Etruscan Underworld and the Underworld in Roman Literature

The Underworld in book six of the *Aeneid* is often described to be a borrowing of Greek descriptions of the afterlife. The right ingredients are easy to detect: the Roman penchant for adoption and adaption of Greek myths, the modeling of the *Aeneid* on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the use of obviously Greek sections of the Underworld. But less well recognized by scholars are oddities in the *Aeneid's* Underworld that do not exist in the Greek versions of the Underworld. Many of these oddities can be found in another source, Etruscans tombs and artifacts, thus the Underworld in book six of the *Aeneid* must have been influenced by the Etruscan depictions of the Underworld, especially those seen in tumuli of the fourth century and later.

Where is the Underworld?

In the Odyssey, Homer describes the path to the Underworld. First, Odysseus must travel across the Ocean River, until the coast where Persephone’s grove is found. From there, Odysseus “must make his own way down into the moldering House of Death” where the Acheron, Periphlegethon, Cocytus flow. Odysseus is then directed to dig a shallow hole and pour libations of milk and honey, wine, water around the hole, then sprinkle barley over it, and

---

1 i.e. Tartarus=Tartaros, Elysium=Elysion
then offer tribute to the dead once he returned to Ithaca. After the ritual, Odysseus was to sacrifice a black ewe and ram at which the shades would come and surround him.

Vergil depicts the Underworld as a place that can only be reached from a certain spot, in the caves below the city of Cumae in Southern Italy. Aeneas, had to travel from Troy to Carthage and then to Cumae across the sea. On the mainland. Aeneas spoke to the Sybil who told him that in order to enter the Underworld he must find and carry the “golden bough” which will only give itself to one who is worthy.

There is no evidence for an entrance to the Etruscan Underworld. However, the tomb of the Blue Demons seems to show an Etruscan version of the Nekyia, in which a procession is flanked by a rock or cliff and a boat with a ferryman. Other journeys to the Underworld included the dead riding atop hippocampi and other sea creatures. Many have suggested the hinthial (Spirit or shade) inhabited the tomb after the death of the person, due to the great amount of grave gifts left in the tombs, and Ambros Pfiffig has suggested that the hinthial inhabits both the tomb and the Underworld. Using these examples, one can argue that the Underworld is either far off across the sea or possibly within the resting place of dead’s body, or both.

I seems that the Aeneid’s Underworld cannot be located same place as the Underworld of the Etruscans. There is a similarity that both the Etruscans and Aeneas had to travel across the sea to get to the Underworld, but Cumae is on mainland Italy and thus it is not across the sea.

---

4 Hom. Od. 10.515-25.
6 Verg. Aen. 6.2
7 Verg. Aen. 6.132-48
8 ca. 400 BCE
9 Krauskopf, p.74.
10 Jannot, p. 59-61; Boosen, passim.
11 Pallottino, p.228
12 Krauskopf, p.71-3.
from the Etruscans. The location of the *Aeneid*’s Underworld is more like the location of the Underworld of the *Odyssey*. Many scholars, ancient and modern, believe the golden bough in the *Aeneid* is a creation by Vergil\(^\text{13}\), and thus is probably not of Greek or Etruscan origin.

The Gates of the Underworld

The Iliad mentions that the Underworld has gates, but it does not describe the gates in detail.\(^\text{14}\) The word that is used for the gates of the Underworld is \(\piυλη\), which is also the word used for the gates of a city, the door of a house, a general entrance, and an entrance into a country.\(^\text{15}\) From the use of this word, we cannot deduce whether these gates are meant to be actual gates, like those of a city, or if they are just the general entrance to the Underworld. In the *Theogony*, the Underworld is literally the home of Hades and Persephone. Perhaps the gates of the Underworld are literally the doors to the house of Hades and Persephone. It is difficult to say. One thing is clear, though: Hesiod says that Cerberus guards the front, being nice to anyone entering, while eating anyone attempting to leave.\(^\text{16}\)

In the *Aeneid*, the Underworld is again referred to as the home, *domus*, of the Roman equivalent to Hades.\(^\text{17}\) Cerberus lies across the river Styx, not in front of the gates or home. At the end of book 6, Aeneas is shown the exit gates of the Underworld.\(^\text{18}\) The Underworld has two exits, one made of ivory (for false dreams) and the other made of horn (for true things).\(^\text{19}\) While it is not explicitly stated, it appears that these gates are located within the Elysium section of the

---

\(^{13}\) Ahl, p. 366 n.138.

\(^{14}\) Hom. *Il.* 5.646.

\(^{15}\) LSJ, *πυλη* I.1-3; II.1-2.

\(^{16}\) Hes. *Theog.* 767-774.


Underworld, as Aeneas is wandering Elysium right before he exits, and Vergil never mentions that they leave this area.\(^\text{20}\)

The gates of the Etruscan Underworld are never explicitly mentioned since what little of the Etruscan language we have has not been deciphered, therefore much like most of what we know about the Etruscan Underworld, we must discover what we can from artifacts and tombs. Appearing in the third and second centuries BCE\(^\text{21}\), mirrors are often found inside Etruscan tombs.\(^\text{22}\) The Dioskouroi, called *Tinas Clenar* (youths of Tin(i)a/Zeus) in Etruscan, “appear more frequently on engraved Etruscan mirrors than any other characters from Greek mythology.”\(^\text{23}\) Often, the Dioskouroi are shown leaning on a *dokana*, a “gate-like structure of vertical and horizontal lines that was associated with the cult of the Dioskouroi in Sparta…sometimes twins themselves [served] as the vertical ‘posts’.”\(^\text{24}\) The *Etymologicum Magna* explains that the Greek *dokana* were tombs in Lacedaimonia that stood open for the Dioskouroi and were therefore gates to the Underworld.\(^\text{25}\) The Dioskouroi represented liminal figures; the *Odyssey* mentions that because one was born mortal and the other immortal, they were favored by Zeus and granted the favor of living one day and then being in the Underworld the next; in this way, they were on the border between life and death.\(^\text{26}\) The *dokana*, then, seems to represent the gates of the Underworld. As I have said before, the Dioskouroi were often twinned on either side of the *dokana* or even made up the posts of the *dokana*. Other figures may also mirror this twinning shown by the Dioskouroi.\(^\text{27}\) Many Etruscan mythological figures appear to have multiple aspects

\(^{20}\) Verg. *Aen*. 6.886ff


\(^{22}\) De Grummond (1982), passim.


shown by different versions of the same figure.²⁸ Menrva (Athena) and Turms (Hermes) both appear in two different forms and are thought to reside in more than one place.²⁹ Two Lasas, Etruscan goddesses associated with Turan (Aphrodite), are often shown in front of a door applying ointment, which De Grummond argues may be immortalizing ointments.³⁰ In several mirrors two Lasas are shown; one carries a chthonic snake and should be associated with the underworld, while the other carries an alabastron (a type of pottery used to carry oil or perfume) and should be considered with the Upperworld.³¹ On other forms of Etruscan art; tomb paintings, urns, pottery etc.; other figures are shown as “twins” surrounding doors.³² Vanth, a winged demoness of the Underworld, is sometimes pictured with either Charu(n) or another version of Vanth flanking a door.³³ This suggests that the gates to the Underworld are really just doors within the tomb; therefore, it is possible to conclude that there are many entrances to the Underworld, and that each tomb in which a door is depicted, has its own entrance into the Underworld. Cerberus is seen in a few depictions of the doors that lead to the Underworld, but not at every one.³⁴ Other depictions of doors, like those in the Tomb of the Augurs (late sixth century), show grieving men which leads some scholars to believe that these doors are the doors to the Underworld and that the men are grieving their lost loved ones, who now inhabit the world behind those doors.³⁵

The gates of the Underworld found in the Aeneid are like Greek and Etruscan gates, but are also very different from both. The fact that Vergil depicts the Underworld’s entrance as a door to a home could be influenced by both Homer or by the Etruscans. The fact that Cerberus is

³⁵ Jannot, p. 56.
found inside the gates, not outside protecting them could be influenced by the Etruscan Cerberus who is often found misplaced, like in the Tomb of the Reliefs (3rd cent. BCE), where he is depicted next to a fishtailed demon. The fact that the Aeneid has multiple exits and an entrance may have been influenced by the proposed Etruscan idea of an entrance to the Underworld in each tomb.

Charon/Charu(n)

Charon did not appear in the Homeric epics, in fact, in the Iliad, the spirit of Patroclus says to Achilles “the souls and images of dead men hold me at a distance, and will not let me cross the river and mingle among them.” Thus, it is the dead that stop the souls who have not received proper rites, not Charon. Charon’s first appearance in literature was in the Minyas, a Greek epic of the late sixth century BCE, which is no longer extant. In the fragments of the Minyas that we have, Charon is called “the old ferryman.” It is possible that the adjective “old” (γεραιός) meant old as in an old man or old as in the earlier generation of the gods; however, as the divinity of Charon is not mentioned, we cannot be sure which was meant. In the tragedy Alcestis by Euripides, the chorus refers to him as an old man (γέρων). In Aristophanes’ Frogs, we have the first mention of Charon charging for the service of being ferried across the river. The problem with Greek literature is that it left scant evidence describing Charon’s appearance; therefore, we must look at Greek visual art. The first known representations of Charon are on two black-figure vases from 500 BCE. A major source for the description of Charon is on

---

37 Terpening, p. 25.
38 Terpening, p. 33.
39 Terpening, p. 33-4.
41 Terpening, p. 54; Ar. Ran. 139-40.
42 OCD. Charon 1.
Athenian *lekythoi* of the fifth century BCE. Lekythoi were small Greek vases that held oil; often they often found in tombs as grave gifts and played a part in funerary customs. On these *lekythoi*, Charon has a cap and a poor man’s tunic. His beard is long and unkempt, but not too repellent. He is not old, but instead he is mature and shown somewhat idealized. Pausanias describes a painting by Polygnotus in which Charon is an elderly ferryman on a boat.

The *Aeneid’s* Charon is described as repulsive and having a thick, unkempt gray beard. His eyes flame in a bright glaze. His dirty soiled clothes hang from him, and he is elderly. He is also said to work alone. Charon is shown asking for the coins of the shades whom he will be ferrying across the river. The only way for Aeneas to get Charon to ferry him across the river is to show him that he had obtained the golden bough. Charon mentions that in the past, he had been forced to take Hercules, Theseus, and Pirithous across, and he did not like it.

In the Etruscan Tomb of the Blue Demons, there appears a Charon-like figure who is on a boat and seems to be using an oar. This character, if he is the Etruscan Charu(n), is unlike most other representations of Charu(n), and therefore, it is possible that this character is in fact the Greek Charon. Charu(n) is an Etruscan Underworld demon. The origin of Charu(n) is difficult to determine, but in *TUT*, Krauskopf has attempted to explain it. She reasons that Etruscans on the north Adriatic coast of Italy were introduced to Charon by Greek traders in the

---

43 *OCD*. Charon 1; Sullivan p. 12.
44 Sullivan p. 12.
45 Sullivan p. 12.
46 Sullivan p. 12.
47 Paus. 10.28.3
54 Simon, p.57-8.
late fifth century.\textsuperscript{55} From there, Charon was fused with the Greek figure Eurynomos.\textsuperscript{56} Pausanias mentions that Eurynomos was a demon (δαίμων) of the Greek Underworld, who had skin a color between blue and black.\textsuperscript{57} The image of the amalgamated Charon/Eurynomos travelled across the Etruscan world until it was spread throughout and he gained the name Charu(n).\textsuperscript{58} Charu(n) has very little in common with the Greek Charon besides his name.\textsuperscript{59} Charu(n) is most often depicted with skin of a bluish or grayish hue, or pale and cream colored.\textsuperscript{60} Charu(n)’s tool of choice is a hammer, which is frequently held in a menacing way.\textsuperscript{61} Other times, the hammer is used to protect the deceased, or used as a support to lean against.\textsuperscript{62} There may have been multiple Charu(n)s as some tombs depict several within the same scene.\textsuperscript{63} Snakes are also wielded by Charu(n) to frighten the dead in the Underworld.\textsuperscript{64} Charu(n) is often depicted with a hooked nose and donkey ears.\textsuperscript{65} He often wears a beard or a mustache, but this is not always the case.\textsuperscript{66} Charu(n) is often a fearsome and gruesome figure.\textsuperscript{67}

The Charon of the \textit{Aeneid} was clearly inspired by the Greek Charon. If he was not, and he was only inspired by Charu(n), then he would not be a ferryman, but instead some sort of hammer wielder. However, the \textit{Aeneid}’s Charon must too have been inspired by Charu(n). Vergil’s Charon is far too reproachable to have been inspired by the idealized Charon of Greek art.

\textsuperscript{55} Edlund-Berry, p. 356.
\textsuperscript{56} Edlund-Berry, p. 356.
\textsuperscript{57} Paus. 10.28.7
\textsuperscript{58} Edlund-Berry, p. 356.; There is some question as to the gender of Charu(n), but for convenience I will use the masculine pronouns for Charu(n), See De Grummond (2006), p.214 for the argument of Charu(n)’s gender.
\textsuperscript{60} De Grummond (2006), p.214.
\textsuperscript{65} Sullivan, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{67} Sullivan, p. 15.
While the *Odyssey* does not specifically mention the word Tartaros, an area reserved for criminals is seen by Odysseus. The criminals found in Tartaros include Tityos, who had vultures eating his liver, Tantalos, who sat in a pool of water that would drain as he tried to drink it, and had fruit just out of reach above him, and Sisiphos, who pushed a stone up a hill and at the peak would fall back down. This could mean that the criminals of the Odyssey’s Underworld are not in a special part of the Underworld, but are just found throughout. Tartaros is found in the eighth book of the *Iliad*. Zeus threatens that any god or goddess who attempts to go help either the Greeks or the Trojans in the war will be thrown down into Tartaros. He then describes Tartaros as a murky place the same distance below “Hades”, that Olympus is above the Earth. He says that the gates are made of Iron and the threshold is made of bronze. The *Theogony* has a longer depiction of Tartaros. Hesiod and Homer agree that Tartaros is murky, using the same word ἠερόεντα. Hesiod slightly disagrees with Homer and says that Tartaros is the same distance below the earth that the sky is above it. Hesiod says the fence that surrounds Tartaros is bronze and not iron, and he does not mention anything made of iron. There are also bronze doors set in a wall. The Titans live within the walls. Outside the walls live three of the Hekatonkheires (Hundred-handed ones), Gyges, Kottos, and Briaereos, who guard the gates.

---

74 Hes. *Theog.* 726.  
76 Hes. *Theog.* 729.  
Vergil’s Tartarus is found under a cliff surrounded by the Phlegethon (the river of fire), large walls and a gate made of adamant, a material as hard as diamond.\textsuperscript{78} Briareus is mentioned, but it does not say that he guards the gates of Tartarus. Tisiphone, the Dira, is covered in a blood soaked mantle and stands guard at the gate.\textsuperscript{79} The Sibyl explains that Tisiphone whips the criminals and waves serpents in their faces.\textsuperscript{80} Inside the gate, the Hydra sits and a chasm twice the height of Mount Olympus descends to where the Titans and other criminals live; there is another Dira here who keeps the prisoners from eating.\textsuperscript{81} The criminals found in Tartarus are: men who gained the hate of their brothers, those that beat their parents, those that tricked their children, those that acquired a great deal of money and would not share it, those who murdered for adultery, those who fought wars for unrighteous causes, and those who betrayed their oaths.\textsuperscript{82} The named criminals include Theseus, who went to the Underworld in most myths in order to kidnap Persephone, and Phlegyas, while Sisyphus and Ixion are alluded to.\textsuperscript{83}

Krauskopf claims that we only see punishment for misdeeds in the afterlife in images based on Greek origin.\textsuperscript{84} While it is true that we have only found true punishment scenes based on myths of Greek origin, it should be stated that in the Tomb of Orcus II (fourth century BCE), These (Θησέως) and another figure, whom we can only assume is Peirithous, are terrorized by a wholly Etruscan figure, Tuchulcha.\textsuperscript{85} Tuchulcha’s name is purely Etruscan.\textsuperscript{86} Tuchulcha follows a tradition of Etruscan bestial demon figures, which had been appearing since the sixth century

\textsuperscript{78} Verg. Aen. 6.548-54.  
\textsuperscript{79} Verg. Aen. 6.555-6.  
\textsuperscript{80} Verg. Aen. 6.570-4.  
\textsuperscript{81} Verg. Aen. 6.576-607.  
\textsuperscript{82} Verg. Aen. 6.608-15.  
\textsuperscript{83} Verg. Aen. 6.614-9.  
\textsuperscript{84} Krauskopf, p.70.  
\textsuperscript{86} Edlund-Berry, p. 356.
BCE. These figures usually had the head of a wolf or some sort of bird of prey and the body of a man. In addition to Tuchulcha, snakes are used by the blue-skinned demon in the Tomb of the Blue Demon (ca. 400 BCE) to usher a group of people into a boat that has been argued to represent the boat that would take them to the afterlife. The sarcophagus of L(abis) Pulenas (third to second century BCE) includes a scene in which two Charu(n) are swinging their hammers down upon the head of the deceased. It has been argued that Charu(n)’s hammer was used to bolt and unbol the doors to the Underworld, but this seems unlikely as it is also shown in use as a weapon and because sometimes it is replaced by an axe or sword. Because nearly all Etruscan tombs during the fourth century and later include the grotesque demons and horrors in the Underworld, and the fact that we think that the deceased Etruscans within the tombs appear in the images of the Underworld with these demons, it may be that all Etruscans believed they would be subject to these post-mortem horrors. If this is the case, it breaks with the Greek tradition that only the superhuman criminals, like those of the Titans, and those that truly offend the gods, like Tantalus, who attempted to feed his son Pelops to the gods, were to be thrown into the horrific part of the Underworld.

Some of the Aeneid’s Tartarus must have been influenced by the Greek Tartaros, like the deep drop into the pit and the punishments for the specific individuals; it appears that the Etruscans had influenced Vergil to include some more mundane offenders into the ranks of the damned. In addition, it appears that the Dirae of the Aeneid were influenced by Etruscan demons

---

87 Krauskopf, p.74; Edlund-Berry, p. 357.
88 Krauskopf, p.74.
89 Krauskopf, p.74.
as well. The Dira Tisiphone is said to use serpents to frighten the inhabitants of Tartarus.\textsuperscript{93} This use of snakes appears to be a direct influence from South Italian and Etruscan iconography.\textsuperscript{94} Both South Italian Furies and several Etruscan figures, including Vanths use serpents as “weapons.”\textsuperscript{95} Unexpectedly, both the South Italian Furies and Etruscan Vanths use these chthonic menacing symbols, but are otherwise innocuous looking.\textsuperscript{96}

Elysium

A description of The Elysian plain is found in the Odyssey Book 4. The Elysian plane has no snow, winter, or rain, and Oceanus sends nice breezes both night and day.\textsuperscript{97} Here, life is easy.\textsuperscript{98} Rhadamanthys watches over the land.\textsuperscript{99} Hesiod mentions a similar place called Isles of the Blessed in his Works and Days. While describing the five ages of man, Hesiod mentions that those mortals, alive in the Age of Heroes now live far off at the end of the Earth along the shore of Oceanus.\textsuperscript{100} On the Isles of the Blessed, harvest occurs thrice a year, and they are watched over by Cronos.\textsuperscript{101} Pindar further elaborates on the Isles in his Olympian Odes. Pindar says Rhadamanthys evaluates the land and Cronos watches him.\textsuperscript{102} Cadmus, Peleus, and Achilles can be found here.\textsuperscript{103}

Vergil’s Elysium appears to be only reachable by the blessed; it is surrounded by walls made by the Cyclopes.\textsuperscript{104} In order for walls to open to the blissful land, Aeneas had to offer the

\textsuperscript{93} Verg. Aen. 6.570-4. Dirae are shown to use snakes in other parts of the Aeneid, specifically in Verg. Aen. 7.329, 346 ff., 450, 561; 12.847-8.
\textsuperscript{94} Mackie, p. 360.
\textsuperscript{95} Mackie, p. 360.
\textsuperscript{96} Mackie, p. 360.
\textsuperscript{97} Hom. Od. 4.466-7.
\textsuperscript{98} Hom. Od. 4.565.
\textsuperscript{99} Hom. Od. 4.564.
\textsuperscript{100} Hes. Op. 169-71.
\textsuperscript{101} Hes. Op. 172.
\textsuperscript{102} Pind. Ol. 2.75.
\textsuperscript{103} Pind. Ol. 2.78-9.
\textsuperscript{104} Verg. Aen. 6.637.
golden bough as tribute.\textsuperscript{105} The golden bough was only able to be acquired by the most deserving people.\textsuperscript{106} The Elysium of the \textit{Aeneid} is a place where men do as they please.\textsuperscript{107} They go to gymnasia, make music, feasts and singing, and enjoy the pleasures they knew while alive.\textsuperscript{108} The founders of Troy, Musaeus, and Anchises are some of the few residents named in the \textit{Aeneid}.\textsuperscript{109} There are no homes or specific residence areas in which one may find these lucky few; they go where they please.\textsuperscript{110} Inside Elysium flows the river Lethe, bordered by meadows and flowers.\textsuperscript{111} From the Lethe, those who are to be born again drink, to forget their past lives.\textsuperscript{112}

The closest parallel the Etruscans had to Elysium that we know of can be seen in early Etruscan tombs. The Etruscan tombs from the sixth and early fifth centuries included paintings depicting, among other things, banquets.\textsuperscript{113} These banquets included eating, dancing, and general revelry.\textsuperscript{114} De Grummond and others argue that these scenes are not the banquets of the living, but are instead a kind of “happy” afterlife.\textsuperscript{115} In this “happy” Underworld, the horrific demons are nowhere to be found, and there are general scenes of merriment.\textsuperscript{116} This “happy” afterlife could be equated with Elysium. We have already observed that there is a “happy” afterlife on that some sarcophagi inside tombs depicting a journey across the sea, with humans riding atop hippocampi, seahorses, dolphins, and other sea creatures real or imagined; this could mean that the deceased could spend the afterlife across the ocean “living” on a distant island.\textsuperscript{117} However,
this theory may have been influenced by the Greek and Roman ideas of the isles of the blessed, and not vice versa.

The *Aeneid*’s Elysium seems to be a combination of the Greek Elysian plain, the early Etruscan Underworld, and other Greek sources like the Orphic mysteries and Platonic philosophy. The beauty of Elysium could have been inspired by either the Greek or the Etruscan models. The scenes of the dead enjoying what they pleased in the Upperworld were potentially inspired by the Etruscan models of merrymaking in the Etruscan tomb paintings. The Lethe and reincarnation aspects of Elysium were almost certainly inspired by the Orphic mysteries and Platonic philosophy. One thing that did not make it into Elysium from the Etruscan “happy” Underworld was the non-exclusivity, which seems have existed for the Etruscans.

**Conclusion**

Vergil’s Underworld was undoubtedly inspired by the Etruscan Underworld depictions of the fifth century onwards. The *Aeneid* mentions all of the monsters located in the Underworld: including Centaurs (half man, half horse), Scyllas (part human, part beast), Briareus (man with a hundred arms), Hydra (many headed water snake), Chimaera (part lion, snake, and goat which can also breathe fire), Gorgons (snake-haired women who, of whom Medusa is one), Harpies (women who have bird-like features), Cerberus (the three-headed dog guarding the Underworld), and Geryon (the three bodied giant). ¹¹⁸ Some of these monsters and creatures exist in Greek precedents, like Cerberus and Briareus, but many of the others have no place here. What this could mean is that Vergil was inspired by the Etruscan tradition of adoption and adaption of Greek myths. As we have seen, the Etruscans loved to take Greek models for mythological

---

stories and adjust them to fit their needs.\textsuperscript{119} In addition, many Etruscan tombs include seemingly misplaced creatures like gorgons, griffins, and Scylla.\textsuperscript{120}

Vergil had many models before him as he crafted his Underworld: the epic poems of Homer and Hesiod, the Orphic mysteries, Platonic philosophy and many other Greek sources. This paper has shown that Greek sources are not the only inspirations Vergil used for his Underworld. The location of the Underworld was probably not from an Etruscan source, but the portal to the Underworld does show some Etruscan influence. The Charon of the \textit{Aeneid} can plainly be seen as a combination of the Greek Charon and the Etruscan Charu(n). Tartarus does seem to have some similarity to the later Etruscan Underworld, with the inclusion of female demons and the innovation that Tartarus can be for everyone, not just for those who offend the gods in the deepest way. Elysium also seems to be influenced by the Etruscan Afterlife of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE. Finally, the out-of-place monsters of the Underworld seem to have no Greek influence and could only have been an invention of Vergil or inspired by Etruscan reuse and adaption of Greek monsters for use in Etruscan myths.

\textsuperscript{119} De Grummond (1991), passim.
\textsuperscript{120} De Grummond (2006), 225-8.
Pollak 16

Works Cited


