

*Śuri et al: A Chthonic Etruscan Face of Apollon?**

One could say that history of Etruscan religion is a ‘history in square brackets’ owing to the lack of literary sources, the seemingly familiar but perfectly confusing iconography of mythical figures, and the hard-to-decipher inscriptions; many Etruscan divine names are guesses supplemented by scholars who tirelessly explain *ignotum per ignotum*. One may wonder whether this was the way in which *Śuri* (aka *Aplu*, *Raθ*, *Apa*, *Manθ*, *Xave*, *Lapse*) acquired his names or even came into existence. *Śuri*, the most popular Etruscan avatar of Apollon, reflects, according to scholarship, ‘chthonic aspects of the Greek god’,¹ but seems invisible in Etruscan art or iconography;² nevertheless he has become well-known to scholarship by way of interpreting inscriptions, or whatever remained of them, at least since the end of the previous century.³ Certain assumptions built around the characteristics of this deity, especially chthonic aspects, were never justified by evidence or explained, but are repeated throughout scholarship,⁴ with exception of the scepticism of two scholars who questioned the existence of *Śuri*.⁵ Other ‘names’, mentioned above, linked with *Śuri*-Apollon, seem to share a similar veil of darkness spread over their existence; their ascription to *Śuri*

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¹ For the first time in Colonna 1984-5: 74-8.

² Chericci 1994: 823: ‘Divinità maschile di cui sembrano esser riconoscibili attestazioni non iconografiche, ma solo epigrafiche’; *contra* Benelli 2007: 217 who claims that *Śuri*’s iconography is at least partially assimilated to Apollon’s. Colonna 2009: 15-26 proposed identifying thunder as an attribute of *Śuri* on some Etruscan mirrors, but in my view, there is no justification for this assumption.

³ Colonna 1971: 369-71, Pfiffig 1975: 155.

⁴ Most recently (other than Colonna): Jannot 1998: 179; 2005: 89-91; Simon 2006: 48, 57, 59; Maras 2009 *passim*; MacIntosh Turfa 2013: 149; 2012: 66; Rafanelli 2013: 578; Bagnasco Gianni 2013: 605, 607; Baglione 2013: 621; Krauskopf 2013: 516; 2016: 394, 399.

⁵ Steinbauer 1999: 268, 472; Thuillier 2009: 33-50; 2007: 93-100.

was sparked by the fact that these words were found inscribed on pottery and other objects in the same sanctuaries. In what follows I will review the evidence and challenge the predominant assumptions.

Apollon / *Aplu* vs. Soranus and *Manθ*

Aplu, although well-attested on Etruscan mirrors, where his representations are accompanied by inscriptions,⁶ occurs in only seven cult inscriptions. Of these, a votive mirror from Bomarzo, dated to the 4th century BC, included in Maras' collection of sacred Etruscan inscriptions,⁷ should not be taken into consideration because it is neither a dedication to *Aplu* nor indeed to any of the other deities represented together with him there (*Menrva*, *Hercle*, *Artume(s)* – all named). Another two attestations, which might have offered some interesting information about *Aplu* are regarded as forgeries.⁸ It seems thus that there are only four cultic attestations for *Aplu* in Etruria.

The provenance of the only known dedication to *Aplu* on a statuette is unknown. It represents a seated child, wearing a *himation*, in the act of getting up, holding a bird (whose head is broken) in its raised, extended right hand; the left hand rests on the child's leg. The inscription starting from the right shoulder, dated to the 4th or 3rd century BC, reads *aplu* (genitive of *Aplu*; **OA co.6**).

Another inscription usually assumed to refer to *Aplu* comes from Narce, specifically from the suburban sanctuary of Monte Li Santi-Le Rote, in the *ager Faliscus*. The inscription, reading

⁶ Krauskopf 1984: 335-363.

⁷ **AH do.3**; Maras (2009: 221-2) refers the dedication to a domestic cult.

⁸ **OB co.1**: a bronze statuette of unknown origin, representing a standing nude youth with a ribbon on his head, lacking both arms, dated to the 4th/3rd centuries BC, inscribed '*Aplu*, son of *Tikešnu*' (*aplu tikešnuš* clan); *Tikešnu* is otherwise an unknown goddess (rather than god) – see Maras (2009: 313). However, given that *Tikešnu* is an 'unknown otherwise goddess', a possibility that *Aplu* in this inscription is a name of a man (an Etruscan form of the Greek *Ἀπολλώνιος*; Rix 1963: 173) rather than the god cannot be excluded. The other inscription (**Vs co.8**) on a shoulder of an *oenochoe* from Volsinii (Orvieto), dated to the 3rd century BC, reads: *aplu eparušiš*. Maras 2009: 432 thinks *eparušiš* may be a divine epithet. Forgeries: Cristofani 1993: 20, n. 64.

apalus (**Fa co.1**), on the bottom of a bucchero cup, is dated to the 5th century BC.⁹ The sanctuary of Monte Li Santi, however, on the basis of finds (inscriptions, terracotta figurines and masks, and anatomical votives: breasts and wombs), is considered to be of feminine character (very probably akin to the cult of *Veī*, assimilated to the Greek Demeter), with a special focus on fertility and maternity;¹⁰ the two main deities identified by inscriptions are Fortuna and Mnerva Maia from the 3rd century BC.¹¹ De Lucia Brolli notes that similar votives were found in another kourotrophic sanctuary in Veii, where the presiding deity was *Veī*;¹² she might have been accompanied by a male deity, attested with an epithet *apa* (father), to which we shall return later. The sanctuary seems to be multi-cultural in character, as inscriptions in Etruscan, Faliscan, and Latin dating from the 5th to the 1st century BC were found there.¹³

Aplu's presence at Narce seems to be so far limited to this one inscription. Although a possibility of a shared cult of Apollon / *Aplu* and Demeter in this area could not be excluded, as the traces of their common cult are visible also in Greek culture,¹⁴ the finds from Narce do not support a cult of *Aplu* here, whereas they do point quite distinctively to female deities presiding over the sanctuary for a very long period.¹⁵ Importantly, however, less than 20 km

⁹ Maras (2009: 287) believes this is the earliest attestation of *Aplu* in Etruria in an anaptyctic form; the form *apalus*, however, seems to be an example of the fluctuation in spelling of medial vowels (whose pronunciation was probably similar to the *schwa* vowel) before their complete loss rather than the anaptyxis: see Wallace 2008: 37; I am grateful to Dr John Penney for pointing this out to me. Other interpretations of the word *apalus* at Narce as a genitive form of a *gentilicium* of the Padanian type ending in *-alu* (Biondi 2002: 367) or a derivative of the divine epithet *apa* (De Lucia Brolli 2002: 365) are wrong, and should not be taken into consideration.

¹⁰ De Lucia Brolli 1990: 68-70; 1993: 540-1; on terracotta figurines, masks see De Lucia Brolli and Tabolli 2015 with a brief account (p. 13-14) on the phases of the sanctuary, pointing out that its early structures recall those devoted to Demeter in Etruria and Sicily; see also De Lucia Brolli 2015-2016.

¹¹ These deities' names are inscribed on two *cippus*-altars (3rd century BC), which Maras 2009: 287 surprisingly regards as a proof of a chthonic ritual at the centre of the sanctuary: De Lucia Brolli 1993: 540. On names: Biondi 2016: 128-148.

¹² De Lucia Brolli 1990: 69. On linguistic and cultural links between Veii and Narce, as well as the *ager Faliscus*, see Biella 2014: 65-81; on Greek presence in the area, see Camporeale 2004: 47-68.

¹³ De Lucia Brolli 2002: 364, Biondi 2016: 128-148; Roman and Greek coins were also found: De Lucia Brolli 1990: 69.

¹⁴ Cf. Lambrinoudakis 2008: 93-7; I believe that Apollon (rather than Hades) should be seen under the epithet *elaielinos* found on the rim of a pot in the sanctuary of Demeter in Morgantina, together with statues representing youth in the form of Apollon *Mousagetes* as Sjöqvist observed: Sjöqvist 1958: 159 pl. 31, fig. 22, cf. Bell 1981: 88, nos. 295-99.

¹⁵ De Lucia Brolli and Tabolli 2015: 13-14; De Lucia Brolli 2015-2016: 83-91.

away Apollon's presence is firmly confirmed by a much earlier Faliscan inscription (c. 500-475 BC), reading *apolonos*, from the main sanctuary of the acropolis of Falerii (found in the area of the Tempio Maggiore on Colle di Viginale),¹⁶ and thus a 'visit' from a divine neighbour cannot be excluded; the phenomenon of 'visiting deities', acknowledged in Greek cult, could explain occasional traces of unexpected deities, but at the same time does not indicate their permanent cult.¹⁷

The close vicinity of Monte Soracte, and its Faliscan cult of Pater Soranus, to Narce, led Colonna to think that *Soranus* as a name was a derivative from the Etruscan theonym **Śuri* (>**Surianus*> *Soranus*);¹⁸ I will discuss the 'Śuri' component later. Further, Colonna proposed to see *Śuri* and Soranus as the same deity; an Etruscan *Śuri*-Apollon like his Faliscan equivalent would have reflected the name of a Mount Soriano in the area.¹⁹

However, no ancient sources mention a Mount Soriano;²⁰ if there was a cult on the Etruscan side similar to the Faliscan cult on Soracte, with an almost identical deity, it is hard to believe that it was completely forgotten in antiquity, and left no trace on such inquisitive minds as those of Varro and Servius. Furthermore, even if Colonna's interesting speculation could be proved, we would not know when Pater Soranus started being associated with Apollon, as our earliest evidence for that would be in Vergil.²¹ One may wonder whether Soranus was 'reborn' as Apollon through an Augustan 'dusting off' of old local cults, among many others

¹⁶ *CIE* 8030; *CIE* 8182 (300-250 BC); we have also a Latin dedication (*CIL* I² 1991, c.120-50 BC) from Falerii Novi [*u*]m[*p*]ricius c. f. | aburcus q. | [a]polinei dat.

¹⁷ De Lucia Brolli 2015-2016, v. II: 85 n. 275 suggested it as a possibility for other deities (particularly Dionysos). On 'visiting deities': Alroth 1989: 65-105, 108-13; on a 'visiting' Apollon in the sanctuary of Feronia in Pantano see Di Fazio 2013b: 50; on the openness of sanctuaries in central Italy to other deities: Vallarino 2007: 91-4, Lacam 2010: 228-9.

¹⁸ Colonna 1984-1985: 76.

¹⁹ Colonna 1991-1992: 107-8; 1997: 176-181; 2005: 2343-2355; 2007: 113.

²⁰ Vergil (*Aen.* 7.697) and Livy (9.36.11) mention *mons Ciminus* (Vergil also a lake adjacent to it), known as such also today, with a town called Soriano nel Cimino. In his 1590 edition of Justin's *Histories*, Zucchi identifies Soria as Syria: Zucchi 1590: 456 s.v. *Sidone* and *Siria* (I owe this reference to Dr Giustina Monti).

²¹ Verg. *Aen.* 11.785-9, Plin. *NH* 7.2.19, Sil. 5.175-81, Sol. 2.26, Serv. *ad Verg. Aen.* 11.787; for a doubt that Apollon was ever worshipped on Soracte: *RE* s.v. *Hirpi Sorani*.

also that of Hirpi Sorani, noting the emperor's special devotion to Apollon himself.²² Importantly, in all the sources the god of Soracte is called Apollo without the epithet *Soranus*, and although we know two inscriptions which mention Apollo *Soranus*, found near Mount Soracte, they are too late (c. 1st/2nd century AD) to be relevant here; one is a dedication for the health of the devotee himself, putting Apollon in his usual role as healer, rather than the 'ruler of the dead'.²³ The only reference to a god called Soranus in Italy is in Servius, who associates him with Dis, to which we will return later;²⁴ in the same note Servius also says that Mount Soracte is sacred to 'diis manibus'.

Apollon was one of the most important and early deities whom the Greeks brought to the Western world together with their culture.²⁵ One of the Italian sites with the earliest Greek epigraphic attestations of his presence is the northern sanctuary of Pontecagnano in Campania. All four inscriptions found in the sanctuary, and dated to the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries BC, present the name of the deity in an abbreviated form: *apol*.²⁶ From the second half of the 4th century BC there is also a dedication with an inscription reading *apl* (**Cm co.5**); there is no sign of a fourth letter. Colonna proposed to regard *apl* as an abbreviation of Etruscan *Aplu*, comparable in form to the abbreviated Greek dedications to Apollon.²⁷ Importantly, the votives found in the sanctuary prove that, although the area seems to be

²² Di Fazio 2013a: 235 for the possible association of Soranus and Apollo as a result of Augustan 'dusting-off' of various local cults. On Apollon as a favourite deity of Augustus see Gag  1955: 479-494 and *passim*; Syme 1939: 448; Miller 2009.

²³ For lit. sources see n. 21; *CIL* XI 7485 (= *ILS* 4034): *C. Varius Hermes | Sancto Sorano | Apollini pro sal(ute) sua* (found on the northern side of the mountain, near the city of Falerii Veteres (now Civit  Castellana); *Sorano | Apollini | d(onum) d(edit) | Ti. Caei(us) Atim[etus]* (Di Stefano Manzella 1992: 159; found on the peak of the mountain, nearby the church of S. Silvestro).

²⁴ Serv. *Aen.* 11.785. The only other reference to Soranus comes from an inscription from Dacia (*AE* 1990, 832 = *ILD* 364): *Soran[o] | posui[t k(astellum)] | An/si[s] | v(otum) l(ibens) [m(erito)]*.

²⁵ D'Agostino, L. Cerchiai 1998: 119-128; Frederiksen / Purcell 1984: 87-8, 91, 94, 123.

²⁶ At Pontecagnano there were two sanctuaries – northern and southern – the latter was dedicated to a deity similar to Demeter (or Hera) on the basis of votives which can be compared with others from Calabria and Sicily (weights, masks, terracotta figurines); in the northern worship was given to Greek Apollon: Bailo Modesti, Battista, Cerchiai, Lupia, Mancusi 2005. On the inscriptions: Cerchiai 1984: 249 fig. 36 G2 & 39.1 (6th BC), 36G 3a, 3b (4th BC), 36 G4 (5th BC).

²⁷ Colonna, Schiano di Cola 2007: no. 87, 357-8 (tav. lviii, 87); Maras 2009: 464 thinks that the abbreviation may be connected with tradition or ritual.

frequented from the 8th century BC, the foundation of the sanctuary should date to the beginning of the 6th century BC,²⁸ and it seems it was of an emporic character.

From the same sanctuary, comes an inscription reading *Manθ* (**Cm co.1**), dated to the archaic period.²⁹ This has been interpreted as a dedication to a deity, one identified by Colonna as *Śuri*, a chthonic Apollon,³⁰ on the basis of Servius Auctus' comment about the name of the city Mantua, namely that in Etruscan Dis Pater is called *Mantus*,³¹ combined with Colonna's own hypothetical links between *Śuri*, Soranus, and Apollon.³²

Colonna's interpretation is, however, problematic because *Manθ* does not have to refer to Apollon or even *Śuri*. I will come back to the meaning of the word *Śuri* below, but I believe that the analysis of Soranus carried out above proved sufficiently that there is no basis to hypothesise a link between Apollon and Soranus / Dis Pater. Thus, even if *Manθ* should be understood, following Servius Auctus, as Dis Pater, we have no reason to identify him with Apollon in any case. Furthermore, *Manθ* is an isolated instance of a supposed Etruscan divine name,³³ and we cannot even be sure whether the form *Mantus* provided by Servius Auctus is the equivalent of Etruscan *Manθ*. Indeed, the formation of this word resembles the feminine form *Vanθ*, well-attested epigraphically and with a known iconography;³⁴ this leaving aside Servius Auctus' rather doubtful knowledge of Etruscan, which in his times was probably no more alive than Akkadian nowadays. If we were inclined to pursue an understanding of *Manθ* as feminine, we could support it with the same Servian comment nonetheless.

²⁸ Lupia 2005: 576: among the early structures wells were found; on anatomical ex-votos (legs, feet, and some forearms) from the second half of the 4th century BC found in pit 1 see Cherchiai 1984: 249 fig. 40.2.

²⁹ Lupia 2005: 579.

³⁰ Colonna 1999: n. 33, 405-7 (tav. xxvii); Colonna 2006: 141.

³¹ See n. 35 below.

³² See nn. 18-19.

³³ The only other instance is a lost inscription from Monterongriffoli (Tuscany) on an Etruscan urn, whose possible text was preserved in manuscripts (the last word is different in both folios: *apa* on 65, *ana* on 67): Danielsson 1928: xxvii (no. 21: *a · caini strume : | manθ : apa*), xxx (no. 52: *a · caini strume : | manθ : ana*), 70, 82; Buffa 1935: no. 258; *TLE* 436.

³⁴ El Khatib Boujibar 1997: 173-183; on possible divine plurality of Vanth: Jannot 1997.

Servius, while explaining the name *Ocnus*, says that he was the founder of Mantua, which he named after his mother Manto, a daughter of the Theban seer Teiresias.³⁵ Servius Auctus in the same note says, however, that she was a seer herself and that she was a daughter of Heracles, but as an alternative explanation he gives the story just mentioned, according to which Mantua was founded by Tarchon, a brother of Tyrrhenus, and that it was after *Mantus* which in Etruscan means Dis Pater. There is little consistency in the third aetiology and no reason for naming the city after *Mantus*; Tarchon was a legendary founder of the Etruscan League of twelve cities (Liv. 7.21), but Mantua is not recorded as one of them,³⁶ nor as we mentioned earlier, is anything known about *Mantus*, the Etruscan Dis Pater. Interestingly, the common denominator of two out of three Servian traditions is a seer and a woman called Manto, who at least for one strand of the tradition was a seer herself (the other tradition does not exclude this possibility either though the stress is rather on the famous father). Given that the pot bearing inscription *Manθ* was found built into the wall structures and not in a votive pit (and especially not that containing the material dedicated to Apollon just mentioned),³⁷ *Manθ* / Manto might be considered either an ordinary female name written on the pot,³⁸ or that of a deity / heroine-seer; or if *Manθ* should be referred to Apollon it could be understood as deriving from μαντεῖος / μάντις, an epithet well-established in literature as Apollon's,³⁹ which might have been easily abbreviated to *Manθ* in Etruscan. None of these possibilities

³⁵ Serv., *ad Aen.* 10. 198: OCNVS iste est Ocnus, quem in bucolicis Bianorem dicit, ut “namque sepulchrum incipit apparere Bianoris”. hic Mantuam dicitur condidisse, quam a matris nomine appellavit: nam fuit filius Tiberis et Mantus, Tiresiae Thebani vatis filiae, quae post patris interitum ad Italiam venit. *alii Manto, filiam Herculis, vatem fuisse dicunt. hunc Ocnus alii Aulestis filium, alii fratrem, qui Perusiam condidit, referunt: et ne cum fratre contenderet, in agro Gallico Felsinam, quae nunc Bononia dicitur, condidisse: permisisse etiam exercitui suo ut castella munirent, in quorum numero Mantua fuit. alii a Tarchone Tyrrheni fratre conditam dicunt: Mantuam autem ideo nominatam, quod Etrusca lingua Mantum Ditem patrem appellant, cui cum ceteris urbibus et hanc consecravit.* MANTVS genitivus Graecus est: nam si latine declinaveris 'Mantonis' facit, sicut in Plauto legimus “Ionis”.

³⁶ Haynes 2000: 135.

³⁷ Lupia 2005: 579.

³⁸ Manto is confirmed as an ordinary female name: Solin 1982: 554; *LGPNI*, 298, II, 297, IV, 220.

³⁹ μαντεῖος: Ar. *Av.* 722, Eur. *Or.* 1666, Apoll. Rh. 2.493; μάντις: Aesch. *Ag.* 1156 (1202), Eur. *IT* 1128. An inscription on a loomweight (?) (‘numerosa piramidette fittili, creduti pesi, ma senza dubbio baetyli, più o meno rozze, talune con vari segni o punti, una recante su di un lato la iscrizione greca’) reading μάντις was also found in tomb 8 in Atena Lucana: *NotSc* (1901) 503.

appears more convincing than the other, and thus, at least for now, the question should be left open rather than referring the name to an otherwise unattested *Mantus*, the Etruscan Dis Pater, and *per unproved analogiam*, to *Śuri*-Apollon, to whom we will come back.

There are two more attestations of *Aplu* / Apollon in Etruria. The first comes from the Castello of S. Severa (Pyrgi) where another possible abbreviation of *Aplu* was found: an inscription on the bottom of a cup, dated to the 4th/3th century BC reading *apl[lus]*; in the same place were also found another inscription on the interior bottom of a cup, from the same period, reading *pa*, and a *loutreion* with Greek inscription ΛΕΥΚΩΝ from the 4th century BC.⁴⁰ Although all these finds come from the habitation area, a possible sacred precinct within its confines cannot be excluded. Colonna, and some scholars following him,⁴¹ took the mention of a temple of Apollon and Leukothea robbed by Dionysius in the story in Aelian (*VH* 1.20) as confirmation that there was a sanctuary (not identified so far) of these deities in Pyrgi, even though the text only states that Dionysius sailed to Etruria and plundered the temple-treasures of these deities – Pyrgi is mentioned nowhere: *πλεύσας δὲ εἰς Τυρρηνοῦς, τὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Λευκοθέας ἅπαντα ἐσύλησε χρήματα.*⁴²

The last attestation of *Aplu* comes from the 2nd century BC: it occurs on what is probably a *sors* from Arezzo (**Ar co. 4**), reading *aplu puteś* (suggested as the Etruscan rendering of Apollon *Pythios*)⁴³ on a flint nodule. It has been often assumed in scholarship, as we have

⁴⁰ Enei 2013: 144, 146, figs. 340-2 (*apl*), 147 fig. 343 (*pa*); Colonna 2010-2013a: 98-100; 2010-2013b: nos. 52-53 (tab. xxiii a,b), *loutreion*: tab. xxiv a,b.

⁴¹ Colonna 1991-92: 97; 1997: 176; 2007: 102; Michetti 2016: 83; Thomson de Grummond 2016: 153.

⁴² A sanctuary of Eilethya at Pyrgi is mentioned by Strabo (5.2.8) as the one robbed by Dionysius, but he does not say anything about Apollon; Diodorus (15.14.3-4) does not mention any deity in his account of the story. It is quite confusing, as Thomson de Grummond pointed out (2016: 153), that these two accounts (Strabo and Aelian) name the goddess, whose property was plundered by Dionysius, differently; it is even more interesting why Strabo does not mention the sanctuary of Apollon. Thuillier, following Briquel, suggested that Aelian added Apollon into his story (Dionysius, according to Aelian, plundered the sanctuary of the god in Syracuse too, which belongs to the same story and might have fostered this confusion): Thuillier 2007: 93-7, Briquel 1984: 215; contra Colonna 2007: 102. Another possibility is that Apollon did not share a sanctuary with Leukothea / Eilethya in Pyrgi, but had his own precinct, perhaps in the area of the Castello of S. Severa.

⁴³ Camporeale 1992: 147, no. 199; Cristofani 1993: 19, no. 59; Maras 2009: 225; *puteś* as religious *terminus technicus*: Maggiani 1986: 27-28; scepticism not only regarding the meaning of *puteś*, but also regarding the existence of Apollon and his sanctuary at Pyrgi: Thuillier 2007: 93-98.

already mentioned, that *Aplu* is an equivalent of the (apparently) Etruscan indigenous god *Śuri*, whose name was also found on a *sors* from Arezzo (a melted lead disk) of the same period (**Ar co.3**): *suriś*. The two *sortes*, however, were found on opposite sides of the acropolis hill, and it is hard to believe that such a distribution was simply a result of movements of earth, as proposed by Maras;⁴⁴ it is more likely, that the *sortes* come from two different sacred places, perhaps oracles, as suggested by Champaux,⁴⁵ given that antefixes and *acroteria* were found together with the *sors* bearing the inscription *suriś*.⁴⁶ However, it is also possible that the *sors* with the inscription *śuris* is of a dedicatory character (to which we shall return later) rather than a token, and thus possibly comes from a sacred precinct rather than an oracle, although the one does not exclude the other.

Nothing among this evidence suggests that Apollon / *Aplu* should be regarded as an equivalent of another deity, or that Etruscans worshipped in his precincts other male deities, similar or not. *Aplu* is, it seems, not widely worshipped in Etruria, but he is clearly defined, and associated with his Greek counterpart, Apollon, who was worshipped in ancient Italy, whether Greek or indigenous.⁴⁷ Although it is hard to estimate the degree to which Greek culture penetrated the region, its impact on Etruscan culture is clearly visible from more or less the time of the foundation of Kyme around 740 BC,⁴⁸ not least in the inclusion of Greek gods and myths, or even in substitution of native names of gods with those of Greek counterparts. But let us now turn to *Śuri*.

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⁴⁴ Maras 2009: 224.

⁴⁵ Champeaux 1990: 292; even if Aulus Gellius (3.3.7-8) speaks only of one *oraculum Arretinum*, his is not a survey of the Arretian oracles, but of the works of Plautus.

⁴⁶ *NotSc* 1880: 219, Buffa 1935: no. 187.

⁴⁷ *ImIt* Marsi 1 (400-300 BC: *apols*); Supinum 1 (c. 200 BC: *aplone*); Peltuinum 1 (c.100 BC: *apellune*); Teanum Sidicinum 2 (250-175 BC: *apelluneī*); Pompei 23 (c. 140 BC: *appelluneīs*); Messana 4-5 (c. 250 BC: *απελλουνη/απελλ[ο]*) 7 (c. 250 BC: *[α]πελλουνηις*).

⁴⁸ Cf. Haynes 2000: 238-9; Purcell/Frederiksen 1984: 85-116; Pugliese Carratelli 1996: *passim*; Sacco 1996: 204-9; Smith 1996: 75-7.

Śuri is a problematic ‘deity’: the nominative form **Śuri* is not attested, but reconstructed by Colonna;⁴⁹ the god has no iconographical representation either. Before, however, we discuss the name itself, let us look at the evidence.

The word is found in the forms *śuris* (regarded as genitive of **Śuri*) and *sur* (nominative?; according to Colonna a variant of **Śuri*),⁵⁰ altogether fourteen times, but importantly most of these attestations are restorations; the earliest attestations come from the late 6th century BC: a lead tablet (possibly a *defixio*)⁵¹ from a tomb at Chiusi (**Cl sa.1**: *nanaka marni śuris ice muku*),⁵² a transport amphora from Chiusi (**Py co.3**: [?] *śur*[---]) found in the southern sanctuary at Pyrgi, and a fragment of a cup (**Vs co.1**: *sur*) from the temple of the Belvedere at Orvieto.

The form *śuris* seems to be most frequently attested in the southern sanctuary of Pyrgi. It has been interpreted as the name of a male god who was, according to scholarship, very probably worshipped there as a *paredros* of *Cavaθa* (the Etruscan counterpart of Greek Kore / Persephone).⁵³ This is very probably because there are several different words found on dedications in this sanctuary pointing to the presence of a male deity within it: *apa* (father)⁵⁴ is the most obvious one, but there are also three words which are difficult to interpret: *raθ*,⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Cf. Thuillier 2009: 35.

⁵⁰ Colonna 2007: 106. It cannot be excluded that the form *sur* on **Vs co.1** is simply an abbreviation.

⁵¹ So Maras 2009: 246 following Nogara 1945-1946: 45-55; *contra* Marchesini 2000: 313, no 46.

⁵² Maras (2009: 245-6) interprets the text in l.4 as *nanaka marni śuri sice muku*, very probably to get the name **Śuri* in the nominative, otherwise unattested; Colonna himself (1984-85: 74, n. 51) divided *śurisice* into *śuris ice* (*ice* could be a form of the demonstrative pronoun). Thuillier 2007: 36 proposed not to divide *śurisice*: ‘[u]ne autre hypothèse qui n’est pas envisagé habituellement serait qu’il faille conserver ici le mot entier *śurisice* (un parfait actif formé sur une base *śuris*?): la datation ancienne (vers 550) permettrait en effet une telle lecture’.

⁵³ **Py co.17** (5th century BC, foot of an Attic *kylix*: *mi : śuris : cavaθas*); other dedications are restorations: **Py co.19** (5th century BC, an Attic vase?: [?] *mi śuri*s *cav*[*aθas*]), **Py co.13** (first half of the 5th century BC, Attic BF fragment: *mi śu*[*ris* ---]), **Py co.28** (5th/4th century BC, on the foot of a *kylix*, local production: *su*(*ris*); dedication made by a ‘visitor from the north’: Maras (2009) 345, on the basis of the alphabet used).

⁵⁴ **Py co.16** (5th century BC, foot of an Attic *kylix*: *apa*), **Py co.20** (5th century BC, fragment of Attic *skyphos*?: [-] *apa*[-]); probably *apas*), **Py co.29** (5th/4th century BC, rim fragment of an *olla*: [-?] *pa*[-?]), **Py co.21** (5th century BC, miniature *phiale omphalos*: *pa*); the latter could be either an abbreviation of (*a*)*pa* [father] or *pa*(*pa*) [forefather]: Maras (2009) 342.

⁵⁵ **Py co.27** (5th/4th century BC, *skyphos* of local production: [?] *raθ*[?]).

lapse,⁵⁶ *χave*,⁵⁷ and, last but not least, *Veivis* who very probably is an Etruscan form of *Vediovis*.⁵⁸ All of these attestations fall from the early 5th to early 3rd century BC with the greatest concentration in the 5th and at the turn of the 5th and 4th centuries.

Before we try to interpret any cultural characteristics of this ‘polyonymous god’, let us first explore other contexts in which the form *śuris* occurs in Italy as well as these other ‘mysterious’ but recurrent words interpreted by Colonna as divine names to be linked with *Śuri*.

In Caere itself we find attestations of the words *apa* and *raθ*. *Apa* is attested from the 6th century BC in a residential quarter (Vigna Parrocchiale) which might have been related to a structure of possible sacred character (*Hera? Herclē?*);⁵⁹ and at temple A of the sanctuary at *località* S. Antonio,⁶⁰ where we also find a dedication to *raθs turmsal*, interpreted as ‘of *Raθ* and *Turms*’ (the latter is Etruscan counterpart of Greek Hermes), on a bronze weight.⁶¹ *Apa* occurs also on a lead tablet from the sanctuary of Punta della Vipera (area of S. Marinella); the text, however, is very fragmentary and hard to interpret.⁶²

Another great concentration of finds bearing words associated by Colonna with the mysterious *Śuri* comes from Volsini. The earliest attested of them in the area is *raθ*, but it occurs only once within the Volsinian record. It is inscribed on the right side of a sandstone funerary altar dated to the 7th century BC, found in Bolsena (Fosso di Arlena); on the left

⁵⁶ **Py co.34-35** (first half of the 3rd century BC, rectangular bronze plates: *lapse*).

⁵⁷ **Py co.5** (first half of the 5th century BC, fragment of an Attic column *krater*: *mi χave*×(×)).

⁵⁸ **Py co.33** (4th/3rd century BC, a cup on a low foot: *vei[-]is*).

⁵⁹ **Cr co.2** (mid. 6th century BC, a fragment of the bottom of a cup: *apas*), **Cr co.9** (4th/3rd century BC, a fragment of the bottom of a cup: *apa*{.}s); on the sacred character of the structures: Maras 2009: 265; on discussion of whether to understand Hera, Heracles or an artist’s signature on the cup found in the precinct (and another possible example) see now the summary with accompanying bibliography by Ambrosini 2016: no. 89; 334-336.

⁶⁰ **Cr co.4** (second half of the 6th century BC, a fragment of the bottom of a cup: *apa*[?]).

⁶¹ **Cr do.7** (beginning of the 3rd century BC): *raθs turmsal | velus luvχmsal | θusti θui meθlmθ | muχs[-]l×[?]mus .e[-]l . | masuni : hercles : | alpan . tece . IIC | hutta θvnca . huθ | hac . penθαθ . | {mu} la{.}pe . zilci . laθ | ale . nulaθesi*. On the interpretation of inscription see also Agostiniani 2015: 157-171; Cristofani 1996: 39-54.

⁶² **Cr ri.1** (second half of the 3rd century BC): side b, l.3: [-?]-×*nχya.mlaciθa.hecia.iperi.apa*×[...]; interestingly, from the same context come dedications to *Menerva* (**Cr co.3**, 6th century BC; **Cr co.12**, 3rd century BC; **Cr do.6**, beginning of the 5th century BC); Maras 2009: 280-2.

numen is possibly inscribed, but the inscriptions were done by different hands.⁶³ In the temple of the Belvedere at Orvieto we find dedications with the word *sur* from the 6th century BC,⁶⁴ and to *apa* from the 6th/5th century BC.⁶⁵

In the 4th century, in Tarquinia, on a *tufo* block which very probably should be associated with the Ara della Regina, we find the inscription ^a *śuris* | *selvansl* ^b *selvansl*,⁶⁶ and another one on a bronze statuette: [- : -(-)]*nas* : *veluśa* | [*śu*]*ris* : *selvansl* : | [*ap?*]*as* : *cver* : *θveθli* | [*al*] : *clan*.⁶⁷

In Vulci *śuris* occurs on a *tufo* block (it is impossible to tell whether it should be regarded as a boundary stone or a stele) from the 4th century BC.⁶⁸ The earliest attestation from the area (6th century BC), however, is a dedication to *apa*.⁶⁹

Apart from that we have some isolated evidence from various places: *śuris* occurs on a travertine block from a necropolis of Bettona (near Perugia),⁷⁰ dated to the 4th century BC, on a *sors* from Cipollara (Viterbo), dated to the 4th/3rd century BC,⁷¹ and on the *sors* mentioned above from Arezzo (**Ar co.3**), dated to the 2nd century BC. *Raθ* appears on a 4th/3rd century BC kylix from Chiusi⁷² (its context is unknown). It is also found in the sanctuary of Portonaccio at Veii, inscribed on a vase dated to the 6th century BC,⁷³ and on a 5th century BC

⁶³ **Vs in.1**: ^a*flarx*[---] ^b*raθiuuθ*[---]; in the same form *Raθ* occurs also on **Cl co.3**, see n. 72 below. Maras 2009: 443-4; Bloch 1972: 180-81.

⁶⁴ **Vs co.1** (6th century BC, fragment of a cup: *sur*).

⁶⁵ **Vs co.2** (6th/5th century BC, on the inside a Caeretan cup: *mi apas*), **Vs co.3** (6th/5th century BC, on the inside a cup: *apas*).

⁶⁶ **Ta co.19** (4th century BC, block of *tufo*, found in the city area: ^a*śuris* | *selvansl* ^b*selvansl*).

⁶⁷ **Ta do.5** (4th/3rd century BC, bronze statuette of a naked sitting child, found in the city area). Maras (2009: 157) thinks that the statuette may be connected with the cult of Tages (or Tagetes), a child that revealed to the Etruscans their *disciplina* (Cic. *Div.* 2.23), which was present in the sanctuary.

⁶⁸ **Vc sa.1** (4th c. BC, tufo block: [-?-]*u* : *śuris* : *ei* | [-?-]*tei* : *renana*); it has been suggested (Maras 2009: 403) that he might have been worshipped in the area with *θufl*(*θas*): **Vc do.5** (3rd century BC, bronze statuette: *muras* . *arnθ* . *θufl*() . *śu*{*u*}*ris*).

⁶⁹ **Vc co.1** (6th century BC, a plate: *mi apas*).

⁷⁰ **Pe co.3** (4th c. BC): *śuris*. Stopponi 2006: 31.

⁷¹ **AT co.2** (4th/3rd century BC, a rectangular bronze bar pierced at one end: *savcnes* . *śuris*).

⁷² **Cl co.3** (4th/3rd century BC, kylix of local production: *ta* : *θafna* : *raθiu* : *cleusinsl* : *θu*); this is the second time *Raθ* occurs in this form (see n. 63), regarded by Maras (2009: 241) as a diminutive which shows an unexpected familiarity of the cult, though he gives no arguments to support this claim.

⁷³ **Ve do.5** (6th century BC, on the shoulder of a vase of closed form: [-?- *mi*]*ni rahθpi* ×××(×) *e amavunice*).

cup from San Polo d'Enza.⁷⁴ *Apa* occurs in Pisa (4th/3rd century BC)⁷⁵ and in Volterra (3rd century BC).⁷⁶

Some preliminary observations can be made about these words. First of all, the greatest concentration of evidence belongs to central and southern Etruria. The earliest attestations of the form *śuris* come from: the southern sanctuary of Pyrgi (**Py co.3**), Chiusi (**Cl sa.1**), and in the form *sur* from the temple of the Belvedere in Orvieto (**Vs co.1**); those of *apa* from Caere (**Cr co.2**), Vulci (**Vc co.1**), and temple of the Belvedere of Orvieto (**Vs co.2-3**);⁷⁷ both these words occur in these places as early as the 6th century BC. Evidence for *Raθ* starts with the 7th century BC in Volsini (**Vs in.1**), and the 6th century BC at Veii (**Ve do.5**). Sanctuaries at Pyrgi and Orvieto seem thus to provide the greatest volume of evidence.

It has long been accepted that *Śuri*, seen as the Etruscan ‘chthonic’ Apollon, was worshipped at Pyrgi alongside *Cavaθa*, attested also by a single Greek inscription from the sanctuary as *Kore*;⁷⁸ in the sanctuary there were also found Greek inscriptions possibly referring to Demeter.⁷⁹ Four proposals have been made for understanding the meaning of *śuris*. (1) Trop

⁷⁴ **Pa co.2** (5th century BC, on a cup: *rat*). It was found in 1868 in a habitation context, together with **Pa co.1** (dedication to *Veī*: first half of the 5th century BC, on a similar cup: *vea*).

⁷⁵ **Ps co.1** (4th/3rd century BC, hemispherical cup, with no context: *apaś mi*). Maras (2009: 333) thinks this refers to a profane context rather than a deity – though he stresses that the term usually refers to deities active in funerary contexts.

⁷⁶ **Vt co.1** (3rd century BC, fragment of a little *olla*: [?]xapa). Maras (2009: 444) hypothesises that the word refers to a paternal divinity of an infernal character to be compared to *Śuri* in the *area Sud* of Pyrgi (**Py co.16, 20-21, 29**), and at the Belvedere temple in Orvieto (**Vs co.2-3**); to the same cultic sphere he refers also **Vt co.2** (*atia[l]*), which is incised on an *olletta* and consecrated to a divine ‘mother’, evidently worshipped as *paredros* to an infernal ‘father’.

⁷⁷ Interestingly, early epigraphical attestations (6th/5th century BC) of *apa* were found at Fondo Iozzino, one of the suburban sanctuaries of Pompei; there are good reasons to think that there was a female deity worshipped in the sanctuary, very probably similar to *Veī* / Demeter (note female statues found in the area): Osanna, Pellegrino 2017a: 375, 382-3, 389, Osanna, Pellegrino 2017b: 267, 273-276. I owe these references to Dr Daniele Miano and Dr John Penney respectively.

⁷⁸ Colonna, Maras 2003: 308-9, no. 19 (Maras): [?]κορ[---].

⁷⁹ Colonna, Masas 2003: 311-12, no. 22: [---]ι δαμα[---], ἀνέθ[εκε] (two fragments of the same pot). Colonna (2004: 72, fig. 7-8): Εὐμαχος τῆι Δήμη[ητ]ρι. In the southern sanctuary was also found an inscription reading δυο . ε[---] Maras 2003: no. 21, which Colonna 2004: 71 proposed to understand as ‘un’invocazione ellittica ‘Voi due, suvvia (ascoltare)!’; he prefers this invocation to be directed to *Śuri* and *Cavaθa* rather than to Demeter and Kore. But since such an elliptical invocation is unprecedented and a bit odd, and since the inscription is actually in Greek and found in the sanctuary where dedications to Kore and Demeter were found, perhaps it would be easier to interpret it as dual dative – confirmed on Delos: *ID* 1417 l. 112 δυ {ο} εἰ[v].

and Giglioli understood *Śuri* as a female goddess.⁸⁰ (2) Colonna adopted Vetter's analysis of the funerary inscription of the family *Surte*, which over time started being called *Nicer / Niger*, concluding that the element *sur-* means 'black', and interpreted *śuris* as an Etruscan god 'the black Apollon';⁸¹ he ignored, however, the fact that Vetter thought *Surte* to be an italic word, and thus it could not serve as evidence for the meaning of Etruscan *śur-*.⁸² (3) Steinbauer proposed to understand the word *śuris* as 'dedication' ('Weihung') or 'votive offering' ('Weihegabe').⁸³ (4) Thuillier, after casting doubt on the existence of *Śuri* as a god in Etruria, proposed that we should understand the word *śuris* as Etruscan equivalent to the Latin *sors*.⁸⁴

As the nominative form of **Śuri* has not been attested so far, nor was there any iconographic representation of this god, Colonna's interpretation has no basis, and should be abandoned. Trop and Giglioli gave no explanation for their interpretation of *Śuri* as a female goddess, and although this seems attractive, it would be unprecedented in terms of its grammatical form which in this case would take the genitive ending in *-al* rather than *-s*⁸⁵. Thuillier's proposal to understand *śuris* as the Etruscan equivalent of the Latin *sors* fails when juxtaposed with the fact that two of the six firm attestations of *śuris* are inscribed on travertine and tufo blocks,⁸⁶ which would make them hard to use as *sortes*. Steinbauer's understanding of the word as 'offering / dedication' is thus to be accepted as it fits all of the firm attestations of the word.⁸⁷

⁸⁰ Trop 1905: 19, Giglioli 1962: 356.

⁸¹ Colonna 2007: 110-12; see also De Simone 2012: 107-132.

⁸² Vetter (1953) 274-275; his theory was accepted by Rix (1963) 227. I owe these references to Dr John Penney.

⁸³ Steinbauer 1999: 472.

⁸⁴ Thuillier 2009: 33-50.

⁸⁵ I am grateful to Dr John Penney for discussing this with me.

⁸⁶ **Pe co.3** (4th century BC, from Bettona, Perugia): *śuris*; **Vc sa.1** (4th century BC, from Vulci): [-?]-*u* : *śuris* : *ei* | [-?]-*tei* : *renana*).

⁸⁷ **Py co.17** (5th century BC, a foot of Attic *kylix* from Pyrgi, southern sanctuary): *mi* : *śuris* : *cavaθas* ('I am an offering to *Cavatha*'); **Ta co.19** (4th century BC, block of *tufo*, from Tarquinia): ^a*śuris* | *selvansl* ^b*selvansl* ('^aan offering to *Selvans*; ^bto *Selvans*'); **Ar co.3** (2nd century BC, a *sors* from Arezzo): *śuris*; **AT co.2** (4th/3rd century BC, a rectangular bronze bar pierced at one end, from Cipollara, Viterbo): *savnes* . *śuris* (a holy? offering) –

Although unfortunately no Greek inscription indicating a male deity was found in the southern sanctuary at Pyrgi, unlike in the case of Kore (*Cavaθa*) and Demeter (*Veī*), we are fortunate to have an inscription with the form *Veivis*, which could easily translate into the more familiar form of Vediovis (Veiovis, Veditus) whose underworld character was well-established in antiquity.⁸⁸ Caere received Roman citizenship in either 383 or in 260 BC,⁸⁹ and thus this dedication could have been easily made by a Roman citizen, given the date of the dedication itself (4th/3rd century BC).

This dedication suggests that the Etruscan male deity worshipped in the southern sanctuary at Pyrgi together with *Cavaθa* was an underworld deity, and very probably an equivalent of Hades / Plouton, commonly worshipped with Kore / Persephone in Magna Graecia and Sicily.⁹⁰ Greek Hades was also well-known to the Etruscans as can be inferred from tomb paintings from Settecamini near Orvieto (Tomba Golini I, ca. 4th century BC)⁹¹ and Tarquinia (Tomba dell'Orco II, ca. 340/20 BC)⁹² with representations of the divine couple, indicated by inscriptions respectively: *eita-φersipnai* (CIE 5090), and *aita-φersipnei* (CIE 5364).⁹³

Neither *Aita/Eita* nor *φersipnai* as far as we know ever enjoyed cult in Etruria under these names.

Another clear attestation of a male deity worshipped at the southern sanctuary at Pyrgi are dedications to *Apa* ('father'). Whether *Apa* was exclusively another name identifying *Veivis*,

the meaning of *savnes* is uncertain, but it very probably qualifies *śuris*: Steinbauer (1999: 463). See also the preceding note for the travertine and tufo blocks.

⁸⁸ Varro says that Vediovis was a Sabine god introduced into early Rome: 5.74.4-10: *e<t> ar<a>e Sabinum linguam olent, quae Tati regis voto sunt Romae dedicatae: nam, ut annales dicunt, vovit Opi, Flor<a>e, Vedio[io]vi Saturnoque, Soli, Lunae, Volcano et Summano, itemque Larundae, Termine, Quirino, Vortumno, Laribus, Dianae Lucinaeque; e quis nonnulla nomina in utraque lingua habent radices, ut arbores quae in confinio natae in utroque agro serpunt: potest enim Saturnus hic de alia causa esse dictus atque in Sabinis, et sic Diana[e], de quibus supra dictum est.* Early formula of *devotio* associating Vediovis with the *di manes* and Dis: Macrobius 3.9.10 (*Dis pater Veiovis Manes, sive vos quo alio nomine fas est nominare*); cf. Ovid *Fasti* 3.429, Plin. *NH* 16.216, Gell. *NA* 5.12.

⁸⁹ Humbert 1978: 21-2, 27-31, 141-3, 164-7, 312-13, 405-16.

⁹⁰ Sekita (forthcoming).

⁹¹ *LIMC* IV 2: 226.5, Pallotino 1952: 97.

⁹² *LIMC* IV 2: 226.6, Pallotino 1952: 111.

⁹³ Cf. an inscription on the wall of a tomb in Volsini (*ET* Vs 7.25, 325-300 BC): *zatlaθ : aiθas* ('guard of *Aitha*' (Hades)) – after Wallace 2008: 195, no. 87.

or testimony of another male god present in the sanctuary is hard to say; the occurrence of *Apa* is not confined to Pyrgi, as has been shown above.

Cavaθa is referred to in inscriptions as *σεχ* ('daughter'), and given that in the southern sanctuary Greek inscriptions were found on dedications to Kore and Demeter, a parallel cult situation can be seen; note that *Veī* (Demeter) is also referred as *ati* ('mother') in a cult environment.⁹⁴ Although Hades / Plouton is not referred as 'father' in the Greek world, it is not impossible that this may be an Etruscan / Italic feature, and, hypothetically, as a male equivalent to Earth mother this works perfectly well; Dis Pater is frequently accompanied by Proserpina, and the epithet *pater* simply reflects the tutelary character of the deity. It could be that *Apa* simply translates to (Dis) Pater. Whether Pater Soranus is a Faliscan equivalent of Etruscan *Apa*, is a different question; but again is not impossible given that Soranus is equated by Servius with Dis Pater, as we have seen above, and so is Vediovis in ancient sources. The question, however, has to remain open; *translatio* or similarity of the cults, and perhaps even religious ideas, in ancient eyes provide deceptively simple and misleading picture of the reality long gone, which may unintentionally lead to confusion rather than understanding.

There are three more possible 'names' or 'epithets' found in Pyrgi, identified as referring to a male deity worshipped together with *Cavaθa*; namely *raθ*, *lapse*, and *χave*, mentioned earlier, which deserve further attention. Their meaning is unclear, but various propositions have been made for solving these puzzles.

Lapse (first half of the 3rd century BC)⁹⁵ and *χave* (first half of the 5th century BC)⁹⁶ are isolated testimonies, from the southern sanctuary at Pyrgi. Colonna proposed understanding *χav-* as a variant of *cav-* and thus *χave* as male equivalent of *Cavaθa*, and the epithet of

⁹⁴ Demeter: **Vt co.2** (see also n. 76 above); *Cavaθa*: **Vs co.4** (*cavuthas seχis*, mid 5th c. BC, from Orvieto, of uncertain provenance).

⁹⁵ **Py co.34-35**: *lapse* (on two rectangular bronze plates).

⁹⁶ **Py co.5**: *mi χave*×(×) (fragment of an Attic column *krater*).

Cavaθα's *paredros*.⁹⁷ It is not impossible, but nevertheless a bit odd that this 'variant' occurs only once and only in a supposed 'epithet / name' of the god worshipped together with *Cavaθα* at Pyrgi. *Lapse* is no less difficult to interpret. Also in this case, Colonna interprets the word as a divine epithet of the god worshipped with *Cavaθα*, probably derived from a botanical lexicon, related to Latin *lappa* (burr);⁹⁸ Maras hypothesised also a possible relation with Greek *λαψάνη* (charlock / *sinapis arvensis*);⁹⁹ the plant might have been associated with the underworld deity.¹⁰⁰

The case of *Raθ* is more complicated because the inscriptions, as we have seen,¹⁰¹ are fragmentary and the word occurs in many forms which do not have to be understood as referring to a particular deity; but let us look at possible interpretations raised in the scholarship so far. Colonna suggested that *Raθ* should be regarded as an Etruscan interpretation of Apollon in his prophetic and purificatory aspect.¹⁰² He based this interpretation on a supposed affinity of Hermes and Apollon resulting from the prophetic skills being passed on to Hermes by Apollon, in Colonna's reading of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (ll. 550-566), which he imaginatively combined with two inscriptions: *raθs turmsal* (**Cr do.7**), mentioned above, on a bronze weight from Caere (S. Antonio), and an inscribed representation on an Etruscan mirror (c. 300 BC) showing *Turms* (Hermes) weighing the *keres* of *Achle* (Achilles) and *Evas* (Aias), accompanied by *Aplu*.¹⁰³ The relevant lines of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* state, however, only that Apollon gave to Hermes *Thriai*, Parnassian prophetesses who produced oracles by casting pebbles, for his own delight (1.564-

⁹⁷ Maras 2009: 335 Colonna, Maras 2003: 336, no. 27.

⁹⁸ Colonna 2001: 396-397, nos. 63, 64; 2006: 139; Colonna, Maras 2003: 337.

⁹⁹ Maras 2013: 204 n. 57.

¹⁰⁰ It seems possible that Hades is holding this plant on *pinakes* from Locri Epizephyri; another possibility is fennel – see Sekita (forthcoming).

¹⁰¹ See nn. 63, 72-73 above.

¹⁰² Colonna 2016: 700, and n. 46 on p. 702, where he states that *Raθ* seems to reflect Delphic Apollon rather than Trojan Apollon.

¹⁰³ *ES* 235, 1; Van Der Meer 1995: no.21.

5): τὰς τοὶ ἔπειτα δίδωμι, σὺ δ' ἀτρεκέως ἐρεείνων | σὴν αὐτοῦ φρένα τέρπε;¹⁰⁴ nothing here suggests that Hermes himself will become an oracular deity *par excellence*. Furthermore, Cristofani believed that *raθs* on the bronze weight should be understood as an epithet of *Turms* rather than as a separate deity.¹⁰⁵

The meaning of *raθ* has been also variously interpreted by other scholars; surprisingly none of these suggestions has been so far addressed by Colonna. Pittau proposed to see the root *raθ-* as similar to Latin *radius*, and understand it as ‘radiant’ or ‘arrow-throwing’.¹⁰⁶

Steinbauer, on the other hand, suggests that *raθ-* conveys meaning of hepatoscopy (‘Leberschau’) or a female *haruspex*,¹⁰⁷ and along this line he interprets other attestations of the word. In the case of the famous Pavatarchies mirror from Tuscania (c. 300 BC),¹⁰⁸ his interpretation of *raθlθ* ‘at the inspection of liver’ (‘bei der Leberschau’)¹⁰⁹ rather than as commonly understood ‘in the area of *Raθ*’¹¹⁰ makes more sense; the inscription on the mirror would read then: ‘At the inspection of liver Avl(e) Tarchunus, Ucernei, Pavatarchies, Veltune’.¹¹¹

The form *raθiu* was interpreted by Maras as a diminutive, reflecting a familiar attitude towards the deity.¹¹² Steinbauer, however, suggests that *raθiu* is an adjective and proposes to read *thafna raθiu* (C1 co.3) as meaning a *kylix* for the inspection of the liver (‘Schale für die Leberschau’)¹¹³ rather than ‘*kylix* of a little *Raθ*’. The inscription itself, however, contains more words, and the adjective *cleusinsl* (of / from Chiusi) makes Steinbauer’s reading of

¹⁰⁴ Colonna (2016: 704 n. 59) mentions other sources which apply to Hermes various prophetic activities, all unfortunately late. Importantly, pebbles as oracular instruments were quite popular and not confined to Hermes: cf. Paus. 7.25.10 (on the oracle of Herakles *Bouraikos*).

¹⁰⁵ Cristofani 1996: 43-45.

¹⁰⁶ Pittau 1989: 1608-9.

¹⁰⁷ Steinbauer 1999: 460; Bentz, Steinbauer 2001: 75.

¹⁰⁸ Van Der Meer 1995: 97-100, no. 43.

¹⁰⁹ See n. 110 above.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Cristofani 1996: 45.

¹¹¹ Discussion regarding the iconography and names in Van Der Meer 1995: 99-100.

¹¹² See nn. 71 above.

¹¹³ See n. 110 above.

raθiu as ‘Leberschau’ harder to understand; Maras regarded it as the epithet of *Raθ*. Pittau proposed to read the entire inscription (*ta : θafna : raθiu : cleusinśl : θu*) as ‘Haec patera Ratii clusini | unus’, and understood *raθiu* as a *gentilicium* corresponding to the Latin *Ratius* or *Rattius*, and *cleusinś* as the *cognomen*.¹¹⁴

It seems that the meaning of the ‘other names’ (*raθ*, *lapse*, and *χave*) has to remain an open question with the caveat that they do not necessarily refer to any divinity.

Conclusions

It seems that within our analysis some light has been shed on the darkness of the Etruscan underworld. We came to the conclusion that *Śuri* as an Etruscan ‘chthonic’ Apollon is a figment of the imagination; the same should very probably be thought of *raθ*. In the case of *Manθ* the question has to remain open as it could be a female name or an epithet of Apollon. Furthermore, the name of *Cavaθa*’s *paredros* at the southern sanctuary at Pyrgi was *Veivis*, the underworld god, probably referred to in inscriptions also as *Apa*. It seems thus that although the southern sanctuary at Pyrgi will have to remain in underworld hands, Apollon / *Aplu* has been liberated from unjustified (and miasmatic) associations with the dead.

Bibliography

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¹¹⁴ Pittau 1990: no. 488; no. 139 for *Larthal Cleusi*; for *Ratius/Rattius* see *idem* 1984: 224.

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