

The Three Graces on a Roman Relief Mirror

ELIZABETH J. MILLEKER

Assistant Curator, Department of Greek and Roman Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM has recently acquired an exceptionally well-preserved Roman mirror with a striking representation of the three Graces (Figures 1, 2).¹ It belongs to an interesting class of relief mirrors, of which the Museum already has one example (see Figure 17).² The subject of the relief, one of the most famous compositions of antiquity, was not previously represented in the collection of Greek and Roman art.

The round mirror has no handle but is small enough to fit comfortably in one hand. It is backed by a very thin sheet of bronze which has been worked in repoussé and gilded.³ The outer edge of the bronze is raised to form a simple convex band one centimeter wide; within this frame the group of three Graces stands out in low relief.

The figures are aligned on a straight indication of ground—two facing front and one, in the center, seen from the rear, each with one hand on the shoulder of another. In their free hands the outer Graces hold stalks of wheat; with her right hand, the central figure reaches toward that of her companion to the right. All three heads are shown in profile as the maidens gaze outward and down at the grain. The upper legs of the central figure are covered by drapery which is pulled tightly forward and upward, with corners draped back over the upper arms. The two other figures are undraped. To the left of the group an oinochoe, or pitcher, and to the right a volute krater stand on square pedestals.

Mirrors of this type have no handle or cover, and the relief decoration on the back is usually surrounded by a simple convex frame.⁴ More than seventy examples have been found, the greatest number in Asia Minor and other parts of the Eastern Empire, followed by Africa Romana and the northern provinces.⁵ The reliefs show various classicizing subjects: episodes from the life of Dionysos, Erotes at work and play, mythological scenes,

and representations of goddesses. It is generally thought that the majority were produced in the second century after Christ.⁶

Eleven of the mirrors known today have representations of the three Graces. (A list can be found at the end of this article; in the text each mirror is identified by its number on that list.) This is not surprising, as the subject was particularly appropriate for a toilet article. The Graces, or Charites in Greek, take their name from the word χάρις which means not only charm, beauty, and favor, but also the feelings of good will and gratitude engendered by the bestowal and reception of favors.⁷ Homer mentions the Graces,⁸ and Hesiod describes them as daughters of Zeus and Eurynome; their names are: Aglaia (Beauty), Euphrosyne (Mirth), and Thalia (Abundance).⁹ The Graces bestow what is most pleasurable and beneficent in nature and society: fertility and natural growth, beauty in the arts, harmonious reciprocity between men. They enjoyed important and venerable cults in Greece and Asia Minor. In mythology they play an attendant role, gracing festivals and organizing dances; their closest connection is with Aphrodite, whom they serve as handmaidens. For Aristotle, Chrysippus, Seneca, and Servius the triad served as an elaborate allegory for the cycle of giving, accepting, and returning favors, which Seneca described as “the chief bond of human society.”¹⁰ Through these writings the image of the Graces passed first into medieval and later into Renaissance literature and art.¹¹ From an allegory of liberality, the Neoplatonists of the Renaissance transformed the maidens into symbols of the threefold power of Venus.¹²

In classical art the Graces appear fully clothed, usually holding hands in a dancelike procession. As early as the third century B.C., two poets, Callimachus and Euphorion, described them as nude.¹³ It is not known whether the nude group represented on the mirror was

first designed for a work of sculpture or a painting, but the carefully calculated, friezelike composition is typical of classicizing art of the late Hellenistic period. Instantly recognizable, despite numerous minor variations, this compositional device soon became the canonic formula for depicting the Graces, appearing in every medium and on every possible kind of object.¹⁴

Many of these representations are closely linked with Aphrodite/Venus, both iconographically and by the context in which they were seen. The very nudity of the figures brings the goddess to mind. Like the Aphrodite of Knidos, all the sculptural groups and many reliefs have drapery-covered vases beside the outer figures; moreover, in one group, the outer figures adopt the pudic gesture.¹⁵ The earliest known representation, a wall painting from Boscoreale dated to about 40 B.C., was positioned to the left of Aphrodite and Eros, as a pendant to Dionysos and Ariadne.¹⁶ A relief of the group was part of the decoration of the *ependytes*, or outer dress, on the cult statue of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias.¹⁷

On a limited number of imperial coins of the mid-second century after Christ, the Graces may well have symbolized in some way the fruitful union of the emperor Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Minor.¹⁸ The group appears in the hand of Juno on reverses of Antoninus Pius dated to A.D. 140–144, a period when the young couple was engaged,¹⁹ and in the hands of both Juno and Venus on coins of Faustina Minor, struck at various times during her reign.²⁰ A medallion of Faustina shows her offering a statuette of the group to a seated goddess.²¹ A similar scene appears on a medallion with her daughter, Lucilla, on the obverse, suggesting that both may have been struck in 164 to celebrate Lucilla's marriage to Lucius Verus.²² Another medallion of Faustina Minor shows her crowning a child to whom a goddess offers the group of Graces.²³ Gerhart Rodenwaldt has suggested that the group of three nude Graces may have figured on some official monument celebrating the marriage of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Minor and thus have become closely associated with the idea of Concordia, or conjugal harmony.²⁴

The three Graces appear frequently in a funerary context. Most notably, we know of twenty-five marble sarcophagi that feature the group in relief in the center of the long side.²⁵ Rodenwaldt has argued that they serve here as a substitute for the scene of a married couple clasping hands, with Concordia, so frequently found on sarcophagi, in the background.²⁶ This interpretation is probably too restrictive to apply to all represen-

tations connected with burials; sometimes the Graces may symbolize the beauty of the deceased or simply be potent emblems of all that is desired for life beyond the grave.²⁷

The famous nude group was occasionally adapted for representations of nymphs, divinities with whom the Graces had much in common. They are usually differentiated from the Graces by the addition of drapery and attributes that suggest fresh, running water.²⁸

Of the eleven Roman relief mirrors with representations of the three Graces, nine, including the Museum's new acquisition, are so similar that they must derive from the same design (Nos. 1–9; Figures 1–10). The pose of the Graces is standard²⁹ and the wheat they hold is a common attribute, but the arrangement of their hair, the drapery on the central figure, and the type of vases shown beside them are unparalleled in other representations of the group. These unusual features deserve attention, for they may help determine the artistic environment in which the mirrors were created.

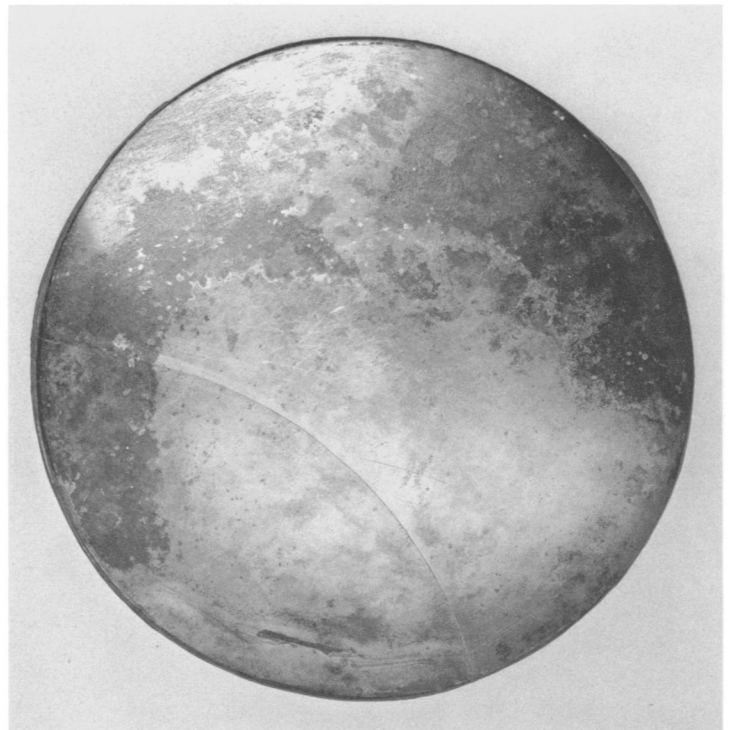
The hair of all three Graces is arranged in the same way. It is pulled straight up from the nape of the neck, frames the face in soft waves, and encircles the head in two narrow coils. On several mirrors these have been carefully articulated to make clear that they represent a single, thick braid (Nos. 2, 3, Figures 3, 4). In back, the hair is drawn into a compact bun, set just below the crown of the head. This combination of braid and bun is rarely found in Classic or Hellenistic hairstyles,³⁰ although each element occurs separately. Cornelius Vermeule has suggested that it reflects Roman fashion of the first four decades of the second century,³¹ and the first official hair style of Faustina Minor dating to A.D. 147 does have a small encircling braid and a bun placed relatively high on the head.³² The hair arrangement on the mirrors, however, is so generalized that it is impossible to identify a specific fashion. The closest parallel for the hair is found in classicizing art of the early Antonine period. A Roman sarcophagus in Verona dated to about A.D. 140, with the relief of a Dionysiac thiasos based on Neo-Attic models,³³ has on the left (short) side a maenad whose hair is arranged exactly like that of the Graces on the mirror (Figure 13). A similar fusing of classical elements in an unusual fashion occurs in the late Hadrianic sculptural group of the Graces in Siena, where the outer figure on the right has a wide braid around her head, topped by a knot of hair (Figure 14).³⁴

The drapery on the central figure is also extremely unusual³⁵ and, as with the hairstyle, the artist appar-



1. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 1). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation Gift, 1987, 1987.11.1

2. View of reflecting surface on reverse side





3. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 2). Seattle, The Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 67.98 (photo: Seattle Art Museum)

4. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 3). Raleigh, The North Carolina Museum of Art, purchased with funds from the North Carolina Art Society in memory of Katherine Pendleton Arrington, 77.1.8 (photo: North Carolina Museum of Art)



5. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 4). Leningrad, The State Hermitage Museum 1894.39 (photo: State Hermitage Museum)

6. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 5). Toronto, The University of Toronto Malcove Collection M82.257 (photo: University of Toronto Malcove Collection)





7. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 6). Basel, H. A. C. (photo: after Merhav)



9. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 8). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AC.59 (photo: The J. Paul Getty Museum)

8. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 7). Paris, Collection Anlen-Padiou (photo: Galerie A la Reine Margot, Paris)

10. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 9). Formerly, Tunis, Musée National du Bardo (Alaoui) (Drawing from G. Zahlhaas, *Römische Reliefspiegel*, pl. 3)





11. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 10). Munich, Prähistorische Staatssammlung 1974, 3898a/b (photo: Prähistorische Staatssammlung)

12. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 11). Paris, art market (photo: Galerie A la Reine Margot, Paris)



ently turned to the repertory of late Hellenistic and Neo-Attic motifs for a variation of the nude group. The maenad on the sarcophagus in Verona again offers a close parallel. The pose itself is similar to that of the central Grace; the drapery exposes the buttocks and is drawn upward and flipped over the left upper arm in exactly the way it is draped over both arms of the figure on the mirror. It is not impossible that the designer of the mirror had this very figure type in mind; enough examples remain in various media to know that it must have been a well-known motif in the sketchbooks and models that circulated in workshops around the Empire.³⁶

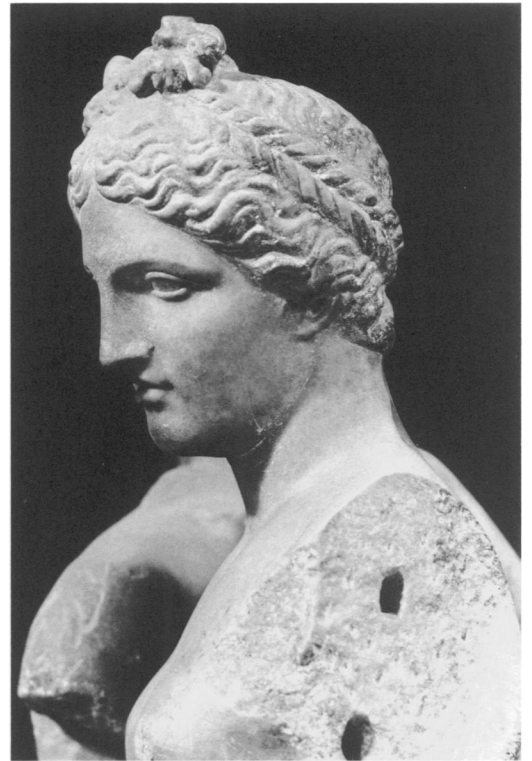
On the mirror the himation is folded into a relatively narrow length of cloth that conceals only the upper legs. Although nude females are very rarely depicted with such a folded cloak in Classic or Hellenistic art,³⁷ they are not uncommon in Roman art. A particularly decorative example appears on an early Antonine sarcophagus in Rome, where nereids ride over the water, with billowing ribbonlike cloaks, and the central figure has hers slung below the buttocks and over the upper arms just as on the mirrors (Figure 15).³⁸ The image of Venus Victrix, surrounded by armor, which appears on imperial coins,³⁹ on seals,⁴⁰ and in fact, on seven of the relief mirrors of this very class (Figure 16),⁴¹ has a folded himation tied at the hips which leaves the lower legs exposed much like that of the central Grace. The folded himation was appropriate for action, martial or maritime. Applied to the Graces, it adds variety without distracting from the sinuous contours of the group.

Not only hair and drapery but also the choice of vessels next to the Graces is unusual. All three-dimensional representations of the group include vases as supports, but they are omitted on paintings and mosaics and on many reliefs. With the exception of one marble group from Cyrene, which has roughly formed vases that may be hydriai or kraters,⁴² the vases are tall, fusiform unguentaria.⁴³ Since such forms would have been too slender to fill the empty space on either side of the figures on the mirror, large, decorative vessels on pedestals were used instead—on the left an oinochoe, on the right a volute krater. The krater is striated to suggest the strigil design frequently found on marble volute kraters and calyx kraters.⁴⁴

Although all of the mirror reliefs representing the Graces derive from the same design, they differ in details. The relief decoration of mirrors of this type was produced by the repoussé technique. A thin, bronze disk was first hammered into a metal or stone matrix, in which



13. Left side of sarcophagus showing maenad and satyr. Verona, Museo Maffeiano 114 (photo: Museo Maffeiano)



14. Detail from a statue group of the three Graces, showing the head of one figure. Siena, Museo dell'Opera della Cattedrale (photo: Alinari / Art Resource)

15. Sarcophagus showing Nereids and Tritons. Rome, Palazzo Conservatori, Museo Nuovo 2269 (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)





16. Roman mirror: Venus Victrix. Antikenmuseum Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Misc. 7965 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)

the scene to be represented existed in intaglio, or concave form.⁴⁵ After removal from the matrix, the sheet was set, front side up, into a cushioning bed of pitch, and the design was finished with chasing tools. When the relief was finished it was gilded, probably by the mercury amalgam process, and then burnished.⁴⁶ The repoussé disk was then ready to be attached, with supportive and adhesive material, to a mirror composed of a high tin bronze alloy,⁴⁷ which could have been manufactured elsewhere in the workshop or in a different workshop altogether.

It is virtually impossible to ascertain whether two reliefs with the same subject were produced in the same matrix unless one can study the original pieces and actually examine their backs. Nevertheless, in at least two cases, the reliefs on mirrors of this class are so similar that the question of such a relationship can be raised.

17. Roman mirror: The Rape of Europa. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Abraham Foundation, Inc., Gift, 1978.11.4



18. Roman mirror: The Rape of Europa. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1971.822 (photo: Ashmolean Museum)



Gisela Zahlhaas has already pointed out two specific mirrors with representations of three goddesses that must have been formed in the same matrix.⁴⁸ Parts of the Museum's relief showing the Rape of Europa (Figure 17) correspond so closely with a relief of the same subject in Oxford (Figure 18) that the matrices can be presumed to be related.⁴⁹

Each of the nine reliefs that show vessels next to the three Graces and drapery on the central figure (Numbers 1–9, Figures 1–10) must have been formed with three separate negative images, one for the group and ground line and one for each of the vessels on a pedestal. The condition of most of the nine is poor and direct comparison is not possible, yet as far as one can tell from photographs, each was produced in a different matrix. The figures differ not only in details of hair and face, which could have been varied when the relief was worked from the front, but also in the basic disposition of the parts—such as spacing between the figures and angles of heads and arms—which was determined by the matrix itself.

The Museum's mirror (No. 1, Figures 1, 2) is one of the best preserved. It alone has the volute krater on the right side and the oinochoe on the left. The figures have soft, simplified forms, typical of reliefs hammered into a matrix. There is no visible evidence of engraving or chasing on the front except for long, shallow lines on the wheat at the right. Nevertheless, the contours are clearly defined, and the inner forms of the torsos are modeled in considerable detail.

The dating of such matrix-formed decorations is extremely difficult. Whenever possible, it is best approached through study of iconographic motifs rather than through detailed stylistic analysis. Parallels for all the unusual iconographic features of the reliefs with three Graces can be found in classicizing art of the mid-second century after Christ. Moreover, at that time, the group may well have been particularly popular owing to its association with marriage in official imperial art. Zahlhaas and Vermeule dated these mirrors to the first half of the second century after Christ;⁵⁰ the series may have been produced slightly later, around the middle of the century.

The hazards of relying too heavily on stylistic analysis in dating works of this type can be seen in the case of the two mirrors with reliefs of the Rape of Europa (Figures 17, 18). They must have been made at approximately the same time since, as noted above, the matrices appear to be closely related. The New York example

was unknown when Zahlhaas made her study. On the basis of style, she dated the Oxford version to the first half of the third century because the forms are strongly plastic while contours are not clearly defined, and the tree and water appear animated with a baroque movement and expressiveness associated particularly with art of the third century. The treatment of form in the New York relief, however, is no different from that on other mirrors that she dates to the second century; the Graces on the mirror in Raleigh (No. 3, Figure 4) offer a good parallel. In contrast to the Oxford version, outer contours on the Metropolitan Museum's mirror with Europa are very sharply defined; indeed, they are emphasized with engraved lines made on the front with a tracing wheel. Any difference in the treatment of form between the two renditions of the Rape of Europa can best be explained by circumstances of manufacture as well as of preservation. The impression of movement in the two versions is appropriate to the subject and caused by the juxtaposition of several conventional motifs which are treated in a perfectly conventional way. Parallels for the rendition of the tree set against a curving edge can be found in another relief mirror dated by Zahlhaas to the second century as well as in medallions of Marcus Aurelius and of Lucius Verus.⁵¹ Likewise, the waves in the exergue of the Oxford version are conventional; water is indicated in exactly the same way on two medallions of Marcus Aurelius.⁵² There is no justification for dating the two mirrors with the Rape of Europa some fifty years later than the mirrors with the Graces. Indeed, all the Roman relief mirrors of this class are so similar that they were probably produced within a relatively short period of time in the second century after Christ.

The method of manufacture—multiple examples of matrix-formed reliefs with little chasing or finishing—suggests that these mirrors were rather ordinary products, raised above the commonplace primarily by their gilding. Yet, though most of the scenes on the back follow long-established norms, some show unusual, even unique subjects,⁵³ and all are enlivened through new combinations of existing elements drawn from the vast repertoire of classicizing motifs. No subject was better suited to decorate a mirror than the three Graces, and the fact that different matrices can be presumed for each of the preserved reliefs testifies to the great popularity of the design. Emblems of beauty, fertility, and conjugal harmony, the enlaced figures also please in their cool, mannered grace.

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manufacturing technique. For their help in assembling material and in procuring photographs, I thank Susan J. Barnes, Sheila D. Campbell, Gilles Cohen, Mary B. Comstock, Jerome Eisenberg, Jay Gates, Richard Keresey, Denise Modonesi, Gertrud Platz, V. A. Suslov, Marion True, Emily Walter, Bonna Westcoat, Gisela Zahlhaas, and J. Robert Guy, who brought to my attention three of the mirrors with a representation of the Graces.

NOTES

1. MMA 1987.11.1. Elizabeth J. Milleker, in *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection 1986–1987* (MMA, New York, 1987) p. 6.

2. MMA 1978.11.4. Subject of relief: The Rape of Europa. *Cat. Sotheby Parke-Bernet, February 17, 1978*, lot 47; Dietrich von Bothmer, in *Notable Acquisitions 1975–1979* (MMA, New York, 1979) p. 16; Willers, p. 30, no. 40.

3. Diam. 0.12 m. The mirror itself is cracked. No ancient point of attachment remains between the bronze sheeting and mirror proper. The bronze is in good condition except for losses at the edges and cracks in the area below the groundline of the design. Losses and cracks have been restored with wax. Gilding on the bronze backing is well preserved.

4. The most important studies of these mirrors are: Züchner, pp. 149–152; Zahlhaas; Vermeule; Willers. Zahlhaas (pp. 73–78) lists thirty-five examples. Willers (pp. 30–32) lists an additional twenty-eight. To these should be added: 1) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1986.750. Subject of relief: Woman flogged by schoolmaster while supported by Eros. R. Peyrefitte, *Un Musée de l'Amour* (Paris, 1972) p. 38; H. Cahn, *Le Musée Secret de Roger Peyrefitte* (Paris auction, Dec. 11–12, 1978) no. 434; *Art of the Ancient World IV* (New York/Beverly Hills, 1985) p. 110, no. 324; C. C. Vermeule, in *The Museum Year 1986–87: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1987) p. 31. 2) Princeton, Princeton University Art Museum, 85.1. Subject of relief: Venus Victrix. H. Cahn, *Le Musée Secret de Roger Peyrefitte* (Paris auction, Dec. 11–12, 1978), no. 435; *Record of The Art Museum: Princeton University* 45 (1986) p. 38. 3) Paphos, Cyprus, Regional Museum. Subject of relief: Venus Victrix. V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des Fouilles à Chypres en 1983," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 108 (1984) p. 907, fig. 47. 4) Atlanta, Emory University Museum of Art and Archaeology, 1985.5. Subject of relief: Meleager and Atalanta. *Newsletter: Emory University Museum of Art and Archaeology* 1 (March–April, 1988) p. 5. 5) New York, art market. Subject of relief: Eros with kithara. 6) Princeton, Princeton University Art Museum, 88.4 Nonreflecting surface incised with intersecting semicircles. In addition see nos. 1, 5, 7, 11 on the list of mirrors with representations of the three Graces, to be found at the end of this article.

5. For the distribution of findspots, see Willers, p. 33.

6. The type was first described as Roman by Züchner (pp. 149–150), who differentiated it from Etruscan relief mirrors and sug-

gested that it originated in the late Hellenistic period and continued to be made through the first century after Christ. C. Vermeule (M. Comstock, C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts* [Boston, 1971] p. 492, no. 400A) dated an example of this type to A.D. 100–200. Zahlhaas revised the date of production of the mirrors to run from about A.D. 130–230, basing her arguments primarily on stylistic comparison of the reliefs to other monuments. Recently Willers has argued that the type was developed from late Hellenistic Etruscan relief mirrors and that the earliest examples should be dated about 100 B.C.

7. On the Graces in general, see A. Furtwängler, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, I (Leipzig, 1884–1890) cols. 873–884, s.v. "Charis, Chariten"; J. Escher, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* III (Stuttgart, 1899) cols. 2150–2167, s.v. "Charites, Charis"; P. Orlandini, *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica* II (Rome, 1959) pp. 349–352, s.v. "Cariti"; E. Schwarzenberg, *Die Grazien* (Bonn, 1966); E. B. Harrison, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* III (1986) pp. 191–203, s.v. "Charis, Charites"; *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratiae," pp. 203–210.

8. Homer *Iliad* 14: 267–268, 275, 276; 18: 382–383; Homer *Odyssey* 8: 364–366, 18: 193–194.

9. Hesiod *Theogony* 907–909.

10. Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* V.v.7. Seneca *De Beneficiis* I.ii–iv. Seneca incorporated into his text passages from a treatise on liberality by the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus, which is now lost. Servius *In Vergilii Aeneidem* I, 720.

11. On the transfer of the ancient literary tradition to medieval and Renaissance writers, and thence to the artists, see E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (New Haven, 1958) pp. 31–39; W. Crelly, "The Iconography of the Elia Graces," *Essays in Honor of Walter Friedlaender*, W. Cahn, ed. (New York, 1965) pp. 23–39.

12. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, pp. 39–56; E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (Harper Torchbooks edition, New York, 1962) pp. 168–169.

13. R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* I, 1949, pp. 14, fr. 7.9, 317, fr. 318.4; Euphorion frg. 91 van Groningen.

14. The most recent and complete listing of all preserved an-

cient representations of the group can be found in *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratiae," pp. 203–210, where 139 representations are listed, with bibliography.

15. Cyrene, Museum of Antiquities, 14.347. E. Paribeni, *Catalogo delle Sculture di Cirene* (Rome, 1959) no. 302, pl. 141; *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratiae," p. 209, no. 131, pl. 167.

16. *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratiae," p. 204, no. 5. The painting was on the north wall of the largest room in the villa of Publius Fannius Synistor. It was seen by the excavator but faded almost immediately. F. Barnabei, *La villa pompeiana di P. Fannius Sinistore scoperta presso Boscoreale* (Rome, 1901) pp. 54–55. Three paintings from the right wall are now in the Metropolitan Museum: MMA 03.14.5, MMA 03.14.6, MMA 03.14.7.

17. R. Fleischer, *LIMC* II, i, 1984, s.v. "Aphrodite (Aphrodisias)," pp. 151–154 nos. 1–41, pls. 154–156.

18. For a discussion of the new emphasis placed on the imperial marriages in the Antonine imperial cult, see N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (Aarhus, 1986) p. 214. Thirteen children were born to the Empress Faustina. K. Fittschen (*Die Bildnistypen der Faustina Minor und die Fecunditas Augustae* [Göttingen, 1982]) postulates that each of the nine official hairstyles of the empress was deliberately associated with the birth of a child.

19. P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts* III (Stuttgart, 1937), p. 11, no. 890; *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratiae," p. 208, no. 103. For other coins of those years that may refer to the engagement see Fittschen, *Die Bildnistypen*, p. 22.

20. Strack, *Untersuchungen* III, pl. 20, no. 1327; British Museum, *Coins of the British Empire* IV (London, 1940) p. 407, *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratiae," p. 208, no. 102, pl. 165.

21. A. F. Gnechchi, *I medaglioni romani* II (Milan, 1912) p. 40, no. 14, pl. 68:2; *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratiae," p. 208, no. 106, pl. 165.

22. Gnechchi, *I medaglioni*, pl. 76:7.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 42, no. 32, pl. 69:7; *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratiae," p. 108, no. 105, pl. 165.

24. G. Rodenwaldt, "The Three Graces on a Fluted Sarcophagus," *Journal of Roman Studies* 28 (1938) pp. 63–64. For a discussion of the connection of the Graces with marriage, see E. Schwarzenberg, *Die Grazien* (Bonn 1966) p. 21, n. 17.

25. *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratiae," pp. 204–206, nos. 16–40, 55.

26. Rodenwaldt, "The Three Graces," pp. 60–64.

27. W. Trillmich, "Die Charitengruppe als Grabrelief und Kneipenschild," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 98 (1983) pp. 334–335.

28. Trillmich ("Die Charitengruppe," pp. 324–326) collects and discusses these groups. See also, *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratiae," p. 206, no. 51, and perhaps 45.

29. The placement of the hands, choice of weight leg, and direction of the heads is that found on the majority of representations of the group. For a full discussion of the pose and its variations, see Trillmich, "Die Charitengruppe," pp. 326–331.

30. The only examples known to me occur in a series of late

Hellenistic balsamaria in the shape of a woman's head. Narrow braids emerge from either side of a low-placed bun and are drawn forward and tied above the forehead in a Heracleian knot. S. Haynes, "Etruskische Bronzekopfgefäße aus hellenistischer Zeit," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 6 (1959) pp. 119–120.

31. Vermeule, p. 30.

32. Fittschen, *Die Bildnistypen*, pp. 34–35, nos. 1,2, pl. 1,2 for coins; pp. 44–48, pls. 8–13 for portraits.

33. F. Matz, *Die Dionysischen Sarkophage* IV (Berlin, 1968) pp. 198–199, no. 83, pls. 106–108.

34. *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratiae," p. 209, no. 124, pl. 166.

35. Apart from adaptations of the group for representations of nymphs (see note 28 above), only two known examples of the group have drapery. *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratiae," p. 205, no. 30, pl. 160; p. 206, no. 46, pl. 162.

36. Matz, *Die Dionysischen Sarkophage*, p. 40, no. 52, traces the figure back to late Hellenistic types. See especially H. Dragendorff, *Arretinische Reliefkeramik* (Reutlingen, 1948) p. 149, no. 10, pl. 31: 452. A nymph on a silver alabastron dated to the late Hellenistic period is closely related. Athens, National Museum, 13713; *The Search for Alexander*, (New York, 1980) p. 157, no. 110. A relief in Munich (Glyptothek 635, Matz, no. 85) has the same figure as the Verona sarcophagus, only instead of two convex bands around the head there are four, creating a hatlike impression. R. Wünsche has recently suggested that the relief is a modern work probably based on an ancient relief, too damaged to salvage. This would explain the misunderstanding of the hair arrangement. R. Wünsche, "Fälschungen und Ergänzungen: Techniken antiker Plastik," *Studien zur klassischen Archäologie: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Friedrich Hiller* (Saarbrücken, 1986) pp. 215–217, fig. 29.

37. The only example known to me is a nude winged Lasa on the handle of an Etruscan bronze patera, MMA 19.192.65.

38. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Museo Nuovo, 2269. D. Mustelli, *Il Museo Mussolini* (Rome, 1939) p. 34, no. 1, pl. 26; G. Koch und H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage, Handbuch der Archäologie* (Munich 1982) p. 196, fig. 244.

39. Z. Kádár, "Venus Victrix ábrázolása a császárkori érmeken," *Numizmatikai Közlemények*, 58/59 (Budapest 1959–60) pp. 7–15.

40. G. M. A. Richter, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Catalogue of Engraved Gems, Greek, Etruscan and Roman* (Rome, 1956), pp. 73, 74, nos. 300, 301, pl. 42.

41. Zahlhaas, pp. 32–33, 37, 38 pl. 21; Willers, p. 31, no. 41; See note 4 above, nos. 2,3.

42. Cyrene, Museum of Antiquities, 14.348. E. Paribeni, *Catalogo delle Sculture di Cirene* (Rome, 1959) pp. 108–109, no. 301, pl. 144; *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratiae," p. 209, no. 129, pl. 167.

43. On this type of vase see, most recently, Stajanovic-V. R. Anderson, "The Chronology and Function of Ceramic Unguentaria," *American Journal of Archaeology* 91 (1987) pp. 105–122.

44. See, for example, a marble Neo-Attic krater from the Farnese collection. V. Spinazzola, *Le arti decorative in Pompei e nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Milan/Rome, 1928) pl. 48, and a smaller alabaster volute krater, pl. 222. Such vessels were commonly shown in Neo-Attic reliefs and on sarcophagi. H. V. Cain, *Römische Marmorkandelaber* (Mainz, 1985) pp. 163–164, no. 48, pl. 47. H. Sichtermann, “Beiträge zu den Meerwesensarkophagen,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1970) pp. 231–238.

45. On a Hellenistic bronze matrix, MMA 20.2.24, see E. D. Reeder, “The Mother of the Gods and a Hellenistic Bronze Matrix,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 91 (1987) pp. 423–440. For a marble matrix see E. D. Reeder, “Isis Pelagia and a Roman Marble Matrix from the Athenian Agora,” *Hesperia* 54 (1985) pp. 109–119.

46. A paste of liquid mercury and gold is applied to a metal surface; when it is heated the mercury evaporates, leaving a thin, spongy gold coating. The surface is then burnished to compress the porous metal surface.

47. The reflecting surfaces of the two Roman mirrors belonging to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.11.1 (No. 1, Figures 1, 2) and 1978.11.4 (Figure 17), were analyzed in the Museum’s Department of Objects Conservation, which used the method of Scanning Electron Microscopy Energy Dispersive X-

Ray Spectrometry. The results were as follows: 1987.11.1: 56% copper; 47% tin; 1–2% lead; 1978.11.4: 58% copper; 42% tin.

48. Zahlhaas, pp. 23, 73, no. 5, pl. 6; p. 74, no. 7, pl. 7.

49. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1971.822. Zahlhaas, p. 75, no. 18, pl. 16. The figure of Europa, the ribbonlike himation, the bull, the wheat, and the torch correspond almost exactly; the tail of the bull is lowered on the Metropolitan Museum mirror and raised on the Oxford mirror; the base of the tree trunk and the exergue are also different.

50. Zahlhaas (p. 42) suggested a Hadrianic date. Vermeule (p. 30) dated them to the first four decades of the second century.

51. See, for example, Zahlhaas, pp. 51–52, 75, no. 14, pl. 14. A medallion of Marcus Aurelius (Gnecchi, *I medaglioni*, pl. 65:3) and of Lucius Verus (pl. 66:5) also have similar trees.

52. See, for example, a medallion of Marcus Aurelius with Poseidon on the reverse, where a small area indicating water is treated in exactly the same way as on the Oxford mirror (J. P. C. Kent, *Roman Coins* [London, 1978] pl. 90, no. 311). Another medallion of Marcus Aurelius shows the whole exergue filled with such water indications (Gnecchi, *I medaglioni*, pl. 61:1).

53. See, for example, four mirrors with a scene of Minerva, Venus, and a seated figure, probably to be identified as Persephone (Zahlhaas, pp. 73–74, nos. 5–8, pp. 19–24, pls. 5–8).

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Willers—D. Willers, “Vom etruskischen zum römischen: Noch einmal zu einem Spiegelrelief in Malibu,” *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986) pp. 21–36

Zahlhaas—G. Zahlhaas, *Römische Reliefspiegel* (Munich, 1975)

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Appendix

ROMAN RELIEF MIRRORS WITH A REPRESENTATION OF THE THREE GRACES

1. (Figures 1,2) New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.11.1. Diam. 0.12 m. Elizabeth J. Milleker, in *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection 1986–1987* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987) p. 6.

2. (Figure 3) Seattle, The Seattle Art Museum, 67.98. Diam. 0.13 m. *Seattle Museum, Annual Report* (Seattle, 1967) p. 54; *Art Quarterly* 31 (1968) p. 91; H.-J. Kellner, “Drei Grazien aus Bayern,” *Festschrift für J. Werner* (1974) p. 193, pl. 16:1; Zahlhaas, pp. 35, 73, pl. 2. The mirror has an inscription on the groundline.

3. (Figure 4) Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, 77.1.8. Diam. 0.13 m. Vermeule, pp. 27–28, fig. 1; Willers, p. 30, no. 37; John R. Spencer, “Speculations on the Origins of the Italian Renaissance Medal,” *Studies in the History of Art 21: Italian Medals* (1987) pp. 197–203.

4. (Figure 5) Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, 1894.39. Diam. ca. 0.12 m. Provenance: Kertsch, Mt. Mithradates. *Compte-rendu de la commission imperiale archéologique* (St. Petersburg, 1894), p. 144, fig. 68; E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, Eng., 1913), p. 378; Züchner, p. 150, no. 8; Zahlhaas, p. 36, 73, pl. 4; *LIMC*, s.v. “Gratiae,” p. 207, no. 75, pl. 163.

5. (Figure 6) Toronto, The University of Toronto, M82.357. Diam. 0.10 m. Provenance: Purchased in Istanbul. *The Malcove Collection: A Catalogue of Objects in the Lillian Malcove Collection of the University of Toronto*, S. D. Campbell, ed. (Toronto, 1985) no. 12.

6. (Figure 7) Basel, H. A. C. Diam. ca. 0.109 m. Said

to be from Anatolia. R. Merhav, in *A Glimpse into the Past: The Joseph Ternbach Collection, The Israel Museum* (Jerusalem, 1981) p. 205, no. 163; Willers, p. 30, no. 38; *Cat. Sotheby's New York, November 24, 1987*, lot 167.

7. (Figure 8) Paris, Collection Anlen-Padiou. Diam. 0.10 m. *Mémoire de la Beauté: La Toilettte et la Parure de l'Égypte Prédynastique aux Mérovingiens*, exh. cat. (Paris, A La Reine Margot, 1987) p. 39, no. 74.

8. (Figure 9) Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 76.AC.59. Diam. 0.12 m. Vermeule, p. 38, n. 1; Willers, p. 30, no. 36, fig. 12.

9. (Figure 10) Present whereabouts unknown; formerly, Tunis, Musée National du Bardo (Alaoui). Diam. 0.12 m. Provenance: Carthage. *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* (1915), pp. cxx–cxci, no. 5, fig. 2; A. Merlin, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui* 2nd supp. (1922) p. 149, no. 450; Zahlhaas, pp. 35–36, 73, pl. 3.

10. (Figure 11) Munich, Prähistorische Staatssammlung, 1974.3898a/b. Diam. 0.09–0.093 m. Provenance: Gravefield near Pförring, Lkr. Ingolstadt. H.-J. Kellner, “Drei Grazien aus Bayern,” *Festschrift für J. Werner* (1974) pp. 192–193, pl. 12:1; Zahlhaas, pp. 17–19, 73, pl. 1.

11. (Figure 12) Paris, art market. Diam. 0.168 m. *Mémoire de la Beauté: La Toilettte et la Parure de l'Égypte Prédynastique aux Mérovingiens*, exh. cat. (Paris, A La Reine Margot, 1987) p. 39, no. 73.