



MARRIAGE AND PARENTHOOD ON CLASSICAL PERIOD BRONZE MIRRORS: THE CASE OF LATVA AND TUNTLE

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ABSTRACT

The scenes that enhanced the reverse sides of the Etruscans' bronze mirrors were not just a form of entertainment. Rather, mirror iconography provided elite Etruscans of both genders with a range of ideas to ponder as they fashioned their appearances daily within the domestic sphere. During the 4th century BCE, the number of depictions of parents drawn from the broad Hellenic repertoire known to the Etruscan aristocracy soars. Two individuals who stand out as particularly popular were Latva (Leda) and Tuntle (Tyndareos), who appear in the context of a specifically Etruscan narrative known as the "Delivery of Elinai's (Helen's) Egg." This study focuses on the social significance of these scenes and the messages they imparted through their compositional structure and the various attributes of the characters depicted. It is suggested that they can be read as promoting positive paradigms of marriage and parenthood that served as enduring inspirations for the mirrors' users and viewers.

During the 4th and 3rd centuries in Etruria, communities in both the south and the north had to contend with foreign incursions, raids and the consequences of conquest. Despite these challenges, this time in Etruscan history was especially prolific with respect to the creation and diversity of high quality art: aristocratic families in Tarquinia, Orvieto and Chiusi, for example, commissioned vibrant tomb paintings extolling the virtues of their clans and ancestors, while elsewhere commissions surged in the production of large-scale votive bronzes, painted and sculpted sarcophagi, and elaborately decorated *cistae* and bronze mirrors.¹ The latter—a form of luxury art that many elites would likely have received as a gift on their wedding day²—belong to what P. Gregory Warden has termed the “social landscape”: they not only helped to “define the individual,” but, as status symbols, they also communicated their family’s wealth and prestige.³ The scenes that enhanced these artifacts’ reverse sides—the principal feature that distinguishes the Etruscan examples from those produced by other Mediterranean civilizations such as Egypt and Greece—were not just a form of entertainment. Rather, these visual representations had both a strong emotional resonance in the domestic environment and disseminated important cultural messages and beliefs, inspiring reflection on the lives, behaviors and fates of the many different characters whose stories were selected as decoration.⁴ In this way, mirror iconography provided elite Etruscans of both genders with a range of role models, themes and ideas to

ponder as they fashioned and refashioned their appearances on a daily basis within the private sphere of their homes. It also offers scholars today a window into the mindsets of the artifacts’ aristocratic purchasers/owners, expressing many of the values and beliefs they and their families prized from the Archaic period onward.

The 4th century BCE was a period of great innovation and creativity in mirror design and decoration,⁵ and one important element of this trend includes the introduction of new subject matter. Given the visual emphasis on the family and ancestry in other media, especially funerary art, it is not surprising that similar themes started to appear on the reverses of mirrors. In fact, for the first time in the medium, the number of depictions of parents interacting with children, along with images of couples of all sorts (wives and husbands, lovers, mothers and sons, siblings, etc.), soars.⁶ In addition, because genre scenes are a rarity in this corpus, the extant representations feature families drawn from the broad Hellenic repertoire known to the Etruscan aristocracy instead of everyday life as was the practice in funerary art. Again, this is not unexpected, since, as recently observed by Ingrid Krauskopf, “Greek myth inserted itself into all sectors of Etruscan life, including the [domestic] sphere (as seen on engraved mirrors).”⁷

Among the divine and/or mythical parents who make a collective appearance on Classical and early Hellenistic period mirrors either with their own children or with others who have been entrusted to their care are Turan and

Laran,⁸ Thesan and Tinthun,⁹ Klytaimnestra and Agamemnon,¹⁰ and Latva and Tuntle.¹¹ While some of these family interactions are limited to a single—vis-à-vis extant—visualization, Latva (Leda) and Tuntle (Tyndareos) stand out as parents who are present either together or separately on six 4th and/or 3rd century mirrors, always in the context of the same narrative, the so-called “Delivery of Elinai’s (Helen’s) Egg.” One of the many *interpretazioni etrusche*¹² invented by Etruscan artists during the 4th century BCE for the domestic sphere,¹³ the mirrors show either Turms (Hermes) or one of the Tinas Cliniar (the Dioskouroi) handing the egg from which Elinai will be born over to Tuntle (four extant examples), Latva (one example) or an unidentified woman (one example). According to Apollodorus of Athens, while the Spartans identified Leda as Helen’s mother, an Attic legend claimed Nemesis for this role—in the guise of a goose, she lay with Zeus in the form of a swan, and from their union, she produced an egg which a shepherd gave to Leda, who then raised her as her own child.¹⁴ In Attic art, especially vase paintings from the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, representations of this narrative concentrate on Leda’s discovery of Nemesis’s egg, either on an altar or a rock; she is usually accompanied by both her husband and two sons. Magna Graecian versions, on the other hand, focus on the birth itself: the egg, on an altar, appears cracked open with the baby Helen springing out of it and opening her arms to greet her foster parents.¹⁵ While the Etruscans’ versions build upon the tradition that claimed Nemesis as Helen’s mother, they represent a moment in the story not depicted in either the mainland Greek or South Italian worlds at this time, thereby confirming “Etruscan agency in the manipulation of Greek myths for local meanings.”¹⁶

In previous publications, I discussed the delivery narrative’s rel-

evance to the Etruscans primarily from the perspective of Elinai, whose lifecycle—given her fame as the most beautiful woman in the world—was both of great interest to them and very popular on mirrors from the Archaic period onward. I also examined its relevance to the goddess Nortia, a deity of fate akin to Nemesis, and considered the implications of the egg itself as it dominates the center of the compositions. I argued that the images—despite their various manifestations—not only communicated local ideas about fate and destiny but also concepts related to rebirth, fertility and the continuity of life, especially given that the mirrors eventually ended up as treasured tomb *corredi*.¹⁷ In the present study dedicated to my colleague, Dr. David Soren, I shift my attention to some of the other reasons that might have made this particular narrative popular during the 4th and early 3rd centuries BCE, ones tied more specifically to the domestic sphere where mirror iconography functioned on both personal and cultural levels. After all, it was their uses during life that stimulated the manufacture and

consumption of these artifacts, making it important for scholars to consider the many different ways the themes and characters chosen for visualization on their reverses worked within this particular context. The analysis below, therefore, considers the social significance of the delivery scenes that include representations of both Latva and Tuntle and the messages they imparted to families through their compositional structure and the various attributes of the characters depicted. This examination suggests that the scenes can be read as promoting positive paradigms of marriage and parenthood that served as enduring inspirations for the mirrors’ users and viewers.

Three extant mirrors present the delivery as a collective parental event.¹⁸ They range in complexity from a three-figured scene set



FIGURE 1: Relief mirror with Turms delivering the egg of Elinai to Tuntle and Latva, reverse. Provenance unknown. First half of the 4th century BCE. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1971.138 (photograph by the author).

outdoors in a rocky landscape to five- and six-figured compositions, respectively, that take place in domestic settings. The former version appears on a tang mirror now in Boston (Fig. 1), dated to the first half of the 4th century BCE and possibly produced in a Vulcian workshop,¹⁹ which is distinguished from the other two examples in that its narrative (and decoration as a whole) was executed in relief rather than through engraving. This particular technique was not common in Etruria, with only ten authentic examples known today, but, as I have demonstrated elsewhere, these sumptuous artifacts share enough characteristics with their engraved counterparts to suggest close connections between the craftsmen responsible for manufacturing and decorating each type.²⁰ The Boston mirror not only depicts a subject that was popular on engraved mirrors but also a composition commonly used on the latter for three-figured scenes and cartouche inscriptions that identify the characters. Within a border of tendrils similar to those found on the *toga picta* of Vel Saties in the François Tomb from Vulci,²¹ a centrally-located Turms is flanked by the seated foster parents, Tuntle on the left and Latva on the right. He holds his caduceus in his left hand and stands in a three-quarter position on an undulating ground line beneath which swim fishes and a dolphin. The god's head is bent down at the neck, and he faces left in order to give the egg to Tuntle; he is also naked except for the cloak that covers his backside. Both Tuntle and Latva sit on rocks, in positions that mirror each other. Tuntle is depicted as a mature man (balding and bearded) with a bare chest and a mantle draped over his lower body and back. With his upraised left arm and hand, he holds a staff. Latva wears a sleeved chiton and has a himation wrapped

around her lower body and back; her long hair is tied back in a snood and she is adorned with a beaded necklace. A band with three pendant bullae appears on her upper left arm. She gazes intently at the egg in Turms' right hand while her husband stares at the god.

While there are no inscriptions on the second example, an engraved tang mirror now in Lausanne (Fig. 2) which was most likely also produced in a Vulcian workshop (given its ivy leaf border),²² there can be no doubt of its subject matter. As on the Boston mirror, Turms stands in the center of the composition and presents the egg to a seated male figure to his right. This young man, who can only be Tuntle, directs his gaze up toward the god as he reaches out to accept the egg. Latva's pose, once again, not only replicates that of her husband's, but she also fills up the right side of the picture field in a way that echoes his position; that is, they stand as mirror images of each other.

She looks up at Turms with an expression that suggests she is unclear about the reason for his sudden arrival in her home. She is fully clothed, and in her left hand, she holds a mirror; beneath her seat is a small bird. Flanking Turms are two youthful and elaborately coiffed/dressed winged females, most likely Lasas, each of whom rests an arm on the god's shoulders. The one on the left looks at Tuntle and the one on the right at Latva; both also raise one of their hands to their foreheads.

The most ornate of the Etruscans' delivery scenes appears on a grandiose tang mirror from Porano, now in Orvieto (Fig. 3).²³ This type of mirror is among the most elaborate and highest in quality of all the ones manufactured during the 4th century, relief mirrors notwithstanding. Their medallions usually contain complex multi-figured compositions framed by exergues on the top and bottom of



FIGURE 2: Engraved tang mirror with Turms delivering Elinai's egg to Tuntle and Latva in the presence of two Lasas, reverse. From Avenches, Switzerland. 4th century BCE. Lausanne, Musée Cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Inv. No. 82 (drawing by Shawn Skabelund after E. Gerhard [ed.], *Etruskische Spiegel* 4 [Berlin: G. Reimer, 1867], 370).

the main picture field. This tripartite arrangement appears on the Porano mirror, making it an excellent example of the type. It also stands out within the wider corpus of mirrors because it includes the name of its presumed female owner (*Ceithurnea*) and the word *šuthina*, the latter indicating its final transition from domestic artifact into tomb *corredo*; both of these words were engraved into the right half of the floral border.²⁴ The six figures in the mirror's central picture field include, on the right, an elaborately coiffed, bejeweled and clothed Latva, who sits on a throne with her feet, enclosed in pointed shoes, resting on a footstool. Casually leaning against her right side is her son Castur, naked but for his cloak and sandals, who holds an egg that is so large that it spills out of his hand and rests on part of his lower right arm. Tuntle, articulated with curly hair and a bushy, curly beard, sits on the left side, again in a position that echoes that of his wife. He reaches out and touches the egg with the forefinger of his right hand. He has a mantle draped over his lower body and back, the edge of which is wrapped around his left arm. Like the Tuntle on the Boston mirror, his chest is bare and he holds a wooden staff in his left hand. Turan (Aphrodite) leans against the king's left side, naked like Castur except for the mantle she has wrapped around her lower legs.²⁵ She looks at the king, not the egg, and her presence may be explained by her later role in Elinai's life (e.g., as winner of the Judgment of Paris, she became the advocate of Elcsntre, having pledged him a beautiful bride for his vote). Directly above the egg, close to the center of the composition, are two additional clothed figures, one identified by an inscription as Pultuce, Castur's brother, the other an unidentified woman, perhaps Klytaimnestra, Elinai's mortal sister. Their presence as

adults contemplating the imminent birth of their sister stands as a further reminder of the highly constructed—and ideological—nature of these scenes. Above the heads of these six figures, in the upper exergue, Thesan (Eos) drives her quadriga. Nancy de Grummond has suggested that her inclusion may reference the fact that the engraver was trying to convey the actual day of Elinai's birth. The mirror's elaborate floral border also evokes concepts of fertility while in the lower exergue, "waters [teem] with sea life ... [as another] reflection of this moment."²⁶

As noted above, the Etruscans' delivery scenes represent an *interpretatio etrusca*, a moment in the story of Elinai, Latva and Tuntle that differs from both Magna Graecian versions where the focus is the birth itself and Attic images where the emphasis is on Leda's discovery of the egg either on an altar or a rock.²⁷ Though absent in Etruscan funerary art, the subject was a popular one in the domestic sphere, appearing on all types of tang mirrors

manufactured during the 4th and early 3rd centuries as well as on two painted vases, one from Vulci and the second from the environs of Chiusi.²⁸ Clearly, its appeal in this context was wide and broad, and the fact that the Etruscans created their own version of the story suggests that it not only must have addressed themes valued by the individuals who would have owned and used these artifacts on a daily basis but also that the mirrors' consumers would have seen themselves reflected in the figures of Tuntle and Latva. It cannot be a coincidence, for example, that the Tuntles portrayed on the Boston and Porano mirrors resemble the mature statesmen—real-life Etruscans—depicted in contemporary funerary art, such as the figure of Larth Velcha in the Tomb of the Shields,²⁹ the bearded enthroned figures in the Campanari Tomb from



FIGURE 3: Engraved mirror with Tuntle, Turan, Castur, Latva, Pultuce, and an unidentified woman, reverse. From Porano. Late 4th century BCE. Orvieto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 847 (drawing by Shawn Skabelund after A. Klügmann and G. Körte (eds.), *Etruskische Spiegel* 5 [Berlin: G. Reimer, 1897], 77).

Vulci, and the men in the Tomb of the Triclinium from Cerveteri.³⁰ The staffs that they both hold in their left hands, along with the folding stool on which the Porano Tuntle sits, further indicate their elite status and allude to their political and civic responsibilities, echoing the insignia found in the hand of Arnth Tetnies in the relief on the front of the Sarcophagus of Ramtha Visnai from Vulci,³¹ as well as the *zilaths* in the Tomb of the Hescanas from Orvieto.³² Similar men also appear in contemporary mirror iconography, in the form of the mythical kings, Teurs and Rathms.³³ In addition, the Boston mirror contains an allusion to the religious duties of elite men, who “exercised both political and religious power” in Etruria.³⁴ This can be seen through the pose of its Tuntle, particularly, the way his left leg is raised so that his foot rests on a rock while his right leg is extended and touches the earth. As de Grummond and others have shown, this stance was commonly adopted for rites of divination, appearing on mirrors illustrating Chalchas or Pava Tarchies.³⁵ Viewers of the Boston Tuntle, therefore, were presented with a visual reminder of this important responsibility of aristocratic men in Etruria. De Grummond, moreover, has also suggested that “the egg of Helen could be read as having prophetic significance, a portent of dire events to come,”³⁶ making the subject—on one level, at least—a story that reflects contemporary interests in the themes of fate and destiny.

While the two Tuntles discussed above resemble mature statesmen, the Lausanne mirror presents the Spartan king more like a new groom, one who resembles the hero Theseus in the Tomb of Orcus II in both age and looks.³⁷ He also appears to have been enjoying some time with his wife in a domestic interior—perhaps even their bedroom—prior to the god’s arrival. Similar to brides such as Malavisch³⁸ and Thethis,³⁹ Latva holds an artifact—a mirror—that would have been very familiar to all viewers as well, one that not only recalls nuptial iconography but also implies that she has been interrupted at her toilette. In this way, the Lausanne engraver incorporated a key element of 4th century mirror iconography in his conceptualization of this particular delivery scene, namely, the evocation of adornment, whose purpose was not only to display a family’s wealth and luxury through the beautification and transformation of the body (female and male) daily as well as for special events like banquets or weddings, but also to encourage seduction and procreation.⁴⁰ As Marjatta Nielsen has observed, “beauty was a guarantee for keeping the attraction alive throughout married life,”⁴¹ a theme that is echoed clearly here through the appearances and attributes of this youthful couple. It is also not surprising that it is Latva who holds the implement of transformation. During the 4th and early 3rd centuries, engravers tended to show these artifacts in the hands of women rather than men, as a form of female insignia comparable to men’s staffs, as they alluded not only to adornment but also, more generally, to marriage and the social transformations that came with it.⁴² The small bird hovering underneath Latva’s

body is another singular motif on the Lausanne mirror. It could be interpreted as allusion to Tinia, Elinai’s real father, but also as an evocation of Turan, goddess of love, sex and beauty (and thus an important role model for Etruscan women). Likewise, the two Lasas who flank Turms may have been understood by the mirror’s viewers in a variety of ways: these characters had multiple functions in Etruscan iconography, especially on mirrors where they frequently appeared in scenes related to love, adornment, fate and/or prophecy.⁴³ On the Lausanne mirror, they may have been present not only to reiterate the marriage bonds between Latva and Tuntle, but also to foreshadow the events that will later transpire in Elinai’s life.

Women of all ages looking at the representations of Latva on all three of these mirrors would have either seen themselves or a version of themselves that they aspired to reflected in her demeanor, clothing and jewelry. She is not characterized as the consort of Tinia but rather as a youthful or early middle aged wealthy woman who would have reminded them that the primary roles they had in life were as wives and mothers (“a distinguished marriage gave women status and privilege” in Etruria.)⁴⁴ Moreover, as was the case with the depictions of Tuntle, allusions abound to the real-life women depicted in contemporary funerary art. Like Velia from the Tomb of the Orcus I, for example, the Boston Latva’s long hair is tied back in a snood and she is adorned with a beaded necklace.⁴⁵ Like Velia Seitithi, the wife of Larth Velca in the Tomb of the Shields, she wears a sleeved chiton and has a himation wrapped around her lower body and back.⁴⁶ The Boston Latva also wears a band with three pendant bullae on her upper arm. Although the latter is generally associated with children, both adult women and men in Etruria sported bulla jewelry, perhaps because of their magical and/or protective qualities (e.g., as a love charm “to attract and keep mates ... or the promise of good health or fertility”).⁴⁷ Alexis Castor has also suggested these bands might not just reference their wearers’ status, wealth and prestige but also their personal and/or family’s identities at different periods in their lives (e.g., “pregnancy and childbirth, a military campaign, a new economic venture, religious office, the aches of old age ...”).⁴⁸ Perhaps, in the context of these delivery scenes, the Boston Latva’s bulla armband could be read as not only signifying “her ability to live in luxury and ease,”⁴⁹ but also her forthcoming role as—or impending transformation into—Elinai’s foster-mother. On the Porano mirror, Latva’s aristocratic identity, as well as her status as a well-taken care of woman of leisure, is further communicated by the throne she sits on and her footstool, which also evoke motifs found in contemporary Tarquinian and Caeretan tomb paintings⁵⁰ and stand as counterparts to the Lausanne Latva’s mirror and the Boston Latva’s armband.

Viewers of all three delivery scenes would also have recognized an important Etruscan social value in the mirrors’ compositions, namely, what Larissa Bonfante has termed the “symmetry of marriage.”⁵¹ Latva’s and Tuntle’s

equal sizes, poses and symmetrical placement in the pictorial field represent visual reminders of their ideal of spousal parity, a concept with a long lineage in Etruria, especially in funerary iconography where it “signified the strength and longevity of the family line.”⁵² Clearly, it was equally important to showcase this value in the domestic sphere, on mirrors, and despite the individual variations contained within each of the scenes on these examples, the concept is overwhelmingly present and merged with the notion of collective parenting.⁵³ In all three cases, the implication of the visual rhetoric is that both parents are critical to and contribute to the family’s stability, harmony and unity, which in turn allows for the perpetuation of its lineage.⁵⁴

It is also possible to read these three delivery scenes as reflections of the “highly structured world” within which the Etruscans lived, one wherein the “gods played a dominant role and were associated with every major aspect of life.”⁵⁵ The focus of this particular *interpretatio etrusca* is the arrival of a divine messenger with a “gift,” the egg of Elinai, that will forever alter the lives of its recipients. The narrative, therefore, focuses on the moment before a major transformation to a family’s composition occurs. Unlike on two contemporary mirrors where Turan and Laran merely observe Menrva interacting with the so-called Maris babies as a sort of surrogate mother,⁵⁶ neither Latva nor Tuntle has the luxury of being bystanders in the unfolding story. They must react and respond to the messenger with the gift, and the way they do so—calmly and selflessly acknowledging and absorbing the will of the gods—can be read as a visualization of positive parental behavior, one that could be admired, emulated and copied by their owners and their families anytime they were confronted with major changes in their own lives. Although it is not depicted, viewers would have known that Latva and Tuntle welcomed and raised the child who would soon emerge from the egg as their own, even though the moment depicted suggests that they do not yet understand the implications of Turms’ gift. Their quiet obedience and selfless behavior would have made them important role models to the Etruscan elite, reiterating not only the links they believed existed between the human and divine worlds,⁵⁷ but also helping them remember what was required to maintain order and structure in their families and the wider world.

Finally, it is striking that on none of these examples with both parents included is Latva given Elinai’s egg. Although Latva matches Tuntle in pose and stature, the compositions all move to the left, in the direction of Tuntle. And it is to him that Turms and Castor turn, and it is he who takes possession of the divine gift, just as, one could argue, on their wedding day, he would have taken possession of the wife who sits opposite him. In this respect, what we see on these mirrors is akin to what can be found in contemporary tomb paintings where the visuals and the inscriptions emphasize the achievements of the men, not the women, in the depicted families. As such, these scenes would have reminded viewers—males

and females alike—that despite the conjugal symmetry seen in the artifacts’ compositions, men were the “masters of their houses” and the heads of their families in Etruria,⁵⁸ circumstances that may be echoed in the fact that while we know the Etruscan word for wife (*puia*)—because that’s how many women were identified in extant inscriptions—the word for husband is still unknown.⁵⁹

In sum, decorated mirrors remind us that, in Etruria, the luxury arts were used not only to visualize stories but also to communicate and disseminate important cultural messages and beliefs in the private sphere of the home. The delivery scenes discussed above – one of the many purely Etruscan myths found in their visual repertoire—make their first appearance during the 4th century BCE, primarily on artifacts used in homes before transitioning into tomb *corredi*. This subject mattered and became popular because it served a multitude of purposes, including providing the mirrors’ owners and viewers with an aristocratic couple whose actions and understanding of their social roles could inspire reflection and emulation as they fashioned their bodies daily in the service of their families and households.

¹ Stephan Steingräber, *Abundance of Life: Etruscan Wall Painting*, translated by R. Stockman (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006), 185, 191; P. Gregory Warden, “The Importance of Being Elite: The Archaeology of Identity in Etruria (500–200),” in Jane DeRose Evans (ed.), *Companion to the Archaeology of the Roman Republic* (Somerset, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 367.

² Nancy T. de Grummond, “Mirrors and *Manteia*: Themes of Prophecy on Etruscan and Praenestine Mirrors,” in M. D. Gentili (ed.), *Aspetti e problemi della produzione degli specchi etruschi figurati. Atti dell’incontro internazionale di studio (Roma, 2–4 maggio 1997)* (Rome: Aracne, 2000), 23–67; Larissa Bonfante, “Mothers and Children,” in Jean M. Turfa (ed.), *The Etruscan World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 426–446; Richard D. De Puma, “Mirrors in Art and Society,” in Jean M. Turfa (ed.), *The Etruscan World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 1056–1057.

³ P. Gregory Warden, “The Etruscan Social and Urban Landscape,” in P. Gregory Warden (ed.), *From the Temple and the Tomb: Etruscan Treasures from Tuscany* (Dallas: Meadows Museum, SMU, 2008), 23 (“The Etruscan social landscape is hierarchical and controlled by elite families that were invested in preserving their status at all costs, in both life and afterlife”); P. Gregory Warden, “The Tomb: The Etruscan Way of Death,” in P. Gregory Warden (ed.), *From the Temple and the Tomb: Etruscan Treasures from Tuscany* (Dallas: Meadows Museum, SMU, 2008), 105. See also Vedia Izzet, “Etruscan Women: Towards a Reappraisal,” in S. L. James and S. Dillon (eds.), *A*

- Companion to Women in the Ancient World* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2012), 74, for a discussion of what the author terms the “social skin.”
- ⁴ See further, with additional bibliography, Alexandra A. Carpino, “The ‘Taste’ for Violence in Etruscan Art: Debunking the Myth,” in S. Bell and A. Carpino (eds.), *A Companion to the Etruscans* (Oxford and Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2016), 416; and Marjatta Nielsen, “Fit for Fight, Fit for Marriage: Fighting Couples in Nuptial and Funerary Iconography in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Periods,” in L. L. Lovén and A. Strömberg (eds.), *Gender, Cult, and Culture in the Ancient World from Mycenae to Byzantium: Proceedings of the Second Nordic Symposium on Gender and Women’s History in Antiquity, Helsinki 20–22 October 2000* (Sävedalen: Paul Åströms Förlag, 2003), 38–53.
- ⁵ See further Ingela Wiman, *Malestria—Malena: Metals and Motifs in Etruscan Mirror Craft* (Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1990), 244.
- ⁶ Bonfante 2013, 431, 435; see also Larissa Bonfante and Judith Swaddling, *Etruscan Myths* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006), 54; and Francesco de Angelis, “Specchi e miti. Sulla ricezione della mitologia greca in Etruria,” *Ostraka* 11.1 (2001), 37–73. In contemporary funerary art, Vanth and Charu often formed a “couple,” there to aid in the passage of the deceased into the afterlife. Other popular subjects not found before in mirror iconography include the Judgment of Elsentre (Paris), the adoption of Herclé, and the adornment of Malavisch (see further Nancy T. de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History, and Legend* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2006]).
- ⁷ Ingrid Krauskopf, “Myth in Etruria,” in S. Bell and A. Carpino (eds.), *A Companion to the Etruscans* (Oxford and Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2016), 404.
- ⁸ De Grummond 2006, 72–77 and figs. V.5–6; Erika Simon, “Gods in Harmony: The Etruscan Pantheon,” in Nancy T. de Grummond and Erika Simon (eds.), *The Religion of the Etruscans* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006), 55.
- ⁹ De Grummond 2006, 169 and fig. VII.24.
- ¹⁰ See Alexandra A. Carpino, “Killing Klytaimnestra: Matricide Myths on Etruscan Bronze Mirrors,” *Etruscan Studies* 14 (2011): 18, 21, and fig. 11, with additional bibliography.
- ¹¹ Richard Daniel De Puma, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum: USA 2: Boston and Cambridge*. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1993), 47–48 and figs. 28a–d; L. Bouke van der Meer, *Interpretatio Etrusca: Greek Myths on Etruscan Mirrors* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben Publishers, 1995), 130–133; Alexandra A. Carpino, “The Delivery of Helen’s Egg: An Examination of an Etruscan Relief Mirror,” *Etruscan Studies* 3 (1996): 33–44; Alexandra A. Carpino, *Discs of Splendor: The Relief Mirrors of the Etruscans* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 42–48 and pls. 56–57, 60–66; de Grummond 2006, 125–128.
- ¹² For this term, van der Meer 1995, 5–7, 238–240.
- ¹³ Interestingly, this theme is notably absent in funerary iconography, including in the reliefs and/or paintings that were selected to decorate the sides of contemporary sarcophagi and urns.
- ¹⁴ See Apollodorus of Athens, *The Library of Greek Mythology*, translated by K. Aldrich (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1975), 3.126–127.
- ¹⁵ Van der Meer 1995, 132; Carpino 1996, 33–35; Carpino 2003, 45–46.
- ¹⁶ Vedia Izzet, “Reflections of Greek Myth in Etruria,” in V. Coltman (ed.), *Making Sense of Greek Art* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010), 39.
- ¹⁷ Carpino 2003, 48; see also Carpino 1996.
- ¹⁸ Because the engravers experimented freely with the compositions and the characters they included, not all of the mirrors with this subject matter depicts both parents: for example, a mirror from Vulci, now in Berlin, only portrays Turms and Tuntle, while one possibly from Orvieto depicts Latva without her husband, in the presence of Turms and a Tinas Cliniar; a third now in Paris simply includes one of the Tinas Cliniar holding the egg. See Carpino 2003, 42–48 and pls. 61, 64 and 66; de Grummond 2006, fig. VI. 17.
- ¹⁹ *Supra* note 11.
- ²⁰ Carpino 2003, 86.
- ²¹ Steingraber 2006, 184.
- ²² See Ulrike Fischer-Graf, *Spiegelwerkstätten in Vulci, Archäologische Forschungen* 8 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1980).
- ²³ Van der Meer 1995, 130–133; Carpino 2003, 46–47 and pl. 65; de Grummond 2006, fig. VI.18.
- ²⁴ Van der Meer 1995, 16 and 133: the mirror was found in a chamber tomb that included additional bronzes that were part of a symposium set that were also inscribed in a manner similar to what is found on the mirror.
- ²⁵ Interesting, the Tuntle and Latva who appear in the tondo of a cup from the Chiusi area (Carpino 2003, pl. 62) closely resemble the figures of Tuntle and Turan on the Porano mirror: see further van der Meer 1995, 132.
- ²⁶ De Grummond 2006, 191.
- ²⁷ *Supra* note 15.
- ²⁸ *Supra* note 25; see also Carpino 2003, pl. 60.
- ²⁹ Steingraber 2006, 188.

- ³⁰ Steingräber 2006, 263.
- ³¹ Sibylle Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000), fig. 232b.
- ³² Steingräber 2006, 214–215.
- ³³ Van der Meer 1995, 132.
- ³⁴ Warden 2013, 362.
- ³⁵ De Grummond 2006, figs. II.2, 9.
- ³⁶ De Grummond 2006, 126. De Grummond has also suggested that the queen's distinctive gesture on the Porano mirror—the index finger of her right hand resting on her chin—may have connoted something to do with prophecy, since Turms sometimes—as well—adopts the stance of a prophet (see, for example, the mirror from Vulci, now in Berlin, where Latva is absent and Tuntle already holds the egg; Carpino 2003, pl. 61).
- ³⁷ See Steingräber 2006, 198.
- ³⁸ *Supra* note 6.
- ³⁹ See de Grummond 2006, 193–194 and fig. VIII.25; Izzet 2010.
- ⁴⁰ See further Vedia Izzet, *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 59–65.
- ⁴¹ Nielsen 2003, 44.
- ⁴² See further Izzet 2010, 49–51.
- ⁴³ De Grummond 2006, 171–172.
- ⁴⁴ Patricia S. Lulof, “Eminent Women, Powerful Men,” in P. S. Lulof and I. van Kampen (eds.), *Etruscans. Eminent Women, Powerful Men*, translated by M. Hendricks (Amsterdam: W Books in collaboration with the Allard Pierson Museum and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 2011), 40. See also Eóin Martin O’Donoghue, *Remember Me When I Am Gone Away: An Examination of the Representation of Gender in the Material Culture of Archaic Etruria* (Ph.D. Thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2011), 288: The “roles and identities of women were, therefore, largely dependent upon men... the locus of an Etruscan woman’s identity was, thus, her status as an aristocratic wife and that reminded her primary role throughout the lifecycle.”
- ⁴⁵ Steingräber 2006, 197.
- ⁴⁶ Steingräber 2006, 188.
- ⁴⁷ Alexis Castor, “Etruscan Jewelry and Identity,” in S. Bell and A. Carpino (eds.), *A Companion to the Etruscans* (Oxford and Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2016), 280.
- ⁴⁸ Castor 2016, 281.
- ⁴⁹ Castor 2016, 282.
- ⁵⁰ Steingräber 2006, 263.
- ⁵¹ See Larissa Bonfante, “Some Thought on the Baubo Gesture in Classical Art,” in S. Bell and N. Nagy (eds.), *New Perspectives on Etruria and Early Rome in Honor of Richard Daniel De Puma* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 161.
- ⁵² Castor 2016, 282.
- ⁵³ For the longevity of this concept in Etruria, see Corinna Riva, *The Urbanisation of Etruria: Funerary Practices and Social Change, 700–600 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 88.
- ⁵⁴ Bonfante 2013, 431, 435; Bonfante and Swaddling 2006, 54; Nielsen 2003, 48.
- ⁵⁵ Tanja van der Zon, “The Etruscan Pantheon,” in P. S. Lulof and I. van Kampen (eds.), *Etruscans: Eminent Women, Powerful Men*, translated by M. Hendricks (Amsterdam: W Books in collaboration with the Allard Pierson Museum and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 2011), 118.
- ⁵⁶ De Grummond 2006, 74.
- ⁵⁷ Warden 2013, 364.
- ⁵⁸ See further O’Donoghue 2011, 287–288.
- ⁵⁹ Larissa Bonfante, *Etruscan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 52; Rex Wallace, “The Etruscan Language,” in P. Gregory Warden (ed.), *From the Temple and the Tomb: Etruscan Treasures from Tuscany* (Dallas: Meadows Museum, SMU, 2008), 169. See also Rex E. Wallace, “Language, Alphabet, and Linguistic Affiliation,” in S. Bell and A. Carpino (eds.), *A Companion to the Etruscans* (Oxford and Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2016), 219.