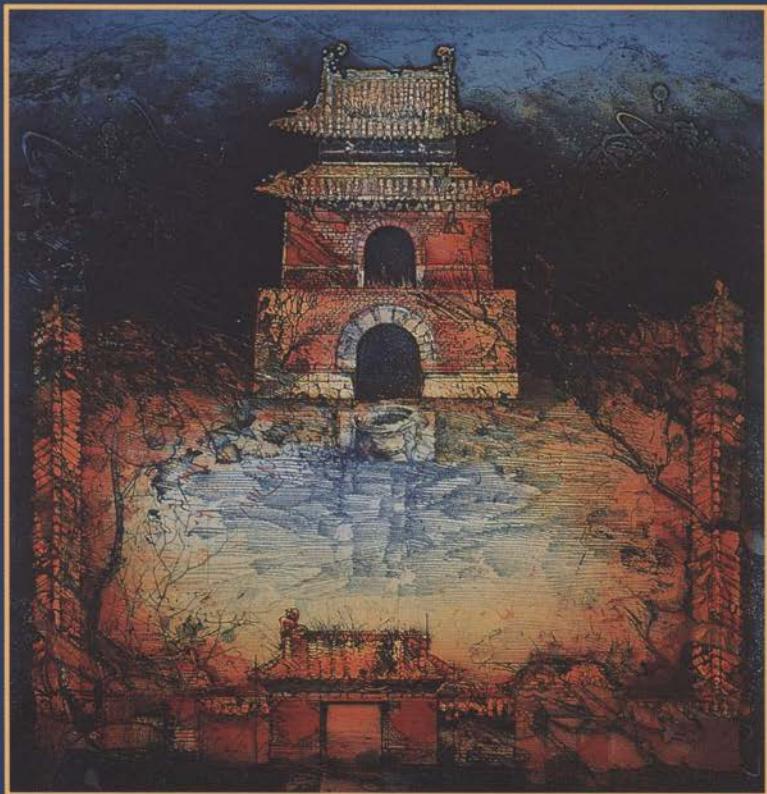


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THE JUDGEMENT OF PARIS: AN EXCERPT ON A ROMAN RELIEF MIRROR

JANE C. BIERS

Gilded bronze reliefs are characteristic of a group of Roman mirrors of otherwise simple design.¹ Most of the mirrors are small, 9-12 cm in diameter; all have an unadorned, round, reflecting surface of polished high-tin alloy of bronze and are without handles.² The gilded reliefs were attached to the backs of the mirrors and are usually framed by a plain convex rim, although a few examples have pierced decoration, or some other ornamental border.³ Only about seventy-five examples of this type of mirror are known. Wolfgang Züchner listed fourteen in 1942;⁴ Gisela Zahlhaas in her 1975 study catalogued thirty-five, incorporating Züchner's list.⁵ Since 1975 others have appeared on the art market and at least one in an excavation. Dietrich Willers listed the additional examples known to him,⁶ and in the most recent study Elizabeth Milleker added ten more.⁷

There are a number of problems concerning the origin and date of the series. The workshop or shops that produced the mirrors have not yet been discovered. Zahlhaas suggested Asia Minor or North Africa.⁸ Willers preferred Asia Minor on the basis of the greater numbers probably from that region that have come to light since 1975.⁹ Scholars also dispute the dating of the type. Zahlhaas argued that stylistic parallels for the scenes on the mirrors date to the second century, some extending into the first decade of the third; she placed the series in about A.D. 130-230, but with an origin as early as the Flavian period.¹⁰ Milleker prefers the second century.¹¹ Cornelius Vermeule also favors the second century for most of the mirrors but sets the beginning of the series at ca. A.D. 90; he believes that the type lasted about 100 years.¹² Others, however, have proposed a first-century or even earlier date for the whole series.¹³ Unfortunately, few mirrors have been found in excavations, and even then the contexts have not proved particularly useful for dating most of them.¹⁴ Only three mirrors have potentially useful excavation contexts. Grave 2 of an East Thracian tumulus from which came mirror no. 30 contained seven coins dating from the reigns of Vespasian to Hadrian (A.D. 69-138); the grave is dated to the mid-second century.¹⁵ The second mirror, no. 33, comes from a grave dated by two coins to after A.D. 141.¹⁶ The third mirror, excavated by the German Archaeological Institute in the Kerameikos



Fig. 1. Roman mirror,
showing an excerpt from
the Judgement of Paris.
Gilded bronze, (77.124)
gift of Professor and Mrs.
Chester G. Starr in memory
of Dean Thomas A. Brady.



Fig. 2. Roman mirror,
drawing by John Huffstot,
scale 1:1.

cemetery in Athens in 1941 or 1942, was found with Roman glass balsamaria of the first half of the second century.¹⁷ Thus, these three mirrors were all found in second-century graves. Unfortunately, this evidence is not conclusive for dating these particular mirrors, since they may be heirlooms.¹⁸ In view of this possibility and the scant excavation evidence, dating of individual mirrors has to be based on stylistic comparanda, most of which belong to the second century.

The subjects of the reliefs are often appropriate for mirrors. Thus, the Three Graces were popular, as were Venus, and Eros or groups of Erotes.¹⁹ Some of the mirrors depict myths in which beauty or love played an important part. Such a subject is found on a mirror in the Museum of Art and Archaeology — one of the most elaborate of the group (Figs. 1 and 2).²⁰ It shows the Trojan prince Paris seated in the center of a rocky landscape. He wears Phrygian trousers and bonnet, a short belted tunic, and a chlamys that hangs down his back.²¹ His curly hair falls to his shoulders. He sits on a rock, his left leg forward and his right back, and with his outstretched left hand he leans on a *pedum* (shepherd's crook).²² His right elbow is propped on his left hand, and he rests his head on the fingers of his right hand as he looks back over his shoulder. Behind him stands Eros with legs crossed and one hand on Paris' shoulder. A small dog sits on the rocks at Paris' side, and in the foreground stands a group of three small cattle, one facing right, the second lying down to the right, and the third behind, facing downhill to the left. On the right, a small goat rears up against a tree that frames the scene, and a second tree stretches its bare branches upward on the left. In the background stands a small shrine approached by three steps. Within it the statue of a deity is visible holding out an object in its right hand; its left arm is bent, with hand on hip.²³ In front of the shrine a round altar bears offerings. The sides of the altar are decorated with reliefs, but details cannot be made out. The composition of the scene is crowded; it encompasses the whole surface of the disc. The trees effectively frame the composition, and the rocky landscape is emphasized by the uneven stance of one of the cattle. Although the shrine and altar in the background are small, no feeling of depth has been obtained; the huge seated figure and the small cattle in the foreground prevent any illusion of perspective. This may have been a deliberate artistic device — the use of a larger scale for the two central figures emphasizes their importance.²⁴

Paris is the protagonist in the well known myth of the Judgement of Paris. The story began at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, where all the gods were present. When Eris (Strife) threw an apple into the assembly with the words "for the fairest,"²⁵

the goddesses Athena, Hera, and Aphrodite each claimed the apple for her own. Zeus, declining to arbitrate, declared that Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, should be the judge, and ordered Hermes to lead the three goddesses to him. As an infant Paris had been exposed on Mt. Ida because his mother Hecuba, while pregnant, dreamed that she gave birth to a torch from which serpents issued. He was rescued by shepherds who brought him up on Mt. Ida. Here he was leading a peaceful life when Hermes brought the three goddesses to him. Paris' choice of Aphrodite, who promised him Helen, wife of Menelaus king of Sparta, was the cause of the Trojan War. Paris' abduction of Helen brought the Greek fleet to Troy and, after ten years, the destruction of the city and the death or enslavement of its inhabitants. The story of the Judgement was one of the most popular of the Greek myths, as many representations attest.²⁶ The earliest extant examples are on an ivory comb from Sparta, dated 650-625 B.C., and on the slightly earlier Chigi vase.²⁷ The Judgement is depicted on Greek vases and appears on Etruscan mirrors and cistae.²⁸ In Roman times it was a popular subject for wall-paintings; it also occurs in marble relief work, and on gems, lamps, mosaics and coins.²⁹ Although the subject was frequently shown on Etruscan mirrors, its use on Roman mirrors had not hitherto been attested.³⁰

The scene on the mirror is an excerpt copied from a larger depiction of the Judgement. It is very like the Ludovisi relief in the National Museum, Rome (Fig. 3).³¹ This large marble panel, or sarcophagus front, shows the whole scene. Paris sits beneath a tree in the same attitude as on the mirror, looking back over his left shoulder. On the left stand the three goddesses and Hermes, who is placed between Aphrodite and Athena, so that Aphrodite is closest to Paris. A female figure between Paris and Aphrodite, but standing at a lower level than the goddess and thus linked to Paris, has been identified as the nymph Oenone.³² At the right side of the relief, looking toward Paris, sits a bearded figure, probably a mountain personification, and behind him there is a partially preserved female figure, perhaps a nymph. The head of a goat can be seen behind Eros and a sheep stands in the upper right corner. Cattle probably once filled the center foreground; only the head of one is preserved. All that remains of a figure in the right foreground is one hand. The Missouri mirror depicts the focal point of this composition, the group of Paris and Eros, and, in general, these two groups are strikingly similar. Close examination of the mirror reveals, however, a number of differences. The drapery on the mirror is more simplified; it lacks the bunched folds below Paris' upper left arm, and the tunic apparently is sleeveless. Paris' plump cheeks and round chin also contrast with the more angular planes of his



Fig. 3. The Judgement of Paris, Ludovisi Relief, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.
Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

face on the marble relief. Furthermore, the curved end of the pedum is uppermost on the mirror but apparently downward on the relief. The figure of Eros also displays some differences. While the pose is similar, on the mirror Eros is shown with his head in three-quarters view and without much hair; he leans on Paris' shoulder. On the relief Eros' head is seen in almost straight profile; he has a topknot and curly hair reaching to his shoulders; he stands more upright. In three details, however, the two representations are remarkably close: the three-quarters view of Paris' head, his gaze that looks outward, not at Eros, and the position of the fingers of his right hand against his head. Apart from Paris and Eros, however, the mirror is quite different. Hermes and the three goddesses and the nymph Oenone are missing, as are the subsidiary figures on the right of the relief; a shrine and altar have been added to the background. The trees on the mirror have bare branches, in contrast to the leafy boughs of the tree on the Ludovisi relief.³³

Another Roman marble relief stands in the same relationship to the Ludovisi relief as does the mirror (Fig. 4). Now in the Palazzo Spada in Rome, it was found with seven others in 1620 during restoration work in S. Agnese fuori le Mura in Rome.³⁴ It also depicts only Paris and Eros, and their relationship is very like that of the figures on the mirror. Unlike the Ludovisi relief, the lower part of the Spada relief is preserved, whereas Paris' head and arms, his left leg, and Eros from the arm upward

are all restored. The Spada relief has a dog at Paris' side, as on the mirror, but sitting in a less upright position. Again, the group on the mirror differs from the Spada figures in certain details. Although on both works Paris sits to the left with his knees bent, on the Spada relief he holds the pedum between his legs (as seems to be the case on the Ludovisi relief). While the mirror preserves the only evidence for Paris' left leg, the simplified treatment of the folds of drapery over the left thigh cannot help the Spada restoration. On the mirror Eros has his legs crossed, but his feet are seen from the front, whereas on the relief his left foot is hidden behind his right, which is seen in profile. The mirror confirms, however, that, as has long been recognized, the

position of Paris' right arm is incorrectly restored on the Spada relief, and that he should be looking outward and not at Eros.³⁵

Cattle are shown in the foreground on both the mirror and the Spada relief. Three cattle fill the lower part of the relief. In contrast to the mirror they are represented in large scale, but their poses are very similar. Both the mirror and the relief show a cow on the left standing on a fairly steep slope with head down to the left (head and front legs of the animal on the relief restored), and at the front a cow lying down facing right. On the Spada relief the third animal stands with head to the left, whereas on the mirror the animal (also standing) faces right. A major difference between the Spada relief and the mirror, apart from the scale of the animals, is that on the relief a rocky ledge separates Paris from the



Fig. 4. Paris, relief, Palazzo Spada, Rome.
Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.



Fig. 5. Pastoral Relief: Prince Paris Watching his Flock on Mount Ida. The Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum purchase, 75:1942.

animals below; whereas on the mirror, although the scale is unconvincing, the cattle are treated more as an integral part of the whole scene. The cattle on the Spada relief suggested to some scholars that the Spada Paris and Eros group was copied from a horizontal composition depicting the Judgement, and that the cattle were copied from another composition to fill up the vertical space of a tall relief.³⁶ Unless, however, the mirror is a copy of the Spada relief, it would seem that cattle were an integral part of the original composition, as the preserved head of one on the Ludovisi relief also indicates. Two other reliefs, one in Munich, the other in St. Louis, depict a similar group below a rocky ledge with a seated figure above. The St. Louis relief (Fig. 5) is thought to represent Paris on Mt. Ida;³⁷ the figure on the Munich relief is identified as a mountain god or as Polyphemus.³⁸ The depiction of three of the cattle is similar on these two reliefs: two stand with heads to the right and a third at the right faces left with head lowered. Although this third animal might at first seem to be the same as the one on the left of the mirror and of the Spada relief, there is a basic difference. On the last two, the cattle are standing on a steep slope, whereas in the Munich and St. Louis reliefs they stand with lowered heads on flat, or almost flat, ground. The Munich relief has been cited as an example of the kind of composition from which this part of the Spada relief was copied. The St. Louis relief is a further indication that this grouping of cattle was a well-known motif.

The association of Paris and Eros in a Judgement scene is the unusual feature of the depictions on the mirror and the two reliefs (more commonly Eros stands next to Aphrodite), but parallels do exist in both Greek and Roman art. In Greek vase-painting Eros is sometimes depicted leaning on Paris' shoulder, as, for example, on a hydria in Karlsruhe of ca. 420-410 B.C. and on a lekythos in Athens, dated ca. 400 B.C.³⁹ Although Eros is sometimes associated with Paris in South Italian vase-painting, he more frequently attends Aphrodite, and when he is depicted near Paris the relationship is not so close as on the Attic vases.⁴⁰ In Roman art, in addition to the Ludovisi and Spada reliefs and the Missouri mirror, a sarcophagus built into the wall of the Villa Medici in Rome, although now very battered, apparently once had an Eros whispering into Paris' ear, as well as two other Erotes,⁴¹ and a fragmentary marble relief in Berlin preserves the head and torso of Paris and a small figure of Eros hovering at his ear (Fig. 6).⁴² The Eros of the Berlin relief differs from the Eros on the Ludovisi and Spada reliefs and on the mirror, but Paris holds his right hand in the same position.⁴³ Amongst the wall-paintings from Pompeii, several show a bust of Paris with Eros tugging at him, whispering in his ear, or stretching out his hand to encourage him, very like the Attic vase-paintings and the Berlin relief;⁴⁴ but no painted versions of the whole scene of the Judgement exist using this motif. In the surviving Judgement scenes from Pompeii a different tradition is followed. Paris and Hermes are often associated, with Paris seated and Hermes standing next to him; the three goddesses are shown approaching, or standing in a group before Paris.⁴⁵

The Judgement of Paris is not common on smaller objects such as gems, coins and lamps; but when it does appear, surprisingly, the whole scene is often shown, despite the difficulty of fitting all five main figures into a small space. The whole scene is depicted on at least eight gems.⁴⁶ One of these seems to be following the same tradition as the Missouri mirror.⁴⁷ Excerpts from the Judgement are represented on other gems that show Paris and Aphrodite.⁴⁸ On coins, the Judgement occurs only on drachmae minted in Egypt in the second and third centuries, and here the whole scene is preferred.⁴⁹ A terracotta lamp shows the same composition as one of the coins, but reversed.⁵⁰ These examples indicate that there was a tradition of showing the whole scene even on small objects, and that the maker of the mirror chose to depict an excerpt for reasons other than limitations of space.

The discussion thus far has shown that the figures of Paris and Eros are close to the marble reliefs, and that the grouping of cattle on the mirror and on the Spada relief is also similar. Since both the mirror and the Spada relief are excerpts, it is informative

to compare them in other ways. On the mirror the enormous figure of Paris looms over his tiny cattle. If the figures of Paris and Eros are removed, however, it becomes clear that the scene on the mirror shows several of the elements of a sacral-idyllic landscape: a shrine, a statue of a god, an altar, grazing animals, and trees. The group of Paris and Eros seems to have been superimposed on a scene evidently derived from a painting. If the figures of Paris and Eros were reduced in scale and placed in the landscape, the mirror would undoubtedly be considered a copy of a sacral-idyllic landscape painting.

⁵¹ It differs from the Spada relief whose figures are all of the same scale and in which there is no attempt to show landscape, although the cows, the rocks, the shrine, and the tree growing through it are an allusion to a pastoral setting.

The source for the Ludovisi and Spada reliefs has often been discussed. Wace thought that the Paris on the Spada relief was "a statue type, probably going back to the same original as the Paris of the Galleria delle Statue in the Vatican."⁵² Other scholars have argued differently,⁵³ but it seems obvious that the Paris on the Spada relief must be discussed in connection with the Ludovisi relief. The consensus on the antecedent of the latter is that it is probably derived from a lost Hellenistic work, presumably a painting.⁵⁴ Although very different in style, the Berlin relief and the wall-paintings with the bust of Paris and Eros whispering in his ear also



Fig. 6. Paris and Eros, relief in the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, SK 928.

belong to the same tradition. The mirror, however, is so close in certain details that it must be sharing with the Ludovisi and Spada reliefs not just the same tradition but a common ancestor. Can the sacral-idyllic landscape elements of the mirror support the contention that the origin of all of them is a painted work? Has the Ludovisi relief taken its figures from a painting, suppressing the sacral-idyllic landscape, which has survived as a landscape only on the mirror? The maker of the mirror thus has excerpted from the original painting the Paris/Eros group, abandoned the other figures, but retained the shrine, the altar, the trees, and the grazing cattle. The cattle, grouped as on the Spada relief, provide a link from a painted landscape to both works — from painting to Spada, from painting to mirror. Not only do we have in these two excerpts the distinctive Paris/Eros group, but also apparently the grazing cattle of the painted landscape.

The connection to other Roman works is important for dating the Missouri mirror. Since the chronological boundaries of this type of mirror are uncertain,⁵⁵ a date for the mirror depends on stylistic parallels. Certain details—the way Paris sits, the placement of his fingers as he leans his head on his right hand, the stance of Eros—are so close to the Ludovisi and Spada reliefs as to suggest the same date for all three works. With one exception,⁵⁶ the Ludovisi relief has been dated to the second century, the majority of scholars favoring the Hadrianic or early Antonine period.⁵⁷ The Spada relief is usually dated to the late Hadrianic or early Antonine period.⁵⁸ A date ca. A.D. 130-160 may therefore be suggested for the Missouri mirror.⁵⁹ This date accords with the meager evidence for the three mirrors of this type that have a useful excavation context.⁶⁰

NOTES

^{1.} I wish to express my appreciation to Robert Cohon and Bonna Wescoat for taking the time to read my manuscript and for their helpful comments.

For a brief summary of the development of Roman mirrors see G. Lloyd-Morgan, "The Antecedents and Development of the Roman Hand Mirror," *Papers in Italian Archaeology I: the Lancaster Seminar, BAR Supplementary Series 41, i*, (1978), pp. 227-235, and idem in *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors*, N. de Grummond, ed. (Tallahassee, 1982), pp. 39-48.

^{2.} For analysis of the reflecting surfaces of two mirrors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art see E.J. Milleker, "The Three Graces on a Roman Relief Mirror," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 23 (1988), p. 80, n. 47.

³ The reliefs were made by repoussé technique. First, a thin bronze disc was hammered into one or more metal or stone matrices in which the design had been formed in intaglio. The use of more than one matrix was pointed out, surely correctly, by Milleker for the mirrors she discussed. She suggested that three separate matrices were used for a single mirror, one for the group of the Three Graces with ground line, and one for each of the vases that stand beside the group (Milleker, *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 23 (1988), p. 77). After removal from the matrix, the relief was turned over onto a bed of pitch, details were added by chasing, and the relief was gilded, probably using the fire gilding process. In this technique an amalgam of gold and mercury is applied to the surface of the object to be gilded, or mercury is rubbed onto the surface, and gold leaf applied on top of it. When the object is heated, the mercury evaporates and the gold remains, bonded to the surface. This method leaves traces of mercury in the gold. For a recent discussion of this technique see W.A. Oddy, M.R. Cowell, P.T. Craddock, and D.R. Hook, "The Gilding of Bronze Sculpture in the Classical World," *Small Bronze Sculpture from the Ancient World* (Malibu, 1990), pp. 103-124.

⁴ W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel* (*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Ergänzungsheft* 14, 1942), pp. 150-152.

⁵ G. Zahlhaas, *Römische Reliefspiegel* (*Kataloge der Prähistorischen Staatssammlung München* no. 17, Kallmünz, 1975). Rev: M. Mackensen, *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 40 (1975), pp. 158-159.

⁶ D. Willers, "Vom Etruskischen zum Römischen. Noch einmal zu einem Spiegelrelief in Malibu," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), pp. 30-32. Willers listed thirty-five additions to Zahlhaas' list, continuing her numbering system, but six of them should probably be excluded from the group. Jucker thought that no. 60 did not belong (See Willers, *Getty Museum Journal* 14 [1986], pp. 31-32.); nos. 64-68 are different types. Note also that no. 61, a mirror with Apollo and Daphne, is in the Kerameikos Museum, Athens, not the Agora Museum, and is now published in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* III (1986) s.v. Daphne, no. 38; no. 39 equals W. Hornbostel et al., *Kunst der Antike: Schätze aus norddeutschem Privatbesitz* (Mainz, 1977), no. 69, not no. 72; nos. 43 and 58 are only mentioned by Hornbostel, not illustrated, and no. 48 is illustrated below, not above, in Hornbostel, *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe* (Mainz, 1980), p. 273.

⁷ Milleker, *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 23 (1988), pp. 69-81. See p. 78, n. 4, nos. 1 - 6 and p. 81, appendix, nos. 1, 5, 7 and 11 for ten additional mirrors. Note that her n. 4, no. 5 and p. 81, appendix, no. 6 were recently on the art market (*Art of the Ancient World*, Royal-Athena Galleries, no. 68, vol. 7, part 1 (1992), nos. 154 and 153). No. 154, however, looks like a mirror listed by Zahlhaas as once in the Bardo National Museum, Tunis (Zahlhaas, *Reliefspiegel*, no. 27).

Since Milleker's article was published additional mirrors have appeared: (1) Erotic scene, D. 10.6 cm, Numismatic Fine Arts Classical Auctions, Inc., December 11, 1991, no. 126; (2) Venus and Adonis, D. 10.1 cm, The Art Museum, Princeton University (y1990-48); *Earth and Metal*, no. 120, Fortuna Fine Arts, Ltd., 1990; *Record of The Art Museum, Princeton University* 50 (1991), p. 60; (3) Artemis with hound, Paris art market, 1990; (4) Herakles in an architectural setting, Paris art market, 1990; (5) Venus, Day Foundation, Memphis. I thank J. Robert Guy for informing me about nos. 3-5.

⁸ *Reliefspiegel*, pp. 67-68.

⁹ *Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), p. 33.

¹⁰ Zahlhaas, *Reliefspiegel*, pp. 38-43, 63-65, 71. She based an origin in the Flavian period on mirror no. 15 (p. 56, pl.17) which contains an imperial portrait, that is possibly Flavian. Mackensen in *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 40 (1975), p. 159 placed the inspiration for the beginning of the series in the Trajanic period, later than the Flavian origin suggested by Zahlhaas. He pointed out that the portrait is closer to coin types of Trajan.

¹¹ *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 23 (1988), p. 77. She notes inconsistencies in the individual dating of similar mirrors.

¹² C. Vermeule, "Roman Pictorial Mirrors," *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin* 14 (1980), p. 25.

¹³. G. Lloyd-Morgan in *Etruscan Mirrors*, p. 43 and *Description of the Collections in the Rijksmuseum G.M.Kam at Nijmegen*, IX, *The Mirrors* (Nijmegen, 1981), p. 88 favored the first century for the manufacture of the type, her group T. She dismissed Zahlhaas' dating, but her own reasons for placing the group in the first century are less than convincing. Apart from the possible Flavian portrait on mirror no. 15 (on which see n. 10 above), she referred to an example in Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum no. N12264, which has a handle that can be dated before A.D. 79. The mirror is not illustrated nor is a publication reference given, but if it has a handle it does not belong to the group, one of whose characteristics is the absence of a handle. Willers in *Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), pp. 32-34 also pointed out inconsistencies in the individual dating of similar mirrors but favored a date around 100 B.C. for the start of the series.

¹⁴. Although seven of the nine North African mirrors were excavated (Zahlhaas, *Reliefspiegel*, nos. 3, 8, 11, 13, 16, 27, 28), the publications provide almost no information about the context. Only for one, no. 13, is a list given of the contents of the tomb where the mirror was found; otherwise provenance is mentioned only briefly. Mirror no. 10 from Philippopolis was found in a tomb in a cemetery dated by coins to the second-fourth centuries (*Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare* 1 [1921], p. 60 English summary, pp. 45-46 description of tomb and finds, in Bulgarian). A mirror found on Cyprus in 1984 comes from a Hellenistic tomb reused by the Romans and containing several burials. One hundred and forty objects were recovered, but the publication does not state whether the mirror was found with an identifiable burial group (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 108 [1984], p. 908, fig. 47; W.A. Daszewski, *Proceedings of the Seventh British Museum Classical Colloquium*, April 1988, p. 126, n. 38; Milleker, n. 4, no. 3).

¹⁵. A.M. Mansel, "Grabhügelforschung im östlichen Thrakien," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1941, col. 150.

¹⁶. A.V. Radulescu, El. Coman, C. Stavru, "Un sarcofago di età romana scoperto nella necropoli tumulare di Callatis (Mangalia)," *Pontica* 6 (1973), p. 265.

¹⁷. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1942, col. 240; *Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* III (1986) s.v. Daphne, no. 38; Willers, *Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), no. 61. The mirror will be included in a forthcoming article by Dr. Karin Braun, who kindly informed me about the contents of the grave.

¹⁸. Willers in *Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), p. 33 pointed this out in connection with mirror no. 30, although the evidence he cited to show that East Thracian tombs often contain objects that are not homogeneous is not totally convincing. A pair of silver cups discussed by L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford ("Les vases en argent à échassiers conservés à Istanbul," *Mélanges Mansel* 1 [Ankara, 1974], pp. 335-343) shows signs of use but is dated to the Augustan period, close to the date proposed by Mansel for the tomb, i.e. before A.D. 45. However, Willers may be correct that mirror no. 30 is an heirloom, although there is no proof for this mirror, or for the other two found in graves.

More conclusive evidence for dating this type of mirror may come from the recent discovery in the Chersonesos of two molds for matrices for mirrors of this type, to be published by Dr. Michail Treister in the *Acts of the XIth International Colloquium on Classical Bronzes*, Madrid, May 1990 and in *Archaeologia*, in Ukrainian with English and Russian summaries. The molds apparently date to A.D. 87-88.

¹⁹. Milleker discussed eleven mirrors depicting the Three Graces, nine of which are similar to each other, differing only in details such as the types of vases shown on each side of the group (*Metropolitan Museum Journal* 23 [1988], pp. 69-81).

²⁰. Acc. no. 77.124. Gift of Professor and Mrs. Chester G. Starr in memory of Dean Thomas A. Brady. D. 10.5 cm. Part of relief at right edge missing; smaller areas missing throughout; gilding worn; reflecting surface encrusted. *Muse* 11 (1977), p. 3, fig. 3; *Art Journal* 37 (1978), p. 261; Willers, *Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), p. 31, no. 57; Vermeule, "Roman Pictorial Mirrors," p. 37.

²¹. Paris' arms appear to be bare. This is unusual in depictions of oriental garb in Graeco-Roman art. As well as the long trousers, bonnet and cloak, figures such as Paris, Attis, Ganymede, Mithras and Orpheus normally wear either a long-sleeved, double-belted tunic, or a sleeveless tunic with a single belt, over a long-sleeved undergarment. See R.M. Schneider, *Bunte Barbaren, Orientalenstatuen aus farbigem Marmor in der römischen Repräsentationskunst* (Worms, 1986), p. 19.

²² The crook is rather more spindly than the usual representation of the *pedum*.

²³ There is not enough detail to distinguish the object held in the right hand, which might have enabled identification of the deity, nor is the stance peculiar to any particular god.

²⁴ I owe this observation to Dr. Wescoat, who felt that the artist's manipulation of scale was an interesting aspect of the mirror.

²⁵ The reference to Strife and the apple does not occur in the literature before the second century after Christ (Hyginus, *Fabulae* 92; Mary Grant ed., *The Myths of Hyginus* [Lawrence, Kansas, 1960], pp. 82-83).

²⁶ For depictions in ancient art see Ch. Clairmont, *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst* (Zürich, 1951); I. Raab, *Zu den Darstellungen des Parisurteils in der griechischen Kunst* (Frankfurt/Bern, 1972). Reviews of Clairmont: L.B. Ghali-Kahil, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 76 (1952), pp. 661-663; D. von Bothmer, *American Journal of Archaeology* 57 (1953), pp. 138-140; R. Hampe, *Gnomon* 26 (1954), pp. 545-551; J. Boardman, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 74 (1954), pp. 231-232.

²⁷ E.-L.I. Marangou, *Lakonische Elfenbein- und Beinschnitzereien* (Tübingen, 1969), pp. 97-98, 107-110, figs. 78 a, c; for the scene on the Chigi vase see T. Rasmussen in *Looking at Greek Vases*, T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey, eds. (Cambridge, 1991), p. 61, figs. 23, 24.

²⁸ Clairmont, *Urteil*, K1-K202; K203-K231. See also L. Bonfante, *Studi etruschi* 45 (1977), pp. 154-155 and n. 18 for Etruscan mirrors.

²⁹ Clairmont, *Urteil*, K235-K288.

³⁰ See M. Comstock, C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes* (Boston, 1971), no. 400A; Vermeule, "Roman Pictorial Mirrors," p. 30, fig. 3 for a mirror thought to be possibly part of the Judgement, which more probably represents Minerva, Venus and Persephone in a landscape setting (Zahlhaas, *Reliefspiegel*, nos. 5-8).

³¹ Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Inv. 8563, H. 1.10 m., L. 2.20. B. Palma and L. de Lachenal, *Museo Nazionale Romano, Le Sculture I, 5, I Marmi Ludovisi nel Museo Nazionale Romano*, A. Giuliano, ed. (Rome, 1983), pp. 152-156, no. 65, with earlier bibliography.

³² For Oinone see E. Zahn, "Oinone," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1983, pp. 585-592.

³³ As Dr. Wescoat pointed out (personal correspondence), the tree behind Paris is, however, in the same relationship to him on the Ludovisi relief as is the right-hand tree on the mirror, and on both relief and mirror a goat is present to the right of the group, albeit in a different position.

³⁴ For a recent reference with earlier bibliography see S. Lehmann, "Die Reliefs im Palazzo Spada und ihre Ergänzungen," in *Antikenzeichnung und Antikenstudium in Renaissance und Frühbarock. Akten des internationalen Symposiums, 8.-10. September 1986 in Coburg*, R. Horprath and H. Wrede, eds. (Mainz, 1989), pp. 221-263.

³⁵ For restorations see T. Schreiber, *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* (Leipzig, 1894), pl. IX; P. Zanker in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom II* (Tübingen, 1966), p. 757; Lehmann, *Reliefs*, pp. 246-247, fig. 42.

³⁶ A.J.B. Wace, "The Reliefs in the Palazzo Spada," *Papers of the British School of Archaeology at Rome* 5 (1910), p. 189; Zanker in Helbig, *Führer*, pp. 757-758.

³⁷ St. Louis Art Museum, Acc. no. 75.42, H. 34 cm, W. 46.7 cm, Th. 8.8 cm, marble. *The St. Louis Art Museum Handbook of the Collection* (St. Louis, 1975), p. 44; C.C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America* (Malibu, 1981), p. 234, no. 195, dated late first or early second century.

³⁸ A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek* (Munich, 1900), p. 247, no. 251, "mountain god"; J. Sampson, "Theodor Schreiber's Hellenistic Reliefbilder," *Papers of the British School of Archaeology at Rome* 42 (1974), p. 35, no. 75, "Polyphemus"; D. Ohly, *Glyptothek München, griechische und römische Skulpturen* (Munich, 1981), p. 107, Room XIII, no. 13, "mountain god."

³⁹ Karlsruhe 259, J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963), p. 1315, no. 1; idem, *Paralipomena*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1971), p. 477; T.H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1989), p. 362. Lekythos, Athens C.C. 1942, Clairmont, *Urteil*, K173. On a fragmentary Attic red-figure pyxis lid (Clairmont, *Urteil*, K175) Eros leans on Paris' shoulder, but Paris does not turn his head toward him.

⁴⁰ A.D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia, I and II* (Oxford, 1978, 1982), p. 169, no. 30, pl. 55, 1-2 (Eros hovers in the field above Paris); p. 535, no. 294 (fragment with head of Paris and flying youth [Eros] to right).

⁴¹ G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage, Handbuch der Archäologie* (Munich, 1982), p. 172. The Eros figure behind Paris is broken away, and the relief is difficult to see, since it is built into the villa high up on the garden facade, but there is a protuberance on Paris' right back, and the surface there seems rough as if the marble is broken. There are also possible traces of Eros' wing. Paris does not, however, have his head turned over his shoulder toward Eros.

⁴² *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen mit Ausschluss der Pergamenischen Fundstücke* (Berlin, 1891), p. 377, no. 928 (illustrated).

⁴³ A fragmentary relief showing a seated figure in Phrygian costume has been identified as also from a scene of the Judgement, but the position of the hand, which is unlike that of the Spada and Ludovisi figures of Paris, supports Vermeule's argument, based mainly on the figure's pose (to the right with head turned back to the left), that it more likely belongs to a relief showing two captive Phrygian barbarians. For identification as Paris see Clairmont, *Urteil*, K247; C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs II* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 18-19, pl. 5, 15. For identification as a barbarian see C. Vermeule and D. von Bothmer, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain. Part Three: 2," *American Journal of Archaeology* 63 (1959), p. 332, pl. 82, fig. 39; Vermeule, *Sir John Soane's Museum, Catalogue of the Classical Antiquities*, I (Boston, 1975), pp. 332-333, no. 302. I thank Cornelius Vermeule for the reference to the earlier article.

⁴⁴ W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (Leipzig, 1868), nos. 1271-1278, 1287.

⁴⁵ Clairmont, *Urteil*, K257-K258, K260-K262. For those not listed in Clairmont see K. Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis* (Berlin, 1957), pp. 67, 73, 133, 208, 211(?)

⁴⁶ Clairmont, *Urteil*, K282-K287; J. Overbeck, *Die Bildwerke zum thebischen und troischen Heldenkreis* (Stuttgart, 1857), no. 90, pl. XI, 6; *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen* (hereafter AGDS) I, 3 (Munich, 1972), p. 92, no. 2707. Hampe, *Gnomon* 26 (1954), p. 546, thought that four of the gems listed by Clairmont (K284-K287) should have been omitted since, as Clairmont noted, their antiquity is questionable. On the other hand, Clairmont K287, a gem with Paris, Hermes and the three goddesses, is accepted as genuine by Antje Krug (AGDS I, 3, p. 92, comparisons for no. 2707).

⁴⁷ The onyx in Florence (Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, no. 90, pl. XI, 6) shows Paris seated left with Eros standing behind him. The three goddesses stand on the left with Hermes between them and Paris. Cattle may be shown in the exergue.

⁴⁸ AGDS IV (Wiesbaden, 1975), no. 964 (with references to other gems with the same subject); *Description of the Collection in the Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam at Nijmegen, X, The Engraved Gems* (Nijmegen, 1986), no. 156. Other gems depict the head of Paris, or Paris standing alone (AGDS II, no. 210, early 5th c. B.C.; AGDS III [Wiesbaden, 1970], nos. 265, 266; Clairmont, *Urteil*, K288), but these are not necessarily connected with the Judgement, or may not depict Paris, and in some cases may in fact be female heads (E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Glaspasten im Martin-von-Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg* [Munich, 1968], p. 78, no. 79).

⁴⁹ Clairmont, *Urteil*, K276-K281; C.W.A. Carlson, "The Judgment of Paris on Drachmae of Roman Egypt," *Journal of the Society for Ancient Numismatics* 5 (1973-74), pp. 61-62, and "Judgment of Paris Drachmae," *ibid.* 6 (1975), pp. 40-42.

⁵⁰ *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*, ser. 6, 12 (1936), p. 391, fig. 20.

⁵¹ Cf. C.L. Ragghianti, *Pittori di Pompei* (Milan, 1963), pl. 95; E. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*, II (New York, 1928), fig. 384; E.L. Wadsworth, "Stucco Reliefs of the First and Second Centuries Still Extant in Rome," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 4 (1924), pl. 30. For discussion of the characteristics of sacral-idyllic painting see S.R. Silberberg, *A Corpus of the Sacral-idyllic Landscape Paintings in Roman Art* (Ann Arbor, 1981).

⁵² Wace, "Palazzo Spada," p. 189.

⁵³ R.M. Carra, "Il rilievo di Paride ed Eros," *Bollettino d'arte* 53 (1968), pp. 178-183, thought the origin for the Spada relief was to be found in the Meidias Painter School (see n. 39 above) and followed Becatti in thinking that the Meidias Painter School version was based on a lost painting by Parrhasios. For earlier (pre-1968) theories about the Spada relief see Carra, p. 182, n. 2. Hellenistic painting or relief work from Alexandria, a pre-Augustan, an Augustan source, an eclectic work, a Hadrianic origin have all been proposed. C.A. Brokaw, "A New Approach to Roman Pictorial Relief," *Marsyas* 2 (1942), pp. 27-28, felt that the Spada relief, although carved later than the time of Pompeian painting, uses motives found in such painting. Its composition, however, is related to painting of a later period.

⁵⁴ See G. Cultrera, *Saggi sull'arte ellenistica e greco-romana* (Rome, 1907), pp. 181-188; P. Montuoro, "Osservazioni intorno a un rilievo con giudizio di Paride nella collezione Ludovisi," *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti* 33 (1924), pp. 227-239; R. Pariben, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, 4th ed. (Rome, 1922), no. 58; A. Adriani, *Divagazioni intorno ad una coppa paesistica del Museo di Alessandria* (Rome, 1959), pp. 33-34, 73-74, n. 176. Lachenal in the latest catalogue of the Ludovisi Collection offers no opinion (Palma, *Marmi Ludovisi*, p. 155).

⁵⁵ See pp. 31, 33 above.

⁵⁶ C.C. van Essen, "Per la cronologia della scultura romana," *Archeologia classica* 7 (1955), pp. 50-53, who dates the Ludovisi relief to A.D. 45-55, clearly much too early.

⁵⁷ See Montuoro, "Osservazioni," p. 251, ca. A.D. 130-160; J. Sieveking, "Das römische Relief" in *Festschrift Paul Arndt* (Munich, 1925), p. 34, early Antonine; Clairmont, *Urteil*, K239, Hadrianic to early Antonine; Carra, *Bollettino d'arte* 53 (1968), p. 180, Hadrianic; Helbig, *Führer III* (Tübingen, 1969), p. 255, no. 2336, "Frühzeit der Sarkophagkunst"; H. Sichtermann and G. Koch, *Griechische Mythen auf römischen Sarkophagen* (Tübingen, 1975), p. 55, before mid-second century; idem, *Römische Sarkophage*, pp. 172, 264, A.D. ca. 170-200; Palma, *Marmi Ludovisi*, p. 155, Hadrianic.

⁵⁸ F. Wickhoff, *Roman Art* (English trans., London/New York, 1900), p. 36 n., Antonine; Wace, "Palazzo Spada," p. 198, ca. A.D. 160; J.M.C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge, 1934), p. xxx, Hadrianic; Brokaw, *Marsyas* 2 (1942), p. 27, "not Pompeian but later"; Helbig, *Führer II* (Zanker), (Munich, 1966), p. 766, early Antonine, copies of Hadrianic works; Carra, *Bollettino d'arte* 53 (1968), p. 182, Hadrianic to Antonine; N.B. Kampen, "Observations on the Ancient Uses of the Spada Reliefs," *L'Antiquité classique* 48 (1979), p. 583, n. 1 for bibliography, p. 584 and n. 4, summary of dating of Spada reliefs; R. Brilliant, *Visual Narratives* (Ithaca, NY, 1984), p. 83, accepts a late Hadrianic or early Antonine date.

⁵⁹ The Pompeian paintings with the theme of Eros whispering to Paris are apparently not close stylistically to the mirror or the Spada and Ludovisi reliefs. This assessment is, however, based on only one example, Helbig no. 1271, now in the Naples Museum. The other paintings listed by Helbig are still in Pompeii and destroyed or not easily accessible. The Berlin relief is undated.

⁶⁰ See pp. 31, 33 above.

JANE C. BIERS is Curator of Ancient Art at the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia. An archaeologist as well as museum curator, she has excavated at sites in Great Britain, Greece, Israel, and Portugal. Her publications include a monograph on a Roman bath at Corinth and joint authorship of the volume on the university's excavations at Mirobriga, Portugal.