

**Postgraduate Programmes in the  
SCHOOL of HISTORY, CLASSICS and ARCHAEOLOGY**



**The Iconography of the Etruscan Haruspex**

2009

Name: Sarah Hammond

Supervisor: Dr Robert Leighton



## SCHOOL of HISTORY, CLASSICS and ARCHAEOLOGY

### DECLARATION OF OWN WORK

*This dissertation has been composed by Sarah Hammond a candidate of the MSc Programme in MScR, Archaeology, run by the School of History, Classics and Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh. The work it represents is my own, unless otherwise explicitly cited and credited in appropriate academic convention. I confirm that all this work is my own except where indicated, and that I have:*

- Clearly referenced/listed all sources as appropriate
- Referenced and put in inverted commas all quoted text of more than three words (from books, web, etc)
- Given the sources of all pictures, data etc. that are not my own
- Not made any use of the essay(s) of any other student(s) either past or present
- Not sought or used the help of any external professional agencies for the work
- Acknowledged in appropriate places any help that I have received from others (e.g. fellow students, technicians, statisticians, external sources)
- Complied with any other plagiarism criteria specified in the Course handbook
- I understand that any false claim for this work will be penalised in accordance with the University regulations

Sarah Hammond

Signature:

Name (Please PRINT): SARAH HAMMOND

Date: 22/06/2009

# **The Iconography of the Etruscan Haruspex**

by  
**Sarah Naomi Hammond**

**MSc by Research, Archaeology  
The University of Edinburgh  
2009**

Word count: 25,000

## Abstract

The religious rituals of the Etruscans incorporated several forms of divination including the practices of extispicy and hepatoscopy, the arts of divining through the examination of sacrificed animal entrails, and specifically the liver. This practice was carried out by a religious specialist known as a haruspex. Past academic treatment of this figure is limited and lacks specific and focussed studies devoted to examining the profession of haruspicy and the individual haruspex particularly in the English language.

This study aims to expand the evaluation of the haruspex figure through a detailed examination of iconography as represented by archaeological evidence. This iconography is present on such evidence as mirrors, cinerary urns and bronze figurines representing one of the most famous individuals and professions of the Etruscans. This work aims to analyse this iconography from several angles with a view to discussing a number of questions. How can an image be defined as a haruspex? Who were they and what did they look like? Where did they practice and was anyone else involved? This can be established by considering such angles as gender, gesture, context, clothing, appearance and accompanying inscriptions. Alongside this analysis is an assessment of the treatment of haruspices in ancient and modern day literature as well as an examination of the myth that surrounds the origin of haruspicy within Etruria. This combined analysis allows the social and political status of this figure to be considered while a definition of the haruspex regarding their role and representation within Etruscan society is established.

## Contents

Acknowledgements	
1. Introduction	Pg. 1
2. Greek and Latin sources	Pg. 4
3. Mythical References and Iconography	Pg. 9
4. Past Research	Pg. 14
5. Iconography of the Finds	Pg. 17
5.1 Clothing and Appearance	Pg. 17
5.2 Accompanying Figures	Pg. 26
5.3 Gender	Pg. 30
5.4 Gesture	Pg. 32
5.5 Location and Context	Pg. 37
5.6 Associated Implements and Utensils	Pg. 41
5.7 Inscriptions	Pg. 45
5.8. Conclusions	Pg. 48
6. Social and Political Status	Pg. 52
7. Origins and Introduction to Etruria	Pg. 55
List of Figures	Pg. 59
Bibliography	Pg. 60
Catalogue	Annex 1

## **Acknowledgments**

Many thanks to all those who have provided me with support and advice whilst completing this thesis. Particular thanks go to Dr Robert Leighton, Daniel Hammond, the rest of my family, Morven Chisholm and Jacqueline Fordyce.

## 1. Introduction

Etruscan society developed from the eighth century BCE and contributed to extensive networks of trade across the Mediterranean. The culture of the Etruscans was affected by, and in turn affected, the surrounding societies with whom they had contact. Roman expansion absorbed the Etruscans into their territory and society although elements of Etruscan culture survived, albeit in a modified form, including aspects of Etruscan ritual practices and religion. This study is particularly concerned with Etruscan ritual practices and religious specialists. Classical sources frequently refer to the religious customs of the Etruscans. Thanks also to a rich archaeological record, there is a wealth of information on the religion of the Etruscans. Whilst Greek and Roman sources go some way to providing an alternative literature, in the absence of an Etruscan literary legacy, some of the information they provide may be unreliable and the opinions expressed are not often objective. Therefore whilst it is necessary to consider these literary sources the archaeological record provides an important and valuable alternative.

Such is the nature of the archaeological evidence that any study of the Etruscans can hardly avoid referring to some aspect of religion, which was entrenched in everyday life. The necropolises, temples and depictions of mythology are a few of the elements of Etruscan religion that survive to be examined. Previous treatment of this topic, however, has tended only to focus on two main areas of the subject. First, the pantheon of gods and the associated worship of them, including their cults and rituals and, second, the beliefs in the underworld and afterlife. The rich evidence available has enabled interesting conclusions to be drawn regarding Etruscan attitudes towards aspects of their religion. This includes funerary practices and beliefs in demons, gods and myth. However, religious rites further permeated the daily life of the Etruscans.

The Etruscans held strong beliefs in divination, seeking to discover the future or other hidden knowledge through several different methods. Throwing lots was a common practice, as was augury whereby the flight patterns and actions of birds were interpreted as signs from the gods. Strange phenomena, especially to do with the natural world, were also interpreted as good or bad omens and portents sent from



the gods. These could include thunder and lightning, unusual births and deaths, deformities or freak natural events such as floods or earthquakes. One of the most important forms of divination was extispicy, the art of divining signs from the gods through an examination of the entrails of a sacrificed animal. A specialist branch of this practice was hepatoscopy where the focus was specifically on the examination of the liver of the animal. This was usually a sheep and the liver would be examined for colour, size, and unusual markings. A religious specialist known as a haruspex interpreted the state of the liver and communicated any signs or information that they deduced. It is the iconography of this religious specialist, the haruspex and the profession or practice of haruspicy that is the focus of this research.

A more specific examination of past research on this topic is in the following chapters but it is appropriate to suggest here that whilst some elements and evidence of the practice of haruspicy have been considered in depth, such as the Piacenza liver, and a general knowledge of the profession does exist, there is a lack of detailed analysis devoted solely to this figure. The constraints of time and space that this limited work impose mean that a complete directory of evidence pertaining to the haruspex is not possible here. The intention of this work is to present a detailed analysis specifically of the iconography of the Etruscan haruspex and provide an accompanying catalogue of relevant evidence. This catalogue will provide a wide range of examples of important representations of the haruspex and of the evidence that relates to the practice of haruspicy.

The accompanying analysis will be a thematic discussion of the iconography. This will be divided into subtopics of gender, gesture, clothing and appearance, contextual location and company, utensils and inscriptions. The aim of such an analysis is to build up a detailed picture of the haruspex and haruspicy by assessing different components of the iconography and their individual significance before examining the patterns and significance of combinations of these components.

By combining this with a consideration of patterns relating to the dates and origins of the evidence, stylistic patterns and preferences can be determined. In addition to this main body of analysis, an examination of myth surrounding the origins of haruspicy in Etruria is included. The textual sources and accompanying iconography of this myth are integral to a larger discussion of the origins of

haruspicy and its representation because they contribute to a discussion of the place of haruspicy within society and how this was represented by and for the people of Etruria.

Further evaluation of both modern and ancient literature is included. This is an important task in order to establish how haruspicy has been treated as a subject in the past and present. However, the main body of archaeological evidence is the central part of this thesis. This evidence comes in the form of paintings, bronze figurines, mirrors, plaques, sarcophagi and cinerary urns which are represented in this catalogue. The development of the role of the haruspex within Roman society is largely excluded from this study and the evidence used is limited to the period before Etruria was absorbed into Roman society to avoid any confusion. The dates of this evidence range from 850 BCE to 15 BCE.

There are several key questions to consider within this research. Using the analysis of the iconography, a visual definition and classification of the haruspex can be established: what did they look like, where did they practice and was this a realistic representation? The definition of a haruspex is one of the elements that previous studies referring to this subject have not fully addressed, nor have the difficulties associated with establishing a definition been addressed. Whilst the focus of this piece is an examination of the iconography, wider questions surrounding the social and political position of the haruspex can also be considered alongside a contemplation of the origins of the practice within Etruria.

## 2. Greek and Latin sources

The Etruscans left no body of literature of their own; there are no extensive written records, only inscriptions which are mostly fragmentary. However, the integration of the Etruscans and their religious practices into Roman society left a fragmented literary legacy that is available to examine today. Greek and Latin sources provide key information regarding aspects of Etruscan religion including the practice of haruspicy. The reliability and accuracy of this information needs careful evaluation due to the fact that these commentaries often reflect more of the authors own cultural surroundings and interpretations rather than providing an impartial observance on another society (Guittard, 1997, p399). It is necessary to assess these classical sources, however, and examine what information they may still provide in light of the absence of Etruscan literature.

From writers such as Pliny, Livy, Herodotus and Seneca we can see the Etruscans and their religion from a different perspective. They provide a useful and interesting, if not necessarily impartial view of Etruscan religion and how it was perceived by men outside of Etruria. The classical sources relating to the myth surrounding the beginnings of haruspicy within Etruscan religion are detailed in the next chapter.

Much of the information refers to the periods in time after the Etruscans were incorporated into Roman society but nonetheless holds some interesting comments. Tacitus, for example, recalls the establishment of a ‘Board of Soothsayers’ during the time of Claudius,

‘This oldest Italian art ought not to die out through neglect. The advice of soothsayers consulted in times of disaster has often caused the revival and more correct subsequent observance of religious ceremonies. Moreover leading Etruscans, on their own initiative – or the roman senates – have kept up the art and handed it down from father to son. Now, however, public indifference to praiseworthy accomplishments has caused its neglect; and the advance of foreign superstitions has contributed to this. At present all is well. But gratitude for divine favour must be shown by ensuring that rites observed in bad times are not forgotten in prosperity.’ (Tacitus, *Annals*, XI 14-15)

This passage informs us that the art of divination was passed down from father to son, indicating that this was a male dominated profession. It also shows us how important the skill of haruspicy was still deemed to be at this point in time. It was regarded as correct and proper to observe religious rites precisely, and the Etruscans were deemed to be a good example of this.

These classical sources provide the names of soothsayers who were in the employment of important and powerful men. Valerius Maximus recollects one such soothsayer who was in the service of Caesar, named Spurrina, whose advice Caesar famously ignored to his peril (Val.Max.VIII.11). This same source later mentions another soothsayer in service to C. Gracchus by the name of Herenius Siculus (Val.Max.IX.12). The incorporation of named soothsayers into these accounts implies their integral role in society at this time.

Herodotus emphasizes the importance of the reading of omens at the famous scene of the battle of Platea which was held up for days until the omens were deemed favourable (Herodotus, *Histories*, 9.33-44). This highlights an important difference between Greek and Etruscan divining. The general nature is the same in that the gods are asked to provide signs of the future and of their will. It is suggested that a Greek might continue with sacrifices until the desired answer was given and favourable omens were provided, whereas this is not recorded as being the case with Etruscan divination. Whilst the divination practices used at the battle of Platea did not specifically include haruspicy, this particular example calls attention to the different attitude towards divination that existed between the two cultures and serves to highlight the religious mentality of the Etruscans by comparing it to another. A similar difference existed between the Etruscans and the Romans who despite adopting haruspices into their society focussed more in the individual cults of their pantheon.

Livy's contribution centres on descriptions of prophecies, portents, signs from the gods and their subsequent interpretation. He highlights the continued importance of this by listing many occurrences and, usually, unsatisfactory results from sacrifices. The various stories he describes, whether they are true or not, highlight the importance of the skill of interpreting signs from the gods and how these signs were thought to affect situations, most notably in war and politics. An

example of this is his recording of the predictions made regarding the Alban Lake. He writes that a soothsayer from the Etruscan city of Veii declared that until the overflowing water of the lake had been reduced the Romans would never be able to conquer Veii and this prophecy was taken seriously by those concerned (Livy, 5.15.4-12).

Cicero has an interestingly sceptical point of view of the divinatory practices of the Etruscans, referring to those who were the authors of the 'divine science' - the *etrusca disciplina* - as devoid of learning (Cicero, *De div*, 2.38.80). He informs us that the sons of important men were sent by the senate to Etruria to learn of the discipline in order to keep the practice within religious boundaries and not for reward and profit (Cicero, *De div*, 1.41.92). This suggests that it was in danger of being used for these purposes. Valerius Maximus also notes that 'ten sons of noblemen' were handed over to learn the *etrusca disciplina* (Val. Max. 1.1). The fact that this information is repeated amongst these authors suggests that it was likely to be based in fact.

Cicero writes about the sky being divided into sixteen regions as shown on the Piacenza liver (Cicero, *De div*, 2.18.42). Pliny also comments on these divisions (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 2.55.143) as does Martianus Capella who has provided a very detailed account of the gods and their specific locations in the sky (Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae* 1.45-61). The common referral to this idea is useful in establishing the practical use of an item such as the Piacenza liver (cat. no. 4).

The *etrusca disciplina* is referred to again by Censorinus who talks about portents being written down and being used for practicing divination and the teaching of divination (Censorinus, *De Die Natali* 17.5-6). This is helpful in confirming precisely what the *etrusca disciplina* was used for. The portents that are referred to by Censorinus in this case relate to the division of time in particular and are not revealed through haruspicy. The Etruscans had a very strong sense of fate and of the division of time, believing that a person's life and a society such as their own would only last for a predetermined number of years (Jannot, 2005, p14). Portents could signal the end of one such allotted section of time and they could come in any form, such as lightning, earthquakes or sheep's liver markings.

In his *Life of Sulla*, Plutarch writes about the same theme: portents indicating that a new age is being signalled, in this instance, by the sound of a trumpet. He discusses the cycle of ages in which the Etruscans believed and its relations with divination. He stresses that the ‘Tuscans’ knew more about this topic than anyone else (Pliny, *Life of Sulla*, 7.3-6). This signal is the type of sign that a haruspex would be called upon to interpret.

The writings of the *etrusca disciplina* are referred to elsewhere with regard to other aspects of society. Vitruvius, for example, writes about haruspices, their recordings, and how in their writings references are made to where, and how, structures such as sacred buildings should be built (Vitruvius, 1.7.1-2). Many aspects of Etruscan life could be traced back to an observance of the gods and their teachings through the prophets Vegoia and Tages. The haruspex, therefore, could feasibly be involved in all aspects of ritual life.

Ancient sources such as these can be especially helpful in areas of this study where there is sparse evidence, such as determining where a haruspex may have carried out sacrifices and interpretations. Ovid describes a scene where haruspicy occurs; the spontaneous sacrifice of a sheep made on an altar made from grass is not initially undertaken through a haruspex but is later overseen and checked by a ‘soothsayer’ (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 15.565-621). Taken literally, this would indicate a number of things: that haruspicy could be unplanned and undertaken by any individual, at least to begin with; that an altar needed to be created in order to carry out the sacrifice, and that it was specifically a sheep’s entrails that were used. There is no reason to assume that this description is incorrect but Ovid was a poet and so his words should not be regarded as conclusive evidence.

An extract written by Seneca is one of the most quoted passages regarding the Etruscans,

‘This is the difference between us and the Etruscans, who have consummate skill in interpreting lightning: we think that because clouds collide, lightning is emitted. They believe that clouds collide in order that lightning may be emitted’ (Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturales*, 2.32.2).

This is an excellent example of the way in which the religious mentality of the Etruscans was perceived by others if not an accurate portrayal of reality. The

Etruscans believed that the gods sent signs to indicate their will, both of the future and for the present. The Etruscans made it their business to interpret these signs and natural phenomena such as lightning storms were closely watched. Bloch suggests that this fascination with lightning stemmed from the stormy weather that frequents this area of Italy (Bloch, 1984, p61). Whilst we believe that there is a scientific reason behind thunder and lightning, the Etruscans believed that the gods *made* these things happen in order to communicate their knowledge to those below.

Whilst the various biases and dubious or unknown resources of these authors coupled with their late dates of writing mean these sources should be regarded critically, their opinions on the actions of the haruspices and the religious mentality of the Etruscans are interesting. If nothing else, the importance of divining, soothsayers, haruspicy and the *etrusca disciplina* is very clear; their relevance lasted for many years and the ancient traditions were carried on, after the decline of their society, to be recorded and referred to by these authors.

### 3. Mythical References and Iconography

The beginnings of haruspicy in Etruria are encapsulated in a myth that is relayed in the writings of classical authors; Cicero, Festus, Ovid and Johannes Lydus, and is referred to by many others. Cicero writes that as the earth was being ploughed in the countryside of Tarquinia a figure with the appearance of a child and the wisdom of an elder appeared from one of the furrows cut. After the peasant had cried out and all of Etruria had assembled the child addressed the crowd and they wrote down all his words. Everything that he said was with regard to the practise of divination and haruspicy detailing the skills of the science to those who listened (Cicero, *De div*, 2.50-51).

This 'child' was named Tages and was said to be the grandson of the god Jupiter or Etruscan god Tinia. A variation on this story written by Johannes Lydus (*De Ostentis*, 2.6.B) states that the person who discovered Tages and wrote down his words was in fact Tarchon, the founder of Tarquinia. Yet another variation from Festus (*De Significatu Verbatim*, 359.14) declares that it wasn't just any crowd that formed to see the prophet but the 'twelve peoples of Etruria'. The notion of 'twelve peoples' is a convenient parallel to the twelve city states and kings of Etruria, powerful cities of the area who met in connection with political and religious activities. Primarily a religious gathering and referred to as a Union of Rasenna, the Etruscan name for Etruria, it was initially formed by the priestly kings of each city and control remained in priestly councils hands after the monarchy was abolished. It is not clear which cities belonged to the confederation although likely candidates include prominent cities such as Tarquinia. Their meeting place has been referred to as the 'grove of Voltumna' which has never been found. Monte Fiascone has previously been suggested as a possible location (Von Vacano, 1960,) but Orvieto is a more likely venue (Torelli, 2001, p397).

Tages is said to have had certain characteristics of mature age such as teeth, while Johannes Lydus (*De Ostentis*, 2.6.B) also states that he was taken away by Tarchon who continued to learn from him as Tages grew up; a scene thought to represent this is shown on an engraved mirror from Tuscania dating to the third



century BCE. A different interpretation, however, could be that this mirror represents an older Tages teaching a younger student in haruspicy.

The teachings of Tages were written down in a text that formed part of a larger body of writings called the *etrusca disciplina*. This text was supposedly written in 'ancient letters' in order to keep the secrets of divination only for those who were to be taught the art of haruspication (Johannes Lydus, *De Ostentis*, 2.6.B). This text then grew as new revelations were gleaned from the gods through the practice of haruspicy and was used as a manual and a legacy of the rites. These writings were divided into several volumes, including the *libri haruspicini*, *libri fulgares* and *libri rituals*, each relating to different areas of interpretation and divination: haruspicy, lightning, and ritual and fate (Bloch, 1958, p143). The book would have been in the form of a folded *liber linteus*, a linen book, an example of which is represented on a sarcophagus from the Tomb of Sarcophagi dating to the fourth century BCE at Cerveteri (cat. no. 33). One example of a section of a *liber linteus* survives today in the National Museum of Zagreb. Having been found converted from a linen book into part of the wrappings for a mummy during the Hellenistic period and after being restored and translated it was seen to record a calendar of dates detailing when events such as sacrifices were to occur (Rix, 1997, p391).

It is in the nature of myths that they can often occur where an explanation is needed or required for an unknown or where it can prove beneficial in some way to create a history to a tradition. This does not mean that during its own time it was not deemed to be true. The rapid propagation of a myth can leave its actual origin unknown to the majority who believe it to be based on fact. But it often means that ulterior motives for its existence could exist but not be commonly known. The incorporation of the 'twelve peoples' and also of the figure of Tarchon within this myth is interesting as is the exclusive nature given to a text written only for a certain few to be able to read. The link between religion, power and politics is not a new concept to discuss both in the past and the present. In this case it could be considered that by keeping the skills of haruspicy only for a certain few and confining the 'special event' of Tages' appearance to the twelve kings in command, haruspicy is then limited to those who are in power and who can use this skill for their own

benefit. This is sceptical conjecture but Rawson has suggested a similar idea (Rawson, 1978, p135) and it is an interesting point to consider and to keep in mind while the iconography of the haruspex is considered. It is also important to consider at what time this myth and its accompanying iconography were perpetrated. If this skill existed at first without any iconography then we must ask why one was subsequently created, and also if the myth was recognised before or after the ensuing representation of the haruspex. Briquel echoes this idea in suggesting that the Etruscans wished to be seen as the inventors of the art of haruspicy and attempted to achieve this through the creation of the Tages myth (Briquel, 1990, p323).

Representations of this myth are scarce. The mirror from Tuscania (cat. no. 2) that likely depicts Tarchon and Tages has already been mentioned but their story is further represented on a set of carved scarab gems and ring stones from the fourth century BCE. Catalogue no's.16-18 are all very similar; each shows a standing central figure, hunched over, regarding another figure or head on the ground, but there are also important differences. On cat. no. 16 a bearded, robed man is helping to pull a smaller figure from the ground. Significantly, the emerging figure raises his arm and points with his finger, a gesture that indicates a prophetic announcement (de Grummond, 2006b, p28) and it is likely that this is a representation of the Tarchon and Tages myth. Catalogue no.17, an agate ring stone, differs in that only a head appears on the ground, not a whole body, and the neck is clearly defined underneath to show there is no body. The figure above the head stands hunched over and writes on a tablet, presumably recording what the head is saying. A prototype of this image could be the Greek Orpheus myth that has been adapted to native Etruscan practices and beliefs. In this case the prophetic nature of the iconography is very clear and it may well be a depiction of the Tarchon and Tages myth in a slightly different form to that told by Cicero and other classical sources.

Adaptations of imagery used in other myth representations from different cultures such as Greece could more than likely have occurred and templates of iconography being used and transferred between different cultures show an intermingling of mythical ideas demonstrating how ideas transfer and adjust to fit different belief systems. Catalogue no.18 could be an example of this. This agate ring stone again shows a naked male figure slightly hunched over and this time

actively pulling a smaller figure from the ground with one hand. This would appear to be a straight forward Tages representation but for the interesting headdress worn by the central figure. Richter has interpreted this figure as Hermes bringing a person back to life and out of the ground (Richter, 1968, p55). Another possibility is that this is Hercules, as the figure also bears a resemblance to Etruscan representations of the Greek hero. Whether this represents a Greek figure or not it equally bears a striking resemblance to the story of Tages, perhaps showing a combination of characters in an evolving society whose changing cultural contacts and emerging mythical stories of its own produce a unique 'in-between' iconography.

This evolution of iconography and imitation of body posture, gesture and composition can be seen in what is a possible predecessor, a carved gem from Chiusi (cat. no. 19) dating to ca.350 BCE. Similar to the others it depicts a naked hunched-over man apparently conversing with a head. In this case the head, however, emerges from a pot or a bag, not the ground and the main figure can be identified as Turms.

Turms was considered to be the Etruscan version of the Greek Hermes also sometimes known as the Hermes of Hades. The similarity of the postures and composition of this image to the others shows a willingness to adapt scenes like this to new stories and mythology indicating how iconography can develop.

One other possible representation of the Tages myth occurs on another carved gem (cat. no. 20). Different to the others in its composition, this gem shows two figures on either side of a head which lies on the ground. The figure on the left could be Tarchon and the one on the right the peasant who has discovered the head. The peasant points down to the head indicating it to Tarchon as Tarchon clasps his hands in a pensive pose.

The unknown find spots of two of the scarabs and the similar dating of the group as a whole prevent the consideration of a timeline of development between the individual items. Whilst none of these gems can be said categorically to be of the Tages myth they certainly match the recorded descriptions of the myth in classical sources and offer some interesting comparisons through their iconography.

By combining an examination of literature with surviving iconography we can draw tenuous conclusions regarding how this myth of haruspicy was formulated

and then represented throughout Etruria. The literature itself allows us to identify the iconography for what it represents. Without it these scenes might never have been understood correctly. The drawbacks of using classical sources as supporting evidence, nonetheless, must be recognised. Those who write about traditions that existed hundreds of years before their time of writing cannot wholly be relied upon to provide an accurate portrayal. Individual biases and political agendas affect the reliability of their writings. The myth of Tages is central to the study of haruspicy in Etruria and yet the origins of its motivation and propagation remain elusive.

#### 4. Past Research

The selection of Greek and Latin sources discussed above exemplifies the interest in Etruscan religion that existed in the ancient world. Modern day scholarship has remained fascinated with the history of Etruscans but any study of the haruspex figure can seem limited, relative to the academic energy given to other aspects of Etruria and Etruscan society. Despite the increasing focus on Etruscan religion and the acknowledged importance of the role of the haruspex figure, this field of study is narrow in comparison, particularly in the English language.

In general studies on Etruscan religion many basic statements and conclusions have been drawn and repeated. Whilst in the more detailed works on Etruscan religion the topic of haruspicy may be afforded a sub-heading and a few paragraphs it is usually omitted completely from more general studies on Etruria. Further catalogues of the iconography of the haruspex, with discussions on the development, history and origins of the practice are still necessary.

A discussion of the haruspex and associated attributes crosses many boundaries of other areas of study of the Etruscans such as, clothing, social order, politics and sacred architecture to name but a few. Aspects of haruspicy are inevitably mentioned in passing within these subject areas but a concentrated and exclusive study of the haruspex figure and its representations may afford a different perspective and may provide different conclusions with relation to religion and other areas of Etruscan society.

Most recent works that include studies on haruspices are those of Nancy de Grummond and Erika Simon 'The Religion of the Etruscans' (2006b) and J.R. Jannot 'The Religion of Ancient Etruria' (2005). De Grummond's chapter 'Prophets and Priests' within 'The Religion of the Etruscans' contains an excellent summary of the main aspects of haruspicy as well as including chief examples of their iconography. The other contributions within this text from authors Bonfante, Turfa and Colonna all aid the study of haruspicy as they cover the relevant and associated topics of sacred space and architecture, inscriptions and votive offerings. The added bonus of this work is the appendix of translated ancient sources that are often referred to but frequently not given in full by other scholars. The acknowledgement of the

importance of examining these Greek and Latin sources is imperative to providing a more complete exploration of religion and, in this case, haruspicy.

Jannot's 'Religion in Ancient Etruria' (2005) contains chapters on the *etrusca disciplina*, rites of divination, sacrificial rites and worshippers which all provide valuable information and opinions on haruspicy from different angles. Jannot's forthright opinions are refreshing where other academics give hesitant conclusions. In proposing new theories, ideas and lines of research, he addresses the key points of the subject whilst advocating new directions of study.

These two main works encompass much of the direct treatment of haruspicy in the English language. However, French, German and Italian scholars remain the principal voices on this subject. Large works by Bloch (1984) and Pfiffig (1975) set an example of how much space should be devoted to the treatment of religion and divination. Focus on smaller sub-topics within haruspicy in particular the *etrusca disciplina* and the bronze liver of Piacenza have been addressed by authors such as Van der Meer (1987), Colonna (1993), Briquel (1990) and Guittard (1997).

Those such as Krauss (1930), Rawson (1978) and Schofield (1986) who address the Greek and Latin authors and their treatment of divination and haruspicy aid the study of haruspicy by considering the angle of classical sources and their opinions. These sources remain one of the largest resources of information on Etruscan religion despite their difficulties. Beard's (1986) contribution to this type of discussion as well as her work with North (1990) on the topic of priests is invaluable as in particular they address the issue of definition and classification of religious specialists, a key theme of this thesis.

There are several other authors who have addressed the haruspex figure within larger works. Whilst some is perhaps a little dated such as discussions by Von Vacano (1960), Haynes (2000) and Torelli (2001) in contrast provide particularly interesting examples of iconography alongside clearly stated opinions on haruspicy and the haruspex figure. When considered alongside the work of Pallottino (1978) and Cristofani (1979) it can be seen that it is possible to include a thought provoking and accurate discussion of haruspicy within larger, more general studies.

Those who recognise haruspicy and religion, alongside the associated myth and iconography are important as including analyses of this, however indirectly, by

assessing a different subject matter that coincides with the research of this thesis, provides more scope to build a larger image of the haruspex and the influence of the profession and accompanying myth within Etruria. A particularly good example of this is from Bonfante who by addressing key inscriptions (Bonfante, 2006) and providing excellent information on clothing and appearance within Etruria (Bonfante, 1975) provides invaluable assistance to the study of the haruspex.

Aside from these examples of which I have named a few, many areas in the study of haruspicy remain ‘skimmed-over’ , contain an air of incompleteness or repetitiveness where fresh ideas such as those given by de Grummond (2006b) and Jannot (2005) are beginning to fill in. Where space or suitability does not allow a complete evaluation one or more important aspects are inevitably ignored. The issue of a clear definition of a haruspex given through the iconography or literature is very much a grey area, haruspices are confused with priests of other types, their duties are blurred and all too often they are not examined out-with Roman influence and history. At the same time whilst perhaps too much thought is given to the place of the haruspex where it is convenient to discuss it – e.g. within the Roman republic – investigation also does not go back far enough in time. It is true that a lack of evidence makes it difficult to assess religion, particularly haruspicy, as far back as Villanovan times. But the issue of how haruspicy came to be practiced in Etruria when it is clearly in use throughout the Eastern world many centuries before should be addressed; how did it make its way to Italy? Why did the Etruscans pick up on it? How it transferred and what is the evidence of this? While questions such as these have been hinted at in past research they are largely ignored by modern scholars and a more direct approach could yield interesting conclusions and hypotheses.

## 5. Iconography of the Finds

The following discussion will examine the characteristics and attributes of the iconography of the haruspex figure. By investigating distinctive, recurring and unique characteristics and categories represented on the artefacts as well as gesture, company and context, stylistic patterns will become clear. By relating this analysis to factual data regarding location and dates of relevant iconography information regarding the social status, gender, and realistic appearance of the haruspex can be established.

### 5.1 Clothing and Appearance

When haruspices have been identified in Etruscan art it is often due to the nature of their costume. There is enough variation in costume that in some cases this can be very distinctive and in others it is more generic. When discussing the costume of the haruspex there are two angles which should be considered. First, was there a specific costume worn as they practised their science? Second, by considering how the iconography projects the image of the haruspex, what is their costume representing and indicating to the viewer with regard to who a haruspex was in Etruscan society?

An interesting question to consider in this part of the discussion is that, due to the connection of the haruspex to the divine, does their costume in any way reflect this? Representations of gods often shown them wearing hats and so the hats worn by haruspices themselves could have been seen as a way of showing either a connection to the gods or as a status symbol, indicating the position of eminence their profession held.

The clothing of the haruspex is one of the key factors in analysing and defining them, as a ritual costume could be used for classification purposes. Costume is so often used by scholars as a means of identifying a figure as a haruspex that a careful analysis is needed here in order to determine key factors that can be used to clarify which costume attributes should be used as classification tools. It can then be assessed if there was a standard attire for them and if this developed over



time according to fashions or other factors. Subsequently the dating of all the iconography is key in order to track any development. It is true that clothing itself can sometimes be used to date an artefact; however, this may not be the case with ritual wear as often religious attire can remain unchanged over many years in order to be recognisable and to carry on tradition.

The use of clothing as a source brings certain disadvantages. Representation of clothing in art carries with it the possibility that elements may have been copied from elsewhere, be that past or present inspiration, perception or bias. Art copied from other art blurs the actual reality of what type of dress was used everyday or on a certain type of occasion and can mislead those studying the subject. The question of art versus reality therefore must always be kept in mind when drawing conclusions.

The main garments worn by the haruspex are the chiton, or tunic, and the mantle. Long chitons are worn by figures represented in cat. no's 15, 27, and 9. The figure in cat. no. 15 also has a beard indicating his more mature age and a longer more respectable chiton could be an indication of his mature status. This is also the case with cat. no. 27 in which the figure wears this same combination but cat. no. 9 does not fit this pattern. Traditionally, longer chitons were worn earlier on in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE but these examples are from the fourth century BCE. The idea that a longer tunic was perhaps more appropriate for occasions such as haruspicy is one suggested by Bonfante (1975, p54). However, the majority of the tunics worn in the rest of haruspical representations are slightly shorter – mid calf to knee length. The four bronze figurines from Siena (cat. no's 15-18) are prime examples of those wearing the shorter chiton with almost identical dress shown on each; cat. no. 19 also matches this costume type. Chitons of this type and length were commonly shown as everyday garments worn by the majority of Etruscan men.

There are several representations, however, where there is very little worn by the haruspex figure. One of the most famous representations of haruspical activity, the mirror from Vulci (cat. no. 1) depicting Chalchas examining a liver, shows him wearing only a draped piece of cloth to cover him. On another mirror from Castelgiorgio (cat. no. 3) showing the character of Umaele holding a liver as others look on he also only has a piece of material draped over his left thigh and arm. This is again shown on cat. no's.30 and 31 where one haruspex examines a liver and the

other, more likely to be a priest, gazes up to the sky in a meditating pose. Both of these wear a small piece of material around their middles. The dates of these images range from the fifth to the third centuries BCE with a clear theme existing between them. When taken in the context of other depictions of haruspices within the same time period, however, this theme is shown to be interrupted by examples of haruspices dressed in full costume and does not represent a continuous trend. If the origins of the two bronze plaques depicting similar costume styles were known then it could be suggested that they represented local artistic taste.

It is important to note that a mantle is not always shown. Those that provide some of the clearest examples are again the Siena models. They wear mantles that are visibly of a thick material, draped over the body with a fibula fastening in the middle. In the case of cat. no's. 6 and 8 stitching details can also be distinguished around the edges of the material. This type of mantle is also worn by cat. no. 9 where even more detail can be seen including the clearly designed shape of the fibula, a curved upper section with the pin fastening below. This is in contrast to the other more bulbous examples on the Siena models (cat. no's. 5-8) and cat. no. 13.

The haruspex in cat. no. 23 wears a mantle over his tunic whereas those on the Tuscania mirror (cat. no. 2), Pava Tarchies and Avl Tarchunus, wear an item more like a cloak. Despite this difference the latter two examples are still certainly fastened with fibulae in the centre of the garment which is an important detail as the fibula is widely seen as one of the key attributes of the haruspex costume. It has been suggested that the emphasis placed on the representation of the fibula indicates that it was part of the ritual dress of the haruspex (Bonfante 1975, p53).

The shape of the mantle varies. Those of cat. no's. 5, 6, 7 and 9, all have a rounded edge to them. The mantle worn by cat. no. 8, however, is quite definitely rectangular in the way it hangs down the front of the figure. Those worn in cat. no. 2 have a draped appearance indicating that the mantle was made with more material than some of the other examples. Bonfante comments on the dress of the haruspex calling the mantle a 'rough fringed shawl' using a comparison to the dress of Arcadian shepherds to emphasise that this was an item intended for warmth. She goes on to suggest that, as it stands out of the ordinary for standard Etruscan wear, it would appear to be a costume that has been adapted specifically for ritual use

(Bonfante 1975, p54). It could be suggested that the heavy mantle was worn for warmth when practicing the science in an outdoor situation. In the hot summer months, however, this would not be practical, and so the costume must provide a certain symbolism. Bonfante suggests that it was a foreign form of dressing that was adapted for a specific use within Etruria and was a tradition that carried on into the Hellenistic period (Bonfante 1975, p54). The endurance of such a costume certainly lends strength to the idea that this was a traditional, ritual dress for the haruspices. It was a costume which differentiated them from other people, signifying their status and importance, by marking their distinction from other members of the community.

If the costume provided all of these things then it must be asked why a haruspex would be depicted without it. Why, in some cases, were they represented differently? The mirrors that depict two such cases show the mythical figures of Chalchas and Umaele (cat. no's. 1&3). The semi-nudity could be a reflection of the mythical, not realistic, status of these figures. This is an interpretation that could be applied to the figure represented on cat. no. 30. He wears the same draped cloth across his middle and over his left arm, identical to Chalchas (cat. no. 1), and both are dated to the fourth century BCE. There is no accompanying inscription to identify this figure as being a character from reality or from a myth and yet this nameless example fits this costume group remarkably accurately and so it could be suggested that he is a mythical character too.

The Etruscans, including religious specialists and their gods, wore a variety of shoes and sandals. A figure holding forth a lituus carved on a stone cippus from Fiesole (cat. no. 36), for example, is depicted wearing very long boots and a bronze statuette from Isola di Fano (cat. no. 14) is shown wearing shorter pointed boots and also holds a staff.

This variety of shoes was well known across neighbouring Greece and Rome (Bonfante, 1975, p59) and their range of pointed, laced, shoes, boots and sandals is well represented in their artwork. It is therefore noticeable that on representations of haruspices none of them seem to be wearing any kind of footwear.

On some of the more rudimentary examples such as the bronze figurines from Siena (cat. no's. 5-8), especially where erosion or oxidation has occurred, it is difficult to tell if any footwear is depicted. This is especially the case where some of

the feet appear as big as large shoes; for example on cat. no. 6. Shoes or sandals were originally painted on and so this decoration will not usually have survived (Bonfante 1975, p59), however, this only applies with regard to the early artwork of the seventh century BCE and the Siena figurines are from the second century BCE making it likely that if shoes were worn then they would have been detailed. Despite the damage to this set from Siena it seems likely, then, that they were intended to be shown barefoot. Bare feet are clearly shown on items like cat. no. 2 on both Avl Tarchunus and Pava Tarchies even though it seems they are outside. The figures of Chalchas and Umaele on their respective mirrors (cat. no's.1&3) also clearly wear no shoes. The same follows for cat. no's. 15, 23 and 30. Even those figures that have a certain amount of doubt surrounding their classification, such as cat. no's. 21 and 27 follow the pattern of bare feet.

The reason for this is not entirely clear, especially if this science was practiced outdoors. There may be a link between this and the idea of connecting properly with the earth similar to those who are shown with one foot resting on a rock as on cat. no's. 1, 2 and 3. A large part of the religion of the Etruscans was based around natural phenomena with a number of deities attached to specific areas of the natural world. If the gods were being contacted it would make sense for the haruspex to feel that they were in tune with those gods. Wearing no shoes so that the feet connected with the earth may have been symbolic of this.

The hat of the haruspex is one of the most important aspects to discuss. It appears on nearly every representation of a haruspex that exists and is a key factor used to classify a figure as a haruspex. Its style does, however, vary according to the way the image is being used or perhaps due to stylistic preference and local tradition. The haruspex hat is adapted from an everyday hat worn by men called the *pilleus*. This began as a plain hat with a conical crown in the eighth century BCE made of leather or felt and has connections to near eastern headgear (Bonfante, 1975, p68) which will be discussed later when considering the origins of haruspicy. The development of this hat into a symbolic item is identified as being shown for the first time on the Boccanera plaque from Cerveteri where the figure of Paris wears a *pilleus* that has a twisted point (see fig.1). From the sixth century BCE onwards this

was then developed and incorporated into part of the costume for haruspices and priests.



(Fig. 1. de Grummond, 2006a, Pl.1)

The bronze figure of Vel Svietus represents a prime example of the hat of the haruspex (cat. no. 9). The hat he wears is tall and with a rounded, pointed top. It flattens out over the head with no brim, and comes low down on the forehead and is tightly tied under the chin in a knot. This is similar to a hat depicted a century later on another bronze votive figure of a haruspex (cat. no. 13). Here there is no visible tie under the chin and the hat is slightly shorter with more definition at the base, but it is essentially of the same style when compared to the different types worn elsewhere. The hat worn by the figure on cat. no. 23 has the same shape to the base but has a thinner more pointed, spiked, cone at the top. The hats worn by Pava Tarchies and Avl Tarchunus in the mirror from the third century (cat. no. 2) have a rounded base with a thinner more cylindrical point rising straight up from the middle. The incised decoration of these two hats seems to suggest a twisted nature of the fabric. These are very different to the next hat in chronological sequence worn by Arnth Remzna on the lid of his cinerary urn (cat. no. 22). Here the chin strap is evident as is the complicated knot underneath with tassels but the hat is in no way pointed or conical. It is a close fitting cap like that worn by Laris Puleus on his sarcophagus at Tarquinia (cat. no. 32) and the priest on cat. no. 31.

The tall twisted hat type is seen on cat. no. 29; the decoration and the shape are very similar to a hat worn by a figure depicted as part of a group on a stone monument in the shape of a house (cat. no. 35). This figure walks behind an aulos player and carries a palm leaf. Due to the absence of a liver and the processional

nature of the scene it is unclear whether he is a haruspex or a public priest taking part in a marriage ceremony as is suggested by Jannot (2005, p127, fig 7.3). This brings up the question of whether haruspices participated in any other rituals in an official capacity or whether the hat that is so often used to define and classify a haruspex was in fact worn by others who did not practice haruspicy.

The hats worn by the figures of cat. no's 5 and 7 are much more complex. They have several layers to them, beginning with a cap which is topped by a brimless cone shaped section which in turn has a pointed third piece perched on top. The last section has a flat brim and a pointed crown. The hat appears to be attached to the head by a chin strap which is fastened to the second layer. A much simpler version of this type can be seen on a figurine from the same group (cat. no. 6). Here the shape is seemingly of one layer and is more similar in type to cat. no. 13. This smaller hat is echoed in an image on a coin showing the head of a haruspex with a pointed crown and umbrella shaped hat tied under the chin in a knot with tassels like that of Arnth Remzna (cat. no. 22). This type can also be seen as part of a hollow ceramic funerary group from Chiusi (cat. no. 34). In this case the hat is perched on top of a folded *liber linteus* which, given the ritual nature of the book, further supports its classification as the ceremonial hat of a haruspex.

There are representations of haruspices in which a hat is not worn. One image where a case of haruspicy is obviously taking place is on cat. no. 30. In addition to this a pottery shard depicting a Roman haruspex examining a liver (cat .no. 28) only wears a decorative band around his head perhaps indicating that once this practice was adopted by the Romans the Etruscan hat was no longer worn. The soothsayer in cat. no. 29 does not seem to wear any type of hat. Although cat. no. 8 is badly oxidised it could be that this figure wore a hat or is wearing a smaller cap version that is hard to distinguish due to the damage to the figure.

Despite the variations of the hats worn there are clear and obvious links between the different styles and the consistent theme of the hat is important in itself. The shape of the haruspex hat is one that has possible predecessors that date back to the eighth century BCE, well before the ritual style of the haruspex hat had been adapted from the *pilleus*. A bronze warrior figurine from Lozzo (cat. no. 10) for

example, dating to the mid-eighth century BCE, wears a conical hat as does a bronze female figurine from Vulci dating to a century earlier (cat. no. 11).

Whilst these hats do not necessarily belong to haruspices it is interesting to see the parallel styles. Despite the haruspex hat seemingly developing from the smaller, brimless, rounded *pilleus* from the sixth century onwards, a predecessor in style certainly seemed to exist much earlier. Bonfante suggests that there is an Eastern connection with regard to this shape and style of hat (Bonfante 1975, p68). If the practice of haruspicy was introduced from the East it could be that the same applied for an accompanying ritual costume. It is equally possible, however that the Etruscans developed this style on their own, adapting it from their own much earlier native styles without outside influence. It is clear that whatever the origin, the hat itself is an indicator of status whether it be for purposes of war or religion, and that this idea was transferable. This in itself singles the haruspex out as being a figure of importance and prestige.

A final aspect to consider regarding the appearance of the haruspex is the depiction of facial hair. The symbolism of a bearded or clean-shaven man has iconographic significance relating to age, maturity, and status. The number of images showing haruspices to be clean shaven may represent that they needed to be of a certain young age when training and the representations showing haruspices with beards and facial hair may show them once they have been fully trained. The number of images of those with no facial hair outnumber those with. This could be due to stylistic preference of the artist or if the subject matter is being represented like for like then it could be the subject's particular preference relating to the fashion of the time. There is no pattern relating to the dates or location of these images and so a logical conclusion would be that it is an accurate and realistic portrayal of those represented. Rather than representing anything symbolic, being shown with or without a beard may be due to their age and particular personal preference.

It is clear that a certain type of ritual dress did occur and this is a significant contribution provided by the iconography. It can be seen that elements of the haruspices costume survived across a large time span whilst everyday fashions revolved and evolved around them. The haruspex was marked out from the majority by their clothes, hat and their lack of shoes. The consistent nature of these

representations including their subtle variations highlights that this was a costume that was worn in reality and deemed an important part of the image of the profession.



## 5.2 Accompanying Figures

The context in which the haruspex also includes others represented within the scene. Although generally individual items such as figurines there are processional scenes and scenes of myth that include other figures which can be discussed and interpreted.

There are several figures shown on the Tuscania mirror (cat.no.2). Thesan, the goddess of dawn is identifiable at the top of the mirror overseeing the scene below. She suggests by her presence that this ritual took place during the day and, more specifically, in the early morning. There are a further five main figures represented, the main characters of Avl Tarchunus and Pava Tarchies are seen in the centre. On the far right is a male figure identified as Veltune. Veltune is a possible counterpart of Tinia, one of the principal Etruscan deities. With reference to the previously discussed myth of Tages, Tinia is the grandfather to Tages who is possibly shown here as either Pava Tarchies or Avl Tarchunus depending on the interpretation. Pava Tarchies could be depicted here as Tages as a young man, continuing to teach haruspicy to Avl Tarchunus, who could represent the figure of Tarchon. Alternatively, Avl Tarchunus could be a mature version of Tages who is teaching haruspicy to a young student. Whichever version is the true interpretation, Veltune could be a representation of Tages' grandfather watching him practice the science he was sent to convey to the people of Etruria. In the centre, behind the main characters, stands the mysterious lady Ucernei who reaches out her hand towards Pava. Her presence in this scene has remained a mystery as it is not known who she was or what her purpose may have been, but in this case she is clearly involved in the interpretation of the liver. Finally on the far left is a male figure named Rathlth who holds laurel in his hand. Rathlth could be a personification of the sanctuary this scene was taking place in. The ground they stand on is supported by an unidentified, winged, male figure which could allude to the celestial theme. Each individual brings further explanation and depth to the scene by alluding through their presence to either the location, myth or the physical act of haruspicy. By combining several different elements of the practice, the viewer is presented with a multi dimensional

portrait of the profession and it is the combination of characters in this group that produces a more complex portrayal of haruspicy.

Other scenes involving the myth of Tages such as the carved scarabs discussed in '3. Mythical References and Iconography' reflect the representation of the origins of this practice to the people of Etruria. This may or may not reflect an actual truth and despite the scenes not showing the actions of haruspicy their importance is clear in that they show the knowledge of this science being passed between two people - from the divine to those on earth.

The Castelgiorgio mirror (cat. no. 3) shows a scene of haruspicy that is watched by three figures: Aplu and Alpnu on the right and a seated Turms on the left. Turms was the Etruscan version of Hermes and appears in a prophetic role elsewhere in Etruscan iconography involving the egg of Elinai (de Grummond, 2006a, p125). He was frequently depicted in Etruscan art but his role here seems to be as a mere observer to the scene. Aplu, the god of thunder and lightning, could have been of Etruscan origin who was then adapted to coincide with the Greek god Apollo. Thunder and lightning played a big part in Etruscan divination practices and this could be the reason he is shown here. He stands next to Alpnu, a deity thought to represent and aid 'willingness' (de Grummond, 2006a, p157). Her presence here may be to aid in the reading of the liver being examined by Umaele, the central figure. Umaele is a purely Etruscan character about whom not a lot is known. He is pictured elsewhere in scenes that revolve around an oracular head and has a clear link to the theme of prophecy. This is affirmed by his presence in this scene where, despite the damage to the mirror obscuring the object in his hand, it is clear from his interpretative stance that he is practicing haruspicy. This scene incorporates a traditional science of the Etruscans with several characters from their pantheon and body of myths, highlighting the link between these three topics – myth, the divine and haruspicy – through the figures shown.

Haruspices are also shown in the company of different otherworldly companions. An example of this is shown on the carved relief of a cinerary chest from Chiusi (cat. no. 23). The haruspex figure here, who we can assume to be the deceased, enters through an arched doorway on the left of the scene and is greeted by the hand of Aita who was the Etruscan counterpart of the Greek Hades. There are

many other figures standing at the side and above who carry hammers or mallets, identifying them as Charun type figures, demons present to escort the deceased on his journey. To the far right of the scene is another figure standing in a separate but identical doorway who reaches out in greeting in the same way as Aita. He could represent a previously deceased member of the family who is welcoming the deceased through to the afterlife. The presence of Aita indicates the location of this scene in the underworld. The other characters do not provide any direct insight into haruspicy itself; they are a reflection of a different area of religious belief but it is interesting to note that the deceased has chosen to be clearly identifiable as a haruspex as he is represented on this journey. The deceased obviously felt that this was one of the most important aspects of himself to be portrayed here and to be commemorated for as the ash chest would be a lasting symbol of his life.

On a similar chest from Chiusi (cat. no. 35) a haruspex is again shown in the company of others, but probably in a reflection of real life rather than as an incorporation into a mythical or underworld setting. Here the haruspex, identified in this case by his hat, stands holding a palm leaf and is preceded by a musician playing the aulos. The right section of the scene is taken up by two figures holding a piece of cloth stretched out between them. It has been suggested that this haruspex is taking part in a marriage ritual (Jannot, 2005, p127). The placement of a haruspex in such company, none of whom are involved in any act of haruspicy themselves indicates that a haruspex could have had other duties of a ritual nature. The authority and status that was afforded to a haruspex may have been transferable to other ritual scenarios and they may not have been limited to only one practice within Etruscan society.

A final example that presents a different angle to consider is a scene on a krater from Chiusi (cat. no. 27). The figure on the right, who, by his interpretative stance, is likely to be a soothsayer or haruspex, stands over an altar. He is accompanied by another figure standing menacingly nearby. Due to the strained posture of the soothsayer and the threatening stance of the other figure the soothsayer could be being forced by the other to provide a prophecy. It is possible that this is a representation of an unknown Etruscan myth. A sinister side to haruspicy was possibly imagined involving forced co-operation to provide accurate predictions for

those of higher status. The classification of this scene is very uncertain and it can only be suggested that this krater represents these suggested themes incorporated into a myth.

The question of who was present at the rituals of haruspicy is hard to answer and in reality was in all probability very variable. Whilst these scenes discussed above provide small details on the nature of haruspicy in terms of how it was perceived and represented by others, there are not many clues as to the reality behind the rituals, who participated, and in what capacity. It leaves the question of why these representations of reality are so few in number. Is it due to an unfortunate lack of evidence or could it be that there was an artistic preference for scenes of a mythical nature and the haruspex was incorporated into this?

### 5.3 Gender

Whilst discussing the social status of the haruspex through an assessment of their iconography the issue of gender is one that should be addressed. It can be seen that haruspicy is represented as being very male dominated; women are not seen directly practicing haruspicy and are seldom seen involved in other divinatory practices.

There is evidence, however, which suggests a prophetic role for women in Etruscan society. For example Livy has indicated that women were able to interpret 'signs' and in one example he describes a case of augury,

'this augury was joyfully accepted, it is said, by Tanaquil, who was a woman skilled in celestial prodigies as was the case with most Etruscans' (Livy, 1.34.3-10)

This might suggest that divinatory skills were not gender specific and yet the lack of female representation in prophetic iconography is very apparent. Who the art and representations were created for is worth considering. Men were represented as haruspices on lasting monuments such as sarcophagi and ash chests. It could be that women preferred to be depicted in other capacities or that it was preferred by others that they were shown a certain way. The reality may not be what is portrayed to the viewer.

There is also a lack of female presence where a haruspex is shown in a group as well as in an individual context. This may not be a fair generalisation, however, given the lack of evidence. One instance where a woman is seen possibly participating in the ritual is on the Tuscania mirror (cat. no. 2). The female figure of Ucernei observes the scene and reaches out towards the liver as if remarking upon a certain aspect of it. Another female, the deity Alpnu, is shown on the Castelgiorgio mirror (cat. no. 3); however in this case she is not physically participating and observes the scene instead.

If this skill was limited only to men what were the reasons behind this? Women in Etruria enjoyed a relatively free lifestyle, for example, they were able to participate in banquets alongside their husbands. The high regard given to women is also represented through smaller indicators such as being given individual first names

unlike Roman women. It is also evident that from as early as the seventh century BCE women were literate (Barker & Rasmussen, 1998, p104) and so could have participated in the reading and writing of the *etrusca disciplina* had this been allowed. This freedom and these skills may not have applied with regard to religion. The political links that may have been associated with the practice of haruspicy could have excluded female participation as traditionally women were not directly involved in political activities.

A figure from Vulci (cat. no. 11) suggests that women occasionally participated in other traditionally male roles. This figurine is clearly identifiable as a woman by her long plaited hair (Torelli, 2001, p552). She wears a tall pointed hat that bears a resemblance to the hat worn by the haruspex and so whilst her other attributes such as her shield suggest her to be a warrior figure, she may also be a priestess. As previously discussed above, hats were worn as a symbol of status and in this case this striking example was bestowed on a woman.

Despite their apparent exclusion from haruspicy, women were by no means excluded from other religious practices in Etruria. One example of their involvement in rituals could be a group of possible priestesses that existed. This is shown by five women of elite status who were buried together in a tomb at Tarquinia dated to the third century BCE. There is an unusual absence of men buried here and there are several indicators that the women had ritual roles to play in life. One holds a kantharos, one a bird and two hold a sacrificial saucer (*patera*). Their hairstyles are arranged ritually with six locks on each side of the head and they all wear tall hats (de Grummond, 2006b, p38). Whilst this case is intriguing there are no indicators that these women were involved in haruspicy. It is clear that Etruscan women had the capacity to be involved in different aspects of their society's religious rituals but the evidence for their involvement in haruspicy is very scarce and it must be considered that they were excluded from this profession.

## 5.4 Gesture

The motionless nature of the haruspex that is presented to the viewer in the iconography means the gesture and pose of the subject are extremely important. How the body is presented is the artist's way of conveying information to the audience about the subject and the surrounding context. Several poses and themes of gesture can be distinguished with regard to the haruspex.

It is common for the haruspex to be depicted with their left foot lifted and resting on a rock or a boulder so that the knee is bent; sometimes this raised knee is used to balance the left elbow on. The haruspex then holds the liver in his left hand with the right hand hovering above as if examining or pointing something out on the organ. The back is hunched over as the haruspex looks down at the liver. This is commonly known as the 'interpreter's pose'.

The interpreter's pose is clearly represented on three bronze mirrors from the third and fourth centuries BCE. In the mirror from Vulci (cat. no. 1), the figure of Chalchas perfectly displays this pose. This is echoed by the figure of Pava Tarchies in the mirror from Tuscania (cat. no. 2), who demonstrates this pose from a different angle. The third mirror from Castelgiorgio (cat. no. 3) despite being damaged is clear enough to show this pose being exhibited by the character Umalee from the same angle as Chalchas. Two scarabs, cat. no's 17 and 18 exhibit a similar pose. The figure on cat. no. 17, whilst not dealing with a liver, still stands in a diminished interpreter's pose with his left leg and foot forward, body hunched over and leaning in over the book he is recording into. The figure from cat. no. 18 also stands in this manner whilst pulling the person from the ground.

The label of the interpreters pose certainly seems to match its description. All these figures appear to be interpreting in some way, but what is the significance of the different elements of the pose? Is this the actual position adopted by the haruspices whilst practicing or is it an artistic form meant to signify their occupation and actions? If this is an artistic signpost then it would seem logical for it to be based to some degree on reality. It is natural for the hands to be placed where they are when depicting someone examining an object. The same applies to the hunched position of the body. The position of resting a foot on a rock seems to be a more

deliberate ritual pose. It can be explained as a technique of making a connection with the gods whilst performing the rituals of reading the liver. It would certainly seem logical to try to be connected with the gods through a natural medium whilst reading the signs that have been sent. This theory is supported and enhanced by the previous discussion of the bare feet haruspices are often shown to have. The reason for a link to the earth could be related to the fact that Tages, the prophet who brought them instructions on haruspicy, appeared from the earth. Alternatively, from a practical point of view, rocks could have been utilised for balance whilst an investigation of the liver was carried out. Showing a figure taking these practical, or ritual, measures could have been a way of identifying specifically who the haruspex was in the scene. This is in addition to other attributes that may or may not be shown, such as costume elements. For example, in cat. no. 30 there are no distinguishing costume attributes and yet the interpreters pose accompanied by the liver means the actions and profession of the figure are unmistakable.

This pose is seen in an almost uniform fashion across those that depict it. The question becomes, can we assume that this pose was adopted when haruspicy was taking place or was it stylistic representation intended to indicate the profession of haruspicy? This idea of how much of art represents actual reality is a recurring theme when analysing the iconography of any subject and if deciphered could, in this case, suggest the true nature of the physical actions of haruspicy. It is therefore useful to consider the individual aspects of this pose to assess whether they hold any particular meaning individually and then together.

The gesture of a raised foot resting on the rock can be seen in abundance in many different contexts. In a sample collection of images taken from mirrors, for example, it can be seen as a very common pose.





(Fig. 2. de Grummond 2006a, p128, VI.17)

In some cases it could be used to draw the viewer's attention to a figure if they are the central person in the 'story' (see fig. 2). In other cases, *two* people may adopt this pose in a mirror image of each other and this could be a stylistic tool used to 'frame' the scene from either side (see fig.3).



(Fig.3. de Grummond 2006a, p127, VI.16)

The hunched position of the body is often shown when someone is looking down towards the ground or another person. This is a natural position for the body but it also serves a purpose by drawing the viewer's eye to what this character is looking at. In the case of scenes of haruspicy this would be the liver, making it the focal point of the scene and highlighting the action and purpose of the scene.

Separate elements of posture and gesture are all combined to coax the viewer into focussing on the most important function of the scene. These separate indicators once combined become used as an artistic signpost signalling the profession of the haruspex. These gestures and the interpreters pose are, however, countered by a selection of depictions of haruspices who show little or no gesture at all. A good example of this is the group of bronze figurines from Siena (cat. no's. 5-8) that were votive offerings. These show the haruspices standing in an upright position with arms by their sides and feet apart but both flat on the ground. These figures are identifiable as haruspices by their distinctive costumes, notably their hats. They have no distinctive body language and yet remain as representations of this particular profession. The gestures of the interpreters pose when combined with an appropriate costume or the examination of a liver do define the iconography of the haruspex. Without the additional attributes of the costume and/or liver, however, classification is no longer certain and this pose can be utilised by another type of character.

Despite the sometimes confusing reliability of using gesture as a classification 'tool' it is an extremely important area to consider. A discussion from Boegehold (1999) on gesture holds some thoughts that are true for societies other than Greek. People in pictures and other art forms are not given words and so they must use their bodies to 'speak' instead, and while interpretation is subjective to a point, a specific angle is being shown for a reason. Thomas (1991, p3) suggest that gesture can be viewed as a product of cultural and social difference as well as being of a universal nature. So two views could be taken, in that gesture is a common language and copied from one society's example to another – re-used to convey similar meanings and situations. Or alternatively, certain gestures were individual to their own society and meant something unique to those in that society who viewed them. A combination of both of these ideas is possible. It is also suggested, realistically, that two conclusions regarding gesture can usually be drawn - that what

was intended in the past is both the same and totally different to gesture today (Thomas, 1991, p). Interpretation is complicated by modern day similarities and differences which can cloud accurate interpretation. Nevertheless, gesture highlights the mentality of a society, which is useful. As Burke (1991, p72) states, the importance of the trivial provides clues to what is more significant. His interesting comments that gesture varies according to 'domain and its location' (Burke, 1991, p75) is relevant to haruspicy as the iconography can be found spread across so many and varied mediums and locations. This could be representative of its importance to not only those who practiced haruspicy and wished to be remembered for it but also by those who experienced it and wished it to be shown on their everyday items such as mirrors and votive offerings.

## 5.5 Location and Context

Can it be established, using iconography, where haruspices carried out their sacrifices and ensuing interpretations? Throughout Etruria, buildings have been excavated and classed as ‘ritual’ but what does this mean with regard to haruspicy? Did this practice take place in buildings known from excavations or was it practiced elsewhere? Iconography showing a haruspex either divining or taking part in a different type of occasion but set in an identifiable location is not common. The best evidence for examining possible locations for haruspicy is shown on three mirrors.

The mirror from Vulci (cat. no. 1) depicting Chalchas and his examination of a liver gives the impression of being set outside. The border of the mirror is decorated with vines, flowers grow up from the ground and Chalchas’ foot is resting on a large boulder set on an uneven surface. These are all indicators that this is outside; however, he is also using a table on which to place the rest of the entrails which seems slightly out of place in an outside context. This table may in fact be an altar; outside altars have frequently been found in the sacred areas surrounding ritual buildings (Colonna, 2006, p132-135). The altar is not added to the scene to provide any explanation of the activity as this is not necessary. This is already clearly represented by Chalchas and the liver. It can be suggested, therefore, that this altar may have been an example of what was used in a real life scene of haruspicy; an external altar on which to carry out sacrifice and examination.

To support the idea of outside haruspication there are several representations elsewhere of animals being led towards outside altars for sacrifice (see fig.4).



(Fig.4. Jannot, 2005, p39, fig.3.6)

These particular representations may not have been for haruspicy but the trend of this activity is clear. The theme of a journey is echoed in the scene from the Chiusi monument (cat. no. 35). In this scene a haruspex in a tall hat holds a palm leaf and follows an aulos player whilst a marriage ritual is carried out behind them. This scene does not show the haruspex examining a liver and yet it supports the idea of processional rituals and with the inclusion of the haruspex it raises questions regarding any other duties of a haruspex which will be examined at a later point in this thesis.

The Tuscania mirror depicting Pava Tarchies and Avl Tarchunus (cat. no. 2) also has indicators of the scene taking place outside, such as the plants growing by the feet of the observers. The haruspex himself has his foot raised on a rock and the sun is depicted rising behind him. As previously discussed in '5.2 Accompanying Figures', with the addition of the goddess of dawn, Thesan, this could be an indicator of the time of day that the ritual took place but it also represents the outside setting of the scene. In this mirror there is no altar to be seen. This may have been excluded in favour of depicting more characters or it may indicate that it was not always necessary to use one.

The third mirror from Castelgiorgio (cat. no. 3) shows a liver being examined by Umaele almost certainly in an outside location. Turns on the left sits on a rock, there are plants on the ground and the border is decorated to show the edges of bushes. Umaele has his foot resting on an oddly shaped rock which almost resembles a foot stool. The sun is again shown in the background with goddess Thesan presiding over the top, indicating that it is outside at dawn.

The varied nature of these scenes could indicate the versatility of haruspication. It could suggest that there was no need of a set place for the ritual to occur, or a certain altar over which the liver was to be examined. On the krater from Chiusi (cat. no. 27) the haruspex or soothsayer stands over an altar and on a bronze plaque from an unknown origin (cat. no. 30) a haruspex does the same, but there are no indicators to suggest whether these are inside or outside buildings. For practical purposes, examining a freshly dissected organ could necessitate the use of an altar. It may not have been viewed as a ritual piece and could have been used inside or

outside and therefore the altar itself should not be used to determine this aspect of the scene.

Colonna's discussions of sacred architecture and the religion of the Etruscans utilise examples of excavations and findings at Pyrgi to highlight the many different forms of religious architecture (Colonna, 2006). It is clear that sacred spaces were a vital part of the Etruscan community with large areas being provided for temples all over Etruria such as that of the Ara dell Regina, Tarquinia, multiple examples at Pyrgi and the great temple at Vulci. Not all religious activities, however, would have taken place inside these buildings. Votive deposits were made at sacred sites outdoors. Of particular interest is the group of bronze haruspex figurines from Siena found as part of a votive deposit (cat. no's. 5-8). The actual practice of haruspicy itself, however, may have occurred at a completely different location. Different types of votive deposits occur that may refer to haruspicy in a different way. Turfa (2006, p96) refers to a deposit made early in the seventh century in Tarquinia at Pian di Civita. Here, a pit was stacked with three bronze emblems, an axe, a round shield and a lituus. The lituus was folded into three sections so it could not be used again. The folding of the item would have taken special effort, indicating the deliberate nature of the deposit; it was likely that this was intended to be a memorial to an important individual. The pit was interpreted as representing the civic, military and religious authority of an important person (Turfa, 2006, p96); the lituus could indicate that this individual practiced haruspicy.

Votive religion, practiced outside, is further linked to haruspicy through the anatomical votive objects that were used and associated with healing. Visually, anatomical votives represented a direct link to the part of the body that needed to be healed. The use of terracotta hearts may have been inspired by the inclusion of the heart in haruspical examinations from the third century onwards (Jannot, 2005, p23). Previous to this the most anatomically correct examples are those of livers (Turfa, 2006, p106) which could have been a direct result of regular exposure to haruspicy.

The iconography of the haruspex does not focus on where haruspicy took place, specifically whether it was within a building or not. The evidence suggests, however, that haruspicy took place in a natural environment. The outside altars that have been excavated alongside iconography depicting natural elements and

processions with animals all support this theory. The notion of sacred space was important for the Etruscans and this extended to outside buildings. Walls and the roof of a building would not have been necessary for all of their rituals, as votive deposits outside show; this supports the notion that religious activities such as haruspicy were also likely to have taken place outside.

## 5.6 Associated Implements and Utensils

The haruspex is often depicted with a variety of utensils. It is important to ascertain which of these can aid a classification of the haruspex figure as when depicted in different contexts individual attributes can alter the definition and meaning of an image.

The most common utensil the haruspex is depicted with is a staff. One particular shape of staff is known in Latin as a *lituus*, a medium sized stick with a spiral hooked end, described by Vergil as ‘without knots’ (*Aeneid* 7.187). Several examples of *litui* have been found in Etruria. It is suggested that the *lituus* was considered to be a royal item and used for the first time in Rome (Cristofani, 1979, p100). But with clear examples excavated and depicted in iconography it can be assumed that predecessors to this originated in Etruria. The association of the *lituus* with the haruspex is significant given the status bestowed upon it in later sources. The origins of such a staff could relate to the shepherds crook as they are similar in style. Indeed depictions of *litui* and ritual staffs exist across many other societies and the tradition of this item signifying a ritual tone is very common. The *lituus* is described above as being of a particular shape and size during the Roman period but there are depictions of haruspices carrying a variety of different shaped staffs. The question is whether there is a difference between those who hold a staff and those who do not, and also whether the significance, status or classification of the haruspex is altered according to the type of staff that they carry.

The staff held by the figure of Avl Tarchunus on the Tuscania mirror (cat. no. 2) has no curved or hooked top and is very long. It can be seen to actually pierce the ground beneath perhaps indicating a link to the earth itself and raising his status in this scene from spectator to a participant in the ritual. Avl Tarchunus is shown by his beard to be a mature man; his long cane could be a further indicator of this, especially as his younger companion does not have either a beard or a long cane.

Similar long canes are shown on cat. no's. 15, 30 and 27. In cat.no.15 the haruspex, identified by the inscription reading *natis*, stands with a large liver in his hands and his cane by his side. In cat. no. 30 the lower half of the cane can be seen on the left hand side of the haruspex propped against his shoulder, both hands of the



haruspex in this case are occupied examining a liver. In cat. no. 27 the haruspex holds the cane in his left hand; this is one of the longest examples as it is as tall as the haruspex and ends in a hook at the top. All of these figures wear beards and so it could again be argued that this long cane is an additional indicator of the older man.

Shorter staffs can be seen on cat. no's. 12, 36 and 29. The first two of these examples are very alike except cat. no. 36 has a more spiralled end. The last example (cat. no. 29) from the Golini II tomb may well be a whip, for driving the horses, the haruspex is pictured with and not necessarily a staff. It is unclear from the painting what is intended but the deceased is clearly shown to hold an implement of some kind.

The lituus can have a distinctive spiral top and this is not seen in the majority of the haruspex iconography. The staffs depicted in cat. no's. 21, 12 and 27 all have a definite hooked top much like a shepherd's crook from which this style may have developed. Catalogue no. 12 is a very plainly sculpted figure with no defining attributes other than the staff he carries. He wears a loin cloth and has a large head with short hair shown by incised lines but it is the staff extended in his hands that is the main feature of the piece. The staff in cat. no. 21 stands upright and separate from the seated figure; it is long with a hooked top that has an orb at the end. It has been suggested that the figure in this scarab is opening a chest (Richter, 1968, p56), but a different interpretation could be that he is holding an organ in his hands. Although he is seated, the position of his body suggests, as previously discussed in '5.4 Gesture', that he is interpreting and examining the object and together with the long curved staff this could indicate that he is a haruspex. The cane depicted in cat. no. 27 is damaged but the hooked top can just be seen as mentioned before.

Previous discussions of the utensils used by haruspices have been scarce or resulted in some confusion. An example of this would be the uncertainty surrounding the nature of the object on the altar table beside Chalchas on the Vulci mirror (cat. no. 1) which is not clearly depicted. The object is the remaining exta of the sacrificed animal that Chalchas examines the liver of.

A coin from Volsinii (cat. no. 26) may show the sacrificial tools used by the haruspex. On one side is the head of the haruspex, identifiable by his hat. On the other side are two implements which Jannot has identified as the *makaira* and

*secespita*, a sacrificial knife and axe (Jannot 2005, p.126, fig.7.2). The date of this coin is unknown but it bears a very similar resemblance to a coin depicting a blacksmith's tools from Populonia dating to the fourth century BCE (de Grummond, 2006a, p.134, VI.27). In this image the illustration of Sethlans, an Etruscan god akin to the Greek Hephaistos, is shown on one side and he also wears a hat but it is a *pilleus* instead of a ritual hat as shown on the previous example. His tongs and hammer are depicted on the counter-side of the coin indicating his profession.

Other potential implements used by haruspices are vessels for libations. A jug is shown resting on the ground next to Chalchas in the Vulci mirror (cat. no. 1) and the bronze votive figure of cat. no. 13 holds a cup forward in his right hand. Libations were common in many religious practices so it would not be far reaching to suggest that they were part of the ritual of the haruspex.

There are some instances where there may have been utensils present on figures of haruspices that have been damaged and are now missing from the evidence, such as on the bronze votive figurines. In these cases it seems that cat. no.'s 6-9 were grasping items in their right hands, and in the case of cat. no. 5, both hands as he has two curved fists. One could speculate that they may have been holding *litui* as the curved position of the fingers and hand indicates that they were holding cylindrical or staff-like items.

The utensils of the haruspex vary in each representation. No two images are the same in this regard resulting in a mixture of examples. This indicates that there was no specific template used for this aspect of depicting a haruspex. This could be because of artistic preference or because utensils were not mandatory during a ritual. The *litui* or staffs that are depicted may be extra components that reflected additional status of the haruspices as oppose to being a direct link with the actions of haruspicy. The *lituus* indicates religious authority but if the iconography is believed it was not required by all those who practiced haruspicy. Given the development of the *lituus* into a political item during the Roman period it could have imparted a more political tone to a scene in the cases where it was depicted in Etruria. The previously discussed *lituus* from the seventh century BCE found in Tarquinia (see p.39) reflects the symbolic nature of the *lituus* as together with the axe and shield it reflects the status of an important member of society.

The varied and inconsistent nature of these utensils indicates that they should not be used to directly classify a haruspex. They can instead be used to add an extra dimension to the iconography, highlighting or stressing the religious, political and social status of those involved.

## 5.7 Inscriptions

Several items depicting haruspices are accompanied by inscriptions and this evidence becomes even more valuable in light of the lack of Etruscan written sources. One example is the bronze figurine of Vel Sveitus (cat. no. 9). The inscription on the left side of the figure reads *'tn turce vel svietus'*, ('vel svietus gave this'), suggesting that this was made in the image of the donor before being offered to a deity of choice. Alternatively Vel Svietus may have believed that an image of a haruspex was one that was suitable to offer to the gods in that it was a representation of a sacred profession. Turfa has suggested many votive offerings were made after an event (Turfa, 2006, p104). This could have been if a particular prayer had been answered, for example, and for this reason an offering of thanks was made afterwards. This particular piece of evidence may relate to such a situation; the recognition through an offering of an act of haruspication that yielded favourable omens.

The inscription of Vel Sveitus falls under one of the suggested four categories that Bonfante states deal with Etruscan religion, ritual and gods (Bonfante, 2006, p9): these are votive, legal, funerary and ritual. A funerary example relating to haruspicy is an inscription on the sarcophagus of Laris Pulenus (cat. no. 32) dating to the third century BCE. He holds a scroll in his hands which is inscribed with a text that can be compared to a Latin *elogia*, the ancient equivalent of a flattering epitaph. It states the titles and achievements of his lifetime which included priesthoods of two deities, Catha and Pacha, and also that he wrote a book on divination. It can be assumed that Laris Pulenus practiced haruspicy in order to be in a position to write about it as in theory the secrets of haruspicy were closely guarded by a select few as previously discussed in '3. Mythical references and iconography'. It is interesting to note that alongside this he had other priestly duties indicating that as a haruspex he was not limited solely to those activities and that a haruspex could be multi-functionary. This explains why we can see haruspices involved in scenes such as the possible marriage ceremony shown on the cinerary chest from Chiusi dating to the fifth century BCE (cat. no. 35).

The importance of religious activity can be seen in the fact that Laris Pulenus felt that it was essential to be remembered for his priestly duties and writings. This may, however, have more to do with the connection between politics, power and religion in that whilst religion was important; the power and status it provided were more so.

The link between writing and ritual activities is made clear by the representation of the act of writing in iconography. An example of this can be seen on a mirror from Bolsena dating to the third century BCE where a prophecy, sung by the figure of Cacus, is recorded by Artile (see fig.5).



(fig. 5. de Grummond 2006a, p28, fig.II.5)

This link is further represented, in relation to haruspicy, by the accounts and recording of the myth of Tages as depicted on the gemstone cat. no. 17. The development of the *etrusca disciplina* and its continued use is revealed by a unique piece of evidence known as the Zagreb mummy wrappings. This was not an inscription but a rare piece of textual evidence. Previously a linen book, the linen strips were recycled as mummy wrappings after being transported to Egypt during the Hellenistic period. The text records a sacred calendar with names and dates

relating to the rituals of particular deities and provides a religious manual for these practices (Rix, 1997, p391).

The majority of inscriptions are much smaller than the text from the Zagreb mummy wrappings such as those on the Tuscania mirror (cat .no. 2) which is inscribed with all the names of the characters in the scene. These are Pava Tarchies and Avl Tarchunus, the central figures who are carrying out the ritual. Veltune, a possible representation of Voltumna who Varro states was a principal god of Etruria (Varro, *de lingua latina* 5.46). Ucernei, the mysterious lady whose purpose is not clear and a cloaked, but otherwise naked, male youth labelled Rathlth. The word Rathlth has a locative ending which could indicate that his character is a personification of the sacred place where this scene is taking place (de Grummond, 2006b, p30).

The naming of characters on mirrors is also shown on both cat. no's.1 and 3. The name of Chalchas is inscribed above the left hand of the seer on the mirror from Vulci and Umaele, Turms, Aplu and Alpnu are all inscribed in a line across the top of the mirror from Castelgiorgio. Further inscriptions relevant to haruspicy include an example from cat. no. 15 which has the word *natis* written on one side; this is the Etruscan word for haruspex. Catalogue no. 5 bears the inscription '*temres, alpan*' and '*tinia*' expressing who this particular votive figurine was being offered to and a very similar figurine, cat. no. 7, from the same votive group also bears the inscription of '*temres*', indicating the same principle.

While inscriptionary evidence is sparse, the naming of characters is very useful in defining the scene itself, in these cases identifying who was involved as being part of the scenes of haruspicy. The *natis* inscription on cat. no. 15 positively identifies the profession of the figure shown on the scarab, and this example saves uncertainty in classification not only for this item but for identification in other representations. The fragmentary nature of inscriptions available does not detract from their value in contributing to the assessment of the haruspex figure.

## 5.8. Conclusions

The combined body of haruspex iconography provides a wealth of information conveyed in formats and contexts that contain parallels and yet remain individual in their expression. It is clear that haruspicy was a male dominated profession. Women were allowed to observe and may have been allowed to participate indirectly but the iconography suggests that haruspices themselves were always male. The haruspex is shown practicing both alone and in groups. Various characters have been portrayed in observance and contributing to the examination of the liver and so it seems that while a sacrifice and interpretation could take place with just the haruspex present it was not necessary for the haruspex to proceed unaccompanied. There are several suggestions that haruspicy was usually undertaken in a sacred space outside. The depiction of the use of altars and the suggested presence of a sacred grove as shown by the character Rathlth in the Tuscania mirror (cat. no. 2) are accompanied by a theme of the natural world. Foliage is frequently depicted as is the rising sun which suggests that the preferred time of day and place for haruspicy was early morning and outside.

The iconography provides a large amount of information regarding the appearance of the haruspex. It is clear that haruspices wore a specific ritual costume when carrying out their interpretations as an indication of their profession. The depiction of a long chiton, mantle and fibula accompanied by bare feet spans several centuries with relatively little alteration. In contrast to this the distinctive hat worn by the haruspex certainly does change and evolve, taking on several different forms. Despite this the hat always follows a variation of a theme and remains distinctive, enabling the profession of the individual to be discernable. In the instances where this ritual costume is not worn it is replaced by a specific style of semi-nudity. I believe this to be an artistic marker indicating the mythical or ritual tone of the scene or subject. The main utensil of the haruspex is the lituus or staff. Excavated examples of bronze litui suggest these are elite items intended to show religious authority (Turfa, 2006, p96). Whilst it seems that a lituus was not required for the practice to take place, the representation of these items in haruspex iconography indicates the high status and importance of the haruspex.

The recurrent gestures and postures that are portrayed in the iconography send a clear and consistent signal of the nature of the profession of haruspicy. Whilst drawing the eye of the viewer to the haruspex, they serve as artistic markers indicating the profession of the subject and as a reflection of the reality of the sacrifice and physical actions of the interpretation.

It is clear that there are very definite themes that exist in the iconography of the haruspex and it is unfortunate that the locations and dates of much of the evidence are uncertain or unknown as this makes determining stylistic patterns and themes according to location and date very difficult. Generally the majority of representations of haruspices exist from the fourth century BCE onwards. The carnelian scarab gem depicting a haruspex and accompanied by the inscription *natis* enabling classification may be one of the first examples. Iconography before the fourth century BCE includes representations of priests and ritual activity but without any of the defining characteristics and attributes of the haruspex. Prime examples of the haruspex are concentrated between the fourth and second century BCE and representations of the myth of Tages and Tarchon occur at the same time. This could suggest several things: that this is when haruspicy was introduced into and adopted by Etruria, or, that this is the peak of haruspical activity within Etruria before the decline of its power and Roman takeover. The original locations of the items of evidence in this catalogue are varied and stretch across the central area of Etruria with concentrations in Chiusi and Siena. The original find spots of several items in this catalogue are unknown making suggestions of ritual centres in Etruria impossible. The scattered nature of the evidence, however, encourages the idea that the rituals of haruspicy were known across all of Etruria indicating this practice was widespread.

When the stylistic themes of the haruspex are combined with suggested representations of priests the definition of the haruspex in iconography becomes less certain and established. Evidence from inscriptions suggests that the word for priest in Etruria was '*cepen*' this is attached in some cases to other words indicating that there may have been different types of priest in existence such as a 'public priest' (de Grummond, 2006b, p34). Haruspices were given their own title '*natis*' (cat. no. 15) but they are also seen in scenes of a different ritual nature to haruspicy. The



inscription on the sarcophagus of Laris Pulenus (cat. no. 32) suggests that he was involved in the cults of two deities and also with haruspicy and so the question becomes whether the different priestly duties of public religion and divination were interchangeable. If this was the case then it provides a different perspective to the iconography as the group of evidence becomes significantly enlarged. There are representations where it has been suggested that the figure presented is a priest such as on a sandstone cippus from Fiesole dating to the sixth century BCE (cat. no. 36). This shows a male figure wearing long boots and a bell shaped hat. He holds up a lituus in his right hand and his left hand rests at his waist. His costume is unusual and does not correspond to the ritual dress of the haruspex but the attributes of the hat and lituus suggest actions of a ritual nature. Another possible representation of a priest is on a bronze plaque that formed part of the handle of a ritual pitcher from the fifth century BCE (cat. no. 31). Here the interpretative posture is very clear but the figure sits with his head turned up towards the sky, not down towards a liver. He wears only a draped piece of cloth across his right leg and a close fitting cap on his head. The style is similar to another image on a bronze plaque dated slightly later to the fourth century BCE (cat. no. 30) in which the figure examines a liver over an altar and is clearly a haruspex. The similarity in style but altered posture suggests that this is a ritual scene but that in this case the man pictured is practicing augury, and looks to the sky to interpret the flight patterns of birds as signs from the gods.

I propose that attributes such as staffs and hats were used in iconography to symbolise the religious status of the figures involved. The duties of the haruspex may not have been limited to this one science and I suggest that the Etruscan religious specialist would have been able to practice several forms of divination and ritual. The term priest is used freely when discussing iconography and it must be recognised when a particular aspect of religious practice is being indicated. The attributes and actions of a haruspex are clearly identifiable as a combination of ritual costume, interpretative stance and examination of a liver. Where these are not seen it can be assumed that either a more general portrayal of a public priest is intended or a different type of divination is being depicted.

The question of artistic convention versus reality frequently arises as an interpretative problem when assessing iconography. The iconography of the

haruspex must be considered primarily as art but this does not mean that it was not based upon reality. The themes discussed above that are consistent in all probability represent the reality behind the art. In the case of the haruspex and haruspicy these themes are ritual dress and appearance and outside locations. Reality aside, iconography is extremely important in representing the perspective of Etruscan society of this profession. For that reason it is clear to the viewer how important this profession was deemed to be; the status and significance of the haruspex is clearly shown in each separate image through the portrayal of the attributes discussed.

## 6. Social and Political Status

Iconography, more than anything else, is a reflection of the society in which it was created. In turn, an assessment of the iconography of the haruspex can provide clues to the position of haruspices within that society. The haruspex is portrayed in such a way as to appeal to the individual who has commissioned or purchased the art or in the case of votive items made to appeal to the particular god to whom the item was being offered. The wide variety of mediums on which the haruspex is presented shows it to be a central figure in Etruscan society but who these images were aimed at may have affected how the haruspex was represented.

The type and material of the artefacts that these representations occur on is a key place to begin this part of the discussion as this provides some crucial points to consider. Sarcophagi and cinerary urns represent those capable of affording a lasting depiction of themselves and tomb paintings provide a detailed decoration of their final resting place; this would only apply to the upper class. Funerary items present their link to haruspicy in different ways. On the lid of Aule Lecu's cinerary urn (cat. no. 24) for example, the deceased is shown holding a liver or a model of a liver very similar to the Piacenza model (cat. no. 4) in one hand indicating that he taught the art of haruspicy. The figure of Arnth Remzna on his cinerary urn (cat. no. 22) indicates his link to haruspicy through wearing a distinctive cap as does Laris Pulenus on his sarcophagus (cat. no. 32). The latter also mentions his haruspical activities in the scroll he holds in his hands. Other sarcophagi show examples of the diviner's book – a folded *liber linteus* such as the example from the Tomb of Sarcophagi (cat. no. 33) and one from a funerary group from Chiusi (cat. no. 34) shows the *liber linteus* topped with the hat of a haruspex.

In a similar fashion, items depicting haruspices that are used as accompanying grave goods also belong to the upper class. This includes the three mirrors listed in this catalogue that depict haruspicy.

A large proportion of haruspex iconography comes from votive items. The group of figurines from Siena (cat. no's. 5-8), plus examples cat.no's.13 and 9 are all made from bronze, a material that would not have been easily affordable to the lower classes. Votive religion was not limited to the upper classes; however these

particular examples were probably gifts to the gods deposited by the wealthy. As society developed and more people acquired wealth this type of gift would have become more common but the lower classes unfortunately are not represented in this case as their gifts were most likely perishable items (Turfa, 2006, p103).

The link to the upper classes is continued through items in this catalogue such as pottery, bronze plaques from pitcher handles and carved scarab gems. Painted pottery such as the krater from Chiusi (cat. no. 27) could have been used in a number of high status contexts such as in a symposium. Similarly the pitchers that the bronze plaques belonged to could also have been used in the symposium or they may have been used in a ritual setting such as the vessel depicted resting on the ground on the mirror from Vulci (cat. no. 1). Carved scarab gems were frequently imported into Etruria but, in this case, as the nature of the decoration reflects a local myth, carvings in this catalogue would suggest local craftsmanship of items created for the wealthy.

Other elements of the iconography also suggest that the practice of haruspicy was based within the upper class. Certain attributes of their costume such as their hat and the items they are seen to carry, especially the lituus, are signs of status and importance. Through their inclusion in the representations on sarcophagi and cinerary urns of high class individuals and as part of items made from bronze there is a clear link to the upper class.

The creation and development of a mythological background to the practice of haruspicy is very telling. The links between the origins of haruspicy and the political elements that feature in this myth such as the confederation of the twelve cities, and the figure of Tarchon not only sends a message of the importance of the practice but also that this was a skill that belonged to those in power and would be controlled by them. The sources that provide the information regarding the myth of Tages are late with respect to Etruscan times and it is not clear when this myth was created. The iconography of this myth dates to the fourth century BCE and there are representations of haruspicy that date to the same time. It is impossible to suggest purely from the iconography whether haruspicy existed before the creation of the myth of Tages as the dates are so similarly ambiguous for both haruspicy and the myth. Haruspicy may have been adopted by the Etruscans well before the creation of

the accompanying myth of Tages. This myth may have been propagated in order to add prestige to the practice along with intrinsically linking it to the roots and development of Etruria through the figure of Tarchon.

It is clear that the haruspex and the practice of haruspicy are associated with the elite. Does this mean that this profession and practice only existed within this class? In a society that had several methods of communicating with the gods and had such a strong sense of religiosity it seems unlikely that the practice of haruspicy did not, in some way, affect the lower classes. The notoriety and importance of the profession is such that it is likely to have been known to the lower classes. The haruspex may have existed on several levels of society but the nature of the evidence is such that only the participation and representation by the elite is visible and accessible. The iconography indicates on a basic level that the practice existed, how it was perceived and chosen to be depicted. But evidence of the practice itself is not of the type to survive. The ritual sacrifice of an animal took place in a sacred space using an altar of which there is evidence, but the remains of the animal itself were likely to have been consumed and these altars may have had many uses not just for haruspicy. Whilst there are examples of the litui that are represented held by haruspices, if this skill was practised by the lower classes this is not an item they would have possessed, at least not in bronze. The possible development of the lituus from a shepherd's crook could indicate that versions made from wood, as a shepherd's crook was likely to be, may have existed and it is much more likely that this is what the lower classes would have used, but wood would not necessarily survive until today.

It must not be assumed that the limited social span presented by the evidence fully represents this profession. Divination was widely practiced in many forms across different classes and there is no reason to exclude haruspicy from this. But how did the population of Etruria learn this skill? If the myth of Tages is believed, then haruspicy originated directly from the soil of Etruria through the teachings of the prophet child. However the practice of divining from entrails and other internal organs is an ancient custom existing across many different societies.

## 7. Origins and Introduction to Etruria

Whilst the origins of haruspicy within Etruria are not the focus of this thesis it is interesting to briefly consider the route that this practice may have taken before its introduction to Etruria as it poses opportunities for further research. In Mesopotamia, extispicy, and hepatoscopy were both in existence from an early date. Many examples of clay livers have been found, comparable in style to the Piacenza liver (cat. no. 4) and likely used for similar training purposes. Briquel has recognised that outside of Etruria, Mesopotamia was the traditional sector of haruspicy (Briquel, 1990, p325). Oppenheim highlights the fact that hepatoscopy is one of the oldest divining sciences and suggests that a similar attitude towards the organ was taken by both the Etruscans and the Babylonians in that they both believed that the liver was the seat of life and was therefore the most important to examine (Oppenheim, 1977, p213).

Contact between Etruria and the Near East followed different routes. Greece and Asia Minor served as an active channel of contact between Etruria and the East whilst there is also evidence of connections with places such as Egypt, Phoenicia and Cyprus. The rich mineral resources Etruria had meant that it was a desirable place to trade with and the contact between these cultures where hepatoscopy was also practiced may have facilitated the subsequent development of haruspicy within Etruria. Whilst there is not space in this limited work to examine all the different forms that divination took in every one of these other cultures, the general attitudes towards divination that existed and a small number of examples can be used to highlight the possible inspiration for the development of haruspicy. Similarities with Etruscan representations of haruspicy could indicate precursors to Etruscan iconography and suggest a line of development between and across cultures linked by trade. A date of the introduction of haruspicy could also be theorised and provide a comparison by which to critically assess the myth of the prophet Tages and the accompanying iconography.

Greek religion has many similarities to Etruscan religion but also some significant differences. Greek mythology was very popular with the Etruscans who copied and adapted many of the stories and themes they were exposed to. Both

societies also had extensive pantheons which were comparable in many regards. The organisation of priests in Greece was structured towards each individual deity and it is in these cults that the sacrifice of animals took place. The specific practice of divining from the entrails of these sacrifices, however, was a separate task undertaken by individuals known as *manteis*, a hereditary and coveted skill that was nonetheless kept separate from more important roles of religious authority (Zaidman and Pantel, 1992, p52-53). In a similar manner to the Etruscans, divining either by reading entrails or by augury would take place before battles and important political events by *manteis*. These readings were taken seriously but the Greeks had additional important forms of prophecy, such as the use of oracles. This is something that the Etruscans did not possess directly and their diviners including haruspices were given a much more prominent position in society and iconography in comparison to their Greek counterparts.

With colonies on the islands of Sardinia, Sicily, in areas of North Africa and trading posts across all of the Mediterranean the Phoenicians were one of the main powers who traded with Etruria. It is commonly acknowledged that the Phoenicians practiced several forms of divination in a very similar fashion to the Etruscans. This included the interpretation of natural phenomena and the examination of sacrificed animal entrails. This is largely identified through the comments of classical authors although precise iconography is not established with regard to hepatoscopy (Tauris, 2001, p144). There are several interesting examples of evidence, however, that bear a similar resemblance to Etruscan haruspex iconography. In particular certain bronze and terracotta figurines all wear tall, brimless, conical hats (see figs. 6&7).



(Fig.6. Moscati, 2001, p34)



(Fig.7. Moscati, 2001, p482)

The similarity of the hat that these figures wear to that of the haruspex is very striking. It is plausible that the transference of stylistic attributes such as this did occur and were adopted by the Etruscans for their own purposes. Whilst antecedents of the haruspex hat can be seen within Etruscan iconography the specific use of this hat as a part of a ritual costume could have been adapted or inspired from another culture such as the Phoenicians. It must then be considered that the same contact introduced the practice of haruspicy into Etruria. The religiosity of the Etruscans presented an ideal environment for the introduction of the science as divinatory practices such as augury were already commonplace.

An assessment of the iconography of the Etruscan haruspex not only enables a clear picture of the profession to be constructed but indicates how their work and they as individuals were viewed by their society and subsequently represented. Several avenues for further research can be considered such as a more detailed examination of how the practice was introduced into Etruria by considering parallels in countries linked to Etruria through trade and the motivations for the adoption of the science. Without additional evidence the development of the myth of Tages and the beginnings of haruspicy within Etruria as suggested by iconographic evidence this topic largely remains conjecture. The question of the practice of haruspicy within the lower classes also remains subject to an unfortunate lack of evidence. It is clear



however that haruspicy was widely practiced across Etruria and was a profession utilised by the upper classes no doubt for personal and political gain. The importance of haruspicy within Etruria as an integral part of society is clear for many centuries and the iconography presents this profession and the individual practitioners as elite individuals in possession of a prestigious skill.

## List of Figures

Fig. 1. de Grummond, 2006a, Pl.1	Pg. 22
Fig. 2. de Grummond 2006a, p128, fig.VI.17	Pg. 34
Fig. 3. de Grummond 2006a, p127, fig.VI.16	Pg. 34
Fig. 4. Jannot, 2005, p39, fig.3.6	Pg. 37
Fig. 5. de Grummond 2006a, p28, fig.II.5	Pg. 46
Fig. 6. Moscati, 2001, p34	Pg. 56
Fig. 7. Moscati, 2001, p482	Pg. 57

## Bibliography

- Barker, G and Rasmussen, T. 2000, *The Etruscans*. Oxford, Blackwell.
- Bartolini, G and Sprenger, M. 1983, *The Etruscans: their history, art and architecture*. New York, Abrams
- Beard, M. 1986 Cicero and Divination: the formation of a Latin discourse. *Journal of Roman Studies*, 76:33-46
- Beard, M and North J.(eds) 1990, *Pagan Priest: religion and power in the ancient world*. London, Duckworth
- Beard, M, and North, J, Price, S. 1998, *Religions of Rome*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Beazley, J.D. 1947, *Etruscan vase painting*, Oxford, Clarendon Press
- 1949, The world of the Etruscan mirror *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 69:1-17
- Bietti Sestieri , A.M. 1984, Central and Southern Italy in the Late Bronze Age. In T.Hackens, N.D. Holloway and R.R. Holloway (eds) *Crossroads of the Mediterranean:55-122*. Louvain, Université Catholique de Louvain/Providence (Rhode Island), Brown University, Center for Old World Archaeology and Art.
- Bloch, R. 1958, *The Etruscans*. London, Thames and Hudson  
1984, *La divination dans l'antiquité*. Paris, Presses Universitaires France
- Boardman, J. 1968, *Engraved gems, the Ionides collection*. London, Thames and Hudson
- Boegehold, A. 1999, *When a Gesture Was Expected: A Selection of Examples from Archaic and Classical Greek Literature*. Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press
- Boethius, A. 1962, *Etruscan Culture land and people*. New York, Columbia University Press
- Bonfante, L. 1973, Roman costumes; a glossary and some Etruscan derivations, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der romischen welt* 1.4: 584-614  
- 1975, *Etruscan Dress*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press  
- 1986, *Etruscan life and Afterlife: A handbook of Etruscan studies*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips  
- 2006, Etruscan Inscriptions, in De Grummond, N.T. and Simon, E. *The Religion of the Etruscans* 9-26 Austin: University of Texas Press

- Bonnefoy, Y and Doniger, W. 1991, *Mythologies*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press
- Bremmer, J. and Roodenburg, H (eds). 1991, *A cultural history of gesture*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Brendel, O. 1995, *Etruscan Art*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press
- Briquel. D. and Gaultier, F, 1990, Divination étrusque et mantique grecque: la recherche d'une origine hellénique de l'*Etrusca disciplina* in *Latomus* 49:321-342
- 1997 *Plus religieux des hommes : état de la recherche sur la religion étrusque : actes du colloque international Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 17-18-19 novembre 1992(LPRH)* Paris, La Documentation Française
- 1997, 'La religiosité étrusque ou le regard de l'autre' in Briquel. D. and Gaultier, F, *LPRH* Paris, La Documentation Française
- Burke, P. 1991 The language of gesture in early modern Italy in Bremmer, J. and Roodenburg, H (eds), *A cultural history of gesture*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Burkert , W. 1985, *Greek religion*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press
- Camporeale, G. (ed), 2004, *The Etruscans outside Etruria*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum
- Carter, J.B. 1912, *The religious life of ancient Rome*. London: Constable
- Censorinus, *De Die Natali*, Translation taken from de Grummond, (III.6) Appendix B. 2006
- Cicero, *De divinatione*, translations taken from de Grummond, (IV.7, IV.8, III.3, II.3) Appendix B. 2006
- Colonna, G, 1993, A proposito degli dei del fegato di piacenza' in *Studi Etruschi* 59:123-139
- 2006, Sacred Achitecture. in De Grummond, N.T. and Simon, E. *The Religion of the Etruscans* 132-168. Austin: University of Texas Press
- Connor and Palmer (eds), 1975 *Roman augury and Etruscan divination*. New York: Arno Press

- Cristofani, M. 1979, *The Etruscans: A New Investigation*. London: Orbis Books  
 1979, Recent advances in Etruscan epigraphy and language in  
 Ridgeway and Ridgeway in 'Italy before the Romans the Iron Age,  
 orientaling and Etruscan periods', 373-412. London: Academic Press
- D'Agostino, B. 1989, Image and society in Archaic Etruria in *Journal of Roman  
 Studies* 89:1-10
- Dalley, S 1989, *Myths from Mesopotamia, creation, the flood, gilgamesh and  
 others'*.  
 Oxford: Oxford University Press
- De Grummond, N.T. 1982, *A guide to Etruscans mirrors*. Tallahassee, Fla :  
 Archaeological News  
 2002, Etruscan mirrors now, in *American Journal of  
 Archaeology* 106:307-11  
 2006a, *Etruscan myth, sacred history and legend*. Philadelphia :  
 University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and  
 Anthropology  
 2006b, Prophets and Priests, in De Grummond, N.T.& Simon,  
 E, *The Religion of the Etruscans* 27-44. Austin: University of Texas Press
- De Grummond, N.T. and Simon, E, 2006. *The Religion of the Etruscans* Austin:  
 University of Texas Press
- De Puma and Small (eds), 1994, *Murlo and the Etruscans: art and society in ancient  
 Etruria*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press
- Devoto, G. 1936, Problemi dell'iscrizione di Pulena in *Studi Etruschi* 10:277-287
- Doty, W.G. 1986, *Mythography: the study of myth and rituals*. Alabama: University  
 of Alabama Press
- Dumezil, G. 1970. *Archaic Roman religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Festus, *de Significatu Verbatim*, translation taken from de Grummond, Appendix  
 B. (II.2) 2006
- Grant, M. 1980, *Etruscans*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson
- Guittard, C. 1997, Questions sur la divination étrusque: les formules dans la tradition  
 latine in Briquel. D. and Gaultier, F, *LPRH* 399-412, Paris, La  
 Documentation Française
- Halliday, W.R. 1913, *Greek Divination: a study of its methods and principles*.  
 London: Macmillan
- Haynes. S, 2000, *Etruscan civilization: a cultural history*. London: British Museum  
 Press

- Hencken, H. 1968a, *Tarquinia and Etruscan Origins*. New York; London: Praeger  
 1968b, *Tarquinia, Villanovans, and early Etruscans*. New York;  
 London: Praeger
- Herodotus, *The Histories*. Translation by Aubrey Selincourt, introduction by J  
 Marincola. 1996 London. Penguin
- Heurgon, J. 1959 ‘The date of vegoia’s prophecy’ *Journal of Roman Studies* 49:41-  
 45  
 1964, *Daily life of the Etruscans*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson
- Hus, A, 1975, *Les Bronzes Etrusques*. Bruxelles: Latomus
- Jannot, J.R. 2005, *Religion in Ancient Etruria*. Madison: University of Wisconsin  
 Press
- Johannes Lydus, *De Ostentis*. Translation taken from de Grummond, (II.5) Appendix  
 B, 2006
- Krauskopf, I, 1997, Influences grecques et orientales sur la représentations de dieux  
 étrusques. in Briquel. D. and Gaultier, F, *LPRH* 25-36, Paris, La  
 Documentation Française
- Krauss, F.B. 1930, *An interpretation of the omens, portents and prodigies as  
 recorded  
 by Livy, Tacitus, and Suetonius*. Philadelphia : University Press
- Livy, *The early history of Rome* translated by Aubrey Selincourt, introduction  
 by R.M. Ogilvie. 1960 London, Penguin.  
 (5.15.4-12) translation taken from de Grummond, 2006 Appendix B. II.11
- MacBain, B, 1982, *Prodigy and Expiation: a study in religion and politics in  
 republican Rome*. Bruxelles: Latomus
- Maggiani, A, 1982, Qualche osservazioni sul fegato di Piacenza. in *Studi Etruschi*  
 50:  
 53-88  
 1997, ‘Reflexions sur la religion étrusque ‘primitive: de l’ époque  
 villanovienne à l’ époque archaïque. in Briquel. D. and Gaultier, F, *LPRH*  
 431-447, Paris, La Documentation Française
- Martianus Capelle, *de nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae* translation taken from de  
 Grummond, (III.4), Appendix B. 2006
- Massa-Pairault, F.H, 1997, Religion étrusque et culture grecque. Quelques  
 problèmes.  
 in Briquel. D. and Gaultier, F, *LPRH* 325-353, Paris, La Documentation  
 Française.

- Morris, D et al. 1979. *Gestures their origin and distribution*. New York: Stein and Day
- Moscatti, S, 2001, *The Phoenicians*, London: I.B. Tauris
- Nissinen, M, 2003, *Prophets and prophecy in the ancient near east*. Atlanta, GA : Society of Biblical Literature
- Oppenheim. A.L. 1977, *Ancient Mesopotamia : portrait of a dead civilization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Ovid, 1986, *Metamorphoses*, translated by A.D. Melvill; with an introduction and notes by E.J. Kenney. Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Pallottino, M. 1952, *Etruscan Painting*, Geneva : Skira  
1975, *The Etruscans*, London : Allen Lane
- Pfiffig, AJ, 1975, *Religio etrusca*. Graz : Akadem. Druck- u. Verlagsanst
- Pliny, 1938, *Natural History*, Vol.1. by H.Rackham. Cambridge. Mass. Harvard University Press.
- Plutarch, Life of Sulla, translation taken from de Grummond, (III.7) Appendix B. 2006.
- Puhvel, J. 1987, *Comparative mythology*. Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Rathje, A.1979, Oriental imports in Etruria in the eighth and seventh centuries BC: their origins and implications. in Ridgeway and Ridgeway *Italy before the Romans the Iron Age, orientalizing and Etruscan periods* ,145-183. London: Academic Press
- Rawson, E, 1978, Caesar, Etruria and the Disciplina Etrusca. *Journal of Roman Studies* 68:132-152
- Richardson, E.H. 1964 *The Etruscans: their art and civilisation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Richter, G.M.A, 1968, *Catalogue of engraved gems*. Roma : "Erma" di Bretschneider
- Ridgeway.D and Ridgeway.F.R 1979, *Italy before the Romans the Iron Age, orientalizing and Etruscan periods*. London: Academic Press
- Rix, H. 1997, Les priers du liber linteus de Zagreb. in Briquel. D. and Gaultier, F, eds

LPRH 391-398, Paris, La Documentation Française.

Schofield, M, 1986. Cicero for and against divination. In *Journal of Roman Studies* 76: 47-65

Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturales*, translations taken from de Grummond, (VIII.1) Appendix B. 2006

Spivey, N. 1997, *Etruscan Art*. London ; New York : Thames and Hudson

Steingraber, S. 1986, *Etruscan Painting: Catalogue Raisonné of Etruscan wall Paintings*. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

Swaddling, J. (ed) 1986, *Italian Iron Age artefacts in the British Museum' papers of the sixth British museum classical colloquium* London: British Museum Publications  
2001, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum* London : British Museum Press

Tacitus, *Annals*, translated with an introduction by Grant, M. 1996, Penguin, London  
Thomas, K. 1991 Introduction. in Bremmer, J. and Roodenburg, H (eds)., *A cultural history of gesture*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Torelli, M (ed), 2001, *The Etruscans*. London: Thames & Hudson

Turfa, J.M 2006, votive offerings in Etruscan Religion in De Grummond, N.T. and Simon, E. *The Religion of the Etruscans* 90-115 Austin: University of Texas Press

Vacano, O.W.von, 1960, *The Etruscans in the ancient world*. London: E.Arnold

Valerius Maximus, *Memorable doings and sayings: vol II*, Loeb Classical Library, 2000  
translations taken from de Grummond, Appendix B. 2006

Van der Meer, L.B. 1987, 'The Bronze Liver of Piacenza: analysis of a polytheistic structure' Amsterdam.

1997, Religion ombrienne et religion étrusque. Influences réciproques. in Briquel. D. and Gaultier, F, eds *LPRH*, 223-231, Paris, La Documentation Française.

Varro, de Lingua Latina, translation taken from de Grummond, Appendix B. 2006

Vergil. *The Aeneid*. 1990, London, Penguin

Vitruvius, translation taken from de Grummond, (V.2) Appendix B. 2006

Zaidman, L.B and Pantel, P.S. 1992, *Religion in the Ancient Greek City*, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press



Zimmer, Gerhard. 1995, *Etruskische Spiegel*. Berlin : Walter de Gruyter

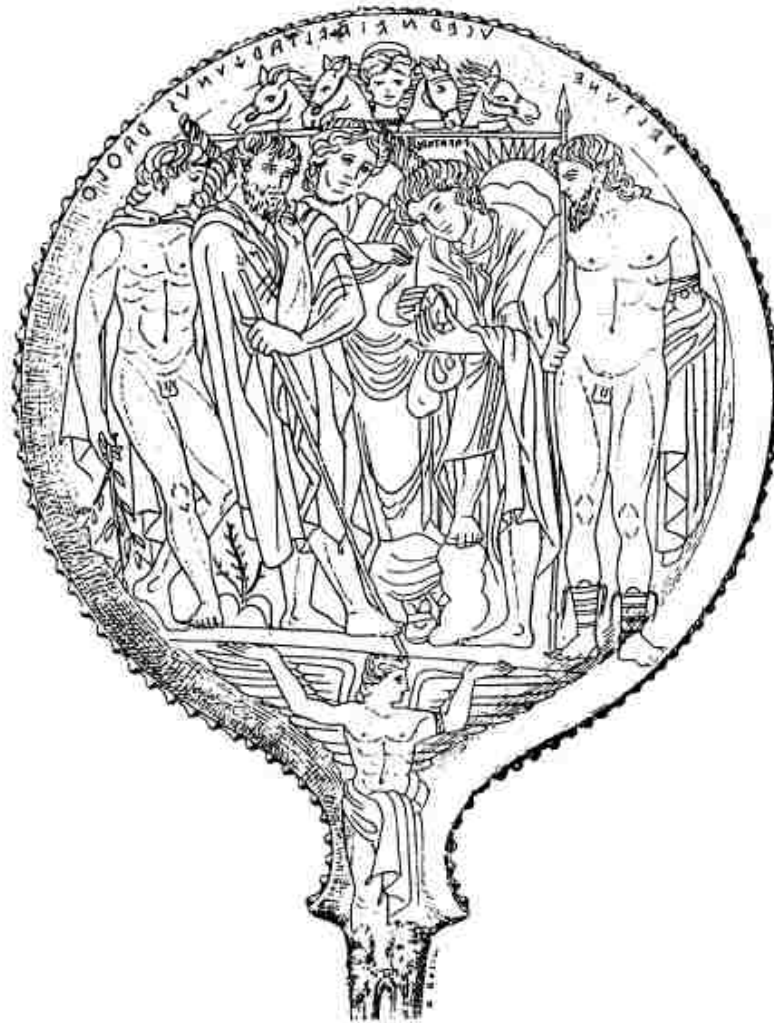
No.1



(after de Grummond, 2006a, p32, fig II.9)

Vulci, ca.400BCE  
Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco

A bronze mirror with the mythical figure of Chalchas examining the liver of a sacrificed animal. He stands in a traditional interpreter's pose with his left foot on a boulder as he studies the liver in his hands and uses a stand for the remaining organs of the animal. The border decoration of the mirror indicates that he is outside and there is also a jug on the ground directly behind him that may be used as part of the ritual. He is covered only by a draped piece of cloth and appears with a beard, bare feet and unruly hair, his wings spread behind him.



(after de Grummond 2006a, p25, fig II.2)

Tuscania, ca.300 BCE  
Florence , Museo Archeologico Nazionale

A bronze mirror identifying Pava Tarchies as the central figure examining a liver with left leg raised on a rock. He is accompanied by Avl Tarchunus who has adopted a 'thinking' pose, and the lady Ucernei who observes from the background. To the left is a male figure named Rathlth and on the right is a male named Veltune, a possible counterpart of Jupiter and a representation of the important Etruscan deity Tinia. Pava Tarchies stands in a posture of interpretation and wears long robes and a tall pointed hat. Avl Tarchunus also wears this hat which is pushed back behind his head and he leans with a staff in his hand. There is a depiction of Thesan, the goddess of dawn, above the group indicating that it is early morning and the plants growing about their feet indicate that this scene is taking place outside. The scene is supported from below by a winged male figure.



(after de Grummond, 2006a, p39, fig II.17)

Castelgiorgio, ca 300BCE  
London, The British Museum

Badly worn, bronze mirror depicting the central figure of Umaele studying a liver held in his left hand, his left foot raised on rock and his right hand hovering above the organ. Watching him are the Etruscan figures of Turms on the left and Alpnu and Aplu on the right. Their surroundings indicate that they are outside and above them the goddess of the dawn (Thesan) looks over them indicating that it is early morning and outside.

No.4



(after Torelli, 2001, p277, no.160)

Piacenza, ca.100 BCE  
Piacenza, Museo Civico

Solid bronze model of sheep's liver. It is incised with markings that divide the model into two main parts dedicated to *usil* and *tivr*, the sun and the moon. Further divisions are detailed with inscriptions of the names of Etruscan deities. The formations of the liver such as the pyramidal lobe are highlighted on the model. The sixteen sections along the edge of the model correspond to the division of the regions of the sky.

No.5



(after Torelli, 2001, p279, no.155)

Siena, 250 BCE

Gottingen, Archäologisches Institut der Universität

Bronze figurine of haruspex figure. Figure stands in a casual pose with feet apart and arms slightly distanced from sides. Both hands have holes that may have been used to hold utensils. He wears a long tunic with a mantle over the top fastened at the centre by a fibula. He also wears no shoes and a complicated hat with a pointed top section and close fitting cap underneath that is all fastened with a strap under the chin.

chin. The figure bears inscriptions that read *temres'alpan* and *tinia* reflecting the deities this figurine was offered to.

No.6



(after Torelli, 2001, p279, no.154)

Siena, 250 BCE

Gottingen, Archaologisches Institute Der Universitat

Oxidised bronze figurine of a haruspex wearing a long tunic with covering mantle fastened by a large fibula in the centre of the chest. His arms are held at the side, feet



slightly apart. The right hand could have previously held a utensil. He wears a softly pointed hat and no shoes.

No.7



(after Torelli, 2001, p279, no.153)

Siena, 250 BCE

Gottingen, Archäologisches Institut der Universität

Oxidised bronze figurine of a haruspex standing with bare feet apart and arms by the side. The hands have holes that indicate they previously held implements. Figure wears a knee length tunic with a draped mantle and a double layered hat, fastened underneath the chin with a strap. An inscription on the left arm reads '*temre*'.



No.8



(after Torelli, 2001, p278, No.152)

Siena, 250 BCE

Gottingen, Archäologisches Institut der Universität

Badly oxidised bronze figurine of a haruspex. Figure wears a knee length tunic with a mantle over the top; this is fastened with a central fibula. The figure stands with feet together and arms by the side. The right hand may have previously held an

implement. He wears a hat, which is fastened under the chin and does not wear any shoes.

No.9



(after Jannot, 2005, p126, fig. 7.1)

400 BCE

Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco

Bronze figurine of a haruspex. Figure stands with bare feet slightly apart, right arm by the side and left arm bent with the hand held out. He wears a long tunic and mantle fastened by a fibula in the centre. Both hands are shaped as if previously holding utensils. He wears a tall softly pointed hat that fits closely over the head in one piece and fastens with straps in a knot under the chin. The inscription on his left leg reads '*tn turce vel svietus*' meaning 'vel sveitus gave this'.



No.10



(after Torelli, 2001, p190)

Lozzo 750 BCE  
Este, Museo Nazionale

Bronze statuette of a warrior figure carrying a sword and shield and wearing a tall pointed hat.



No.11



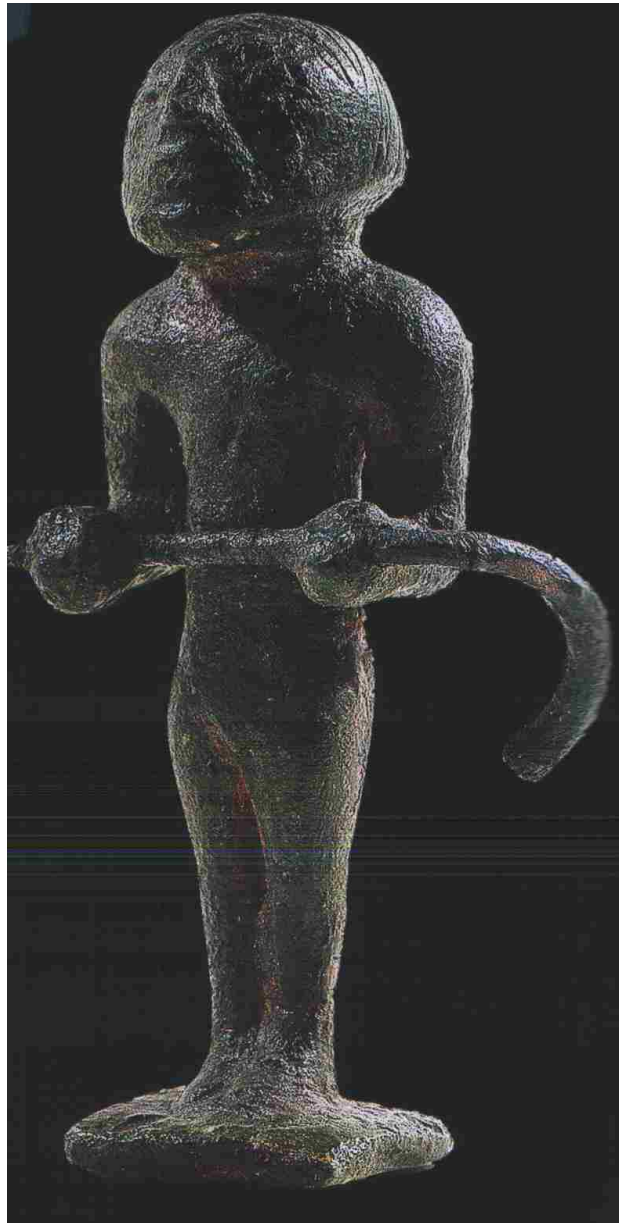
(after Torelli, 2001, p552, no.29.1)

Vulci 850 BCE  
Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia

Small bronze figurine of a female. She wears sandals on her feet and has long braids hanging over her shoulders. She carries a large shield or folded piece of leather and wears a very tall pointed hat. Her right hand is held up in a possible 'worship' pose. Given the ritual nature of her pose and attire she could be a priestess.



No.12



(after Torelli, 2001, p180, no.146)

Rome, 550BCE  
Rome, Museo del Foro

Bronze statue holding a lituus in both hands. He stands with feet together, arms bent and holding forth the lituus. He could represent an augur or other ritual figure. He has no other defining attributes apart from incised lines on his head to indicate hair.



No.13



(after Cristofani, 1979, p114)

250 BCE

Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia

Elongated bronze votive figure of a haruspex. This figure wears a robe fastened with a clearly defined fibula in the centre. The right hand holds out a cup and the left hand

points out from the side, palm open. The figure wears a distinctive pointed hat that has two layers.

No.14



(after Cristofani, 1979, p100)

Isola di Fano, ca.575 BCE  
Florence, Museo Archeologico

Bronze statuette holding a lituus and wearing decorated boots that may represent a priest.

No.15



(after Torelli, 2001, p455, no.156)

400 BCE

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung

Cornelian scarab gem depicting a bearded man. One foot is propped up behind and he is leaning on a staff. He has, in his hands, a large liver with a gall bladder hanging below. He wears a long robe and is barefoot. The scarab is inscribed with the Etruscan word *NATIΣ* indicating that this is a haruspex.





(after de Grummond, 2006a, p27, fig. II.4)

400 BCE

Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia

This carved sardonyx shows a naked figure being pulled up from the ground by a robed, bearded man. The figure on the ground has his free arm stretched out and points prophetically with his finger. This could be a representation of the myth of Tarchon and Tages.

No.17



(after Richter, 1968, Plate XXXIV,no.226)

This agate gem shows a naked man standing next to a head on the ground. The man is writing in a book as he leans over the head. In the background are a star and a crescent moon indicating a celestial link and suggesting this scene takes place outside. The underside of the neck of the head is clearly defined suggesting there is no body. Despite this, the scene could be a representation of the Tarchon and Tages myth.





(after Richter, 1968, Plate XXXIV, no.225)

This agate ring stone shows a naked figure wearing a headdress bending over and pulling another figure out from the ground. The inscription reads C.A.(O).D. This has been interpreted as a representation of Hermes pulling a previously deceased man up out of the ground and back to life (Richter, 1968, p55). This scene also bears a strong resemblance to Hercules and could also be a representation of the myth of Tarchon and Tages.



No. 19



(after de Grummond, 2006a, p38, fig. II.16)

Chiusi, 400 BCE  
London, The British Museum

Carved gem depicting Turms consulting a head emerging from a pot or bag. This gem represents the similar gestures and compositions of the mythical representations of Tages and Tarchon.



(after de Grummond 2006a, p26, fig. II.3)

400 BCE

London, The British Museum

Carved gem depicting a head resting on the ground between two figures. The figure on the right points down towards the head with his left hand and holds a staff or tool over his right shoulder with the other arm. The figure on the left stands with clasped hands looking down at the head. Both men are bearded and wear short tunics with short sleeves and wear sandals on their feet. This could be a representation of the myth of Tages and Tarchon with the figure on the left being Tarchon and the figure on the right, the peasant who discovers the prophetic head of Tages emerging from the ground.

No.21



(after Richter, 1968, Plate XXXIV, No.229)

Carved gemstone depicting a man seated on a stool with a curved staff placed in front of him. He is examining an object in his hand. It is suggested that the figure is opening a chest (Richter, 1968, p56) but it could also be an examination of an organ. The position of the hands suggests an interpretation of the object. The inscription reads ΕΥΕΙΡ.





(after de Grummond, 2006b, fig.III.10)

ca. 225 BCE

Philadelphia University Museum

Alabaster cinerary urn belonging to Arnth Remzna, shown here. He lies in a traditional fashion relaxed on cushions with a vessel in his right hand. He wears an interesting hat in the form of a close fitting cap that is tied tightly under the chin, which could be an example of the hat worn by either priests or haruspices.

No.23



(after Haynes, 2000, p342, fig.269)

Chiusi, 150 BCE  
Berlin, National Museum

This ash urn chest depicts a haruspex being led on the journey to the underworld. He appears as if coming through a doorway and is greeted by various characters such as Aita as well as Charun-type figures. This haruspex is identifiable by his distinctive hat shown clearly here, he wears a long tunic but does not carry any implements.

No.24



(after Jannot, 2005, p19, fig.2.3)

Volterra

Ash urn lid depicting the deceased, Aule Lecu, reclining on cushions and holding a model of a liver in his left hand. It is likely that this was a teaching aid similar to the Piacenza liver and suggests that Aule Lecu was involved in haruspicy.

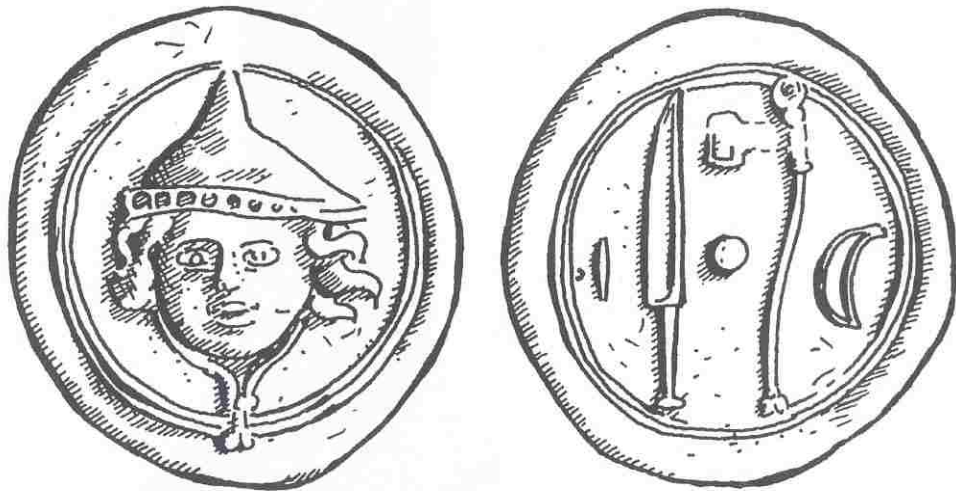
No.25



(after de Grummond, 2006a, p134, fig.VI.27)

Populonia, ca.400-300 BCE

Bronze coin depicting the head of the Etruscan god Sethlans on one side and blacksmiths tongs and hammer on the back. This coin is very similar in style to another example from Volterra (cat.no.26).



(after Jannot, 2005, p126, fig. 7.2)

Volsinii, 300 BCE  
Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale

Bronze coin from Volsinii depicting the head of a person on one side and sacrificial tools on the back. The distinctive hat shown suggests that this represents a haruspex.

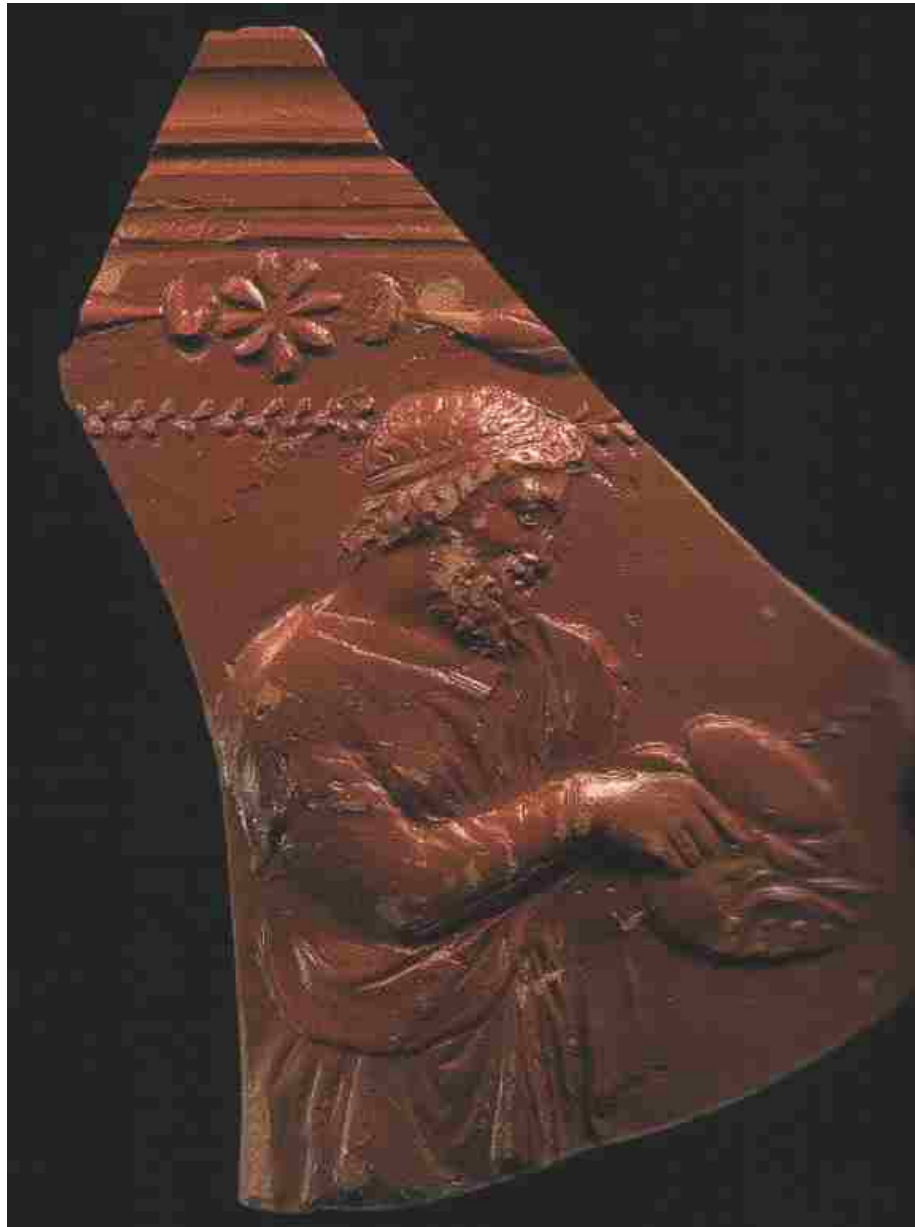


(after Torelli, 2001, p441, no.159)

Chiusi, 450 BCE

Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

Fragmented krater depicting an older man with a staff leaning over an altar. He wears long robes and his head rests against his right hand. This may be an image of a soothsayer being forced to provide a prophecy by the figure standing opposite him.

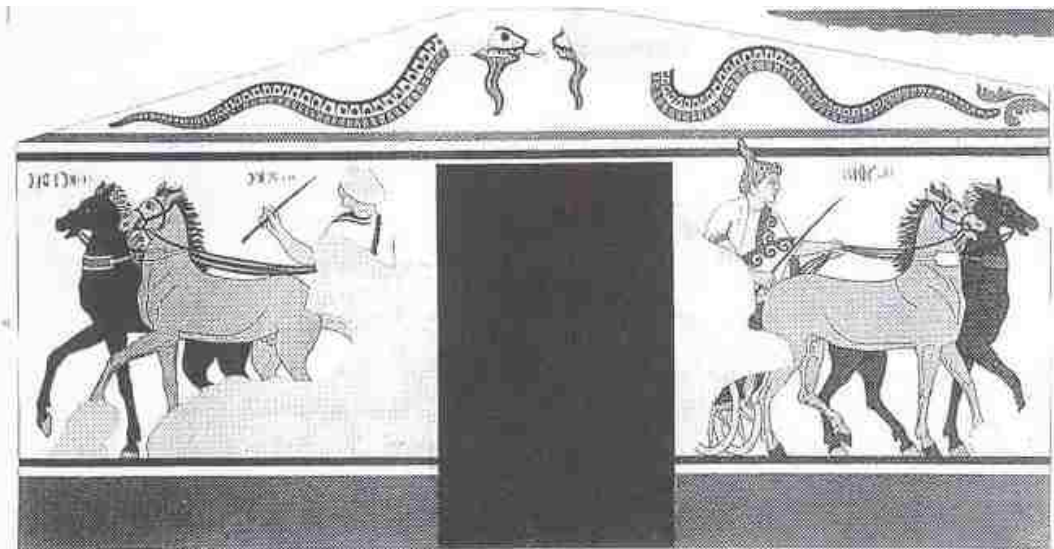


(after Torelli, 2001, p276, no.158)

Arezzo, ca.15 BCE

Tubingen, Sammlung des Institutes für Klassische Archäologie

Terracotta fragment depicting a bearded Roman haruspex examining a large liver and pointing to a particular section of interest. He wears a long sleeved garment and his head is bare apart from a decorative band.



(after Steingraber, 1986, p279, no.33)

Orvieto, ca.350BCE

Wall painting, part of a larger group painted in the Golini II tomb in Orvieto. It depicts a haruspex figure, identifiable by his hat, riding on a biga driven by two horses with a whip or a staff in his hand. He wears a chiton and a cloak. This picture is mirrored on the other side of the doorway by a painting of the same figure. These could be images of the deceased.



No.30



(after Torelli, 2001, p280, no.151)

ca.400 BCE

Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum

Bronze plaque, part of the handle of a schnabelkanne. This depicts a bearded man examining a liver over an altar stand. He is covered only by a piece of cloth around his middle which drapes over his left arm. He stands barefoot with his left leg raised slightly resting on a rock. The liver is held in his left hand while he hunches over examining it closely with his right hand. There is a staff propped up on his left side.

No.31



(after Torelli, 2001, p280 no.150)

ca.475 BCE

Arezzo, Museo Archeologico

Bronze plaque depicting a seated male figure gazing upwards with his chin resting on his right hand, the left hand supports him from behind. His right leg is raised up on a step to support his elbow. He is naked apart from a piece of cloth draped across his

right thigh. He is bearded and wears a close fitting cap with a rolled edge similar to those worn by haruspices but it is likely in this case that he is a priest.

No.32



(after Jannot, 2005, p7, fig.1.3)

Tarquinius, ca.250 BCE  
Tarquinia, Museo Archaeologico

This stone sarcophagus depicts the deceased Laris Puleus lying against cushions holding a scroll rolled out in front of him. The scroll details, amongst other achievements, that he wrote a book on divination and carried out religious duties in the cults of Pacha and Catha. His lower half is covered by a robe but his top half is uncovered apart from the right sleeve of the robe. He wears a torc around his neck and a close fitting cap with a rolled edge on his head indicating his religious profession.

No.33



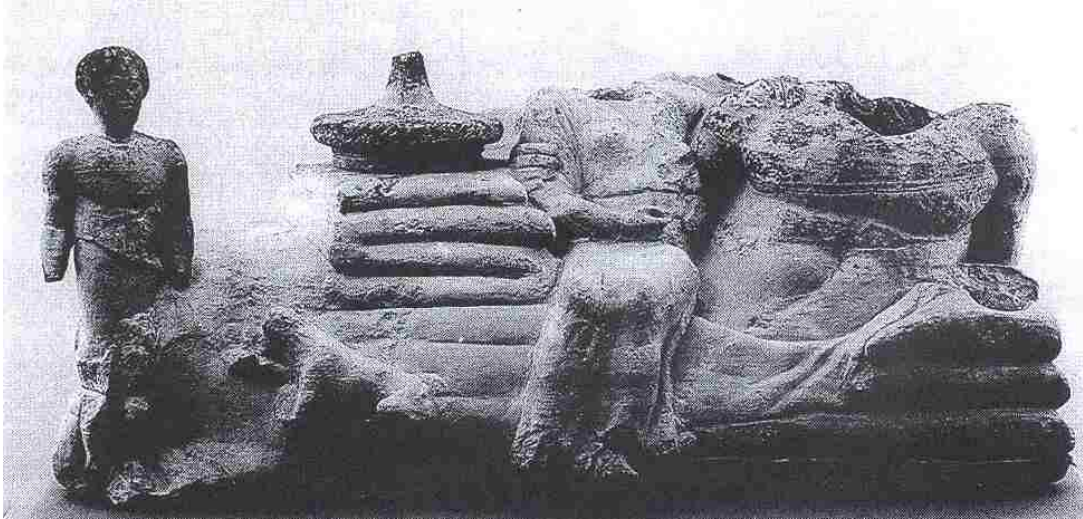
(after Jannot, 2005, p10, fig. 1.6)

Cerveteri, ca.400BCE  
Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco

Stone sarcophagus lid that depicts a folded liber linteus lying beside the representation of the deceased.



No 34



(after Jannot, 2005, p35, fig 3.1)

Chiusi, ca.425 BCE  
Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Hollow ceramic group portraying three separate figures. Two are without heads; one reclines on cushions while the other sits across their lap, perhaps a child. The other figure may be a representation of a child, or a statue. In the centre of the group is a folded *liber linteus* with a pointed *haruspex* hat placed on top.

No. 35



(after Jannot, 2005, p127, fig 7.3)

Chiusi, ca.500 BCE  
Chiusi, Museo Nazionale

Stone monument in the shape of a house. One side depicts a procession of people including a figure holding a palm and wearing the distinctive tall pointed hat of the haruspex. He stands behind an aulos player who is often seen in scenes of ritual activity or festivity. This could be a marriage scene in which the haruspex figure is participating in (Jannot, 2006, p127).



No.36



(after de Grummond, 2006b, p37, fig.III.12)

ca.550 BCE

Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Stone cippus with a relief depicting a male figure. He wears a cap on his head and carries a lituus. He does not wear anything else apart from long boots and a bracelet on his left arm. His right hand holds the lituus forth indicating a ritual activity which suggests that he was a priest.



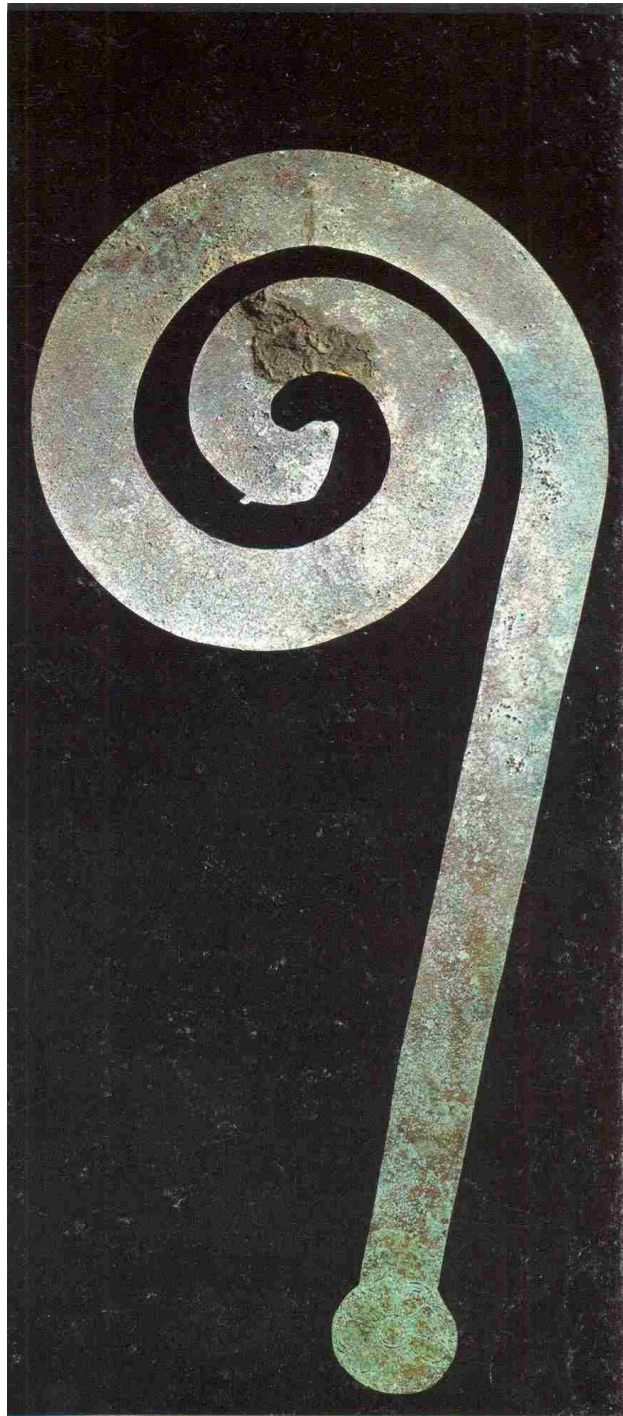
No.37



(after Torelli, p274, no.149)

Reggio Emilia Sant'Ilario d'Enza ca.600BCE  
Reggio Emilia, Musei Civici

Fragment of a bronze lituus.



(after Cristofani, 1979, p99)

Cerveteri, ca. 600 BCE  
Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia

Bronze Lituus