Reflections from the Tomb: Mirrors as Grave Goods in Late Classical and Hellenistic Tarquinia

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Reflections from the Tomb: Mirrors as Grave Goods in Late Classical and Hellenistic Tarquinia

by Alexandra A. Carpino

INTRODUCTION

Like members of many ancient cultures in the Mediterranean, the Etruscans buried their dead with a wide variety of funerary gifts, including bronze and silver mirrors. Because of the latter’s expense as well as their consistent appearance in the hands of women in funerary wall paintings\(^1\) and sculpted tomb effigies,\(^2\) these artifacts are generally considered special grave goods for wealthy women, symbols of their social and economic status. In addition, mirrors have used to identify female burials, especially when data regarding skeletal and/or cremated remains are unavailable. Finally, the mirrors’ ability to both reflect and deflect images has led to the suggestion that they may have had a ritual function within the funerary environment: hypotheses include aiding the deceased to achieve immortality, protecting her from evil, serving as a receptacle for her soul and/or helping her soul journey to the afterlife.\(^3\)

Information concerning the archaeological contexts of Etruscan mirrors is not extensive since numerous tombs contain neither their original artifacts nor the remains of their original occupants. Nevertheless, a group of systematically excavated intact or relatively undisturbed late fourth-second century BCE fossa and chamber tombs from Tarquinia provides data that allow deductions to be made with respect to what the Etruscans of this region might have had in mind when they used mirrors as grave gifts. The tombs, all of which are located in the Monterozzi necropolis,\(^4\) contain twenty-eight bronze mirrors or mirror fragments, eight of which can be connected to identifiable remains or an inscribed sarcophagus (see Charts I-III). Thus, they provide information about the frequency of mirrors as grave goods, their patterns of distribution, and their orientations within the funerary environment. More significantly, the type of data gathered from such a systematic analysis allows us to ascertain better whether our assumptions about mirrors’ symbolic and/or ritual functions have validity, at least during this particular period of Etruscan history.
Ten mirrors—these include incised and undecorated tang and handle mirrors, along with undecorated bronze discs designed for insertion into wooden boxes—survive in the nineteen tombs under consideration from the Calvario area. Those found in association with identified remains reveal that they were a furnishing connected only with the burials of adults, who were placed either on benches, in sarcophagi, or on the floors of the tombs. The youngest individual buried with a mirror, for example, died around the age of 25 and the oldest in their mid-50s (see Chart 1). The skeletal remains further indicate mirrors as a primarily female gift, with four of the women from Tombs 5740 (Figure 1), 5859 (Figure 2), and 5511 (Figure 3) having them among their furnishings. For example, in Tomb 5740, a late fourth/early third century BCE tang mirror incised with an image of a nude winged lasa (Figure 4) was placed directly on top of the lower legs of a woman inhumed on the right bench. The tang was situated between the deceased’s feet, while the disc rested on her calves. This position may explain why the mirror’s backside was found to contain fragments of cloth, presumably the residue of the garment that once covered its owner. Associated artifacts include an iron knife, located just below the tang, and a long iron pin (perhaps a hairpin), which bisected both the latter and the mirror. In addition, the deceased was buried with several vases (bowls, an oinochoe, and a small olpe) as well as bronze ear and finger rings.

The mirror (Figure 5) from Tomb 5859 (see Figure 2) is also of the late fourth/early third century BCE tang type and engraved with a nude winged lasa. It, along with its bone handle, was placed below and perpendicular to the deceased’s feet, a woman buried on the right bench. The disc rested next to her right foot while the handle appears beneath the left one. Fragments of egg shells, a strigil, a curved iron fragment, a bone hatpin, and a balsamarium, were found near the mirror, along with a bronze handle with bone elements that may have been part of a wooden pyxis lid (one of the bone fragments was found under the mirror’s disc).

In Tomb 5511 (see Figure 3), whose contents suggest a date between the 3rd and mid-2nd centuries BCE, two of the inhumed females had mirrors among their furnishings. The latter are handle mirrors dating to the third century BCE and incised with images of nude winged lasas moving to the left. One (Figure 6) appears in a group of furnishings placed below the feet of the deceased, a woman who died in her early 40s occupying the space on the floor beneath the left bench. The mirror lay under two ollas and its tang touches an iron pin; near-by goods include a balsamarium and an askos. The second mirror (Figure 7) seems to be associated with the woman buried on the left bench, who died in her mid-20s (the presence of a cremation urn nearby, however, makes it difficult to be certain that it belonged to her). If we accept the inhumed woman as the rightful owner, however, then the mirror would have been positioned above and to the right of her head, parallel to her shoulder; the handle would have lain close to the head while the disc rested near the edge of the bench.

In addition, although the body of the individual meant to occupy the left bench in Tomb 5672 (Figure 8) was never interred in the tomb, the goods placed in the rear left
# Chart I

**Intact or relatively intact tombs from Tarquinia's Calvario Region**

(Data on remains gathered from Mallegni, 1977, 205-210; Mallegni, Fornaciari, Tarabella, 1979, 185-221; and Bartoli, Mallegni, and Vitiello, 1990, 255-270)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE TO MOMB</th>
<th>OCCUPANTS</th>
<th>NO. OF MIRRORS</th>
<th>MIRROR LOCATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>end 4th to beg. 3rd c</td>
<td>3855 (CV 1977)</td>
<td>sex unknown/12-14 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end 4th to beg. 3rd c</td>
<td>5546 (CV 1972)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end 4th to beg. 3rd c</td>
<td>5801 (CV 1977)</td>
<td>1 M/30-35 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end 4th to beg. 3rd c</td>
<td>5876 (CV 1977)</td>
<td>1 M/30-35 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end 4th to mid 3rd c</td>
<td>5672 (CV 1972)</td>
<td>1 M/16-17 years</td>
<td>1 tang mirror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end 4th to mid 3rd c</td>
<td>5740 (CV 1977)</td>
<td>2 F/20 &amp; 50 years</td>
<td>1 tang mirror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end 4th to mid 3rd c</td>
<td>5957 (CV, 1996)</td>
<td>1 M/35-40 (46); 1 M/45 (50)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid 3rd c</td>
<td>5859 (CV 1977)</td>
<td>2 F/adult, mature adult</td>
<td>1 tang mirror, mirror handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd c</td>
<td>5671 (CV 1972)</td>
<td>1 F/adult; 1 F/mature adult</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd c (perhaps 2nd half)</td>
<td>6066 (CV 1972)</td>
<td>1 M/late 20s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd half 3rd c</td>
<td>5999 (CV 1972)</td>
<td>1 handle mirror</td>
<td>FIG. 10: on raised shelf (no. 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd c (2nd half)</td>
<td>5649 (CV, 1996)</td>
<td>2 M/adult (45; one cremation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd-mid 2nd c</td>
<td>5511 (CV 1972)</td>
<td>1 F/20 years (adult), 1 F/35-45 years</td>
<td>2 handle mirrors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end 3rd c</td>
<td>5862 (CV 1977)</td>
<td>1 F/adult (or 61), 1 F/40 (or 49)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end 3rd to beg. 2nd c</td>
<td>5433 (CV 1996)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1 handle mirror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end 3rd to mid 2nd c</td>
<td>6020 (CV, 1996)</td>
<td>1 M (7)/juvenile (cremation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end 3rd-mid 2nd c</td>
<td>6093 (CV, 1996)</td>
<td>1 M/mid 50s, 1 F/30-35 years</td>
<td>2 mirror discs for insertion into boxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st half 2nd c</td>
<td>6100 (CV, 1996)</td>
<td>1 M/mature (45)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
corner of the bench include a late fourth/early third century BCE incised tang mirror\(^{14}\) (Figure 9), an earring, and an iron strigil. These artifacts suggest that the bench may have been meant to have been occupied by a woman, perhaps the mother or sister of the sixteen-year old male interred on the opposite bench with his own goods. The mirror itself rests on its side, with its decorated reverse (a nude winged lasa) lying against three vases (a footed cup, a small plate and a small olla) and its tang touching the back wall.

At the same time, the Calvario tombs contain three mirrors associated with male inhumations, and twelve women buried without any among their furnishings. The male burials can be found in Tombs 5699 and 6093. In the former\(^{15}\) (Figure 10), a man who died in his late 20s is the tomb’s sole deposit and he lies on the bench parallel to the tomb’s back wall.

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figure 1 – Plan of Tomb 5740, Tarquinia. (Drawing: Cavagnaro Vanoni, 1977, Figure 5)
His goods were scattered throughout the chamber, and included a fibula between his skull and right shoulder, a balsamarium placed to the left of his lower left leg, and a third century BCE handle mirror (Figure 11) engraved with two facing youths wearing tunics and Phrygian caps.\textsuperscript{16} Because the latter lay face down on a raised section of the left bench, which contained seven additional items (these include an askos, a lekythos, and a balsamarium), it could be argued that the mirror belonged to a female who was never interred in the tomb.\textsuperscript{17} Nevertheless, similarly dated handle mirrors, also engraved with images of these facing youths, have been found in contemporary tombs with male burials, such as the Tomba dei Ceicna at Castiglione sul Lago and Tomb 5 from Gioiella (near Chiusi).\textsuperscript{18} Izzet, moreover, has provided a male context for many of the mirrors depicting the Tinas Clin iar as well as scenes

\textit{figure 2 – Plan of Tomb 5859, Tarquinia. (Drawing: Cavagnaro Vanoni, 1977, Figure 29)}
figure 3 – Plan of Tomb 5511, Tarquinia. (Drawing: Cavagnaro Vanoni, 1972, Figure 33)
of warfare and athletics,\textsuperscript{19} and van der Meer has used onomastic evidence to connect some mirrors to specifically male owners.\textsuperscript{20} In addition, the Hellenistic Tomb 10 from Monte Rosello (Sovana) contained a single deposit—an adult female—on the right bench while the furnishings, which included a mirror, rested on the left bench and the floor.\textsuperscript{21} Thus, it is more than probable that the artifact that was found in Tomb 5699 was part of the deceased’s grave goods and that he was the tomb’s sole occupant.

The furnishings of a fifty-five year old man buried on the right bench in the third-mid second century BCE Tomb 6093\textsuperscript{22} also included two small undecorated bronze discs presumably meant for insertion into a wooden box. One lay flat at the edge of the bench, a small distance from the deceased’s left upper leg; nearby furnishings include an olla, a black-glazed cup and two black-glazed jugs. The second was placed adjacent to and slightly above his crossed lower left leg, also in the vicinity of several vases. By his feet were an iron strigil and tweezers. Given that this man’s burial is the richest in the tomb, it is impossible to determine whether he owned and used these mirrors during life, or if they were funerary gifts from a surviving female family member, reflecting her wishes.\textsuperscript{23} Nevertheless, this same tomb contained three female inhumations and one female cremation, and none of these individuals had mirrors among their furnishings. The rich burial of a mature female, for example, appears on the left bench, but her goods only include a black-glazed cup, two askoi and a pair of bronze earrings by her head, as well as a small perfume vessel and many other ceramic vases scattered around her legs. The woman buried in the central corridor also has a bronze earring by her head as

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{figure4.png}
\caption{Engraved tang mirror with nude winged lasa, reverse. From Tomb 5740, Tarquinia. Late Fourth/Early Third Century BCE. (Drawing: Cavagnaro Vanoni, 1977, Figure 12)}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{figure5.png}
\caption{Engraved tang mirror with nude winged lasa, reverse. From Tomb 5859, Tarquinia. Late Fourth/Early Third Century BCE. (Drawing: Cavagnaro Vanoni, 1977, Figure 36)}
\end{figure}
well as a beautiful scarab incised with two heraldic horsemen that was placed inside a large Greco-Italic amphora, the latter lying by her left side.

Similar situations appear in Tombs 5740 and 5859 where only one of the two women interred in the chambers had a mirror among her furnishings. Interestingly, the quantity and quality of the goods accompanying the woman buried without a mirror in the former tomb (see Figure 1) exceed those of her companion. Located by her left and right sides, legs and below her feet, these include a large group of banqueting vases (e.g., two beautiful pitchers from the Barbarano group, a kylix, a large amphora and a skyphos), as well as an iron strigil and an iron handle. Likewise, in Tomb 5859 (see Figure 2), the woman buried without a mirror has the most furnishings of all the individuals in the tomb, including ceramic, metal and stone artifacts as well as fragments of eggshells on her chest and to the left of her head. The ceramics include a decorated cup, a skyphos, an askos, two pitchers decorated in the style of the Toronto group, two balsamaria, and four plates; the metal artifacts include a pair of ear-
figure 8 – Plan of Tomb 5672, Tarquinia. (Drawing: Cavagnaro Vanoni, 1972, Figure 5)
rings, a three-footed iron candelabrum and an iron strigil.

In Tomb 5511 (see Figure 3), there are three known female occupants, along with the bodies of a juvenile on the right bench, and an adult male on the bench by the back wall, but only two of these women had mirrors among their furnishings. The woman without the mirror, who died in her mid-20s, lies on the tomb’s floor, parallel to the back bench. Scattered to the right of and above her head are numerous ceramic artifacts, including a beautiful oinochoe, a wide-mouthed jug, and several bowls.

In addition, Tombs 5681, 5698, and 5862—whose contents suggest a date in the third century BCE—contain five women buried without mirrors. Tomb 5681, for example, housed two female inhumations, possibly a mother and daughter. Earrings and a range of locally-produced vessels, including a painted oinochoe, several small olpes and ollae, a balsamarium, and an alabastron, were found on the floor and the right bench. In addition, the woman interred on the right bench had the remains of iron tweezers among her furnishings while an iron strigil and a hairpin accompanied the woman on the left bench. Similar goods surround the two deceased women in Tomb 5862. The woman buried on the floor has her head oriented toward the entrance and a pair of earrings to either side of her neck. Most of her goods were placed to the left of her lower body and include six ceramic vessels (a cup, an oinochoe, a plate) and eggshells by her lower left arm and near the oinochoe. The woman buried on the left bench lies with her feet closest to the entrance; a large olla lies between her legs, along with two bowls, one of which contained a bronze coin and an iron pin. A bronze ring enhances her left hand, and an earring her left ear; fragments of eggshells also lie above her left shoulder.

All in all, 75% of the known women buried in these intact tombs from the Calvario area had no mirrors among their furnishings, and 11% of the men did (again, see Chart I, which lists the sixteen known women, only four of whom were buried with mirrors, and the nineteen known men, two of whom had mirrors among their goods). These data suggest that during the Late Classical-Hellenistic periods, mirrors cannot be considered either secure “signs of femininity” nor iron-clad evidence of female burials. Not only were a significant number of women buried without them at this time, but some Tarquiniian men also had mirrors placed among their furnishings, backing up the evidence from contemporary sites such as Castiglione sul Lago and Gioiella. Furthermore, while mirrors can still be characterized as
figure 10 – Plan of Tomb 5699, Tarquinia. (Drawing: Cavagnaro Vanoni, 1972, Figure 26)
a primarily female furnishing, they can no longer be considered an essential grave good for women during this particular period of Etruscan history, one required for a woman’s adornment and thus for her immortality. At the same time, the concept of adornment, in general, seems to have remained an important concern. The latter is attested by the range of alternative items for personal hygiene and ornamentation that consistently appear in the furnishings of the individuals buried in these tombs (e.g., strigils, earrings, hairpins, hand rings), along with items once for household use or bought for the funeral. Mirrors, therefore, must be viewed as just one of a variety of artifacts that could be taken to the tomb as part of this equipment during this time period. Whether the mirrors, once placed in the tomb, had an additional ritual function will be discussed below. Finally, the data indicate that the presumed status of the women buried without mirrors was no different, and certainly no less, than that of the women who had them among their furnishings. All of these women had their status displayed, reflected by a range of furnitures symbolizing their domestic responsibilities as well as the importance of personal hygiene and ornamentation.

The publications on the Fondo Scataglini material provide information on 173 tombs, only a third of which contained no goods. Thirty-nine mirrors were found in nineteen disturbed tombs, six intact structures and one chamber that had an intact door but some signs of disturbance. Since it is impossible to ascertain the original number of mirrors buried in the disturbed tombs, the analysis here is limited to those found in the intact structures (see Charts II-III). These include an early third century BCE fossa for a single inhumation (Tomb 103), three simple chambers for multiple inhumations and/or cremations dated to the end of the fourth century with room (Tomb 28, 65 and 172), and two grand chambers dated to the mid-third –second centuries which house the remains of large and presumably wealthy families (Tomb 112 and 139).

Although the tombs from the Fondo Scataglini do not provide as much information about the sex and age of their occupants, one mirror can definitely be associated
## Chart II

**INTACT TOMBS FROM TARQUINIA’S FONDO SCATAGLINI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TOMB</th>
<th>OCCUPANTS</th>
<th>NO. OF MIRRORS</th>
<th>MIRROR LOCATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>end 4th century</td>
<td>28 (5071)—chamber</td>
<td>room for multiple inhumations</td>
<td>2 mirrors &amp; 1 tang fragment</td>
<td>FIG. 19: 1 on back bench, 1 on tomb floor, 1 fragmentary tang on right bench (nos. 2c, 13 and 23c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end 4th century</td>
<td>65 (4883)—chamber</td>
<td>room for multiple inhumations, but never seems to have been occupied</td>
<td>1 mirror</td>
<td>FIG. 14: on right bench (no. 17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 300, 2nd century &amp; early imperial period</td>
<td>172 (5090)—chamber</td>
<td>room for multiple inhumations</td>
<td>4 mirrors</td>
<td>3 on floor, 1 on right bench</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beg. 3rd century</td>
<td>103 (4746)—fossa</td>
<td>1 inhumation</td>
<td>1 mirror</td>
<td>FIG. 16: on floor, in lower right corner (no. 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd century</td>
<td>162 (4834)—fossa</td>
<td>1 adult inhumation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd half 3rd—beg. 2nd c</td>
<td>112 (5070)—chamber</td>
<td>13 inhumations, 4 cremations</td>
<td>4 mirrors</td>
<td>FIG. 12: 2 on floor, 1 on sarcophagus lid, 1 between lower legs of deceased (nos. 5, 27, 123, and 127)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beg. 3rd &amp; mid 2nd c</td>
<td>139 (5062)—chamber</td>
<td>room for multiple inhumations</td>
<td>5 mirrors</td>
<td>2 in upper chamber, one on floor by the entrance, 1 on the left bench, 3 in lower chamber, 1 on back bench, 2 on floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd century</td>
<td>140 (5093)—fossa</td>
<td>1 child inhumation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd century</td>
<td>141 (5099)—pozzetto</td>
<td>1 cremation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chart III

**TOMBS WITH INTACT DOORS BUT SIGNS OF DISTURBANCE FROM TARQUINIA’S FONDO SCATAGLINI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TOMB</th>
<th>OCCUPANTS</th>
<th>NO. OF MIRRORS</th>
<th>MIRROR LOCATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>67 (4887)—chamber</td>
<td>1 child inhumation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end 4th century</td>
<td>155 (5091)—chamber</td>
<td>1 or possibly 2 inhumations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd century</td>
<td>86 (5060)—chamber</td>
<td>room for multiple inhumations</td>
<td>1 mirror</td>
<td>FIG. 18: on left bench (no. 24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman period</td>
<td>171 (4973)—chamber</td>
<td>8-10 inhumations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
figure 12 – Plan of Tomb 112, Tarquinia. (Drawing: Linington and Serra Ridgway, 1997, Tav. LIV)
with a female burial, and two others are potential candidates; none, however, seems to be connected to male burials. The female burial appears in the lower chamber of Tomb 112 (Figure 12), which contained a sarcophagus set against the back wall inscribed with the name Thana Ceisi (she was probably one of the first occupants in the tomb). A third-century BCE handle mirror (Figure 13) engraved with a nude winged lasa lay face down on the sarcophagus’s lid, along with an askos, two small ollas, and fragments of a bronze basin. The potential candidates come from Tombs 65 and 103, both of which contained incised tang mirrors and furnishings generally associated with women. For example, although the individual meant to be buried in Tomb 65 (Figure 14) never seems to have occupied the structure, a late fourth century BCE tang mirror engraved with Uni nursing Herce (Figure 15) lay face down on the right bench, along with parts of its bone handle. Two iron nails were found on top of the mirror’s obverse. Close by were more nails, a small black-glazed lekythos, a tri-lobed bronze pitcher and an iron strigil. Additional artifacts associated with the mundus muliebris, including an incense burner, were also found in this tomb. The inhumation found in Tomb 103 (Figure 16) may also have originally been female, given the incised tang mirror (Figure 17) which lay on the floor, in the lower right corner of the fossa. The mirror was partially covered by a small stamnoid olla, and nearby furnishings included three nails and a fragment of an aes rude formatum. The tomb also contained a black glazed lekythos, a black glazed cup, and a bronze ring.

In addition, although all of the mirrors from the tombs in the Calvario area are associated with adult remains, one example from the Fondo Scatagliini may have been part of a child’s burial. The third century BCE Tomb 86 (Figure 18), for example, which was found with its door intact but also with signs of disturbance, contained a small undecorated disc (no. 24) on the left bench, which rested on a miniature plate. A miniature ceramic vase lay close by, and the size of these furnishings suggests that they may have been the goods of a child. The mirror itself could have been a gift, or perhaps part of the furnishings of a mother and child, since an iron strigil fragment lay behind these ceramics and a cylindrical olpe and a black-glazed cup were found in front of it.

Despite the longstanding association of mirrors with the elite, two fossa tombs
from the Fondo Scataglini contained mirrors. In addition to Tomb 103, which is dis-
cussed above, Tomb 134, dated to the end of the fourth century BCE, contained a frag-
mentary incised tang mirror. Although robbed in antiquity, this mirror accompanied a
cremation burial; additional furnishings included the remains of bronzes associated with
the mundus muliebris that had not been destroyed in the funeral pyre. A second intact
fossa tomb dated to the early third century BCE, Tomb 162, however, contained no mir-
rors, although its single adult inhumation has been considered female.

**MIRROR LOCATIONS**

In a well-known late fourth century BCE burial from Orvieto’s Cannicella necropolis, a
tang mirror appears in an angled, upright position next to the forehead of the inhumed
remains of a 40 year old woman, who was buried in a wooden box. For eternity, the face
of this woman looked to the southwest and gazed upon the image incised upon the mir-
ror’s reverse, a nude, winged lasa moving to the left, wearing shoes and holding an alabas-
tron in her left hand. Given lasa’s frequent association with the circle of Turan and com-
mon role as an attendant in the adornment process, it is easy to imagine this artifact as
having attained a ritual function when it became a grave good—now it serves as an instru-
ment for eternal adornment and immortality.

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*figure 14 – Plan of Tomb 65, Tarquinia. (Drawing: Linington and Serra Ridgway, 1997, Tav. LII)*
None of the mirrors from the tombs under consideration here, however, was placed in a location similar to the above example. Analyses of the placements of these Tarquinian mirrors within their funerary environments, moreover, reveal quite varied patterns of distribution. In the tombs from Calvario area, for example, only two mirrors appear to have been placed in the vicinity of the deceased’s head. One of these is the handle mirror associated with the woman buried on the left bench of Tomb 5511 (Figure 3: no. 61), while the second is the example from Tomb 5672 (Figure 8: no. 40), which is part of a large group of furnishings located by the back wall of the left bench. The most common location for the Calvario area mirrors is in association with the legs or feet of the deceased. In Tomb 5740 (Figure 1), no. 10

![Engraved tang mirror with Uni nursing Herce, reverse. Late Fourth Century BCE. From Tomb 65, Tarquinia. (Drawing: Serra Ridgway 1996, Pl. CXL)](image-url)
lies directly on the lower legs, in Tomb 5859 (Figure 2), no. 19 is below and perpendicular to the feet, and in Tomb 5511 (Figure 3), no. 33 was placed below the feet. The mirror from Tomb 5699 (Figure 10: no. 10), which rests on a raised section of the left bench, is also closest to the legs of the individual buried on the bench by the back wall, while in Tomb 6093 (Figure 12), no. 16 lay at the edge of the right bench, a small distance from the deceased’s left upper leg, and no. 19 was placed adjacent to the crossed lower left leg.

In addition, the Calvario tombs contain one example of a mirror connected to a burial in a sarcophagus—in this case, a mid-third-early second century BCE handle mirror engraved with an image of a nude winged male lasa was placed on the lid rather than inside near the body in Tomb 5433. The mirror was found propped up against two ceramic perfume vessels so that its tang lay near the handle of a siphon. Nearby artifacts included a bronze flask and ladle, as well as a beautiful black-glazed jug.

The mirrors found in the tombs from the Fondo Scataglini demonstrate a similarly varied pattern of distribution within the funerary environment. Thirteen mirrors lay face down on the floor or on benches, either isolated from or surrounded by additional furnishings. The isolated example appears in Tomb 28 (Figure 19), which may have originally housed the remains of at least three adults. Here, a tang mirror incised with a clothed and jeweled winged woman (Figure 20), lay on the rear section of the back bench, an area containing neither any additional artifacts nor any traces of skeletal remains, making it difficult to ascertain for whom it was meant. Fragments of a second tang mirror (No. 23c), this one without decoration, lay on the structure’s floor, associated with an olletta and two red-figure pitchers from the Barbarano Group. These items appear to have fallen from one of the benches. Additional examples of mirrors found surrounded by furnishings include no. 17 in Tomb 65 (Figures 14-15); no. 7 in Tomb 103 (Figures 16-17); nos. 123 and 127 in Tomb 112 (Figure 12); nos. 54/124, 81/88, and 123 in Tomb 139; and nos. 83b, 87b, 72a and 124a in Tomb 172. As noted above, two iron nails were found on top of the example in

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*figure 16 – Plan of Tomb 103, Tarquinia. (Drawing: Linington and Serra Ridgway, 1997, Tav. LI)*

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Tomb 65 while the mirror from Tomb 103 was partially covered by a small olla. The mirror from Tomb 86 (Figure 18: no. 24) was found leaning against one of the furnishings and two additional examples lay face down on the lids of sarcophagi (no. 5 in Tomb 112, no. 2 in Tomb 139). Finally, a fragment of a tang (no. 2c), along with earring pieces, was found inside a pitcher placed on the right bench in Tomb 28 (Figure 19). Only one mirror, a small thin undecorated disc (no. 27 in Tomb 112 [Figure 12]), can be connected to inhumed remains that are in their original position within the tomb. In this case, it accompanies an individual buried on the floor in the far left corner of the chamber and was placed between, rather than on top of, the deceased’s lower legs. Additional furnishings include an oletta, two unguentarii, two small iron nails placed to the side of the right knee area, and a small bronze ring placed on the chest.

Since two of the tombs from the Calvario area and one from the Fondo Scataglini contain more than one mirror in association with specific remains, it is also possible to compare and contrast the locations of multiple mirrors within a single funerary context. Surprisingly, the positions of the mirrors are not consistent. As noted above, in Tomb 5511 (Figure 3), one woman had her mirror placed above her head and the other had it located below her feet, while the deceased in Tomb 6093 (see Figure 12) had his mirrors located to the left of his upper and lower legs. And, in the lower chamber of Tomb 112 (see Figure 12), which contained thirteen well-preserved inhumations and four cremations, mirrors appear between the lower legs of an individual buried on the floor, on the lid of Thana Ceisi’s sarcophagus, and on the floor, in the vicinity of a cremation urn.

**Mirror Iconographies**

Tang mirrors iconographically similar to the Orvieto mirror discussed above were found in Tombs 5672, 5740, and 5859. Although more schematically drawn, the lasa (see Figure 5) from the latter tomb is nearly identical with respect to pose and attributes; in addition, she wears a Phrygian cap on her head. The mirror (see Figure 9) from Tomb 5672 also shows lasa as nude, winged, and running to the left; however, her hands are hidden behind her back, and she wears a diadem, earrings and two arm bracelets. In addition, a large flower occupies the lower left side of the medallion. Floral motifs also flank the lasa.
figure 18 – Plan of Tomb 86, Tarquinia. (Drawing: Linnington and Serra Ridgway, 1997, Tav. LIII)
engraved on the mirror (see Figure 4) from Tomb 5740, although she differs from both of the above examples by running to the right, with her left arm outstretched and her right elbow bent. In addition to her wings, she has a diadem in her hair and shoes on her feet.\textsuperscript{64} The tang mirror (see Figure 20) from Tomb 28 differs from all of the above examples in depicting lasa as a majestically-clothed winged woman, wearing earrings and a diadem; she looks and walks to the left.\textsuperscript{65}

Handle mirrors incised with images of nude winged lasas, all wearing Phrygian caps, were found in Tombs 112, 5433, and 5511. The four examples from Tombs 112 and 5511 depict simplified versions of the motif, with minor variations with respect to the depiction of the wings and the abdominal muscles (see Figures 6-7, 13).\textsuperscript{66} The mirror from Tomb 5433 is unique among the sample in that it depicts lasa as a male who has his right arm bent behind his back and his left hand extended.\textsuperscript{67}

Different iconographies appear on the tang mirrors from Tombs 65 and 103, and the handle mirror from Tomb 5699. On the former (see Figure 15), the most intricate of all the mirrors in the sample, Herce nurses at the breast of Uni in the presence of two attendants,\textsuperscript{68} while on the latter (see Figure 11), there is an image of two facing youths with crossed legs.\textsuperscript{69}

\begin{figure}[ht]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure19.png}
\caption{Plan of Tomb 28, Tarquinia. (Drawing: Linnington and Serra Ridgway, 1997, Tav. LII)}
\end{figure}
Generally considered the Tinas Cliniar, these youths wear tunics and Phrygian caps; five small circles also form an X pattern between their faces. Finally, the mirror (see Figure 17) from Tomb 103 is engraved with a solitary image of a swan that fills the entire medallion; there is no encircling border but additional motifs include an ovoid form resembling an egg, and lines by the bird’s feet that could represent a second egg. Although swans are most often connected to Turan, the presence of eggs suggests a different connection for this bird: it may be the swan of Leda, mother of the Tinas Cliniar as well as the very popular Elina.

Is there a ritual significance to the figured scenes found on this group of mirrors? That is, does the choice of subject matter reflect elements related to Etruscan burial traditions and customs? It is perhaps not surprising that nine of the mirrors depict some form of lasa, a very popular motif on mirrors made during the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, and three show scenes generally considered symbolic of immortality and/or apotheosis. As noted above, lasas, whom Rallo correlated with the nymphs of the Greeks, are considered attendant spirits who frequent the circle of Turan and often aid in the adornment process. Wiman believes that these nude winged females were “a suitable motif on a woman’s mirror, especially for historical periods where these matters were considered the most important ones for females.”

De Grummond agrees that “Lasas’ activities were of course relevant for the woman who wished to make herself physically appealing to her lover, but she also played a role in the afterlife, supplying the fragrant unguents that were evidently a regular feature in ancient funerals.” She has further suggested that mirrors depicting the winged Lasas holding perfume bottle and/or dipper … must have been made primarily with funerary ritual in mind. The choice of subject matter becomes comprehensible if we acknowledge the significance of adornment in the life and afterlife of an Etruscan woman. The winged spirit of the mirror went along to the grave as an attendant prepared to aid eternally in the adornment that brings immortality.

Given the “obvious care that has been taken to ensure the reflecting quality of these [lasa] mirrors,” along with the evidence of ancient repairs, Wiman disagrees that these mirrors were manufactured solely as tomb furniture. Instead, she argues that they were made to reflect the image of living women, and that “a spirit for adornment would serve a living woman equal-
ly as well as a dead one, and the inherent message of the motif is certainly connected with that [former] function.” 

The male lasa incised on the mirror from Tomb 5433, moreover, must have had a similar function, as both male and female lasas appear together on a mirror from Saint Petersburg in connection with a scene from the Turan and Atunis cycle. 

Equally as popular during the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods as the lasa mirrors were those depicting images of the Tinas Clinar, the subject of the mirror from Tomb 5433 (see Figure 11). The Etruscans seem to have considered these divine twins, who shared their immortality, as liminal figures, mediating between worlds of the living and the dead. 

De Puma has also suggested that the popularity of the Tinas Clinar on mirrors may have been because they reflected “twin aspects of the viewer and the image reflected in the mirror.” 

Finally, De Grummond has wondered if the twins were, like their sister Elina, not only associated with fertility, given their multiple birth and their eventual attainment of immortality, but also “with grooming and physical beauty [since] they certainly enjoyed great fame as handsome athletes, with Polydeuces being known for his ability as a boxer and Castor for his equestrian skills.” 

The latter qualities would correlate them with one of the main functions of the lasas, making both characters appropriate images for the reverses of objects used to adorn and manipulate an individual’s physical appearance.

The image of the swan and the eggs on the mirror from Tomb 103 (see Figure 17) may also be related to concepts of rebirth and immortality, especially if the swan references Leda and the egg her offspring. Not only were images of Elina’s egg were especially popular on Etruscan mirrors from this period, but they also reflect the fact that the Etruscans correlated their notions about birth and fertility with the themes of rebirth and immortality. 

A winged youth holding two eggs, moreover, appears in the exergue of an engraved mirror from Volterra, which depicts Hercle nursing at Uni’s breast, the subject of the mirror from Tomb 65 (see Figure 15). Thus, the latter’s iconography most likely reflects not only Hercle’s popularity as a decorative figure on engraved mirrors but also the goddess’s adoption of the hero and his attainment of immortality. As Bonfante has noted, Uni “gives [Hercle] divinity and makes him acceptable among the gods.” In addition, one of Uni’s attendants is a winged female figure who holds a crown in her right hand. Given that the latter motif must be a symbol of Hercle’s impending apotheosis, this woman can be identified as Mean, the Etruscan goddess of victory, as several other mirrors, including an example with the adoption theme, depict her in the process of crowning the victorious hero.

All in all, the iconographies found the mirrors from this group of Tarquinian tombs reflect concepts with dual functions—ones important to their owners both during their lifetimes as well as after death. And, as was common in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, the themes that predominate are those associated with adornment, twinship, birth/rebirth and immortality.

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**MIRROR ORIENTATIONS**

Despite the varied placements of the mirrors in their funerary environments and their range of iconographies, photographs of the artifacts in situ reveal that the majority shares
a consistent feature: that is, they were oriented so that their obverses—that is, their reflecting sides—were face up, a position essentially obscuring the figured scenes on the reverses.\textsuperscript{88} This is the case for the mirror found on the left bench in Tomb 5511,\textsuperscript{89} as well as for the artifacts in Tombs 5433,\textsuperscript{90} 5699,\textsuperscript{91} 5740,\textsuperscript{92} 5859,\textsuperscript{93} and 6093,\textsuperscript{94} all from the Calvario area. It also seems to be the case for the mirror in Tomb 5672 (see Figure 8), since it rests on its side with its decorated reverse obscured by three vases. In addition, the photographs of mirrors in situ from Fondo Scataglini Tombs 28, 65, 86, and 112 indicate that they all rest with their obverses visible.\textsuperscript{95}

Thus, unlike the deceased in the Orvieto tomb discussed above, the majority of the mirrors under consideration here were oriented so that their figured scenes were hidden. This may mean that the latter, at least at Tarquinia, may have been primarily intended to serve the living, while the reflecting qualities of the mirrors had an important dual function—being equally important during life as well as after death.\textsuperscript{96} These mirrors, therefore, must not have been mere tomb furniture, placed in the grave just to augment the deceased’s social and/or economic status. Given that a mirror’s obverse both projects and reflects the image of its user, this particular orientation must have been a conscious and intentional decision, perhaps one that reflects elements of a consistent belief system. But, what ritual function might the Etruscans of Tarquinia have in mind? Could the mirror’s orientation make the object an appropriate apotropaic device, helping to deflect any harm from befalling the deceased, or were they considered receptacles for their souls? Given the fact that mirrors were imprinted with the image and memory of the deceased, they may have been seen as preserving a very personal part of the deceased for eternity, thus contributing to their immortality. In addition, the image reflected by the mirror during life was the owner’s “twin,” so to speak, and it is possible that the Etruscans considered this twin to be akin to their soul,\textsuperscript{97} since the Etruscan word for “soul” or “shade,” hinthial, also seems to mean “reflection/image in a mirror.”\textsuperscript{98} Because mirrors were the Etruscans’ only grave good that could produce such a dual combination—images initially mortal and later immortal—this quality would make them appropriate ritual objects. As de Grummond notes,

the object must have been conceived as allowing for the passage back and forth of the soul. … If the mirror that contained the hinthial were left behind, the soul of the departed might continue to go back and forth between the upper and lower worlds. Neither the deceased nor her relatives would find peace. This kind of ‘reflection-death’ superstition, … [moreover], may be found in cultures around the world.”\textsuperscript{99}

Interestingly, the body part generally thought “symbolic of individual identity,”\textsuperscript{100} and, in some ancient cultures, a container for the soul after death,\textsuperscript{101} was the head, but only two of the mirrors in the sample, those from Tombs 5511 (see Figure 3) and 5672 (see Figure 8), may have been placed in this location.\textsuperscript{102} Instead, seven of the individuals whose remains can be connected to mirrors in situ had them located either on or near their legs, or below their feet.\textsuperscript{103} It is difficult to know how to interpret this location. Was
it, for example, symbolic of transport or a journey, lending credence to the idea of the mirror as an object that helped the soul journey to the afterlife? Or did eschatology have nothing to do with the final location of the mirrors within the funerary context, just with how it was oriented? Given the lack of consistency with respect to the mirrors’ locations, especially in cases where two of the tombs occupants had mirrors in different places, it is impossible to determine whether a specific belief system or the deceased’s family determined the final resting place of the artifact in the funerary environment.\(^{104}\) At the same time, the consistent orientation of the mirrors with their obverses visible argues for some type of ritual function, one above and beyond the functions of the other furnishings. As Serra Ridgway has observed, Etruscan mirrors “had a unique symbolic and ‘magical’ connotation that should not be compared with that of perfumes, combs, pins, jewellery, and the like. … the mirrors ‘counted’ not for their beauty but for their essential and still well-understood deep significance,”\(^{105}\) even if the specific nature of the latter still eludes us today.

**Conclusions**

By studying the archaeological contexts of Etruscan mirrors, the hypotheses surrounding their funerary uses and functions can be assessed. Data provided by the mirrors found in a group of intact or relatively intact tombs from Tarquinia’s Calvario area and the Fondo Scataglini confirm the Etruscans’ use of these artifacts as a typically, although by no means exclusive, gift for adult women. Mirrors are found in both aristocratic and more modest contexts, suggesting that they were not limited to elite burials during the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, a time of great change and transition for the Etruscans. Furthermore, because a significant number of women’s tombs contained no mirrors, these artifacts can no longer be characterized as an essential female furnishing during this time period. A variety of alternative grave goods associated with personal hygiene and adornment accompanied these other women, indicating that mirrors did not have an exclusive or even essential role to play with respect to adornment in the afterlife. Nevertheless, those individuals who did have mirrors among their furnishings had them consistently oriented with their obverses—or their reflecting sides—visible, suggesting that these artifacts had some type of ritual function within the funerary environment. For such questions to be answered in a more comprehensive fashion, it is clear that archaeological data on mirror contexts from sites other than Tarquinia need to be both gathered and analyzed: only then will we be able to solidify our hypotheses regarding these artifacts’ funerary functions.

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NOTES

4. Nineteen of these tombs come from the Calvario area and have been published in the following: Cavagnaro Vanoni 1972, 148-194; Cavagnaro Vanoni 1977, 157-204; Cavagnaro Vanoni 1996. Thirteen tombs come from the Fondo Scataglini, and have been published in the following: F. R. Serra Ridgway 1996; Lington and Serra Ridgway 1997.
8. Ibid., 162, and Figs. 9-14.
9. Ibid., 182-195; for the remains, Mallegni 1977, 208-209.
10. Ibid., Fig. 36
12. Ibid., Fig. 47.
13. Ibid., 159-169; Figs. 5, 11-21. For the remains, Mallegni 1977, 205-206; Mallegni, Fornaciari, Tarabella 1979, 191; Bartoli, Mallegni, Vitiello 1990, 257
15. Ibid., 180-184; Fig. 26. For the remains, Mallegni 1977, 205; Mallegni, Fornaciari and Tarabella 1979, 191.
16. Ibid., Figs. 36-38.
17. De Grummond (1982, 168), for example, has argued that “men did not own these objects, [a]lthough they may have used in a casual way mirrors belonging to their wives or lovers.”
18. Haynes 2000, 241; Ponzi Bonomi 1977, 106 and Fig. 58; Roberts 1983, 31-36. Lilyquist (1979, 83-85, 97) also notes that in ancient Egypt, mirrors were considered standard tomb furniture for members of both sexes, although more are found in connection with female burials. She writes “it is likely that the association of mirrors was different with men than it was with women. Evidence of a difference may be the fact that mirrors seem to be more often associated with men in the early period than in the later. It may simply be that women were thought to use mirrors for cosmetic purposes more often than men did. But it may also be that there was a religious reason for the distinction [e.g., the connection of Hathor with mirrors]” (ibid., 97).
20. van der Meer 1995, 13-27; Spivey (1991) has also argued for a male ownership with respect to some Etruscan mirrors.
22. Cavagnaro Vanoni 1996, 336-348 and Figs. 115-120 (the latter figure contains drawings of the mirrors, nos 16 and 19 in the plan).
23. In reference to a pair of earrings found near the head of a mature man buried in Tomb 5957 in the Calvario area, Cavagnaro Vanoni (ibid., 321, Fig. 102) suggests that the rings could
represent a funerary offering by his wife. Hall (1998, 584) proposes a similar hypothesis with respect to the mirrors found in men’s tombs at Pantanello ("a female relative may have wished to express her own personality in the context of another’s burial").

24. A similar situation seems to appear in Tomb VI from the Necropolis of Ponte Rotto at Vulci. Here, only one chamber (Camera C) of a 5-chambered Hellenistic tomb contained a mirror. It was located on the back bench which housed two bodies, possibly those of a man and a woman, and positioned perpendicular to the left knee of the deceased. The female buried on the left bench, however, did not have a mirror among her furnishings (Falconi Amorelli 1987, 38-50). Likewise, a number of undisturbed Hellenistic tombs from the Perugia region provide similar data. For example, although both of the women buried in the Tomb of the Satna family from Ponticello di Campo had mirrors associated with their urns (one was found in front of the urn of Thana Ancari Satnas while the other was hidden in a vertical position between the back wall of an urn belonging to Fasti Lakhumni and the back bench) (Feruglio 1997, 112), the tomb of the Alfa family, discovered in 1975 in the vicinity of Madonna Alta, contained sixteen urns for members of both sexes but only one mirror (ibid., 111). Likewise, the Tomb of the Cai Carcu family, also from Ponticello di Campo, contained twenty-six travertine urns, one terracotta sposi urn, and only one mirror (ibid., 111-112). All in all, in the eight Hellenistic family tombs discussed by Feruglio, only five mirrors appeared among the furnishings, despite the presence of many women among the deceased. Nielsen also discusses an intact tomb from Ponticello di Campo containing five travertine urns placed on benches around the walls, belonging to “four generations of mothers and daughters, as well as a woman who was related in some way or another to the first one,” giving us a sample of five women but only 3 mirrors (Nielsen 1999, 100). Clearly, in this region, they were not essential furnishings either.

25. Although initially thought to be a married couple (Cavagnaro Vanoni 1977, 182-195), further analysis revealed both inhumations to be females who died in their early 40s (Mallegni, Fornaciari and Tarabella 1979, 193-194, 205-206, 208; Bartoli, Mallegni and Vitiello 1990, 257, 267).


27. Cavagnaro Vanoni 1972, 169-174; Figs. 22-28; for the remains, Mallegni 1977, 206; Mallegni, Fornaciari and Tarabella 1979, 191.

28. Ibid., 174-179; Figs. 29-34; for the remains, Mallegni 1977, 209-210; Mallegni, Fornaciari and Tarabella 1979, 191.

29. Cavagnaro Vanoni 1977, 195-201; Fig. 44.


32. Cavagnaro Vanoni (1996, 80, 89,125, 139, 157, 174-175) also discusses several disturbed tombs from the Calvario area which, nevertheless, seem to preserve a majority of their furnishings. These include two very rich tombs, Tombs 1686 and 1786, both of which were used from late 4th century BCE until the 1st century CE. The former only contained one poorly preserved handle mirror, while the latter’s furnishings included a small undecorated bronze disc, probably originally set in a wooden box.
33. A similar situation with respect to mirrors and the Greek world seems to appear in the tombs from Pantanello. While Hall (1998, 584) notes that “the traditional association of mirrors with females is ... corroborated at Pantanello,” the association is not as tight as previously thought since fourteen mirrors were buried with women and four with men. Similarly, Prohászka (1998, 793) observes, relative to the Greek contexts, that “if the mirror loses its meaning as a typically female grave gift during Hellenistic times—as happened with other types of toilet articles, for instance, tweezers and knives—then perhaps burials with uncertain sexing should be not so readily interpreted as female.”

34. De Grummond 1982, 183. De Grummond (ibid., 172-177) has also argued that because the Etruscans “associated adornment, love, and fertility with the immortality of the soul of a woman of elevated status,” mirrors were an essential furnishing in the tomb.

35. Hall’s (1998, 563-564) study of the grave goods from Pantanello reveals a similar situation with respect to furnishings in Greek graves: “At Pantanello, as elsewhere in the Greek World, no grave good seems to have been regarded as essential in order for the burial to be satisfactorily completed. The lekythos, for example, is the most common vase type from 515-461 BC, yet 15 burials (60%) in this period do not contain them. Likewise, the later practice of including coins in the tomb, a custom that seems to suggest a clearly defined view of the Underworld and the needs of the deceased, is adopted to only a limited extent. Moreover, 36 burials contain no objects at all.” The heirloom status of some mirrors may be another reason that could have prevented them from becoming part of an individual’s furnishings. An excellent example of this phenomenon comes from the Palazzone necropolis near Perugia. A tomb containing urns exclusively dated to the late third century BCE included a beautifully inscribed mirror dated, on stylistic grounds, to the late fourth century BCE (Nielsen, 1999, 89-90). At the same time, four of the urns in the tomb belonged to women but only one of these individuals had a mirror among her furnishings.


37. Ibid., 67; Pl. LI.

38. Ibid., 27-28. Pls. XII, LI.

39. Ibid., 45; Pls. XVIII, LI, CXL.

40. Ibid., 115-116; Pls. XLIV, LVIII.

41. Ibid., 72-73; Pls. XXX, LIV, CLXXV-CLXXVI.

42. Ibid., 86-87; Pls. XXXV, LVI-LVII, CXC-CXCI.

43. Serra Ridgway 1996, Pls. LXIII and CLXX.

44. Ibid., Pl. XLIX and CXL.

45. Ibid., Pl. XL.

46. Ibid., Pls. LVII and CLVIII.

47. Linnington and Serra Ridgway 1997, 57-58; Pls. LIII and CLIII.

48. Ibid., 58; Pls. XXII, LI.

49. Another chamber tomb from Tarquinia may provide a parallel, namely, Tomb 6270 in the Cimitero Comunale area (see Cataldi and Slaska 2001, 105). A tomb from Norchia (G. Barbieri, NSc 1996-97: 331-356), dated to the first quarter of the third century BCE, also
contained an infant burial along with the inhumed body of a young female (aged 18-20), who may have died in childbirth. The latter was buried on the left bench and the infant on the right, along with most of the furnishings, which included a lasa handle mirror, perfume vessels, domestic vases, and sandals made of leather and cork.

50. Linington and Serra Ridgway 1997, 82; Serra Ridgway 1996, Pl. CLXXVIII, no. 3.
51. Linington and Serra Ridgway 1997, 107, Pl. LI.
52. Stopponi 1994, 207-209, fig. 62; Pls. XXXII b-c. and XXXV b-c.
54. Cavagnaro Vanoni 1996, Fig. 65 (no. 9); Pl. LIa.
55. Although this tomb contains evidence suggest a disturbance of the artifacts, the ones placed on the sarcophagus all appear to be in their original positions; the sarcophagus is situated near the tomb’s entrance, adjacent to its left wall. See Cavagnaro Vanoni 1996, 200 and Figs. 62-63. An undecorated bronze disc, with a diameter of 10.5 cm and probably part of a box mirror, was also found in the tomb but its original position is not known: ibid., 206-207 and Fig. 65 (no. 24).
56. Supra note 38.
57. Serra Ridgway 1996, Pl. CXXII.
58. Linington and Serra Ridgway 1997, Pls. XXXV, LVI-LVII, CXCI.
59. Ibid., Pls. XLIV, LVIII.
60. The furnishings on a sarcophagus in the upper chamber of Tomb 139 also lie on the lid (ibid., LVI). Moreover, although the body of a woman buried in a tomb in the Sperandio Necropolis at Perugia was enhanced with earrings and a gold diadem, many of her furnishings were placed in front of and near the sides of her sarcophagus. These included a mirror whose tang rested on a small olla and whose bone handle was placed nearby (Moretti 1900, 555).
61. Serra Ridgway 1996, Pl. LXVI (no. 112-114).
62. Unfortunately, many of the remains in the wealthy Tomb 139 are no longer in their original positions, making it impossible to ascertain where the five mirrors were meant to be placed with respect to the bodies (see Linington and Serra Ridgway 1997, Pls. LVI-LVII).
63. Supra note 9. This mirror’s handle was also found in the tomb.
64. Supra note 7. This type of lasa belongs to Wiman’s Type A:1 (1990, 157-158 and note 9).
65. Supra note 57.
66. No. 33 from Tomb 5511 (supra note 12), for example, belongs to Wiman’s Type B:1, as lasa has U-shaped abdominal lines, and no. 61 to her Type B:2, since she has an I-shaped line (1990, 173 and note 57).
67. Supra note 54. Male lasas also appear on the following mirrors: De Puma, CSE USA 1, no. 10; De Puma, CSE USA 2, no. 22; Heres, CSE DDR 1, no. 40; Lambrechts 1978, no. 50; Rebuffat-Emmanuel, CSE France 1, nos. 16-21; Szilágyi, CSE Hongrie-Tchecoslovakie, no. 9.
68. Supra note 44.
69. Supra note 16.
70. Rebuffat-Emmanuel 1974, 483; Wiman 1990, 201.
71. Supra note 46.
74. Wiman 1990, 176.
77. Wiman 1990, 175.
78. Ibid., 175. In particular, she notes that the mirrors are “generally rich in the expensive tin” (ibid., note 71), a key factor in enhancing the reflecting qualities of the artifacts.
79. Klügmann and Körte, ES V, 128; Carpino 2003, 76-77; supra note 67 for a list of additional representations of male lasas.
83. Ibid., 22: “to define [the lasas and the Tínas Cliníar] as underworld deities is perhaps too far, but one can argue . . . that they stood at the threshold to the underworld.”
85. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 72740; Klügmann and Körte, ES V, 60; Stibbe-Twise 1978, 96. For other mirrors with this same subject, see Serra Ridgway, 1996, 288.
87. Sowder 1982, 118.
88. Although the Orvieto mirror discussed above doesn’t appear in this position, a fourth century BCE mirror found near the side of a woman’s sarcophagus in the Sperandio Necropolis at Perugia, has an identical orientation (Moretti 1900, 555, Fig. 3).
89. Cavagnaro Vanoni 1972, Fig. 43.
91. Ibid., Fig. 36.
92. Cavagnaro Vanoni 1977, Fig. 4.
93. Ibid., Fig. 32.
95. Linnington and Serra Ridgway, 1997, Pls. CXXIVc., CXLa, CCLXVa, CLIIIc-d, and ClXXVIIe-f, respectively. Unfortunately, it is impossible to discern the orientations of the mirrors buried in Tomb 139 from the available photographs (ibid., Pls. CXC and CXCI).
96. For the use of mirrors’ reflecting sides to project or provide a vision of the future, see De Grummond, 2000.
100. Lyons 1996, 120.
101. For a discussion of the Celts, who seem to have “valued mirrors as magical repositories of the head’s image,” see Pendergrast 2003.
102. Many of the Greek mirrors found in situ were placed either by the chest or head of the deceased: see Hall 1998, 581 and NSc 91 (1966): 219 and 227 (an exception is Tomb 7 from
Metaponto where the mirror was placed between the knees of the deceased [ibid., 193]). Tomb 2, in the Marinella Necropolis at Porto Torres, Sardinia, provides one example of a Roman mirror in situ, located to the left side of the deceased’s head, along with fragments of a hair comb and several iron nails (NSc 90 [1965]: 319). For Egyptian mirrors in situ, see Lilyquist 1979; she suggests that the Egyptians may have thought of the mirror not only as an object that preserved the ka but one that also allowed it to make the transition to the afterlife (ibid., 98-99).

103. See Tombs 112, 5511, 5699, 5740, 5859 and 6093. Several of the women buried without mirrors also had their furnishings scattered by their legs; for example, the woman buried on the right bench in Tomb 5681 (supra note 26) had all her furnishings, with the exception of an earring, placed on either side of her legs and feet; similar situations appear in Tombs 5740, 5859, 5862, and 6093.

104. Hall (1998, 581) notes that “there is scant evidence to suggest that eschatology or symbolism determined the position of a particular vase” at Pantanello.


**B I B L I O G R A P H Y**


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