

Through the Eyes of the Knidian Women: Goddess Demeter *

Assoc. Prof. Güray Ünver**

Today, we will be discussing epigraphy, the study of inscriptions, as well as mythology and archaeology. However, we will also be indulging in a bit of gossip. I am not sure if there is a statute of limitations on gossip, but we will be discussing events that occurred over 2000 years ago. Specifically, we will observe the lives of women who lived that time in Knidos. This will include their daily struggles, romantic relationships, and their interactions with the gods, particularly Demeter.

Let us begin with an introduction, exploring the role of Demeter in Greek mythology.

In Homer's story, Demeter, portrayed as having "beautiful hair and beautiful braids" is the goddess of fertility and soil. However, she is much more than this. She is the daughter of Cronus and Rea, and is also one of Zeus' sisters. Additionally, she has a daughter from her union with Zeus. In Knidos, the daughter is known as Kore, but her more commonly used name is Persephone. During the rituals, she is often referred to as Kore.

The epithet *Thesmophoros* is commonly used to refer to Demeter, meaning "bearer of law" or "keeper of order." This title is closely associated with her role as the ruler of the women's world. In Knidos, as in many other places, Demeter and Kore were worshipped as goddesses who regulated the lives of women. Throughout the Greek world, there is a shared festival dedicated to Demeter and Kore, known as the *Thesmophoria*, named after

* This speech is largely based on data from a paper that we recently published (D. Aydemir Samancıoğlu, G. Ünver, "Knidos'ta Demeter Kültü ve Lanetleme Yazıtları" in *Cumhuriyet'in 100. Yılında Dünden Bugüne Muğla I*, Muğla Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları 27, Muğla, 2024, pp. 179-197).

** Lecturer at Muğla University, Department of Archaeology.

Demeter's epithet. This festival holds great significance for women. In honour of International Women's Day on March 8th, we will delve deeper into this theme.

The festival being discussed is a ritual preparation for marriage and motherhood, exclusively celebrated by women. It is worth noting that only legal spouses were allowed to participate. The main source of information about this festival comes from Eleusis, a town near Athens. It is held between the 9th and 13th days of the month of Pyanopsion, which falls in either October or November. This festival marks the start of autumn. While similar rituals were also performed in Cnidus, there is not enough evidence to confirm if they took place during the same time period.

What is the origin of this belief and festival? According to Herodotus in chapter 171 of his second book, the belief in Demeter and the Thesmophoria festivals originated in Egypt. He states, "It was the daughters of Danaos who brought it from Egypt and taught it to the women of Hellas." Later, Herodotus mentions that the Arcadians claimed this festival as their own after the invasion of the Dorians in Greece. They believed it to be the oldest festival among them and through the Arcadians, it was reintroduced in the Peloponnese. Before we proceed, it is important to recall a mythological story about Demeter, one that involves abduction. As with all mythological stories, there are various versions of this one as well. I will attempt to summarise the most commonly accepted version:

The myth recounts the story of Persephone (also known as Kore), the daughter of Demeter. While picking flowers on the Enna Plain in Sicily, the ground suddenly split open and Hades (also known as Plouton) emerged. He abducted Kore and took her to the underworld. It is believed that Zeus may have been involved or aware of the situation, but he remained silent. Demeter took action to find her daughter and eventually discovered that Kore had been abducted and was being held underground by Hades. Following diplomatic negotiations, Demeter ensured that Zeus took the necessary steps to secure Kore's return. Zeus then summoned Hermes and instructed him to convey the message to Hades.

However, while in the underworld, Kore had eaten a pomegranate, which meant that she could never fully return to earth. Zeus found a compromise and offered an interim solution - Hades would divide Kore's time between the two worlds. Hermes would bring Kore back to earth to be with her mother Demeter. According to ancient authors, there are different versions of how this division of time is split. Some suggest that Kore will spend one-third of the year on earth and two-thirds in the underworld, while others propose that she spends six months above ground and six months below ground. This Greek mythological story symbolises the revival of nature, fertility, and the cycle of seasons, with a focus on the love between a mother and a daughter. It describes the transition of nature from the stagnation of winter to the activity of spring as the work of the gods with a mythological connection.



Figure 1: Demeter, British Museum; Londra



Figure 2: Kore (Persephone), British Museum, Londra

The British Museum displays the statues of Demeter and Kore, which were discovered in Knidos during the mid-19th century. The beginning of their inventory numbers indicates the

year of registration in the museum inventory. These sculptures are significant plastic artefacts of our cultural heritage.

The marble statue of Demeter, dating back to the 4th century BC (ca. 330s), depicts the goddess seated on a throne. Demeter's face, body, and most of the throne are well-preserved. Remarkably, the statue of Kore, also dating to the 4th century BC (ca. 350-330), has survived almost entirely intact.



Figure 3: *The rape of Proserpina (Persephone)*, Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1621-1622) Galleria Borghese, Rome.



Figure 4: *The return of Persephone*, Lord Frederic Leighton, (1890-1891) Leeds Art Gallery, Leeds.

Kore, also known as Proserpina, had a significant influence on European art. The 17th-century sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini's 'Rape of Proserpina' (1621-1622), now in the Galleria Borghese in Rome, Italy, is one of the most important works of European plastic art. Proserpina is the Latin equivalent of Kore or Persephone. The oil painting from the late 19th century (1890-1891), which portrays Persephone's return from the underworld to her mother Demeter, was created by Frederic Leighton. It is currently exhibited at the Leeds Art Gallery in Leeds, England.

In Knidos, a little east of the city, there is an open-air sanctuary dedicated to Demeter. The sanctuary has niches carved into a steep mountain slope, which were likely used to house statues associated with the cult. This sanctuary was utilised for performing rituals in honour of the goddess.



Figure 5: Open-air sanctuary dedicated to Demeter, Knidos

The most recent excavations in this area were conducted by Charles Thomas Newton in the last century. The excavations yielded many significant discoveries, such as a statue of Demeter, also known as the ‘Demeter of Cnidus’, a statue of Kore, a statue identified as ‘Priestess Nikokleia’, pig figurines used as votive offerings, curse inscriptions written on lead tablets, and numerous finds including many dedications to the goddess. These finds are currently housed in the British Museum.

Newton’s archaeological finds include a variety of pig figurines. Allow me to present a few of them to you. Later on, I will delve into further detail about these figurines, as some of them feature inscriptions.

The sanctuary houses a collection of lead tablets engraved with curse inscriptions, which we will examine shortly. These texts are remarkable for their unique and captivating content. It is highly probable that all of them were written by women.

Numerous oil lamps from various periods were discovered in the sanctuary. This is because women would stay in the sanctuary during rituals and festivals held at that time, and likely spent some nights there.

Unfortunately, all of these valuable archaeological discoveries are currently housed at the British Museum. While some are accessible for public viewing, others are kept in the museum's archives.

The archaeological and epigraphic finds discovered in the sanctuary suggest that it was dedicated not only to Demeter, but also to her daughter Kore, making it a Demeter-Kore sanctuary.

It is necessary for a Goddess or God in whose honour a cult was established at Knidos to have a priestess system. The cult of Demeter is associated with the world of women and has a festival open only to women. Therefore, it is logical that Demeter was served by a priestess, not a priest. Among the archaeological finds discovered in the sanctuary area, two statues have been identified as priestesses. They are generally recognised as the joint priestesses of both Demeter and Kore.



Figure 6: Priestess (?)
Nikokleia, British Museum,
London

The reason why the statue identified as 'Priestess Nikokleia' was so named is that it was found close to an inscription dedicated by a woman named Nikokleia to Demeter and Kore. Today, however, some researchers argue that the statue is not related to the inscription, since the inscription dates from the 2nd century BC, and therefore the statue should not be identified as Nikokleia.

The second statue, identified as a priestess of Demeter-Kore, belongs to Lykaithion, a member of the most famous family of Cnidus, descendant of the renowned Gaius Iulius Theopompos. The statue, dated between 69-98 AD, was discovered in Lykaithion's funerary monument. The reason why Lykaithion is referred to as a 'priestess' is that the statue is in the form of a priestess of Demeter. Researchers determine this based on the fact that we are in the Roman Imperial period and Demeter-Kore rituals still continue. However, considering Lykaithion's reputation in the city, it is possible that she was not only a priestess but also an *arkhousa*, chosen among the most prestigious people of the city to act as the chief woman in the execution of rituals and provide financial support.



Figure 7: Lykaithion, British Museum, London

When examining the epigraphic documents and dedications related to the priestesses, two inscriptions stand out. One inscription on a stool in the sanctuary reads, 'Priestess Philis, dedicated to Kore.' The other document shows an offering to Kore by a priestess whose name is unreadable, but ends with *-kleia*. Although both dedications were made to Kore, we believe that the priestesshood mentioned is that of Demeter-Kore. The primary source of information regarding this topic is an inscription from the 4th century BC. The inscription reveals that a woman named *Khryssina*, the wife of Hippocrates and mother of *Khryssogone*, dedicated a building called *oikos* and a votive statue to Kore and Demeter. The inscription also mentions that

Khrysinia had a dream in which Hermes appeared to her and instructed her to serve the goddesses as a priestess.

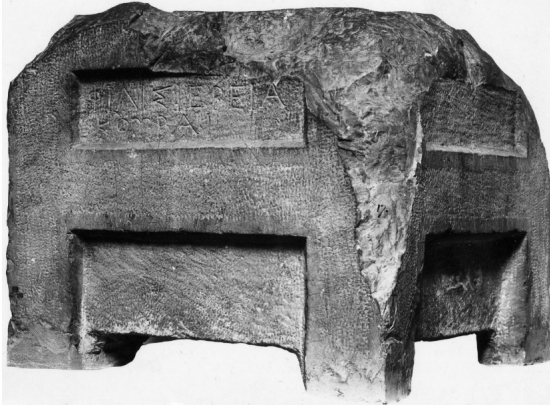


Figure 8: Priestess Philis' dedication, British Museum, London

So what do we know about the *Thesmophoria* festival in honour of Demeter?

There is currently no epigraphic evidence to confirm the celebration of this festival in Knidos. In other words, the name of the festival has not yet been documented in a Cnidian inscription. However, archaeological discoveries provide reliable evidence that the festival of Thesmophoria in honour of Demeter was celebrated in Knidos.

The festival mentioned was held exclusively for women in the sanctuary of Demeter-Kore, and only legal spouses were allowed to participate. The month in which the festival took place was called Thesmophorios, as evidenced by an amphora found in Knidos. However, it is important to note that Thesmophorios is not a month in the Knidos calendar, as the Kos calendar was commonly used in Knidos. Furthermore, it should be noted that Thesmophorios is a month's name in the Rhodian calendar. The archaeological data from Knidos, including the pig statuettes and the presence of this month's name, suggests that a festival in honour of Demeter was celebrated in Knidos.



Figure 9: Pig figurine, British Museum, London

What is the connection between pig figurines and Demeter rituals? The answer can be found in the mythological story of Hades' (Plouton) abduction of Kore.

Before discussing the Thesmophoria, it is essential to understand its content. The most significant information about this festival comes from Lucianos, a satirist writer from Samosata who lived in the 2nd century AD. It is worth noting that Lucianos has a work called *Verae Historiae* (True Stories), translated into Turkish by Erman Gören and Ertuğrul İnanç. This work is considered to be the earliest known science fiction piece, as it describes a voyage to the moon. In addition to this work, we also learn about Thesmophoria from another of Lucianos' works, *The Conversations of the Hetairai*. Lucianos was a satirist who often wrote humorous and critical pieces, including sharp criticisms and sarcasm directed towards important figures and celebrities of his time, as well as those who came before him. It is worth mentioning that there is a scholium, which can be defined as a type of book review, written later on this work by Lucianos.

Now let's examine the prohibitions during Thesmophoria, as outlined by these sources. Firstly, due to Persephone's abduction whilst collecting flowers, floral crowns are prohibited. Sexual intercourse is also avoided, and the consumption of pomegranates is forbidden due to Hades (Plouton) tricking Kore (Persephone) into eating them, resulting in her imprisonment underground,

according to the commonly accepted version of the story. These are the three fundamental rules.

During the abduction of Persephone, a swineherd was grazing his herd when he fell into the crevice opened by Hades to kidnap Kore, along with his pigs. As a result, pig figurines were presented as offerings to the goddesses during the festivities in honour of Demeter and Kore. Additionally, sows were thrown into the crevices, known as *megara*. These rituals were conducted with strict adherence to purity rules, and the pigs were kept for three days before being retrieved. Women, referred to as 'finders', would descend into the crevices to retrieve the decomposed remains of the pig. These remains were then brought to the temple, placed on the altar, and distributed to the people. It was believed that mixing a piece of these remains with their crops would ensure a good harvest. These traditions have been passed down for centuries as part of local beliefs and cultures.

"Pigs were considered symbols of fertility, which ensured the reproduction of man and animals," says the *scholium*. "It is an offering of gratitude to the goddess who civilised the human race and brought fertility". He then notes: "This explains the mythological reason for the offerings. In fact, these rituals are nothing more than following nature. The aim is to follow the cycle of nature, to increase the fertility of nature".

The offerings found in the temple area are diverse in nature. For instance, an inscription from the 3rd century BC reveals that a woman named Diokleia made an offering to Demeter. The inscription identifies Diokleia as the wife of Archidamos and the daughter of Nikagoras. These offerings were typically made as expressions of gratitude to the gods or goddesses, or to fulfil a specific wish.

The second votive inscription is considerably shorter and belongs to a woman named Hagesikleia. Of particular interest is the inscription of Khrysina, mentioned earlier, which sheds light on the relationship between Demeter, Kore, and Hermes. This famous inscription is currently exhibited at the British Museum. It discloses that Hermes appeared in Khrysina's dream and instructed her to serve as a priestess for the goddesses. In

response, Khrysinia dedicated an oikos and a votive statue to Kore and Demeter.

Among the various dedicatory inscriptions, one stands out. It is a dedication to Demeter and Kore by a woman named Xeno, a name uncommon in Knidos, but common at Anazarbus in Cilicia. Another noteworthy dedication comes from Plathainis, whose four votive inscriptions have managed to survive to the present day. The inscription on the base of a pig figurine reads, 'Plathainis, wife of Plato, dedicated to Demeter and Kore.' Another woman who made a dedication to the goddesses was Hadinna, the wife of Polichares and daughter of Sopolis. Along with her young children, she made dedications to Demeter and Kore.



Figure 10: Plathainis' dedication on a pig figurine, British Museum, London

It is worth noting that these offerings were not solely dedicated to Demeter or Kore, but often to both goddesses.

Plathainis, the wife of Plato, likely showed great devotion to the cults of Demeter and Kore. Four dedications by Plathainis, who lived in the second half of the 4th century BC, have survived. It is unclear whether this is due to her devotion or to the fact that the inscriptions have mostly been preserved by chance. Plathainis has an interesting story, as the inscriptions indicate that she was a woman who had been freed from slavery.

In inscriptions that mention the goddess Demeter, a peculiar phrase is used: 'the gods beside Demeter' (theoi hoi para

Damatri), which suggests that Demeter holds a prominent role among a group of gods. Let's take a closer look at this statement: 'Demeter and the gods with Demeter'.

The first example concerns the votive inscription of Nikokleia, dating from the last quarter of the 3rd century BC. The inscription was discovered alongside the statue of the priestess Nikokleia, which was mentioned at the beginning of the presentation. For many years, it was believed that Nikokleia was a priestess based on the relationship between the inscription and the statue. However, this information has recently been considered controversial. The inscription itself reads: Nikokleia, daughter of Nikokhoros and wife of Apollophanes dedicated to Demeter, Kore, and the gods beside Demeter.

Similarly, we can look at another inscription of Plathainis' votive offering: 'Plathainis, wife of Plato, has dedicated to Demeter, Kore and the gods beside Demeter as a sign of her gratitude and penance'. The phrasing of this inscription suggests that Plathainis was once a slave, possibly owned by Plato, who was later freed and became his wife. The inscription also includes the phrase 'the gods with Demeter'.

The inscription dedicated by a man named Sostatos, provides important information about these gods: "*Sostratos, son of Lakhartos, dedicated to Demeter, Kore, Plouton (Hades), Epimakhos and Hermes*. This possibly expands the "group of gods beside Demeter". Hades, Hermes, and the enigmatic Epimakhos. However, reliable information about Epimakhos is lacking. Epimakhos may be an epithet of Hades, or a *heros* (hero) named Epimakhos heroized after his death and associated with the underworld. This is the only known source of information about the identity of "the gods beside Demeter".

In a curse tablet, we encounter an intriguing detail: a woman named Antigone made a dedication to *Demeter, Kore, Plouton, and 'all the gods and goddesses beside Demeter'*. This phrase expands the concept of "the gods beside Demeter" to include goddesses as well. However, the specific identities of these goddesses remain unknown. As new epigraphic information emerges, we may gain a better understanding of their identities.

Curse Tablets

The curse tablets were discovered in the sanctuary of Demeter-Kore and in general they are dated to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. It is evident that the authors of these tablets were predominantly women, with only one exception thought to may have been written by a man. This is indicated by the absence of any gender-specific names.

A total of 19 curse inscriptions from Knidos have survived to the present day, found on 13 lead tablets. This suggests that some tablets contain more than one curse inscription. The content and language used in the inscriptions reveal a different aspect of Demeter. In the realm of women, the goddess is depicted as a vengeful and punishing figure. The authors of these inscriptions call upon the goddess to unleash her wrath upon the cursed individual. This anger is also associated with the other deities, including Hades (Plouton), Hermes, and other underworld gods and goddesses.

In the curse inscriptions, Cnidian women often refer to Demeter as *Despoina*, meaning 'my Great Lady'. This demonstrates Demeter's important role in the realm of women and shows the deep respect the Knidian women have for her and the recognition of her importance in their beliefs.

What is the meaning behind these curse inscriptions?

The inscriptions often deal with various accusations: slander, theft, male-female relations, fraud, bullying... Their purpose was to invoke the anger of Demeter and Kore, as well as the gods and goddesses beside Demeter, against the accused and to request protection from undesirable situations. The inscriptions also call for the guilty party to receive appropriate punishment.

At the beginning of the inscriptions there is usually the following introduction: "*So and so invokes / submits to Demeter, Kore and the gods next to Demeter.*" Then the offence justifying the curse is defined. For example, there is a theft; a woman who has lost her jewellery curses the person who finds it and does not return it. If she brings it back and leaves it in the temple, all the better, but if not, "*may he/she burn with fire, may she not receive*

the goddess' mercy, may she suffer great torments". Sometimes it is requested that not only herself but also her children should suffer these tortures. "*May he/she incur the wrath of all the gods and goddesses, may he have no peace*".

Most of the inscribed tablets are depicted in great detail, as evidenced by the drawings found in "A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae 2, 2" by C.T. Newton, the director of the excavation of the sanctuary. These drawings are also compiled in "Die Inschriften von Knidos" by W. Blümel. It is clear from these sources that the inscriptions were written by scratching on lead tablets, giving them a graffiti-like appearance.

I have prepared three examples of well-preserved inscriptions for you. Typically, tablets have inscriptions on both sides. The A-side of this tablet is in excellent condition, but unfortunately, the 22 lines on the B-side are illegible. As the material is lead, the tablets are susceptible to damage.

In this example, a woman named Antigone wrote the tablet. The inscription begins with the following words '*Antigone invokes Demeter, Kore, Plouton and all the gods and goddesses with Demeter.*' Antigone was accused of poisoning her husband, Asklepiades. In response, she wrote a curse against her accusers and took it to the temple. "*If I have given poison to Asclepiades, or if I have thought in my heart to do anything harmful to him, or if I have called a woman to the temple to take him from among the living and have offered her a mina and a half, then let Antigone burn in the fire.*" Antigone denies any wrongdoing, stating, "*Even if I go and confess to Demeter, Demeter will show me no mercy. On the contrary, she will make me suffer great torture.*" The inscription continues with Antigone cursing the slanderers. "*If anyone can prove that I poisoned Asklepiadas, or if anyone can show the woman to whom I gave those coins [...].*"

Unfortunately, we are unable to read the next 22 lines, so we are in the middle of the most exciting part of the inscription. The conclusion of the inscription contains a statement that reads, '*May I be permitted to enter the bathhouse, share the same roof, and dine at the same table.*' This is a frequently used phrase in curse

inscriptions, as such allegations often resulted in social ostracism.

Moving on to our second example of a curse tablet, we can see that there is a substantial amount of text on side A, and multiple curses on side B. Interestingly, we once again come across an accusation of a woman poisoning her husband. (By the way, we still need to uncover the connection between the women of Knidos and the poison - that's also part of the gossip).

A woman wrote on the front of the tablet:

“I am referring to Demeter and Kore, who have accused me of plotting against my husband with poison. I ask that they be brought before Demeter, consumed by fire, along with their entire family, and confess their accusations in front of everyone. May they not find mercy from Demeter, Kore, or any of the other gods who are with Demeter.” The rest of the inscription

suggests that there are other accusations against the women: *“I also call upon those who have made accusations against me or have ordered others to do so.”* She pleads for the gods to show them no mercy and to burn them and their families with fire.

So far, we have discussed side A of the inscription. Now, let us turn our attention to side B. At the beginning of side B, we learn the name of the woman mentioned in the inscription: Hegemone. She states, *“I, Hegemone, dedicate the bracelet which I lost in the gardens of Rhodocles to Demeter and Kore and all the gods and goddesses.”* It is evident that Hegemone lost a bracelet in the gardens of Rhodocles and it was not returned to her. In response, she issues a curse, stating, *“But if the person who found my bracelet does not return it and sells it, then he/she shall incur*



Figure 11: Antigone's curse inscription, British Museum, London

the wrath of Demeter, Kore and all the gods and goddesses beside Demeter.” After this, Hegemone shifts to a completely different topic, which begins on the same line. This topic seems to be related to market shopping, specifically a possible incident of being cheated. Hegemone states, *“I also refer to Demeter, Kore and the gods and goddesses with her anyone who may have taken it from me when I paid more than I should have for the weight I asked for.”* Here, Hegemone is not targeting a specific person with her curse, but rather anyone who may have committed a similar crime.

But is this really the end of Hegemone’s troubles? Sadly, no. The inscription says that a man, who is not named, has been bothering her in her own home. In fact, at the end of the inscription, there is a curse directed at this person. Hegemone says the following: *“I refer to Demeter and Kore, the man who bothered me in my house. I refer him and all his possessions to the goddesses. May all be granted to me [granted or permitted, explained by Antigone]”*.

Our final example is a curse written by a woman named Prosodion. While the inscription on side A is preserved, there are no traces of writing on side B. The curse reveals the suspicions of a woman who believes her husband, Anakon, may be deceiving her. It appears that Anakon is rarely at home (that is also our gossip). The curse begins with Prosodion beseeching Demeter, Kore, and the gods associated with Demeter to prevent anyone from taking her husband away from her and her children. She refers to herself in the third person in this part of the inscription. If a woman is attending a feast in the presence of Anakon, Prosodion asks that she not receive the mercy of Demeter or any of the gods associated with her. The inscription concludes with Prosodion’s wish for good fortune for herself and her children.

Focusing on the cult of Demeter and the curse inscriptions, we took a short journey into the world of beliefs and daily life of the women of Knidos who lived in these lands centuries ago. Hoping to meet again in the future with new topics...

Image Bibliography:

Figure 1 Demeter, British Museum, London, Mus. number: 1859,1226.26

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1859-1226-26 ©The Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 2 Kore (Persephone), British Museum, London. Mus. number: 1859,1226.43

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1859-1226-43 ©The Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 3: The Rape of Persephone (Proserpina), Gian Lorenzo Bernini, (*Ratto di Proserpina*, 1621–1622) Galleria Borghese, Rome.

<https://borgnese.gallery/collection/sculpture/the-rape-of-proserpina.html>

Figure 4: The Return of Persephone, Lord Frederic Leighton, (1890–91), oil painting, Leeds Art Gallery, Leeds.Credit: Bridgeman Images

<https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/the-return-of-persephone-37738>

Figure 5: Open-air sanctuary of Demeter, Knidos.

Knidos Excavation and Research Archive

Figure 6: Priestess (?) Nikokleia, British Museum, London

Mus. number: 1859,1226.25

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1859-1226-25 ©The Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 7: Lykaithion, British Museum, London, Mus. number: 1859,1226.722

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1859-1226-722 ©The Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 8: Priestess Philis' dedication, British Museum, London, Mus. number: 1859,1226.39

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1859-1226-39 ©The Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 9: Pig figurine, British Museum, London. Mus. number: 1859,1226.29

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1859-1226-29 ©The Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 10: Plathainis' dedication on a pig figurine, British Museum, London. Mus. number: 1859,1226.28

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1859-1226-28 ©The Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 11: Antigone's curse inscription, British Museum, London. Mus. number: 1859,1226.489

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1859-1226-489 ©The Trustees of the British Museum