IPHIGENIA AULIDENSIS ON ETRUSCAN URNS
FROM PERUGIA

(Con la tav. XXXVI f.t.)

It has often been noticed that there is a strong congruence between the occurrence of certain series of mythological representations on Hellenistic Etruscan urns in North Etruria and the interest of Roman poets and audiences in tragedies with a Trojan or Theban theme in the late republican period, particularly in the second century B.C.[1]. The similarity in preferences have not yet been explained satisfactorily. In theory several causes and combinations of factors are possible:

1) Both Etruscans and Romans were interested in themes which had become popular in Italy particularly since Euripides' tragedies, from about 400 B.C. onward had influenced Apulian and other South Italian vase painters in the choice of their themes. The genesis of iconographical traditions in South Italy explains why about half of the basic schemes or cores of compositions of urn representations ultimately derive from South Italic sources. And the fact that some Roman poets came from South Italy and translated and adapted Greek classical drama, makes clear how the interest in Greek myth could grow at Rome[2].

2) Members of the upper and middle classes of Volterra, Chiusi and Perugia saw Roman theatrical performances at Rome and wished a climax scene on their urns with some reference to death[3].

3) Patrons in the places mentioned had performed Etruscan versions of Roman or Greek tragedies[4];

4) They were inspired only by Greek and/or Roman literature (epos, tragedy, mythographic authors), with or without illustrations[5].

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[1] LA PENNA 1977, 10-27.

[2] For archetype and models see Artigianato 1985, 208-212; VAN DER MEER 1977-78, 87-88. For Greek myth in Latin tragedies: LA PENNA 1983, 10-27.

[3] RIBBECK 1875, passim.

[4] HEURGON 1971, 348-349; CATENI-FIASCHI 1984, 45; VAN DER MEER 1977-78, 90-92.

[5] Some representations with two scenes from one tragedy or epos may derive from cyclic models (e.g. illustrated papyri, parchments or other kind of books, libri lintei).

Apart from these possibilities it should be born in mind that the reception of Greek myth originated from oral tradition; the epigraphic evidence shows that all mythological names have been borrowed from Greek, in successive waves, from c. 500 B.C. onward[6].

In this article I will pay attention to a group of travertine urns from Perugia representing the Sacrifice of Iphigeneia which could shed light upon these questions, although the conclusions will have, of course, no validity for all urns with mythological scenes. The theme was most popular at Perugia. Approximately 30 of about 80 urns with mythological scenes represent it[7].

One of the earliest urns in the series (Villa Giulia inv. no. 50311 (*CIE* 3914), *fig.* 1-2)[8], made in Pergamenian style and dated about 160 B.C., was found in 1844 in the hypogaeum of the Afle family in the vicinity of Villa del Palazzone, together with eight other urns, two of which, smaller and of poorer quality, represent also the Sacrifice of Iphigeneia (Villa Giulia inv. no. 50313 (*CIE* 3913) and 50312 (*CIE* 3909)[9]. All the nine lids have Etruscan inscriptions (*CIE* 3906-3914). The three I.A. urns belonged to deceased men. Two of them are brothers (*CIE* 3914-3913). Their urns belong to the oldest in the tomb. More than any other gens at Perugia the Afle (sometimes spelled Aufle; female form: Afli) family was interested in the Iphigeneia myth. As many other families at Perugia this family may have been of Italic origin: the gens Aufellia (with spelling variations) is attested above all in Campania and Latium[10]. So the Perugine family may easily have understood Latin.

The urn VG 50311, of la(rth): afle . se . an[e]inal (*CIE* 3914), gives the earliest, most original and detailed version of a rather constant scheme: *a*) Agamemnon about to kill his daughter Iphigeneia lifted up over an altar by Odysseus; *b*) a kneeling Klytaimestra (to the right) imploring Agamemnon, *c*) aggressive Greek soldiers with stones (to the right), *d*) a collapsing Achilles with stone in his right hand (in the bottom left corner), *e*) Artemis with deer (in the upper left corner), *f*) Vanth with uplifted torch behind the altar; *g*) a shade (?) (in the upper right corner). The scenes *a*, *b*, *c-d* show a clear knowledge of the plot of Euripides'

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[6] See H. Rix, *SDA-V* 5 (1981), 96-106. The tradition must have been tenacious. Monte Vile, near the Palazzone necropolis at Perugia, reminds us of the Latin cognomen of the Volumnii family, Violens, and the Etruscan name Vile which derives from Gr. Iolaos, as J. Heurgon has pointed out.

[7] For the chronology of Perugine urns, see A. Maggiani, *Artigianato* 1985, 35-36; Feruglio, *ibidem*, 110-117.

[8] BK I, pl. 20, 10; Cultrera 1927, 310-330; Helbig III, no. 2492 (T. Dohrn).

[9] About the discovery of the tomb, see Conestabile III, 1855, 113-121.

[10] Schulze 1902, 114-115. As for other (family) names of Italian origin (e.g. venete, lucania, ecnate) see *CIE* I. The cosmopolitan composition of the Perugine population may have favoured the oral tradition of Greek myths.

Iphigenia in Aulis (hence: I.A.), which has not been preserved completely. I deal first with the vexed question of the content and authenticity of the play [11].

EURIPIDES' IPHIGENIA IN AULIS

One of the last three tragedies the poet wrote during his stay at the court of the Macedonian king Archelaos at Pella (408-407 B.C.) was Iphigenia in Aulis. It was staged at Athens only after his death by his son (probably in 405 B.C.), not without success. Although Euripides had won first prizes for only four of his 25 tetralogies during his life, his trilogy containing Iphigenia in Aulis, Alcmeon and Bacchae became a posthumous success: it got the first prize again. The poet changed a known myth in a particular way: although Iphigeneia does not want to be sacrificed to Artemis in the first instance, she changes her mind and decides to die for the sake of Hellas. Aeschylus, in his tragedy Agamemnon (230-236), and probably Sophocles, in his lost tragedy Iphigenia, had described her as a reluctant victim.

For clearness sake we must summarize the content of Euripides' play. In the prologos (I.A. 1-163) Agamemnon asks his Old Man (presbytes) to despatch a new letter to Klytaimestra telling her not to send her daughter Iphigeneia to Aulis. Previously he had asked her to do so on the pretext that Iphigeneia would marry Achilles. The real reason was that she had to be sacrificed to Artemis because Kalchas had ordered it because of an oracle. Only after the sacrifice could the Greeks sail to Troy. In the first episeidion (I.A. 303-542) Menelaos intercepts the letter, opens it and accuses Agamemnon of infedility, cowardice, and lack of leadership. A messenger announces the arrival of Klytaimestra, Iphigeneia, and the little Orestes. Menelaos now impressed by the dilemma and the sadness of his brother changes his mind and is willing to disobey Kalchas. In the second epeisodion (I.A. 590-750) Agamemnon meets his wife and daughter, tells them that the wedding ceremony will take place at full moon and tries to send Klytimestra back to Argos. She refuses. In the third epeisodion (I.A. 801-1035) Achilles meets Klytaimnestra and reveals that he does not know anything about the marriage. The full truth of Agamemnon's deceit is revealed by the Old Man: Agamemnon will sacrifice Iphigeneia with his own hand (I.A. 873). Shocked by this plan Achilles offers to save her life: Iphigeneia will not be slaughtered. He advises Klytaimestra to implore her husband not to fulfil his murderous plan (I.A. 1015). In the first

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[11] The most recent comment and translation are given by JOUAN 1983. The best text edition is: GÜNTHER 1988. See further: HUMBLE 1950; AMMENDOLA 1959; MURRAY 1963; WEBSTER 1967; GUÉPIN 1968; VELLACOTT 1972 (English translation); O'CONNOR 1987.

part of the exodos (I.A. 1098-1507) Klytaimestra begs Agamemnon to spare the
life of their daughter. In a more emotional way Iphigeneia implores her father
to save her life. Agamemnon however answers that he has to do what the oracle
says. Then Achilles tells Klytaimestra and Iphigeneia that his Greek soldiers are
threatening to stone him to death. The army, and particularly Odysseus, want
blood in order to sail to Troy. Finally Iphigeneia changes her mind and decides
to die for Hellas.

The second part of the exodos (I.A. 1532-1629) cannot have been written
by Euripides. A Messenger tells Klytimestra the details of the sacrifice:

1) Agamemnon in his sadness turns his head away and holds his robe before
his eyes when his daughter arrives to be sacrificed [12];

2) The herald Talthybios calls the army for silence;

3) Kalchas takes his sword and places a wreath on the head of Iphigeneia;

4) Achilles besprinkles the altar with water and prays to Artemis;

5) Kalchas is about to cut the throat of Iphigeneia;

6) Iphigeneia vanishes and a wounded, dying deer on the ground stains the
altar with its blood.

The details of the actual end of the tragedy are not congruent with the con-
tents of the preceding verses, unless Agamemnon and Achilles have completely
changed their minds. In theory the preparation for the sacrifice could have been
shown on stage because it was foiled by Artemis (see below). On the other hand,
from the technical point of view, it would have been difficult to make Iphigeneia
disappear and have her replaced by a deer.

The story of the Messenger would have been consistent if:

1) Agamemnon had made preparations to sacrifice Iphigeneia (cf. I.A. 873;
1178; 1510-1520; cf. also Hyginus' Fab. 98, 4: quam cum in Aulidem adduxisset
(sc. Ulixes) et parens eam immolare vellet, Diana virginem miserata est et caliginem
eis obiecit cervamque pro ea supposuit . . .);

2) Odysseus had led Iphigeneia to the altar (cf. I.A. 1362; this detail is found
too in Euripides' Iphigenia in Tauris (hence: I.T. 24);

3) Kalchas had done the initial acts of the sacrifice, by attending to barley-
meal and hand-washing or lustral spray (cf. I.A. 955) [13];

4) Achilles had been reluctant (cf. I.A. 1349);

5) probably Iphigeneia had been lifted up over the altar by Odysseus (cf.
Euripides' I.T. 26-27).

6) probably Artemis had replaced Iphigeneia by a deer (cf. Aelianus Historia

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[12] The description may have been « borrowed » from the famous painting of Timanthes,
cf. Löwy 1929, 16. As for Timanthes see now De Chiaro 1984.

[13] Vellacott 1972, 402 translates « hand-washing »; Jouan 1983, 98: « eau lustrale en
prélude au sacrifice » (Gr.: chernibas t'enarxetai).

animalium 7,39 (citing Euripides' Iphigenia) « I will put into the hands of the Achaeans a horned deer, and sacrificing this they shall say confidently that they are sacrificing your daughter »). Cf. further Hyginus' Fab. 98 quoted above. Hyginus often uses Euripides as source of his myths.

It is clear that the actual end of the play must have been added at some later date after 407 B.C., not only for reasons of content but also of style and metre. The most detailed and accurate analysis of the exodos is offered by S. Cecchi [14]. He has refuted the theory of D. L. Page that the verses (I.A. 1532-1577) would be « quite early work; if we like, as early as 360-350 B.C. » [15]. He rightly concludes that a large part (I.A. 1545-1578) has been copied, sometimes almost verbatim, from Euripides' Hecuba (lines 521-539), probably in a very late period because some interpolations are Byzantine [16]. In this piece of plagiation the role of Achilles is identical to that of Neoptolemos in Euripides' Hecuba. The text from line 1578 to the end seems primarily the work of a Byzantine humanist or grammarian, although some verses might date from the fourth century B.C. In the two manuscripts of the fourteenth century, the Laurentianus XXX and Palatinus 287, a second hand is visible after lines 1578 and 1570 respectively, possibly that of the scribe responsible for the end of the piece.

Some scholars assume that Euripides did not finish his tragedy and that his son made the actual form of the exodos, which might have been illegible in the manuscript of his father. Others believe that this was done in the fourth century B.C. [17]. Both assumptions seem to me most unlikely because the Athenian public certainly would have noticed the inconsistencies in the final part of the play.

So, from the philological point of view, we are uncertain of what the exodos was like. It can have varied from place to place, and from time to time, especially due to actors' interpolations from c. 400 till c. 200 B.C. Between c. 257 and 180 B.C. Aristophanes of Byzantium made standard editions and hypotheseis of some of Euripides' tragedies. It is striking that of the seventeen remaining tragedies of Euripides Iphigenia in Aulis is the only one that lacks a hypothesis. This is not a set-back for it is known that the remaining hypotheseis, made by Aristophanes of Byzantium at about 200 B.C., do not give a true picture of the contents and actions of the plays [18]. Usually the first part of the play is skipped over, and in

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[14] CECCHI 1960, 69-87.

[15] PAGE 1934, 199; he assumes that the lines 1547-50 (about the mourning Agamemnon) have been inspired by the famous painting of Timanthes. This seems probable. Unfortunately however, we do not know the status of the painting. If it has been a votive pinax made on the occasion of the theatrical performace of I.A. at Athens in 405 B.C., his theory does not hold.

[16] Already suggested by LÖWY 1929, 22.

[17] As for the status quaestionis see JOUAN 1983, 28 and GÜNTHER 1988, XI-XII.

[18] See G. LUCK, *AJPh* 97 (1976), 65-72.

half of the cases the deus ex machina is not even mentioned[19]. The hypotheseis are concerned with the story of the myth and the poet's additions or changes.

EURIPIDES' I.A. IN VISUAL ARTS

Most important is an Apulian amphora by the Iliupersis painter (c. 375-350 B.C.)[20]. It shows a man with sword and sceptre who is about to sacrifice Iphigeneia standing by an altar in the centre of the scene. Behind Iphigeneia appears a deer. On the top right Artemis is standing and to the top left above Apollo is seated. To the left of the altar a young man is holding a sacrificial plate. In view of the sceptre we must assume that Agamemnon, and not Kalchas, is the executor of the sacrifice. Of course, it cannot be proved that the vase painter depicted the final scene of Euripides' Iphigenia. At least Apollo is an uneuripidean addition, not uncommon on Apulian vase scenes. At any rate, if the painter used Euripides' I.A., he did not depict the unauthentic messenger story.

Two series of so called Homeric cups (6 in total), probably made in Macedonia (c. 225-168 B.C.), show altogether 10 scenes (I.A. 1-1338) from Euripides' tragedy (one of the inscriptions states disertis verbis: Euripidou Iphigeneias)[21]. All the scenes show meetings between two, three or four dramatis personae mentioned in the prologos and epeisodia. K. Weitzmann assumes that a third, not yet discovered, series of cups rendered the final scenes of the play in four or five pictures[22]. He has even tried to reconstruct a complete cycle of illustrations by including an architectonic frieze from a temple at Termessos in Pisidia with two scenes (c. 120 B.C.)[23], the ara of Kleomenes and a Byzantine ivory casket from the eleventh century A.D. under the assumption that the messenger story was written by Euripides himself[24]. From the methodical point of view his reconstruction is unacceptable, because the Macedonian cup makers have rendered scenes in a way completely different from the Termessos frieze and other later representations. There have been cyclic representations in various regions of the ancient world, like for example the famous Telephos frieze from Pergamon. The lively style of the Macedonian cup reliefs suggests that the scenes reflect real theatre

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[19] This holds good for Supplices (Athena), Electra (Kastor), Iphigenia in Tauris (Athena), Ion (Athena), and Helena (Dioskoroi).

[20] SÉCHAN 1926, 371-378; TRENDALL-CAMBITOGLOU 1978, 204 no. 104; GOUREVITCH 1978, 153-157 (sees influence of Euripides' I.A.).

[21] WEITZMANN 1949, 177-192; HAUSMANN 1975, 220-230; SINN 1979, 109-113, 52, 54, 57-59.

[22] WEITZMANN 1949, 187.

[23] STÄHLER 1968, 280-289 (assumes that the two scenes represented derive respectively from Euripides' I.T. (left scene) and I.A. (right scene). The temple probably was dedicated to Iphigeneia.

[24] SÉCHAN 1926, 377 also held the final part of the tragedy as authentic.

performances [25], with some contemporary additions (e.g. the presence of Elektra) and non-euripidean captions. The cups show conversation scenes only. Perhaps this was the reason why the exodos, particularly the messenger story, was not rendered at all.

Almost contemporary with these cups are the earliest Etruscan travertine urns from Perugia [26]. The earliest are of the highest quality. They are large (length c. 70 cm.), have very high reliefs (with an altar rendered in perspective), the later ones (c. 150-100 B.C.) are smaller (length c. 50 cm.), have low reliefs (with frontally rendered altar), in a rather stiff, linear, local style, which shows influences of non-hellenistic popular art « primitivismo provinciale » due to a « substrato italico » and decline of technical ability (B. M. Felletti Maj). The more recent ones belong to a workshop, called by A. E. Feruglio « la bottega dei Satna » and dated about 100 B.C. [27]. As far as is known all the lids have Etruscan inscriptions, which indicates that the whole group was made before c. 80 B.C. Latin inscriptions are not found within our group.

It seems that the earliest urn (cf. *fig.* 1-2) was used as prototype for the rest of the series, a phenomenon which can be noticed also in workshops at Volterra. As has been noticed already partly by E. Loewy, the earliest urns show a very clear knowledge of the authentic part of Euripides' tragedy [28]:

1) Agamemnon dressed in cuirass and armed with a sword is about to kill Iphigeneia (cf. I.A. 873/1178);

2) Iphigeneia is held by Odysseus (cf. I.A. 1362 and Euripides' I.T. 24-27);

3) Iphigeneia is willing to die (her arms are stretched out, without resisting Agamemnon or Odysseus, cf. I.A. 1397);

4) Klytaimestra to the right touches the knees of Agamemnon (cf. I.A. 1015) (Loewy incorrectly interpreted her as Iphigeneia);

5) Greek soldiers to the right of the altar raise their hands in order to stone Achilles to death (cf. I.A. 1349). A collapsed Achilles (in the bottom left corner) supported by an assistant has a stone in his right hand. E. Löwy, however, inter-prets him as a Greek for reasons of artistic symmetry, which seems to be less logical.

On some later urns above the altar can be seen a woman who covers her head with her mantle:

6) As R. Rebuffat has pointed out, she may be the personification of the Night, on the analogy of the same element on Perugine urns with the representations of

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[25] Already suggested by PAGE 1934, 749-750. Contra: HAUSMANN 1975, 220 (« keine Erinnerung an Bühnenbilder »). As models he postulates metal vases made at Alexandria. Such have not been found until now.

[26] BK I, pl. 35-45. LÖWY 1929, 1-41.

[27] FERUGLIO 1977, 110-117; PAIRAULT 1972, 101-103, pl. 37-45.

[28] LÖWY 1929, 1-41.
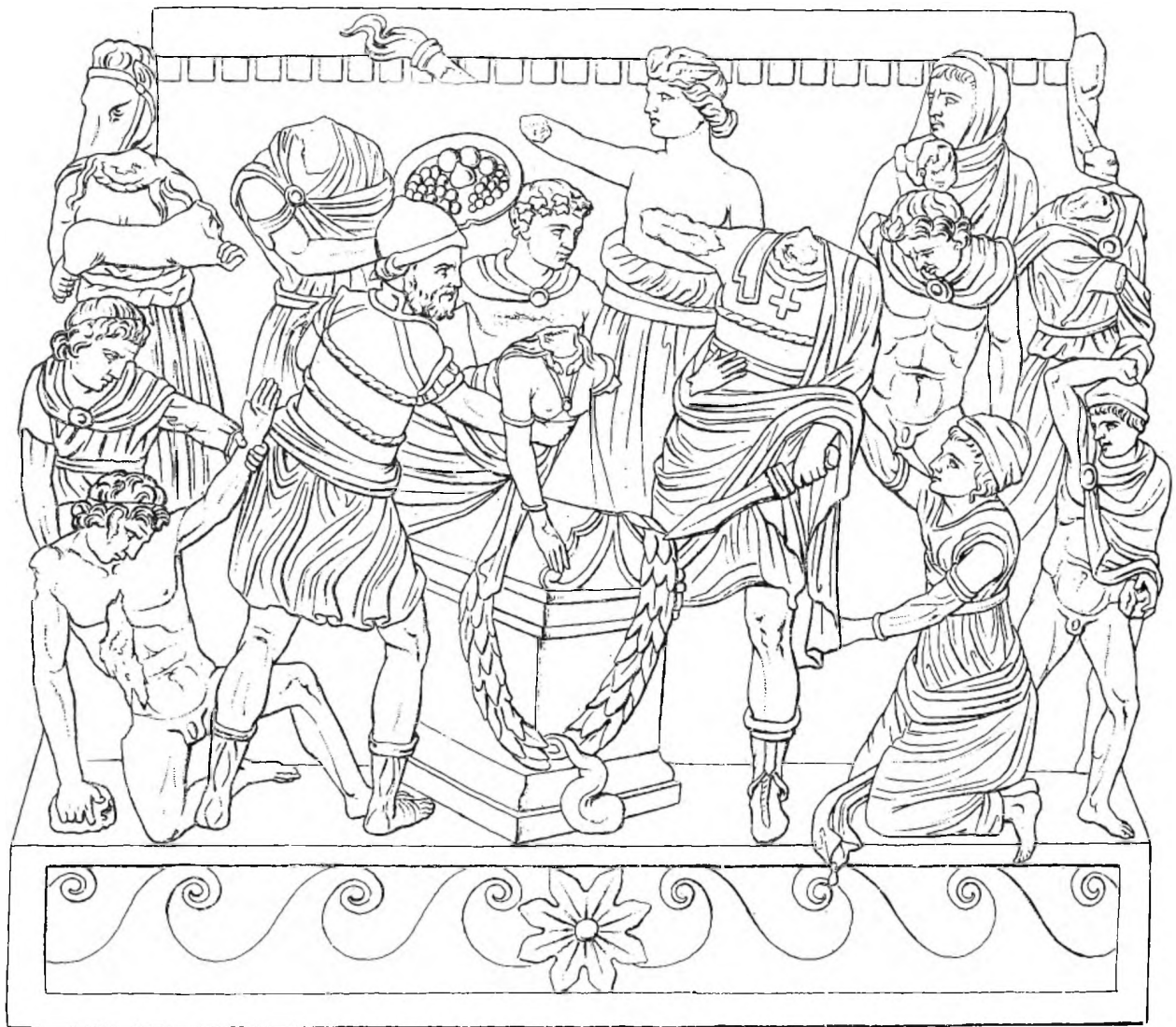
fig. 1

Troilos' Death [29]. Troilos according to ancient authors was murdered by Achilles during the night. According to Euripides (I.A. 717) Iphigeneia would be slaughtered at night. On some later urns the motif is misunderstood: instead of Nyx we see a wailing-woman;

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[29] REBUFFAT 1979, 430.

7) Artemis carrying a deer is always present in the top left corner. If Aelianus' quotation (see above) really refers to Euripides' I.A., Artemis was a dea ex machina, before, in or after the messenger story. Usually such a divine intervention occurs in Euripides' tragedies at the very end, and at least in one case even to prevent murder (Orestes 1625). But because Artemis addresses her speech to Agamemnon or Klytaimestra, the intervention probably took place before the messenger story.

It is clear that the artisans at Perugia combined successive scenes of the Euripidean plot in a simultaneous way: 1) Klytaimestra begging Agamemnon; 2) Achilles threatened; 3) the initial sacrifice; 4) Agamemnon about to slaughter his daughter; 5) Artemis about to replace Iphigeneia with a deer.

According to O. Ribbeck the tragedy Iphigenia of Ennius (c. 200-169 B.C.), a translation and adaptation of Euripides' tragedy, influenced the artisans of Perugia [30]. The presence of armed soldiers on the urn scenes would be a visual reflex of Ennius' chorus of soldiers. Instead of the Euripidean chorus of Chalcidian women, the Roman poet used a chorus of impatient soldiers (possibly following Sophocles' Iphigenia) [31].

Gellius 10.10.12: quocirca statim proferri Iphigeniam Q. Enni iubet. in eius tragoediae choro inscriptos esse hos uersus legimus:

> hoc idem est: em neque domi nunc nos nec militiae sumus.
> imus huc, hinc illuc; quom illuc ventum est, ire illinc lubet.

Although Ribbecks hypothesis is interesting, some objections can be made. It seems improbable that stoning was staged. As for the urns, it is striking that the soldiers are not dressed as Roman soldiers.

MODELS

Some elements of the composition have been copied from Greek models rather than from a realistic performance on a Roman or Etruscan stage. This does not exclude, of course, that contemporary theatre performances at Rome and/or Perugia inspired the patrons of the workshops, the auctor intellectualis of the earliest urn relief, and particularly the commissioners.

The question is whether the artisan, if he was directly or indirectly inspired by Euripides' or Ennius' tragedy or the Etruscan staging of it, copied his simultaneous representation from a cyclic model [32], a series of successive scenes on papyri,

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[30] RIBBECK 1875, 101.

[31] WARMINGTON 1967, 308-309; JOCELYN 1967, 336-337 tends to deny that Sophocles was followed. See further O. SKUTHCH, *PhM* 96 (1953) 193-201.

[32] Suggested by LÖWY 1929, 23.

parchments, libri lintei or small portable objects. If he did so, where did the model(s) come from?

We must exclude that Macedonian cups were used because these vases have not been found in Italy. Moreover the style of the urns bears no resemblance to that of the cups. On the other hand it should be remarked that the series of Perugine urns with the representation of the Battle between Alexander the Great and the Persian king Dareios III resembles very much the basic scheme of the same historical scene on a relief cup of Popilius dated by M. Verzar in the first half of the second century B.C. [33]. Popilius made his cups at Bevagna not far from Perugia. The cups of his workshop have been inspired by the form and vegetal ornaments of the Macedonian ones. So, in theory, some of the Iphigeneia scenes also could have been copied from a model in the minor arts.

The compositional and stylistic details of the earliest urns, however, point in the direction of Pergamon. The collapsing Achilles in a corner position reminds us of sitting figures in the famous group of Dying Celts [34]. The kneeling Klytaimestra dressed in Pergamenian fashion occurs again in the well known Volterran urn series representing Telephos menacing Orestes [35] The basic scheme of this series, as F.-H. Massa-Pairault has pointed out, has its almost exact counterpart in the Telephos frieze of the Pergamon altar [36]. This might imply that a Pergamenian artisan offered a model or made one of the first urns in the Volterran series or that models from Pergamon arrived at Volterra about 160 B.C. The question was whether the creator of the earliest I.A. representation at Perugia used a cyclic model. There is only a slight indication elsewhere in Umbria. At Pantano an exceptional sarcophagus from the second century B.C. shows at least three scenes from the Trojan cycle: a conversation between Achilles and Klytaimestra (?), Agamemnon sacrificing Iphigeneia, and two Greeks with a captive [37].

One interesting detail, however, indicates a non-cyclic origin [38]. A collapsing man (usually in corner position) and soldiers with stones in their raised hands occur again, in almost identical schemes, in a series of Etruscan urns with the representation of a Centauromachy [39]. There Lapiths fight their adversaries with

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[33] VERZAR 1976, 121, 132, fig. 2. The chronology is disputed; O.-W. VON VACANO, RM 73-74 (1966-67) 73-74 dates the Popilius vases around 100 B.C. As for the Alexander urns, see BK III, pl. 111-112.

[34] See T. DOHRN, in HELBIG no. 2492.

[35] Cf. particularly the Perugine *I.A.* urn BK I, pl. 45, 21 (where Klytaimestra kneels on one knee) with the Volterran Telephos urn BK I, pl. 33, 16. Achilles on the same urn reminds us of the Pasquino group.

[36] PAIRAULT-MASSA, *Artigianato* 1985, 81.

[37] VERZAR 1976, 137 fig. 9.

[38] DAREGGI 1972, 35 suggests « una derivazione da un unico modello », without specifying its Greek or non-Greek origin.

[39] BK II, 2, pl. 69,5; 70, 1-2; CATENI-FIASCHI 1984, 92, pl. 12; The « Helfermotiv »

their own weapons. Therefore, it is most likely that the motive of the stone-throwers has been adopted from a Centauromachy model. This means that the maker of the earliest urn made his model by using in an eclectic way very different iconographic traditions. That this was done in *Perugia*, seems very likely because the four alabaster urns from Volterra with the same theme only show the core of the composition, the altar scene [40]. The central group differs in details: Iphigeneia is lifted up by two men, Odysseus and a companion, in frontal view. It reminds us of the central group in the famous pastiche-like painting in the House of the Tragic Poet at Pompeii [41]. In both cases Iphigeneia willingly stretches out both arms to heaven. In view of the style the central group of the painting may derive from a Pergamenian painting. How Pergamenian schemes arrived at Perugia, cannot be reconstructed. But it is interesting to note that Etruscan and Latin inscriptions on urns mention persons from Asia Minor, e.g. Efesiu (*CIE* 4557), Antigona (*CIE* 4361) and possibly Antiocus (*CIE* 3349). The name of a coroplast from Kolophon on an architectonic fragment of terracotta, found at the Roman colony Rimini and dated c. 200 B.C., testifies the presence of artisans from Asia Minor in Central Italy [42].

THEATRICAL PERFORMANCE.

Which causes can have motivated the auctor intellectualis or the commissioner of the first I.A. urn at Perugia to choose the Iphigeneia myth?

Already the earliest I.A. urn shows also non-Greek, original elements. The local color is visible in the presence of the female demon of death, Vanth, with

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(the collapsing Achilles sustained by a friend) may be have drawn from Amazonomachy scenes. As for a variation of thisi figure (BK I, 44, 11) Dohrns assumes influence of the small Attalid memorial of Greek and Persians.

[40] For eclecticism of Perugine artisans: DAREGGI 1972, 24. An eclectic modus operandi is shown by the composition of the terracotta tympanum from Civitalba (ca. 180 B.C.). It represents the Discovery of Ariadne in three scenes. In this triptych the lateral scenes have Greek compositional precedents, the central one however (probably Dionysos and Ariadne marrying under a mantle) shows an Etruscan conception (VERZAR 1976, 133 fig. 3). As for the Volterran urns see BK I, pl. 46, 22-24; *CUV* 1, 64-65, no. 78.

[41] As for recent literature about the Pompeian painting and the relation with the Greek painting of Timanthes (ca. 400 B.C.) see now DE CARO 1984, 46. Löwy's suggestion that the central group of Volterran urns and of the painting would be copies of a lost painting of Timanthes' rival, Kolotes, cannot be proved.

[42] See G. SUSINI, *AC* XVII, 1965, 302-305, pl. C ([Dio]nysios [Colop]onios epoi[ei]). The terracotta tympanon (representing the Discovery of Ariadne; see note 28) and frieze (probably a reflex of the battle between Romans and Gauls in Asia Minor in 189/8 B.C.) from Civitalba (ca. 180 B.C.) both show influence of Pergamenian style, cf. VERZAR 1976, 122-125, fig. 3-7.

uplifted torch and of a snake at the foot of the altar probably indicating the acceptance of the sacrifice by Artemis. And Artemis herself looks like Vanth. Moreover, Iphigeneia wears a cross-belt between her bare breasts, which is characteristic of Vanth too. It probably indicates that she is doomed to death [43]. It reminds us of Ennius' interpretation of Iphigeneia's willingness to die [44]:

Acherontem obibo ubi Mortis thesauri obiacent.

Cicero, Tusc. I.116:

Iphigenia Aulide duci se immolandam iubet ut hostium (sanguis) eliciator suo.

Another realistic element, probably a local interpretation, is the defensive act of Achilles: he tries to grab a stone.

Although the libation act of Agamemnon, pouring lustral water over the head of Iphigeneia, is mentioned by Euripides (I.A. 1510-1520), an interpretatio etrusca is not to be excluded for the libation motif occurs also on urns with a local theme, the myth of Olta [45]. On later I.A. urns we see in the superior part of the relief musicians, victimarii and other assistants, who do not occur on the earlier ones [46]. The person who is capite velato (in the right upper corner) may indicate, as T. Dohrn suggested, the presence of the deceased watching the happy ending of the story [47]. The man with sacrificial plate fruits behind the altar is probably a visual « translation » of Euripides' I.A. 1470 (« prepare the holy vessels »). The top of the altar with decorations in the form of peltae (a favoured motive on Perugine urns) is of local origin. So, at least five elements point to a Perugine interpretation of the tragedy.

Apart from these there are other indications that the earlier urn reliefs came into being under the influence of an Etruscan theatre performance, probably an adaptation of Ennius' tragedy, in which aggressive soldiers played an important role:

1) On the left small side of the urn (fig. 2 a) a Vanth with a torch is about to lead away a semi-nude man with arms bound behind his back. His dress looks remarkably like the subligaculum of a gladiator [48]. Although exact parallels from the period about 160 B.C. are missing, on North Etrurian Perugine urns, in a

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[43] Atalanta in the urn series showing the Hunting of the Calydonian boar wears the cross-belt too; cf. BK II, pl. 60-61.

[44] WARMINGTON 1967, 310-311; JOCELYN 1967, 330-332, fr. XCVII.

[45] BK III, pl. 8-10; Artigianato 1985, 86 no. 67; 103-104 no. 97.
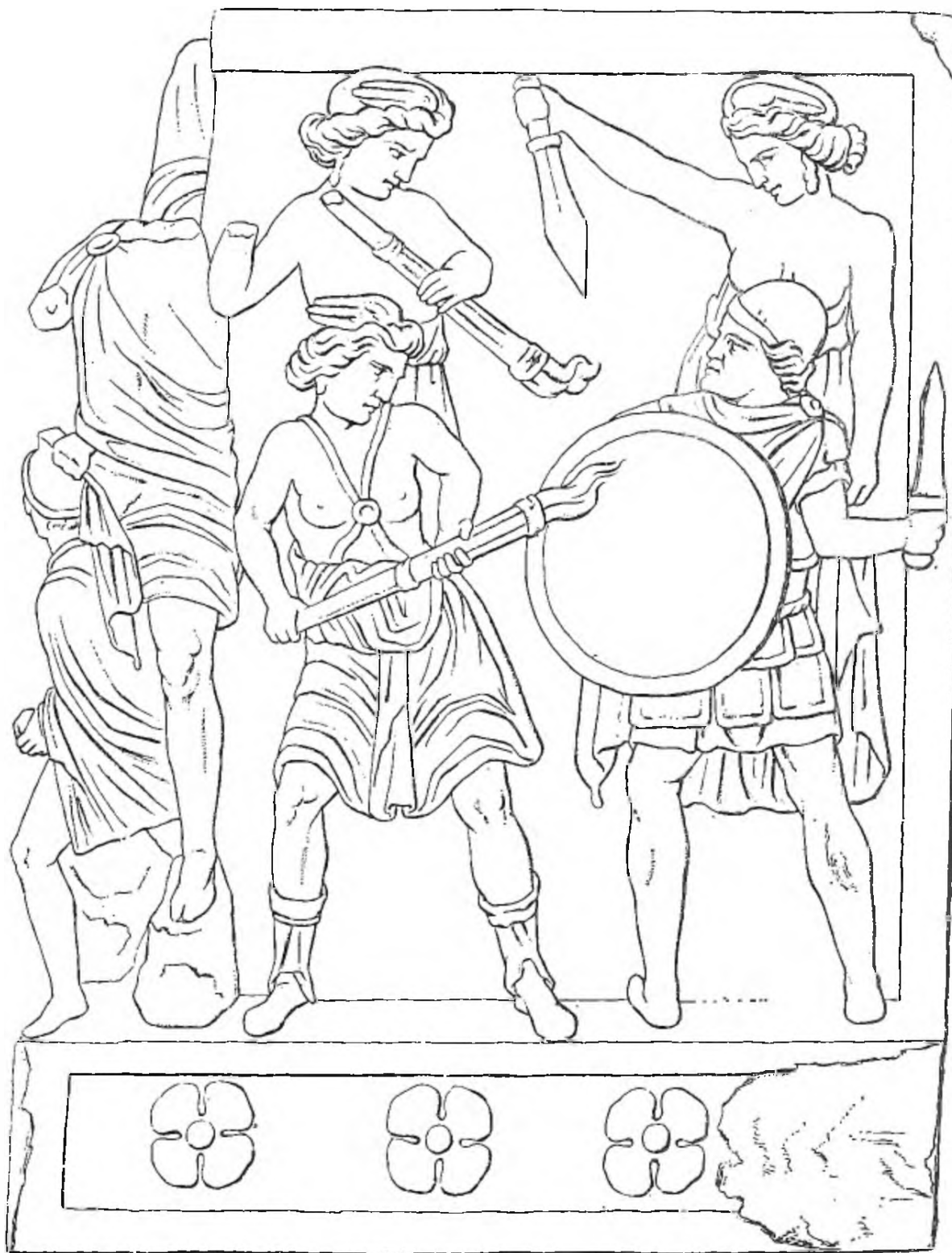
[46] See PAIRAULT 1972, pl. 43-45.

[47] HELBIG III, no. 2494. Cf. PAIRAULT-MASSA, Artigianato 1985, 82.

[48] The r. small side shows a soldier (or gladiator, if the two lateral sides are responding), attacked by three Vanth. A similar combination is shown by the small sides of BK I, pl. 39a-b (Perugia, Mus. Arch. inv. no. 33), from the same workshop.

a.

fig.

b

2
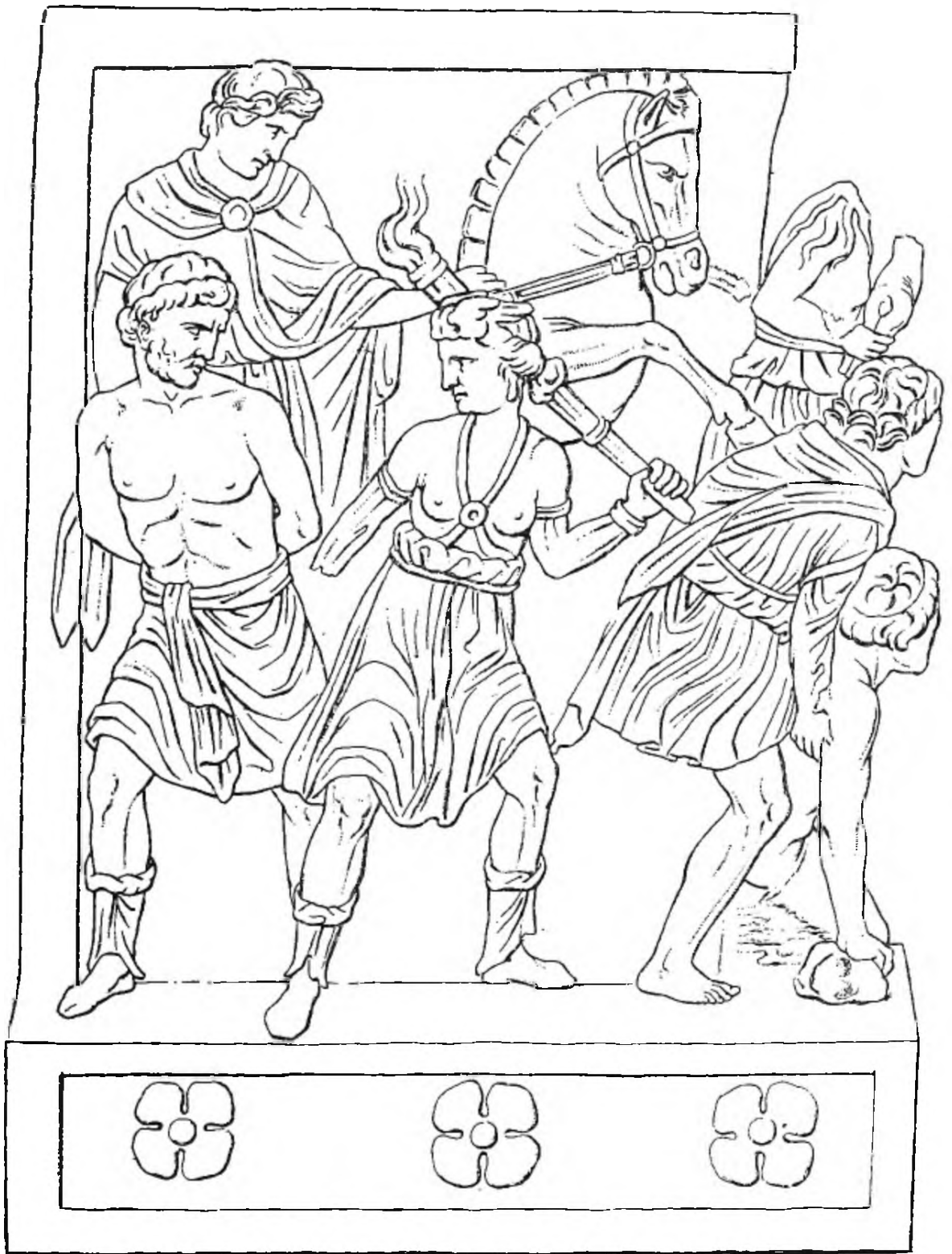
later period (first century B.C.), gladiator fights are depicted [49]. As I have shown elsewhere, the combination of theatrical and gladiatorial activities in Etruria can be traced back to the second century B.C.: the three sides of a terracotta arula from Chiusi show a triptych (Alexandros' Flight, a reflex of Euripides' Alexander and Ennius' Alexander, on the front) and munera (on the sides); and the Re-scriptum of Spello (from 337 A.D.), referring to a priscus mos, mentions Umbro-Etruscan yearly festivals at Vulsinii, consisting of ludi scenici and munera gladia-toria [50].

One could argue that the tragic scene on the front of the arula has been copied from a model and therefore would not reflect a real performance. As is known, the scene frequently occurs on North Etruscan urns [51]. The earliest ones (at Chiusi) have a basic scheme similar to that of approximately twenty mirror boxes from South Etruria, where the main production centre was Tarquinia. If one studies carefully the whole series, an evolution in the rendering of the ag-gressive Deiphobos can be seen: the earliest mirror box (c. 350 B.C.) shows him almost nude with chlamys, on the later ones (third and beginning of the second centuries B.C.) usually he wears a subligaculum and sometimes he is com-pletely dressed as a soldier. This means that Deiphobos has been regarded as a gladiator or that some kind of realistic performance of the Alexandros tragedy in South Etruria has taken place. As for the urns Miss I. Krauskopf has argued that the intervening Aphrodite in the Volterran urn reliefs who is absent on the mirror boxes cannot have been adopted from Euripides' Alexandros because the hypoth-esis and fragments do not mention her [52]. This argument is not convincing. As said before, the hypotheseis of Euripides' tragedies only mention divine interven-tion in half of all cases. The Alexandros is a play of intrigues, culminating in the attack on Alexandros/Paris. In similar tragedies (Kresphontes and Orestes) the aggression is stopped by a deus ex machina. It is therefore possible that the most popular series of mythological Volterran urn reliefs [53] showing the « Recognition of Paris » (better: « Paris Rescued »), originated from the interest in theatre per-formances. A fragment of Ennius' Alexander cites: « volans de caelo cum corona et taeniis » [54]. It looks like a phrase from a messenger story. If the goddess is not

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[49] May be some Volterran urns also show gladiator fights near a tomb or funeral altar, cf. CUV 1, 146-147, no. 230; CUV 2, 173-174, no. 237-238; Artigianato 1985, 135 no. 161. The combination of myth (Kirke) and circus plays is shown by BK I, pl. 89, 3. As for Perugine representations of munera: BK III, pl. 128, especially fig. 2 and 3; BABesch LVII, 1982, 82-99. The subligaculum occurs also in the Volterran urn series showing Human Sacrifice, BK II, pl. 115, 2.

[50] The author, BABesch LVII, 1982, 87-99. Cf. THUILLIER 1987, 595-608.

[51] The author in BABesch L, 1975, 179 ff.; about the mirror boxes see now I. JUCKER, Etruskische Klappspiegel, RM XCV, 1988, 12-36.

[52] KRAUSKOPF, in LIMC s.v. Alexandros.

[53] C. 40 of the c. 320 mythological urn reliefs represent the theme.

[54] WARMINGTON 1967, 238-239; JOCELYN 1967, 229-230 fr. XXIII.

Aphrodite/Venus, she must be Victoria. Maybe Ennius replaced the Euripidean Aphrodite by Victoria in view of Roman taste. The urn reliefs usually show the goddes with wings, on one of the earliest, she looks like the Nike of Samothrake[55]! Maybe, later on the Etruscans transformed Victoria into Turan, and certainly on urns from the first century B.C. Turan becomes a kind of pacific Vanth.

2) The combination of ludi scenici and munera probably has its origin in the ludi funebres of Roman republican aristocrats (cf. Terentius' Hec. 39-41);

3) It is known that Volnius wrote tragoedias etruscas, of which unfortunately only some words remain[56].

Apart from theatre performances oral tradition (see below) may have influenced the patrons of the urns.

Symbolic values.

Why mythological scenes have been represented on Etruscan urns, is a field still to explore. R. Brilliant has suggested that « the effort to interpret the myths and to apply them to the human situation became intense in the Hellenistic period under the influence of a moralizing Stoicism ». The urns would have a symbolic, signal reference[57]. Although philosophical influences are not excluded[58], it seems more probable that commissioners were motivated by religious concepts of the disciplina etrusca, especially the libri acheruntici and libri fatales.

The popularity of the Iphigeneia representation in a funerary context can be explained in several ways: 1) the menace of death, 2) the substitution of a real sacrifice; 3) the soteric element: Artemis saves Iphigeneia; 4) identification of the deceased with a hero(ine)[59]; 5) tomb programs.

The latter possibilities can be ruled out because on I.A. urns members of both sexes are rendered as lid figures. As in Volterra and Chiusi it cannot be demonstrated that the mythological themes on urns from different periods, belonging to one family tomb, have been chosen from one optic, e.g. interest in Trojan or Theban or another mythological cycle or hero[60]. In the Tomb S. Galigano near Perugia, however, containing two urns only, one represents I.A. and the other

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[55] BK I, pl. 6, 13.

[56] HEURGON 1971, 349. The r. small side of a Volterran urn, BK II, pl. 65, 7a-b, may represent an Etruscan poet with bookscroll. As Picard observed (*MEFRA* LXXXV, 1973, 163-195), his chair looks like those of The Group of the Seven Wises at Memphis.

[57] BRILLIANT 1984, 43-52.

[58] Cf. PAIRAULT-MASSA, *Artigianato* 1985, 82.

[59] Some rare cases of identification can be proven, cf. PAIRAULT-MASSA, *Artigianato* 1985, 58 no. 46. 82-83.

[60] Other urns in the Afle tomb represent Myrtilos, Telephos, a battle, and an erotic scene. These themes are not related to the I.A. theme.

the Death of Achilles [61]. In this case only, the themes may have been chosen from interest in Achilles' life. The latter urn is the only one at Perugia with mythological names utzte, achle, paris (respectively: Odysseus, Achilles, Paris) painted from right to left on the superior cornice of the chest (there were seven other names, but the relief shows fewer characters!). This datum might point to an oral tradition of the Achilles myth. Until now, however, few inscriptions with mythological names occur in the Perugine area. Only 11 of the c. 330 epigraphical mirrors have been found at Perugia. They date from the fourth century B.C. and have probably not been made there.

J. Heurgon has recently considered a curious, unpublished urn from Chiusi (Paris, Louvre without inv. no.), showing the basic scheme of Troilos' Death [62]. Aiax and Achilles are kneeling on an altar, in front of which a horse lying on his back is dying. The murderers do not hold the decapitated head of Troilos. Instead a deer is lying on the altar. Heurgon assumes that the deceased man (larth trepus larthal), comparing himself (or compared by his family) with Troilos, hoped to be saved from death by adding a soteric element from another mythological context: the deer, which was placed, on other urns, in Iphigeneia's place.

It would suit the doctrine of the Libri Acheruntici, echoes of which can be found in Arnobius' Adversus nationes II, 62:

> Etruria libris in Acherunticis pollicetur.
> certorum animalium sanguine numinibus certi dato,
> divinas animas fieri et ab legibus mortalitatis educi.

Beside this possible religious motivation, it may be observed that the idea of salvation and liberation is not uncommon in Etruscan urn reliefs. A Volterran urn (MG 327) shows how Alexandros/Paris, threatened to death by Menelaos (cf. Homer, Iliad 3, 369-378) is saved by Aphrodite [63]. Happy endings are further found in the Volterran series of Alexander Rescued, Telephos taking into hostage Orestes, and Andromeda rescued by Perseus. Sometimes a combination of soteric scenes is visible. The Volterran urn (MG 622) shows Alexander Rescued at the front, and Oidipous in front of the Sphinx on the left small side, liberating himself of the death menace by pointing to himself and solving the Riddle of the Sphinx [64].

In conclusion, the Sacrifice of Iphigenia scene on Perugine urns was created with Greek models, used in an eclectic way, with profound knowledge of Euripides'

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[61] A. MINTO, NSc 1914, 232-244. DAREGGI 1972, pl. 48,1 (length: 75 cm). Unfortunately, it is not certain whether a lid which could belong to the chest, really is pertinent. Its inscription mentions (MINTO 1914, 239 fig. 6): ar(nth) . calisna . ar . arina . memru. The cognomen memru derives from Gr. Memnon, the person who was killed by Achilles!

[62] HEURGON 1984, 317-320.

[63] BK I, pl. 56,1.

[64] BABesch L. 1975, 192, fig. 13-14.

and Ennius' tragedies, probably under the influence of a local theatrical performance of an Etruscan version, and conditioned by an optimistic, soteric view of the afterlife *.

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