ARCHAIC ETRUSCAN FRIEZE PLAQUE FROM POGGIO CIVITATE (Murlo)

(Con le tavv. I-XII f. t.)

On a wooded hill site near the citadel town of Murlo (1), some twenty-five kilometres south of Siena in the heart of Tuscany, excavation by Bryn Mawr College over the past four summers has uncovered a substantial complex of buildings together with a large quantity of architectural terracottas. The buildings, already presented elsewhere (2), date from the Archaic Etruscan period, about the middle of the sixth century B.C. The terracottas, of coarse

(1) This study was originally given as part of a seminar on the material from Murlo at Bryn Mawr College in the Fall of 1968. I wish to thank Margaret George Butterworth for the drawing and for extensive ground work done on the frieze as a Senior honors thesis at Bryn Mawr in 1967-8. J. Penny Small, Docent Carl Eric Östenberg, Professors Georges Dumézil, Einar Gjerstad, Erik Sjöqvist, and Doctor Guglielmo Maetzke, Soprintendente alle Antichità d'Etruria, Florence, were all kind enough to read or discuss various aspects of the paper and offered many useful criticisms and suggestions. Above all, I must record my gratitude to Professor Kyle M. Phillips, Jr. of Bryn Mawr College for the opportunity to work with the material over the course of four summers at Murlo and for his unfailing help and guidance on this paper as classroom teacher, field instructor, and friend. The opinions expressed, needless to say, are entirely my own responsibility. Study photographs of the Murlo friezes were taken by Göran Söderberg; final publication photographs are courtesy of the Florence Archaeological Museum, where the pieces, recently cleaned, were photographed by Cesare Mannucci. Photographs of other material were made possible by funds from the Bryn Mawr College Excavations in Tuscany. Princeton, January 1970.

(2) Reports on the excavation may be found in *AJA* LXXI, 1967, pp. 133-9, pls. 39-46; *AJA* LXXII, 1968, pp. 121-4, pls. 45-52; *AJA* LXXIII, 1969, pp. 333-9, pls. 79-84; *AJA* LXXIV, 1970, pp. 241-4, pls. 51-4; *Not Scavi*, 1966, pp. 5-17; *Not. Scavi*, 1969, pp. 38-50; *Dialoghi Archeol.* I, 1967, pp. 245-7, figs. 39-41; *Dialoghi Archeol.* II, 1968, pp. 104-6, figs. 1-2. A summary of the first two seasons' work appeared in *Archaeology* XXI, 1968, pp. 252-61. In addition, many of the better pieces from the first four seasons are described and illustrated in the catalogue (*Poggio Civitate*, Firenze, 1970) of the exhibition held in Florence and Siena under the auspices of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità d'Etruria.

clay and often minimal firing, nevertheless present some outstanding workmanship and include akroteria, lateral and raking simas, antefixes, and four different types of frieze reliefs. These last represent a banquet scene, a horse race, a procession, and a row of standing and seated figures. To answer all the questions raised in connection with them would take far more time and knowledge than is now available. We do not yet know, for example, where the molds for these plaques were made, what stylistic influences affected them, the exact nature of the building they were placed on, or even precisely where on the building each type was placed. Their dating in time is also something of a guess based on relative stylistic factors, though we do have evidence from pottery as well (3), and the four plaques form a stylistic unit with parallels in Korinth and Ionia. But setting these problems aside for the moment, we can at least study the designs of the friezes. Three of them show scenes more or less familiar in the context of Etruscan art; the fourth, that depicting the row of standing and seated figures, presents an unusual iconographical system which may prove to be valuable material for the study of Etruscan religion.

As yet we have no complete plaque of this type in really good condition; hence several fragments are included among the illustrations (4). The drawing by Margaret George Butterworth (*fig.* 1) was made after close study of several hundred such fragments, and though provisional is substantially correct. Paint may have been used to add additional details: traces of it have been found on two of the other types, though not yet on this one. Moving from right to left, however, on the frieze as we have it, the first figure (*tav.* I) is seated on a simple type of folding chair (δίφρος ὀκλαδίας) (5) with his feet on a more elaborate curling stool. He

(3) For the pottery cf. *AJA* LXXI, 1967, pls. 44-5, *AJA* LXXII, 1968, p. 122, pl. 52, and *Not. Scavi,* 1969, p. 40, fig. 2. More recent digging has uncovered several small fragments of Greek ware which support this dating.

(4) Cf. *AJA* LXXII, 1968, p. 123 for the initial description and commentary on the plaque. Mrs. Butterworth's provisional drawings of all four frieze types may be found in *Archaeology* XXI, 1968. Of the pieces here illustrated, 68-264 (*tav.* I) was previously catalogued in less complete form as 67-290 and published under that number in *AJA* LXXII, 1968, p. 123, pl. 50, fig. 16; *Archaeology* XXI, 1968, p. 259; *Not. Scavi,* 1969, p. 47, fig. 2, 68-295 (*tav.* II *b*) was partially published as 67-297 in *AJA* LXXII, 1968, pl. 50, fig. 17.

(5) For this type of folding chair cf. G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of*

is bearded, wears a straight one-piece garment as do all the figures with one exception (the fourth figure), and holds in his right hand a short staff or sceptre whose upper end describes a broad curve in

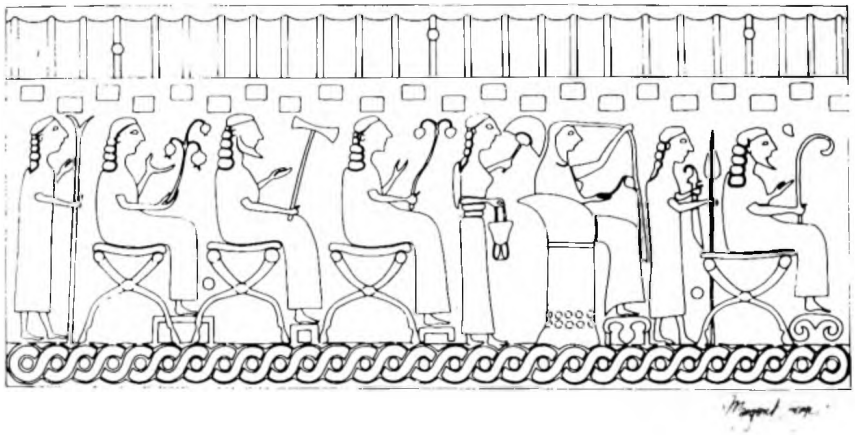

fig. 1 - Murlo: reconstruction drawing of frieze plaque-seated and standing divinities.

the manner of a *lituus*. Between this curved section and the man's head is a small teardrop-shaped raised area which seems unrelated to the rest of the frieze and which may be an imperfection in the mold.

The second figure (*tav.* II *a*) stands behind the first, beardless but of uncertain sex (6), holding in the left hand a sword with a curved hilt (7) and in the right hand a spear. Behind him or her is another seated figure, this time clearly a woman, in a very elaborate throne similar to those at Chiusi and Praenes-

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the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans, 1966, pp. 43-6. The closest parallel to this particular model is probably that of the two seated men facing each other on the Campana slabs now in the Louvre, for which cf. M. PALLOTTINO, *Etruscan Painting*, 1952, p. 35.

(6) While bearded figures are presumably male, the presence of beardless male riders on the horse race type frieze (*tav.* IV *a*) is ample warning against the assumption that all male figures must be bearded. Nor is the appearance of very slight modeling of the breast on some figures sufficient evidence that only these figures are female.

(7) A similar type of sword appears on the *stele* of Larthi Aninies from Pomarance near Volterra. Cf. L. A. MILANI, *Italici ed Etruschi, Atti Soc. per il progresso delle scienze*, 1908-9, pp. 237-59, pl. XVI fig. 72.

te (8). Her head is covered by a close-fitting hood, and her left hand holds out her cloak at arm's length from the top of her head. The right hand holds a stalk with some rounded object (a fruit or flower?) at the end. Her footstool curls down into straight legs and is perhaps even more elaborate than that of the man in front of her. The fourth figure stands behind the third with a fan in one hand and some sort of bag or *situla* in the other. The modeling of the breast identifies her as a woman also; she is of course beardless and her garment is belted at the waist. Comparison should be made here with the garments and equipment of the two figures following the wagon in the procession frieze (*tav.* IV *b*). Clearly the same type of iconography has been used here to identify a similar attendant figure. The fans in both cases, moreover, resemble types found in tombs at Populonia (9).

The fifth, sixth, and seventh figures (*tav. III b*) are all shown seated on simple folding chairs like that of the first figure, but with simpler rectangular footstools of varying dimensions. All have their left hand extended, palm up; the fifth and seventh figures clasp in their right hands branches with a fruit which may be the pomegranate (in the case of the seventh figure the fruit is almost certainly pomegranates). The sixth figure, on the other hand, is clearly bearded and holds in his right hand what is unmistakeably a double axe. The best parallel seems to be the *fasces*-axe from Vetulonia (10). The eighth figure stands; he is beardless and of indeterminate sex, like the second, fifth, and seventh figures. In his left hand he holds a long staff on which he appears to lean; its upper end forks out into two separate branches which then curve down.

Thus briefly we have the Murlo assembly frieze. Its closest

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(8) For the Chiusi throne cf. DUCATI, *A. E.*, pl. 70, fig. 210; for the Barberini chair from Praeneste, DUCATI, *A. E.*, pl. 37, fig. 125.

(9) For example, the Tomba dei Flabelli di bronzo of the late seventh or early sixth century. Cf. A. MINTO, in *Mon. Ant. Linc.* XXXIV, 1931, pls. 7-8, and *Populonia*, 1943, pl. 37. Also A. DE AGOSTINO, *La necropoli arcaica di Populonia*, 1967, fig. 9.

(10) Now in the Florence Archaeological Museum. Cf. NOGARA, *Etr.*, p. 67. The resemblance to the Murlo double axe is quite striking, except of course for the fact that no strips of wood can be discerned around the shaft of the Murlo axe. For a number of other double axes, cf. MILANI, *op. cit.*

terracotta parallel in Etruscan art (11) is probably the similar frieze plaque from Velletri (*tav.* V *a, b*) (12) in which a row of six seated figures greets two smaller standing ones who approach them. Attempts to see a group of Etruscan magistrates here have not been convincing (13); in my opinion Åkerström's proposal of the introduction of Herakles into Olympos (14) is far more plausible. But even assuming that this plaque does present an assemblage of divinities, it is by no means so easy to identify them. The first figure, by virtue of his position, might well be Zeus (15), as Åkerström says, and the third, because of his *tutulus,* Hermes; the assignment of the second figure, with the *lituus*, to Vertumnus, is also possible. But for the second group of three figures no identifications have been made, because there is nothing to identify. It seems more

(11) In discussing seated figure groups in Etruscan art I have omitted the many patterns of seated and standing figures with staffs, garlands, etc. on stamped bucchero ware, because the detail is usually not fine enough to be of real help, and the attributes do not in any case resemble those seen here. A recent detailed study of these stamps with many fine drawings has been done by F. SCALIA, *I cilindretti di tipo chiusino con figure umane, St. Etr.* XXXVI, 1968, pp. 357-401.

(12) A. ANDRÉN, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples,* 1940, pp. 407 ff. pl. 128. Some difficulties exist over the hypothetical reconstruction which (unnecessarily I think) makes the fourth seated figure a reduplication of the first one. For pictures of the original fragments cf. the article by P. J. RIIS, in *Acta A.* XII, 1941, pp. 66-78. Photos courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Campania-Napoli; neg. nos. A/1966, A/1968.

(13) S. MAZZARINO, *Dalla Monarchia allo Stato Repubblicano,* 1945, pp. 58 ff. He postulates three different ranks of magistrates, then links each rank to a pair of figures, the first and fourth, the second and fifth, the third and sixth. But his hierarchy of magistrates is largely speculation, he has nothing with which to connect them to this frieze or the attributes shown on it, and his pairs of figures depend on the dubious reconstruction mentioned above. Cf. R. LAMBRECHTS, *Essai sur les magistratures des républiques étrusques,* 1959, pp. 188 ff.

(14) Å. ÅKERSTRÖM, *Untersuchungen über die figürlichen Terrakottafriese aus Etrurien und Latium* in *Op. Rom.* I, 1954, pp. 191-233.

(15) The difficulty of nomenclature for the gods arises here. Of course we have Etruscan names for many Greek gods, but they are largely just terms without any real connotation. Our knowledge of these figures really comes from their similarity to Greek and Roman deities, and certainly we identify them through that similarity. Thus a composite reference like Zeus-Tinia-Jupiter would probably be most accurate, but that is impossibly cumbersome. Accordingly I have chosen to use Greek names except in the section discussing certain Roman cults. I hope by this usage the reader will understand those aspects of the Greek gods which are taken over by the Etruscans and incorporated into their own system.

likely, in fact, that the artist of the Velletri plaque never intended to represent anything beyond a general assembly of anonymous gods; the action of the scene, if Åkerström has read the frieze correctly, is sufficient to identify it. Herakles and a divine escort approach Zeus-Tinia and the rest of the Etruscan Olympians. The Murlo frieze has no such concrete action; it depicts no recognizable event or happening, and because of this absence of context it may seem harder to discuss than the Velletri frieze. But actually I believe the specific, concrete iconography of the Murlo plaque will make it much easier to analyse. A *lituus*, a double axe, an elaborate throne, a sword and spear, pomegranates — these are not the attributes of a family reunion, or an assembly of magistrates. Taken separately, they invite curiosity. Found together, as they are here, they form a complex of symbols which demand interpretation and an individual identification of the figures who bear them. In the case of these figures such an identification is surely only possible on the divine level. For the moment that is more a hypothesis than a fact, but if we take it as a working hypothesis I think the results will justify it.

If this is a divine assembly, then, the first figure, starting from the right again, must be Zeus (16). The beard, sceptre, and seated position support this view, but the use of a *lituus*, more common in the hands of augurs (17), as a sceptre is unexpected. However, the attribute is not unknown to Zeus: a bronze statuette (*tav.* VI *a*) (18) from his sanctuary on Mt. Lykaion, dated in the second half of the sixth century, shows the god seated with a fragmentary thunderbolt in his left hand and a modified *lituus* in the right. The cult nature of the statuette, moreover, suggests that the attributes used may be of great antiquity in their association with the god. A se-

(16) I refer the reader to the initial identification of these figures by K. M. Phillips, in *AJA* LXXII, 1968, p. 123. As will be apparent later, I agree with his conclusion for the first three figures, though not always for the same reasons, but have drawn different inferences on the composition and rationale of the left side of the frieze.

(17) Cf. the augur with the *lituus* going into battle on the procession frieze from Palaestrina (*tav.* V *c*). Andrén, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-4, pl. 115. Photo courtesy of the Villa Giulia Museum.

(18) Athens: National Museum 13209. Cf. K. Kouriounotes, in *Eph. Arch.*, 1904, pp. 187-8, figs. 12-4; also A. B. Cook, *Zeus: a Study in Ancient Religion*, 1914, I, pp. 86-7. Photo courtesy of the Museum.

cond, less sure parallel appears on a black-figure vase from Caere now in the Vatican Museum (19). Zeus, flanked by other divinities, sits enthroned with a small hooked stick in his hand, and an owl clinging to the stick. The full curve of the *lituus* is gone, but the remnant may still indicate a time when it was a standard device of the ruler of the gods. In Italy no such evidence has up to now been found, but literary sources confirm the *lituus* as a mark of authority. Servius (*Aen.* 7,187) defines it as follows: *id est regium baculum, in quo potestas esset dirimendarum litium.* It was considered, then, to be the « staff of kings ». Vergil himself in the line Servius refers to makes it originate with Romulus, who was both king and augur (20). Possibly the augur later assumed it as his own symbol when the two offices separated. At any rate it continues to represent executive power, as its wielding by magistrates on various Etruscan *cippi* (*tav.* VI *b, c*) (21) shows. It seems likely enough that all these uses trace back to an original connection with Zeus; in any case, the *lituus* clearly pertains to divine, royal, religious, and civic figures and constitutes an extremely flexible symbol of power. The Velletri plaque, in which the second figure holds the *lituus* while the first has a plain staff, demonstrates how easily attributes could be exchanged. But the combination of the *lituus* with the first position in the Murlo frieze surely indicates a person of extreme importance. He could be a very high-ranking magistrate, but I believe that consideration of the other figures in the frieze will show that this can only be a divine group, and that its leader must be Zeus.

The second figure (*tav.* II *a*) stands behind the first; thus we are dealing with a subordinate, an attendant of some sort. But instead of the standard devices of an attendant this figure holds a sword and spear. And the fact that the sword is held by the blade rather than by the handle leads one to believe that these weapons

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(19) *Museo Etrusco Vaticano,* 1842, vol. II, pl. 42, fig. 2b.

(20) *Aeneid* 7.187 - - *ipse Quirinali lituo parvaque sedebat,* with the *Quirinali* presumably referring to Romulus.

(21) Palermo: Museo Nazionale nos. 12-3 and 152, for which cf. E. PARIBENI, *I Rilievi Chiusini Arcaici, St. Etr.* XII, 1939, pls. 28.1 and 19.1. For the deceased holding the *lituus* as an isolated figure, cf. F. MAGI, *Stele e Cippi Fiesolani, St. Etr.* VI, 1932, pls. 4-5. Photos courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità-Palermo.

are additional symbols of the power of the preceding figure. This is, in other words, an arms-bearer, and an arms-bearer for the king of the gods can only be Athena (22). We saw before that the figure was beardless and could be male or female. Of course Athena usually appears in full dress, with *aegis*, helmet, and thunderbolt, but there is ample evidence that she is not always so elaborately presented in ancient art. A Pontic *amphora* from Vulci (*tav.* VII *a*), now in Munich (23), shows Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite approaching Paris. Athena, in the middle, is without *aegis* and bears only a spear with which to identify herself. A tripod *kothon* from Lille (*tav.* VII *b*) (24) shows Athena bringing up the rear of the same procession armed with only her spear. And on the Boccanera slabs (*tav.* VII *c*, *d*), now in the British Museum (25), she leads the group of three, with a garland in one hand, a spear in the other, and once again without the *aegis*. Of course all these examples show the Judgment of Paris (26), and thus Athena is easy to identify from context (27). But perhaps this is just

(22) While there is ample representation of Zeus brandishing a spear in Greek art, there is virtually no certain occasion on which he can be said to use a sword, or even to hold one: cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 712-22. This absence is unfortunate, but not completely negative. If the Etruscans choose to arm their Zeus with a sword rather than the familiar thunderbolt, that is surely their privilege; a single thunderbolt would not in any case be so impressive or significant in a culture where so many gods had the power to use it. The point is that the second figure is carrying some sort of arms for the first one, and those arms are, if not entirely familiar, not inappropriate to the king of the gods.

(23) Munich: Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 837. Cf. P. Ducati, *Pontische Vasen* (Bilder Griechischer Vasen, V), 1932, pls. 1-2. Photo courtesy of the Museum. Note that both Priam and Hermes hold *kerykeia*, or *caducei*.

(24) Lille 763. The other two legs show Akhilleus and Memnon, and two warriors. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, 1956, p. 681, no. 122 bis. I am grateful to Mme. S. Besques-Mollard, who is preparing the material from Lille and Amiens for publication, for permission to publish this photograph.

(25) Cf. *Etruscan Culture: Land and People*, 1962, figs. 373-4. Photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

(26) With the possible exception of the last example, the Boccanera slabs. But even if the two slabs together do not illustrate the Judgment of Paris, I think the man with a staff and woman with a spear on the left-hand slab can only be Hermes and Athena in one of the many myths in which they appear together.

(27) The whole question of identifying individual goddesses in scenes of the Judgment of Paris is a difficult one which we cannot go into here. Among

the point. When context has already made the identity of the figures clear, less trouble may be taken over portraying them. If we know that we are looking at three specific goddesses, a spear is ample indication of which one is Athena. Likewise, if we know that the Murlo frieze represents a divine assembly, it is simple to pick out Athena by the sword and spear she carries for her father. Further elaboration would be not only unnecessary but difficult in this medium. A helmet, for example, would force the artist to further shorten a figure already out of scale, and the possibilities for modeling a very clear profile *aegis* in terracotta are limited. The artist has done what he could with the available space; his Athena, if not elegant, is at least recognizable in a criterial role.

The third figure, as we saw before, is female (*tav.* II *a*). Thus she is also the first seated female, and that fact, together with the elaborate throne, marks her out as Hera if the assembly is a divine one. So much we can say without reference to the other details of the figure. When we do turn to the peculiar gesture of the outstretched cloak, however, we find that it is a motif characteristic of matrons in general and of Hera in particular. The Pontic vase mentioned above (28), for example, shows Hera in the exact same pose walking behind Hermes. On a black-figure *neck-amphora* (*tav.* VIII *a*) in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (29) she again holds her cloak out while sitting on her throne in anticipation of the approaching Hephaistos. And on two sides of a tripod *kothon*

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other problems, there were misunderstandings and confusion from one artist to another when they tried to interpret each other's work on the basis of such subtle distinctions. A look at the second and third goddesses on the Boccanera slabs seems to show that sometimes no such distinctions were made at all (Unless we count the third figure's bared legs. Cf. J. HARRISON, *Prolegomena to the study of Greek Religion*, third ed. 1922, pp. 294-6). And consideration of the position of Athena on each of the examples given should demonstrate that no fixed order is followed; probably any goddess can appear in any position.

(28) Cf. *supra* n. 23.

(29) Oxford: Ashmolean Museum 1920.107. BEAZLEY, *ABV*, *cit.*, p. 89, no. 2; *CVA*, pl. 4.1, pl. 9.2. Here the myth of the return of Hephaistos makes the identity of the seated figure quite clear. Of course she is seated in the chair because she cannot get out of it, but the gesture with the cloak is quite unnecessary to the scene; it makes better sense as a criterial attribute of Hera. Photo courtesy of the Museum.

(*tav.* VIII *c-d*) in the Louvre by the C Painter (30) there are goddesses with outstretched cloaks who are very probably Hera. Moving down into the fifth century, we see the goddess prominently displayed in this pose on the east end of the Panathenaic Frieze of the Parthenon (31). And yet again, on a metope (*tav.* IX *a*) from Temple E at Selinos (32), she starts to draw a garment from across her face as she moves to greet her new husband Zeus. The gesture involved in all these examples seems to be a two-dimensional representation of the act of covering the face with a cloak, a gesture of modesty appropriate to married women and especially to the protectress of married women. Occurrences of the pose in other contexts tend to confirm this view: on the François Vase (33) Thetis holds out her cloak as she waits to greet the wedding guests from the safety of her house, and on a grave *stele* (*tav.* IX *b*) from Tegea now in Athens (34), a mourner sits by a funeral couch in the same pose. Only Lille 763, referred to above (*tav.* VII *b*) (35), strikes a dissenting note. Here the figure with the cloak seems more likely to be Aphrodite, a goddess not known for modesty or matronly qualities. The problem may be a confusion of attributes with the very similar Louvre *kothon*. Or perhaps Aphrodite simply hopes to impress Paris with her non-existent wifely virtues. In any case I think the general connotation of the pose has been establis-

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(30) Paris: Louvre CA 616. BEAZLEY, *ABV, cit.*, p. 58, no. 122, where he suggests that side B may represent Zeus and Hera greeted by the Charites. On the gesture of the outstretched cloak he adds, in *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*, 1951, p. 24, « a gesture, much used by brides and matrons, which first appears in the seventh century and persists throughout antiquity. » Photos courtesy of the Louvre.

(31) Cf. *L'Acropole d'Athenes: Le Parthenon,* 1910, pl. 127.

(32) Cf. E. LANGLOTZ - M. HIRMER, *Die Kunst der Westgriechen,* 1963, pls. 105-7. Photo courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità - Palermo.

(33) Firenze: Museo Archeologico 4209. BEAZLEY, *ABV*, *cit.*, p. 76. FURT.-R., pp. 11-3, pls. 1-3.

(34) Athens: National Museum 55. Cf. R. N. THÖNGES-STRINGARIS, *Das Griechische Totenmahl, Ath. Mitt.* LXXX, 1965, pp. 97-8, pl. 6.1. Photo courtesy of the Museum.

(35) Cf. *supra* n. 24. If the staff held by the first figure is intended as a *lituus* or sceptre of some sort, then the second figure must be Aphrodite. If, however, the staff is just an ordinary walking stick, then I have no compunction about letting Aphrodite go first and Hera second. Cf. *supra*, n. 27.

hed. Nothing could be more natural than to find the figure we have already identified as Hera in this position. And that she is presented thus says much for the original contention that we are dealing with a divine assembly peopled by individual gods.

The fourth figure (*tav.* II *a*) is rather unusual in one respect: there is almost nothing unusual about her at all. She has no really distinctive attribute or pose, but rather the standard equipment of the servant as seen also in the case of the two attendants on the Murlo procession frieze. Of course the fan has elegant parallels from Populonia, as I mentioned before (36), but though it may thus indicate a very important servant (and very important people) it is not peculiar to this figure alone. Nor does the fact that she clearly attends Hera help much, for mythology provides us with no single name to attach to Hera's servant. We might suggest Iris, or Hebe, but some Etruscan deity whose name is unknown to us might be equally plausible. Perhaps the answer is rather that the artist of the Murlo frieze has simply not bothered to make the identity of this figure specific.

The same cannot be said of the next group of three figures (*tav.* III *b*). Pomegranates and a double axe are very specific attributes, and their appearance here suggests that the artist who designed them had very specific figures in mind. Possibly these figures are not divine – a double-axe *fasces* has been found at Vetulonia (37), a warrior holds a double axe on the *stele* of Aule Pheluske from the same place (38), and pomegranates are also seen on grave *stelai* as a sign of rebirth (39). But the *fasces* should be held by an attendant, that is, the second figure, not the sixth one. And mourning or dying women will find little place in an assembly such as this. If it is a group of magistrates, it is a very strange one. A family hierarchy – husband, wife, children, servants – seems even less likely. Again I think that only the assumption of a divine assembly will explain the precise juxtaposition of iconography found

(36) Cf. *supra*, n. 9.

(37) Cf. *supra*, n. 10.

(38) Also in Florence. Cf. NOGARA, *Etr.*, p. 326. Possibly a cult symbol, but a double axe is after all a very natural weapon for a fully-armed warrior such as we see here. That the sixth figure on the Murlo frieze, seated and dressed as he is, could be a similar warrior, seems highly improbable.

(39) Cf. MAGI, *op cit.*, pl. 1.

here. The artist intended his public to recognize his creations as individual gods. We may not find them so easy to identify, but at least we may see that they were meant as such.

The pomegranates, quite clear in the case of the seventh figure, suggest Persephone, or, since there are two figures with fruit here, Persephone and Demeter. Goddesses in both Greek and Etruscan art often hold flowers or fruit to make their hands seem more graceful, but the use of pomegranates here is definite (40). What Demeter and Persephone would be doing in this frieze is another question, and one which may be related to the problem of the sixth figure, the middle one in the group. The artistic arrangement of the frieze suggests that these three deities function as some sort of unit, with the double axe in the middle as the key to that unit. Assuming that the flanking figures are Demeter and Persephone, we may more readily be able to pin down the identity of the center figure as well, and then go on to discuss the nature of the group as a whole and its appearance in this particular context.

Double axes, of course, go back to the time of the Bronze Age Minoans, when they were used, together with the horns of consecration, as independent cult symbols. To some scholars the axe was also connected with a Minoan sky god whom we may well see on a Melian onyx gem running across the sky axe in hand (41). From this figure and his Near-Eastern relations it would be a short step to Kronos and his successor Zeus, but the double axe does not accompany the Greek god until the fourth century, when Zeus *Labradeus* (42) begins to appear on coins of Hekatomnos and Mausolos in Karia. In Etruscan religion, on the other hand, the double axe or hammer is most readily associated with Charun,

(40) Only Persephone need actually hold pomegranates, and in fact the certain pomegranate-holding figure here is where we would expect to find Persephone--behind Demeter (that she is also behind the sixth figure is a problem to be discussed below). Demeter — the fifth figure — might be holding apples (cf. Prof. Rhys Carpenter's suggestion of Demeter *Malophoros* in *AJA* LXXII, 1968, p. 123, n. 20) or almost any fruit.

(41) Cf. J. Boardman, *Island Gems Aftermath*, *JHS* LXXXVIII, 1968, pp. 4-5, no. 188 ter, fig. 1; also Cook, *op. cit.* at n. 18, II, p. 544, fig. 419. Unfortunately the gem's location is unknown, and the accuracy of the drawing with respect to the double axe cannot be checked.

(42) For the evidence on this cult cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 559-99.

the Etruscan death demon (43). At first a grim and silent supervisor of death (François Tomb) (44), he later appears announcing death to his victims and finally even usurps Hermes'role of *psychopompos*. Over a range of 150-odd representations he is almost never without his primary attribute (*tav.* IX *c*) (45); this, even when clearly a hammer, so frequently resembles the double axe that we may allow for a certain fusion between the two. But even supposing the symbolism to be the same, we are faced with a serious chronological difficulty. Charun does not seem to appear in Etruscan art until the fourth century; in fact death demons in general do not appear in Etruscan art until the fourth century, despite the presence of numerous tomb paintings from earlier periods. Grave *cippi* show almost the same pattern (46) --at some point c. 400 B.C., on the basis of our present evidence, the Etruscans' choice of subjects for tomb paintings and *stelai* apparently shifted from scenes of pleasant everyday life to visions of a horrific underworld machinery ready to drag them down to an Etruscan Hades. We cannot be sure of this shift, nor can we say what might have caused it. But the result is a rather large gap in our knowledge of Etruscan death iconography before the fourth century, and in that time the possibilities are many. We can note, however, that if Charun is not indigenous his source

(43) Virtually all the representations of Charun in Etruscan art are conveniently catalogued and discussed by F. De Ruyt in *Charun: Démon étrusque de la mort*, 1934. The following remarks lean heavily on his statistics.

(44) For the François Tomb, cf. Pallottino, *op. cit.* at n. 5, pp. 115-24.

(45) Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale 920 (4891). Beazley, *E. V. P.*, pp. 36-7. De Ruyt, *op. cit.*, no. 3, fig. 4. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

(46) The few winged figures accompanying funeral processions before the fourth century are here discounted as genuine death demons. De Ruyt, however, does list one very unusual sixth — or fifth — century grave *stele* from Felsina, now in Bologna, which must be discussed here (no. 155 De Ruyt). It shows a man on a couch rising up as he is about to be struck by a large figure with a hammer or axe (the right side of the stele is broken off). Behind them looms a giant horse that dwarfs both of them and above him, in paint only, a winged figure. The curious elements of detail, perspective, and scale make this scene most difficult to interpret, and I am not at all sure we can call the axe-wielder a Charun or even a death figure. If he is, it would push the symbolism of the axe back into the fifth century and open up interesting possibilities, but we must remember that it stands isolated against over 150 representations from the fourth century and later. Moreover, it is in any case an Etruscan figure; it may hasten the date of Charun's arrival in Etruria, but it bears little resemblance to the bearded divinity of the Murlo frieze. For a photograph and additional details, cf. P. Ducati, *Pietre Felsinee*, *Mon. Ant. Linc.* XX, 1910, p. 447, no. 175, fig. 60.

becomes a distinct problem, since his appearance is most un-Greek. One might also expect the hammer/axe to be a fairly ancient symbol, perhaps even preceding its wielder as a token of death, since he is almost never without it. But speculation cannot go much further. If we are to identify the sixth figure as a Hades-type underworld god flanked by his wife and mother-in-law, we must do so without any help from Greece or Etruria. Moreover, the whole process would involve moving away from Greek religious forms-Hades does not otherwise appear in Etruscan art until the third or second century (47)--rather than toward them. And this very fact, that Hades is conspicuously absent from Etruscan art of the fifth and fourth centuries, makes it doubtful that he would suddenly appear back in the sixth. For these reasons, though the hypothesis that the double axe signifies an underworld group is certainly possible, it seems unlikely.

The other god frequently shown with a double axe is Hephaistos. As a smith his natural tool is the hammer, and sometimes a pair of tongs are added. But the myth of the birth of Athena requires him to cleave Zeus' head, and for this he needs an axe. Hence the large number of paintings which show him falling back in surprise, axe in hand, as Athena begins to emerge from Zeus' skull (48). On the other hand, it is difficult to find examples of Hephaistos identified by his hammer outside of this context (49), and we may wonder just how criterial an attribute it is. Certainly the Etruscans were aware of the iconography, as a fourth-century mirror depicting the birth myth demonstrates (50). But one doubts whether the Etruscans would transfer such a context-oriented element as the axe to the more general atmosphere of the Murlo frieze. Moreover, if

(47) Tomb of Orcus, second chamber. Cf. PALLOTTINO, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-4.

(48) For example, Paris: Louvre CA 616, side a (*tav.* VIII *b*), cf. *supra* n. 30 (photo courtesy of the Louvre); London: British Museum B244 (*neck-amphora*), BEAZLEY, *ABV*, *cit.*, p. 271, no. 74, photo in *CVA*, pl. 59.4; London: British Museum B424 (*kylix*), BEAZLEY, *ABV, cit.*, p. 168, photo in *CVA,* pl. 71.2b.

(49) For two examples cf. London: British Museum B302 (*hydria*), BEAZLEY, *ABV*, *cit.*, p. 261, no. 40, photo in *CVA*, pls. 74.3 & 75.3; Oxford: Ashmolean Museum 511 (*stamnos*), BEAZLEY, *ABV*, *cit.*, p. 282, no. 20, photo in GERH., *A. V.*, I, pl. 39.

(50) Now in the Florence Archaeological Museum. Cf. GERH., *E. S.*, I, pl. 66.

the sixth figure is Hephaistos, we are left with no clue to the presence of the flanking figures--Hephaistos has no special connection with either Demeter or her daughter. We might call one figure Aphrodite, but we would still be short a name for the other. Nor is there any reason to expect to find Hephaistos among such select divinities. As before, it is possible that this bearded divinity with the double axe is the blacksmith of the gods, but the argument is not, in my opinion, very compelling.

Since the two likely proposals for this figure have not yielded very promising results, I should like to turn now to a third suggestion, less likely but perhaps more promising. If we look at a black-figure *neck-amphora* (*tav.* X *a*) now in Naples (51), we find a bearded divinity on a bull holding a drinking horn and flanked by two satyrs. So far it is a typical Dionysos scene, but in his other hand the figure holds a double axe. Nor is this an isolated example. An unpublished black-figure *amphora* (*tav.* X *b-c*) recently excavated at Vulci (52) presents much the same scene, except that the god now rides on a donkey. Another black-figure *neck-amphora*, this one in the British Museum (53) and also found at Vulci, shows Dionysos on one side and a garlanded divinity with double axe and donkey on the other. In the tondo of a red-figure *kylix* (*tav.* XI *a*) from Saturnia now in Florence (54) a bearded divinity sits in a winged car (Triptolemos-Dionysos motif), a double axe and flower in his left hand, a *phiale* in his right. And in the tondo of another red-figure *kylix* (*tav.* XI *b*) from Vulci in Berlin (55), the same scene is repeated with the

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(51) Naples: Museo Nazionale RC 221. Cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, II, p. 661. Photo courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Campania-Napoli. I am extremely grateful to Dietrich von Bothmer, Curator of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for locating this vase for me.

(52) I thank Giovanni Scichilone of the Villa Giulia for taking the photographs and for generously permitting me to illustrate this unpublished piece.

(53) London: British Museum B264. Cf. Beazley, *ABV*, *cit.*, p. 288, no. 19; Gerh., *A. V.* I, pl. 38; *CVA*, pl. 65.1. Also of this type is a strange black-figure amphora — showing a woman or boy on the donkey, holding the double axe, and flanked by satyrs — in the ancient collection (no. 88) of Carl Milles at Millesgården in Lidingö, Sweden.

(54) Florence: Museo Archeologico 81600. *CVA* XXXVIII, pl. 118. Photo courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità - Firenze.

(55) Berlin: Staatliche Museen 1757. Beazley, *ABV, cit.*, vol. II, pp. 174-5, no. 31; Gerh., *A. V.*, I, pl. 57. Photo courtesy of the Museum. The name around

substitution of a *kantharos* for the *phiale*. The story of Hephaistos' drunkenness and subsequent return to Olympos, most prominent on the François Vase, was a favorite theme of Greek vase painters. Thus these examples perhaps represent extensions to a general drunken-Hephaistos motif. But are they necessarily that? The problem is to determine what constitutes criterial iconography. Because Hephaistos is shown with an axe in scenes of one type, are we required to assume that this is still he, even in surroundings more familiar to another god? Or might we perhaps see the figure as Dionysos in

fig. 2 - Coin from Tenedos. London: British Museum.

his normal surroundings, but with a hitherto-unrecognized attribute? The question demonstrates the conservatism into which we are forced when our identifications depend entirely on iconography. Of course the difficulty cannot be solved absolutely, and the following arguments will not attempt to do so. The other evidence connecting Dionysos with the double axe--some coins from Tenedos (*fig.* 2) and a quote by Simonides (56)--show that he was familiar with it,

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the border had been thought to identify Hephaistos, but A. FURTWÄNGLER, in *Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium,* 1885, II, p. 548, reads the lettering as Kephi.toska.os, apparently a *kalos* name and not that of the god. For the Triptolemos motif of the winged car, cf. COOK, *op. cit.* at n. 18, I, pp. 211-37 and especially pp. 213-9.

(56) Free-standing double axes begin to appear on the coins of Tenedos from the sixth century on (*fig.* 2, photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum); the obverse shows a double-faced male/female head. Possibly there is a bisexual fertility motif in both symbols. From the mid-fifth century onward the axe is regularly associated with a cluster of grapes on these coins--also on a number of lead weights and especially on a Hellenistic bronze tablet for a Tenedian wrestler. The line from Simonides, quoted in Athenaeus 456 c-e, refers to the axe as Διονύσοιο ἄνακτος βουφόνον ... θεράποντα. All this is interesting, and shows that the Greeks might have had some reason to associate Dionysos and the axe, but for the moment such evidence is too localized to allow conclusions about the Etruscans' use of the symbol. Cf. COOK, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 654-62.

but they do not by themselves amount to a full-blown cult. What really does matter with regard to our problem is that Greek vase painters produced and exported a number of vases on which an axe-bearing deity is made to look remarkably like Dionysos. Given our extreme lack of knowledge about Etruscan religion in the sixth century, many possibilities emerge from this fact--a transferral of attributes by the Greeks and/or Etruscans, a legitimate cult of Dionysos as an axe-god, or even confusion in understanding the vases somewhere along the line between Greece and Etruria. We cannot be sure, but we can see that there is some reason to connect Dionysos and the double axe in the iconography presented to Etruria in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. (57).

Having made this tentative suggestion I should like to turn to the early fifth century in Roman history, specifically to 496 in Rome. According to our literary sources (58) a serious food shortage caused the dictator Postumius to consult the Sibylline Books, and these advised that a new temple should be dedicated to a triad of three deities. These deities Tacitus call Ceres, Liber, and Libera, but Dionysios, giving the Greek forms, Dionysos, Demeter, and Kore. The problems connected with this triad are numerous: the date, the plebeian center on the Aventine, the source of the triad, and the precise deities represented, have all been thoroughly discussed without finding any positive solutions (59). Such questions need hardly be thrashed out again, but at several points they concern the possibility of such a triad existing in sixth-century Etruria. First of all, the date of these events can still be taken at face value--the

(57) In this connection we might look at a curious painting in the Campana Tomb at Veii which shows a group of figures on horseback and foot accompanied by a number of wild animals, one of which, a cat, rides on the back of a horse. The lead figure carries a double axe. DENNIS (pp. 421-4, fig. 282) saw here a funeral procession, but the animals would be very strange in that context. Perhaps we have rather a Dionysiac procession, for which the tame behavior of normally savage animals would be quite appropriate, and the double axe might represent a symbol of the god's power.

(58) TAC., *Annales* II, 49; DIONYSIOS OF HAL., VI, 17.

(59) For two recent discussions of the problem with earlier bibliography, cf. H. LE BONNIEC, *Le Culte de Ceres à Rome*, 1958, and A. BRUHL, *Liber Pater*, 1953, pp. 13-45. Le Bonniec in particular is good on the sources, though I must disagree with his conclusion that, lacking other evidence, the triad was probably formed at Rome. See below.

triad temple need not have been founded by the plebeians, nor does its eventual usurpation by them necessarily relate to that original founding (60). Second, the date of the temple need not represent the beginning of the triad; the reference to the Sibylline Books, in fact, suggests that the triad was known in Rome before the idea of giving it this temple arose. And third, the origin of the cult is still a mystery, despite all the energy expended on it. In Greece it does not exist at all before 500, save at Epidauros and perhaps Thelpusa in Arkadia. In Southern Italy and Sicily Demeter-Kore and Dionysos are both very popular cults, but not together. And in Etruria there is again no evidence that these gods were ever worshipped as a group.

But the source, to judge by the names, would certainly seem to be non-Roman--Liber and Libera would never have been assigned to the unrelated Dionysos and Persephone unless the last two had previously been linked by some sort of external cult structure (61). If a pot inscription from Falerii Veteres (62) is reliable evidence, Liber is already associated with wine in the sixth century in Italy, and Ceres is likewise a well-known figure. In fact, some sort of Ceres-Liber cult may previously have existed, and Liber-Libera is clearly a bisexual duplication of an early vegetation god along the lines of Cacus-Caca or Faunus-Fauna. But to tie these two separate couples together would require that the triadic linking which connects Dionysos and Persephone have been accomplished elsewere, in a different language, before the names Liber and Libera were attached to them. Libera would thus replace Proserpina as the Latin form of Persephone in this context by virtue of her asso-

(60) On the question of date and the plebeian movement in Rome, I think A. ALFÖLDI's statements in *Early Rome and the Latins,* 1963, pp. 92-100, have been amply refuted by A. MOMIGLIANO in his review for *JRS* LVII, 1967, pp. 214-5.

(61) DIODORUS SIC. III, 64 and IV, 4 makes some attempt at a connection, surely late, between the two deities. Dionysos as the son of Persephone has something of an Orphic ring to it. An unusual black-figure *lekythos* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (no. 298, cf. HARRISON, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-83 and fig. 69) shows a large woman's head emerging from the ground as two satyrs strike at it in turn with hammers. Harrison suggests the *anodos* of the Earth-maiden (Gaia? Demeter? Persephone?), which could give us a link between Dionysos and Persephone, but still a very slim one.

(62) *CIE* 8079: cf. G. GIACOMELLI, *La lingua falisca,* 1963, n. 1, p. 41.

ciation with Liber (63). Where this triadic linking takes place is another question. The deities themselves must eventually trace back to Greece, but this particular group, as we saw above, is rarely found there. In Italy, the evidence for the cult is equally scarce. In Etruria, however, the argument is very definitely from silence (64). And I propose that the Murlo frieze may represent a break in that silence. The Etruscan Dionysos discussed above, flanked by Demeter and Persephone with their pomegranates, would produce the triad defined by Tacitus and Dionysios. Thus we could identify the double-axe figure while at the same time explaining the presence of Demeter and Persephone and rationalizing the use of all three as a unit here.

Triads, of course, are not a new idea in Etruria. In fact, we have already seen the Capitoline triad in the first three figures of our frieze. That fact was not mentioned in the above discussion for fear of prejudicing the argument with pre-established patterns; nevertheless, if my individual analyses are correct, they are Zeus, Athena, and Hera, and coincidence or not, those are the gods of the triad taken over from the Etruscans by the Romans at the end of the sixth century (65). Moreover, the presence of the triad sug-

(63) Cf. NAEV. II, vi, 29 (Vahlen): *prima incedit Cereris Proserpina puer,* and also G. DUMÉZIL, *La Religion Romaine Archaïque,* 1966, p. 641, where he suggests that Persephone probably becomes Proserpina through Etruscan intervention. If Proserpina is an early name for Persephone, and if the form does come from the Etruscans, then perhaps the use of Libera is thus explained: an Etruscan triad denoted X (Ceres), Proserpina, Fufluns is brought to Rome, the names changed to those of Latin deities (to make the cult more acceptable?) and because Liber's previous association with wine and fertility makes him a natural choice for Fufluns, he attracts the name Libera to Proserpina. But mythology never recognizes the artificial link preserved only in the triad, and in later times outside the cult the Etruscan name Proserpina becomes the standard one.

(64) P. DUCATI, of course, has already proposed such a triad for his « chthonian temple » on the *akropolis* at Marzabotto (*Le problème étrusque*, 1938, pp. 146 ff.) but unfortunately the complete lack of real evidence makes it impossible to take him seriously. For a more complete discussion of the problems connected with his theory cf. L. BANTI, *Il culto del cosidetto « Tempio dell'Apollo » a Veii e il problema delle Triadi Etrusco-Italiche, St. Etr.* XVII, 1943, pp. 187-224.

(65) Banti's fine article, *cit. supra,* maintains that the evidence for the Capitoline triad in Etruria itself is almost nonexistent, and she has undoubtedly performed a great service by making this point, for the cult's importance in Etruria as we see it now is often exaggerated. But I think she is also right in admitting the possibility that new evidence might change the picture. The presence of the

gests, though it does not prove, the following structure for the whole plaque: triad, servant, triad, servant (66). As the first triad came to Rome from Etruria, so would this second one. For despite the expulsion of the Tarquins some thirteen years before 496, according to the official chronologies, Rome would still be under the influence of a strong sub-Etruscan cultural period, and during that period Etruria must remain the most likely source of any new cults (67). Whether this particular cult of Demeter, Dionysos, and Persephone was originally a fertility triad in Etruria we cannot say. Presumably the Etruscans adopted the separate divinities from Greek tradition and reshaped them into their own personal structure. The gods in this new triad would then complement the Capitoline triad in some manner involving their natural association with the soil. But this is only speculation. The main point is that in terms of the frieze's artistic arrangement, the hypothesis of Dionysos and a second Etruscan triad answers many questions which other suggestions do not.

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triad on the Murlo plaque will perhaps not change it very much, representing as it does only one site, but it is important new evidence in an area where we do not have very much.

(66) Prof. Dumézil has discussed this point with me, and sees quite a different structure for the first four figures: man, servant, wife, servant. That of course would be quite a logical pattern, but the second half of the frieze does not carry it out. Moreover, we must interpret the plaque as a whole, and if the first two seated figures are simply a man and his wife, what are we to do with the other three and their strange equipment? Accordingly I must prefer the theory given here.

(67) On this point cf. H. H. SCULLARD, *The Etruscan Cities and Rome*, 1967, and R. BLOCH, *The Origins of Rome*, 1960, pp. 99-100. Scullard proposes this « sub-Etruscan » period as a phenomenon similar to the sub-Peisistratid period in Athens. The kings would be expelled in 509, and legitimate *consuls* begun immediately, as the *Fasti* state, but a large number of Etruscans would be left in Rome (hence Etruscan names on the consul lists) and their influence would die out only gradually. Bloch contends that archaeology puts the cultural break at Rome c. 475, and that the number of temples founded between 509 and 475 indicates Etruscan control even after the Tarquin expulsion. He makes both the Capitoline and Ceres triads Etruscan while leaving the Saturn temple (496) Italic. Though they differ somewhat in argumentation, I find both these views far more reasonable than theories which completely exclude all Etruscan influence from Rome after 509. For a slightly different approach and more thorough discussion of the evidence for this period, cf. E. GJERSTAD, *Legends and Facts of Early Roman History*, 1962, pp. 44-62.

There is still an eighth figure to discuss. He--though beardless there is no evidence of modeling for a woman's breast--bears as his only identifying mark a curious staff that looks something like an out-turned *caduceus*. This resemblance to the standard attribute of Hermes might lead us to some Etruscan form of the messenger god, and he, like Athena, is not out of place as an attendant, but there are difficulties with the staff (68). The procession frieze from Velletri (69) shows a Hermes *psychopompos* with the standard form of *caduceus*; on another procession from Acquarossa near Viterbo (70), a similar figure holds what may be a truncated version of the same--the curved fork of the top sets directly into the shaft of the pole. And nowhere in Greek art does there seem to be a form of *caduceus* or other attribute of Hermes like that on the Murlo frieze. On the other hand, an Etruscan bronze (*tav.* XII) now in the Florence Museum (71) shows a Hermes with a staff that looks rather more like the Murlo form--one branch at least curves out and down. If the Murlo figure is Hermes, moreover, he would occupy an attractive position between triads when the frieze plaques were set up end to end in a continuous line. But our knowledge of the Etruscan form is clearly incomplete. The staff may be only an elaboration of some simpler device like a shepherd's crook, and our eighth figure a lesser, generalized type of divine servant. The matter cannot be decided without more evidence.

Thus we have attempted to identify all eight of the figures on the frieze. I said above that if these figures were divinities, the general plausibility of identifying them as such, both singly and together, would strengthen that assumption. I think such identifications have now been shown to be plausible, and in some cases, almost necessary. The names used may not be entirely correct in the sense that no Etruscan deity corresponds exactly to his Greek or Roman counterpart, and some of the figures mentioned here no

(68) For a chart of the various forms of the *caduceus* cf. F. J. M. DE WAELE, *The Magic Staff or Rod in Greco-Italian Antiquity*, 1927.

(69) Cf. ANDRÉN, *op. cit.* at n. 12, pl. 126.

(70) Not yet formally published, though a photograph appears in *Tryckluft* 1968, no. 3. For the site cf. *Archaeology* XXII, 1969, pp. 233-4.

(71) Florence: Museo Archeologico 72725. Cf. DUCATI, *A. E.*, pp. 256-7, pl. 102 n. 271. Photo courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità - Firenze; neg. no. 1639.

doubt diverge more than others. But I do maintain that the Murlo frieze shows some form of the Capitoline triad, that there is a second triad related to the Roman one of Ceres-Liber-Libera, and that the frieze as a whole is a most important document in the study of Etruscan religion. Its unexpectedness may raise more questions than it answers--the location of this material so far north of Rome, possible influences from eastern Italy, the Etruscans' general reshaping of Greek religion, their awareness of Olympian-chthonic dichotomies, the use of iconographical attributes, and so forth. But these are all problems which for lack of evidence or attention have not been sufficiently explored, and we may hope that this new material from Murlo will add impetus to the effort toward their solution. (72) *

TIMOTHY NOLAN GANTZ

(72) Since the completion of this paper yet another double-axe figure has come to my attention, this one on a black-figure column *krater* in the museum at Agrigento (C1535). Again the axe-bearer is a bearded divinity on a phallic donkey, here flanked by a satyr to the left and a maenad to the right. Vines and clusters of grapes surround the figures.

(*) Questo articolo e quello dei proff. Cristofani e Phillips (vedi nella Parte IV) dovevano originariamente essere pubblicati nel volume precedente insieme con l'articolo di L. Shoe Meritt (pag. 13 sgg.), ma per motivi redazionali dovettero essere rimandati al presente volume, nel quale trovasi pure l'articolo di J. P. Small, subito dopo questo, sempre relativo agli scavi di Murlo e al materiale rinvenutovi (*N. d. R.*).

Murlo: Divinities inv. no. 68-264 H.-0.234 m. L.-0.543 m.

a) Murlo: Divinities inv. no. 68-309 H.-0.234 m.

b) Murlo: Divinities inv. no. 68-295 H.-0.235 m.

a) Murlo: Divinities inv. no. 68-299 H.-0.238 m.

b) Murlo: Divinities inv. no. 68-313 H.-0.235 m.

a) Murlo: Horse Race inv. no. 68-528 H.-0.238 m.

b) Murlo: Procession inv. no. 68-393 Pres. H.-0.163 m.

a) Divinities frieze from Velletri. Naples: National Museum.

b) Divinities frieze from Velletri. Naples: National Museum.

c) Procession frieze from Palestrina. Rome: Villa Giulia Museum.

a) Bronze statuette from Arkadia. Athens: National Museum 13209.

b) Funeral *cippus* from Chiusi. Palermo: National Museum 12-13.

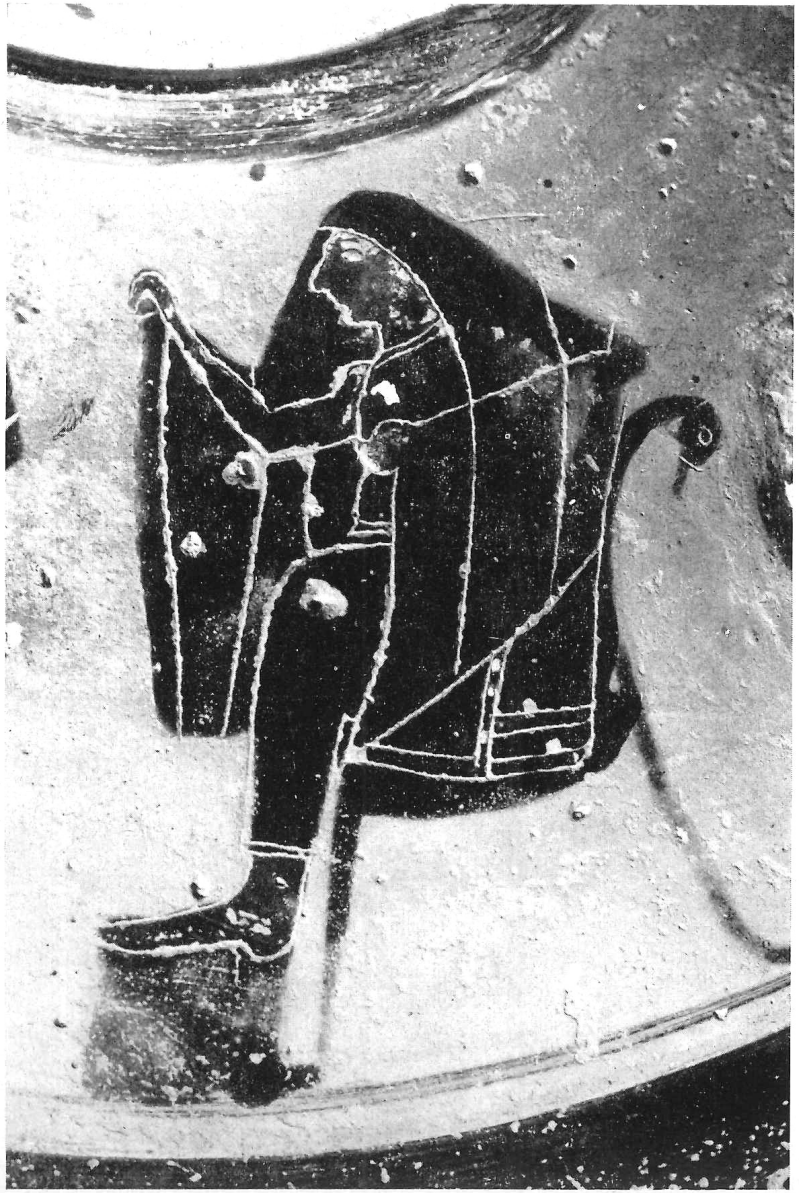
c) Funeral *cippus* from Chiusi. Palermo: National Museum 152.

a) Pontic amphora from Vulci. Munich: Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 837.

b) Tripod *kothon*. Lille 763.

c) Boccanera slab. London: British Museum.

d) Boccanera slab. London: British Museum.



a) Detail of neck-amphora. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum 1920.107.

b) Tripod *kothon*. Paris: Louvre CA 616 (side A).

c) Tripod *kothon*. Paris: Louvre CA 616 (side B).

d) Tripod *kothon*. Paris: Louvre CA 616 (side C).

a) Metope from Temple E at Selinos.
Palermo: National Museum 6202.

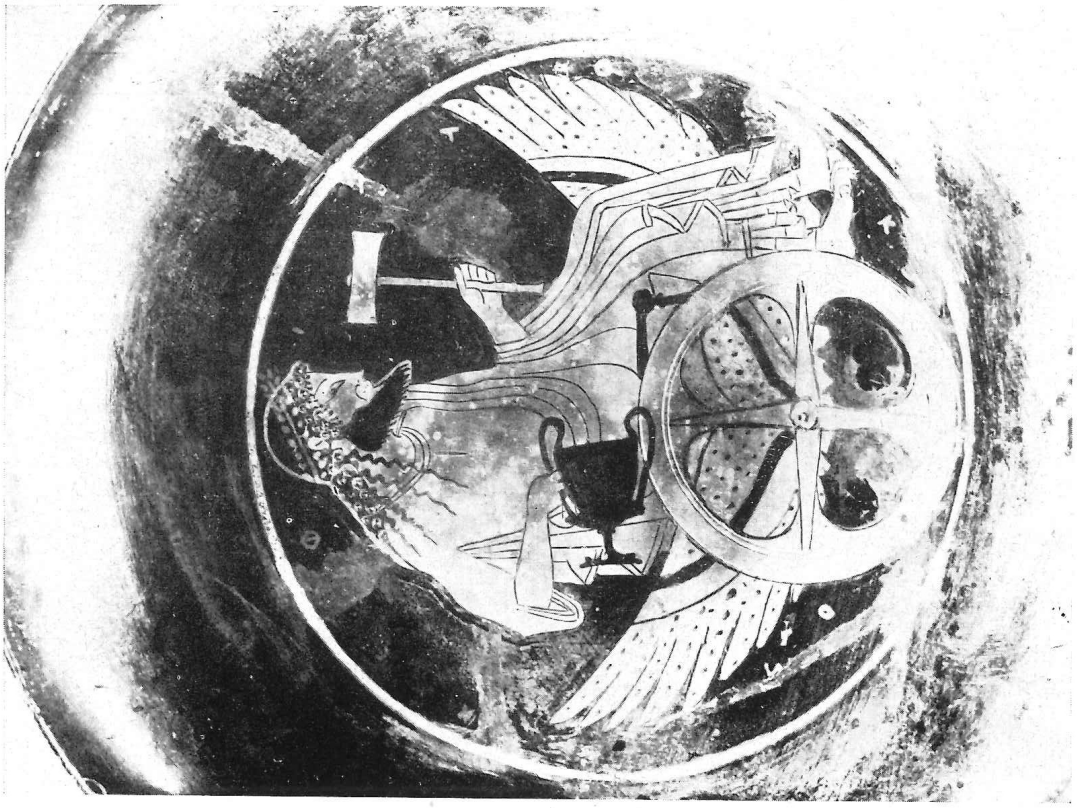
b) Fragment of grave stele from Tegea.
Athens: National Museum 55.

c) Kalix krater from Vulci. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale 920 (4891).

a) Neck-amphora. Naples: National Museum RC 221.

b) Amphora from Vulci. (Detail).

c) Amphora from Vulci. (Detail).



b) *Kylix* from Vulci. Berlin: Staatliche Museen 1757.

a) *Kylix* from Saturnia. Florence: Archaeological Museum 81600.

TAV. XII

Bronze statuette. Florence: Archaeological Museum 72725.