

**STUDIES IN THE REPRESENTATION
OF DWARFS
IN HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN ART**

by

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (1996)
(Classics)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Studies in the Representation of Dwarfs in Hellenistic and Roman Art

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NUMBER OF PAGES: xxv, 400

DWARFS IN HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN ART

ABSTRACT

As individuals who fell outside the prevailing norms of society, dwarfs were often regarded as prodigies in antiquity: living amulets as well as instruments of private and public entertainment.

The roles assumed by dwarfs in Hellenistic and Roman society are explored through evaluation of literary and archaeological evidence. Most literary citations point to dwarfs as entertainers for wealthy households and their guests and also for public audiences. A catalogue of bronze and terracotta figures represents musicians, dancers, combatants and athletes.

An INTRODUCTION and CHAPTER ONE explain the aims of the thesis; describe limitations posed by the nature of surviving material; and review the modern literature. CHAPTER TWO summarises ancient literary testimony (Greek and Latin terms, and functions and perceptions of dwarfs) as well as relevant archaeological material not included in the catalogue. CHAPTERS THREE, FOUR and FIVE focus on iconography, i.e. details of costumes and associated objects. Further considerations include clinical features of dwarfism (CHAPTER SIX); function and significance (CHAPTER SEVEN); and provenience and dating (CHAPTER EIGHT). Following the CONCLUSION, a CATALOGUE lists and describes 185 objects, each with museum and inventory number, bibliography, and proveniences.

The archaeological record, although lacking many monuments of secure provenience and date, indicates the widespread popularity of dwarf representations in Egypt, the Mediterranean and continental Europe. They share some similarities, in style, function and subject matter, with

those of classical Greece and pre-Ptolemaic Egypt, but at the same time, living dwarfs must survive in a climate of societal rejection which worsens in Hellenistic and Roman times.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A work of this length can only be regarded as a collaborative effort, and there are many who in various capacities helped toward its completion.

My first thanks must go to my supervisory committee: Katherine M.D. Dunbabin, William J. Slater, and Evan Haley. It was through Professor Dunbabin that I first developed an interest in Roman magic, and this led indirectly to my dissertation topic. She has brought to the task of supervising my research a clarity of thought and unerring precision in all matters, for which I am truly indebted. Professor Slater provided invaluable assistance as I negotiated my way through a complex body of ancient literary material, and he has fostered my continuing interest in ancient social history.

Funding for my studies and research travel is gratefully acknowledged: the Quebec government (FCAR), Edith Wightman Travel Scholarship (1990), Graduate Students Association Travel Assistance Fund (1991), the School of Graduate Studies for special generosity (1992, 1993) and the McMaster-Tübingen Exchange which allowed me to pursue a year of study in Tübingen, Germany (1992-93).

The curators and other staff at many museums and institutes have extended me much time and cooperation over the last few years. These include: D. Wildung (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum); G. Zimmer, Frau Kriseleit, Frau Kästner (Berlin, Antikensammlung); F. Wolsky (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts); A. Brauer (Cambridge, Mass., Arthur M. Sackler Museum); K. Knoll (Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden); P.C. Bol (Frankfurt am Main, Liebieghaus-Museum Alter Plastik); C. Ewigleben (Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg); B. Schmitz, D. Winzer

(Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum); M. Maaß (Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum); P. Gurcke (Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel); Veronica Tatton-Brown (London, British Museum); Petrie Museum, University College, London; C. Briend (Lyon, Musée des Beaux Arts); M-C Nicolas (Lyon, Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine); F.W. Hamdorf (Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek), Dott.ssa Listi (Naples, Museo Nazionale di Napoli); J. Detter (New York, Metropolitan Museum); M. Vickers, H. Whitehouse, J. Baines (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum); Bodleian Library, Oxford; M. Amandry, Mme. Aghilon (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale); C. Metzger, C. Huré, S. Descamps, S. Besques (Paris, Musée du Louvre); P. Hornby (Paris, Musée du Petit Palais); A. Claridge, J. Leitch, M.P. Malvezzi, V. Scott (The British School at Rome); W. Gauer (Tübingen, Archäologisches Institut).

A number of scholars, friends, and colleagues have helped me at various times over the last few years with information, suggestions and other assistance. I should like to thank Ms. L. Aubry Menk and Mr. B. Menk, Ms. A. Cappel, Mrs. J. Creighton, Mr. and Mrs. N. Cucci, Dr. V. Dasen, Dr. and Mrs. C. Eilers, Dr. J. Keith Bennett, Dr. K. Lomas, Mr. D. Meadows, Ms. C. Muncaster, Dr. K. Neiiendam, Ms. G. Nicholson, Ms. I. Potocka O'Rourke and Dr. J. O'Rourke, Mr. J. Tamm, Mr. J. Walker, Mrs. Z. Welch, Dr. R.J.A. Wilson, Dr. S. Woodford, and E.P. Zoitopoulou.

My final thanks are reserved for my family and their steady support of my endeavours.

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178. Tintinnabulum, bronze. Naples, Museo Nazionale, Raccolta pornografica. Photos MG.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Adriani, 1963 = A. Adriani, "Microasiatici o Alessandrini i grotteschi di Mahdià?" RM 70 (1963), 80-92
- Bayer, Terrakotten = E. Bayer, Griechisch-Römische Terrakotten. Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main (Melsungen, 1988)
- Besques, Terres cuites = S. Besques, Musée National du Louvre: catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre cuite grecs, étrusques et romains (Paris, 1954-1992), 4 volumes
- BIAL = Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique liégeois
- Bib. Nat. = E. Babelon and J-A. Blanchet, Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1895)
- Binsfeld, Grylloi = W. Binsfeld, Grylloi. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Karikatur (Diss., Köln, 1956)
- Breccia, Monuments = E. Breccia, Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine [I = Vol.1 (Bergamo, 1926); II.1 = Vol.2 (Bergamo, 1930); II.2 = Vol.2.2 (Bergamo, 1934)]
- Boston Bronzes = M. Comstock and C. Vermeule, Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston, 1971)
- Bronzes Fouquet = P. Perdrizet, Bronzes grecs d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet (Paris, 1911)
- Cèbe, Caricature et parodie = J-P. Cèbe, La caricature et la parodie dans le monde romain antique (Paris, 1966)
- CMGR I = La Mosaïque Gréco-romaine. Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris 1963 (Paris, 1965)
- Dasen, 1993 = Véronique Dasen, Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece (Oxford, 1993)
- De Ridder, Bronzes = A.H.P. De Ridder, Les bronzes antiques. Louvre, Département des antiquités grecques et romaines (Paris, 1913)
- Dunand, Terres cuites isiaques = F. Dunand, Religion populaire en Égypte romaine: les terres cuites isiaques du Musée du Caire (Leiden, 1979)

- Froehner, Coll. Gréau = W. Froehner, Collection Julien Gréau. Catalogue des bronzes antiques (Paris, 1885)
- Fuchs, Schiffsfund = W. Fuchs, Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia (Tübingen, 1963)
- Götter, Gräber & Grottesken = C. Ewigleben, J. von Grumbkow (eds.), Götter, Gräber & Grottesken. Tonfiguren aus dem Alltagsleben im römischen Ägypten (Hamburg, 1991)
- Grandjouan = C. Grandjouan, The Athenian Agora, vol. 6, Terracottas and Plastic Lamps of the Roman Period (Princeton, 1961)
- Hill, Walters Bronzes = D.K. Hill, Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, 1949)
- Himmelmann, Realismus = N. Himmelmann, Alexandria und der Realismus in der griechischen Kunst (Tübingen, 1983)
- Ippel, Galjüb = A. Ippel, Der Bronzefund von Galjüb, Modelle eines hellenistischen Goldschmieds (Berlin, 1922)
- Kaufmann, ÄGT = C.M. Kaufmann, Ägyptische Terrakotten der griechisch-römischen und koptischen Epoche vorzugsweise aus der Oase el Faijûm (Cairo, 1913)
- Kaufmann, GK = C.M. Kaufmann, Graeco-ägyptische Koroplastik. Terrakotten der griechisch-römischen und koptischen Epoche aus der Faijûm und anderen Fundstätten (Leipzig/ Cairo, 1915)
- Lucerne = M. Conticello de Spagnolis and E. De Carolis, Le Lucerne di bronzo di Ercolano e Pompei (Rome, 1988)
- Lyon I = S. Boucher, Bronzes grecs, hellénistiques et étrusques des musées de Lyon (Lyon, 1970)
- Lyon III = S. Boucher and S. Tassinari, Bronzes antiques. Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine à Lyon (Lyon, 1976)
- Petit, Collection Dutuit = J. Petit, Bronzes antiques de la collection Dutuit, Palais des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Paris, Musée du Petit Palais (Paris, 1980)
- Pfisterer-Haas = S. Pfisterer-Haas, "Die bronzenen Zwergentänzer," in G. Hellenkemper Salies et al., Das Wrack: Der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia (Cologne, 1994), 483-504.
- Philipp, Terrakotten = H. Philipp, Terrakotten aus Ägypten (Berlin, 1972)
- Reeder, Hellenistic Art = E. Reeder, Hellenistic Art. Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, 1988)

Reinach, Rep. Stat. = S. Reinach, Repertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine (Paris, 1897-1930), 6 volumes

Smith et al. = W. Smith, W. Wayte and G.E. Marindin, eds., A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 3rd ed. (London, 1891)

Stevenson, Pathological grotesques = W.E. Stevenson III, The Pathological Grotesque Representation in Greek and Roman Art (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1975)

Terres cuites Fouquet = P. Perdrizet, Les Terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet (Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg, 1921)

Uhlenbrock, Coroplast = J.P. Uhlenbrock, The Coroplast's Art (New York, 1990)

Vanhove = D. Vanhove, ed., Le sport dans la Grèce antique (Brussels, 1992)

Weber, ÄGT = W. Weber, Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten. Königl. Museum Berlin, Mitteil. ägypt. Slg. (Berlin, 1914)

Winter, AT = R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, ed., Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten (Berlin, 1903), Vol. 3, pt. 2, Die antiken Terrakotten, by F. Winter.

Wrede, 1988 = H. Wrede, "Die tanzenden Musikanten von Mahdia und der alexandrinische Götter- und Herrscherkult," RM 95 (1988), 97-114.

All other abbreviations are found in "Editorial Policy, Notes for Contributors, and Abbreviations," AJA 95 (1991), 1-16.

INTRODUCTION

The Hellenistic period is associated with the de-emphasis of the city-state in favour of the οἰκουμένη, and its mixing of different races, nationalities and classes. The social diversification is paralleled in the art: Hellenistic sculpture is characterized by a broader range of styles and subject matter than Classical, including experimentation with realism. By "realism" I refer not so much to naturalism, i.e. the physical verisimilitude of a figural sculpture to real life, but rather to a heightened artistic interest in the ordinariness and physical deficiencies of anonymous types of the middle and lower classes, over the lofty idealisation and physical perfection of images of gods, goddesses, and heroes.¹

In its most exaggerated form, this anti-idealism is reflected in a fascination with the monstrous and deformed, and with correspondingly vivid artistic renderings of the ugly, diseased, misshapen and crippled. Among them, those which will serve as the focus of this study are dwarfs, specifically representations of Hellenistic and Roman date.

In these periods, dwarfs in art are characterized by a marked diversity in physiognomy and iconography. They are depicted as dancers, riders, gladiators, boxers, religious attendants, musicians, stage performers, etc. They are represented in bronze, terracotta, lead, paintings, mosaics, on vases and lamps, as vases and lamps, and as weights, hanging charms, knife handles, garden ornaments, etc.

¹ Important studies in recent years include those of H.P. Laubscher, Fischer und Landleute: Studien zur hellenistischen Genreplastik (Mainz, 1982); E. Bayer, Fischerbilder in der hellenistischen Plastik (Bonn, 1983); Himmelmann, Realismus.

All these objects, along with literary texts and rare inscriptions, constitute our primary sources. Many secondary sources combine archaeological material and cultural commentary and are concerned with larger questions which may be relevant not only to dwarfs.

Wace² provides an early analysis of the significance of "grotesque" figurines, among which he specifically includes dwarfs. He sees a dominant apotropaic element, arguing that the figures are designed to ward off the Evil Eye. Protection against malevolent forces is also central to Doro Levi's elucidation of two Antioch mosaics which feature dwarfs helping to combat the Evil Eye.³ Richter⁴ prefers to relate grotesques mostly to presentations of mime. Hetty Goldman pursues this line of analysis when she discusses mime iconography, with terracottas from Tarsus as a point of departure.⁵

William Stevenson's unpublished thesis deals with the rendering of clinical pathologies on dwarf and other figurines.⁶ He provides the only available corpus of Greco-Roman dwarf figurines, which I have augmented with unpublished material and some representations which are less clinically true than those to which Stevenson confined himself. He is also valuable because he addresses several areas of interest to me, including the iconography of dwarf dancers, the pervasive fear of the Evil Eye in antiquity, and problems of dating and provenience.

Some modern research focuses directly on special groups, of which the most striking is formed by the three bronze dancers recovered from the Cape Mahdia shipwreck. Alfred Merlin begins

² A.J.B. Wace, "Grotesques and the Evil Eye," BSA 9 (1902/3), 211-242.

³ Cit. Ch. Two, p. 53.

⁴ G.M.A. Richter, "Grotesques and the Mime," AJA 17 (1913), 149-156.

⁵ H. Goldman, "Two Terracotta Figurines from Tarsus," AJA 47 (1943), 23-34.

⁶ Stevenson, Pathological grotesques.

a long stream of published commentary on these dwarfs,⁷ culminating in Das Wrack,⁸ the companion volume to the travelling exhibit of Mahdia artefacts in 1994. The iconography of the dancers, particularly their costumes and musical instruments, has inspired useful debate by Fuchs, Strocka, Wrede, and Pfisterer-Haas.⁹

Achille Adriani's study assembles dancing figurines, including the Mahdia dwarfs, a group from Galjüb, and others scattered in different museums, to argue for Alexandria as the source of the dancing dwarf motif in small statuary.¹⁰ He thus makes an important contribution to the debate surrounding the roles played by Egypt (especially Alexandria) and western Asia Minor (especially Smyrna) in the origin and diffusion of various Hellenistic artistic motifs, including classes of dwarfs treated in this dissertation.¹¹ The issue had already been raised before the turn of this century, but we may look profitably to more recent works, for example those of Boucher,¹² Wrede,¹³ Laubscher, Bayer, and Himmelmann.¹⁴

Véronique Dasen is the author of the most recent published material on Classical and

⁷ A. Merlin, "Statuettes de bronze trouvées en mer près de Mahdia (Tunisie)," Mon Piot 18 (1910), 9-17.

⁸ G. Hellenkemper Salies et al., Das Wrack. Der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia (Cologne, 1994).

⁹ Fuchs, Schiffsfund; V.M. Strocka, "Ein Mimaulos aus Mahdia?" RM 77 (1970), 171-173; Wrede, 1988; Pfisterer-Haas.

¹⁰ Adriani, 1963.

¹¹ Id., "Appunti su alcuni aspetti del grottesco alessandrino," Gli archeologi italiani in onore di Amedeo Maiuri, a cura del Centro Studi Ciociaria (n.p., 1965), 37-62; id., Lezioni sull'arte alessandrina (Naples, 1972).

¹² S. Boucher, "A propos d'un grotesque 'alexandrin'," MEFR 79 (1967), 221-230; ead., "Problèmes de l'influence alexandrine sur les bronzes d'époque romaine," Latomus 32 (1973), 799-811.

¹³ Wrede, 1988.

¹⁴ Laubscher, Bayer, and Himmelmann: cit. n. 1.

Egyptian dwarfs. Her Oxford thesis, Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece (OUP, 1993), is invaluable for its well-organized treatment of dwarfs in pre-Ptolemaic Egypt, and its attempts to define their real-life status in society and relation to dwarf deities. Her analysis of dwarfs in classical Greek art and society, both their appearances and roles, confirms the strong influence on Hellenistic and Roman representations which is shared by the Greek and the Egyptian.

Dasen also discusses clinical dwarfism, which she defines as "a condition characterized by a significantly short stature, over three standard deviations below the mean height of a population of the same age and sex."¹⁵ The two conditions most recognisable in ancient monuments are achondroplasia and hypochondroplasia. Achondroplasia is distinguished by a disproportionately large head; large cranial vault, which produces a prominent bulging forehead; widely spaced eyes; depressed nasal bridge; protruding jawbone; and small, flat features. A snub nose, either buttonlike or broad, is common. The body displays genu varum, i.e. bowleggedness; stiff shortened arms which do not extend past the top of the thigh; truncated chunky legs, often with folds of skin about the thighs; and a trunk of normal length. The characteristic curvature of the lower spine, called lordosis, produces a prominence to the buttocks and belly which looks to the untrained eye like steatopygia and obesity. Other spinal curvature such as scoliosis and kyphosis can be present and produce a hunched back. Hypochondroplasia, as common in real life as achondroplasia,¹⁶ is milder. It affects the head little or not at all. The body proportions are about the same as for an achondroplastic, but the genu varum occurs less frequently, the lordosis is slighter, and further spinal curvature is insignificant.¹⁷

Dasen's volume reflects an interest displayed currently by various branches of academia

¹⁵ Dasen, 1993, 7.

¹⁶ Dasen, 1993, 8-9.

¹⁷ For more on the clinical pathologies of dwarfism, see Dasen, 1993, ch. 1.

in social oppression and marginalisation of the "other". Apart from her study, to the usefulness of which many references in this dissertation stand as testimony, I also take note of Robert Garland's The Eye of the Beholder. Deformity and Disability in the Greco-Roman World (Ithaca, 1995). I found practical utility in his over-all synthesis of the subject, in several illustrations and in the up-to-date bibliography. He discusses dwarfs as only one among many disadvantaged groups, and draws a persuasive distinction between those questions which are and those which are not answerable by the modern scholar in the realm of "subjugated history", a term he borrows from Michel Foucault and defines on p. x as a history "of those who are typically ignored in conventional historical accounts."

That dwarfs form part of the "subjugated history" of Egypt and Classical Greece is demonstrated in Chapter One of this thesis. Both cultures are important for their joint influence on the Hellenistic and, by extension, Roman representations of dwarfs. The topic is broad, and in the next chapter I also describe in more detail how I circumscribe it, which criteria of exclusion and inclusion I employ, and special problems which it entails.

Although this dissertation is based on the study of representations of dwarfs, it also recognises the cultural processes which favour the demand for such figures. I thus explore in Chapter Two the roles assumed by dwarfs in society as suggested primarily by Greek and Latin literary sources and by several monuments which portray dwarfs in mostly real-life contexts. Occurrences of the Greek and Latin words for "dwarf" and "pygmy", especially in Aristotle, provide biological insight. Some cultural insight is gained from the reports of historians and allusions by poets, who testify to dwarfs performing as entertainers at private functions and in the arena.

The iconography of musical dwarfs and combatants are discussed respectively in Chapters Three and Four. I review categories of costume, musical instrument and weaponry (caestūs in the case

of boxers), and demonstrate the varying ranges of costume associated with given activities. Chapter Five treats the classification and iconography of dwarf tintinnabula.

Chapter Six deals with anatomical features of the figures in the catalogue, and the extent to which clinically faithful depictions of dwarfs differ from those which are not. The final section is devoted to describing the unusual forms which the dwarfs' phalli frequently assume; the significance of these is reserved for discussion in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Seven is devoted to analysing the external modifications of some dwarf-shaped objects to serve a practical function, and the cultural or religious significance of others.

Provenience and dating, two of the most intractable problems of artefact analysis, are explored in Chapter Eight.

A Catalogue which accompanies the text comprises 185 figurines, primarily terracottas and bronzes. These form the bulk of the archaeological material on which the thesis rests. They are engaged in one of two major spheres of activity: musical, which encompasses dancing and the playing of tonal or percussive instruments, and combatant, which includes armed attackers, soldiers, boxers, athletes, and other miscellaneous fighters. To these I add the separate class of objects called tintinnabula, which appear to serve as potent charms against the Evil Eye.

CHAPTER ONE

Human dwarfism is clearly as old as humankind, but since it finds wide artistic expression in the precursors to Hellenistic art, namely Egyptian and Greek art, we turn first to these.

The Egyptian monuments date back almost two thousand years before the Ptolemies, and include carvings and inscriptions on stelai and tombs; drawings and inscriptions on papyri; figures in faience, ebony, ivory, bronze, terracotta, stone and wood; and figured bowls. Real dwarfs seem to have enjoyed acceptance in Egyptian society, but since most surviving images were made for the elite, the dwarfs appear in a wide range of subservient roles. Some, however, could achieve high rank; Dasen knows of at least three who owned tombs.¹ Dwarfs served as attendants, looked after personal effects such as clothing and jewellery, and were considered propitious for the care of young children. They performed various duties at sanctuaries, and frequently acted as ritual dancers in religious contexts. The earliest evidence for dwarf dancers may be a letter written by King Pepy II (ca. 2246-2152 BC) referring to the "dng of the god's dances", where dng refers either to a pygmy or a dwarf.²

Their importance in religious ritual cannot be over-emphasized. It is paralleled by the prominent roles played by dwarfs on a mythic level. From the Middle Kingdom onward, magical and religious texts contain many references to dwarf gods, especially Bes and Ptah. They are benign spirits protective of person and property, and are associated with childbirth, regeneration, fertility, and

¹ Dasen, 1993, 157.

² Warren Dawson, "Pygmies and Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt," *JEA* 24 (1938), 185-189, claims that the hieroglyphic dng indicates a pygmy; had the pharaoh been referring to a dwarf, he would have written nmj (nmw in Middle Kingdom). Dasen, 1993, 32-33, cannot support a clear differentiation between the three Egyptian terms for very short people (the third term is hw).

the beneficial powers of the sun. Amulets shaped like achondroplastic dwarfs testify to the belief in the magical power of dwarfs.³

Among the Greeks, dwarf figurines, nearly all of which are Archaic terracottas, are found throughout the Mediterranean. They are kourotrophic in function and influenced by the Egyptian gods Bes and Ptah.⁴

Images of Greek human dwarfs appear in scenes painted on some black-figure but more often on red-figure pottery. Most examples come from Athenian workshops active in the second half of the fifth century BC or are fourth century wares predominantly from Apulia. The majority of the dwarfs are male, with snub noses, beards and oversize balding heads; the torsos are long in proportion to the shrunken limbs. These physical conventions suggest both clinical achondroplasia and "the affinities of dwarfs with the world of Dionysos" - especially satyrs.⁵ They are shown as servants, entertainers, religious celebrants in the komos and in Dionysian rites, and as participants in Athenian life in the street and at the palaestra. There is scant recognition of dwarfs in literary texts, nothing in the medical writings of Hippocrates or Galen, no inscriptions, no mention of their legal status, and only rare occurrences in mythology: perhaps the Cercopes and early conceptions of Hephaestus,⁶ aside from the legends surrounding the Pygmies. Dasen concedes that fundamental questions of the dwarfs' status in Classical Athenian society remain unanswered, but she finds the attitude towards them on

³ E.g., Dawson, *cit.* n. 2, 187 n 2: nos. 12, 16, 20, 22, 23; O. Muscarella, ed., Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection (Mainz, 1973), no. 236; Dasen, 1993, pl. 12, 13.

⁴ Dasen, 1993, 201-204.

⁵ Dasen, 1993, 173.

⁶ K. Aterman, "Why Did Hephaestus Limp?" American Journal of Diseases of Children 109 (1965), 381-92, argues that Hephaestus is originally a non-Greek deity, derived from the dwarf gods of the Egyptians, particularly Bes and Ptah.

the whole respectful, as far as the evidence permits.⁷ That is to say, she finds positive reinforcement in the fact that they are depicted altogether, since the Greeks generally shunned graphic representations of the monstrous, misshapen and mutilated.

In the Hellenistic period, the iconography of dwarfs borrows from both the Greek and the Egyptian. Many representations are evocative of the Egyptian world, as seen in certain details of costume and such incidentals as the lotus. Physiological features sometimes reflect the Greek assimilation of dwarfs into the world of Dionysus. Some objects serve a purely practical function, while others satisfy at a more psychological level - as apotropaia, as expressions of religious devotion, or as parodies of serious figures.

Some of these functions can probably be traced back to Egyptian and Greek society, where real life dwarfs seem to have displayed certain perceived talismanic and religious properties, fulfilment of subservient roles, and entertainment value. These continue in Hellenistic and Roman times; for the latter, there is also strong literary corroboration. Dwarfs fall victim, however, to a shift in social attitudes which will replace the climate of relative acceptance, apparently enjoyed under the Egyptians and Greeks for one of rejection, to be perpetuated over many centuries.

Musical and combatant dwarfs are the major iconographical focus of this thesis, but it remains in this chapter to define some further necessary demarcations. These include: (1) the physical parameters of "dwarfs"; (2) the exclusion of certain classes of figures (Pygmies, Bes, gladiators); and (3) technical restrictions.

⁷ Dasen, 1993, 245.

(1) Physical parameters of "dwarfs".

A. Clinical dwarfs. The medical conditions which produce dwarfism fall into two main categories: proportionate short stature is characterized by a uniform reduction in size of the entire body, while disproportionate short stature affects some parts but not others. I do not consider proportionate short stature because in the absence of an external scale of comparison, it is impossible to determine whether the height of a single figurine would be appropriate relative to the norm. To complicate matters further, ancient artistic convention often depicted those of servile rank smaller than their social superiors. I concentrate thus on disproportionate dwarfism, of which the most obvious forms are achondroplasia and hypochondroplasia, described in detail in my introduction.

B. Caricatures and Grotesques. I deal as well with stunted figures which ought to be viewed as artistic fabrications, since they do not represent faithfully an external clinical reality. Sometimes they are called "miniatures".⁸ They are squat and disproportionate with oversized heads. These figures come within the scope of my enquiries because I believe that the same spirit that informs many of the dwarf figurines also applies to these. There is a fine line between a miniature and a crudely rendered true dwarf.

Since miniatures intentionally venture beyond what is considered normal or possible in real life, they may be included within a large class of objects often labelled "caricatures" or "grotesques".

Neither term is used consistently by art historians; they are often used interchangeably because of their shared connection to exaggeration and distortion. In the case of the caricature, the distortion is inspired by humour. G. Becatti describes it as an intentional forzatura - "per un effetto comico con intento satirico o allegorico o simbolico o puramente estetico," and elaborates further, "La

⁸ E.g. Private communication from Simone Besques, on "Macedonian" soldier statuettes.

caricatura è una umoristica e forzata deviazione dal canone umano, dal tipo ideale."⁹ Similarly, Cèbe writes, "Représentation déformée du réel, la caricature se nourrit des défauts, physiques, intellectuels, ou moraux, de ceux qu'elle prend pour cible."¹⁰ Underlying the caricature is humorous intent, which he assigns to three categories: bitterness and sarcasm (the most mean-spirited); amusement through mischievous irony (decidedly milder); and entertainment merely by showing outrageous disfigurement, without victimisation.¹¹ Within Cèbe's third category, I believe, lie the "miniatures" described above, who find favour because of the perversion of normal and pleasing proportions.

Stevenson writes at length on problems of terminology and tries to define, and distinguish between, caricature and grotesque. He observes, correctly, that "grotesque is unfortunately a catch-all term applied to anything potentially or actually peculiar, out of the ordinary, grossly exaggerated or obscene."¹² Caricatures, he explains, are humorous distortions beyond the range of factual physical possibility. He concludes that caricatures often possess grotesque qualities, but that not all grotesques are caricatures. He is thinking here of the pathological grotesque, which is grounded in reality, and which he defines as "any distorted or deformed figure in an artistic representation of a disease or pathological disorder."¹³

Probably all the figures in my own catalogue are "grotesque", in the widest sense of the word. Some are clearly clinical - Stevenson's pathological grotesques. Others are non-clinical: they are not pathological grotesques, and can appropriately be called caricatures, as Becatti or Cèbe define

⁹ EAA 2 (1959), s.v. "Caricatura" (G. Becatti), 342.

¹⁰ Cèbe, Caricature et parodie, 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹² Stevenson, Pathological grotesques, 23.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 28.

the term. Others yet betray a high degree of overlap: certain pathological dwarfs can also be caricatures if there is an intentional distortion of the real. I use the terms "pathological grotesque" and "caricature" as defined respectively by Stevenson and Becatti/Cèbe. In so doing, I recognise the element of humour as an essential part of "caricature" even as I admit to the subjective nature of humour and the necessity at times of following one's instincts on this matter.

(2) Exclusions.

A. Pygmies. The ancients conceived of Pygmies as a race of tiny people, more mythical than real, who lived on the periphery of the inhabited world. Some possible acquaintance on the part of the ancients with true Pygmies may have contributed to one perception that they lived somewhere in sub-Saharan Africa. As such, they are assimilated into Nilotic art, and are frequently shown hunting, boating, playing, etc. in an Egyptian setting. They were said to be aggressive and able fighters; their natural enemies were cranes. The literary sources provide an idea of how tall Pygmies were thought to be, where they lived, and how they passed their time (see Chapter Two, p. 22). The archaeological legacy of surviving statuary, vases, mosaics, and paintings adds vividly to our understanding of the folk view of Pygmies among the Greeks and Romans.

I devote part of this dissertation to dwarf combatants but at the same time purposely exclude the Pygmy genre. The considerable body of non-plastic art to be evaluated is more than my thesis can accommodate, and there is little which I could presently add to the researches of others. Ballabriga¹⁴ and McKay,¹⁵ for example, have produced useful studies, and Véronique Dasen's article

¹⁴ A. Ballabriga, "Le malheur des nains. Quelques aspects du combat des grues contre les pygmées dans la littérature grecque," *REA* 83 (1981), 57-75.

¹⁵ M.J. McKay, *Pygmy landscapes in Roman art*. Diss. University of Toronto, 1985.

on Pygmies in LIMC provides a comprehensive and up-to-date treatment of the literary and archaeological evidence.¹⁶

The term "Pygmy" and its foreign equivalents are frequently found in catalogues, articles and museum records, and have been applied by others to some of the figures in my catalogue. This is of little significance to me. While some commentators may indeed mean a mythical Pygmy, whether the iconography supports the attribution or not, others use the term somewhat carelessly as a virtual synonym for "dwarf".

I recognise, of course, the existence of doubtful cases in my catalogue. A figure which assumes a pugilistic stance probably is facing an unseen opponent. If I knew that this opponent were a crane or some other exotic beast, then I could exclude the figure outright as a Pygmy. Since I do not know what the craftsman's intentions were, I generally include these figures. Because Pygmies often appear in Nilotic art, it is possible that a dwarf with Egyptianizing particulars, such as the lotus, is a Pygmy. I normally include these also, because dwarfs played an active part in Egyptian religion and culture long before the ancient interest in Pygmies emerged.

B. Bes. All the figures in the catalogue are ostensibly human in appearance, barring egregious hyperphallism. In circumscribing my study this way, I refrain from assembling large numbers of Bes figurines. This Egyptian god takes the form of a feral-looking dwarf with coarse leonine features, who often brandishes a sharp weapon, but whose functions are utterly benign: protection of the household, of women in childbirth, etc.¹⁷

C. Gladiators. Although we have literary testimony for dwarfs performing in the arena, I have

¹⁶ LIMC 7 (1995), s.v. "Pygmaioi" (V. Dasen), 594-601.

¹⁷ For good summaries and further bibliography, see LIMC 3 (1986), s.v. "Bes" (V. Tran Tam Tinh), 98-108, and Dasen, 1993, Ch. 6.

excluded from the catalogue almost all figures in gladiatorial panoply, particularly those in Samnite uniform. Even normal-sized figures who are decked out in oversized galeae with grilled visors, elbow-length armoured gloves, wide belt (cingula), greaves (ocreae), and subligacula look like dwarfs. I could find neither clearly identifiable dwarf Samnites nor retiarii, Thracae, secutores, etc.

(3) Technical restrictions.

A. Plastic representations. Because I wished to concentrate my research on a manageable and relatively homogeneous group of objects, I chose to emphasize sculpture in the round. The catalogue nevertheless includes several terracotta plaques and one funerary altar whose relief is sufficiently high to justify, in my view, their inclusion. The advantage of studying sculpture is that one can examine them from different angles and learn details of hair-style, costume, and held objects which would be lost in wholly flat images. Two-dimensional renderings might be more informative in other respects, such as showing colours and group interaction, but out of necessity I could not focus adequately on both two- and three-dimensional art. I discuss several important two-dimensional monuments in Chapter Two, and occasionally cite paintings, mosaics, and lamps elsewhere in the text, for comparative purposes.

B. Terracotta and bronze. These are the two major sculptural media in Antiquity, and merit equal attention. Figures fashioned in terracotta and bronze depict many of the same sorts of activities, but there are differences between the two media which influence the appearance of the final product. The terracottas were cheaper to manufacture than bronzes, and will have appealed to a broader and less affluent market. They are often very frontal in pose, coarser in execution than bronzes, and more cursorily worked at the back, where the coroplast frequently placed a venthole (a device not required in bronzeworking) although the venthole is redundant on sculptures with hollow open bases.

I conclude by briefly addressing several problems which must necessarily be confronted in this thesis. They include certain ambiguities specific to my own sculptures, and difficulties of establishing proveniences and dates which affect the study of Hellenistic and Roman sculpture generally.

According to literary and archaeological testimony, some spheres of activity were the province of both children and dwarfs; they could participate, for example, in adult pursuits like boxing or dancing. Since dwarfs were child-sized and often confined in immature doll-like bodies, a representation of a child could in error be taken for that of a dwarf, and vice versa. An equally fine line can sometimes be drawn between dancing and fighting, since both activities frequently depend on quick agile movement. Fighting, perhaps, is more spontaneous because the interaction with an opponent provides more potential for the unexpected, while dancing usually involves progressing through a series of set moves. Yet it is not unreasonable, when confronted with an immobile figure, to confuse one activity for the other. These ambiguities as they arise are briefly footnoted in the catalogue.

Many figures were excavated before the importance of recording their archaeological contexts was recognised. Others happened to be chance discoveries by untrained persons or became prey to treasure hunters, art collectors and dealers. Consequently, even careful publications frequently lack adequate information on provenience. We value all the more those monuments which do enjoy reliable documentation, and at the same time try to avoid rash assumptions about objects of uncertain origin based on facts established for others.

Dating evidence is even more elusive than that of provenience, because it depends both on known context and the presence of datable materials. Stylistic comparisons and analyses provide helpful dating clues, but they can also lead to erroneous conclusions. It is still difficult to distinguish

many Hellenistic products from Roman. In the case of bronzes, for example, many motifs developed during the Hellenistic period, but are imitated by the Romans. A persistent problem with handling material to which a date has already been authoritatively assigned is the possibility that the date is based on earlier misinformation. Misdated pieces used to misdate others could perpetuate circles of flawed argumentation. On this account, I have necessarily been conservative in my use of dating evidence.

Because of the wealth of primary and secondary material on dwarfs in antiquity, it has been necessary to narrow the focus of enquiry to musical dwarfs, fighting dwarfs, and tintinnabula. The catalogue which accompanies the text is limited by medium as well as iconography. Geographical and chronological demarcations, however, remain loose because of the unavoidable difficulties involving provenience and dating.

CHAPTER TWO

I. LITERARY EVIDENCE

Greek and Roman culture both expressed a certain fascination with height. Tallness was considered a positive attribute. It suggested power and attractiveness in men, dignity and beauty in women. Not surprisingly, starting from Homer, the gods and goddesses, who epitomize physical perfection, are frequently described as tall. By contrast, diminutive height is often a target for humour and derision, as citations in this chapter will demonstrate.¹

I have organized the literary material into several categories of what amounts to heterogeneous testimony. I deal with a few Latin and Greek terms which apply specifically to pathological shortness, and proceed to scientific observations on dwarfs - medical references and notice of dwarfs in the plant and animal kingdoms. Dwarfs frequently appear in a humorous vein, especially when their lack of height is contrasted with the norm, or highly exaggerated. This gives us much insight into the psychological perceptions of dwarfs, which have their darker side, too, since dwarfs could also excite revulsion and a sense of their monstrosity. Through a subtle combination of these factors, actual dwarfs satisfied a social need which brought them into vogue as commodities to be exhibited and purchased, as entertainers in the arena and theatre, and as fixtures in private homes, where they could be kept as luxury items, as companions and as entertainers, especially in contexts of ribald song and dance. On the whole, we have more insight into dwarfs in Roman society than in

¹ See also *Anth. Pal.* 11.87-111, most of which make fun of people's height or other abnormal physical characteristics. The exaggerations, however, are so extreme that, with the doubtful exception of 108, we cannot recognise actual dwarfism.

Greek, because of the greater number of surviving allusions, especially from commentators such as Suetonius, Martial, and Juvenal, all of whom offer vivid snapshots of Roman life.

Terminology

There is no lack of vocabulary in Greek and Latin which connotes shortness², but few terms for pathological shortness are found: *νᾶνος* and *πυγμαῖος* occur in Greek while Latin speakers used the corresponding terms *nanus* and *pygmaeus*, along with *pumilio*. Of unknown derivation, *pumilio* and its cognate *pumilus*³ occur more frequently than *nanus*, but are semantically almost identical. *Πυγμαῖος/ pygmaios* is applied regularly to the quasi-mythical race of extremely short beings who were noted, from Homer's earliest allusion, for their ongoing conflicts with their natural enemies, the cranes.⁴ In a wider sense of the word, it connotes "extremely short", but only sometimes does it seem to be stripped of its ethnic specificity, and this in Greek rather than Latin.

In a conversation set by Aulus Gellius⁵, the rhetorician Fronto considers *nanos autem sordidum esse verbum et barbarum* (19.13.2). Sulpicius Apollinaris⁶ corrects him, stating the word's Greek origin and adding a brief explanation: *νάνους enim Graeci vocaverunt brevi atque humili corpore homines, paulum supra terram extantes* (19.13.3). With great authority, he cites its usage six

² e.g. *μικρός, ἀνθρωπάριον, ἀνθρώπιον, ἀνθρωπίσκος, homullus, homuncio, homunculus, brevis, parvus, pusillus*.

³ Perhaps *pumilio* is the older word, and the variation *pumilus* exemplifies a trend towards standardising declensions.

⁴ See also p. 21.

⁵ *NA* 19.13.

⁶ Gaius Sulpicius Apollinaris was a grammarian from Carthage, and a teacher of Gellius.

centuries earlier in a play (now lost) by Aristophanes, called *Ὀλκάδεες*.⁷ Thus we see the continued use of the Greek *νᾶνος* from classical times into the second century AC and an explanation in layman's Latin which comfortably identifies it with "dwarf".

Aristophanes uses a compound of *νᾶνος* in *Pax* 781-790:

ἦν δέ σε Καρκίνος ἐλθὼν
 ἀντιβολλῆ μετὰ τῶν παίδων χορευσαί
 μῆθ' ὑπάκουε μῆτ' ἔλ-
 θης συνέριθος αὐτοῖς,
 ἀλλὰ νόμιζε πάντα
 ὄρτυγας οἰκογενεῖς, γυλιαύχενας ὄρχηστὰς,
 νανοφυεῖς,⁸ σφυράδων ἀποκνίσματα, μηχανοδίφας.⁹

Aristophanes is contrasting his superior (comic) talents with those of the contemporary tragedian Carcinus and the latter's sons, all of whom are trained dancers. The passage represents a piece of abuse in exaggerating and ridiculing the sons' shortness. Liddell and Scott define *νανοφυής* as "of dwarfish stature" but we need not take it literally in this context.¹⁰

That dwarfishness in humans also implies short limbs and chunkiness, is suggested by

⁷ Aristophanes *PCG* III 2, 238 fr. 441.

⁸ Stephanus' emendation of all mss: *ναννοφυεῖς*. M. Platnauer, ed., *Aristophanes Peace* (Oxford, 1964), 136, argues for it on the basis of the single *v* in the papyrus fragment (*P.S.I.* vi. 720) and analogy to the Latin *nanus* which, borrowed from the Greek, retains the single *v*.

⁹ "But if Carcinus comes and
 Asks you to join his sons in dance,
 Don't listen -- stay put
 And don't help them,
 But consider them all as
 Domesticated quail, no-neck ballet dancers,
 Dwarfy snips of goat-turd, who go in for flashy
 Stage effects."

[this and all subsequent translations are my own, except where otherwise specified]

¹⁰ So: *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, ed. W. Dindorf (Paris 1842/46), *Νανοφυής*, ὁ, ἡ - *Qui natura pumilus est, Pumilio*; *Sch. in Ar., Pacem* line 790a, cf. D. Holwerda (Groningen, 1982): *ναννοφυεῖς* - *Νάννοι λέγονται οἱ κολοβοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· οἱ δὲ κολοβοὶ τῶν ἵππων Ἴννοι λέγονται.*

Lucian of Samosata (ca. AD 120-200) who tells us that a dancer's body should follow the canon of Polykleitos: μήτε γὰρ ὑψηλὸς ἄγαν ἔστω καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου ἐπιμήκης μήτε ταπεινὸς καὶ νανώδης τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἔμμετρος ἀκριβῶς.¹¹ The word ταπεινὸς is defined by Liddell and Scott as "low in stature,"¹² and provides a contrast to ὑψηλὸς, "tall" or "towering". Πέρα τοῦ μετρίου ἐπιμήκης, which qualifies the tall stature with corresponding thinness and long bones, is answered by νανώδης, which qualifies ταπεινὸς not with mere dwarfishness, but with stockiness.

The Latin writers availed themselves of pumilio / pumilus and, more rarely, nanus when referring to human and animal dwarfs.

Aulus Gellius (19.13) provides insight on the equivalence of nanus with pumilio; when Fronto prefers to use pumilio instead of nanus, the implication is the two words mean about the same. The difference, declares Apollinaris, is one of register: nanus is used in consuetudine inperiti vulgi frequens (19.13.3), which suggests agreement with Fronto (19.13.2; p. 18 above). Elsewhere (16.7.10), Gellius notes that Laberius¹³ used or innovated numerous words whose Latinity was often being questioned in his own time, e.g. "nanum" pro "pumilione" dicit. As noted above, nanus is good Latin but imported directly from Greek. Nanus and pumilio are considered synonymous by

¹¹ Luc. Salt. 75. "It must be neither very tall and inordinately lanky, nor short and dwarfish in build, but exactly the right measure..." Trans. A.M. Harmon, Loeb Classical Library.

¹² It takes on other, less literal, senses of low, too, in correspondence to the Latin humilis.

¹³ The Roman equus, who wrote mimes, lived ca. 115 - 43 BC.

commentators right down to modern times,¹⁴ but Festus¹⁵ may be singled out for drawing an odd relationship between the two words: Nanum Graeci vas aquarium dicunt humilem et concavum, quod vulgo vocant situlum barbatum, unde nani pumiliones appellantur.¹⁶

The first mention of Pygmies in literature (Hom. *Il.* 3.3-7) does not even allude to their height. Rather, the ekphrasis describes the κλαγγὴ γεράνων and their annual winter's flight down to Ocean where they wreak havoc on the Pygmy race.¹⁷ So stirring is Homer's account, that the Suda attributes to Homer a Geranomachy, and, assuming for him a monopoly of a literary genre, a Batrachomyomachy and Arachnomachy.¹⁸ It may be entirely for prosodic reasons that the tribe is called ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι, but perhaps the adjective had not yet become inexorably linked with

¹⁴ E.g. on Juv. 8.32: nanum cuiusdam Atlanta vocamus, see J.E.B. Mayor, Thirteen Satires of Juvenal (London, 1888), v. 2, 8: "NANUM. the older Latin word was pumilio"; on Suet. *Tib.* 61, see C. Suetonii Tranquilli Opera Omnia Ex Editione Baumgarten-Crusii (London, 1826), 510: "Nano] Pumilione, ex eorum genere de quibus in Augusto cap. 83."

¹⁵ Sextus Pompeius Festus, grammarian, 2nd cent. AC.

¹⁶ W.M. Lindsay, ed., Festi De Verborum Significatu Quae Supersunt Cum Pauli Epitome (Leipzig, 1913), 185: "Nanum - shallow water-dish, usually called a "bearded bucket," from which pumiliones are called nani."

¹⁷ ἦ ὅτε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό,
αἷ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον
ὄμβρον,
κλαγγῆ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων,
ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι·
ἤ ἔριαι δ' ἄρα ταί γε κακὴν ἔριδα προφέρονται·
Homer *Iliad* 3.3-7. OCT.

"...as when the clamour of cranes goes high to the heavens, when the cranes escape the winter time and the rains unceasing, and clamorously wing their way to the streaming Ocean, bringing to the Pygmaian men bloodshed and destruction: at daybreak they bring on the baleful battle against them." Trans. R. Lattimore, The Iliad of Homer (Chicago, 1951)

¹⁸ P. Perdrizet, Bronzes Fouquet, 53, observes that only the Batrachomyomachy survives, and that its language and metre place it no earlier than the Hellenistic period.

the people. Homer may have conceived them as "tiny" or "fist-sized ["fist" < Gk. πυγμή] men" rather than "Pygmies".

Herodotus, too, uses ἀνήρ πυγμαῖος, but with the implicit sense of a misshapen dwarf. He describes images of "Hephaistos" (Ptah) in Memphis, including that found in the temple: ὃς δὲ τούτους μὴ ὄπωπε, ὧδε σημανέω· πυγμαίου ἀνδρὸς μίμησις ἐστί.¹⁹ It is maintained that the figures seen by Herodotus were either pataikoi or the khnoumou, sons of Ptah.²⁰ Since there is no absolute standard of height for figurines, Herodotus could not have been able to identify them as dwarfs unless they were further distinguished by dwarfish anatomy, e.g. truncated proportions, overlarge head.

When πυγμαῖος is used on its own, Aristotle himself, who has much to say about the causes and characteristics of dwarfism, confuses the terms πυγμαῖοι and νᾶνοι (p. 26 below). So, too, does the later essayist Longinus,²¹ who writes: Πυγμαῖοι καλούμενοι δὲ νᾶνοι. Πυγμαῖος was probably more commonly employed than νᾶνος by this time. Even Aulus Gellius' rhetoricians (p. 18 above) do not recognize νᾶνος as an obviously Greek word. Its obscurity might account for Longinus' imprecision in equating νᾶνοι and πυγμαῖοι. Apollinaris also defined νᾶνος merely as short, unless humilis is to be understood within a wider context as 'misshapen.'

While πυγμαῖος is used as an approximation for νᾶνος, it also occurs to describe the race(s) of men who engage in perpetual battle with their arch-enemies, the cranes. This usage,

¹⁹ Hdt.3.37. "I will describe it for whoever hasn't seen them: it is in the image of a dwarf."

²⁰ See W.W. How and J. Wells, eds., A Commentary on Herodotus (Oxford, 1912; repr. 1961), 265 n 37(2). Dasen, 1993, 85, observes that the use of the terms "Pataikoi" or "Ptah-Pataikoi" by Egyptologists prevails, although she states that Pataikos is a non-Egyptian term which originally described Phoenician deities.

²¹ Subl. 44.5. D.A. Russell writes in "Longinus, On Sublimity", in Ancient Literary Criticism, ed. D.A. Russell and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1972), 461: "The most we can safely say is that the book was written in the first century A.D., by a writer with both Roman and Jewish contacts."

however, does not strongly assert itself before Strabo's time. The explanation may lie in the subjugation of Egypt following several centuries of Ptolemaic rule, Hellenistic society's growing awareness of and fascination with human prodigies, and an interest in geography which, for both Greek and Latin writers in Roman times, included anthropology: it was a mixture of misinformation and enthusiasm.

Strabo seven times mentions Pygmies, but in only three instances does he allude to height: τρισπιθάμους (2.1.9 and 15.1.57), and τῆς τούτων μικροφυξίας (17.2.1). As a geographer he is more interested in the other topoi commonly associated with Pygmies, namely the issue of habitation and their conflicts with the cranes. (It is the poets who exploit the Pygmies' height, largely for comic effect.)

On the subject of height, Pliny (HN 7.26) repeats Strabo's figure when he recounts that the fabled Trispithami Pygmaei que narrantur, ternas spithamas longitudine, hoc est ternos dodrantes, non excedentes. Pedes should be understood following dodrantes, so that Pliny's qualifying statement may equate three Roman spans with three times three-quarters, i.e. two and one quarter, feet. Aulus Gellius admits drawing heavily on Pliny's seventh book (9.7; 9.13) and thus repeats (9.11) the exact height reported by Pliny: non longiores esse quam pedes duo et quadrantem. If the pes was equal to .971 English feet (=11.65" = 29.6 cm), this allowed the Pygmies a maximum height of 26.2" = 66.5 cm.

The image of fantastic shortness is propagated in a painting described by Philostratus²² of an army of Pygmies (πυγμαῖοι) laying siege to a sleeping Heracles. These Pygmies can hardly be larger than insects, and the effect of the hordes of tiny soldiers swarming over the giant's body strongly

²² Im. 2.22.

foreshadows Swift's episode of Gulliver's encounter with the Lilliputians. The inspiration for Philostratus' playful fantasy figures may be found in Nilotic art; compare, too, the πῆχαις who play about the personification of Father Nile:²³ they seem to be about the size of babies, about a πῆχυς (eighteen inches) long, and represent the cubits of the Nilometer.

Summary

The term νᾶνος, and its compounds, are recorded since Classical times to denote shortness as well as attendant misshapeness. It was introduced into Latin as nanus by the first century BC, and, as we read in Aulus Gellius, meant the same as pumilio, the latter being the older, established Latin word for dwarf, of unknown etymology (from pumilio are derived pumilius and pumilus). It corresponds to the Greek νᾶνος and is applied as well to the plant and, like νᾶνος, animal kingdoms (p. 27 below).

The distinction between νᾶνος and πυγμαῖος is unclear and indeed the two are equated by the first century AC (Longinus), when πυγμαῖος has overtaken νᾶνος in use. The decisive factor was probably the rise of Roman imperialism - especially its annexation of Egypt - with the heightened interest of geographers and other writers in the mysterious race of very short people, the Pygmies. Among earlier Greek writers, πυγμαῖος had probably been a more generic term for extreme shortness: the earliest references to Pygmies allude rather to "pygmaean men" (Homer, Herodotus). It is probably connected with πυγμή, a unit of measure slightly over a foot.

The Latins adopted the term pygmaeus from the Greek, but, due perhaps to the versatility of having pumilio in their vocabulary, they apparently applied pygmaeus almost exclusively to the

²³ Philostr. Im. 1.5; Luc. Rh. pr. 6. A marble group of the Nile with baby-like πῆχαις clambering over him is displayed in the Vatican, Mus. Chiaramonti. See LIMC 6 (1992), s.v. "Neilos" (M-O. Jentel), 720, ill. 1.

ethnic Pygmies and related literary metaphors (Juvenal 6.506, 13.168; Luxorius, AL 310; Priapea 46.3). Interest centres not only on their tiny stature but also on their geographical placement (Pliny, Mela 3.81, Aulus Gellius, Solinus) and other Pygmy lore, especially their tribulations with cranes (Juvenal, Pliny, Mela 3.81, Solinus) and the story of the Pygmy Queen (Ovid Met. 690-92, Athenaeus 9.393e-f, Aelian NA 15.29).

Other references to dwarfs in Greek and Latin sources lie buried behind more oblique terms such as ἀνθρωπίσκοκος and ἀνθρωπάριον or scurrus, deliciae and morio; I bring several to light below.

Scientific comment.

Since the principles of genetics were unknown to the ancients, there is very little which comes down to us of a scientific nature. In a handful of medical comments made by Aristotle, an attempt is made to explain the phenomenon of congenital dwarfism.

Aristotle (PA 4.10.686b) explains that animals and many birds and fish are dwarf-like (νανώδη): πάντα γάρ ἐστι τὰ ζῶα νανώδη, τάλλα παρὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπον. νανῶδες γάρ ἐστιν οὐ τὸ μὲν ἄνω μέγα, τὸ δὲ φέρον τὸ βᾶρος καὶ περὶ τὸν μικρόν.²⁴ His concept of dwarf, then, is marked by the clinical pathology of truncated limbs attached to a normal torso.

In his Problemata (10.12.892a), Aristotle asks what the cause of dwarfism is: Διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν οἱ νᾶνοι γίνονται; His remarks are intended to apply to animals and humans both. He explains that a lack of space (τόπος) will produce a πυγμαῖος: ὅσοις μὲν οὖν ὁ τόπος

²⁴ "All animals are dwarfish in the same way that man is; that is dwarflike of which the upper part of the body is large, and the part which supports the weight and walks is small."

αἴτιος, οὗτοι πυγμαῖοι γίνονται²⁵, while a lack of food (τροφή) will produce offspring with child-like limbs: ὅσοι δὲ διὰ τροφῆς ἐνδειαν ἀτελεῖς γίνονται, οὗτοι καὶ παιδαριώδη τὰ μέλη ἔχοντες φαίνονται.²⁶ I believe that νᾶνος is meant in the second case because Aristotle uses πυγμαῖος specifically for the first case.

It becomes apparent, however, that Aristotle displays confusion between the terms.

Compare the following passages:

οἱ δὲ καλούμενοι γίννοι γίνονται ἐξ ἵππου, ὅταν νοσήσῃ ἐν τῇ κυήσει, ὡσπερ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἱ νᾶνοι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑσὶ τὰ μετάχοιρα.²⁷

ὁμοίως δὲ γίνονται καὶ οἱ πυγμαῖοι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι πηροῦνται τὰ μέρη καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἐν τῇ κυήσει, καὶ εἰσὶν ὡσπερ μετάχοιρα καὶ γίννοι.²⁸

Since in both passages, humans are being compared to hinnies and metachoera, and their dwarfism begins in utero, Aristotle is probably referring to the same phenomenon - disproportionate dwarfism - under two different terms: νᾶνοι in HA; πυγμαῖοι in GA.

Aristotle makes an association between dwarfism and mental impairment: ἀλλὰ τῷ τὸν νοῦν ἔχειν ἐλλείπουσιν.²⁹ He is mistaken; although some types of dwarf, e.g. cretins, suffer mental impairment,³⁰ others are associated with normal, even acute, intelligence. Elsewhere, he

²⁵ "When the space is responsible, pygmies are born." Trans. W.S. Hett, Loeb Classical Library.

²⁶ "But those who are imperfect owing to a shortage of food are seen to have limbs like children." Ibid.

²⁷ Arist. HA 6.24.577b: "Those which are called ginni are produced from a mare, when the foetus has received some injury in the uterus, like dwarfs among men and metachoera among swine." R. Cresswell, Aristotle's History of Animals (London, 1862), 173.

²⁸ Arist. GA 2.8.749a. "Dwarfs too are formed in a similar way: their proportions and size are also stunted during pregnancy, just like metachoera and hinnies".

²⁹ "...but in intelligence, at any rate, they are inferior." Ibid.

³⁰ Cf. Martial's parvum...morionem, p. 32-33 below.

promulgates another misconception about dwarfs: καὶ ἴσχει δέ, ὡσπερ οἱ νᾶνοι, ὁ γίννος τὸ αἰδοῖον μέγα.³¹ The myth of the overlarge genitals has proved surprisingly persistent but is merely based on the observer's false expectation that the genitals should correspond visually to the unnaturally squat legs, rather than to the full-sized trunk.³²

Among the Latin writers, pumilio occurs in a scientific context in Pliny's Historia Naturalis (11.260): pumilionum genus in omnibus animalibus est, atque etiam inter volucres. Martial, too, alludes to dwarfism in the animal kingdom:

His tibi de mulis non est metuenda ruina:
altius in terra paene sedere soles,³³

while from Gellius, we learn that nanus as well as pumilio was applied to animals. Postumius asks a grammarian (19.13.4): tu nos doce, quoniam de mulis aut eculeis humilioribus vulgo dicitur, anne Latinum sit et apud quem scriptum reperiatur?³⁴ The grammarian endorses its Latinity by quoting a couplet of Helvius Cinna (d. 44 BC) which mentions bigis...nanis (dwarf steeds).

Aristotle describes one breed of toy dog as the small but well-proportioned μελιταῖα κυνίδια. He simply attributes them to φύσις (nature).³⁵

³¹ Arist. HA 6.24.577b "...and the ginnus, like the dwarf, has a large genital organ." R. Cresswell, Aristotle's History of Animals (London, 1862), 173.

³² I refer here to disproportionate growth disturbance, e.g. achondroplasia and hypochondroplasia.

³³ Mart. 14.197: "You needn't fear falling off these mules. Usually you're almost higher sitting on the ground."

³⁴ "Do inform us, since [nanus] is commonly applied to short mules and colts, whether it is Latin, and in whose writings it is found."

³⁵ Ar. Pr. 10.12.892a. The term μελιταῖον occurs centuries later in the Schol. Clem. Al. Paed. 3.4 (30.1) and is identified with both toy dogs and νᾶνοι: μελιταῖον κυνίδιον μικρόν, ὃ νανούδιον καλοῦσι κατὰ στερησιν τοῦ ἄνω ἵεναι· ἔστι γὰρ ὑποκοριστικὸν τοῦ νᾶνος. νᾶνον δὲ τὸν μικρόν φασιν ἄνθρωπον.

Dwarf plants are discussed by Pliny the naturalist, who mentions the pumilionum infelicitas in trees (HN 12.13) and describes the pruning, trimming and tying of trees to make them retorridum et nodosum pumilionum incremento (HN 17.176). Apart from congenital dwarfism, we learn of the artificial dwarfing of otherwise normal individuals in one passage from Longinus:

"εἰ γὰρ" φησὶ "τοῦτο πιστόν ἐστιν <ὁ> ἀκούω, τὰ γλωττόκομα, ἐν οἷς οἱ Πυγμαῖοι καλούμενοι δὲ νᾶνοι τρέφονται, οὐ μόνον κωλύει τῶν ἐγκεκλεισμένων τὰς αὐξήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνάροι διὰ τὸν περικείμενον τοῖς σώμασι δεσμόν,..."³⁶

One cannot comment on the truth of this practice, since he himself is repeating second-hand information. When considering, however, the number of extant "grotesque" figurines which represent peculiar deformities, one might consider if any are inspired by the deliberate infliction of deformity on living people.

Humour.

Although Roman humour is capable of great subtlety, when it comes to something as obvious as shortness, the tendency is toward heavy-handed derision. It is interesting to note, however, that the target is almost invariably the mere shortness, not the clinical malformations which often accompany it.

One common brand of humour is the use of an appropriate nickname, either one of established usage or a bit of ad hoc inspiration. There are two possible approaches: the tag which is appropriate precisely because it connotes the opposite condition (largeness) and that which parallels the small size.

³⁶ De Subl. 44.5. "He went on, 'If what I hear is to be believed, the cages in which the Pygmies, also called dwarfs, are reared, not only hinder the growth of those who are shut up in them, but actually shrivel them because of the bonds lying about their bodies...'" Trans. A.O. Prickard, Longinus on the Sublime (Oxford, 1906), 79.

Lucretius employs the former device when commenting on lovers who are blind to their sweethearts' imperfections, and minimize them euphemistically: nigra melichrus est...parvula, pumilio Chariton mia.³⁷

Propertius (4.8.41-42) tells of a dwarf performing at a small symposium:

Magnus et ipse suos breviter concretus in artus
iactabat truncas ad cava buxa manus.³⁸

The first word of the couplet is controversial: Hanslik's apparatus criticus shows almost an even division of Magnus and nanus in the manuscripts.³⁹ Rothstein's edition,⁴⁰ for example, uses nanus, and his notes make only passing, dismissive mention of the other.⁴¹ The reading Magnus, which I support, is accepted by Richardson, Benediktson, Camps and Hanslik.⁴² Richardson even goes a step further and adds that et ipse identifies Magnus as a celebrity of the day.⁴³ I favour Magnus because it is stronger and cleverer than the alternative nanus. The couplet already indicates that the performer is a dwarf; nanus contributes nothing further, while Magnus expresses that bit of extra humour, i.e. the name which contrasts with the person to whom it is attached.

Juvenal (8.32) outdoes Lucretius in providing three examples in under two lines: nanum

³⁷ Lucr. 4.1160-1162. "The black girl is a honey-coloured jewel...the dwarf is one of the Graces." (The listener assumes that the Graces, personifying feminine charms, are tall).

³⁸ "Magnus himself, short and stunted in body, clapped his hands to the hollow flute."

³⁹ R. Hanslik, ed., Sex. Propertii Elegiarum Libri IV (Leipzig, 1979), 181.

⁴⁰ M. Rothstein, ed., Propertius Sextus Elegien (Dublin/Zurich, 1966).

⁴¹ "hier in der Überlieferung zu magnus entstellt." Ibid., 316.

⁴² L. Richardson, Jr., ed., Propertius: Elegies I-IV (Oklahoma, 1977), 467; D.T. Benediktson, Propertius: Modernist Poet of Antiquity (Illinois, 1989), 87-88; W.A. Camps, ed., Propertius Elegies Bk IV (Cambridge, 1965); Hanslik, cit. n. 39.

⁴³ Ibid.

cuiusdam Atlanta vocamus./ Aethiopem Cycnum, pravam extortamque puellam/ Europen...⁴⁴

Two dwarfs in the households of the emperor Augustus exemplify both approaches to naming:⁴⁵ "Andromeda" could hardly have borne less resemblance to her namesake, the mythical Ethiopian princess, who was a paragon of beauty and grace. "Conopas" must surely be built on the Greek Κώνωψ ("gnat"), which answers to rather than contrasts with the true height.

In this regard, the appropriation of the Trojan royal family, particularly Hector, Andromache and Astyanax, may well be a topos. Here is how Martial (14.212) derides the pumilio (14.212): Si solum spectes hominis caput, Hectora credas: si stantem videas, Astyanacta putes. Lucian uses the same names in a similar context, citing the discerning audiences of Antioch, who hold the art of dance in such great honour that they will heckle a dancer whose appearance does not 'measure up': ..μικροῦ μὲν γὰρ ὀρχηστοῦ εἰσελθόντος καὶ τὸν Ἕκτορα ὀρχουμένου μιᾷ φωνῇ πάντες ἀνεβόησαν. Ὡ Ἀστυάναξ, Ἕκτωρ δὲ ποῦ;⁴⁶ Likewise, Juvenal (6.506) sarcastically invokes Andromache, the wife and mother of Hector and Astyanax, to criticize the petite woman who contrives to conceal her stature by building up a wall of curls over the crown, in true Flavian fashion: Andromachen a fronte videbis, post minor est, credas aliam...breviorque videtur virgine Pygmaea nullis adiuta cothurnis.⁴⁷

This last quotation combines the reference to the Trojan family with the humour of

⁴⁴ "We call someone's dwarf Atlas; his African Cycnus [swan]; an ugly, misshapen girl, Europa."

⁴⁵ Pliny HN 7.75. For more on these dwarfs, see p. 42-43 below.

⁴⁶ Luc. Salt, 76. "When a diminutive dancer made his entrance and began to play Hector, they all cried out in a single voice, 'Ho there, Astyanax! Where is Hector?'" Trans. A.M. Harmon, Loeb Classical Library.

⁴⁷ Again, the use of Andromache as a paragon of height parallels that of Hector, and to similar comic effect, as we have seen (Mart. 14.212). Juvenal's use of the term Pygmaea here may be nothing more than an original vivid touch, but he and his listeners may have believed that Pygmaei are smaller even than pumiliones. He tells us that Pygmies do not exceed a foot in height (13.173): ubi tota cohors pede non est altior uno.

unreasonable exaggeration, in which one is described as shorter even than a Pygmy. How short the ancients might have considered a Pygmy is gauged both by the references above, and by the popularity of Nilotic art with its frequent depictions of infant-sized Pygmies. The longevity of the topos is attested by its appearances in the Priapea and in Luxorius. The poet of Priap. 46.1-3 indulges in the humor of hyperbole:

O non candidior puella Mauro:
sed morbosior omnibus cinaedis,
Pygmaeo brevior gruem timenti,...⁴⁸

Luxorius must have been acquainted with his Juvenal: he writes a scathing epigram against the pantomimist Macedonia who contrives to dance the roles of tall women such as Andromache and Helen, yet herself aut brevior Pygmaea virgine surgit/ Ipsius aut quantum pes erat Andromachae.⁴⁹

Martial alludes to dwarfism in the animal kingdom, but he cleverly underscores the diminutive size of the mule through extreme exaggeration (p. 27).

Lucian and Philostratus use dwarfism as a tool rather than as a butt of humour - thereby displaying a more sophisticated tone than the examples quoted above. They create metaphors which incorporate dwarfishness in order to serve a higher purpose, namely casting invective on poor writing. The victims' figurative lack of size and stature is dramatized by concrete imagery.

Lucian criticizes those who do not practise consistency of writing style: they start with a grandiloquent introduction and follow it with mediocrity and pap. He contrasts the great and small by the following effective illustration: τοῦ Ῥοδίων κολοσσού τὴν κεφαλὴν νανῶδει

⁴⁸ "You are no paler than a Moor, girl/ but you are more diseased than any catamite/ And shorter than the pygmy who fears the crane." Note the similarity to Juvenal 8.32f on p. 29 above.

⁴⁹ "looms shorter than a Pygmy maiden or than Andromache's foot." For text, English translation and commentary, see M. Rosenblum, Luxorius. A Latin Poet Among The Vandals (New York/ London, 1961), 126-7 no. 24, 194-5. Fuller treatment is found, however, in H. Happ, Luxorius (Stuttgart, 1986), especially 2, 207-212, = AL 310.

σώματι ἐπιτιθέντας.⁵⁰ He further reinforces the image of inconsistent writing in a manner which obliquely compares children and dwarfs:⁵¹ ὡς καὶ τοῦτο εἰκέναι παιδίῳ, εἴ που Ἐρωτα εἶδες παίζοντα, προσωπεῖον Ἡρακλέους πάμμεγα ἢ Τιτᾶνος περικείμενον.⁵²

Lucian's use of the κολοσσός as a standard of enormous height was probably already a literary topos.⁵³ His contemporary Fl. Philostratus the Elder employs the word Πυγμαῖα in the context of criticizing others' writing. He belittles one Heracleides, a Lycian sophist, who presumes to emend the far superior Nicetes: ἠγγόησε δὲ ἀκροθίνια Πυγμαῖα κολοσσῶ ἐφαρμόζων.⁵⁴ Philostratus demands that we make the association with the ethnic Pygmies rather than with mere little men; they are so closely identified with their battles that the ἀκροθίνια are a vivid touch.

Martial, in 12.93, exploits the morio not so much for what he is as for the humorous manner that he contributes to the larger significance of the scene:

Qua moechum ratione basiaret
coram coniuge repperit Labulla.
parvum basiat usque morionem;
hunc multis rapit osculis madentem
moechus protinus et suis repletum
ridenti dominae statim remittit.

⁵⁰ Luc. Hist. conscr. 23: "putting the head of the Colossus of Rhodes onto a dwarfish body."

⁵¹ Not so obliquely, from a physiological standpoint, Arist., PA 4.10.686b plainly states: νάνοι γὰρ εἶσι τὰ παιδιά πάντα.

⁵² Luc. cij. n. 50. "as it even resembles a child - you may have seen some Cupid playing and wearing a huge mask of Heracles or a Titan." Lucian evokes a concrete image of something seen, and could well be alluding to a puer minutus. For the association of Cupids with minuti, see W.J. Slater, "Pueri, Turba Minuta", BICS, 21 (1974), 134.

⁵³ κολοσσός is believed to be of pre-Greek origin, and was applied to statues or figurines without reference to height. Only with the fame attendant on the gigantic Colossus of Rhodes, by Chares of Lindus (fl. 290 BC), did it come to signify something "colossal". See E. Fränkel, ed., Aeschylus Agamemnon, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1950), 218, comm. l. 416.

⁵⁴ VS 1.19.2. "he failed to see that he was fitting the spoils of the Pygmies onto a colossus." Trans. W.C. Wright, Loeb Classical Library.

quanto morio maior est maritus!⁵⁵

Martial provides a number of hints that this morio is a dwarf: the qualifier parvum; the verb remittit, as if the lover is handing an object back to Labulla; and the last line - quanto maior est - which is a clever double entendre, that the husband is greater not only in stupidity but in size. The key to this tableau is awareness of the methods of surreptitious communication between Roman lovers in the presence of husbands and other third parties. We see in Martial's epigram a lampooning of the topos of cup-kissing, whereby a lady kisses a cup and places it on the table; the lover will lift the cup, kiss it, and replace it, so that the lady may put it to her lips to receive her lover's kisses.⁵⁶

Martial is not always this subtle, though. He uses the word morio elsewhere with the humour aimed in three directions: ownership (3.82; 8.13), their stupidity (8.13; 14.210) and appearance (6.39). In the last, Cinna's son, acuto capite et auribus longis quae sic moventur ut solent asellorum, either has his plain features caricatured, or he displays physical deformities consistent with certain mental pathologies. Bringing the "point" home, Martial concludes that he is really the son of the morio Cyrtas. The word is frequently translated as "natural," "cretin," or "idiot". The last two, in their clinical sense, regularly display stunted growth as well. The name Cyrtas further reinforces the image, since it is doubtless derived from the Greek Κυρτός, "bent," and sounds close to the Latin curtus, "short."

* * *

Thus far, discussion of literary evidence has centred on terminology, biological notes and

⁵⁵ Mart. 12.93. "Labulla has discovered how to kiss her lover in her husband's presence. She gives repeated kisses to her dwarf fool, whom, slobbered with many kisses, the lover at once pounces upon and hands back, saturated with his own kisses, to the smiling mistress. How much bigger as a fool is the husband!"

⁵⁶ See J. Yardley, "The Symposium in Roman Elegy", in W.J. Slater, ed., Dining in a Classical Context (Ann Arbor, 1991), 149-155.

humour. Little has been said yet about the roles assumed by dwarfs in ancient society. Among the Greeks, the criticism and derision of dwarfs seem somewhat mild. According to Dasen's findings, dwarfs in Greek society were reasonably well treated.⁵⁷ Perhaps prevailing thought was reflected in Aristotle's view of dwarfs as biological accidents rather than monsters.

The concept of dwarf as monster was well entrenched in later times. It appears, for example, in an Egyptian papyrus text from Oxyrhynchus dated to the second century AC.⁵⁸ Dwarf births are mentioned as one of a number of prodigious and unpleasant life-forms coming under the sway of the nameless deity who controls an unspecified five-day period in the calendar:

οὗτος ὁ
θεὸς ποιεῖ γήρας πολὺ ἕως κ[αμ]φθῆ τῶι γήραι,
οὗτος ποιεῖ κυρτοὺς ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ ἀρρωστήματος
καμφθῆναι, οὗτος ποιεῖ νάνους τίκτεσθαι,
οὗτος τέρατα ὁμοιοειδῆ κανθάρωι, οὗτος
μὴ ἔχοντα ὀφθαλμούς, οὗτος ὁμοια κτήνι,
οὗτος μογιλάλα, οὗτος κωφά, οὗτος νωδά...⁵⁹

Although the calendar is incomplete, what survives serves to demonstrate belief in an arcane and mystic astrology in Roman Egypt.

But the monstrosity of hunchbacks and dwarfs had a positive dimension, too, which conferred talismanic properties on them. Plutarch (ca. AD 46-120) describes how strange-looking objects can be exploited as protection against the Evil Eye:

τὸ τῶν λεγομένων προβασκανίων γένος οἶονται πρὸς τὸν φθόνον
ὠφελεῖν ἐλκομένης διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῆς ὀψεως, ὥσθ' ἦττον

⁵⁷ Dasen, 1993, 247.

⁵⁸ *PQxy.* 465, col. viii, ll. 222-228. B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, pt. 3 (London, 1903), 126.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 137: "This deity causes old age, until a man be bent by old age; he produces hunchbacks or makes men bent by sickness, he causes dwarfs to be born and monstrosities shaped like a beetle, and persons with no eyes and like a beast and dumb and deaf and toothless."

ἐπερείδειν τοῖς πάσχουσιν.⁶⁰

Hunchbacks and dwarfs, as human embodiments of ἀτοπία, were believed to serve a prophylactic function, similar to that of inanimate amulets. Thus, the desirability of a dwarf's physical presence - even in an artistic representation - catered in part to the highly superstitious character of Roman society. To this we can probably relate Quintilian's observation that some people placed more value on distortis et quocunque modo prodigiosis corporibus⁶¹ than on those with normal appearance.

The rest of this chapter is based on the recognition that dwarfs in Roman society were desired, owned, exhibited, and exploited in public and private contexts. They frequently served as entertainment but this function was predicated on the mirrored values of dwarf as talisman (superstition) and dwarf as monster (curiosity).

Public Entertainment.

The public's demand for freaks was catered to in different ways. There was the exhibition of live dwarfs, the viewing of curious remains, and the appearances of dwarfs in the amphitheatre.

Philodemus of Gadara (1st century BC) alludes to curiosities in his own time: ἔτ[ι δ' οὐ]ς ἐν Ἀκώρει πυγμαίους δ[εικνύ]ουσιν, ἀμέλει δ' ἀνα[λ]όγο[υ]ς τοῖς οὐς] Ἄντωνιος νῦν ἐξυρία[ς ἐκο]μίσ[ατο].⁶² We don't know if these are mere diminutive human beings, such as African Pygmies, or dwarfs with truncated limbs. The actual Pygmies would have been a rich

⁶⁰ Mor. 681F; Quaest. conv. 5.7.3. "the so-called amulets are believed to be useful against Envy. The gaze is diverted to them on account of their strange appearance, so that it exerts less pressure on the victims."

⁶¹ Quint. Inst. orat. 2.5, 11: "figures which are in any way monstrous or distorted." Trans. H.E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library.

⁶² Phld. Sign. 4; "...and further the pygmies that they show in Acoris, who are quite similar to those which Antony recently brought from Syria." Trans. P.H. De Lacy and E.A. De Lacy, Philodemus On Methods of Inference (Naples, 1978).

source for exploitation, but they would have been very difficult to obtain since even later writers like Strabo and Pliny could not confirm where they lived. The citation does not make clear, either, if the dwarfs were exhibited for sale, along the lines of a slave market, but since Antony was allegedly a dwarf-owner (p. 42 below) the likelihood is not remote.

Philodemus also expounds on the natural variations in human height by telling, for example, of: ὁ γενόμενος ἡμίπηχυς ἄνθρωπος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κεφαλὴν δὲ κολοσσικὴν ἔχων ἐφ' ἧς ἐσφυροκόπουν...⁶³ This man, he continues, used to be exhibited by embalmers. Since a nine-inch dwarf is virtually impossible, Philodemus' sources are either lying or exaggerating an unusual exhibit, perhaps a mummified fetus.

According to Varro, writes Pliny, the two equites Manius Maximus and Marcus Tullius were binum cubitorum ...ipsi vidimus in loculis adservatos.⁶⁴ Pliny is probably telling the truth here. The smallest dwarfs can realistically fall between two and three feet in height, and, in view of the Romans' incontrovertible interest in freaks, it is probable that such oddities were preserved and displayed.

References to dwarfs as gladiators begin with Imperial Rome. Suetonius mentions the lavishness of public entertainment in Augustus' day, which even included the participation of equites in stage-plays and gladiatorial shows, until their performances were halted by the Senate (Aug. 43.3):

Postea nihil sane praeterquam adulescentulum Lycium honeste natum exhibuit, tantum ut ostenderet, quod erat bipedali minor, librarum septemdecim ac vocis immensae.⁶⁵

⁶³ Ibid. "The man in Alexandria half a cubit high, with a colossal head that could be beaten with a hammer." The πῆχυς, equated to the Latin cubitus, was the space from the point of the elbow to the end of the little finger, or about eighteen inches.

⁶⁴ Pliny HN 7.75. "two cubits [0.89 m]...we ourselves saw them preserved in caskets." He refers to M. Terentius Varro's lost Antiquitates Rerum Humanarum et Divinarum.

⁶⁵ "Afterwards he [Augustus] certainly exhibited no one with the exception of Lycius, a young man of good family, only in order to show that because he was under two feet tall, he weighed seventeen pounds, and yet had a huge voice."

Lycius is obviously a dwarf, as his height and weight indicate. Baumgarten-Crusius notes that Lycius must have been extraordinarily thin, since a man two feet high ought to weigh twice as much, and that this emphasizes how unusual would be his possession of such a strong voice.⁶⁶

Statius echoes accounts by Dio Cassius and Suetonius when he describes an entertainment offered by Domitian to the people, during the annual Saturnalia, in which a display of sword-fighting given by women is followed by a troop of dwarf combatants (1.6.57-65):

hic audax subit ordo pumilorum,
 quos natura brevis statim peracta
 nodosum semel in globum ligavit.
 edunt vulnera conseruntque dextras
 et mortem sibi - qua manu! - minantur.
 ridet Mars pater et cruenta Virtus
 casuraeque vagis grues rapinis
 mirantur pugiles ferocios.
 Iam noctis propioribus sub umbris...⁶⁷

While there is no explicit statement of fighting to the death, the scenario strongly recalls the Roman penchant for creative carnage in the amphitheatre.⁶⁸ The first part of the passage suggests that the dwarfs are engaged in some sort of pancratium. Perhaps live birds are kept behind a barrier or enclosure before it is their turn to be let loose in the arena. Casuraeque suggests that the encounter is yet to take place, and pugiles reinforces the image of fist-fighting without weaponry. Many artistic representations show Pygmies fighting with weapons and military costume⁶⁹ but Perdrizet published

⁶⁶ C. Suetonii Tranquilli Opera Ex Editione Baumgarten-Crusii, vol. 3 (London, 1823), 1403.

⁶⁷ (Sily. 1.6.57-64): "Next come the dwarfs boldly filing in, whom a stunted nature, fixed early on, bounded in a round knotted lump once for all. They give wounds fighting hand to hand and threaten each other with death - what fists! Father Mars and bloodthirsty Valour laugh, and cranes, ready to descend on scattered prey, are astonished at such defiant boxers. Now with the advancing shadows of night..."

⁶⁸ See especially K.M. Coleman, "Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments," JRS 80 (1989), 44-73.

⁶⁹ Two examples among many: a clay lamp [Tübingen, Archäologisches Institut, Inv. Sch./5165/25] and a terracotta group [Paris, Louvre, Inv. D3688].

a knife-handle modelled as a Pygmy strangling a crane.⁷⁰ Noteworthy is the term nodosus, used also by Pliny in describing the growth of trees, which reinforces the notion that curtailment of growth causes a crumpling or compacting of the body reminiscent of knotting. The visual effect might be enhanced by a short or absent neck, or scoliosis or other form of hunched back. Unless the grues, Mars, and Virtus are all to be interpreted figuratively, Statius hints that live, real birds are in evidence, performing in a re-enactment of the traditional conflict between the Pygmies and the cranes. He suggests in l. 65 that twilight is already advancing, a detail which echoes Suetonius and Dio Cassius. There is no reason to assume, however, that Statius is describing the very same event as the later authors; but the parallels bolster the credibility of the accounts of such entertainments.

In Dio Cassius' report, Domitian held gladiatorial combats between dwarfs and women: πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας νύκτωρ ἐποίει, καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ νάνους⁷¹ καὶ γυναῖκας συνέβαλλε.⁷² Suetonius (Dom. 4.1) might be alluding to the same contests, but does not explicitly state that the virī included dwarfs: edidit... venationes gladiatoresque et noctibus ad lychnuchos. nec virorum modo pugnas, sed et feminarum.⁷³ It is seen, too, that men were pitted against men, women against women, so there is no exact agreement among Statius, Suetonius and Dio on who was fighting against whom. The precedent of female gladiators might have been set upon the

⁷⁰ Bronzes Fouquet, no. 88, pl. 23.

⁷¹This is Leunel's emendation; the manuscripts read νόννας. See U. Boissevain, ed., Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum Quae Supersunt, v. 3, (Berlin, 1955), 67.8.4, n. νάνους.

⁷² Dio Cass. 67.8.4. "Often he would celebrate the games at night, too, and sometimes he pitted dwarfs and women against each other."

⁷³ "he gave wild beast hunts and gladiatorial shows at night by lamplight, not only matches between men but between women, too."

inauguration of the new Colosseum, under Titus, as mentioned by Martial⁷⁴ and Dio Cassius,⁷⁵ and a positive response by the audience would certainly have led to multiple appearances during Domitian's reign, which began shortly thereafter.

Variations on the standard gladiatorial matches included not only women and dwarfs but also, as cruel parody, unfit and feeble men and animals. Lewis and Short define *paegniarii* as "gladiators who fought only in jest" and the unpleasant undercurrent to this "jest" is made clear, for example, in Suetonius (*Calig.* 26):

remotoque ordinario apparatu tabidas feras, vilissimos senioque confectos gladiatores, proque paegniariis patres familiarum notos in bonam partem sed insignis debilitate aliqua corporis subiciebat.⁷⁶

It should be stated that we know almost nothing about *paegniarii*. Various other authorities seem to accept the link with *παίγνιον*,⁷⁷ and establish them as a class of gladiators who do not fight to the death.⁷⁸ Attempts to produce archaeological corroboration rely on gladiators brandishing inoffensive weapons: see for example a pair of gladiators armed with whips, blunt short sticks and undersized shields on a mosaic from Nennig.⁷⁹ The epigraphic evidence is scant. Three inscriptions in *CIL VI* (631, 10168, 10182) fail to enlighten. 10182, of unknown provenience, appears on a fragment of a

⁷⁴ Martial *Spec.* 6: *Belliger invictis quod Mars tibi servit in armis./ non satis est. Caesar: servit et ipsa Venus.* "That warrior Mars serves amid your unconquered arms, Caesar, is not enough; Venus herself serves, too." Trans. J.P. Sullivan, *Martial: The Unexpected Classic* (Cambridge, 1991), 8.

⁷⁵ Dio Cass. 66.25

⁷⁶ "After the usual equipment was taken away, he substituted mangy wild beasts; gladiators who were worthless and decrepit with age; and, instead of joke fighters, heads of households of quite good repute, but whose bodies were in some way conspicuously infirm.

⁷⁷ *TLL* s.v. "p(a)egniarius"; DarSag 2.2 (1896), s.v. "Gladiator" (G. Lafaye), 1589.

⁷⁸ *RE Supp.* 3 (1918) 777, s.v. "Gladiatores" (K. Schneider); L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire [Sittengeschichte Roms]*, vol. 4, Appendices and Notes (London, 1913, repr. 1968, based on 6th German edition), by A.B. Gough, 179; *Lexicon Totius Latinitatis* 3 (1965), s.v. "PAEGNIARIUS"; G. Ville, *La gladiature en occident des origines a la mort de Domitien* (Rome, 1981), 394.

⁷⁹K. Parlasca, *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1959), pl. 36, 38.1.

marble sarcophagus and bears the single word PIIGNIARO.⁸⁰ 631 is an inscription dedicated to the emperor Commodus by the collegium Silvani Aureliani, an association of gladiators. Of the thirty-two surviving names of gladiators listed, Aprilis pægniar(ius) appears as the first name in the fourth decuria. 10168 is on a marble funerary slab in honour of one Secundus, a pægnarius who lived to the age of 98. It is dated, on palaeographic grounds, to the second or third century AC.⁸¹ In no instance is there a hint of what the pægnarius actually does: this derives solely from the etymology of the term, and its occurrence in Suetonius quoted above.

If it is accepted that the role of the pægnarii was to provoke amusement, to provide well-timed relief from the excitement of the more brutal sports, then it is likely that the dwarfs who appeared in the arena were fulfilling just this function, and can reasonably be called pægnarii. As we have no direct evidence of the physical types who performed as pægnarii, I would suggest that the term is one of sufficiently wide application that dwarf gladiators may be included as well as others. In Suetonius' passage, the implication is that the heads of households were prevailed upon to perform the role instead of (proque) the normally expected participants, whoever they may be. Even if one accepts Roth's reading of quoque,⁸² one could still understand Suetonius as meaning that the heads of households were being used as pægnarii. In considering whether pægnarii were a sub-group of dwarfs, or whether dwarf fighters were a sub-group of pægnarii, I think the latter likelihood should prevail. The direct equivalence of dwarfs and pægnarii, as suggested by Cavedoni, is considered improbable by Gough.⁸³

⁸⁰ P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'occidente romano = Vetera 2, pt. 1 (Rome, 1988), 74: "PIIGNIARIO, i.e. pægnario pro pægnario."

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² K.L. Roth, C. Suetoni Tranquilli quae supersunt omnia (Leipzig, 1858).

⁸³ Friedländer, cit. n. 78. Gough cites Cavedoni, BdI 1846, 191.

Martial (1.43.9-10) criticizes a host's skimpy main course by calling the small, undressed boar:

nudus aper, sed et hic minimus qualisque necari
a non armato pumilione potest.

Again, in 14.213:

Haec, quae saepe solet vinci, quae vincere raro
parma tibi, scutum pumilionis erit.⁸⁴

Martial uses the pumilio as a humorous metaphor, but might he not have been inspired by real staged matches rather than merely his audience's acquaintanceship with Pygmy lore?⁸⁵ The contrasting images evoked by the two verses then show that paegniarii were sometimes armed and sometimes not.

Private Entertainment.

Athenaeus hints at the custom of keeping dwarfs for private amusement among the Sybarites in earlier days:

ἐπιχωριάζειν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν ἀνθρωπάρια μικρὰ
καὶ τοὺς σκωπαίους ὡς φησὶν ὁ Τίμαιος, τοὺς καλουμένους παρὰ
τισι στίλπωνας καὶ κυνάρια Μελιταῖα, ἅπερ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔπεσθαι εἰς
τὰ γυμνάσια.⁸⁶

The ἀνθρωπάρια μικρὰ may be assumed to be dwarfs. σκωπαίους and στίλπωνας are obscure because this passage produces their only occurrence. Gulick debates the problem and

⁸⁴ This, which is often accustomed to being overcome, rarely winning, will be a small buckler to you, but a great shield to a dwarf."

⁸⁵ An unarmed dwarf, perhaps a trainer, performs with a boar on a mosaic from Zliten. See p. 52 below.

⁸⁶ Ath. 12.518f. "and, arising from their self-indulgence, they frequently kept little mannikins and skopaei, who some call stilpones, according to Timaeus; also Maitese lap-dogs, which even attended them to the gymnasia."

ultimately dismisses σκωπαίους as most likely referring to "dwarfish buffoon<s>".⁸⁷ I have left them untranslated, but σκωπαίους could probably be related to σκώψ (owl) while στίλπωνας, despite its similarity to the Megarian philosopher Stilpo, might be derived from στίλβω, to sparkle or shine (hence "sparkler?") or even στίλη, raindrop.⁸⁸ In the event, no one actually knows why this name exists.

The earliest dwarf-owner among Romans⁸⁹ who is mentioned in our sources is the triumvir Marc Antony. Horace (Sat. 1.3.46-47) writes: si cui filius est, ut abortivus fuit olim Sisyphus, which Porphyry glosses: <Sisyphus> Marci Antoni triumviri pumilio fuisse dicitur intra bipedalem staturam, ingenio tamen vivax.⁹⁰ If Porphyry is correct, then it is possible that this Sisyphus was only one of a number of dwarfs owned by Antony, and obtained in Syria.⁹¹

Pliny describes dwarfs in the households of Augustus' family: minimus homo duos pedes et palmum Conopas nomine in deliciis Iuliae neptis eius fuit et minima mulier Andromeda liberta Iuliae Augustae.⁹² Even while his wife and granddaughter kept dwarfs, a probable fashion of the

⁸⁷ C.B. Gulick, Loeb edition.

⁸⁸ For many Greek names meaning "small", see F. Bechtel, Die einstämmigen männlichen Personennamen des Griechischen, die aus Spitznamen hervorgegangen sind (Berlin, 1898), 7f.

⁸⁹ There is probable archaeological evidence of dwarf ownership among the Etruscans. A wall painting from the François Tomb, Vulci, dated to the third century BC, shows a portrait inscribed "Vel Saties" accompanied by a dwarf who appears to be about to read the flight pattern of a bird. For a full-page colour reproduction, see M. Sprenger et al. The Etruscans [Die Etrusker], trans. R.E. Wolf (New York, 1983), 143 and pl. 227.

⁹⁰ A. Holder, ed., Pomponius Porphyrio: Commentum in Horatium Flaccum (Hildesheim, 1967), 244. "Sisyphus, a dwarf belonging to the triumvir Marc Antony, was said to have been less than two feet high, but possessed of a lively intelligence."

⁹¹ See p. 35 and n. 62 above, on Phld. Sign.4.

⁹² Pliny HN 7.75. "the smallest man, who was two and a quarter feet tall, and called Conopas, was one of the pets of [Augustus'] granddaughter Julia; the smallest woman was Andromeda, a freedwoman of Julia Augusta [Livia].

A palmum is one-quarter of a pes, therefore the total height should be two-and-one-quarter Roman feet (where one Roman foot = 0.971 English feet = 29.6 cm) or .67 m.

upper-class, Suetonius (Aug. 83) reveals Augustus' personal dislike: Nam pumilos atque distortos et omnis generis eiusdem ut ludibria naturae malique ominis abhorrebat.⁹³ We see a concrete instance of the ambivalence regarding the Romans' attitude to dwarfs; while Augustus considers their ugliness a bad omen, others exploit it as an apotropaion.⁹⁴

Suetonius tells us of an exchange between Augustus' successor Tiberius and a dwarf: interrogatum eum subito et clare a quodam nano, astante mensae inter copreas,⁹⁵ cur Paconius majestatis reus tam diu viveret.⁹⁶ It is fair to infer that this dwarf was part of the household, rather than hired for the occasion, because he displays an easy familiarity and an expectation that he could get away with such remarks.

Suetonius remarks that Tiberius' nanus spoke to the emperor subito et clare. The same contrast, between the pint-sized body and the clarion voice was noted in Lycius (p. 36-37) and in the man in Luxorius' epigram who is ridiculed because his short stature is so at odds with his loud piercing voice.⁹⁷

Corpore par querulis es vel clamore cicadis-
Hinc potior quod te tempora nulla vetant.
Dum loqueris, quaerunt cuncti vox cuius oberret,
Atque sonum alterius corporis esse putant.
Miramur, tantum capiant qui membra furorem,

⁹³ "for he abhorred dwarfs, cripples, and everything of that sort, as freaks of nature and of ill omen." Trans. J.C. Rolfe, Loeb edition.

The same passage reveals that Augustus preferred pueri minuti for amusement and relaxation. They were generally healthy and attractive, without the macabre or perceived unlucky aspect of dwarfs. As a humorous twist, Petronius makes Trimalchio's favourite, the deliciae Croesus, ugly: Petr. 28 (vetulus, lippus, domino Trimalchione deformior) and 64 (lippus, sordidissimis dentibus).

⁹⁴ Similar power was attributed to their images and representations, in lieu of actual living dwarfs. Various figures in the catalogue, notably the tintinnabula (176-185), are clearly apotropaic in function.

⁹⁵ See p. 46 below.

⁹⁶ Suet., Tib. 61. "[he] was suddenly asked by a loud-voiced dwarf, standing near the table with the jesters: 'How come Paconius is still alive after being charged with lèse majesté?'"

⁹⁷ Rosenblum, Luxorius no. 10. Hapf = AL 296. In clamosum Pygmaeum corpore et furiosum.

Cum sit forma levis, clamor et ira gravis.⁹⁸

Luxorius may have a true dwarf in mind; lines 3-4 suggest that he was so short that normal-sized people did not think to look down to ascertain the source of his sound.

The nature of the little fellow who served as a favourite to the emperor Domitian is also ambiguous. Suetonius tells us that throughout every gladiatorial show, ante pedes ei stabat puerulus coccinatus parvo portentosoque capite, cum quo plurimum fabulabatur, nonnumquam serio.⁹⁹ The puerulus might possibly have been a deformed adult: with an individual of maturer years, the emperor could easily converse serio.

The numbers in which dwarfs and other retainers could be kept in a royal court can only be guessed at in an account of Severus Alexander's divestment of imperial property and retainers:

nanos et nanas et moriones et vocales exsoletos et omnia acroamata et pantomimos
populo donavit; qui autem usui non erant singulis civitatibus putavit alendos
singulos, ne gravarentur specie mendicorum.¹⁰⁰

The implication is that there were whole troupes of them in the imperial household. Although SHA is not necessarily reliable, we know that the custom of keeping dwarfs persisted through antiquity, and we assume that the wealthier the household, the greater the number of retainers who could be accommodated.

We conclude with a household dwarf, Zerkon, who had a colourful history: he was acquired in Africa by the general Fl. Ardabur Aspar in the early 430's, was subsequently captured in Thrace,

⁹⁸"In size of body and noise you are the equal of chirping crickets, even more so because no seasons restrain you. When you speak, everybody asks whose voice is flying about and everybody thinks that the sound is coming from some other person. I wonder how your body can give vent to so much rage; although your frame is frail, your cries and anger are robust." Trans. M. Rosenblum.

⁹⁹ Suet. Dom. 4.2; "at his feet stood a little boy dressed in red with a grotesquely small head, with whom he chatted a great deal, sometimes in grave tones."

¹⁰⁰ SHA Alex. Sev. 34. "Male and female dwarfs, fools, singing catamites, all kinds of entertainers, and pantomimists, he made public property; those, however, who were not of any use, he settled each on a different town for support, in order that the latter not be burdened with the sight of beggars."

and resided with Bleda the Hun, also possibly with Attila, and with the general Aetius, who restored Zerkon to Aspar.¹⁰¹ He provided amusement by his appearance and his stuttering; the description of his nose hints, too, at clinical dwarfism:

propter corporis deformitatem, et quod vocis balbutie ipsoque adspectu risum
 movebat (nam brevis erat, gibbosus, distortis pedibus, et mirum in modum simus,
 ita ut nasum e naribus tantum cognosceres)...¹⁰²

The question of ownership is difficult. Surely, many dwarfs must have been brought up in their families' homes and lived either on familial support or on earnings gleaned from their own efforts. We see dwarfs installed in wealthy households, including the emperors', but the legalities of ownership are not understood; some dwarfs might have been kept as outright slaves - for which a body of law applied - while others were members of the household kept informally on sufferance in exchange for whatever diversion they were expected to provide.

The engagement of musical dwarf entertainers by the later first century BC is attested by Propertius, who paints a lively scene of an intimate al fresco convivium; he and two ladies are entertained by an Egyptian piper, a castanetist, and a dwarf who is gesticulating, and probably dancing, to the music (4.8.41-47):

Magnus et ipse suos breviter concretus in artus
 iactabat truncas ad cava buxa manus.¹⁰³

As noted (p. 29) the name "Magnus" provides a typical bit of oxymoronic levity.

¹⁰¹ Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum 4, p. 92, fr. 8, Priscus Panitas, and especially p. 96, fr. 11; Suda, s.v. Ζέρκων; J.R. Martindale, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, vol. 2, AD 395-527 (Cambridge, 1980), 168.

¹⁰² Priscus, fr. 11, FHG. "...because of his bodily deformity, and because he provoked merriment at his stammering speech and at his very appearance (for he was short, hunchbacked, with misshapen feet, and surprisingly flat-nosed, so that you could barely make out the nose protruding beyond the nostrils)"

¹⁰³ "Magnus himself, short and stunted in body, clapped his hands to the hollow flute."

Such party entertainments sometimes went unappreciated. Pliny the Younger writes to Genitor expressing sympathy for the latter's disgust at being a dinner guest where scurrae, cinaedi, moriones niensis inerrabant.¹⁰⁴ This is an instance in which the presence of dwarfs is not made explicit, but at least one editor includes dwarfs among these.¹⁰⁵ Lucian paints a devastating picture of a salaried philosopher or rhetorician who suffers every sling and arrow at his master's dinner table: καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν σε παρευδοκιμῆ κίναϊδός τις ἢ ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλος ἢ Ἰωνικὰ συνείρων Ἀλεξανδρεωτικὸς ἀνθρωπίσκος.¹⁰⁶ Elsewhere, he relates how another philosopher at a dinner party provokes a fight with an ἀνθρωπίσκος (also called a γελωτοποιὸς or "clown") because he is disgruntled at the high amusement the latter generates among the other guests, with his recital of naughty verses in an Egyptian accent.¹⁰⁷ This high-spirited Alexandrian ribaldry seems to be an accepted specialty of dwarfs. The ἀνθρωπίσκοι must have been similar to Tiberius' nanus (p. 43), described in the same passage as a coprea, who by definition relies on a blue repertoire. Such loud-mouthed runtlings can compare with pueri minuti, as the latter were often trained to amuse with precociously rude talk.¹⁰⁸ Regardless of whether the dwarf himself came from Egypt or not, the style of entertainment might plausibly have originated in Alexandria and remained associated with that city's reputation for boisterous unrestrained humour.

The dwarfs who appear in private contexts either have no obvious roles or duties, or, in the

¹⁰⁴ Pliny Ep. 9.17. "a set of jesters, catamites and fools were wandering in between the tables."

¹⁰⁵ M. Adams, ed., C. Suetonius Tranquillus, Divi Augusti Vita (London, 1959), 199. For moriones as dwarfs, see p.33 above. For a scurra as a possible dwarf jester, see W.J. Slater, "Pantomime Riots", CIAnt 13.1 Apr. (1994), 121, on Horace Sat. 1.5.

¹⁰⁶ Merc.Cond. 27. "most of all when your favour is rivalled by a cinaedus or a dancing-master or an Alexandrian dwarf who recites Ionics [Ionic obscenities]." (trans. A.M. Harmon, Loeb Classical Library).

¹⁰⁷ Luc. Symp. 18-19.

¹⁰⁸ See Quint. Inst. 1.2.7 and Sen. Dial. 2.11.3; also W.J. Slater, cit n. 52.

examples just noted, they are entertainers. The former group is assumed to be owned, or at least to be resident at the house, whereas there is nothing in the passages which describe entertainers to suggest that they actually live in the houses where they perform. If this is indeed the case, then the question must be raised concerning the manner of the dwarfs' self-employment, or if they work under contract to an entrepreneur. If so, one might look to extant contracts drawn up with troupes of professional entertainers.¹⁰⁹

There would probably have been a legal relationship between these talented dwarfs and their agents.¹¹⁰ This would certainly be a far cry from those presumably unskilled unfortunates who, according to Longinus and Seneca, were disfigured with the idea of garnering more generous alms for themselves and their exploiters. That begging was altogether the recourse of too many of society's cast-offs is suggested by the passage in SHA alluding to the dispersal of dwarfs and many others who had been kept in the court of Severus Alexander (p. 44). Those who could not market themselves were evidently distributed so that no one locality would bear the brunt of their welfare.

¹⁰⁹ See W.L. Westermann, "The Castanet Dancers of Arsinoe," JEA 10 (1924), 134-144; C. Krämer, "A Greek Element in Egyptian Dancing," AJA 35 (1931), 125-138.

¹¹⁰ For the concept of renting or hiring out property or individuals (locatio), see: B. Nicholas, An Introduction to Roman Law (Oxford, 1962, repr. 1965), 182-185; M. Kaser, Römisches Privatrecht, 10th ed. (Munich, 1977), 156-161.

II. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The literary references cited above discuss dwarfs from various aspects: biological, lexicographical, literary, and historical. We are offered clues as to how dwarfs were integrated into the fabric of society and have observed a number of dwarfs in a social context; some are historical named persons.

The visual evidence which comes down to us is far more abstract. For the catalogue itself, I elected to focus on bronze and terracotta representations of dancers, musicians, fighters and athletes. Many are probably fantasy figures divorced from the reality of living human dwarfs, although the large number of extant musical and combative figurines is consistent with the frequent mention in the written sources of Pygmies and dwarf entertainers and gladiators. In this section, I complement the literary citations with other representations which, with the exception of 67, are excluded from the catalogue for reasons of medium and iconography, but which may contribute to our knowledge of the role of actual dwarfs.

1. A marble funerary altar in Florence¹¹¹ imitates in relief an aedicula with a statue of the deceased standing on a rectangular pedestal. The inscription is: Θ(ΕΟΙΣ) Κ(ΑΤΑΧΘΟΝΙΟΙΣ)/ ΜΥΡΟΙΝΟΤΙ ΝΑΝΩ<Ι>/ ΧΟΡΑΥΑΗ<Ι>. His occupation, then, was a choraules, one who accompanied choral dancers on his flutes. The Greek name, I assume, is a sobriquet alluding to the sweet sounds he produces when blowing his instruments. Since it alone appears on the stone, the

¹¹¹ Uffizi Gallery, 982. No. 67 in my catalogue.

indication is that he was a slave at the time of his death.¹¹² The second line of the inscription confirms that Myropnous is a dwarf, and indeed the effigy boldly depicts the entire body instead of the customary bust. It shows a man with large head, short arms, and severely abbreviated body with bowed legs, concealed under a long-sleeved tunic belted at the waist, a costume frequently worn by musicians and certain actors. The thick curly hair, whose height appears enhanced by a vegetal crown, and facial features look Severan: a date in the early third century AC is plausible.¹¹³

2. A marble plaque¹¹⁴ was discovered in 1919 in a tomb near Ariccia along the Via Appia. It depicts an Egyptian religious celebration, perhaps "a ceremony on the occasion of some of the festivals of Isis and Serapis"¹¹⁵ (see plate A).

The upper register shows one side of a portico with seven small chapels in a row. The central, largest chapel contains a statue of a seated female. On either side of her are three crouching figures, a Bes flanked by baboons; each sits in its own tiny chapel. Statues on the far right representing an Apis bull and two human-shaped figures might have been matched by similar figures at the far left, but that section is missing.

The register below these divinities shows a dance performed by an assortment of men and women. On an altar to the far right are six diminutive female onlookers. The figure on the far right

¹¹²D.E.E. Kleiner, Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits (Rome, 1987), 261.

¹¹³ Kleiner notes that the "beard and coiffure are comparable to those of Septimius Severus in portraits of ca. A.D. 194-196." (Ibid.) D. Boschung, Antike Grabaltäre aus den Nekropolen Roms (Bern, 1987), 77, accepts a late Antonine or early Severan date, like Kleiner, because of the arrangement of the hair, which appears on monuments of the same period.

¹¹⁴ Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. Inv. 77255. It measures 1.12 m wide in its present broken state (its reconstructed width is about 1.49 m) and 0.50 m high.

¹¹⁵ F.M. Snowden, "Ethiopians and the Isiac Worship," AntCl 25 (1956), 115. Here, he follows R. Paribeni, "Ariccia -Rilievo con scene egizie," NSc 1919, 106-112.

holds at least one set of crotala, while the others raise their arms toward the dancers, who take up the main field. Seven figures and part of an eighth survive. These include two full-sized men in knee-length loincloths, three full-sized females in long dresses, and two male dwarfs. These last seem to be clapping in time with the other dancers, two of whom hold staves. As mentioned earlier (Ch. One, p. 7), there is a longstanding tradition of dancing dwarfs in Egyptian religious practice.

Anne Rouillet suggests that the portico represented in the background may be identified with that of the Iseum Campense, which would have surrounded a courtyard, and the Iseum itself.¹¹⁶ She cites as numismatic evidence coins of Vespasian which show the facade of a temple of Isis,¹¹⁷ and maintains that this is the sanctuary which was probably built by Caligula and maintained, even through episodes of destruction and renovation, over the next few centuries. Katja Lembke, with little apparent input from Rouillet, strongly supports this identification.¹¹⁸ Paribeni dates the relief on subjective grounds to the time of Hadrian,¹¹⁹ which is only slightly later than Lembke's proposed date of ca. AD 100-110. She cites the garlands on the spectators' podium on the right of the lower register, which she identifies on technical grounds as late Flavian or early Trajanic. The verhärtete Formen of the male dancer on the far right appears at its earliest in the time of Domitian. Thirdly, she describes a brick in the tomb, which is stamped with the name Cn. Domitius Arignotus; he is known to have been active as a brick-maker from ca. AD 75-100 and she believes that the tomb was his own.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ A. Rouillet, The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome (Leiden, 1972), 27.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹¹⁸ K. Lembke, "Ein Relief aus Ariccia und seine Geschichte," RM 101 (1994), 101.

¹¹⁹ Paribeni, *cit.* n. 115, 112. He does not make the connection with an Iseum in Rome and regards it as part of a funerary monument of a private citizen.

¹²⁰ Lembke, *cit.* 118, 99-101.

3. A mosaic panel, now displayed in the Vatican, was unearthed in 1711 from the garden of S. Sabina on the Aventine.¹²¹ It seems to be one of a series of five panels which were found together: while the other four depict scenes from the amphitheatre, ours is a musical mime performance (see Plate B). The panel is rectangular and framed inside a thick double border of black tesserae. The action is played out on a plain light ground with minimal scenery. Groundline is indicated only by shadows under the feet of the furniture and entertainers. On the left are three performers: a crotalistria wears a loose diaphanous ankle-length dress; to her right is a tunic-clad scabillarius who also plays a double flute, and to her left is a barefoot man in a white loincloth or trunks, who holds a bifurcated stick in his left hand. The scene in the right-hand area of the panel is quite similar except that the crotalistria is attended by three men: an extra barefoot performer in loose trunks and carrying the same bifurcated instrument in his right hand strikes a pose between her and the flute-playing scabillarius. The middle zone is framed by a tall lattice-like semi-ellipse.¹²² Within, a male dwarf with dark hair and beard advances left. He wears a light-coloured tunic with two stripes running down the front and carries a pitcher. In the context of a symposium, which the stibadium suggests, his role as wine-server becomes clearer. Behind him is a circular four-footed table and further to his left stands an amphora supported on a tripod. From there he has probably just prepared the wine. Blake at first tentatively offered a Hadrianic date for this panel,¹²³ but later abandoned this for a date in the third or

¹²¹ B. Nogara, Mosaici antichi conservati nei palazzi pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano (Milan, 1910), 6.

¹²² It is described by M.E. Blake as a "pergola" ["Roman Mosaics of the Second Century in Italy," MAAR 13 (1936), 175] and as a "trellis" [ead., "Mosaics of the Late Empire in Rome and Vicinity," MAAR 17 (1940), 118]. She follows Nogara (*ibid.*, 7), who calls it an arch, seemingly of wood-and-rush construction, representing perhaps an awning or open shed serving as a pergola. According to K.M.D. Dunbabin, the semi-ellipse is a stylized representation of a stibadium, which by definition is semi-circular. This identification is confirmed by the table and amphora, which belong in the context of the symposium.

¹²³ Blake, *cit.* n. 122, 1936, 174.

early fourth century, identifying it as a companion piece to mosaics¹²⁴ which "seem to have been found in the third century house of which part remains under Sta. Sabina."¹²⁵

4. A dwarf is depicted on a mosaic laid in one of the principal rooms of a seaside villa discovered 1913-14 at Dar Buc Amméra near Zliten, east of Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania¹²⁶ (see Plate C). The perimeter of the mosaic is a frieze which features scenes from the amphitheatre, including various types of gladiator, the arena orchestra, executions, and matches between humans and animals. In one instance, a thick stocky dwarf appears to be performing a circus trick with a young boar. The dwarf is bearded and bald, except for a knotted double tuft of hair protruding from the back of his crown. He wears a short but roomy tunic, silver-grey with a purple clavus; his feet are protected by short boots. He appears to hold a small round object in his raised right hand, and holds several more in reserve, gathered and held in the folds of his garment by his left hand.¹²⁷ The boar rears or sits on his hind legs, head raised, balancing another of the same objects on his forehead. The dwarf appears to be an attendant or trainer rather than merely another combatant. His function in such a public context was clearly to entertain; his act contributed to the variety of the games and perhaps served as a light humorous diversion to clear the audience's collective palate between more sanguinary treats. The dating of the Zliten mosaics has been disputed. We can say, however, that the surviving pavements are not all contemporaneous. The amphitheatre mosaic probably falls rather early in the

¹²⁴ Ead., cit. n. 122, 1940, 118.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 116.

¹²⁶ A detailed description of the panel is found in S. Aurigemma, I mosaici di Zliten (Rome/Milan, 1926), 186-189.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 186, considers the objects most likely to be fruit, such as apples.

proposed range of dates, perhaps the first half of the second century AC.¹²⁸

5. A pair of mosaic floor panels featuring dwarfs do not actually show them in a real-life context, but do underscore the value we have observed of keeping real (and representational) dwarfs in one's home as a sort of lucky charm. They were discovered in the vestibule of Room 2 of a house excavated at Jekmegeh, a suburb of Antioch.

One panel [see Plate D(i)] features a young hunchbacked dwarf.¹²⁹ He is dark-haired and cleanshaven, vigorous and athletic-looking, nude except for a grey and white loincloth. He advances to his left, looking over his right shoulder. In each hand, held at the mid-point, is a long stick which seems to be either pronged or fitted with a clapper at each end.¹³⁰ His prophylactic function is reinforced by the inscription ΚΑΙ ΣΥ, which probably means "May any evil that you wish upon this house be visited upon you, too."

That this threat is conceived to confront the Evil Eye is made clearer by the second, later mosaic, which was laid almost directly above the first¹³¹ [see Plate D(ii)]. It features a large Eye being assailed by various apotropaic forces, including a hound, snake, scorpion, dagger, trident, raven, leopard, and centipede. Prominent too, and partially obscuring the leopard, is a nude goblin-like dwarf who presents his back to the Eye. His huge tail-like phallus aims backwards directly at it. He holds rods in his hands similar to those of the figure in the mosaic below. Floating overhead is, again, the

¹²⁸ See K.M.D. Dunbabin, The Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Studies in Iconography and Patronage (Oxford, 1978), 235-237, for a careful summary of the problems of chronology for the Zliten mosaics.

¹²⁹ Doro Levi, "The Evil Eye and the Lucky Hunchback," Antioch III, The Excavations of 1937-39 (Princeton, 1941), 220-232, pl. 56, ill. 120, panel A.; id., "House of the Evil Eye - Lower Level," Antioch Mosaic Pavements (Princeton, 1947), 28-34, pl. 4a.

¹³⁰ Levi, cit. n. 129, 1941, 227, vacillates between calling it a bifurcated stick or two separate sticks. Several years later he opts for the latter (Levi, cit. n. 129, 1947, 32.)

¹³¹ Levi, cit. n. 129, 1941, pl. 56, fig. 121; id., cit. n. 129, 1947, pl. 4c.

inscription KAI ΣΤ. Levi, in his earlier article, explains the apotropaic significance of the various assailants and weapons. The value of the dwarfs themselves is a function of their atopia (see p. 34-35). This more elaborate panel is later than the first, having been laid right above it, but both are considered by Levi to date before the earthquake of AD 115, being part of the original plan of the house rather than later restorations.

6. A mosaic found somewhere in the Vesuvius region is now in the Museo Nazionale di Napoli¹³² (see Plate E). It is a floor panel measuring about 50 cm. square, with tesserae between ca. 5-7 mm in dimension. A dark-haired bearded dwarf stands on the right, wearing a roomy deeply folded garment which is wrapped around his torso and draped over the left side of his body, leaving the right arm and leg fully exposed. He extends a frond, perhaps a victory presentation, to one of two roosters; a second lies on the ground, evidently in defeat. Just behind the roosters stands a pillar the top of which is bedecked with a wreath. The whole is rendered in bold outlines and sharp vibrant colours, including grey, yellow and brown for the ground; reddish fleshtone for the dwarf; green and pink on the roosters; green for the wreath; shadows are greenish-grey, black, and dark blue.

We see that the artistic representations of dwarfs confirm, to a certain extent, the situations described in literary texts of dwarfs as members of wealthy households (1, 3), as entertainers in the arena (4), as musical performers (1), and as objects of superstitious wonder (5). They also help balance the picture in the texts of so many apparent solo rather than group performers (a noted exception being Propertius' Magnus), by portraying some dwarfs who do share the stage: a choraules

¹³² Inv. 10003. A.F.P. MN768. See M. Bieber and G. Rodenwaldt, *JdI* 26 (1911), 9-10; E. Pernice, *Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken* (Berlin, 1938), 179; M.R. Borriello, *Le collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Vol. 1, *I mosaici*, etc. (Rome, 1986), no. 57.

(often one of a small orchestra) (1), ritual dancers (2), an animal trainer in the arena (4), and even the presenter of awards at a cock-fight (6).

CHAPTER THREE

DANCING AND MUSICAL DWARFS

95 figures may be classified as dwarfs who dance or play an instrument or do both. Their overall composition is decidedly more diverse than those classified as fighters, athletes and tintinnabula, which are discussed in succeeding chapters. 47 single statuettes are bronzes; 40 are terracottas. In addition, there is one marble torso (59)¹, one faience torso (58), three terracotta groups (64*, 69*, 85*), and three relief representations: two terracotta plaques (28*, 29*) and the marble funerary altar (67) discussed in Chapter Two. The average height of the musical statuettes is 10.2 cm but they range from 2.2 cm (76), the smallest of the specimens from the Galjûb hoard, to 32.0 cm (13), the male dancer from the Mahdia shipwreck. He is nearly matched by the female Mahdia statues, at 31.5 cm (77) and 29.5 cm (72). If these three figures are excluded, the average height falls to 9.4 cm.

Classification as dancing and/or musical is based on a figure being engaged in one of the following activities: (i) dancing while holding or playing a musical or rhythmical instrument; (ii) dancing, but without an instrument; (iii) not dancing, but with an instrument. They are segregated in the catalogue by sex: male (1-71) and female (72-95). A seventy-second male is part of a group, 85. Of the other two groups, 64* represents a one-man band accompanied by a smaller figure, probably a child; 69* is a dwarf-like trumpeter accompanied by a water organist.

We find a rich variation of pose, body type, physiognomy, costume, and over-all style. This

¹ Here and following, numbers refer to the catalogue entries and illustrations. Terracottas are indicated with an asterisk (*).

holds particularly true for the males, which survive, and were presumably produced, in greater numbers.

Those male performers who use percussive instruments are primarily dancers. The most numerous of these are the crotalists (1-20, 21*) of whom the last (21*) is exceptional by being a terracotta and clothed. The rest are bronze and either nude or skimpily clad in a brief loincloth or sash. Others use the baton (22-24), tambourine (25-26, 31*), rattle (27*), and staves (28-30*). Like the crotalum, these are percussive objects, although, as I mention later, staves can also serve a more aesthetic function.

The chief activity of twelve male figures is playing a tonal instrument, i.e. one which is plucked or blown. Represented three times each are the cithara or lyre (60-62*), syrinx or panpipes (63-65*), double flute (66-68*), and trumpet (69-71*). Almost all the musicians are terracotta; the exceptions are two flautists: one appears on the Severan funerary altar (67);² the other is a bronze seated figure now in Oxford (68).

Some dancing male dwarfs are holding musically irrelevant objects, namely a basket (32-34), cup (35), platter (36*) and grapes (37*). Their significance is obscure, but see below, Chapter Seven, p. 145.

Nos. 46-59 are loosely "grouped" as damaged figures in various media. Most are quite worn, and are missing limbs and other parts. They merit inclusion in this study, nevertheless, because of various traits shared with other, better preserved figures.

The females are far fewer than the males, and are more restricted in style and especially iconography. Excluding three damaged pieces (91, 92, 93*), the nineteen female dancers include six

² See Ch. Two, p. 48-49 for main discussion.

crotalists, an amphora-holder (78*), seven tambourinists (79-85*), and five that do not appear to hold anything (86-90*). All the crotalists are bronzes (as are most of the male crotalists) and the non-crotalists are terracotta. Only two females, both terracotta, play tonal instruments: the cithara (94*) and double flute (95*).

In this chapter, I review the dwarfs' iconography, and follow with discussion of selected groups.

ICONOGRAPHY

The iconography of the musical dwarfs is distinguished on the basis of associated objects, especially musical instruments (rhythm and tonal) and costume (clothing, headwear and footwear).

I. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

A. RHYTHM

1. Crotala.

1-20, 21*, 26*, 72-77 and 85* are characterized by the use of a crotalum (Gk. κρόταλον). This is a type of castanet or clacker, whose separate resonant components bang together percussively and audibly, in time to a dancer's movements. The material used in its manufacture varies. A number of literary sources point to crotala of clay and bronze,³ wood,⁴ and ivory.⁵

In Diagram One, I identify several variations of the crotalum, which are held by figures in

³ Eust. II. 11.160.

⁴ Ibid. and Prop. 4.3. In the Würzburg museum is an unpublished wooden instrument, about 20 cm long, which consists of a handle connected by a hinge to two clappers.

⁵ S.A. Naber, ed., Photii Patriarchae Lexicon (Leyden, 1864), s.v. κρεμβαλιάζειν.

the catalogue as follows:⁶

- (1) Two flat components which are grasped at one end, and held together. The handle is very stubby and therefore concealed, or nearly so. (1,l. hand; 2,l.; 5,l.; 15,l.; 16,l.; 17,r.; 72,l.; 77,l.; 85*,l.)
- (2) Two components which can be thick or semicircular in cross-section and treated with one or two decorative bands. They are held by a handle which forms an approximate right angle to the components. (6,l. and r.; 11,l.; 12,r.; 13,l.; 72,r.; 73,l. and r.)
- (3) A strong resemblance to a horn or boomerang. It is virtually impossible to recognize two components. Either the effects of wear or artistic licence have eliminated them, or the crotalum is designed hollow, with perhaps a loose clapper - similar to a bell's - in the interior.
 - (a) Fairly straight, with the handle largely concealed in the hand. A decorative band may be visible. (1,r.)
 - (b) Similar, but with a pronounced bend. (2,r.; 15,r.; 26,r.)
- (4) A long horn-shaped crotalum with nine decorative bands. It may be hollow and therefore a variation of 3. (21*,r.)

The earliest literary mentions of crotala occur in the Homeric Hymns, Herodotus, and Pindar, where they figure in the worship of Cybele, Artemis and Dionysus.⁷ We also have Classical representations in vase painting and sculpture. They are especially common on black-figure vases, where draped female dancers hold long, thin variations of Diag. One (1)⁸, and in the hands of jointed

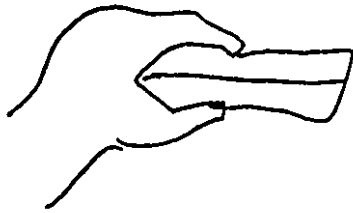
⁶ Following a catalogue number, "l." and "r." indicate that the object is held respectively in the figure's left hand and right hand.

⁷ Hymn. Hom. ad Mat. Deorum XIV.3 (Allen); Hdt. 2.60; Pind. fr. 48.2; also Eur. Hel. 1308 and Cyc. 204.

⁸ E.g. E. Reeder, The Archaeological Collection of the Johns Hopkins University, 154 (Michigan 2599), 156 (London B277).

DIAGRAM ONE Varieties of Crotala

(1)



(2)



(3)

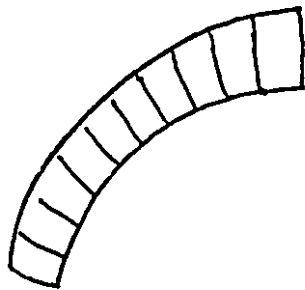
(a)



(b)



(4)



terracotta female dolls. Examples of the dolls from the mid fourth century hold crotala which are shorter and thicker in appearance than those on the vases. These generally resemble Diag. One (1)⁹ or (2).¹⁰

Crotala in Egypt long predate the Hellenistic period. Possibly they share a common origin with the rods and staves that are employed by several figures in my catalogue.

By the New Kingdom, we see variations of Diag. One (1 and 2). The crotala of a group of unusually lithe female dancers closely resemble those of Diag. One (2), which correspond to those held by the females in this catalogue (and by a substantial number of the males, but the males are more difficult to interpret because their state of survival is generally worse).¹¹

Almost certainly the crotala held by the small sculptures in this catalogue are influenced by both Egypt and Greece. The instrument had been well established in both cultures before the Hellenistic period, with antecedents for types (1) and (2). There are many more representations of the crotalum among the Greeks than among the Egyptians. On the other hand, a special place for dwarfs in Egyptian religion and society is more firmly demonstrated.¹² With the distilling of cultural influences in Ptolemaic Egypt, we witness the phenomenon of dwarf crotalists in unusual number. The Egyptian provenience and inspiration of many of these pieces is discussed in Chapter Eight.

2. Staves (28-30*)

⁹ E.g., London, Br. Mus. Inv. GR1865.7-20.34: "Mid-4th c. B.C. Said to be from Athens", Munich, Antikensammlung (Sammlung Hans von Schön): Attic, ca. 400 BC.

¹⁰ London, Br. Mus. Inv. GR1865.7-20.35: "Greek, made in Corinth about 350 B.C." See also K. Elderkin, "Jointed Dolls in Antiquity," *AJA* 34 (1930), 455-479.

¹¹ I. Lexová, *Ancient Egyptian Dances*, trans. K. Haltmar (Prague 1935), fig. 36 and 57.

¹² Dasen, 1993, 156-159.

Only three stave-dancers are represented in this catalogue, which is restricted to plastic images; two of these indeed appear in relief plaques. Many examples, however, especially from Roman times, survive in lamps, mosaics and painting,

The staves are held two per hand and, almost invariably, both hands are engaged. As explained by Goldman,¹³ the staves were used to help mark rhythm or to emphasize the dancers' attitudes and postures.

I believe that there are at least two kinds of instruments and quite possibly three (see Diagram Two):

- (1) Two separate staves (a) criss-crossed (28-30*)
 - (b) parallel
 - (c) held at one end
- (2) Bifurcated stick (or two separate sticks fastened together). (Not represented in catalogue.)
- (3) Stave with clappers at either end. (Not represented in catalogue.)

Goldman recognises my nos. (1) and (3),¹⁴ but (I believe) mistakenly overlooks (2). William Stevenson, however, considers that the standard instrument was (2), a "pronged" or "bifurcated" stick, and thus discounts (1) and (3).¹⁵

(1a), to which our three belong, is also represented in a marble plaque,¹⁶ fresco,¹⁷ mosaic,¹⁸

¹³ H. Goldman. "Two Terracotta Figurines From Tarsus." *AJA* 47 (1953), 29.

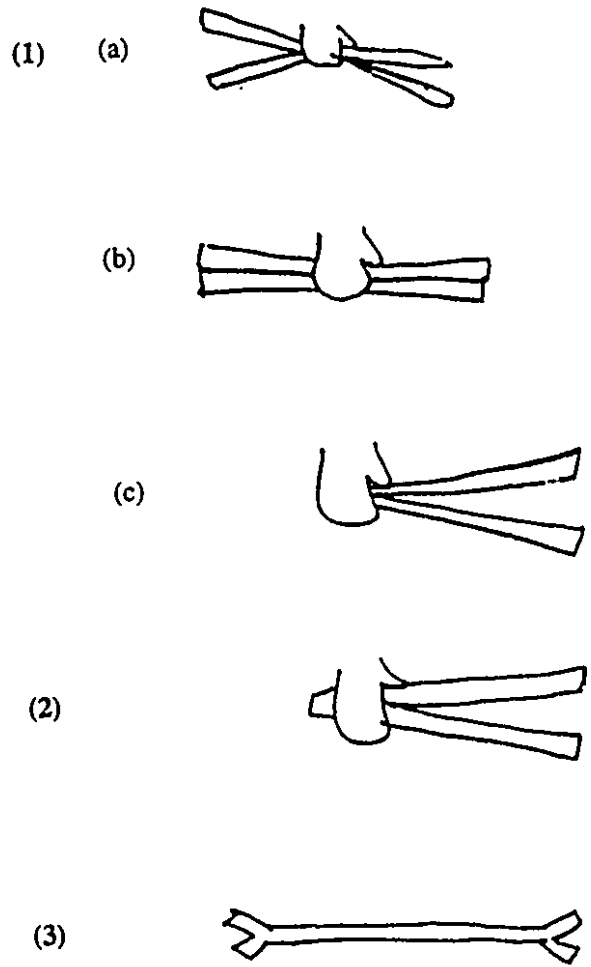
¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Stevenson, *Pathological grotesques*, 79.

¹⁶ The central panel shows a ritual dance performed before seated Egyptian deities, and is the same discussed in Ch. Two, p. 49-50. At least two non-dwarf dancers hold staves.

¹⁷ Cèbe, *Caricature et parodie*, pl. 11.5. A Pompeian fresco from the tomb of C. Vestorius Priscus: a nude pygmy in a boat.

DIAGRAM TWO **Varieties of Staves**



and clay lamp.¹⁹ They probably extend in date from the Late Hellenistic period to the early third century AC. However, stave-dancing seems to lack Classical antecedents. In Hellenistic times it appeared primarily as an Egyptian phenomenon. Egyptian influence is apparent in the marble plaque²⁰ and in the Nilotic themes in the fresco and mosaics. It was probably assimilated by the Hellenized upper class and from there it spread elsewhere. The use of staves is not restricted to dwarfs, but it does seem to be restricted to males.

3. Batons (22-24)

These batons are to be distinguished from staves, which are longer and invariably held two per hand. There is little comparative material, but the Egyptianizing relief found in a tomb at Ariccia²¹ shows a male dancer, clad in a loincloth or rolled-down tunic, who wields a baton in each hand.

Batons may easily be confused with badly rendered crotala, and my attribution of 23 ought perhaps to remain tentative. 22 appears definitely to hold batons. The same objects had been earlier described by Gschwantler and Oberleitner as "stabartige Gegenstände (Auloi?)",²² but Gschwantler evidently subsequently reconsidered.²³

¹⁸ Id., pl. 9.2. Black-and-white mosaic from the Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome: nude pygmy; Id., pl. 13.3. Black-and-white mosaic from the Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome: nude pygmy in a boat.

¹⁹ D. Bailey, A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum, Vol. 2, Roman Lamps Made in Italy (London, 1980), no. 1368. Grotesque dwarfish dancer. Bailey assigns it to Central Italy, ca. AD 175-225.

²⁰ See n. 16.

²¹ See n. 16.

²² K. Gschwantler and W. Oberleitner, Götter Heroen Menschen (Vienna, 1974), 84 no. 267.

²³ K. Gschwantler et al., Guss + Form. Bronzen aus der Antikensammlung. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien (Wien, 1986), no. 185.

Gschwantler et al. suggest that 24 held "Klapperstäbe"²⁴ - batons, as I understand them to be. For the problem of dating, see Chapter Eight, p. 169.

4. Tambourines (25-26, 31*, 79-85*)

Two male bronzes (25-26) hold on their left shoulders tambourines, lozenge-shaped and altogether smooth at the back, even though the figures themselves are fully modelled. The front of the instrument bears four incised circles and a beaded pattern of curved lines separating them. The tambourine held by 26 differs slightly from that held by 25: it includes two small side projections, and the surface pattern is not quite as carefully and symmetrically rendered. 26 is further described as holding a short stick or plectrum in the right hand.²⁵ The instrument is normally beaten by hand, and the "plectrum" so compellingly resembles a crotalum that I have described it as such in the catalogue. The instruments held by the terracotta male (31*) and the females (79-85*) are conventional flat roundish tambourines. Like the devices held by 25-26, they consist of a taut flat surface which is rhythmically beaten. The females in my catalogue normally wear the costume associated with Isis, although female tambourinists in other garb are common in other media and contexts and often identified as Maenads.

5. Rattle (27*)

This terracotta figure is missing his left arm, but grasps in his right hand a rattle, consisting of a short handle attached to a sphere. It appears to be a simple child's toy, crepundia, yet here the dwarf wears a festive wreath and garland, and brandishes a rattle while dancing. Uhlenbrock has

²⁴ Ibid., no. 184.

²⁵ Bib. Nat., 218 no. 511.

argued that he could well be a tomb find, owing to his good state of preservation, and that he wards off hostile spirits with the noisy rattle.²⁶ Crepundia are known from both children's and adults' tombs and, it is believed, could overlap in function with amulets.²⁷

B. TONAL

1. Cithara (60-62*, 94*)

The cithara and the closely related lyre are the two main stringed instruments in classical antiquity.²⁸ The lyre is more delicate in form, with a tortoise-shell soundboard (or similar wooden case) and long curved arms which support a perpendicular bridge. The bulkier cithara, with its square or angular wooden case, was used more by professionals (citharoedi). 60* seems to be wearing a long caped garment and uses a phallus as a plectrum. 62* is nude and much coarser in style and workmanship. However, he holds a similar instrument and also uses a phallus (not his own) as a plectrum. 61* is also nude and crudely rendered, but his cithara is more rectangular, and he clearly plays with his left hand. He supports the cithara on his giant outstretched phallus, which is larger than himself. This whimsey is not restricted to misshapen humans: two figures of similar pose, for example, including a monkey, are now in London.²⁹ Our female citharoeda (94*) plays an instrument, like that of 61*, which is rectangular rather than square, but much more graceful in design.

²⁶ Uhlenbrock, Coroplast, 159 no. 46.

²⁷ DarSag 1.2 (1877), s.v. "Crepundia" (E. Fernique), 1562.

²⁸ DarSag 3.2 (1900), s.v. "Lyra" (Th. Reinach), 1438.

²⁹ Flinders Petrie Museum, University College, London. From Memphis, "Erotica 15" (monkey) and "temp. no. 86".

2. Syrinx (63-65*)

The syrinx [σῦριγγι], or Pan pipes, is closely associated with rustic life and shepherds. It survived throughout antiquity, under various names, and could be fashioned from cane, reed or hemlock. Hollow stems are cut to varying lengths and fastened together in parallel form with wax. The pipes are arranged to form an octave, and generally number seven or eight; ten or more are rare.³⁰ 64*, for example, holds a syrinx of ten or eleven reeds: the sculptor carelessly put ten mouthpieces but eleven opposite ends. The four reeds on the right (facing the player) are short and all the same length. The next is much longer and thereafter they increase in length. Our 65* has a pleated peaked cap very similar to that of 64*, coarse masklike features, and a syrinx of nine reeds. It is shaped exactly like that of 64* (except nine reeds instead of ten) and is held in the same way, grasped by the longer reeds, in the left hand. Both figures are suggested to have Egyptian proveniences. Another syrinx player which holds a bagpipe is a terracotta boy assigned, like 64*, to Roman Egypt (first or second century AC).³¹ (See Chapter Eight, p. 171, for stylistic criteria which would place them ca. AD 200.)

64* represents a multiple-instrument figure: apart from his syrinx, he plays a bagpipe, which is under his left arm, and operates a scabellum under his right foot. The device consists of bells fitted between two slats, which sound when the upper slat slams down over the lower. The instrument could either be fitted to the bottom of one's foot, or anchored to the ground and operated by stamping with the foot or by pulling a string held in the hand.³² To the right of the larger musician stands a tiny misshapen male, nude, who holds out a pair of cymbals. It is difficult to identify the smaller figure

³⁰ DarSag 4.2 (1918), s.v. "Syrinx" (Th. Reinach), 1597.

³¹ London, British Museum. Inv. GR1904.11-13.2. Museum records.

³² DarSag 4.2 (1918), s.v. "Scabellum. Scabillum" (H. Thédénat), 1106.

as either a dwarf or a child. In either case, the taller figure is not conceived as a true dwarf, but more likely a caricature.

3. Flute (66*, 67, 68, 95*)

66*, 67, and 95* are holding a wind instrument in each hand; the hands of 68 are empty, but he is assumed to hold the same instrument. We commonly call this the double flute, but it is more likely a double oboe. A true flute (fistula [Gk. σὺριγξ μονοκάλαμος]) is sounded by blowing air through a plain hole. The tibia [Gk. αὐλόξ], however, is a pipe of reed (or bone, metal or ivory) fitted with a mouthpiece which contains a vibrating reed. It "does not seem to have been played alone, but always in pairs."³³ Indeed, 66* and 67 both hold sturdy instruments with mouthpieces, which I take to be tibiae. (There is too little detail for 95* to allow for a secure identification). The conservative form and simplicity of the "double flute" is noted in 66* and 67, but the figures themselves vary greatly with respect to clothing, style, and (I believe) date and provenience. A case has been made for 13, the male Mahdia dwarf, holding the "double flute" of which one component was the tibia Berecynthia [Gk. ἔλυμος].³⁴ This is a tibia which ends in a long flamboyantly curved mouth, and is fashioned by fitting its end with a curved extension. It is depicted often as the left pipe in a pair. (See p. 87 below for further discussion).

4. Trumpet (69-71*)

The tuba [Gk. σάλπιγξ] is a bronze trumpet shaped like a long straight tube which, for acoustical value, flares at the end. (The cornu, which may also be translated as "trumpet", differs in

³³ DarSag 5 (1931), s.v. "Tibia" (Th. Reinach), 300-301.

³⁴ Wrede, 1988, 98-99.

being curved.) Its invention is attributed to the Etruscans by both Greek and Roman writers. The trumpet had a martial character among the Greeks and the Romans, who played it at funerals, public games and religious festivals.³⁵ The relationship between the length of the trumpet and the height of the average trumpeter indicates that the instrument, when placed on the ground, would reach between the waist and shoulder. 69*'s trumpet, however, would stand taller than himself, but those of 70* and 71* are appropriately scaled about chest-high.

69* performs a duet with a musician who stands behind a water organ. Besques attributes it to the late Hellenistic period.³⁶ I have found no close parallels for the trumpeter's garb and body type. Statuettes of "Macedonian" soldiers³⁷ and pataikoi,³⁸ which show similar truncated legs and knee-level hems, are dated to the Hellenistic period. A normal sized trumpeter along the border of the Gladiator mosaic from Zliten, which probably dates to the first half of the second century AC,³⁹ plays in a quartet with a water organist and two seated cornu-players. He wears a knee-length tunic and over that a dark lacerna draped over his front and back. 69* similarly wears a tunic and also seems to play with arms covered, but details of both representations are very obscure. The paludamenta worn by 70* and 71* suggest that they are performing in a military or mock-military context. This cannot be determined in the absence of associated musicians. Instruments of military music were incorporated

³⁵ DarSag 5 (1931), s.v. "Tuba" (A. Reinach), esp. 526-528.

³⁶ Besques, Terres cuites, IV.2, D/E4517. Earlier museum records put it to Imperial times but Besques does not explain her revised date.

³⁷ E.g. 133-141* in catalogue.

³⁸ Bayer, Terrakotten, pl. 39.1 (Kultdiener), to give one of numerous examples. Most published pataikoi come from older sources and are undated.

³⁹ See Ch. Two, p. 53 n. 128.

into choral groups and large orchestras in late Republican and Imperial times⁴⁰ and a second amphitheatre quartet on the Zliten Gladiator mosaic includes a trumpeter wearing a tunic and paludamentum. 70* and 71* are, apart from the paludamentum, respectively nude and clad in a thin ankle-length gown whose hem is raised on the left side above the hip.

5. Water organ (69*)

The water organ may date back to the third century BC, an invention of Ctesibius, according to Vitruvius⁴¹ and Pliny.⁴² The earliest representation of which I am aware is the Zliten mosaic. A terracotta lamp from Tunisia, shaped like an organ and organist, is dated to the turn of the second to third century AC.⁴³ This is strikingly similar to a terracotta found in Carthage.⁴⁴ Another similar example from a villa mosaic floor at Nennig is dated to the first half of the third century AC or later. The floor features a number of panels depicting scenes from the amphitheatre, including a water organist and accompanying comicen.⁴⁵ Perhaps they performed as a duet in the arena, although larger ensembles are known, such as the two quartets on the Zliten mosaic.⁴⁶ Contorniates with Nero's bust

⁴⁰ G. Comotti, Music in Greek and Roman Culture (Baltimore, 1989), 53.

⁴¹ Vitr. 9.9.

⁴² Pliny HN 7.38.

⁴³ British Museum, on display.

⁴⁴ DarSag 3.1 (1900), s.v. "Hydraulus" (C-E. Ruelle), 316, fig. 3919.

⁴⁵ K. Parlasca, Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland (Berlin, 1959), 35-36, 78, 104; pl. H, pl. 37.2.

⁴⁶ A. Hönle and A. Henze (Römische Amphitheater und Stadien, Freiburg 1981), 69, suggest that the Nennig musicians might have formed part of a larger orchestra in the arena. S. Aurigemma, I Mosaici di Zliten (Rome/Milan, 1926), 149, himself suggests that the quartet is quite possibly a simplified version of what would in actuality be a full, larger orchestra.

on the obverse feature a water organ on the reverse⁴⁷ but contorniates are all late issues, the overwhelming majority struck in the latter fourth century.⁴⁸

The differences among the examples listed above lie in the shape of the cabinet below the pipes, the presence or absence of air reservoirs flanking the organ (these are missing on the contorniates and one of the Zliten representations), and the direction in which the pipes are scaled: the largest pipe is at the player's left, except for the Nennig mosaic. In nearly all cases, the grade is even. The exception is 69*, which raises a slight possibility that if 69* is accurately rendered, it represents a version of the hydraulus which predates the others and supports Besques's attribution to Hellenistic times.

II. COSTUME

A. CLOTHING.

1. Male

(a) Loincloth/Sash. (1-11, 22, 28-30*, 36-37*, 38, 39, 44-45*, 47, 53*, 56*, 85*)

These figures all wear a length of material which encircles the waist and is knotted on one or both sides. It is often difficult to distinguish between a loincloth, which is a substantial length of material covering the hips, and a sash, which is a sort of loose belt. In addition, a dancer's tunic could easily be mistaken for a very thick or heavily folded sash when the top and bottom are gathered around the waist. Except for 37*, 38 and 44*, the garment serves no purpose as a protector of modesty, as the wearer's genitals are prominently displayed. Of these twenty-five figures, there are fifteen bronzes

⁴⁷ A. Alföldi and E. Alföldi, Die Kontorniat-Medaillons [= AMUGS, Band VI, Teil 1] (Berlin, 1976), nos. 201-205, pl. 79 (5-12), pl. 80 (all), pl. 81 (1-2).

⁴⁸ Id., Teil 2 (Berlin, 1990), 7.

and ten terracottas, but the latter show slightly more variation in style. All told, I can identify thirteen styles of abbreviated waist garment:

- (i) material is neatly rolled rather than gathered, knotted on right: 10.
- (ii) like (a) but knotted on left: 53*.
- (iii) thin sash, baggy and loosely rolled, knotted at both sides: 30*.
- (iv) like (iii) but knotted only at right: 47.
- (v) gathered in loose folds, knotted on both sides: 1, 4, 6, 7, 9.
- (vi) like (v), but knotted on right side only: 8.
- (vii) gathered snugly around waist, bunched at right. Separate (?) garment over left shoulder, tucked through waist: 22.
- (viii) sash stylized as three neat bands, knotted in centre: 28*, 29*.
- (ix) thin sash loosely wrapped around hips, converging at groin: 37*.
- (x) gathered in loose folds, of which the lowest fold droops apronlike, knotted on both sides: 2, 38.
- (xi) partially gathered around waist, but most of material hangs smoothly as a breechcloth, knotted on right: 11, 44*.
- (xii) like (xi) but knotted on left: 45*, 85*.
- (xiii) breechcloth, knotted in centre: 39.

(b) Tunic (12, 13, 21*, 27*, 46, 50-52*, 69*)

By "tunic", I refer to a short-skirted garment which also covers most of the torso. In most cases, it is secured at the left shoulder while the right shoulder is left bare. The tunic is represented in several ways:

(i) the right shoulder is bare, tunic knotted at back, loins are completely exposed: 12.

(ii) the right shoulder is bare, tunic knotted at left shoulder, tunic covers hips: 13, 21*, 27*
(but see discussion of Mahdia dancer (13) p. 88); tunic reaches knees: 50*, 51*.

(iii) the right shoulder is bare, left arm covered: 46. Although the other figures wear essentially sleeveless garb, 46 likely wears a sleeved tunic, from which the right arm has been released.

(iv) both shoulders covered, tunic reaches knees: 52*; separate covering for shoulders?: 69*.

(c) Longer-hemmed garb (60*, 63*, 64*, 67*, 70*, 71*)

These include capes (70*), loose robes (63*, 64*, 67*), or both (60*, 71*), all worn by musicians playing tonal instruments. 60*, 63* and 64* are all dated well into Roman times and demonstrate the continuing tradition of musicians performing in long raiment. Myropous (67*), whose appearance and existence is known to us from a funerary altar, is clad in a long-sleeved tunic with band-like decoration on the sleeves. In this regard he is similar to 60*, although 60* is incomplete: only the head, right arm and upper torso of the latter survive. 70* and 71*'s long capes suggest the paludamenta that trumpeters and other soldiers wore.

2. Female

(a) "Isis" garb (72-76, 78-79*, 82-85*, 91, 92)

Several of the crotalists and tambourinists wear variations of a characteristic Egyptian-inspired garb, patterned after images of the Goddess Mother Isis.⁴⁹ The costume consists of a plain

⁴⁹ A good example of Isis herself is a bronze statuette, in the Walters Art Gallery, dated to the late Hellenistic period: see Reeder, Hellenistic Art, 165, fig. 73.

ankle-length dress which seems to be rolled under the breasts and tied between them in a characteristic knot of Isis. Normally over the dress is worn a mantle, wrapped around the body or worn as a cape, and bordered in distinct fringes. The fringe hems the mantle along the border on the wearer's right, and the mantle often passes over the right shoulder and under the left. The two corners are knotted with the dress between the breasts. The knot is thick and symmetrical with two or three heavy folds of material positioned vertically and looped through horizontal material which cinches and secures it in a neat ring or two. The knot, in fact, reproduces the "tet" symbol of the Blood of Isis, as it is identified in the Book of the Dead. The symbol resembles the Ankh, except that the transverse arms are folded downwards, and served as a powerful amulet.⁵⁰

All the figures listed above wear the plain long dress, and they are all presumed to wear the Isis knot. 82*, 83* and 85* conceal the knot as they extend the right hand over to strike the tambourine. The figures wear the long mantle, excepting 73; she does however wear a sort of fringed apron or at least a kind of shaggy border along one hem of her dress. The fringes are often visible but the detail is sometimes obscured, especially for 83*, 84*, 91 and 92. On the other hand, 79*'s fringes are very clearly rendered and there appear gaps at precise intervals ostensibly for decorative purposes.

(b) Muffled dancers (86-90*)

These figures are characterized by clothing which conceals much of the body and head, including the mouth. Muffled dancers date back to Classical times⁵¹ and Dorothy Thompson uses the "Baker Dancer" as a point of departure to underscore the popularity of the genre during the Hellenistic

⁵⁰ M. Lurker, The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt (New York, 1980), 72.

⁵¹ See M. Robertson, "A Muffled Dancer and Others," Studies in Honour of Arthur Dale Trendall (Sydney, 1979), 129-134.

period.⁵²

The mantle worn by 87* and 88* is confining yet cut off at the knees. 90*'s legs are also exposed below the knees, but it is difficult to tell how low her dress would reach were she standing upright. The motivation is obscure. It might be a deliberate attempt to accentuate the dwarfish character of the dancers, as a humorous lampooning of taller, more elegant dancers.

Of general significance, Lawler suggests, is that the cloaked dancers

do not represent dancers of any one type, but are rather evidence of the fact that Greek women (particularly matrons), when participating in dances, were usually modestly clad. They are reminders also that some of the festivals took place in winter."⁵³

But some of the dances performed by "modestly clad" women are decidedly immodest: pronounced contortions and head tossed wildly back show that clothing is not an issue. One might further assume that cooler weather would produce more male dancers in fuller clothing. Within the scope of this study, however, this is not the case.

(c) Other (77, 80*)

Only a few figures wear costumes which are neither the standard Isis garb nor that of the muffled dancers. 77, part of the Mahdia cargo, wears a long loose gown secured at the waist. She represents a Maenad and so bears no iconographical relationship to her fellow female Mahdia dancer (72). 80* is a tambourinist who wears the Isiac coiffure topped by a large vegetal wreath. Her dress resembles a loose V-necked sheath, ankle-length, long-sleeved, and heavily creased. A double border

⁵² D.B. Thompson, "A Bronze Dancer from Alexandria," *AJA* 54 (1950), 371-385.

⁵³ L.B. Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece* (Iowa City, 1964), 113.

down the centre seems to seal the dress from chest to hem. There is no evidence of fringing or a second garment.

B. HEADWEAR

1. Dionysiac crown (8, 32, 33, 77)

Worshippers, celebrants, and the god Dionysus himself are often represented wearing a crown or wreath which recalls Dionysus' associations with the fruit of the vine, and with fertility of vegetation. Four of our bronzes wear crowns which can most likely be connected with Dionysus:

32, a dwarfish basket⁵⁴-carrier, wears a wreath of perhaps ten broad ivy leaves arranged symmetrically about his head. The two largest leaves project behind each ear. A protrusion at the nape of the neck is either another leaf or possibly the knot of a now missing fillet.

33 is nearly identical to 32 in other respects but his headwear is rather different: a fillet which hangs down the back of his neck is clearly visible, and the ivy leaves are flat against the head rather than separately modelled.

77, from the Mahdia shipwreck, survives in excellent condition. She wears a vine wreath. Her hair is bedecked with large spiky leaves and, on her crown, twin clumps of grapes. These, her loose gown, and her musical accoutrements serve to identify her as a maenad.

Interpretation of 8 rests only on a sketch in Reinach, Rep. Stat. He seems at any rate to wear a band around his head, with fillet cascading down the front of his right shoulder. He is crowned, it further appears, with clusters of foliage and flowers.

⁵⁴ Incorrectly called a "lagobolon" by De Ridder, Bronzes, no. 360.

2. Garland (head: 21*, 27*, 36*, 46, 52*, 53*, 63*, 66*, 78-84*, 90*, 93*; neck: 27*, 30*, 44*, 45*, 50*)

This is essentially a garland worn on the head, but whose floral or vegetal arrangements are stylized by the use of broad stippling, which probably represents the calyxes of individual flowers. Sometimes a ribbon is threaded all the way through the garland, which sections off the stippling to pleasing effect, as worn by two of the females (90*, 93*). The significance of the garland is probably not specific, because it is worn by a crotalist, a rattle-shaker, a syrinx player, a double-flautist, and female dancers. The corresponding costumes include loincloth, tunic, and robe. Garlands are also worn by many seated and standing figures, and by pataikoi. One assumes both festive and cultic associations, because they are not worn by everyday genre figures. Dorothy Thompson observes that wreaths adorned the Egyptians, around the head and the neck, long before the Greeks adopted the custom.⁵⁵ Among the Greeks, wreaths particularly contributed to the gaiety of an event. Athenaeus discusses them at length, telling us for example that wreaths originate as bands which were wound tightly around the temples to ease the effects of drinking, but that οἱ δ' ὕστερον contrived the wreath as an added adornment.⁵⁶ One cannot say if Athenaeus is correct or merely offering a folk explanation, but the significance of ivy wreaths and other crowns has been studied again in modern times.⁵⁷

The stippled wreath evolves in an identifiable way over a period of centuries, and consequently merits consideration as a potential clue for dating. Uhlenbrock identifies 27* as a

⁵⁵ D.B. Thompson, Troy. The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period (Princeton, 1963), 46.

⁵⁶ Ath. 15. 674b; 15.675c.

⁵⁷ See especially M. Blech, Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen (Berlin/ New York, 1982).

Tarentine figure of the late third/ early second century BC partly on this basis. 63* wears a stippled crown, too, but the head and body come from separate figurines, several centuries apart in date. Bayer dates the head, on stylistic grounds, to the third century BC.

The garland worn around the neck is curiously scarce with none worn by the females, and only five among the males. Three of the figures wear tunics, while the other two wear loincloths.

3. Lotus-bud (17, 18, 23-26, 41, 52*, 73, 91)

The double lotus is strongly associated with the god Harpocrates. He is frequently depicted wearing twin lotus buds, or sitting on a lotus blossom.⁵⁸ The leaves and blossoms were long considered a symbol of life and fertility and employed as a decorative motif in Dynastic art.

In this catalogue, they are worn almost exclusively by male and female bronzes, attached to a slim band around the head. The terracotta exception (52*) wears them over an obscure headdress. An assortment of standing figures of dwarfs (most of which are terracotta) also wear the lotus band; on iconographical grounds they fall beyond the scope of the catalogue and include a large class which has been variously called *Kultdiener*⁵⁹ and *pataikoi*.⁶⁰

4. Peaked cap (31*, 38-40, 64*, 65*, 68, 95*)

We can discern two varieties of peaked cap among the figures in the catalogue: 31* and 95* are in very poor condition and cannot be identified with either, but (1) a plain unadorned cap is worn

⁵⁸ See especially *LIMC* 4.1 (1988), s.v. "Harpocrates" (V. Tran Tam Tinh, B. Jaeger, S. Poulin), 443 and no. 233-274.

⁵⁹ E.g. Bayer, *Terrakotten*, 126, pl.39.1 and 39.6.

⁶⁰ Breccia, *Monuments*, II.2, pl. 101, fig. 578 (*pateci*).

by 38-40 and 68;⁶¹ (2) 64* and 65* wear a distinctive cap whose stiffness seems to be maintained by ribs which extend from the peak to the border at regular intervals. Neither variety can be termed a petasos because the petasos, which needs to provide protection out of doors, requires a proper brim, which these hats lack. Nor do they represent the apex. These caps, worn by flamines and the Salii at Rome, are so termed not by virtue of a conical shape, but rather by the obligatory olive-wood spike rising vertically from the crown.

The peaked cap is a traditional costume of peasants and travellers, but is also attributed to actors and dancers. Hetty Goldman collects a number of figures who share the peaked hat and loincloth.⁶² She explains that these are worn by common labourers, but many figures so portrayed are to be interpreted otherwise if they also display overlarge phalli and physical distortion: in these cases, she believes, they are comic performers. Others, who are not inherently deformed, variously dance, use staves, clap, and appear in tableaux. Goldman refers to these all as mimes, but she distinguishes between mimes who dominated the theatre in late Hellenistic and Roman times, and these mimes who are, she considered, itinerants with a broad vaudevillian repertoire.⁶³

Among our figures with peaked caps, the two who also wear a loincloth (38 and 39) are bronzes which differ extensively in style: 38 is a clinical dwarf while 39⁶⁴ is an entertainer who is

⁶¹ Some incised markings on 68 indicate a possible brim or surface decoration. Several of Goldman's figures clearly show the brim, however (Goldman, cit. n. 13, fig. 8, 10, 11).

⁶² Goldman, cit. n. 13, fig. 1, 5, 7-12.

⁶³ Ibid., 24. For more on the nature of mime, see also RE 15.2 (1932), s.v. "Mimos" (E. Wüst), 1727-1764; M. Bonaria, Romani Mimi (Rome, 1965); H. Reich, Der Mimus - ein literar-entwwicklungsgeschichtlicher Versuch (1903, repr. Hildesheim, 1974); J.C. McKeown, "Augustan elegy and mime," PCPS 25 (1979), 71-84; E. Fantham, "Mime. The Missing Link in Roman Literary History," CW 82 (1988-89), 153-163.

⁶⁴ Goldman, cit. n. 13, fig. 5.

either truly stunted and misshapen, or altered with artificial accoutrements. Goldman suggests that performers who did not wear masks could distort their features with false noses, ears, humps and teeth.⁶⁵ Reeder writes: "The peaked cap, which appears on [38 and 40], suggests that the dancers are mimes who wear the traditional headdress identified with the clown or buffoon."⁶⁶ Judith Petit also allows that the peaked cap is an attribute of mimes, but goes only so far as to call 40 a "danseur".⁶⁷

5. "Flute-bag" cap (13, 46, 85*?)

I make this assignation on the basis of a suggestion by Henning Wrede. He argued that the missing object in the right hand of the Mahdia boy (13) was a reed pipe, while an elymos, of larger circumference, nestled in the crooked right arm. (But note Pfisterer-Haas' alternative suggestion, p. 87 below.) The figure's cap has a band which fits snugly about the head, but is otherwise loose and capacious; there are two long triangular slits, one larger than the other, just above the headband. Wrede concluded that these represented openings for insertion of the instruments, and that the cap did "double duty" as a carrying bag for the flutes, hung behind the shoulders by its straps and holding the instruments when they were not in use.⁶⁸ A bronze in Oxford,⁶⁹ is wearing a very similar cap. The slits are not as easily discernible, but the flaps over the ears appear asymmetrical, the right one being larger and squarer. Since this figure is missing both arms, we are left to speculate over what he originally held. By Wrede's theory, a set of pipes is the most viable hypothesis.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 24.

⁶⁶ Reeder, Hellenistic Art, no. 55.

⁶⁷ Petit, Collection Dutuit, 105 no. 40.

⁶⁸ Wrede, 1988, 98-99.

⁶⁹ My 48, also quoted by Wrede, 1988, 110, pl. 44.1-3.

Pfisterer-Haas offers a different suggestion for 13's headwear, terming it a "Schleiertuch" and a "Gesichtsschleier", a thin veil which covers the face. It is fastened around the forehead by a ribbon tied in the back. By her reckoning, it is normally worn over the front of the face, but 13 has tossed his veil back with a quick movement of the head, leaving the veil's fringes lying across each other over his crown. She regards the slits in the material, identified by Wrede as holes for the insertion of the music instruments, as openings through which the wearer can see when the veil hangs over the face.⁷⁰ By way of comparison she offers two female dancers swathed in long mantles; one is in the Pelizaeus-Museum in Hildesheim, the other is the "Baker Dancer" at the Metropolitan Museum.⁷¹ I am not entirely persuaded, because a veil seems an odd accessory for a male whose clothing is otherwise abbreviated and revealing, especially if it is supposed to protect against sun and dust, as Pfisterer-Haas explains. The "veil" also seems too artfully arranged to have landed upon the head through the force of motion. Finally, the parallels cited by Pfisterer-Haas do not, in my view, especially resemble 13.

6. Female coiffure (72-77, 78-85*, 91-92)

There is no uniform coiffure, and the hair of the muffled dancers is all but invisible, but for those who wear Isiac garb, the hair is often long and carefully styled, parted along the middle of the crown, front to back, and hanging in sausage curls, which frame the temples and sides, and fall in one or two neat rows across the back of the neck and shoulders. We see this most clearly on 73-75. 82*'s coiffure is distinctly wiglike; perhaps some of the others are also conceived as wearing wigs. 72 wears a cap which conceals much of her hair. The latter is simply styled, pulled back from the front and

⁷⁰ Pfisterer-Haas, 485.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 488, fig. 8, fig. 9.

gathered in narrow curls at the nape of the neck.

C. FOOTWEAR

There is very little useful material to be gleaned from the figures in this catalogue. Many are barefoot and many others are poorly preserved. When the feet are present, judgment can rarely be made whether or not they were shod, or even if percussion accessories, such as ankle castanets, were attached. 64*, however, which represents a one-man band with a tiny cymbal-clashing companion, clearly wears a scabellum under his right foot. He might be operating it by stamping or by pulling on a string, since no strap or other means of attachment is noticeable (unless it had been painted on). On the other hand, the scabellarius in the left field of a mosaic in the Vatican Museums seems to wear it below a low shoe or slipper (see Chapter Two, p.51, and Plate B).

Only two figures are definitely shod. A dancer in the British Museum (6) wears soft booties, which envelop the foot up to the ankle, and are secured or knotted over the vamp but under the tongue. The matronly Mahdia dancer (72) also wears soft shoes. In both cases, separate soles are observable. Wrede presumes that the soles are wooden, so that they would loudly sound the rhythm as she danced.⁷²

It is unlikely that any iconographic significance can be attached to sandals, since they were worn for centuries by people of all walks of life. Only two figures are seen to wear them: Myrpnous (67) and the Mahdia maenad (77).

Curiously, 12 wears one of each. A soft shoe protects the left foot, while a sandal is clearly seen on the right. The shoe is the same as that worn by 6. It is difficult to account for this manner of

⁷² Wrede, 1988, 107.

footwear. Perhaps the left needs more protection, as if the figure is performing a specialised dance which puts more demand on the left foot, such as particular pounding or grinding against the ground. Wrede would restore a scabellum under the right foot.⁷³

GROUPS

Five select groupings, briefly presented here, are based on a number of criteria, including iconography, style and common provenience. In the case of certain bronze male crotalists [1], the links are predominantly iconographical, although stylistic features emerge, too. Groups [2] and [3] are based entirely on style, group [4] partly so. The latter also shares a common provenience (Galjüb), as do the three pieces in group [5] which were recovered together from the shipwreck off Cape Mahdia, Tunisia.

-[1]- (1-7) The distinguishing features of this group of bronzes are chubby, rather infantile, bodies; crotala in both hands; posing in mid-step with right foot on ground, left foot in air; right hand on hip (holding the crotalum backhand), and left hand raised aloft. A length of material, rolled and bunched, encircles the waist, knotted on one or both sides. Most are ithyphallic. There are minor iconographical variations (4 wears a garland, 6 wears soft shoes) but within the reproduction of a common type, there are some close stylistic links as well: for example, the crescent shaped locks of hair which comb forward over the ears are worn by 1, 6 and 7; all show very similar modelling of the narrow but flaccid breasts; characteristic long deep creases mark the bulky sashes of 1, 2, and 4. Other figures of similar type show somewhat wider variation: 8 wears a Dionysiac crown and reverses his feet; 9-11 assume

⁷³ Wrede, 1988, 101 n. 16.

a standing pose; 14 and 15 are nude.

-[2]- Three nearly identical and otherwise nude dancers (23, 25, 26) wear headbands with double lotus buds. They dance enthusiastically with left leg kicking forward, while both hands, when present, are raised and carry an instrument: the "sorte de tympanum" carried by 25 and 26 is described on p. 65 above. All three dancers are steatopygous, muscular, and exaggeratedly ithyphallic, with the membrum virtually touching the ground. Their fleshy coarse faces smile somewhat cruelly.

Babelon and Blanchet describe 26 as a "Pygmée ithyphalique" with a "tête de nègre".⁷⁴ The term "pygmée" has been too freely applied to have any practical meaning now (see Chapter One, p. 13). That his features are Negroid may confidently be dismissed. Older commentators often describe pieces as Negroid which lack the "refinement" of an average European face. Indeed, only some of these represent Africans; ours possess a pathology consistent with achondrodystrophic dwarfism. 25 and 26 correspond very closely in the facial hair - a beard rendered as a series of fine indentations - and the careful musculature, identical down to the almost invisible nipples, sharply incised navel, formation of pectoral girdle, transgastric arch and biceps. They were likely cast from the same mould. 23, although his pose and musculature are nearly the same, exhibits some minor differences: the phallus does not reach down to the ground; the lotus buds are bigger and more carefully shaped; the facial features are coarser; and there are long curly sideburns. The most fundamental differences are the acute bend of the right arm and the replacement of the tambourine by what is probably a crotalum. (At any rate, there are visible striations similar to those on some figures' crotala.)

⁷⁴ Bib. Nat., 218 no. 511.

-[3]- (60*, 64*, 65*) These terracottas all bear strikingly similar facial features, which Bayer (60*) describes as representative of typical Roman slave iconography, and which Philipp (64*) calls "maskenhaft". Characteristic are: thick protruding ears; wide slack downcast mouth; flat wide nose; two parallel wavy lines as stylized forehead furrows; pronounced upper and lower lids. They are square and squat but, while unquestionably dwarfish, their proportions do not conform to clinical pathology. Each has the same pleated peaked hat, each is fully clad. 60* wears a loose garment girded under the breast, and a mantle. 64*'s clothing is much plainer but also consists of a longish garment and shawl or cape. 65* is in poor condition; only the head and torso survive, and the latter is concealed by his large left hand and syrinx.

-[4]- (19, 20, 74-76) share a common provenience and an exceptionally uniform style. Albert Ippel, who first published them, describes their acquisition from a dealer in Egypt.⁷⁵ According to the latter, these bronzes and several dozen others were discovered in a large, crude clay vessel in the remains of a building in Galjûb, located 16 km north of Cairo. Ippel laments that the style and make of the vessel are unknown, because it was found shattered in many fragments and not deemed worth salvaging. All the same, Ippel considers that the vessel could well have been a melting pot, such as a craftsworker in metal would use. The interest lies in the technical skill and fine modelling as well as the wonderful state of preservation of many of the bronzes. The Galjûb crotalists, who range in height from only 2.2 to 4.5 cm, show greater damage than larger pieces in the hoard, but similar fineness of execution.⁷⁶

The shared traits include: the small sensitive features on large, heavy faces; the unusual body

⁷⁵ Ippel, *Galjûb*, 4.

⁷⁶ See also Ch. Eight, p. 166, on chronology.

shape, specifically the long swollen abdomen, and nearly vestigial limbs;⁷⁷ and the position of the arms and legs, which make the males and females virtual mirror images of each other. The phenomenon of mirror imagery is restricted, as far as the catalogue is concerned, to certain male and female dancers, the best examples being the Galjûb bronzes. 19 and 20 are very similar in appearance, down to their pose and idiosyncratic body shape. 74 and 75 appear to be exact female counterparts, dancers in Isiac costume, whose movements are mirror images of those of 19 and 20, and who share the identical tiny limbs and elongated, bloated torso. Wrede proposes that the figures are designed as companion pieces, with (perhaps taking the evidence a bit far) the females embodying Isis⁷⁸ and the males playing Osiris.⁷⁹

-[5]- Undoubtedly the best published of all the dancing dwarfs, and also much larger than the others, are the bronze figures from a vessel discovered in 1907 off Cape Mahdia, Tunisia.⁸⁰ They formed part of a cargo of objets d'art and architectural fittings which sank apparently in the early first century BC.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Adriani, 1963, 83, comments on the distorted bodies - "qualcosa di animalesco, quasi l'aspetto di una rana."

⁷⁸ Wrede, 1988, 107: "die Tracht...wird auch gewöhnlich mit der charakteristischen Lockenfrisur der ägyptischen Göttin [Isis] verbunden."

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁸⁰ Reinach, *Rep. Stat.* IV, 557; A. Merlin, "Statuettes de bronzes trouvées en mer près de Mahdia (Tunisie)," *MonPiot* 18 (1910), 9-17; A. Schulten, *AA* (1912), 389, fig. 2, 3; W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London, 1929), 206-208, pl. 79; G. Rodenwaldt, *Die Kunst der Antike*, 4th ed. (1944), pl. 503; Binsfeld, *Grylloi*, 43-45; Adriani, 1963; Fuchs, *Schiffsfund*, 16-18; G. Prudhommeau, *La danse grecque antique* (Paris, 1965), 403, pl. 53; H.F. Mussche, ed., *Monumenta graeca et romana*, vol. 5.1, *Greek Minor Arts: The Bronzes*, by C. Rolley (Leiden, 1967), pl. 37; V.M. Strocka, "Ein Mimaulos aus Mahdia?" *RM* 77 (1970), 171-173; Stevenson, *Pathological grotesques*, passim and pl. 27; C.M. Havelock, *Hellenistic Art* (New York, 1981), 142. no. 135; Himmelmann, *Realismus*, 73; Wrede, 1988; Pfisterer-Haas.

⁸¹ For discussion of dating and provenience, see Ch. Eight, p. 167ff.

13, who was retrieved on June 24, 1910, has triggered debate on his iconography, specifically the missing musical instruments in the right hand, and his headwear (p. 80-81). In the right hand is an object broken off at either end of the clenched fist, and a remnant of another object lies along the right forearm, against the crook of the elbow. Volker Strocka suggests that the dancer holds a double flute,⁸² but Wrede refutes him on the grounds that the circumferences of the two objects are demonstrably not the same, as those of a double flute would be.⁸³ Instead, he proposes that 13 held a reed pipe while an elymos nestled in the arm. The placement of the idle elymos in the right crook fits with Wrede's assertion that in most representations, it is played in the left hand. He further supports his theory by illustrating how the unusual cap performs double duty as a quiver-like carrying case.⁸⁴ Pfisterer-Haas, who instead describes the headwear as a veil, accepts that either Strocka or Wrede might be correct about the instrument, but she cautions that the holes bored into the right arm could be interpreted as attachment holes for yet a third, larger object, for which the remains of the two sticks merely provide support for mounting.⁸⁵

Wrede makes the a priori assumption, probably with justification, that the Mahdia figures find at least their inspiration in the well-spring of art which flourished in Hellenistic Alexandria. He pays close attention to the style and iconography of 13 in order to help justify his views of the political influence of the Ptolemies on some Hellenistic art. He theorizes that small terracotta and bronze statuary of Alexandrian origin or influence is characterized by thematic connections with the ruler cult,

⁸² Strocka, cit. n. 80.

⁸³ Wrede, 1988, 98.

⁸⁴ P. 80 above; Wrede, 1988, 99 and, for further comparanda, pl. 43.3,4 [terracotta] and pl. 44 = my 46.

⁸⁵ Pfisterer-Haas, 486.

i.e. the Ptolemaic dynasty and their favoured gods. The Ptolemies vigorously supported the cult of Dionysus, and sought to associate themselves with Dionysus by public imagery. In this context, Wrede sees links between the Ptolemies themselves and the Mahdia boy. These are drawn in two ways:

(1) Indirectly, through first demonstrating the common points between the Mahdia figure and Dionysus (plus certain males in Dionysus' attendance); and then the identification of Dionysus with the Ptolemies.

The Mahdia figure shared the wearing of a headpiece, roundness and effeminacy, a large phallus, and unrestrained τρυφή with members of Dionysus' retinue, such as Priapus, Hermaphroditus and the leader of the Thiasos. The links between Dionysus and the Ptolemies include Ptolemy IV Philopator leading the Thiasos at court; Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II identified with Dionysus; Ptolemy X Alexandros II also leading dancers in the Thiasos; Ptolemy XII Auletes playing flute as Neos Dionysos.⁸⁶

(2) Directly between the Mahdia figure and the Ptolemies:

(a) Ptolemy VIII (d. 116 BC), from ancient reports, suffered very ugly features, small stature, and a huge pot belly. This was all the more emphasized by his wearing a peculiar transparent outfit wrapped tightly around his torso, but leaving his genitals exposed.⁸⁷ The similarities between this apparition and the Mahdia boy are clear, Wrede notes.⁸⁸

(b) a snub nose, turned-up brows and small mouth are shared between the Mahdia figure and

⁸⁶ Wrede, 1988, 100 (esp. n. 10), 102.

⁸⁷ Justin. 38.8-11; Ath. 12, 549 D-E; Diod. 33.28a.1-2.

⁸⁸ Wrede, 1988, 102.

representations of Ptolemy IV as Pan,⁸⁹ as well as with Satyrs and Pan generally. Wrede sees it as a "mimischen Typus" observed in other Alexandrian genre figures, dancing figurines and caricatures. He dates the spread of this facial type in Alexandrian or Alexandrian-inspired art from the reign of Ptolemy IV (221-205 BC).

Behind all this wealth of detail is a conscious decision by the earlier Ptolemies to ally themselves with Dionysus, appropriating him as their progenitor. The later Ptolemies continued with the programme. The attractiveness of this alliance lay in the god's *τρυφή* which the dynasty seemed also to assume. The word has a wide semantic field, however. It represents on the one hand, splendour, glory and magnificence - features which the Ptolemies would want assimilated to themselves in the public's perceptions; on the other hand, laziness, effeminacy and weakness, physical and spiritual. This is how it was more likely regarded by the Romans: the unflattering portrayal of Ptolemy VIII is based on Roman sources, and stems ultimately from the unfavourable impression which this *τρυφή* made on a delegation dispatched by the Senate which came to Egypt to meet the king.⁹⁰

I believe that the conscious public identification between the Ptolemies and Dionysus is well grounded, but the question remains to what degree this resonates in the art of the times. To demonstrate his case, Wrede makes associations between relatively few monuments; but from these he extrapolates a rather complicated diffusion of motifs of "court art" chronologically and geographically. True, this artistic direction is largely confined to objects of Alexandrian "Herkunft

⁸⁹ Wrede, 1988, pl. 42.1-2.

⁹⁰ The issue is thoroughly investigated by H. Heinen, "Die Tryphè des Ptolemaios VIII. Euergetes II. Beobachtungen zum ptolemäischen Herrscherideal und zu einer römischen Gesandtschaft in Ägypten (140/39 v. Chr.)," Althistorische Studien. Hermann Bengtson zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Kollegen und Schülern, ed. H. Heinen et al. (Wiesbaden, 1983), 116-130.

oder Prägung", including theoretically the Mahdia dwarfs,⁹¹ but this in turn can potentially lead into circular argumentation, by fitting the art around the theory. Also, one should be cautious about attaching too much importance both to subjective and objective characteristics. For example, can there be universal agreement on what constitutes an air of effeminacy or tryphe? As to physical features, Wrede accepts a general consensus (as do I) that the Mahdia male appears to suffer a "chondro-dystrophische Pathologie", based on his bodily proportions, but Wrede also declares that his facial features represent a standard "mimischen Typus" and are shared with Satyrs, Pan, and Ptolemy IV. I agree that Satyrs and dwarfs often share a certain physiognomic profile, but as I state elsewhere (Chapter Four, p. 105), this is a confluence of traditional Satyr iconography with true achondroplastic pathology. Here it expresses itself in a broad forehead, depressed nasal bridge, and smallish features.

Ultimately, then, Wrede's ambitious and intriguing thesis offers interesting insights into politics, propaganda and the Ptolemaic court; but he relies too much on strings of associative speculations in order to demonstrate what I think is an excessively emphasized connection between the Mahdia boy and the court's programmatic art.

One detail on the Mahdia figure has, in my view, received surprisingly little notice. Only the left eye was given a pupil; the incised hole still contained a hemispherical peg of blackened bronze. Merlin and Fuchs make only brief mention of it, and Lamb adds that the effect was to purvey greater ugliness.⁹² Hetty Goldman, using a terracotta mime from Tarsus as her point of departure, comments on the strong tradition of asymmetrical eyes as a "conventional comic effect", found on vulgar and lowly characters in New Comedy, farce, and mime. The desired effect of disease or partial blindness was created by depicting one eye wide open and the other shut, making the eyes different

⁹¹ See Ch. Eight, p. 158 on their provenience.

⁹² Merlin, cit. n. 80, 13; Fuchs, Schiffsfund, 17; Lamb, cit. n. 80, 207.

colours,⁹³ applying stage make-up on live performers (Goldman's own suggestion), or - could this be the case with the Mahdia male? - leaving one iris blank and the other one with a prominent pupil. Pfisterer-Haas also recognizes the attempt at conveying "Augenkrankheit", and suggests that the (left) inlaid eye is the blind one, on the grounds that both of 72's are, like the male's right eye, unpenetrated - and 72 is patently not blind.⁹⁴

72 was recovered on June 8, 1910. The interplay between the folds and the tightness of her thin long dress accentuates masterfully the contours of her odd dwarfish body and its uninhibited movements. Her facial expression is variously described as "d'une vulgarité sensuelle"⁹⁵, "verschmitzt blickenden"⁹⁶ and "sghignazzando...e sembra abbassare compiaciuta lo sguardo verso le abbondanze del suo posteriore."⁹⁷

Both Adriani and Wrede emphasize the significance of the Isis knot against the dancer's breast. The dress and mantle tied together in this way were worn by Egyptian women and adopted for images of Isis during the Ptolemaic period. This, states Adriani, is a chief distinguishing feature of the Alexandrianism which he proposes for dancing dwarfs in general.⁹⁸ Reeder comments that the Hellenized Isis garb, including the knot, can be traced as early as faience portraits of Berenike II (246-222).⁹⁹

⁹³ Poll. 4.141.

⁹⁴ Pfisterer-Haas, 501 n. 13.

⁹⁵ Merlin, *cit.* n. 80, 9.

⁹⁶ Fuchs, *Schiffsfund*, 18.

⁹⁷ Adriani, 1963, 82.

⁹⁸ Adriani, 1963, 82.

⁹⁹ Reeder, *Hellenistic Art*, no. 73.

77 was found on June 18, 1910. Her pose is almost the mirror image of 72's and is the same as 13's. Also like 13, she holds a missing object in her empty right arm. As Merlin reports,¹⁰⁰ it was originally held in place by iron pegs, which left two insertion holes at the base of the thumb, and another halfway up the forearm. What was this object? Not a crotalum, because (a) it does not require attachment to the thumb and the forearm, and (b) crotala rarely detach completely without obvious damage to the hand itself. A thyrsus, I believe, is possible on iconographical grounds. However, I have not examined the precise placement of the insertion holes, and therefore cannot confirm whether such a potentially awkward object could be held in a natural manner. Fuchs suggests a "Schallbecken"¹⁰¹ (probably cymbals) and Wrede supposes a "Klangbecken"¹⁰², essentially the same thing. 77 is also noteworthy for the suspension ring between her shoulderblades. Our maenad is quite large (31.5 cm) and Hill theorizes that she might likely have been suspended by a chain from the intercolumniations of a garden peristyle or impluvium,¹⁰³ while Pfisterer-Haas adds a triclinium ("Speisezimmer") as an additional possibility.

Ippel, who first published the Galjüb hoard, regarded 13 and 77 as a set, highlighting what he perceived as the incompatibility of 13 and 72: their discrepancy in style and attitude: he proposed another missing partner for 72.¹⁰⁴ But 13 and 77 share similarities: both figures hold their limbs and head the same way, hold a handled crotalum in the left hand, cradle unidentified objects in the crook of the right arm, and display associations with Dionysus.

¹⁰⁰ Merlin, cit. n. 80, 11.

¹⁰¹ Fuchs, Schiffsfund, 17. Similarly, Pfisterer-Haas, 501 n. 26, who refers back to Fuchs.

¹⁰² Wrede, 1988, 100.

¹⁰³ Hill, cit. Ch. 7, n. 8.

¹⁰⁴ Ippel, Galjüb, 47.

Adriani, on the other hand, considered 77 on stylistic grounds to be later in date. 13 and 72 form a compatible set, according to Wrede, because their respective poses are approximate mirror images rather than matches. 72, he imagines, stares backward at 13's oversized genitals. They share the absence of 77's suspension ring, and Wrede assumes a lost companion statue for 77.¹⁰⁵ Pfisterer-Haas agrees with Adriani on the disparities in style as determinants for 77's later date, and she suggests a specific juxtaposition of 13 and 72 which allows them to look directly at each other.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Wrede, 1988, 110.

¹⁰⁶ Pfisterer-Haas, 490-491.

CHAPTER FOUR

FIGHTING DWARFS

The catalogue includes eighty "fighting" dwarfs who, like the musicians and dancers, show a fairly wide range of iconography imposed on a narrow range of activity. The fighters combat unseen enemies (human and mythical), act as soldiers or gladiators, or pose as boxers or other athletes. They seem to group themselves more cleanly than do the musical dwarfs, falling into divisions based largely on whether they are nude or costumed; bearded or cleanshaven; bronze or terracotta. I use this system of catalogue classification for combatants (96-144) and for athletes (145-175).

The combatants include a strongly uniform group of bald, bearded fighters who wield weapons (96-108), various helmeted figures who are sometimes armed (109, 110, 118-125, 126*), "Macedonians" (133-141*) and other miscellaneous figures. There are only thirteen terracottas as opposed to thirty-six bronzes, and they range in size from 4.1 cm (113) to 14.0 cm (131), averaging 7.0 cm in height.

Assorted athletes in bronze and terracotta are distinguished by simple stylized poses (especially 145-151), trunks (163-164*), caestūs, distinctive hairlocks, and/or average-to-small genitals. Here, the terracottas outnumber the bronzes over 2:1 (twenty-one to ten) and the group as a whole is taller than the combatants; the range is 5.5 cm (153) to 15.2 cm (162*), with an average height of 10.7 cm.

This chapter is divided into two sub-sections: the first is devoted to the iconography of combatants (and discussion of select groups); the second, to boxers and athletes.

COMBATANTS

ICONOGRAPHY

I. WEAPONS

Very few weapons survive, because they are more susceptible to damage than the body itself. In most cases they had probably been produced separately and attached. When a figure happens to hold an intact object, it is very possible that damaged figures of similar type had held the same.

A. DAGGER/ SWORD (120, 123, 131, 144*)

120 and 123 both hold the remnants of a dagger in the right hand. What remains is the handle, which seems to be bulbed at either end, similar to the well preserved dagger held by 180. 131 holds a sword in his left hand. The figure is generally poorly preserved and only the handle and a bit of the blade survive. 144* is known to me only from an illustration in Winter.¹ A short sword in the right hand, and an oval shield in the left, appear intact. In addition, 121 and 122, which are near replicas of 120, must certainly require the restoration of daggers in their right hands.

B. SPEAR/ STICK (98, 99, 130)

98 and 99 belong to an outwardly uniform group, who raise their right arm in the same way, gripping what for most of the figures is a now missing object. The weapon has been so bent and warped that it rather resembles a long boomerang, although the spear held by 130, which was bent when I viewed it, appeared perfectly rigid as illustrated a century ago.² 98 is holding a stick rather than a spear, because its circumference is thicker than would be suitable for a spear, and both ends are

¹ Winter, AT, 446.4.

² The illustration accompanies Bib. Nat., 217 no. 507.

intentionally globular rather than sharp; 99's missile is similar but little survives from the front of it.

C. SHIELD (113, 116, 118, 120, 127, 130, 132, 144*)

Typically, the shield is held in the left hand while a weapon, such as a spear or dagger, is in the right. (This is consistent with the fact that most people are right-handed.) The shields show variation in that three basic shapes are distinguished: the small circular parma held by 113, 116, and 118; the larger oval scutum represented in 127, 130, 132 and 144*; and the curious octagonal shield held by 120.

In a catalogue of "fighting dwarfs", one might expect a fair number of shield bearers. Although I can produce only eight, a substantial proportion of the many damaged figures also held shields. This assumption is based on similarities to intact figures who bear weapons. For example, 121 and 122, which are identical to 120, would certainly have been equipped with shields. 123 represents a similar type, a nude helmeted combatant poised for attack. The remnants of a handle in his left hand indicate the original presence of a shield. 124 and 125 closely resemble each other and also represent a variation of the nude helmeted combatant. The extended left arm ends in a fist, which, by analogy to others of this type, probably held a shield. 131, with a sword in his left, holds out a well modelled right fist which is pierced for the insertion of a separate object. This could be a shield, in the context of what a soldier is likely to carry, and 120 is a good example of a well modelled fist which does hold a shield.

II. HEADWEAR

A. HELMET (109, 110, 118-125, 126*, 132)

The figures are nude, except 132. Their several styles of helmet are briefly described; also

see Diagram Three.

(a) 109, 118, and 132: Worn rather flat on the head, but with crest and thick rim. The figures show varying inspiration. 109 is identified as a parody of Hercules attacking his own phallus.³ Comstock and Verneule describe his headwear as "a rolled fillet with a floral device above his forehead." Having examined it myself, however, I am certain that it is indeed a helmet, in which case the figure does not represent Hercules after all.

118 is a poorly preserved ithyphallic figure brandishing a small concave shield in his left hand. 132 is portrayed as a soldier in cuirass and kilt, also with shield.

(b) 110 wears a close-fitting helmet very low over the forehead. He is represented by Reinach hanging from a scale, by a hole pierced in the high crest.⁴ (118's crest is also pierced horizontally, and Perdrizet assumed that he, too, served as a weight.⁵

(c) 119 and 126* wear round snug helmets which lack crests but feature prominent chinstraps. Neither figure is dated, but 126* is ascribed by Winter to Capua.⁶ Early but excellent parallels for the helmet include a terracotta mold from Naukratis, dated to the fifth century BC,⁷ and a Greek bronze at Goodrich Court.⁸

(d) 120-122 - all nearly identical - wear a crestless helmet. It has no distinguishing features

³ Boston Bronzes, 130.

⁴ Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 309.7.

⁵ Bronzes Fouquet, 55, no. 89.

⁶ Winter, AT, 446.8.

⁷ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Inv. G96; C.E. Vafopoulou-Richardson, Greek Terracottas (Oxford, 1981), 27, no. 26a,b.

⁸ Smith et al., s.v. "Galea" (J. Yates and A.H. Smith), 898.

DIAGRAM THREE Varieties of Helemet

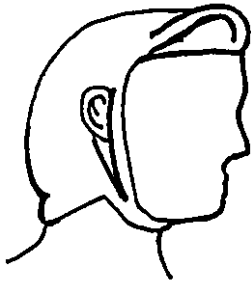
(a) 109



(b) 110



(c) 119



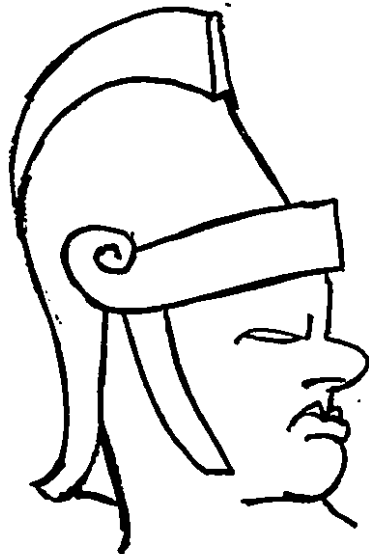
126



(d) 120-122



(e) 124-125



because surface details are absent or worn smooth. Stephanie Boucher called 120 a "Myrmidon"⁹ but I see only the slightest connection to the mythical Myrmidons¹⁰ and no connection to the gladiatorial Myrmillones, who were supposed to be identified by a fish insignia on their helmets.¹¹ Georges Ville, on the other hand, distinguishes the myrmillo by a semi-cylindrical shield, a short greave on the left leg, and a sword in the right;¹² again, however, this does not represent 120-122.

The headpiece may, alternatively, represent a pilleus, which from the time of the Greeks took various shapes but had a narrow brim. They were worn as helmets not only by the Greeks¹³ but also the Etruscans and Romans.¹⁴ Parallels can be drawn with nude dwarfish figures who appear in Nilotic contexts. A lamp-handle features three Pygmies in a boat; the punter wears a cap similar to that of 120-122.¹⁵ The Seasons mosaic at Zliten is flanked by panels, one of which features two boatmen; the other, a combatant with shield and spear battling a large bird. The three males appear to wear hemispherical helmets with narrow brims. It is possible, in these instances, that the headwear is intended to be used as or mimic the pilleus, but actually represents up-turned lotus pods: in the same

⁹ Lyon I, no. 32.

¹⁰ The latter were Thessalian, and the fashion of wearing the petasos came from Thessaly [DarSag, 4.1 (1918) s.v. "Petasus" (P. Paris), 421]. While the headpiece on the figures could be of soft material, like a petasos, the brim seems too narrow to provide the appropriate protection from the elements.

¹¹ RE Suppl. 3 (1918), s.v. "Gladiatores" (K. Schneider), 777: "Gallus oder murmillo ."

¹² G. Ville, "Essai de Datation de la Mosaïque des Gladiateurs de Zliten," CMGR I, 147-155, esp. 151. It is clear from the examples Ville quotes that they did not (under the Empire at least) always have a fish crest.

¹³ DarSag, 4.1 (1918) s.v. "Pileus" (P. Paris), 479-480.

¹⁴ DarSag, 2.2 (1896) s.v. "Galea" (S. Reinach), esp. 1446.

¹⁵ Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum. Inv. 19420. (D. Wildung and G. Grimm, eds., Götter Pharaonen (Munich, 1979), no. 146.)

panels are lotus-plants, with which they may be compared.¹⁶

(e) 124 and 125 are nearly identical, down to their missing parts, namely the right arm and shield (?) in left hand. The only difference is that 124's surface is more pronounced, particularly the musculature, and the treatment of the helmet is more elaborate.¹⁷ 123 is similar in appearance except that he assumes a more active pose and lacks a crest on his helmet. All three figures have been supposed to bear a marked resemblance to the Emperor Caracalla. Reinach proposed that 124 represented a "Caracalla en Pygmée", but Perdrizet rejected the suggestion.¹⁸ True, the slight leftward tilt of the head, the heavy brows, menacing stare and widely spaced eyes do recall the emperor. However, we cannot see the hair and beard, and these features, which are prominently thick and curly in the emperor's portraiture, would surely have been included in an intentional caricature. The theory, therefore, remains unconvincing. The large helmet with its distinctive visor and cheekpieces (bucculae), with and without crest, enjoys longstanding usage as the standard Roman legionary helmet. Good surviving representations include a legionary on a relief from Mainz, dated to the late first century AC, and soldiers on the monument of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus from Ephesus.¹⁹

B. OTHER

Other headwear includes a wreath (111, 131), travelling cap (112), peaked cap (113, 129,

¹⁶ S. Aurigemma, I mosaici di Zliten (Rome/ Milan, 1926), figs. 72, 74.

¹⁷ There remains the possibility that 125 was copied from 124. Both pieces are published in Reinach, Rep. Stat., but 124 appears earlier (II, 564.1) than 125 (V, 514.4). I was not able to examine either piece directly.

¹⁸ Ibid.; Bronzes Fouquet, 54.

¹⁹ Mainz, Landesmuseum, in O. Doppelfeld and H. Held, Der Rhein und Die Römer (Köln, 1970), pl. 8; Vienna, Kunsthistorischesmuseum, in R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Roman Art AD 200-400, trans. P. Green (New York, 1971), fig. 323.

130), and lotus bud band (116). These are not widely represented, probably because they have nothing directly to do with soldiery, combat, athletics, etc. Nor can significant relationships be drawn between the headwear and the rest of the costume.

111-113 are all nude bearded dwarfs wielding weapons, but they wear respectively a wreath, exotic travelling (?) hat and a peaked cap. In 113's case, the peak is flattened forward.

116, who wears a lotus bud band, seems - like 113 - representative of ithyphallic dwarfs which decorate knife and lamp handles.²⁰ He might be a bona fide "Pygmy", on the basis of the ithyphallism, raised shield and weapon, and the Egyptian associations: lotus bud band, and the large lotus flower on which he stands.

129 and 130 both wear their simple peaked hats with loincloths (subligacula). The former is probably a plain felt pilleus (Gk. πῖλος), of the kind characteristic of the humbler working classes and, like the subligaculum, it appears in many contexts. 130, with his weapons in hand, is clearly not a dancer. 129, had he lifted a foot off the ground, would be performing a more ambiguous action. His firmly planted feet, pulling back of the body, and raising of the right fist, certainly bring him into line with other fighting dwarfs. Elements of his body language recall not only the bronze athletes (especially 167) but also the bronze weapon hurlers (96-108).

131, despite his short stunted proportions, is not a recognisably clinical dwarf, and lacks the steatopygia and ithyphallism characteristic of certain other figures. He wears a wreath around his head, whose significance, along with its surface detail, is unclear.

III. CLOTHING

²⁰ Perdizet provides two other examples (Bronzes Fouquet, pl. 23, fig. 90-91).

A. LOINCLOTH (127-130)

127 and 128 wear different types of loincloth (subligaculum). That of 127 is very narrow and tied around his waist; 128 wears a breechcloth which, owing to the figure's truncated thighs, hangs to the knees, while the genitals hang yet lower. 129's knotted sash recalls that worn by many male dancers, while 130's loose loincloth covers fully the hips and genitals; it is held in place by a sash. While the peaked hat and loincloth are worn by certain mimes, both articles have other associations as well. The latter is seen on hunters, smiths, craftsmen, labourers, servants, warriors, and actors.

B. MILITARY/ MACEDONIAN (131, 132, 133-143*)

132 is outfitted in full panoply: crested helmet; cuirass with skirt, the latter protected with a double row of scales, and small buckler or parma. That his invisible opponent could possibly be a crane or some other opponent suitable for a Pygmy is suggested by parallels on Egyptian lamp-handles and a painting from Pompeii, which represent similarly arrayed Pygmies.²¹

Two terracottas (142*, 143*) also wear ostensibly military apparel. 142* wears a short mantle and kilt, and wields a weapon above his head. Bayer describes him as a gladiator which, I can only surmise, is based on the fact that he possesses neither legionary's helmet nor shield, but wears possibly a gauntlet or caestus on his upraised hand.²² I viewed the object myself but its condition is so poor that I cannot come to a satisfactory conclusion. 143* is catalogued by Breccia among objects retrieved from Alexandria's Montes Testacei. Squat and bald, he is represented in cuirass and elaborate belt;

²¹ Lamp-handles: Tübingen, Archäologisches Institut. Inv. Sch. 5165/25; Weber, ÄGT, no. 402 = Berlin 19355 (now lost); Breccia, Monuments II.2, 51, pl. 70, fig. 361. Pompeii: VII, 4, 51. Casa dei Capitelli Colorati, cubiculum. DAI photoarchive. Neg. 77.1071 = Helbig no.1528. V. Dasen also cites several examples in the British Museum (LIMC 7 (1994), s.v. "Pygmaioi" (V. Dasen), 597 nos. 30, 31).

²² Bayer, Terrakotten, 221, no. 507.

his shoulders, in the published photograph, appear to display the folds of a cloak. Altogether, Breccia's comment "caricatura di guerriero" is sound. He also calls the figure "nano pingue", but his dwarfishness, like that of most other terracottas, is of an abstract rather than of a true clinical nature.²³

131, who wears a wreath on his head, is outfitted in boots, cuirass with valances, and paludamentum. For 133-141*, see Macedonians" below.

GROUPS

-[1]- 96-108.

These thirteen bronzes represent predominantly ithyphallic men, who stand feet apart, with right hand raised and poised to hurl a weapon. The thick heavy head and compact but muscular torso and buttocks provide amusing contrast to the little limbs. Some figures are bald; others have very short hair rendered by concentric stippings. The beard is generally arranged in symmetrical curling locks, two on each side. A penetrating stare sets off the large facial features. These major characteristics are quite consistent for the group. 96-104 especially share many traits, but 105-108 deviate more from the prototype.

96 stands on a base which may itself be antique; others have been mounted on modern bases (104, 105) or have tangs (99) which might have replaced original tangs or soldering. As such, they could have served as household ornaments, either on bases or as fittings on vessels and furniture. They average 5.7 cm in height, small enough to be hanging ornaments or weights or amulets on necklaces, but they were evidently not intended for these purposes, since they are all made for

²³ Breccia, Monuments II.1, no. 454.

standing; none shows evidence of suspension holes or rings.

The shape of the phallus is consistently copied: a ring at the base of the groin; a long naturalistic shaft, and a prominent foreskin which ends below the knees, often just above the ground. This sort of blatant exaggeration is associated with figures of fantasy, and perhaps its lack of rigidity suggests that these figures are not fundamentally apotropaic in intention. (For the erect phallus as the more apotropaic, see Chapter Seven, p. 137.)

We see a constant replication of pronounced musculature: powerfully rendered buttocks, chest and shoulders. While Hoffman describes this as "typical for dwarfism"²⁴, it is also true that (a) classical and Hellenistic sculptures of normally proportioned males frequently display care and skill in the modelling of idealised athletic physiques; (b) numerous depictions of dwarfs are not endowed with muscular bodies.

Hair, when present, takes the form of regular concentric stippling with a blunt tool. In several instances, however (106-108), this systematic tooling is either very worn or had never been applied, and represents a deviation from the relative uniformity of 96-105.

The beard is significant because care is given, in copy after copy, to its symmetric arrangement into four locks. This symmetrical treatment also appears on three ithyphallic figures on Egyptian terracotta plaques, identified by Perdrizet as "Priapus." They lift their tunics to display the huge phallus, now missing but leaving a gaping hole. In one case, "Priapus" is both dwarfish and bald; in the second, he is a dwarf with full hair and headdress; in the third, average size and bald.²⁵ These figures are undated, but Egyptian interest in Priapus peaked in the Hellenistic period, when the

²⁴ H. Hoffman, in Ancient Art. The Norbert Schimmel Collection, ed. O. Muscarella (Mainz, 1974), no. 39.

²⁵ Terres cuites Fouquet, pl. 47, nos. 227, 230, 229.

Greek Priapus became conflated with native gods like Amon (Thebes) and Min (Chemmis and Coptos) from Upper Egypt. Interestingly, Perdrizet writes of the third (and I would add the same of the first figure): "La tête, chauve et bestiale, est celle de Silène."²⁶ I maintain, then, that the facial features of 96-108 can be associated with Silenoi: heavy brows, long almond eyes, broad flat nose, full lips, long beard.²⁷ Other divinities are identified with this group. 104 is labelled "Pan"²⁸, but since a true Pan would possess more bestial features, e.g. goat's feet, this attribution should be dismissed. The Egyptian domestic dwarf god Bes is mentioned in describing 98; Hoffman²⁹ imagines that he is a Pygmy whose iconography has been conflated with that of Bes. Possibly Bes also comes to Hoffman's mind because he is frequently portrayed brandishing a weapon (usually a knife) in the right hand³⁰ and 98 is the only figure in this group still holding an intact weapon, probably a damaged throwing stick which now resembles a boomerang.³¹ 99 holds a similar weapon but the front half is missing, so we do not know if it had emerged straight or curved.

I do not believe that all the figures were necessarily throwing such sticks. The weapons were probably fashioned separately, and the craftsman could have inserted whatever he desired. Babelon and Blanchet declare that 101 held a "javelot", Comstock and Vermeule (103) refer cautiously only

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 90.

²⁷ Here, I follow Lyon III, 86, no. 75 (= my 96); Hill, Walters Bronzes, 73, no. 156 (= my 102); Dasen, 1993, 173.

²⁸ F. Poulsen, Das Helbig Museum der Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek. Beschreibung der etruskischen Sammlung (Copenhagen, 1927), 121.

²⁹ *Cit.* n. 24.

³⁰ LIMC 3 (1986), s.v. "Bes" (V. Tran Tam Tinh), 98-108; Dasen, 1993, 59.

³¹ There is no Greek or Latin equivalent for "boomerang". I, like Hoffmann [*cit.* n. 24], see the weapon as having originally been straight.

to an "object now lost", and Poulsen imagined 104 in a "Faustkampf".³²

The left hand could have held a weapon or shield, or nothing at all; there is no generalising. For example, 96's fist is clenched so tightly that a handle cannot pass through. In other cases (101, 102 and 108) a cavity clearly permits the insertion of an object. Since these are single figures rather than groups, we can never see the invisible opponent. When a crane, crocodile or hippopotamus is suggested in publications,³³ the editors are presuming that the figure represents a Pygmy.

It is possible that the group as a whole represents a class of Pygmy: the fact that they are battling something, and are not ordinary humans (the hyperphallism puts them into the realm of fantasy figures), does not contradict it. They do not, however, bear a strong resemblance to Pygmies who are shown battling cranes and other foes on late Hellenistic and early Roman lamps, Nilotic paintings and mosaics, etc. Their features seem to exhibit influence which is more Greek than Egyptian, a conflation of the stock satyr/Silenus and clinical dwarfism. The beards, oversized genitals and quasi-bald heads are characteristic of many dwarfs on Classical red figure vases. They are also seen on many satyr/Silenus representations, and Dasen declares an intentional affinity between dwarfs and Dionysus' attendants.³⁴

Changes in iconography could have occurred easily: throwing stick instead of javelin; smooth pate instead of stippled. Further deviations from a prototype include a possibly full hairline (106), full and undifferentiated beard (106), lack of ithyphallism (107), and left hand raised over shoulder (107, 108). A figure in Vienna would have been grouped with 106-108 but, on technical grounds, is

³² *Bib. Nat.*, no. 509; *Boston Bronzes*, 122, no. 132; Poulsen, *cit.* n. 28.

³³ As with 98, 103 and 105 respectively.

³⁴ Dasen, 1993, 173.

considered a forgery and thus omitted from the catalogue.³⁵

As a technical aside, 101 and 103 are described as having inserted eyes - silver, in 101's case.³⁶ Indeed many ancient bronzes had inlaid eyes, nipples, etc. This sort of embellishment was not necessarily a feature of every figurine in the group; at any rate, direct examination proved inconclusive.

-[2]- "Macedonians".

In Hellenistic Egypt, a certain military uniform was styled on that of the Macedonians, a consequence of the first Ptolemy being one of Alexander the Great's Macedonian generals. The costume consists of a short-sleeved garment with loosely belted kilt; a cape, which hung off both shoulders and down the back; and a causia, a flat broad felt cap which was part of the national costume of the Macedonians and neighbouring nations from Alexander's time.³⁷

The catalogue includes nine terracotta figures, seven standing (133-139*) and two on horseback (140-141*). In all cases, they are characterized both by their costume and by their lumpy squarish body proportions.³⁸ These are clearly not representations of dwarfs in the clinical sense, but are nevertheless deliberately rendered in a dwarfish, anti-idealizing manner. At least one authority

³⁵ K. Gschwantler, Guss + Form (Vienna, 1986), fig. 92. He notes the indifferent casting, including a seam left along the leg and upper body. It stands on a modern base and is described as a Pygmy combatant. Eduard Sacken thought it a drunken Silenus bibulously lurching with left arm extended, groping for support: Antike Bronzen des K. K. Münz- und Antikencabinetes in Wien I (Vienna, 1871), 68, pl. 26.9.

³⁶ Bib. Nat., no. 509; Boston Bronzes, 122, no. 132.

³⁷ DarSag 1.2 (1877), s.v. "Causia" (L. Heuzey), 975; D.B. Thompson, Troy. The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period (Princeton, 1963), 53-55; E.A. Fredricksmeier, "Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Kausia," TAPA 116 (1986), 215-227.

³⁸ The genre is quite common. I have not sought to collect every possible example. References to several (including my 133-135*), may be found in Bayer, Terrakotten, 68, no. 24.

calls them "miniatures".³⁹

-[3]- 109 and 114 (bronze) hardly constitute a "group" but they deserve mention because of their curious activity: each figure apparently attacks his own phallus, which rises in a deep parabola. The figures differ in their pose and headwear; 109 is helmeted while 114 is bareheaded with a large suspension ring attached to the back of his head. They are similar, however, in size, build, body proportions, and appearance of phallus.

Comstock and Vermeule declare that 109 is a parody of Hercules, doing battle with a seven-headed Hydra.⁴⁰ The head of the phallus is so corroded that I could not confirm this, but Hercules' iconography does not include a helmet, which 109 wears. I believe the editors were extrapolating from another figure in the collection which they identify (and I support) as Hercules attacking his phallus-cum-Hydra.⁴¹ He is rendered in the "elongated, manneristic" proportions which ancient craftsmen liked to employ from time to time as a variation on the ideal body. I suspect that while parodies of other well-known figures go unnoticed, Hercules' particularly rich iconography makes him more recognisable to modern viewers.

ATHLETES

Athletes comprise the category of combatants who wear no military costume nor wield military weaponry. They either wear caestus or are barefisted. Nearly all have small or average-sized genitals.

³⁹ Private communication from Mme. Simone Besques (Musée du Louvre).

⁴⁰ Boston Bronzes, 130, no. 146.

⁴¹ Ibid., 103, no. 108.

ICONOGRAPHY

I. CAESTUS (153, 154, 158-163*)

Caestus (pl. caestūs) is a very general term for an accessory which covers a boxer's fist. The earliest simplest caestūs, in use by Homer's time, consisted of long leather straps also called ἰμάντες, μελίχαι, and σπεῖραι. They were wound about the knuckles, wrist, and sometimes the forearm. Each hand was equipped in this way, for protection against heavy force and the avoidance of twists and sprains. 160* and 161* (cast from the same mould) wear a glove which includes thick thongs criss-crossing up to the elbows.⁴² 159*'s equipment is heavier but similar in principle. He wears full sleeves which resemble leather covered with large circular perforations. They are held in place by a thick band about the upper arms and thongs wrapped several times about the wrists.

A much shorter glove, which left the fingers and thumb free, was kept from slipping by a thick woollen sleeveband. It is possible that our 153 and 154 wear this, but the surface detail is poor. At any rate, the fingers are visible and both sleevebands are evident.

Caestūs could include sinister accessories for increasing the damage sustainable by a blow: a form of "brass knuckles". 160* and 161* appear to hold bars in their fists. 154* grasps a small bar with a bun-like protrusion at each end, essentially a dumbbell. The dumbbells appear as early as the seventh century BC⁴³ but are still in use in Roman times. A Roman sarcophagus⁴⁴ displays a group of children: one togaed "referee" presents a victory palm to a combatant who stands victorious, hands

⁴² Similar caestūs are worn by a boxer on a mosaic panel in Naples [Museo Nazionale di Napoli, Inv. 10010] dated to the third quarter of the first cent. AC (F. Sear, Roman Wall and Vault Mosaics (Heidelberg, 1977), 87 no. 57, pl. 34.2), and by a boxer on a mosaic from the Baths of Caracalla (M. Blake, MAAR 1940, 111, pl. 28).

⁴³ RE suppl. 9, s.v. "Pygme" (J. Jünther, E. Mehl), 1314.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 1315. Found in the Villa Carpegna in Rome.

upraised, over his opponent who sits defeated on the floor. Both fighters wear gloves and are holding dumbbells. The scene is reminiscent of the mosaic depicting a dwarf and two cocks, discussed in Chapter Two, p. 54. The two are probably humorous variations of an established tableau more routinely peopled by normal sized adults.

158*, 162* and possibly the very worn 163* display another variation: they wear thick padded gloves secured at the wrists with heavy ring-like cuffs. Not only does the boxer rely on his gloves for protection, but he could conceal reinforcements of metal or other material.

II. HAIR (145-149, 150-151?, 153?, 155, 166, 173*)

These figures all share the presence of a knot or tuft on the crown of the head. It contrasts with the rest of the hair, which is either clipped short or shaved off. With small variations, the hair styling appears most commonly on young boys; athletes; grotesques or Pygmies.⁴⁵ Our figures are all nude bronzes, except one damaged terracotta (173*), and almost all without provenience.

III. TRUNKS (163*, 164*)

These are a form of subligaculum which accommodates each leg separately, as opposed to a loincloth, and resembles modern athletic trunks or drawers. Almost identical trunks are worn by a pair of terracotta statues representing two normal sized boxers with African features.⁴⁶ They do not seem

⁴⁵ H.C. Van Gulik, Catalogue of the Bronzes in the Allard Pierson Museum, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1940), 6-7.

⁴⁶ British Museum. Inv. D84, D85. They are stylistically alike and are displayed in combat with each other. Museum records suggest that their provenience is Italian, second or first century BC. V. Olivová, Sports and Games in the Ancient World (London, 1984), 192, published D85 but put it to the first century AC.

to be indigenous to one area. Trunks were worn on occasion by actors, dancers and acrobats,⁴⁷ as well as by assorted contestants in the arena.

GROUPS

-[1]- Standing bronze nudes (145-151). These are seven bearded athletes of similar type and style, striking a mannered pose. I base the term "athlete", in its restricted sense, on the lack of ithyphallism, the apparent lack of weaponry held in the hands, and the lock on the heads of 145 and 147. The fact that they do not wear caestūs is the single feature which distinguishes them from boxers, who do.⁴⁸

145-149 are balsamares, receptacles for unguents, whose rim and handles rise from the top of the head. According to Perdrizet, these vessels will have served not only as containers for ἄλειφαρ, the oil used for rubbing down athletes' bodies, but also as good-luck charms, since dwarfs, being atopoi, served a prophylactic function, too.⁴⁹ I question his second assumption, because these figures are genitally undersized, while ithyphallism is a key apotropaic feature. In my view, this is a group of human figures whose dwarfish proportions are designed for novelty rather than supernatural value. 150 and 151, if Reinach's drawings are accurate, are not balsamares but regular unmodified figurines.⁵⁰

-[2]- 155, 167-172

⁴⁷ DarSag 4.2 (1918), s.v. "Subligaculum" (E. Saglio), 1550.

⁴⁸ DarSag 4.1 (1918), s.v. "Pugilatus" (A. de Ridder), 755.

⁴⁹ Bronzes Fouquet, 62.

⁵⁰ Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 308.5, not in my catalogue, is a borderline case, clearly modelled on the boxers in this group. His features are more regular and the body proportions, although still somewhat stunted, are slimmer and longer.

There are only two bronzes in this catalogue which wear the characteristic boxer's caestūs (153, 154). Other bare-fisted bronze figures, Group [2], represent athletes. Collectively, they are young nude men with full heads of hair, non-ithyphallic (except 171), who lean or twist their compact muscular bodies into striking, aggressive poses, both feet planted on the ground (except 168 and possibly 155).

Beyond these superficial similarities, there remain a number of difficulties. The upper limbs of six figures are missing or damaged. The exception (170) does not hold any object; both hands are unprotected fists. Of the seven figures, I was only able to examine directly 155 and 167. 155 wears an athlete's knot, 167 does not, and for the remaining five, I cannot say.⁵¹

-[3]- 156-162*.

The terracotta nudes have generally survived in better condition than the bronzes. 156* folds his hands across his chest and 157* holds the remains of an obscure object, perhaps a scraper; they are athletes. 158-162* all wear caestūs, by which they are identified as boxers.

The nudes are stocky and massive with overlarge heads. On first glance, they appear bald, although closer examination sometimes reveals traces of paint. 156* and 157* are distinctly muscular while 158-162* seem flabby and obese. The physiognomy of Group [3] generally tends to be crude or exaggerated, which puts such figures on equal footing with other caricatures.

158* in particular is splendid and swollen in a manner strongly paralleled by early Hellenistic images of obese women, identified by Dorothy Thompson as parodies of hetairai.⁵² It is possible that

⁵¹ The five are published in Reinach, Rep. Stat. IV-VI; I obtained a photocopy of 172 from the Musée Vivienel et Musée de la Figurine Historique at Compiègne.

⁵² D.B. Thompson, "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas," Hesperia 23 (1954), esp. 90-91.

the similarly globular 158* parodies the ideal of the muscular supple athlete.

160* and 161* pose a problem of interpretation: Simone Besques states that they are children rather than adults.⁵³ Depictions of children who mimic adult activities, including pugilism, are well known in ancient art, but it happens that the superficial traits of children, dwarfs, and Eroses sometimes overlap. In this case, the observer is left to evaluate subjectively the flaccid toneless body, round shoulders, shaved head, and small delicate features embedded in the round puffy face. I feel that there is enough doubt to justify leaving 160* and 161* in the catalogue. I further assume that Devillers regards 160* as an adult when he describes him as "une représentation caricaturale."⁵⁴

⁵³ S. Besques, *Terres cuites*, IV.1, 61, D3624-5.

⁵⁴ M. Devillers, in Vanhove, 362, no. 232.

CHAPTER FIVE

TINTINNABULA

Ten curious objects represent a certain ingenuity in combining elements of decoration, utility and quasi-magic. Each of these bronzes is equipped with rings: by one of these it is suspended at the top of the head; by the others, it supports secondary accoutrements hanging down from it by chains. In several cases, these include attractive double-spouted lamps; in virtually all cases, I believe, they support or once supported tintinnabula (bells), and the term may be applied to the entire object.

In view of the small number of pieces, I will depart slightly from the order of discussion favoured for the dancers, musicians, fighters and athletes, and incorporate ICONOGRAPHY into GROUPS. This helps avoid redundancy because the groups separate naturally on iconographical lines.

GROUPS

-[1]- Tunic Wearers (176-180)

176, 177 and 178 closely resemble each other with regard to costume. 176 -- which is the best preserved -- wears only an exomis, cinched at the waist, knotted at the left shoulder, leaving right shoulder and breast bare. He wears a double band around his forehead, and above this is an elaborately dressed hair-knot which is pierced by a suspension ring. A double-spouted lamp is

suspended from a ring in the left heel, and bells are suspended from several other points. The monstrous phallus juts out about 16 centimetres (two-thirds of his height) and the tip forms a lamp. The right leg is lifted forward perpendicular to the body. The right hand, which is raised in the case of 176 and 178, is meant to hold an object, but in 176 it is missing and in 177 and 178 it survives in decayed and unrecognisable condition. Both figures are mounted by the left foot on bases: 177 appears to stand on a borrowed ancient base; that of 178 is modern and made of wood. The activity engaged in is obscure. 176 is described as "in atto quasi di danza" holding "forse una spada o un bastone"¹. I have not yet seen parallels for dancers who pose this way, but a number of fighters, e.g. 109, hold weapons in a similar manner.

179 is described as "Dwarf riding" but there is no further elaboration.² The pose is identical to that of 176 -- one may assume that they are engaged in the same activity -- but 179 differs in certain details. The tunic is fastened at both shoulders; the facial features are dissimilar; and the head is surmounted by a peaked (Phrygian?) cap whose upper half curls forward. He has only one visible suspension ring, under the tip of the phallus, but his surface condition is so poor that other rings could have corroded away or been removed before he was mounted by the left foot on a plain wooden base.

180 is the best preserved figure in Group [1]. He is assigned here on the basis of his tunic, which leaves his right shoulder and breast uncovered; the band (triple, in this case) around the forehead; the dressed hairknot penetrated by a suspension hole; and facial features similar to 176-178. On several interesting points, however, he differs. He is the sole member of the group who serves as a tintinnabulum but not a lamp. From the chains on his various suspension rings, only bells are attached. The tip of the phallus forms not a lamp but the head of a vicious animal, perhaps a lioness,

¹ Lucerne, 73.

² A. Mondadori, Eros in Antiquity (Italy, 1978), 120.

a panther or a dog. His hands are held in front of him. In the right is a handled knife, blade pointing vertically up; in the left is a peculiar object with indentations at its base. This might be a receptacle with fringes, or even a razor.³ The costume includes protective metal or leather straps which wrap completely around the left arm and both legs, down to the sandaled feet. Perhaps this is why Mondadori labels this figure "The Gladiator".⁴ Nevertheless, there is no depiction of a gladiator known to me whose costume corresponds precisely to that of 180, although the individual components find parallels in other figures from the arena or circus. The armour (or straps) is common enough, but not in combination with a tunic and unprotected head. A venator on a mosaic from Castelporziano wears a tunic, protective straps about both legs, and carries two knives, one slung by a strap around the left shoulder.⁵ Charioteers usually wear tunics, often short-sleeved, and are either bareheaded or wear close-fitting caps.⁶ One common feature which 180 misses, however, is the thongs wrapped around the torso, which hold a knife securely in place, so that in an emergency, the auriga can cut himself loose from the reins. Perhaps the search for exact correspondences would prove futile, since representations of gladiators and charioteers are generally grounded in real life. In contrast, 180, along with many figures in this catalogue, is clearly a fantasy figure for whom the pretence of verisimilitude contrasts with the impossible predicament of combatting his own theriomorphic phallus.

³ On analogy with 181, below.

⁴ Mondadori, cit. n. 2.

⁵ Rome, Museo Nazionale. G. Ville, CMGR I, 150 and fig. 5, dates it to ca. AD 120-150, by stylistic comparison with black and white figured mosaics at Ostia.

⁶ I have considered that 180 is wearing a charioteer's headgear, with the bands serving as its border. While I do not completely exclude this possibility, it creates the complication of accounting for the suspension hole over the head, which would then have to be explained away as some sort of crest. I still see it as an elaboration of his own hair, similar to the hair-knot worn by others of this group.

-[2]- Loinclothed Riders (181-185)

181-183 all survive in reasonably good condition, and the dwarfs themselves are remarkably similar: they have in common the loose loincloth about the waist; the position of the two arms and legs; the rightward turn of the torso and head; the small, smirking facial features.⁷ They are suspended by a plain ring on the top of the head which contrasts with the pierced dressed knots found in 176-178 and 180. I have assumed that all three supported a double-spouted lamp (missing in 183)⁸ and held a bell in the left hand (present in 181 and 182, missing in 183). 181 includes five other bells: three are suspended from various points on his body, and two hang from the same ring by which the rider himself is suspended.

Variations include the object in the right hand, missing in 182, and differing in 181 and 183. In 181, there appears something flat and rectangular which, it has been suggested, is a razor or a sword.⁹ 183 appears to hold a phallus or phallus-shaped receptacle.¹⁰ Similar though the figures themselves are, the shapes of the phalli seem to have provided an outlet for artistic variation. 181's phallus comes closest in shape to those of group -[1]-. It juts out at a downward angle but the tip lifts and expands in a round flattish bun shape. It is surmounted by a disembodied set of male genitals which point backward at the rider. 182's has a very long tip which represents the sleek head of a boar,

⁷ I was only able to inspect number 182, from Naples, but the mutual resemblance is so striking as to suggest that they were cast from the same mould.

⁸ 183: A. García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal (Madrid, 1949), no. 479, pl. 335; Los bronzes romanos en España. Mayo-Julio 1990. Palacio de Velázquez. Parque del retiro. Madrid, 280, no. 220.

The photograph with the former includes three chains hanging from the genitals, which presumably support an out of field lamp, as the figure is described as a "lampadario." The latter reproduces a nearly identical view, except that the chains are missing and the dwarf rests on a flat surface.

⁹ Lucerne, 72: "forse un rasoio o una spada."

¹⁰ Described as a phallus by García y Bellido and as a rhyton in Los bronzes (1990), cit n. 8.

I believe, while the foreskin is the snout. 183 is shaped identically, but there is no surviving surface detail to suggest an animal head.

Like 180, the dwarf jockeys 184 and 185 are meant to be suspended along with bells, and do not serve as lamps. They are strikingly uniform in their iconography, with only superficial differences in the rendering of the hair and face, and position of the left arm; their similar "steeds", actually polyphalli with phallic forebody, legs and tail; the sharp leaning forward, practically on their stomachs, a position characteristic of a racer; the chunky legs and steatopygia, which 175-183 do not share; and the right hand reaching forward extending a ring or wreath. The impression is of a rider craning to crown his victorious steed.

Although the members of group -[2]- fall into two distinct variations, it is clear that they all represent riders. There is amusement value in the idea of a figure who purports to sit astride a beast which is transmogrified into a giant phallus. It is more difficult to discern what the group -[1]- dwarfs are doing. With one foot on the ground, they certainly need not be riders, and, as noted above, they have been separately described as a dancer, rider, and gladiator. I myself see a kinship with the dwarf fighters who grasp a sharp weapon and seem to attack their own giant upright phalli. The importance probably lies less in the activity performed than in the idea of the lamps, the bells, the dwarfs and the extravagant ithyphallism, all cleverly harmonized in one elegant intense convergence of apotropaic efficacy, at once decorative and practical.

Nine of the ten tintinnabula were recovered from Pompeii and Herculaneum. For more on dating and provenience, see Chapter Eight, p. 162-63, 165.

CHAPTER SIX

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Although this dissertation is concerned with representations of "dwarfs", the ancients did not always strive for clinical fidelity when depicting them in art. Some representations display keen craftsmanship and an acute eye for clinical observation, but others are crude or careless or are otherwise dwarfish, without serious effort paid to render a true dwarf. Most of these would fall into the category of caricature or grotesque, as discussed and defined in Chapter One. Nevertheless, the general effect conveyed by these figures, with their overlarge heads and stumpy proportions, was not unlike that of true dwarfs, and provoked a similar response in the viewer, and on these grounds they have been included in the catalogue. In this chapter, the range of physical characteristics of the figures listed in the catalogue will be discussed, with a view to distinguishing those of the clinical dwarfs from less faithful pieces. As a general observation, the head and body of a given figure often display comparable degrees of clinical fidelity or lack thereof; but this is not always the case and I therefore consider them separately in the following discussion.

I. Face and Cranium

(A) Clinical dwarfism.

In artistic representations, by far the most recognisable form of dwarfism is achondroplasia, which is also the most clinically common. The signature traits include a disproportionately large head; large cranial vault, which produces a prominent bulging forehead; widely spaced eyes; depressed nasal

bridge; protruding jawbone; and small, flat features. A snub nose, either buttonlike or broad, is common. The sculptures which display features of clinical dwarfism represent a broad continuum: some conform well to the pathology described above; others are adapted or transmuted, even while retaining some essence of clinical dwarfishness. These variations are expressed in the following sub-groups:

(1) About one third of the figures studied display most of the signature traits of achondroplasia, and fulfil Stevenson's criteria for pathological grotesques (see Chapter One, p. 11). To one extent or another, these are the most naturalistic figures in (A). Because of the quantity involved, they are not listed here by catalogue number, but a few examples are quoted below.

Some are decidedly porcine in appearance, an effect produced when the nose is rendered very broad and the eyes long and wide. The most representative and best-preserved examples are: a male and a female crotalist (6 and 73), the latter from Damankur, Egypt, and two combatants (128, 129). 96-108 are a group of bald and bearded weapon throwers, whose rather porcine features are derived from both the nature of achondroplasia and traditional Greek satyr iconography. The porcine effect is a little more muted on several dancers and combatants who are distinguished by larger, rounder eyes and a narrower nose, eg. 17, 18, 40, 48, 111.

Others are modelled with sensitive and rather delicate or blurred features (*sfumato*). The effect is exemplified by a well preserved female dancer in the Munich Antikensammlung (90*) and a marble torso in New York (59). The latter is identified by Bieber as a hunchback¹ but the oversized head and clinically true features indicate that he is a dwarf. Many of the female figures, including the Galjüb bronzes, are modelled with care, and lack harsh exaggeration. Similarly, Dasen remarks on

¹ M. Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age (New York, 1961), 96.

the absence of pictures of dwarf women [in Classical Greece]...as though female malformation was felt unpleasant or disquieting. This absence may also bear witness to some sympathetic feelings, since their representation would have implied making them objects of popular derision....²

This phenomenon seems to have prevailed in Hellenistic and Roman times, but only on a relative scale. The generally heightened insensitivity in Roman culture toward the ugly or misshapen is well-documented, but men still seem to have come off the worse for it.

Within Groups (2), (3), and (4) below, figures share clusters of characteristics, and all deviate from the stricter realism of (1). Essentially, they are pathological grotesques, but with heightened elements of exaggeration.

(2)³ The most prominent features of these bronzes are the eyes: large and almond-shaped, with arched brows, incised rather than modelled. They are less naturalistic than Group (1), but otherwise are clinically faithful. Their few known proveniences are scattered: France (112), Italy (1, 176), Majorca (16) and Egypt (113, 145).

(3)⁴ In this group, a certain shared look is achieved by the lips, usually parted to produce a grimace or mocking expression. The long deeply set eyes with their pronounced upper and lower lids produce a narrowing or squinting effect. The grimacing or mocking element is further enhanced by exaggerating the natural furrows which result from the achondroplastic over developed brow and depressed nasal bridge. Significantly the group is comprised almost exclusively of dancers: the facial

² V. Dasen, "Dwarfs in Athens," *OJA* (1990), 204.

³ Nos. 1, 10, 16, 47, 112, 113, 145, 146, 154, 176.

⁴ Nos. 9, 12, 13, 23, 25, 26, 27*, 34, 38, 50*, 51*, 52*, 54*, 56*, 57*, 66*, 85*, 89*.

expression, however interpreted, betrays a self-consciousness derived from performing what sources suggest was often lewd material. Among the figures in this group, eleven⁵ display a marked torsion in the body, which includes turning the head over one shoulder or backwards, as if the dancer is pleased with his agility or the abandon with which he executes the step.

The terracottas, mostly of Egyptian provenience, closely resemble many Ptolemaic and Imperial models of pataikoi. The bronzes, nearly all of unknown provenience, express the same traits but less starkly.

(4)⁶ Typical of this group are puffy, round, fleshy features; and a mild or blank expression. They range from the fairly realistic (especially 78*) to the crude or stylized (80*). All display certain elements of dwarfism, such as large broad foreheads and rather flat, small features. The overall fidelity to clinical pathology, however, is more limited than for those in group (1). 133-142 represent Macedonian soldiers, but they are caricaturish in the sense that their impossibly squat proportions are antithetical to the tall fit physiques of actual soldiers. Most of Group (4) are terracottas published in catalogues based on Egyptian materials, such as those of Bayer, Breccia, Kaufmann, Perdrizet, and Weber.

(B) Other.

The bodily proportions of certain figures have prompted their inclusion in the catalogue, as explained above, but their facial features are not dwarflike. The sub-groups described below diverge sharply on the basis of naturalism (1) vs. exaggeration (2).

⁵ 12, 13, 23, 25, 26, 34, 50*, 51*, 52*, 56*, 57*.

⁶ Nos. 46, 61*, 78*, 80*, 82*, 83*, 116, 133-142*, 143*, 158*.

(1) Non-dwarfish naturalism⁷

The heads of these eighteen figures would belong perfectly well with non-dwarf bodies. The fact that the majority are bronze accords with the greater tendency in the catalogue figures towards naturalism in bronzes and intentional exaggerations among the terracottas; combatants outnumber musical dwarfs in exactly the same proportion. The most informative are those which I have inspected myself: 21*, 120, 121, 160*, 161*, 162*. Particularly among the terracottas I see more the attempt at representing ordinary human dwarfs, despite anatomical inaccuracies, e.g. 21*'s arms are unrealistically long. 120 and 121 (and 122, I suspect, whose features are very worn) are probably fantasy figures whose interest lies in their combative stance, which contrasts the muscular well-shaped and ramrod straight torso with the bent stumpy legs. 160-162* represent boxers whose uniform heaviness and coarseness are yet not incompatible with their naturalistic faces.

A number of factors could account for non-dwarfish heads on dwarfish bodies:

(a) A craftsman may have found it expedient to offer a clear and intentional interpretation of a dwarf through rendering salient bodily, as opposed to facial, characteristics.

(b) Perhaps some figures represent types of dwarfs whose face and skull are not so noticeably affected. The commonest by far is hypochondroplasia,⁸ which affects the body, while the skull retains a normal appearance. The ancients would have noted this form of dwarfism, without understanding the clinical cause.

(c) A handful of figures accepted here as dwarfs (43, 160*, 161*) might actually represent children.

⁷ Nos. 7, 8, 10, 21*, 43, 117, 120, 121, 126*, 150, 151, 160-162*, 168-171.

⁸ It is as common as achondroplasia, according to Dasen, 1993, 10, with occurrences of about 1 in 34,000 live births.

(2) Caricatures and grotesques.⁹

I categorize twelve figures as caricatures or grotesques by virtue of their exaggeration beyond the conventions of either normal or dwarfish physiognomy. On a subjective basis, I use the term "caricature" if I respond to the comicality of a piece's deliberate exaggerations, and "grotesque" if my reaction is more one of revulsion at the ugliness produced by the distortion.

60*, 64*, and 65* bear a singularly uniform look that might reflect the use of a particular mask type: Philipp describes this look as maskenhaft,¹⁰ while Bayer identifies the long nose, protruding ears, and arched eyebrows as consistent with Roman slave iconography.¹¹ This characteristic face is also seen on other figures of various occupations and costume.¹² The round thick phallus and peaked cap are well-represented, but optional. I suggest that rather than a mask face, we see perhaps an amusing and highly specific style that, even if ultimately inspired by the theatre, is not restricted to figures who represent performers. These figures, along with 62* and 69*, whose features appear flatter and coarser, are linked to Imperial Egypt.¹³ Also from Egypt is 175*, whose features are flat and coarse but more regular.

A number of grotesques are also considered of non-Egyptian provenience. They are presumed or declared to be from Cyprus (144*), Boiotia (156*) and Asia Minor (159*, 164*, 173*, 174*).

⁹ 60*, 62*, 64*, 65*, 69*, 144*, 156*, 159*, 164*, 173*, 174*, 175*.

¹⁰ Philipp, Terrakotten, 30, no. 41.

¹¹ Bayer, Terrakotten, 217 no. 495.

¹² Weber, ÄGT, 192, no. 323; Alexandria Museum, Inv. 24012; Breccia, Monuments II.1, 64 no. 352 and pl. 37.3; Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Inv. 1989.332.

¹³ 62: Bayer, Terrakotten, 207. 69: Besques, Terres cuites, IV.2, D/E4517. For provenience, see Ch. Eight, p. 151.

Generally, their stunted misshapen bodies are overwhelmed by much larger heads and impossibly protruding and coarse faces. It is the contrast between protrusion and flatness of the faces which, at least in my catalogue, often distinguishes other Mediterranean proveniences from Egyptian.

There is a significant difference in medium between groups (B) (1) and (2). (1) includes a preponderance of bronzes over terracottas, while (2) consists solely of terracottas. Bronze is more luxurious and may have been favoured for objects of higher artistic refinement. This might hold especially true for bronzes which were incorporated into furnishings or decorative objects, e.g. 117, 120, and 121. Grotesque figurines generally find greater expression in terracotta than in bronze. They appealed to large segments of the population, who could more easily afford to purchase terracottas.

II. Body.

Like the heads, the bodies of the figurines present an interesting range of characteristics. Some are pathologically accurate (A) while others fall more within the orbit of caricature and grotesque [(B) 2 below]. Phallic shapes, because of their relevance to some figures' functions, are discussed below, too. The catalogue furnishes fewer useful samples of bodies than heads, primarily because of missing limbs and the obscuring of details by clothing.

(A) Clinical dwarfism

The types of clinical dwarfism recognisable on sculpted figures are necessarily associated with disproportionate short stature. Without a relative scale of comparison, a figure with proportionate short stature (whose whole body is proportionately reduced in size) would not be distinguishable from one which is normal.

Achondroplasia is as easily characterized by its effects on the body as on the face and cranium, and much could be made of this by the competent sculptor. It is marked by: lordosis, a

curvature of the lower spine which gives prominence to the buttocks and belly (and which looks to the untrained eye like steatopygia and obesity); genu varum, i.e. bowleggedness; stiff shortened arms which do not extend past the top of the thigh; truncated chunky legs, often with folds of skin about the thighs. Hypochondroplasia, as common as achondroplasia, affects the body more mildly and the head not at all. Although the bodily proportions are about the same, the lordosis is slighter and the genu varum occurs less frequently. Other varieties of disproportionate short stature are extremely rare and are not considered here. I believe that even if the subtleties of these conditions had been attempted on ancient statuary, we would today find them very difficult to identify.

An excellent example of a pathological dwarf is 129, a bronze achondroplastic combatant. Not only are his facial features consistent with the syndrome (as described p. 119), but he also displays characteristically protruding buttocks and distended abdomen, as well as thin, tiny arms and extremely bowed legs. Here, the shortness of the arms is clinically faithful, a rarity among the figures; since their legs are so short, the arms are often rendered knee-length. The bowed legs, however, must have been a conspicuous part of real dwarfs' atopia, and are responsible for the waddling gait which often becomes more pronounced with age. The marked agility of the typical achondroplastic would meet effectively the demands of both dancing and fighting, and the bowed misshapen legs translate well into sculpture. Nos. 1-8, for example, are male crotalists who lift one foot in the air, and whose knees point in opposite directions, a subtle indication of bowed legs. Their agility, as well as that of some of the female crotalists (72, 73, 77), is also expressed in their effective display of bodily torsion, whereby the body moves around a central axis, and the position of the limbs and head forms a complex spatial relationship with the torso. The Galjúb bronzes (19, 20, 74, 75) display only limited torsion, since they dance on almost vestigial legs; the contrast between the large swollen torso and the very abbreviated legs is unusually strong.

(B) Other**(1) Non-dwarfish naturalism**

Very common, too, are figures which exhibit dwarfism merely by the contiguity of a large head and a small body. In some cases, they are quite natural in appearance and differ from clinical hypo- or achondroplasia mainly by the excessive shortness of the trunk.¹⁴ It is difficult to identify them, however, with specific pathologies. Their sheer numbers would rule against the likelihood that they are meant to represent such exceedingly rare short-limb/ short-trunk conditions such as pseudo-achondroplasia, whose incidence in modern populations is only about 4 in 10,000,000.¹⁵ Many also lack the prominent steatopygia associated with the protruding buttocks induced by lordosis, e.g. 27*, 145-151, 160*, 176-180.

30% of the male figures in the catalogue possess inconspicuous¹⁶ or concealed¹⁷ genitals. Among them, we find Macedonians (133-143*) and other soldiers, a group of pugilists (145-151), and assorted terracotta and bronze athletes and dancers. These figures are conceived and regarded as humans, I believe, while many or most of the hyperphallic figures (below, p. 128) embody a strong element of fantasy.

(2) Caricatures and grotesques

Caricatures and grotesques show almost no conformity to true dwarfism, since, by definition, neither aims for naturalism. They are included in the catalogue by virtue of their disproportionately

¹⁴ E.g. 9, 13-15, 25, 27*, 33, 40, 53*, et.al.

¹⁵ Dasen, 1993, 11 n. 16.

¹⁶ 12, 19, 20, 42, 47, 53*, 107, 110, 119, 123-125, 145-151, 153, 155, 156*, 160-161*, 165, 174*.

¹⁷ 21*, 27*, 38, 44*, 46, 50-52*, 54*, 57*, 71*, 133-143*, 163*, 164*.

small bodies. Further, figures which I have already defined as caricatures, on the basis of their facial characteristics, usually tend toward obesity, e.g. 64*, 69*, 80*, 133-139*, 158*. I attribute this pattern to the comic effect of obesity when more idealized physiques are what one normally associates with the roles of athlete, soldier, etc. Conversely, those which I would characterize as grotesques, e.g. 37*, 54*, 62*, and 174*, have small emaciated bodies supporting oversized, coarsely modeled heads with thick protruding features.

A subtler form of caricature might be at work in figures whose modelling seems to reflect a Classical tradition of idealizing male beauty in naturalistic, slim, muscular nudes. The perfection of the musculature is emphasized and juxtaposed with the short stature and misshapen proportions, as a study in contrasts. This is obvious in the modelling of certain bronze combatants and athletes, especially 96-108, 155, 166-172. Among these pieces, the athleticism is heightened by the interesting rendering of torsion (less so in 166, 170-172). There is a very skilful and naturalistic pulling back of the shoulders and simultaneous lowering of the head, in a moment of tension and concentration.

(2a) Caricatures and Grotesques: Hyperphallism.

In the catalogue, male dancers and musicians outnumber females by 3:1, and all combatants are male. The disproportionate number of male artefacts parallels the greater visibility of living male dwarfs and both reflect the demands of their respective markets. Certainly, males have no greater genetic predisposition towards dwarfism than females. Medical observations show that in modern populations, most dwarfish disorders do not show sexual bias.¹⁸ Dasen suggests that there was a greater

¹⁸ V. Dasen, "Dwarfs in Athens," *OJA* (1990), 192. W.R. Dawson, "Pygmies and Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt," *JEA* 24 (1938) 187, noted the far greater rarity of female dwarfs in Egyptian Dynastic tombs and illustrations, but claimed that achondroplasia (one of the most easily recognised forms of dwarfism in ancient artistic representations) is more frequent among modern females.

reticence on the part of society to exploit the deformities of females.¹⁹

Male figures, excluding musicians and some soldiers, are scantily clad. The stunted and bowed misshapeness of the legs²⁰ is emphasized in a variety of poses and attitudes. Also preferred are large conspicuous genitalia. One reason why representations of male dwarfs are favoured over female is because they possess the potential for, and frequently display, hyperphallism.

I propose "hyperphallism" as a more general alternative when the more conventional "ithyphallism", which suggests rigidity and physical arousal, is either not represented or characterizes only part of a group under discussion. In considering other possibilities, I rejected "macrophallic" because this addresses the length and not circumference, and "mega-" or "megalophallic" because it is too literal and objective. "Hyperphallic", however, captures the sense of a size which is over and beyond what is considered normal or possible.

There are two types of hyperphallism considered in this section: (a) the phallus is oversized but reasonably naturalistic in shape; (b) the phallus is monstrously large and distorted.

(a)²¹ Among these figures, some possibly reflect the realities of contemporary stagecraft, when normally proportioned performers and, I assume, dwarfs as well, enhanced themselves with huge phallic accoutrements, e.g 39.²² Because of their truncated thighs, dwarfs have been erroneously perceived as unusually endowed, but some artistic renderings are so exaggerated that where there is

¹⁹ Ibid., 204, and p. 120-21 above.

²⁰ This trait is common to achondroplasia, hypochondroplasia, and pseudo-achondroplasia.

²¹ 1-11, 15-16, 22, 25, 26, 30*, 34, 39-41, 43, 48, 68, 69-70*, 96-104, 108, 111-112, 115, 118, 120-122, 126-129, 132, 152, 157-159*, 162*, 165-170, 172, 174*.

²² P. Wessner, *Scholia in Juvenalem. Vetustiora* (Stuttgart, 1931, repr. 1967) 6.65-66: penem, ut habent in mimo; Arnobius *Adversus Gentes* 7.33: Mimis nimirum dii gaudent... delectantur... fascinorum ingentium rubore ("The gods really do enjoy mimes... They delight ... in the redness of the huge fascina [phalli]").

inspiration from living performers, the latter would have worn artificial prop phalli to achieve the illusion of hyperphallism. Other renderings, of course, are pure expressions of the craftsman's whimsical artistic license.

(b) Figures of this type are all marked by a fantastic element, especially in the treatment of the phallus, and are essentially imaginary in conception. Among the variations are:

(i) Phallus aiming backward (13, 24, 28*, 29*, 32, 33). These figures, all dancers, are not overtly threatening, except for 24, who brandishes a weapon over his shoulder against an unseen foe; one assumes that he "presents" his long upturned phallus behind him, as a further show of aggression.²³

By way of comparison, Pygmy figures sometimes relieve themselves backwards in the direction of their enemies.²⁴

(ii) Serpentine phallus (14, 17, 18, 49, 105, 109). This is unusually supple, and can bend and curve like a snake. The phallus as threat is represented by 109, which Comstock and Vermeule identify as a "parody" of Hercules, battling his own seven-headed phallus as if it were the Hydra.²⁵ 17 and 18, which are both damaged, also look as if they are battling their own phalli, but direct examination of the originals confirms that they are dancers and not fighters. 105, whose phallus snakes around his right leg, is a variant of the bearded combatants (96-108) whose phalli normally reach almost to the ground, but are naturalistic.

(iii) Monstrous phallus (45*, 55*, 61*, 62*, 64*, 66*, 114, 116, 117, 154, 171, 176-185). The monstrous phallus is distinguished by the extent to which its length, circumference or shape exceed

²³ Cf. the ithyphallic dwarf creature, turned away from the Evil Eye, showing his organ which aims backward (discussed in Ch. Two, p. 53).

²⁴ See Cèbe, *Caricature et parodie*, pl. 9, fig. 1 and 4.

²⁵ *Boston Bronzes*, 130 no. 146. Cf. also 114 and 180 in section (iii).

atopia. The most outlandish, excepting the tintinnabula, is 61*, a caricature of a lyre-player, the volume of whose phallus is greater than the whole rest of his body. He sits and uses it as a stand for supporting the lyre. The other terracotta musicians in this group are damaged. The phallus itself was cast separately and inserted into a gaping cavity at the base of the abdomen.²⁶

²⁶ An idea of the monstrous thickness of the phallus can be gained from figurines of dwarfs or miniatures in which it survives, e.g. Götter, Gräber & Grottesken, nos. 104, 108.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FUNCTION AND SIGNIFICANCE

Small sculptures are generally well represented in ancient material culture, but in many cases we do not know what purpose or significance was attached to them. For clues, we look to the shape of the object and its archaeological context. In the vast majority of cases, however, we lack adequate knowledge of their proveniences and especially informative contexts such as in situ discovery in temple, tomb, dwelling or commercial establishment. Georges Nachtergaele's remarks on the difficulties of identifying how Fayoumi terracottas were used are instructive: the various categories to which the terracottas can be allotted include domestic cult statues, ex-votos in temples or tombs, and toys. Without the provenience, one cannot distinguish between these, but even when the context is known, he writes: "A notre connaissance, il ne semble pas qu'un type de terres cuites soit destiné à un seul usage, à l'exclusion de tout autre."¹ Consequently, the shape, which broadly encompasses iconography, takes on great significance.

In this chapter, I explore the function or significance of our figures, and attempt to establish a range of possibilities. "Function" refers here to utilitarian function, and includes objects which, through modification of their shapes, serve a practical use, independent of the fact that they look like dwarfs. "Significance" indicates the cultural or spiritual significance of many of my catalogue figures, especially as it relates to religious practice; prophylactic magic; parody; and even mere decorative

¹ "Terres cuites du Fayoum," *ChrEg* 60 (1985), 224 n. 2.

pleasure.

I. FUNCTION

Vessels

There are seven vessels in the catalogue.

57* is a hollow vase, with the dwarf's crooked right arm doubling as the handle.

A bronze series of boxers includes several balsamares (145-149), hollow receptacles for oils. The tops of their heads form a rim, with two small suspension rings attached to either side of it. These, I think, are used for suspension rather than as handles, because the figures average just over 13 cm in height, and are more easily lifted by their bodies than by the two small rings.

152, also a balsamaire, is larger and more naturalistic; his entire head is the lid. From a vertical ring on each shoulder, he hung from a chain. As a tomb deposit, he enjoys a good state of preservation.

Lamps

Four of the tintinnabula (176, 177, 178, 179) are equipped with enormous phalli, the ends of which are expanded, flattened and hollowed into actual lamps.

A small lamp is built into the base of 82*, a feature, however, which she does not share with other tambourinists in the catalogue. She is also distinguished by a hole penetrating her headwear. Perhaps she was affixed to a wall or otherwise suspended where the lamplight would be useful.

Handles

At least three bronzes served as decorative handles. 113 crouches atop a fully preserved flower stalk; together they form a knife-handle. 116 and 117 are on similar stalks, both of which are

missing their bases, so the description of 116 as a lamp handle² is open to question.

Weights

Among the many weights which survive from antiquity are several well moulded whimsical figures of bronze. Quite likely, some of our suspended figures also served as weights. 16 still has a ring attached to the top of the head, through which a much larger ring is looped.³ 110 is probably a weight; the suspension hole through the crest of his helmet is penetrated by a balance rod.⁴ His height is unknown while that of 16 is 9 cm.

Candelabrum support

154 is a unique example of a figurine with a single hole, a cavity or depression, on the very top of the head. Comstock and Vermeule suggest that 154 is "an attachment or support (for a candelabrum?)".⁵ I accept this possibility, since he is well balanced on phallus and legs together, and the hole contains lead filling,⁶ which would help stabilise an inserted component.

Decorative hanging

At least one of the Mahdia figurines (77) would have been suspended from a ring between her shoulderblades. Dorothy Hill believes that similar rings should be "mentally restored" on 13 (as does Werner Fuchs⁷) and 72, on the grounds that they show no signs of vertical mounting. She suggests that the eventual owner would have suspended them for private display at his home, from the

² Bronzes Fouquet, 55 no. 90.

³ A. García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal (Madrid, 1949), 452 no. 482.

⁴ Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 309.7.

⁵ Boston Bronzes, 129 no. 145.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Fuchs, Schiffsfund, 18.

intercolumnia of a peristyle, or possibly from the compluvium.⁸ I agree that this is possible, but 13 and 72, which also never arrived at their intended destination, might eventually have been mounted instead.

Ornamental pins (?)

All four Galjûb bronzes (19, 20, 74, 75) are now fitted with tangs which protrude vertically from the soles of the feet. A fifth figurine from the same site (76) is missing both legs. The tangs are clearly modern, and do not appear in Ippel's original photographs. Thus, it is not certain if they ever originally had the sharp bronze projections under their feet which survived on various larger Galjûb bronzes. According to Dorothy Hill, our figures served as models for gold and silver copies, which would have been intended as decorative heads for long ornamental pins.⁹ Although these bronzes are small enough to have served that purpose, the fact that the males and females are mirror image counterparts to each other indicates that they may merely have been models for precious metal statuettes intended for mounting.

II. SIGNIFICANCE

Apotropaia

Derived ultimately from the Greek ἀπο + τρέπω (turn away), an apotropaion is a device which diverts - in its most common usage - nefarious supernatural influences, especially the Evil Eye of Envy. In Chapter Two (p. 53), we saw how dwarfs on the Antioch mosaics published by Doro Levi perform as apotropaia against the Eye; in one instance the Eye itself is represented being assailed

⁸ D.K. Hill, "Some Sculpture from Roman Domestic Gardens," in Ancient Roman Gardens, ed. E.B. MacDougall and W.F. Jashemski (Washington, 1981), 87. So, too, Himmelmann, Realismus, 70.

⁹ Hill, Walters Bronzes, xx.

simultaneously by several terrible attackers, of which the dwarf is merely one. Several dwarfs in my catalogue also play an apotropaic role. A number of the relevant ways in which it can be assumed are described first:

Noise. Bells¹⁰ or any loud noise¹¹ are capable of scaring Evil away.

Amulets. Normally in the form of small objects which could be worn on one's person, or easily displayed in one's surroundings, amulets allegedly ward off the Evil Eye. One of the ways that they might be supposed to work is by attracting the Eye's glance with their atopia. Similarly, dwarfs could exercise apotropaic power through the atopia of their bodies (See Chapter Two, p. 34-35).

Phallic symbols. The display of the erect phallus must have been particularly potent, to judge by its seeming ubiquitousness in antiquity, through Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times.

The phallic force defines the functions of two distinct divinities. Priapus, son of Dionysus and Aphrodite, was a promoter of fertility, and represented as an ithyphallic statue who reigned over gardens and vineyards. Fascinus was a Roman deity, little more than an abstraction of the phallus. He was so named because he granted protection against the Evil Eye; the Latin fascinare is cognate with the Greek βασκαίνειν: "to use ill words", "to bewitch by spells or by means of an Evil Eye." The protection which he could provide was invoked in varying contexts, for instance by women who had just given birth and were still confined to bed, and triumphant generals who fastened a phallus, which represented Fascinus, under their chariots as a protection against envy (medicus invidiae) (Pliny HN 28.39).

Why the phallus is apotropaic cannot be explained by one factor alone. There is doubtless

¹⁰ Ioann. Chrys. Epist. I ad Cor. 12,7; W.K. Prentice, Part III of the Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria 1899-1900. Greek and Latin Inscriptions (New York, 1908), 20; N. MacKouly, "Rock-Cut Tombs at El Jish," QDAP 8 (1939), 45-50, pl. 21-22.

¹¹ Ov. Fast. 5.441; Lucian Philops. 15; PGM 36, 159; Tz. ad Lyc. 77.

a convergence of associations which may have differed in intensity and significance, depending on the region and time period.

The wearing of giant prop phalli on the stage suggests one way in which the phallus took on an apotropaic quality, namely, the obscenity attendant in its outrageous display, and the amusement which it provoked.¹² The phallus was amusing in its obscenity, and the indulgence in such unabashed revelling in the obscene was cathartic, and thus held in abeyance such negative influences as the Evil Eye. As Doro Levi expressed it: "laughter is the opposite pole of the anguish produced by the dark forces of evil; where there is laughter, it scatters the shades and phantasms."¹³ Many of the dancers in the catalogue seem festive, and might be participating in occasions of gaiety and amusement. Perhaps it is in the context of obscenity and humour that we find hyperphallism strongly represented.

Another conception of the phallus (especially giant ithyphalloi) connected with guardianship of property was an aggressive appearance inspiring fear and awe rather than provoking mirth. As Shapiro observed, Classical Greek culture regarded the small, thin phallus as beautiful, therefore a large, swollen one was presumably held to be ugly.¹⁴ The aspect of the rigid phallus as inspiring fear through implicit threat may explain the coincidence of monstrously large and distorted phalli with violent and aggressive acts, scattered among the catalogue's fighting dwarfs; but this does not automatically mean that they are apotropaic.

Occasionally the threat of the erect phallus is explicitly the threat of being sodomised. Some

¹² That obscenity should be amusing needs no further justification, but the literary precedent had been established in the Hymn to Demeter.

¹³ D. Levi, "The Evil Eye and the Lucky Hunchback," Antioch-on-the-Orontes III. The Excavations of 1937-39 (Princeton, 1941), 225.

¹⁴ H.A. Shapiro, "Notes on Greek Dwarfs," AJA 88 (1964), 392.

literary and inscriptional testimony makes the association clear.¹⁵

Many objects included in the catalogue clearly serve an apotropaic function at some level. It would be futile, however, to try to gauge exactly how meaningfully the concept was applied to a particular object by the ancient viewer. An attempt nevertheless is made here to list a number of figures which, based on the criteria discussed, merit our consideration as likely or possible apotropaia.

Among the balsamares, Perdrizet, discussing 145, considered that it served not only a primary function as an oil container,¹⁶ but, given that it is shaped like a dwarf, as a protective charm as well ("prophylactique").¹⁷ This might also explain the presence of 152 in a grave, where it could oversee the protection of the departed spirit. The chain attached to it indicates that there must have been another function, apart from the amuletic, served during the lifetime of the deceased, since an object intended exclusively as a grave deposit would not require one.

176-185 are tintinnabula fitted with accompanying chains and accoutrements, specifically a lamp (176, 181 and 182) and bells (all). We know that two of the objects were hung in public establishments.¹⁸ While some of the tintinnabula may have served the utilitarian purpose of giving light, all would have been regarded as apotropaic because the phalli work in harmony with other components (specifically bells, lamps, and the atopia of the dwarf) to form a complex hanging talisman. Figures 176-179 appear to strike a combative pose but the obscure significance of the

¹⁵ A wealth of material on this and other aspects of the apotropaic phallus is collected by K. Slane and M.W. Dickie, "A Knidian Phallic Vase from Corinth," *Hesperia* 62.4 (1993) 483-505, especially 486-494 with relevant notes and bibliography.

¹⁶ Oil was used as a matter of course by patrons of the gymnasium, and especially by wrestlers before a match.

¹⁷ Bronzes Fouquet, 62 no. 99.

¹⁸ Lucerne, 73 (176), 72 (181). See Ch. Eight, p. 151.

objects which they hold lends ambiguity to their actions. Aggression plays a more understated role for 181-185, who are jockeys. The element of threat is implicit however in the very fact that the phallus is potent enough to appear airborne and strong enough to support a rider (184-185).

180, alone among the tintinnabula, appears to attack his own phallus, whose tip expands into the shape of a ferocious animal head. But other small figures occasionally represent the macabre threat of one's own body, specifically the phallus, turning on oneself: viz. 109 and 114.

24 is a bronze figure advancing with his phallus pointing backwards and holding a baton in each hand. The dwarfish figure on a mosaic from Antioch provides a close parallel for this attitude,¹⁹ and the fact that it explicitly threatens the Evil Eye shows that this could well be an underlying element in other depictions of the phallus displayed backward.²⁰ The objects held by 24, which I identify as batons, may contribute not only toward the rhythm of the dance but also toward the creation of noise, itself apotropaic.

Certainly the concept of noise as apotropaion is expressed by 27*, a dancer who shakes rattles. His findspot in a tomb further suggests that he was placed there as a protective charm for the deceased. The group of three tambourinists (23, 25, 26), all hyperphallic and enthusiastically dancing, might have similar associations, but our ignorance of their proveniences discourages further speculation.

Religion

The "religious" connections are often vague and indirect and do not necessarily bespeak pronounced religiosity, as much as perhaps a sense of spiritual sustenance and comfort achieved by

¹⁹ That discussed in Ch. Two, p. 53.

²⁰ E.g. LIMC 7 (1994), s.v. "Pygmaioi" (V. Dasen), 52a, 53b.

peopling one's environment with objects associated with favoured deities. Particularly relevant in this context are the dancers, many of whom portray broad revelry as well as attributes specific to Dionysus, to Isis, to other Egyptian deities, or evocative of festivity in general.

Isis.

The benevolence and widespread worship of this goddess never quite overshadow her Egyptian origins. Her characteristic costume is described in Chapter Three, p. 73-74. To summarise briefly, it consists of a simple ankle-length dress over which is frequently worn a fringed mantle. The two garments are fastened together between the breasts in a "knot of Isis". The hair, a generous wig or wig-like coiffure, is parted down the centre and forms sausage curls around the sides and back.

Many of the female figurines are dressed in Isiac costume,²¹ while dancing or playing the tambourine, and probably represent celebrants or priestesses of the goddess.²² 85 is a group: the woman beats a tambourine while a male celebrant wears a drooping loincloth and plays crotala.²³ He provides a possible link to some of the other male dancers, in that his appearance and style of loincloth are similar to that of 11, another crotalist, and of 128.

92 represents a figure in Isiac dress, an equilibrista, balancing on a vase. Karl Schefold identifies it as a wine amphora and draws a connection between drink and Isis worship: he explains that she is no mere "Genrefigur", but that she shows the felicity and good fortune attached to the worship of Isis.²⁴ According to Wrede, an observer living in late Hellenistic Egypt would assume the

²¹ 72-76, 78*, 79*, 82*, 83*, 85*, 91, 92.

²² F. Dunand, Terres cuites Isiaques (Leiden, 1979), 22: "Le costume des prêtres et des prêtresses reproduit en général celui des divinités..."

²³ Götter, Gräber & Grottesken, 53, no. 30.

²⁴ K. Schefold, Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst (Basel, 1960), 101.

wearer of this costume to be a musician or a drunk ecstatic dancer.²⁵ Indeed, all the images of the Isis-costumed celebrant which I have examined are actively dancing or playing percussion.

Horus.

In Egyptian lore, the son of Isis and Osiris is Har (Greek: Horus). The child Har, or Harpechrat (Greek: Harpocrates), is sometimes represented in Egyptian art in his guise as the youthful sun, with a finger on his mouth. Since dwarfs are child-size, and the Egyptian veneration of dwarfs was already a longstanding practice, the substitution of a dwarf for Horus in ceremonial would not be impossible.²⁶ Indeed 58, a hyperphallic dancer, makes the same finger-to-mouth gesture.

Also strongly affiliated with Harpocrates is the lotus blossom,²⁷ the twin buds of which are worn by eleven figures, while three others are represented on top of a lotus flower. The lotus and its strong symbolism of life and fertility became over time a strongly evocative motif of the Egyptian world, including that marketed for export. Consequently, representations such as 113, 116 and 117 are fantasy figures, probably Pygmies, since they are evidently tiny enough to perch atop a lotus flower. Others, such as the triplet of male dancers (23, 25, 26), seem to display stronger cultic associations, with their naturalistic modelling and playing of percussion instruments, although their possible apotropaic significance should not be overlooked.

Bes.

The influence of the domestic protective dwarf deity Bes may be felt in the thriving interest in dwarfs in Greco-Roman Egypt. Certain variations on the abundant iconography of Bes are characteristic of the Ptolemaic period: a nude or kilted warrior Bes holding a shield, holding a sword

²⁵ Wrede, 1988, 107-108.

²⁶ For the identification of dwarfs with Horus (and Re), see Dasen, 1993, 47-50.

²⁷ See Ch. Three, p. 78.

beside his head,²⁸ holding and killing a serpent,²⁹ and Bes depicted with a female consort.³⁰ Pre-Ptolemaic survivals include the tall feathered headdress, and, stylistically, an emphasis on Negroid facial features and a grimacing expression. It is certainly possible to make correspondences between Bes and dwarf figurines, but whether these correspondences are significant is doubtful.

The brandishing of a sword and shield is such a natural action for a warrior that one ought perhaps to attach little importance to it. Only 142, of Egyptian provenience, comes particularly close to the typical Bes figure, in terms of stiffness, position of the arms, and crude modelling of the face. The bronze group of nude bearded weapon hurlers 96-108 have no demonstrable Egyptian proveniences, and the attributes they may share with the Bes figures are somewhat vague: they brandish weapons, they are bearded, their facial features tend to coarseness. As stated in Chapter Four, I find the Greek influences on this group to be more pronounced.

While there are no serpents among the figurines, several have serpentine phalli - 17, 18, 49, 109, 114 - and one arm raised. These, along with 180, recall, perhaps only coincidentally, the motif of Bes killing a serpent, whereby the serpent is transmuted into a phallus.

"Negroid" facial features may well be appropriately attributed to Bes, in view of Dasen's acceptance of him as a god native to the south of Egypt; she cites inscriptional and ethnological evidence.³¹ Among the dwarfs in my catalogue are some who also arguably possess "Negroid"

²⁸ Dasen, 1993, 59, pl. 11.2 (= Br. Mus. 61296); also *Terres cuites Fouquet*, pl. 41, nos. 131-135. These figures of Bes feature him with a round shield in the left hand and a short, sharp sword held aloft in the right.

²⁹ Dasen, 1993, 59, pl. 10.1-2 (= Br. Mus. 1178, Brooklyn Museum, 58.98)

³⁰ Dasen, 1993, 59. See also LIMC 3 (1986), s.v. "Bes" (V. Tran Tam Tinh), 98-108; "Besit" (id.), 112-114.

³¹ Dasen, 1993, 61.

characteristics, although there has historically been a tendency to over-ascribe these to small statuary, especially genre pieces. But any which do possess Negroid features and also have an Egyptian provenience either reflect the complex demographics of ancient Egypt or were conceived as Pygmies.

Certain Egyptian groups represent Bes with a female companion. When his grotesque appearance is matched by hers, she is generally identified as his consort, Besit.³² Bes can also be accompanied by a woman of stunted but regular appearance, dancing and striking a tambourine, similar in pose to 83 and 84.³³ Her Isiac costume does not evidently confine her range of male associates to Osiris; perhaps we see a conflation of Isis with Besit, who is a much later invention, since Isis and Besit both strongly assume the roles of protectresses. Dasen argues that protection surrounding childbirth forms the particular context where Bes and the Isis-like tambourinist meet. She writes, "The tambourine... is an instrument commonly associated with the celebration of birth from the New Kingdom on."³⁴ A pair of leather membranes from a tambourine of the Late Period depicts two similar scenes: one with a female tambourinist confronting a seated Isis, with a female dwarf between them dancing on a lotus-like pedestal; the other with the dwarf exchanged for a Bes. This and another more complicated and fragmentary pair of membranes are interpreted as referring to pregnancy and childbirth rituals.³⁵

³² LIMC 3 (1986), s.v. "Besit" (V. Tran Tam Tinh), 112-14; Dasen, 1993, 59-60.

³³ Weber, ÄGT, 157 no. 249, pl. 24. While most Besits are represented as coarse or feral in appearance, the illustrations which accompany the entry in LIMC, cit. n. 32, include at least two (5a, 8) which assume a more human mien. Perhaps they are judged to be goddesses because they and Bes, who is clearly a god, form a group.

³⁴ Dasen, 1993, 78.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 153-155.

Dionysus.

Dionysus and his retinue are distinguished by a number of features, among which the following find expression in figures which form part of the catalogue:

- (i) ivy and vine wreaths
- (ii) the Maenad's costume
- (iii) musical pipes

As described above (Chapter Three, p. 76), three male dancers wear a Dionysiac wreath or crown. That of 8 seems typically full and leafy, while 32 and 33 wear ivy.

It would seem, too, that one of the female Mahdia dwarfs is connected with Dionysus' worship. 77 wears the long loose tunic of a Maenad, which is suited to the untrammelled movement required of the celebrant, and her large leafy wreath is similar to that of 8.

Regrettably the objects in her right arm no longer survive, but one may reconstruct either a thyrsos or a musical instrument. The Mahdia male (13) probably also plays instruments with Dionysiac associations. As discussed earlier, a case has been made by Wrede that he plays a straight pipe and elymos, and that his loose cap serves as a versatile carrying bag for these instruments.³⁶

Wrede further makes the complicated but specious case that 13 serves as an example of the programmatic art influenced by the Ptolemies' pretensions of aligning themselves with Dionysus and his cult.³⁷ Fostered by the Ptolemies no doubt, Dionysus' popularity grew in Hellenistic Egypt, where the Greeks identified Osiris with him. Of the catalogue figures cited in this section, only one comes

³⁶ Wrede, 1988, 98-100. By way of comparison, see his p. 102 and pl. 41.3, which illustrates the cast of a cup, ascribed to Hellenistic Egypt, showing a figure purportedly wearing a similar cap, playing pipes before a dancing Maenad.

³⁷ See Chapter Three, p. 88; Wrede, 1988, 100 n. 10, 102.

from Egypt: 32, according to De Ridder.³⁸ The others are of uncertain provenience.

General festivity.

Among the dancers one often detects an air of celebration, imparted not only by the acts of dancing and music-making, but also by the wreaths about the head³⁹ and neck.⁴⁰ Since these are worn by both females and males, in various costumes and activities, the precise significance is difficult to evaluate.⁴¹ Our literary sources emphasize the male dwarfs' role as entertainers, so their presence at convivial gatherings was appropriate; not surprisingly, the statuettes capture moments of gaiety, too. Among the females, there is less diversity. Most of those who wear the wreaths appear in Isiac garb, and the wreaths tend to be larger and more elaborate than those worn by the males.

A small number of other objects also have possible festive associations: they carry various receptacles. 32 and 33, who wear Dionysiac wreaths, hold a basket on the left arm. 34, head thrown back in energetic dance, carries a wicker basket suspended against his torso by straps over his shoulder. 35 positions a cup on his raised left knee. 36*, head encircled by a large vegetal wreath, which is another generalised symbol of celebration, bears a platter on his left shoulder while a vase rests by the left leg. 37* eats a grape from a bunch held in his left hand. As grapes are central to Dionysus' cult, Uhlenbrock vaguely suggests "Dionysiac associations" for 37* in the absence of any other evidence.⁴²

Parody

³⁸ De Ridder, Bronzes, no. 360.

³⁹ Nos. 21*, 27*, 36*, 46, 52*, 53*, 63*, 66*, 78-84*, 90*, 93*.

⁴⁰ Nos. 27*, 30*, 44-45*.

⁴¹ See Chapter Three, p. 77-78.

⁴² Uhlenbrock, Coroplast, 124 no. 17.

Thus far, "significance" has been approached as something implicitly serious. But we have seen the occurrence of light-hearted touches both in the appearance and the actions of various figures. Where intrinsically serious subject matter is involved, we may assume that the treatment derives from the same love of parody which Cèbe has demonstrated not only in art but also in literature and theatre.⁴³ I suggest that a number of dwarf figures embody a parodic element which requires no further justification than the desire of the artist to create an object of whimsical entertainment value.

Basic to this parodic element is the representation of a misshapen figure in the role of one who normally is well-proportioned. It is very unlikely, for example, that dwarfs in military regalia, such as the Macedonians, depict true soldiers, since living dwarfs would have been useless in a conventional army. Their thick squat bodies and large heads deliberately mock the expectations that a soldier, Macedonian or otherwise, will be physically healthy and attractively proportioned.

Other figurines which are helmeted or bear weapons in my view are more likely to represent Pygmies if they are hyperphallic, and figures from the arena if they are not. That dwarfs were engaged as gladiators is well documented in literary sources (Chapter Two, p. 36-41). While there is a distinction to be made between human beings and purely fantasy figures such as Pygmies, they share the element of humour which comes from performing actions more appropriately or gracefully effected by those of normal height; a similar situation applies to children.

A number of the bronze figurines (viz. 96-108, 155, 167, 168) are notable for their carefully modelled, highly muscular bodies. I detect a possible playful burlesque of the established heroic or divine nudes, such as Hercules and Apollo, and mortals, whose athletic victories in pan-Hellenic games were often memorialised in statues.

⁴³ Cèbe, *Caricature et parodie*, passim.

Concluding Remarks.

While the objects under study express a complex of functions and significances, we are most able to isolate practical uses: those identified with figures whose shapes designate them as something more than sculptures -- lamps, handles, weights, vessels, etc. It is likely also that many objects could have fulfilled more than one function, e.g. 82* serves as a lamp but also has religious affiliations.

The major difficulty in analysing non-utilitarian associations lies in defining these associations. We rely primarily on the iconography of the object itself. Links to deities such as Isis or Dionysus are fairly straightforward, while greater speculation attaches to connections with Bes. Festivity displays itself in figures which wear wreaths and garlands, and which may be smiling, dancing, or seen with receptacles and other objects of possible cultic significance. On the other hand, apotropaia are perhaps not always obvious from mere surface inspection, but we have a substantial body of comparative material and literary testimony which allows us to make identifications probable.

Apart from other considerations, I also assume the desire of many ancient owners to display and enjoy small statuary for the sake of decorative enjoyment or aesthetic appeal. The display of companion pieces, for example, is inspired by a love of balance and symmetry, and is motivated chiefly by aesthetics. Cornelius Vermeule has charted the development of mirror reversals in larger, more public Greco-Roman statuary.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ C.C. Vermeule, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste* (Michigan, 1977), 3-5 and ch. 2. See, too, Ch. Three, p. 86 and 92-93, on companion pieces among the Galjûb and Mahdia bronzes.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PROVENIENCE AND DATING

Hellenistic sculpture is notoriously poor in established proveniences and, by extension, is difficult to date: this is especially true with dwarfs and other genre pieces. The chronological fixed points are few, and patterns of stylistic evolution are largely obscure. Similar problems also beset the study of Roman material.

In spite of these disadvantages, we do know the proveniences and dates of some objects in the catalogue, and can reasonably raise the question of others. The chapter is divided into two sections. One large section summarises the proveniences; a smaller section follows, which discusses the (sparser) dating evidence.

I. PROVENIENCE

I distinguish here between Egyptian and non-Egyptian provenience, because Egypt is either the findspot or the inspiration for perhaps a third of the figures, and requires particular discussion of problems of attribution, especially with regard to "Alexandrian" work.

EGYPTIAN

Known proveniences

Among the crotalists, the most reliable proveniences are those of 19, 20, 74, 75 and 76, which were discovered all together, along with many other bronze objects, in a giant clay receptacle in building ruins at Galjûb, 16 km north of Cairo.¹ It has since been determined that it was a gold- or silversmith's workshop, and that the objects were probably models which, at the customer's request, would be reproduced in precious metal to decorate toilet articles or other ornaments.² One more crotalistris (73) comes from a workshop at Damankur, 40 km SW of Alexandria.³

A soldier-like figure (143*) and one male dancer (57*) share the same find-site: they were recovered from Kom-el-Sciugafa, an Alexandrian quarter.⁴ The latter is actually a clay vase shaped like a dancing figurine.

Also from Alexandria is 93*, exhumed from the city's Montes Testacei.⁵

Elsewhere, 81* comes from Abu'l Nur,⁶ and among 145-151, a group of bronze boxers of similar type, 149 was found in Heliopolis, Egypt.⁷

Several figures, which we may assume never left Egypt, are presently stored in Alexandria.⁸ It is uncertain, however, if they were brought in from outside the city. These pieces largely correspond to Chapter Six, I (A) (3) (p. 121).

¹ Ippel, Galjûb, 4.

² Himmelmann, Realismus, 70.

³ Br. Mus. files

⁴ Breccia, Monuments II.1, no. 405 (57*) and no. 454 (143*).

⁵ Breccia, Monuments II.1, no. 452.

⁶ F. Dunand, Terres cuites isiaques, no. 87.

⁷ Reinach, Rep. Stat. II, 564.8. See p. 153 below, on the likelihood of an Egyptian provenience for the whole group.

⁸ 50*, 52*, 57*, 66*, 89*, 91*.

Likely proveniences

A large number of artefacts, for varied reasons, are likely to come from Egypt.

Some were purchased in Egypt, such as 79*, which was bought in Luxor,⁹ 134* and 135*, both bought in Cairo,¹⁰ two male dancers (56* and 59), and 85*, the terracotta group representing a male crotalist and female tambourinist.

A number of publications are Egyptian-based. 29*, a male stave dancer, is described, for example, by Paul Graindor in Terres cuites de l'Égypte gréco-romaine.¹¹ Several other objects appear in Weber, ÄGT, such as 133*, 28* (a second stave dancer)¹² and 83*. In the case of 83*, he also adds "angeblich aus dem Faijum".¹³ Weber's publication was based on holdings in Berlin, in the former Königliches Museum. Frankfurt's Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik houses 55*, 60-63*, 136-138*, and 142*.¹⁴ These were published by Eva Bayer as part of her monograph on the museum's collection, much of which had been previously published by Carl Maria Kaufmann as material recovered from the Fayoum district. An Egyptian collection at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek includes 139* and 141*.¹⁵ A collection assembled in Egypt privately by Dr. Fouquet was published after his death by Paul

⁹ Weber, ÄGT, no. 241.

¹⁰ Weber, ÄGT, no. 340 and 341.

¹¹ (Antwerp, 1939), 139-140, no. 58.

¹² Weber, ÄGT, 202 no. 339 (133); id., 196 no. 331 (28*).

¹³ Ibid., 157 no. 248.

¹⁴ Bayer, Terrakotten, nos. 458 (55*), 495 (60*), 461 (61*), 462 (62*), 206 (63*), 24 (136*), 25 (137*), 26 (138*), 507 (142*).

¹⁵ M. Mogensen, La collection égyptienne de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg (Copenhagen, 1930), pl. 47.

Perdrizet; the bronzes and terracottas are treated in separate volumes. 116, 118, and 145 were part of the Fouquet collection; 145 is further attributed to Lower Egypt.¹⁶

The terracottas include 30* (the third of the male stave dancers), 54*, and 175*.¹⁷ 65* is identified by Perdrizet as a "Fayoum" terracotta.¹⁸ The clay fabric is brown, which, as I state later, is consistent with a Fayoumi source.

65* bears a striking resemblance not only to 60*, published by Bayer and Kaufmann, but to 64*, which appears in two publications devoted to Egyptian sculpture.¹⁹ There are four other terracottas known to me, not in the catalogue, whose physiognomy and squat proportions match these three; all are either in an Egyptian museum or appear in publications devoted to Egyptian artefacts. The stylistic unity suggests to me that all seven are Egyptian. The four are (i) a shabby man in a shawl and short tunic, who wields a huge phallus, most of which is broken away;²⁰ (ii) a stately figure in a long tunic, full cape, and calcei;²¹ (iii) an actor in a long decorated robe. He supports a mask of a young woman on his left shoulder, and a large round cavity at the groin indicates a missing phallus;²² (iv) a slave or poor fisherman carrying a fish and a piglet.²³ His phallus, thick and large, probably

¹⁶ Bronzes Fouquet, no. 90 (116), 89 (118), 99 (145).

¹⁷ Terres cuites Fouquet, no. 451 (30*), 460 (54*), and 452 (175*).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 466.

¹⁹ Weber, ÄGT, 192 no. 324; Philipp, Terrakotten, 30-31 no. 36.

²⁰ Weber, ÄGT, 192, no. 323.

²¹ Alexandria Museum, Inv. 24012.

²² Breccia, Monuments II.1, 64, no. 352 and pl. 37.3.

²³ Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Inv. 1989.332. In Götter, Gräber & Grotesken, no. 104, he is called an "Ithyphallischer Sklave".

allows for an accurate reconstruction of the missing phalli on 64*, (i), and (iii). He wears a loincloth, a garland around his neck, and the familiar pleated peaked cap worn by all three musicians.

Even in the absence of known attestations, an object can sometimes be linked through strong resemblance to one of reliable provenience. In the case of 58, not only does it closely resemble 57* with the arched furrowed brows, hand on buttocks, tilt of head, and very short torso, but it is made from faience, a medium long purveyed in Egypt. 90*, which is otherwise unattributed, closely resembles 93* (from Alexandria) in pose, style, and iconography. Reeder ascribes 38 to Egypt not only because of its "reputed findspot" but also "the Alexandrian provenience of a close parallel."²⁴

"Alexandrian" figures

Another class of objects should be treated with caution, with respect to provenience. They have been associated with Egypt or Alexandria, either by unsupported attribution in museum catalogues which are not thematically devoted to Egypt,²⁵ or by description as "Alexandrian"²⁶ with little or no elaboration. The use of this term is ambivalent, since depending on the context - or to the appearance, physical provenience, or the geographical origin of a genre - and the demarcations are not necessarily clear. Nevertheless the concept of Alexandrian sculpture will be treated from the standpoint of (a) "Alexandrian" style; (b) technical features of Alexandrian products; (c) subject matter and iconography.

²⁴ Reeder, Hellenistic Art, no. 55.

²⁵ 32, 36*, 43*, 131. (33 is strikingly similar to 32, and would be highly likely to share 32's provenience, whatever it may be)

²⁶ 16, 18, 22, 24, 40, 47, 48, 69*, 113, 115, 124, 128, 167. (17, which is nearly a replica of 18, should be noted as equally "Alexandrian"; 125 is probably cast from the same mould as 124.)

(a) supposed Alexandrian style.

Until recently, many art historians accepted a cluster of characteristics traditionally deemed Alexandrian. Features of this "Alexandrianism" included sfumato surfaces; overlarge eyes; emphasis on outlines over modelling; spiral torsion and spatial freedom.²⁷ So, for example, 78*, which is iconographically similar to 83*, displays a special gaiety and exuberance while 83* is more static. The former, suggests Besques, is Alexandrian Hellenistic.²⁸

Pollitt and Ridgway underscore the difference between "Alexandrianism" and objects of true Alexandrian provenience. There is actually no great legacy of surviving art from Alexandria, and what there is, Pollitt observes, does not seem to have differed from Hellenistic art elsewhere.²⁹ Petit adds that many "Alexandrian" pieces not only emanate from elsewhere, but are not even Hellenistic in date, being Roman renderings of inherited themes; "Alexandrian" sculpture is so closely Greek-influenced that an "Alexandrian" object without an established provenience might not even come from Egypt.³⁰ Therefore, the possibility that the bronze boxers grouped as 145-151 are Egyptian is enhanced more by the fact that both 145 and 149 were published as from Egypt, and that the whole group displays a powerful stylistic unity, than by Froehner's remark that 148 possesses a "beau style de l'époque alexandrine";³¹ this on its own contributes very little.

²⁷ B.S. Ridgway, Hellenistic Sculpture I (Wisconsin, 1990), 364, but referring especially to portraits.

²⁸ Besques, Terres cuites IV.2, pl. 75b.

²⁹ J.J. Pollitt, Art in the Hellenistic Age (Cambridge, 1986), 56.

³⁰ J. Petit, Bronzes antiques de la Collection Dutuit (Paris, 1980), 102.

³¹ Froehner, Coll. Gréau, 83.

The one unprovenanced terracotta in the catalogue described as "Alexandrian" (69*)³² is very coarsely modelled and un-"Alexandrian" in style. Besques does not, however, elaborate on the reason for her attribution.

(b) technical features.

Alexandrian bronzes often have a rough, almost unfinished surface, due to a lack of subsequent cold-working. This reflects the irregularities of the wax model, which was commonly assembled through the technique of piece-moulds, leaving seams.³³ This feature is difficult to evaluate because of the deterioration and modern surface treatments undergone by many of the bronzes which I have examined.

Alexandrian bronzes are generally diminutive in size.³⁴ Possibly the relative scarcity and costliness of bronze in Egypt would deter the ambitions of larger bronzework, but bronzes which survive from antiquity are altogether scarce anyway.

Although the presence of both characteristics certainly suggests an Alexandrian provenience, they do not constitute actual proof. One can argue neither that all figures with these two characteristics come from Alexandria nor that any figure lacking them does not come from Alexandria.

Regarding terracottas, the character of the clay can sometimes offer clues to provenience: for example, so-called "Nile mud", associated with the Fayoum district, is brown. Paul Graindor states that the brown fabric of Alexandrian clay is usually lighter than "Nile mud" and can be yellowish as

³² Besques, Terres cuites, IV.2, no. 75e (D/E4517).

³³ N. Himmelmann, "Realistic Art in Alexandria," ProcBritAc 68 (1981), 200; Reeder, Hellenistic Art, nos. 59 and 64.

³⁴ Reeder, Hellenistic Art, no. 59.

well as reddish.³⁵ Early Alexandrian terracottas, according to Himmelmann, were frequently made with finer imported clay, a compact reddish-brown with or without a black admixture.³⁶

(c) subject/ iconography.

Many objects are considered to come from Alexandria or at least to be inspired by Alexandrian originals. It has been argued that Egypt, and especially Alexandria, is the originator of genre art, including the motif of the dancing dwarf.³⁷ Pollitt correctly raises the point, however, that genre figures express a general Hellenistic interest in "social realism", and that Alexandria's specific contribution to its development cannot be directly proven. Ridgway agrees that Alexandria's influence may indeed have been limited.³⁸

Nevertheless, just as convincingly, Andrew Stewart assumes Egypt's pre-eminence in contributing to "the growing range of miniature bronze and terracotta grotesque and genre pieces, from hunchback beggars to fishermen and peasants."³⁹ He follows Himmelmann, whose Realismus is central to the debate. Himmelmann strongly supports the theory of the Egyptian roots of "Realismus", which in this book he restricts to genre in sculpture, although he freely concedes the paucity of hard

³⁵ P. Graindor, Terres cuites de l'Égypte gréco-romaine (Antwerp, 1939), 16.

³⁶ Himmelmann, Realismus, 28-29.

³⁷ Bronzes Fouquet, xii-xiii, 66; Terres cuites Fouquet, 160; Adriani, 1963; Stevenson, Pathological grotesques, 150-151; Himmelmann, Realismus, 21; Wrede, 1988; Reeder, Hellenistic Art, no.55; Uhlenbrock, Coroplast, 153.

³⁸ J.J. Pollitt, cit. n. 29, 250-252; B.S. Ridgway, cit. n. 27, 60 n.1, 364.

³⁹ A. Stewart, Greek Sculpture: An Exploration, (New Haven/ London, 1990), 203.

proof, and even launches his discourse by summarising the history of the scholarly debate, which extends back into the nineteenth century.⁴⁰

Himmelmann devotes separate discussion to the terracottas and bronzes. Terracottas constitute fairly plentiful evidence, much of it of known provenience or assigned one by the nature of the clay. He argues on stylistic and technical grounds that the earliest genre figures are Alexandrian and probably date no later than the mid third century - earlier than grotesques' heads found at Smyrna.⁴¹ Moving on to the bronzes, Himmelmann deals with material of less reliable provenience, since excavations in Egypt have not yielded bronzes in comparable quantities to terracottas. Rather he depends on unprovenienced material scattered in American and European museums, and makes attributions "nur aufgrund stilistischer und technischer Merkmale".⁴² He reaffirms the Alexandrian source of genre figures,⁴³ and uses complex stylistic analysis to reconstruct a chronological development of bronzes. He thus attempts to date a number of dwarfs in this catalogue (See DATING, passim).

Particularly among the dwarfs, one can argue for a well-grounded connection to Egypt on iconographical grounds. Adriani has demonstrated that many bronzes of female dwarfs share associations with Egypt, specifically those represented in the costume of Isis. This was worn by

⁴⁰ Himmelmann, Realismus, 19-22.

⁴¹ Ibid., 58.

⁴² Ibid., 59.

⁴³ Ibid., 61.

Egyptian women and adopted for images of Isis during the Ptolemaic period,⁴⁴ and is "il primo contrassegno di alessandrinismo."⁴⁵

But while one may argue for general acceptance of an Alexandrian origin for the dancing dwarfs, it is equally important to recognise that physical provenience in individual cases is, as Himmelmann's study makes obvious, a separate issue.

For example, Petit underscores what she sees as the Alexandrian inspiration for 40, while acknowledging that its actual provenience is unknown.⁴⁶ Albertson comments on 47: "That the genre [of the male dancing dwarf] was originally Alexandrian is confirmed by the special knotted sash which appears on a number of Egyptian monuments, including terracottas."⁴⁷ Here, Albertson, like Adriani, uses iconography to justify the link of certain figures to Egypt.

Apart from iconography, it seems to me that the prominence of dwarfs in pre-Ptolemaic Egypt - their social visibility, cachet in the religious world, and dancing⁴⁸ - far exceeds that of their Greek counterparts. So while dwarfs do not merely make their first appearances in Hellenistic times as one of a colourful array of genre figures, the advance of genre art could not but intensify an interest which was already present. Himmelmann himself declares: "Die Darstellung von sog. Grotesken mit

⁴⁴ A well preserved bronze statuette in Baltimore of Isis dates to the late Hellenistic period (Reeder, Hellenistic Art, 165, fig. 73).

⁴⁵ Adriani, 1963, 82.

⁴⁶ Petit, Collection Dutuit, 105.

⁴⁷ K.K. Albertson, Aspects of Ancient Greece (Pennsylvania, 1979), 222.

⁴⁸ This is well explained on general principles by Stevenson, Pathological grotesques, 148-151, and described with insight by Dasen, 1993, 157 and passim.

betont pathologischen Merkmalen gilt allgemein als eine alexandrinische 'Erfindung' unter dem Einfluß ägyptischen Aberglaubens und älterer ägyptischer Vorbilder."⁴⁹

In Adriani's study of bronze dancers, he relates the Mahdia dwarfs (13, 72, 77) to figures of Alexandrian origin or with Egyptian motifs.⁵⁰ So, most recently, Susanne Pfisterer-Haas concedes an Alexandrian provenience for the Mahdia dwarfs "bzw. ihre Vorbilder". It depends on whether the figures were exported from Egypt to Greece, or were based on Alexandrian originals but produced in Athens. The question, however, "läßt sich wohl nicht mehr entscheiden,"⁵¹ since the hard evidence for their provenience is missing. At any rate we know that they were part of a ship's cargo which was, as Dorothy Hill observes, being transported from "somewhere in the Greek world to somewhere in the Roman"⁵². In positing its intended use in a villa, she echoes Merlin, who wrote that the cargo was "to meet the demand of rich Romans for Greek works of art...all for the embellishment of the houses of the rich."⁵³ Adriani says it almost certainly had been picked up from the Piraeus, basing his supposition on the inscriptions found in the wreck, described by Merlin, which appeared to be carved for use in temples of the Piraeus.⁵⁴

Alexandria vs. Fayoum

⁴⁹ Himmelmann, Realismus, 61.

⁵⁰ Adriani, 1963, passim.

⁵¹ Pfisterer-Haas, 492.

⁵² D. K. Hill, "Some Sculpture from Roman Domestic Gardens," Ancient Roman Gardens (Washington, 1981), 86.

⁵³ A. Merlin, "Submarine Discoveries in the Mediterranean," Antiquity 4 (1930), 408-409.

⁵⁴ Id., 410; Adriani, 1963, 80.

Alexandria is only one of two often cited proveniences of small sculpture from Egypt. The other is the fertile Fayoum district, created when Lake Moeris was drained in the third century BC. It lies about 80 km south of Cairo and is bordered by Karanis on the North, Arsinoë on the South. Discussion of Alexandrian and Fayoumi production generally centres on the terracottas, because these are small locally-crafted wares whose circulation was probably confined largely to Egypt. Bronze work is not associated with the Fayoum; the remarks below apply generally to terracottas.

From a technical standpoint, terracottas from the Fayoum district are commonly characterized by the darkish brown fabric produced by "Nile mud".⁵⁵ This offers circumstantial evidence for some proveniences, e.g. that of 65*. But the correspondence is far from invariable: the majority of the terracottas found at Karanis (a site not represented in the catalogue) were modelled from a local reddish-brown clay containing golden flecks.⁵⁶

As there is a so-called Alexandrian style, described above, so we have as common currency a Fayoumi style as well. Uhlenbrock and Gazda draw a distinction between the typical Fayoumi terracotta figurine, "flat and relief-like, with rotund figures of simplified outline and much incised detail,"⁵⁷ and products of stronger Greek inspiration.⁵⁸ The latter are ascribed by them primarily to the second and third centuries BC and considered either to have been produced in Alexandria, or, in the case of the inferior examples, show Alexandrian inspiration but were produced elsewhere.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Uhlenbrock, Coroplast, 153.

⁵⁶ E.K. Gazda, Guardians of the Nile. Sculptures from Karanis in the Fayoum (c.250 BC - AD 450) (Ann Arbor, 1979), 58.

⁵⁷ Uhlenbrock, cit. n. 55.

⁵⁸ And so 83*, "angellich aus dem Fayoum," is contrasted above (p. 153) to 78*, whose freshness and energy prompt Besques to classify it as coming from Hellenistic Alexandria.

⁵⁹ Uhlenbrock, cit. n. 55; Gazda, cit. n. 56.

Himmelmann makes the important point that the dichotomy between Alexandrian and Fayoumi products may be chronological, with the finds from "early" cemeteries neighbouring Alexandria (Sciatbi and Hadra) based only on Greek models, with Fayoumi material following sometime in the Hellenistic period (when is highly controversial) but largely characterizing finds of Roman date.⁶⁰ He rejects a geographical significance for "Fayoumi"-like terracottas because they have also been excavated at Alexandria and her neighbour, the fashionable Canopus.⁶¹ Nachtergaeel concurs, referring to Fayoumi sculpture as part of a veritable koine, and cautioning against taking the Fayoum too literally as a site of manufacture, independent of other evidence.⁶²

When analysing "Fayoumi" work, the issue is not so much whether they are Egyptian but whether they really come from the Fayoum. With respect to "Alexandrian", the difficulty lies rather in whether unprovenienced bronzes and terracottas come from Egypt altogether.

NON-EGYPTIAN

Known proveniences

Among the twenty bronzes representing male crotalists, there are few secure attestations. 1 was discovered in Herculaneum. Six others are in Italian museums; those in the Museo Nazionale di Napoli (3, 4) are presumed to have been excavated in Herculaneum or Pompeii. 16 was found on Majorca, but whether it is an import or a local product is not known. The indirect evidence suggests

⁶⁰ Himmelmann. 1981, cit. n. 33, 197-8.

⁶¹ Ibid., 197; id., Realismus, 27.

⁶² G. Nachtergaeel, "Les terres cuites 'du Fayoum' dans les maisons de l'Egypte romaine," ChrEg 60 (1985), 235.

that the dancing crotalists enjoyed strong popularity in Italy; only 19 and 20 (the Galjüb males) are known to come from Egypt, and their style is idiosyncratically different from those of 1-18.

21* differs from all the preceding in medium, provenience, date,⁶³ and details of facial features, body shape, and crotala. Besques reports that he was found in a tomb in Aegina along with five other musicians and dancers.⁶⁴

Among the bronze weapon-hurlers of similar type (96-108), only two have known findspots: 96 (Arles) and 104 (Orvieto). Another (103) was "bought in Florence". The motif is described as "Alexandrian"⁶⁵ but, as Boucher and Tassinari attest, it crops up all over the Roman empire, and they mention only two which are found in Egypt.⁶⁶ This would suggest that the "type" is probably not the monopoly of an Egyptian atelier.

Quite unrelated in style to the bronze boxers 145-151 is another bronze balsamaire, 152. He has a known archaeological context: a tomb at Tongeren in northeast Belgium. The stance and raised arm suggest that he is focusing on an invisible adversary. Apart from the beard, nudity and muscularity, which are shared traits with the other bronze balsamaires, he may be a local adaptation of a stock motif, differing from 145-152 in the rendering of the full unruly locks and the sensitive modelling and expressiveness of the face.

⁶³ See p. 170 below for discussion of date.

⁶⁴ Besques, Terres cuites, III.1, 51.

⁶⁵ 98 - H. Hoffmann in O. Muscarella, ed., Ancient Art. The Norbert Schimmel Collection (Mainz, 1974), no. 39; 103 - Boston Bronzes, 122; 105 - M. Bieber, Die antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen des königlichen Museums Fridericianum in Cassel (Marburg, 1915), no. 239.

⁶⁶ Lyon III, 86. One of the two Egyptian pieces is unknown to me, but the other is 18, whose relationship to 96-108 I find less convincing than they.

Terracotta athletes seem to have originated in Aegean centres. It is noteworthy that among 156-164*, virtually none are reported to have come from Egypt:

156* was found in Boiotia, as stated by Schürmann and echoed by Vanhove, who further places its original manufacture in Attica.⁶⁷ Four others are said to come from Asia Minor. 157*, 159*, and 164* are identified by Winter in his catalogue respectively as "vermutlich aus Myrina", "angeblich aus Smyrna", and Asia Minor ("aus Pergamum"?).⁶⁸ 158*, now in Dresden, is also assigned to Asia Minor.⁶⁹

The figures from Italy have the most reliable attributions of all. According to Besques, 160* was excavated at Oria, and 161*, which is cast from the same mould, probably came from there, too.⁷⁰ 163* was discovered in a tomb in Northern Italy, at Gravelona-Toce.⁷¹

Of the ten tintinnabula (176-185), nine come from Pompeii and Herculaneum, and are kept at the Pompeii Antiquarium or the Museo Nazionale di Napoli. 176, from Pompeii, was hung from an architrave at a height of 1.33 m from a building which seems to have been a foundry or smithy.⁷² This seems to reflect a custom mentioned by Pollux of smiths fastening a deliberately absurd-looking emblem, called a baskanion, over their furnaces with a view to averting ill-will.⁷³ Satyr masks and

⁶⁷ W. Schürmann, Katalog der antiken Terrakotten im Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, (Göteborg, 1989), 174 no. 630; M. Devillers in Vanhove, 349 no. 216.

⁶⁸ Winter, AT, 446.3, 5; 447.7.

⁶⁹ P. Herrmann, AA 1891, 167, no. 15; M. Raumschüssel, Antike Terrakotten. Eine Auswahl aus den Beständen der Skulptursammlung (Dresden), 48 no. 25.

⁷⁰ Besques, Terres cuites IV.1, 61.

⁷¹ V. von Gonzenbach, Die römischen Terrakotten in der Schweiz (Bern, 1986), 54.

⁷² Lucerne, 73: "Pompei, Regio I, Insula VI, n. 3, all'altezza di m. 1,33 dall'architrave." H. Eschbach, Die städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji (Heidelberg, 1970), 118: "I, 6, 3. Officina di Vero gromatico. Werkstatt des faber aerarius und agrimensor Verus. In der Officina wurden Teile eines Groma gefunden..."

Medusa heads in this context are common. 181, also from Pompeii, was suspended above the counter of a public drink bar, a thermopolium in the via dell'Abbondanza.⁷⁴

The objects were clearly hung and displayed in small commercial spaces. There is no direct evidence of their use in domestic settings.

Suspected proveniences

27*, 31*, 37*, 44*, 53*, 87*, 88*, 94* and 95* are terracottas which share purported proveniences outside of Egypt. They are attributed in published sources to various places (Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, Cyrenaica):

Figures which appear with mask-like faces, perhaps inspired by the Greek theatre, find wide distribution in communities throughout the Mediterranean countries; they are found in proportionately limited quantities in Egypt. The three in our catalogue are ascribed to Capua (31*), Boiotia (37*), and Cyrenaica (95*).

While the evidence for 31* and 95* is limited to a one-word note in Winter's catalogue,⁷⁵ J. Uhlenbrock has skilfully drawn on technical specifics to justify her attribution of 37* to Anthedon: the yellowish buff fabric and heavy white slip are shared with other figures of known Boiotian provenience.⁷⁶

⁷³ Poll. 7.108: "in front of the smiths' kilns there was the custom to fasten or plaster on something absurd for the warding off of Envy. They are called baskania."

⁷⁴ Lucerne, 72: "Pompei, al di sopra del banco di vendita del termopolio sul lato settentrionale del tratto di via dell'Abbondanza presso il Casino dell'Aquila a destra del dipinto dei dodici dei (11.12.1911)".

⁷⁵ Winter, AT, 459, fig. 7 (31*); *Ibid.*, 464, fig. 6 (95*).

⁷⁶ Uhlenbrock, Coroplast, 159.

She assigns 27* to Taras because of certain correspondences to a group of Tarentine clay figures (non-dwarfs); they share similar stylized wreaths as well as drapery schematized with thick parallel folds.

Conclusion.

Despite the large gaps in our knowledge, Egypt certainly casts a very wide net, as is seen by the frequent occurrence of Egyptian iconography, and the wealth of material published in catalogues of Egyptian art. While attributing unproven findings can be difficult, it is clear that a world perceived as Egyptian caught the fancy of markets outside Egypt (witness the popularity of Nilotic motifs and the cult of Isis, for example) and that catering to the public's taste could be achieved with Egyptian or Alexandrian-inspired wares as well as original imports.⁷⁷

Objects can display a hybrid of Egyptian and Greek characteristics, especially when we see Egyptian iconography expressed in the conventions of Greek sculptural tradition, with its "naturalistic form and a wide range of emotional expression."⁷⁸ These may represent a line of development that began with the establishment of the Greek Alexandria on Egyptian soil, and the opportunities for artistic exchange and fusion between Alexandria and the purely Egyptian chora.

Proveniences rarely include details of the objects' positions in situ. Exceptional are the Galjûb bronzes, the tintinnabula from Pompeii, and four grave finds.

⁷⁷ S. Boucher, "Problèmes de l'influence alexandrine sur les bronzes d'époque romaine," Latomus 32 (1973), 799-811.

⁷⁸ M. Allen, The Terracotta Figurines from Karanis: A Study of Technique, Style and Chronology in Fayoumic Coroplastics (Diss. Ph.D. U. of Michigan, 1985), 81.

II. DATING

As the following pages demonstrate, the dating of figures in this study depends primarily on stylistic comparisons. While some dates offered in published sources and museum records are based on comparison with materials of confirmed date, this information is rarely volunteered.

Bronzes

The sole absolute date we have is AD 79, the year of Mount Vesuvius' eruption. This is the terminus ante quem for all material recovered from Herculaneum and Pompeii.

Among the twenty bronzes representing male crotalists, 1 comes from Herculaneum, and 3 and 4 are from Herculaneum or Pompeii. All we can conclude for certain is that the type, and more specifically the sub-type best represented by 1-7, was thriving by AD 79; we cannot tell how much older it may have been.

1 is one of eleven bronzes on which large generous circles delineate the nipples and/or navel.⁷⁹ These lines possibly circumscribe the placement of a decorative surface metal; there is evidence that eyes were at least sometimes so treated. The secure context of 1 certainly testifies that the practice began before AD 79.

The terminus ante quem of the tintinnabula is AD 79, but their relative chronology is obscure. Curiously, Conticello de Spagnolis and De Carolis, who describe the objects with the best contexts (176, 181), demur at proposing dates for either one, while five others (179, 180, 182, 183, 185) are published with dates ranging from first century BC to first century AC. These are presumably based on stylistic judgments.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ The others are 9, 12, 17, 30, 40, 47, 48, 128, 129, 146.

⁸⁰ 183 was actually found in Majorca, but it so closely resembles 181 and 182 that it is probably contemporaneous with them.

For all other bronzes, attempts at dating produce limited results.

For example, while the provenience of the Galjûb bronzes (19, 20, 54, 75, 76) is secure, their date is uncertain and hinges on stylistic considerations. Himmelmann places the hoard to the last quarter of the third century BC, focusing on the contrasts between the narrow shoulders and small limbs with the massive body, and a small bony head with a large paunchy belly.⁸¹ The body type does not recur in other sculpture, but expresses itself on wall paintings of playful pygmies from Pompeii,⁸² where a love of Nilotic motifs later took root.

Our female crotalist from Damankur (73) is dated by Himmelmann, through comparison to the Galjûb finds and other bronzes, to 200 BC or a little earlier.⁸³ Himmelmann's assessments of this and many other Hellenistic sculptures are subtle and display a powerful mastery of comparanda dispersed through public and private collections on both sides of the Atlantic. He deals by necessity with much unprovenienced material and may perhaps be pushing stylistic arguments too far when proposing chronology which pins objects down to within ten years or even twenty.

The combatant type represented by 96-108 cannot be dated rigorously. Published suggestions range from Hellenistic, on the basis of subject (102) and style (105), through to the unhelpful "Graeco-Roman" (103) as well as Roman (96, 101). While Boucher cannot comment on the individual figures, she believes that the type enjoys longevity, originating in Hellenistic art - on the basis of the violent motion and "l'aspect caricatural" - and continuing into Roman times.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Himmelman, Realismus, 70-71.

⁸² Naples, Museo Nazionale. Inv. 9095, 9098, 9099 (= Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Rome, photofile M197 [Pompejanische Einzelbilder], nos. 67.2368, 67.2369, 75.1493).

⁸³ Himmelmann, Realismus, 72.

⁸⁴ Lyon I, 54.

The Mahdia dwarfs cannot be dated any later than the time when the ship on which they were transported sank. Scholars agree that the disaster occurred about 100 BC or a little later.⁸⁵ We rely on the stylistic analysis of the cargo. Merlin analyses a terracotta lamp and the ship's anchors, and on the basis of these, dates the accident to the first quarter of the first century BC, perhaps in connection with Sulla's capture of Athens in 86 BC.⁸⁶ Similarly, Stewart proposes a date ca. 100 BC "to judge from the character of the crew's pottery"⁸⁷ and the style of the "lamps and pots".⁸⁸ No further arguments have been advanced by more recent sources in favour of recalibrating the approximate date.

The date of the shipwreck is only a terminus ante quem, but it is all the more valuable when one considers that any sort of secure dating in the Hellenistic period is scarce and most artefacts other than the Mahdia cargo lack even this. There is little agreement, however, over how far the crafting of the dwarfs precedes the date of the wreck. Havelock advances a date for 72 in the second half of the second century, arguing that the contemporary retracting of Hellenistic "open form" in marble sculpture did not yet affect small bronzes.⁸⁹ She does not discuss the two other dwarfs, but her dating agrees with that of Fuchs, who emphasizes the contemporaneity of all three figures, and dates 13 specifically to the second half of the second century.⁹⁰ Similarly, Stewart assigns 13 to ca. 130-100

⁸⁵ Merlin, *cit.* n. 53, 411 [86 BC?]; C.J. Kraemer, Jr. "A Greek Element in Egyptian Dancing," *AJA* 35 (1931), 134 n. 8 [first cent. BC]; Fuchs, *Schiffsfund*, 11-12, summarises previous attempts at dating; D. K. Hill, *cit.* n. 52, 87 [ca. 100 BC]; Adriani, 1963, 92 [ca. 100 BC]; Himmelmann, *Realismus*, 72 [ca. 100 BC]; A. Stewart, *cit.* 39, 229 [ca. 100 BC]; G. Hellenkemper Salies, *Das Wrack: Der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia* (Bonn, 1994), 2 [ca. 80 BC].

⁸⁶ Merlin, *cit.* n. 85; A. Merlin and L. Poinssot, "Elements architecturaux trouvés en mer près de Mahdia," *Karthago* 7 (1956), 103.

⁸⁷ Stewart, *cit.* n. 39, 229.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 305.

⁸⁹ C. Havelock, *Hellenistic Art*, 142.

⁹⁰ Fuchs, *Schiffsfund*, 18.

BC,⁹¹ and follows Fuchs in suggesting that all the bronze art in the Mahdia wreck might have been products of the same workshop and roughly contemporary.⁹² Adriani regards 13 and 72 as products of the same workshop but puts them ca. 150 at the latest.⁹³ 77, he judges, is several decades younger than this pair.⁹⁴ Pfisterer-Haas states that all three figures are certainly late Hellenistic in date but that 77, on stylistic grounds (the classicising smoothness of her surface, the sharpness of the folds in her garment, and the well-articulated details of her ivy wreath), was produced shortly before the fateful voyage. The other two should on the grounds "deren Stilmerkmale" be placed in the second century, but no earlier than ca. 150.⁹⁵ Himmelmann indirectly assigns 72 to the late second century by contrasting her stylistic traits to 73, which he had put in the late third century (along with the Galjûb figures). 72's open, centrifugal composition, smooth bowl-like curves, pronounced linearity in the folds of the clothing, and facial features "bezeichnen den stilistischen Abstand [from 73] von fast einem Jahrhundert."⁹⁶

Wrede's study of the Mahdia boy also seems to place him in the second century BC. He finds that the facial features, such as the nose, turned up brows, and small mouth, are also shared with Harpocrates- and Dionysus-related figures, such as satyrs and Pan. Wrede sees as significant the

⁹¹ Stewart, *cit.* n. 39, ill. 852.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 305-306; Fuchs, *Schiffsfund*, 34-35. They rely on the evidence that several bronzes in the cargo are known to come from the workshop of one Boethos of Kalchedon, who flourished in the second cent. BC.

⁹³ Adriani, 1963, 90, 92.

⁹⁴ *Id.*, 92: "Quanto alla cronologia dei bronzetti di Mahdià, che oscilla, nel giudizio della critica, fra il III e il I sec. a. C., noi crediamo molto attendibile l'assegnazione alla prima metà o alla metà del II sec. a. C. del buffone e della sua compagna; a qualche decennio dopo potremmo attribuire la danzatrice con corona di edera..."

⁹⁵ Pfisterer-Haas, 491.

⁹⁶ Himmelmann, *Realismus*, 72.

diffusion of this face in Alexandrian or Alexandrian-influenced art beginning in the reign of Ptolemy V (205-180 BC), with whom are associated, in some representations, Dionysian "Konnotationen".⁹⁷ While the point may indeed be valid that the predilections and programmes of court art can filter down and influence publicly disseminated work, I also think that the facial features of the Mahdia dancer reflect the intention to represent him as a dwarf, and that this consideration has been overlooked.

There is, then, a general acceptance that 13 and 72 date somewhere in the second century, probably middle to late, while 77 possibly follows later, closer in date to when the cargo went down.

Common in Imperial representations of dwarfs and other males is the huge backwardly aimed phallus, which occurs rarely in this catalogue. 24, as described by Gschwantler et al., has such a phallus and also holds "Klapperstäbe".⁹⁸ The date they propose (second century BC, "alexandrinisch") is perhaps slightly early because of the convergence of two iconographical features (backward phalli and rods) which are more characteristic of later works of art.

Terracottas

Among the terracottas, the hard dating evidence is even scarcer: we have but one example, among the otherwise poorly dated terracotta athletes (156-164*). 163* was found in a grave from Gravellona-Toce (N. Italy), along with assorted small objects including Flavian coins.⁹⁹ Olivovà

⁹⁷ Wrede, RM 1988, 101.

⁹⁸ K. Gschwantler et al., Guss + Form. Bronzen aus der Antikensammlung. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien (Wien, 1986), no. 184.

⁹⁹ V. von Gonzenbach, cij. n. 71.

assigned a terracotta figure wearing similar trunks to 163*'s, and also thought to be from Italy, to the first century AC, which accords with 163*'s Flavian date.¹⁰⁰

Apart from 163*, none of the other terracotta athletes are assigned to a date later than the Hellenistic period. Since they were not discovered in dated contexts, one assumes that technical features and style have directed scholars.

Two terracotta dancers, also non-Egyptian, are Hellenistic. 21*, a tomb find from Aegina, is dated by Besques to ca. 250-225 BC. 27*, attributed to Taras, is dated by Uhlenbrock to the late third or early second century BC, on the basis of comparison with stylistic details of other Tarentine figures; these also helped her to establish the provenience.¹⁰¹

Himmelmann places 52*, an Egyptian dancer, in the late Hellenistic period, on the basis of the flat yet swollen modelling of the face.¹⁰²

Among the Macedonians, only 136* is ascribed a date: Bayer offers second - first century BC, which corresponds to the period in which the Ptolemies' state army had evolved to include many ethnic Egyptians and other non-Greeks. Native Egyptians, recruited in the thousands by Ptolemy IV Philopator, were instrumental in the defeat of Antiochus III's troops at Raphia (217), and thereafter Egyptians in the armed forces enjoyed greater representation and prestige.¹⁰³ This development might have sparked a public interest in the army and a groundswell of the manufacture and acquisition of these bibelots.

¹⁰⁰ Br. Mus. Inv. D85. The museum displays D85 and its companion piece D84 as Italian and dated to the second or first century BC; this ought probably to be revised.

¹⁰¹ Uhlenbrock, Coroplast, 124, and p. 164 above.

¹⁰² Himmelmann, 1981, cit. n. 33, 202.

¹⁰³ See L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde, vol. 1, pt. 1, Historischer Teil: Grundzüge (Hildesheim, 1963), 382-384.

On the iconographical basis advanced in discussing 24 above, I believe that terracottas 28*-30*, which are characterized by their staves and backwards curved phalli, are more likely Roman than Hellenistic; as published they are undated.

At the late end of our series of terracottas can probably go a number of musicians (60*-66*), all of Egyptian provenience. Those to which dates are attributed (60*, 62*, 63*, 64*) are placed in Imperial times. Bayer dates 60* to about AD 200-225, which corresponds well to the ca. AD 200 assigned by Philipp to 64*, whose face is nearly identical to 60*'s. 65* is almost surely contemporary with 60* and 64*, because all three exhibit the schematized features and treatment of the eyes which Philipp describes as part of a change in portraiture which occurs about AD 200.¹⁰⁴ Faces become fatter and fleshier with less definition; the individual parts are seemingly stuck on. The changes are especially clear with respect to the eyes, which go from lidded with deep sockets to lidless in rather shallow sockets. The eye is somewhat undercut so that a shadow replaces the lid and contributes toward a dull, vacant stare. Eventually the eyes become ever flatter and wider until they start to resemble glasses and almost meet the hairline.

In addition, the bodies become more corpulent and the folds of clothing become sharply ridged as pleats meet in almost perpendicular paths instead of smoothly converging.

Concluding Remarks

Even for objects of secure provenience and stratigraphical context, dating has proved problematical. Chronological fixed points include the eruption of Mount Vesuvius as a terminus ante quem for material from Pompeii and Herculaneum, and the Flavian coins found with a terracotta boxer

¹⁰⁴ Philipp, Terrakotten, 14.

in Italy. Stylistic analysis of the Mahdia ship's deposits have served to establish a terminus ante quem for its wreckage of ca. 100-80 BC. But even these points are not specific enough to narrow down the dates of associated objects. We cannot establish a relative chronology for the tintinnabula and at least two of the Mahdia bronzes are considered by most scholars to have been manufactured long before they were sent West.

Among the many bronzes and terracottas of known or probable Egyptian provenience, there are no confirmed dates. Stylistic and technical evaluations and comparisons still remain the chief tools for attempting chronological development.

At any rate, our dwarfs probably go back to the mid-Hellenistic period (mid third century BC) and survive into the third century AC. The iconography of many of the bronzes is strongly rooted in the Hellenistic period, but it is likely that the Romans admired and perpetuated certain motifs. While the crotalists may not have survived far into Imperial times, an interest in the Egyptian world, especially the veneration of Isis and the Nilotic fantasies, remains vital through the Late Empire.

The naturalism which frequently characterizes Hellenistic art may have thrived into Imperial times. Even though no finely crafted work is attributed by commentators to later than AD 79, bronzes are often identified as "Hellenistic" solely on the basis of excellence of workmanship. Certain terracottas, e.g. 60*-65*, show less interest in naturalistic portrayal, with an accompanying devaluation of careful modelling in favour of more cursory work. This seems to develop around the late second and early third century AC. Perhaps our dwarfs do no more nor less than mirror the trends which define Roman art in general as it breaks from naturalism and enters the less representational conventions of Late Antique art.

CONCLUSION

An important aim of this dissertation has been to try and cast light on the roles assumed by dwarfs in Hellenistic and Roman society. The archaeological evidence is invaluable but it would be far less so without the literary material to complement it. I refer not only to direct references to dwarfs, but also to related commentary on a colourful range of societal mores, from the spiritual, such as religious and superstitious practices, to the mundane, e.g. the wearing of wreaths at drinking functions and keeping of Maltese lapdogs as pets.

As to the dwarfs, literary and archaeological testimony demonstrates that their chief marketable value lay in their capacity to entertain, whether at public spectacles or private functions. They were reciters, dancers, musicians and mimes; ceremonial performers in religious cult; household pets and confidantes; attendants at symposium and circus; paegniarii.

Representations, mostly plastic, show us that as dancers, male dwarfs wore a variety of abbreviated costumes, particularly loincloths and short tunics. The female dwarfs were more fully dressed, mostly in Isiac garb or in mantles and muffles.

In the catalogue, the ratio of dancers to pure musicians is about 5.5 to 1. I believe that this reflects the realities of contemporary society. There may have been stronger religious and quasi-magical associations with dancers. Perhaps the pronounced physicality of dancing, and the abbreviated costumes, made for a more entertaining exploitation of the condition. All other factors being equal, a musical rendition sounds exactly the same regardless of whether a dwarf plays it or not,

but a dancer of normal proportions can never move in the same peculiar way as a dwarf; therein lay their appeal. The literary citations more frequently refer to dwarf dancers than to musicians, paralleling the artefact evidence.

Crotalists of both sexes are well represented among dwarf statuettes. We know, too, through art and literary sources, that normally proportioned women performed as crotalistræ.¹ In Classical Greece, crotala or krembala were "mostly a property of women,"² and save for a handful of children or youths, the only post-Classical testimony to male crotalists is to dwarfs. They are evidently performing in a manner which is normally restricted to females; the Galjûb and Mahdia males, for example, perform the same step as their female counterparts. A religious-Egyptian context for some male dwarf dancers has been established, but the further question of a parodic element in others merits consideration.

Also noteworthy is the overwhelming prevalence of figurines representing male crotalists (1-20, 21*) over those dancing with staves (28-30*). By contrast, there are many surviving examples of stave-dancers -- dwarfs, Pygmies, hunchbacks, and normal-sized males -- in other media, especially mosaics and lamps, dating from the first to third centuries AC. It is possible that the popularity of the dancing dwarf crotalist peaked by the early Empire, and was eclipsed by stave dancers. It may be argued that long staves are not easily rendered in bronze; but even in terracotta, whose casting process facilitates the rendering of staves, only three stave dancers are represented in the catalogue.

The physical features of dwarf representations display wide diversity. I could have confined this study to clinical dwarfs, but I felt that ancient perceptions of dwarfs could be better understood

¹ See C.J. Krämer, Jr. "A Greek Element in Egyptian Dancing," AJA 35 (1931), 125-138.

² M.L. West, Ancient Greek Music (Oxford, 1992), 123.

by taking account of other stunted figures. The latter's survival in numbers comparable to those of clinical dwarfs attest to their equally strong appeal.

The fact that at least some figures of dwarfish aspect are not necessarily conceived as actual dwarfs, but rather as caricatures or miniatures, is illustrated by 64*, a group in which the "dwarf" one-man band is accompanied by a much smaller "dwarf"; in fact what we see is a dwarfish adult accompanied by a dwarfish child.

Attempts to identify the functions and significance of the objects in the catalogue meet with mixed success. Those of practical use, such as lamps, weights and tintinnabula, are easily recognised, while those with strong religious and mystical bias are only superficially understood. Most difficult to interpret are miscellaneous festive figures, which dance, wear garlands, and carry objects of possible cultic value such as receptacles and grapes.

Parody is a likely element of some figurines, but because we lack their cultural contexts, we cannot always recognise a figure of parody or fully understand the humorous thrust behind it. The fact that sculpted dwarfs can be used mundanely as handles or jugs shows that their whimsical or decorative function can rival or supersede their spiritual or magical significance.

The appearance of the genitalia, when they are not concealed, ranges from undersized to monstrous. The phallus in antiquity was a familiar symbol of the life force and was invoked as a potent repellent of the Evil Eye, particularly when rendered as an ithyphallus. The reasons for its efficacy are complex and encompass contradictory factors such as amusement and threat. I believe that the distinction between small genitals and hyperphallism parallels the characterization of their owner as essentially human or a figure in the realm of fantasy.

Inspiration for the dwarf genre in the Hellenistic and Roman periods can be traced back to Classical Greece and to Egypt. Regarding the proveniences of the figures in this study, there is good representation from Asia Minor, Greece and Italy, but a heavy debt is probably owed to Egypt.

During the Hellenistic period and the late Republic, interest in dwarfs may have been heightened by Bes in Egypt, Pygmy folklore, and the increasing popularity of Egyptian motifs outside Egypt, inspired first by the Macedonian and later by the Roman presence there. While the influence of Egypt was considerable, it should also be balanced by several factors:

(1) The Hellenistic period witnessed a growing fascination with misshapen and diseased people, with its corresponding expression in grotesque sculpture, so the attention paid to dwarfs cannot be divorced entirely from the rest. The competing claims of Egypt and Asia Minor to initiating grotesque sculpture remain controversial.

(2) Some dwarfs, particularly 96-108, with their athletic little bodies, physiognomy, beards, and nearly bald heads, are probably substantially influenced by conventions of Classical representation, as described in Chapter One. These need not have been filtered through Hellenistic Egypt in order to reach Rome.

(3) A fashion for dwarf representations beginning in the Hellenistic period would probably not be sufficient in accounting for the abiding interest in dwarfs in later years. A change took place in the perceptions of real-life dwarfs in Roman society which, in comparison of Dasen's positive commentary on Egyptian society with accounts in Roman writers, was evidently a turn for the worse.

In most cases, the dating of the figurines remains obscure. Conventions of pose, style and iconography are often traceable to Hellenistic times, but it is likely that they are imitated for an

undetermined period by the Romans. Terracotta sculpture generally survives in larger numbers than bronze. Most of the caricature figures in this catalogue are terracotta, and evidence places a number of them, such as 64*, to ca. AD 200. By this period, interest in depicting clinical dwarfs apparently waned and was replaced by figures, usually in terracotta, which sometimes blur the difference between deliberately non-representational art and decadent craftsmanship. They were whimsically stunted and, I believe, served to satisfy a continuing demand for the comical, the misshapen, the anti-idealizing, the short.

CATALOGUE

INTRODUCTION to CATALOGUE

The catalogue which follows makes no claim to completeness. Much unpublished material remains inaccessible to me, and I could not visit museums in Egypt, where numerous objects lie in storage. For the terracottas, there are very large classes of figures, such as female tambourinists and "Macedonians", of which I collected only an assortment of representative examples. I have further restricted the catalogue to monuments which I have examined through direct inspection, published illustrations, or photographs obtained directly from museums.

Many published catalogues go back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, e.g. Froehner, Coll. Gréau; Bib. Nat.; Walters' catalogue of bronzes in the British Museum;¹ Bronzes Fouquet; De Ridder, Bronzes; Kaufmann, ÄGT; Weber, ÄGT; Kaufmann, GT; and Terres cuites Fouquet. There is generally little information offered on dates and proveniences, although a volume such as Weber's presupposes an Egyptian provenience for the entire contents. Also useful among collections of Greco-Roman material from Egypt are Breccia's several fascicules of terracottas from the Greco-Roman museum at Alexandria,² and those of Adriani.³

The surveys of Winter, AT and Reinach, Rep. Stat. are generous in scope, with numerous drawings respectively of terracottas and bronzes from divers museums. Their value, along with the drawings in Weber, ÄGT, must be weighed against the fact that the appearance of the originals is

¹ H.B. Walters, Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan, in the British Museum (London, 1899).

² Breccia, Monuments.

³ A. Adriani, Annuario del Museo Greco-Romano, I (Alexandria, 1934); id., Annuaire du Musée Gréco-romain d'Alexandrie, II 1935-1939 (Alexandria, 1940); id., III 1940-1950 (Alexandria, 1952).

filtered through the pen of the modern sketch artist. Inaccuracies, such as the coy omission of a prominent phallus, sometimes become apparent in cases where the drawing can be compared to the original or a photograph.

From the 1950s onward, we witness the appearance of more fully informative catalogues: Besques, Terres cuites; bronzes in German museums;⁴ Lyon I; Lyon III; Leyden terracottas;⁵ Bayer, Terrakotten; Petit, Collection Dutuit; Reeder, Hellenistic Art; and Uhlenbrock, Coroplast. They comprise important research tools because of their fuller proveniences and dates, although the latter still necessarily rely on stylistic criteria more than proven contexts.

Activities represented.

The two major spheres of activity, music and combat, are well represented in art and find corroboration in literary sources as well.

Among the musical dwarfs (1-95), I have assembled dancers and musicians. Figures may perform as both simultaneously, and hold a percussion instrument, tonal instrument, another object, or none at all. Following the 71 males, 24 females are grouped and listed.

Combatants (96-175) include figures wearing military apparel, those brandishing weaponry, boxers wearing their trademark caestus, athletes, and other figures which assume an aggressive posture perhaps against an unseen foe.

Tintinnabula (176-185) form a distinct class of hanging objects, by definition equipped with bells. The activity of one group remains largely ambiguous but 181-185 clearly represent jockeys.

⁴ H. Menzel, Die römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland, I, Speyer (Mainz, 1960) and II, Trier (Mainz, 1966); id., Die römischen Bronzen des Kestner-museums Hannover (Hannover, 1964).

⁵ P.G. Leyenaar-Plaisier, Les terres cuites grecques et romaines. Catalogue de la collection du Musée National des Antiquités à Leiden, 3 volumes (Leiden, 1979).

Within the basic categories (musical, fighting, and tintinnabular), objects are assigned to sub-categories (e.g. bronze/terracotta and costumed/nude).

Media.

The catalogue lists bronzes and terracottas, with three exceptions: a marble torso (59), a marble tombstone (67) and a faience jar (58). The representation by percentage is 61% bronze vs. 37% terracotta vs. < 2% others.

DESCRIPTION OF FIGURES

For each entry, the following scheme is employed:

City, Museum, Inventory number.

(1) Height. (2) Attitude or pose. (3) Objects held or carried. (4) Clothing, except headwear. (5) Observations on the body, e.g. musculature, navel, nipples, style of phallus. (6) Head. Position, hairstyle, facial hair, headwear. (7) Facial features. (8) Base. (9) Surface conditions and features, e.g., degree of wear, missing or broken parts, presence of suspension rings or holes, patina, venthole, colour of clay and paint.

(10) Provenience. (11) Date. (12) Bibliography.

N.B.:

If information is not applicable or unobtainable, one or more categories may be omitted from a given entry. Categories are occasionally combined, e.g. (2-3), (6-7).

Certain details such as the tilt of the head or the absence of a body part might be expressed out of sequence if it is more practical in a particular case to do so.

Provenience and date are generally followed by the bibliographic source which proposes it. Mention is made, too, of any justification provided, e.g. archaeological context, style, workmanship. Almost all the dates given are proposed dates; the exceptions are material recovered from Pompeii and Herculaneum, and 163, which has a terminus ante quem determined by associated coinage.

MALE MUSICAL DWARFS AND DANCERS**I. CROTALISTS**

A. Bronze 1. Sash/loincloth (1-13)

2. Nude (14-20)

B. Terracotta 1. Full garb (21)

II. DANCERS HOLDING OTHER PERCUSSIVE OBJECTS

A. Bronze 1. Baton (22-24)

2. Tambourine (25-26)

B. Terracotta 1. Rattle (27)

2. Staves (28-30)

3. Tambourine (31)

III. DANCERS HOLDING MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

A. Bronze 1. Basket (32-34)

2. Cup (35)

B. Terracotta 1. Platter (36)

2. Grapes (37)

IV. DANCERS HOLDING NO OBJECTS

A. Bronze 1. Clothed (38-39)

2. Nude (40-43)

B. Terracotta 1. Clothed (44-45)

V. DAMAGED FIGURES

A. Bronze 1. Clothed (46-47)

2. Nude (48-49)

B. Terracotta 1. Clothed (50-54)

2. Nude (55-57)

C. Faience 1. Nude (58)

D. Marble 1. Nude (59)

VI. MUSICIANS (Terracotta except where specified) HOLDING:

1. Cithara (60-62)

2. Syrinx (63-65)

3. Double flute (66-68)

4. Trumpet (69-71)

I. CROTALISTS

A. Bronze. 1. Sash/loincloth

Members of this group are characterized by: (2) Balancing on right foot, l. in air. Right arm is akimbo, l. raised with hand pointed outward. (3) Crotala in both hands. (4) Length of material, rolled and bunched, encircles the waist, knotted on one or both sides. (5) Chubby, rather babylike bodies.

1. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Inv. 27734. Raccolta pornografica.

(1) 13.0 cm. (2) In mid-dance; r. foot on ground, l. in air; r. hand akimbo, l. raised aloft. (3) Crotala in both hands; bun-like castanet attached to r. wrist (4) Thick sash about waist, knotted on both sides. (5) Muscular but baby-like body. Navel, naturalistic convex bulb. Phallus long, naturalistic, exposed. (6) Head, massive and round, planted directly on shoulders. Along sides and back, incised locks of hair. Bald on top. (7) Plump chin and cheeks; small firm mouth; pug nose with flaring nostrils; large almond eyes with semicircular brows; furrowed forehead. (8) Circular bronze pedestal.

(10) found at Portici, Italy, 6 April 1747. (11) end first cent. BC/ beginning first cent. AC (Mondadori). (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. II, 565.6; A. Mondadori, Eros in Antiquity (Italy, 1978), 123.

2. Milan, Museo teatrale della Scala.

Like 1 but: (3) Crotala in both hands; no castanet. (7) Very worn features look harsh and sullen.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 309.1; Adriani, 1963, 86, 91, pl. 37.1.

3. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Inv. 277311.

(1) 10 cm. (2) See 1. (3) Both hands hold crotala; probably castanet on r. wrist. (5) Interest evoked by the bodily torsion and splaying of the legs. (6) Head tilted to right. (7) Cruel, cunning smile. (8) See 1. (9) Very worn.

4. Naples, Museo Nazionale.¹

(1) ca. 14 cm. (2) See 1. (3) Crotala in both hands. (4) Rolled garment secured around waist. (5) Phallus is broken off. (6) Round heavy head sits directly on the shoulders. Garland around head. (7) Almond eyes and furrowed brow convey unpleasantly harsh expression. (8) See 1. (9) Heavily encrusted.

5. Florence, Museo Archeologico. Inv. 2048.

(2) See 1. (3) Crotala in both hands, the r. crotalum by a handle. (4) See 1. (5) Legs fat but torso tends towards muscular. (6) Head is very worn, appears to display beard and hair.

6. London, British Museum. Inv. GR1824.4-31.3.

Like 1 except where noted: (1) 7.1 cm. (3) No castanets. (4) Soft booties. They envelop the foot up to the ankle, and are secured or knotted over the vamp under the tongue. (5) Phallus hangs below the knees and touches the left foot. (6) Faint striations over the crown of the head belie apparent baldness. (7) Much milder than 1's. His knitted brow gives him, at worst, an air of concentration. (8) Mounted on rectangular stone block.

(10) Unknown. Bequeathed by R. Payne Knight. (11) First cent. AC (B.M. files). (12) Adriani, 1963, pl. 37.2-3.

7. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale.

(2) Barefoot, l. foot raised; r. hand akimbo, l. arm is raised but rather parallel than perpendicular to the ground. (3) Crotala in each hand. (4) Thick sash draped about hips. Knotted at left, possibly at right. (5) Phallus is exaggerated in length (6) Probably bald on top, but with thickly incised locks at sides, especially one lock that goes just forward of the ear. (7) Features are realistic and well-defined; they lack the harshness found in 1-4.

(12) Adriani, 1963, 86, 91, pl. 37.6

¹ Inv. not available; identifying tag separated from object.

8. Location unknown

(2) Similar to 1, but with right leg lifted behind and l. planted on the floor. (3) Crotala in both hands. (4) Loose sash, large loop at right, knotted at right. (5) Torso is smooth but athletic, like that of average-sized fit adult male. Genitals hang to knee, but thighs are extremely truncated. (6) Head tilted to right, wears Dionysiac wreath, fillet cascades along right shoulder. (7) Regular even features do not suggest clinical dwarfism.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. II, 565.7.

9. Location unknown

(2) Both feet planted on ground, weight on r. leg, l. bent sideways; r. hand akimbo, l. arm raised to level of forehead. (3) Possibly crotala in both hands. (4) Thick sash or loincloth knotted at both hips. (5) Truncated infantile torso and limbs. Phallus is naturalistic but hangs to mid-calf. Nipples and navel incised. (6) Round heavy head held erect; bald pate, incised side locks brushed forward. (7) Wide pug nose, staring almond eyes, furrowed brows and forehead. (9) Very worn.

(10) Formerly Roman art market. (12) Adriani, 1963, 86, 91, pl. 37.4

10. Location unknown

Like 9 except where noted: (2) Left foot slightly raised from ground. Left hand lifted above shoulder, index finger extended. (3) No crotalum in l. (5) Torso slightly longer. Phallus broken off. (8) Short column base.

(10) Location of original figure unknown. Information for this entry is based on a Dal Pozzo-Albani drawing in Windsor (RL10272R). (12) D. Bailey, "Small objects in the Dal-Pozzo Albani drawings: early gatherings," in I. Jenkins et al., Cassiano dal Pozzo's Paper Museum I (Milano, 1992), 12, fig. 6.

11. London, British Museum. Inv. 1856.12-26.792. Temple Collection M507.

(1) 6.6 cm. (2) Feet on ground, l. leg advanced; right hand missing; l. hand raised to chest. (3) Crotalum in l. (4) Loincloth, knotted at right. Has slipped down apronlike in front. (5) Infantile torso and limbs. Phallus naturalistic, but hangs to mid-calf. (6) Head tilted slightly to right. Probably bald. (7) Bulging forehead and jutting chin contribute to the effect of clinical dwarfism. (8) Square marble block (modern). Tang in r. foot.

(10) Santa Maria di Capua (B.M. files)

12. Bologna, Museo Civico.

(1) 9 cm. (2) Ballet-like. Left foot slightly advanced; r. relaxed, heel lifted and toes touching the ground. Both arms raised with bent elbows, the left arm higher. (3) Crotala in both hands. (4) Tunic, leaves the right torso and both arms bare; lower portion gathered about waist, exposing loins and buttocks; two swatches of tunic material hang loosely against the hips. Left foot is fully shod in soft material; r. is sandaled. (5) Proportions and musculature are those of a youth. There is no ithyphallism. (6) Head, tilted sharply towards the right shoulder, is round and fleshy. Appears bald at the top and back of the head, but has thickly incised locks at the sides that comb forward in front

of the ears. (7) Lips set slightly apart in faint smile; nose, broad and flat; eyes, wide and almond-shaped. The brow line and forehead furrows lend the dancer a cruel and cunning expression.

(12) Adriani, 1963, 85-86, pl. 39.1,2; 40.3.

13. Tunis, Musée du Bardo. Inv. F215.

(1) 32 cm. (2) Advancing on right foot, both arms bent and raised to shoulder level; torso turned slightly to right. (3) Crotalum in l.; r. holds missing object broken at either end of fist; remnant of third object lies along r. forearm, against crook of elbow. (4) Close-fitting tunic covers hips and buttocks, secured at l. shoulder and hip, leaving arms and r. breast bare. (5) Compact, child-like body, clinically true. Genitals are naturalistic but over-large; concealed from front, but depend vertically from behind. (6) Round heavy face turns sharply upward to r. Loose cap secured tightly about head. (7) Large almond eyes; pointed upturned nose; lips parted, smiling. Furrowing of brow lends mocking or impudent expression. Pupil incised in left eye only; hemispherical peg of blackened bronze.

(10) found 1910 in remains of shipwreck off Cape Mahdia, Tunisia. (11) Late Hellenistic. (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. IV, 557.6; A. Merlin, Mon Piot 18 (1910), 12-14, fig.3, pl. 4; Binsfeld, Grylloi, 44-45; Fuchs, Schiffsfund, 17-18, pl. 16; Adriani, 1963, 81, 89-92, pl.32.1; V.M. Strocka, RM 1970, 171-73; Stevenson, Pathological grotesques, passim; Wrede, 1988, 97-114; A. Stewart, Greek Sculpture: An Exploration (New Haven/London, 1990), 229, 305, ill. 852; Pfisterer-Haas, passim, esp. 484-486, 490-491, fig. 6, 7, 13-15.

A. Bronze. 2. Nudes

14. London, British Museum. Inv. 1824.4-31.4.

(1) 8.3 cm. (2) Balanced on right foot, l. kicking forward; right hand akimbo, l. raised shoulder level. (3) No surviving objects, but position of the hands and fingers suggests original presence of crotala. (5) Musculature is well rendered, perhaps overrealistic. Phallus is very long and rather serpentine. Nipples, invisible. Navel, an indentation. (6) Round, long head held erect; neck very thick and short. Full hair; thickly incised, especially on sides. (7) Small, flat, impassive features. Very broad forehead and widely set eyes. (9) Quite worn, especially left hand, whose thumb is missing. Dark green patina.

(10) Unknown. From the cabinet of Senator Quirini at Venice. (12) D. Bailey, "Small objects in the Dal-Pozzo Albani drawings: early gatherings," in I. Jenkins et al., Cassiano dal Pozzo's Paper Museum I (Milano, 1992), 9, 12, fig. 7.

15. Berlin, Charlottenburg, Antikenmuseum. Inv. Misc 8487.

(1) 7.5 cm. (2) Balanced on right foot, l. lifted slightly off ground; right hand held in small of back, l. raised. (3) Crotala in both hands. (5) Muscle definition very good about shoulderblades and buttocks but weak muscle tone in front. Longish phallus reaches knees. (6) Head inclined slightly down and to right. Very full hair rendered in thick incised locks. (7) Even features. Heavy lips, parted in small smile. Incised pupils and eyelids. (9) Worn.

(11) Imperial (Heilmeyer, by style). (12) W-D. Heilmeyer, Antikenmuseum Berlin. Die ausgestellten Werke (Berlin, 1988), 241, no. 15. File number and height are mistakenly exchanged

with no. 19 (= 46 below).

16. Palma de Mallorca, Col. del conde de España.

(1) 9 cm. (2) Like 15, but in mirror image. (3) Castanets in right hand, crotalum in l. (5) Stocky, infantile body. Ithyphallic.² (6) Round plump head; no neck. Pitted scalp may indicate hair. (7) Almond eyes; broad flat nose; mild, expressionless face. (9) Left foot missing. Metal suspension ring, rises vertically from the top of his head.

(10) found in North-central Majorca, on the estate of Son Perot Alomar, on the border of Llubi (García y Bellido). (11) Hellenistic-Alexandrian tradition (García y Bellido). (12) A. García y Bellido, Esculturas Romanas de España y Portugal (Madrid, 1949), 451, pl. 336.

17. London, British Museum. Inv. 1814.7-4.409.

(1) 4.8 cm. (2) Stands on right foot, pierced through heel for attachment to a base; l. bent at knee and raised high in front. Left hand akimbo, r. raised shoulder level. (3) Probable crotalum in right hand. (5) The phallus snakes behind the left knee and curves forward again around the left shin. The navel is slightly indented and the nipples are rendered as incised circles, each with a central dot. (6) Full head of thick hair. Bandelet with twin lotus buds. Beard is characterized by two large locks, which diverge symmetrically, growing from centre of chin. No neck. (7) Fairly fine features, including a small nose and mouth, and large round eyes. (9) Badly worn. Dark green patina.

(10) Unknown. Townley Collection.

18. Hamburg, Museum von Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg. Inv. 1917.212.

(1) 6.2 cm. (2) Same as 17. (5) Phallus like 17, but it raises self in air instead of wrapping around shin. (6) Like 17 except that the beard is thick and full. Head looks down and left to phallus. (7) Broad, strongly furrowed brow, large staring eyes, small flat nose. (9) Poor state of preservation. Right foot, left forearm, right arm, and about half the phallus, are missing.³ Left foot has been either repaired or restored.

(10) Egypt, Alexandrian (Mercklin). (12) R. Pagenstecher, AA 32 (1917), 83, fig. 6; Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 309.2; E. v. Mercklin, Führer durch das Hamburgische Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, II, Griechische und römische Altertümer (Hamburg, 1930), 139, no. 677.

19. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum. Inv. 2266.

(1) 4.5 cm. (2) Balanced on left leg, r. kicking forward; arms in teapot position, l. hand

² García y Bellido calls 16 a muchacho ithyphallico danzando but allows for la posibilidad that it represents a dwarf. I favour the latter because of the ithyphallism, the carefully incised pubic hair, and the firm rather than flaccid musculature.

³ I had initially classified 18 as a combatant, mentally restoring a weapon with which the figure could attack his serpentine phallus. But it also bears a striking similarity to 17, which appears to hold a crotalum in the right hand, and which I accept as a dancer.

akimbo. (3) Crotala, probably in both hands. (5) Unusually long torso in relation to extremely abbreviated limbs. Genitals normal in size, hang to knees. (6) Head turned to left, probably full head of short-cropped hair. (7) Broad forehead, staring eyes, flat nose. (9) Very smooth and worn. Most surface features indistinct.

(10) Galjüb, Egypt. Craftsman's workshop. (11) Late Hellenistic (Ippel); late third cent. BC (Himmelmann) (12) Ippel, Galjüb, 45, no. 30, pl. 4; Adriani, 1963, 83, pl. 35.2; Himmelmann, Realismus, 70-71; Wrede, 1988, 108, pl. 45.1.

20. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum. Inv. 2342.

(1) 4.3 cm. (2) Like 19. (3) Crotalum in left hand. (5) Almost the same as 19, but the chest lower, stomach and legs slightly thicker, and r. leg kicks forward instead of to side. (6) The heads on 19 and 20 probably come from the same mould. Hair on sides of head; also suggestion of hairline on top. (7) Like 19. (9) Right hand worn away. The object has had surface encrustation removed, however, which is still present in Ippel's photograph.

(10) Galjüb, Egypt. Craftsman's workshop. (11) Hellenistic (Ippel); late third cent. BC (Himmelmann) (12) Ippel, Galjüb, 45, no. 31, pl. 4; Himmelmann, Realismus, 70-71; Wrede, 1988, 108, pl. 45.3.

B. Terracotta. 1. Full garb

21. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. D290.

(1) 12 cm. (2) Standing, right leg advancing slightly; torso turned to right; arms held in front. (3) Crotala in both hands. (4) Complex garb. Possibly chiton under tunic, latter knotted over left shoulder, and thick sash knotted at left hip, leaving thick folds hanging down thigh. (5) His thick legs and steatopygia contrast with a relatively slim torso. Thighs are so truncated that tunic hangs almost to knees, concealing genitals. (6) Head held erect but turned towards right. Stippled crown. Thick fillet or lock of hair hangs right. (7) Fine features. (9) Dark beige clay. Traces of pink on flesh and garland, black eyes, red lips, black tunic over white chiton.

(10) Aegina. (11) 250-225 BC. (12) Besques, Terres cuites, III.1, 51, pl. 60.

II. DANCERS HOLDING OTHER PERCUSSIVE INSTRUMENTS

A. Bronze. 1. Baton

22. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Inv. VI 830.

(1) 5.6 cm. (2) Balanced on left foot, right foot slightly raised, both arms lifted. (3) Smooth cylindrical baton grasped in each hand. (4) Mantle slung over left shoulder is held in place by thick sash, possibly part of the same garment; smaller bundle of material seems to be tucked into his sash - possible pouch for batons? (5) Stocky infantile build; weak muscle tone; prominent phallus reaches knees. (6) Head turned sharply to right; round close-fitting cap; locks of hair at sides. (7) Round cheeks; snub nose; almond eyes; impassive expression. (9) Good condition, but somewhat worn.

(10) Findspot unknown, acquired before 1852. (11) Second cent. BC. (12) K. Gschwantler

and W. Oberleitner, Götter Heroen Menschen (Vienna, 1974), 84, no. 267; K. Gschwantler et al. Guss + Form (Vienna, 1986), no. 185, fig. 250.

23. Torino, Museo Nazionale.

(2) Balanced on r. foot, l. leg kicking forward; torso erect, frontal; arms bent and raised shoulder level. (3) Objects in both hands, apparently batons but possibly crotala. (5) Small, stocky body; very short legs; the phallus is exaggerated in size, hangs to the calf. (6) Head turned sharply to left, gazes upward; full hair; clean-shaven, but long curly sideburns; bandelet with twin lotus buds, large and carefully shaped. (7) Coarse features. (9) Muscular torso, but worn smooth.

(12) Adriani, 1963, 85, 88, 91, pl. 36.

24. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Inv. VI 2795.

(1) 6.5 cm. (2) Figure with stunted limbs and torso, and large head advances on right foot. Empty right hand held in front, l. raised above shoulder. (3) Cylindrical object in l. (5) The phallus grotesquely curves between his legs and behind him, pointing backwards and upwards. Lordosis, steatopygia, facial features consistent with achondroplastic dwarfism. (6) Turns sharply and looks over r. shoulder. Curly hair mostly hidden under soft peaked cap to which are affixed two lotus buds at the front. (7) Flat and oldish, with long heavy jaw, small wide snub nose and small eyes. Arched brows lend a look of concentration. (9) Finer details worn. Behind the lotus buds is a suspension ring.

(10) Egypt, Alexandrian (Gschwantler et al.) (11) Second cent. BC.⁴ (Gschwantler et al.). (12) R. von Schneider, AA 1892, 52, no. 80; K. Gschwantler et al., Guss + Form (Vienna, 1986), 125 no. 184.

A. Bronze. 2. Tambourine.

25. London, British Museum. 1865.11-18.

(1) 7.4 cm. (2) Like 23. (3) The instrument, held in the left hand, is rather lozenge-shaped and altogether smooth at the back, although the rest of the dancer is fully modelled. The front of the instrument bears four incised circles and a beaded pattern of curved lines separating them. (5, 6, 7) Like 23, but phallus reaches to ground, and facial hair: beard is a series of fine punctured holes. (8) No base, but r. foot is pierced, presumably for affixing to base. (9) Right arm missing. Dark green surface, with red and gold patches.

(10) Unknown. Witt Collection 225. (12) Adriani, 1963, 85, 88, 91, pl. 36.1

26. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Inv. 511.

Like 25 except: (1) 7.2 cm. (2) Right hand, intact, holds crotalum. Instrument in l. like 25; slight differences include two small side projections, and the pattern not being quite as carefully and

⁴ I suggest elsewhere that the date might be at least a century or two later, depending on how specifically the objects held can be identified. See Ch. Eight, p. 169.

symmetrically rendered. (5) On comparison, 25 and 26 may well have been cast from the same mould. The physique is consistent with achondroplastic dwarfism. (9) Green patina.

(11) Roman (style) (Bib. Nat.) (12) Bib. Nat., 218, no. 511; Adriani, RM, 1963 85, 88, 91, pl. 36.2.

B. Terracotta. 1. Rattle

27. Providence, Rhode Island, private collection.

(1) 15 cm. (2) Dances with right foot kicking forward, l. on ground; torso leaning slightly forward. Essentially frontal attitude, no torsion. (3) Rattle in r. (4) Tunic covers loins and most of torso: right shoulder and part of chest are exposed. (5) Clearly dwarfish, but not ithyphallic or steatopygous. (6) Around neck and head, similar thick stippled garlands. (7) Snub nose, flat features and somewhat bulging forehead. (9) Fully modelled from pale orange terra cotta.

(10) Taras. Purchased in Rome before 1965. Possibly from a tomb. (Uhlenbrock, good state of preservation). (11) Late third or early second cent. BC. (Uhlenbrock, stylistic comparison with other Tarentine dancers, especially stippled wreaths and folds of tunic.) (12) Uhlenbrock, Coroplast, 159, no. 46.

B. Terracotta. 2. Staves

28. Berlin, formerly Königl. Museum. Inv. 9960.

(1) 9.8 cm. (2) Right foot raised in mid-step. Right hand level with chest; l. raised over the head. (3) In each hand, a pair of staves held together at their centres. (4) Sash or loincloth. (5) Babylike muscle tone, tiny shoulders, and large head suggest that he is most probably a dwarf. Enormous phallus curves backward between legs. (6) Head tilted to right shoulder. (9) Relief. Worn surface; details difficult to interpret. Broken from the feet down. Leather brown clay with blue-black core. No venthole in back.

(10) Fayoum (Weber). (12) Weber, ÄGT, 196 no. 331, pl. 31.

29. Location unknown

(1) 9 cm. (2-6). Like 28. (9) Relief. Worn surface. Dark brown clay. Unworked in back. No venthole. Left half of base missing.

(10) Fayoum, on the basis of quality of clay (Graindor).⁵ (12) Paul Graindor, Terres cuites de l'Égypte gréco-romaine (Antwerp, 1939), 139-140, no. 58.

30. Location unknown

(1) 17.5 cm. (2) Standing, toes pointed outward. Left arm raised above shoulder. (3) In each

⁵ "Comme sa variante de Berlin" (=28).

hand, a pair of staves held together at their centres. (4) Tunic or sash, rolled loosely about waist. Thin stippled garland around neck. (5) Stocky, poor muscle tone. Rigid phallus reaches knees. Navel is incised circle. (6) Staring down and to right. Elderly head, bald, cleanshaven. (7) Frowning, small snub nose, large almond eyes, strongly arched and furrowed brow. (8) Cylindrical base, cast with figure. (9) Brown clay. Modeled front and back.

(10) Lower Egypt (Fouquet). (12) Terres cuites Fouquet, 160, no. 451.

B. Terracotta. 3. Tambourine

31. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Pergamonmuseum. Inv. TC7400.

(1) 7.5 cm. (2-3) Right hand raised beating tambourine supported on left shoulder. (4) Loincloth or sash. (5) Short torso, babylike muscle tone, round distended stomach. (6) Round head surmounted by conical pleated cap. (7) Large masklike features. Irises etched in. Mouth damaged, smiling? (9) Survives only from waist up. Light pinkish brown. Traces of black on hat and tambourine.

(10) Capua (Winter). (12) Winter, AT, 459.7.

III. DANCERS HOLDING MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

A. Bronze. 1. Basket

32. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. 401.

(1) 8 cm. (2) Balanced on left foot, r. lifted forward; right hand akimbo, l. raised to chest. (3) Handle of basket in crook of left elbow. (5) Good musculature. Phallus tucked between legs, pointed backward. Protruding navel. Bowlegged. (6) Full hair and beard, latter possibly divided down centre. Ivy crown. (9) Heavy wear and encrustation.

(10) Egypt (Reinach). (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 305.6; De Ridder, Bronzes, no. 360, pl. 30; Adriani, 1963, 86, pl. 38.2.

33. London, British Museum. Inv. Bt 1925.

Like 32 but (1) 6.5 cm. (3) Details of webbing of the basket are clearer. (6) Fillet trails down left shoulderblade. (9) Left foot missing.

(11) "Hellenistic type" (B.M. files)

34. Florence, Museo Archeologico. Inv. 2300.

(2) Balanced gracefully on left leg; r. lifted forward, knee bent outward. Right hand held up to side of head. (3) Wickerwork basket held against torso, steadied with left hand and secured by straps over shoulders. Contents unidentified. (5) Phallus is almost floor-length. (6) Head turned skyward, tilted gracefully right. (7) Heavy features: widely spaced lidded eyes; broad nose; parted lips; anguished expression.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. VI, 93.2.

A. Bronze. 2. Cup

35. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. Inv. 54.1116.

(1) 4.1 cm. (3) Cup supported on raised left knee. (6) Bald crown but locks of hair at the sides and down the ears. (7) Snub nose; wide almond eyes; furrowed brow; small beard. (9) Missing right hand and both legs.

(11) Hellenistic (Hill, on basis of style). (12) Hill, Walters Bronzes, 73, no. 155, pl. 33.

B. Terracotta. 1. Platter

36. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. D4532.

(1) 16 cm. (2) Standing or dancing, but most of both legs are missing. (3) Left hand supports large flat plate on left shoulder; r., lowered, holds unidentified object. Against the right leg is a globular vase. (4) Sash or loincloth. (5) Long phallus between legs. (6) Broad garland or brimmed hat. (9) Poor condition. Baked terracotta, double mould, vent hole; glazed. Body is probably painted pink, with decoration detailed in black.

(10) Lower Egypt (Besques). (11) Hellenistic (Besques). (12) Besques, Terres cuites, IV.2, pl. 78f.

B. Terracotta. 2. Grapes

37. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Inv. 13.159.

(1) 9 cm. (2) Dance-like step, balancing on missing right foot. (3) Right hand held to open mouth, l. holds bunch of grapes level to chest. (4) Sash or thin loincloth which forms a V-shape around hips. (5) Torso is very long and muscular, in contrast to the stunted legs and arms. Genitals concealed. (7) Features are classically grotesque: bald; large floppy ears; small squinting eyes, wide flat nose, and huge gaping mouth with large expansive lips. (9) "Yellowish buff fabric. Traces of white slip over all. Solid. Fully modeled. No vent. Arms, legs, and grapes hand-modeled" (Uhlenbrock).

(10) Anthedon in Boeotia (Uhlenbrock, based on colour and quality of fabric and slip). (11) Third cent. BC. (Uhlenbrock evidently bases this on style because the Boeotian findspot is "purported"). (12) Uhlenbrock, Coroplast, no. 17.

IV. DANCERS HOLDING NO OBJECTS

A. Bronze. 1. Clothed

38. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. Inv. 54.1107.

(1) 10.2 cm. (2) Weight on left foot, r. knee bent and pointed sideways. Left hand akimbo;

right wrist held behind head. (4) Loincloth secured at both hips. (5) Apart from pectorals and transgastric arch, muscle tone is weak. Incised nipples - silvered? Genitals are concealed. (6) Head tilted downward and to left. Full head of hair, short beard. Peaked cap. (7) Wide forehead, depressed nasal bridge, and high cheekbones indicate clinical dwarfism. Silvered pupils.

(11) Third cent. BC. (Reeder). (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 308.6; Hill, Walters Bronzes, 154, pl. 33; Adriani, 1963, 85, 91, pl. 36.4; Reeder, Hellenistic art, 140, no. 55.

39. Florence, Museo Archeologico.

(2) Balanced on left leg, r. knee lifted straight up. Left hand held behind back, r. hand drawn towards mouth. (4) Loincloth, gathered and secured in centre. (5) Naturalistic but very long phallus hangs to calf. (6) Peaked hat over bald head. (7) Large ears and huge, hooked nose. (9) Both feet are broken off.

(12) L.A. Milani, Il Museo Archeologico di Firenze II (Florence, 1912), 30, pl. 140.3; Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 304.2; H. Goldman, AJA 47 (1943), fig. 5.

A. Bronze. 2. Nude

40. Paris, Musée du Petit Palais. Collection Dutuit. Inv. DUT.57.

(1) 7 cm. (2) Energetically balancing on right foot, l. leg kicking forward horizontally and upper body tilted backward. Left arm, raised above the shoulder, helps him maintain his balance. (3) Left hand: clear hole for object held horizontally and perpendicular to head. Right hand: hole in clenched fist for holding object perpendicular to ground. (5) Muscular torso, tiny limbs, prominent but naturalistic membrum, incised navel and nipples. (6) Full head of hair; no beard. Peaked tricorn hat, large and soft. (7) Large, vacant, widely spaced eyes; small nose and mouth; heavy round head. (8) Modern stone base which replaces the irregular cylindrical base depicted in Reinach.

(10) Unknown.⁶ (11) First cent. AC (Petit, with caution, by style). (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. II, 565.5; Adriani, 1963, 85, pl. 38.1; Petit, Collection Dutuit 105, no. 40.

41. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Inv. Res. 08.32j.

(1) 11 cm. (2) Stands on right foot, kicks l. forward. Right hand raised above shoulder; l. pulled back and held at the torso. Both hands form fists.⁷ (5) Limbs are very truncated. Phallus naturalistic, but hangs almost to ankle. (6) Head tilted to left. Narrow band with twin lotus buds (7) Broad forehead, wide almond eyes, snub nose, tiny pointy beard.

(12) Boston Bronzes, 129, no. 144.

⁶ Paulette Hornby (Petit Palais) thinks it probably comes from somewhere in Italy, possibly but not necessarily the Naples area.

⁷ Superficially, 41 also looks as if he is boxing. I know of no exact parallels, however, for pugilists in this pose; many do draw one arm back, and raise the other threateningly, but always with both feet on ground. Also, the lotus is far less prevalent among the combatants.

42. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. 704.

(1) 4 cm. (2) Balances on left leg (of which lower part is missing); r. kicks sharply back and to side. Torso tilts r. Arms assume teapot position with right arm akimbo, l. hand making fist. (5) Trunk and protruding stomach are quite muscular, in contrast to slim arms. Genitals are oversized, even considering the very truncated legs. (6) Face stares down and to right. Full hair and beard. Wreath, worn smooth. (7) Features are fairly small; broad forehead, deep-set eyes.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 308.2; De Ridder, Bronzes, 97, no. 704; Adriani, 1963, 87, pl. 34.4.

43. Location unknown

(2) Balanced on right leg; l. trails on bent knee and pointed toe. Right hand held horizontally in mid-air at waist level; left arm outstretched, fingers extended. (5) The body is fleshy, stocky and childlike, but some musculature shapes the torso. Phallus, oversized and erect, curves against the right flank. (6) Round, youthful, turned r. (9) Thick suspension ring rises vertically from head.

(10) Egypt (Reinach). (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. II, 75.5.⁸

B. Terracotta. 1. Clothed

44. Athens, formerly Central Museum, Misthos Collection. Inv. 407.

(1) 12.2 cm. (2) Balanced on left leg, r. kicks forward. The two arms are lifted above the shoulders and he appears to be holding his head between his fists. (4) Loincloth, covers hips and genitals. (6) Garland around neck. Round (bald?) head tilted to r. (7) Regular features, smiling faintly, are too large for head.

(10) Probably from Myrina (Winter). (12) Winter, AT, 447.6.

45. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. D/E4534.

(1) 11.3 cm. (2) Right foot rests on enormous phallus; l. missing. Arms assume teapot position, with right hand akimbo. (4) Loincloth or rolled tunic, knotted at left flank; covers hips and partially thighs. (6) Garland around neck. He seems to have a full head of wavy hair although Besques indicates "crane rasé". (7) The face is obliterated by wear, but an excellent photograph faintly suggests porcine features. (9) Double mold; no vent hole.

(10) Central Egypt. Acq. Rousset Dey, 1868 (Besques). (11) Late Hellenistic (Besques). (12) Besques, Terres cuites, IV.2, fig. 79b.

⁸ As sketched in Reinach, 43 appears as a chubby boyish figure, clean shaven with thick hair, but a very large phallus is dotted in. I accept the hyperphallism as an indication of an adult or adolescent rather than a child.

V. DAMAGED FIGURES.

For the sake of completeness, I list the following objects but, owing to their poor condition, I refrain from making a firm attribution to one of the four preceding groups.

A. Bronze. 1. Clothed

46. Berlin, Antikenmuseum. Fr 2139.

(1) 6.5 cm. (2) Balanced on left leg, r. knee lifted in dance-like step. Arms held front. (3) Arms empty but seem to have held instruments: crotala? flute? (4) Tunic, leaves right shoulder bare. Ankle boots. (5) No steatopygia, but short legs are consistent with dwarfism. (6) Round, heavy head. Vegetal wreath. Face looking up and to left. (7) Incised brows, lids, pupils, irises; fine features. (9) Worn.

(12) W-D. Heilmeyer, Antikenmuseum Berlin. Die ausgestellten Werke (Berlin, 1988), 241, no. 19 (file number and height are mistakenly exchanged with no. 15 (15)).

47. Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art. Inv. 72.72.

(1) 4.4 cm. (2) Balances on right leg, l. is lifted forward. Arms assume teapot position, r. hand akimbo. (3) Left hand is missing. (4) Sash knotted at right hip. (5) Genitals reach to ground, due to extraordinary truncation of legs. Nipples and navel are incised circles. (6) Round, heavy head faces down and left. Incised locks over crown are combed forward over ears; curly beard. (7) Large staring eyes and small nose and mouth create grimace.

(11) First cent. BC/AC (Albertson, style of hair and beard). (12) K.K. Albertson, Aspects of Ancient Greece (Pennsylvania, 1979), 222-223, no. 108.

A. Bronze. 2. Nude

48. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Inv. 1971.870.

(2) 9 cm. (2) He advances on left foot, while right leg trails. (3) Both arms are missing below the shoulders. (4) Body is stocky and muscular. Nipples invisible; navel, incised circle. Genitals naturalistic but oversized. (5) Large, roomy cap; band fits snugly about the head, possibly strapped in place. (6) The features indicate clinical dwarfism, i.e. wide forehead, flat face, long eyes, depressed nasal ridge, small mouth. (9) Smooth worn surface. Two suspension holes pierce the front of the cap.

(10) Unknown. "Purchased through the generosity of Mr. James Bomford and other benefactors". (11) Late Hellenistic (Ashmolean records). (12) P.R.S. Moorey and H.W. Catling, Exhibition of Ancient Persian Bronzes and Other Selected Items of Ancient Art from the Collection Bomford (Oxford, 1966), 67 no. 335; Wrede, 1988, 110, pl. 44.

49. Compiègne, Musée Vivenel et Musée de la Figurine Historique.

(2) Advances on left leg. Right arm missing but obviously lowered; l. arm raised above shoulder. Torso turned to left. (5) Short torso, steatopygia, bowlegged. Very long phallus points downward in serpentine curve. (6) Round thick head looks down. Full head of hair, incised. (7) Broad

forehead, childlike features, even and natural.
 (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 514.1.⁹

B. Terracotta. 1. Clothed

50. Alexandria, Musée Gréco-romain. Inv. 23301.

(1) 8.5cm.¹⁰ (2) Mature figure in the midst of a spirited dance kicks the right foot sharply out, while the torso, too, arches steeply right. (3) Arms both broken at shoulder. (4) Tunic secured at left shoulder; belt of rolled cloth(?) (6) Curly hair at sides, bald on top. Garland around neck. (7) Bald head with coarse but joyous features, which resemble a comic mask. (9) Very worn.
 (12) Breccia, Monuments II.2, 52-53, pl. 75; Adriani, 1963, 87, pl. 41.3.

51. Location unknown

Almost identical to 50 but (6) No garland. (9) Both arms broken at shoulder; both legs broken from just below tunic.
 (12) Adriani, 1963, pl. 41.4.

52. Alexandria, Musée Gréco-romain. Inv. 9618.

(1) 14.5 cm. (2) Right leg lifts as if to dance. Other three limbs are missing. (4) Snug garment covers torso and loins; straight narrow belt encircles waist. (6) Head, heavy and short-necked, faces right. Surmounted by garland topped with twin lotus buds. (7) Furrowed brow, squinting eyes, flat wide nose; lips parted in a pained or mocking smile. (9) Dark clay, traces of polychromy.
 (12) Breccia, Monuments II.1, 64 pl. 37.7; Adriani, 1963, 87, pl. 41.2.

53. Dresden, Antikensammlung, Skulpturensammlung. Inv. 755.

(1) 11.5 cm. (2) Standing, right leg turned slightly outward. Torso frontal but arched sharply rightward. Right foot, right hand and whole left arm are missing. (4) Rolled sash, knotted at left. (5) Stocky and baby-like. (6) Head, like torso, faces frontally but tips far to right; surmounted by thin, neatly stippled wreath. (7) Somewhat coarse features, slightly smiling. (9) Salmon pink clay, much dirt encrustation, yellow flesh, white sash. Hole in lower back.
 (10) Myrina (Treu). (11) 250-200 BC (Museum's opinion). (12) G. Treu, AA 4 (1889), 163.

54. Location unknown

(2) 8 cm. (3) Figure missing all limbs except left foot and part of outstretched left arm.

⁹ Many thanks to Eric Blanchegorge, of the Musée Vivenel et Musée de la Figurine Historique, who sent me a photocopy of a file photo, and informed me that the figurine itself cannot be located.

¹⁰ 1.5 cm (Breccia) is certainly a misprint, because he compares it to two other pieces, less well-preserved, 8 and 8.5 cm high.

Dancing? (4) Loincloth. (5) Slim muscular body. (6) Bald, grossly oversized head facing right. (7) Coarse, strained features. High cheekbones, small broad nose, furrowed brow. (9) Solid. Brown clay, pink paint.

(10) Lower Egypt (Fouquet); (12) Terres cuites Fouquet, 160, no. 460.

B. Terracotta. 2. Nude

55. Frankfurt am Main, Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik. Inv. 2400.1775.

(1) 12.8 cm. (2) Standing dancer on relief fragment. Weight on right foot, left leg pivoted outward. Right arm held against head; l. is missing. (5) Tiny torso, long legs. Gigantic phallus, thicker than the figure's legs, extends to his left.¹¹ It seems to be supported on the leg of a second individual, of whom only the right leg below the knee is visible. (9) Hair, if present, and facial features are obliterated through wear. Granular ochre-brown clay; white slip; traces of dark red.

(10) Fayoum? (11) Fourth-third cent. BC. (12) Kaufmann, ÄGT, fig. 86.3; Kaufmann, GK, pl. 45.366; Bayer, Terrakotten, no. 458, pl. 84.2.

56. New York, Brooklyn Museum. Inv. 16.276.

(1) 10.5 cm. (2) Only torso and head remain; angles of his stumps suggest dance movement. (4) Loincloth. (5) Steatopygia and size of head indicate dwarfism. (6) Head of balding mature male. Fillet. (7) Coarse careworn features: creased brow, large staring eyes, downcast mouth. (9) Dense dark brown fabric. Solid. Back fully modeled. Molds made of plaster. Dense dark brown fabric.

(10) Purchased in Cairo, 1888. Possibly Fayoum district (Uhlenbrock, based on fabric and colour). (11) Second cent. BC or later (Uhlenbrock, modelling, style). (12) Uhlenbrock, Coroplast, 153, no. 40.

57. Alexandria, Musée Gréco-romain. Inv. 9787.

(1) 9.5 cm. (2) Sculpted jar. Left knee lifted almost to hip level. Torso twists to left. Left hand on buttocks; r. touches side of head, forming the handle. (5) Short-waisted, steatopygous and hunchbacked. (6) Head twists sharply left and down. (7) Broad and furrowed forehead, half-closed eyes, depressed nasal ridge, wide flat nose; achondroplasia. Cruel smirk. (9) Feet missing, hands worn and indistinct.

(10) Kom-el-Sciugafa (Breccia). (12) Breccia, Monuments II.1, 68, no. 405, pl. 32.1-2.

C. Faience. 1. Nude

¹¹ The torso, legs and lack of muscle definition suggest a boyish figure, but the phallus signifies at least an adolescent if not a full adult.

58. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. Inv. 48.1784.

(1) 6.3 cm. (2) Probably dancing; both legs, missing below knee, suggest strong movement. Right hand held behind buttocks, left hand held to mouth. (5) Soft musculature, short torso, narrow chest and waist, wide hips, ithyphallic. (6) Head tilted onto right shoulder, surmounted by narrow wreath or band. (7) Wide coarse features. Eyebrows long and curved, sharply furrowed at brow.

(11) ca. 300-200 BC (Stewart). (12) A. Stewart, Greek Sculpture: An Exploration (New Haven/London, 1990), fig. 647.

D. Marble. 1. Nude

59. New York City, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Inv. 26.7.1403.

(1) 10 cm. (2) Right leg and left arm raised, head twisted sharply right and down. (5) Steatopygia, lordosis, and compact doll-like torso indicate clinical dwarfism. (6) Head turned sharply over right shoulder. Slight indication of pigment and tooling at base of skull. (7) Full lips, small pug nose, depressed nasal bridge, long narrow heavily-lidded eyes and broad furrowed brow; consistent with clinical condition. (9) Crown of cranium cleanly removed. All four limbs missing; act of dancing surmised from surviving stumps.

(10) Unknown; purchased 1926, Carnarvon Collection. (11) Early-Middle Ptolemaic, ca. 305-150 BC (museum files).¹² (12) M. Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age (New York, 1961), 96, fig. 376; Adriani, 1963, 88, pl. 33.1-3; B. Fowler, The Hellenistic Aesthetic (Wisconsin, 1989), 67 no. 47.

VI. MUSICIANS

I include sitting or standing performers whose chief activity is the use of an instrument which produces tones either by plucking or blowing. The pieces are terracotta with the exceptions of 67 (marble) and 68 (bronze).

1. Citharoedi

60. Frankfurt am Main, Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik. Inv. 2400.1275.

(1) 9.8 cm. (2-3) Holds cithara with left arm, strums with phallus held by right hand. It cannot be determined whether it is disembodied or not, since the lower half of the figure is missing. (4) Loose garment girded under the breast. Mantle covers shoulders, secured with round clasp at throat. Long right sleeve ornamented with decorative bands. (6) Head tilts slightly upward, leans against cithara. Surmounted by laurel wreath which tapers sharply over forehead. (7) Coarse, masklike. (9) Only head and upper torso survive. Suspension ring attached to nape of neck. Granular, reddish brown clay; no slip or glaze. Back of figure is unworked. Surface details of the clothing added afterwards.

¹² I extend great thanks to Joan Detter, Department of Egyptian Art, the Metropolitan Museum, for her prompt, efficient and friendly response to my letter of inquiry, and for copies of the museum's file photos.

(10) Fayoum? (provenience of most of Kaufmann's figures) (11) First quarter third cent. AC. (12) Kaufmann, ÄGT, 124, pl. 89.1; Kaufmann, GK, 132 no. 344, pl. 43; Bayer, Terrakotten, 217 no. 495, pl. 88.7.

61. Frankfurt am Main, Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik. Inv. 2400.1338.

(1) 9.2 cm. (2-3) Naked citharoedus is seated sideways on a cubic stool. The cithara rests on a giant phallus, as large as its owner, which extends across the floor. The gross, oversize left hand is laid flat against the strings while the right hand helps to steady the cithara. (6) Head is worn and damaged. It turns ninety degrees to the right, in order to face the viewer. It is shaved except for a "Jugendlocke" on the right shoulder.¹³ (7) Large and coarse. (9) Clay is light reddish brown, brick red where weathered. Back unworked.

(12) Bayer, Terrakotten, 207 no. 461, pl. 84.4.

62. Frankfurt am Main, Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik. Inv. 1339.

(1) 14.3 cm. (2-3) Naked cithara player squats on the ground, facing the viewer. Cithara rests on left thigh, steadied by left hand. The right hand uses large disembodied phallus as a plectrum. (5) Musician's actual phallus is indicated only by a large gaping hole between the knees. (6) Head is very large and crudely modelled. (7) Forehead recedes sharply. Wide grotesque features are far too large for the face. (9) Suspension ring behind neck. Clay is dark brown, with black flecks on the surface. Traces of white slip. Back unworked.

(11) Second half second cent. AC (Bayer). (12) Bayer, Terrakotten, 207 no. 462, pl. 84.3.

2. Syrinx players

63. Frankfurt am Main, Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik. Inv. 2400.1283.

(1) 11.3 cm. (2-3) Stands upright, holding a syrinx with both hands in front of his breast. (4) Loose ankle-length garment. Narrow belt or tie gathered loosely under a flaccid stomach. (5) Floor-length phallus, protruding between the feet, below the hem of the garment. (6) The original head is missing; in its place is one wearing a broad stippled crown, considerably older and disproportionately large. (7) Plain, delicate features.

(10) Fayoum? (11) body: first-second cent. AC; head: third cent. BC (Bayer, style). (12) Kaufmann, ÄGT, 124, pl. 89.7; Kaufmann, GK, 132 no. 350, pl. 43; Bayer, Terrakotten, 128 no. 206, pl. 41.1.

64. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum. Inv. 8798.

(1) 16.2 cm. (2-3) Standing figure, holding syrinx in left hand, bagpipe (bladder under left arm, pipe in right hand), scabellum under right foot. To his right, a naked miniature figure stands

¹³ Bayer refers to him as a Knabe, but I identify him as a dwarfish figure on the basis of the disproportionately large head along with the fantastically sized phallus.

about waist high, playing cymbals. (4) Loose garment hangs to below his knees, a shawl or cape over the upper half of his body. (5) Enormous phallus is represented by a cavernous hole. (6) Tall tapering pleated cap. (7) The facial features are coarse: large protruding ears; slack downcast mouth; flat wide nose; two parallel wavy lines as stylized forehead furrows; merest suggestion of incised iris and pupil; masklike. (9) Clay is reddish brown, micaceous. No traces of colour. Mold seams on both sides.

(11) ca. AD 200 (Philipp). (12) Weber, ÄGT, 192, no. 324, pl. 30; Hanna Philipp, Terrakotten aus Ägypten, 30-31, no. 36.

65. Location unknown

(1) 11.0 cm. (2-3) Figure holds a nine-tube syrinx to his lips with an oversized left hand. (6) Pleated peaked cap. (7) Bulbous and coarsely modelled. (9) Lower half of the player's body is missing. Brown clay.

(10) Fayoum (Fouquet). (12) Terres cuites Fouquet, 163, no. 466, pl. 112.

3. Flute players

66. Alexandria, Musée Gréco-romain. Inv. 8025.

(1) 10 cm. (2-3) Standing? Lower legs missing. Two oblong objects, probably a double flute, are held vertically up front at chest level, one in each hand, at about a 40 degree angle with the mouthpieces touching. Behind to left, bundle of palm branches. (5) Missing phallus indicated by gaping hole. (6) Broad stippled garland over a mass of curly hair. (7) Long almond eyes, knitted eyebrows, tiny nose, depressed nasal ridge and creased forehead.

(12) Breccia, Monuments II.2, 48, no. 299, pl. 74.

67. Florence, Galleria Uffizi. Inv. 982.

(2-3) Effigy on marble funerary altar, standing, holding one flute in each hand. They point down and to sides at right angles to each other. (4) He wears sandals and a long-sleeved tunic, which hangs almost to his ankles and is gathered by a band around his torso. (5) Arms and legs are obviously truncated; the head alone contributes one third to the body height. (6) Full beard and hair, dense and curly. Probably surmounted by vegetal crown. (7) Face is damaged (nose broken off) but the eyes, hooded by a creased forehead, stare dolefully out. (8-9) He stands in a stylized aedicule, panel at the base which reads Θ(ΕΟΙΣ) Κ(ΑΤΑΧΘΟΝΙΟΙΣ) / ΜΥΡΟΠΙΝΟΥΤΙ ΝΑΝΩ[Ι?] / ΧΟΡΑΥΑΗ[Ι?].

(11) late Antonine/ early Severan (Boschung). (12) M. Bieber, The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre (Princeton, 1961), 236, fig. 782; D.E.E. Kleiner, Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits (Rome, 1987), 261; D. Boschung, Antike Grabaltäre aus den Nekropolen Roms (Bern, 1987), 77, 109, no. 864.

68. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Inv. 1992.37.

(1) 6.2 cm. (2-3) Bronze figurine is seated on a narrow cylindrical stool, holding and playing double flute, now lost. (5) Musculature, not heavily emphasized, is suggested with incised lines over the torso. The phallus is naturalistic but large. Dwarfism is indicated by a disproportionately large

head, steatopygia and shortish limbs. (6) Hair barely discernible at the sides and back. Tall pointed cap, around which are lightly incised decorative bands. Large rectangular patch over the front may indicate early repair; the colour and condition of the patch match the rest of the object. (7) Deep, widely-spaced eyes; overall melancholic expression.

4. Trumpet players

69. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. D/E4517.

(1) 13 cm. (2) Group of two musicians. A water organ player's body is concealed except for the head appearing from behind the pipes. Dwarfish trumpeter stands on extremely truncated legs, to the viewer's left. (3) Trumpet, held to lips with two hands. Reaches almost to the ground, even being held at a forty-five degree angle. (4) Tunic, reaches the knees. (5) Thighs nearly absent, so phallus hangs between legs and reaches ground. (6) Large, misshapen. Hair on crown. (7) Crude, oversize incised features. (9) Surface seems primitively handworked with a blunt instrument.

(10) Alexandria. (11) Late Hellenistic (Besques) or Imperial (museum files). (12) Besques, Terres cuites, IV.2, no.75e, D/E4517.

70. Athens, formerly Central Museum, Misthos Collection. Inv. 261.

(1) 12 cm. (2) Standing, left hand on hip. (3) Trumpet is blown while being steadied with right hand. Held almost vertically. (4) Long cape (paludamentum?) secured at right shoulder. (5) Dwarfish figure, stockily built, with large paunch. Genitals naturalistic but large. (6) Heavy bald head. (7) Furrowed brow, small nose; full cheeks slightly distended from blowing.

(10) Probably from Myrina (Winter). (12) Winter, AT, 446.6.

71. Berlin, Antiquarium. Inv.6288.

(1) 16.3 cm. (2-3) Same as preceding. (4) Long tunic and cape; latter secured by clasp at right shoulder. (6) Round grossly oversized head. Flat turban. (7) Fat, round, face; large, nondescript features. (8) Plain, trapezoidal base.

(10) Tarquinia (Winter). (12) Winter, AT, 446.7.

FEMALE MUSICAL DWARFS

I. CROTALISTS

A. Bronze. 1. Isis garb (72-76)

2. Non-Isis garb (77)

II. DANCERS HOLDING OTHER OBJECTS

A. Terracotta 1. Vase (78)

2. Tambourine (79-85)

III. DANCERS HOLDING NO OBJECTS

A. Terracotta (86-90)

IV. DAMAGED FIGURES

A. Bronze (91-92)

B. Terracotta (93)

V. MUSICIANS

A. Cithara (94)

B. Double Flute (95)

I. CROTALISTS

A. BRONZE. 1. Isis garb

72. Tunis, Musée du Bardo. Inv. F213.

(1) 29.5 cm. (2) Vigorously dancing, lifts left leg forward and twists head dramatically over left shoulder. Right arm is raised above the shoulder, l. is held horizontally across the breast. (3) Crotala in both hands. (4) Thin long dress, mantle over it; they are bound together between breasts in Isiac knot. Soft-soled shoes. (6) Hair is parted in centre of forehead and pulled back in curls over ears and neck. Flat bonnet, held in place by band or ribbon, falls back on nape. (7) Round plump face; long lidded eyes, snub nose, applecheeks and parted lips. Smug or lascivious expression.

(10) Found in remains of shipwreck off Cape Mahdia, Tunisia, 1910. (11) Late Hellenistic (see p. 194-97). (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. IV, 557.5; A. Merlin, Mon. Piot 18 (1910), 9-10, pl. 2; A. Schulten, AA 1912, 387, fig.2; Fuchs, Schiffsfund, 18, pl. 17; Adriani, 1963, 80f., pl.32.2; M. Yacoub, Musée du Bardo Musée Antique (Tunis, 1970), fig.86; C.M. Havelock, Hellenistic Art, 2d ed. (New York/London, 1981), 142-143, no.135; A. Adriani, Lezioni sull'arte alessandrina (Naples, 1972), 160, pl. 37; Wrede, 1983, 106, pl. 40.2,3; B. Fowler, The Hellenistic Aesthetic (Wisconsin, 1989), 69, fig. 51; Pfisterer-Haas, passim, esp. 483-484, 490-491, fig. 1, 2, 4, 13-15, col. pl. 16.

73. London, British Museum. Inv. 1926.4-15.32.

(1) 9 cm. (2) Advancing on right foot, turning her head sharply over right shoulder. Right arm is held directly in front at shoulder height; l. is raised higher. (3) Crotala in both hands. (4) Ankle-

length garment. Border or trim, furry in appearance, down right side of dress; relationship to rest of costume obscure. (6) Head is square and heavy. Hair is divided from front to back along middle of crown, forming sausage curls over neck and shoulders. Thin neatly stippled lotus bud band. (7) Similar to 72 but slightly less naturalistic. Large staring eyes with drilled pupils; very broad and flat nose.

(10) Damankur, the Delta. A workshop. (B.M. files). (12) Adriani, 1963, 83, pl. 34.3; Himmelmann, Realismus, 71-72.

74. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum. Inv. 2253.

(1) 4.4 cm. (2) Balanced on right foot, l. kicking forward. Right arm akimbo, l. raised. (3) Crotalum assumed in left hand. (4) Simple floor-length dress and fringed mantle. (5) Unusually long swollen abdomen and tiny almost vestigial limbs. (6) Head turned right. Hair parted in centre; hanging in back in sausage curls. (7) Fleshy face, realistic rather than caricaturish. (9) Fair condition. Surface details, especially hands, are worn smooth.

(10) Galjûb, Delta. Workshop. (11) Late Hellenistic (Ippel, archaeological context); late third cent. BC (Himmelmann, style). (12) Ippel, Galjûb, 46, no. 33, pl. 4; Himmelmann, Realismus, 70-71; Wrede, 1988, 107, 111, pl. 45.2.

75. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum. Inv. 2255.

(1) 3.6 cm. (2) Same as 74. (3) Crotalum in left hand. Possible castanet on left wrist. Probable crotalum in right. (4-7) Same as 74.

(10) Galjûb, Delta. Workshop. (11) Late Hellenistic (Ippel, archaeological context); late third cent. BC (Himmelmann, style). (12) Ippel, Galjûb, 45, no. 32, pl. 4; Himmelmann, Realismus, 70-71; Wrede, 1988, 107, 111, pl. 45.4

76. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum. Inv. 2329.

(1) 2.2 cm. (2) Dancing, lifting right leg off ground. Left hand on hip. (3) Crotalum in left hand? (4) Long, thin dress; mantle. (5-7) Same as 74 and 75, but head tilts left. (9) Poor condition. Both feet and complete right arm are missing. Details of face and body worn.

(10) Galjûb, Delta. Workshop. (11) Late Hellenistic (Ippel, archaeological context); late third cent. BC (Himmelmann, style). (12) Ippel, Galjûb, 46, no. 34, pl. 4.

A. Bronze. 2. Non-Isis garb

77. Tunis, Musée du Bardo. Inv. F214.

(1) 31.5 cm. (2) Balanced on right foot, while l. trails behind, toe touching ground. Right hand held toward chest, cradling missing object (insertion hole at base of thumb and on forearm); l. raised above shoulder. (3) Crotalum in left hand. (4) Long calf-length garment, wrapped around and secured at left waist; right shoulder, arm, and breast remain exposed. Sandals, held in place with two straps running across the vamp. (6) Head, turned sharply right; large and elegantly modelled; barely

smaller than torso. Hair parted in middle of forehead, save for two symmetric hooklike curls; drawn back over ears and gathered on top in chignon, held in place by ribbon. Ivy Dionysiac wreath includes six clumps of corymbe, arranged around top of head, and leaves which surround face and cascade down to shoulders. (7) Small, flat nose. Full, dimpled cheeks. Large, languidly lidded eyes. Right eyeball missing; l. is ivory, with hollowed-out pupil. Lips parted slightly in enigmatic smile. (9) Right foot missing, replaced with modern approximation. Vertical ring between shoulderblades.

(10) Found in remains of shipwreck off Cape Mahdia, Tunisia, 1910. (11) Late Hellenistic (see p. 194-97). (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. IV, 557.8; A. Merlin, Mon. Piot 1910, 10-12, fig. 2, pl. 3; Fuchs, Schiffsfund, 16-17, pl. 15; Adriani, 1963, 80f., pl. 35.1; Wrede, 1988, 109, pl. 40.1; Pfisterer-Haas, passim, esp. +86-490, fig. 10, 11, col. pl. 18.

II. DANCERS HOLDING OTHER OBJECTS

A. Terracotta. 1. Vase

78. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. D/E4514.

(1) 12.9 cm. (2-3) Head and torso of exuberant dancer face frontally; legs rendered in full profile, r. kicking high. Right hand akimbo, l. is lifted to support amphora on shoulder. (4) Ankle-length dress, fringed mantle, thick Isiac knot between breasts. (6) Hair worn in long curls. Enormous stippled vegetal wreath surmounted by a missing object. (7) Face is round and fat. Broad, flat nose; plump dimpled cheeks; naturalistic eyes and brows; full lips set in slight smile. (8) Plain trapezoidal base, in one piece with figure.

(10) Middle Egypt. (11) Hellenistic. (12) Besques, Terres cuites IV.2, pl. 75b.

A. Terracotta. 2. Tambourine

79. Berlin, Antikensammlung. Inv. 15743.

(1) 16.5 cm. (2-3) Standing and facing the viewer, she supports with her left arm a circular tambourine. Right hand akimbo. (4) Ankle-length dress and fringed cape are fastened together in Isis knot between breasts. (6) Hair parted in middle. Shoulder-length curls. Surmounted by thick vegetal wreath, band and twin lotus buds. (7) Round plump face. Flat features. (8) Plain oval base. (9) Leather-brown clay. Thick white slip and traces of flesh tone, dark red (dress), blue-green (wreath) and pale pink. Fully modelled front and back.

(10) Purchased in Luxor. (12) Weber, ÄGT, 156, no. 241, pl. 24.

80. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg. Inv. 1989.468.

(1) 16.4 cm. (2-3) Standing and facing the viewer, she supports tambourine with left hand, right hand akimbo. (4) Long-sleeved loose ankle-length dress. (6) Round fleshy face. Sausage curls. Hair surmounted by bulky stippled wreath. (7) Heavy impassive features. (8) Plain rectangular base.

(12) Götter, Gräber & Grottesken, 29, 60, no. 42.

81. Cairo, Musée du Caire.

(1) 16 cm. (2-3) Standing and facing the viewer, she supports with her left arm a circular tambourine decorated with relief discs. Stubby right arm reaches across chest to beat it. To her left, amphora standing on a tripod; to her right, patera balanced on end above a globular pot. (4) Full loose dress reaches to below her knees. Mantle. (6) Shoulder-length curls; hair surmounted by bulky stippled wreath. (7) Nondescript impassive features. (8) Rectangular base, crudely decorated with zigzag band. (9) Very worn.

(10) Abu'l Nur (Dunand). (12) F. Dunand, Les terres cuites isiaques du Musée du Caire (Leiden, 1979), 195, no. 87, pl. 45.

82. Berlin, Antikensammlung. Inv. 9697.

(1) 19 cm. (2-3) Standing and facing the viewer, she supports tambourine with left hand, strikes it with right. Small lamp between her feet. (4) Ankle-length dress. Fringed mantle. (5) Body is dwarfish and misshapen, but right arm is out of proportion. (6) Round fleshy face. Sausage curls. Hair surmounted by bulky stippled wreath. (7) Nondescript impassive features. (8) Moulded with plain base. (9) Poor condition. Suspension hole through center of wreath, just above forehead. Venthole in back.

(10) Bought in Italy (Weber). (12) Weber, ÄGT, 157, no. 247, pl. 24.

83. Berlin, Antikensammlung. Inv. 9352.

(1) 15.7 cm. (2-3) Entire body turned left, but head faces viewer. Right leg kicking forward. Round tambourine on left shoulder, beaten by raised right arm. On floor to viewer's left, tall amphora. (4) Ankle-length dress and knee-length mantle tied in Isis knot. (6) Round fleshy face. Hair parted in middle. Surmounted by large vegetal wreath. (8) Plain rectangular base. (9) Leather-brown clay. Right leg broken below knee.

(10) Probably from the Fayoum (Weber). (12) Weber, ÄGT, 157, no. 248, pl. 24.

84. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg. Inv. 1989.580.

(1) 11.7 cm. (2-3) Entire body turned left, but head faces viewer. Right leg kicking forward. Round tambourine in left hand, beaten by right hand. (4) Short-sleeved ankle-length dress. (6) Oval fleshy face. Wig-like hair in horizontal curls. Surmounted by large vegetal wreath and band with rosette or solar insignia. (7) Even, smiling features. (8) Plain rectangular base.

(12) Götter, Gräber & Grottesken, 66, no. 54.

85. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg. Inv. 1989.482.

(1) 12.6 cm. (2-3) Relief. Group, dwarf couple. (a) Male, left, dancing, left foot kicking left, arms in teapot position, r. arm akimbo. Crotalum in left. (b) Female, right, dancing, body turned to left, face front, tambourine in left hand, r. beating it. (4) (a) Loincloth, reaching to knee, knotted at left. (b) Ankle-length dress. Fringed mantle. (5) Both partners' body proportions are consistent with clinical dwarfism. Phallus protrudes, reaches ankle. (6) (a) Loose cap, but rim fits snugly around head. (b) Long, curled hair. (7) (a) Round face; wide flat nose; depressed nasal ridge; bulbous forehead;

widely spaced eyes. (b) Features are more regular; flatter, less plastic. Possibly due to restoration of middle and lower portion of face. (9) Back is smooth and unworked. Round venthole in back at level with figures' hips. Condition fair; wear, pits and striations. Clay, yellowish brown.

(10) Provenience unknown. Private collector made twice yearly buying trips to Egypt. (12) Götter, Gräber & Grottesken, 53, no. 30.

III. DANCERS HOLDING NO OBJECTS

A. Terracotta

86. Athens, formerly Polytechnion. Inv. 358 M67.

(1) 17.5 cm. (2) Kicks forward with left leg, and crosses arms over stomach. (4) Long garment with either generous fringed or pleated hem, or a pleated undergarment protruding. The drapery loosely encircles her throat. (5) Headdress or veil conceals her hair. (6) Eyes and nose are small and nondescript; lips large and parted in faint smile.

(12) Winter, AT, 148.8 and 464.7.

87. Location unknown

(1) 9 cm. (2) Standing figure, right leg slightly advanced; right hand covers mouth with part of mantle. (4) Short chiton, leaves legs bare below knee; long mantle draped over head. (5) Unusually misshapen, with bowed and severely abbreviated legs, tiny arms and shoulders and scoliosis.

(10) Allegedly from Tanagra (Winter). (12) Winter, AT, 464.10.

88. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. D439.

(1) 9 cm. (2) Standing figure; right arm, concealed under material, is held against chest; l. hand akimbo. (4) Knee-length wrap, possibly with chiton underneath. (6) Head turns directly right; covered completely by wrap, but face is exposed. (7) Round and plump, nondescript features. Calm contemplative expression, slight smile.

(10) Greece (Besques). (11) Late third cent. BC - early second (?) (Besques). (12) Besques, Terres cuites III, pl. 95b; D. Gourevitch and M. Grmek, Archéologie et médecine: VIIème rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes, octobre, 1986, 362.

89. Alexandria, Musée d'Alexandrie. Inv. 25035.

(1) 9 cm. (2) Seems to advance on right foot. Right hand raised, lifting mantle over it; l. is held concealed in front of her. (4) Loose mantle, covering whole body. (6) Face is veiled from the nose down; framed by very curly hair and a flat cap or bonnet. With ballet-like poise, she tilts her head to the right. (7) Wide, lidded sloe eyes; heavy arched brows; furrowed forehead. (9) Poor condition. Much worn, feet broken off. Dark clay; white slip surviving in large patches; traces of pink.

(10) Bought in Cairo (Adriani). (12) A. Adriani, Annuaire du Musée Gréco-romain d'Alexandrie, Vol. 2, 1935-1939 (Alexandria, 1944), 169, pl. 67.

90. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek. Inv. 6944.

(1) 11.2 cm. (2) Standing on left foot, r. kicking sharply outward; right hand held to side of head; l. akimbo. (4) Knee-length garment and long mantle. (6) Head turned sharply to left. Surmounted by vegetal wreath and possible hood. (7) Plump face and broad forehead, but small features. Lascivious or self-satisfied smile. (8) Plain rectangular base moulded with figure.

(10) Unknown. Bought on Paris market late 19th century. (11) Third cent. BC (museum files, on basis of stylistic comparisons).¹⁴

IV. DAMAGED FIGURES

A. Bronze

91. Alexandria, Musée Gréco-romain. Inv. 24106.

(1) 7 cm. (2) Feet planted apart, torso leaning slightly to right. Arms assume teapot position, l. hand akimbo. (4) Long dress (and mantle?) with Isiac knot. (6) Round, plump head; sausage curls. Lotus bud band; lotus buds missing.

(12) Adriani, 1963, 83, pl. 34.2.

92. Basel, private collection.

(1) 8.4 cm. (2) Dancer balances with left foot on cylindrical object open at both ends, while r. leg trails behind. (4) Long dress (and mantle?) with an Isiac knot. (6) Heart-shaped head, nods with chin on chest. Faces directly front while body is turned left. Thick hair hangs in sausage curls over shoulders; surmounted by unidentifiable headpiece, very worn. (7) Sharp pointed chin; nose, small but bulbous; depressed nasal ridge; eyes, wide and staring right, below knitted brows. Smiling. (9) Both arms missing.

(10) Egypt (Adriani, 83). (11) After mid second cent. BC (Schefold, on basis of workmanship). (12) Schefold, Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst (Basel, 1960), 101; Adriani, 1963, pl. 34.1; Wrede, 1988, 107.

B. Terracotta

93. Location unknown

(1) 7 cm. (2) Dancer? Head tilted to right; right arm raised, l. lowered. (4) Tunic. Left shoulder and arm exposed. (6) Hair divided along centre of crown. Surmounted by large vegetal wreath. (7) Small, even features. Smiling. (9) Only head, upper torso, and stumps of both arms survive.

(10) Hadra (Breccia). (12) Breccia, Monuments II.1, 71, no. 452, pl. 52.7.

¹⁴ The figure is unpublished. I gratefully acknowledge the help of Dr. F.W. Hamdorf, Chief Curator.

V. MUSICIANS

[all Terracotta]

A. Cithara

94. Location unknown

(1) 14 cm. (2-3) Standing, supporting lyre in left hand, plucking with right. (4) Columnar floor-length sleeved dress, and mantle. (6) Round heavy head is about one-third the height of the body. Surmounted by broad pleated headdress. (7) Heavy but sensitive features. (8) Resembling plain column base. (9) Copious traces of bright coloured paint.

(10) Boiotia (Winter). (12) Winter, AT, 436.6.

B. Double Flute

95. Athens, formerly Polytechnion. Inv. 90 M.710.

(1) 8 cm. (2-3) Seated on ground, playing double flute. (4) Shapeless garment covers most of body and clearly outlines breasts. (6) Tall pleated cap. (7) Heavy porcine features. (8) Plain trapezoidal base.

(10) Cyrenaica (Winter). (12) Winter, AT, 464.6

FIGHTING DWARFS

I. NUDE AND BEARDED

[all bronze]

A. Weapon raised (96-108)

B. Helmeted (109-110)

C. Other (111-113)

II. NUDE AND CLEANSHAVEN

A. Bronze 1. Bald (114)

2. Short Hair (115-116)

3. Thick Hair (117)

4. Helmeted (118-125)

B. Terracotta 1. Helmeted (126)

III. COSTUMED

A. Bronze (127-132)

B. Terracotta 1. Macedonians (133-141)

2. Other skirted figures (142-144)

I. NUDE BEARDED COMBATANTS.

[All Bronze]

A. Weapon raised

The following description applies generally to 96-108. Deviations will be noted on an individual basis:

(2) Standing with legs planted apart. (3) Weapon, usually absent, held in clenched right hand; l. is raised threateningly and may be holding missing shield. (5) The large head and muscular torso and buttocks contrast with tiny limbs and body. Clinical accuracy. Hyperphallic. (6) Bald or very short hair suggested by concentric stippings. Full beard, generally rendered in four symmetrically arranged curling locks. (7) Facial features tend to be large: full lips; broad, flat nose; large eyes; heavy furrowed brow. The figure stares straight ahead or slightly down and left.

96. Lyon, Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine. Inv. Br. 75.

(1) 5.8 cm. (8) Flat circular disc on what resembles base of vase. Colour and patina match figure.

(10) Région d'Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône) (museum records). (11) First-second cent. AC (Lyon III; Oggiano-Bitar) (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. IV, 358.2; Lyon I, 54, no. 33; S. Boucher, Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pré-romaine et romaine (Rome, 1976), 189, no. 337; Lyon III, 86, no.75; H. Oggiano-Bitar, Bronzes figurés antiques des Bouches-du-Rhône, Gallia Suppl. 43, (Paris, 1984), 124, no. 274.

97. Budapest?

(12) S. Boucher, Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaul pré-romaine et romaine (Rome, 1976), 189, no. 338.¹⁵

¹⁵ It is unclear if this is the same piece referred to on p. 188, n. 79: "Musée des Beaux-Arts à Budapest, no. S1.28.55, inédit, sans provenance."

98. Location unknown

(1) 5.8 cm. (3) In right hand, boomerang-shaped throwing stick. Originally straight?
 (11) Third-second cent. BC (Hoffmann) (on the basis of subject matter). (12) H. Hoffmann
 in O. Muscarella (ed.), Ancient Art in the Norbert Schimmel Collection (Mainz, 1974), no. 39.

99. London, British Museum. Inv. 1772.3-2.96.

(1) 5.8 cm. (3) In right fist, portion of a slightly curved stick is visible from behind and a
 stub of same remains in front. (8) No base, but modern copper tang protrudes vertically from sole of
 left foot.

(12) B.M. records: Hamilton Ms. Cat., p. 329; Museum secretum register, no. 339.

100. London, British Museum. Inv. 1824.4-31.1.

(1) 5.4 cm. (9) Poorly preserved. Details of musculature and facial features largely
 obliterated. Missing: left arm, left foot, part of right foot.

(10) Unknown. Bequeathed by R. Payne Knight.

101. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Inv. 509.

(1) 5.4 cm. (6) Pitted scalp indicate rudimentary hair. (7) Eyes encrusted with silver.
 (11) Roman (Babelon and Blanchet, on basis of workmanship). (12) Bib. Nat., no. 509.

102. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. Inv. 54.1115.

(1) 5.7 cm. (6) Pitted scalp and "dashes" incised on the back of the head contradict Hill's
 "bald". (9) Dull green and black surface. Left foot missing.

(11) Hellenistic (Hill, on basis of subject). (12) Hill, Walters Bronzes, no. 156.

103. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Inv. 96.669.

(1) 5 cm. (7) Eyes inserted, probably with silver. (9) Badly preserved: missing are the entire
 left arm and the legs below the knees.

(10) Bought in Florence. Gift of E.P. Warren. (12) Boston Bronzes, 122, no. 132.

104. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. H.247/ H.I.N.454.

(1) 6 cm.

(10) Orvieto. (12) F. Poulsen, Das Helbig Museum der Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Beschreibung der etruskischer Sammlung (Copenhagen, 1927), 121, H.247; id., Bildertafeln des etruskischen Museums (Helbig Museum) der Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek (Copenhagen, 1928), 109, H.247.

105. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel. Inv. Br. 71.

(1) 6 cm. (5) Phallus has serpentine tip, which nestles behind right knee. (6) Head hair clearly indicated by regularly placed indentations. (7) Trace of silver inlay in inner corner of right eye. (9) Lower legs restored, disproportionately long.

(11) Hellenistic (Bieber). (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat V, 478.4; M. Bieber, Die antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen des Konigl. Museum Fridericianum in Cassel (Marburg, 1915), 74 no. 239, pl. 45; U. Höckmann, Antike Bronzen. Eine Auswahl (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel) (Kassel, 1973), 23 no. 28, pl. 5.

106. Location unknown

(5) Hair and beard differ from others above; he displays a full hairline and a beard which is not symmetrically parted. (9) Poor condition. Both feet appear damaged; both hands and genitals are missing.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. IV, 358.3.

107. Location unknown

(2) Advancing on right foot, he is poised to hurl with left hand while r. is extended horizontally. (5) Limbs, particularly the legs, are longer than others among 96-106. Conversely the genitals are smaller.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. II, 50.5.

108. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Inv. 27736.

(1) 5.9 cm (without pedestal). (2) Right arm is held at waist level, fist formed to grasp cylindrical object; l. is held above the head. (6) Pronounced ridge over the crown of the head, front to back, not perforated.

(12) L. Matino, Pompeii - The Erotic Secrets (Milan, 1988), no. 54.

B. Helmeted**109. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Inv. Res.08.32e.**

(1) 6 cm. (2) Standing figure attacking own phallus with raised right hand. (3) Right hand holds unidentifiable weapon: perhaps a dagger. L. holds phallus. (5) Hugely erect phallus curves behind the right thigh and rises vertically on the right. (6) Crested helmet.¹⁶ (7) Bearded (barely discernible vertical striations), with a round lumpy nose, high sculpted cheekbones, long narrow eyes, and deep furrowed brow and forehead. (9) Extremely corroded, but substantially intact.

(10) Bought in Italy, 1907. (12) Boston Bronzes, 130, no. 146.

¹⁶ He is described in Boston Bronzes as wearing "a rolled fillet with a floral device", which it somewhat resembles in its corroded condition. I have examined the piece, however, and the headwear looks exactly like a helmet, viewed from both the sides and the top.

110. Location unknown

(2) Right foot and left arm raised. (5) Squat round figure, very abbreviated limbs. Genitals small or worn. (6) Simple close-fitting helmet with crest penetrated by suspension hole. (9) Damaged. Both arms and left foot missing.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 309.7.

C. Other**111. London, British Museum. Inv. 1814.7-4.406. (Museum Secretum M336).**

(1) 6.8 cm. (2) Stands on splayed legs. Right foot is missing; l. is fitted with modern copper tang, for attachment to a base. The right arm bent sharply, raised to chest level, l. hand touches side of head. (3) Missing object in left hand. (5) Long phallus reaches ankles. (6) Head turned to right. Thin beard. Hair neatly rendered in concentric stippled circles; incised side locks. Thin wreath or band, too worn for further identification. (9) Dark green patina. Worn.

112. Narbonne, Musée de Narbonne. Inv. 8738.

(1) 7.2 cm. (2) Strides forward on left foot, torso erect. Right arm bent and raised above shoulder, l. arm behind head. R. hand had gripped missing object. (5) Genitals are damaged but clearly oversized. (6) Head is thick and square, with full hair and beard, surmounted by a tiny cap with narrow brim and low crown.

(10) Saint-Iberi (Hérault) (Reinach). (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. II, 564.6; id., Description raisonnée du Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine (Paris, 1931), 210-211, fig. 197.

113. Private collection: Sammlung Dr. H.U. Bauer

(1) 4.1 cm (figure alone) 7.7 cm (figure and handle). (2-3) Half-squatting, feet apart; right arm raised, l. holding shield. (5) Muscular torso, very short limbs, phallus trails on ground. (6) Head tilted to left, surmounted by close-fitting cap, knotted above the forehead. (7) Full beard and moustache, large features: very broad nose, wide round eyes, concentrating on unseen opponent. (8) Standing on a lotus plant; together they form a decorative knife-handle.

(10) Probably from Alexandria (Horn). (12) H-G Horn, in P. Holtermüller and S. Wischhusen (eds.), Antiken aus rheinischem Privatbesitz (Cologne, 1973), 141, no. 215, pl. 104.

II. NUDE AND CLEAN-SHAVEN**A. Bronze. 1. Bald****114. London, British Museum. Inv. 1824.4-31.5.**

(1) 4.5 cm. (2) Standing legs wide apart. Upper torso bears right and lowered head fixates on phallus. Right arm extends outward, the fingers worn or missing. Left arm missing below elbow, raised above phallus. (5) Enormous erect phallus curves sharply left and rises almost vertically. (6) Hair rendered by striations over the ears. Pitting over the skull may indicate rudimentary hair. (7) Fine

bone structure. Firm but narrow jaw; high, wide cheekbones; small broad nose; deep hollow eyes with drilled pupils; horizontal creases at bridge of nose and on forehead. (9) Surface of head and body badly worn, covered with dark green patina. Attached to back of skull, and equal to it in size, is a thick suspension ring.¹⁷

A. Bronze. 2. Short-cropped hair

115. Kaiserlautern, Gewerbemuseum. Inv. K1162.

(1) 6 cm. (2) This particularly vigorous figure seems to hop on his tiny right foot, with l. lifted and kicking. Torso twists to left. The left arm pulled back, damaged hand at waist level. Right arm is missing but clearly was lifted high. (5) Slim muscular torso. Pronounced lordosis and steatopygia. Highly abbreviated limbs. Genitals are oversize; huge scrotum and swollen phallus almost reach the ground. (6) Head is tilted left but looks sharply to right. Badly worn but seems bald. Menzel's "wollige Haarkalotte" is his interpretation of the many shallow pits which irregularly pepper the skull. (7) Face displays clinical dwarfism through bulging forehead, depressed nasal bridge, high cheekbones, and prognathous jaw. Eyes are small and deeply set. (9) No traces under the feet of points of attachment, so his exact posture remains ambiguous.

(12) H. Menzel, Die römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland, I, Speyer (Mainz, 1960), 19 no. 26, pl. 31.

116. Location unknown

(1) 7.7 cm. (2) Lamp handle formed by dwarf kneeling on lotus flower. Raises right hand above shoulder. (3) Merest trace of a broken weapon in right hand. Left arm, broken at elbow, supports round shield held horizontally. (5) Ithyphallic; it extends in front of him along the surface of the lotus. (6) Head is round, plump and very worn. Surmounted by slim lotus bud band.

(10) Lower Egypt (Fouquet). (12) Bronzes Fouquet, 55 no. 90, pl. 23; Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 309.5.¹⁸

A. Bronze 3. Thick hair

117. Location unknown

(2) Kneeling on his right knee, doing battle with an animal opponent's head. Left arm lowered toward the animal head, r. raised as if brandishing weapon. Both forearms missing. (5) Phallus is long and thin, projects in front of figure with tip resting on lotus. (6) Hair combed forward. (7) Regular naturalistic features. (8) Kneeling on lotus flower; bottom of stalk is missing.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. IV, 358.9; Bronzes Fouquet, 54.

¹⁷ When a cord is passed through it, the torso straightens and the figure balances on the left foot while raising the right foot high in the air.

¹⁸ Reinach's sketch, which seems to copy Perdrizet's plate, completely lacks the left arm and shield.

A. Bronze. 4. Helmeted

118. Location unknown

(1) 4.8 cm. (2) Standing figure, raised right arm. (3) Round shield in left hand. (5) Phallus reaches almost to the ground. Navel rendered as large incised circle. Dwarfism strongly marked by steatopygia, lordosis, extreme truncation of the thighs, and facial features. (6) Head surmounted by small helmet. (7) Depressed nasal bridge and widely spaced eyes. (9) Poor condition; worn and damaged. Both feet and the right hand are missing. Helmet is pierced by a small hole.

(10) Lower Egypt (Fouquet). (12) Bronzes Fouquet, 55 no. 89, pl. 23; Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 310.5.

119. Location unknown

(2) Standing, feet apart. Both arms held forward, head turned left. (5) Genitals very small or worn. (6) Square heavy head, surmounted by close-fitting helmet; chinstrap and short visor. (7) Flat face. Sharp chin, tiny nose and mouth, prominent brow. (9) Both hands missing.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 308.1.

120. Lyon, Musée des Beaux Arts. Inv. H1184.

(1) 4.8 cm. (2) Advancing on deeply bent left leg, right arm lowered, l. held forward. (3) In right hand, dagger handle. In l., octagonal shield held securely by its handle. (5) Long slim muscular torso, but short legs. Genitals evidently sizable but cut or broken away, leaving smooth concave surface. (6) Slim proportionate head turned left and looking past shield. Surmounted by smooth close-fitting helmet. Face and forehead fully exposed. (7) Small, even features.

(11) First or second cent. BC (Lyon I). (12) Lyon I, no. 32.

121. London, British Museum. Inv. 1814.7-4.408.

(Second Townley Collection. Museum Secretum M332).

(1-9): Same as 120, except (3) Objects missing. (5) Genitals intact. Large, hang to knees. (8) Thin bronze mat under feet.

122. London, British Museum. Inv. 1772.3-2.104.

(Hamilton Collection. Museum Secretum M331)

(1-9): Same as 119, except (8) Modern green marble base, h. 5.2 cm. (9) Overall wear.

123. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Inv. 508.

(1) 7.5 cm. (2) Standing, feet wide apart, knees bent, torso pulled back and to right, arms held level with waist. (3) In right hand, dagger handle, similar to 120. In left, intact shield handle; shield missing. (5) Torso rather slim and muscular in contrast with stumpy chunky legs. Genitals normal to large, hang to knees. (6) Square head surmounted by tall solid helmet. Cheekpieces, visor above forehead, short hornlike protrusions, one on each side. (7) Large grimacing features: full lips;

flat wide nose; wide narrow eyes; creased nasal bridge and heavy brow furrows. (9) Round shallow hole in upper of right foot.

(11) Roman (Bib. Nat., on basis of workmanship) (12) Bib. Nat., 217 no. 508.

124. Avignon, Musée Calvet Avignon. Inv. J162.

(1) 8 cm. (2) Standing upright, weight on right leg, l. at ease. Left arm extended forward; fist is pierced. Right arm missing from shoulder. (5) Muscular torso, very squat legs, steatopygeous. Genitals large. (6) Squarish head surmounted by tall crested helmet. Short visor. Cheekpieces join under the chin. (7) Grim aspect. Flat nose, furrowed brow, piercing eyes. (8) Standing on round flat base which itself may be part of a handle.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. II, 564.1; H. Rolland, Bronzes antiques de Haute Provence, I, Basses-alpes, Vaucluse, Suppl. Gallia 18 (Paris, 1965), 104 no.193.

125. Compiègne. Musée Viveneil et Musée de la Figurine Historique¹⁹

Very similar to 124, including missing right arm, but (6) Helmet is slightly taller. (8) Small circular base, shaped like column base.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 514.4.

B. Terracotta. 1. Helmeted

126. Location unknown

(1) 12 cm. (2) Standing, feet apart. (5) Heavy legs, short torso. Large genitals hang to knees. (6) Close-fitting helmet with thick chinstrap and narrow brim. (9) Heavy wear. Both arms missing. (10) Capua (Winter). (12) Winter, AT, 446.8.

III. COSTUMED

A. Bronze

127. Location unknown

(2) Standing on very short, splayed legs. (3) Both arms missing, but shield appears to be propped on the left thigh, and probably held by handle in missing left hand. (4) Thin cloth or belt around waist, knotted in centre. (5) Very muscular, tiny torso. Phallus, normal sized, exposed. (6) Large head. Full hair, and beard, latter parted in middle. (7) Naturalistic features, large and impassive.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 27.5.

¹⁹ "Localisation actuelle inconnue," according to Eric Blanchegorge, Conservateur du Patrimoine.

128. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Inv. 1971.869.

(1) 4.8 cm. (2) Standing, weight on left leg, torso leaning back and to right. Right arm raised in throwing position, l. lowered somewhat. (4) Loose loincloth, folds drooping to knees. (5) Muscular torso, lordosis, very short and splayed legs. Tip of phallus protrudes below loincloth. (6) Oversized head, slender face and neck. Clean shaven. Skull is round and worn, but some striations at temples and general pitting may suggest hair. Full lips, broad nose, depressed nasal bridge, wide almond eyes. Creased forehead lends air of concentration, as he focuses on unseen opponent. (9) Damaged. Missing lower right leg and both arms. Two suspension holes drilled into top of head.

(11) Alexandrian, late Hellenistic (Ashmolean records). (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. IV, 358.8; P.R.S. Moorey and H.W. Catling, Exhibition of Ancient Persian Bronzes and Other Selected Items of Ancient Art from the Collection Bomford (Oxford, 1966), no. 338.

129. London, British Museum. Inv. 1824.4-31.2.

(1) 6.4 cm. (2) Standing, legs parted. Torso turned to left. Head looks down and left. Right arm raised with fist against forehead. Left level with waist; l. hand allows for passage of cylindrical object. (4) Thin rolled cloth or sash drooped loosely about hips. Looped or knotted at left and right. (5) Legs very short and splayed, feet stumpy and round. Slim torso and arms. Genitals, normal sized, fully exposed. Navel is an incised circle. (6) Clean shaven face, narrow and heart-shaped. Surmounted by stiff peaked cap, but thick locks of hair appear over ears, sides, back, and crown. (7) Full lips, broad flat nose, long almond eyes, depressed nasal ridge, from which eyebrows rise diagonally, forehead has soft horizontal creases.

130. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Inv. 507.

(1) 5.5 cm. (2-3) Advancing on left foot, spear in raised right hand, shield in l. (4) Thick loincloth. (5) Short torso. Thighs very short, calves longer and thinner. Genitals concealed. (6) Head slightly lowered and thrust forward. Wisps of hair peeking from under conical cap. (7) Small, even features. (9) Javelin has thickened fanlike end. Bent about 30 degrees where held by fist, but Babelon-Blanchet's drawing shows the javelin straight.

(11) Roman (Bib. Nat., on basis of workmanship). (12) Bib. Nat., 217 no. 507.

131. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. De Ridder 371.

(1) 14 cm. (2-3) Standing upright, feet together, hands held in front. Right fist pierced to hold missing object. In left hand, sword, most of blade broken. (4) Military costume: boots; cuirass with valances, belted; paludamentum, fastened at right shoulder. (5) Well proportioned except for very short thighs and oversized head, which confer stunted appearance. (6) Full hair and beard, framing face in thick separate locks. Laurel wreath. (7) Flat coarse features. Short prominent nose, large staring eyes. (8) Worn. Flat rectangular base, rounded at corners, original. Greyish green patina.

(10) Upper Egypt (Reinach). (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. II, 578.6; De Ridder, Bronzes, 59 no. 371.

132. London, British Museum. Inv. 1922.7-12.4.

(1) 6 cm. (2-3) Advancing on right foot, right hand raised, l. holding round shield. (4) Military costume: boots, skirted cuirass. (5) Clinical dwarfism: steatopygia, stunted bowed legs. Genitals hang below knees. (6) Finely modelled head surmounted by crested helmet. (7) Fairly naturalistic. Long jawline, short wide nose, heavy furrowed brow. (9) Damaged. Wear and encrustation obliterate most detail.

B. Terracotta. 1. Macedonians

These seven figures are designated as Macedonians on the basis of their military costume: short skirted garment, cape or paludamentum, and causia (broad-brimmed Macedonian cap).

133. Berlin, Charlottenburg, Ägyptisches Museum. Inv. TC6735.

(1) 9.5 cm. (2) Standing, feet slightly apart. Left hand placed on belly. (3) Fold of material in right hand. (5) Round fat physique. Flabby protruding belly. Genitals concealed. (6) Thick heavy head. Cleanshaven. Hair in back falls in stylized rows to shoulders. (7) Heavy fat face; wide brow but small nose and mouth. (8) Plain round base. (9) Unworked in back except for hair. Upper rear skull missing; upper front cracked from end to end, across eyes. Dark salmon clay. Porous and pocked surface. Hollow. Round venthole in back.

(12) Weber, ÄGT, 202 no. 339, pl. 32.

134. Berlin, Charlottenburg, Ägyptisches Museum. Inv. TC9130.

Similar to 133 but (1) 8.8 cm. (6) Cap is lower down on head. Hair is obliterated. (9) Not broken but very badly worn. Surface is dirty and smudgy. Salmon brown clay, traces of white slip, especially around neck, and yellowish paint.

(10) Bought in Cairo (Weber). (12) Weber, ÄGT, 202 no. 340, pl. 32.

135. Berlin, Museumsinsel, Bodemuseum. Inv. TC9131.

(1) 6.2 cm. (2) Standing, feet apart. Right hand at side, l. on hip keeping cape out of way. (5) Vestigial legs. Skirt almost reaches ground. (6) Bearded. (7) Grinning. Mouth, closed. Nose, flat and wide. Eyes, bulbous, large and wide. (8) Rough shapeless base. (9) Heavily worn and pitted, but intact. Unworked in back. Solid cast.

(10) Bought in Cairo. Allegedly from the Fayoum (Weber). (12) Weber, ÄGT, 202 no. 341, pl. 32.

136. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik. Inv. 2400.1290.

Similar to 134 but (1) 8 cm. (2) Position of arms is switched. (9) Badly worn. Light reddish brown clay, with white overcoating. Round venthole in back.

(11) Second-first cent. BC (Bayer). (12) Kaufmann, ÄGT, 129, fig. 103.20; Bayer, Terrakotten, 68 no. 24, pl. 4.1.

137. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik. Inv. 2400.1291.

Similar to 134 but (1) 10.9 cm. (3) Right hand on stomach; l. seems to be holding small dagger or part of a sword. (5) Slightly taller and thinner, but proportions are still stumpy. (9) Badly worn. Light reddish brown clay, with white overcoating. Round venthole in back.

(12) Kaufmann, ÄGT, 129, fig. 103.19; *id.*, GK, 137, pl. 46.401; Bayer, Terrakotten, 68 no. 25, pl. 4.2.

138. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik. Inv. 2400.1292.

Similar to 134 but (1) 9.2 cm. (3) Position of arms is switched. (9) Badly worn. Light reddish brown clay, with white overcoating. Round venthole in back. Part of figure, underneath left hem of skirt, is missing.

(12) Bayer, Terrakotten, 68 no. 26, pl. 4.3.

139. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Inv. AE 499.

Similar to 134 but (1) 9 cm.

(12) M. Mogensen, La collection égyptienne de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg (Copenhagen, 1930), 47, pl. 47.

140. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik. Inv. 2400.1757.

(2) Rider on horse, which rears on hind legs. (3) On ground, at horse's front feet, stands round upright shield. (4-7) Clothing and features conform to all the preceding, except 135, who is bearded and smiling. (9) More like plaque than statue. Flat, unworked in back, solid cast. Traces of white slip, especially on the back.

141. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Inv. 491.

(1) 12 cm. (2) Rider on horse, which rears on hind legs. (3) On ground, at horse's front feet, kneels a captive. (4-7) Clothing and features conform to all preceding. Mantle trails away from body, as if in breeze. (9) Poor condition. Horse's head missing.

(12) M. Mogensen, La collection égyptienne de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg (Copenhagen, 1930) 48, pl. 47.

B. Terracotta. 2. Other skirted figures

142. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik. Inv. 2400.1294.

(1) 10.9 cm. (2-3) Standing, feet together. Right hand upraised, holding weapon (axe?); l. placed on stomach. (4) Close-fitting tunic, to knees, pleated. Cape fastened at right shoulder. (6) Heavy fleshy face. Clean-shaven. Thick curly hair. (7) Glaring expression. Coarse features. High cheekbones, heavy brow, furrowed forehead. (9) Badly worn. cursorily worked at back. Reddish brown clay, no traces of slip. Deep vertical cleft through head, repaired.

(11) Late third or fourth cent. AC (Bayer, presumably by style). (12) Kaufmann, ÄGT, fig.

103.10; id., GK, 130, pl. 46.392; Bayer, Terrakotten, 221 no.507, pl. 91.2.

143. Location unknown

(1) 6 cm. (2) Standing, feet apart, arms at sides. (4) Military garb: skirted cuirass, broad belt, paludamentum. (5) Very squat proportions. Clinically false. (6) Round heavy face, bald. (7) Coarse features. Bloated cheeks; small full mouth; short flat nose; deepset eyes; sharply furrowed brow and forehead. (9) Very worn. Left foot missing.

(10) Kom-el-Sciugafa (Breccia)²⁰. (12) Breccia, Monuments II.1, 71, pl. 28.3.

144. Location unknown

(1) 5.8 cm. (2) Presumably standing; legs are missing. (3) Sword drawn in right hand; oval shield in l. (4) Skirted garment, long-sleeved. (6) Head extremely lowered and tilted right, or figure is also hunchbacked. Bald. (7) Grotesque features.

(10) Supposedly from Cyprus (Winter). (12) Winter, AT, 446.4.

ATHLETES

I. NUDE AND BEARDED (145-153)

[all bronze]

II. NUDE AND CLEAN-SHAVEN

A. Bronze 1. Bald (154)

2. Short hair (155)

B. Terracotta (156-162)

III. COSTUMED

[all terracotta]

A. Trunks (163-164)

IV. POSSIBLE ATHLETES (ALL NUDE AND CLEAN-SHAVEN)

A. Bronze. 1. Bald (165)

2. Short hair (166)

²⁰ "Terrecotte provenienti dai 'Montes Testacei' Alessandrini."

3. Full hair (167-172)

B. Terracotta. All damaged (173-175)

I. NUDE AND BEARDED

The first seven bearded figures form a closely connected group. Each represents a nude boxer, striking a stiff, rather theatrical pose.

(2) Right foot advanced, torso turned slightly right. Both arms held stiffly in air; left is bent and extended forward at shoulder level, r.is bent and pulled back at chest level. (5) Limbs and torso are heavy and stocky, but the body is neither steatopygous nor ithyphallic. Nipples, when not too worn, are distinctly incised circles with central points. (6) Head is thick and oversized. Hair is usually present, rendered as numerous short vertical strokes. 145-149 are balsamaires; the crown is surmounted by a rim with two small handles or suspension rings, one on either side. (7) Stylized features: heavy incised beard, small mouth, broad flat nose, large eyes, and creases over the nasal bridge or forehead.

145. Location unknown

(1) 12.9 cm. (5) A rather undersized phallus looks circumcised. (6) The beard is engraved in large, roughly symmetric loops. (7) Facial features are large and exaggerated. Eyes unnaturally wide, well articulated. Brows, highly arched, curve sharply over nasal bridge to show concentration or fierceness.

(10) Lower Egypt (Fouquet). (12) Bronzes Fouquet, 62 no. 99, pl. 24; Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 308.4.

146. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. Br.2934.

(1) 12.4 cm. (6) The beard is treated in short wavy strokes, not separated in the middle. Strong hairline resembles deeply etched open trapezoid.

(11) Roman? (M.D. in Vanhove). (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. II, 565.1; De Ridder, Bronzes, 128-29, pl. 103; M.D. in Vanhove, 362 no. 231.

147. London, British Museum. Inv. 1824.4-31.9.

(Payne Knight Collection. Br.1665).

(1) 12.4 cm. (6) Beard is a mass of thick curls. The head is worn smooth, but has sharply modeled hairline. Knot-like lock of hair grows at back. (9) Corroded and damaged. Both legs have been restored below the knees. The handle holes have been corroded shut.

148. Location unknown

(1) 14.5 cm.

(11) Alexandrian period (Froehner, style). (12) Froehner, Coll. Gréau, 81-83; Reinach, Rep. Stat. II, 564.7.

149. Location unknown

(10) Heliopolis (Reinach, Fouquet). (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. II, 564.8; Bronzes Fouquet, 62.

150. Location unknown

(10) Syria (Reinach). (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. IV, 357.1.

151. Location unknown

(12) Reinach Rep. Stat. V, 308.3.

152. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. Inv. K.V.38.

(1) 14.4 cm (not including chain). (2) Balsamaire in form of man advancing in a pugilistic stance.²¹ Advances on right foot. Raises right hand above shoulder, holds l. at waist level. (5) Limbs are very short. Phallus is straight, long and natural in appearance. Musculature very pronounced and splendidly modelled. (6) Head forms lid of balsamaire; is attached by a hinge to nape of neck. Thick beard, full head of hair. (7) Air of concentration underscored by even, sensitive features, silvered eyes and wonderfully knitted brow. (9) Two large suspension rings on his shoulders serve as attachments for a well-crafted chain of some sixteen links.

(10) Tongeren (Limburg), ca. 1817, in a grave containing a tripod and fragments of pottery and glass, not far from the Sint-Truiden gate. Acquired by the Rijksmuseum 1823. (12) J.R. Doppelfeld and H. Held, Der Rhein und die Römer (Cologne, 1970), no. 126; G. Faider-Feytmans, Les bronzes romains de Belgique (Mainz, 1979), 128 no. 224, pl. 91-93.

153. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. De Ridder 706.

(1) 5.5 cm. (2) Advances on right foot, raising both fists threateningly. (3) Caestūs wrapped around wrists. (5) Genitals are average in size, but may be partly missing. (6) Full hair and beard. Ovular repair patch or lock of hair sits atop the crown. (7) Features small and sensitively treated. (9) Heavily worn.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. II, 565.3; Bronzes Fouquet, 54; De Ridder, Bronzes, 98 no. 706, pl. 48.

II. NUDE AND CLEAN-SHAVEN

²¹ Faider-Feytmans describes him as dancing, but his pose is nearer that of the athletes than the dancers.

A. Bronze. 1. Bald

154. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Inv. Res.08.32k.

(1) 11.1 cm. (2) Advancing on right foot, arms raised in attitude of boxer: right hand pulled back and l. raised forward at face level. (3) Both fists bound in caestūs. (5) Phallus is enormous and allows figure to balance on flat surface, freestanding. (7) The features are aggressive and intense: strong bone structure, square jaw, small broad nose, large almond eyes with thin arched brows, pronounced furrows over the bridge. (9) Covered in even green patina. Left side and top of head are damaged. Hole in top of crown, filled with lead, likely indicates former suspension or support site.

(12) Boston Bronzes, 129-130, no. 145.

A. Bronze. 2. Short hair

155. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel. Inv. Br731.

(1) 6.2 cm. (2) Balanced on right leg, l. raised slightly and turned outward. Torso dips to left. Head lowered to left, looking down. Right arm mostly missing but raised above shoulder; left hand held at waist level, fist corroded shut. (5) Genitals partly missing but small nevertheless. (6) Short hair rendered in regular rows of striations. Wavy knot just behind crown. (7) Deep eyes, inlaid in silver. Heavy brow ridge, short broad nose, regular slightly parted lips, pointy chin.

(10) Swiss Art Market, 1985.

B. Terracotta.

156. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum. Inv. B2690.

(1) 9.9 cm. (2) A wrestler stands with arms folded across his chest. (5) Small feet and slim ankles support short muscular legs and disproportionately heavy torso. Neck, shoulders and arms are thick and powerful. (6) Hair short and thick. (7) Caricaturish features: large, jug cauliflower ears; inward sloping chin; long down-curved mouth; deep lines between the nose and the corners of the lips, and along the forehead; high protruding cheekbones; strained downcast eyebrows and deeply set eyes. (8) Thin square slab. Ostensibly original. (9) Legs had been broken at right knee and ankles and been rejoined. Orange-brown clay, lightly fired. Traces overall of a white slip. Yellowish ochre paint over the body, red on the hair and eyes. Hand modelled.

(10) Boiotian (Schürmann, Vanhove). (11) ca. 300-275 BC (Schürmann, Vanhove). (12) Winter, AT, 433.5; V. Olivová, Sports and Games in the Ancient World (London, 1984), 152; W. Schürmann, Katalog der antiken Terrakotten im badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (Göteborg, 1989), 174, no. 630; M.D. in Vanhove, 349, no. 216.

157. Athens, formerly Central museum. Inv. Misthos Collection 546.

(1) 10.5 cm. (2) Standing, feet apart. (3) Right hand extended forward, holding trace of unidentified object; l. held up to shoulder, gripping object now lost. (6) Head is square and massive, bald with a mere trace of hair at the temples (7) Large, even, impassive features.

(10) Probably from Myrinæ (Winter). (12) Winter, AT, 446.3

158. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung, Inv. ZV803.

(1) 10 cm. (2) Standing, feet together, fists at sides. (3) Caestūs. (5) Body is fleshy and obese, with protruding globular belly; large flabby breasts; round drooping shoulders; phallus is broken off. (6) Massive coarse head resting heavily on chest. An ivy wreath, worn smooth, has been modeled into the bald head.²² (7) Features are crude and porcine. The cauliflower ears have been added separately. (8) Plain low base. (9) Heavy wear and pitting. Hands badly worn; right foot and right side of base are worn or broken away. Red-brown clay, with traces of pink, yellow, brown and red on a white ground. Reverse is cursorily modeled; includes a trapezoidal vent hole.

(10) Bought in Munich 1890. Asia Minor (Herrmann, on the basis of the clay and technique). (11) Hellenistic (Raumschüssel). (12) P. Herrmann, AA 1891, 167, no. 15; M. Raumschüssel, Antike Terrakotten. Eine Auswahl aus den Beständen der Skulpturensammlung, 48 no. 25; Protzmann in Vanhove, 364 no. 233.

159. Location unknown

(1) 8.5 cm. (2) Standing, left foot slightly advanced, fists at sides. (3) Caestūs cover length of the arms. (5) Heavy truncated legs, distended belly, small torso. Genitals hang to knees. (6) Bald head turned slightly to right. (7) Heavy, caricaturish features, including enormous brow ridges, nose and lips.

(10) Asia Minor, allegedly from Smyrna (Winter). (12) Winter, AT, 446.5.

160. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. D3624.

(1) 12.5 cm. (2) Standing, feet together, fists at sides. (3) Caestūs. (5) Thick flabby body; weak musculature.²³ (6) Round bald head. No neck. (7) Features are naturalistic but fleshy and porcine. (9) Traces of salmon slip and paint. White micaceous particles in fabric. Double mould, hole (original?) at back.

(10) Oria (Besques, "fouilles Lenormant, acq. Feuardent, 1881") (11) Second-first cent. BC (Besques). (12) Besques, Terres cuites IV.1, 61, pl. 52a; M.D in Vanhove, 362 no. 232.

161. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. D3625.

Seems to come from same mould as 160. (1) 13.2 cm. (8) Very short base, follows outline of feet. (9) Clay is dark pink, somewhat soapy in texture, but with some micaceous particles interspersed. Traces of red on the straps of the caestūs. Double mould, no vent hole. Hollow.

(10) Oria ([?] Besques, "ancien fonds, mais probablement coll. Campana") (11) Second-first cent. BC (Besques). (12) Besques, Terres cuites IV.1, 61, pl. 52c.

²² Mentioned only by Raumschüssel.

²³ 160* and 161* are identified as possible children by Besques, but their small genitalia and puffy flaccid musculature can be found on adults, including other terracottas in the catalogue.

162. London, British Museum. Inv. 1814.7-4.855 (Towneley Collection, D365).

(1) 15.2 cm. (2) Boxer's stance. Feet apart, fists up. (3) Caestūs. (5) Stocky; poor muscle definition, possibly due to wear. Genitals hang to below knees. Very truncated thighs. (6) Bald. (7) Naturalistic features, but large and expressionless. (9) Worn, smooth surface. Unworked terracotta instead of space between legs. Clay is coarse and light brown, with faint pinkish tinges throughout. Back unworked, round venthole between shoulderblades. Hollow.

III. COSTUMED. A. Trunks

163. Location unknown

(2) Standing, feet apart, torso and head erect, fists raised up front in boxer's attitude. (3) Caestūs (?) (very worn). (4) Boxer's trunks, heavy waistband. (5) Muscular physique, squat, short legs, longish arms, genitals concealed. (7) Large, coarse features. Large bulbous nose, heavy brow ridges. (8) Plain, trapezoidal base. (9) Heavily worn, especially face and hands.

(10) North Italy: Gravellona-Toce, Val d'Ossola (Novara). Grave 1954. With six coins, gold ring, glass jars, lamps (v. Gonzenbach). (11) Flavian (v. Gonzenbach, on basis of coins). (12) V. v. Gonzenbach, Die römischen Terrakotten in der Schweiz (Bern, 1986), 54, pl. 27.3.

164. Athens, formerly Central Museum. Misthos Collection 15.

(1) 13.5 cm. (2) Standing, feet apart, arms extended sideways, head turned sharply left gazing upward. (4) Simple trunks. (5) Short stocky legs and torso, longish arms, genitals concealed. (6) Band or low cap on head. (7) Large caricaturish features, pained expression, lips parted, furrowed brow. (9) Right forearm, left hand missing.

(10) Asia Minor (Winter). (12) Winter, AT, 447.7.

IV. POSSIBLE ATHLETES. ALL NUDE AND CLEAN-SHAVEN

A. Bronze. 1. Bald

165. Location unknown

(2) Standing figure. Right hand and left arm missing; right arm is poised as if carrying or about to throw an object. (5) Babyish figure, but muscular torso. Stumpy truncated legs. Smallish genitals. (6) Square massive head, turned left. (9) Attached to the head is a vertical suspension ring.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 309.4.

A. Bronze. 2. Short hair

166. London, British Museum. Inv. 1865.11-18 (W224).

(1) 8.2 cm. (2) Advances slightly on right foot. Both knees bent, torso leans slightly forward and left. Right hand raised above shoulder, l. drawn close up against chest. Both hands form semi-closed fists; almost certainly intended to hold missing objects. (5) Stocky and muscular. Normal sized genitals. (6) Very close-cropped hair forms widow's peak over brow. Small knob of hair rises from crown. (7) Round broad face but narrow forehead. Regular features (small mouth, strong straight nose) but large, staring eyes. (9) Rich dark green patina; no suspension rings or holes.

A. Bronze. 3. Full hair. 167-172 are young muscular men who possess full heads of hair, but the main published source is Reinach, Rep. Stat. Generally, the figures have rather sensitive, naturalistic facial features.

167. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung. Inv. ZV 804.

(1) 5.8 cm. (2) Standing firmly on both feet. Torso and left shoulder turned sharply to left. Lowered head tilted left, looks to right. Right arm raised above shoulder, l. pulled back. Both forearms missing. (5) Musculature splendidly rendered, accentuating the truncated limbs and pronounced steatopygia. Genitals normal in appearance, reach knees.

(10) Unknown, acquired on the Munich art market in 1890. (11) Hellenistic (on the basis of the "superior" style) (Vanhove; Müller). Alexandrian, first cent. BC (museum notes). (12) P. Herrmann, AA 6 (1891), 165, no. 4; Reinach, Rep. Stat. II, 564.4; W. Müller, AA 46 (1931), 345, no. 6; Vanhove, 358-59, no. 228.

168. Location unknown

Like 167 but (2) Left leg is lifted sideways. (5) Torso and legs are slightly longer. (6) Head slightly smaller in relation to the body.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. VI, 92.1.

169. Florence, Museo archeologico.

(2) Advances on left foot, pulls torso back and right, tilts lowered head to left but faces forward. Left arm extended forward horizontally, forming fist; r. missing below elbow, held chest level. (5) Genitals normal in size. Hair is rendered in largish curls.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. VI, 93.3.

170. Location unknown

(2) Standing figure, torso and head turned to right, right hand held level to waist, l. raised above head. Both hands form fists. (5) Genitals normal in size.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 310.3.

171. Location unknown

(2) Standing figure, torso and head held erect, torso turned right, right arm (mostly missing) held above head, l. held forward level with midriff. (5) Arms and legs are heavy and truncated in contrast to the normally proportioned torso. Phallus is large and swollen, hangs below the knees; shaped remarkably like an amphora. (6) Hair is thick and combed forward, rather Julio-Claudian in style. (7) Facial features small and child-like.

(12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. IV, 358.7.

172. Compiègne, Musée Vivanel et Musée de la Figurine Historique. Inv. Vivanel 1386.

(1) 10 cm. (2) Standing on splayed bent legs, torso erect, head turned right. (5) Genitals large but naturalistic. (6-7) Large head. Regular features, hostile expression. (9) Damaged; right arm, left hand, both feet missing.

(11) Roman (museum records). (12) Reinach, Rep. Stat. V, 514.3.

B. Terracotta. All damaged

173. Amsterdam, Private collection.

(1) 6.8 cm. (2) Missing both arms and most of each leg. Possibly raised right arm. Body thrust forward. (5) Thin. Dwarfishness extrapolated from disproportionately large head. Genitals wholly absent. (6) Head thrust forward. Single tuft of hair over the shaved crown. (7) Face large and ravaged. Heavy outthrust chin, large open mouth, protruding ears.

(10) Asia Minor (Smyrna?) (Vanhove, on the basis of the modelling of the face, especially the contours and large nose). (11) First cent. AC (Vanhove). (12) G. Ortiz in Vanhove, 335 no. 202.

174. Dresden, Antikensammlung, Skulpturensammlung. Inv. ZV813.

(1) 10.9 cm. (2) Similar to 173 but both arms probably lowered. Arms and feet all missing. (5) Tiny torso, protruding buttocks. Genitals small or worn. (6) Head thrust forward. Ostensibly bald but see (9). (7) Grotesque features, similar to 174, but even more pronounced. (9) Reddish brown clay, white slip. Black over head, darker reddish brown over skin.

(10) Allegedly from Smyrna (Winter). (12) Winter, AT, 447.5.

175. Location unknown

(1) 11.9 cm. (2) Advancing on right leg, torso and head turned toward left. Both arms (left possibly raised) and both feet missing. (5) Slim and muscular body but oversized head. Genitals worn or broken. (6) Short but full head of hair, rendered in stringy incised locks. (7) Features more naturalistic than 173 or 174. Regular nose; grim tight-lipped mouth; large staring eyes with deepy incised pupils; nervousness and tension in sharply creased brows and forehead; protruding ears.

(10) Lower Egypt (Fouquet). (12) Terres cuites Fouquet, 160 no. 452, pl. 108.

TINTINNABULA

[All Bronze]

I. COSTUMED. A. Standing/ Tunics (176-180)

B. Astride/ Loincloths (181-185)

I. COSTUMED. A. Standing/ Tunics

176. Pompeii, Antiquarium. Inv. 1260.

(1) 24 cm. (2) Standing on left leg, r. raised perpendicular to body. (3) Missing objects in both hands. (4) Short tunic, girded at waist. Right breast and both arms exposed. (5) Stunted proportions. Clearly dwarfish but lacking steatopygia and lordosis. Gigantic phallus (itself used as lamp) and scrotum. (6) Cleanshaven. Thick double band around head. Short thick stylized locks, incised, surmounted by large dressed knot. (7) Narrow face, high cheekbones. Sharp protruding nose; large almond eyes, incised details; long arched stylized eyebrows. (9) Large suspension hole through hair knot. Bells hanging from chains; latter attached by suspension rings to left elbow, right elbow, right foot, tip of phallus. Another chain, on the left sole, supports a double-spouted lamp.

(10) Pompeii, Regio I, Insula VI, no. 3, from the architrave, at a height of 1.33 m. (12) T. Kraus and L. Von Matt, Pompeii and Herculaneum. The Living Cities of the Dead, trans. R.E. Wolf (New York, 1975), 200 no. 279; Lucerne, 73 no. 61, 115, pl. 2 and 4.

177. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Raccolta pornografica.

Same as 176 but: (2-3) Right hand lowered, holding unidentified object. (8) Mounted by left foot on square bronze base, vegetal motifs on sides, resembles altar. (9) Extreme encrustation. Surviving suspension rings from underneath tip of phallus and right heel.

(12) G.L. Marini, Il Gabinetto Segreto del Museo Nazionale di Napoli (Turin, 1971), 53.

178. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Raccolta pornografica.

Same as 176 but: (3) Completely corroded object in right hand. (8) Mounted on modern wooden base. (9) Very poor condition. Encrustation has destroyed most surface detail.

179. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Inv. 27871.

(1) 22 cm. (2-3) Same as 176. (4) Short tunic, girded at waist; short sleeves. (5) Similar to 176. (6) Thick beard. Soft Phrygian cap; tip curls forward. (7) Narrow face, high cheekbones. Wide protruding nose; large almond eyes, incised upper lid; long arched stylized eyebrows. (8) Modern wooden base. (9) Poor condition, much surface detail missing. Suspension ring under tip of phallus.

(10) Pompeii. (11) First cent. AC (12) A. Mondadori, Eros in Antiquity (Italy, 1978), 120; Violino, Archéologie et médecine. VIIème rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes, octobre, 1986, 151, fig. 10 (left).

180. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Inv. 27853.

(1) 21 cm. (2) Weight on right leg, l. trailing. Hands held in front. (3) Dagger, pointed upward, in right hand; unidentified object in l. (4) Similar to 176. Also, sandals; armour or straps around legs and left arm. (5) Similar to 176, but phallus ends in head and forepaws of mammal, perhaps a panther or dog. (6) Close-fitting band surmounted by tall dressed knot. (7) Similar to 176 but eyebrows appear straight rather than arched. (9) Good condition. Knot over head is penetrated by suspension hole; chain survives. Chains hang from five suspension holes: underside of phallus, soles of both feet, right elbow, scrotum. Attached to each chain, except under the left sole, is a bell.

(10) Herculaneum. Discovered February 8, 1740. (11) First cent. BC/AC (Mondadori). (12)

G.L. Marini, Il Gabinetto Segreto del Museo Nazionale di Napoli (Turin, 1971), 11; A. Mondadori, Eros in Antiquity (Italy, 1978), 127.

I. COSTUMED. B. Astride/Loincloths.

181. Pompeii, Antiquarium. Inv. 1098.

(1) 16 cm. (2-3) Torso and head turned to right. Both hands extended forward. unidentified object in right hand, bell in l. (4) Cloth loosely draped about loins, knotted on both sides. (5) Very large scrotum, heavy legs, small torso and arms. Riding enormous phallus which itself has a secondary set of male genitals perched on its tip, pointing toward the rider. (6) Round, heavy head, no neck. Very short hair. Incised hairline; regular tiny bumps over skull. (7) Small, flat features. Small, short nose, depressed nasal bridge; bulging almond eyes, incised details; arched brow; broad forehead; faint smirking expression. (9) Suspension ring on head allows figure and two bells to hang by chains from another larger ring. Chains from right and left heels, and tip of phallus, attached to bells; chain from scrotum attached to a double-spouted lamp.

(10) Pompeii, suspended above the counters at a thermopolium on the Via dell'Abbondanza. (12) Lucerne, 72 no. 60, 114, pl. 1 and 3.

182. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Inv. 27873.

Similar to 181, except: (1) 26 cm. (3) Object in right hand is missing. (5) Unadorned phallus ends in animal (boar's?) head. (6) Short thick lock of hair juts diagonally out of upper left skull. (9) Hanging by chain looped through suspension ring on head. Suspension ring on tip of phallus and another on left sole each supports a chain which attaches to opposite sides of a double-spouted lamp.

(10) Pompeii (Mondadori). (11) First cent. BC (Mondadori). (12) A. Mondadori, Eros in Antiquity (Italy, 1978), 129.

183. Tarragona, Museo Nacional Arqueologico de Tarragona. Inv. 542.

Similar to 181, except: (1) 15.5 cm. (3) Object (rhyton?) in right. (4) Loincloth knotted on left, possibly also on right. (5) Long arrow-shaped phallus, thinner than 181's. (6) Appears bald. (7) Features less distinct, through wear. (9) Suspension ring rises vertically from crown of head. More suspension rings from scrotum, tip of phallus, and left toe.

(12) A. García y Bellidos, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal (Madrid, 1949), no. 479, pl. 335; Los bronceos romanos en España. Mayo-Julio 1990. Palacio de Velázquez. parque del retiro (Madrid, 1990), 280, no. 220.

184. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Inv. 27844.

(1) 10.5 cm (length). (2-3) Lying forward almost flat on his stomach, mounted on animal-like device whose head, feet and tail are all phalli. Right arm extended forward holding ring (wreath?); l. pulled back along body. (4) Loincloth. (5) Legs very abbreviated. (6) Faces forward. Cleanshaven. Full head of hair rendered as separate incised locks, divided down middle of crown. Sides combed

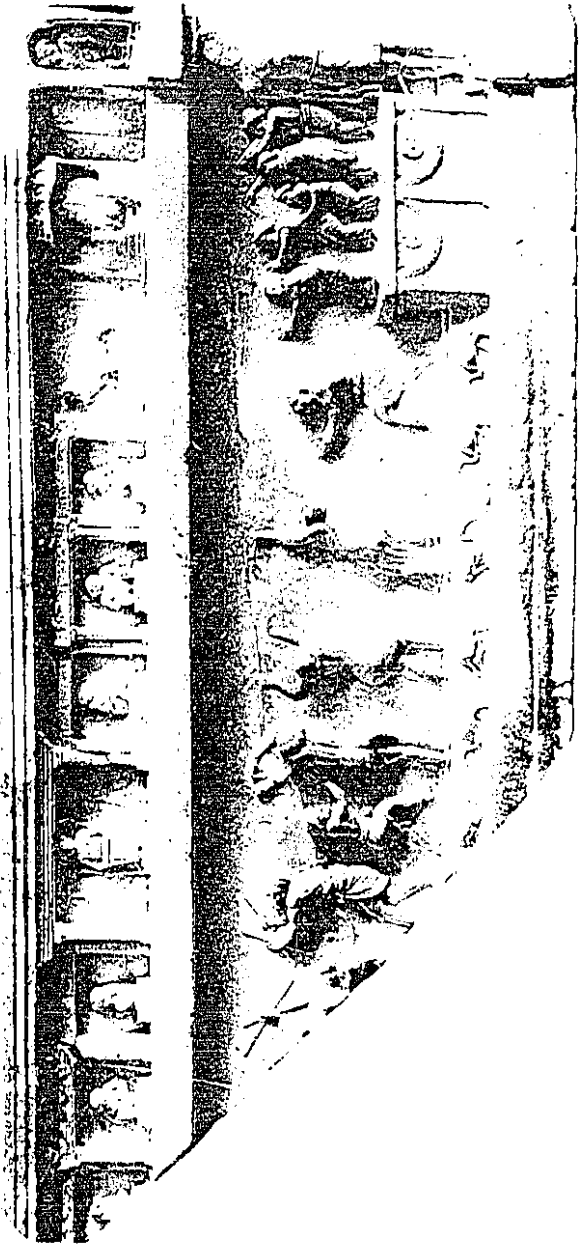
backwards behind ears and down to neck. (7) Coarse features. Weak chin; full lips; wide cheekbones; long nose with flaring nostrils; wide vacant eyes, incised details; arched brows; very low -almost absent- forehead. Slightly smiling. (9) Solid suspension ring rises vertically from head. Surviving chain attached. From each hind "leg" is attached a bell on a short chain. Phallus between hind legs is missing.

(10) Pompeii (Mondadori). (11) First cent. BC/AC (Mondadori). (12) A. Mondadori, Eros in Antiquity (Italy, 1978), 125.

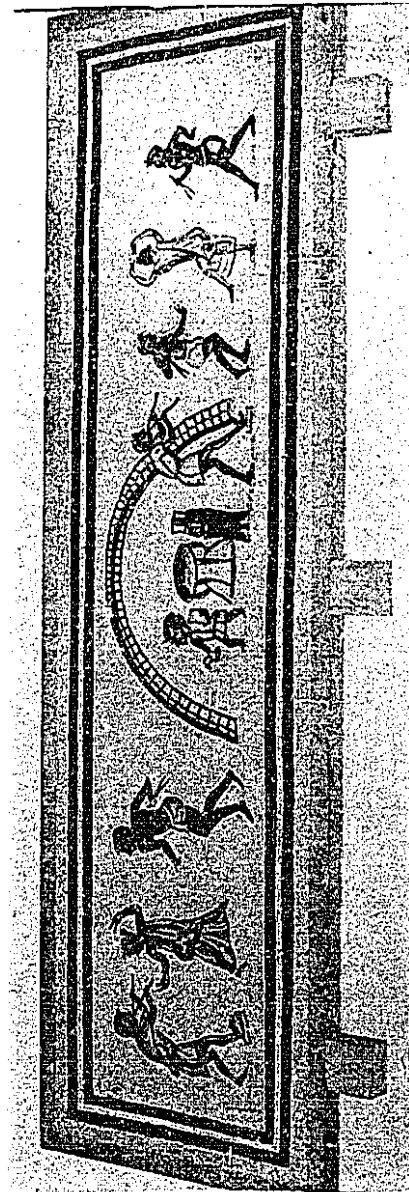
185. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Raccolta pornografica.

Similar to 184, except: (2) Left arm grabs neck of "animal" for support. (5) Phallus between hind legs is present. (6) Smooth skull, possibly bald. (7) Narrower face, higher cheekbones. (9) Tail missing. Only the chain attached to the suspension ring on the rider's head survives.

Illustrations



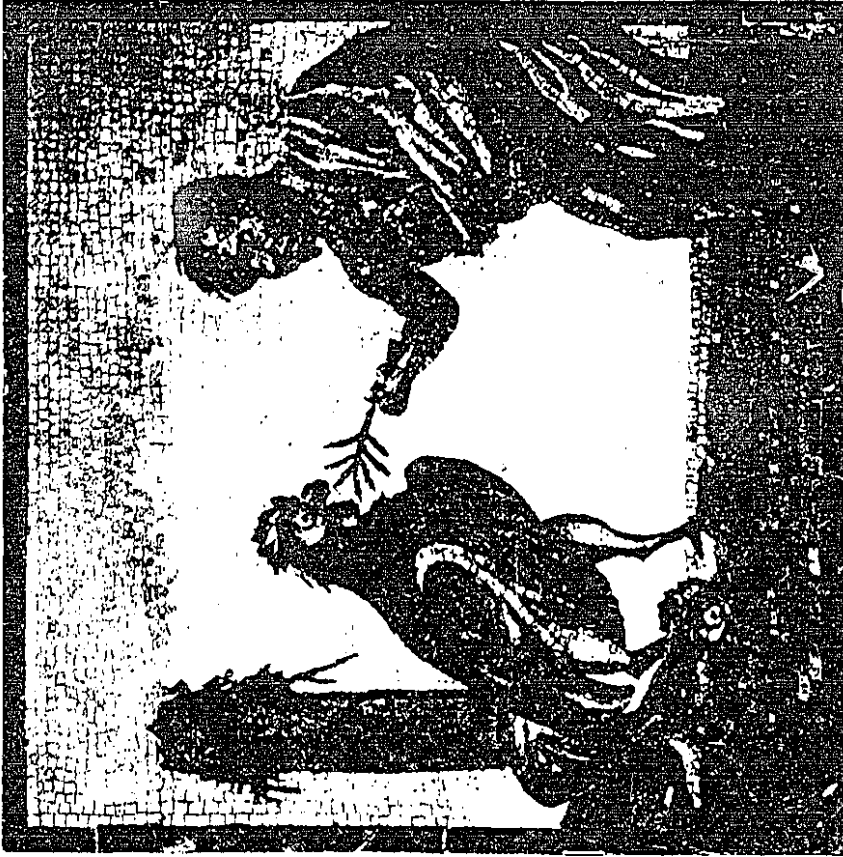
A. Marble relief.
Religious celebration



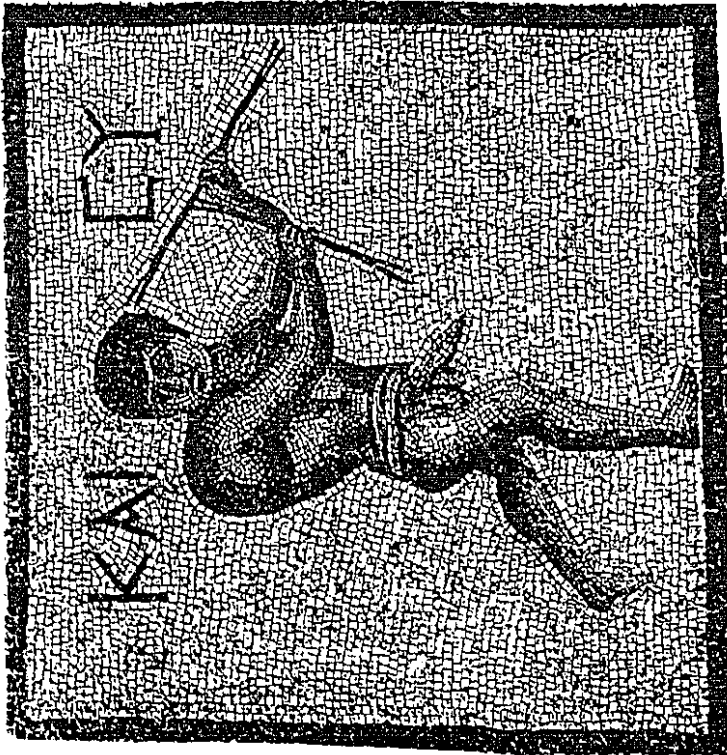
B. Mosaic panel.
Symposiastic entertainers



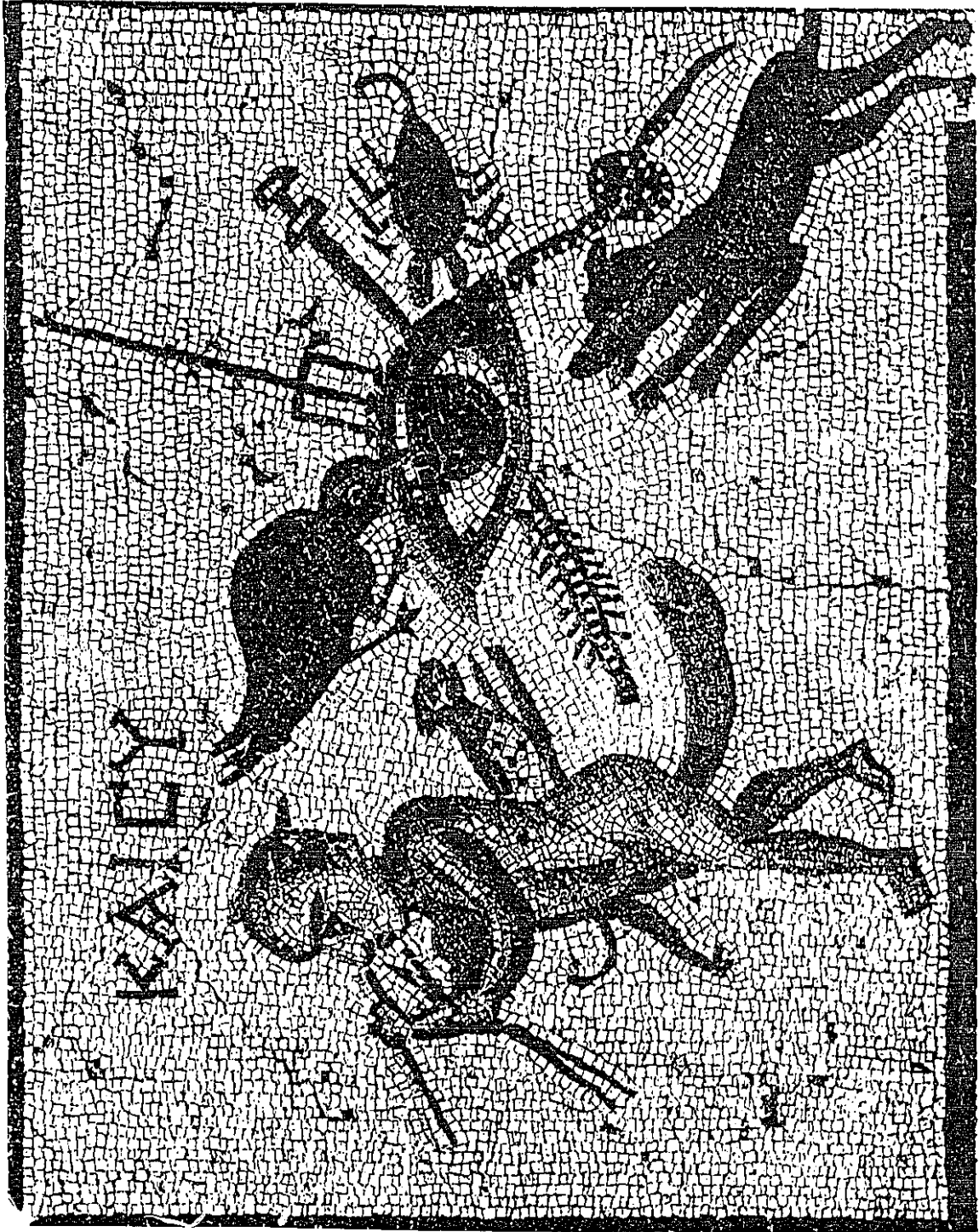
C. Mosaic panel.
Dwarf performing with boar



E. Mosaic panel.
Dwarf and roosters



D. Mosaic panels.
(i) dwarf with staves
[next page]
(ii) attack on Evil Eye



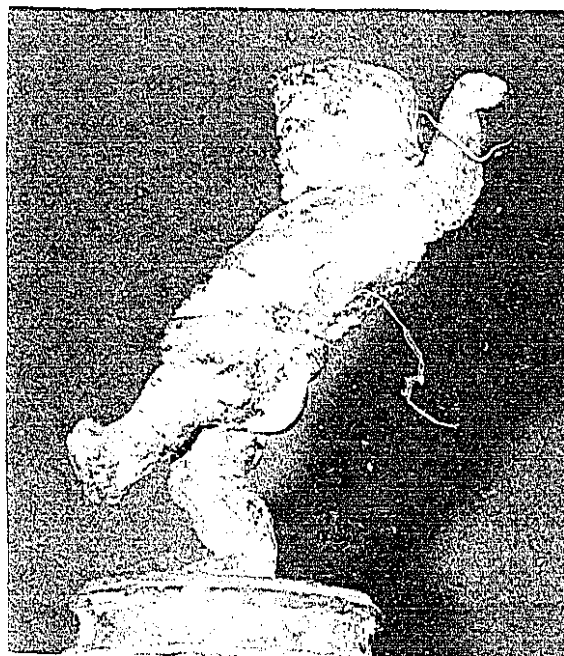


1. Crotalist, bronze

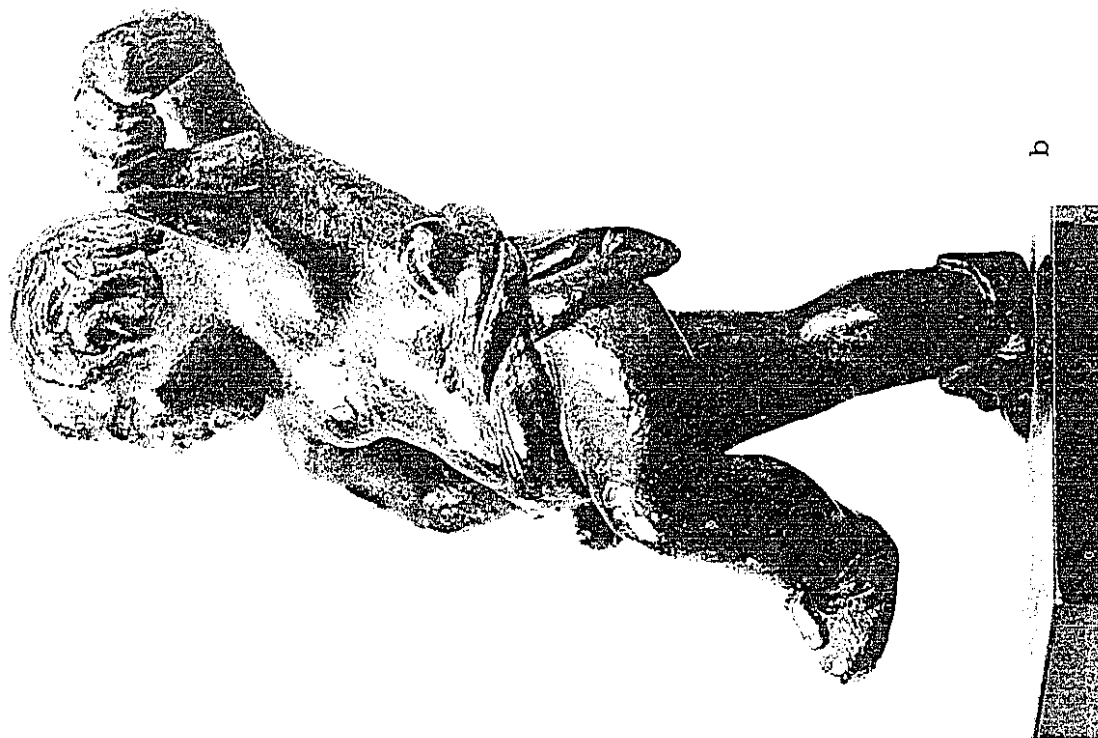




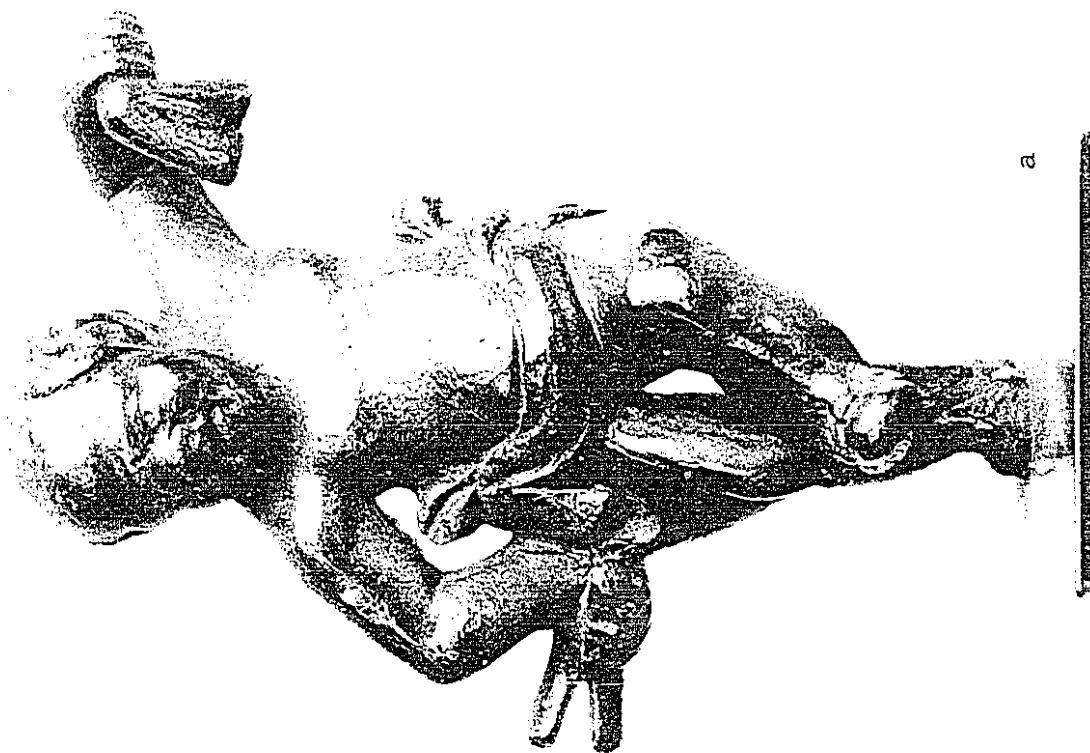
2. Crotalist, bronze



4. Crotalist, bronze

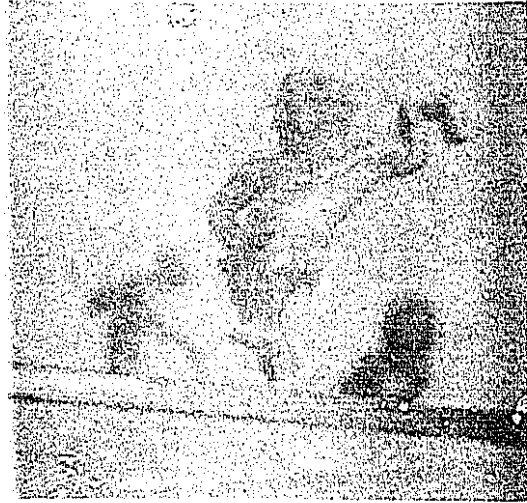


b



a

6a,b. Crotalist, bronze



5. Crotalist, bronze



6c, d.



7. Crotalist, bronze



8. Crotalist, bronze



9. Crotalist, bronze



10. Crotalist, bronze



11. Crotalist, bronze



a

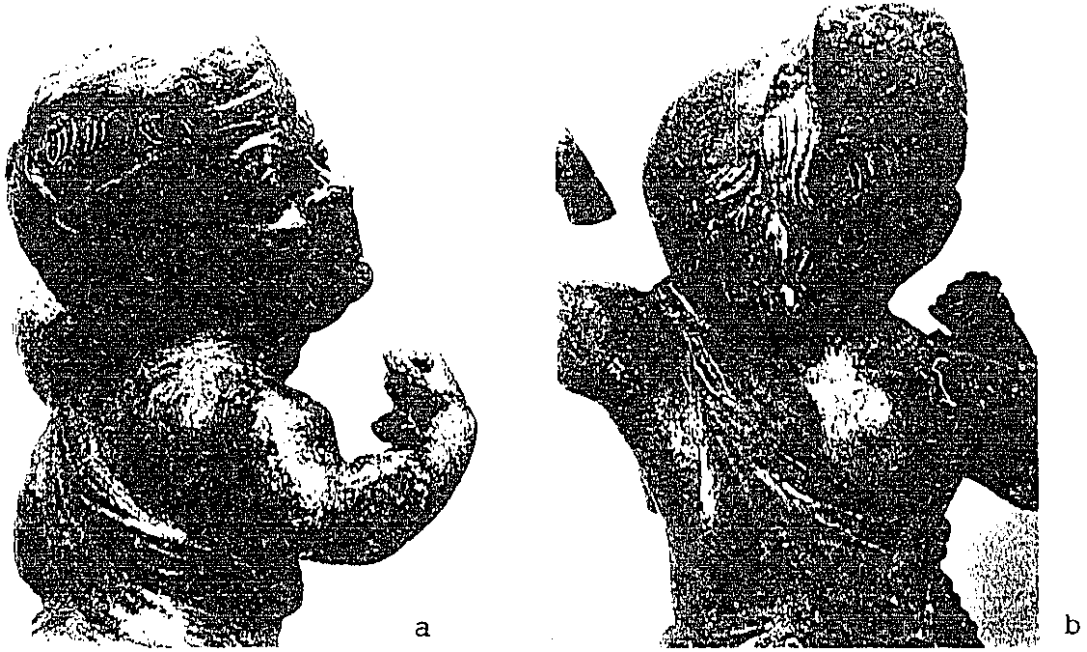


b



12. Crotalist, bronze

c



13. Crotalist, bronze



d



e

13 (cont'd)



a

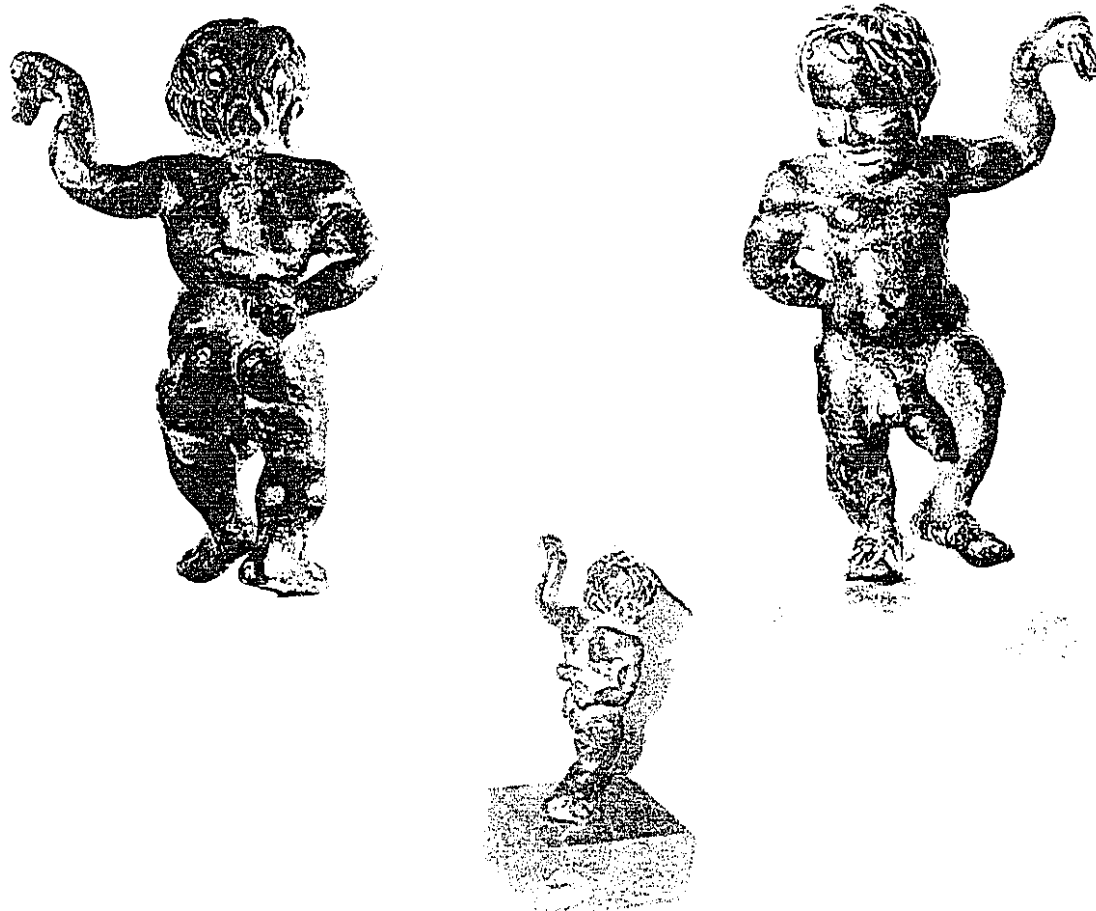


b



c

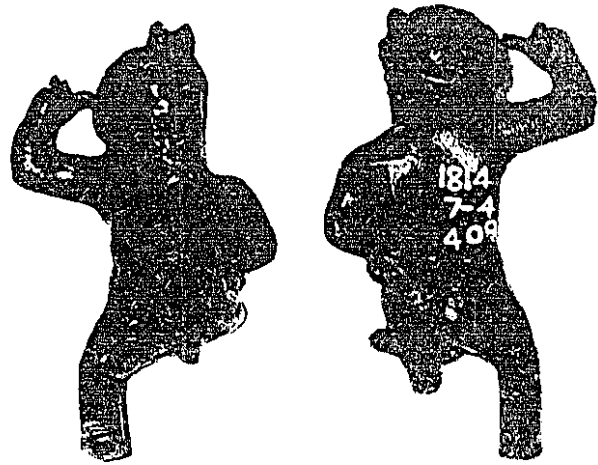
14. Crotalist, bronze



15. Crotalist, bronze
a b
c



16. Crotalist, bronze



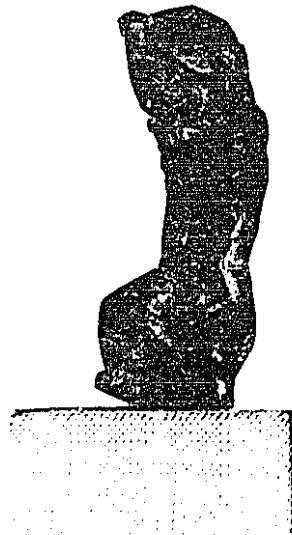
17. Crotalist, bronze



a



b



c

18. Crotalist, bronze



a



b

19. Crotalist, bronze



20. Crotalist, bronze

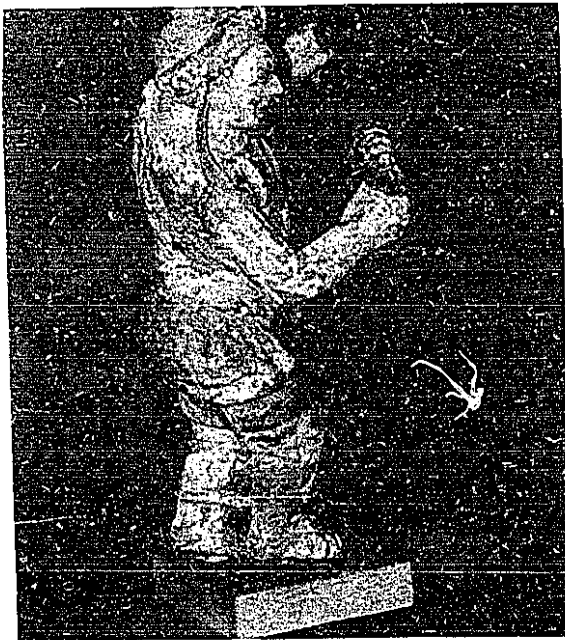


a



b

21. Crotalist, terracotta



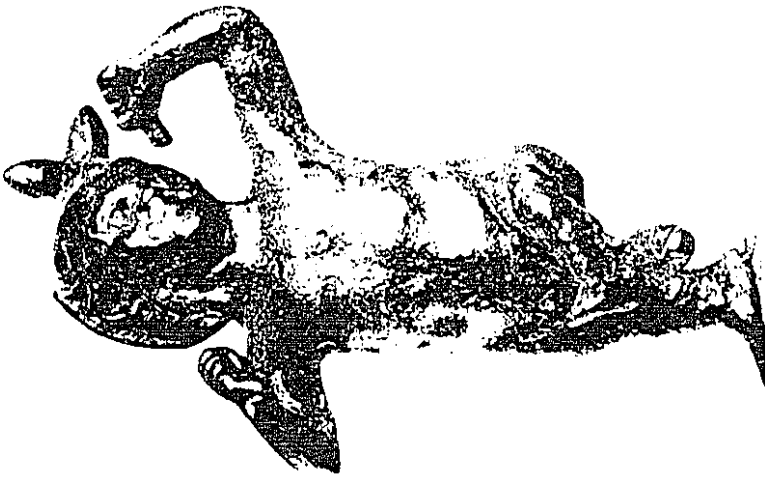
c



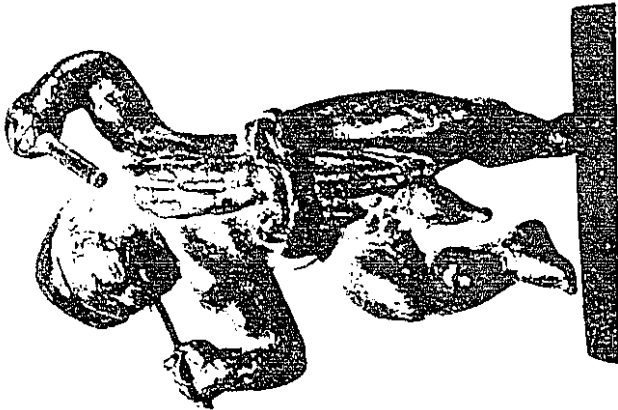
d



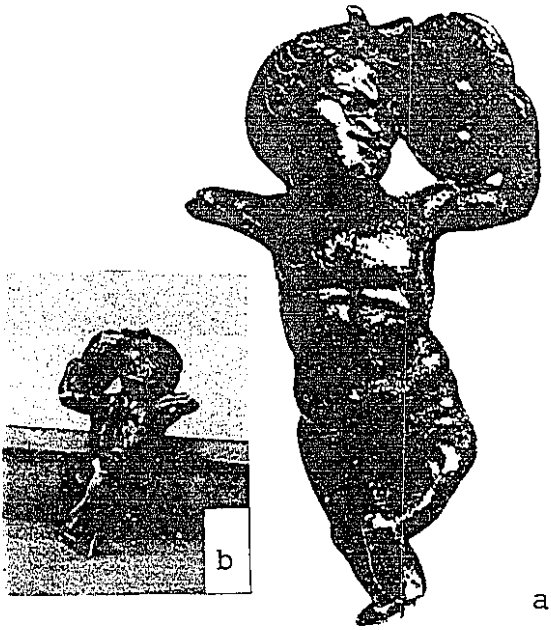
24. Dancer with baton
bronze



23. Dancer with baton,
bronze



22. Dancer with batons,
bronze



25. Tambourinist, bronze



26. Tambourinist, bronze



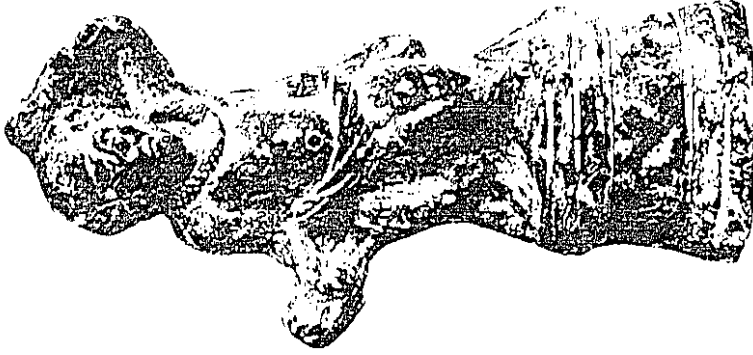
27. Dancer with rattle, terracotta



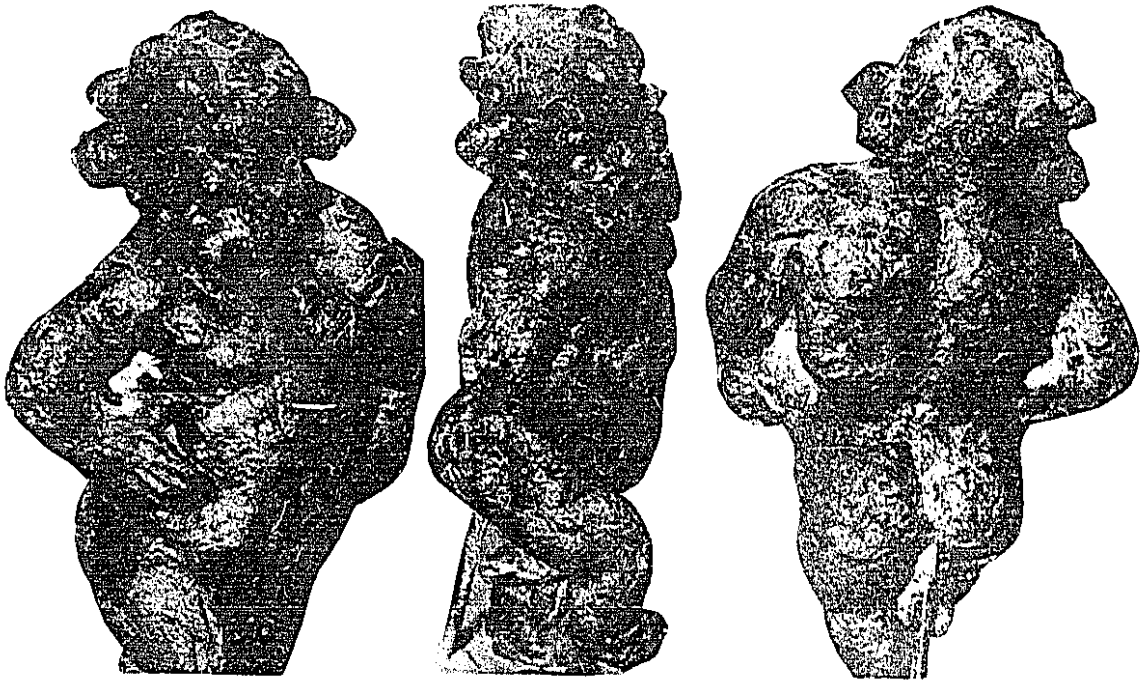
28. Dancer with staves,
terracotta



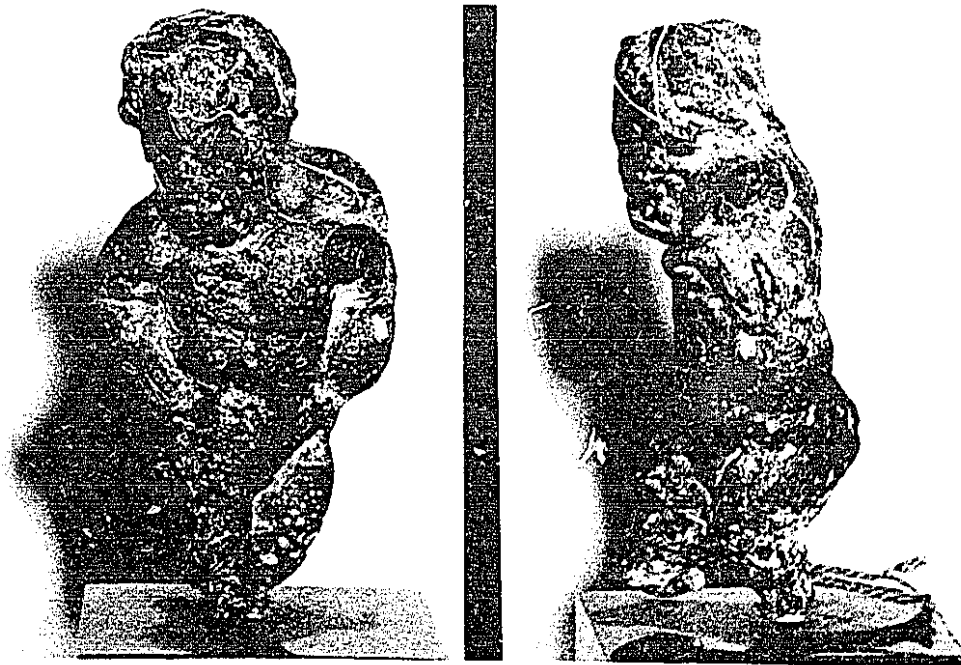
29. Dancer with staves,
terracotta



30. Dancer with staves,
terracotta



32. Dancer carrying
basket, bronze



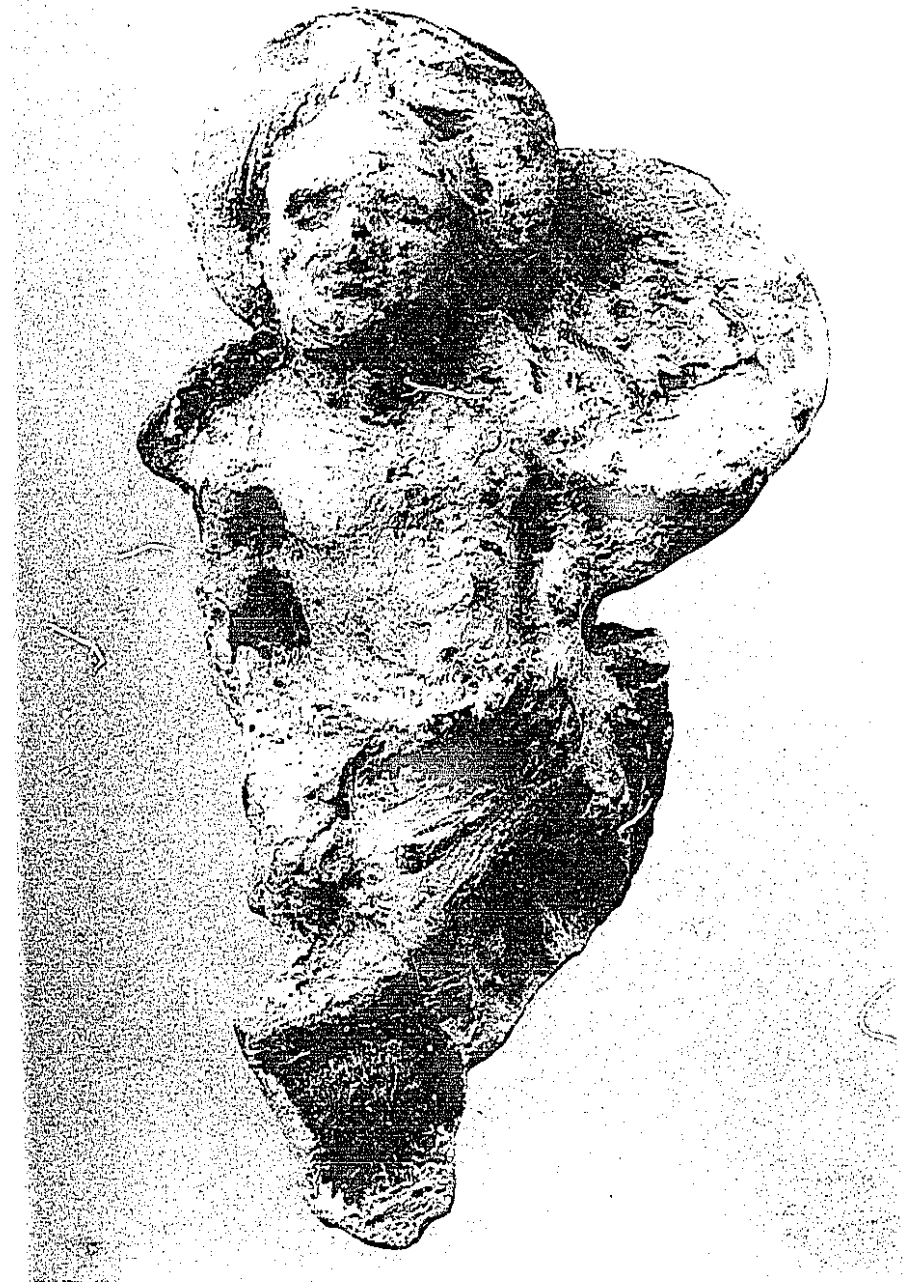
33. Dancer carrying
basket, bronze



34



35



34. Dancer carrying
basket, bronze

35. Dancer carrying
cup, bronze

36. Dancer carrying
platter, terracotta



37. Dancer carrying
grapes, terracotta



38. Dancer in loincloth and peaked cap, bronze



39. Dancer in loincloth and peaked cap, bronze



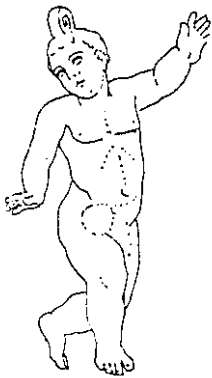
40. Dancer, nude, in peaked cap, bronze



41. Dancer, nude, wearing lotus bud band, bronze



42. Dancer, nude, wearing wreath, bronze
a. above, b. right



43. Dancer, nude, bronze



44. Dancer in loincloth, terracotta



45. Dancer wearing loincloth, terracotta



47. Dancer wearing loincloth, bronze

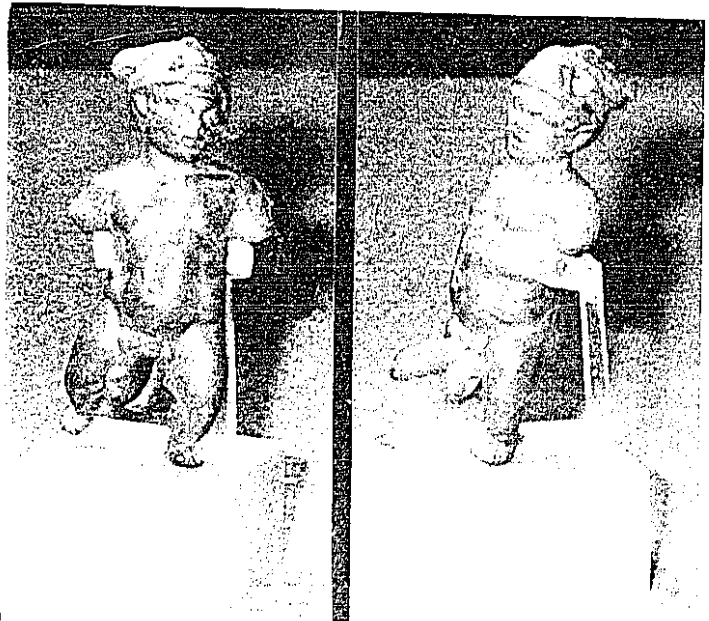


a

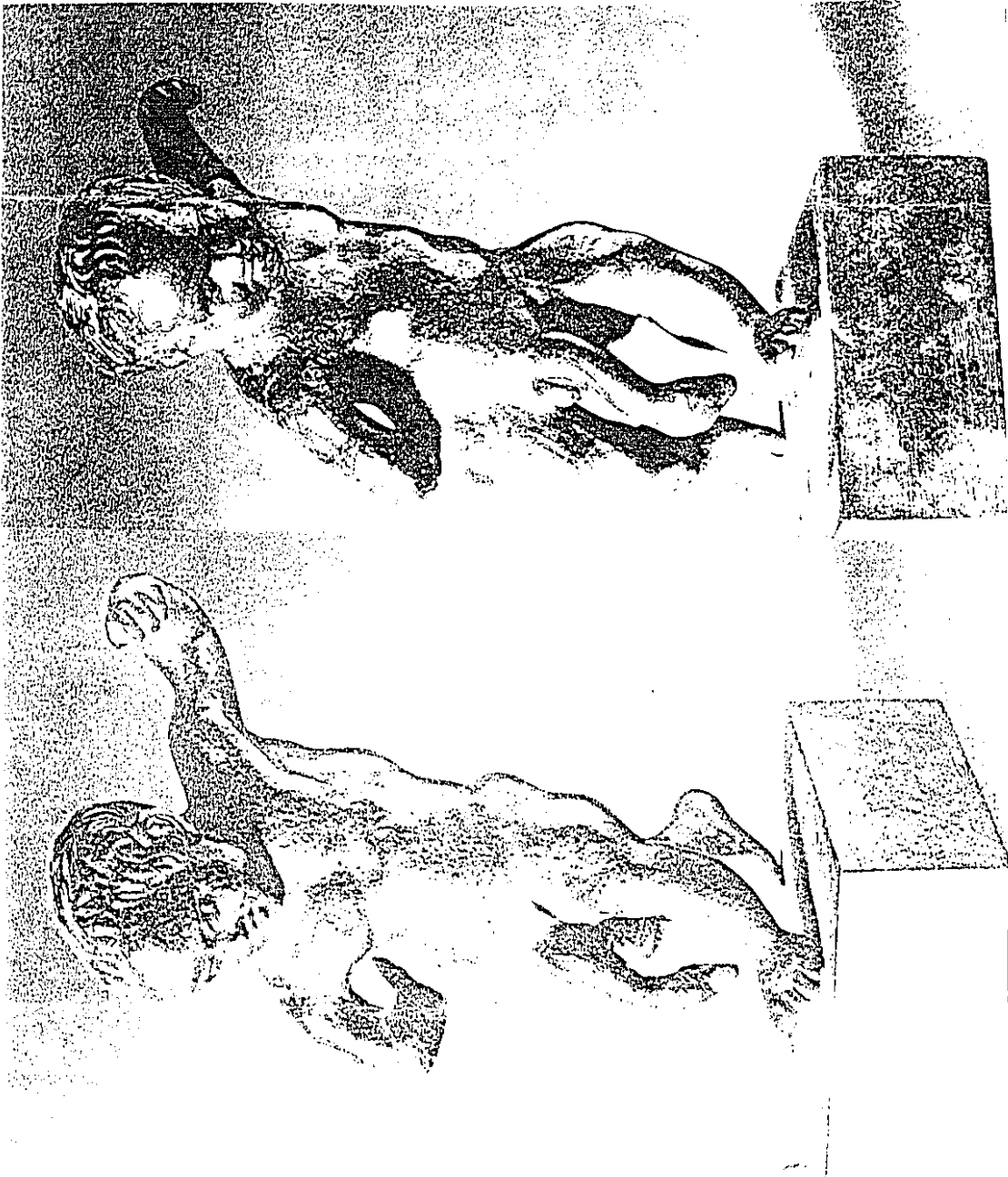


b

46. Dancer wearing tunic, bronze



48. Dancer, nude, in
loose cap, bronze



49. Dancer, nude, bronze



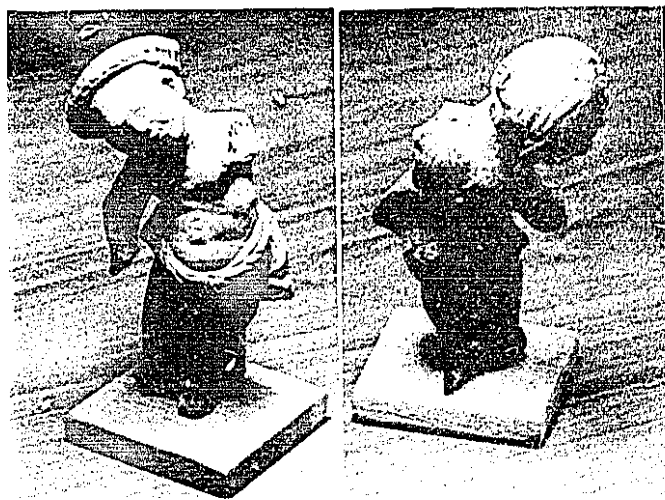
50. Dancer wearing tunic, terracotta



51. Dancer wearing tunic, terracotta



52. Dancer wearing tunic, terracotta



53. Dancer in wreath and loincloth, terracotta



54. Dancer wearing loincloth, terracotta



56. Torso, terracotta

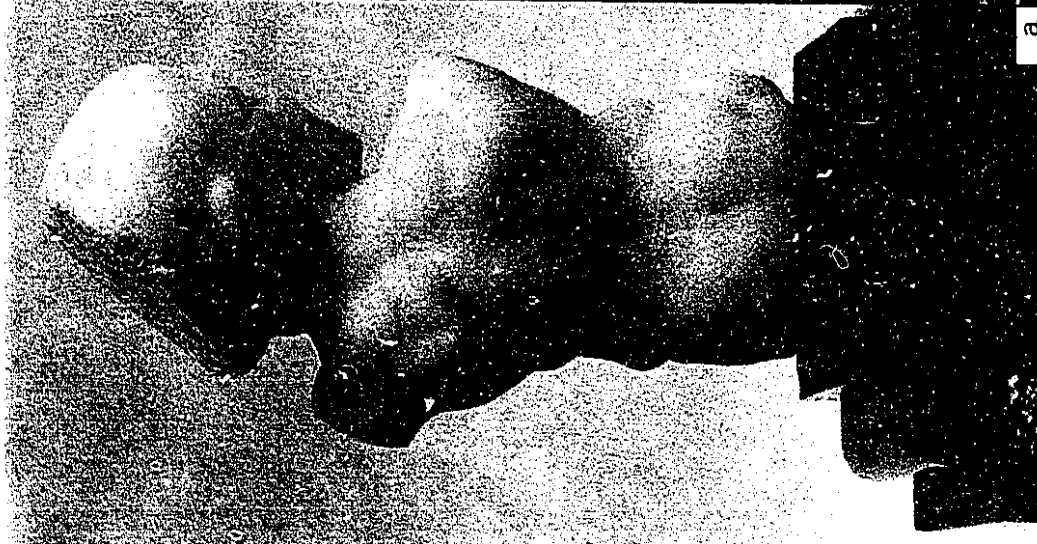
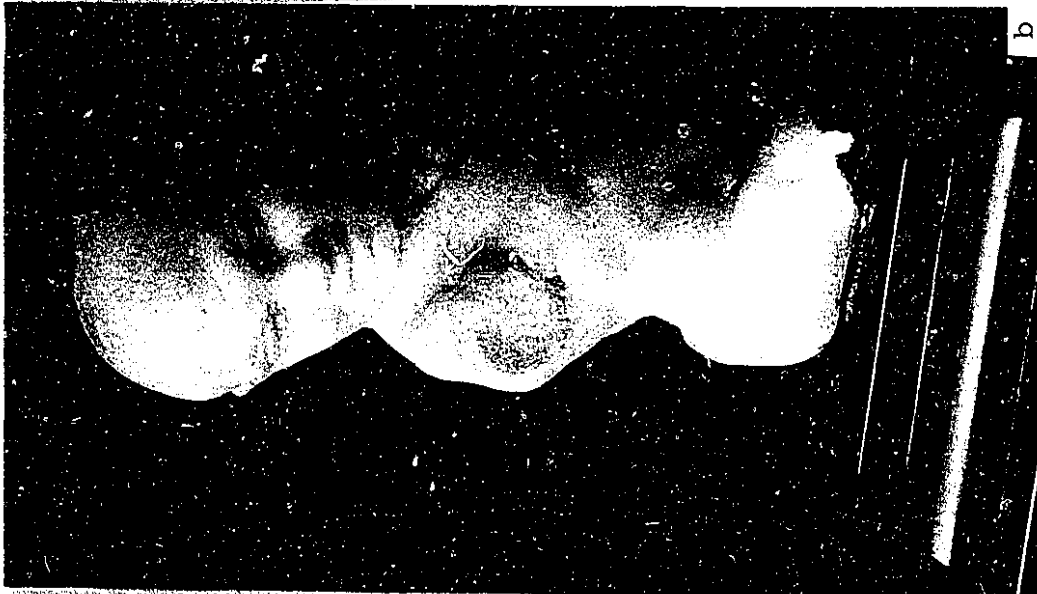
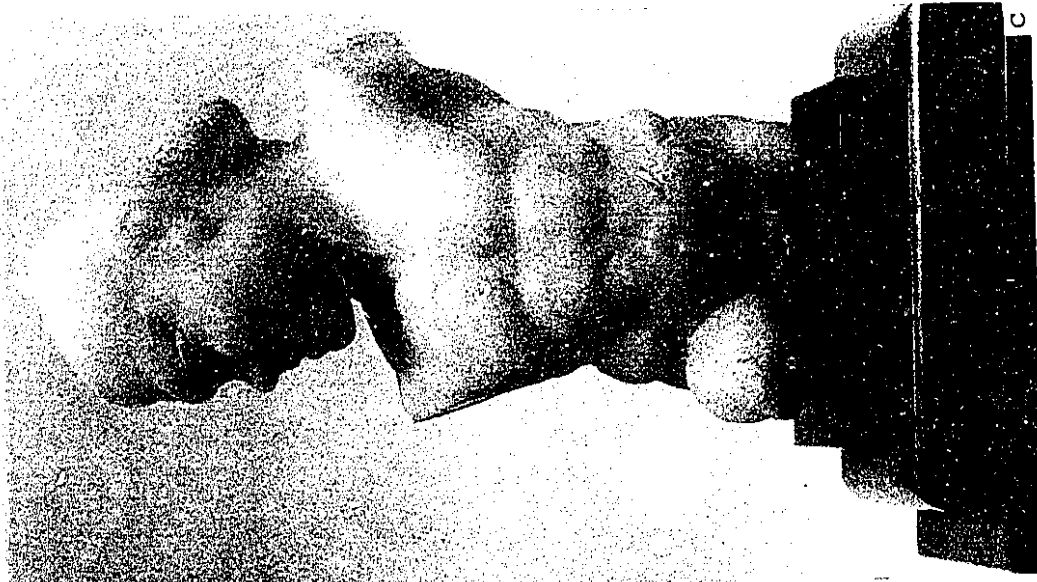


55. Dancer, nude, on terracotta panel



58. Dancer, nude, faience

57. Jug shaped like nude dancer, terracotta



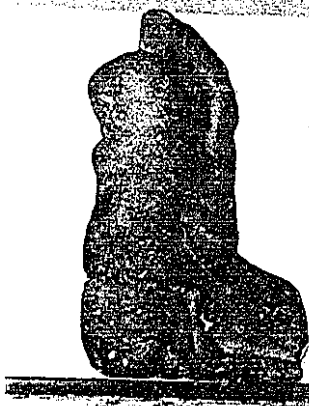
59. Torso, marble



60. Citharoedus,
terracotta



a

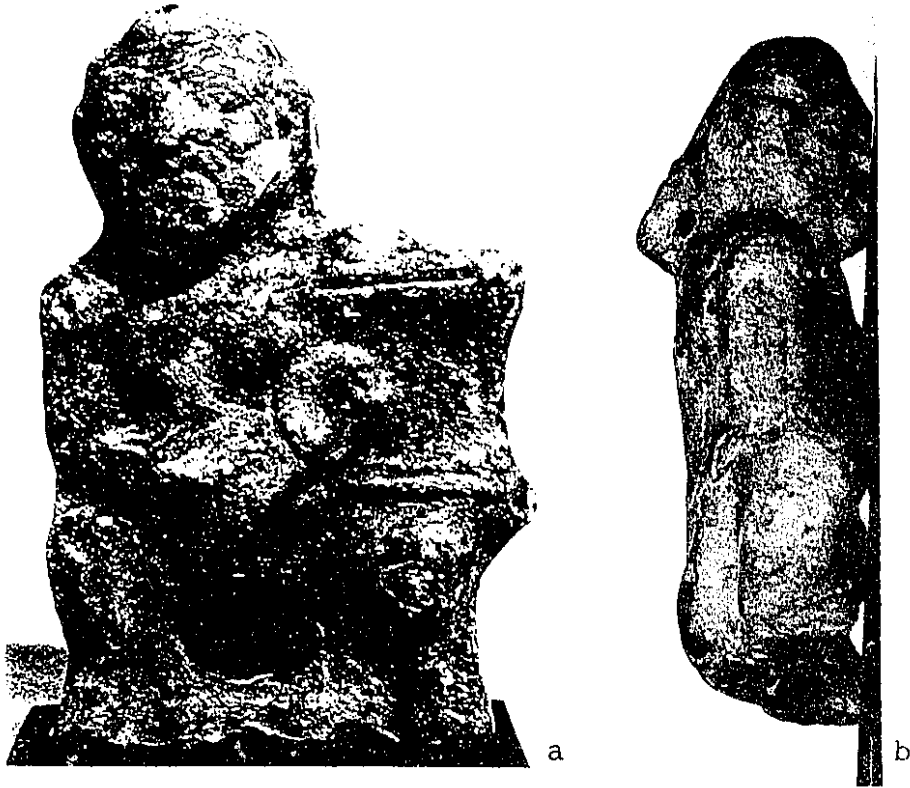


b

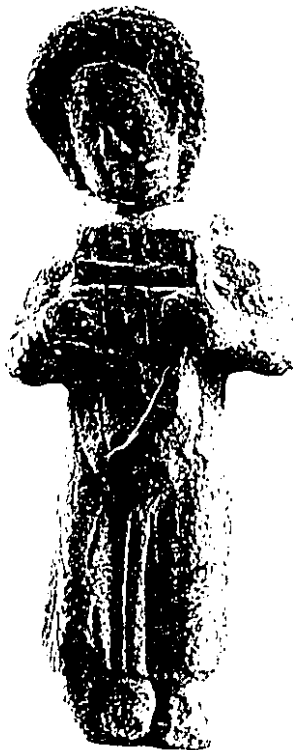


c

61. Citharoedus,
terracotta



62. Citharoedus,
terracotta



63. Syrinx player,
terracotta



64. One-man band and cymbalist, terracotta group



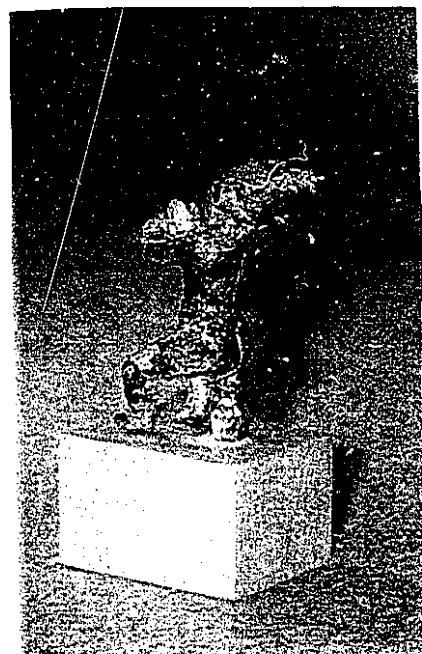
65. Syrinx player,
terracotta



66. Flautist, terracotta



67. Flautist, effigy on
funerary altar, marble



68. Flautist, bronze



69. Trumpeter and organist, terracotta group



70



71

70. Trumpeter, terracotta

71. Trumpeter, terracotta



a



b



c



d

72. Crotalistris, bronze



73. Crotalistris, bronze

above: a

next page: b | c
 d | e





74. Crotalistris, bronze



75. Crotalistris, bronze



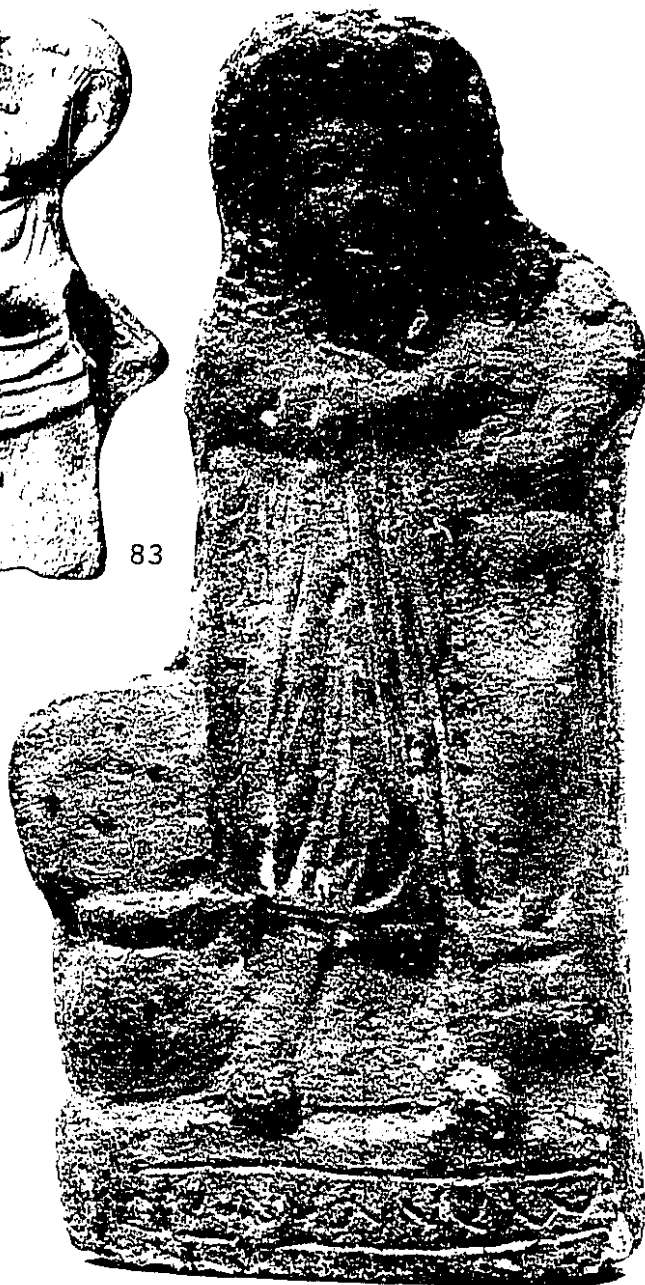
77. Crotalistris, bronze
a | b
c | d



78.(l) Dancer
carrying amphora,
terracotta

79.(c) Tambourinist,
terracotta

80.(r) Tambourinist,
terracotta



81-84. Tambourinists,
terracotta



85. Tambourinist with
male crotalist,
terracotta group



86. Dancer, terracotta



87. Dancer, terracotta



88. Dancer, terracotta



89. Dancer, terracotta
90. Dancer, terracotta



91. Dancer, bronze



92. Dancer balancing on vessel, bronze



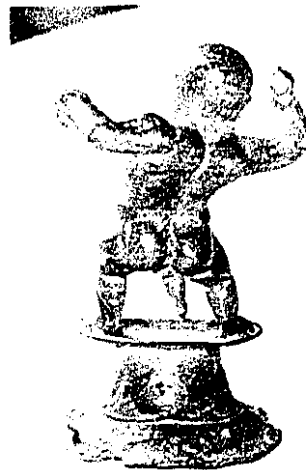
93. Torso, terracotta



94. Citharoeda, terracotta



95. Flautist, terracotta



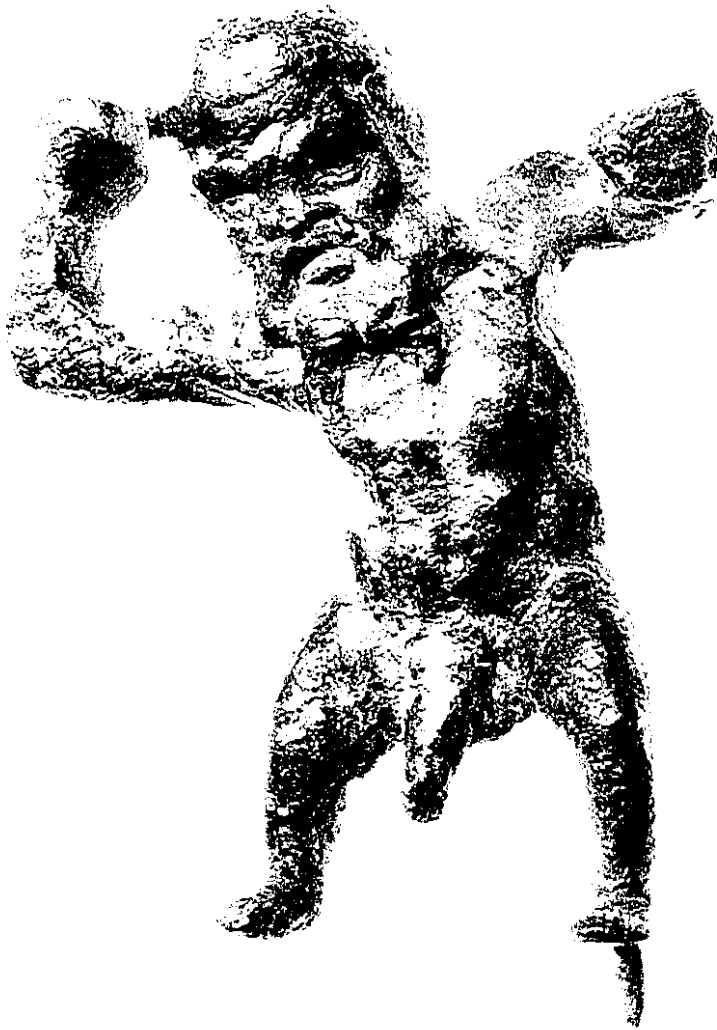
96. Weapon hurler,
nude, bronze



97. Weapon hurler,
nude, bronze



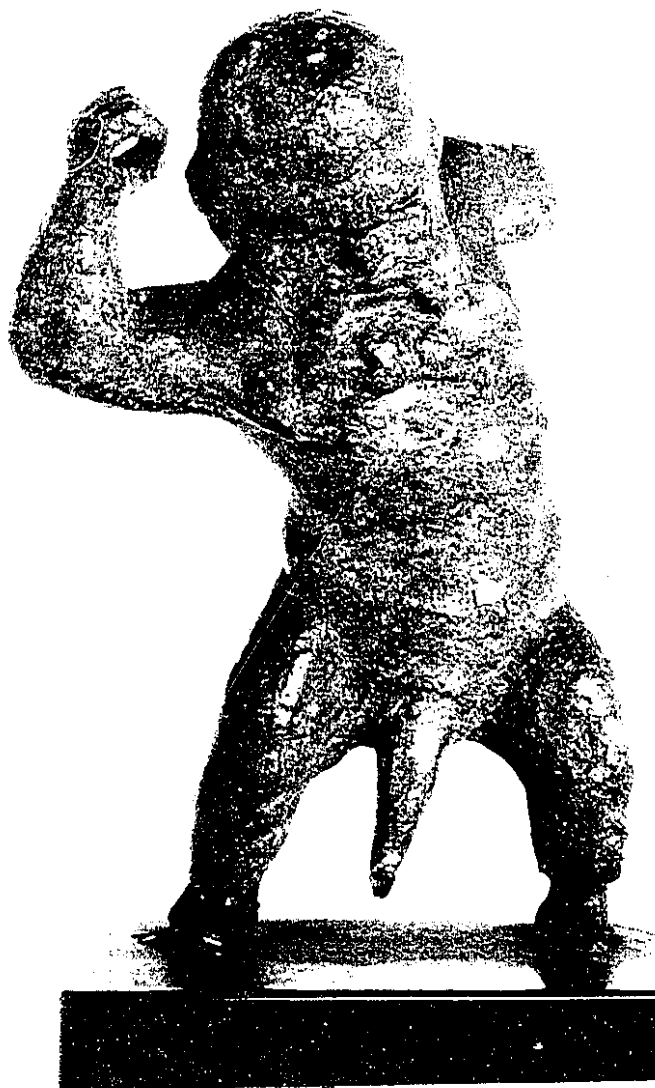
98. Weapon hurler,
nude, bronze



b

a

99. Weapon hurler,
nude, bronze



100. Weapon hurler,
nude, bronze

a|b
|c



102. Weapon hurler,
nude, bronze



104. Weapon hurler,
nude, bronze



103. Weapon hurler,
nude, bronze



105. Weapon hurler,
nude, bronze



106. Weapon hurler,
nude, bronze



107. Weapon hurler,
nude, bronze



108. Weapon hurler,
nude, bronze a | b
c | d



109. Combatant attacking own phallus, helmeted, bronze

110. Combatant, used as weight, helmeted, bronze



111. Combatant, nude, wreathed, bronze



112 (top, left).
Combatant, nude,
capped, bronze

113 (top, centre).
Combatant standing
on lotus plant,
bronze

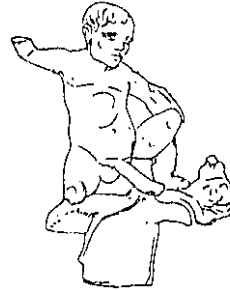
114 (top, right).
Combatant attack-
ing own phallus,
bronze



115 (left).
Combatant, bronze



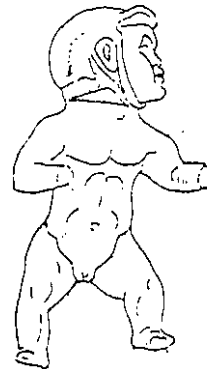
116. Combatant on lotus,
bronze



117. Combatant on lotus,
bronze



118. Combatant, helmeted
bronze



119. Combatant, helmeted.
bronze



120. Combatant, helmeted
bronze a | b
c | d



121. Combatant, helmeted
bronze



122. Combatant, helmeted
bronze



123. Combatant, helmeted
bronze



124. Combatant, helmeted.
bronze



125



126

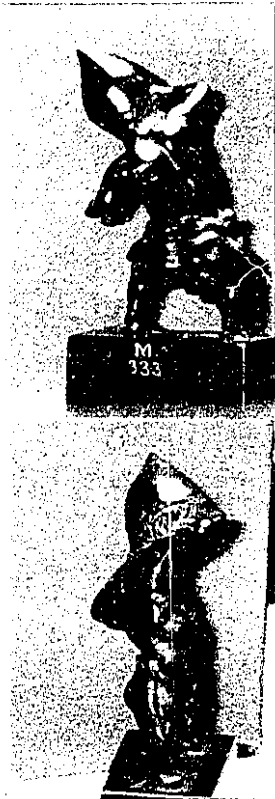


127

125. Combatant,
helmeted, bronze
126. Combatant,
helmeted, terracotta
127. Combatant,
loincloth, bronze



128. Combatant,
loincloth, bronze



129. Combatant,
loincloth, peaked cap,
bronze. b | a
c |



130



132a



132b



131a



131b

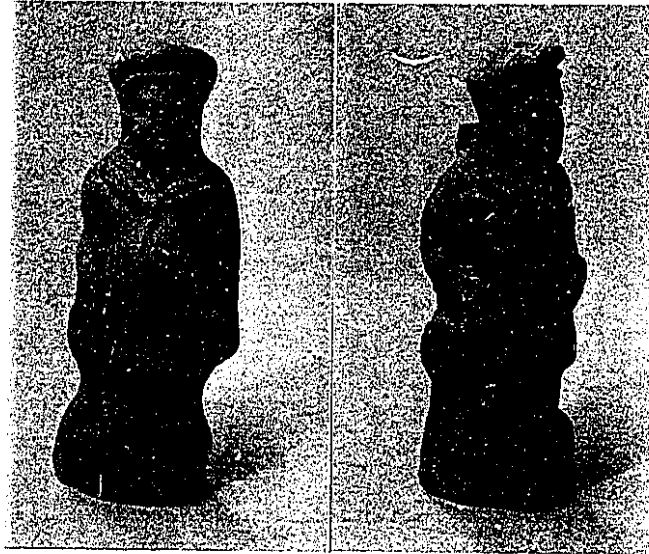


131c

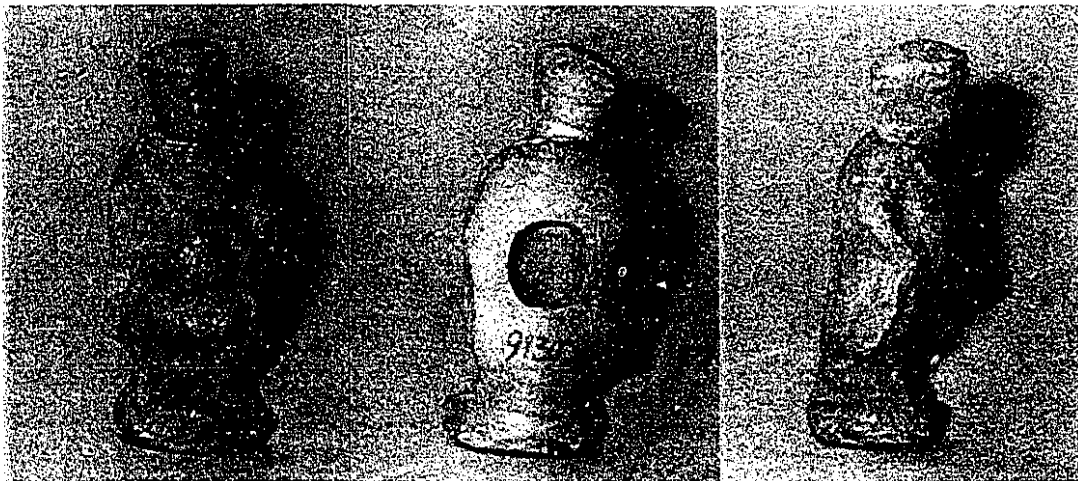
130. Spear hurler, bronze

131. Military, bronze

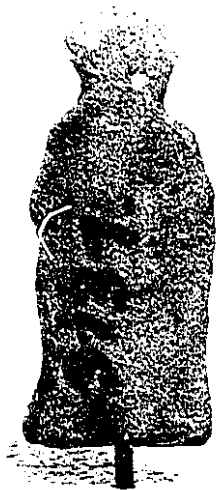
132. Military, bronze



133.
Macedonian, terracotta



134.
Macedonian, terracotta



135.
Macedonian, terracotta



136. Macedonian, terracotta

a |
b | c

137. Macedonian, terracotta

a |
b | c

138. Macedonian, terracotta

a |
b | c



139



140



141

139. Macedonian, terracotta

140. Macedonian rider, terracotta

141. Macedonian rider, terracotta



142



143



144

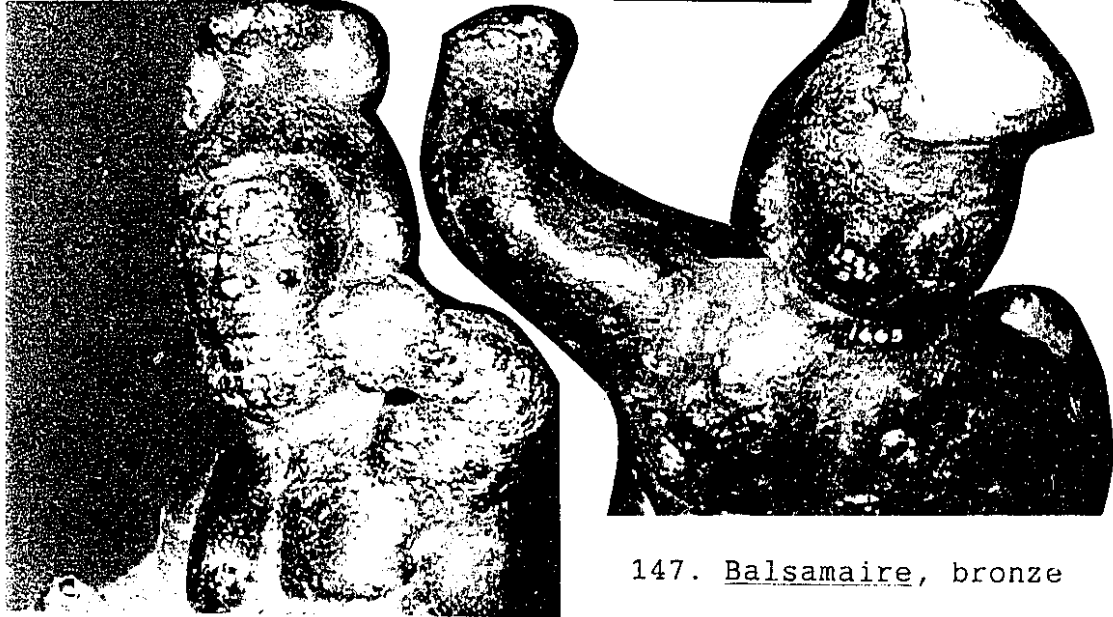
142. Military, terracotta

143. Military, terracotta

144. Combatant with weapons, terracotta



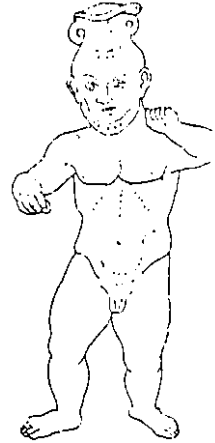
145. Balsamaire, bronze
(front, back)



147. Balsamaire, bronze



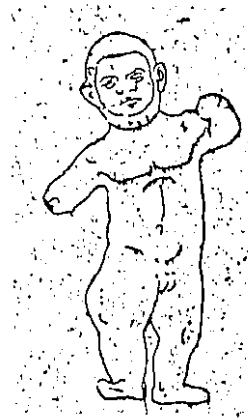
148. Balsamaire, bronze



149. Balsamaire, bronze



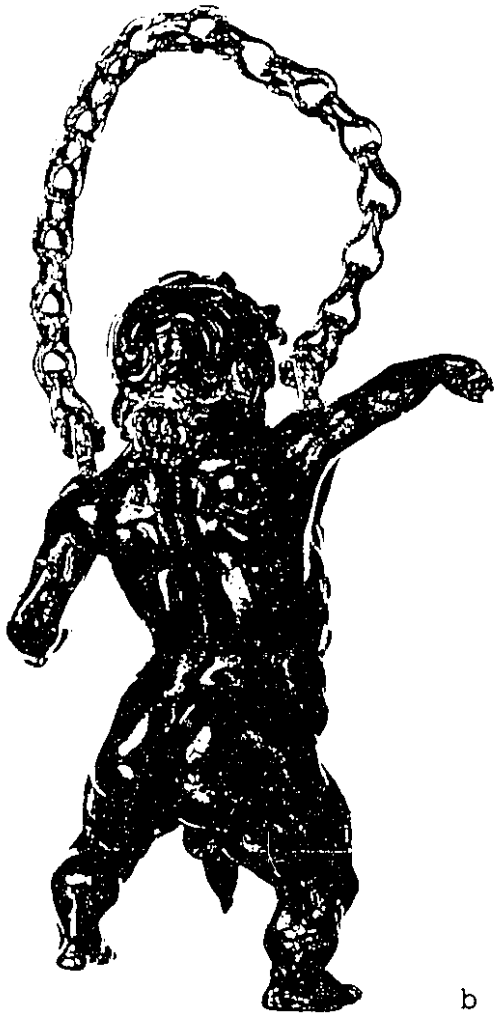
150. Athlete, bronze



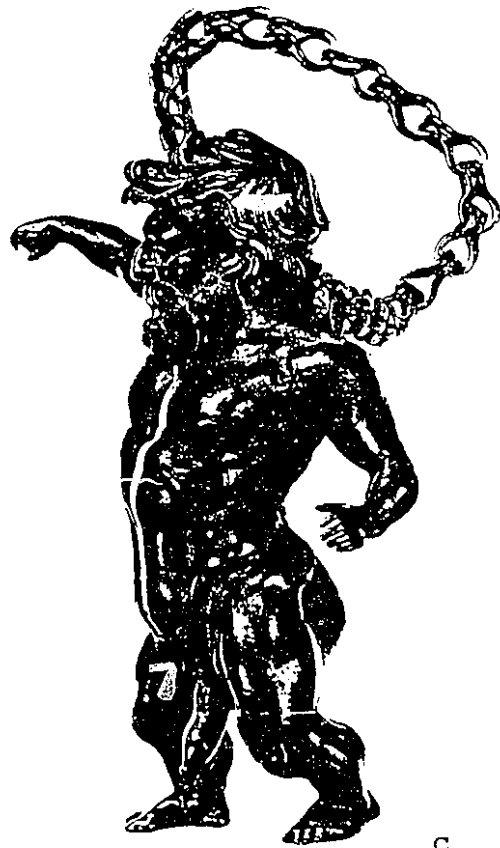
151. Athlete, bronze



152. Balsamaire, bronze
[next page: b and c]



b



c



153. Boxer, bronze



154. Boxer, bronze



155. Athlete, bronze



157. Athlete, terracotta

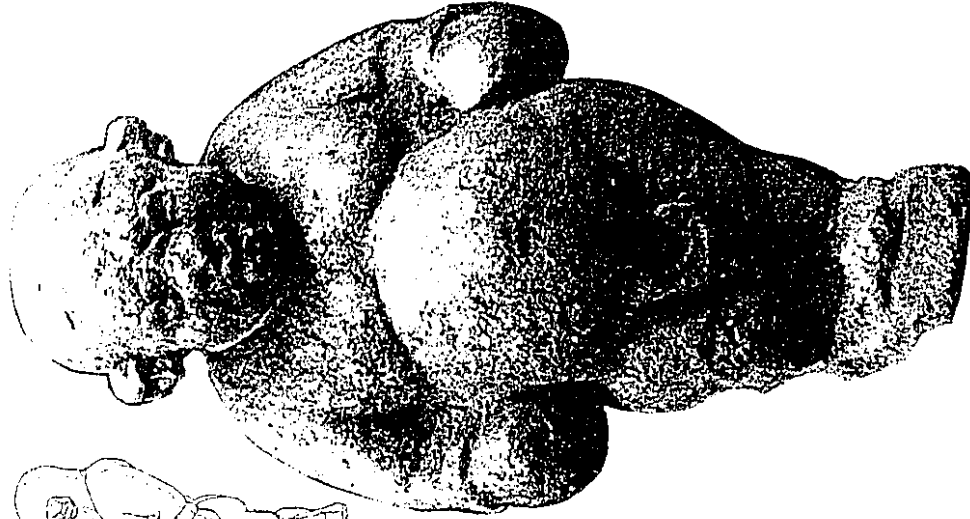


156

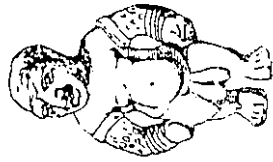
156. Athlete, terracotta



158a

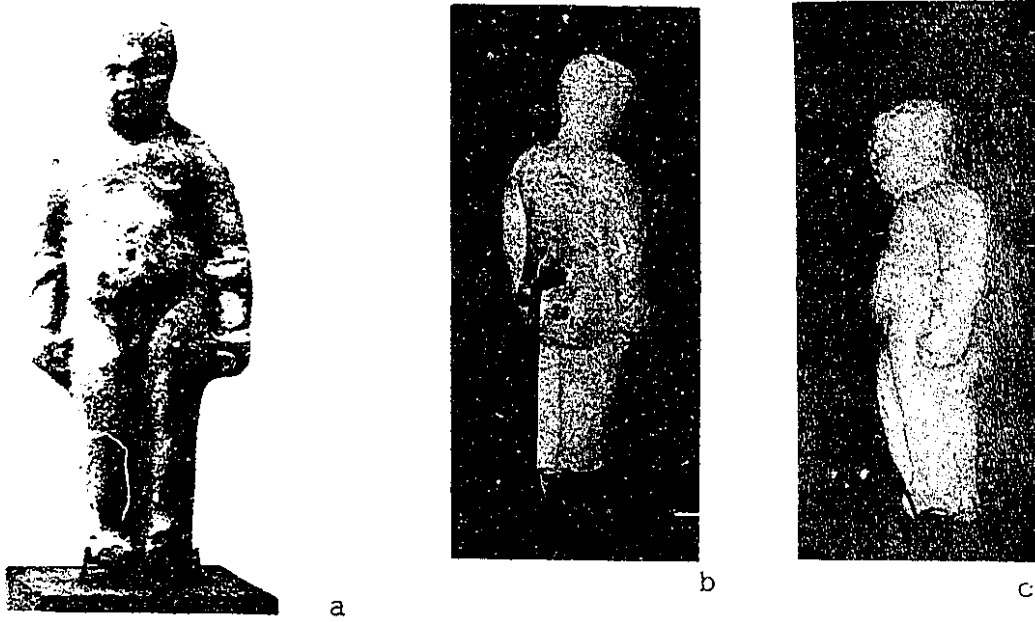


158b

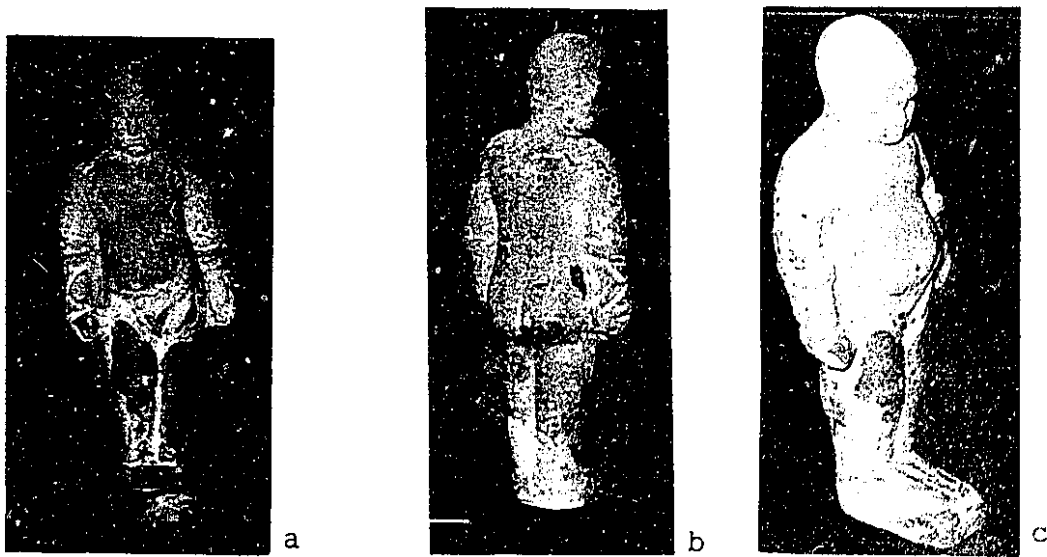


159

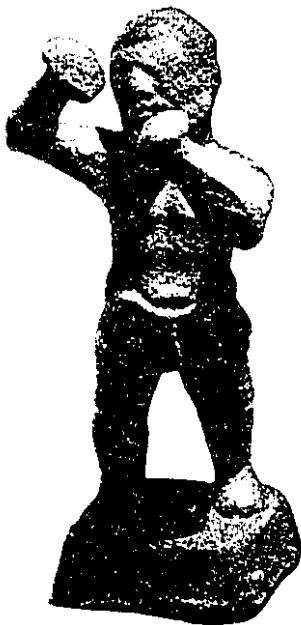
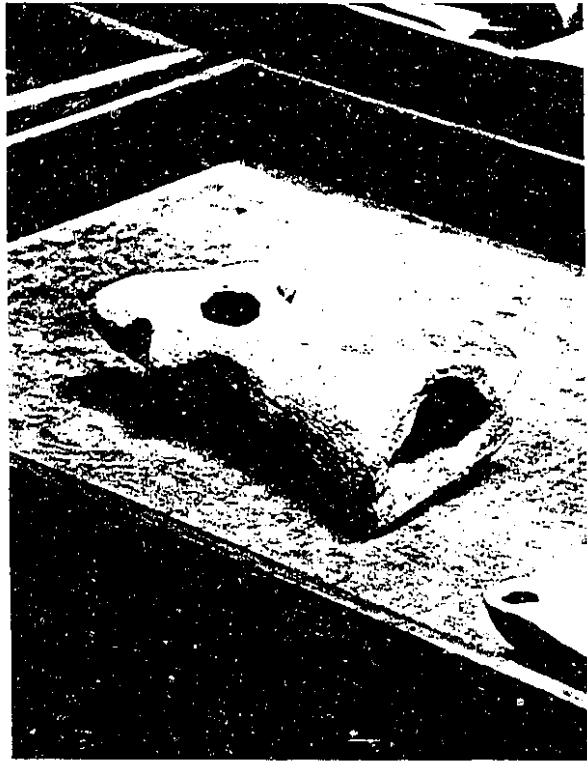
158. Boxer, terracotta
159. Boxer, terracotta



160. Boxer, terracotta



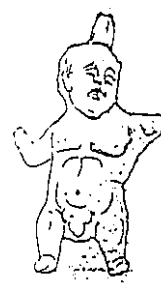
161. Boxer, terracotta



163



164



165

162 (top, l. and r.).
Boxer, terracotta

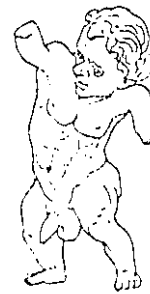
163. Boxer, in trunks,
terracotta

164. Athlete, in
trunks, terracotta

165. Athlete(?), bronze
bronze



a



b

166 (above). Athlete(?),
bronze

167 (below). Athlete(?),
bronze



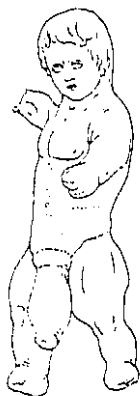
168



169



170

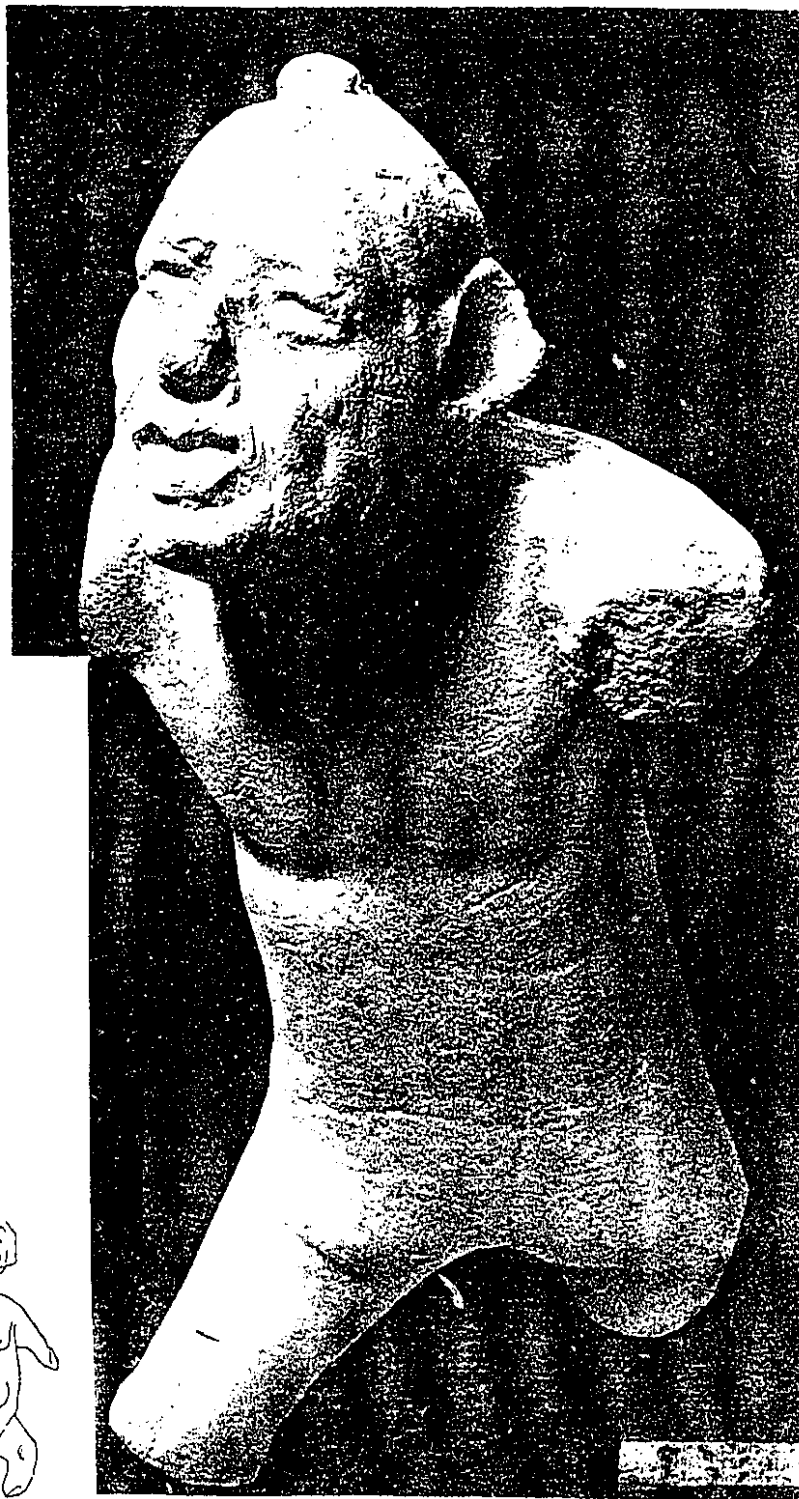


171



172

168-172. Athletes(?),
bronze



173. Athlete(?),
terracotta



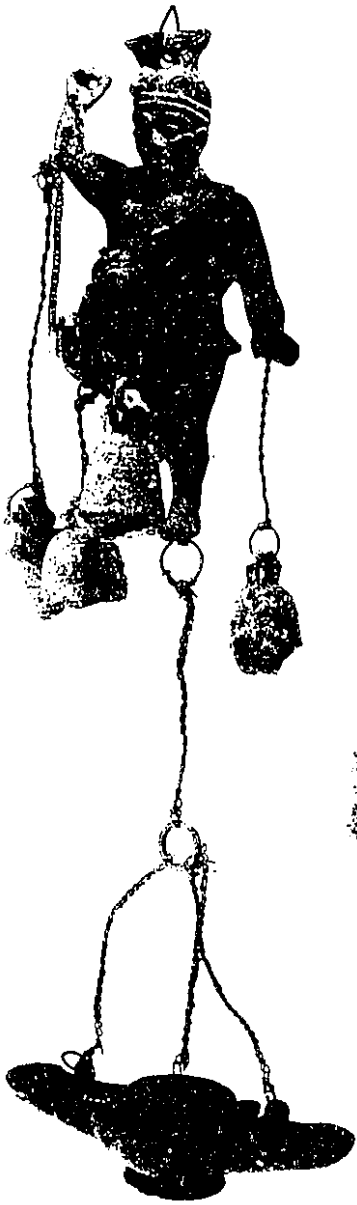
174. Athlete(?),
terracotta
(five views)

175. Athlete(?),
terracotta

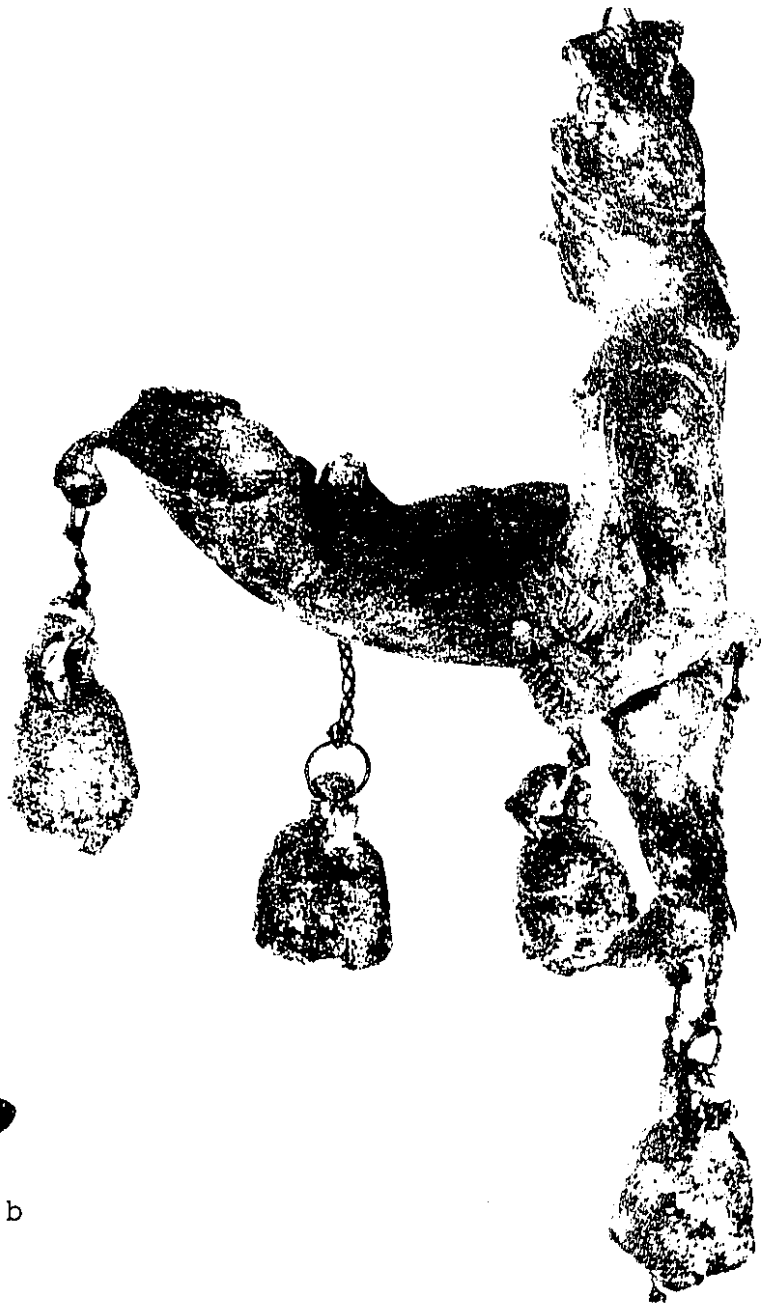




176a. Tintinnabulum,
bronze



b



c

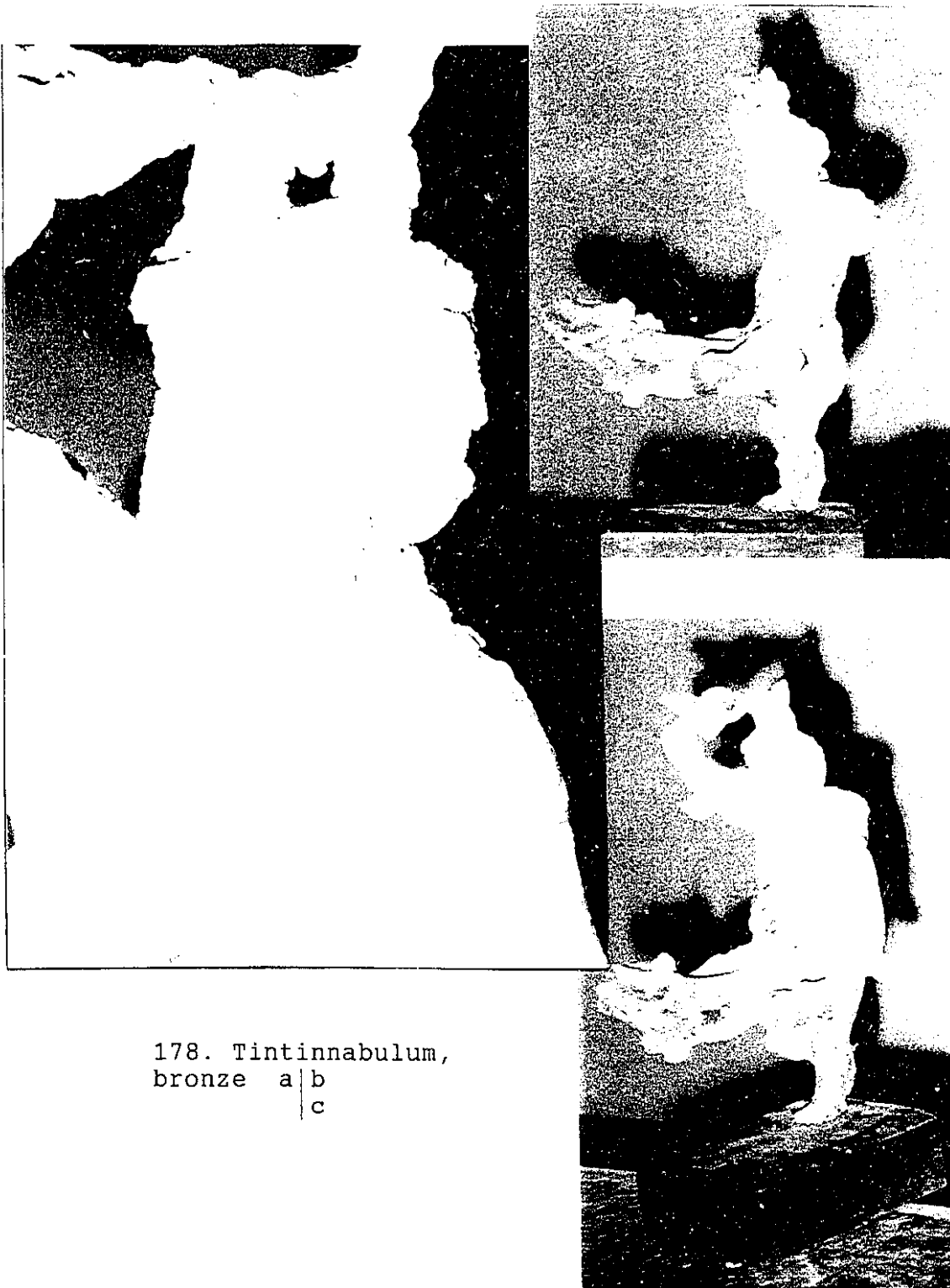


177a. Tintinnabulum,
bronze

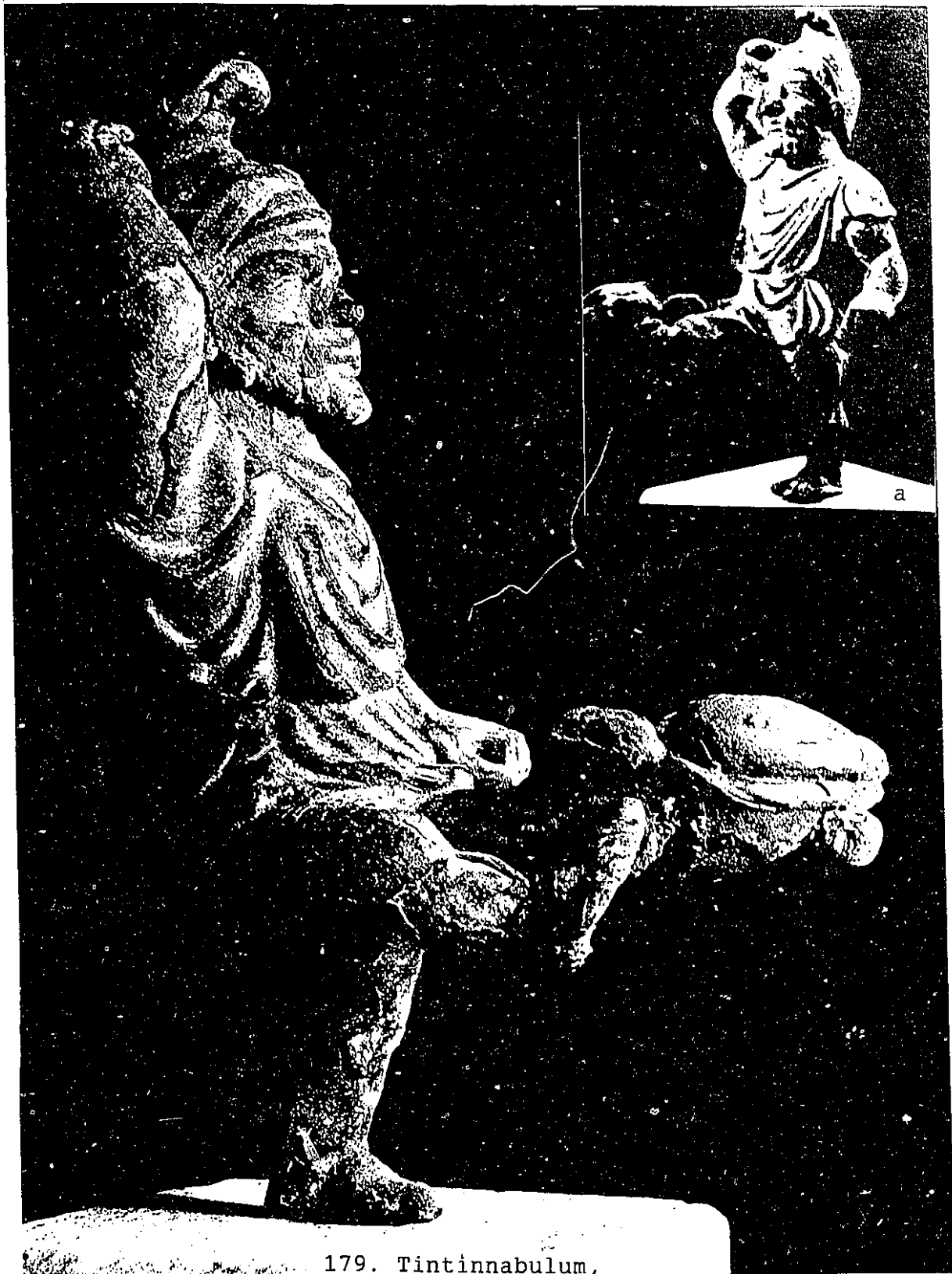


b

c



178. Tintinnabulum,
bronze a | b
| c



179. Tintinnabulum,
bronze

b



180. Tintinnabulum,
bronze



a



b



c

181. Tintinnabulum,
bronze



b



c



a

182. Tintinnabulum,
bronze



183. Tintinnabulum,
bronze



184. Tintinnabulum,
bronze



185. Tintinnabulum,
bronze

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