

ETRUSCAN TURMS AND TURAN

ABSTRACT. *In this article it is argued that the names Turms and Turan, which refer to the Etruscan equivalents of the Greek deities Hermes and Aphrodite, are not derivatives of the Etruscan root tur- "give". Rather, the words are respectively borrowings of the Greek name Ἑρμῆς and the common Greek epithet of Aphrodite Ὠρανία/Οὐρανία. In both cases the Etruscan borrowing incorporates the initial τ of the Greek article ὁ ἡ τό, frequently used in Greek references and dedications to the deities during the archaic period. The article presents first the evidence to associate the Etruscan deities with the Greek, and secondly the linguistic justifications for the correspondences, with explanations for the final forms of the names in Etruscan.*

INTRODUCTION¹

A number of Etruscan names for gods and semi-gods have been borrowed from other languages. *Ap(u)lu*, *Artumes*, *Hercle*, *Persipnai* and *Aita* (or *Eita*) are recognisably Greek loanwords, taken from Ἀπόλλων, Ἄρτεμις, Ἡρακλῆς, Φερσεφόνα and Αἶδας respectively². Less clear-cut are borrowings from the neighbouring Indo-European languages of ancient Italy, with possible candidates including the following: *Fufluns*, *Menerva*, *Neθuns*, *Seθlans*, *Tiur*, *Uni* and *Usil*³. In this article I shall argue that two further Etruscan names, *Turms* and *Turan* are not part of the native Etruscan vocabulary, but respectively borrowings from Greek Ἑρμῆς and Ὠρανία/Οὐρανία, an epithet of Aphrodite. In both cases the Etruscan borrowing incorporates the Greek article, commonly used in references and dedications to the deity. In order to demonstrate this, I shall present in each case first the evidence to associate the Etruscan deity with the Greek source, and then I shall justify the assertion that the Etruscan speakers would have heard a form of the name with an initial *t*- in the archaic period.

¹ I am very grateful to Daniele Maras for innumerable helpful suggestions on an earlier version of this paper.

² DE SIMONE, *Entleh*; MARAS, *Dono*, pp. 137-143; AMANN 2012; EICHNER 2012 and POCCETTI 2012.

³ See, for example, CORSSSEN 1874, pp. 314-315 (on *Fufluns*), 246 (on *Menerva*) and 314 (on *Neθuns*) and for further bibliography and suggestions RIX 1981 and 1998; AMANN 2006; EICHNER 2012, pp. 38-43.

TURMS

The Etruscan deity *Turms* is well known from artistic representations, but does not appear to have been the subject of cult⁴. The earliest representations of him date from the end of the sixth century BCE (Harari 1997), where he can be recognised as the Etruscan counterpart to the Greek deity Hermes from the characteristic attributes of hat (sometimes winged), cloak, winged sandals and caduceus. He is well represented in Etruscan mirrors, and it is from these that all but one of the surviving instances of his name are recorded in writing⁵. The name is written thirteen times as *Turms*, once as *Turms̄* (Meiser, *ET* Vs S.11), once as *Turmus* (Vs S.12) and, once in a late mirror, as *Turm* (Vs S.26). A recently published bronze weight from Caere, dating from the end of the fourth century, has a ten-line inscription with what may be the only surviving dedication to *Turms*, and includes the otherwise unattested genitive of the name, paired with *raθs*, the genitive of another divinity *Raθ*⁶. A longer form of the name, *Turamas*, occurs beside the depiction of Hermes on a mirror dated to 460–450 BCE from an uncertain location, but attributed to Vulci (Meiser, *ET* Vc S.4; *CIE* 11177)⁷.

Hermes is known as the subject of dedications from only a few Greek inscriptions from Italy. Two graffiti on black glazed pottery from Tarentum dating to the fourth century BCE reading just EPM and PME, have been interpreted as dedications to Hermes (*SEG* 58, 1123), and two further possible dedications from Velia in the Hellenistic period, in this case further abbreviated to EP and E (Vecchio 2003, 16 a and 16 b). There are also undated dedications to Hermes from Metapontum (Dubois 2002, no. 48), Puteoli (*IG* XIV 2406, 16) and Tarentum (*IG* XIV 2393, 238). A third-century Oscan-Greek bilingual curse tablet from Petelia (Petelia 2 in Crawford, *ImIt*) also contains an address to HEPMA XΘΩNIE.

The name of *Turms* has generally been linked by Etruscologists with the name of Venus, *Turan* (although with a different suffix), and also showing the addition of a final *-s* associated with divine names (Piffig, *Religio*, p. 239). However, there is no good explanation for the otherwise unparalleled *m*-suffix, and it is relatively straightforward to link the Etruscan with the Greek name of the god. Dedications to Hermes made in other parts of the Greek world from the sixth and fifth centuries BCE frequently use the definite article before the name, and there are some

⁴ PIFFIG, *Religio*, pp. 239–241; CRISTOFANI 1996, p. 52; SIMON 2006, p. 60; MARAS 2010.

⁵ Daniele Maras informs me (personal communication, 2 June 2016), that he now reads *turms̄al* rather than *lurs̄nal* in the inscription on a fifth-century candelabrum at the Museo Archeologico of Florence (MARAS, *Dono*, p. 317, read as *lurs̄l* at MEISER, *ET* Fa 4.2), making this an earlier example of an Etruscan dedication to the deity.

⁶ CRISTOFANI 1996; MORETTI SGUBINI 2001, p. 153 [A. MAGGIANI]; MARAS, *Dono*, pp. 277–279; MEISER, *ET* Cr 4.22.

⁷ I take *Turumas* mentioned by van der Meer (1995, p. 154) on «a mirror dated to c. 450 B.C.» to be a misprint for *Turamas*.

examples where the article and name contracted together in a process known by the ancient grammatical term *crasis*. Thus a fragment of a black-glazed kylix from Olbia on the Black Sea has the graffito ἱερὴ εἰμὶ τορμέω (= τοῦ Ἑρμέω) = “I am the sacred property of Hermes” (*SEG* 30, 878, no. 76 in Dubois 1996), and another from Pantikapaion on the Black Sea, which is most likely to have been dedicated by a trader from Megara, has ἱμὶ τ[ο]ρμαῖ “I am the property of Hermes” (*SEG* 49, 1046); a recently published archaic Arcadian *lex sacra* has τορμαι for τῶι Ἑρμαῖ «to Hermes» (line 14, Heinrichs 2015, p. 61; Carbon - Clackson 2016, p. 122). Crasis and contraction of a name with the article is better attested for other deities; note for example the following ways of writing τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι “to Apollo” all attested from Italy or Sicily: τοπολλωνι (*SEG* 38, 986 [Atria]) and IGASM V 56 (from Delphi, but set up by Gelon of Syracuse, c. 480 BCE); τομπολλωνι (*SEG* 50, 1038 B [Kroton, early 5th century]); τοπελωνι (*IG* XIV 1, early 6th century from Syracuse). In Attic inscriptions, crasis is more frequently indicated in the archaic period, and Threatte notes that the contracted form ταθηναιαι “to Athena” occurs far more often on archaic stone dedications than τει Αθηναιαι (Threatte 1980, p. 427). In all dialects of Greek the expected result of the crasis of τῶι Ἑρμαῖ would merge with the inherited long *ō vowel of Greek (written ω in the Ionic Greek alphabet). In general in Greek, aspiration of the word following the article does not prevent crasis from taking place (Lejeune 1972, p. 316)⁸. The representation of a Greek sequence such as τωρμαῖ⁹ in Etruscan by *turm-* is entirely expected; Etruscan *u* for Greek ω is paralleled by *qutun* < κῶθων, *puce* < Φῶκος, *truie* < Τρώιος and *truile* < Τρώιος (de Simone, *Entleh* II, p. 11). Indeed, there is no example of a Greek long o-vowel in the initial syllable represented by anything other than *u* in an Etruscan loanword.

The ending of Etruscan *Turms* is, of course, not directly in accord with a form such as τωρμαῖ (or the Doric genitive τωρμαῖ), nor can it be derived from the nominative Ἑρμαῖς (Doric, or Ionic Ἑρμῆς), since in these forms the Greek article does not begin with τ. Etruscan borrowings show a wide range of techniques for assimilating Greek morphological endings (see the discussion of de Simone, *Entleh* II, pp. 93-148). Greek names which have nominative endings -ας, -ης, -ος or -εως are most frequently continued in Etruscan by final -e, but in some cases the ending is left off completely. Examples of the latter process are gathered by de Simone (*Entleh* II, pp. 138-139, with adjustments according to later re-readings): *anxis* < Ἀγχίσις (Meiser, *ET* OI S.28)¹⁰; *Evrū* < Εὐρώπη (Ta S.4); *Lunc* < Λυγκεύς (Pe S.8); *Marmis* < Μάρπησσα (OI S.5); *Meleacr* < Μελέαγρος (Pe S.12); *Metus* < Μέδουσα (CI S.10);

⁸ It is worth mentioning the different treatments of the name Ἑρμοκράτης in the archaic bidialectal inscription from Sigeion in the Troad (*IG* P 1508): with crasis in Ionic (τόρμων/ράτεος “I belong to Hermokrates”) but without in the Attic version (τῷ Ἑρμοκράτει).

⁹ i.e. the dative of the divine name after crasis with the definite article in the Doric dialect.

¹⁰ Read *anxas* by de Simone and *anxrs* at CSE France 1. Paris, Musée du Louvre 3 (D. EMMA-NUEL-REBUFFAT).

Sminth < Σμινθεύς (or Σμίνθος or Σμίνθιος) (Meiser, *ET* OI 2.10 and OB 2.21)¹¹. The omission of the final *e* in *Calanic* < Καλλίνικος (OI G.49) is probably insignificant, since this is a gemstone where space is limited. Two other cases of apparent disregard for final syllables are discussed by de Simone (*Entleh* II, pp. 137-138): *Tinθu* (Meiser, *ET* OI S.70) / *Tinθun* (CI S.7) from Greek Τιθωνός; and *Cerun* from Greek Γηρυονής (Ta 7.65, written on the wall of a tomb). De Simone connected these to Etruscan borrowings from Italic languages such as *Neθuns* (Latin *Neptūnus*) and *Selvans* (Latin *Silvānus*) and suggested that word-final *-nos* was syncopated to *-ns* after an original long vowel (in *Cerun* the long vowel is thought to originate from contraction of the two vowels *uo*); analogy to other names ending in *-un* then led to the simplification of the cluster with occasional loss of final *n*. A more likely explanation, however, for the endings of both *Neθuns* and *Selvans* is that they were borrowed from an Italic language which had undergone syncope of short vowels before final *-s*¹². Consequently *Cerun* and *Tinθu(n)* could be included in the list of Etruscan borrowings with complete loss of the final syllable.

Even with the inclusion of *Cerun* and *Tinθu(n)* the number of parallel examples of Etruscan borrowings with complete loss of the final syllable is small. As was noted by de Simone (*Entleh* II, p. 139) several of the examples could be explained as accidental omissions or deliberate shortenings for economy of space. Furthermore, loss of the final syllable of a putative borrowing of τωρμάι still leaves unexplained the final *s* of the Etruscan word. I propose therefore that the explanation for the ending is better seen in context of other Etruscan masculine divine names, which have favoured an ending in *-ns* or *-ms*. Etruscan divinities which show this ending include the following: *Fufluns*, *Culsans*, *Neθuns*, *Selvans*, *Seθlans*, **Velxans*, *Mantr(a)ns*, *Klanins*, **Leθams*¹³ and **Seθums*¹⁴. Many of these divine names are thought to be borrowings from Italic languages, most clearly *Neθuns*, *Selvans*, *Seθlans* (on which see Rix 1998 and Eichner 2012) and *Klanins* (Rix 1998, p. 212 and Wallace 2008, p. 132). Rix and others suggested that the ending to the divine name *Culsans* was formed by analogy to other divine names (Rix 1998, p. 212; Maras, *Dono*, p. 140; Eichner 2012, p. 39, note 137), and it is possible that a borrowed *turma* or *turm* was similarly

¹¹ Examples from DE SIMONE, *Entleh* not included in MEISER, *ET* nor THLE I² are *Arθem* < Ἄρτεμις, *Meleacr* (both attested on CII 2482) and *Urst* < Ὀρέστης (CII 2514 bis).

¹² See DE SIMONE, *Entleh* II, p. 194, note 133 for arguments against this theory, which is endorsed by RIX 1998, p. 210; WALLACE 2008, p. 132 and EICHNER 2012, p. 39, note 137.

¹³ This deity appears on the Piacenza liver in the form *Leθns*, *Leta*, *Leθa* and *Leθam*, but on the Capua tile in the form *Leθamsul*, leading OLZSCHA 1936, p. 270 to reconstruct the name as *Leθams*, followed by CRISTOFANI 1995, p. 45; RIX 1998, p. 208; FACCHETTI 2000, p. 265; WALLACE 2008, p. 114 and MARAS, *Dono*, p. 140.

¹⁴ *Seθums* is presumed by CRISTOFANI 1995, p. 68, followed by RIX 1998, pp. 227-229; MARAS, *Dono*, p. 138 on the basis of the feminine *Seθumsai* on the Capua Tile.

treated. The only other noun in Etruscan ending in *-ms* is *prums* “great-grandson” usually thought to be a borrowing of the Italic equivalent to Latin *pronepōs*¹⁵.

TURAN

The Etruscan equivalent to Aphrodite is very widely represented in iconography and her name is known from over fifty images on Etruscan mirrors, and three on gems. Despite her representation in Etruscan art, there is scarcely any more evidence for a cult of Turan than for Turms (Pfiffig, *Religio*, p. 263). She does not appear on the Piacenza liver, and her presence as the object of dedications is mostly limited to 6th-5th century inscriptions on dedicated pots found at the goddess’s sanctuary at Gravisca near Tarquinia (collected in Maras, *Dono*, pp. 374-387), long known as an important point of contact between Etruscans and Greeks¹⁶. In the earliest of these, the genitive of the goddess’s name has the form *turuns* (Meiser, *ET* Ta 4.1, 4.4 ([*mi tur[un]s*), 4.5, 4.6, 4.7. 4.8 (*mi turun[s]*)), whereas later dedications have *turns* (Ta 3.3, 3.4, 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, 4.13)¹⁷. The genitive form *turns* also occurs in a description of a female figure who is represented standing behind Turan holding a fan on a mirror from Tuder (Um S.4), with the legend *snenaθ turns*, plausibly interpreted as “assistant of Turan” (van der Meer 1995, p. 153). The postposition *-pi*, rather than the genitive, is used in a dedication to the goddess is found on a sixth century jug from Veii (Meiser, *ET* Ve 3.34; Maras, *Dono*, pp. 414-415):

mi θ[ina -?-]niies: aritimipi turanpi mi nuna[

translated by Facchetti (2000, p. 144) “io (sono) il vaso per l’acqua di [-]niies. al <(nome) in Arezzo> (e) alla dea Turan io porto preghiere”¹⁸. One further instance of *turns*, in a late funerary inscription from the Mancini necropolis north of Orvieto reading *tite. ecnate. turns* (Meiser, *ET* Vs 1.170), appears to be unconnected with Turan, but must either represent a cognomen or the genitive of a praenomen, possibly to be connected with the name *Turnus* (Kretschmer 1932; Rix, *Cognomen*, p. 304, note 71). Three recently published Etruscan mirrors, Meiser, *ET* Vs S.28, OI S.119 and OI S.122, show Turan alongside other figures including a young man, labelled, *Turnu*, who appears to be her son (Simon 2006, p. 50). Another derivative occurs in what seems to be the earliest attestation of the divinity, a seventh-century bucchero cup with a long dedicatory inscription, including the word *turanirias* (Meiser, *ET* Fa 0.4). Maras (*Dono*, p. 291) following Rendeli (1993, p. 166) proposed that *turaniria*

¹⁵ See WALLACE 2008, p. 128 for doubts about the Italic origin of *prums* and EICHNER 2012, p. 40, note 148 for the theory that Etruscan borrowed an ablaut form **prompōs*.

¹⁶ See MARAS, *Dono*, p. 109 for the existence of Greek dedications to Aphrodite at Gravisca.

¹⁷ Morandi’s suggestion to read [*t]urnz/* on a recent find from Populonia in *StEtr* LXXVII, 2014 [2015], *REE* no. 86 is uncertain; see *REE* LXXV for a different interpretation by Colonna.

¹⁸ See MARAS, *Dono*, pp. 87-88 on *nuna(r)*.

is the term given to the group of deities around Turan, with an adjectival ending *-ia* added to a plural in *r*, citing the parallel of the epithet of Selvans, *tularia*.

Scholars of Etruscan are generally agreed that the name of Turan can be etymologised within the Etruscan language. The radical *tur* “give” is known from the verb *turuce/turce* attested in numerous dedications and a morpheme *-an* is also widely attested, apparently both with the function of building up verbal stems, and for forming new derivatives. Pfiffig (*Religio*, p. 262, following earlier scholars) took the meaning of *Turan* to be “the giving one”, but the present participle meaning does not work well for other forms with the suffix, and Wylin (2000, pp. 159-160) thinks *-an* better explained as a suffix for making verbal derivatives. According to Eichner (2012, p. 34, following Steinbauer 1999, p. 111), *Turan* has been formed through the addition of an suffix *-an* which forms abstract nouns to a verbal root, and hence the meaning of the name is «*schenkend, Schenkerin’ oder eher ‘Gabenfülle’».

However, much as we have seen that *Turms* could be explained as a misinterpretation of the contraction of the article and the name Hermes, so *Turan* could also easily be derived from a Greek source, with the article joined to Οὐρανία, a very wide-spread epithet of Aphrodite in Greece¹⁹. The existence of Aphrodite Οὐρανία is well attested in literary sources. Plato, for example, represents the character Pausanias declaring that there are two Aphrodites (*Symposium* 180d), one the daughter of Ouranos, whom they call Οὐρανία, the other with the epithet *Pandemos*; Herodotus uses the cult title to describe the temple of Aphrodite in Ascalon in Syria (I 105, 2) and assimilates various Eastern deities to her (I 131, 3). The title is known from even earlier in graffiti, appearing on dedications from the Black Sea in the archaic period²⁰. In Italy the epithet is not widely attested epigraphically, appearing on IG XIV 287 (from Segesta in Sicily: Ἀφροδίται Οὐρανίαι) and possibly to be restored on fragment of fourth-/third-century BCE pottery found at Paestum]ας Ἀφροδ[(published in Greco 1998, p. 74). No Greek inscription known to me shows the contraction of the name with the definite article, although that may be because combinations in the dative, such as τῇ Οὐρανίᾳ Ἀφροδίτῃ (IG XII 7, 57, A, from Amorgos) are not attested in the archaic period. In the absence of examples, we cannot be certain what the outcome of a sequence such as τῇ Ὀρανίᾳ would have been in the West Greek dialects; in general, all Greek dialects other than Attic and Ionic contract a sequence of long α followed by a back rounded vowel (ο or ω) to α, as in *βαλυνπας* for *βα ολυνπας* in a curse tablet from Selinous (IGASM 1² 52). However, all Greek dialects occasionally neglect the standard rules for vowel contraction in order to retain the vocalism of the second word if it is especially salient or important (Schwyzer 1953, p. 402; Lejeune 1972, p. 323), so it is possible that some speakers would have pronounced the outcome of τῇ Ὀρανίᾳ as τῶρανίαι. Moreover, the Etruscans who first came across the Greek name of the deity may

¹⁹ See PIRENNE-DELFORGE 2005 for the epithet.

²⁰ CIRB 31 is dated to between 9th and 7th centuries BCE. Note also CIRB 35, CIRB 75, CIRB 971, CIRB 972 and CIRB 1111.

have selected the form with a back vowel in the first syllable, simply because of its similarity with their word for “give”.

As with the borrowing of the name of Hermes, it is also necessary to explain why Etruscan speakers disregarded the final syllables of the goddess’s name. Etruscan borrowings usually continue Greek *-ia* and *-α* as *-ia* and *-a* (de Simone, *Entleh* I, pp. 109-118), but some names substitute *-ia* for Greek *-α*: *antrumacia* < Ἀνδρομάχα (Meiser, *ET Cl* 1.1238), *ermania* < Ἐρμῖονα (La S.2), *helenia* < Ἑλένα (OI S.24)²¹. Several feminine names in Etruscan also show a variation between final *-ia* and *-a*, such as *thana* and *thania*, *vela* and *velia*, and this suggests that speakers were at some level aware that these were feminine-forming suffixes, additional to the stem (de Simone *Entleh* I, p. 115; Wallace 2008, p. 51). Moreover, if we follow Rendeli and Maras in taking the very early form *turaniria* as an *r*-plural, it is possible that this preserves a longer form of the name *turani*²². The existence of other divine names, *Θesan*, *Laran* and *Peθan*²³, ending in *-an*, and the possibility for a ‘folk’ etymological relationship to the root *tur-* and an Etruscan suffix *-an* would have favoured the borrowing of the name as *Turan*.

In conclusion, the identification of the Etruscan names of the divinities *Turms* and *Turan* as Greek loan-words is unobjectionable in terms of the identification of the gods and for the formation of the words. It is true that no other Etruscan word or name borrowed from Greek incorporates the Greek article into the Etruscan form, but this process is not unusual cross-linguistically. Borrowings from Arabic into European languages frequently incorporate the Arabic article: for example, medieval Latin *alkali*, *alcohol*, *algebra*, Spanish *alberchigo* and *albaricoque*, the origin of the French and English terms for “aubergine” and “apricot”. Athapaskan languages sometimes borrow French words with the article *le la les* (Prunet 1990). Egyptian names borrowed into Greek sometimes retain the Egyptian definite article *p-* (for example Παφνούτιος, Παχώμιος and Παμώνθης). It might be questioned, however, why speakers of Etruscan incorporate the article only in these two names, and no others. As I have argued above, I think the solution lies in the connection felt by speakers of Etruscan with the root meaning “give”, leading to pressure to retain initial *t* in both words.

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²¹ DE SIMONE, *Entleh* adds the example of *Selenia* (in Latin script) < Σελήνη from Chiusi, but this is generally thought to be a Latin inscription (it is published at *CIL* XI 2428).

²² As suggested to me by Daniele Maras, personal communication, 2 June 2016.

²³ See MARAS, *Dono*, p. 141 on the use of the suffix *-an* with Etruscan female divinities.

ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

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