

THE DIOSKOUROI ON FOUR ETRUSCAN MIRRORS IN MIDWESTERN COLLECTIONS

(Con le tavv. LI-LIV f. t.)

The four mirrors published below are from small Etruscan collections acquired by Midwestern museums in the late 19th or 20th centuries (1). Nothing is known of their exact provenance or archaeological context. All four are solid cast bronze mirrors of the so-called «kranzspiegel» type. Engravings of the Dioskouroi, either alone or in the company of two women, appear on the reverse (non-reflecting surface) of each mirror. A discussion of iconography, style and dating follows a brief catalogue description of the objects.

CATALOGUE

1. Bronze mirror (*tav. LI, a-c*), Classical Museum, University of Iowa, Iowa City. No accession number. Purchased in Italy probably between 1916 and 1925. Provenance unknown. L., including handle, 0,238 m. L. of handle, 0,116 m. D. of disc, 0,122 m.

(1) For permission to publish Mirror 1 I am grateful to Prof. Roger Hornsby, Chairman of the Department of Classics, and Prof. Oscar Nybakken, Curator of the Classical Museum of the University of Iowa. For Mirrors 2 and 3 I thank Dr. James W. Van Stone, Chairman of the Department of Anthropology at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. I thank Mr. David Wright for calling my attention to Mirror 4, and Merribell Parsons, Curator of Decorative Arts at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, for permission to publish it. Special gratitude is extended to Prof. Kyle M. Phillips, Jr. of the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology at Bryn Mawr College for reading the manuscript of this article and offering helpful suggestions; of course, any errors or omissions are the author's responsibility.

The photographs, by Richard L. Sawyer, were produced with the assistance of a stipend from the Graduate College of the University of Iowa. All drawings are by the author. Mirror 1 was the subject of a paper entitled «The Iconography of the Dioskouroi on an Etruscan Mirror in Iowa» read at the 72nd General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, cf. *AJA* LXXV, 1971, p. 199. The article was completed in November 1972.

The mirror, heavily encrusted with a green patina, was broken some-time after acquisition. The fifteen fragments (with three small lacunae) were later joined to produce a fairly accurate version of the mirror as originally purchased. The three missing fragments (max. dimensions of largest; $0,009 \times 0,017$ m.) produce lacunae in the upper disc area and the lower edge of the mirror to the left of the handle. A rim (approx. 0,005 m. high) surrounds the reverse; the obverse is decorated by a shallow depression at its perimeter but is otherwise unornamented. The upper handle is incised with a lotus motif at the point of juncture with the disc (*tav. LI, c*). The lower portion of the handle is modelled and incised to represent a deer's head (*fig. 1, a*). Similar terminals are frequent on Etruscan

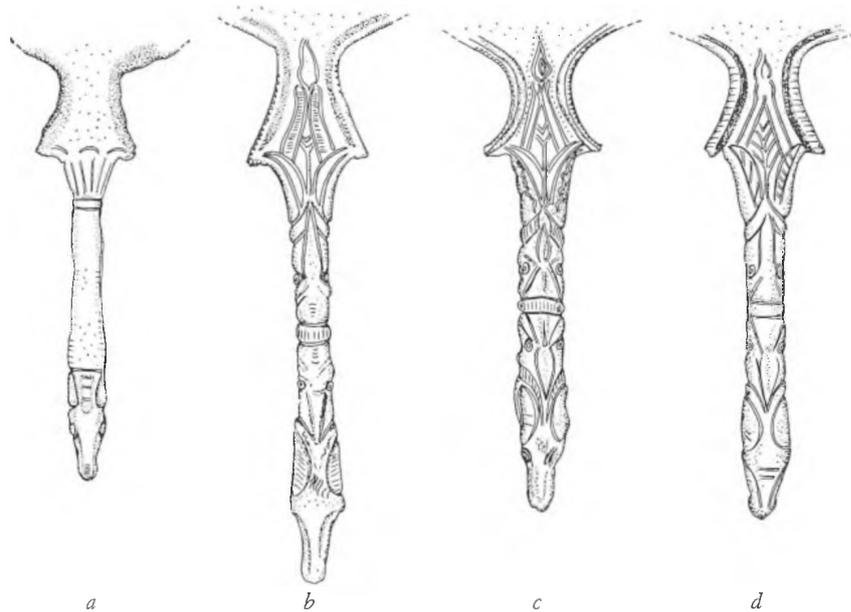


fig. 1 - Obverse handles

mirrors generally dated to the late fourth and third centuries B. C. (2). The flat, truncated portion of the handle above the deer head terminal is incised with several short parallel lines. The upper portion consists of a series of double lines which radiate from a horizontal band moving around the entire handle; these lines are topped by three arcs. The triangular area between handle and disc appears to be undecorated.

A heavy dark green patina with much efflorescence obscures the incisions of the reverse (*tav. LI, b-c*). Two male figures wearing tunics,

(2) G. M. A. RICHTER, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 271-272.

laced sandals and *piloi* stand facing each other. Both lean on a flat table-like object supported by a column of distinct type (3). Above the wrist of the right figure and at the table's center is a lotus blossom. Above this and directly between the heads of the two figures is a crescent pointing upwards and a «star» composed of eight petal-like elements surrounding a circle. A horizontal «bar» stretches over the heads of the figures. Stylized rocks, suggesting a grotto, frame the scene which is enclosed by an elaborate laurel wreath (4).

2. Bronze mirror (*tav.* LII, *a-c*), Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, acc. no. 24376. Purchased in Italy for the Museum in 1895 by Edward E. Ayer. Provenance unknown. L., including handle, 0,289 m. L. of handle, 0,118 m. D. of disc, 0,136 m.

A chalky, light-green patina covers the surface of this well-preserved mirror. This, the largest of the four mirrors treated here, is similar in design and subject to the others. A small depression at the center of the engraved side of the disc is evidence of the use of a lathe in the production of this object (5) (*tav.* LII, *b*). A modern metal label with the accession number has been affixed to the obverse at a point above the handle (*tav.* LII, *a*).

The incised decoration of the major scene of this and the following mirrors is the same: the Dioskouroi flanking two female figures, one of whom is clothed, the other nude. Each Dioskouros wears a simple tunic gathered above the waist, a Phrygian cap (as opposed to the *pilos* of the other mirrors), and laced sandals. The figures stand in the relaxed posture typical of these four-figure compositions. Each rests his elbow on a small pillar with his hand hidden behind his back. The other arm is invisible. The figures stand with one leg brought back behind the other. In posture and dress the Dioskouroi are almost mirror images of each other.

Two women are crowded between the Dioskouroi. The one on the left wears a long *chiton* and Phrygian cap. The other is nude except for her laced sandals and some drapery tucked between her thighs. The large hips and small breasts are indicated with few lines; her hair is treated in more elaborate fashion. She is the only figure of the four whose face is shown in a three-quarter view.

(3) GERHARD, *ES*, II, pl. 206 and 208; *ES* III, pl. 253 A, fig. 2.

(4) RICHTER, *op. cit.*, n. 818, p. 282; some authors, e.g., M. A. JOHNSON, *Etruscan Collections in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, and the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh*, in *St. Etr.* XI, 1937, pp. 387 ff., call this an olive wreath.

(5) M. A. DEL CHIARO, *Two Etruscan Mirrors in San Francisco*, in *AJA* LIX, 1955, p. 277, n. 2.

Undulating lines, probably suggesting rocks, create an environment for the figures. A small pediment appears above their heads. The entire scene is framed by a simple guilloche engraved on the zone between the depressed disc area and the pointed rim.

A simple palmette device, similar to that on mirror 1, decorates the triangular area at the top of the animal handle. Below this the artist has used a punch to make several small holes. On the obverse, this area contains a carefully delineated flame motif (6) (*fig. 1, b; tav. LII, a*). The flame springs from two organic forms incised with short parallel lines. In their turn, these forms are supported by two large leaves and a central branch-like element. The handle's central stem consists of two symmetrically opposed bird heads. These creatures have long beaks, small, deeply-incised eyes and heavily modelled brows. The deer head terminal has carefully modelled ears and curly hair suggested by small wavy incisions on both the obverse and reverse. A tiny beaded border runs about the rim on the obverse but the disc is otherwise unornamented.

3. Bronze mirror (*tav. LIII, a-c*), Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, acc. n. 105170. Purchased in Italy for the Museum in 1895, by Edward E. Ayer. Provenance unknown. L., including handle, 0,257 m. L. of handle, 0,102 m. D. of disc, 0,125 m.

The mirror, covered with a smooth dark brown patina, is in excellent state of preservation. Unlike the other mirrors of this catalogue, the incision is very clear over the entire disc and the modelling of the handle is more intelligible.

On the reverse (*tav. LIII, b-c*) the Dioskouroi wear simple tunics, *piloi* and high sandals. Each stands with his weight resting on one leg; the other leg is brought back and partially hidden. Each deity rests his elbow on a simple support near the tondo's perimeter and holds his hand behind his waist. In each case, the second arm is invisible. Two females at the center turn to engage the Twins. The one on the left wears a long *chiton* and Phrygian cap. The second female wears only high-laced sandals and a piece of drapery tucked between her thighs. Her face, turned to the Dioskouros on the right, is the only one of the four not shown in profile. The body of this figure is a masterpiece of simple linear abstraction. She stands in a hipshot pose with her weight supported by her right leg; her left arm seems to embrace the Dioskouros nearest her while her elongated right arm is on her hip (7).

(6) For similar handles see GERHARD, *ES IV*, pl. 385-386; cf. *ES I*, pl. 24, fig. 13.

(7) On this and mirror 2 one notes that the space between this right arm and the

Unlike the other mirrors, this example contains no background setting implying a rocky grotto. The two sketchy pillars and the pediment above the figures suggest a rudimentary environment. A carefully executed laurel border encircles the tondo.

The handle ornament is more precisely modelled and better preserved than on the previous mirrors (*fig. 1, c*). Again the terminal is strongly modelled to suggest a deer's head with ears pressed firmly against his hairy forehead. The central portion of the handle is a symmetrical device suggesting abstracted bird (owl?) faces. Heavy leaves frame the triangular area between handle and disc; this is decorated with an elegant flame motif similar to that on mirror 2 but surrounded by punched dots. At the same point on the reverse the artist engraved a cursory « X ». The reflecting surface is surrounded by a fine beaded band and a deep groove (*tav. LIII, a*).

4. Bronze mirror (*tav. LIV, a-c*), The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, acc. n. 62.13. Acquired in 1962. Provenance unknown. L., including handle, 0,263 m. L. of handle, 0,131 m. D. of disc, 0,132 m.

The mirror is heavily encrusted with a light green patina which obscures the lower third of the reverse (*tav. LIV, b*). A lathe mark, similar to that mentioned in connection with mirror 2, occurs at the center of this side (8). The handle, especially on the obverse, is carefully modelled in the now familiar animal style. A flame motif (cf. mirrors 2-3) ornaments the upper portion of the handle. Save for a deep groove surrounding the reflecting surface, the obverse is undecorated.

A guilloche encloses the engravings on the reverse; again they depict the four-figure composition of Dioskouroi and women. This mirror, for all its charm, clearly presents the weakest draftsmanship of the four examples collected here. Aside from purely stylistic changes, the subject differs from mirrors 2 and 3 in the following details: the tunics of the Twins are more complicated, especially in the drapery folds over the chest and in the cross-like patterns of the skirt. Curiously stylized folds appear at the side of each Dioskouros. The clothed female clearly extends her right arm to embrace the left Dioskouros. The nude female wears a necklace.

hip is not incised with the drapery lines of the clothed female figure but, unnaturally, left blank. This idiosyncrasy appears on several mirrors of different style, e.g., GERHARD, *ES III*, pl. 277. Cf. mirror 4 where the treatment is more realistic.

(8) *Supra* n. 5.

ICONOGRAPHY

Our four mirrors may be divided into two types: Type A, represented by mirror 1, shows the Dioskouroi alone but includes several symbolic elements. Type B, mirrors 2-4, shows the Dioskouroi with two additional figures and a consequent reduction of the symbolic elements. Because mirror 1 reveals several standard features of the iconography of the Dioskouroi, we begin this discussion with an investigation of the symbols engraved upon it (9).

Aside from their presentation as twins, the most characteristic attribute of the Dioskouroi on mirror 1 is the *pilos*, a pointed woolen or felt skullcap worn separately or as a lining for a metal helmet (10). Often *piloi* may be replaced by Phrygian caps (11) and occasionally, both types of hat will appear on the same mirror (12). Like the shields which frequently appear beside the Dioskouroi (13), the *pilos* is an appropriate reference to their patronage of soldiers.

A less obvious symbol than the *pilos* is the horizontal bar uniting the heads of the deities on mirror 1 and appearing in pedimental form on our other mirrors. Laconia was considered the most ancient seat of the Dioskouroi cult in Greece (14) and it is in connection with that region that Plutarch mentions the oldest symbols of the Twins, the so-called *do-*

(9) For basic information and bibliography on the Dioskouroi see M. ALBERT, in *DAR.-SAGL.* II, pp. 249-265; E. BETHE, in *RE* V, cols. 1087-1123; V. BIANCO, in *EAA* III, pp. 122-127; A. FURTWÄNGLER, in *ROSCHER* I, 1, cols. 1154-1177; M. ALBERT, *Le culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie*, 1883; A. COOK, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, Cambridge 1914, I, pp. 762-775; F. CHAPOUTHIER, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, 1935, *passim*; F. CUMONT, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, 1942, chap. 1; L. FARNELL, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, 1921, pp. 175-228; J. HARRISON, *Themis*, 1912, p. 304 ff; S. WIDE, *Lakonische Kulte*, 1898, especially p. 314 ff.

(10) On the *pilos* see P. PARIS in *DAR.-SAGL.* IV, 1, pp. 479-481. THUC. IV, 3 relates that the Spartans wore *piloi* in battle. On the *pilos* as a vestige of Central European Iron Age helmets see M. TOD - A. WACE, *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, Oxford 1906, p. 115. *Piloi* appear on our mirrors 1, 3 and 4 plus numerous other Etruscan examples, e.g., GERHARD, *ES* III, pl. 276-278.

(11) E.g., GERHARD, *ES* III, pl. 266.

(12) *Ibidem*, pl. 267, fig. 3; pl. 277, fig. 5.

(13) *Ibidem*, I, pl. 45-46. For numerous ancient monuments depicting the Dioskouroi with *piloi* or Phrygian caps see CHAPOUTHIER, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Chapouthier discusses the possible celestial symbolism of the *pilos* on p. 307. Cf. CUMONT, *op. cit.*, chap. 1.

(14) In Homer (*Il.* III, 243) the Dioskouroi are said to be buried near Sparta; Cf. ALKMAN frag. 5 and PINDAR, *Nem.* X, 56.

kana (15). Plutarch tells us that these aniconic monuments consisted of two vertical wooden beams stabilized by two horizontal cross beams; to him they were appropriate expressions of the devotion of these two brothers. Other ancient sources indicate that the *dokana* were funerary monuments to dead heroes (16). *Dokana* fitting the ancient descriptions appear on four ancient reliefs (17) but are reinterpreted or misunderstood by the artists of Etruscan mirrors. Vestigial elements of the *dokana* appear on many mirrors with the Dioskouroi. It is as if the vertical members of the original structure have been replaced by the anthropomorphic deities they represent. The horizontal beam, not so easily transposed, remains as a reference to the original structure and may be single (18), double (19), triple (20), or in pedimental form (21).

We may accept the top horizontal on mirror 1 as a vestige of the *dokana*; the two horizontals at the center may also refer to the *dokana* albeit misunderstood by the engraver and transformed into a table-like object (22). To reinforce his reinterpretation of the *dokana* into a table,

(15) PLUTARCH, *De frat. amor.* I. Interpretations of the *dokana* are offered in most of the works cited *supra* n. 9. In addition see M. WAITES, *The Meaning of the Dokana*, in *AJA* XXIII, 1919, pp. 1-18 and CH. KARDARA, 'Υπαίθριοι στῦλοι καὶ δένδρα ὡς μέσα ἐπιφανείας τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ κερκυνοῦ, in *Eph. Arch.* 1966, pp. 149-200.

(16) EUSTATH., *ad Il.* 1125.59.

(17) (1) Sparta Museum n. 588 (5th cent. B.C.?): TOD - WACE, *op. cit.*, p. 113; p. 193, fig. 68; HARRISON, *op. cit.*, p. 305, fig. 85; WAITES, *op. cit.*, p. 2, fig. 2. Verona, Museo Lapidario, n. 555 (2nd cent. B.C.?): ROSCHER I, 1, col. 1171; TOD - WACE, *op. cit.*, p. 113, fig. 14 (*dokana* incorrectly restored); J. RENDEL HARRIS, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, 1906, pp. 10-11, pl. 5; HARRISON, *op. cit.*, p. 305, fig. 84; WAITES, *op. cit.*, p. 1, fig. 1; cf. p. 2, n. 5. (3) Sparta Museum n. 844 (late 1st cent. A.D.?): M. TOD, *Three New ΣΦΑΙΡΕΙΣ-Inscriptions*, in *ABSA* XIII, 1906-07, pp. 213-15. (4) Tarentum clay relief: E. PETERSEN, *Dioskuren in Tarent*, in *Röm. Mitt.* XV, 1900, p. 23, ill. 8; WAITES, *op. cit.*, p. 3, fig. 3. The snake, horse and *amphora*, other symbols of the Dioskouroi appearing on some of these reliefs, are rare on Etruscan mirrors. Cf. GERHARD, *ES* III, pl. 48, fig. 6 and 8.

(18) GERHARD, *ES* I, pl. 46, fig. 2; pl. 48, figs. 3, 7.

(19) *Ibidem*, pl. 46, fig. 3; pl. 47, figs. 1, 3, 6, 7; pl. 48, figs. 6, 7.

(20) *Ibidem*, pl. 46, fig. 6; pl. 47, fig. 2.

(21) The pediments may be of two types: triangular (GERHARD, *ES*, I, pl. 59, fig. 2; III, pl. 266, fig. 6; pl. 273, fig. 2) or horizontal with a row of small semicircles above it (*ibidem*, III, pl. 267, fig. 2). Although a heavy patina obscures this area on mirror 1, it does not appear to have had small semicircles engraved above the horizontal bar.

(22) A mirror in Paris, E. BABELON - J. BLANCHET, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1895, n. 1311, p. 524 (GERHARD, *ES* III, pl. 253 A, fig. 3), illustrates a similar confusion of the *dokana* into pediment, beams and pillar resulting in a tomb-like structure.

the artist added a decorative support permitting the figures to rest their arms on the table (23).

Three more symbols appear at the center of mirror 1. The lowest object is a small lotus blossom above the right wrist of the deity on the right. The lotus, an infrequent attribute of the Dioskouroi on Etruscan mirrors, appears as a large central device topped by a horizontal beam on an example in London (24). It is a common decoration for the upper handle on the reverse of mirrors including our example in Iowa. In addition to these appearances, the lotus may form the terminal of a large floral stalk flanked by the Twins (25). Some scholars have seen in this a reference to an aniconic pillar representing Helen, the sister of the Dioskouroi; although we cannot be certain, the lotus blossom on mirror 1 probably refers to Helen (26).

The remaining symbols on mirror 1 are celestial and may be treated together. Stars, in a variety of configurations, often accompany the Dioskouroi on Etruscan mirrors. They may be small circles (27) or composed of petal-like elements as on the Iowa mirror and others (28). It is not surprising that stars, so frequently associated with the Twins in ancient literature, should be one of their major symbols in art (29). This association extends to Helen as well although normally she is connected with the moon. Thus on several monuments where we see Helen flanked by her brothers we notice a crescent above her head and stars above theirs (30). In a larger number of monuments only the crescent topped by a star remains to remind us of these deities (31). This formula is precisely what occurs on mirror 1 (32).

(23) Similar arrangements appear in GERHARD, *ES* III, pl. 47, figs. 1 and 4; pl. 48, figs. 1-3, but I know of no exact parallel for the depiction on the Iowa mirror.

(24) GERHARD, *ES* III, pl. 46, fig. 9; cf. COOK, *op. cit.*, fig. 562, pp. 768-69 and KARDARA, *op. cit.*, p. 198, fig. 35.

(25) Eg. GERHARD, *ES* I, pl. 48, figs. 4-5; Brooklyn Museum 35.1650 (unpublished).

(26) COOK, *op. cit.*, p. 769.

(27) GERHARD, *ES* I, pl. 45.

(28) *Ibidem*, pl. 46, figs. 2, 4, 5, 7 and 8; pl. 48, figs. 1-2.

(29) COOK, *op. cit.*, p. 763 ff.

(30) CHAPOUTHIER, *op. cit.*, nos. 26-36; pp. 48-54. Cf. GERHARD-KÖRTE, *ES* V, pl. 119.

(31) CHAPOUTHIER, *op. cit.*, no. 37, p. 54; no. 39, p. 56; no. 49, p. 61. Cf. CUMMONT, *op. cit.*, chap. 3.

(32) Although many parallels exist for this formula in ancient art (*supra* n. 31), I am aware of only one other appearance on an Etruscan mirror: GERHARD, *ES* II, pl. 152. Cf. III, pl. 249, figs. 2-4 and pl. 255.

The Type B examples (nos. 2-4) are members of a large class of Etruscan mirrors with the Dioskouroi flanking two other figures. In our examples the two additional figures are a clothed and a nude female. Compared to mirror 1, only the *dokana* and the *piloi* remain as symbols of the Dioskouroi on these mirrors. In all three the *dokana* appear as pedimental elements above the heads of the figures. The Twins lean against small, pillar-like supports which probably reflect the vertical members of the original *dokana* (33).

The identification of the two female figures is a particularly difficult one due to the contradictory nature of the available evidence. At first glance one might assume that the nude female is Venus and her clothed companion Minerva. Indeed, on some mirrors, including our no. 4, the nude figure wears jewelry which might strengthen this identification with the goddess of love (34). Minerva is clearly identified by her helmet and aegis on several mirrors (35). Inscriptions on some mirrors dispell any uncertainty as to the identity of the figures (36) but on others the inscriptions add to the confusion (37).

If we collect the many mirrors of this type with inscriptions, we see that the Etruscans are willing to employ the four-figure composition for a large number of mythological characters and situations (38). It may be pointed out, however, that usually the nude figure is Venus, Juno or Helen (39) while the clothed female is often identified as Minerva (40).

(33) Cf. WAITES, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

(34) A similar necklace appears in GERHARD, *ES* III, pl. 278, figs. 3, 5, 6. On many examples, but not on our three mirrors, this figure wears a crown (e.g., III, pl. 277, figs. 2, 5) and on two mirrors she is identified by the inscription UNI (GERHARD-KÖRTE, *ES* V, pl. 98, figs. 1-2).

(35) GERHARD, *ES* I, pl. 59, figs. 1-3.

(36) *Ibidem*, fig. 2 where they are inscribed MINRFA (Minerva) and TURAN (Venus).

(37) For example, on a mirror in the Bibliothèque Nationale (cf. BABELON, *op. cit.*, no. 1291, p. 507). The flanking nude males are identified as APLU (Apollo) and LARAN (Mars) as on the mirror cited *supra* n. 36. However, the same configuration is seen on another mirror (GERHARD, *ES* I, pl. 59, fig. 3) where the nude males are identified as CAS[TUR] and PULTUC (Pollux).

(38) Most unexpected is the group of four-figure mirrors where the nude female becomes a nude male but in the effeminate pose assumed by his female counterpart (e.g., GERHARD, *ES* III, pls. 266-267).

(39) For example, GERHARD-KÖRTE, *ES* V, pl. 84, fig. 2.

(40) Cf. however, the example cited *supra* n. 39 where, although clothed, she is inscribed TURAN. For more on the problem of identification see D. LEVI, *Monumenti etruschi inediti: Specchi bronzei di Chiusi e di Grosseto*, in *La Balzana* I, 1927,

It is difficult to understand why the Etruscans chose this particular grouping of deities. There is no known reason why the Dioskouroi should be shown in the company of Minerva and Venus or Juno. Obviously, Helen has understandable associations with her brothers and on some mirrors where the Dioskouroi flank only one nude female, she is normally identified as Helen (41). But any interpretation must at this point, and perhaps always, be tempered by the fact that the engravers of these mirrors are not offering a consistent iconographical system. They are more than willing to adjust the figures and consequently the myths to suit artistic purposes.

This warning may be extended to broader interpretations of the function of the subjects on these four mirrors. The Dioskouroi are the most common subject on the hundreds of Etruscan mirrors that have survived. Why should these divine twins be considered an appropriate decoration for mirrors used both as toilet articles as well as tomb gifts? We are far more familiar with Greek and Roman conceptions of these deities than with Etruscan ideas. Perhaps the Etruscans saw them as appropriate decorations for funerary objects because they shared the Greek notion, first expressed in Homer, that the Twins alternated between mortality and immortality (42).

STYLE AND DATING

Although some important work on stylistic evaluations of the engravings of Etruscan mirrors exists (43), there is yet no system of stylistic attribution comparable to that for Greek vase painting. Obviously stylistic

p. 254 f and K. M. PHILLIPS, JR., *Four Etruscan Mirrors in the Ella Riegel Memorial Museum at Bryn Mawr College*, in *St. Etr.* XXXVI, 1968, p. 167.

(41) E.g., CHAPOUTHIER, *op. cit.*, fig. 57-58, p. 294-295.

(42) *Od.* XI, 301-304; cf. FARNELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-183; HARRIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-9. A complicated Hellenistic belief equates the Dioskouroi with the upper and lower hemispheres: see CUMONT, *op. cit.*, chap. 1 and ALBERT, *op. cit.*, chap. 9. It is instructive to recall that the Dioskouroi make their most frequent appearances on Etruscan mirrors during the Hellenistic period. A less abstruse interpretation may be that the Dioskouroi, as twins, represented the twin aspects of the viewer and his image reflected in the mirror. The peculiar ability of the mirror is to reflect or, to less sophisticated minds, reproduce the observer. The Etruscans were no different from many other primitive peoples who found this ability particularly enchanting. Cf. J. G. FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, 1922, chap. 18, especially pp. 222-223.

(43) G. A. MANSUELLI, in *St. Etr.* XV, 1941, pp. 307-316; XVI, 1942, pp. 531-551; XVII, 1943, pp. 487-521; XIX, 1946-47, pp. 9-137; XX, 1948-49, pp. 59-98. Cf. R. LAMBRECHTS, *Suggestions pour un Corpus des miroirs étrusques et prénestins*, in *Hommages à Marcel Renard III* (Collection Latomus CIII, 1969), pp. 328-332.

differences do exist even in the four samples presented here. In this last section the mirrors will be related to others which, on the basis of style, may be considered products of the same workshop.

All four mirrors are of the same design, that is cast bronze with disc and handle in one piece. Similarly, all four have the same type of animal-headed handle, triangular transition between handle and disc, and a recessed disc surrounded by a flat ring engraved with garland or guilloche. These are characteristics of Beazley's Class « Z » (44) or the so-called « kranzspiegel » type (45) and are normally dated to the 4th through 2nd centuries B.C.

Because no specific archaeological context is known for our examples, or indeed for the majority of Etruscan mirrors, our dating must remain tentative. Mirror 1, which may be assigned to the late 4th or first half of the 3rd century B. C., finds stylistic parallels on a mirror in the Bibliothèque Nationale (46). Immediately obvious is the similarity in the treatment of the Dioskouroi. The pose of the left twin on each mirror is almost exactly the same. One also notes similarities of drapery style and even the characteristic delineation of the *pilos*, hair, eye and right kneecap. On both mirrors the right Dioskouros holds his right hand in the same distinctive gesture. Other affinities include the treatment of the rocky grotto, the laurel frame and the *dokana*. Although the example in Paris shows a four-figure rather than a two-figure composition, the stylistic similarities between it and Mirror 1 are close enough to suggest derivation from a common workshop.

Other mirrors which may be associated with the example in Iowa are in Moscow (47), Naples (48), Palermo (49), Paris (50) and Madrid (51).

(44) J. D. BEAZLEY, *The World of the Etruscan Mirror*, in *JHS* LXIX, 1949, p. 16ff. According to Mansuelli's scheme all of our mirrors could be associated with the artists he calls the « Maestri delle Lase e dei Dioscuri » (cf. *St. Etr.* XIX, 1946-47, pp. 62-65).

(45) R. HERBIG, *Die Kranzspiegelgruppe*, in *St. Etr.* XXIV, 1955-56, pp. 183-205.

(46) BABELON, *op. cit.*, no. 1317, p. 528 (GERHARD, *ES* III, p. 318; pl. 277, fig. 5). The diameter of the disc is 2mm smaller than that of Mirror 1; the handle is not preserved.

(47) State Museum for Pictorial Arts, no. II la 64 1: A. I. CHARSEKIN, *Zur Deutung etruskischer Sprachdenkmäler*, Frankfurt am Main 1963, no. 14, p. 78; pl. XI, ill. 15.

(48) GERHARD, *ES* I, pl. 48, fig. 2.

(49) Museo Nazionale no. B 170 (unpublished).

(50) GERHARD, *ES* III, pl. 278, fig. 4.

(51) Castellanos Collection no. 18.048: J. M. BLÁZQUEZ, *Espejos etruscos figurados del Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid*, in *Arch. Esp. A.* XXXIII, 1960, no. 5, pp. 152-155. Cf. R. THOUVENOT, *Catalogue des figurines et objets de bronze du Musée Archéologique de Madrid*, Bordeaux 1927, no. 561, p. 109; pl. 23.

All but the last have laurel garlands surrounding the disc. The most relevant example in this group is the mirror in Moscow. Several characteristic details of figure style suggest a close relationship to Mirror 1. These include the peculiar treatment of the fingers with their upturned last joint as well as similarities of facial type, hair and drapery. As with the example in the Bibliothèque Nationale, there are also affinities in the depiction of laurel wreath, palmette and rocky grotto.

Mirror 2 may be assigned to the late 3rd or early 2nd century B. C. It finds stylistic parallels on mirrors in Munich (52), Naples (53) and, to a lesser degree, on one in the Louvre (54). The example in Munich is closest in the areas of figure arrangement and posture, details of drapery design and treatment of the pillar on which the left Dioskouros leans. Though damaged, the mirror in Naples shows similarities in the rendering of drapery, sandals and the position of the figures.

Mirror 3, which is very close to Mirror 2 but not by the same hand, probably dates to the 2nd century B. C. There are stylistic parallels on a mirror in the Metropolitan (55) and one formerly in Rome (56). The example in New York has the same awkward stylization of figures. This is especially noticeable in the treatment of the arms. Affinities occur in details of drapery rendering (e.g., the waist roll), the *piloi* and the sandals.

Again, Mirror 4 is clearly the work of a different artist employing the same subject. This example is probably close in date to Mirror 3 and may be assigned to the last years of the 2nd century B. C. Parallels, especially for the distinctive treatment of the side folds of drapery, exist on two mirrors illustrated in Gerhard (57). Other features of this mirror, in particular the head of the central clothed figure and the rendering of drapery patterns for the Dioskouroi, pose difficulties for one seeking parallel examples.

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(52) GERHARD, *ES* III, pl. 277, fig. 4.

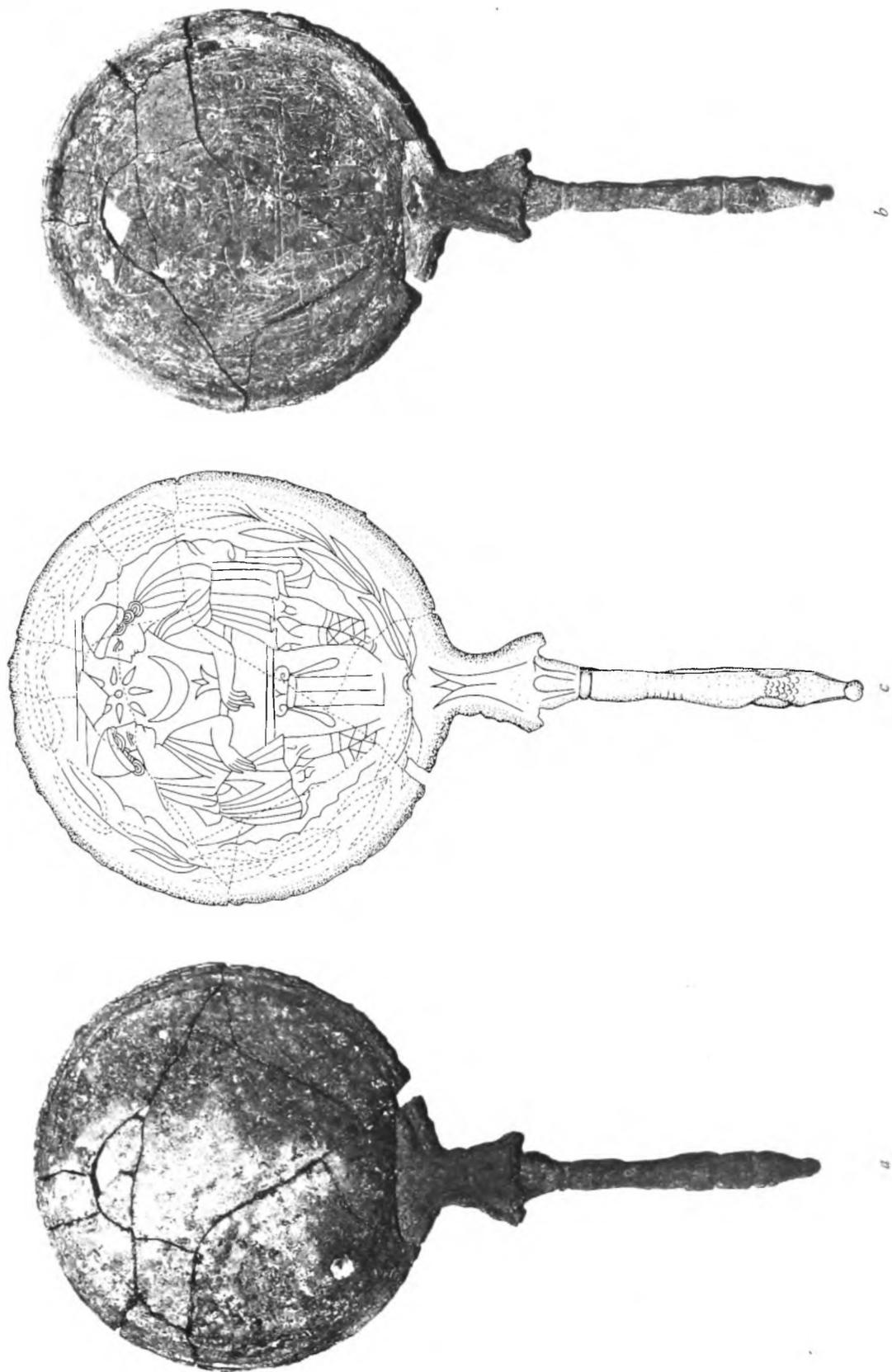
(53) GERHARD-KÖRTE, *ES* V, pl. 84, fig. 1.

(54) GERHARD, *ES* III, pl. 266, fig. 2.

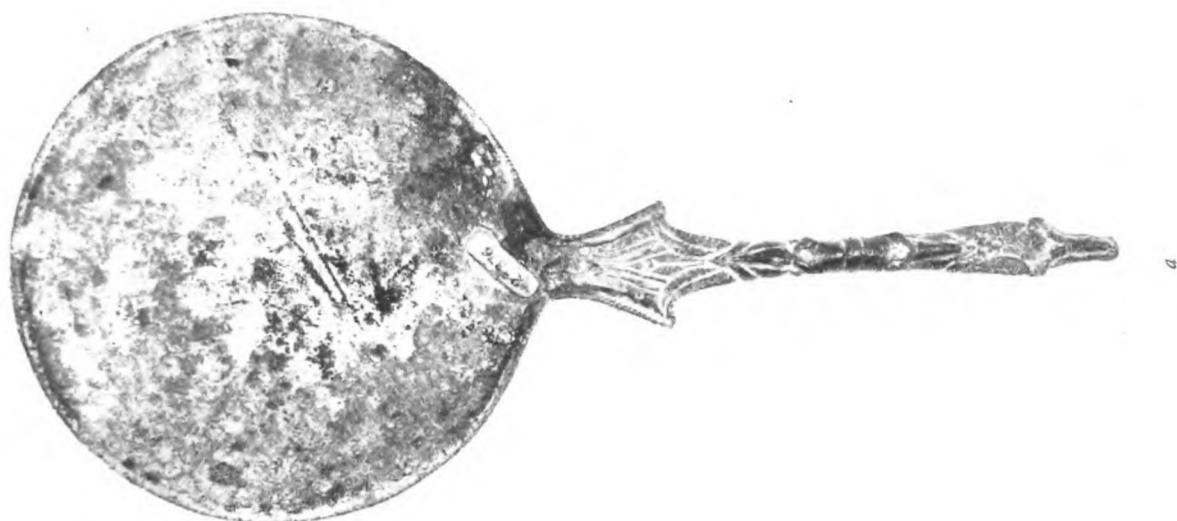
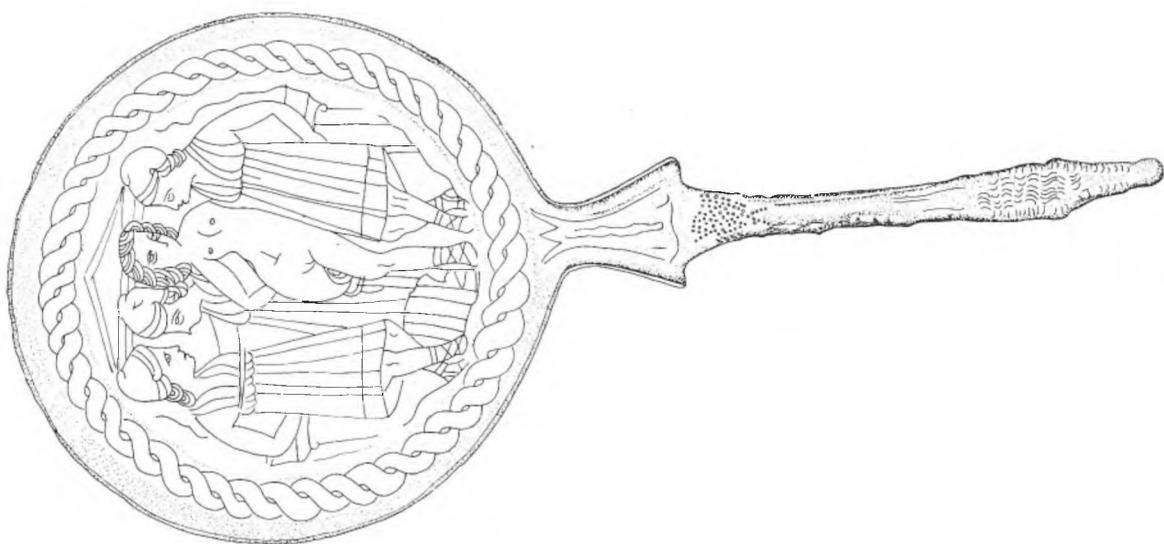
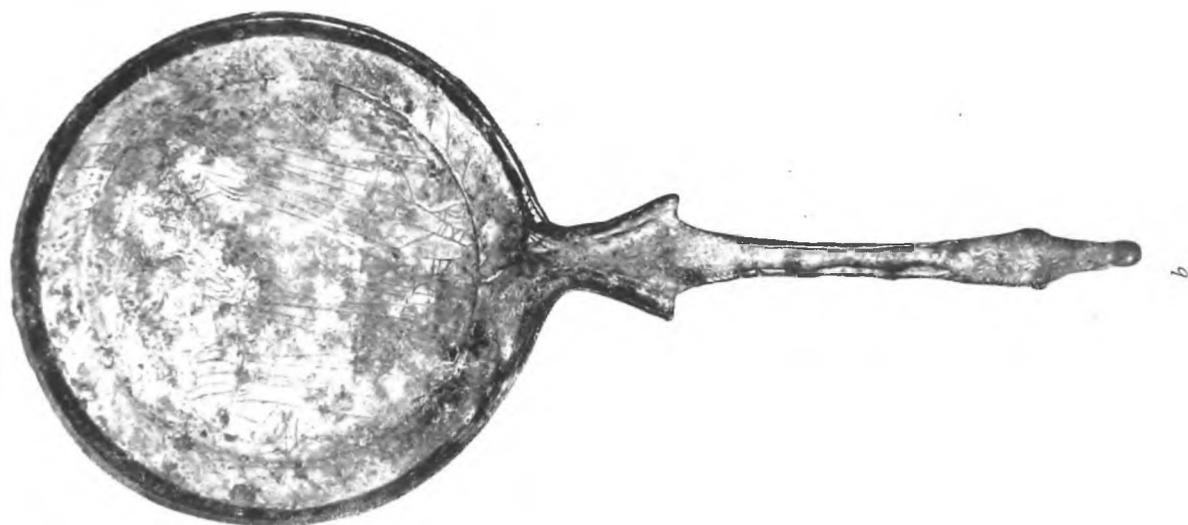
(55) Metropolitan Museum of Art no. 96.9.371: RICHTER, *op. cit.*, no. 820, p. 284.

(56) GERHARD, *ES* III, pl. 278, fig. 2.

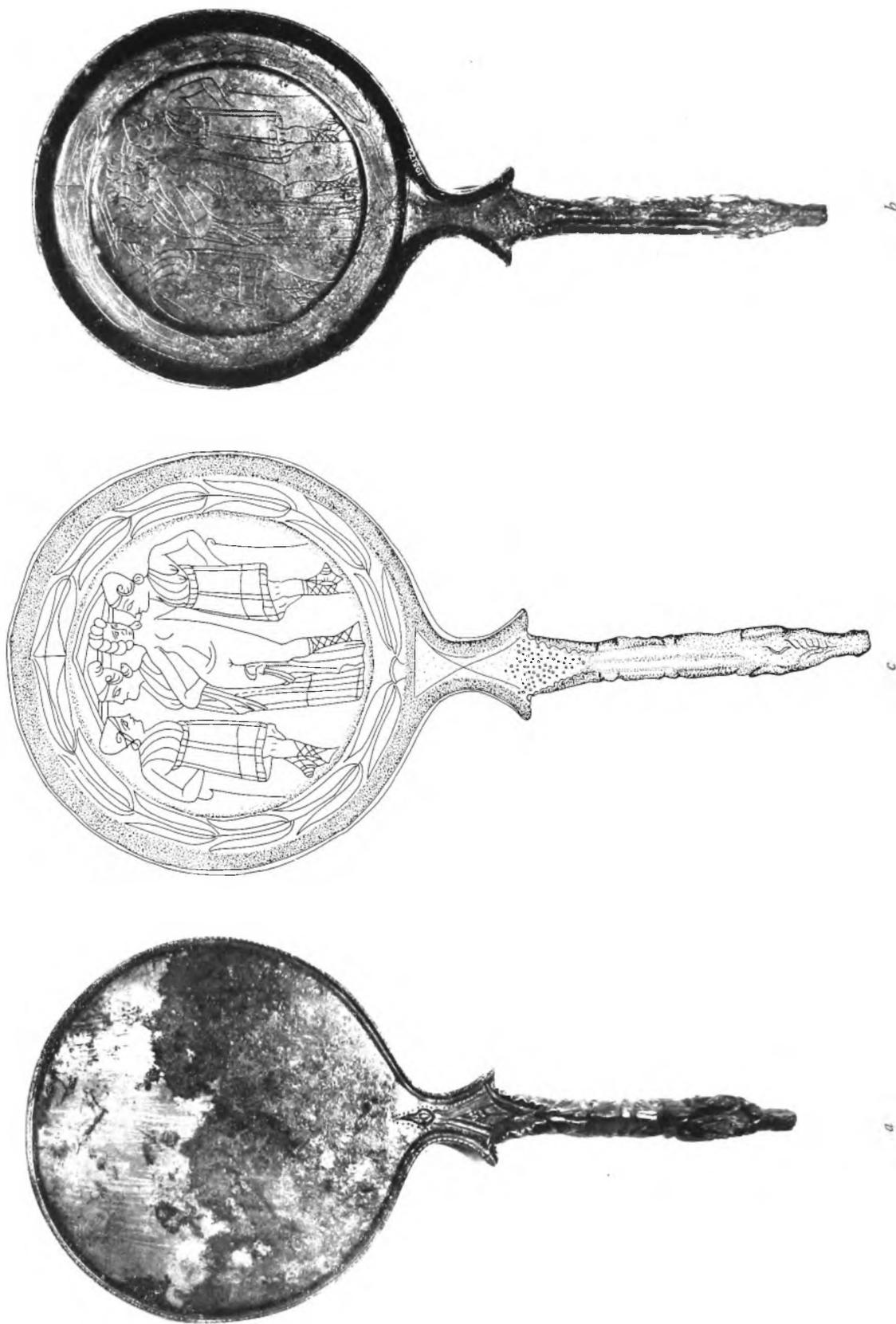
(57) *Ibidem*, I, pl. 47, figs. 2, 4.



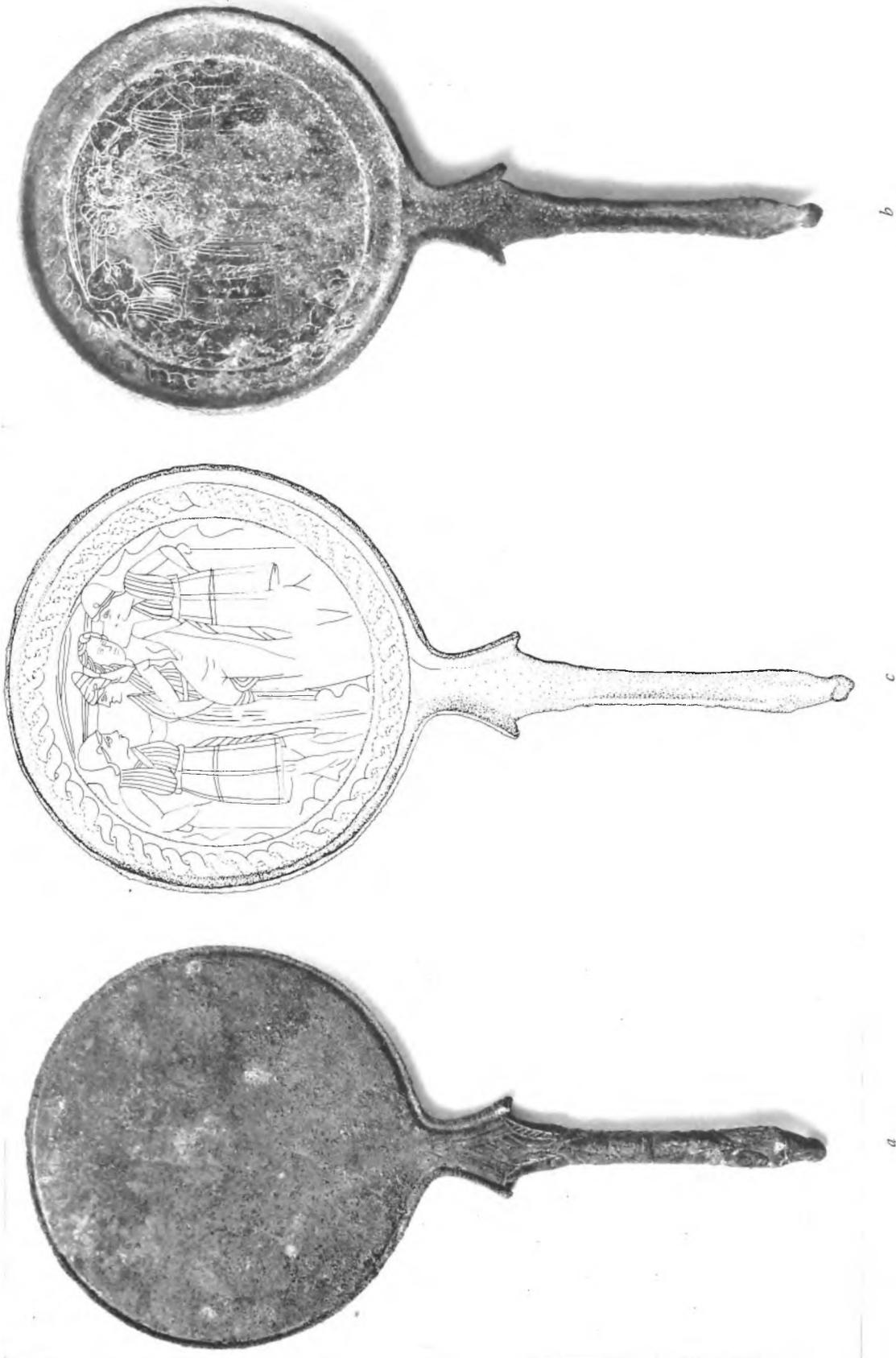
Classical Museum, University of Iowa: a) obverse; b-c) reverse.



Field Museum 24376: a) obverse; b-c) reverse.



Field Museum 105170: a) obverse; b-c) reverse.



Minneapolis 62. 13 : a) obverse; b-c) reverse.