

CORPVS SPECVLORVM  
ETRVSCORVM

GREAT BRITAIN

3

OXFORD

ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM  
CLAYDON HOUSE  
PITT RIVERS MUSEUM

BY

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## CONTENTS

|  |    |
|--|----|
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....  | 7  |
| HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION OF ETRUSCAN<br>AND PRAENESTINE MIRRORS IN OXFORD ..... | 9  |
| CATALOGUE OF THE MIRRORS .....   | 11 |
| Ashmolean Museum (1-24) .....  | 13 |
| Claydon House (25) .....   | 37 |
| Pitt Rivers Museum (26-27) .....   | 38 |
| APPENDIX: The Composition of the Mirrors – P.T. Craddock .....                   | 41 |
| ABBREVIATIONS .....  | 45 |
| INDICES AND CONCORDANCE.....   | 49 |
| FIGURES.....   | 53 |

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At the Pitt Rivers Museum, Linda Mowat, Assistant Curator, has been most kind to assist me with my examination of the mirrors and to facilitate the making of photographs and drawings. The mirror from Claydon House, Buckinghamshire, under the administration of the National Trust of England, was deposited on temporary loan at the Ashmolean for my study. I am grateful to Michael Vickers for arranging this transaction, as well as the making of photographs and drawings of mirrors in Oxford. Keith Bennett began the job of preparing the drawings, and Nick Griffiths completed them. I thank both artists for their work on this demanding task, and for their significant contribution to the scientific study of the mirrors. The preparation of the photos and drawings was carried out with the assistance of a grant from the Committee on Faculty Research Support of the Florida State University at Tallahassee. McKenzie Lewis undertook the scans of the drawings and photos, as well as other final tasks in the preparation of the manuscript, with his customary efficiency and zeal.

Consistency in terminology in the fascicles of the *CSE* is frequently a challenge. Some concepts and terms, especially regarding manufacture of Etruscan mirrors, have been subject to dispute and redefining in recent literature (SWADDLING ET AL. 2000; *CSE* Great Britain 1, p. 5). In this fascicule I have not attempted to draw distinctions according to terminology that is still under discussion.

All of the mirrors in Oxford have been analysed to determine their composition. For their collaboration, thanks are extended to P.T. Craddock of the Department of Conservation Documentation and Science of the British Museum (Ashmolean mirrors), Peter Northover of the Department of Materials of Oxford University (Ashmolean and Pitt

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Tallahassee, 2006

NANCY THOMSON DE GRUMMOND

## THE HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION OF ETRUSCAN AND PRAENESTINE MIRRORS IN OXFORD\*

This fascicule includes all Etruscan mirrors known to be in Oxford and its environs, that is, from the Ashmolean Museum, the Pitt Rivers Museum, and Claydon House. For the most part, the mirrors were acquired through occasional purchases or donations, and it is not possible to see any particular trend or pattern in acquisition.

The earliest accessioned mirrors at the Ashmolean, AN 1871.96 and AN 1891.97, were purchased as part of a group of Etruscan antiquities from the dealer Alessandro Castellani, of the famous Italian family of jewelers and collectors, around the same time the British Museum acquired some fifteen mirrors from the same source (between 1865 and 1884). The Castellani ranged widely in their collecting and trading of antiquities and the provenances varied greatly. The two Ashmolean mirrors were “said to be from Chiusi,” but AN 1871.97 is almost certainly identical with a mirror reported as found at Orvieto (see entry no. 2). The curators at the Ashmolean during this period were John Henry Parker (1870-1884) and A.J. (later Sir Arthur) Evans (1884-1894).

Several of the Ashmolean mirrors were collected by Evans himself. Two of them were given by him to the museum in 1888 (AN 1888.1378 and AN 1888.1379), both showing evidence of considerable intervention by a restorer, and a third was acquired for the museum at his death in 1941 (AN 1950.321). The first was said to have come from Chiusi in 1882, and the third was also said to have been found at Chiusi in 1887.

Also forming a group are the five (or possibly six) mirrors given to the museum by Edmund Houghton, Esq., of Lower Grange, Warborough, Oxford in 1937 (AN 1937.994-998). These pieces, said to have been acquired in Florence, are all problematic. One is probably a complete forgery (995) but is included here for what it may teach about faked Etruscan mirrors, a second one is a pastiche, featuring the green painted plaster often used by dealers (996), two others may be original mirrors, but with forged engraving (994, 997) and the remaining lot (998) consists of fragments that seem to belong to at least two different mirrors.

The remainder of the Ashmolean mirrors represent donations and purchases from modestly documented sources: mirrors AN 1880.41 and AN 1888.488c were purchased and given to the museum by the Rev. Greville J. Chester (1830-1892), Perpetual Curate of St Jude’s, Sheffield, and frequent advisor to J.H. Parker and the museum. Rev. Chester spent much of his time travelling in the eastern Mediterranean collecting small antiquities, which he either donated or sold to the Ashmolean. Mirror AN Oldfield 58 was presented by Edmund Oldfield in 1899. Mr. Oldfield, a member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, served as Assistant Keeper of Antiquities at the British Museum. He died in 1902.

Mirror AN 1910.773 was presented by Mrs J. Reddie Anderson, widow of J.R. Ander-

son of Balliol College, while AN 1920.286 was presented by Miss Thomas of Partin Rd., Oxford. Mirror AN 1935.85 was a bequest of Archibald Henry Sayce (1845-1933), Prof. of Assyriology at the University (1891-1919). A.D. Passmore, a collector and antiquities dealer in Swindon, who made frequent donations between 1930 and 1971, contributed AN 1955.457 to the Ashmolean. Mirror AN 1957.71 was bequeathed by W.L. Hildburgh, Esq., who had a London address at the time of his death in 1957. Mirror AN 1959.319 was purchased from Messrs Spinks, the long established coin and antiquities dealers on King Street, London. AN 1971.896 was purchased in 1966 from the collection of the businessman James Bomford, Esq., who had given a collection of fine ancient Persian bronzes to the museum in 1965. It was shown along with the latter and with antiquities from the collection of Mrs Brenda Bomford, his wife, at an Ashmolean exhibition in 1966. Mirror AN 1983.196, was acquired by bequest of J.C. Thomson of Lordsmead, Huntmore.

In this fascicule there are two mirrors from the Pitt Rivers Museum. One of these, inv. 1884.70.11, was part of the original collection of General Augustus Henry Lane Fox, surnamed Pitt Rivers from 1880 when he inherited the title and the estate of Cranborne Chase. The mirror became the property of the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford when the museum was created in 1884. A second mirror, 1897.61.3, was acquired in 1897 from G.F. Lawrence, of Wandsworth, SW London, thought to be a collector and dealer, who made several other donations to the Pitt Rivers Museum between 1892 and 1915.

As for the mirror at Claydon House, Buckinghamshire, the date of its acquisition and its provenance are unknown. Claydon, once the estate of the Verney family, was donated to the National Trust in 1956.

\* Michael Vickers contributed significantly to the information contained in this account.

## CATALOGUE OF THE MIRRORS

## ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

**1. Circular tanged mirror (or possibly originally with bronze handle) with extension. Figs. 1a-d**

AN 1871.96. Provenance. Said to be from Chiusi. Acquired with Alessandro Castellani Collection, 1871.

*Bibliography.* Unpublished.

*Material and condition.* Bronze. Disc of mirror in good condition. *Obverse.* Patina green with flecks of reddish brown; restored in upper left portion of disc with plaster tinted blue-grey; shows much corrosion, with pit marks and flaking; surface scratched by clumsy abrasive cleaning; mirror still has reflecting property, especially of light. *Reverse.* Patina dark with flecks of red with pitting of much of surface, especially on right side. On the upper right, blue-grey plaster visible. Handle mended in antiquity; tang or possibly bronze handle, now broken off, was attached with three rivets. The points are broken off the extension on both sides.

*Measurements.* W. 17.4 cm. Max. h. 21.4 cm. Preserved l. of riveted piece 2.8 cm. Wt. 218.79 g.

*Type.* Circular disc, with offset oblique rim. Extension is narrow relative to the disc. No centre point visible.

*Decoration*

**OBVERSE.** Has floral pattern in extension, perhaps an acanthus plant with volute-shaped fronds of palmette emerging. Leaves (?) curve over the top of the palmette.

**REVERSE.** Has lotus in extension, partly obscured by repair to handle. Vine tendril in upper exergue of the medallion.

The scene on the reverse shows two youths on the left, and probably two female figures on the right. The seated youth on the left is nude except for slippers and a mantle fastened with a button or round pin at the center of the neck. Little of his anatomy is indicated, only the genitals and the folds of flesh in the abdomen. The hair is full and hangs down over the ears; the convention used to represent it is a series of ringlets. The nose is pointed, the lips slightly protruding. The eye is indicated with the lid overlapping the pupil and creating an effect of lowering. He turns inward, extending his right hand toward the youth before him. His posture is one of half-leaning, half-sitting, with his proper right leg extended straight out and his left bent, with his foot braced on a rocky mound. The standing male figure second from the left, also nude except for mantle (again with rounded pin) and slippers, seems to hold a staff in his right hand. It overlaps the first youth in an incoherent way. His pose features a *contrapposto* with the head turned to his right and the hips rotating to his left, with the right leg straight and foot frontal, and the left leg bent casually

behind the right. Both arms are raised and bent at the elbows, the right to hold the staff and the left in a gesture that cannot be ascertained due to damage in this area. No indications of anatomy are visible. The hair is done in conventional ringlets and the eye with lowered eyelid. The figure is identical to the other male figure in hairstyle, mantle and slippers and it is possible that the two are twins. The seated female figure on the right is dressed in a chiton fastened on both shoulders, with a mantle falling about her hips; the mantle spreads out in a stiff elliptical pattern. She also has a necklace and perhaps wears slippers. A single foot is visible, in profile, pointing left. She appears to lift a veil from her shoulder with her right hand. The left arm is bent and seems to have the elbow resting on something. The index finger on her left hand is pointing downward. The hair is in ringlets, and the eye has a lowered lid; the mouth is indicated by a double-curved line. In between her and the standing youth there is probably a second female figure, standing and facing left. A single foot appears below, represented as frontal. The area is corroded, but portions of a face are discernible, and a helmet may be present on the head. A mantle or curtain seems to run behind the seated female, in front of the standing female, and behind the two youths, but it intermingles with the mantles of the youths and the seated maiden, as well as with what is probably the chiton of the standing female. The figures stand before a vague trabeated structure, in a setting with rocky ground near the male on the left.

*Subject and interpretation.* The figure on the right lifting the veil (bridal?) is perhaps Elinai (Helen) and the two youths may be her brothers (the Dioskouroi). The second female, if she is indeed helmeted, would be Menrva (Athena). A similar group occurs in *CSE Italia* 1.II.4, where, however, the bridal figure and a male are standing in the middle and Menrva is seated on the right. SASSATELLI identifies that group as Helen between the Dioskouroi in the presence of Athena. Another comparison is provided by *ES* II, pl. CXCII, a very similar composition in which Menrva has taken the seat on the right and Turms (Hermes) is on the left; both central figures are now male (i.e., Elinai is not present). A third comparison, *ES* II, pl. CXCIII (REBUFFAT, *Miroir* no. 1294) features Menrva seated on the right, an elegantly dressed female standing next to her, and on the left a nude seated youth and a nude standing youth, both wearing Phrygian headgear (probably the Dioskouroi, in which case the elegant female would be Elinai). Thus on three of the four mirrors the group seems to be Elinai, Menrva and the twin brothers.

*Characteristics of the decoration.* The incision is made with a fluid stroke and is of a consistent, medium depth.

There is some irrational overlapping of strokes (as in the staff noted above). The four mirrors compared above, probably from the same workshop (they have a similar size and shape, including the extension) are all decorated with a four-figure group set against a trabeated structure, with the composition closed on the left by a male in half-seated posture and on the right by a seated female with raised right hand. None of the mirrors has a border decoration. The Bologna mirror and the Ashmolean mirror have a similar palmette with acanthus in the extension of the obverse. Especially close in style to the Ashmolean mirror is *ES* II, pl. CXCII, which features similar anatomy for the seated male (folds in the abdomen) and an almost identical pose for the standing youth. Both mirrors also have the arbitrary drapery running behind all four figures. The Ashmolean mirror features a convention for the hair different from that of other mirrors in this group, with curls unarticulated and piled up in a grape cluster effect. The others show individual strands of the hair in concentric circles within each major lock. On the Ashmolean mirror, the drawing is not so skillfully naturalistic as on the Bologna mirror (nor on the others, but the difference may be due to the modern artist's drawing). BEAZLEY and HAYNES located the style, seen on a number of mirrors, at Volterra or Chiusi, the latter of which would fit with the report of a Chiusine provenance for the Ashmolean mirror. Cf. *CSE* DDR I.15; BEAZLEY, *EVP*, pp. 130-132, Group Z; MANSUELLI 1946-47, pp. 36-40, 59-60; HAYNES, pp. 29-31. NAGY 1996 has linked a similar group to Chiusi (3rd century B.C.).

*Date.* Hellenistic, probably early 3rd century B.C. The Bologna mirror was found in the Arnoaldi cemetery in a female burial with a tomb group dated by SASSATELLI to the end of the 4th century or beginning of the 3rd, including a Volterranean colonnette krater, Volterranean black gloss of the Malacena group, and a skyphos with overpainted decoration of the group Ferrara T 585.

## 2. Circular mirror with extension (originally with tang or bronze handle). Figs. 2a-d

AN 1871.97. Provenance. Said to be from Chiusi, but identical with a mirror found at Orvieto, ca.1833, and once in the collection of Count Ravizza at Orvieto. Acquired with Alessandro Castellani Collection, presented to Ashmolean in March, 1871.

*Bibliography.* T. PANOFKA, in *AnnInst* 5, 1833, pl. F p. 339; *BullInst* 1833 p. 96; WELCKER, in *AnnInst* 1845, p. 206; *ES* II, pl. CLXXXIV; III, pp. 183-184 (Ravizza mirror); OVERBECK, *Gallerie*, XI, 10, p. 251; BROWN 1980 p. 76, pl. XXXVIII; CRISTOFANI 1985, p. 11; LIMC

VIII, 1997, p. 164, no. 37, s.v. 'Uni'; AMBROSINI 2003, p. 433 and fig. 35. CARPINO 2003, p. 77, pl. 110.

*Material and condition.* Bronze. Condition very poor. Disc is warped and cracked in many places and the tang (or possibly handle) is broken off just below the extension. *Obverse.* Has patina of varying color, mostly dark green, but no thick incrustation. A few areas at top of disc on both sides show bright green bronze disease. Reflection evident in patches, but only light. *Reverse.* Dull deep green to black. There are pockmarks scattered across the surface. There are two small drill holes on the lower left of the reverse of the disc (lower right of the obverse). The incision on the reverse has degenerated considerably since the mirror was drawn in the 19th century (Illus. 1). Cf. comments under *Decoration*, below.

*Measurements.* W. 17 cm. Max. h. 21 cm. Wt. 301.97 g.

*Type.* Circular disc, with vertical undecorated rim. The disc is thin, but large and therefore heavy. No centre point visible.

### *Decoration*

OBVERSE. On obverse in extension, vegetal decoration in very poor condition; perhaps a palmette, or lotus and palmette.

REVERSE. Disc is encircled by a flat raised area, undecorated, ca. 0.4 cm. wide. A border appears around the medallion, with lancet leaves in pairs alternating with berries in pairs, rising on each side and meeting near the top, center. The *ES* drawing (Illus. 1) shows a flower with three petals in the middle at the top. In the extension, preserved today are the face and one wing of an owl. The *ES* drawing shows the whole owl with wings widespread as if in flight and with face turned in 3/4 view. The owl has ears; it carries in its claws what is probably a necklace with two *bullae* upon it. (GERHARD interpreted this element as a Bacchic tympanum and PANOFKA as a wheel.) On the left is a female figure, seated and facing right, mainly nude but with a mantle draped behind her and a crown with rays on her head. Little of her anatomy is visible. She extends her right hand in front of her and her left rests on her left knee. Next, to the right is a standing female figure, turned in 3/4 view toward the first figure, wearing a diadem with rays, a necklace with large beads, and a fine mantle with a border of decorative dots and circles, perhaps imitating jewels sewn onto a garment. Her long hair is parted in the middle and features curls in concentric circles on either side. Her hands are not visible, but the left arm seems to hang down by the side, muffled by the mantle, and the right hand seems to be raised to breast height. On the *ES* drawing, her right hand is clearly displayed with palm open, fingers pointing upward. On the right of her is a third female figure, also turned in 3/4 toward the left, wearing a chiton. She has a more elaborate diadem than those on the first two figures, featuring rays and semicircular and circular patterns. She also wears a more elaborate necklace, with beads and large

pendants. Her right hand seems to be raised to adjust her garment at the shoulder, or perhaps to rest on the proper left shoulder of the figure beside her. It is evident in the *ES* drawing that her left hand holds a spear. Once again the hair is parted, though a little off center; the ringlets are shown only on her proper left side. All three goddesses have pendant earrings, shown in the drawing but no longer visible on the mirror. On the right of the scene is a seated male figure. He has long hair, with ringlets, but lacking in individual strands, and is nude from the waist up, with his mantle wrapped about the lower part of his body. On the *ES* drawing his musculature is indicated in considerable detail, using tiny hatch marks to indicate the rib cage and abdomen. He holds in his right hand a rounded object that resembles an egg (PANOFKA noted that it was pear- or egg-shaped; GERHARD refers to it as *längliche Frucht*) and with his left seems to gesture toward the naked goddess (or perhaps touches the shoulder of the lady with the elaborate mantle?). In the background there is a lightly bowed-up entablature, with two friezes; the upper one features alternating 'triglyphs' (they actually have only two vertical lines) and circles. The lower one, visible only in the *ES* drawing, again has the 'triglyphs', this time alternating with a four-pointed star motif. GERHARD saw a reference to the circle of the zodiac in the curved element.

*Subject and interpretation.* The subject was interpreted by GERHARD as the Judgment of Paris, with Elcsntre (Paris) seated on the right and holding out the egg-like object, which accordingly must be interpreted as the prize in the beauty contest. The female figures would then be the three goddesses of the contest, Menrva (Athena) with spear, Turan (Aphrodite) in the nude and Uni (Hera) as the tall well-dressed female second from the left. The egg shape of the apple may result from the influence of the story of the Egg of Helen, ever popular in Etruscan art (cf. *ES* V, pl. 77), which has a similar atmosphere and personages. *ES* V, pl. 100 is another example of the Judgment of Paris that has reminiscences of the egg theme. GERHARD saw Orphic overtones.

*Characteristics of the decoration.* The tract of incision is shallow, perhaps due to patina, but authentic. It varies in width. The nose of the female on the left is slightly deeper, wider in cut, perhaps even recut. A few strokes overlap, but generally the tract is controlled and smooth.

The border is a little unusual for an Etruscan mirror, in that it combines the leaves with berries. These leaves were referred to as olive by GERHARD, but are more likely laurel or myrtle, as may be seen on comparisons cited by WIMAN, *Malstria-Malena*, pp. 113-117. Such narrow elongated leaves are found on a number of mirrors, with the

leaves sometimes quite long and at other times shorter, as in this case. Often the presence of berries and a little flower at the top on such wreaths is associated with a border decoration used on Praenestine mirrors (*ES* V, pl. 48, 63.2, 129.2). One of the few Etruscan mirrors that has a similar wreath, now in Paris (*CSE* France 1.I.35, on which the berries seem to be only at the top of the wreath at the point where the two branches meet), also has some other similar stylistic features: the garment border with circular decoration, the diadem with rays, the female hairdo parted in the middle, the male musculature indicated by hatching, the two frieze entablature with motifs similar to the circles and four-pointed star. The Paris and Ashmolean mirrors are not so alike as to be by the same hand, but could easily be from the same workshop.

*Date.* Early Hellenistic, end of 4th /beginning of 3rd century B.C. (REBUFFAT in *CSE* France 1.I.35 dates the Paris mirror to the end of the 4th century, perhaps a little too precisely).

### 3. Circular tanged mirror (or possibly originally with bronze handle) with extension. Figs. 3a-d

AN 1877.64. Provenance: unknown.

*Bibliography.* Unpublished.

*Material and condition.* Bronze. Handle or (more likely) tang broken off at base of extension. *Obverse.* Much corroded. Patina dull green with brownish incrustation. At the top of the disc where the incrustation has flaked off, there are patches of reddish patina and a shiny dark green metallic surface that reflects light and outlines of objects. Disc broken and perforated on left. *Reverse.* Has been cleaned; scrub marks faintly visible. Much of surface is dark green, a few spots are a corroded bright green. Surface pitted in places. A few lines no longer visible.

*Measurements.* W. 14.1cm. Max. h. 16 cm. Wt. 111.24 g.

*Type.* Disc round, thin, light with rim slightly slanted inward toward the reverse. *Reverse.* There is a very small centre point, exactly 7.2 cm. from the rim at all points, located on the curved line of the lower abdomen of the single female figure.

#### *Decoration*

EDGE. Much abraded, with faint traces of beading pattern. *OBVERSE.* Shows faint beading pattern along the rim. Otherwise no visible decoration on the obverse. *REVERSE.* Has no border, but shows a winged female figure in three-quarter view alone in the field, flying right, nude except for diadem and slippers. The diadem, a plain band

running across the front of the head, is placed above her hair, indicated across the brow and along the temples by a wavy outline encircling the curls or puffs of hair. Her left arm is extended out in front of the body as if to aid her flight, and the right, lightly bent, follows behind her. Her hands are empty, instead of holding alabastron and/or perfume dipper, as such figures usually do, but the fingers are loosely extended as if to hold something or else to make a meaningful gesture. Grand wings, with six large feather groups of knife-like shape pointing downward. The legs are spread apart to indicate rapid motion, with the proper right leg forward and almost straight, and with the right foot extending down into the extension. The left leg is bent back and the slippered foot touches the curve of the field behind the figure. Both feet are seen in profile rather than frontally or in three-quarter view. The anatomy of the female figure features breasts indicated frontally by a roughly circular outline with a tiny circle for the nipple. The abdomen is articulated by a long *linea alba*, running through the navel, and flanked by two shorter angular lines. The lower part of the abdomen is indicated by a broad U-shape, with a small line below that to indicate the division in the female genitalia. In field on the left, lotus flower, evidently triple, running partly behind the proper right leg of the figure and on the right, convolvulus, with stem. The wings take up most of the rest of the field. No border around the medallion.

*Subject and interpretation.* The nude, winged, flying, single goddess is a common subject on Etruscan mirrors and is a spirit often associated with adornment or anointing. The name "Lasa" has often been conventionally applied, and just as frequently objections have been made to the usage of this name without an inscription (RALLO, *Lasa*). SASSATELLI (*CSE Italia* 1.1.34) discusses the problem at length, with citation of the original recognition of the series as the work of the 'Maestro delle Lase' by MANSUELLI 1946-47, pp. 33, 56. WIMAN, *Malstria-Malena*, pp. 156-179 (using the term 'Pseudo-Lasa', equally open to objection), collected 29 specimens of the scene type that have been authoritatively published, arranging them in order of 'decline' from a hypothesized original ideal version. Oxford 3 is consistent with this type except for one major variation: WIMAN's figures fly to the left, and this one moves right. There are at least three other examples of a spirit flying right, one published by GERHARD from a private collection (*ES* I, pl. 31. 3), another excavated at Tarquinia, Tomb 5740 of the Monterozzi necropolis (CAVAGNARO VANONI 1977, fig. 12, no. 10), and another in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Budapest, *CSE Hongrie-Tchécoslovaquie* 3. *ES* II, pl. CCXLIVa from Praeneste shows a spirit turned to the right, but standing.

The mirror from Tarquinia is so close to the Ashmolean

mirror that they are undoubtedly from the same workshop and probably by the same hand. The Tarquinia spirit also flies through a field with both convolvulus and triple lotus (though the flowers have switched places, with the lotus now on the right side of the field) and likewise lacks attributes. The Ashmolean goddess fits in with some of the versions that are listed by WIMAN as closer to the archetype, for example, one that is in the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen (*CSE Denmark* 1.12), which shows the goddess holding a perfume dipper in her extended right hand and a large alabastron in her left. The Copenhagen mirror is the only one in WIMAN's group that has the two kinds of flower in the field, convolvulus and lotus; their composition is in mirror image with the ones on the Ashmolean mirror. On other mirrors in the group the attribute may be changed, for example to a branch of olive/laurel (*CSE Denmark* 1.23), or a staff with an enlarged end (thyrsos? *CSE Denmark* 1.16). One other mirror in Wiman's archetypal range, in Brussels, LAMBRECHTS, *Mir.Mus. Royaux*, no. 52, has the hands empty and in addition has many other stylistic features in common with Oxford 3.

No specific designation of the spirits is possible; those with different attributes, or lacking them, may have differing significance. There is no evidence to support the identification by SALS KOV ROBERTS regardless of attribute, of the figure as Turan (*CSE Denmark* 1.12.16.23).

*Characteristics of the decoration.* Fluid, skillful incision of medium depth. The lines are long and continuous, with breaks only at logical points. No overlapping or visible omissions. The work is routine, but not sloppy. The parts of the human body tend to be elongated and loopy, as in the fingers of both hands, and the nose. The arms and legs are also very long in proportion to the torso. The style of the Brussels mirror, said to be from Chiusi, is similar and the dimensions of the mirror are also close (diameter 14.8; maximum preserved length 18.3). For the Budapest mirror, SZILÁGYI in *CSE Hongrie-Tchécoslovaquie* no. 3. also makes a connection with Chiusi. The style of Oxford no. 3 is identical to that in the Tarquinia mirror, with the same proportions and same conventions for the breasts, abdomen and wings. The dimensions of the Tarquinia mirror (diameter 14.7, length with tang, 19.5) are also very close to those of Oxford 3. The Tarquinia mirror, definitely of the tanged type, strongly suggests that Oxford no. 3 is the same.

*Date.* SZILÁGYI, *CSE Hongrie-Tchécoslovaquie* no. 3 dates the Budapest mirror no later than the middle decades of the 3rd century B.C. LAMBRECHTS, *Mir.Mus.Royaux* no. 52, dates the Brussels specimen ca. 300 B.C. CAVAGNARO VANONI convincingly dates the Tarquinia mirror by the

grave goods to the end of the 4th or first half of the 3rd century B.C. and Oxford no. 3 may be dated the same.

#### 4. Circular mirror with bronze handle. Figs. 4a-d

AN 1880.41. Provenance: said to be from Rome. Purchased by the Rev. Greville J. Chester (1830-1892), curate of St Jude's, Sheffield; acquired by the museum in 1880 p. 17 On Chester, see also *CSE* Great Britain 1, p. 15.

*Bibliography.* Unpublished.

*Material and condition.* Bronze. Condition good. *Obverse.* Disc slightly cracked on obverse left. Mirror has some reflecting capacity, mainly light, with little image visible. Bronze has a brownish gold color with some pitting of the surface. *Reverse.* Similar brownish color, with pitting.

*Measurements.* W. 9.6 cm. H. 18.9 cm. H. of handle 7 cm. Wt. 158.75 g.

*Type.* Circular disc, with handle in one piece with disc. Bulbous raised rim. Handle terminates in animal head articulated on obverse but very little on reverse; animal has ears faintly modeled and of moderate length, without points showing. Impossible to tell whether it is the conventional mule or deer. Handle is rounded on the obverse, in section, and is flattened, with a groove on the reverse. On obverse above terminal, grip has abstract geometric pattern with triangles, perhaps remnant of griffin heads (Cf. *CSE* Hongrie-Tchécoslovaquie 8 and refs. cited). Handle curves lightly toward the holder of the mirror as the reverse is being viewed. Rim of the disc extends inward in a raised, flat band 0.5 cm. wide. No centre point visible.

#### *Decoration*

*EDGE.* Notching all along rim, visible especially on obverse, with groove setting off notching from reflecting area.

*OBVERSE.* Notching visible as described under *EDGE*. In extension on obverse, stylized lotus with flame at the top of it.

*REVERSE.* Has two grooves in extension, a remnant of a lotus pattern. The design on the reverse shows mirroring images of the figures conventionally identified as the Dioskouroi, standing and regarding each other. The figure on the left, shorter of the two, leans away from the centre of the mirror, with his legs crossed in a relaxed stance. The right leg, forward, takes the weight of the body, while the left leg is bent behind it. His right arm is akimbo (the hand is not actually shown) and the left arm is omitted. He wears a high-waisted tunic, a Phrygian-style helmet and a faintly indicated boot on the left foot, while the right foot is cut off at the ankle. The tunic has a "blousing" effect at the top, articulated by short, roughly vertical lines. The skirt, with length just above the knee, is divided by two roughly vertical interior lines. His twin, on the

right, is represented in the same attire and with similar pose (left arm akimbo with hand not shown; legs crossed with left foot forward), but is taller and does not lean away so far from the centre. Between the two figures there are three circles in a triangular pattern.

*Subject and interpretation.* This type of mirror, engraved with the images of the Dioskouroi facing each other, was immensely popular and has been discussed many times in the fascicles of the *CSE* as well as elsewhere. See esp. MANSUELLI 1946-47, pp. 48, 62-65; DE PUMA, *LIMC* 3 (1986), pp. 597-608, Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar; REBUFFAT, *Miroir*, pp. 483-86; G. SASSATELLI, in *CSE* Italia I.I.1. 8, 9, 37 etc.; SALS KOV ROBERTS, *Dating*; U. HÖCKMANN, in *CSE* BRD 1.21; HÖCKMANN, *Datierung*, pp. 259-60; WIMAN, *Malstria-Malena*, 201, 234-5; DE GRUMMOND 1991. J. G. SZILÁGYI, in *CSE* Hongrie-Tchécoslovaquie no. 8.

The present fascicle contains a total of five Dioskouroi mirrors, and within the narrow limits of the type, they do exhibit variety. Four of them belong to the broad category named by REBUFFAT from the 'blousing' tunic worn by the twins (Oxford nos. 4, 11, 18, 25) and the fifth (Oxford no. 26) features the brooch on the shoulder fastening the top of the garment, classified by REBUFFAT as 'pinned' tunic. But further divisions are suggested by the attributes that are included with the twins. A number of them belong to the simple type seen in this specimen, with the principal identifying attribute as the stars or constellation that signifies their immortality, seen here as three circles between their heads. (There may be only two circles or there may be as many as five, or the star may be indicated with points, also varying in number; cf. no. 18). An especially close comparison may be found in *CSE* BRD 1.21 (q.v. for many other references), which has only the three circles, and no other attribute. (The measurements of the mirror are close, also: diameter 10.2 cm. and length 20.8 cm., weight 154.92 g.)

*Characteristics of the decoration.* The incision varies in depth and width. There are rather deep grooves in the helmets and the hems of tunics. The vertical lines of the tunics are thinner, more shallow. The drawing is quite routine, even sloppy, with vertical lines of the blousing tunic overlapping the horizontal lines of the hem.

*Date.* Hellenistic. The dating of Dioskouroi mirrors is controversial, with two major schools of thought. REBUFFAT studied the excavation evidence and concluded that the mirrors belong to the 3rd century B.C.; she has been followed by most scholars. SALS KOV ROBERTS studied tomb groups from around Chiusi and concluded that the evidence supported a continuation of the type into the 2nd century B.C. CRISTOFANI (1975, p. 20) published a mirror from a tomb at the Portone necropolis, undecorated but of

the appropriate form, that is securely dated to the 2nd c. B.C. HÖCKMANN has argued for a 2nd century date on the basis of stylistic development, though there are many examples from excavated contexts that belong logically to the 3rd century B.C. She dates the example *CSE BRD 1.21*, a close comparison for Oxford no. 4, to the 2nd cent. B.C. There is no clinching evidence for either argument, and as unsatisfying as it may seem, without a specific excavated example that is closely comparable and precisely datable, we can only date these mirrors generally to the Hellenistic period, and favor the majority opinion of 3rd century B.C., without, however, ruling out the 2nd century. Provenance is even more difficult, as Dioskouroi mirrors have been found at a wide range of sites in Etruria and it is not possible to localize production (see DE GRUMMOND 1991, p. 12).

### 5. Circular mirror with tang, Figs. 5a-d

AN 1888.488c. Provenance: Museum register lists Metaponto and Basilicata as possibilities, but these are unlikely. Gift of the Rev. Greville J. Chester (cf. Oxford no. 4).

*Bibliography.* Unpublished.

*Material and condition.* Bronze. Condition very poor. *Obverse.* Covered with rough green incrustation, a few spots of bright green. Mirror has no reflecting properties. *Edge.* Distorted by incrustations. *Reverse.* Has been cleaned, removing much of the original design. What may be seen is mostly a reddish corrosion that has eaten up the lines, with a few spots of bright green and a little of the original golden bronze engraved surface. The extension has been left uncleaned. (In modern times, a wooden handle was added, along with a bronze lion's head, probably from a Roman patera, and bronze ring on the end. The addition was removed in 1993.)

*Measurements.* W. 15.7 cm. H. 24.3 cm. Wt. (with handle) 446.9 g.

*Type.* Disc round, heavy and ambitiously decorated, with extension and tang. Rim is of bulbous raised type (cf. *CSE Great Britain 2*, p. 7). No centre point visible.

#### *Decoration*

EDGE. Has ovolo motif, creating a beaded effect.

OBVERSE. No engraved decoration visible.

REVERSE. No image visible in extension. In medallion, no border visible. The male figure on the left seems to be a warrior, turned three-quarters to the right, in the act of putting a greave on his left leg, by fully extending both arms and lifting his left leg. He wears a mantle that hangs down to his knees, and probably has on a 'muscle' cuirass seen in foreshortened, three-quarter view. The head of a female figure is visible in the upper middle of the disc. The hair is

parted in the middle, and she seems to wear a diadem. Portions of her chiton are visible in the lower part of the mirror. Between her and the warrior are a few lines that may have delineated other parts of his armor, perhaps a spear and a shield. On the far right is a bearded male figure, facing left, wearing a mantle, which he pulls back with his left hand. Between him and the head of the female figure are lines that may have represented the point of a spear. There is a small boy standing between the male figure and the female figure; he is nude and seen from the rear.

*Subject and interpretation.* The theme is that of the arming of the hero. The subject may be identified by analogy with a Greek black-figure vase painting of ca. 540-530 B.C. (A. KOSSATZ DEISSMANN, *LIMC 1* (1981), Achilles, no. 187), which has the figures inscribed as Achilles and Thetis, with Peleus, the father of the hero, and Neoptolemos, his son. The vase-painting is rare and KOSSATZ DEISSMANN has noted that there is no recorded literary tradition for the arming of Achilles in the presence of his son and his father (hence at home, at Phthia). An Etruscan mirror in Paris shows *thethis* (Thetis) with her hands on the shoulders of *axle* (Achilles) as if to adjust his mantle, as the boy *nevtlane* (Neoptolemos) looks on. A seated female figure in the scene could be Deidamia, the mother of the boy (REBUFFAT, *Miroir*, pp. 258-264, 549; *ES II*, pl. CCXXXI). In this case, the arming is conceived of as taking place at the court of Lycomedes. A similar pose for the hero, with one leg raised to put on one of the greaves, may be seen on a mirror in *ES II*, pl. CCXXVII, where Achilles is attended by his mother and Menrva and by a youth (identified by GERHARD as Patroklos, but more likely also Neoptolemos). A very different possibility is raised by a mirror in the Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, which shows *axle* arming in the presence of a non-Greek cast of characters (J.P. SMALL, *LIMC 6* (1992), Mevntie, no. 1). Here the hero, assuming the same pose of putting on his greaves, is placed on the right side of the medallion, and the kingly figure is placed on the left, enthroned. The king is labeled Mevntie, i.e., Mezentius, and the scene thus shows a remarkable Etruscan story in which the greatest Greek hero seems to serve an Etruscan king. Two Etruscan figures otherwise unknown, Zelachthra (female) and Ethun (male), attend the king. No child is present on the Villa Giulia mirror. (For discussion, see DE GRUMMOND 2006, 205-207.)

*Characteristics of the decoration.* The incision is of medium depth, fluid and skillful as far as can be seen. This was an ambitious and fine mirror. Although in wretched condition, it is possible to place the mirror typologically near the mirrors grouped around a specimen in Bloomington dated ca. 300 B.C. by BONFANTE 1977. See DE PUMA in *CSE*

U.S.A. 1.4. The Ashmolean mirror is smaller (the Bloomington mirror measures 17.8 cm in diameter) but shows a similar shape, with comparable beaded rim and ambitious multifigure composition. It is difficult to say much about the figure style, but there are certain details and certain mannerisms of the artist that fit with the Bloomington group (e.g., the parted hair and diadem of the female figure; the tilt of the warrior's face in three-quarter view; the loopy drapery of the male figure on the right).

*Date.* Late 4th/early 3rd century B.C.

## 6. Circular mirror with bronze handle. Figs. 6a-d

AN 1888.1378. Provenance: said to be from Chiusi. Presented by A.J. Evans, Keeper, who obtained it in 1882.

*Bibliography.* Unpublished.

*Material and condition.* Bronze. Condition fair. The mirror as a whole seems to have been covered with a thick incrustation, colored medium to bright green. *Obverse.* Covered over in modern times by a sheet of copper with triangular points wrapped around the rim of the mirror, the removal of which would be difficult and potentially damaging to the mirror. *Reverse.* Cleaned with some success to reveal the figure scene underneath. The metal here is dark brown with traces of the original golden bronze showing through. The extension has not been cleaned.

*Measurements.* W. 13.1cm. H. 28.5 cm. Wt. 318.5 g. (includes copper sheet)

*Type.* Disc round, with handle cast in one piece with it. Rim of offset oblique type, as far as can be observed. Handle features animal-head terminal; it is not possible to identify the type of animal, whether ram or deer. On obverse there are ridges above the eyes, and a beaded pattern in the area where there are normally laid-back ears. The animal head curves toward the reverse, and the reverse is decorated with wavy lines perhaps meant to indicate hair of the animal. Above the terminal, a groove runs down the middle of the handle on both obverse and reverse; there is notching alongside the grooves. The cross section of the handle is rectangular. There is also a groove running down each side of the handle. On reverse in extension, stylized vegetal pattern, perhaps a lotus. The disc is saucer shaped, with a broad flat raised area, 1.2 cm. wide running around the medallion. No centre point visible.

### *Decoration*

OBVERSE. Not visible.

REVERSE. The medallion is framed by a laurel border, in which the leaves are in pairs, but joining the main stems slightly off axis from each other. The composition is framed by two nude, seated youths seen in three-quarter

view, each facing toward the inside of the composition, half sitting, half leaning. Each has a mantle spread across the seat. The figure on the left seems to have his hands wrapped in his mantle, and the figure on the right has one hand-- his proper left-- wrapped in the mantle, while his right is raised toward the mouth with the finger extended, in a common gesture of meditation seen on many mirrors (DE GRUMMOND 2002 pp. 71-72). Both youths wear boots, of which the laces are visible and both wear the soft military cap, the *pileus*. In the middle on the left is a female figure dressed in a sleeveless chiton, turned towards the left and with her right arm raised to lay a hand on the shoulder of her male neighbor. Her left arm is not visible. Next to her in the middle, right, is a standing male figure, facing front but with the mantle fastened at the neck and hanging down the back so as to leave most of the body exposed. He wears boots, but again, only the laces are visible. The pose is relaxed, with the proper right hip thrust out and the upper torso falling into an S-curve. The proper right arm is casually placed to the side and behind the back, and the left arm is not visible. His hair is made up of a series of ringlets framing the face. A similar convention is used for the hair of the other youths, where it is shown escaping from the caps around the forehead and sides of the head. The female figure has the same convention of ringlets framing the face, while the hair on the head is rendered in strands by a series of parallel lines. Behind the figures there is a rudimentary architectural motif, showing a horizontal entablature supported by two vaguely indicated vertical elements. One of these, in between the seated male on the right and his companion, shows vague indications of the volutes of a capital. Above this there is a wavy line perhaps indicating atmosphere (DE GRUMMOND 1982 ).

*Subject and interpretation.* In the Ashmolean there are four mirrors with a similar four-figure group: nos. 6, 7, 12, and 15. No. 15, a forgery, will be discussed briefly below under its own entry. The other three may be discussed as authentic (or largely authentic) examples of the late Etruscan mirror type of the conversation group with four figures, in which the composition is framed by two seated figures, normally male, while two figures stand between them. In the background are often bits of architectural decoration. The male figures are identifiable as the Dioskouroi, because of their characteristic hat, the *pileus*. The female figure is sometimes identifiable as Menrva, with the attribute of a helmet, but here the helmet is lacking, and it is not possible to identify either the female figure or the standing youth.

*Characteristics of the decoration.* The incision is of medium depth and has a jerky character, especially where anatomy is depicted. There are occasional minor overlap-

pings of the lines. The style is typically Hellenistic, with the figures elongated, and with the anatomy indicated in a summary fashion. The faces feature a conventional curved line for the mouth, imparting a wry expression, and a nose with a point on the end of it. The convention for the eye utilizes a line for the upper eyelid and another for the lower, with the oval eyeball in between. The eyebrows are rendered as well. This style and the characteristic four-figure composition are paralleled on literally dozens of late Etruscan mirrors, recently studied in an authoritative manner by A. FRASCARELLI, *CSE Italia* 2.I.14, with extensive citations in reference to Perugia mirror 1032. Oxford no. 6 belongs to her Group B, with Dioskouroi seated as framing figures. A very close parallel is seen in *CSE Italia* 2.I.15, and in *CSE France* 1.I.36.

*Date.* Hellenistic, 3rd century B.C., as the group is dated by FRASCARELLI, on the basis of the evidence of a tomb group from Tuscania.

### 7. Mirror with circular disc and extension (and probably originally with bronze handle). Figs. 7a-d

AN 1888.1379. Provenance: unknown. Presented by Arthur J. Evans, Keeper 1884-1894.

*Bibliography.* Unpublished.

*Material and condition.* Bronze. Condition poor. The disc appears to have been broken into 3 or 4 large pieces, which have been glued together. The joins are partly concealed with a plaster tinted green on the obverse and brown on the reverse. *Obverse.* Covered with corrosion in varying shades of green and almost totally lacking in reflecting properties. *Reverse.* Has been cleaned, but there is still much lumpy corrosion in the extension and on the right side of the disc, where it has a reddish cast. In places the surface has been cleaned to reveal a dull brown or golden color. The engraving has been brought out by the addition of a light brown wash. The handle was probably made in one piece with the disc, but is now broken off; lumps of lead solder at the bottom of the extension on both obverse and reverse probably belong to a modern repair.

*Measurements.* W.12.8 cm. Max. h. 16 cm. Wt. 167.63 g.

*Type.* Disc round, with offset oblique rim. Extension preserved, but not the handle. There is a centre point present, located on the proper right hip of the male standing figure. Disc has a saucer shape with a wide, slightly raised border, 1.4 cm. wide.

#### *Decoration*

OBVERSE. No decoration visible on obverse.

REVERSE. In the border is an ivy pattern, featuring broad

three-pointed leaves on alternating sides of the stem as they move upward. The decoration in the medallion is a four-figure group, perhaps the same as in cat. no. 6 (inv. no. 1888.1378). On the left is a seated youth, facing in profile right. He is semi-nude, with a mantle up around his hips and a cap with a brim (perhaps a Phrygian helmet?) on his head. He reaches forward with his right hand. Next to him is a standing female figure in three-quarter view, dressed in a simple tunic; she seems to put her right arm around the seated youth. To the right of her is a youth standing in a three-quarter or nearly frontal view; he is nude except for a mantle over his shoulders, fastened at the neck with a circular pin. On the right are the remaining lines of the depiction of a seated youth, in profile facing left. He is semi-nude, with a mantle wrapped around his hips. He raises his right hand toward his chin in a gesture of meditation. On the upper left is a single horizontal line that may have been part of a trabeated structure. On the left side of the scene, running around the outline of the youth is a bit of encompassing ground line (DE GRUMMOND 1982).

*Subject and interpretation.* Cf. the discussion for no. 6, above. It is not possible to identify the standing female and male figure in the middle, and too little is preserved of the seated figure on the right to make a judgment. The seated figure on the left, because he does not have the *pileus*, may not automatically be identified as one of the Dioskouroi. The brimmed hat, variant on the Phrygian helmet, does appear in scenes of the Dioskouroi, however, e.g., *CSE BRD* 3.7.

*Characteristics of the decoration.* The incision is fluid, but the drawing itself is awkward, especially in the area of the foreshortened shoulders of the youth on the left. The tract is of medium depth for the figures, shallower for the ivy border. No irrational overlapping is observable. The style is similar to that of Oxford 6 and the Perugia Group 1032 analyzed by A. FRASCARELLI, *CSE Italia* 2.I.14.

*Date.* Hellenistic, 3rd century B.C., as per FRASCARELLI.

### 8. Circular tanged mirror. Figs. 8a-d

AN Oldfield 58. Provenance: unknown. Presented by Edmund Oldfield, 1899.

*Bibliography.* DE GRUMMOND 2006, p. 190, fig. VIII.20.

*Material and condition.* Bronze. Condition good, stable. *Obverse:* relatively little corrosion. Much of surface shiny, reflecting light, objects, details. Color is khaki green to brown or dark brown. The mirror is bent so that the extension and tang project toward someone

viewing the reverse, suggesting that it may have been intentionally damaged in funerary ritual. There are cracks at some 5 locations around the periphery of the disc. *Reverse*: dark brown, with some overlay of a grainy green patina, now light, now dark. There is a dent in the center of the disc, obscuring the fact that the mirror does have a centre point. Cracking of the disc around the feet of the figure on the left.

*Measurements*. W. 17.1 cm. H. 23 cm. Wt. 268.66 g.

*Type*. Disc round, with offset oblique rim. Extension and rounded tang present. Centre point barely visible, located on the shaft of the spear held by the left-hand figure, near his hip.

#### *Decoration*

*EDGE*. Faint beading evident.

*OBVERSE*. Floral pattern in extension, a palmette with central upright leaf and three leaves on each side. Framing the palmette, a calyx of two symmetrical leaves, each with a volute at the base.

*REVERSE*. Vegetal motif in extension, probably two acanthus leaves, meeting in a peak at the top of the extension. Two little convolvuli rise out of the acanthus. No border in the medallion. Two standing figures. The figure on the left is a winged youth, nude except for a mantle and slippers, holding a spear in his left hand. Pose frontal, featuring a cross step with the right leg forward and taking the weight of the body. The left leg is crossed behind it. The right arm is bent, and has the hand resting on the hip with palm turned out. The mantle is threaded through the right arm, goes behind the figure and emerges on the other side draped over the left arm. A wing sprouts from the right shoulder, made in two parts. The lower part features four large knife-shaped feathers; the upper part, with a scalloped line at the bottom, is not articulated into individual feathers. The left wing is articulated by a single line curving around the head and toward the left. Double lotus in the field to the left of the legs. Head turned in profile toward the figure on the right. The hair is indicated by thick, loose locks falling from the crown of the head; eye seen in profile, with pupil as a circle, and lower line of the eye not meeting the pupil; nose large and pointed. Mouth slightly downturned. Nipples shown as small simple circles; genitals indicated as small, roughly U-shaped. The other figure is a warrior, represented with helmet, cloak and slippers, seen with the body in three-quarter view and the head in profile to the left. He returns the gaze of the nude youth. Shield shown in the field behind him, next to his legs. The pose is half-standing, half-leaning, with both legs relaxed. More weight seems to fall on the left leg. Left arm and hand hanging down beside the shield, and right arm raised with fingers to lips in a meditation pose. The helmet is rounded, featuring a double curving brim in the front and a cheekpiece on the

side. Cloak fastened by a round pin at the neck, hanging down to the ankles. The slippers, like those of the nude youth, are standard Etruscan type with the sole indicated as rather thick and with a little tab projecting from behind the heel. Conventions similar to those of the youth for hair (thick, loose locks) and facial features (similar eye, downturned mouth). The anatomy has similarities (U-shaped genitals), but the three-quarter figure shows the right nipple as a little bump in profile and the abdomen features a double line to indicate folded flesh.

*Subject and interpretation*. The combination of armed warrior with a nude, winged youth recurs on Etruscan mirrors and is probably correctly identified as the Dioskouroi, with the wings alluding to the immortality of the one (Polydeukes) and the lack of wings to the mortality of the other (Kastor). Sometimes the spear is held by the winged youth and sometimes by his partner. See especially *ES* I, pl. LII, 3-4, III pp. 47-48; III pl. CCLIV, 2, p. 265; V pl. 128.1, 129.1-2, pp. 173-174; DE PUMA, *LIMC* 3 (1986), Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar no. 12 (=REBUFFAT, *Miroir* pp. 159-163); and recently *CSE* Hongrie-Tchécoslovaquie no. 12.

*Characteristics of the decoration*. The incision is rather deep but of medium width. It is quite fluid and fits well with the naturalistic style. Faint traces of hatching to model form on proper right shoulder of winged youth. Similar modeling perhaps used elsewhere, but abraded or concealed by patches of patina. The artistic conventions and motifs—the cross-step pose, the slippers, the abdomen with double folds, the double lotus, the lack of a garland around the medallion—are paralleled on various mirrors from the Orvieto area. Cf. especially a mirror found in the Golini Tomb I at Orvieto (B. ADEMBRI in *Pittura etrusca*, pp. 97-99, dated third quarter of the fourth century B.C.; AMBROSINI, 2003, p. 428). See further discussion of related mirrors under Oxford no. 19 below.

*Date*. Late 4th century B.C.

#### **9. Pear-shaped tanged mirror. Figs. 9a-d**

AN 1910.773. Provenance: unknown. In 1863 present on the art market in Rome. Presented by Mrs J. Reddie Anderson in 1910.

*Bibliography*. *ES* II, pl. CCXVI; III, pp. 207-208; REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL 1976, p. 63, fig. 20. R. LAMBRECHTS, *LIMC* 6 (1992), p. 346, Malavisch.

*Material and condition*. Bronze. Very poor condition. The tang seems broken at the bottom and was certainly originally longer. It

appears longer in the 19th-century drawing in *ES* (Illus. 2) *Obverse*. Covered with lumpy corrosion, the color mostly a dark muddy green; no reflecting properties. *Reverse*. Has been cleaned to reveal much of the original tawny bronze surface, with a surface of reddish-brown color where the corrosion has been cleaned away. Much detail has been lost in the cleaning, as may be seen by comparison with the 19th-century reproduction in *ES* II, pl. CCXVI. This is a mirror that was originally of very high quality.

*Measurements*. W. 15.9 cm. H. 19.3 cm. Wt. 439.4 g.

*Type*. Disc slightly pear-shaped, thick, almost flat, with small extension. Small portion of tang preserved. Mirror unusually heavy. Rim oblique. No centre point visible.

#### *Decoration*

*EDGE*. Faint traces of ovolo molding on the edge. Beading on the edge toward the obverse.

*OBVERSE*. Lines of decoration are visible through the corrosion in the extension, showing a double palmette set well down into the extension, slightly off center; smaller palmette at the bottom pointing downward and a larger one growing up out of the extension.

*REVERSE*. Surface is lightly concave. Many details may be ascertained from the drawing in *ES*, and several details were captured in the new drawing that were not evident in *ES*. The medallion has a border of double lotus and palmette, alternating with each other and also alternating in direction; they are bound together with a volute motif. There is an exergue created by a broad horizontal band articulated by hatched triangles. Below this, a palmette growing up out of the extension, above which are two symmetrical winged figures, facing each other. Besides wings, only the heads are visible, each wearing a diadem or headband with a lock of hair or ribbon escaping over the ear. In the center of the medallion is a seated lady, turned in profile right. She wears a chiton, mantle about her hips, and *calcei repandi*, as well as a necklace in two strands and a bracelet on her upper arm with two *bullae* visible. In addition she has on her head a double ribbon or diadem decorated with dots (=jewels?), with fine strands of hair emerging onto the forehead from under the diadem. Short, wispy bangs run across the forehead. She is seated upon a tall backless chair with cushion and turned legs, and her feet rest on a stool. On the left a winged goddess in flowing, transparent chiton and wearing woven sandals turns in profile to the right, toward the seated figure. Her hair is loosely brushed back above her ears, with a lock of hair falling down in front of the ear. She may have a torque around her neck. Her right hand is visible, and seems to be raised to adjust the diadem or headband on the seated figure beside her. Her left hand may be on the shoulder of this figure. Her proper right wing falls behind her back, while her left wing

extends solicitously around the seated figure. On the right is another winged goddess, wearing chiton and mantle with a punctated border, as well as jewelry on her breast (perhaps two necklaces, one with two *bullae*). Her hair style is different from that of the other two females, with short vertical strands ending at the bottom in circlets (or perhaps a wreath?). She seems to be smoothing the chiton of the lady being adorned. Both her wings are extended behind her own back. The wings of the two attendants are made with a lower zone of fine, thin elongated feathers, articulated by hatching, while the upper curved part of the wings is decorated by stippling. Above the seated figure are the scarcely visible letters of the name Malavisch, recorded in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (*ES* II, pl. CCXVI; Illus. 2).

*Subject and interpretation*. The seated lady named Malavisch is almost certainly a bride being adorned for marriage (C. SOWDER in DE GRUMMOND, *Guide*, p. 116). LAMBRECHTS has noted the existence of five mirrors with the name inscribed, all featuring an adornment scene. (An additional mirror shows *Malavis* standing in conversation with *Hercle*, next to *Aplu* and a male *Artumes*. *CSE* Denmark 1.21.) The name may mean 'bride' or it may be a personal name of a mythological character. While the scene may be influenced by compositions of the adornment of Turan or Elinai, there is no reason to consider Malavisch as another name for either of those female personages. (In fact, Turan appears twice in supervision of the adornment of Malavisch, precluding their identity) The two attendants are not labeled here, but on other mirrors we see *Hinthial*, *Munthuch* and *Zipna*, as well as *Reschualc* (qq.vv. SOWDER in DE GRUMMOND, *Guide*, pp. 114, 118, 128 and 121-122).

*Inscription*. Written from right to left, slightly off center above the left wing of the left figure seen in the drawing in *ES*:

↓ 𐌆 𐌇 𐌆 𐌆 𐌆 𐌆 𐌆 𐌆

*malavi(s)*

Today portions of the *m* and *a* are visible, with the *l*, *a* and digamma clearly legible. A little of the *i* remains. Maximum height of letters: 0.8 cm. Letter forms of the later Etruscan alphabet (5th-1st centuries B.C.; BONFANTE-BONFANTE, fig. 6). The *m* shows equal legs and the *a* shows the straight leg on the right and curve from top right to left. RIX lists a date for the inscription as 4th century B.C. (RIX, *ET* OI S.30; *CII* 2507).

*Characteristics of the decoration*. The incision is skillful and even. In general the tract is of medium depth, but is shallow for fine details like hair. As noted, stippling

(also shallow) is used for the wings of the two goddesses. The figures are thin and a little elongated, with lines of the drapery and hair indicated delicately. The facial type shows a line, almost straight, from top of forehead to tip of nose, and the eyes seem to be indicated without pupils. The style is slightly Archaic (or perhaps archaizing). The mirror itself, thick and flat and with a vaguely pear-shape, may also be described as Archaic. The best stylistic comparison is found in the well-known mirror in Bologna, *CSE Italia* 1.I.10, showing the presentation of Esia to Menerva and Fufluns by Artames. Here are found the same motif of hatched triangles (running around the medallion instead of demarcating the exergue) and alternating double lotus and palmette as a border (without reversal of directions, though), as well as mannerisms of figure style, such as transparent drapery (Artames) the punctated hem of the garment (Artames), short wispy bangs (Esia), two-part wings with long, thin hatched feathers (though the upper part of the wing is not stippled, but features little half-circles). The Esia mirror is also slightly pear-shaped, flattish in profile and heavy (larger and heavier than the Malavisch mirror) and features an ovolo molding and beading on the edge. The two mirrors are likely from the same workshop, possibly even the same hand.

*Date.* SASSATELLI notes that the Esia mirror was reported found at Praeneste in a cista of the early type with wooden body. All data and stylistic comparisons support a date in the 5th century B.C., more specifically in the second quarter. Oxford no. 9 also can be dated to the 5th century. The Malavisch inscription, which features letters similar to those on the Esia mirror, is thus redated, and is in line with RIX's dating of the latter to the 5th century (La S.1).

## 10. Circular tanged mirror. Figs. 10a-d

AN 1920. 286. Provenance: perhaps from Chianciano. Presented by Miss Thomas of Partin Rd, Oxford.

*Bibliography.* Unpublished.

*Material and condition.* Bronze. Condition stable, but covered with a patina on both sides. *Obverse.* Thin crust of corrosion, moss green in the upper half and yellowish green at the bottom. No reflecting properties. *Reverse.* Has been scraped so that the corrosion layer remains only around the border. The surface is dark green and pitted, with some patches of tawny bronze revealed.

*Measurements.* W. 14 cm. H. 18.5 cm. Wt. 272.18 g.

*Type.* Disc circular, relatively thick and heavy for its small diameter,

with a projecting tang in an elongated triangular shape. Rim oblique. No centre point visible.

### *Decoration*

*EDGE.* Features a beaded effect.

*OBVERSE.* Has an engraved design in the extension, of which a floral decoration with remnants of a palmette and a pair of volutes is visible.

*REVERSE.* No engraved decoration is visible to the unaided eye on the reverse.

*Characteristics of the decoration.* The tract of the incision on the obverse cannot be judged due to the thick incrustation.

*Date.* Late Archaic. Simple mirrors without incision are extremely difficult to date, since few examples have been dated from excavation context (DE GRUMMOND, *Guide*, p. 8). The ones found at Bologna, Marzabotto and Spina are important, since they do have context (e.g., *CSE Italia* 1.II esp. 7 and 18), but since the sites are outside of Etruria proper, these mirrors may not provide the best comparanda. For similar mirrors see *CSE U.S.A.* 1.30 and *CSE Great Britain* 1.I.3, and for forgeries *CSE Italia* 4.32-33, with useful review of authentic examples. In general, it seems that the more modest specimens, round and with a simple tang lacking an extension, have an earlier date. Cf. *CSE Great Britain* 1.I. esp. 3. Oxford no. 10 may also date to the 5th century B.C. The small volute pattern on the obverse seems consistent with such a date.

## 11. Circular mirror. Figs. 11a-d

AN 1933.950. Provenance: unknown.

*Bibliography.* Unpublished.

*Material and condition.* Bronze. Fair condition. Handle missing. *Obverse.* Partially incrustated with dark green corrosion. In a few spots, obverse has been cleaned and there are traces of tawny shiny bronze with capacity to reflect light. *Reverse.* Has been cleaned to reveal very dark green, almost black, surface, with a few scattered lumps of green corrosion. The mirror contains a high percentage of tin, perhaps accounting for the blackish color. Where handle was broken off, traces of lead solder at break on obverse, showing an attempt to repair the handle, probably in modern times.

*Measurements.* D. 9 cm. Max. h. 10 cm. Wt. 127.46 g.

*Type.* Circular disc, with handle, now broken off, probably made in one piece with disc. Offset oblique re-entrant rim; on obverse, notching all along rim, with groove setting off notching from re-

flecting area. On reverse, the disc has a raised area running along the rim, 0.7cm. wide. No engraving visible on obverse. No centre point visible.

#### *Decoration*

EDGE. Notching as described under *Type*.

OBVERSE. None visible.

REVERSE. The engraving shows the popular theme of the Dioskouroi facing each other. (See especially Oxford no. 4 for full discussion, cf. Oxford nos. 18, 25-26). On the left is a youth wearing a high-waisted 'blousing' tunic, boots and Phrygian-style helmet. He stands almost vertical, with legs crossed, so that the forward right foot takes the weight. The left leg is bent. His right arm is represented akimbo, while his left is not shown. The Phrygian helmet is articulated by grooves around the edge of the helmet; a lock of hair escapes in the back of the head. The tunic, falling to just above the knee, features tidy, roughly vertical parallel lines in the upper 'blousing' part, and the skirt below is divided by three vertical lines and has a horizontal line suggesting a hem. A belt is visible. The boot of the left foot is indicated with raised instep and heel, and is delineated by a double line running around the foot. The front of the right foot is not indicated; the boot is indicated by a similar double vertical line, and also has a double horizontal line across the top. Behind the figure is a rounded shield with two parallel lines to indicate its rim. On the right is a youth in similar dress and with mirroring pose (left arm akimbo; legs crossed with left forward and taking the weight) and shield, but leaning slightly away from the center against his shield. The 'blouse' of the tunic is larger but features the same parallel lines; the skirt is articulated by two long vertical lines and two shorter ones, with no horizontal hemming. The Phrygian helmet and boots are quite similar to those of the left figure.

In between the figures is a plant with a tall stalk, topped by a flame-like flower bud, with calyx and petals, and an additional set of petals on the stalk. Between the heads of the figures is an architectural pediment; below the pediment are two circles; each features a cross mark in it.

*Subject and interpretation.* The youths are undoubtedly the Dioskouroi, with their attribute of two stars to show their divinity, as discussed in Oxford no. 4. Here in addition they have the shields of warriors behind them, and between their heads the beams and pediment of the *dokana*, their shrine at Sparta that constituted a door to the underworld and thus also symbolized their immortality. (See DE PUMA, *LIMC* 3 (1986), Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar, nos. 3-8). Especially noteworthy in this example is the central motif, identified in comparable examples as a candelabrum, a lance or a flower (DE PUMA, *ibid.*, nos. 44-46). The most likely interpretation is that it shows a stalk of vegetation (because

the leaves are evident) supporting a bud and further alluding to the rebirth connected with the Dioskouroi. PACETTI (*CSE Italia* 4.4) suggests that it may be the silphium plant, known from literary evidence to be associated with the Dioskouroi.

A strikingly similar example was excavated at S. Galigano near Perugia (Tomb of the Calisna family; A. MINTO, in *NS* 1914, p. 241, fig. 9), complete with shields, flower, two circles and vegetation. With a diameter of 11 cm. it is slightly larger than the Oxford example and the shields are slightly smaller in proportion to the figures. MINTO notes that the tomb was in use from the 3rd to 2nd century B.C.; it is not possible to date the S. Galigano example any more closely. Another good comparison comes from the Portone necropolis at Volterra, tomb k, dated by E. FIUMI to 300/280-240/230 B.C. (FIUMI 1957, pp. 379-380, fig. 14; *CSE Italia* 3.I.7). This specimen, 11 cm. in diameter, features rather tall shields and a tall plant in the middle. The *dokana* and circles are lacking. Another example of the Dioskouroi with plant is published in *CSE Netherlands* no. 14 (Leiden), dated by VAN DER MEER to the 3rd century B.C. Here the twins also have shields and a *dokana* of three parallel lines, but no stars; a guilloche border encircles this scene. Additional examples with the plant are LAMBRECHTS, *Mir. Mus. Royaux* nos. 44, 45, 71 (all dated to the 3rd century).

*Characteristics of the decoration.* The incision flows smoothly on the surface of the mirror, at a medium depth. The needle was fine and has left a narrow tract, skillfully applied with no overlapping. The feet of the figures stop at the edge of the projecting rim of the mirror and thus are not fully represented. A similar effect is observable on the mirror from S. Galigano.

*Date.* For an overview of the problems associated with the Dioskouroi mirrors, especially dating, see the discussion under Oxford no. 4. This mirror belongs to the category of Dioskouroi with 'blousing' tunic, and probably dates to the 3rd century B.C., though a 2nd-century date cannot be ruled out.

## 12. Circular mirror. Figs. 12a-d

AN 1935.85. Provenance: unknown. Bequest of Archibald Henry Sayce.

*Bibliography.* Unpublished.

*Material and condition.* Bronze. Condition fair. Patina stable; a dull green color on the obverse, with a few patches of red-brown; reflects