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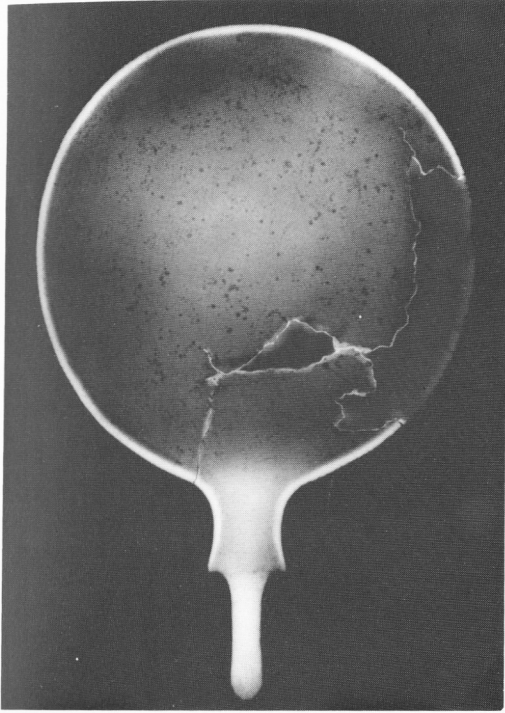
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An Etruscan Lasa Mirror

The Museum of Art and Archaeology recently received the gift of an Etruscan engraved bronze mirror (Figs. 1-2).¹ It complements two related Etruscan objects acquired earlier by the museum: a rare bone mirror handle, carved with figures in relief,² and another engraved bronze mirror depicting *Hercle* and *Turms* (the Etruscan names for the Greek characters Herakles and Hermes).³ Both of the museum's mirrors are circular discs with small tangs originally inserted into separate handles made of bone, ivory or wood. One side of the disc was brightly polished to reflect the viewer's image; the other side (reverse) was often engraved with mythological scenes or characters.⁴ These scenes provide valuable information about Etruscan religion, culture and (because they are often inscribed) language.

1. Left: Photo of obverse of Missouri 83.224.
2. Right: Photo of reverse of Missouri 83.224.



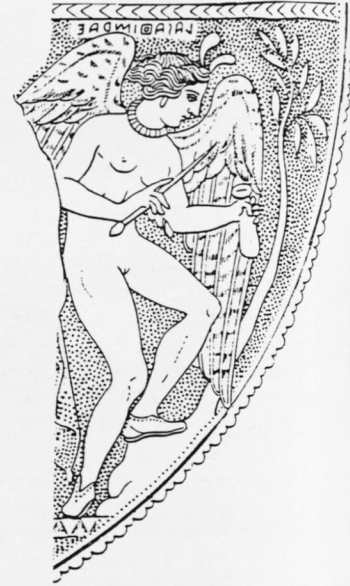


Let us begin with a brief description of Missouri's new mirror and then place it in the larger context of Etruscan art and culture. The once-polished obverse (Fig. 1) is now heavily encrusted, and some cracks have been reinforced with modern rectangular patches of cloth. Apparently, this mirror was discovered in fragmentary condition. At some time it was repaired carefully; the modern restorations are clearly visible in the X-ray photograph (Fig. 3). Fortunately, the repaired areas are relatively small and do not seriously affect the decoration (Fig. 4). Although many Etruscan mirrors have some engraved decoration near the base of the disc on the obverse, the Missouri mirror is not ornamented here. The only decoration on this side is a delicate, modelled border in the form of scallops which surrounds the disc.

A nude winged female is engraved on the reverse (Figs. 2, 4). She floats to the left with her legs in the characteristic cross-step pose, the so-called *Kreuzschritt*. Her ample wings fan out to fill most of the available space on the disc. There are no ground lines, no points of reference to tie the figure to the earth. Thus, the impression of effortless flight is enhanced.

3. Left: X-Ray photo (90 kv at 160 mas) of reverse of Missouri 83.224 showing restored sections.

4. Right: Drawing of reverse of Missouri 83.224. Dotted areas indicate restorations. Drawing by the author.



5. Left: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1287. Drawing from E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel II* (Berlin 1845), pl. 181.
6. Right: Detail of *Isa thimrae* on Fig. 5.

This nude female has an elaborate coiffure that encloses a fillet or diadem.⁵ She sports a large pendant earring, a beaded necklace and an armband decorated with pendant bullae, and wears elegant cross-strapped shoes of a type familiar from numerous mirrors usually dated to the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. (Figs. 7, 10-13).⁶ She carries a long alabastron⁷ in her left hand and a perfume applicator stick in her right hand.

Who is this delightful creature? Fortunately, other representations of the same character are provided with identifying labels on other mirrors. An excellent example in Paris (Fig. 5) shows three such winged females.⁸ We will ignore the complex mythological scene represented on this mirror but focus our attention instead on the three winged females. Two appear in the lower frieze: the second figure from the left and the last figure on the right (Fig. 6); the third occupies the exergue at the bottom of the disc. All three are nude females with

large feathery wings, and all wear shoes and some jewelry. The first offers a fillet to a handsome youth (labeled *elchsntre*, i.e., Alexandros or Paris) at her right. The other two carry alabastra and perfume applicators, as does the figure on the Missouri mirror.

The first winged figure on the Paris mirror is labelled *mean*. The second and third are called *lasa thimrae* and *lasa racuneta*, respectively. *Lasa* appears to be a generic title while *thimrae*, *racuneta* and perhaps *mean*⁹ are probably the specific names of these particular Lasas. The situation is complicated. In her monograph on *Lasa*, Antonia Rallo catalogued the thirteen works of art (twelve engraved mirrors and one gold ring) where the name *lasa* is inscribed (see Table 1).¹⁰ These depictions of the figure do not offer a consistent picture. *Lasa* is usually but not always winged, often but not always nude; sometimes a *Lasa* may be male rather than female.¹¹ The alabastron and perfume applicator are relatively frequent attributes, but other objects, such as a staff or scepter, a fillet, or a scroll may also be present. In a majority of cases, *Lasa* accompanies the mythical pair *Turan* and *Atunis* (Greek Aphrodite and Andonis), but she (or he) is also shown with a variety of other mythical characters.

It seems likely that *Lasa* is not one character but a whole group of supernatural creatures, male and female, with a variety of functions in Etruscan religious belief. In addition to those mentioned above (*lasa thimrae* and *lasa racuneta*), there are *lasa achununa*, *lasa sitmica*, *lasa vecu* and *lasa vecuvia*.¹²

It may be rash to assume that these seemingly similar figures are members of the same class of beings and even more dangerous, given the present state of our knowledge concerning Etruscan religious beliefs, to identify a "Lasa" only on the basis of his/her attributes. That, however, is precisely what I have done in the case of the new Missouri mirror. There is no inscription to identify the winged female with certainty. I am forced to examine the attributes: wings (which surely indicate a supernatural creature), alabastron and perfume applicator, jewelry and shoes on an otherwise nude female.

From an examination of the information presented in Table 1, we see that on those twelve mirrors where *Lasa* is identified securely by inscription, she is frequently associated with star-crossed lovers, particularly *Turan* and *Atunis* (Rallo nos. 3, 4, 6, 12). Two of the twelve mirrors show more than one *Lasa* (nos. 11, 13); in all, there are fifteen representations of this figure. Table 1 shows that all but one (no. 4) is female; only four (nos. 2, 3, 5, 12) appear without wings; many are nude but for jewelry, some sort of crown or headband, and shoes.

The question of attributes (carried as opposed to worn) is very difficult. A staff or scepter, of no particular distinction, appears in four cases (nos. 4, 5, 11, 12; cf. Fig. 12) while the alabastron and perfume applicator appear three times but only on two different mirrors (nos. 10, 13). Other objects carried by these identified Lasas are unique within this group. The scroll indicates, in this one certain case (no. 1), that *Lasa* may function as a divinity of fate or destiny. The object carried by the *Lasa* on the mirror in Toronto (no. 7) is very difficult to identify; perhaps it represents a wreath. This may indicate a connection with the fillet carried by *mean* (who may or may not be a *Lasa*, but who certainly looks like one) on the Paris mirror (no. 13). The small sprig presented to *menrva* by *lasa vecu* on mirror no. 9 is not seen elsewhere and may not be an attribute.¹³



7. Left: Crawfordsville, Wabash College 94. Drawing by the author.
8. Right: Leningrad, Hermitage V.505. Drawing from E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* IV (Berlin 1867), pl. 322.

The only other *inscribed* representation of Lasa occurs on a fourth century B.C. gold ring from Todi (Table 1, no. 8). Because the object is only 2.4 cm. in diameter, it is difficult to discern precisely what the figure of *lasa vecuvia* is holding. In fact, even the sex of the Lasa is debated. The figure, probably female, appears to grasp a mirror or alabastron in her right hand; a fillet flutters from her right shoulder and unfurls before her.¹⁴

The alabastron, with or without a perfume applicator,¹⁵ is carried by numerous female and male figures on engraved mirrors. Some of these are clearly supernatural creatures because they have wings (Fig. 7).¹⁶ Others may be human, but this is unlikely if they accompany figures clearly identified as divine.¹⁷

A bewildering bevy of Lasa-like creatures (Fig. 8) flutters about the frame of an elaborate mirror now in Leningrad.¹⁸ All of them have wings, two of the six are male, all of the females wear jewelry, and only one figure is unshod. Each carries an attribute. The males hold long fillets¹⁹ (Table 1, nos. 8, 13), two of the females hold leafy garlands or wreaths²⁰ (cf. Table 1, nos. 7, 9, and Fig. 10), another holds a lyre and plectrum.²¹ Finally, a female named *munthch* holds an alabastron and perfume applicator. These attributes also appear in the hands of the large winged female named *zipna* who sits at the right of the central medallion.

Because the alabastron and perfume applicator occur on only two mirrors where the figures are identified as Lasa by inscription (Table 1, nos. 10, 13), we cannot assume that every figure, even if winged, who carries them is a Lasa. Antonia Rallo's monograph shows that the certain identification of a Lasa is virtually impossible unless the figure in question is accompanied by an inscription. But, rather than throw up our hands in frustration, we can say that it is probable (if not provable) that a nude, winged female carrying an alabastron and perfume applicator belongs to the Lasa class.

The Missouri mirror (Figs. 1-4) is one of a large group of engraved mirrors depicting such a creature. This group may be characterized by both stylistic and physical qualities. Stylistically, we note that the mirrors always depict only one figure without a frame or decorative border. The isolated figure, usually moving to the left, is placed on the vertical axis of the disc with the wings unfurled to cover most of the remaining ground. The *Kreuzschritt* position is standard and is used for other figures as well (Fig. 9).²² As two mirrors in Copenhagen²³ illustrate, there are frequently some large floral ornaments in the background (Figs. 10-11).

9. Left: Milwaukee, Public Museum N11610. Drawing by the author.

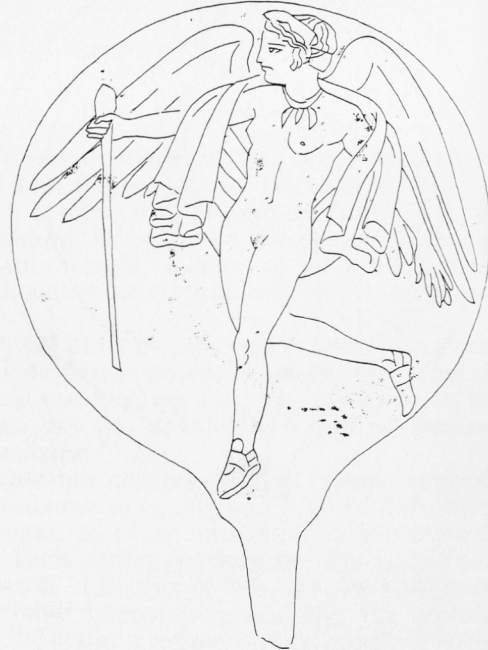
10. Right: Copenhagen, Danish National Museum 3646. Drawing adapted from *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum* Denmark 1 (Odense 1981), fig. 23a.



11. Left: Copenhagen, Danish National Museum 581. Drawing from *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum* Denmark 1 (Odense 1981), fig. 12a.
12. Right: Copenhagen, Danish National Museum 1287. Drawing from *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum* Denmark 1 (Odense 1981), fig. 16a.

Physically, this group is characterized by light, thin disc sections²⁴ with a subtle concavity on the non-reflecting side (Fig. 14). All examples are tang rather than handle mirrors. In a sample of twenty-four published mirrors of this type, the diameters range from 13.0 to 16.7 cm. with a median value of 15.2 cm. Because the diameter of the Missouri mirror is also 15.2 cm., we can say that its size is very typical of this type. Weight was available for only seven of the aforementioned sample; it ranged from 103 to 147 grams with a median of 115.4 grams. The Missouri mirror, at 97.3 grams, is lighter than any of these, but this may be due, in part, to the restorations. Preliminary research on the chemical composition of the bronze used for such mirrors indicates that, as a group, these objects also share certain features.²⁵

The dating of the Missouri mirror is a difficult task. Unfortunately, most of the 3,000 extant Etruscan mirrors were discovered before modern archaeological methods were practiced and therefore were deprived of any archaeological context.²⁶ A few mirrors of the type considered here (i.e., tang mirrors engraved with a solitary winged female in the *Kreuzschritt* position) have been found in datable contexts.²⁷ All can be safely assigned to the 3rd century, ca. 300-275 B.C.²⁸ This is only an assumption and is presented here as a working hypothesis rather than a definitive statement.²⁹

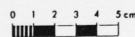


Mirrors depicting this winged female (whether she is nude or clothed, carrying various attributes) are exceedingly popular in later Etruscan art. In fact, this subject is surpassed by only one other on engraved mirrors: the Dioskouroi.³⁰ How can we explain this popularity? I think that this may have to do with the supposed *functions* of Lasas in Etruscan society.

At the end of her book, Antonia Rallo postulated that "Lasa" is the Etruscan version of the Greek "Nymph." Nymphs are rustic spirits associated with forests or groves and springs, streams, mountains or lakes. They may also be the patrons of towns or localities. In fact, the Greeks distinguished tree-nymphs (Dryads), from water-nymphs (Naiads), from meadow-nymphs (leimoniads), from mountain-nymphs (Oreads), etc. In Greek mythology nymphs are always beautiful, young females; their name probably means "bride" or "young maiden." Their status within the hierarchy of supernatural beings is less certain. Most ancient authors indicate that nymphs, with few exceptions, are mortal but may have extremely long life spans. They often accompany deities like Apollo, Dionysos and Artemis; less frequently, they appear with Hermes and Pan. They are helpful spirits, often curing ills and inspiring humans with prophetic powers. The Greek nymphs are also amorous, even passionate, and many stories relate their attraction to handsome mortal or divine lovers. In their youthful beauty, their multiplicity and their association with lovers, we see similarities between Etruscan Lasas and Greek Nymphs.

13. Left: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden K1951/8.1. Drawing adapted from *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum* Netherlands (Leiden 1983), fig. 22a.

14. Right: Typical disc sections for mirrors in the "Lasa Tang Group." Top to bottom: Missouri 83.224; Brussels R1301; Milwaukee N11610; Brussels R1303. Drawing by the author.



Rallo No.	Museum and object's inventory number	Provenance	Reference to Gerhard, <i>ES</i>	Characters identified by inscription	sex	wings	drapery	jewelry	crown	shoes	staff	alabastron	other
1	London, British Museum 622	unknown	IV, pl. 359	lasa, ainas, hamphiare	F	X	X						scroll
2	Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1955.69	unknown	V, pl. 1	lasa, maris, tinia	F				X	X			
3	Perugia, Museo Arch. 975	Perugia	V, pl. 24	lasa, turan, atunis	F		X		X				
4	Naples, Museo Arch. Naz. (no number)	Montefiascone	I, pl. 115	lasa sitmica, turan, atunis	M	X	X					X	
5	Florence, Museo Arch. 638	Chiusi	IV, pl. 290	lasa, tinthus, thesan, memrun	F		X	X	X	X	X		
6	Florence, Museo Arch. 80933	Perugia	—	lasa achununa, atunis	F	X		X					
7	Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 919.26.30	Castel d'Asso	V, pl. 23	lasa, turan, atuns, menerva, amuce	F	X		X	X	X			wreath?
9	Rome, Villa Giulia	unknown	I, pl. 37	lasa vecu, menerva	F	X	X	X		X			sprig
10	Como, Museo Civico	unknown	V, p. 142	lasa, elinae	F	X	X					X	
11	Florence, Museo Arch. (no number)	Vetulonia	—	lasa, achle, tinia; lasa vecuvia, turan	F	X	X	X	X	X	X		
12	von Hessen Collection	Chiusi?	—	la(s)a, turan, atunis	F			X	X		X		
13	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1287	Vulci	II, pl. 181	lasa thimrae lasa racuneta mean (a Lasa?)	F	X		X	X	X		X	fillet
8	Rome, Villa Giulia 2735 (Etruscan gold ring)	Todi	—	lasa vecuvia	F?				X			?	fillet mirror?

TABLE 1: ENGRAVED MIRRORS WITH LASA IDENTIFIED BY INSCRIPTION

We have already noted (in reference to Table 1, nos. 3, 4, 6, 12) that Lasa is often depicted with the lovers *Turan* and *Atunis*. But a Lasa may also appear with other non-mythical lovers and may perhaps be considered a patron or protector of lovers. Lasa is frequently seen in the company of *Turan*, the Etruscan goddess of love, and may be one of her handmaidens. And, although it cannot be proven definitively, some Lasas seem to function as guardians and protectors of innocent victims of violence. An excellent example appears on an Etruscan red-figure volute krater, ca. 325-300 B.C. We see a standard Greek subject: the rape of Cassandra by Ajax during the destruction of Troy. But the Etruscan artist has added a local element to this otherwise canonical depiction. A winged male Lasa attempts to restrain Ajax. The same intervention by female Lasas occurs on at least two mirrors, if my interpretation of these uninscribed figures is correct.³¹

These qualities of love and protection offered by a guardian spirit must have appealed strongly to Etruscans living in the troubled times of the 3rd century B.C. I suggest that this, in addition to their aesthetic appeal, may have something to do with the popularity of Lasas on late Etruscan mirrors.

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- ¹My thanks go to Jane C. Biers, Curator of Ancient Art, for acquainting me with the mirror and granting permission to study and publish it. The mirror, acc. no. 83.224, is the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks. It was formerly in the collection of Dr. and Mrs. Robert Waelder, who acquired it in 1959. Its earlier history is unknown. It is briefly cited in D.G. Mitten and S. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Ancient World* (Mainz 1967), no. 215, and will appear in R. De Puma, *Corpus Speculorum (CSE) USA 1: Midwestern Collections*, 18 (forthcoming from Iowa State Press, Ames). Measurements: preserved length, 22.2 cm.; diameter of disc, 15.2 cm.; L. of tang, 4.2 cm.; W. of tang, 1.1 cm.; W. of extension, 2.6 cm.; weight, 97.3 gr.
- ²Acc. no. 63.18: S. Weinberg, "Etruscan Bone Mirror Handles," *Muse* 9 (1975) 25-33, figs. 1-3 and cover; CSE USA 1, 16 (forthcoming).
- ³Acc. no. 80.191: M. Del Chiaro, "Hercle and Turms on an Etruscan Mirror," *Muse* 15 (1981) 54-57, figs. 1-2; CSE USA 1, 17 (forthcoming).
- ⁴For more on mirrors in general see N. de Grummond, editor, *A Guide To Etruscan Mirrors* (Tallahassee 1982). An international project to publish the more than 3,000 extant Etruscan mirrors in the world's public and private collections is underway. See the annual reports in *Studi Etruschi*, commencing with vol. 41 (1973) 426. Fascicles of CSE have appeared for Denmark, Bologna's Museo Civico and the Netherlands. See the reviews by F.R. Serra Ridgway, *Classical Review* 33 (1983) 292-294; I. Krauskopf, *Gnomon* 55 (1983) 722-725; and L. Bonfante, *American Journal of Archeology* 88 (1984) 279-281.
- ⁵For similar headdresses see E. Gerhard, A. Klugmann, G. Korte, *Etruskische Spiegel(ES) I* (Berlin 1843-1897) pl. 112.
- ⁶See also L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (Baltimore 1975) 63.
- ⁷The awkward bottom to this vase shape is the result of modern attempts to supply the restored fragment (indicated in fig. 4) with engravings. Similar errors are seen in the restoration of the Lasas' left wing: its feathers should repeat the symmetrical configuration of the (preserved) right wing but do not. The kneecap is another awkwardly re-engraved area.
- ⁸Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale no. 1287: D. Rebuffat-Emmanuel, *Le miroir étrusque d'après la collection du Cabinet des Médailles* (Paris 1973) 51-64, pls. 5, 71.
- ⁹It is difficult to formulate a definitive solution to the identity and function of *mean*. The name appears on nine inscribed mirrors and is always associated with a female. For more on this character see A. Pffiffig, *Religio Etrusca* (Graz 1975) 282; on Lasas in general, 273-285; R. Enking in *Römische Mitteilungen* 57 (1942) 1-15.
- ¹⁰A. Rallo, *Lasa, iconografia e esegesi* (Florence 1974) 18-41, 48; pls. 1-26. See also the review by L. Bonfante in *American Journal of Archeology* 81 (1977) 125.
- ¹¹Table 1, no. 4 is the only example securely identified by inscription but, on the basis of attributes, the following mirrors probably depict male Lasas rather than erotes: Brussels R1259 and R1263 = R. Lambrechts, *Les miroirs étrusques et prénestins des Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire à Bruxelles* (Brussels 1978), nos. 9 and 13; Leningrad, Hermitage V.505 = ES 4, pl. 322 (here Fig. 8); Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 54.85 = ES 5, pl. 35. There is also an excellent example on a red-figure Etruscan volute krater: see R. De Puma, "Greek Myths on Three Etruscan Mirrors in Cleveland," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 70, 7 (1983) 300-301, fig. 25; CVA Deutschland 43, Mainz 2, pls. 1-2.
- ¹²Several other mirrors illustrate Lasa-like creatures and provide their exotic names. For example, *achvizr* (see R. Lambrechts, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae [LIMC]* 1, 214-216), *alpan* (see LIMC 1, 573-576), *evan* (ES 5, pl. 28; LIMC 1, 575, 7), *munthch* (ES 2, pl. 213; 4), *sneath* (ES 1, pl. 111; on a mirror from Todi, now in the Villa Giulia, the figure is inscribed *sneath tur(a)ns* and probably means "maidservant of Turan"; see M. Moretti and G. Maetke, *The Art of the Etruscans* [New York 1970] 193; M. Sprenger and G. Bartoloni, *The Etruscans* [New York 1983] pl. 238), and *zipna* (ES 2, pl. 213; 4, pl. 322 = Fig. 8).

- ¹³Madrid, Mus. Arch. 9827 (Rallo, Lasa 42-43 no. 15) is almost identical to the mirror in Rome (Table 1, no. 9) and carries the same inscriptions. It is quite likely a modern replica and, therefore, has not been included in Table 1 or the discussion. Two of the Lasas on the mirror in Crawfordsville (Fig. 7) carry small sprigs or flower buds in their right hands.
- ¹⁴Excellent color photographs of this ring appear in M. Cristofani, editor, *L'Oro degli Etruschi* (Novara 1983), no. 226, with earlier bibliography, and M. Cristofani et al., *Gli Etruschi, una nuova immagine* (Florence 1984, 161). The second part of the name *lasa vecuvia* may refer to an aristocratic family that revered Lasa as their own patron (see M. Cristofani, *The Etruscans* [London 1979] 114).
- ¹⁵See D.K. Hill, *Archaeology* 18 (1965) 187-190.
- ¹⁶Wabash College Antiquities Collection, Crawfordsville, Indiana, no. 94. Provenance unknown. D., 17.2 cm.; Max. H., 20.4 cm. CSE USA 1: Midwestern Collections, 19 (forthcoming).
- ¹⁷See ES 4, pl. 282, which shows *tinia* and *uni*, clearly labelled as the divine lovers, and an unidentified wingless female with alabastron and perfume applicator.
- ¹⁸Hermitage V.505: ES 4, pl. 322; Rallo, *Lasa*, 54; pl. 32, 2.
- ¹⁹Cf. ES 2, pl. 165.
- ²⁰See n. 23 below.
- ²¹Cf. ES 2, pl. 221; CSE Bologna 1, no. 38.
- ²²Milwaukee, Public Museum, no. N11610. Provenance unknown. D., 15.1 cm.; Max. H., 19.7 cm. CSE USA 1: Midwestern Collections, 25 (forthcoming). Cf. CSE Netherlands, 3. For other examples see ES 1, pl. 36; sometimes the figures are paired as in ES 1, pl. 42, 5-6.
- ²³Fig. 10 = Danish National Museum, no. 3646: CSE Denmark 1, 23; Fig. 11 = Danish National Museum, no. 581: CSE Denmark 1, 12.
- ²⁴Disc sections are now routinely included in CSE fascicles. Other collections include Rebuffat-Emmanuel, *Le miroir*, pls. 94-110; Lambrechts, *Les miroirs passim*; R. De Puma, "A Fourth Century Praenestine Mirror with Telephos and Orestes," *Romische Mitteilungen* 87 (1980) 25-26, fig. 9.
- ²⁵See P. Craddock, CSE Denmark 1, 131-132; R. De Puma, "Engraved Etruscan Mirrors: Problems of Authenticity," *Atti del Secondo Internazionale Etrusco* (Florence), forthcoming.
- ²⁶For a recent discussion of some of the problems see H. Roberts, *Analecta Romana* 12 (1983) 31-53.
- ²⁷(a) Tarquinia, tomb 5672: L. Vanoni, *Notizie degli scavi* (= NSc) 26 (1972) 164, no. 40; figs. 14 and 19; (b) Tarquinia, tomb 5740: NSc 31 (1977) 166, no. 10; figs. 12 and 14; (c) Tarquinia, tomb 5859: NSc 31 (1977) 190, no. 19; figs. 14 and 36; (d) Poggio Pinci, tomb 4 (Asciano, no. 222): E. Mangani, *Museo Civico di Asciano* (Siena 1983) 88, no. 22.
- ²⁸Figure 12 = Danish National Museum, no. 1287: CSE Denmark 16; Figure 13 = Leiden, no. K1951/8.1: CSE Netherlands, 22. I do not agree with the early date (ca. 350-300 B.C.) assigned to the Leiden mirror; it is based on an inappropriate comparison.
- ²⁹Attempts to date and classify this unwieldy group: Roberts, *Analecta Romana* 31-53; Rebuffat-Emmanuel, *Revue Archeologique* (1984) 195-226 (confined to handle mirrors).
- ³⁰See R. De Puma, *Studi Etruschi* 41 (1973) 159-170; Rebuffat-Emmanuel, *Les miroirs*, especially pp. 462-474, 595-597; R. De Puma, "Tinas Cliniar," *LIMC* 3 (forthcoming).
- ³¹This argument is made in connection with the identity of a female figure on a mirror in Cleveland. See De Puma, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum*, 300-301; *Romische Mitteilungen*, 25-26.

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