

Revealing the Liminal Role of Waterfowl in Etruscan Art

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Abstract

There is a substantial amount of Etruscan art featuring waterfowl, but very little research has been dedicated (by ancient or modern historians) to discovering what the birds had meant to the ancient civilization to warrant such a proliferation of their visual representation. There are multiple ways that waterfowl could function in Etruscan values, which seem to be largely apotropaic due to their liminality in occupying land, water, and the sky as well as their more practical uses such as providing food through their meat and eggs. These symbols can provide apotropaic protection during transitional occasions in a person's life, such as childhood, marriage, and death. Moreover, they may represent an aspect of cultural and aesthetic pride in local resources. Waterfowl imagery is likely associated with or representative of the gods which led to the production of ritual objects. The purpose of this research is to better establish waterfowl iconography in modern writing through formal analyses and by comparing waterfowl to related Etruscan symbols as well as to the use of similar imagery in contemporary cultures (i.e., Greek, Roman, and Egyptian).

“the goose, the bird that swims on the waters and thrusts its head deep into the flood of the Beginning and the End.”
- D. H. Lawrence¹

1. Introduction

The Etruscans were an ancient culture in the area of Italy that is now known as Tuscany, though their influence extended significantly beyond that region at the height of their trade and power. Their civilization spanned from around 1000 BCE to 27 BCE when they were forced into Roman culture. The Etruscans left behind few historical texts about themselves. Some of the only textual evidence that survives regarding their lives and history is what has been written by other ancient cultures – such as the Greeks, Romans, and other Mediterranean peoples – who were generally biased against the Etruscans, and some ancient historians often lived several centuries after the assimilation of Etruscans into the Roman population.² What has survived from the Etruscans themselves is a rich collection of their art and other archaeological evidence. Sometimes these examples of physical evidence raise more questions about the ancient civilization than they answer.

One such puzzling aspect of Etruscan art is the prevalence of waterfowl in a wide variety of material culture. There is a substantial amount of Etruscan art featuring waterfowl, but very little research has been dedicated (by ancient or modern historians) to discovering what the birds had meant to the ancient civilization to warrant such a proliferation of their visual representation. There are multiple ways that waterfowl could function in relation to Etruscan values. The birds are used in a manner that seems largely apotropaic – having the ability to protect against or divert evil influences – due to their liminality in occupying multiple planes of existence: land, water, and the sky. Specifically, land is the home of the living, water is associated with the underworld and the dead, and the sky is the home of the gods.³ Additionally, waterfowl provide sustenance through their meat and eggs, the latter having their own significance in Etruscan art. These materials and symbols can provide apotropaic protection during transitional

occasions in a person's life, such as childhood, marriage, and death. Moreover, they may represent an aspect of cultural and aesthetic pride in local resources. Waterfowl imagery is likely associated with or representative of the gods which led to the production of ritual objects. The purpose of this paper is to better establish waterfowl iconography in modern writing through formal analyses and by comparing waterfowl to related Etruscan symbols as well as to the use of similar imagery in other ancient cultures (i.e., Greek, Roman, and Egyptian).

While the term "waterfowl" usually refers to the Order Anseriformes (ducks, geese, and swans), which accounts for over 170 species of birds and which is the primary focus of this paper,⁴ this research also includes waders, divers, and other water-faring birds such as cormorants, cranes, and ibises. The present-day classifications of animals were not used by ancient peoples such as the Etruscans and their contemporaries, therefore the rules for what constitutes as "waterfowl" is treated with flexibility. Additional birds that are not of the aquatic variety – such as starlings, eagles, vultures, chickens, and others – are discussed in pertinent examples.

2. *Malocchio* and Apotropaic Needs

To better understand the need for apotropaic figures, symbols, and practices in ancient Etruria (and most ancient cultures), it will be beneficial to summarize the belief in the evil eye, or *malocchio*. To be succinct, *malocchio* is a power possessed by one person (the *jettatore*) and can be used to curse or bewitch (*fascinare*) another person.⁵ To protect an individual or household from the evil eye, believers would wear (or adorn a building with) an apotropaic amulet or symbol to divert the attention of the *jettatore* through surprise (apparent in supernatural or liminal imagery) or shame (such as when presented with nudity⁶ or phallic imagery, which is a frequent sight in some Etruscan archaeological sites and in the artwork of many other ancient cultures.)⁷

People experiencing times of transition – such as birth, childhood, marriage, other important life events, and death – are at greater risk from *malocchio*, therefore the Etruscans had numerous ways of diverting the evil eye. There is a hand symbol, *mano cornuto*, which represents the horns of a bull and protects against the evil eye.⁸ The *mano cornuto* gesture is still used by many of the more traditional Italians to this day, and it is a common sight in Etruscan artwork to protect deceased individuals as they would transition from the world of the living to the realm of the dead in the underworld (an important "location" in Etruscan funerary beliefs where the deceased's soul continues its existence).⁹

The *mano cornuto* symbol is depicted frequently in Etruscan tomb paintings, an artform that was employed in wealthy families' tombs from the seventh through the first centuries BCE.¹⁰ In the painted Tomb of the Lionesses in Tarquinia, a female figure dances with a male figure on the rear wall. The female figure (the figure with the lighter skin, skin tone being a signifier of gender in Etruscan artworks) has her left hand raised above her head in the sign of *mano cornuto* (Fig. 1) which is most likely intended to protect the deceased during their journey to the afterlife.¹¹

Other protective symbols and beliefs used in the funerary context (which are some of the more common surviving Etruscan group of material culture) will be discussed at length later in this paper.

3. Apotropaic Liminality

Liminal objects and figures are other diverters of the evil eye and are valued for having characteristics of multiple aspects of life and planes of existence.¹² This paper argues that the liminal nature of waterfowl is based on their ability to traverse water, land, and the sky; therefore, they were likely seen as apotropaic figures in Etruscan beliefs. Often, other liminal figures in Etruscan art are hybrid figures such as humans with wings, androgynous human figures, and other animals (sometimes with the addition of wings), or mythical creatures such as centaurs, griffins, and chimera which combine the attributes of multiple animals to form one powerful supernatural being.

The centaur – a half-man, half-horse creature – is a good example of a sculpture in this form. In this case, the centaur sculpture is positioned over the entrance of a tomb in Vulci as an apotropaic guardian of the deceased (Fig. 2). Though somewhat damaged, the centaur's main form is still intact, and its oversized hands are still visible resting at the sides of its human hips. The centaur's human genitals can be a form of the heroic nudity common in ancient art as well as being a diversion of the evil eye, though the figure's hybrid nature primarily diverts evil and protects the tomb's inhabitants.¹³

Although waterfowl are not hybrid creatures, their occupation of three realms of existence – as well as their many practical uses (to be discussed later) – may have given Etruscans a liminal impression of the birds. Similar to the centaur protecting a tomb, there are bronze hut-shaped ash urns (also from Vulci and to be discussed later) that are adorned with the shapes of stylized waterfowl heads. Tombs and urns were designed to provide a home for the

deceased in the afterlife, and the waterfowl forms on urns would protect the deceased as the centaur did at the entrance of the tomb.

Not all liminal figures are associated with death. There are winged nude androgynous figures that ornament a number of Etruscan *cistae* (Fig. 3) whose purpose was possibly to be protective liminal figures in a transitional period in a person's life. *Cistae* are containers used to hold women's toiletries and items like combs and mirrors. Though used in life, these containers have been found in numerous graves of wealthy Etruscan women denoting their ritual and funerary significance.¹⁴ On this *cista*, the two figures stand side by side. While the figure on the left has male genitals, the figure on the right has no visible genitals and is often interpreted as female. The "male" figure is smaller in stature than the "female" figure, and his pectorals are pronounced.¹⁵ He is muscular and athletic. One arm is raised and points in the direction of his partner, and his other arm hands her a small cylindrical vessel. The "female" figure on the right is slim, muscular, and the breasts look similar to those of the "male." She reaches to take the vessel from her partner. Both figures share a similar hairstyle: the long hair is twisted around the head and tied at the back like a bun. Most strikingly, both figures sport a set of large, feathered wings. The wings, nudity, and *alabastron* (the small cylindrical vessel) denote their representation of *lasa*, a more general class of winged Etruscan deities.¹⁶

The nudity of the figures alone has protective properties in distracting or diverting the evil eye.¹⁷ As the androgynous figures' large ethereal wings and their physical occupation of both male and female bodies, waterfowl likewise occupy multiple levels of existence.¹⁸ The androgyny of the bronze figures may also allude to the ability of minor deities to change gender.¹⁹ Some waterfowl, specifically *Anserini*, or true geese and swans, "have uniform plumage patterns in both sexes ... thus, males and females are practically indistinguishable."²⁰ It is possible that Etruscans valued the seemingly interchangeable genders in these waterfowl compared to birds with more marked difference in plumage, such as the mallard.

The fact that these figures appear in pairs (there are multiple *cistae* with similar imagery) is also indicative of Etruscan values. The common coupling of powerful figures (usually a male and a female) is symbolic of the importance of marriage and family in Etruscan society. Women, particularly in aristocratic marriages, were influential figures in their homes and in the community.²¹ Female deities were also emphasized in Etruscan myth compared to the male-centric beliefs of ancient Greece.²² The Etruscans' unique emphasis of women's major roles in mythology and society results in valuing marriage and egalitarian partnership. The concept of monogamous relationships being applied to waterfowl will be addressed in the later discussion about Etruscan depictions of swans.

4. Other Animal Imagery and the Use of Waterfowl

There are other animals present in Etruscan art that are used in a similar fashion to waterfowl and give credence to the intended use of waterfowl iconography. Animal imagery is common in Etruscan artwork, and the purpose of some of them is generally more researched and better established than the artistic representations of waterfowl. Comparing other animals with waterfowl can begin with the locations where the creatures reside: dolphins in water; other birds, such as eagles and starlings, in the sky; domesticated animals such as dogs and cats in or near homes.

Dolphins are a common sight in a variety of Etruscan art. In funerary settings, as in frescos in the Tomb of Typhon, they are placed in or jumping out of the water which is associated with the underworld (Fig.4). An abstracted pattern of dark blue or black waves creates a horizontal band around the room with blue and red dolphins flipping and diving above the water. In tombs, water is often painted in the dado (the section of the wall mural closest to the floor) or in the general mural space with or without dolphins. The association between dolphins and the underworld can also be applied to waterfowl, who both float and swim effortlessly on the surface of the water and who are able to dive underwater without resurfacing for several minutes at a time.

Like dogs and cats, it is likely that Etruscans also kept waterfowl as pets in and around the home, particularly ducks or geese. Depictions of dogs or cats are sometimes seen in banquet scenes in funerary art, such as the cat stalking what appears to be a duck under the table in a painting in the Bettini Tomb (Fig. 5). Cats, as in most cultures, were intended to kill rodents in the home or where food was stored, and dogs were used for hunting, protection, and guarding. The duck, on the other hand, is most likely a pet, otherwise its place would have been on the table as food.

A duck (or goose) was given as a "lovers' pet" or as a pet to children in Etruscan and Greek cultures.²³ Keeping waterfowl as pets could account for some of the attention they are given in artworks, such as a bronze statuette of a boy and his pet duck created in the second century BCE (Fig. 6). The boy has curly hair, and he wears no clothing other than the jewelry around his neck and a band around the bicep of one arm. He strikes a dynamic contrapposto stance. He holds a duck in his left hand with his right hand gently gesturing towards the duck's beak with his index finger raised as if he is about to stroke the bird's face. The boy's expression is one of tenderness, calm, and affection. His eyes look down to the duck, and all his attention seems focused on his feathered friend. The duck is rather small

with a healthy, plump body and a curved neck that leads to its round head and small, slightly upwards-curving beak – features that make the bird aesthetically cute. The duck looks relaxed in the child’s hands. He is holding it lightly, and it appears to be content, perhaps interested with his finger or eager for attention. The child’s nudity and his relationship with the duck is symbolic of the Etruscan value of a connection with the natural world. The family of the child (whether just symbolic or based on a living child) must have been rather wealthy to afford the extravagance of keeping an animal as a pet that would normally be eaten.

Similarly, a Greek object that features waterfowl as pets is a red-figure amphora from the fifth century BCE. Like the Etruscan statue of a boy with his pet duck, the scene on the amphora shows a woman and her pet goose (Fig 7). The woman, seen in profile, is seated on the left of the composition and facing to the right. She holds two round objects aloft, one in each hand, and which she appears to be juggling. The goose is standing on the floor in front of her chair and looking up to the woman. The woman, likewise, looks down at the goose. It appears as if she is showing it the bouncing orbs in her hands. Perhaps the objects are fruit, or perhaps the two friends are simply playing together. Waterfowl were not only domesticated for food; they were also a part of the Mediterranean household.

5. Waterfowl as Practical Resources: Eggs

Eggs are frequently represented in Etruscan art, particularly in their funerary art. Figures are often seen holding an egg in their hand or handing an egg to another figure such as in the Tomb of the Shields banquet scene (Fig. 8) in which Larth Velcha and his wife, Velia Seitithi, exchange an egg while feasting.²⁴ The egg can signify rebirth, fertility, and life as well as being associated with the underworld, according to art historian and archaeologist Lisa Pieraccini in her article “The Ever Elusive Etruscan Egg.”²⁵ Pieraccini subsequently acknowledges the likelihood that the variety of shapes and sizes of the eggs depicted, as well as the prevalence of ducks in Etruscan art, means that many of the eggs portrayed are from ducks rather than all being from chickens as other scholars had previously assumed.²⁶

Eggs would most likely come from domesticated birds, but the process was different from the high rate that most modern fowl are forced to produce eggs. Many Etruscan groups generally allowed their livestock to mature and live fairly natural, free lives before harvesting meat, eggs, and other products which resulted in healthier animals and more sustainable agriculture.²⁷ Since eggs were not produced at an unnaturally high rate, they were considered luxury items which were only affordable for the wealthy. Their depictions in tomb paintings can even identify the deceased or other important figures in the artwork based on who is holding the egg.²⁸

It is valuable to provide the context of depicting foods, the act of eating, and banquets in Etruscan art. The Etruscans viewed death as an important life event rather than as just a tragic loss of life, though the surviving community members still mourned. Funerary ceremonies marked the occasion of such an event, and the ceremonies often included lavish feasts, dancing, and music which were then depicted in funerary artwork, particularly tomb paintings, such as in the Tomb of the Shields (Fig. 8), the Bettini Tomb (Fig. 5), and many others. Mourners would leave eggs, olives, pomegranates, and other foods as offerings for the deceased to utilize in the afterlife.²⁹

6. Waterfowl as Practical Resources: Meat

While waterfowl were likely valued for their liminal qualities in the beliefs of Etruscans, the birds had other more practical uses. The most obvious use of waterfowl is their meat, as mentioned in the previous section. Ducks and geese are comparatively large, plump birds; they were both domesticated and farmed as well as hunted for survival and for sport by multiple social classes throughout the Mediterranean.³⁰ Waterfowl were valuable resources for survival which is demonstrated in Etruscan objects that would have been directly used to hold food, such as a plate from 680-670 BCE (Fig. 9) and a ladle whose handle terminates in the shape of two waterfowl heads from the fifth century BCE (Fig. 10). Other evidence of waterfowl having been used for their meat are cut marks on the bones of geese and ducks such as those found at the site of the Etruscan city Forcello.³¹

Additionally, the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing in Tarquinia (Fig. 11) features scenes in which humans are placed in nature to hunt for their food with fish and ducks being the main prey presented in the mural accompanied by dolphins in the water nearby. The fresco shows four men in a rowboat. Three of them are throwing nets into or pulling nets out of the sea. The fourth figure sits with an oar, but they are mostly obscured. A fifth man stands on land and aims a sling at the waterfowl that appear to have been spooked into flight by the fishermen. The painting is very colorful and pigmented with crisp black outlines. The waterfowl are blue, red, or just black outlines with no fill color. The men are surrounded by an abundance of potential food sources.

In comparison, a similar scene can be found in the Egyptian tomb-chapel of Nebamun from around 1350 BCE during the Eighteenth Dynasty (Fig. 12). The scribe Nebamun is depicted in the quintessential front-facing torso with head in profile pose accompanied by his wife and child. As in Etruscan art, male figures are painted with darker skin than female figures. According to hierarchy of scale, Nebamun is the largest figure in the painting due to his importance.³² Nebamun stands on a boat and attacks a group of waterfowl. His cat perches on two papyrus stems while it catches multiple birds in its claws and mouth. Though the human figures are stylized a great deal, the animals and plants are painted in such detail and with such vibrant colors that the particular species are apparent.

Like the Etruscan Tomb of Hunting and Fishing, the tomb painting of Nebamun fowling represents the abundance of resources available to the deceased in life and which can continue to provide for them in the afterlife. The idea of providing for the dead in Egypt has similarities to Etruscan tombs painted with banquet and hunting imagery. The dual symbolism of meat (providing food as well as apotropaic bloodshed), results in protective imagery crucial in funerary art.

7. Waterfowl in Ritual and Religious Contexts: Gods

The liminality and protective nature of waterfowl, in conjunction with their value as food sources, unsurprisingly tie the birds closely with Etruscan religious traditions. The birds appear in religious narratives, in art as symbols, and in the act of ritual slaughter. Evidence of waterfowl in religious art appears with overwhelming regularity. While not shown in artworks, the sacrifice of waterfowl demonstrates their importance in Etruscan religious ritual. The bones of waterfowl have been found at ritual sites at various Etruscan sanctuaries with ducks being some of the most frequent bird remains found.³³ Though common in relation to other bird remains, waterfowl are not as regularly found as larger animals. This absence is due to the fragility of the bones of birds (larger animals have denser bony parts, such as horns and teeth, which survive intact more often) and the fact that the remains of smaller animals are easier to miss.³⁴

The basis of most Etruscan religion is from the collection of religious knowledge known as the *Etrusca disciplina* which – according to Etruscan mythology – was bestowed upon mortals by a prophet, an infant boy called Tages who emerged from the tilled earth.³⁵ The *Etrusca disciplina* is not extant, though it has been the subject of research and discussion by later ancient Roman and Greek historians. Though the Tages narrative does not relate directly to waterfowl, it demonstrates the deep connection Etruscan religion had with their natural environment and agriculture. Additionally, ducks and geese were associated with the ancient Egyptian gods Amun (creator of the universe) and Ra (god of the sun) and may have also been associated with death and rebirth, much like the Etruscan perception of the egg.³⁶

There are instances of waterfowl and eggs directly relating to gods in Etruscan art, though it is often in imagery influenced by or borrowed from Greek mythology and beliefs. During the eighth and seventh centuries BCE – a period of increased trade with and influence from other cultures – Etruria traded with Greece and other cultures in the Mediterranean which led to developments in pottery, art, luxury goods, storytelling, and beliefs.³⁷ One of the most recognizable instances of waterfowl being related to gods is in Zeus transforming himself into a swan, impregnating Leda, and Helen of Troy hatching from the resulting egg. Other gods connected with swans are Aphrodite due to her association with love as well as a connection with Apollo due to his association with music.³⁸

An example of Aphrodite and her swan can be found on the back of a bronze Etruscan mirror (Fig. 13). A border design consisting of winged men and women surrounds the central scene. A more robust male figure, the boy satyr labeled *Hathna*, straddles a large piece of pottery and is flanked by two large cats. The main scene is in a circle that occupies the majority of the middle section of the mirror. There are three human figures, two sharing the middle space in an embrace with a winged figure crouched to the right of them labeled as *Zipna*. There is a swan that is about the same size as the human figures on the left. It has a large plump body, and one of its feet is braced against the border of the middle scene. The swan's neck extends over the head of the shorter figure, *Atunis* or Adonis, on the left, and its beak almost touches the head of the taller central figure *Turan* or Aphrodite.³⁹ The word *tusna* is next to the swan's body and, in the tradition of Etruscan inscriptions, likely indicates the Etruscan language identification of the bird.⁴⁰

Aphrodite and the swan are joined by the figure of Adonis, Aphrodite's mortal lover. After the goddess and the mortal having a relationship that ruffled the feathers of some of Aphrodite's divine peers, Adonis died a tragic death. Swans represent love due to their monogamous nature, just as loving and monogamous marriages were important in Etruscan society and religion.⁴¹ Swans are also associated with death due to the fabled "swan song," a musical note that would emanate from the bird's windpipe as it fell dead from the sky upon being shot down with a sling or arrow.⁴² This tragic musicality is another aspect that connects the birds to Apollo (*Aplu*), the god of music (among many other elements).

The ancient Egyptians similarly valued one of their local wetland birds. The civilization was discussed at length by Herodotus in *The Histories*, and of particular interest to this paper is his writing about the ibis. Ibises are a type of wading bird that have long legs, a somewhat long neck, and a long downcurved beak. There are around twenty-six species that live in warm climates across the globe. Though the ancient Egyptians ate ducks,⁴³ ibises were revered due to their ability to kill snakes, and to kill an ibis would be met with penalty of death.⁴⁴ Now locally extinct in Egypt, there is a particular species called the African sacred ibis, which was described by Herodotus, easily identified by his description of its bare black head and white feathered body. Most notably, Thoth, the all-knowing god of wisdom, justice, healing, and language (among other effects) is often represented in human form but with the head of an ibis, such as in this Egyptian relief carving from 663-525 BCE (Fig. 14).⁴⁵

Compared to Etruscan history, ancient Rome has more concrete historical documentation regarding sacred waterfowl, such as the Capitoline Geese. Geese were associated with and said to have been valued as sacred animals by the goddess Juno, though the reasoning behind their holy status can be rather vague. Their ability to produce meat and eggs plus the medicinal uses of their fat could play a part.⁴⁶ To summarize the legend, Rome was under attack by the Gauls. The Romans were able to fight off the invaders due to Juno's sacred geese warning of the impending nocturnal attack.⁴⁷ This proficiency in guarding could have been a benefit of keeping pet geese in the home as well. While this Roman bronze statuette of a goose (Fig. 15) is not known to necessarily be a representation of the famed Capitoline geese that saved Rome, it is nevertheless an example of the important role geese played in ancient Roman society.

8. Waterfowl in Ritual and Religious Contexts: Ritual Objects

Not all Etruscan religious or ritual art features narratives or specific religious characters. Many objects were created for ritual purposes, such as for holding important materials, providing context for events, and – perhaps most importantly – providing protection during ceremonial practices. Such events could include the transitional occasions mentioned throughout this paper such as coming of age events, weddings, funerals, births, among others.

One of the most notable types of ritual objects featuring waterfowl are numerous duck-shaped *askoi*. There are many styles of these containers, ranging from very abstract and geometric (Fig. 16) to rather lifelike (Fig. 17), and their manufacture spans multiple centuries and locations throughout Etruria. The *lasae* painted on some of the *askoi* are apotropaic female figures associated with the divine (they are often compared to the Greek nymph minus the associations with water)⁴⁸ who sport wings, are usually mostly or completely nude, and carry *alabastera*.⁴⁹ A combination of two liminal figures (the duck and the painting of a *lasa*) makes for a powerfully apotropaic object. Based on the shape of the neck and size of the pouring hole of the vessel, they were most likely used to contain perfumes or oils which may have been used during special occasions like feasts, funerals, weddings, or coming of age events.⁵⁰ During transitional occasions, a person was more susceptible to the effects of the evil eye, thus (as in this example) more emphasis was placed on apotropaic objects during those occasions, and waterfowl are frequently present on or associated with such items.

Another ritual object is a bronze cup handle (Fig. 18) from the second half of the eighth century BCE in Bisenzio that has been mystifying art historians since its discovery. The handle is in the shape of a circle with a female figure at the center. The character is surrounded by what appear to be the shapes of waterfowl in profile. It can even be argued that the central figure has wings. It is generally accepted that the figure is an example of *potnia theron* or Mistress of the Animals, a goddess motif common in many ancient cultures and often associated with waterfowl and fertility.⁵¹ This connection to another religious figure further supports the assertion that waterfowl were associated with divinity.

9. Waterfowl in Ritual and Religious Contexts: Divination

Divination has been a documented cultural and religious practice for millennia; ancient Greek historian Herodotus of Halicarnassus wrote about divination in *The Histories* in the fifth century BCE, and ancient Roman philosopher and orator Marcus Tullius Cicero wrote *De Divinatione* in 44 BCE. These are just two notable examples of the practice being recorded in ancient texts. While many of the events in both ancient texts may not have happened as they were written (or at all), they can be useful in providing perspective on the ancient world. The writers' impressions of the world are likely the same or similar to their peers and can facilitate understanding the practices and symbolism used in ancient art.

Like many ancient civilizations, numerous artifacts recovered from Etruscan culture involve religious and ritual purposes. Though Etruscans share some common or similar religious beliefs (such as a collection of gods and other divine figures) with the ancient Greeks and other cultures, they were and still are well-known for having unique expertise in divination, “which is the foreseeing and foretelling of events considered as happening by chance” according to Cicero.⁵² Two such forms of divination practiced by Etruscans include hepatoscopy – the reading of animal livers – and augury – the reading of bird behavior, the latter being an Etruscan specialty. These two practices were deeply intertwined; the different regions of the sky (relating to different gods) were associated with sections of the liver. Other Etruscan ritual objects include items that would be used at weddings, coming of age events, and other occasions.

A type of object made for use in divinity are model livers, the most well-known model liver being the Bronze Liver of Piacenza (Fig. 19) from the late second century BCE. In her article “A New Reconstruction of the Etruscan Heaven,” Natalie Stevens, a member of the Amsterdam Archaeological Center, explains the connections between certain sections of the liver with corresponding regions of the sky and their relation to specific gods and religious figures based on the sunrise and sunset zones during the seasons of the year.⁵³ The top side of the liver is divided into forty-four sections, or “houses,” each labeled with the name of a god or religious figure.⁵⁴ One of the uses of model livers that does not seem to have been well-deciphered by modern historians is in the reading of the flight patterns of birds. It is difficult to determine which regions of sky the Etruscans may have associated with waterfowl due to the lack of surviving information regarding their interpretation of flight patterns. Even so, Etruscans were famous amongst their contemporaries for their abilities in augury.

Augury is the ritual practice of reading – or divining – the flight patterns, activities, and behaviors of birds, often as a search for the approval or disapproval of the gods before making major decisions. Though not much documentation about the specific methods of augury in ancient Italic civilizations survives, there are accounts that describe the feeding patterns of chickens as deciding the fates of battles. There are also modern studies that have been performed which find a correlation between the appetite of birds and the weather. Anthony Tuck, the chair of the classics department at the University of Massachusetts Amherst notes, “numerous forms of birds respond in predictable ways to temperature variation and changes in barometric pressure often otherwise imperceptible to human observers.”⁵⁵ Therefore, predictions that would benefit societies, such as when to plant crops for the best harvest, could be made based on studying the behaviors of various bird species. Though the stories describe reading chickens specifically, it is possible that augurs read the feeding behaviors of other domesticated birds such as ducks and geese.

Emperor Augustus was a known augur, and he used this ability to influence his propaganda machine.⁵⁶ Another example of augury influencing history is, according to Livy, when an eagle took the hat off Tarquinius Priscus’ head and then replaced it. Priscus’ wife Tanaquil recognized the event as a sign of her husband’s ascent to the throne as fifth king of Rome and the first Etruscan king of Rome.⁵⁷ According to legend, Rome was even established with the help of birds. When Romulus and Remus were looking for a location to establish their new city, a group of vultures assisted their search.⁵⁸

Though they were not given much attention by ancient augurs according to surviving documentation, starling murmurations were (and still are) a striking sight in Rome during the autumn and winter months; hundreds of thousands of birds fly in unison to create kinetic shapes in the sky, sometimes even blocking the sun. Pliny the Elder mentions them in his *Natural History* noting, “It is a peculiarity of the starling to fly in troops, as it were, and then to wheel round in a globular mass like a ball, the central troop acting as a pivot for the rest.”⁵⁹

There are waterfowl species that flock in great numbers similar to starlings (though without the acrobatic maneuvers).⁶⁰ In *The Iliad*, Homer refers to “wild geese or cranes or long-necked swans” gathering “with clangor and honk” and “making the meadow resound [with their calls].”⁶¹ It is likely that Etruscan augurs read the migrations of waterfowl during the changing of the seasons. Etruscan diviners would have been familiar with the various species of birds, as Pliny describes a variety of birds and their appearances included in the *Etrusca disciplina* that seem to have gone extinct during the time between the Etruscans and his own lifetime.⁶² This means there was likely some sort of illustrated reference material or categorized detailed descriptions included within the Etruscans’ religious texts. Other ancient civilizations in the Mediterranean do have surviving documentation regarding the associations between migration patterns and predictions for what the coming seasons would bring. Jeremy Mynott – prolific author of books about birds as well as the former Chief Executive of Cambridge and an Emeritus Fellow of Wolfson College – discusses Hesiod and other ancient writers describing cranes as “the signal of plowing / and marks the season of rainy winter.”⁶³ Similarly, the first swallow seen at the end of winter was considered to be the first indication of spring.⁶⁴

10. Waterfowl in Funerary Contexts

Depictions of waterfowl have been commonly found in funerary contexts in the earliest-known instances of the many various mediums used in Etruscan practices. Many ash urns, tomb paintings, and grave goods feature bird forms in abstracted or more naturalistic styles. As stated previously, a person's death and their transition to the afterlife was a time of vulnerability to *malocchio*, therefore there was a need for protection in death. There are many apotropaic figures and devices used to decorate funerary objects and spaces, but waterfowl may have served a more exclusive purpose. It is possible that waterfowl assisted the dead by escorting them to the underworld.⁶⁵

Furthermore, waterfowl have been featured on some of the earliest Etruscan material culture. One such example in a funerary context is the oval bronze hut urn (Fig. 20) from the middle of the eighth century BCE in Vulci. Before inhumation (burying an intact cadaver) became more popular, cremation was the chosen form of "burial" in Etruria. There are ornaments shaped like waterfowl heads along the ridgeline of the roof as well as on the exterior sides.⁶⁶ The necks of the birds are S-shaped with rounded curves, and the heads are pointed at the end, indicating a beak which is somewhat upturned. The head is held high and is tilted slightly back in a regal pose. The figures on the ridgeline and walls share a practically identical shape. This abstracted waterfowl form can be found on other Etruscan objects as well.⁶⁷ It is impossible to know whether the Etruscans included the bird design on the urn because such designs were common on their actual huts or if they only put them on funerary urns.⁶⁸ The use of the waterfowl head on the hut urn is likely an apotropaic symbol to protect the deceased's ashes. If the waterfowl design was also used on huts, it is probable that it was likewise an apotropaic guardian of the living and their homes.

A particularly ornate object that was created with the purpose of being a grave good is a gold disc fibula (Fig. 21) found in the Regolini-Galassi tomb in Cerveteri during the "Orientalizing" period.⁶⁹ The fibula is much too large to have been used on clothing, so being a grave good was likely the intended purpose of its creation.⁷⁰ The gold symbol of status features dozens of small three-dimensional ducks on one section. The attention to detail it took to create the ducks is not only a testament to the artist's skill but also to the prominent role ducks played in the funerary context. The time, effort, and size of the object indicate the wealth of the patron. The fibula also features incised images of lions on the other section of the ornament which are a sign of trade and travel during the "Orientalizing" period, yet the artist still chose to put more time into creating their local duck iconography than the exotic and formidable lions. Incising or granulating imagery on a flat surface would be much less time consuming than creating dozens of three-dimensional forms arranged in perfect rows with each figure itself being decorated with fine textures. There are several known fibulae that feature waterfowl forms, such as a silver-gilt fibula that is also from the Regolini-Galassi tomb (Fig. 22).

An additional grave good featuring waterfowl is an oval-shaped belt (Fig. 23) from Bologna in the eighth century BCE.⁷¹ The bronze belt is incised with many circles and lines that form into the abstracted shapes of waterfowl. While the designs might appear to be nothing more than a pattern of lines, there are two more obviously waterfowl-shaped figures flanking the center nine-circle design. The shape of the waterfowl figures' heads is mimicked by the larger shapes extending from the circular designs, thus indicating their intended forms. Such abstracted waterfowl shapes are seen in other representations of waterfowl in Etruscan art, such as the ridgeline ornaments and incised sides of the previously mentioned bronze hut urn. In continuing the theory of apotropaic uses, the waterfowl figures would serve as protection during the wearer's travels or in battle and then later in death. As with many other grave goods, the belt could even have been created and designed with burial in mind to protect the deceased on their journey to the afterlife.

Some of the most prominently known funerary artforms are the wall paintings of Etruscan tombs. One of the earliest known tombs that contains figural paintings is the mid-seventh century BCE Tomb of the Ducks.⁷² The tomb was painted during the Villanovan period (about 1000-700 BCE) during which the first figural art featuring animals and humans originated.⁷³ Five geometric ducks are painted in a row, all facing to the left, with alternating solid or patterned bodies (Fig. 24). A row of horizontal lines acts as their groundline as they parade across the wall. The artist could have painted anything (or the patron could have commissioned anything) on that wall, but they chose a group of ducks. Waterfowl imagery has played a significant role in the funerary tradition since the conception of Etruscan figural art and continued to appear with regularity for centuries afterwards.

The use of waterfowl in funerary art, particularly tomb paintings, can be compared to two notable liminal humanoid characters in Etruscan art and beliefs: the winged Vanth and Charu (Fig. 25). Vanth is a female figure with feathered wings, short hair in a braid, wearing a chiton and boots, and she carries a torch or often a key which opens or locks the entrance to the underworld.⁷⁴ Charu (also sometimes spelled Charun) is an androgynous bearded figure with similar wings, pale blue skin, a short red robe, a hooked nose, long ears, and they carry a large hammer. Like many Etruscan tomb paintings, the figures are stylized, brightly colored, and are outlined in black or other darker colors. The figures both wear serious expressions on their faces and, since their heads are painted in profile facing each other, appear to

make eye contact with one another. They strike dynamic poses; the respective knees of the farther legs being bent in action with the other legs straight and pushing them towards the door. A breeze seems to emanate from the doorway, blowing the hems of their clothing dramatically out behind the divine figures. The role of these mythical characters was to securely escort the deceased from the realm of the living to the afterlife. They are featured standing on either side of a door to the underworld in the Tomb of the Anina Family in Tarquinia, painted in the late fourth century BCE.⁷⁵ As with other transitional moments in a person's life, the deceased needed protection as they left for the afterlife.

Waterfowl continue to appear in Etruscan tombs over the centuries such as in the aforementioned Tomb of Hunting and Fishing. The Tomb of the Augurs also features waterfowl, though less conspicuously, in its paintings. Adrian Harrison, associate professor of pathobiological sciences at the University of Copenhagen, identifies these particular birds as cormorants (notice the birds' upturned bills, fanned tails, and slender, upright bodies) in their article "Animals in the Etruscan Household and Environment."⁷⁶ The main compositions depict ritual bloodshed, in which a masked man – possibly the Etruscan Phersu character – holds the leash of a dog that is attacking a bound man with a bag over his head, likely a slave or prisoner being harmed or killed in ritual sacrifice (Fig. 26).

Two nude men wrestling over a large ritual bowl are also depicted in the tomb (Fig. 27). Both compositions have apotropaic funerary significance in their violence and sport.⁷⁷ The cormorants fly past the violent scenes of bloodshed and wrestling towards the painted door to the underworld – which is flanked by two augurs – on another wall with one cormorant directly next to the door (Fig 28). Waterfowl may have served as guides and offered protection to the dead on their way to the underworld.⁷⁸ Consequently, the presence of the birds may provide evidence that Etruscans believed in the ability of waterfowl to travel between the mortal realm and the afterlife. The protective qualities of the winged figures of Vanth and Charu (Fig. 25) can be compared with a similar role of the various depictions of waterfowl in tomb paintings, particularly in the Tomb of the Augurs (Fig. 25-27) where the birds fly towards the red painted door to the underworld.

11. Conclusion

Waterfowl in Etruscan art have gone practically unnoticed by historians for centuries. The birds may seem unassuming, but the ancient artists made the decision to include them in countless pieces of significant artwork. The prevalence of liminal waterfowl in Etruscan art is far from coincidental, and their cultural, practical, ritual, and religious significance is evident. The many instances of waterfowl appearing in Etruscan art is staggering, and only a small fraction of such examples have been explored in this paper. The birds are depicted in a variety of contexts and materials from elaborate jewelry pieces to colorful tomb paintings.

While the definite significance of waterfowl to the Etruscans may be challenging to prove, there is enough evidence in material culture spanning nearly a millennium to argue with assurance that the birds were of importance to the ancient civilization. By comparing waterfowl symbolism to other better-established Etruscan iconography, it is plausible that waterfowl can be associated with the underworld due to their ability to swim on and below the surface of the water, similar to the symbolism of dolphins. Additionally, waterfowl share characteristics or behaviors of other bird species such as cranes, ibises, and chickens. Waterfowl can even have similarities to dogs and cats as household pets. Imagery and documentation from other ancient cultures such as Greece, Rome, and Egypt further strengthen the use of waterfowl in Etruscan art through their associations with the birds and gods, historical or mythological events, and their uses as practical resources. The Etruscan aptitude in the field of divination, though not documented in specific detail, demonstrates the importance of bird behavior and the skies in the ancient civilization.

The significance of the waterfowl is apotropaic and based on their liminality in most instances and for their practical uses in other cases. The ability to produce meat and eggs was valuable to the survival and advancement of Etruscan society. Eggs alone have significance in Etruscan artwork as symbols of rebirth, fertility, and the underworld which feasibly transfer to the waterfowl that lay the eggs. The multifaceted nature of the birds led to the religious and ritual use of waterfowl imagery. The ability of waterfowl to occupy land, water, and the sky is the essence of their liminality and, supported by their appearance in tomb paintings, quite possibly led to the belief that they could travel to the underworld and divert evil. Waterfowl were an integral and enduring part of the Etruscan landscape and ecosystem, and they influenced most major elements of Etruscan life.

12. Images

Figure 1 – Dancing Couple with Mano Cornuto, rear wall of the Tomb of the Lionesses. Fresco, Necropolis of the Monterozzi, Tarquinia. 530 BCE. <https://jstor.org/stable/community.11658181>

Figure 2 – Centaur Statue, nenfro. Vulci, late seventh-early sixth century BCE. Height: 77cm. Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.14449978>

Figure 3 – Winged androgynous human figures on *cista*, bronze. Praeneste, fourth century BCE. Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome.



Sandhoff, Bridget. "Sexual Ambiguity? Androgynous Imagery in Etruria". *Etruscan and Italic Studies* 14.1: 80.

Figure 4 – Dolphin mural, Tomb of Typhon. Fresco, Necropolis of the Monterozzi, Tarquinia. 530 BCE. <https://photos.com/featured/mural-painting-in-the-tomb-of-typhon-print-collector.html>

Figure 5 – Cat stalking bird in banquet scene of Bettini Tomb. Fresco, 450 BCE, Tarquinia. <https://jstor.org/stable/community.15294716>

Figure 6 – A Boy with His Pet Duck, bronze. H. 32 cm. Second century BCE. National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden. <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/etst-2019-0003/html>

Figure 7 – Woman with pet goose. Red-figured amphora. Greece. H: 27.94cm. 470-460 BCE. [Use this image 279396001 - | British Museum.](#)

Figure 8 – Larth Velcha and Velia Seitithi feasting with an egg, Tomb of the Shields. Fresco, dimensions unavailable. Tarquinia, 280-150 BCE. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.11658293>

Figure 9 – Plate with waterfowl, white slip on impasto. Diam: 27.6 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum. 680-670 BCE. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.18660108>

Figure 10 – Bronze ladle with waterfowl heads. H: 13 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. 400-499 BCE. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.18668339>

Figure 11 – Fishing and fowling scene, Tomb of Hunting and Fishing. Fresco, dimensions unavailable. Necropolis of the Monterozzi, Tarquinia. 530 BCE. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.13578564>

Figure 12 – Nebamun fowling in the marshes. Painted plaster, H: 81cm. 1350 BCE. British museum, London. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.13579080>

Figure 13 – Print of Etruscan mirror with swan, Aphrodite, Adonis. Bronze, dimensions unavailable. Leningrad. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Etruscan_mirror_with_Tusna_Atunis_Turan_Zipna_-_Alpan_Achvizr_Munthuch_Mean_Hathna.jpg

Figure 14 – Egyptian relief carving of Thoth. Slate, 14 3/8 x 4 3/4 x 7/16 in. 663-525 BCE. Dallas Museum of Art, TX. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.15053754>

Figure 15 – Roman goose statuette. Bronze, 1.75in First or second century CE. Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.18800979>

Figure 16 – Geometric duck *askos*. Painted impasto on ceramic, H. 28cm. 700 BCE, Bisenzio, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome.

<https://www.diomedia.com/stock-photo-italy-lazio-bisenzio-askos-little-vase-for-liquids-in-the-shape-of-a-bird-with-geometric-figures-8th-century-bc-italy-rome-museo-nazionale-etrusco-di-villa-giulia-villa-giulia-national-image7472298.html>

Figure 17 – Duck *Askos* with *lasa*. Painted terracotta, Chiusi. Fourth century BCE. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/250747>

Figure 18 – Cup handle. Olmo Bello necropolis, Bisenzio. Bronze. Mid-late eighth century BCE. Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome.



Potnia theron cup handle. Haynes, Sybille. *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*. Getty Publications, 2000, 23.

Figure 19 – Model liver. Bronze, 12.5 x 8 cm. Piacenza, late second century BCE. Palazzo Farnese.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.16000727>

Figure 20 – Oval hut urn. Vulci. Mid-eighth century BCE. Bronze. Height: 26cm. Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome. <https://jstor.org/stable/community.14481054>

Figure 21 – Disc fibula. Regolini-Galassi tomb, Cerveteri. Gold. Early seventh c. BCE. Height: 31.5cm. Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Vatican City. <https://jstor.org/stable/community.13552343>

Figure 22 – Silver-gilt duck fibula. 15.5cm. Regolini-Galassi tomb, Cerveteri. University of California, San Diego

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.13561086>

Figure 23 – Inscribed belt. Benacci Necropolis, Bologna. Early-mid eighth century BCE. Bronze. Height: 11.9cm. Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna. <https://o.quizlet.com/RUeipmkEhKWcShQJjOSSg.jpg>

Figure 24 – Tomb of the Ducks. Painted tufa, dimensions unavailable. Mid-seventh century BCE, Veii.

<https://jstor.org/stable/community.14444553>

Figure 25 – Tomb painting of Charu/n (left) and Vanth (right). Tomb of the Anina Family. Late fourth century BCE. Height: 1.7m. Tarquinia. https://folklorethursday.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Charun_and_Vanth.jpg

Figure 26 – Masked figure and prisoner. Tomb of the Augurs. Tarquinia. Painted tufa, dimensions unavailable. 520 BCE. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.13578346>

Figure 27 – Wrestling scene, Tomb of the Augurs. Tarquinia. Painted tufa, dimensions unavailable. 520 BCE.

<https://jstor.org/stable/community.13591147>

Figure 28 – Door to the underworld, Tomb of the Augurs. Tarquinia. Painted tufa, dimensions unavailable. 520 BCE.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.14483047>

13. Endnotes

1 David Herbert Lawrence, “Sketches of Etruscan Places,” in *D.H. Lawrence and Italy* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), pp. 329-441, 340.

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- 4 Reeber Sébastien, *Waterfowl of North America, Europe, and Asia: An Identification Guide* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 11.
- 5 S.A. Callisen, "The Evil Eye in Italian Art." *The Art Bulletin* 19, no. 3 (1937), 450.
- 6 Larissa Bonfante and Judith Swaddling, *Etruscan Myths* (London: The British Museum Press, 2006), 49.
- 7 David Herbert Lawrence, "Sketches of Etruscan Places," 342.
- 8 S.A. Callisen, "The Evil Eye in Italian Art," 450.
- 9 Bonfante and Swaddling, *Etruscan Myths*, 28.
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- 11 Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, (Getty Publications, 2000) 227.
- 12 Bridget Sandhoff, "Sexual Ambiguity? Androgynous Imagery in Etruria" *Etruscan Studies* 14, no. 1 (De Gruyter, 2011), 83.
- 13 Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization*, 151.
- 14 Sandhoff, "Sexual Ambiguity? Androgynous Imagery in Etruria," 75.
- 15 The use of quotation marks intends to indicate the possibility of the figures representing other genders or sexes, but the words "male" and "female" are used for the sake of brevity. This oversimplification is not intended to invalidate any gender or sexual identity.
- 16 Sandhoff, "Sexual Ambiguity? Androgynous Imagery in Etruria," 79.
- 17 Nude imagery was used to shame the *jettatore* and to divert the evil eye.
- 18 Read more in Sandhoff's article cited above about the possibility of Etruscans using art to represent additional genders or sexes.
- 19 Bonfante and Swaddling, *Etruscan Myths*, 49.
- 20 R.L. Skalsky, "The Waterfowl of Etruria: A Study of Duck, Goose, and Swan Iconography in Etruscan Art," (Florida State University, 1997), 24.
- 21 Bonfante and Swaddling, *Etruscan Myths*, 52.
- 22 Ibid, 49.
- 23 Skalsky, "The Waterfowl of Etruria," 12.
- 24 Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization*, 309.
- 25 Lisa Piaraccini, "The Ever Elusive Etruscan Egg" *Etruscan Studies* 17, no. 2 (De Gruyter, 2014), 268, 275.
- 26 Ibid, 284.
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- 29 Nancy Thomson de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History, and Legend* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2006), 231.
- 30 Graeme Barker and Tom Rasmussen, *The Etruscans*, (Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 200.
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- 35 Nancy Thomson de Grummond, "Prophets and Priests," in *The Religion of the Etruscans* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006), pp. 27-44, 27.
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Nicholas Purcell, "Orientalizing - Five Historical Questions (2006)," Academia.edu, June 4, 2014, https://www.academia.edu/4459562/Orientalizing_five_historical_questions_2006_.
- 38 The name of Greek Aphrodite's Etruscan parallel is Turan, but this paper will mainly refer to most Etruscan characters with Greek parallels by their Greek names for the sake of simplicity.

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- 41 Larissa Bonfante and Judith Swaddling, *Etruscan Myths* (London: The British Museum Press, 2006), 52.
- 42 Skalsky, “The Waterfowl of Etruria,” 57.
- 43 Herodotus, *The Histories*, vol. 1 (Floyd, VA: Wilder Publications, 2015), 118.
- 44 Ibid, 114.
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<http://www.jstor.org/stable/26458107>.
- 46 Mynott, *Birds in the Ancient World*, 213.
- 47 Adam Ziolkowski, “Between Geese and the Auguraculum: The Origin of the Cult of Juno on the Arx,” *Classical Philology* 88, no. 3 (1993), 207.
- 48 Nancy Thomson de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History, and Legend* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2006), 169.
- 49 *Askoi* are small vessels used for holding oil or ointment.
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- 51 Alicia Dissinger, “Cypro-Archaic Bird Iconography: Types, Uses, and Meanings,” (University of Virginia 2017), 8.
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- 56 Ibid, 543.
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- 58 Tuck, Augury and Observation,” 543.
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- 60 Skalsky, “The Waterfowl of Etruria,” 30.
- 61 Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. E. V. Rieu (New York, NY: Barnes & Noble Classics, 2005), 441-445.
- 62 De Grummond, “Prophets and Priests” in *The Religion of Etruscans*, 42.
- 63 Jeremy Mynott, *Birds in the Ancient World: Winged Words* (Oxford University Press, 2018), 9.
- 64 Ibid, 15.
- 65 Skalsky, “The Waterfowl of Etruria,” 123.
- 66 Robert Leighton, “House Urns and Etruscan Tomb Painting: Tradition Versus Innovation in the Ninth-Seventh Centuries BC,” *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24, no. 4 (2005), 370.
- 67 Some of these objects will be examined elsewhere in this paper.
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- 70 A fibula is used to fasten clothing or as decorative jewelry pinned to clothing, like a brooch.
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- 72 Stephan Steingraber, *Abundance of Life: Etruscan Wall Painting*, trans. Russell Stockman (Los Angeles, CA: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006), 33.
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- 76 Adrian Harrison. “Animals in the Etruscan Household and Environment.” Essay. In *The Etruscan World*, edited by Jean MacIntosh Turfa, 890–918. Routledge, 2013.
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