

Scritti per il decimo anniversario di Aristonothos

a cura di Enrico Giovanelli

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Scritti per il Mediterraneo antico

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In copertina: Il mare ed il nome di Aristonothos. Le “o” sono scritte come i cerchi puntati che compaiono sul cratere.

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Questa serie vuole celebrare il mare Mediterraneo e contribuire a sviluppare temi, studi e immaginario che il cratere firmato dal greco Aristonothos ancora oggi evoca. Deposito nella tomba di un etrusco, racconta di storie e relazioni fra culture diverse che si svolgono in questo mare e sulle terre che unisce.

“Allora è vero quanto ripetevo, se non erro, Archita di Taranto [...]:
‘Se un uomo salisse in cielo e contemplasse
la natura dell’universo e la bellezza degli
astri, la meraviglia di tale visione non
gli darebbe la gioia più intensa, come dovrebbe,
ma quasi un dispiacere, perché non avrebbe
nessuno a cui comunicarla’.
Così la natura non ama affatto l’isolamento e cerca sempre
di appoggiarsi, per così dire, a un sostegno,
che è tanto più dolce quanto più è caro l’amico.”

Con questa frase di Cicerone nel *De Amicitia* (XXIII, 88)
vi ringraziamo tutti per aver voluto celebrare
con i vostri scritti il decimo anniversario di Aristonothos!

Federica Cordano, Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni

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ETRUSCAN MIRRORS ABROAD*

Nancy Thomson de Grummond

Evidence for Etruscan connections outside of Italy has attracted great attention in recent decades¹. Giovannangelo Camporeale has concisely stated some methodological considerations for interpreting the archaeological evidence, stressing the importance of “the context in which Etruscan material is found in a foreign country: tomb, house, or sanctuary. In the first two cases, especially if the materials are in common use and of poor quality, they could belong to Etruscans who had emigrated; in the case of a sanctuary they may reflect an occasional visit by an Etruscan. The presence of Etruscan inscriptions in a foreign country, on the other hand, especially if they indicate the ownership of an object or come from a settlement or from tombs, indicate a stable Etruscan presence. In all of these cases, the transfer has taken place by sea and is linked to work or commerce. The overall situation, however, is neither uniform nor schematic; rather, because it is rich in particular nuances that change from instance to instance, individual findings turn out to be much more useful than generalizations”². There is much

* I first began to realize that this topic needed exploring in 1982 (DE GRUMMOND 1982, p. 173). Much of the content of this article was assembled and first presented in a poster session of the Second International Congress on Black Sea Antiquities, held at Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey, Sept. 2-9, 2001. I thank Jean Turfa, Maria Stella Pacetti, and especially Jean Gran-Aymerich for assistance with research for this article. Enrico Giovanelli helped with the acquisition of important resources. I am very grateful to Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni for providing an appropriate venue for the dissemination of the article. In the spirit of Aristonothos, it aims to *racconta(re) di storie e relazioni fra culture diverse*.
¹ GRAS 1985; TURFA 1985; *Welt der Etrusker* 1988, 387-392; AIGNER FORESTI 1988, 1992; *Etrusques et l'Europe* 1992; CAMPOREALE 2001a, 2001b and 2001c; *Annali Faina* 2006; *Da Genova ad Ampurias* 2006; GRAY-AYMERICH – TURFA 2013; CAMPOREALE 2016.

² CAMPOREALE 2016, p. 71.

wisdom here, though as we shall see in the discussions below, additions and exceptions can be indicated for some of the points, including some made by Camporeale himself elsewhere.

In this article, I shall attempt to make a catalog of the Etruscan mirrors found outside of Italy and interpret their significance. So far a comprehensive treatment of the subject has not appeared³. Typically the evidence for the find spots is scrappy, and skeptics have stated their suspicions about the alleged provenances of many of the possible examples, on the general principle that such finds were unlikely outside of Italy. Given the staggering amount of evidence now published for the exportation of Etruscan objects to Europe and around the Mediterranean⁴, such *prima facie* skepticism no longer seems warranted. But it is necessary to take into account all information possible in order to evaluate the potential specimens for inclusion in the inventory. A search through the authoritative fascicles of the *Corpus Speculorum Etruscourm*, as well as research in various publications about the Etruscans abroad and several independent publications on Etruscan mirrors have yielded a total number of some 34 specimens that could possibly belong to the category. Claims have been made of the finding of Etruscan mirrors in Belgium, Bulgaria, Crimea, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Lebanon, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey and Ukraine. After careful consideration, the total number of credible examples is more likely 25, and Belgium, Bulgaria, Lebanon and Turkey should be omitted from the list, as discussed below.

It was easy to eliminate some of the prospects right away. In addition to the advice of Camporeale, one must take into account the nature and value of the recorded provenance and history of ownership of each item in evaluating the relevance of these objects. Another re-

³ GRAY-AYMERICH – TURFA 2013, p. 377, note examples from Ampurias, Málaga and Paris. CAMPOREALE 2001c, pp. 128-129, refers to regions where Etruscan mirrors have been found, but for the most part does not cite specific mirrors. I will not attempt here to identify mirrors found outside of Etruria but in Italy, of which there are a good many – an interesting topic that would, however, greatly increase the data and would have overall a different kind of significance.

⁴ Note 1 above, especially CAMPOREALE 2001b and c and GRAY-AYMERICH – TURFA 2013.

curing problem has to do with the actual information that has been published and is available about any given item. When there is no description of diagnostic elements such as an engraved reverse and no drawing or photo has been published it is usually impossible to be sure that a mirror is definitely Etruscan⁵. I have tried to include every example that is defensible, but sometimes circumstances such as clearly dubious or contradictory information about provenance and/or lack of published information lead to the omission of an item. For example, clearly farfetched is the claim that two mirrors, handled by the same dealer in New York City, came from Smyrna and Tyre (the latter is demonstrably an outrageous fake)⁶. A mirror in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Budapest bought on the art market (*CSE Hongrie-Tchécoslovaquie* 7) was said to be part of a group of objects found together at Bujak in Bulgaria, presumably a tomb, but some of the objects in the ensemble were of medieval date. The mirror itself is a simple disc with slightly upturned rim and no engraving with three small holes for attachment of a handle, and thus not distinctively Etruscan. I am also omitting a group of five mirrors from the Museum Van Bogaert-Wauters at Hamme in northern Flanders, which are loosely associated with objects found during the dredging of the Escaut and Durme rivers over a period of years (*CSE Belgique* 1. 13-16, 18). The collection of Van Bogaert housed in his museum also contained items that had been purchased on the market, and Roger Lambrechts has recommended great caution in accepting any proposed find spot. None of these mirrors is decorated with an engraved scene; two of the five actually may not be Etruscan (*CSE Belgique* 1. 14-15). A third is a pastiche – a typical dealer's trick – of a disc from a round box-mirror (*Klappspiegel*), probably authentic, attached crudely to a tooled handle that also is

⁵ E.g., a compact style mirror (*Klappspiegel*) in London, The British Museum, said to be from Corfu. The scene is of Eros Giving a Drink to a Panther. No image, context or date is provided: Walters 1899, p. 127, n. 735. A mirror found in a tumulus at Thury in Bourgogne is described only as *miroir en bronze* and no image is published (DEVAUGES 1981, p. 428; *Caesarodunum* I, 1987, p. 56, nn. 10.21.22). A *trouvaille isolée* in a private collection said to be found at Les Bordes-Aumont in Champagne is described only as *miroir*, and no image is provided (*Caesarodunum* II, 1989, p. 20, n. 15.10.06). Any of these could become relevant with further information.

⁶ *CSE U.S.A.* 4.43 and 4.46. Accordingly, Turkey and Lebanon are omitted from the list of countries.

most likely an authentic Etruscan piece (*CSE Belgique* 1.16). A fourth mirror is also part of a disc from a round box mirror (*CSE Belgique* 1.18). In this case taken as a whole another criterion is brought to bear on evaluating the relevance of an object reported as found outside Italy: the overall picture must be taken into account in judging any individual mirror. Here the lack of credibility in the group as a whole weakens the case for each of the mirrors.

One highly exceptional piece is a mirror said to have been found in the river bed of the Saône near Lyon, believed to be an *ex-voto* by Camporeale. I have not been able to find confirmation of the find spot or the belief that the piece was votive. No drawing or description of the mirror has been located. In this case, we cannot say exactly who may have offered the metal object. With great reluctance, because of the lack of information, I have therefore excluded the piece from the catalog⁷.

The most likely cases are presented in a catalog below, including discussion for each entry as appropriate. For several of the objects the case is strong for their actual usage in a foreign country. Especially well-documented is an example found in Grave II at the Royal Scythian Mausoleum at Scythian Neapolis and now in the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (cat. n. 2; fig. 2). It is a standard late Etruscan type, with handle cast in one piece with the disc, but lacking in engraved decoration on the reverse. From Etruscan comparisons it may date to the 3rd or even 2nd century BCE.⁸ The Mausoleum is thought to be the tomb of the Scythian Hellenistic monarch Skilouros (d. 133 BCE), who was reputed to have had a large number of sons (50 by one account, 80 by another), indicating that he was polygamous. The mirror was associated with a female skeleton and grave goods

⁷ CAMPOREALE 2001c, pp. 128-129. This evidence, if confirmed, would provide a very rare instance of an Etruscan mirror found in what may be a votive context. So far there does not seem to be a report of an Etruscan mirror in a sanctuary in Etruria. A mirror was reported in a votive *stips* at Marzabotto, outside of Etruria proper: GOZZADINI 1865, p. 26. Cited by PAIRAULT-MASSA 1981, pp. 144-145, note 59.

⁸ TREISTER 1991, p. 79, made good comparisons, in consultation with Ursula Höckmann. But her dating of the comparanda in the 2nd cent. BCE has been challenged by many as too late: RIDGWAY 2000. On the other hand, note a comparison dated to the 2nd cent. BCE, an unengraved mirror of the same form from the Portone necropolis at Volterra: DE GRUMMOND 1982, p. 23.

such as beads of various materials; Grave II also contained another female, two males and a child. While none of the other reported grave furnishings may be related to the Etruscans, it is worth noting that the possibility of a foreign woman in a large Scythian royal or noble tomb (some 72 individual burials were excavated) is not so farfetched. She could easily have come by sea, since Skilouros, unlike the Scythian nomads, maintained a fleet and had access to harbors. Further, exogamy was quite accepted among the Macedonians, Thracians and Scythians, as witnessed by the charming story about the Scythian boys courting the Amazon girls (Herodotus 4.113-119), and by such notorious cases as that of Philip II, who chose 5 of his 7 wives from outside of Macedonia⁹. The Odrysian (Thracian) king Sitalkas married a noble Greek woman, and a Macedonian Bereniki was married to Thracian royalty¹⁰. The argument for the Pushkin mirror, then, would be that it belonged to a noble lady, probably originally Etruscan, who had brought her private possession with her from Etruria. Although the scenario is not so detailed for other examples, it is possible that the mirrors from Ampurias (cat. n. 21; fig. 20) and other sites may have travelled with someone from Etruria such as a prospective bride¹¹.

As recent studies have shown, numerous Etruscan objects have been found in the area of the Black Sea¹², suggesting trade or emigration. In fact, a fragment of a second Etruscan mirror was found at Pantikapaion, also in Crimea; it, too, dates to the 3rd or 2nd century BCE (cat. n. 1, fig. 1). The reported context is funerary, but no further information is available¹³. A third mirror from the northern side of the Black Sea, found in Olbia in Ukraine (cat. n. 25; fig. 24), gains credibility for its find spot from the convincing provenances of the other two mirrors in graves in nearby Crimea.

Most of the mirrors found abroad are in fact quite routine pieces of the Hellenistic period. Most probably date from the 3rd century BCE. Eight of the 25 were reported to come from France, while three each are reportedly from Greece, Germany and the northern Black Sea ter-

⁹ CARNEY 2000, pp. 57-76.

¹⁰ MARAZOV 1998, pp. 80, 30.

¹¹ Cfr. the remarks of GRAN-AYMERICH – TURFA 2013, p. 393, for the mirror from Ampurias.

¹² TREISTER 1990, 1991; NEVEROV 1988.

¹³ TREISTER 1991, p. 76.

ritory. The subjects shown are the typical ones of the latest Etruscan mirrors: the Dioscuri, alone (6) or in a group (4); the spirit known as *Lasa* (3 specimens, plus one mirror with 2 *Lasas*); the Judgment of Paris (2); and other four-figure conversation groups (2). Two mirrors have the “Spiky Garland” type of border¹⁴. One exceptional piece is the mirror from Avenches, which is of fine craftsmanship and features a scene of the Egg of *Elina*, with five figures (cat. n. 23, fig. 22). Three box-mirrors display reliefs of the revel of *Fufluns*, the Etruscan Dionysos and two pear-shaped mirrors of the type from Praeneste, which are not engraved on the reverse, round out the group. As for stylistic attributions, two are linked with Vulci (nn. 3 and 23), and Spiky Garland mirrors have definitely been found in the area of Orvieto. But for the most part the mirrors with *Lasa*, Dioscuri and four-figured groups are so widespread that it is difficult to pin them down to a single workshop. In general the scrappy evidence does not allow for recognition of a pattern of origin for the mirrors coming out of Etruscan territory. It is here argued that for the most part these would not have made particularly attractive trade items, and that they were personal belongings instead, carried out of Italy by their owners, i.e., Etruscan women. The fact that at least some of the mirrors abroad are recorded as coming from burials would be consistent with this hypothesis. It is well known that in Etruria Etruscan mirrors have been recorded mostly in female burials and were used mostly by women. It is generally agreed that these instruments of grooming were closely associated with marriage¹⁵. An exceptional case, however, is the mirror found in a Punic/Phoenician tomb at Palermo, for which the tomb group is fully recorded and which has no other traditionally “female” artifacts (cat. n. 20).

Also, the mirrors themselves all belong to a period when Etruscan cities and society were breaking up under pressure from Rome, and Etruscans were emigrating from Italy. Judging from Etruscan inscrip-

¹⁴ BONFANTE 1980 for the type, also known as *Kranzspiegel*.

¹⁵ The mirrors feature hundreds of engraved scenes with references to the life cycle of a woman—beauty and courtship, marriage, childbirth: DE GRUMMOND 1982, pp. 168–182. CARPINO 2008. DE PUMA 2014, esp. p. 1056. GRAN-AYMERICH – TURFA 2013, p. 377, note the possibility of intermarriage. Here Camporeale’s observation (2016, p. 71) applies well: especially if the materials are “in common use and of poor quality, they could belong to Etruscans who had emigrated”.

tions found in France, Tunisia and Egypt, it is likely that Etruscans actually lived in those areas¹⁶. Etruscan names were recorded among inhabitants at the free port of Delos in the 2nd century BCE¹⁷. Thus Etruscan mirrors found outside of Italy may be related to an Etruscan *diaspora*. Further, Etruscans were traveling around the Mediterranean in various roles during the Hellenistic age. J. Oleson noted that, in addition to Etruscan mercenary soldiers and pirates, there were political missions such as the Etruscan contingency that traveled to Babylon to congratulate Alexander in 323 BCE¹⁸.

A curious sidebar on Etruscan mirrors abroad is provided by burials in cemeteries that are of Roman date. Thus a mirror was found in a tomb with Roman objects in the Faubourg Saint-Jacques cemetery of Paris, dated no earlier than the first cent. BCE and possibly a good bit later (cat. n. 10). Similarly, a mirror from Bordeaux is reported to have come from a Roman context (cat. n. 9; fig. 9) and an Etruscan mirror has been found in a Roman-era cemetery at Nijmegen (cat. n. 19; Fig. 18). In these cases, the objects seem to be heirlooms, but the questions would pertain to the time when the pieces first left Italy and why. Were they carried out by an Etruscan bride and then passed down in the family? Were they inherited in an Etruscan family that Romanized and then moved to Gaul? Or were they simply curiosities collected in Italy at some unknown time by Romans who then emigrated to Gaul? A final possibility is that they were trade items marketed in Etruscan times that somehow survived in Gaul until Roman times. But the subjects known are of the Dioscuri and *Lasa*, routine themes that would have held little appeal for trade.

In the catalog that follows the mirrors are presented geographically in alphabetical order by current country or political entity so that they may be studied according to the areas in which they were found. It is also important to confirm, as noted above, that the mirrors are definite-

¹⁶ GRAN-AYMERICH 2006 and COLONNA 2006, on Etruscan inscriptions and sigla found in southern France. For Etruscan inscriptions found in Egypt, France and North Africa: RIX – MEISER 2014, vol. 2, pp. 1-8, LL (Liber Linteus, from Egypt); p. 419 (from Gallia Narbonensis: Lattes, Saint Blaise, Grand Ribaud, Pech Maho, and Marseille); p. 422 (from Carthage, Sminja, Sidiben Tahila, Bir Mcherga, and Gouraya)

¹⁷ OLESON 1982, p. 108.

¹⁸ OLESON 1982, p. 108.

ly Etruscan, and to this end, I have tried to obtain good photographs or drawings or at least descriptions that can be used to make such a judgment. In a few cases, I have profited from the drawings made from murky photographs for study purposes by my artist Brian Doyle. Such documentation is utilized in the entries below to give a brief description of the engraved scenes, as an element that is essential and hopefully sufficient for the identification of the mirror as Etruscan. There is no attempt to make a thorough review in all details regarding style and iconography of each specimen as in the *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*. In each case I have attempted to provide information and discussion that will help in evaluating the likelihood that the mirrors were indeed found outside of Italy in the location recorded.

Catalog of Etruscan mirrors abroad

Crimea

1. Pantikapaion. (Fig. 1). Tomb context. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum. Inv. P.1842.109. Bronze relief fragment from a compact-style box mirror (*Klappspiegel*). From a scene with two nude figures, showing an androgynous swooning drunken reveler supported by a well-muscled male figure. 3rd-2nd cent. BCE. Bibl. TREISTER 1991, p. 76, pl. XIXb.

Discussion: The fragment belongs with a rather extensive Etruscan series of scenes of the drunken *Fufluns* (=Dionysos) with other revelers such as musicians, satyrs and a winged Eros (cfr. cat. nn. 15-16 below). The god is always with someone supporting him to make sure he does not fall. In the majority of the scenes the revel moves from left to right and the Fufluns figure leans back toward the left as he is supported by another figure (16 examples in DI STEFANO 1970). On some, however, the revel moves from right to left and Fufluns is more upright (3 examples cited by De Puma in *CSE U.S.A.* 2.15-16). The Pantikapaion specimen, in which the group is clearly moving from right to left, seems to show the figure swooning more than in the 3 other comparable examples. Also, the other three have an Eros figure supporting the god, not a powerful adult male (a satyr?). For the relevance of the grave context, see the discussion in the text above. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Nina Kunina, in her role as curator of the materials from the excavations at Pantikapaion in the

State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, and Dr. Vladimir Matveyev for granting me permission (2001) to publish the photograph, fig. 1.

2. Scythian Neapolis. (Fig. 2). Tomb context. Moscow, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. Inv. NSf-120. Mirror type with disc cast in one piece with the handle. No engraving visible on the reverse. 3rd-2nd cent. BCE. Bibl. TREISTER 1991, p. 79, pl. IX. SHUL'TS 1953, pp. 32, 60, 78, pl. XVII.

Discussion: This is a very important example of an Etruscan mirror for which the context is precisely known. See the discussion in the text above. NEVEROV 1988 notes further interesting Etruscan items found in the Black Sea area. I thank V.P. Tolstikov of the Pushkin Museum for assisting me with study of the Pushkin mirror and for giving permission (2001) to reproduce the photograph, fig. 2.

Egypt

3. Egypt. (Fig. 3). Without precise provenance and context. Cairo, Museum Acc. n. 27.902. Disc with tang. Engraving of two nude male figures seated on their shields and facing each other. Ivy border and bits of vegetation in the field. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. MARTHA 1885. EDGAR 1904, pl. 18, n. 27.902.

Discussion: J. Martha is quite firm in declaring that the mirror was found in Egypt, a fact that he regards as the most important thing about it. It is not difficult to imagine that the mirror belonged to an Etruscan in Egypt, given that the most famous of all Etruscan texts, the Zagreb mummy wrapping, was found in Egypt (RIX – MEISER 2014, pp. 1-8, LL: *Liber Linteus Zagradiensis*). Martha identified the figures as Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri, as has been commonly assumed by others. The scheme is that of the “San Francisco Group” of Etruscan mirrors, 34 of which were identified by DEL CHIARO 1955. The “Cairo” mirror is Del Chiaro’s n. 3, p. 281 and pl. 80, fig. 3. He considers various possible identifications for the two nude figures. U. Fischer-Graf attributed the San Francisco Group to Vulci (DE GRUMMOND 1982, 160-162 with bibliography).

France

4. Besançon. (Fig. 4). Without context. Besançon, Musée Municipal. Inv. 852.2.4. Mirror type with disc cast in one piece with the handle. Engraved with Dioscuri in tunics, facing one another. No attributes in the field. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. LEBEL 1959-1960, p. 73 and pl. 95,

n. 284. *Bronzes trouvés à Besançon* 1981, n. 128. *Caesarodunum* I, 1987, p. 32 (09 25 07). *Caesarodunum* III, 1990, p. 108.

Discussion: Although the piece went through a sale (“acheté a M. de Champy”), its publication in the works cited indicates that the report has been trusted regarding its find spot at Besançon. The works connected with de Champy contained numerous other objects credibly attributed to Besançon (*Bronzes trouvés à Besançon* 1981). The four mirrors listed here as from Besançon (cat. nn. 4-7) gain considerable credibility from their number, as well as from the convincing reports of Etruscan mirrors at Bordeaux and Paris. Further, the path of arrival could easily have gone through ports on the coast of Provence such as Marseille or Lattes, where the presence of Etruscans is now well known. Note reservations, however, about nn. 6-7.

5. Besançon. (Fig. 5). Without context. Besançon, Musée Municipal. Inv. 899.1. A.468. From the collection of L.-J. Chenot, where it was listed as coming from Besançon. Mirror type cast in one piece with disc and (probably) handle, now missing. Engraved with a four-figure conversation group, with the Dioscuri on the sides, dressed in tunic and Phrygian cap, with shields behind them. In the center two female figures of uncertain identity. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. Lebel, pl. 96, n. 285. *Bronzes trouvés à Besançon*, 1981, n. 129. *Caesarodunum* I, 1987, p. 32 (09 25 08). *Caesarodunum* III, 1990, p. 108.

Discussion: See discussion under cat. n. 4. As with nn. 4 and 6-7, its publication in the works cited indicates that it was believed to have been found at Besançon, and the claim for veracity in the report is strengthened by the presence of citation of other examples from Besançon. The collection of Chenot contained other objects credibly attributed to Besançon (*Bronzes trouvés à Besançon* 1981, nn. 88, 93-94, 97).

6. Besançon. (Fig. 6). Without context. Besançon, Musée Municipal. Inv. 899.1. From the collection of L.-J. Chenot, where it was listed as coming from Besançon. Piriform mirror, cast in one piece with disc and (probably) handle, now missing. No engraving visible on reverse. In the extension of the obverse, characteristic lotus and palmette designs. 4th-3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. *Bronzes trouvés à Besançon* 1981, n. 130. *Caesarodunum* I, 1987, p. 32 (09 25 09).

Discussion: See discussion under cat. n. 4. As with nn. 4-5 and 7, its publication in the works cited indicates that it was believed to have been found at Besançon, and the claim for veracity in the report is

strengthened by the presence of citation of other examples from Besançon. The piriform shape is surprising, since it is associated with Praeneste rather than Etruria; further, n. 7, below, is also piriform. These would be the only two examples of the type in the catalog of mirrors abroad. Borderline case.

7. Besançon. (Fig. 7). Without context. Besançon, Musée Municipal. Inv. 899.1. From the collection of L.-J. Chenot, where it was listed as coming from Besançon. Piriform disc and part of the extension surviving. No engraving on reverse. Palmette drawing on obverse in the extension. 4th-3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. *Bronzes trouvés à Besançon* 1981, n. 131. *Caesarodunum* I, 1987, p. 33 (09 25 10).

Discussion: See discussion under cat. n. 4 and n. 6. As with nn. 4-6, its publication in the works cited indicates that it was believed to have been found at Besançon, and the claim for veracity in the report is strengthened by the presence of citation of other examples from Besançon. Note the reservations expressed in cat. n. 6, however, about the possibility that two piriform mirrors would be discovered at Besançon. Borderline case.

8. Bordeaux, necropolis of Terre-Nègre. (Fig. 8). Musée d'Aquitaine. Mirror type cast in one piece with disc and (probably) handle, now missing. Engraving of Dioscuri in tunics, facing each other, each leaning on a cippus. Swan in the middle. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. COLLIGNON 1881. *LIMC* III, 1, p. 600, n. 28.

Discussion: The mirror was conjectured by Collignon to come from the necropolis of Terre-Nègre, a Roman cemetery near Bordeaux. He suggested that the mirror was a trade object from Roman times.

9. Bourges (Mehun-sur Yèvre). (Fig. 9). Context unknown. Bourges, Musée du Berry. Mirror type with disc and handle cast in one piece. Engraved with four-figure group, Dioscuri on the left and right, and two female figures in the center, probably *Menrva* and *Turan* or *Elina*. Engraving quite damaged. Border of the "Spiky Garland" type visible. Bibl. BAILLY 1987, p. 40, fig. 17. *Caesarodunum* III, 1990, p. 20 (11.18.34), p. 28.

Discussion: The occurrence of an Etruscan mirror at Mehun-sur Yèvre, outside of Bourges, ancient Avaricum, is quite credible. The area showed strong connections with the Mediterranean from an early date, with imports of bucchero, Greek black-figure and red-figure pottery and Etruscan bronzes such as *Schnablekannen*, situlae and fibulae. Though the native settlement declined near the end of the 5th cent.

BCE, the place was mentioned by Caesar as still flourishing in the first cent. BCE: GRAN-AYMERICH 1992.

10. Paris, necropolis of Faubourg Saint-Jacques. Funerary context. Paris, Musée Carnavalet Inv. AM 1/1-77. Mirror type with disc cast in one piece with (probably) handle, now missing. Engraving of Dioscuri facing each other, with their shields behind them and a beam (the *dokana*) in between them. No drawing available. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. FORNI 1984, p. 274, color pl. 26 (tomb group, with mirror included). *Caesarodunum* II, 1989, p. 31 (16.75.08), and *Caesarodunum* III, 1990, pp. 85-87 (Table-ronde, Nantes, Musée Dobree).

Discussion: The excavation of the mirror in a grave in a Gallo-Roman necropolis of Faubourg Saint-Jacques in 1982 is well documented. The other grave goods included a terracotta statue of Venus and two drinking cups. The burial has been dated to no earlier than the first cent. BCE, a situation that suggests that the mirror must have been an heirloom object, and that the deceased person may not have been of Etruscan descent. Forni notes (p. 270) that Pre-Roman bronzes found at Paris include part of a bronze cista and a statuette of *Heracle* (=Herakles).

In the round table held at Nantes, Musée Dobree in 1989, R. Adam argued that the tomb dated to the 2nd cent. CE. Surprisingly, both Adam and J-R. Jannot expressed the opinion that Etruscan mirrors were not normally funerary objects. Adam cited mirrors from Orvieto with the word *suthina* ("for the tomb") as if they were exceptions. In fact so far in Etruria, mirrors have been found only in a funerary context.¹⁹

11. Troyes, La Vendue-Mignot, locality Merivas. (Fig. 10). Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie de Troyes. Inv. 94.6.2. Mirror type with disc and handle cast in one piece. Reverse engraved with an image of a nude winged female spirit ("*Lasa*"), wearing a Phrygian cap, moving to the left. In her proper left hand she holds an alabastron. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. DENAJAR 2005, p. 595. GRAN-AYMERICH forthcoming, pl. 384.13.

Discussion: The context is seemingly funerary, since a fine imported stamnoid situla was reported to have been found with it, during the opening of channels to divert the stream of the Seronne. I am grateful to Brigitte Massé of the Musée de Troyes for sending me the unpublished museum *fiche* on the mirror, where the find is referred to as

¹⁹ DE GRUMMOND 1982, pp. 168-177.

découverte fortuite of the 19th century, and to Jean Gran-Aymerich, who first alerted me to the existence of this mirror.

Germany

12. Edendorf (Kreis Uelzen). (Fig. 11). Without context. Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum. Inv. 14448. Mirror type with disc and handle cast in one piece. Severely damaged and broken into many pieces, with handle broken off. Engraving of a nude, winged female spirit (“*Lasa*”) wearing a Phrygian cap, advancing from right to left. She holds something in her extended right hand, perhaps a flower. The field around her is empty. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. *CSE Bundesrepublik Deutschland* 2.28.

Discussion: U. Liepmann (*CSE BDR* 2, p. 27) expresses concern for the provenance, noting that the mirror was already in a known collection by 1861, that of Georg Otto Carl von Estorff, a passionate collector of antiquities who traveled in north Germany and there acquired newly excavated objects. The provenance of Edendorf is assigned to many items in his inventory, but in at least some cases is demonstrably incorrect (STUPPERICH 1987). The mirror thus is a borderline case for the evidence of Etruscan mirrors abroad.

13. Kreis Steinfurt, between Nordwalde and Borghorst. (Fig. 12). Without context. Münster, Westfälisches Museum für Archäologie. Inv. 1986. Mirror type with disc and handle cast in one piece. Disc restored on the rim on the right side of the reverse. Engraved with a four-figure conversation group, with seated male warriors on left and right, resembling the Dioscuri, and two female figures in between—*Menrva* and a naked female, perhaps *Turan* or *Elina*. An inscription above the seated male on the left may indicate that the figure is to be understood as *Menle* (=Menelaus). Border of the “Spiky Garland” type visible. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. *CSE, Bundesrepublik Deutschland* 2.31.

Discussion: U. Liepmann (*CSE BDR* 2, p. 67) expresses concern for the provenance, noting that it was stated when the mirror was already in a known collection by 1840 and that there is no further evidence for the find spot. The spot seems so particular, however, that it gains credibility.

A strange aspect of the mirror is that it has incised upon it inscriptions on the two arms of the left-hand figure and on the upper thigh of the naked female. These have been judged to be of a later date, either

Roman or modern (MILCHHÖFER 1892, p. 27, n. 33). The problematic inscriptions along with the restoration of the disc tend to reduce the relevance of this mirror for the theme of the Etruscans abroad. Borderline case.

14. North Germany. (Fig. 13). Without context. Museum der Stadt Wels, Austria, inv. 11.944. Mirror type cast in one piece with disc and (probably) handle, now missing. Two holes in the extension area indicate that the mirror was mended and a substitute handle attached. Two female figures, nude except for sandals and Phrygian bonnet, advance from left to right with hands raised in a pose related to dancing. The figure on the right is equipped with wings and may be identified as a *Lasa*. The figure on the left seems to hold some kind of plant in her proper left hand. Ca. 300 BCE. Bibl. NOLL 1929.

Discussion: Noll refrains from judging the find spot, described as a “Brandgrab in Norddeutschland.” He also notes that it came to the museum at Wels after going through various hands. If the find spot is correct, the piece is very interesting, and helps to support the possibility of finds at Edendorf and Kreis Steinfurt, both also having reason to doubt their relevance. I am most grateful to Magdalena Waser of the Stadt Wels Stadtmuseen for providing crucial information for this mirror that has received little attention since the publication of Noll, including notes by Noll, new photographs and the drawing reproduced here.

Greece

15. Corinth. (Fig. 14). Without context. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College. A compact-style box mirror (*Klappspiegel*), decorated in relief with a scene of three figures in a revel moving from left to right. In the center is a drunken *Fufluns* (=Dionysos), supported on the left by a winged Eros. A female figure on the right playing the kithara leads them. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. *CSE Great Britain* 2.3.

Discussion: The scene is popular on Etruscan *Klappspiegel*; 16 examples are listed in DI STEFANO 1970, including this one, p. 80, and cat. n. 16, below. Cf. also, cat. n. 1, which seems to be a variant on the type with the revel going in the opposite direction. The claim to have been found in Corinth is given credence by R.V. Nicholls (*CSE Great Britain* 2, p. 17), based on a handwritten notation by S.S. Lewis, “regarded as highly scrupulous in such matters” who had acquired the mirror at a sale in Paris in 1883 and who bequeathed it to Corpus Christi College in 1891.

16. Greece, probably Corinth. (Fig. 15). Without context. Marseilles, Musée Borély. A compact-style box mirror (*Klappspiegel*), decorated in relief with a scene of the same type as in cat. n. 15, above. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. FROEHNER 1897, p. 160, n. 793. DI STEFANO 1970, p. 78.

Discussion: Froehner states firmly that the mirror was found in Greece, “vraisemblablement a Corinthe”. The report on the mirror in Corpus Christi College of the same provenance (cat. n. 15) bolsters the argument for this specimen. It is interesting that a third specimen of the type is reported to have been found on Elba (Walters 1899, p. 127, n. 732; not included in this article, since Elba is just off the Etruscan coast and not really “abroad”).

17. Peloponnese. (Fig. 16). Without context. Present location unknown. Formerly in the private collection of Henry Grun, director of the Ionian Bank in Patras as of 1883. Mirror type with disc and handle cast in one piece. Engraved with a four-figure group, with standing figures of the Dioscuri in tunic on the left and the right and in the middle *Menrva* and a nude female figure, probably either *Turan* or *Elina*. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. MYLONAS 1883.

Discussion: Mylonas reports with particular emphasis that the mirror was found in the Peloponnese and that it therefore came to Greece in antiquity. For the rest his report is a description and analysis of the engraved scene.

Hungary

18. Hajduböszöromeny. (Fig. 17). Without context. Debrecen, Déri Museum. Inv. Sz. 1908/1014. Mirror type with disc and handle cast in one piece. Heavily corroded, in numerous joining fragments. Engraved with a four-figure conversation group in such poor condition that identities are not certain; seated male figures, semi-nude with Phrygian caps, on the left and right, probably the Dioscuri. Two figures between them. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. SZILÁGYI 1962, pp. 260-261. *CSE Hongrie/Tchecoslovaquie*, 10.

Discussion: Purchased in 1908 on the art market, said to be from Hajduböszöromeny, near Debrecen in northeast Hungary. The find spot is regarded as *fictif* by J.G. Szilágyi (*CSE Hongrie/Tchecoslovaquie*, p. 15). It remains interesting that the items in the collection made by Frigyes Déri, and donated to Debrecen to form the Déri Museum, were purchased mainly at Munich and Vienna, where Déri lived. The mirror is not from the Deri collection, and the provenance is definitely an

outlier at the museum. It is hard to imagine why anyone would make up such a surprising find spot.

Netherlands

19. Nijmegen, cemetery KL at Hees. (Fig. 18). Funerary context. Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum Kam. Inv. XXI.f., App. I, 2. Disc fragment; lacking tang or handle. Engraving of a nude winged female spirit (“*Lasa*”), wearing a Phrygian cap, moving to the left. One hand seems to hold a bell-shaped ornament. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. Brusting 1937, p. 163. Lloyd-Morgan 1981, Appendix II, p. 117. *CSE, The Netherlands* 25.

Discussion: No description of the grave context is provided, but it is likely that the mirror was utilized for the burial at a date much later than the mirror itself. Nijmegen (Ulpia Noviomagus) was first frequented by Romans in 19 BCE, and the Batavian component is approximately contemporary. Thus the graves that have been excavated belong to the Roman imperial period. Mirrors are numerous at Nijmegen (LLOYD-MORGAN 1981) and must have been considered important for ritual significance.

Sicily

20. Palermo. (Fig. 19). Funerary context. Palermo necropolis tomb n. 1953/106. Mirror type with disc and handle cast in one piece. Many joining fragments; some parts missing. Engraving on reverse of Dioscuri in tunics facing each other, leaning outward toward shields. Horizontal line between them (the *dokana*?) with an X-mark below it. Five-pointed star (?) in field above. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. *Palermo* 1998, p. 175, n. 384, fig. p. 195, 390. BELLELLI 2009, p. 76. GRAN-AYMERICH forthcoming, pl. 360, 9.

Discussion: The funerary context is well recorded and is certain. This Etruscan mirror was found in a tomb of a Phoenician/Punic cemetery in Sicily. The tomb group was large with numerous ceramic vessels (lamps, cups, bowls, pitchers, guttoi, skyphoi, lekythoi, unguentariae). The other grave goods included 3 iron spearheads, an iron knife, and an iron strigil, as well as a bronze spoon, a bronze ring and bronze fittings for a box. Among the coins were both Punic and Syracusan specimens. The inventory includes some 113 items, ranging in date from the early 4th century to the early 3rd century, suggesting that there was more than one person honored in the tomb. The only grave goods in-

dicating a specific gender are the “male” items of the weapons. There is no evidence to support a hypothesis that an Etruscan woman was buried here. The presence of the Etruscan mirror is rare and baffling. Bellelli, citing the mirror in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow (cat. n. 2) makes an astute observation: “...si tratta dei rinvenimenti geograficamente più eccentrici rispetto al quadro distributivo della classe degli specchi etruschi” (p. 76).

Spain

21. Ampurias. (Fig. 20). Barcelona, Museu Arqueologie de Barcelona. Inv. 1247 MAB. Mirror type of disc with tang for attachment of handle. Engraving of a four-figure group, probably the Judgment of Paris, with *Elcsentre*/Paris (left) and the three goddesses, *Turan*/Aphrodite, *Uni*/Hera and *Menrva*/Athena. Ca. 300 BCE. Bibl. Garcia y Bellido 1936, 191-193. *Etrusques et l'europe* 1992, pp. 176-177, 259 (cat. n. 300; M. Almagro-Gorbea); GRAN-AYMERICH forthcoming, pl. 371.4. Discussion: All publications agree that the mirror was found at Ampurias, and its presence in the Barcelona museum is consistent with practices for deposit of finds from Ampurias. No record has emerged to indicate the context of the find, but, given the relatively complete condition of the mirror it is likely that it came from a grave. An Etruscan presence has been recognized along the southern coast of France and of northern Spain, so that there is a very real possibility that the mirror's owner (most likely a woman) was at Ampurias: GRAN-AYMERICH – TURFA 2013, p. 393.

22. Morro de Mezquitillo (Málaga). (Fig. 21). Surface find. Inv. Mo 1982/2557/19. Mirror type with disc and handle cast in one piece. Engraving on reverse of Dioscuri in tunics and Phrygian cap leaning against shields. Four-pointed star in the field between them. Cable pattern as border. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. Mansel 1998. GRAN-AYMERICH – TURFA 2013, pp. 377, 397. GRAN-AYMERICH forthcoming, pl. 374, 6-7. Discussion: The mirror is described as among *Lesefunde* of various periods brought to light as extensive terracing work was being carried out on the hill of Morro de Mezquitilla near Torre del Mar, Málaga, where there is a Phoenician/Punic settlement of the 8th to 1st century BCE. The excavation was observed by Antonio Valcárcel of Torre del Mar, a collaborator of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut of Madrid, and the mirror was published with this provenance by Karin Mansel of the DAI-Madrid.

Switzerland

23. Avenches. (Fig. 22). Without context. Lausanne, Musée Cantonal d'Archéologie. Mirror type of a disc with tang for attachment of handle. Engraved with a five-figure scene of *Turms* presenting the egg of *Elina*. *Turms* stands in the center and offers the egg with his right hand to a seated male on the left of the scene, presumably the father *Tuntle* (=Tyndareus). On the right side of the scene a seated female figure, presumably *Latva* (=Leda). Two female winged spirits hang over the shoulders of *Turms*. 4th cent. BCE. Bibl. *CSE Schweiz* 1. 44. CAHN 1958, p. 28.

Discussion: Acquired in 1824-5 with the collection of Louis Levide, with the notation "aus Avenches." The site in western Switzerland was a Helvetian settlement before becoming Roman Aventicum (15-13 BCE). The provenance is severely doubted by I. Jucker (*CSE Schweiz*, p. 89), who cites J.G. Szilágyi (1962, pp. 260-261) as also skeptical. She attributes the mirror to Vulci on the basis of the ivy border running around the medallion. Jucker makes no response to H.A. Cahn, who, in publishing the Greek bronze vase found at Graechwil (also in western Switzerland), listed the classical antiquities he regarded as having a credible provenance in Switzerland. It is worth noting that Avenches is not far from Besançon, where Etruscan mirrors have been reliably reported (cfr. cat. nn. 4-7). Jucker also objects to the credibility of mirrors reportedly from Paris, cat. n. 10, which is especially well documented (including a photo of the tomb group); Nijmegen, cat. n. 19, likewise having a strong case; Bordeaux, cat. n. 8, also with good documentation; and Edendorf, cat. n. 12.

24. Castanetta (Kanton Graubünden). (Fig. 23). Possible funerary context. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museums. Inv. AB 234. Disc fragment; lacking tang or handle. Engraved with a four-figure conversation group. Seated male figures, semi-nude with Phrygian caps, on the left and right, probably the Dioscuri. Two figures between them, one female, with a wreath, and one male, with a Phrygian cap. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. *CSE, Bundesrepublik Deutschland* 2.3.

Discussion: The mirror was given in 1899 to the museum in Braunschweig as part of a gift of the collection of Th. Stützel of Munich, most of which came from excavations in a cemetery at Castanetta in eastern Switzerland. No details are known about the tomb group.

Ukraine

25. Olbia. (Fig. 24). Without context. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum. Inv. V. 994. Mirror type with disc and handle cast in one piece. Engraving of a Judgment of *Elcsentre/Paris*. He is half-seated, half-standing on the right, nude but wearing a Phrygian cap, gesturing toward the three goddesses. The naked *Turan* stands next to him in the middle of the field, and the other two goddesses, without distinctive attributes, stand to the left. 3rd cent. BCE. Bibl. MAVLEEV 1984, p. 57. *Welt der Etrusker* 1988, p. 368 (F28 by E. Mavleev: “vermütlich aus Olbia”). TREISTER 1991, p. 76.

Discussion: Reportedly from Olbia. Nothing is known of the original context of the mirror, which was purchased from the Hauchmann collection in 1905. From the end of the 3rd cent. BCE, Olbia was under the control of Scythian Neapolis (cfr. cat. n. 2). The fact that Etruscan mirrors were found in cemeteries in Crimea (nn. 1-2 above) helps to give credibility to the claim that the mirror came from this site in Ukraine on the Black Sea very close to Crimea.

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*Fig. 1. Pantikapaion.
Photo: St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.*



*Fig. 2. Scythian Neapolis.
Photo: Moscow, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts.*



Fig. 3. Egypt.
 Study drawing made by B. Doyle after *MARTHA* 1885, pl. II.

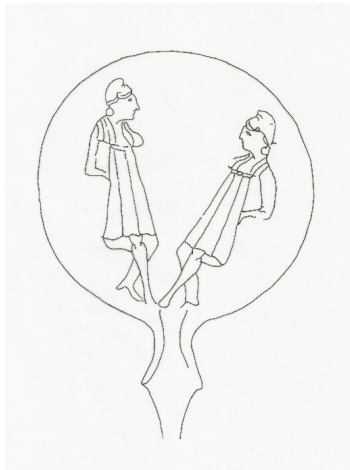


Fig. 4. Besançon. Musée Municipal. Inv. 852.2.4. Study drawing
 made by B. Doyle after *Caesarodunum III*, 1990, p. 108.



*Fig. 5. Besançon. Musée Municipal. Inv. 899.1. A468.
Study drawing made by B. Doyle after Caesarodunum III,
1990, p. 108.*



*Fig. 6. Besançon. Musée Municipal. Inv. 899.1.
After photo in Bronzes trouvés à Besançon, 1981, n. 130.*



*Fig. 7. Besançon. Musée Municipal. Inv. 899.1.
After photo in Bronzes trouvés à Besançon, 1981, n. 131.*



Fig. 8. Bordeaux. After drawing in COLLIGNON 1881, pl. X.

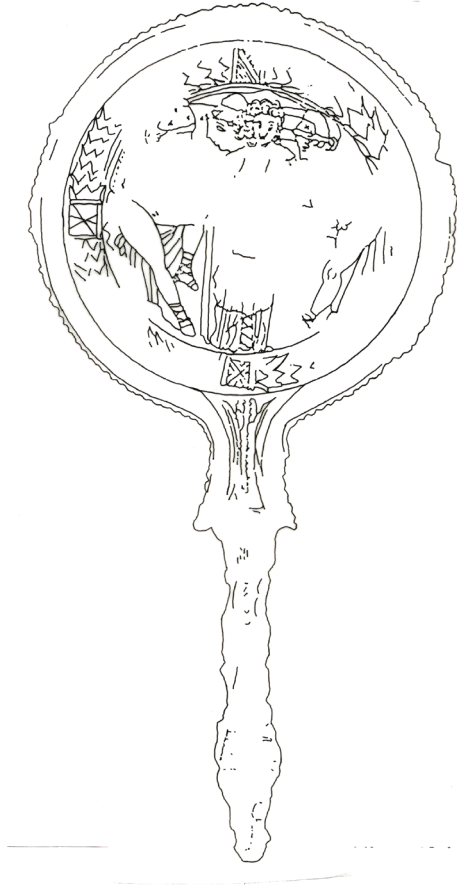


Fig. 9. Bourges. Study drawing made by B. Doyle after Caesaro-
rodunum III, 1990, p. 28.

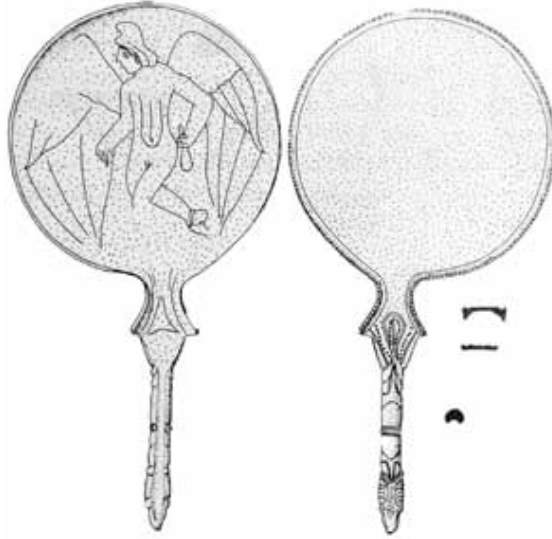
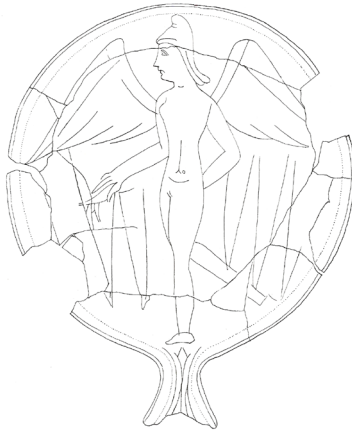


Fig. 10. Troyes. After drawing in DENAJAR 2005, p. 595.



*Fig. 11. Edendorf.
After drawing in CSE Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2.28.*

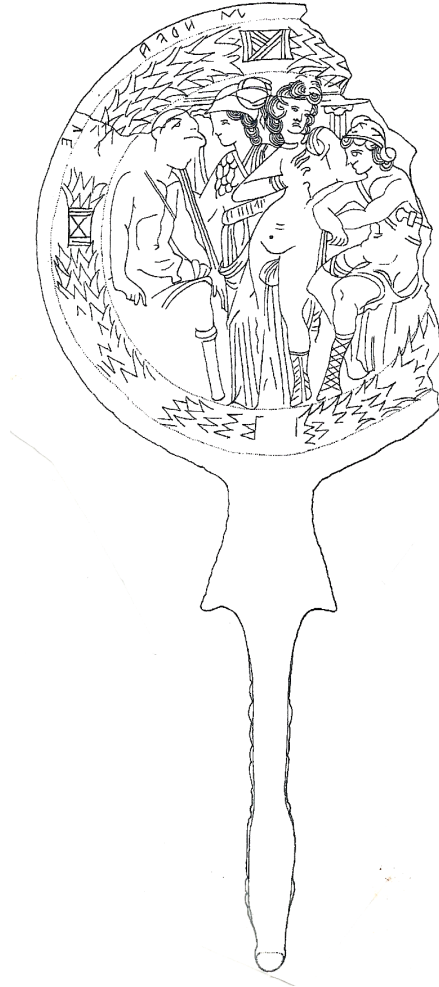
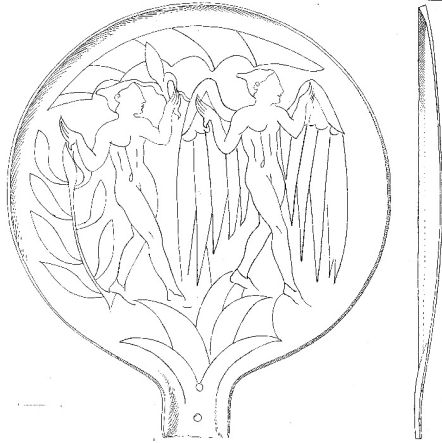


Fig. 12. Kreis Steinfurt. After drawing in CSE Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2.31.



*Fig. 13. North Germany.
Drawing courtesy of the Museum der Stadt Wels, Austria.*



Fig. 14. Corinth. After drawing in CSE Great Britain 2.3.



Fig. 15. Greece. After photo in DI STEFANO 1970, pl. XXIV.2.



Fig. 16. Peloponnese. After drawing in MYLONAS 1883, pl. 13.



*Fig. 17. Hajduböszöromeny.
After drawing in CSE Hongrie/Tchecoslovaquie, 10.*



Fig. 18. Nijmegen. After drawing in CSE, The Netherlands 25.

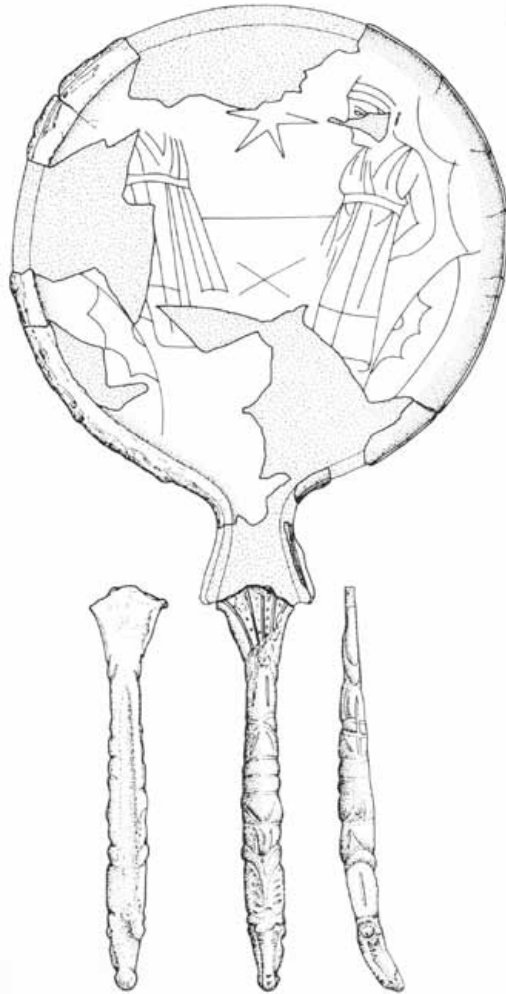
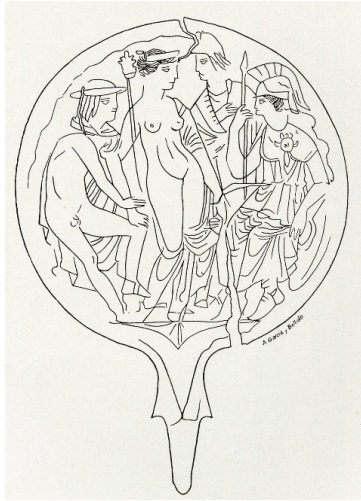
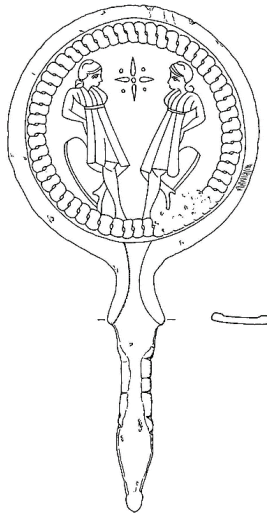


Fig. 19. Palermo. After drawing in Palermo 1998, p. 390.



*Fig. 20. Ampurias.
After drawing in GARCIA Y BELLIDO 1936, pl. facing p. 192.*



*Fig. 21. Morro de Mezquitillo, Málaga.
After drawing in MANSEL 1998, fig. 1.*



Fig. 22. Avenches. After drawing in CSE Schweiz 1. 44.



*Fig. 23. Castanetta.
After drawing in CSE, Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2.3.*



*Fig. 24. Olbia. Study drawing made by B. Doyle after MAVLEEV
1984, pl. V, n. 17.*