

## THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS, THE TOILETTE OF MALAVISCH, AND A MIRROR IN THE INDIANA UNIVERSITY ART MUSEUM

(Con le tavv. XXI-XXVI f. t.)

An exceptionally fine Etruscan mirror decorated with an engraved scene of the judgment of Paris has recently come into the collection of the Indiana University Museum of Art (*tavv. XXI-XXII e figg. 1-3*) (1). Inscriptions identify the various characters. On the left is *elcsntre* (Paris). He has long hair, wears a *himation*, in which his right arm is wrapped, and is barefoot.

To his right stands *menrva* (Minerva), wearing a belted and bloused *chiton*, a mantle fastened on the right shoulder with a button-like brooch and pulled back so as to cover both shoulders and the top of her left leg, an aegis in the form of a *gorgoneion*, pendant earrings, a bracelet with bullae, and two circle bracelets above the wrist. There are sandals on her feet, and a Corinthian helmet on her head. In her right hand is an object which looks like a fig, and in her left a spear, of which only the upper portion is visible, the point reaching across the exergue above.

Next to Menrva stands *uni* (Juno) (2), adjusting with her right hand the crown-like diadem on the head of the central figure, Turan, and touching her chin with the left. Uni wears a *chiton* (whose fine texture is shown by the crinkly line of the sleeve seam), a *himation*, and a good deal of jewelry: earrings, bead necklace, bracelet with bullae and two circle bracelets. Her hair is pulled up into a roll and held in place by a twisted cloth band.

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(1) My former student, Irene Zajac, did basic research on the mirror, and executed the drawing. I wish to thank Professor Wolf Rudolph for permission to publish this mirror, and Adelheid Gealt, who gave me every possible assistance with photographs and information. I am also grateful to Gabriella Battaglia, Mauro Cristofani, Mark Davies, Adriana Emiliozzi, L. B. van der Meer, David Mitten, Alessandro Morandi and Carlo de Simone for references and suggestions, and to Denise Rebuffat-Emmanuel and Roger Lambrechts for *tavv. XXV b* and *XXVI a-b* respectively.

Accession number 74.23. Provenance unknown. Length including tang 27,5 cm. Diameter of disc 17.8 cm. Bibl.: *Acquisitions*, in *Art Journal* XXXIV, 1974, p. 62.

(2) For the inscriptions, see DE SIMONE, *Entleh.*, s. v. *Uni, Elcsntre, Menrva, Turan, Vilae*. The rounded, top-heavy shape of Uni's earrings may represent a type frequent in the fourth century: see *infra*, note 67; but cf. note 55.



*fig. 1* - Mirror in the Indiana University Art Museum. Obverse.



*fig. 2* - Mirror in the Indiana University Art Museum. Detail with decoration of edge.



fig. 3 - Drawing of Section of the Mirror in the Indiana University Art Museum  
(Kenneth J. Linsner)

Two figures, Uni and *turan* (Venus or Aphrodite), form the central group of the panel. Turan sits on a backless stool or chair and rests her feet on a footstool with curved legs ending in lion's paws, a type frequent in Etruscan art (3). She holds a mirror, details of which are carefully shown: the disc with its edge, and the carved handle with a circlet and a little knob at the lower end. This is, in fact, the type of mirror on which this scene is represented (4). She is covered by a voluminous *himation* draped around her arms and shoulders: the upper border of the chiton appears in front. She also wears sandals, a typically fourth century beaded diadem (5), earrings with three pendants, bead necklace and circle bracelet. The scepter inserted between her left arm and her body apparently denotes her importance.

Behind Turan, closing off the picture frame and balancing Paris on the left is a figure labelled *althaia*, whose position may imply she is Turan's attendant. Like Uni and Turan, she wears a *chiton* with a *himation*: like Paris, however, she wears the *himation* tightly wrapped about her arms, impeding any kind of activity. These two are passive figures, watching the action. She is also distinguished from the other figures by her high coronet or diadem, topped with knob-like decorations, and her shoes, of a typical fourth century type with a crosspiece on the intep (6). Her jewelry consists of button earrings and bead necklace. In her right hand, extended out from the enfolding *himation*, she holds an olive or laurel branch.

This figure is hard to identify because the word *Althaia* is an *unicum*

(3) For such chairs see *infra* Fig. 5, and *tavv.* 6, 9, 10. For the footstool, Fig. 2-3 and *tav.* XXIV. See also G. M. A. RICHTER, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*, 1966 (hereafter RICHTER), pp. 40-41, 49-51, 89, 93, Figs. 219-220, 462.

(4) For mirrors shown on mirrors, see *infra*, note 77 and GERHARD, *ES* (hereafter GERHARD) 214. On *Gerhard* 370 the handle is carefully shown, and the edge is indicated by a double line, as on the Indiana mirror. See also A. EMILIOZZI, *La Collezione Rossi Danielli nel Museo di Viterbo*, Rome 1974, pls. 20, 33.

For handles of the type represented — and in which the tang of the Indiana mirror was once inserted — see S. WEINBERG, *Etruscan Bone Handles*, in *MUSE (Annual, Museum of Art and Archaeology. University of Missouri)* IX, 1975, pp. 25-33.

(5) L. BONFANTE, *Etruscan Dress*, Baltimore, Maryland 1975 (hereafter *Etruscan Dress*) pp. 77-78, 144.

(6) For the coronet, cf. a red-figure Etruscan crater from Volterra of the fourth century B.C.: R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI - A. GIULIANO, *Etruschi e Italici prima del dominio di Roma*, Milan 1973, Fig. 314. For the shoes, see *Etruscan Dress*, p. 63.

in Etruscan. Althaia is well-known in Greek myth, but the Greek figure of Althaia has nothing to do with any of the figures depicted in this scene. There is another possibility. Since, as will be shown later in this article, the Indiana mirror shows the conflation of two types of scenes, the Judgment of Paris and the Toilette of Helen or Malavisch, Althaia could represent the figure of Aithra, Helen's serving maid, taken from a Toilette of Helen type (7). At first sight there seems to be a contrast between the figure's pose and her attributes. Though Althaia is standing in the position of an attendant, she wears a distinctive type of diadem, and holds an olive or laurel branch, attributes which would, in the context of Greek iconography, suggest a more specific characterization than that of generalized attendant or bystander. A recent study of figures of *Lasae* and other attendants has shown, however, that the Etruscans had no fixed iconography for such figures. Attendants appear dressed (or undressed) in a variety of costumes, and a number of them hold laurel branches (8). As for the inscription (9), the permutations which frequently occur when Greek names are converted into Etruscan could account for the substitution of a different Greek name on the part of the Etruscan artist, *Althaia* instead of *Aithra*.

Behind Althaia, an irregularly indented line indicates a stylized version of an Aeolic capital (10). The pattern of concentric lines over the head of Turan, looking something like a canopy or parasol, is a type of decorative pattern found on Apulian vases of the fourth century and an Etruscan mirror of the third (11).

(7) The figure of Aithra occurs on an Etruscan mirror: D. REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL, *Le miroir étrusque d'après la collection dans le Cabinet des Médailles*, Paris 1973 (hereafter REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL) p. 547, pl. 15.

(8) A. RALLO, *Lasa. Iconografia e esegesi*, Florence 1974 (hereafter RALLO) pp. 54-57, and pls. 3, 4, 7, 12, 14, 34, 42.

(9) « Nuova mi risulta la voce *Althaia*, che deve essere in caso retto (cioè nominativo). Direi che *-ia* è qui desinenza di mozione (« Motion suffix »), da porsi sullo stesso piano di *Helenaiā* (: 'Ελένα) ed *ulpaia* (: ὄλπα), cf. DE SIMONE, *Entleh.* II, 115 ff. Ma non ho alcune connessioni per il radicale o base *alθ* (*a*)- ». C. de Simone, private letter.

(10) Cf. A. CIASCA, *Il capitello detto eolico in Etruria*, Florence 1962, pls. 20-29. See also *tavv.* XXIV *a* and XXV *a* for similar capitals on scenes which may be thus shown as taking place indoors.

(11) Cf. mirror GERHARD 384, from Cetona. For a similar decorative pattern in South Italian vase painting, see A. CAMBITOGLU - A. D. TRENDALL, *Apulian Red-Figured Vase Painters of the Plain Style*. Monographs in Archaeology and Fine Arts 10, Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo 1961, pl. 39 (197). For Apulian influence on mirrors of this period, see *infra* notes 48-53, 76. A similar pattern, with an upside-down lunette occupied by the head of a male figure, occurs on a Praenestine mirror (GERHARD 399, G. MATTHIES, *Die Praenestinischen Spiegel*, Strassburg 1912, p. 75, fig. 13). This motif has, recently, without any real basis, in my opinion, been compared to the spiky plant under the horse in the

The upper exergue depicts the bust of a woman, wearing an elaborate coronet similar to Althaia's, pendant earrings, and a necklace of beads and pendants, appearing between the four horses' heads of her quadriga (12). The figure has no inscription, but probably represents Aurora driving her four-horse chariot (13).

In the lower exergue is the figure of a nude boy, squatting on an Ionic column base, arms outstretched, grasping a snake in each hand. He wears an armlet with bullae, a torque with three pendant bullae and shoes like Althaia's. On either side, near the edge of the mirror, is a scalloped line with tear-drop decoration. The inscription above his head reads *vilae*.

The identification of this figure, too, poses a problem. The depiction is the familiar one of the infant Heracles wrestling with two snakes. Though there is no exact parallel, several mirrors show children's figures in the lower exergue, a winged Eros, or even a baby Heracles, with his club, bow, and lion skin (14). We would expect the figure to be called *Heracle*. *Vilae*, however, is the Etruscanized form of Iolaus, the companion of Heracles (15). The relationship between Heracles and Iolaus is not accidental, and, indeed, several mirrors show a close connection between the two heroes (16). Confusion could easily arise, if a craftsman took the name from one of the pair

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Tomba dei Tori, which is interpreted as a solar symbol: J. OLESON, *AJA* LXXIX, 1975, pp. 189-200. The shape of the umbrella or parasol occasionally held over the head of seated ladies (GERHARD 384, 404) may have suggested the use of this curved motif as a filling device, to avoid leaving an empty space above the head of the seated figure. On other mirrors with the Toilette of Malavisch, craftsmen filled up this space with heads of figures, cf. *infra* *tav.* XXV *a*. On the mirror with a *haruspex* consulting a liver (*infra* note 28) the empty space above the back of the *haruspex* is filled with a semicircular design with rays, here evidently representing the sun: its location is similar to that of the design on the Indiana mirror.

(12) For the horses' trappings, see J. K. ANDERSON, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, Berkeley 1961.

(13) For other mirrors with such a figure, see *infra*, text and note 33, *tav.* XXV *a*. For the mirror Gerhard 5, 78, see note 50: the head of the figure, which is male, has the inscription *AVR*, and probably represents the rising sun. For the Etruscan word for « sun » \**Ausel*, compared to Sabine \**Ausel*, see C. DE SIMONE, *St. Etr.* XXXIII, 1965, pp. 537-543, *St. Etr.* XXXIV, 1966, p. 354, and *Entleh.* II, p. 198. See also G. Q. GIGLIOLI, *Storia delle Religioni* (6th ed. Turin 1967) p. 555. (BEAZLEY, *EVP* 131, calls the figure a groom). For such lunettes, see J. D. BEAZLEY, *JHS* LXIX, 1949, p. 16, and *EVP* pp. 130-131; *infra*, note 22. A quadriga appears just above the handle of the mirror in GERHARD, 333.

(14) *Infra* note 46, and *tavv.* XXIV *a* and XXV *a*. See also GERHARD 149, 257 B, 398, 227, 374; REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL 441-442, No. 1290, pl. 8; G. A. MANSUELLI, *St. Etr.* XVI, 1942, 547.

(15) It corresponds to the Greek  $\Phi\iota\lambda\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ : DE SIMONE, *Entleh.* I, p. 66; II, pp. 150-151.

(16) GERHARD 127; 142 (in RALLO, pl. 39, 1, the captions have been reversed).

and affixed it to the other. But why Iolaus here? The scene of Heracles wrestling with the serpents traditionally shows the baby Heracles in the company of his less stalwart twin brother, Iphicles. Iolaus — the son of Iphicles, and therefore Heracles' nephew — does not become Heracles' faithful companion until much later. We can, however, document this confusion between Iphicles and Iolaus in Etruscan art. An Etruscan red-figured vase of the fourth century with the scene of Heracles' struggle with the serpents, presented as though on a stage, illustrates the switch (17). Two naked boys are shown with two serpents, while two servant women look on. One boy, labelled *hercle*, overcomes the serpent; the other, called *vile*, runs from the other snake into his nurse's arms. The boy *Vile* (Iolaos) evidently has here been substituted for his father Iphicles. In our mirror, a further step has been taken, and *Vile* has taken the place of *Hercle*.

The obverse of the mirror is heavily encrusted, so that the decoration is visible only in part (see note on the present condition of the mirror). Some of the palmette decoration above the tang can be seen.

The engraving takes its place among the best examples of the Etruscan mirror-maker's art. The execution of the graceful lines of the drapery and the anatomy of the figures is outstanding. It is clear that the craftsman has copied the composition from some model (note the detail of the unfinished chair leg. *tav.* XXII). The scene is enclosed on both sides by the gently curving figures of Paris and Althaia. The central group is formed by the figures of Uni and Turan; the latter's thighs and knees, along with the seat of the throne, create horizontal lines and a strong central focus, further emphasized by the diagonal of the scepter. Turan's hand holding the mirror is in the exact center of the actual mirror (the central depression is on her hand), creating a fine visual play between decoration and function. The decoration of this object shows, and subtly emphasizes, the object itself in use.

In subject matter, composition and style, the mirror belongs to an important series of mirrors dating from the end of the fourth and the early third century. The Judgment of Paris becomes a popular theme in the fourth century (and continues to be used in later, less ambitious mass-produced mirrors of the Hellenistic period) (18). Becatti attributed to a single workshop

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(17) Etruscan *stamnos*, Clusium Group, BEAZLEY, *EVP* p. 52, n. 1; CONESTABILE, *Pittura murale a fresco...*, Florence 1865, pp. 146-147, pls. 15-16.

(18) GERHARD 185, and 5, 100 (with Paris in the middle); GERHARD 184, 368 (with the three goddesses before him); GERHARD 5, 98-105 and text. L. E. LORD, *The Judgment of Paris on Etruscan Mirrors*, in *AJA* XLI, 1937, pp. 602-606, deals mostly with the later, « conversation » type of mirrors, with conventional grouping of Hellenistic nude figures

a group of mirrors in a similar style which portray this subject, as well as other scenes from the story of Helen (19). This group of mirrors with ambitious, multi-figured compositions has been since then studied and enlarged by a number of scholars (20). G. A. Mansuelli attributed a group of these mirrors to the same artist (21). R. Herbig concentrated on the characteristic lunette of the upper exergue, decorated with the heads of the horses of a quadriga and of its driver, which he compared to similar motifs in Etruscan and Greek art (22). J. D. Beazley studied the style of a group which he called the « Z Group » (23). S. Haynes examined the whole series afresh, adding a previously unpublished mirror in the collection of Philipp von Hessen (24). Particularly interesting for us are a mirror with the Judgment of Paris from Todi (*tav. XXV a*) (25), and two mirrors with another popular subject which Gerhard, who first studied it, called the Toilette of Helen, though in fact the figure is regularly labelled Malavisch, an otherwise unknown Etruscan name (26). Two mirrors famous for the interest of their subject-matter also belong to this series or are related to it, the mirror from Volterra

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distinguished only by their sex and their names inscribed on the mirrors. See the remarks of H. C. VAN GULIK, *Cat. Bronzes Allard Pierson Museum I*, Amsterdam 1940, p. 98, on the model of a mirror in Amsterdam (*infra* note 31, 8) probably copied from a Judgment of Paris.

(19) G. BECATTI, *St. Etr.* IX, 1935, pp. 296-298.

(20) For the literature, see S. HAYNES, *Mitt.* III, 1953, p. 29.

(21) G. A. MANSUELLI, *St. Etr.* XIX, 1946-47, p. 36-40; 59-60.

(22) R. HERBIG, *Röm. Mitt.* XLII, 1927, p. 121.

(23) J. D. BEAZLEY, *EVP*, pp. 130-131. See *supra*, note 13.

(24) S. HAYNES, *Ein neuer etruskischen Spiegel*, in *Mitt.* III, 1953, pp. 24-45. See now, for the mirror, RALLO, pp. 36-39, No. 12, pl. 24, 1.

(25) (Hereafter, Todi I.) G. BENDINELLI, *Mon. Ant. Linc.* XXIII, 1916, cols. 663-671, pl. 3. DUCATI, *AE* pl. 242. G. A. MANSUELLI, *St. Etr.* XIX, 1946-47, pp. 36-37. W. HELBIG, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th ed. Edited by H. SPEIER, III (Tübingen 1969) No. 2984 (T. DOHRN). L. VON MATT - M. MORETTI, *Kunst und Land der Etrusker*, Zürich 1969, pl. 193 (color plate).

(26) Cf. mirror from Todi, Museo Archeol. in Florence: G. BECATTI, *St. Etr.* IX, 1935, pl. 37; hereafter Todi II. G. BECATTI, *St. Etr.* IX, 1935, pp. 297-298, pl. 37; G. A. MANSUELLI, *St. Etr.* XIX, 1946-47, p. 37. Cf. mirror in Berlin, Staatl. Mus., GERHARD 212. The scene was first discussed by E. GERHARD, *Die Schmückung der Helena*, in *Viertes Winckelmannsprogramm* 1844, pp. 4-12. Rebuffat-Emmanuel points out that the figure is never certainly labelled Helen: « il n'y a donc pas lieu de parler d'une parure d'Hélène » (531). But the basic composition was used for a number of scenes, as we shall see. In a comparable scene, for example, Helen holds a mirror in the presence of Elsnre and Turan (REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL No. 1296, pl. 14; GERHARD 198). In GERHARD 319 (see *infra*, note 61) the seated figure is labelled Turan. MANSUELLI dates Todi II later than Todi I; I agree, for reasons to be discussed in the text.

with Heracles nursing at Uni's breast (*tav. XXIV a*) (27), and the mirror in the Vatican showing a *haruspex* examining the liver (28).

The mirror in Indiana can now be added to the series. Typical is its composition, in which an architectural background with Aeolic columns (29) sets off an upper exergue in the shape of a lunette, often occupied by the quadriga of Aurora or Helios, while a baby or small male figure — Heracles or Eros — decorates the lower exergue (30). Typical, too, is the absence of border decoration, except for the scalloped line with teardrop decoration of the lower exergue. This is a variation on the pattern of rocky groundline which appears on many mirrors of the series (31). One (32) even shows a transition between the rocky groundline at the sides and a silhouetted Aeolic capital like that of the Indiana mirror (33).

The style of hair and clothes of the figures on our mirror and on the one from Volterra (*tav. XXIV a*), however, is earlier than that of the other mirrors of this series, with their naked or half-naked figures, the women's high-girt chitons and necklaces with pendant beads, the tightly rolled curls

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(27) GERHARD 5, 60. G. MONACO, *Rend. Pont. Acc.* VIII, 1931-32, pp. 164 ff. *Etruscan Dress*, Fig. 143, with bibl.

(28) PALLOTTINO, *Etruscologia* pl. 29; *Rend. Linc.* VI, 1930, pp. 49-78. *Etruscan Dress* pp. 129, 139, with bibl.

(29) See supra note 10.

(30) See supra notes 13, 14.

(31) N. DE GRUMMOND, *Some Landscape Elements in Etruscan Art* (unpublished paper), discusses this rocky « all-around ground line » of Etruscan mirrors. I thank Nancy de Grummond for allowing me to see the article in manuscript form. Following is a list of mirrors with architectural background, lunette above, baby below, and « all-around ground line » (does not attempt to be complete):

1. GERHARD 5, 34.

2. GERHARD 149, drunken Heracles (has reclining figure in lunette).

3. GERHARD 398, Menelaus and Helen.

4. GERHARD *suppl.*, 5 p. 220, Heracles sacrificing (decorative pattern below rather than baby).

5. GERHARD 212. Toilette of Malavisch (has satyr head rather than quadriga).

6. GERHARD 5, 60. Heracles nursing at Uni's breast (has reclining satyr in lunette).

7. GERHARD 257 B. Athena with Maris babies.

8. GERHARD 374. Helen and Menelaus (has reclining figure in lunette). C. C. VAN ESSEN, *B. Ant. Beschav.* VI (1931), fig. 1; H. C. VAN GULIK, *Catalogue of Bronzes in the Allard Pierson Museum I*, Amsterdam 1940, pp. 95-98, No. 149, pl. 34.

(32) Mirror from Castelgiorgio (between Bolsena and Orvieto), London, British Museum, GERHARD 5, 34.

(33) In some cases, such as the mirror from Todi (I) with the stippled background, this feature is absent (supra note 25, *tav. XXV a*). Elsewhere the condition of the mirror obscures it, for example the fragment with Helen's suitors (GERHARD 196). Often it can probably only be seen with the naked eye.

and slender figures already in the style of the early Hellenistic period (34), though they precede the later, simple « Class Z » of the mass-produced « conversation groups » (35). Our mirror belongs rather, in style and dress, to a group dating around 300 B. C., with heavy drapery and classical features, well characterized by Mansuelli in his study of the mirror from Bomarzo, close to ours in style (*tav. XXIV b*) (36). The bulky heaviness of these broad, thick-set bodies contrasts with the slender, light forms of the third century, with its Mannerist tendencies (37). We are still in the classical period of the Etruscan mirror (38). This mirror from Bomarzo, the one from Volterra with Heracles nursing at Uni's breast (*tav. XXIV a*) (39), and the one in the Indiana Museum, whose provenance is unknown, form a homogeneous group, so close in style as to be from a single workshop, if not hand (40). Similar are the manner of dressing (41) and the atmosphere of the scene, in which a group of heavily draped, dignified figures stand with an air of quiet expectation, and so are the careful execution and the artist's use of space. Though the figures of the Volterra mirror, for example, foreshadow the formal, almost frozen style which follows (42), the moody, brooding expressions of the faces, and the expectant stillness of the figures, recalling Greek models of the Severe style, are very attractive.

Both the Volterra and the Indiana mirrors improvise a patterned border decoration from what was originally a ground line (43). On the Volterra

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(34) Third century: *Etruscan Dress* 9, 39-40, 54, 64, 78-79, and MANSUELLI, *op. cit.* note 36.

(35) J. D. BEAZLEY, *JHS* LXIX, 1949, p. 16; BEAZLEY, *EVP*, pp. 130-132. Cf. L. BONFANTE WARREN, *AJA* LXVII, 1964, pp. 35 f.; *Etruscan Dress* pp. 79, 145, fig. 91.

(36) G. A. MANSUELLI, *St. Etr.* XVI, 1942, pp. 546-549, pl. 46, with bibl. *Etruscan Dress*, fig. 160.

(37) MANSUELLI, *op. cit.*, 546-9.

(38) BEAZLEY, *JHS* LXIX, 1949, p. 4: from the end of the fifth to the end of the fourth century.

(39) *Supra* note 27.

(40) For other attributions see bibliography (*supra* notes 19-20); VAN GULIK, (*op. cit.* note 18) attributes mirrors GERHARD 374 and 402 to the same artist.

(41) *Etruscan Dress* p. 9.

(42) BEAZLEY judges the Volterra mirror with severity. « This is a new style, unlike anything that has gone before: the bulky figures rest heavily on the ground and block out the background; bodies and drapery have lost the melodious curves of the fourth century: a little of the old grace lingers at the core of the picture, in the upper parts of Herakles, Hera, and the goddess behind them: but Zeus looks like a Hebrew prophet; Apollo seems muscle-bound; and even Eros slow-witted and morose ». (*JHS* LXIX, 1949, p. 14).

(43) *Supra* note 31. On this mirror, close to ours in style, the ground line becomes a pattern of semi-circles; only below, in the exergue, does the pattern change into rocky ground.

mirror (44) an architectural framework also sets off the upper exergue, which has, instead of a quadriga, another frequent filling motif, a reclining figure (45). All three mirrors have a child in the lower exergue (46).

Though the border decoration is different on the mirror from Bomarzo, another feature connects it to our mirror. This is a decorative element, made up of concentric curves and teardrop shaped knobs, by the right leg of Heracles. Not unlike the curved motif over the head of Turan in the mirror in Indiana (*tavv.* XXI-XXII), this motif is very similar to one on a fourth century Apulian vase (47), and points to South Italian and especially Apulian vase painting as a source of inspiration for the decoration of these mirrors (48). The exuberant floral border of the Bomarzo mirror (*tav.* XXIV *b*) derives from late Apulian pottery (49). Its trumpet flowers and scrolls are close to those of another mirror of this type (50), in which a female head emerging from a crown of acanthus leaves is remarkably similar to one on an Apulian crater from Ruvo dating from 350-320 B. C. (51) The type of chair on which Turan sits in the mirror in Indiana and various other mirrors with this scene closely matches a model represented on an Apulian pelike in Oxford (52) dated by Trendall to the second quarter of the fourth century (53). The figures on our three mirrors, too, are closer to the heavy bodies of fourth century Greek, and especially South Italian vases, than the lighter, slender Hellenistic type of third century Etruscan mirrors. We shall see that the

(45) Cf. GERHARD 149, 374 (also with a baby in the lower exergue).

(46) See supra note 14. The child below has not been studied as closely as the lunette with the horses. Evidently the copy books included a standard « baby filler » for the lower exergue, which a mirror engraver could transform at will, by means of attributes and/or inscription into a winged Eros, a small Heracles with club, or a baby Heracles-Iphicles like ours, struggling with serpents and mislabelled « Ioalus », or Vilae. VAN GULIK (supra note 18) p. 98, note 1, compares the motif on the feet of some cistate.

(44) Supra note 27.

(47) Supra note 11.

(48) MATTHIES (*op. cit.* note 11), pp. 97-122; G. BECATTI, *St. Etr.* IX, 1934, p. 297; G. A. MANSUELLI, *St. Etr.* XVI, 1942, p. 547, and *St. Etr.* XIX, 1946-47, pp. 30-31; J. D. BEAZLEY, *JHS* LXIX, 1949, pp. 4, 13; S. HAYNES, *Mitt.* III 1953, pp. 38, 42; L. BONFANTE WARREN, *AJA* LXVIII, 1964, p. 39; REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL, p. 654, pls. 84, 85. See also infra notes 11, 76.

(49) G. A. MANSUELLI, *St. Etr.* XVI, 1942, p. 547.

(50) In Perugia, Museum. GERHARD 5, 78; G. A. MANSUELLI, *St. Etr.* XIX, 1946-47, pp. 42-43, 122, pl. 5; DE SIMONE, *Entleh.* I, p. 59, pl. 12, fig. 16.

(51) BIANCHI BANDINELLI - GIULIANO, *op. cit.*, fig. 345; cf. fig. 346, an architectural frieze in the Vatican, perhaps from Cerveteri (ca. 150-125 B.C.), which shows that the motif was adopted elsewhere in Etruria.

(52) RICHTER p. 41, fig. 221.

(53) TRENDALL, quoted in RICHTER p. 41, note 24.

composition and several motifs found on the Indiana mirror also take us to a South Italian, and especially an Apulian context.

Closest of all in these three mirrors is their style. The treatment of faces, hair and drapery, of the classical faces and straight noses, heavy chins, and smoothly waved hair rendered by parallel lines is nearly identical. Compare especially the three-quarter profile of Elcsntre on our mirror and of the female figure hovering over Uni and Hercle in the Volterra mirror, with the same continuous line tracing the contour of forehead, cheek and rounded chin. (Hercle's cheekbone is more prominent in the Bomarzo mirror). The features all have the heavy sadness of « classical » Etruscan figures, of Velcha in the Tomba dell'Orco; of the beautiful bust of Demeter from Ariccia (54), or a bronze head in the British Museum, whose horizontally marked throat, centrally parted hair with clearly marked strands and special type of earrings, with button, hinge and triangle, are similar to those of contemporary mirrors. The use of short hatching for the shading of the muscles is similar, and the manner of showing drapery — on Athena, on both Bomarzo and Indiana mirrors, for example — sometimes almost identical (55). So is the manner of executing the wavy hair on the figure of Turan on our mirror, on the standing figure behind Heracles on the Volterra mirror, and on Aplu in the mirror from Bomarzo (*tav. XXIV a-b*). This way of representing the hair precedes its further stylization in a series of concentric circles, as in the group of other mirrors in this series, and later Hellenistic Praenestine and Etruscan mirrors (56).

Certain details of dress are similar: the bloused *chiton* of Athena, and the straight line of the sleeve; Turan's earrings, with four pendant drops, and those of Artumes and Menrva on the Bomarzo mirror. Other details of costume, however, seem to show that the Indiana mirror is slightly earlier in date than the other two. While none of the three mirrors show the typically fourth-century tassel on the *chiton* of the women (57), this mirror

(54) For such figures, see *Etruscan Dress* figs. 84, 159, and M. SPRENGER, *Die etruskische Plastik des V Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und ihr Verhältnis zur griechischen Kunst*, Rome 1972. For the bust of Demeter from Ariccia (Rome, Mus. Naz.), see F. COARELLI and others, *Roma Medio-Repubblicana* (Rome 1973) 323, No. 473, pls. 62-63, « ca. 300 B.C. »; R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Roma. L'arte romana nel centro del potere*, Milan 1969, p. 32, pl. 38, « ca. 150 B.C. »; and S. HAYNES, *Eine Bronze attasche in Form eines Frauenkopfes*, in *RM LXXXII*, 1974, pp. 259-260, pls. 79-80. For the bronze head, HAYNES, pp. 257-261, pls. 76-78.

(55) See the horses and Vilae on the Indiana mirror and the nude bodies on the Bomarzo and Volterra mirrors. On the use of short hatching for the details of bodies on mirrors of the late classical style, and on the lost Greek painting of the century, see BEAZLEY, *JHS LXIX*, 1949, p. 12. For the earrings, see Todi I and II, *supra* notes 25, 26.

(56) *Supra* note 35.

(57) E. RICHARDSON, *The Etruscans*, Chicago 1964, p. 134; pp. 39, 120. Sometimes

does illustrate certain other fourth-century fashions. Althaia and Hercle-Vilae wear shoes with cross-strap. Plain beaded necklaces and bracelets with bullae, and the way the figures are generally more covered, are all characteristic of the fashion of the fourth century rather than the third (58). The necklaces with pointed pendants of the Volterra mirror, on the other hand, are more typical of the third century than of the fourth. Of course fashions from earlier and later periods coexisted around the turn of the century, when these mirrors are probably to be dated. On the mirror in Indiana Turan wears a low, thick coronet or diadem of a fourth century type, while Aurora and Althaia wear a high coronet, similar to that on the mirror from Todi (see note 26) or of Uni on the Volterra mirror, a type found mostly in the third century (*tav. XXIV a*).

The composition of the Indiana and Volterra mirrors is basically the same: standing figures flank a central seated figure, three on the left and one on the right. On the Volterra mirror the figure of Heracles has been added, and the sex and attributes of all the figures are quite different, but the pattern is the same. This use of a basically identical composition to represent two completely different stories, changing the sex and attributes of the different figures, shows how craftsmen used the models the copybooks provided (59).

A brief review of the development and modification of the iconographical series to which our mirror belongs will help to explain some attributes and peculiarities of its figures, including Athaia.

Compositionally our mirror belongs to a group which generally represents the dressing of Malavisch, or Helen (60). The original composition was

this detail is not easy to recognize. On a mirror in Providence it looks like the lining of the mantle: D. MITTEN, *RISDI Museum. Catalog of Bronzes*, Providence 1975, No. 39.

(58) *Etruscan Dress* pp. 9, 77, 146 and supra notes 2, 5, 6. The shoes with cross-strap continue to be represented in the third century: see e. g. GERHARD 398, 384, 383; for the continuity of jewelry forms in this period, see R. A. HIGGINS, *Greek and Roman Jewelry*, London 1961, p. 149. I have not seen K. HRADACZEK, *Der Ohrschmuck der Griechen und Etrusker*, Vienna 1903, cited by RALLO, p. 36.

(59) On this subject, especially in relation to Hellenistic Etruscan urns, made in workshops like the mirrors, see L. B. VAN DER MEER, *Archetype - Transmitting Model - Prototype. Studies of Etruscan Urns from Volterra, I*, in BABESCH L, 1975, pp. 179-186 with bibl.; J. P. SMALL, *AJA* LXXVIII, 1974, pp. 49-54.

(60) A scene of a woman dressing, a common motif on South Italian vases (see infra note 75) may here represent a bride being adorned for the marriage ceremony, a subject appropriate for a wedding present: see GERHARD, *Die Schmückung der Helena* (*op. cit.* note 26), G. KÖRTE (text to GERHARD 5, 22), and REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL, *Le miroir etc.*, *op. cit.*, p. 532, and *Les miroirs étrusques de la Collection Dutuit au Petit Palais*, in *Mon. Piot* LX, 1976, pp. 53-67.

a simple three-figure group, typical of the fourth century (61), with only the seated central figure and the two attendants at the sides (62). Malavisch (*tav. XXV b*) is shown in profile. The attendant standing in front of her adjusts her headdress with one hand and touches her chin with the other, in a gesture which recurs in all examples. Craftsmen were also using this same basic composition for other scenes; for example on the contemporary mirror with the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus (63), for which the tassel confirms a fourth century date. Here the compositional scheme has been cleverly, even wittily adapted to portray Tinia and his two midwives. Zeus-Tinia holds his head up, ready to hurl the thunderbolt. The gestures of the two attendants have been only slightly changed to fit the new context. The right-hand attendant places her hand comfortingly on Tinia's head rather than adjusting his diadem, while on the left another attendant winds a bandage about his aching head. A similar gesture must have been in the original model, since it recurs in a number of dressing scenes, in which an attendant holds a lock of the seated figure's hair (63<sup>bis</sup>).

Other mirrors of this early type show the persistence of these gestures and other features, as well as certain variations. On a mirror from Viterbo in which the position of the seated figure has been reversed, the lady, as often, holds a mirror, while a bird perches on her lap (64). On a mirror in

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(61) G. A. MANSUELLI, *St. Etr. XIX*, 1946-47, pp. 94-102. Cf. BEAZLEY, *JHS LXIX*, 1949, p. 4: «The general characteristics of the earlier classic mirrors are free yet temperate drawing: short figures with large heads and large features; well-constructed compositions, often of three figures closely interwoven by gesture and look, by eyes and hands; gentle creatures moving slowly with a simple and unaffected grace». See also BEAZLEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8; and REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL, *Mon. Piot LX*, 1976, pp. 60-62. Two other three-figure scenes of the Toilette of Malavisch (she is so labelled in both cases) are GERHARD 214, and 216. The execution of GERHARD 214 (Bibl. Nat. 1299, REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL, *Le miroir étrusque, op. cit.*, pp. 531-532, No. 17) is so sloppy as to make it almost impossible to date. On GERHARD 216, which looks earlier, but cannot easily be dated, the position of the attendants has been reversed. Though their original gestures have been retained, their meaning has been lost. The attendant who usually adjusts the diadem in front is left aimlessly reaching for the back of Malavisch's head, while the one who usually dresses the back of her hair now seems to be reaching out to touch her breast.

(62) GERHARD 215; D. REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL, *Mon. Piot LX*, 1976, p. 60, fig. 19. The beaded diadem, and the tassel on the shoulder of the left-hand attendant, date the mirror to the fourth century.

(63) GERHARD 5, 6 (London, Br. Mus.); R. HERBIG, *Götter und Dämonen der Etrusker* (revised by E. SIMON, Mainz 1965) p. 38, with bibl. pl. 3.

(63<sup>bis</sup>) See mirrors in Berlin GERHARD 212, in London GERHARD 213; 5, 22; and 211.

(64) See the mirror from Musarna, tomba 30, Viterbo Mus. Civ. EMILIOZZI, *op. cit.*, note 4, pp. 58-60, pls. 20, 33, with previous bibl.

the British Museum (64<sup>bis</sup>) with another simple three-figure scene the seated figure is labelled *Turan*, and shown veiled, in three-quarter face rather than profile. An attendant holds up a mirror to her, while another dabs her cheek with perfume. In the process of changing the basic scheme of the composition and transferring the mirror from the central figure to the attendant before her, the craftsman has gotten the hands hopelessly confused. Who is it who holds out Turan's veil? Is it the attendant? If so, the gesture of her arm is very awkward; and the right arm of Turan looks not so much covered as amputated.

On another fourth-century mirror, from Cetona (65), a fourth figure crowded in at the left — the Phrygian hat identifies him as Paris — is paralleled on the other side by the newly acquired wing of the figure at the right, who is also given such fancy attributes as parasol and sun hat.

Much more ambitious is a mirror in the British Museum (66), which adds two passive figures to the basic group of three, to make up a five-figure composition like ours (but the seated figure is again facing right). Notice the baby in the lower exergue, and the similarity of the figure on the far right — here labelled Turan, Althaia on our mirror: the same enfolding mantle, the leafy branch (explained by Beazley as a myrtle branch, an attribute appropriate to Turan). Here, however, the figure still wears the typically fourth-century beaded diadem and earrings (67), as well as a large pectoral-like necklace. The mirror — held by an attendant, rather than the seated figure — is important enough to be labelled, *Hinthial*, « image » (68). Similar in number of figures, style and date is a mirror from Palestrina in which the seated figure has been moved up to fill the upper curve of the circular field,

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(64<sup>bis</sup>) REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL, *Mon. Piot* LX, 1976, p. 62, fig. 21; GERHARD 319; *BM Bronzes* No. 634; D. K. HILL, *Archaeology* XVIII, 1965, pp. 187-190, fig. 7. Chair and bulla bracelets are similar to those on the Indiana mirror. Turan holds the ubiquitous leafy branch in her hand (here interpreted as myrtle), and two birds (doves?) fly above her head.

(65) GERHARD 384. Note the shoes with cross-piece and the chair, similar to those of the Indiana mirror.

(66) GERHARD 213; BEAZLEY, *JHS* LXIX, 1949, p. 10, pl. 8 B, fig. 9; D. REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL, *Mon. Piot* LX, 1976, fig. 17; RALLO, p. 54, pl. 34, 2 (misprinted as 32, 2 on p. 54), erroneously lists the mirror as being in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

(67) *Etruscan Dress*, pp. 78, 144-145, note 99.

(68) It has been suggested, in my opinion correctly, that the inscription *hinthial*, which means « shade », « soul », « ghost », or « image », refers to the reflection in the mirror rather than to the attendant, to whom the label may have been mistakenly affixed by the engraver. (BEAZLEY, *op. cit.*, note 66; REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL, *Le miroir étrusque op. cit.*, p. 532, note 3). For an Etruscan inscription labelling an image, see a mirror with representation of a statue, labelled *flere*, « statue »: GERHARD, 170; L. BONFANTE WARREN, *AJA* LXXV, 1971, p. 282, note 29.

with the four attendants forming a half-circle about her (*tav. XXV b*) (69).

Another example (70) is later in date, judging from the slender figures and — except for the seated figure, handsomely draped as always — their nudity. The over-all composition is, as we have seen, that of our mirror, with an architectural setting separating the exergue above and, in the exergue below, a baby. The figure standing passively on the right — his laurel crown identifies him as Apollo — holds a leafy branch. The seated figure holds her hand up in a gesture which would seem mysterious if we did not know that it was originally meant to hold a mirror (70<sup>bis</sup>). This and one of the two mirrors from Todi, which we have examined in a different context, are very close to the Indiana mirror (71). The subject, the judgment of Paris, is the same. The main difference is that on this mirror the seated figure has been turned into Paris, the two figures in front of him are labelled, and given the attributes of, Minerva and Turan, while the figure of Uni has been added behind his head. An old man, *techrs*, frames the scene on the left, and on the right, an attendant carrying, rather than a leafy branch, a flabellum or fan.

On the other mirror from Todi (72), the most crowded of all, *two* figures have been added behind the seated figure, and the basic three-figure group has been pushed over to the left to make room for three more figures on the right, including an old man framing the scene at the end: eight figures in all.

After these handsome, multi-figured groups, in the third century the compositions become simpler once again. The architectural background is still present in a mirror of inferior quality (73); here, though the figures already

(69) Diam. 18.2 cm. GERHARD, 5, 22. REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL, *Mon. Piot* LX, 1976, pp. 53-67, No. 148, figs. 12-14, 27, 3; MANSUELLI, *St. Etr.* XIX, 1946-47, p. 105, already connected this mirror and GERHARD, 213.

(70) GERHARD, 212; CIASCA (*op. cit.*, note 10) pl. 20, 3; REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL, *Mon. Piot* LX, 1976, p. 62, fig. 16. Chair and coronets are close to those of the Indiana mirror.

(70<sup>bis</sup>) See GERHARD, 215.

(71) *Supra* note 25. Similar to the Indiana mirror are the multi-figure composition, the throne, the upper exergue with Aurora's quadriga and lower exergue with a small figure of Heracles.

(72) G. BECATTI, *St. Etr.* IX, 1935, pp. 296-298, pl. 37 (Todi I; *supra* notes 19, 26). The composition of these last three mirrors and of the mirror in Indiana is that of the series previously discussed (*tavv. XXII* and *XXV a*). All have lunettes above. The two mirrors from Todi, which are most like the Indiana mirror, also have in the upper exergue Aurora's quadriga, in the lower, Heracles (so identified by attributes or inscription); the mirror in Berlin has a baby below. Three of the mirrors have columns or capitals suggesting an architectural background while the « all-around ground line » exists in some form in two and may be present but invisible in a third.

(73) GERHARD, 211.

look like Hellenistic four-figure « conversation groups », the seated figure is still recognizably from the old models, with her heavy drapery, her heavy diadem and triangular earrings, and the gesture of her hand, now empty. Recognizable, too, are the gestures of the two female attendants, and the leafy branch of the right-hand figure (identified as Apollo by his lyre), though this has floated out of his hand into the pediment above.

On another late mirror (74), showing a youth embracing the seated figure, she has been turned full face; but here too the chair and bulla bracelet still reflect an early model like the one followed for the Indiana mirror, and the gesture of the handmaiden on the right is familiar, if frustrated. (The artist has added a kind of handle to Turan's headdress, in order to give the attendant's right hand something to hold, but the left waves about fruitlessly).

All these variations on a basic composition show us how the craftsman used his pattern book. For the Toilette of Helen or Malavisch the Etruscan artisan evidently had available a three-figure model, a drawing after a Greek painting, probably taken from a South Italian vase (75). This model he copied faithfully enough so we can reconstruct it, though he changed a number of details of dress or furniture. The seated female figure, or bride, was evidently originally shown seated on a backless throne with a footstool, in profile, facing to the right. (At least one model had a seat of a type similar to that of the Indiana mirror: see *tav. XXV a*). She held a mirror in her hand: on the examples we have, the mirror itself occurs, held by either the central figure or one of the two attendants, or the bride's gesture is still that of holding up such an object. Numerous fourth-century South Italian vases with dressing scenes show a seated lady looking at herself in a Greek type of mirror, with attached bronze decorations at the top and sides (76). On

(74) GERHARD, 283, in London, Brit. Mus.

(75) On the derivation of the subject from a Greek model, particularly by way of the Kertsch vases of late style, see GERHARD (*op. cit.*, note 26); G. A. MANSUELLI, *St. Etr.* XX, 1948-49, pp. 73-74 (with previous bibl.) EMILIOZZI (*op. cit.*, note 4) p. 60; HAYNES (*op. cit.*, note 48) p. 40. See also K. SCHEFOLD, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertschen Vasen* (Berlin and Leipzig 1934) pl. 9, FURT-REICH, pl. 68, and E. PFUHL, *Malerei und Zeichnung* 3, Munich 1923, pl. 242, fig. 596. Cf. *supra* note 48.

(76) For a Greek type of mirror, see e. g. *BM Bronzes* No. 243, pl. 4; and SCHEFOLD (*op. cit.*, note 75) p. 9. For women holding such mirrors on South Italian vases of the late fourth century, see A. D. TRENDALL, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford 1967, e.g. a Lucanian vase, pl. 34, 24, with a lady at her toilette; on Campanian vases, pls. 186, 5; 187, 4; especially Apulianizing, pls. 198, 5; 201, 5; 202, 4-5. On an Apulian bell crater in Cleveland, Aphrodite herself appears using a large and elaborate mirror: S. HILLER, *Antike Kunst* XIX, 1976, pl. 7, 4. A similar scene on a Lucanian skyphos in Metapontum shows Io admiring her changed appearance in a mirror; the artist's comment on the picture, *Kale*, anticipates OVID, *Bos quoque formosa est* (*Met.*

round Etruscan mirrors which originally had thick bone or wooden handles the mirrors shown also have a thick handle (like the one represented on the mirror in Indiana). On a mirror with a bronze handle cast all in one piece, the mirror represented, precise in every detail down to the reflected image of the user, also has a thin handle (77). Thus the mirrors shown are always the local type.

On the original model, the attendant shown standing in front of the seated figure adjusted her headband: the gesture of tilting her chin up with her other hand occurs so often that it must have been on both the archetype and the model of the pattern book. The attendant behind her, as we have seen, dressed a lock of her hair, or perfumed it (77<sup>bis</sup>). The seated figure remained heavily draped, even on mirrors when all the other figures shed their clothes and appeared in graceful Hellenistic nudity.

Attendant figures were added at will, forming progressively more crowded groups during the course of the later fourth and early third century; after this there was a return to the simple three — and four — figure compositions of the fourth century (78). Although a glance through the series shows a tendency to switch attributes which agrees with the use of arbitrary filling figures, as well as with a general Etruscan absence of any fixed iconography (79), a few motifs are so persistent that they must have formed part either of the original model or of a general, all-purpose model for « attendant figures ».

There seem to be, for example, some « floating » attributes which can alight on figures otherwise uncommitted. These attributes do not always have the same meaning. Often, one suspects, they had no meaning at all:

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I, 612); K. SCHAUENBURG, *Monumentum Chiloniense. Studien zum 70. Geburtstag* (Amsterdam 1975), 557-558, pl. 10, fig. 21. I am grateful to Mark Davies for the reference to this vase, and to Mark Sosower for reminding me of Ovid's comment.

(77) GERHARD, 5, 96; Metropolitan Museum. M. RENARD, *Latomus* XX, pl. 24. See supra, note 4. On GERHARD 319 the scalloped rim of the mirror and its convex shape have been carefully represented.

(77<sup>bis</sup>) See mirrors GERHARD, 213; 319.

(78) G. A. MANSUELLI, *St. Etr.* XIX, 1946-47, p. 106. Cf. RALLO, p. 38: « Il criterio complicato con cinque, o forse sei figure, tende anche ad abbassare la datazione dello specchio » [the mirror in the collection of Philipp von Hessen, published by S. HAYNES, *op. cit.*, note 28]. « Infatti questo genere di composizione, con un affastellamento di personaggi, si trova più facilmente nel III secolo, finché gli incisori per un desiderio di semplificazione e per esaurimento non ritornano agli schemi semplici... ». Cf. VAN GULIK, *op. cit.*, note 18.

(79) RALLO, p. 58; E RICHARDSON, *The Gods Arrive*, in *Archaeological News* V, 1976, pp. 126-128; G. A. MANSUELLI, *Popoli e Civiltà dell'Italia antica* III, Rome 1974, p. 268.

when a bird alights on Turan, it is appropriate, and an attribute (79<sup>bis</sup>); but when it appears on another female figure it need have no particular significance (*tav.* XXV *b*). This situation probably explains the leafy branch held by the passive bystander, alias Althaia, on our mirror. This ubiquitous leafy branch is a migrant motif on a great many of the mirrors with a composition like ours. The Volterra and Bomarzo mirrors (*tav.* XXIV) show Apollo on the left, holding a staff topped by a laurel branch remarkably like the branch Althaia holds; in another mirror he appears on the right (80). Another figure holding a laurel branch — or as Beazley suggests, myrtle — and in general resembling Althaia would be hard to recognize as Turan, if she were not clearly labelled (81). Just as the same figure type was used to represent either Apollo or Paris, the position of passive bystander could be filled by a figure representing either an attendant or a divinity. Evidently the « artist » of the mirror felt free to use figures of the model as mere silhouettes, to be transposed, reversed, and transformed at will. It is instructive to see how ingeniously the same basic pattern of seated figure surrounded by attendant figures was turned into a Judgment of Paris, with seated Paris; or an Adoption of Heracles, with Uni enthroned. The structure remained the same, but little else did. The sex of the figure was changed. Dress, hairstyles and jewelry were updated regularly. (We can thus often date the final execution, as distinct from the archetype and the transmitting model).

The mirror in Indiana finds its place in this iconographical series, used mostly for the Toilette of Helen or Malavisch but also adapted to portray different scenes. Details of dress, hairstyle and jewelry as well as the preference of the fourth century for simple three-figure scenes suggest that the archetype was adopted in the second half of the fourth century, and that the mirror in Indiana was made by an artist who took this original pattern, modified it with the addition of extra figures, and transformed it, by the addition of attributes and inscriptions, into a scene representing the popular subject of the Judgment of Paris. The mirror belongs near the beginning of a series of mirrors with complicated, ambitious many-figured scenes, made between the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the third, around 300 B. C.

Such a date, which agrees with details of dress and jewelry, is now confirmed by the discovery of a mirror of similar style in a tomb at Ischia di

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(79<sup>bis</sup>) GERHARD, 213.

(80) GERHARD, 211. The passive by-stander on the left, on the Vatican mirror with *haruspicina*, also holds a leafy branch (refs. *supra* note 28).

(81) GERHARD, 213. The bird alone is not enough to identify Turan, since it appears on other figures, for example Malavisch (see note 64) but see the two birds flying above Turan's head, on mirror GERHARD, 319).

Castro (province of Viterbo) (*tav.* XXVI)(82). The tomb is dated to the first half of the third century B. C.; Lambrechts dates the mirror slightly earlier, to the end of the fourth century, that is around 300 B. C. We can compare, for example, the hair of the left-hand youths in both mirrors. The execution of the eyes is also similar, though not identical. Both have the pupil formed by a semicircle attached to the upper lid. Our mirror does not have, however, a peculiarity noted on the mirror from Castro; the lower lid considerably shorter than the upper. (We have already remarked on the similarity in the manner of executing the eyes on the Bomarzo and Volterra mirrors and the one in Indiana.)

Except for Praeneste, these fourth-century workshops are difficult to localize (83). One cannot point to the use of particular compositions, since the same models were evidently shared by craftsmen in different places (84). In contrast to the sculptured urns of the Hellenistic period, furthermore, mirrors were portable objects, as easily carried about in antiquity as today.

Whatever its origin — and further study will tell us more about its context — the mirror in Indiana is an outstanding example of the classical period of Etruscan art, which increases our knowledge of the peculiarly Etruscan craft of mirror making, and teaches us a new Etruscan word — *Althaia*.

LARISSA BONFANTE

(with the collaboration of IRENE ZAJAC)

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(82) R. LAMBRECHTS, *Un miroir étrusque inédit et le mythe de Philoctète*, in *Insthistbelge de Rome XXIX*, 1968, pp. 5-29, pls. 1-3. The mirror has since been stolen (probably in 1972) from the museum at Ischia di Castro.

(83) S. HAYNES (*op. cit.*, note 28 p. 31 f.), tried to localize the series in Chiusi, on the basis of a number of stylistic comparisons including some of the relief urns from Chiusi and Volterra (*EVP* pp. 130-132). C. C. VAN ESSEN, *BABesch.* VI, 1931, pp. 24-33, tried to localize a workshop in Viterbo.

(84) On « la comunanza dei modelli fra le varie officine incisorie e la libertà di rielaborazione da parte dei singoli maestri », see MANSUELLI, *St. Etr.* XIX, 1946-47, p. 41.

(85) See now M. CRISTOFANI, *CUE*, 1, especially p. 9, for tomb contexts and local workshops.

A NOTE ON THE PHYSICAL EXAMINATION  
OF THE INDIANA MIRROR

The mirror (accession n. 74.23) is solid cast by the *cire perdue* process and hence bears no mold marks. The heavily decorated reverse reveals traces of the scoper in the « shading » of figures although it was primarily the graver which was used in executing the design. This is evidenced by the deep « V »-shaped grooves it has cut into the metal. The engraving was revealed in recent times by extensive mechanical cleaning which has left a very thin layer of red cuprite and black tenorite over a bright bronze base. The treatment has, in two places, laid bare the metal beneath. The short tang, a small piece of which is lost from the distal end, remains heavily incrustated with malachite and azurite deposits. The engraved lines, once cleaned, were refilled with a mixture of whiting and a green inorganic pigment, possibly copper carbonate, in order to create a pale-green, highly visible image. A heavy lacquer layer has been applied over this to seal the entire reverse.

The obverse of the mirror (*fig.* 1) is covered by a dense carbonate incrustation. A portion of this, just above the tang, was mechanically cleaned down to the cuprite layer, as was the right-hand edge of the disc and the rim proper. This treatment revealed an incised ornamental decoration which was left unfilled.

All exposed areas on the obverse have been heavily lacquered. The cleaning and lacquering is similar to techniques used in certain Swiss restorers' studios. In general, the mirror's condition is good. The bronze is sound and those areas exposed by cleaning are stable.

KENNETH J. LINSNER



Mirror in the Indiana University Art Museum (Courtesy Indiana Art Museum)



Drawing of engraving on reverse of the mirror in the Indiana University Art Museum

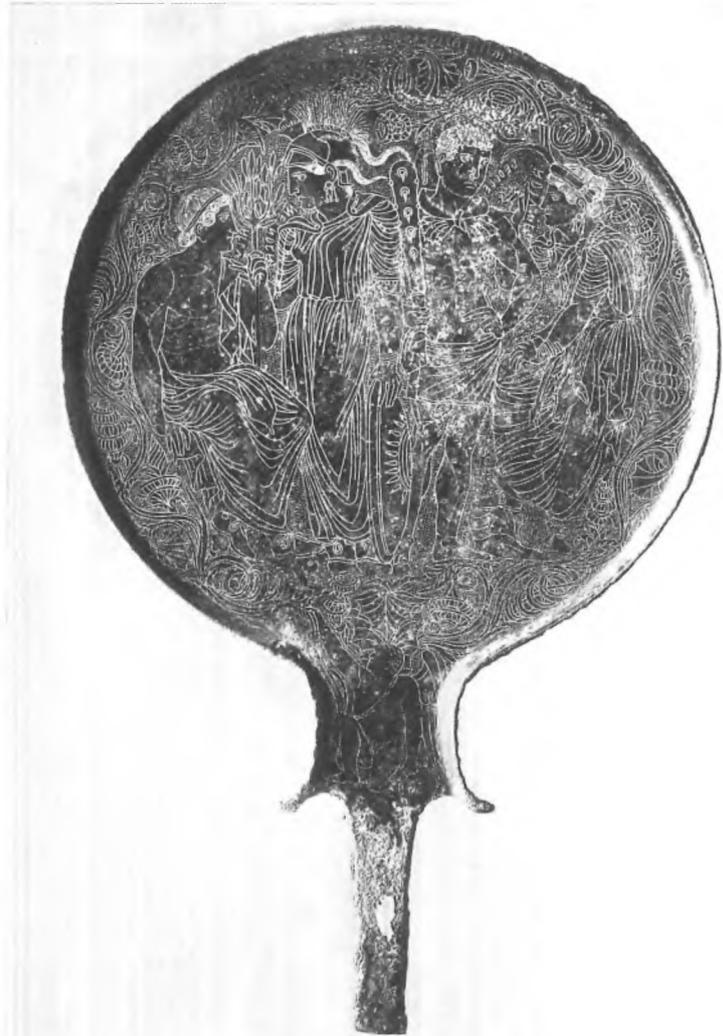


Details of engraving in the mirror *tav.* XXI.



*a*

*a*) Mirror from Volterra. Florence; Mus. Arch. Courtesy Sopr. Arch. Toscana (GERHARD, ES v, 60).



*b*

*b*) Mirror from Bomarzo. Florence, Mus. Arch., inv. 849006. Courtesy Sopr. Arch. Toscana.



*a*

*a*) Mirror from Todi. Rome, Villa Giulia Museum. Courtesy Sopr. Arch. Toscana  
*b*) Mirror from Praeneste. Paris, Coll. Dutuit, Petit Palais. (GERHARD, ES v, 22). Photo Bulloz.



*b*



a



b

a-b) Mirror from Ischia di Castro (prov. Viterbo). Stolen from the Museum of Ischia di Castro.  
(R. LAMBRECHTS, *Bull. Inst. hist. belge* XXXIX, 1968, pl. 3). Photo C.B.R.E.I.