WREATHS AND GARLANDS.¹

By TALFOURD ELY, M.A., F.S.A.

"Isoctov λάχετε στεφάνων
ταν εαρίφερπτον λοξίμων.
Pindar, Frag 45.

It is not so very long since papers on this subject were read by other members of this Institute, but the subject is a wide one, and I propose to keep for the most part to an early period and to Greek and Roman usages, and thus avoid going over the same ground. For, as old Sir Thomas Browne puts it, "The use of flowery crowns and garlands is of no slender antiquity."²

The widespread ecclesiastical use of wreaths on the Continent in modern times is dealt with in Butter’s Die Pflanzenwelt als Schmuck des Heiligtumes; while for the popular usage we may refer to many passages (e.g., pp. 175 foll.) in Mannhardt’s Wald- und Feldkulte.³

The modern Englishman, alone perhaps among the nations of the earth, is prone to look with disfavour on the employment of wreaths for personal adornment. "She wore a wreath of roses," once a popular ditty, now sounds strange and antiquated, and savours of burlesque. The athlete, victorious on the path at Catford or Wood Green, would scarcely welcome the great hoop of laurel that I have seen flung round the neck of his brother cyclist in Berlin. Can this prejudice possibly be a lingering trace of ancestral Puritanism?

If, however, we shrink from actually ourselves wearing a garland, we are ready enough to lay such floral tribute at the feet of those we delight to honour among the heroes of the past. Thus within the last few months huge wreaths have been dedicated to Nelson’s memory.

A more personal, and hence a more touching offering

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, May 5th, 1897. ³ Cf. Frazer, The Golden Bough, I., pp. 79–81, 83, 84, 86, 90–96, 98.
² Treatise Of Garlands and Coronary Plants.
COINS WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF WREATHS AND CROWNS.

was the wreath which the shrewd old statesman from the Far East, bending before Gordon's statue, laid at the feet of "the Friend of China" and his own most trusty ally. Here, at any rate, there was nothing of the ridiculous—nothing out of keeping with the character of the dedicator.

Among ordinary people, too, a fashion has recently grown up of heaping wreaths upon the dead in somewhat wholesale style—so much so that indications are not wanting of an inclination to revert to simpler modes of testifying respect.

With us, then, the idea of the wreath is a funereal one. Not so in the Ancient World, where a garland of olive affixed to a door betokened the birth of a boy, and where the lover hung chaplets of flowers at the portal of his mistress. Among the ancients the dead were indeed crowned, but crowned as if still partaking of the pleasures of this world. The chaplet was the sign of feasting and joy; the Graces, as Sappho sings, turn from those uncrowned.

Feasting and joy, be it remembered, were of old in no wise incompatible with religion, when wine and love, the theatre and the race-course, were all alike credited with the signal favour of heaven. Religion then, no doubt, interwoven as it was with the whole life of Classic times, must originally have prompted the use of the garland. Recent researches in folk-lore have demonstrated the universality in early ages of the belief in the supernatural potency of trees and plants. What more natural, then, than that feeble man should seek to carry about him some offshoot of so powerful a protecting force? Thus, when a lowering sky threatened a storm, Tiberius crowned himself with laurel, believing that its leaves were proof against the attacks of lightning.

Such shrub or flower, twined round the reveller's temples, might well supply the place of a bandage used to assuage the headache resulting from debauch; and as for the motive of the festal wreath, so dear to the lyric

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1 If the child was a girl the material was wool.
2 Lucretius, IV, 1178; Tibullus, I, ii, 14; Athenæus, XV, 670, D.
3 Cf. Pindar, Isthmia, VIII, 14, 15.
4 See Athenæus, XV, 674.
5 Suetonius, Tiberius, LXIX.
poets of Hellas, it would seem to have been an ideal form of the wet towel of our own prosaic age.

Nor was this all: certain plants, it was believed, actually exercised a prophylactic power, and protected those who wore them from the evil effects of wine. Such were the myrtle and the rose, whose virtues are set forth by the physician Philonides, as quoted by Athenæus.¹

We need not, however, suppose that such lovers of beauty as the Greeks required scientific exhortation to induce them to avail themselves of Nature’s fairest gifts.

“Violet-crowned” was the epithet the Greek poet loved to apply to the city of which he was so justly proud; and even at the present day the festive tables of Athens are literally covered with roses of the richest hue.

Et latet injecta splendida mensa rosa.²

The garland was then the natural ornament of the Greek. He wore it not on the head alone, but round the neck, as Alcæus, Sappho, and Anacreon tell us,³ partly no doubt as an ornament, but also for the sake of the perfume.⁴ Such a garland of myrtle and sweet-smelling flowers called ὑποθυμίς, or ὑποθυμιάς, was especially affected by Αἰολians and Ionians.⁵

With the Romans it was originally far otherwise.

The Corona, indeed, of which we are now treating, was a very different thing from the regal diadema, or Oriental head-band (the forerunner of the modern crown), adopted by Alexander from the barbarian potentates whom he displaced. Thus it was not the laurel wreath on Cæsar’s statue, but this white fillet attached to it, that roused the opposition of the tribunes⁶; and while the wreath habitually appears on the Imperial coinage, the diadem is first found on the coins of Constantine.

The crown, however, even in its simplest rustic phase, might well suggest tyranny to those who had but lately

¹ XV, 17.
² Ovid, Fasti, V, 335.
³ Quoted by Athenæus, XV, 16.
⁴ Athenæus in the above passage says: “Because the heart is there.”
⁵ Ibid., 22 ad fin. See also Plutarch, Quæst. Convic., Lib. III, 1, 2. Plutarch (Quæst. Convic., III, iii, 13) denies that ὑποθυμιάς refers to position near the heart, for which he says ἵπτυμιας would be required. I observe, however, that the Opuntian Locrians were called indiscriminately Ἐποκομιδιαῖοι and Ὑποκομιδιαῖοι. See Roberts, An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, p. 347.
⁶ Suetonius, Cæsar, 79.
rid themselves of Tarquin’s galling yoke; at any rate, public and ostentatious display of such headgear was sternly repressed at Rome.

By a law of the Twelve Tables, preserved in the pages of Pliny,\(^1\) one who had gained a corona by his own manliness, or through his slaves or horses, might be crowned therewith on occasion of his funeral. Such an exception, however, “proves the rule”; and we learn from the same author that a banker, one L. Fulvius, who had been indiscreet enough in the daytime to put his rose-crowned head out from his balcony overlooking the Forum, was forthwith haled off to prison by the Senate’s authority. This was during the Second Punic War, and the unlucky financier was not let out till its close.\(^2\)

A century or so later, indeed, the state of things had changed. Conquered Greece had led her conqueror captive in floral fashions as in many matters of greater import. Under the late Republic we find the dissolute Verres carried in a litter with one wreath on his head and another round his neck,\(^3\) Verres who, though no worse than many of his tribe, has had the misfortune to be exposed and pilloried by the most skilful of Roman advocates.

Under Augustus the free use of wreaths was common enough, to judge from Horace,\(^4\) Ovid,\(^5\) and Tibullus.\(^6\) So, too, under later Caesars we find frequent mention of them in the Epigrams of Martial.\(^7\) We must not forget, however, that these authorities are poets, and as such are not tied down to matter-of-fact exactness of description. Theydwelt in an atmosphere of Hellenic associations, and their language must not always be interpreted too literally —any more than our modern poetry with its make-believe shepherds and shepherdesses.\(^8\)

Though the earlier Romans had strict notions as to the limits of floral decoration as applied to private persons,

\(^1\) Nat. Hist., XXI, 5.
\(^2\) Ibid., c. 6.
\(^3\) Cicero, In Verrem, Actio II. Liber V, 11.
\(^4\) E.g., Od. I, 38, 2.
\(^5\) Amorum I, vi, 38.
\(^6\) I, 7, 52, “Et capite et collo mollia serta gerat.”
\(^7\) E.g., V, 64, 4; IX, 90, 6; and 93, 5.
\(^8\) See Garcke, p. 168 of Excursus on Horace, Odes I. De coronis convivialibus. On p. 206 he remarks:—“Nam e Romanis, nisi me fallit memoria, unus Horatius, se dicit apio coronari.” Od. I, 38, 15; II, 7, 23; IV, 11, 2: “In quibus exemplaria Graeca sua, in primis Alcaeus secutus videtur.”
they were in the habit of rewarding with wreaths or crowns those who had performed certain special services to their country; and wreaths were habitually employed, too, in the performance of religious functions. From time immemorial branches and flowers have played an important part in the ministrations of religion, and we may, I think, reasonably connect such observances with the widespread cult of the sacred tree.\textsuperscript{1}

As marks of military distinction, on the other hand, we find the following\textsuperscript{2}:

(1) *Corona obsidionalis*, or *graminea*, a wreath made of grass or flowers from the position of a beleaguered army, and given to its deliverer. From the nature of the case this was one of the rarest honours.\textsuperscript{3}

(2) *Corona civica*, of oak leaves, the reward for saving a fellow-citizen in battle. This oak wreath often figures in the Imperial coinage. (Plate I, Fig. 5.)

(3) *Corona navalis*, or *rostrata*, a gold crown decorated with ships’ beaks, given to such naval leaders as Agrippa. (Plate I, Fig. 2.)

(4) *Corona muralis*, also of gold, but decorated with battlements. It was gained by the soldier who first scaled the enemy’s walls. (Plate I, Fig. 2.)

(5) *Corona castrensis*, or *vallaris*. This was a gold crown ornamented with palisades, similarly presented to one who first forced his way into a hostile camp.

(6) *Corona triumphalis*, the laurel wreath, latterly made in gold, worn by a triumphing General, and eventually the badge of the Emperor.

(7) Not to be confounded with this, nor with the gold crowns presented by the provinces, was the *Corona Etrusca* with its *lemnisci* or ribbons, also of gold, held over the General’s head during his triumph. This represented leaves, and was sometimes jewelled.

\textsuperscript{1} Compare the words of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, XII, 2): “Nec magis auro fulgentia atque ebore simulacra, quam lucos, et in iis silentia ipsa adora-


\textsuperscript{3} Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXII, 4.
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(8) *Corona ovalis* (an “ovary” crown, to borrow Sir Thomas Browne’s quaint diction), of myrtle. This was given to those who were granted an ovation.

(9) *Corona oleagina*, of the olive, was granted to victorious soldiers as well as to their generals.

The origin of these military crowns, as the name of one of them shows, may be traced to the Etruscans, from whom Rome borrowed most of her ceremonial display. Etruria’s workmen excelled in the manipulation of metal, especially gold, as is proved by the harvest reaped from her tombs: which also exhibit, painted on their walls, chaplets of flowers, worn in abundance by priest and by reveller, by flute-player, dancer, and athlete. These painted tombs are, of course, comparatively late, and may present us with ideas more or less due to Hellenic influences derived from Magna Graecia, or from direct commercial intercourse with Greece proper. As far, however, as the religious and military use of crowns is concerned, we may feel pretty sure that we have to deal with customs indigenous in Italy itself. In Rome at least the rules as to the proof of claims to military decorations were laid down with an accuracy and a punctiliousness that found no exact parallel in Grecian states, though at Athens there were rules as to conferring them. As for the numerous festivals on the banks of the Tiber in which floral decorations formed a conspicuous feature we cannot fail to be struck with their native and distinctive character, in spite of later efforts to assimilate the religious systems of Greece and Rome.

In Greece the custom of crowning the victorious athlete with the olive or the laurel was preceded in the Heroic Age by gifts of more material value, as the mass of iron, the axe-heads, and the caldron which Achilles is represented as offering as rewards for victory at the Funeral Games in honour of Patroclus. It was not

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1 In the Etruscan Saloon at the British Museum (in Case 92) is an ivy wreath of gold.
2 In the earlier tombs the chaplets represented are of wool. See the revised edition of Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, I, p. 305.
3 Especially in the case of the *corona civica*. See A. Gellius, V, 6.
4 *Iliad*, XXIII.
till the second Pythiad, Pausanias tells us, that a simple wreath was proposed as the reward for victory.

Eurybiades and Themistocles, as protagonists in the great struggle against Xerxes, were awarded crowns of olive by the Lacedæmonians; in the following century crowns of gold were frequently bestowed on public men, so frequently as to detract considerably from their value as a testimony to merit. Thus the Delian Temple inventories mention more than a hundred crowns of gold.

Still, Demosthenes was able to assert that crowns were not like drinking cups, to be valued by their weight, but that a small crown was as great a distinction as a large.

Alexander, after the defeat of Darius, is said to have received crowns the total value of which reached the vast sum of 15,000 talents; but the Greeks even of a later age seem never to have descended to the meaner spirit of the grasping Roman generals, who wrung from conquered provinces the money tribute styled aurum coronarium, in lieu of actual crowns.

So much for crowns as the reward of public services.

It is far more interesting to turn to the bright revelry of the Attic symposia, alike described in the pages of Xenophon and Plato, and faithfully mirrored on many of those painted vases which have come down to us in such astonishing numbers.

In these vase-paintings the wreaths figure in various scenes, and are formed of various materials. In his recently published treatise Euthymides, a Study in Attic Vase-painting, Dr. Hoppin tells us that on Greek vases the laurel wreath is by far the most common of all, and is used by every master from the Epiktetan cycle downwards; and that the wreath of vine-leaves is not so common as the preceding one. Next in the order of the vase-painter’s preference seems to be the wreath of flowers.

I have found some interesting illustrations of the uses of wreaths in the magnificent work on White Athenian Vases by Mr. Murray and Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith, lately issued by the Trustees of the British Museum.

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1 Paus., XX, vii, 5. For a representation of the Pythian wreath on the coinage of the Delphians, see Bulletin de correspondance Hellenique for 1896, p. 48, and Pl. XXX.

2 Herod., VIII, 124.


4 Athenæus, XII, 539.

5 pp. 26, 27.
On a lekythos from Athens (Plate IV) the wreath is still being tied together; on another from Eretria (Plate XXIa) it hangs with a mirror above a seated maiden. A second lekythos found at Eretria (Plate XIII) shows us a tomb decorated with a wreath and a lyre. This, coupled with the fact that one of the mourners is touching a lyre, suggests that the wreath may possibly betoken the dead man's preeminence in music or in song.

A lekythos from Locri (Plate XXIIIb) has for its subject Victory holding a wreath above a flaming altar.

These lekythi, all of which were probably made in Athens, are to be seen in the Third Vase Room at the British Museum.

The wreaths themselves indeed, like their wearers, have for the most part long since crumbled into dust; and as far as those of Greece and Italy are concerned, we can only look on their representations in marble, or on coins and vases, or in the paintings exhumed at Pompeii.

From the Fayoum, however, that indefatigable explorer, Professor Flinders Petrie, has recently recovered the remains of actual garlands, which the dry soil of Egypt has preserved to this day. Not only are the various materials easily distinguishable, but in some cases the colour remains. In the funeral wreaths found in the cemetery of Hawara the roses had evidently been picked in an unopened condition, so as to prevent the petals from falling.\(^2\)

The myrtle, so important a factor in the weaving of garlands, is found with the leaves still adhering to the stem, and—what is more wonderful—retaining that sweet odour for which, according to Theophrastus and to Pliny,\(^3\) the myrtle of Egypt was esteemed above all others.\(^4\) These wreaths are of Greek workmanship. For those of Egyptian manufacture reference should be made to a valuable paper by Mr. Newberry in the *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 429-431.\(^5\)

The manufacture of garlands must have given employ-

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1 In Case D, Nos. 53, 26, 56, and 24.
Cf. Nos. 78 and 25 (where a libation is poured), also in Case D.

2 See Mr. Newberry's article in Petrie's *Hawara*, p. 47.

3 Theophr., *Historia Plantarum*, VI, 8, 5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 37. So also Athenæus, XV, 676.

4 Some of these wreaths are now placed in the "Students' Room" at the British Museum.

5 The Egyptian garland was copied as an ornament for both pottery and architecture. See Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art*, pp. 82, 83.
ment to many; as to Glycera of Sikyon, whom Pausias loved, and who formed the subject of his picture called "Stephaneplokos," the chaplet-weaver. It was a Stephanopolis, or seller of garlands too, who aided Peisistratos in his return from exile to sovereignty, and whose beauty, emulating that attributed to Athena, secured her a distinguished place in the catalogue of fair women set forth in Athenæus.

These floral artists were not, however, always objects of such idyllic interest, for Aristophanes introduces a worthy widow as supporting her five small children by making garlands; and Parmenio captured forty-six male wreath-makers among the motley retinue of the last Darius.

How the work was done may be seen in several of those Pompeian pictures which bring before our eyes so vividly the processes of manufacture in classic times. The simplest form of wreath was composed of sprays of myrtle or ivy, twisted together; sometimes flowers were thus employed.

Si quis erat, factis prati de flore coronis, Qui posset violas addere dives erat.

The soldiers of Cheirisophos, however, wintering in Armenia, contented themselves with wreaths of hay.

The materials were often more carefully united by means of philyra, the inner bark of the lime-tree. Thus Horace, posing as a man of simple tastes, cries "Displicent nexæ philyra corone." A more elaborate, but, one would think, less graceful, form was the corona sutilis, in which separate rose leaves were stitched down like scales on a band. Hence Martial’s verses:

Frontem sutilibus ruber coronis (IX, 91, 6)

and

Lassenturque rasis tempora sutilibus (V, 64, 4).

Special attention was paid to the growing of flowers

1 Pliny, Nat. Hist., XXI, 3, and XXXV, 125.
3 Thesmophoriazuse, 448.
4 Athenæus, XIII, 608.
5 For an example of the wreath of palm see Jahrbuch, 1896, p. 8.
6 Ovid, Fasti, I, 345–6.
7 Xenophon, Anabasis, IV, v, 33.
8 This word philyra is used also to denote thin strips of papyrus. See Thompson’s Handbook of Greek and Latin Paleography, p. 33, note 5.
9 Odes, I, 38, 2.
10 See Garcke’s Excursus, De Coronis convivialibus, p. 168.
suited for weaving into chaplets; and Theophrastus makes the astonishing assertion that garlic and onions were planted beside them to improve their perfume!

When gold came into fashion as a material for crowns it was frequently modelled in the form of leaves. Thus in the famous procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus the images of Alexander and Ptolemy wore golden ivy-wreaths, and other personages were represented with olive-wreaths of gold. Accustomed as we are to the pasteboard and tinsel of modern pageants, we cannot but be surprised at the lavish provision of actual gold on that occasion, not only for the numerous crowns, one of which, adorned with costly gems, is said to have been 40 yards in circumference, but also for other objects, including a thyrsos 90 cubits long.

At Rome, too, there was great extravagance in such matters. Thus the Emperor Domitian appeared in public wearing a golden crown with images of Jupiter, Juno, and his favourite Minerva; while the priests in attendance, besides this august assembly, wore the image of the autocrat himself, also in gold. Yet in intrinsic value this display probably fell short of the thirty-three chaplets of pearls exhibited in Pompey’s triumph.

To sum up, then, we find the materials used for wreaths were originally, besides wool, natural leaves and flowers, materials occasionally imitated in horn and in silk. After a time gold was preferred in the case of public rewards. Silver, too, according to Pliny, was occasionally employed.

The primary purpose of wreaths was in all probability religious; but their origin is lost in antiquity. “Rem coronarum generi mortali tantum non coætaneam” are the words of Pasquale.

In Egypt actual garlands are found in connexion with mummies of the Twentieth Dynasty, and their use is said to be implied in ritual of a far earlier date. They form a conspicuous feature in the delightful wall-paintings from Thebes of the Eighteenth Dynasty, to be found in the Northern Egyptian Gallery at the British Museum.

1 Plutarch, Quest. Conviv., III, 1, 3.  5 Suetonius, Domitianus, 4.
2 De Causis Plantarum, VI, 19, 1.  6 Pliny, Nat. Hist., XXXVII, 6.
3 Athenæus, V, 201, 202.  7 Ib., XXI, 4.
4 “Quod nunc quidem prope incredibile est,” says old Paschalius.
5 As to the importance of wreaths in worship, see Attilio de Marchi, Il Culto privato di Roma antica, p. 140.
In the older "Homeric" poems, on the other hand—excluding the "Hymns"—we may look in vain for the wreath; but from Sappho downwards it is ever present; and at religious functions even inanimate objects, as altars, were crowned with flowers.¹

Deification of ancestors may have given rise to the constant practice of crowning the dead and decking the tomb with garlands.² Thus, Augustus scattered flowers on Alexander’s body, and placed on his head a crown of gold.³ "The urn of Philopœmen," as Sir Thomas Browne reminds us,⁴ "was so laden with flowers and ribbons, that it afforded no sight of itself." A wreath in gold, Plutarch tells us,⁵ was placed by Hannibal on the silver urn containing the ashes of Marcellus. The portrait bust of Artemidorus⁶ (about A.D. 400) wears a wreath of gold; and at Tyndaris, in Sicily, several skulls have been found still crowned with thin gold leaf.

It was, however, as a sign of festive joy that the wreath played its most attractive part. It was a lover’s gift; it was the symbol of marriage; it was the token of the birth of an heir; it entwined the reveller’s heated brow. The wreath, too, was the outward sign of the bearer of good news. When the Spartans and their allies pulled down the walls of Athens that had so long defied them, they crowned themselves with flowers as the liberators of Greece.

The richly-clad chorus of the Attic drama appeared in crowns, sometimes of gold⁷; while the archon himself wore a chaplet as the badge of office. In historic times the victor in the great games of Greece received a simple wreath. The people of Scione crowned with gold their great deliverer Brasidas⁸; and throughout Rome’s long career of conquest the corona was the coveted reward of bravery in war. Strangely enough, on the other hand, a chaplet was placed on the wretched captive’s head when exposed for sale.⁹

¹ So, too, among the Romans, e.g., Varro, De lingua Latina, VI, 22, says, "in fontes coronas jaciunt et puteos coronant"; and Cato, De Agrì cultura, 143, "coronam in focum indat."
³ Suetonius, Octavianus, 18.
⁴URN-Burial, ch. III.
⁵ Marcellus, 30.
⁶ In the British Museum, Second Egyptian Room, wall-case 5.
⁷ Demosthenes, Meidias, 520.
⁸ Thucydidès, IV, 121.
⁹ See Paschalius, Corona, VII, 7, ad fin. In the Plutus of Aristophanes (v.
Even Christians, with all their fanatical bitterness against the bright pageantry of their pagan neighbours, still were fain to adopt the crown as the symbol of victorious martyrdom. Thus Prudentius, in his *Psychomachia* (vv. 38, 39), represents Faith as crowning martyrs:

"Tunc fortes socios parta pro laude coronat
Floribus, ardentique jubet vestirier ostro."

The ancients wrote quite a library of treatises on the subject of wreaths. The greater part of these works have perished, but we still have the dissertations of Theophrastus and of Plutarch, of the elder Pliny, of Athenæus, and of A. Gellius, which learned disquisitions have been duly set forth by Pasquale, a somewhat discursive writer of the seventeenth century, while the pith of them may be found in two excellent articles under the heading *Corona*—one in Daremberg and Saglio's great work; the other in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*. If, however, we have lost the systematic works of Callimachus and Mnesitheus, of Apollodorus, of Aëlius Asklepiades, and of Claudius Saturninus, we still possess a valuable mine of information in the inscriptions which—chiefly in our own times—have been gathered from all quarters, and especially in those minute specifications which record the offerings dedicated in the sanctuaries of Athens and of Delos. Here we are at close quarters with the Greeks themselves, the very Greeks who wore the wreaths and sang the praises of rose and myrtle, from the days of Alcæus and Sappho to the latest carols of the gay and graceful triflers who long usurped Anacreon's name. Such faint fragmentary echoes, such fleeting glimpses of bright revelry are all that is left to us—

"Faded every violet, all the roses"—

the garlands and their wearers have perished, and their music is only painfully dug up now and then as a fossil. 

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21) a slave claims immunity from blows on the ground that he wears a wreath. This is probably an allusion to the religious significance of wreaths. 

1 As to Claudius Saturninus see Tertullian, *De Corona*, VII. 

2 See, for example, No. 367 in Dittenberger's *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Occasionally even the crowns themselves are represented in carving on the monuments. 

3 In a collection of fifty-four of these *Anacreontea* I find more than a dozen referring to garlands. 

4 Tennyson, in Jebb's *Greek Literature*, p. 60. 

5 Excellent examples of the use of the wreath will be found in the collection of Cyprian sculpture at the British Museum, both in the Archaic and the Hellenistic divisions.