

PLATO'S STEPCHILDREN: DISABILITY IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT AND THE  
HELLENISTIC WORLD (332-30 BCE)

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## **Abstract**

In this thesis, I examine through the identification of art objects and other artefacts, evidence relating primarily to physical disability in Ptolemaic Egypt and the Hellenistic world (332-30 BCE). I ask what do the artefacts themselves and their very existence tell us about the lived experiences and societal treatment of ancient disabled people during this period? It also examines how much more can be learned about disability in the ancient past if we do not automatically view disability as a negative, source of suffering, or from a medicalised perspective. This evidence primarily comes from the collections of the British Museum, Brooklyn Museum of Art, and Metropolitan Museum of Art, although the collections of the Ashmolean, the Manchester Museum, and the Louvre were also examined in the course of this research. I draw upon the methodologies contained in disability studies, historical, and reception studies. This thesis consists of sections on: a geographic section focused on named individuals connected to ancient Macedonia, representations of people and mythological figures with dwarfism, blindness and vision impairments, cerebral palsy, mobility impairments as related to clubfoot and other similar conditions, spinal disability, and medicine, healing, and prosthetics. I argue that ancient people had no concept of disability as being a societal limitation and therefore no concept of lowering expectations of those with disabilities. It was part of life to be dealt with and lived with. Additionally, I examine how instances of ableist and disablist bias have shaped our understanding of the ancient past. Furthermore, I argue that artistic representations of disability from this period in history are primarily non-stigmatising, and examine the societal implications of an elite class of disabled people, the implications heretofore unrecognized. I also demonstrate how an understanding of the physical embodiment of impairment has aided in its

identification in ancient art, and showed why a disabled perspective is needed in the examination of the ancient world. Finally, I conclude that society during this period, while not being ableist, does appear to have been disablist, particularly in the ancient Greek world.



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This thesis is dedicated to, and is a love letter of sorts, to the disabled community. This is our history and it deserves to be acknowledged and told.

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## 1. Introduction

“Without knowledge, skill cannot be focused. Without skill, strength cannot be brought to bear and without strength, knowledge may not be applied.”- attributed to Alexander the Great

While there has been extensive archaeological, historical, and historiographical research into the ancient world, disability within ancient world studies has been a traditionally overlooked topic. This is a field that has only really started to gain validation as an area of research within the past five to ten years, and is therefore still relatively new. As Alexander the Great stated, knowledge, skill and strength are all interconnected, an interconnectedness that is needed between scholars. Scholars interpreting the past cannot use their full skills if they have no knowledge about the lives of disabled people within the ancient world context. Artefacts that clearly represent disabled people of the past have been unknown, ignored, or passed over as curiosities. This thesis investigates disability during the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic Period as depicted through material culture (c. 332-30 BCE). In other words, it asks what do the artefacts themselves and their very existence tell us about the lived experiences and societal treatment of ancient disabled people during this period?

### *Terminology*

For the purposes of this thesis, *disability* is defined as a condition or difference that is seen as limiting or restricting a person's physical movement, senses, activities or overall well-being and ability to function. *Ableism* consists of ideas, practices, institutes, and social relations that presume ablebodiedness (or nondisabledness), and, by so doing, construct persons with disabilities as

marginalized.<sup>1</sup> *Disablism* is a set of assumptions (conscious or unconscious) and practices that promote the differential and unequal treatment of people because of actual or presumed disabilities.<sup>2</sup> *Stigma* references societal stigma which is the evocation of adverse responses to bodily difference.<sup>3</sup> The social and medical models of disability as mentioned above will also be referenced. However, specific definitions of disabilities will appear in relevant sections of this thesis. For the most part, they will follow the medical definitions, where relevant, since at this time this is the most accessible. This being said, it must be understood that our contemporary medical definitions of disability are not necessarily how the ancients Egyptians and Greeks recognised them, and that not all medicalised definitions can be applied directly onto the ancient past. Additionally, the medical and social models of disability, therefore cannot be used to directly analyse older societies which had different understandings and cultural contexts than we do today. Moreover the social model does not fully theorize impairment and with all its ramifications, societal, physical and personal, thus it falls short of considering embodiments and lived experiences of disabled people.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, the medical/charitable model allows for categorization without seeing the humanity present within these categories. However, these models can help frame discussion around the topic of disability, and are useful in identifying both ableist and disablist biases in the work of other scholars.

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<sup>1</sup> Vera Chouinard, "Making Space for Disabling Difference: Challenging Ableist Geographies," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 15 (1997): 380.

<sup>2</sup> Fiona Kumari Campbell, *Contours of Ableism: The Production of Disability and Aabledness* (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2009): 4.

<sup>3</sup> Joan Susman. "Disability, Stigma, and Deviance," *Social Science & Medicine* 38.1 (1994): 15-22.

<sup>4</sup> Alexandra F. Morris and Debby Sneed "Blog: A Brief Guide to Disability Terminology & Theory in Ancient World Studies," August 30, 2021, Society for Classical Studies, <https://classicalstudies.org/scs-blog/alexandra-morris/blog-brief-guide-disability-terminology-and-theory-ancient-world-studies>

### *Arguments & Historical Background*

These artefacts and this thesis argue that disability during this period was not seen as a societal limitation. More specifically, the aims of this thesis are to identify artefacts that are related to or representative of disability, and ascertain what these objects/artefacts, and human remains can tell us about the lived experience of disability, both at the societal level, and the individual experience during this period. Furthermore, by examining and understanding disabled lives during this period this thesis will better illuminates the society as a whole, as those who were disabled were interconnected with ancient society. Also, throughout the course of this research, both the ableist and disablist biases and the inappropriate and derogatory language used by other scholars in their publications on disability in an ancient world context will be discussed. Additionally, an examination of scholarship reveals that ableist and disablist biases have actively muddled our understanding of disabled lives in the ancient world. The use of this language may not be meant to be hurtful, however ignorance is no excuse for its use. It can sometimes also reveal a deliberate choice not to engage with the living disabled community, as if there were engagement then they would know that these terms are harmful. Unlike previous scholars, I have explicitly tried to use language which the disability community deems to be appropriate at the time of writing this thesis. This includes the use of, identity first language (i.e. I am autistic), except for those disabilities where, people first language (i.e. I am a person with Down's Syndrome), is generally preferred. The thesis that follows will also explore how my own experiences as a physically disabled scholar has given me additional expertise into this area of study that nondisabled scholars do not have. This will be explicitly discussed in the relevant chapter on cerebral palsy.

My interest in ancient Egypt and the ancient world started at a very young age with the Scholastic First Discovery Book, *Pyramids* by Claude Delafosse, Gallimard Jeunesse, and Phillippe Biard (1995). I was particularly obsessed with the illustrated page of Howard Carter finding the tomb of Tutankhamun, and referred to Carter as the “no-talking man,” every night when I insisted the book be read to me. By the time I was eight, I was independently reading books like Edith Hamilton’s *Mythology*, and by nine, I had read Rosalie David’s *Conversations with Mummies*, and decided I wanted to be an Egyptologist. I studied Latin, became the youngest member (age eleven) of the Westchester chapter of the Archaeological Institute of America and by fourteen, I was participating in my first archaeological dig. I went on to triple major in Archaeological Studies, Art History, and Anthropology and double minor in Classics and history at SUNY Potsdam, and obtained my first graduate degree in Near Eastern Languages and Civilisations (Egyptology) at the University of Pennsylvania, and my second graduate degree in Museum Studies at New York University.

I am congenitally disabled, and have cerebral palsy, dyspraxia, as well as undiagnosed dyscalculia. My impairments are invisible to most outsiders, meaning I have been able to pass as nondisabled for the majority of my life, often at the expense of my personal well-being. The concept of impairment is part of the social model of disability, which was first introduced by both the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (1974) and by Michael Oliver in *The Politics of Disablement* (1990), and has since been “incorporated into the agendas and practices of governments, welfare agencies, quangos (quasi-non-governmental organizations), charities, and a variety of other organizations worldwide.”<sup>5</sup> The social

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<sup>5</sup> Michael Oliver and Colin Barnes. *The New Politics of Disablement*. (New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2012), 165.



model views society as the problem, and it differentiates between impairment and disability.<sup>6</sup> An *impairment* is a person's physical, mental, emotional, or intellectual difference(s), while *disability* refers to the social consequences of having or being presumed to have an impairment. People are "disabled by society and not their impairments."<sup>7</sup> In this model, it is not the individual, their body and impairments, which need to be corrected, but the society that prevents disabled people from participating equitably, in relation to "structural aspects of the social and material conditions experienced by disabled people in the family, education, income and financial support, employment, housing, transport, and the built environment."<sup>8</sup> The older medical/charitable model of disability views disability as a problem or a deficit located within individuals; because disability is an individual problem, disabled people must actively work to fix themselves — through rehabilitation, medication, prostheses, assistive devices, and so on — so that they conform with or more closely match the bodies, minds, and behaviours of nondisabled people. In this case, the problem is in the body or simply *is* the body of the disabled person.<sup>9</sup>

My theoretical understanding of disability theory and its significance developed during my second graduate degree at New York University through internationally known disability activists and scholars Simi Linton and Kevin Gotkin. However, like many disabled people, I have developed an understanding of disability over time, and that society views me, and others like me largely as oddities and anomalies. This has been both beneficial, and problematic, as I often find myself

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<sup>6</sup> Michael Oliver. *The New Politics of Disablement*. 164-164.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 164-165.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 164-165: Alexandra F. Morris and Debby Sneed "Blog: A Brief Guide to Disability Terminology & Theory in Ancient World Studies," August 30, 2021, Society for Classical Studies, <https://classicalstudies.org/scs-blog/alexandra-morris/blog-brief-guide-disability-terminology-and-theory-ancient-world-studies>

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

caught in the liminal space between the non-disabled and disabled communities, and seemingly do not fit in either. I have too often experienced well-meaning but hurtful comments from others when they finally realise that I am not normative, ranging from “but you don’t look disabled,” usually intended as a compliment, to “what happened to you?” I was raised to be comfortable and open about being a disabled person, and for the majority of my life, while I have experienced microaggressions such as the ones discussed above fairly regularly, did not experience any major grievances or blatant egregious ableism because of it. However, that all changed during my first graduate school experience, and forced a change in the trajectory of my entire academic career. This was directly caused by treatment I received in my first graduate program where the university still followed the medical model of disability rather than the social model. This meant I was expected to adjust myself to meet ableist societal/ academic standards. The university did not examine, nor see the relevance of, how they could or should adjust to meet my needs as a disabled person. This was further exacerbated by a nondisabled disability services office and faculty who had received no training on how to deal with disability. The default attitude of the disability services office staff seemed to be that they expected me to express gratitude for getting anything, to become offended when I expressed my needs as a disabled person were not being adequately or legally met, and patronisingly suggest that they knew what was better for me when it came to my accommodations. Additionally, the office’s alternative testing site had a series of humiliating stipulations for its use, i.e. no long sleeves, no food, no bathroom breaks, the use of provided writing implements and all of these restrictions, as well as the extended turnaround times from the disability services office led to a myriad of problems. The difficulty scheduling and having to prepare exams months ahead of

time, then not receiving the examinations back from disability services until weeks afterwards, coerced some professors to seek and create more convenient alternatives for themselves, thereby skirting legal requirements and eliminating oversight by the disability office. In essence due to the systematic lack of support from the university, both professors and disabled students were left to fend for themselves, creating a hostile system where disabled students were set up for exclusion and failure. In summary, my experience is best encapsulated by the following quote, "I've never had a disabled student before, what do I do with you?" With two exceptions, I was never seen as a whole disabled person, and most there seemed to equate having a physical disability as being the equivalent to a cognitive impairment. Like some of the artefacts discussed in this thesis, I was identified but the larger societal implications were overlooked or ignored.

It just so happened that the museum associated with this university, where these incidents occurred, displayed an Egyptian mummy who is physically impaired. This middle-aged man, whose name no longer survives, had one leg that was several inches shorter than the other and was buried with a cane. This nameless mummy and my personal experiences with discrimination while in my first graduate program prompted me to focus my perspective through questioning and examining the lives of ancient physically disabled people. I found the scholarly literature on the subject was absent. Too often, researchers consider gender, age, and ethnic differences but continue to reconstruct the past from a nondisabled perspective, discounting that an equally important view existed. When the idea of disability is cautiously examined, it seems to be primarily from a medical perspective, rather than a socially constructed one, or historically documented one. As we will see, disability has been systematically ignored and neglected in both Classical and Egyptological

research, resulting in an entire population of people being erased from history. Disabled people constitute 15% of the world's population, according to the United Nations, while the World Health Organisation, estimates there are over one billion disabled people worldwide, making disabled people the largest minority group worldwide.<sup>10</sup> However, disabled people remain largely invisible. Meanwhile, we will also see that the realm of disability studies as a discipline does not focus on antiquity and instead primarily focuses on the modern era. The disciplines of ancient world scholars and disability studies rarely intersect or interact with one another. This is a symptom of a larger issue within society, possibly a result of how the discipline of disability studies was founded, and also the continued trivialisation of the lives of disabled people within society today, which has led to ancient world studies still being primarily dominated by nondisabled scholars.

Much like myself, this study does not fit neatly into any one particular discipline or label. My research focuses on disability within the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic world. This time period was a blending of two different cultures and combines my love of Egyptology and interest in Alexander the Great and Classics. Additionally, because of Alexander the Great's policies, it is perhaps the first period in history where the disabled population both individually, and collectively as a group, was also the one who held power.<sup>11</sup> I seem to be the first scholar who has realised the potential societal implications of this, as will be further discussed in the chapter on ancient Macedonia. My research is interdisciplinary; it combines different subdisciplines in history, as well as disability studies, and reception studies, and

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<sup>10</sup> World Health Organization. "Disability and Health: Fact Sheet," November 24, 2021, <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/disability-and-health>: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. "Factsheet on Persons with Disabilities," 2021, <https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/resources/factsheet-on-persons-with-disabilities.html>

<sup>11</sup> Robin Lane Fox. *Alexander the Great*. (New York; Penguin, 1986), 303.

therefore is not able to be grouped nicely into any one category. To quote disability studies scholar Rosemary Garland-Thomson, “Disability, like gender, and race, is everywhere, once we know how to look for it.”<sup>12</sup> Disabled people deserve to see themselves reflected in, and to learn about our own history, including our own ancient history. It is equally important to know where we have been as to determine where we are going, and one can be used to ascertain the other. There are so many artefacts which can help show us the lives of ancient disabled people, if we only have the will and wisdom to see them.

While the ancient world has been extensively studied using the traditional means of archaeological, historical, and historiographical research, disability within ancient world studies has been largely ignored. Recently, scholars have begun to acknowledge that there were indeed disabled people in the ancient world and their roles need to be validated. There have been, from what I have discerned, three distinctive generations of scholars focusing on disability in the ancient world. It should be noted that disability in ancient world studies is a distinctive field which has rarely overlapped with disability studies scholarship until the third generation, meaning that the perspectives and understandings that have been established in the disability studies discipline are often missing, and the resulting historical scholarship is often two dimensional in comparison. The first generation originated approximately thirty years ago in the mid 1990s and included those who studied disability as part of monstrosity and teratology, and included Robert Garland.<sup>13</sup> Monstrosity and teratology, in this instance, mean to be grossly malformed, a thing which is outrageously evil or wrong. Therefore, the study of congenital abnormalities, and

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<sup>12</sup> Rosemarie Garland-Thomson. “Integrating Disability, Transforming Feminist Theory,” *NWSA Journal* 14.3 (2002): 28.

<sup>13</sup> Robert Garland. *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

relating these abnormalities to the fantastic or mythological creatures, means that Garland saw the subjects of study as being sub-human, and approached the study with outright ableist and disablist biases. The second generation, originated in the 2000s and 2010s, overwhelmingly examine disability from a medicalised perspective, and their work often contains both ableist and disablist biases, which often appear in tandem building off of each other. They have additionally framed disability in terms of something to be pitied, or as charity cases. Examples from this generation include Christian Laes, Martha L. Rose, Edgar Kellenberger, and Rosalie David amongst others.<sup>14</sup> I am part of the third generation, which seems to have originated during the past three to five years, although my work started and overlapped with those from the second generation (2013). This third generation, sees disability not as a source of pity or charity, or from a medical perspective, but rather embraces disability studies scholarship and is trying to push beyond the social model of disability to explore concepts of embodiment. Disability studies is a discipline which examines the nature of disability, and its social, political, ethical, and cultural implications. It tends to be interdisciplinary unlike Egyptology and historiography which can have very narrow focuses. Another definition of disability studies is to “weave disabled people back into the fabric of society.”<sup>15</sup> We overwhelmingly tend to be activists as well as scholars, and are also unique in that many, but not all of us, are also disabled ourselves. Scholars from this generation besides myself include Debby Sneed, Kyle Lewis Jordan, and Hannah Vogel. More specifically within the field of Egyptology, there have only been two generations of

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<sup>14</sup> Christian Laes and Martha L. Rose, *Disability in Antiquity*, (New York: Routledge, 2017); Martha L. Rose, *The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Rosalie David. "Egyptian Medicine and Disabilities: from Pharaonic to Greco-Roman Egypt", 75-89. In Christian Laes, *Disability in Antiquity*, (New York: Routledge, 2017).

<sup>15</sup> Simi Linton. "What Is Disability Studies?" *PMLA* 120.2 (2005): 518.

scholars focused on disability. The first generation which includes Rosalie David, views disability conceptually in terms of medicalisation. Methodologically, therefore my work shares some similarities with those of the second generation as I came to the idea of embodiment later on in my research, but I have largely embraced the approach of this new third generation of ancient world scholars. To my knowledge, at the time of writing this, I am also one of a small number of scholars examining disability and ableism in Egyptology worldwide. The work of these, as well as of the first and second generation of scholars will be discussed in further detail in the introduction, as well as throughout the thesis when relevant.

This thesis has been divided into sections based primarily on disability type, and examines evidence related to physical disability, with the exception of one section which is focused geographically because of the multitude of named disabled historical figures present during this time period. This division is both because of the evidence which was found, and because of what kinds of objects were identified, in part because of my own lived experience as a disabled person. These sections include: representations of people and mythological figures with dwarfism, blindness and vision impairments, cerebral palsy, a geographic section focused on ancient Macedonia, mobility impairments as related to clubfoot and other similar conditions, spinal disability, and medicine, healing and prosthetics.

The *Ptolemaic Period* and *Hellenistic Period* are generally recognized as the time from the death of Alexander the Great (c. 323 BCE) up to the time of the death of Cleopatra VII and Rome's takeover of ancient Egypt (c. 30 BCE). However, there is some debate among scholars as to the exact end of this period, with some claiming it ended as early as 146 BCE with the Roman conquest of parts of Greece, whereas as others recognize Cleopatra VII's defeat, and suicide after the battle of

Actium as the defining end to the period.<sup>16</sup> The Ptolemaic Period more specifically references and occupies the same time period as the Hellenistic Period, but is geographically specific to ancient Egypt, whereas Hellenistic Period describes the geographic area under Greek influence during this time. It extended as far east as sections of modern west and central Asia, and parts of India, and as far west as the ancient Mediterranean world. For the purposes of this thesis, especially since it primarily focuses on objects related to Egypt, I am defining this period as starting with Alexander the Great's conquest of Egypt in 332 BCE.<sup>17</sup> It is then when Greek cultural influence began mixing with ancient Egypt on a widespread scale with the installations of Greek satraps and the founding of Alexandria, rather, than with the death of Alexander himself. All other terms will be defined and/or translated as they appear in this paper.

Both the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic Period were dominated by war. Both periods formed in the power vacuum created by the death of Alexander the Great, and the successive wars between his generals. Alexander's empire was fractured as all his former generals vied for power and territory. The Ptolemaic dynasty was founded by Ptolemy I Soter, who was one of Alexander the Great's generals and close friends. It was in fact, one of the longest dynasties to ever rule in Egypt. However, prior to Ptolemy I, Alexander was recognized as pharaoh. His half-brother Philip III Arrhidaeus, who is believed to have had an unspecified disability which will be discussed in more detail in the section on Macedonia, was also recognized by the

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<sup>16</sup> Peter Green. *Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic Age*. (London: Phoenix, Orion Publishing, 2008), xiii.

<sup>17</sup> Note that while I define this period as approximately 332-30 BCE, the date ranges of the artefacts examined will range from 664 BCE-2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE in some instances because of how artefacts have been dated/classified in museum contexts. In cases where artefact date ranges extend in either direction over the specified time period, I have done my best to ensure they are geographically specific to Egypt, and are representative of either Greek or Egyptian culture.



ancient Egyptians as pharaoh. When the Greeks conquered Egypt under Alexander the Great, they were welcomed as liberators.<sup>18</sup> Egypt before this point had been ruled by the Persians who ignored and violated Egyptian customs and religious beliefs, in such acts as removing priests from the Theban Temple of Amun, resulting in anti-Persian sentiment.<sup>19</sup> This was in direct contrast to the Greeks, who had settled in Egypt with permission from the Egyptians prior to this period in enclaves such as Naucratis. These immigrant Greeks allowed the Egyptians to continue their customs and religious beliefs without active interference, and established a precedence for continued tolerance during the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>20</sup> This policy was first emphasised under Alexander the Great in his founding of Alexandria, as noted by historian Guy Maclean Rogers, “that Alexander included a temple consecrated to the Egyptian Isis in his plan is, however, another indication of his respect for the religious traditions of a foreign people.”<sup>21</sup> Some of these beliefs central to the ancient Egyptians, which were allowed to continue during this period were the concepts of *Ma’at* (order, truth) and *Set/Isfet* (chaos, violence), and the idea of dualism which pervaded the entire Egyptian worldview. As will be seen in this thesis, these ideas seem to have manifested in artistic representations from this period in the form of some gods who had both a male and female form, as well as in the depictions of disabled bodies. Within Egypt, power was held during the Ptolemaic Period primarily by a Greek bureaucratic ruling class, who as time went on, respected, and adopted more and more Egyptian customs. This set up a precedent for the Ptolemaic Period which made it unique and led to some defacto mixing of Greek and Egyptian culture,

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<sup>18</sup> Jean Bingen. *Hellenistic Egypt: Monarchy, Society, Economy, Culture*, 243-244.

<sup>19</sup> Christelle Fischer-Bovet. *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 17.

<sup>20</sup> Jean Bingen. *Hellenistic Egypt: Monarchy, Society, Economy, Culture*, 243-244.

<sup>21</sup> Guy Maclean Rogers. *Alexander the Great: The Ambiguity of Greatness*, (New York: Random House, 2004), 92.

as seen in the form of hybrid gods such as Harpocrates who will be discussed in more detail in the section on cerebral palsy. One such custom which was adopted by the Ptolemies, and seems to have a Macedonian history as well, was the practice of marrying family members, including sibling marriages, to keep power within the family line. Despite the respect and tolerance towards native Egyptian customs and religious practices, native Egyptians were kept out of this ruling class, seemingly only obtaining power if they adopted Greek language, customs, and culture. During this period, Macedonian war veterans and their families settled throughout the entirety of Egypt, encouraged in part by land grants, as well as other sections of Alexander the Great's former empire, bringing their culture with them. Prior to this, there had only been isolated Greek enclaves within Egypt, the city of Naucratis being one such example.<sup>22</sup> Since these were war veterans, they also most likely had some form of acquired disability obtained from their time in battle, leading to a unique situation where the disabled male population was also the one in charge. It should be noted that this practice of settlements was begun early in the campaign during Alexander's life so age did not necessarily play a factor as to why they were left behind, meaning disability was more likely the contributing factor. Despite society being stratified, with the Greeks forming an upper class, the culture itself became more homogenized and blended as time went on, thanks in part to intermarriages of native Egyptians with other immigrant populations.<sup>23</sup> During the Ptolemies' reign, the Ptolemies' continued to fight battles on all fronts, as they engaged with Alexander's former generals in the beginning of the period, subsequently put down multiple native rebellions originating in the south of Egypt in the middle and end of the dynasty (during the reigns of

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<sup>22</sup> Stanley Meyer Burstein. *The Reign of Cleopatra*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 7; Jean Bingen. *Hellenistic Egypt: Monarchy, Society, Economy, Culture*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 104-113, 132-140, 206-212.

<sup>23</sup> Christelle Fischer-Bovet. *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 6.

Ptolemy IV Philopater, Ptolemy V, and Ptolemy IX Soter II). The end of the dynasty became involved in Rome's civil war, which ultimately proved to be Cleopatra VII's undoing.<sup>24</sup> There was therefore, also a standing army and navy consisting of a diverse population of Greeks, Egyptians, and other mercenaries for much of the dynasty. Fischer-Bovet notes that this created "the formation of a local elite made up of Greek, Egyptian and Greco-Egyptian soldiers acting for the local gods."<sup>25</sup>

Since there was a standing army and navy, and warfare continued throughout the period, this also seems to have created a unique cultural situation where there was potentially a steady stream of disabled war veterans throughout the entire duration of the period. What was also unique about the Ptolemaic system as opposed to elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, was the initial land grants were granted with the expectation of military service, meaning that the sons of these veterans would also serve in the military, and that the Ptolemies were guaranteed at least two generations of soldiers.<sup>26</sup> After this period the Romans, again were viewed as conquerors, rather than as liberators, which might explain the shift in attitude toward disability that seems to be present after the Ptolemaic Period. Since the Greeks remained in charge for the entirety of the Ptolemaic period, it seems logical to conclude that disabled veterans continued to maintain positions of power, even after initiatives like the land grants issued by the Ptolemies had expired/only applied to certain elite military forces towards the end of the period.<sup>27</sup> As Christelle Fischer-Bovet also argues, what is unique about Ptolemaic Egypt was the:

intermarriage of soldiers with Egyptian women [which] also provided the army with recruits of a mixed cultural and linguistic background... [this with] local recruitment... converted the army into an engine driving the integration of different ethnic groups and of soldiers into the rest of society. This

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<sup>24</sup> Jean Bingen. *Hellenistic Egypt: Monarchy, Society, Economy, Culture*, 153, 197, 265.

<sup>25</sup> Christelle Fischer-Bovet. *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 13.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 118-119, 123, 65.

development is specific to Ptolemaic Egypt, in contrast to the contemporary Seleucid kingdom.<sup>28</sup>

Despite all this political turmoil, Egypt remained incredibly wealthy, with the Ptolemies sponsoring massive art and public building projects. They funnelled large sums of money into both these and the native Egyptian religion, which led to the completion and restoration of many projects first undertaken by prior dynasties.<sup>29</sup> Most of this monetary wealth was contained to the upper classes, leading to the rebellions mentioned earlier, as a large portion of native Egyptians no longer saw benefits to Ptolemy rule, despite originally welcoming Alexander and his men as liberators from the Persians when they arrived in Egypt in 332 BCE.<sup>30</sup> The main cities of power and importance within Egypt during this period were the capital and trading hub of Alexandria, the trading port of Naucratis, and the religious centre of Ptolemais.<sup>31</sup> What is also noteworthy about this particular period, which Fischer-Bovet notes is the link between the Ptolemaic military and the ancient Egyptian religion

Demands for *asylia* by a *chiliarchos* of the *machairophoroi* and a *chiliarchos* of the *lonchophoroi*, a Corinthian and a man from Antioch, respectively, show that officers probably often had Greek ancestors. But these demands involve Egyptian temples and suggest that these Greeks were connected with Egyptian families in the first century BC<sup>32</sup>

Egypt also had a tradition of linking the military with religious services as centuries earlier under the pharaoh:

Horemheb (c. 1332–1305 BC), also attest to significant landholding by soldiers and veterans, often connected with priests. Horemheb awarded military men priestly offices, especially at the end of their career. This close relationship between soldiers and priests in Egypt still existed under the Ptolemies.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 6, 197.

<sup>29</sup> Jean Bingen. *Hellenistic Egypt: Monarchy, Society, Economy, Culture*, 60, 121, 219, 240-255.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 243-244.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 115.

<sup>32</sup> Christelle Fischer-Bovet. *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 151-152.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 200.

Also notable is the link between the Ptolemaic military and those holding political power:

In terms of bargaining power, soldiers were in a strong position vis-a`-vis the rulers, since the latter were in a harsh competition for resources and territory in the decades following Alexander's conquest. Each ruler needed both to hire well-trained soldiers and to prevent his rivals from hiring them.<sup>34</sup>

These elements combined to create a unique situation in which disabled people in Ptolemaic Egypt were connected with both political and religious power within society, and taking on the view of Fischer-Bovet, Edmond Van't Dack, and Willy Clarysse, cultural fusion and multiculturalism did exist in some form in Ptolemaic Egypt, although debates about the extent of it do remain.<sup>35</sup>

### *Methodology*

The type of data that is utilized in this thesis is primarily historical or qualitative data. The majority of evidence will be art/museum objects, and their relevant contexts will be discussed if known. Textual evidence where relevant, will also be discussed. However, it should be noted that due to the covid pandemic lockdowns and closures which occurred at the time of this research, certain types of ancient textual evidence were not able to be consulted in depth. This was due to not being able to visit museums safely in person, both due to lockdown restrictions, and as a disabled researcher whose disability puts them in a higher risk category for coronavirus. Objects were identified as being disability representation through both

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 167.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 6: Willy Clarysse. "Some Greeks in Egypt," in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, edited by Janet H. Johnson. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 51. (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of Chicago, 1992), 51–56: Edmond Van't Dack. "L'armé e de terre Lagide: reflet d'un monde multiculturel?," in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, edited by Janet H. Johnson. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 51. (Chicago, The Oriental Institute of Chicago, 1992), 327–341.

using the preestablished iconography of disability present in both Egyptian and Greek art from prior time periods, especially in the instances of named disabled individuals like the Old Kingdom dwarf persons Seneb and Perenankh for which there is a combination of textual, artistic, and skeletal evidence, and then examining art for similar identifiers, or in cases of other named historical figures like Philip III Arrhidaeus: having them be identified textually as disabled, and then examining existing art collections for any surviving representations of these named individuals. In cases of deities or mythological representations, again they were first identified textually as having a disability, and then artistic representations were sought out. The potential societal implications for having disabled gods, are that they continued a trend seen in earlier time periods in Egypt and Greece. They also perhaps reflected a population who wanted gods in their own image, and saw them as protective entities. There was a market, and therefore a societal desire for this kind of art in this period. Much like myself, this study does not fit neatly into any one particular discipline or label. My research focuses on disability within the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic world. This time period was a blending of two different cultures and combines my love of Egyptology and interest in Alexander the Great and Classics. Additionally, because of Alexander the Great's policies, it is perhaps the first period in history where the disabled population both individually, and collectively as a group, was also the one who held power.<sup>36</sup> I seem to be the first scholar who has realised the potential societal implications of this, as will be further discussed in the chapter on ancient Macedonia. Additionally, this thesis uses source material from multiple languages. In instances where translations are used like when original text appears on artefacts or literary references are made, the original text will be followed by a

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<sup>36</sup> Robin Lane Fox. *Alexander the Great*. (New York; Penguin, 1986), 303.

translation in order to make this paper more accessible to readers. Some scholarly Egyptological and Classical literature tends to quote sources in multiple languages without including translations, making them inaccessible to some readers. Source material includes French, Ancient Greek, Latin, Middle Egyptian, Demotic, and Sahidic Coptic in some instances. In instances of the usage of non-Latinised alphabets, the original text, if available, will be followed by a transliteration, followed by the translation in an effort to make the text more accessible to readers. Using multiple languages is necessary as older Egyptological literature has not been translated into English or between languages. It is also necessary as because this was a period of cross-cultural influence in a large geographic area, multiple languages were in use at the time. Unlike other scholars, where disciplinary standards focus on ancient Greek and Latin, or on various forms of ancient Egyptian, often at the exclusion of the other sets of languages, I have elected to draw upon both in order to gain a fuller understanding of this period in history.

#### *Prior Scholarship*

As stated prior, disability in the ancient world has long been a neglected area of research which only recently seems to be getting the attention it deserves. When disability has been examined historically most accounts start with the Biblical time period and then progress to later in history. These more recent accounts from the second generation of disability in ancient history scholars mostly start with ancient Greece and continue forwards, while also primarily utilising the medical/charitable models of disability. Ancient civilizations prior to Greece have been rarely studied. Disability history when studied from a disability studies perspective usually focuses on the 19<sup>th</sup> through 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. This thesis aims to comprehensively examine disability in the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic Periods, using a cross-disciplinary

historical and disability studies approach, with my own expertise as a disabled scholar being explicitly utilized. I will attempt to address in this thesis, another question which arose during the research, whether the mixing of cultures during the Hellenistic impacted the treatment of disabled people during this time period. I intend to focus primarily on ancient Egypt and ancient Greece, but will reference other ancient Hellenistic civilizations if they are relevant. The evidence for disability during this period seems to fall under three main categories: artistic representations, medical evidence, and evidence arising from other artefacts. However, finding evidence for disability in the ancient world is difficult and challenging. Since the field is just now beginning to flourish, while there are some specialist sources available, references to disability are often buried in other sources: nothing examining the topic during either the Hellenistic or Ptolemaic in depth has currently been published, and artistic items representative of, or related to, disability in museum catalogues are not searchable as such. An example of this, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter four is the figure of a child with a wheeled walking aid found in the British Museum. While it has been identified as being an example of possible disability representation, it is not labelled using the word disability, and the larger societal implications of this object have additionally not been addressed until my own research.

Due to my geographic location during the completion of my PhD, what museums had collections that were relevant to my research, as well as the accessibility of collections, publications on objects, and images of the objects themselves, I have chosen to focus on the collections from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Brooklyn Museum, the British Museum, the Ashmolean, the Manchester Museum, and the Louvre, with most artefacts being from the collections of the first



three museums. Specific search terms that were used in this extensive search process include: Ptolemaic, Hellenistic, disability, disabled, grotesque, blind, deaf, teratology, teratological, illness, medicine, medical, dwarf, dwarfism, and congenital. Besides searching museum catalogues, examining books and articles written by other historians and disability scholars, my methodology briefly included physically going to the museums and looking for disability related artefacts, as I know from prior experience that some examples are not clearly visible from online catalogues, or are included within exhibitions without explanation. There are undoubtedly many more artefacts related to disability located worldwide. However, with museums often housing thousands of artefacts, not always having online catalogues, and not necessarily knowing everything they have (which reflects larger systemic problems in the museum world), until such things are labelled/referenced better in museum catalogues searching for them is an extremely time-consuming process.

There is a plethora of artistic evidence for disability in the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic Periods. Most of this evidence is believed to have come from artists working in the city of Alexandria.<sup>37</sup> There are two main categories of artistic representations of disability. The first is what has been traditionally classified by modern day scholars using the derogatory term “grotesques,” which generally are terracotta figures of disabled individuals.<sup>38</sup> The second category recognised by modern art historians are known as worker or servant figures, and depict people carrying out typically menial tasks.<sup>39</sup> However these are not the only artistic representations of disability found in the historical record. The ancient Egyptians had

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<sup>37</sup> Martha Robertson. *A History of Greek Art: Volume 1*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 558.

<sup>38</sup> John Onians, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age: The Greek World View 350-50 BC*. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979), 33, 40.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 33, 40.

been depicting physical disability in their art for millennia prior to the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>40</sup> This did not seem to change under foreign rule, or when the Greeks seized political power of the civilisation.<sup>41</sup> Some depictions of those with disabilities as well as certain types of disabilities (dwarfism being one such example), seem to increase during the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>42</sup> Depictions of the god Bes, who had dwarfism, remained popular during this period. Bes was the god of women, children, childbirth, and protector of households. Similarly, depictions of a manifestation of the god Ptah, known as Pataikos, were especially popular during the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic Periods.<sup>43</sup> Ptah was the Egyptian god of craftsmen, architects, patron god of Memphis and husband of Sekhmet, goddess of warfare and medicine.<sup>44</sup> In later time periods Ptah was considered to be the father of both Nefertum, god of the blue lotus, and Imhotep, a deified historical figure, who was considered the god of medicine and healing.<sup>45</sup> The Pataikos manifestation of Ptah is considered to function as an apotropaic entity and was depicted as a god with dwarfism.<sup>46</sup> Interestingly also during this period the Greek god Hephaestus was not always depicted as disabled. Hephaestus was the god of craftsmen, and is alternately said to be either lame of leg or have clubbed feet.<sup>47</sup> However, gods were not the only individuals who were depicted with disabilities. There is also evidence of artistic depictions of members of

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<sup>40</sup> Alexandra F. Morris. "Let the Artifacts Speak: A Look at the Physically Disabled of Ancient Egypt," (MA Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2014); Heba Mahran, and Samar Mostafa Kamal, "Physical Disability in Old Kingdom Tomb Scenes," *Athens Journal of History* 2.3 (2016): 169-191.

<sup>41</sup> Chahira Kozma. "Historical Review: Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt," *American Journal of Medical Genetics Part A* 140 (2005): 303-311.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 303-311.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 303-311.

<sup>44</sup> Veronique Dasen. *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 46-49.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 49; Miriam Lichtheim. *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1980), 106.

<sup>46</sup> Veronique Dasen. *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, 47, 84-85.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 198-199.

the menial classes with disabilities. These are primarily found in the Fayuum mummy portraits, but other sculptural evidence exists as well.<sup>48</sup>

Additional lines of evidence for disability in Ptolemaic Egypt are mummies. The Egyptians routinely mummified their dead, and this practice continued into the Ptolemaic Period, with the Greeks living in Egypt adopting this practice.<sup>49</sup> In the past decade or so there has been a renewed interest in examining mummies from a medical perspective under CT scan and other medical technologies, and trying to obtain a better concept of what their overall health may have been.<sup>50</sup> Additionally, there have been studies done on prosthetics that were found with mummies or in Egyptian tombs, which have found that these prosthetics were functional and appeared to have been used during people's lifetimes.<sup>51</sup> There was also a prosthetic leg discovered in Italy (the Capua leg) that dates back to circa 300 BCE, which shows signs of wear, having been used by the person for whom it was made.<sup>52</sup> There are some primary source materials too, which speak to disability in the ancient world. These source materials consist of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman medical texts, works by Greek and Roman philosophers, and certain plays written by Greek authors. Two of the most important Egyptian medical texts are the *Edwin Smith Papyrus* (1600 BCE) and the *Ebers Papyrus* (1550 BCE), which listed the protocols for different types of injuries and conditions. They specified what an Egyptian

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<sup>48</sup> *Terracotta Statuette of an Emaciated Woman*. 1<sup>st</sup> century BC; Terracotta, At: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 89.2.2141.

<sup>49</sup> James P. Allen. *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 37-38; Albert M. Lythgoe. "Græco-Egyptian Portraits." In *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 5.3 (March 1910): 68.

<sup>50</sup> Rosalie David and Rick Archbold. *Conversations with Mummies: New Light on the Lives of the Ancient Egyptians* (New York: Harper Collins Publishing, 2000), 16-35, 89-118, 125-144, 150-168; James P. Allen. *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*, 36-37.

<sup>51</sup> Jacky Finch, "The Complex Aspects of Experimental Archaeology: the Design of Working Models of Two Ancient Egyptian Great Toe Prostheses," 29-48. In *Protheses in Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2018), ed. Jane Draycott.

<sup>52</sup> *Copy of Roman Artificial Leg*. 300 BC; 1905-1915; Bronze; Brass, Plaster At: London, The Science Museum Group. A646752

physician would treat without any reservations, would attempt to treat but not guarantee the outcome of, and what they would refuse to treat in a patient.<sup>53</sup> While these date to much earlier than the Hellenistic Period, they show what could be expected as the standard of care given by an ancient Egyptian physician, and more importantly what conditions the ancient Egyptians considered were worthy of seeking medical attention. They also show that the Egyptians believed in the use of both a scientific approach and a magical approach to treating injuries and disease.<sup>54</sup> One such example from the papyri which shows the more scientific medical care available is for treatment of a head wound:

Title:

Practices for a gaping wound in his head, which has penetrated the bone and split the skull.

Examination and Prognosis:

If you treat a man for a gaping wound in his head, which has penetrated to the bone and split his skull, you have to probe his wound. Should you find something there uneven under your fingers, should he be very much in pain at it, and should the swelling that is on it be high, while he bleeds from his nostrils and ears, suffers stiffness in his neck, and is unable to look at his arms and his chest then you say about him: 'One who has a gaping wound in his head, which has penetrated to the bone and split his skull, while he bleeds from his nostrils and his ears and suffers stiffness in his neck: an ailment I will fight with.'

Treatment:

Since you find that man with his skull split, you should not bandage him. He is to be put down on his bed until the time of his injury passes. Sitting is his treatment, with two supports of brick made for him, until you learn that he arrives at a turning point. You have to put oil on his head and soften his neck and shoulders with it. You should do likewise for any man you find with his skull split.

Explanations:

As for 'which has split his skull,' it is the pushing away of one plate of his skull from another, while the pieces stay in the flesh of his head and do not fall down. As for 'the swelling on it is high,' it means that the bloating that is on that split is great and lifted upward. As for 'you learn that he arrives at a

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<sup>53</sup> James P. Allen. *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*, 72-115.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-12.

turning point,' it is to say you learn that he will die or until he has revived, since it is, 'an ailment I will fight with.'<sup>55</sup>

This particular example is significant because it details the treatment offered for what would have been a common battle injury, and we know that this period in history was generally one of war and political strife, which resulted in a disabled elite class who held both political and religious power, as we will see later in the thesis. Another example that shows the use of magic is a spell against fever:

I am sound in the path of those who pass by. So shall I be hit while sound? I have seen the great tempest. You fever, don't push into me! I am one who escaped from tempest. Be far from me!<sup>56</sup>

One approach was not seen as more effective or more important than the other. Egypt is known to have had at least three medical schools located in Alexandria, Sais, and Abydos, one of which was dedicated solely to the training of women physicians, and was run by women.<sup>57</sup> Medical schools in Egypt were referred to as *peri-ankhs*, or houses of life, and doctors were generally referred to by the term *swnw*, but had other titles which referenced their medical specialities, and place in the Egyptian medical hierarchy.<sup>58</sup> Egyptian medicine had doctors with specializations including ophthalmologists, midwives, gastroenterologists, dentists, and proctologists.<sup>59</sup> The first female doctor in history, whose existence is not currently debated, (unlike Merit-Ptah who dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> dynasty if she existed), is believed to be Peseshet who lived during the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> dynasty (c. 2500 BCE).<sup>60</sup> The Greek

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid. 74-75.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. 107-109.

<sup>57</sup> Sahar Saleem, "Ancient Egyptian Medicine and Health in the Eyes of Modern Science," American Research Center/NY Lecture, Egyptian Consulate at the United Nations, December 5, 2018.

<sup>58</sup> John Nunn. *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 124.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 124.

physician Galen is believed to have received some of his medical training from Alexandria.<sup>61</sup> Public medical care was offered during the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>62</sup>

A secondary line of evidence for disability in the ancient world are those votive offerings/stelae left at Egyptian and Greek temples. These seem to have been offered to the gods along with prayers in exchange for the healing of the person offering them. Specific Egyptian ones that have been discovered at the Temple of Amun near the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina state things like, "let mine eyes behold my way to go," and "thou causes me to see darkness by day," and may show evidence of occupationally caused disability from working in the dimly lit tombs.<sup>63</sup> This may also be evidence of the Egyptians viewing blindness and other eye disorders caused by occupation differently than cases of blindness and eye disorders that were congenital.<sup>64</sup> In terms of Greek and Roman medical authors, we have the texts of the Greek and Roman physicians such as Galen, Hippocrates, Herophilos, and Erasistratus.<sup>65</sup> It is reported that the Ptolemies allowed the vivisection of criminals by court physicians.<sup>66</sup> We also hear about Egyptian and Greek medicine in the works of the historian Herodotus and author/historian/philosopher Pliny the Elder.<sup>67</sup> All of the above are considered respectable sources of information about the ancient world. Herophilos and Erasistratus practiced medicine during the Hellenistic Period. It should be noted that

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 207.

<sup>62</sup> Michael Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World: Volume II* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1941), 1088-1095.

<sup>63</sup> Rosalie A. David. *The Pyramid Builders of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 85.

<sup>64</sup> Alexandra F. Morris. "Let the Artifacts Speak: A Look at the Physically Disabled of Ancient Egypt," (MA Thesis, 2014), 43-44.

<sup>65</sup> John Nunn. *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 206-208.

<sup>66</sup> Roy MacLeod. *The Library of Alexandria: Centre of Learning in the Ancient World*. (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2002), 7.

<sup>67</sup> Pliny the Elder. *Naturalis Historia (The Natural History)*. Translated by John Bostock and Henry T Riley (London: HG Bohn, 1855), Perseus Digital Library, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.02.0137> (accessed November 14, 2019).

Galen was practicing medicine during the Roman Period, but can still be considered a reliable source on Hellenistic Period medical knowledge because he studied medicine in Alexandria. Similarly, Pliny the Elder was Roman, but wrote an encyclopaedia, *Naturalis Historia*, that attempted to include all ancient knowledge that was known at the time. Herodotus, while generally being considered a reliable source on the ancient world, can be seen as a sometimes questionable source of information on ancient Egypt. Hippocrates was from slightly before the Hellenistic Period, but is a good representation of what the Greek's medical knowledge was prior to this period in time. Another source of information on Greek medicine are miracle inscriptions written during the Hellenistic Period, which describe the sick going to temples/shrines of the Greek god of medicine Asclepius and asking for the god to heal them.<sup>68</sup> The Greeks appeared to have been on about the same level as the Egyptians when it came to medical knowledge, and with the idea that both magic and medicine could be used interchangeably. Like the Egyptians, they also believed in the use of plants as medicinal materials.<sup>69</sup> Specific disabilities that they are reported to have tried to treat using plant materials include paralysis, various eye disorders, and epilepsy.<sup>70</sup>

Specific concepts that branch from medicine and ethics that are disability related are the concepts of infanticide and euthanasia. These concepts were addressed by a number of Greek and Roman philosophers and historians. This included Aristotle, Plato, Pythagoras, and Seneca and the Stoics. All of the above are considered well respected sources of information about the ancient world.

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<sup>68</sup> Michel Austin. *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 269-270.

<sup>69</sup> Annette Giesecke. *The Mythology of Plants: Botanical Lore for Ancient Greece and Rome* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2015), 37-40.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 41-42, 53, 77, 132.

Pythagoras and Plato were prior to the Hellenistic Period, while Aristotle was contemporaneous with it. Plato was influenced by Pythagoras and was the teacher of Aristotle. The later Stoics were a philosophical movement which emerged during the Hellenistic Period, and Seneca was a philosopher and statesman who followed Stoic philosophy during the Roman Period. The Greeks, in modern secondary historical scholarship are said to have generally favoured exposure as a means of practicing infanticide.<sup>71</sup> This was reflected in their mythology.<sup>72</sup> Pythagoras, recognised for his work in maths, was opposed to abortion, infanticide, suicide, and euthanasia on both religious and moral grounds.<sup>73</sup> The famous philosophers Aristotle, Plato, Seneca, and the Stoics wrote that they supported abortion and infanticide.<sup>74</sup> Aristotle also opposed suicide and euthanasia on social grounds, but clarified that infanticide and euthanasia should be used in cases of disabled infants.<sup>75</sup> Plato opposed suicide, but supported euthanasia in cases of disability or illness.<sup>76</sup> Seneca and the Stoics supported both suicide and euthanasia for social and religious reasons.<sup>77</sup> The practice of infanticide was also mentioned by the Greek historians/ biographers Polybius and Plutarch, and the Greek physician Soranus.<sup>78</sup> Sarah B. Pomeroy takes the view that infanticide was practiced in ancient Greece, but it primarily affected male babies of the lower classes, particularly in Sparta.<sup>79</sup> Pomeroy specifies that the Greeks recognized that some disabilities could be

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<sup>71</sup> Martha L. Rose, *The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 29, 46-49.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 29, 46-49.

<sup>73</sup> Paul Carrick. *Medical Ethics in Antiquity: Philosophical Perspectives on Abortion and Euthanasia*. (Lancaster: D. Reidel, 1985), 99-125, 208-215.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 99-125, 208-215.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 99-125, 208-215.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 136-141, 148-150.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 136-141, 148-150.

<sup>78</sup> Michael Rostovtzeff *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World: Volume II*, 623-624.

<sup>79</sup> Sarah B. Pomeroy. *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece: Representations and Realities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 48-49, 53, 55.



congenital, and hereditary.<sup>80</sup> She also asserts that infanticide was rarely practiced in Ptolemaic Egypt.<sup>81</sup> The ancient historian Diodorus Siculus seems to support this assumption as he notes that the Egyptians raised all of their children in his *Library of History* covering Egypt.<sup>82</sup> Robert Garland, who was among the first generation of scholars, takes the view that infanticide was routinely practiced in ancient Greece.<sup>83</sup> Martha L. Rose, who is among the second generation of disability in ancient history scholars, takes the view that infanticide was practiced in ancient Greece, but rarely, or at least not as commonly as most historians are thought to believe. Aristotle and Plato had to write urging that people should be practicing infanticide in their treatises on an ideal society, meaning that it was not frequently occurring in reality.<sup>84</sup> However, Debby Sneed, who is among the third generation of disability in ancient world studies scholars, has recently argued that infanticide does not seem to have been a common occurrence in ancient Greece, as based on archaeological, bioarchaeological, and literary evidence (2021).<sup>85</sup> Therefore, while possibly being practiced in ancient Greece, infanticide was not practiced in ancient Egypt, and this may possibly be one example of how the mixing of cultures during the Hellenistic influenced how the disabled were treated in society, at least in Ptolemaic Egypt. This is incredibly interesting since the Greeks were believed to be the dominant political and social group during Ptolemaic Period.<sup>86</sup> It might mean that the native culture in Egypt influenced the dominant culture during the Ptolemaic Period, and could

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 98-99.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 226-227.

<sup>82</sup> Diodorus Siculus *Loeb Classical Library: The Library of History of Diodorus Siculus: Volume 1*, translator Charles Henry Oldfather, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), 275-276.

<sup>83</sup> Robert Garland. *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 13-15, 58-67.

<sup>84</sup> Martha L. Rose, *The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece*, 29, 46-49.

<sup>85</sup> Debby Sneed. "Disability and Infanticide in Ancient Greece," *Hesperia* 90.4 (2021): 747-772.

<sup>86</sup> Michael Rostovtzeff. *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World: Volume II*, 1098-1197.

potentially serve as evidence that there was some mixing of cultures during this time period, despite the overarching historical belief, as discussed by Michael Rostovtzeff (1941) , Jean Bingen (2007), and other scholars, that the Greeks and Egyptians did not mix culturally.<sup>87</sup> However, the Greeks adapting Egyptian mummification practices is one piece of evidence which also seem to disavow this historical belief.

A play which addresses impairment in ancient Greece is Sophocles's *Philoctetes*. *Philoctetes* was written circa 400 BCE, so is from slightly before the Hellenistic Period, but gives us insight into how disability as related to war was seen by the ancient Greeks. It tells the story of the attempts of Neoptolemus and Odysseus to bring the Greek hero *Philoctetes* to Troy to fight in the Trojan War. *Philoctetes* had previously been abandoned by Odysseus and the other Greek heroes on the island of Lemnos after being bitten by a snake on the foot.<sup>88</sup> The foot injury proved to be disabling, and foul-smelling, so he was left behind by the other Greek heroes on their way to Troy. However, prior to the opening of the play, ten years into the Trojan War the seer Helenus tells the Greeks they will need *Philoctetes* if they are to defeat the Trojans. The play opens with Odysseus and Neoptolemus returning to Lemnos to entice *Philoctetes* to come with them back to Troy. They both try various tactics trying to convince the still wounded *Philoctetes* to come with them, with Neoptolemus eventually consenting to take *Philoctetes* back to Greece instead of to Troy. However, it is not until Heracles appears before them as a deity, to tell *Philoctetes* that if he goes to Troy, he will be healed and the Greeks will win. With that assurance, *Philoctetes* consents to go with them to Troy. This play

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<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 1098-1197.

<sup>88</sup> Sophocles. *Philoctetes*. Translated by Sir Richard Jebb. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), Perseus Digital Library, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0194> (accessed November 13, 2019).

reveals that disability could be seen as something to be disparaged or shunned, within the context of going to war in ancient Greece. However, this play also subverts the trope of the disabled being seen as useless by making Philoctetes essential to the winning of the Trojan War. It also examines the belief that the gods were just as capable of healing people as medical practices, something we know from the many healing temples, that people from this period still believed to be true. Medicine, and magic or religion were seen as interchangeably capable of healing someone.

A collection of poems written during the Hellenistic period which also references impairment is Theocritus's *The Idylls*. It depicts two Greek women living in Alexandria going to a festival of Adonis at the Egyptian royal palace. It gives the viewer a look at life in the city of Alexandria. While getting ready to go the festival, the two women, Gorgo and Praxinoa, gossip about their husbands, and tell Praxinoa's son that he cannot go with them, despite his pleas. Praxinoa tells her son he cannot come with them to the festival stating she is worried about him getting trampled by the large crowds, "Cry as much as you like, for I cannot have you lamed."<sup>89</sup> This particular quote from the epic reveals that acquired disability was seen as an expected if disadvantageous part of life in Ptolemaic Egypt. It was not an unusual occurrence, and people with impairments would have been visible during this period, perhaps in larger numbers than expected.

In prior historical scholarship, disability has been a rarely addressed topic. When it has been addressed by modern day scholars, it often is not free from modern day societal biases about disability, which assume that those with disabilities were treated negatively in the past because they are now. This is particularly prevalent among the first and second generation of disability in ancient world studies

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<sup>89</sup>Ibid., 35-36.

scholars. The first generation, in particular, Robert Garland looked at disability in relation to monstrosity.<sup>90</sup> The second generation, favours the medical/charitable models, even if they themselves are not consciously aware they are using it. The rare exception from the second generation to this is Martha L. Rose's *The Staff of Oedipus: Disability in Ancient Greece* (2003). Her approach considers modern day disability studies scholars and theorists like Simi Linton, and is a blend of disability studies and historical scholarship.<sup>91</sup> Rose's book has been well received by other members of the historical community and has been referenced in other scholarship on disability in the ancient world as "the only one of its kind."<sup>92</sup> Her methodology is somewhat similar to the approach I take in this thesis in that she also acknowledges the social model, groups her research by disability type, and focuses on physical impairments. However, she focuses on an earlier time period (Classical Greece) than I do in my thesis. Furthermore, while, modern day scholarship on other periods in ancient history is a growing field, scholarship that comprehensively examines disability during the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic periods is nearly non-existent. To date, no one has looked at this time period by itself, instead grouping it in with either Egyptian or the Roman time periods. However, there have been some studies of specific subtypes of disability during this period including Lisa Trentin's *The Hunchback in Hellenistic and Roman Art* (2015), Jane Masségia's *Body Language in Hellenistic Art and Society* (2015), and A. Mitchell's, "The Hellenistic Turn in Bodily Representations: Venting Anxiety in Terracotta Figurines" (2017). All three of these studies, while making valuable contributions to the study of disability in antiquity, do

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<sup>90</sup> Robert Garland. *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

<sup>91</sup> Martha L. Rose. *The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece*, 65.

<sup>92</sup> Lisa Trentin. *The Hunchback in Hellenistic and Roman Art*. (London: Bloomsbury Academic Publishing, 2015), 3.

not offer a complete picture of what life was like in the ancient world for the disabled. All of these individuals are also from the second generation of disability in ancient world studies scholars, and follow the medical/charity model of disability, in which disability is seen as a negative and something to be pitied. In particular Masségliá's study does not address completely evidence of disability from the Egyptian side of Ptolemaic culture.<sup>93</sup> While Masségliá does discuss Bes figures and briefly examines textual evidence from the wisdom texts of the *Instructions of Amenemope*, she dismisses well-renowned Egyptologists, like Zahi Hawass, who have found evidence of those with dwarfism who were well-treated in ancient society. She does not address Pataikos at all.<sup>94</sup> "In some, albeit rare, cases we also find figurative commemorations of dwarfs who held magisterial office. But this degree of acceptance and integration cannot have been common."<sup>95</sup> Her study seems wedded to the narrative of the disabled being treated poorly in the ancient past, and cannot seem to see past this narrative to what the evidence appears to be saying. This is a blatant example of ableist bias which is often present in the scholarship of disability in an ancient world context, the failure to see the humanity behind the artefacts.

There have also been some studies that examine other time periods and cultures in ancient history including Veronique Dasen's *Dwarves in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (1993), Robert Garland's *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World* (1995), Christian Laes's *Disabilities in Roman Antiquity: Disparate Bodies A Capite ad Calcem* (2013), Christian Laes and Martha L. Rose's *Disability in Antiquity* (2017), and Christian Laes's *Disabilities and the Disabled in the Roman World: A Social and Cultural History* (2018), which gives

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<sup>93</sup> Jane Masségliá. *Body Language in Hellenistic Art and Society*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 267-269.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.

hope that the field is expanding, and more interest is being taken in this critical topic. Robert Garland and Veronique Dasen are from the first generation of disability in ancient world studies scholars, and Dasen is also from the first generation of Egyptologists to study disability. Christian Laes, and Martha L. Rose's works, as well as the other scholars who have published in the books they have edited are again from the second generation of disability in ancient world studies scholars who follow the medical model. However, these too are blatantly ableist and disablist, with scholars in Christian Laes's and Martha L. Rose's collection *Disability in Antiquity* (2017) utilizing well recognized slurs such as "retarded," and "mental retardation," ad nauseum within the scholarship, along with other ableist attitudes.<sup>96</sup> Those accounts of disability in Ancient Greece and Egypt, which do exist primarily examine the time periods before the rise of the Macedonian Empire and the fall of native Egyptian rule in Egypt.<sup>97</sup> Accounts encompassing ancient Egypt are extremely rare. To date they seem only to consist of Dasen's book focusing on the examination of dwarfism, David Silverman's article on the etymological differences in ancient Egyptian between terms used to refer to dwarf people and the derogatory, and colonialist term pygmies, a single book chapter by Rosalie David that examines disability from a medical perspective, Chahira Kozma's articles on dwarf people from a medical perspective, paleopathology reports and articles on mummies (Zimmerman 1977: Zimmerman and Aufderheide 2010: Zakrzewski 2014) a single article by Mahran and

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<sup>96</sup> Christian Laes and Martha L. Rose, *Disability in Antiquity*, (New York: Routledge, 2017) 1, 2, 58, 99, 15, 267, 389.

<sup>97</sup>Martha L. Rose. *The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece*, 65; Robert Garland. *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World*, 66, 136; Veronique Dasen. *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*; David P. Silverman. "Pygmies and Dwarfs in the Old Kingdom." *Serapis: The American Journal of Egyptology* 1 (1969): 53-62; Rosalie David. "Egyptian Medicine and Disabilities: from Pharaonic to Greco-Roman Egypt", 75-89. In Christian Laes, *Disability in Antiquity*, (New York: Routledge, 2017); Heba Mahran, and Samar Mostafa Kamal, "Physical Disability in Old Kingdom Tomb Scenes," *Athens Journal of History* 2.3 (2016): 169-191; Alexandra F. Morris. "Let the Artifacts Speak: A Look at the Physically Disabled of Ancient Egypt," (MA Thesis, 2014).

Kamal examining artistic depictions of disability in the Old Kingdom, chapters on deformity in some books on ancient Egyptian disease and medicine (Reeves 2001: Nunn 1996: Filer 1995), and my 2014 MA thesis that tried to examine disability as a whole from a social and societal perspective.<sup>98</sup> All of these examples with the exception of my MA thesis, are from the first generation of Egyptologists who have examined disability in ancient Egypt, and all of them, again with the exception of my MA thesis, employ a medicalised perspective. I am currently aware of Kyle Lewis Jordan (University College of London) who is researching disability and bodily difference in the Predynastic royal court, and Hannah Vogel (Macquarie University) who is also researching disability and bodily difference in pharaonic Egypt. I am also aware that Emily Grace Smith- Sangster (Princeton University) has recently published an article disagreeing with my past published work on Tutankhamun and artistic disability representation, although her main research area is not disability.<sup>99</sup> They along with myself, make up the second generation of Egyptological scholars examining disability.

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<sup>98</sup> Veronique Dasen. *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); David P. Silverman. "Pygmies and Dwarfs in the Old Kingdom." *Serapis: The American Journal of Egyptology* 1 (1969): 53-62; Rosalie David. "Egyptian Medicine and Disabilities: from Pharaonic to Greco-Roman Egypt", 75-89. In Christian Laes, *Disability in Antiquity*, (New York: Routledge, 2017); Sonia Zakrzewski, "Paleopathology, Disability and Bodily Impairments," in *Palaeopathology in Egypt and Nubia: A Century in Review*, eds. Rosalie David et al, 57-68. (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014); Michael R. Zimmerman and Arthur C. Aufderheide. "Seven Mummies of the Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt: Seventeen Diagnoses," *Paleopathology Newsletter* 150 (2010): 16-23; Chahira Kozma. "Historical Review: Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt," *American Journal of Medical Genetics Part A* 140 (2005): 303-311; Chahira Kozma, Ralph Lachman, Azza Mohamed Sarry El Din, et al. "The Ancient Egyptian Dwarfs of the Pyramids," *American Journal of Medical Genetics Part A* 155 (2011): 1817-1824; Michael R. Zimmerman, "The Mummies of the Tomb of Nebwenef: Paleopathology and Archeology," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*. 14 (1977): 33-36; Heba Mahran, and Samar Mostafa Kamal, "Physical Disability in Old Kingdom Tomb Scenes," *Athens Journal of History* 2.3 (2016): 169-191; Carol Reeves. *Egyptian Medicine*. (Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications, 2001); John Nunn. *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*; Joyce Filer. *Disease*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995); Alexandra F. Morris. "Let the Artifacts Speak: A Look at the Physically Disabled of Ancient Egypt," (MA Thesis, 2014).

<sup>99</sup> Emily Grace Smith-Sangster. "Crutched Pharaoh, Seated Hunter: An Analysis of Artistic Portrayals of Tutankhamun's Disabilities," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 57 (2021): 235-251.

In disability studies scholarship, disability in the ancient world is a rarely addressed topic. When it is addressed at all, the majority of older texts focus on the practice of infanticide in Greece and Rome.<sup>100</sup> They also overwhelmingly take a negative view of the treatment of the disabled in the ancient world.<sup>101</sup> The older texts also seem to note that more historical research needs to be done. With the exception of Rose's and Trentin's books, modern texts, as discussed below, in the disability studies discipline still ignore disability in the ancient world, while simultaneously focusing on modern day issues, and stating that more historical research needs to be done. It is both surprising and concerning that the analysis of the state of ancient historical research in disability studies published by disability studies scholars has not changed much in over thirty years. Excerpts from introductions to disability histories, looking at the state of the discipline, and addressing the need for more research written in the 1980s, 1990s, mid-2000s, and 2010s, are virtually identical. Some of the more poignant highlights include: Henri-Jacques Stiker in *Disability in Antiquity*: "But one question has not stopped plaguing me. My effort remains isolated. I have not stimulated the debate that I expected...Even if the weaknesses of my book were faulted, it remains distressing that no university chair in history, no program in anthropology, has been devoted to this dimension of society."<sup>102</sup> David T. Mitchel in *The Body and Physical Difference: Discourses on Disability*: "The predominance of disability in the biological, social, and cognitive sciences parallels an equally ominous silence in the humanities...the humanities has not privileged disability as a foundational category of social experience or symbolic investment."<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Alexandre Mitchell. "The Hellenistic Turn in Bodily Representations: Venting Anxiety in Terracotta Figurines," 182-196. In Christian Laes, *Disability in Antiquity*, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 182-183.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 182-183.

<sup>102</sup> Henri-Jacques Stiker. *A History of Disability* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), xx.

<sup>103</sup> David T. Mitchell. *The Body and Physical Difference: Discourses on Disability* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 1-2.



Susan Burch and Michael Rembis in *Disability Histories*: “Works included in this collection consider, for example, earlier and later time periods than many disability historians have considered; most historical works in the field have tended to focus on the global North and West and the early nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century...Academic discussion of impairment and disability in the social sciences has been slow...until recently there have been few historical studies of disability...”<sup>104</sup> This may possibly be a reflection of the societal biases towards disability and those with disabilities. Disability is still seen as a minority group that is often excluded in discussions of other minorities.

To date museums are becoming more aware of the need for accessibility in museum exhibitions and programming. However, to my knowledge there has never been a museum exhibition which addressed disability in the ancient world as its primary focus. However, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier’s 2011 exhibition *Armut in der Antike* did address disability as relating to poverty in the ancient world.<sup>105</sup> More recently, at the time of writing this thesis, there have also been attempts to incorporate disability in the ancient world in some fashion into smaller, specialist exhibitions, including *An Archaeology of Disability* at La Biennale Di Venezia, located in Venice which ran from May 22, 2021 to November 21, 2021, which looked at reconstructing the Greek Acropolis from an impairment lens, and focuses on a reconstruction of a single stone seat.<sup>106</sup> Another more recent offering was *Onbeperkt Toegang / Unlimited Access Symposium*, which included a symposium on disability

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<sup>104</sup> Susan Burch and Michael Rembis. *Disability Histories*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 10, 18, 22.

<sup>105</sup> Christian Laes “Reviewed Work: *Armut in der Antike. Perspektiven in Kunst und Gesellschaft* by Jürgen Merten,” *L’Antiquité Classique* 81 (2012): 384-85.

<sup>106</sup> “An Archaeology of Disability,” David Gissen, Jennifer Stager, and Mantha Zarmakoupi. May 22-November 21, 2021, <https://www.labiennale.org/en/architecture/2021/stations/david-gissen-jennifer-stager-and-mantha-zarmakoupi>

in an ancient world context on June 25, 2021 paired with an exhibition that focused on a reconstruction of a single Roman street, and contained medicinal artefacts at the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam.<sup>107</sup> This symposium was held in honour of a retiring curator, and the focus in subject matter seemed to have only happened because of her request.<sup>108</sup> A final exhibition worth mentioning because it acknowledged that some Egyptologists think Tutankhamun could have been disabled is the travelling replicas exhibition *The Discovery of King Tut*, which toured the United States in 2015-2016.<sup>109</sup> However, despite the exhibition's mentioning disability, the information was neither clear nor specific. The exhibition catalogue revealed that part of the problem was having nondisabled researchers trying to discuss disability without an understanding of said disabilities and their implications. In the exhibition itself, discussion of Tutankhamun's disabilities was left until the very end of the exhibition and consisted of only the picture that Albert Zink had published with his article depicting what he believed Tutankhamun might have looked like and a small accompanying caption explaining the recent research. This was located off the main exhibition in the corner of a small room that one could easily skip over or miss completely. The picture itself, also revealed ableist bias as it depicted Tutankhamun in his underwear, rather than the robes and other clothing he would have worn as pharaoh, and seems to exaggerate his disabilities to the point of negative caricature. These stylistic choices have the result of both disrespecting and stigmatising Tutankhamun and his disabilities, rather than depicting him as a powerful disabled historical figure who was recognised as a god in his lifetime. This reconstruction can be compared to reconstructions seen later in this thesis of Philip

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<sup>107</sup> "Onbeperkt Toegang /Unlimited Access Symposium," Allard Pierson Museum, June 25, 2021, <https://allardpierson.nl/events/symposium-onbeperkt-toegang/>

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> "The Discovery of King Tut," Premier Exhibitions," <http://www.tutnyc.com>, last updated 2016

II, which depict him as a disabled king of Macedonia in a respectful manner.



Figure A. *Reconstruction of a disabled Tutankhamun as reconstructed by Albert Zink's research team.*  
BBC One. From the 2014 documentary *Tutankhamun: The Truth Uncovered*.

The accompanying book to the exhibition, *Discovering Tutankhamun from Howard Carter to DNA* also briefly discusses Tutankhamun's disabilities. It fails to comprehend how having several disabilities, which affected Tutankhamun's feet and therefore potentially his balance, would have affected him when discussing possible causes of death:

He had a number of disorders related to his feet. The accident, perhaps a fall from a chariot, that gave him the leg fracture could have resulted in an embolism or maybe a wound that became infected...I propose the following theory regarding the young king's death: as shown by the CT scan conducted in 2005, he had suffered an accident a few hours before he died. This might have happened, for example while he was out hunting wild animals from his chariot in the desert near Memphis.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Zahi Hawass. *Discovering Tutankhamun: From Howard Carter to DNA*. (New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2013), 159.

Ironically, this text is located directly above an image of Tutankhamun hunting while sitting down on a stool, with his wife, Ankhensenamun, handing him arrows, and directly across from an image of Tutankhamun using a cane to help him walk, while she hands him papyrus flowers. Egyptian chariots were designed so that users had to stand up and balance in them during use, something that would have been extremely difficult for the disabled Tutankhamun to do, and he is shown in the art sitting, meaning accommodations were most likely made for his disabilities.<sup>111</sup> Hawass, while mentioning Tutankhamun's disabilities, continued to try and reconstruct a nondisabled narrative for someone who is now believed to be physically disabled.

Disability in the ancient world is currently a growing topic in which historical scholars have finally started to take an interest. The disability studies field however is lagging behind the traditional, accepted historical field in terms of scholarship in this area. Investigations using a disability studies perspective have primarily been conducted separately by historians, rather than those who are primarily disability studies scholars, with very little overlap. In terms of historical scholarship about the ancient world, while there is increasing interest in post-Greek civilizations, pre-Greek civilizations have not been studied in depth. Similarly, while there is an increasing interest in work on the Ptolemaic Period, it is still seen by some Egyptologists as not worth studying because it was not really Egypt.<sup>112</sup> Therefore work on the Ptolemaic Period has been primarily completed by Classicists. This has led to some methodological problems as scholars studying disability during this time period have not addressed some relevant cultural materials, either because they are not aware of

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<sup>111</sup> Jaromir Malek. *Egypt: 4000 Years of Art*, (London: Phaidon Press, 2003), 210.

<sup>112</sup> Sarah B. Pomeroy. *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece: Representations and Realities*, 1-5.

them, or because they do not strictly fall in their discipline, as discussed above in terms of languages studied. Those studies of disability which do exist, are also primarily ableist and disablist, further distorting disability in an ancient world context, as one must look beyond the biases of modern-day researchers to see what the material actually seems to be saying. Unfortunately, it seems the majority of researchers do not look past this (which may be reflective of larger systemic societal biases within the ancient world studies and museum fields), and accept what is said at face value, leading to further distortions within their own accounts as their own biases are added on top of the ones already placed by other researchers. All of these factors have led to an incomplete and inaccurate picture of disability in the ancient world.

### *Structure of This Thesis*

As previously stated, this thesis will consist of the following sections: representations of people and mythological figures with dwarfism, blindness and vision impairments, a geographic section focused on named individuals connected to ancient Macedonia, cerebral palsy, mobility impairments as related to clubfoot and other similar conditions, spinal disability, and medicine, healing and prosthetics. Chapters after one giving the historical context to the period will start with what are perhaps the easiest disabilities to visually identify, and progress to disabilities which are both harder for someone who is untrained to visualise, and are perhaps more theoretical representations. The first chapter will focus on the geographic area of ancient Macedonia, and those disabled individuals associated with the time period of Alexander the Great. It will argue that the ancient Macedonians, much like the ancient Greeks, recognized two categories of disability: the war wounded, and the congenitally disabled. It will also posit that the societal attitude towards disability was

mixed, and much like today, disabled individuals had different opinions about disability. It will also discuss disabled people being the elite class and people in power for perhaps the first time in recorded history. Additionally, it also posits that ableist and disablist biases have muddled our understanding of the ancient world.

The second chapter will examine representations of people and mythological figures with dwarfism. It will show that they were by no means alone in artistic representations, that they were seemingly non-stigmatized depictions, and that ableist and disablist biases mentioned above have affected past scholarly interpretations of some of this material. It will also show that the sheer number of surviving artefacts leads one to believe individuals with dwarfism were very common and part of everyday life for most people. Gods with dwarfism and other artefacts depicting men and women with dwarfism, were woven into the everyday narrative during the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic Period.

The third chapter examines artistic representations of blindness and visual impairment. It will argue that these representations were seemingly non-stigmatized depictions, and that ableist and disablist biases have affected past scholarly interpretations of some of this material. Furthermore, the Egyptians also seem to have continued their established practice of integrating those with disabilities into society during this period.

The fourth chapter will focus on possible depictions of cerebral palsy. It will demonstrate that ableist bias has led to depictions of disability not being recognized, demonstrate how a lived understanding of the physical embodiment of this impairment has aided in its identification in ancient art, as Harpocrates has been previously described by other scholars as nondisabled when the god is referenced textually, and appears to be depicted in art as disabled. It will demonstrate why a

disabled perspective is needed in the examination of the ancient world. We will also see that depictions of this impairment are seemingly non-stigmatized depictions, and that depictions of Harpocrates are perhaps some of the best representations of the cultural fusion that occurred during this period.

The fifth chapter will discuss mobility impairments as related to clubfoot and other similar conditions. It will demonstrate that physical impairment was seemingly not stigmatised in art from this period. It will also show that physical impairment was not seen as a negative or source of stigma in either the Hellenistic Period or earlier periods in ancient Egypt and Greece. It will also examine ableist and disablist biases in past historical scholarship. Finally, it will also discuss the Greek practice of infanticide, and posit that prior conclusions about infanticide in Greece are yet another manifestation of ableist biases by more modern scholars, rather than being a widespread historical practice, as has traditionally been believed.

The sixth chapter will discuss spinal disability and other impairments. The chapter will start with artistic depictions in Egypt of both royalty and elite status people as well as the menial labour class that occurred prior to the Ptolemaic Period, and then will move on to artistic representations of people from menial labour classes dating to the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic Period. It will posit that the majority of these objects seem to be presented without stigma, except for a small subset of objects which may actually be representative of negative caricatures of certain professions or racial identities. Additionally, ableist and disablist biases have affected past scholarly interpretations of some of this material. Finally, this chapter will also demonstrate that the traditionally held belief that purely medical or purely apotropaic functionality for some of the objects discussed in the thesis is incorrect, and that they may instead be suggestive of a further religious function that has thus far not been

elucidated.

The seventh, and final body chapter of this thesis will focus on art and artefacts as aspects of medicine and healing, in addition to prosthetics as related to disability during the Ptolemaic Period. It will demonstrate that our interpretations of ancient medicine have been skewed by both ableist and disablist bias, meaning our understanding of ancient medicine is woefully incomplete. This chapter will examine healing votives, ancient medicinal and magical practices that overlap with impairment, healing temples, and finally prosthetics. It will also comment on how ableist and disablist bias has shaped our understandings of disability in the ancient world, and continues to do so.

Overall, this thesis will conclude that the ancients had no concept of disability as being a societal limitation and therefore no concept of lowering expectations of those with disabilities. It was part of life to be dealt with and lived with. Additionally, it will examine how instances of ableist and disablist bias have shaped our understanding of the ancient past. Furthermore, it will argue that artistic representations of disability from this period in history are non-stigmatising, and examine the societal implications of an elite class of disabled people.



## **2. Disabled People and Artistic Representations from Ancient Macedonia/ The Argeads**

Is there a way of looking at the Argead Dynasty which binds it to disability and the ignored history of the disabled community? Due to the sheer number of named disabled individuals who were connected in some way to the ancient Macedonian Argead dynasty, it seems sensible to give them their own chapter. Some of the people discussed here were deceased by the start of the Hellenistic Period, but their images and legacies were used to legitimize later rule during this period, and their lives also help contextualize the era. Since their influence helped shape and define both the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic worlds, it seems prudent to start with the Argead dynasty. This chapter primarily deals with named individuals and the artefacts which can be connected to them. These individuals along with all the artefacts examined in this thesis, are representative on some level of the many nameless and faceless disabled individuals throughout the ancient world during the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic Period. These named individuals also set an established precedence for those representations of disability which occurred in the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic Periods: in essence later representations were perhaps imitating those representations of the de-facto elite seen prior to this period under Argead rule, as well as continuing to reflect the population at large during the period. There were many individuals for whom evidence unfortunately does not survive, and it should be noted that all individuals discussed here are male. As will be mentioned later in the section on dwarfism, this prevalence of artefacts representing men may be due to difficulties some disabilities, like dwarfism, could cause in childbirth that could negatively affect survivability. It must be remembered as well as that women were seen as less important than men in ancient Greek society and did not as commonly

possess the means of buying art or paying artisans. Individuals who will be discussed in this chapter include Philip III Arrhidaeus, Philip II, Alexander the Great, Demosthenes, Antigonus I Monophthalmus, Harpalus, Prusias I Cholus, the mutilated Greeks discovered in Persia, and other Macedonian soldiers who were disabled by war wounds. Some images will be placed within this chapter, and subsequent chapters, with the rest placed in an appendix at the end of the thesis due to the sheer number of artefacts and artistic depictions related to disability that were discovered. It seems the ancient Macedonians, much like the ancient Greeks, recognised two categories of disability: the war wounded, and the congenitally disabled. The men named were a combination of both, with some falling into both categories. Societal attitude towards disability was mixed, and much like today, disabled individuals had different opinions about disability. Additionally, I argue that ableist and disablist biases have muddled our understanding of the ancient world.

#### *Historical Figures from the Period*

Philip II was Alexander the Great's father, and the first Macedonian king to who successfully conquered and united ancient Greece. He was congenitally disabled as well as war wounded, and his attitude towards both disabilities is revealing of the ambivalence the ancient Greeks felt towards disability. Philip II was born with a facial impairment:

Philip suffered from a 'marked degree of congenital hypoplasia (underdevelopment) of the left side of his head,' which threw his jaw off midline. This deformity was more noticeable when Philip was young and would have been common knowledge in Macedonian court circles.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Richard A. Gabriel. *Philip II of Macedonia: Greater than Alexander*. (Washington DC: Potomac Books, 2010), 29.

When Philip grew a beard, this difference was not as noticeable. It was traditional for Greek men to grow beards, so it cannot unfortunately be surmised if he grew a beard deliberately to hide the facial impairment. Philip II later acquired several war wounds, two of which left him permanently physically impaired. Philip sustained a head wound that resulted in the loss of his eye in battle in 356 BCE, shattered his right clavicle in 345-344 BCE, and obtained two leg injuries and an arm injury in 339 BCE.<sup>114</sup> The clavicle and arm injury permanently limited the use of his arm, and one of the leg injuries left him permanently lame for the remainder of his life.<sup>115</sup> We know from the ancient textual sources that Philip II was not comfortable with his disability, in particular the eye injury. As described in Demetrius's *Libro De Elocutione*, Philip became enraged at the mere mention of his missing eye:

Πολλὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα παρὰ τοῖς τυράννοις, οἷον Φίλιππος μὲν διὰ τὸ ἑτερόφθαλμος εἶναι ὠργίζετο, εἴ τις ὀνομάσειεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Κύκλωπα ἢ ὀφθαλμὸν ὄλωσ.

Since he had only one eye, Philip would grow angry if anyone spoke of the Cyclops in his presence, or used the word eye at all...<sup>116</sup>

We also have what is currently believed to be Philip II's remains, which were buried in a tomb in Vergina. However, since their discovery there has been some debate over whether these remains were Philip II's or Philip III's, but consensus currently seems to indicate that they are Philip II's.<sup>117</sup> We know from the skeletal evidence that

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<sup>114</sup> Alice Swift Riginos. "The Wounding of Philip II of Macedon: Fact and Fabrication," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 114 (1994): 103-118.

<sup>115</sup> Nicholas Brandmeir, Russell Payne, Elias Rizk, *et. al.* "The Leg Wound of King Philip II of Macedonia," *Cureus* 10.4 (2018): e2501.

<sup>116</sup> Demetrius of Phaleron. *Libro de Elocutione*. W. Rhys Roberts, editor. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), Perseus Digital Library, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0630%3Abook%3D5%3Achapter%3D293>, (accessed August 18, 2020)

<sup>117</sup> Ian Worthington. *Philip II of Macedonia*. (London: Yale University Press, 2008), 234-241.

Philip's eye injury was on his right side, and the leg and arm injuries seem to have been on the left (Figures B-C, reconstructions).<sup>118</sup>



Figure B. *Reconstruction of Philip II of Macedon.*  
From Panagiotis Stathopoulos. "Did King Philip II of Ancient Macedonia Suffer a Zygomatico-Orbital Fracture? A Maxillofacial Surgeon's Approach," *Craniomaxillofacial Trauma Reconstruction* 10 (2017): 186, Figure 7.

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<sup>118</sup> Panagiotis Stathopoulos. "Did King Philip II of Ancient Macedonia Suffer a Zygomatico-Orbital Fracture? A Maxillofacial Surgeon's Approach," *Craniomaxillofacial Trauma Reconstruction* 10 (2017): 186, Figure 7; Arturo Asensio *Portrait of King Philip II of Macedonia in His Late Years*, accessed September 12, 2020, <https://phys.org/news/2015-07-effort-king-phillip-ii-tomb.html>



Figure C. *Reconstruction of Philip II of Macedon.*

From Arturo Asensio *Portrait of King Philip II of Macedonia in His Late Years*, accessed September 12, 2020, <https://phys.org/news/2015-07-effort-king-phillip-ii-tomb.html>



Figure D. *Greaves from Philip II's Tomb.*

Wikimedia Commons. Accessed September 12, 2020, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bronze\\_greaves\\_\(Leg\\_Guards\)\\_from\\_the\\_tomb\\_of\\_Philip\\_II\\_of\\_Macedon\\_4th\\_century\\_BCE\\_Aigai,\\_Vergina\\_Greece.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bronze_greaves_(Leg_Guards)_from_the_tomb_of_Philip_II_of_Macedon_4th_century_BCE_Aigai,_Vergina_Greece.jpg)

This is further evidenced from a custom made set of greaves found in the tomb, which can also be looked at as a type of accommodation for his disability since they were custom made to fit his impaired leg.<sup>119</sup> The left greave is about three and a half centimetres shorter than the right greave, and also has an outward bulge to accommodate the healed tibia, which did not set correctly due to the nature of Philip's injuries and lack of medical knowledge.<sup>120</sup> Historian Richard A. Gabriel (2010), also remarks that Philip usually fought with the infantry, and after his leg injuries, switched to fighting on horseback as part of the cavalry, as seen in the battle of Chaeronea.<sup>121</sup> This also can be seen as an accommodation for his physical disability, especially since as discussed elsewhere in this thesis we have both examples in artistic objects and historical literature of animals being used as mobility devices.<sup>122</sup>

There are several surviving portraits of Philip II, as well as coinage he minted during his reign, although not all of these coins contain depictions of him. There is a surviving sculptural fragment from the tombs at Vergina (Figure 1.3), which was in the context of a more intimate setting, and designed to be viewed by fewer people.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Richard A. Gabriel. *Philip II of Macedonia: Greater than Alexander*, 12.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 222.

<sup>122</sup> Martha L. Rose. *The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 71.

<sup>123</sup> *Head of Philip II*. In NGL Hammond, *Philip of Macedon* (London: Duckworth, 1994), Plate 16.



Figure 1.3. *Philip II of Macedon.*

What makes this tiny ivory portrait bust interesting, is it does depict Philip II with his eye injury. The right side depicts scarring around his right eye, which also is shown as more heavily lidded than his left eye. Philip II's face here is also not depicted as symmetrical, possibly depicting the congenital hypoplasia referenced earlier, unlike the other sculptural portraits we have of him. It may be that this is the most historically accurate portrait we have of him, and shows that the ancient Greeks were capable of doing realistic portraiture, when it suited their purpose. It also may be representative of Philip II's mixed feelings about his physical disability since all other official portraiture of him either depicts him from his physically nondisabled side above his arm injury, or makes him appear to be nondisabled. We, unfortunately, do not know if the small marble portrait bust from Vergina was made after his death on the orders of Alexander, who would not necessarily have the same qualms about impairments, having grown up exposed to his father's, half-brother's, and friend's, instead potentially viewing them as badges of honour. As historian Adrian Goldsworthy states, "the king's wounds were visible badges of courage more to be prized than other trophies."<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Adrian Goldsworthy. *Philip and Alexander: Kings and Conquerors*. (New York; Basic Books, 2020), 139.

The two motifs commonly depicted on the coins of Philip II are either the head of Zeus or head of Apollo on the obverse, and a charioteer, or soldier riding a horse on the reverse (Figures 1.1-1.2).<sup>125</sup> It is thought that some of the imagery on the reverse side of these coins does depict Philip II, but the depictions are so small that facial details are difficult to make out.<sup>126</sup> With this being said, these images depict Philip and the gods in profile from the left side.<sup>127</sup> We know from what has now been determined to be Philip II's skeleton, that his eye/face injury was on the right, meaning these images are only depicting the nondisabled side of Philip's face.<sup>128</sup> These images were meant to be seen by the general public, and also served as a kind of political propaganda emphasising Philip II's strength as a ruler.

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<sup>125</sup> *Silver Tetradrachm of Philip II*, Late Classical Period, 359-336 BC, Silver, D: 2.3 × 0.4 cm, 14.35g, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247145>; *Gold Stater of Philip II*, Late Classical Period, 336-323 BC, Gold, D: 1.7 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/25480>; *Gold Stater of Philip II*, Hellenistic Period, 323- 315 BC, Gold, D: 1.9 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/254717>; *Gold Stater of Philip II*, Late Classical Period, 352 BC, Gold, D: 1.8 × 0.4 cm, 8.41g, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/254718>; *Gold Stater of Philip II*, Late Classical Period, 359-356 BC, Gold, D: 1.6 × 0.2 cm, 8.53g, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/253585>

<sup>126</sup> Ian Worthington. *Philip II of Macedonia*, 16.

<sup>127</sup> *Silver Tetradrachm of Philip II*, Late Classical Period, 359-336 BC, Silver, D: 2.3 × 0.4 cm, 14.35g, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247145>; *Gold Stater of Philip II*, Late Classical Period, 336-323 BC, Gold, D: 1.7 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/25480>

<sup>128</sup> Ian Worthington. *Philip II of Macedonia*, 16, 234-241.





Figure 1.46. *Philip II of Macedon.*

The other depictions we have of Philip II are a statue fragment, and a medallion. The gold medallion (Figure 1.46), otherwise known as a victory medal, depicts a portrait of Philip II similar to the portraits found on the coins. He is depicted in profile, bearded, and wearing armour and the royal diadem.<sup>129</sup> Once again only his left side is shown, meaning his right eye, and the scars surrounding that are not shown. It should be noted that this was most likely made after Philip's death, during the Roman Period, as another propaganda piece designed to link the Romans with the ancient Macedonian kings.<sup>130</sup> We also have marble sculptural busts of Philip II from the Roman Period, which are copies of a Hellenistic original (Figures 1.47-1.48).<sup>131</sup>

<sup>129</sup> *Portrait of Philip II on a Gold Medallion* (INV F 1673): Bibliotheque nationale de France, *In* Ian Worthington. *Philip II of Macedonia*, Plate 5.

<sup>130</sup> Ian Worthington. *Philip II of Macedonia*, 16, 234-241.

<sup>131</sup> *Philip II, King of Macedonia*, Roman Copy of Greek Original, NY Carlsberg, Glyptotek, Copenhagen, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip\\_II\\_of\\_Macedon#/media/File:Phillip\\_II,\\_king\\_of\\_Macedonia,\\_Roman\\_copy\\_of\\_Greek\\_Original,\\_NY\\_Carlsberg\\_Glyptotek,\\_Copenhagen\\_\(36420294055\).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip_II_of_Macedon#/media/File:Phillip_II,_king_of_Macedonia,_Roman_copy_of_Greek_Original,_NY_Carlsberg_Glyptotek,_Copenhagen_(36420294055).jpg), Accessed September 9, 2020; *Bust of Philip II of Macedonia*, 1<sup>st</sup> Century Roman Copy of Greek Original, Chiaramonti Museum, The Vatican/Alfredo Dagli Orti, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip\\_II\\_of\\_Macedon#/media/File:Philip-ii-of-macedon.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip_II_of_Macedon#/media/File:Philip-ii-of-macedon.jpg), Accessed September 9, 2020



Figure 3.48. *Philip II of Macedon.*

These are heavily idealised and do not show any trace of injury or disability, which may be either because the sculptor was given orders not to depict those injuries (given that we know that Philip was sensitive about them), the portrait was completed before he was injured, or Roman artistic conventions influenced the creation of the copies.

Alexander the Great was Philip II's son, and heir to the throne. He became king after Philip II's murder, and went on to conquer much of the known world before dying mysteriously at age 32. He is not considered today to be disabled, however there have been theories put forth by various Alexander the Great scholars (including myself) that he may have had different disabling conditions including skeletal neck deformities, ocular-motor defects, alcoholism, and chronic traumatic encephalopathy. We have numerous artistic depictions of Alexander, with no two

looking exactly the same (Figures 1.4-1.7).<sup>132</sup> Generally, however, Alexander is typically shown with a lion-like mane of curly/wavy hair, a youthful, clean-shaven appearance, and his eyes often looking up and out to the side. He also is often shown with his head tilted to one side. Some of these depictions have been used to argue for the diagnosis of various skeletal neck deformities because of the head and neck tilt seen in these depictions.<sup>133</sup> None of the other disabling conditions Alexander is described as having can be seen artistically. Like Philip II, we know that Alexander was wounded several times in battle, although unlike Philip II we do not hear of his injuries disabling him permanently. These injuries included at least two at Illyria according to Plutarch. Two or three head injuries occurred at the battle of Granicus, although Diodorus mentions possibly ten more occurring there; two at the siege of Gaza, one at the Tanais/Iaxartes River, one at Cyropolis, one at Peukelaotis, and two or possibly three head injuries in Malli territory.<sup>134</sup> At Illyria in 335 BCE, Alexander's head was hit with a stone. He also received a blow to the neck.<sup>135</sup> At

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<sup>132</sup> *Portrait Head* (1872,0515.1), Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Marble, H: 37 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1877,0810.1), Hellenistic Period, 100-50 BC, Bronze, H: 16.51 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bust of Alexander*, Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 150 BC-200 AD, Copper Alloy, H: 6.4 cm, W: 5.4 cm, D: 3.6 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551074>; *Bronze Statuette of a Rider Wearing an Elephant Skin*, Hellenistic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Bronze, H: 24.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/254825>

<sup>133</sup> Hutan Ashrafian. "The Death of Alexander the Great- A Spinal Twist of Fate," *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences* 13 (2004): 138-142.

<sup>134</sup> Plutarch, *The Life of Alexander: On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander*, trans. J. Dryden (New York: The Modern Library, 2004), 16, 26, 29, 39, 45, 61, 62; Quintus Curtius Rufus. *The History of Alexander*, trans. John Yardley (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 24, 33- 34, 118, 133, 136, 162-164, 199-200, 222; Diodorus Siculus, *The Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian in Forty Books: Vol. 2*, trans. G. Lauren (USA: Sophron Imprint, 2014), 116, 123, 158-159; Arrian, *The Landmark Arrian: The Campaigns of Alexander (Anabasis Alexandrou)*, trans. P. Mensch (New York: Pantheon Books, 2010), 30-31, 43, 76, 95-96, 150, 155, 184, 245-246, 286; Justinus. *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Phillipic Histories*, trans. J.C. Yardley (United States: Oxford University Press, 1994), 11.9, 12.9.

<sup>135</sup> Plutarch, *The Life of Alexander*, 16.

Gaza in 332 BCE, a catapult projectile passed through his shield and breastplate.<sup>136</sup> Curtius Rufus also mentions that these wounds severely limited Alexander's ability to speak, walk, ride, and fight so that in battle against the Scythians, which occurred later in 329 BCE, Alexander was still having trouble functioning.<sup>137</sup> In Malli territory in 326 BCE Alexander had projectiles showered on him from above, had his helmet again shattered by a club, was shot with an arrow that punctured his breastplate and lung, and fell to the ground unconscious.<sup>138</sup> However, Alexander did use his war injuries to motivate his troops at Opis in 324 BCE, and seemed to view them as badges of honor/ warfare, rather than ugly disfigurements:

For in my own case, there is no part of my body, at least not in the front, that has been left unwounded, and there is no weapon, held, or hurled, whose marks I do not carry. On the contrary, I have been wounded by the sword when fighting hand to hand, pierced by arrows, struck by shots from catapults, and hit time and time again by rocks and clubs.<sup>139</sup>

If he were ashamed of these injuries, he would not have used them in an attempt to stop his men from mutinying. However, much can be learned about societal attitudes about disability by Alexander's treatment of those around him who were disabled or ill. This will be discussed further in this chapter, but one of these later episodes seems to reveal both the Greek attitude towards disability, and an ancient Indian attitude towards disability. We will first examine two instances of congenital disability our first example being an enemy of both Alexander and Philip II, and our second being a friend of Alexander who was congenitally disabled.

Demosthenes was an Athenian orator and politician whose rhetoric was anti-

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<sup>136</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandrou*, 95. Plutarch, *The Life of Alexander*, 26.

<sup>137</sup> Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, 164-165.

<sup>138</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandrou*, 246.

<sup>139</sup> Arrian, *The Landmark Arrian: The Campaigns of Alexander*. trans. Pamela Mensch & edited by James Romm (New York: Pantheon Books, 2010), 286.

Philip II and anti-Alexander the Great. He remained an antagonist of both for the duration of his life. Demosthenes is reported to have had a speech impediment as a young boy, which he worked to overcome, eventually becoming a famous orator and politician.<sup>140</sup> He is also reported to have been sickly and weak as a child, earning the nickname Batalus (a reference to an effeminate flute player, who had been publicly ridiculed), which referenced this sickly constitution.<sup>141</sup> One story is that he practiced speaking with rocks in his mouth in what turned into a successful attempt to correct his speech problem.<sup>142</sup> It is also mentioned that the orator Aeschines referenced Demosthenes in his speeches by his childhood nickname of Batalus, intending it to be an insult.<sup>143</sup> Demosthenes is not the only Greek orator who is referenced as having a speech disorder, Alcibiades, who was an earlier statesmen, is referenced in the ancient sources as having a lisp, which seemingly added to his charm for the Athenians.<sup>144</sup> Alexander's tutor, Aristotle is reported by biographer Diogenes Laertius to have had a lisp.<sup>145</sup> It should be noted that it is unknown if reports of Demosthenes's speech impediment are factually true or not, or a bit of propaganda Demosthenes himself perpetuated in order to make himself look better in the eyes of the public, as he would have been seen as overcoming more to get to his position as politician and orator, and perhaps also been seen as more relatable to the general public. However, this bit of information was recorded in Plutarch.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Plutarch, *Loeb Classical Library: The Parallel Lives*, 17.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-17.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-17, 27-29.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-17.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>145</sup> Diogenes Laertius. *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, translated by Robert Drew Hicks, (Cambridge: W. Heinemann, 1925), Perseus Digital Library, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0258%3Abook%3D5%3Achapter%3D1>, (accessed September 14, 2020).

<sup>146</sup> Plutarch, *Loeb Classical Library: The Parallel Lives*, 11-17.

We have several surviving statues of Demosthenes, which are partial Roman copies of a Greek original made by the Greek artist Polyeyktos circa 280 BCE (Figures 1.9-1.10).<sup>147</sup>

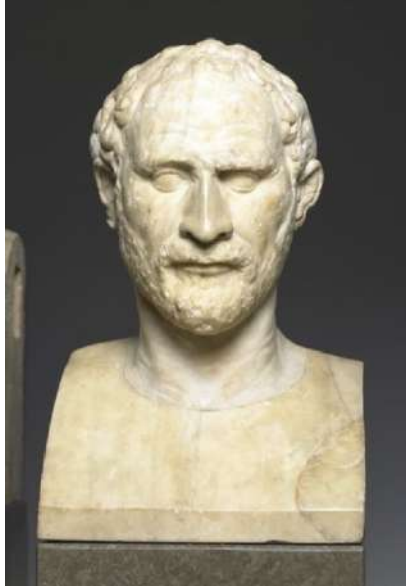


Figure 1.9. *Demosthenes*.

These have been described as some of the first psychological portraits, revealing Demosthenes's character in the sculpture itself.<sup>148</sup> Demosthenes is portrayed as a middle-aged bearded man with a thin, angular face, and large nose. He is balding with curly hair. He also has a knitted brow and compressed lips, which give off the impression of a serious, somewhat anxious expression. The original statue was a full portrait which depicted Demosthenes standing, with that facial expression looking off into the distance, with one eye squinting. He had his hands clasped together, and was wearing a traditional ancient Greek *chiton* and sandals. Interestingly, from what

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<sup>147</sup> *Portrait Head* (1973,0303.2), Polyeyktos, Copy of Hellenistic Original, Hellenistic/Roman Period, 280 BC, Marble, H: 45.05 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Statue of Demosthenes*, Polyeyktos, Copy of Hellenistic Original, Hellenistic/Roman Period, 280 BC, Marble, NY Carlsberg, Glyptotek, Copenhagen, In Ian Worthington. *Philip II of Macedonia*. (London: Yale University Press, 2008), Plate 12.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

we can see from reproductions of the original statue, it depicted him as thin and angular looking, which matches what the ancient textual sources say about him being sickly and weak looking, as described in Plutarch's *The Life of Demosthenes* "For from the first he was lean and sickly, and his opprobrious surname of Batalus is said to have been given him by the boys in mockery of his physique."<sup>149</sup> There is unfortunately no way to see a manifestation of a speech impediment in sculpture, but given that we know his appearance matched the textual descriptions of him, it may be that this piece of information was expected to be implicitly understood by the viewer.

Harpalus was one of Alexander's childhood friends who was appointed treasurer during Alexander the Great's reign. There are no surviving artistic depictions of Harpalus from this time period. However, he is mentioned in the accounts of the ancient historians. He was described in Arrian as:

Harpalus had first gone into exile during Philip's reign because of his loyalty to Alexander ... At Philip's death, everyone who had gone into exile on Alexander's account returned. Alexander appointed ... Harpalus as treasurer (since his body was unfit for warfare).<sup>150</sup>

The other ancient historians do not describe him as physically disabled. Instead, they focus on his character and actions: describing his being made satrap (governor), his love of gardening despite his inability to get ivy to grow, and his embezzling from his treasury position resulting in his eventual death.<sup>151</sup> It is accepted by modern day historians that Harpalus was disabled and either born lame or with a clubbed foot,

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<sup>149</sup> Plutarch, *Loeb Classical Library: The Parallel Lives*, 11.

<sup>150</sup> Arrian, *The Landmark Arrian: The Campaigns of Alexander*. trans. Pamela Mensch & edited by James Romm (New York: Pantheon Books, 2010), 110.

<sup>151</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Loeb Classical Library: Library of History*. trans. Charles L. Sherman. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 437–439; Justin, *Pompeius Trogus*. trans. John Selby Watson, 12.5; Quintus Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*. trans. John Yardley. (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 218, 241; Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, 60–61, 192–193.

“but as Harpalus was lame he could not be used on active service.”<sup>152</sup> The ancient Macedonians do on some level seem to have recognised that he was disabled, but for the most part did not treat him differently because of it. He was one of Alexander the Great’s friends who was exiled as a result of the Pixodarus incident (discussed in more detail elsewhere in this section), and he was also one of the boyhood companions of Alexander, attending the school at Mieza, under the tutelage of Aristotle. That being said, he was made Alexander the Great’s treasurer, and later a satrap, partially out of recognition that it would not be physically possible for him to accompany the rest of the Companions in battle due to the disability. In this sense, this was Alexander’s way of accommodating Harpalus as well as recognizing him as a good friend and companion. Harpalus unfortunately betrayed this trust, stealing from the treasury at least three times, getting caught and then reappointed as treasurer multiple times, before ultimately fleeing to Athens, and then Crete, where he was either put to death or assassinated.<sup>153</sup> Harpalus will be further discussed in the section on clubfoot.

As we will see, this was not the only time Alexander appointed people to positions he felt they could do in instances of disability. It should be noted that the new Alexandrias and settlements that Alexander founded were composed of war wounded and impaired men from his army, and both Philip and Alexander gave their wounded men pensions, a certain allotment of provisions, and a tax break when they could no longer serve in the military.<sup>154</sup> This essentially created a new elite class of the disabled by placing these disabled men into the de-facto ruling class and

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<sup>152</sup> F.S. Naiden. *Soldier, Priest, and God: A Life of Alexander the Great*, 132; Robin Lane Fox. *Alexander the Great*. (New York; Penguin, 1986), 409.

<sup>153</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, trans. Charles L. Sherman, 437–439; Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, 192–193.

<sup>154</sup> Robin Lane Fox. *Alexander the Great*. (New York; Penguin, 1986), 303.



positions of political power in these new cities and settlements. As we will see these actions also mirrored the god Hephaestus's relationship with the other Olympians, in that the disabled population were the ones given the most important job of maintaining order, so that the army was free to keep expanding Alexander's territory. The army therefore was dependent upon these men, as otherwise they would become mired in hostile territory with no way out. It also seems that once again modern historians have let their own biases influence how they have interpreted these policies, with scholars such as Robin Lane Fox phrasing things in terms of abandonment, rather than the men being provided for and being an essential part of the Macedonian military strategy, "At the very edge of Cilicia lay the town of Issus, pointing the way to the satrapy of Syria and the south: there Alexander abandoned all stragglers and invalids for whom the march was proving too fast."<sup>155</sup> This is important to keep in mind as we continue our discussion of disabled people in this time period, and will become especially important in the discussion of the mutilated Greeks.

The mutilated Greeks as described by ancient historian Curtius Rufus, were a group of Persian captives, Alexander the Great and his army met on their way to Persepolis in 330 BCE. There were supposedly eight-hundred mutilated Greeks. After being captured by the Persians, these Greeks had been trained in various crafts and then branded, with whatever body parts that were unessential to completing their tasks, amputated by the Persians. This included feet, hands, noses, and ears, with some of them also blinded.<sup>156</sup> Alexander's reaction to this group was compassionate, giving them the choice of staying where they were and being

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<sup>155</sup> Robin Lane Fox. *Alexander the Great*. (New York; Penguin, 1986), 153.

<sup>156</sup> Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander*, trans. John Yardley, 103–105.

provided for, or of returning to Greece with an escort and financial compensation. According to Quintus Curtius Rufus, Alexander tells them, “Nobody can consider his condition in life superior to yours,” and weeps openly with them.<sup>157</sup> The men ultimately decide to stay, as they were afraid of being ridiculed if they return to Greece and are reluctant to leave behind their Persian wives and children for families who will no longer recognize them if they return.<sup>158</sup> This encounter was mentioned by three out of the five main historians of Alexander the Great: Quintus Curtius Rufus, Diodorus Siculus, and Justin, with Curtius Rufus giving the most detailed account.<sup>159</sup> However, while being recognised in disability studies scholarship as being the first historically documented account of the disabled being asked their opinion and being able to decide things that directly affect them autonomously (Miles 2003), in yet another example of ableist bias this entire incident is dismissed by some modern day historians as untrue, or is passed over completely.<sup>160</sup> As noted by Guy Maclean Rogers in his discussion of the mutilated Greeks, “scholars who have scoured the sources for each and every example of his cruelty have passed over Alexander’s humane gesture here in silence.”<sup>161</sup> Some scholars have concluded that this incident was a metaphor for the Gortuae/Euboean population losing their Greek heritage, while others argue that this was a literary device of some sort, stating it was Curtius Rufus producing, “sheer rhetorical virtuosity for the sake of it,” it was “probably fictitious,” or was “a fiction, worked up by Curtius,” (Baynham 1998, and Yardley and Heckel, 1997, and Badian 1994).<sup>162</sup> Other older scholars such as Dodge

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 103–105.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 103–105.

<sup>159</sup> M. Miles, “Segregated We Stand? The Mutilated Greeks’ Debate at Persepolis, 330 BC,” *Disability & Society* 18 (2003): 868.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 868, 872.

<sup>161</sup> Guy Maclean Rogers. *Alexander the Great: The Ambiguity of Greatness*, 124.

<sup>162</sup> Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus: Volume 1, Books 11–12, Alexander the Great*. trans. John Yardley & Waldemar Heckel. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 97, 174: Elizabeth Baynham. *Alexander the Great* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 47-49:

(1890) treat the incident as fact, referencing that mutilation in the Ancient Near East was a common practice.<sup>163</sup> There are also other examples of similar Persian punishments found elsewhere in the ancient biographies of Alexander and in other sources including the Persian torture, murder, and mutilation of the wounded and ill who were left behind in the medical tents to recover before the Battle of Issus and the punishment of Bessus who was alternately said to have been crucified, or had his nose, and ears removed as punishment for killing Darius III.<sup>164</sup> Robin Lane Fox states that at the Battle of Issus:

When Darius descended into Issus, he found the Macedonian invalids whom Alexander had already abandoned. ....As if to celebrate, he (Darius) cut off the hands of the Macedonian sick whom he found at Issus, a pointless atrocity which would cost him dear, for others escaped by boat and warned Alexander.<sup>165</sup>

The events surrounding the Battle of Issus, provoked outrage for Alexander and his army, who were appalled by both the mutilations and murders. There seems to have been an unwritten rule of warfare that the wounded, disabled, and ill would not be attacked by the opposing side, and by doing this the Persians violated this rule. This also shows that there was accommodation made for the those who were injured in battle, since if there were not, medical tents would not have existed. Naiden also notes that, not only did “military doctors [date] back to the time of Homer, but Philip organized his physicians better than the Greek states, even Sparta,” thereby giving Philip II credit for further innovating this societal accommodation.<sup>166</sup> Sharples (1994) also states, Curtius Rufus was a historian first, and there is “no reason to believe that

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Ernst Badian. *A Commentary on Quintus Curtius Rufus' Historiae Alexandri Magni Books 5-7,2*. Edited by John E. Atkinson. (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1994), 104.

<sup>163</sup> Theodore Ayrault Dodge, *Alexander*. (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 1890), 408.

<sup>164</sup> Arrian, *Campaigns of Alexander*. trans. Pamela Mensch, 67.

<sup>165</sup> Robin Lane Fox. *Alexander the Great*. (New York; Penguin, 1986), 154.

<sup>166</sup> F.S. Naiden. *Soldier, Priest, and God: A Life of Alexander the Great*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 22.

he ever consciously falsified history.”<sup>167</sup> Curtius Rufus is also treated by these same scholars as being a reliable source when mentioning other incidents in Alexander the Great’s life.<sup>168</sup> There does not seem to be a good reason for the dismissal of the mutilated Greeks by modern day historians, and this may actually be representative of modern day ableist and disablist bias and negative societal attitudes about disability. This bias is also reflected in the description earlier of Alexander “abandoning” his men rather than leaving them provided for, and in essence being an essential part of the Macedonian military strategy. This is not the only example of this bias showing up and changing the narrative in historical scholarship, including historical scholarship about ancient disability. The following are some examples of this:

The greatest risk in war is death in battle. The greatest suffering is to survive but be disabled. Although numbers of casualties are often given by Hellenistic historians, we get no information about their treatment or about their future life. There is no way to estimate the percentage of crippled soldiers who lived as a burden to their families...<sup>169</sup> (2005)

On the other hand, those patients who are not nondisabled because they suffer some defect like loss of a limb may yet be usefully regarded as having ‘sufficient health’ relative to their situation... This way of looking at health may have lessened somewhat the stigma especially associated with such losses in antiquity when fewer restorative measures were available.<sup>170</sup> (1985)

The first example explicitly assumes impairment is a negative, and that no one wishes to be disabled. The second example explicitly assumes there would have been a stigma associated with bodily difference in the ancient world, when as seen throughout this thesis, this would not have necessarily been the case.

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<sup>167</sup> Ian Sharples, “Curtius’ Treatment of Arrhidaeus”, *Mediterranean Archaeology* 7 (1994): 60.

<sup>168</sup> Waldemar Heckel, *Who’s Who in the Age of Alexander the Great: Prosopography of Alexander’s Empire*. (Singapore: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 45.

<sup>169</sup> Angelos Chaniotis. *War in the Hellenistic World: A Social and Cultural History*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 96.

<sup>170</sup> Paul Carrick. *Medical Ethics in Antiquity: Philosophical Perspectives on Abortion and Euthanasia*. (Lancaster: D. Reidel, 1985), 36-37.

One incident from later in Alexander's life that reveals both the Greek and an ancient Indian view of disability is the end of the life of Kalanos, an Indian gymnosophist who travelled with Alexander and his army on their return to Babylon from India. Once they had reached Susa, Kalanos determined that his health was failing, and expressed a wish to die, rather than live on as a disabled individual, "his health became delicate, though he had never before been subject to illness...In such circumstances he thought it best for him to put an end to his existence, before he came to experience any disease which might compel him to change his former mode of living."<sup>171</sup> Since Kalanos was a gymnosophist who was accustomed to living without physical comforts, it is implied that he was expecting to have to make substantial life changes, meaning this most likely was some form of major impairment. At the time he is reported to have been seventy-three years old. Alexander begged and tried to dissuade him from dying by suicide via self-immolation.<sup>172</sup> However, Kalanos decided to go through with this anyway, and Ptolemy, partially upon Kalanos's instance was delegated to building his funeral pyre.<sup>173</sup> Kalanos told Alexander that they would meet again in Babylon, prophesizing Alexander's own death, and burned to death at Susa in 323 BCE.<sup>174</sup> This incident as well as the earlier treatment of the mutilated Greeks reveals that the Macedonians did not see disability as a valid reason to die. They did not seem to possess the idea, as seen in Alexander's attempted dissuasion of Kalanos. Alexander and Philip II provided for men too impaired to continue serve in the army. Kalanos believed it was better to be dead than disabled. However, Kalanos's decision seems to suggest that

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<sup>171</sup> F.S. Naiden. *Soldier, Priest, and God: A Life of Alexander the Great*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 222-223; Diodorus Siculus, *The Historical Library of Diodorus*, 17.107, Arrian, *The Landmark Arrian: The Campaigns of Alexander*, 7.3.1.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 222-223.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 222-223.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 222-223.

this idea did exist in ancient India among the gymnosophists. This incident echoes Alexander's respect for the autonomy of disabled individuals, even if he personally disagreed with their choices, something that we also saw in his treatment of the mutilated Greeks. These modern day ableist and disablist biases as discussed in the mutilated Greeks and in scholarship above, and seemingly directly contradicted in the story of Kalanos, can also be seen in modern day dealings with the next historical figure in this discussion, Philip III Arrhidaeus.

Philip III Arrhidaeus was the son of Philip II of Macedon, half-brother to Alexander the Great, and co-ruler of the ancient Macedonian empire after the death of Alexander the Great. He lived from circa 359-317 BCE, and reigned from 323-317 BCE.<sup>175</sup> His rule ended when he was assassinated by Olympias, Alexander the Great's mother, in 317 BCE.<sup>176</sup> He is described in historical accounts of Alexander the Great as having some kind of intellectual impairment and also possibly as having epilepsy.<sup>177</sup> It should be noted that the ancient Greeks viewed deafness as well as muteness as an intellectual impairment, so from the evidence we have, we cannot rule out the possibility that the intellectual impairment the ancient historians mention might have actually been a physical disability.<sup>178</sup> While this impairment has been mentioned in the ancient histories, in discussions on disability in the ancient world, strangely, Philip III Arrhidaeus, has been largely absent, which is especially

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<sup>175</sup> James Romm. *Ghost on the Throne: The Death of Alexander the Great and the War for Crown and Empire*. (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 2011), 49-53, 225-252.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 238-239.

<sup>177</sup> Plutarch, *Loeb Classical Library: The Parallel Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919), 250–251, 439; Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*. trans. John Selby Watson. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), 13.2; Diodorus Siculus, *Loeb Classical Library: Library of History*. trans. Russell M. Geer. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), 15.

<sup>178</sup> Martha L. Rose, *The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 167, 174-177.

interesting since his father, Philip II has been discussed in these histories.<sup>179</sup> To date, there has been one article by historian Elizabeth Carney, and one article by W.S. Greenwalt which have discussed Arrhidaeus in depth.<sup>180</sup> The reason for his omission is not known, but may be because he does not fit nicely into either the traditional Greek or Egyptian time periods, as his life and reign overlap the end of the Classical Period and beginning of the Hellenistic Period in Greece, and was strictly speaking before what it is considered to be the start of the Ptolemaic Period in ancient Egypt. This seemingly oversight may also be because Arrhidaeus is often overshadowed both figuratively and literally by his half-brother and father in discussions of this time period in history. It also could be because no one knows the exact nature of his disability, so it is easier to not mention him in larger discussions around disability in the ancient world.

There are two incidents from Arrhidaeus's life that seem to illuminate how the ancient Macedonians felt about disability, as well as revealing modern day bias by historians. The first incident is the Pixodarus affair, which took place in 337 BCE. Philip II was in the process of arranging a marriage between Arrhidaeus and the eldest daughter of the Persian satrap, Pixodarus, as part of a peace agreement.<sup>181</sup> This marriage would have made Arrhidaeus next in line for the satrapy upon the death of Pixodarus. This meant he would have been in a position of power and authority, where he would have been expected to make decisions that affected the satrapy, and his father's planned invasion of Persia. However, Alexander, somehow perceived both this marriage and his half-brother as a threat, and sent a messenger

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 52, 173; Michiel Meeusen. "Plutarch's 'Philosophy' of Disability," 197-209. In Christian Laes, *Disability in Antiquity*, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 199, 205-206.

<sup>180</sup> Elizabeth D. Carney. "The Trouble with Philip Arrhidaeus," *Ancient History Bulletin* 15 (2001): 63–89; W.S. Greenwalt. "The Search for Arrhidaeus," *Ancient World* 10 (1984): 69–77.

<sup>181</sup> Ian Worthington. *Philip II of Macedonia*, 178-179.

with his own offer of marriage instead, and a message stating that Arrhidaeus was mentally deficient.<sup>182</sup> Philip II found out about this, exiled some of Alexander's friends, including Harpalus, and arrested the messenger in order to punish Alexander as a result.<sup>183</sup> Philip also stopped the marriage negotiations. This entire affair seems to show that despite Arrhidaeus's disability, he was deemed competent enough by the Macedonian royal family to rule in some capacity in a strategically important satrapy, even if he was at the time deemed as not capable of being heir to the Macedonian throne. Any of Philip's other illegitimate sons could have succeeded him, as was seen often enough in the Macedonian line of succession, but he chose Arrhidaeus for this important satrapy position.<sup>184</sup> Arrhidaeus also was deemed competent enough to get married and potentially reproduce, as having an heir would have been expected with this position, and does not seem to have been excluded from society in that sense either. As was mentioned earlier, he also became co-ruler/regent with Alexander's infant son upon the death of Alexander. He is known to have survived the purge of individuals deemed as threats to Alexander the Great after Philip II's murder, and nothing more is heard of him in the historical record until Alexander's death in Babylon.<sup>185</sup> Some scholars believe he was left in Macedonia when Alexander began his invasion of Persia.<sup>186</sup> However, given Olympias's unauthorized executions of Philip II's new wife and infant child, which greatly upset Alexander, it does not seem likely that he would have left his brother where his life

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 178-180.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 178-180.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 175, 178-180.

<sup>185</sup> Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander*, 250-252.

<sup>186</sup> F.S. Naiden. *Soldier, Priest, and God: A Life of Alexander the Great*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 25.



would have been in danger.<sup>187</sup> As mentioned prior, to date there have only been two historians who have looked at Arrhidaeus in depth (1984, 2001).<sup>188</sup>

The second incident involving Arrhidaeus took place after the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BCE. Alexander's funeral car containing his mummy was supposed to be taken back to Macedon from Babylon, but instead was hijacked and taken to Egypt.<sup>189</sup> The individual in charge of this task was named Arrhidaeus.<sup>190</sup> The commonly held view is that this Arrhidaeus is a different Arrhidaeus than Philip III Arrhidaeus.<sup>191</sup> However there is no distinction in the ancient sources between the two Arrhidaeuses.<sup>192</sup> The supposed second Arrhidaeus is not called the son of someone else, and nothing more is known about him other than that he was a satrap, which as discussed earlier, is something that Arrhidaeus was seen as capable of doing.<sup>193</sup> We also have seen that Alexander had a pattern of appointing disabled individuals to important positions like treasurer and the founding and upkeep of cities and new settlements, so him appointing Arrhidaeus as a satrap also makes logical sense.<sup>194</sup> We first hear of Philip III Arrhidaeus again in the accounts Alexander as being in Babylon at Alexander's death, and as satrap, he would have had a legitimate reason to be there. It also would have made sense for the new king of Macedon to be put in charge of Alexander's body, as a way of helping to legitimize the new rulers. Olympias's later execution of Arrhidaeus, in the war of the

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<sup>187</sup> Ian Worthington. *Philip II of Macedonia*, 188.

<sup>188</sup> Elizabeth D. Carney. "The Trouble with Philip Arrhidaeus," *Ancient History Bulletin* 15 (2001): 63–89; W.S Greenwalt. "The Search for Arrhidaeus," *Ancient World* 10 (1984): 69–77.

<sup>189</sup> Saint Photius, *The Library of Photius: Volume 1*, trans. John Henry Freese. (Princeton: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920), 162; Waldemar Heckel, *Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great*, 52–53.

<sup>190</sup> Waldemar Heckel, *Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great*, 52–53.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 52-53.

<sup>192</sup> Elizabeth D. Carney. "The Trouble with Philip Arrhidaeus," *Ancient History Bulletin* 15 (2001): 63–89.

<sup>193</sup> Waldemar Heckel, *Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great*, 52–53.

<sup>194</sup> Robin Lane Fox. *Alexander the Great*. (New York; Penguin, 1986), 303; Arrian, *The Landmark Arrian: The Campaigns of Alexander*, 110.

successors after Alexander's death, also suggests that she continued to see him as a threat.<sup>195</sup> If he was as intellectually impaired as modern-day scholars suggest, she would have instead possibly kept him alive, and ruled through him and the infant Alexander IV instead. This may very well be another blatant example of ableist bias and modern-day scholars letting their own prejudices about intellectual disability influence their interpretations of the past. In their minds, Arrhidaeus has been simplified to be unimportant and incapable of anything due to the intellectual disability, to the point where historians invented a second nondisabled one to carry out actions they thought Philip III Arrhidaeus was incapable of doing. A man who may not have ever existed except in the minds of ableist historians.

This prejudice may have also influenced the interpretation of artefacts found in the Vergina tombs. There is a group of small ivory statues, of which only the heads survive, which are thought to be portraits of Philip II and his family (referenced above).<sup>196</sup> The portraits have been identified as Philip II, Alexander the Great, Olympias, wife of Philip II, and mother of Alexander the Great, and another male and female figure, thought to represent Philip II's parents, Amyntas and Eurydike.<sup>197</sup> However, only one of the male figures is bearded, and we know it was traditional for older Greek men to wear beards. The figure identified as Amyntas appears to be younger looking, which is odd if Philip II himself was done in a realistic style. The cleanshaven look was also started by Alexander, so Philip's father, would have had a beard, whereas with the exception of Philip, all men appear to be cleanshaven. Therefore I propose, that one of the figures could in fact be Arrhidaeus instead, as he also would have been a youth, since he is believed to have been slightly older

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<sup>195</sup> Ian Worthington. *Philip II of Macedonia*, 188.

<sup>196</sup> *Five Ivory Heads from Tomb II. In* NGL Hammond, *Philip of Macedon* (London: Duckworth, 1994), Plate 9b.

<sup>197</sup> Ian Worthington. *Philip II of Macedonia*, 16.

than Alexander. Following this, the remaining female figure could be one of Alexander's sisters and Philip II's daughters, perhaps either Cynane, Philip II's firstborn, and Alexander's half-sister, or Cleopatra, who was Alexander's full-sister, or Thessalonike, Alexander's other half-sister. It may again be that ableist bias is distorting the interpretations of these figures.

There are official portraits of Arrhidaeus which come from Egypt, and coins minted in his name that come from the Greek empire. All of these seem to suggest that Philip III Arrhidaeus was recognised in some capacity as a legitimate ruler. Most of the information we have on Arrhidaeus in Egypt comes from Karnak, Tux el-Qaramas, Hermopolis, and Sebennytos (Samannoud).<sup>198</sup> In Karnak, there is a naos (chapel) built in Philip III Arrhidaeus's name, which also include his portraits.<sup>199</sup> Inscriptions state this particular complex was a restoration of the work of Thutmosis III by Philip III Arrhidaeus.<sup>200</sup> It is located next to the sanctuary of Hatshepsut.<sup>201</sup> Arrhidaeus features in multiple scenes within the naos. Along the exterior western half, the god Amun-Min Kamutef is depicted on a large defensive wall above an altar.<sup>202</sup> Behind him is a large red cloth stretched between two falcon headed supports, above which is the Egyptian for "divine shadow."<sup>203</sup> In front of Amun-Min Kamutef are twelve insignia, and the entire scene is a depiction of the emergence of Min, a religious festival/myth that dates back to the Old Kingdom.<sup>204</sup> To the east of this, is the King wearing an atef crown, blessing offerings, and holding

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<sup>198</sup> Bernard V. Bothmer. "Ptolemaic Reliefs I: A Granite Block of Philip Arrhidaeus," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 50.280 (1952): 19.

<sup>199</sup> Kazimeirz Michaelowski and Andrej Dziwanowski. *Karnack*. (New York: Schroll, 1970), 28; Richard H. Wilkinson. *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*. (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 154-171.

<sup>200</sup> Richard H. Wilkinson. *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*, 154-171.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 154-171.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 154-171.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 154-171.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 154-171.

the *sekhem* sceptre, which is a traditional symbol of power and religious authority.<sup>205</sup> On the opposite exterior side of the naos is the dedication of the sanctuary, which references Philip III Arrhidaeus as faithfully restoring the decaying structure of Thutmosis III, and the granite terrace on this side is composed of granite blocks from the original structure.<sup>206</sup> On the southern exterior side of the naos, are scenes depicting the purification, and coronation of the king, which are divided into four registers. From right to left are three cows to be used as offerings, a depiction of the king wearing the white crown of upper Egypt and carrying an oar and rudder (ceremonial objects), the purification of the king by the gods Thoth and Horus (they do this by pouring water into a dome around the king), Horus and Thoth crowning the king, and Thoth receiving the now crowned king.<sup>207</sup> In this last scene, the king kneels before the god Amun, receiving life and the confirmation of his royal status, and finally receives the sacred milk in the form of a curly haired child, that evokes the god Harpocrates.<sup>208</sup> The next set of scenes depict the journey of the temple's sacred boat: it leaves the sanctuary on the shoulders of priests, is deposited in a resting station, and continues to its other sacred repository. Then the boat is shown on its return journey being towed by the king in another boat, then again on the shoulders of priests returning it to the sanctuary as it is purified with incense by the king, and finally it is depicted as being returned to its spot within the sanctuary.<sup>209</sup> Another portrait of the Philip Arrhidaeus III from Karnack depicts him with typical idealized Egyptian features, the false beard of the pharaoh, and wearing the *atef* crown, representative of upper Egypt and the Osiris cult.<sup>210</sup> He is also identified by the name

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<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 154-171.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., 154-171.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., 154-171.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., 154-171.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 154-171.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., 154-171.

Philip in a cartouche next to him.<sup>211</sup> Only royalty in ancient Egypt were identified by having their name put in cartouches.



Figure 1.8. *Clepsydra Depicting Philip III Arrhidaeus.*

Another work of art that depicts Philip Arrhidaeus is a *clepsydra* dating to circa 320 BCE (Figure 1.8).<sup>212</sup> It shows Philip Arrhidaeus as pharaoh making offerings to the god and goddess Min and Sekhmet, and an unidentified goddess who is named as his mother. Min is depicted wearing a doubled plumed crown and raising a flail. Sekhmet is depicted with a lion head, wearing a wig, sheath dress, and sun-disk,

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., 154-171.

<sup>212</sup> *Clepsydra* (EA938), Ptolemaic Period, c. 320 BC, Basalt, H: 34 cm, W: 30 cm, D: 7 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

and holding an ankh and papyrus sceptre. Unfortunately, only a hand, and the hem of a dress remain for the unidentified goddess who is identified as Philip's mother. Philip Arrhidaeus is depicted in the regalia typical of an Egyptian pharaoh. This includes the red crown of lower Egypt, and ceremonial kilt complete with bull's tail. Philip offers two jars of wine to the gods.

Both of these examples of art from Egypt are important because they reveal that despite his supposed intellectual disability, the Egyptians at least, recognised him in some capacity as pharaoh. The naos in particular seems to show that not only did the Egyptians recognize Philip as pharaoh, they also officially at least, gave him some agency, as the inscription stating that he was the one to restore the temple of Thutmosis III shows. It is also interesting to note that despite Ptolemy I controlling Egypt during the time of Philip Arrhidaeus's rule, it seems that everything was in Philip's name, rather than Ptolemy's. The Egyptians gave Philip Arrhidaeus agency. Other successors of Alexander the Great also were disabled, and we will examine them next.

Antigonus I Monophthalmus was one of the successors of Alexander the Great, and was also a high-ranking military figure during the reign of Philip II. Like Philip II, and under Philip's reign, he too lost an eye in battle. According to Plutarch this happened during the Siege of Perinthus in 340 BCE.<sup>213</sup> We unfortunately do not have any surviving portraiture of Antigonus I, but do have coins that he minted, as well as a reference to a painting done by Alexander's official court painter Apelles in Pliny's *Natural History*. The coins of Antigonus I (Figure 1.11), rather than depicting himself, show on the obverse the head of Alexander the Great as Herakles, and on the reverse a seated Zeus who holds a spear in his right hand and a caduceus in his

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 421.

left hand.<sup>214</sup> This imagery was used deliberately to both link himself and his reign to Alexander, as well as to ancient Greece in an effort to legitimize himself as king. The reference to the painting by Apelles (who was also Alexander the Great's official court painter) provides us with a mixed understanding of societal attitudes about disability during this period:

[Apelles] also painted a portrait of King Antigonus who was blind in one eye, and devised an original method of concealing the defect, for he did the likeness in 'three-quarter,' so that the feature that was lacking in the subject might be thought instead to be absent in the picture, and he only showed the part of the face which he was able to display as unmutilated.<sup>215</sup>

It seems that Antigonus followed the artistic stylings of Philip II when it came to his official portraiture, in that he only showed his nondisabled side. This is interesting because this feature of his was literally incorporated into his throne name of Antigonus I Monophthalmus, which means Antigonus the One-Eyed. The incorporation of his disability into his name would seem to suggest that it was a feature he viewed with some honor as a badge of war. However, the above anecdote about Apelles's painting perhaps suggests otherwise.

Prusias I Cholus was one of the later rulers during the Hellenistic Period, and was King of Bithynia, located in ancient northern Anatolia. Like Antigonus, Philip II, and Alexander he was wounded in battle, and like Antigonus his disability was also incorporated into his name. According to the ancient historian Memnon:

...Prusias, the vigorous and very active king of the Bithynians, by making war brought Cierus (which belonged to the Heracleians) under his control, along with some other cities. He changed the name of the city to Prusias, instead of Cierus. He also captured Tius, another city of the Heracleians, so that his territory surrounded Heracleia on both sides up to the sea. After these cities, he subjected Heracleia itself to a severe siege, and killed many of those who

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<sup>214</sup> *Coin* (2006,1235.10), Hellenistic Period, 323-319 BC, Silver, W: 3.98 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>215</sup> Pliny the Elder. *Loeb Classical Library: Natural History*. Translated by H. Rackham. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 327-328.

were besieged. The city was close to being captured, but while climbing a ladder Prusias was hit by a stone which was thrown from the battlements. He broke his leg, and because of this injury the siege was lifted. The stricken king was carried away by the Bithynians in a litter, not without difficulty, and he returned to his own country, where he lived on for a few years before he died, being named (because of his injury) "the lame".<sup>216</sup>

There are surviving portraits of Prusias, found on coins that were produced during his reign (Figures 1.12-1.45). Unlike other Hellenistic rulers who used either images of gods or Alexander the Great, Prusias used portraits of himself on the obverse of his coins. These coins were produced throughout his reign, and therefore Prusias's appearance changes over time. In the earlier coins, Prusias is depicted as either clean-shaven, or with the barest hint of a beard with long curly hair that imitates Alexander the Great, and wears the royal diadem (Figures 1.13, 1.18, 1.26, 1.31).<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Memnon. *History of Heracleia*. Translated by Andrew Smith, <http://www.attalus.org/translate/memnon1.html>, (accessed September 7, 2020).

<sup>217</sup> *Coin* (BNK,G.440), Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 11.13 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin* (1961,0301.142), Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 11.35 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin* (1993,0629.1), Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BC, Silver, D: 31 mm, W: 16.50 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin* (1930,0906.1), Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 10.91 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)





Figure 3.18. *Prusias I Cholos.*



Figure 1.26. *Prusias I Cholos.*



Figure 1.28. *Prusias I Cholos*.

He is depicted facing both directions. On the later coins, Prusias is depicted again wearing the royal diadem, but this time with a full beard, and his hair style has changed to that of the corkscrew curls that are commonly seen in statues of later Roman Emperors (Figures 1.27 – 1.28).<sup>218</sup> He also appears to be depicted exclusively facing the right-hand side of the coin. The reverse side of the coins had one of three motifs. The first motif is Zeus standing with a thunderbolt in his left hand, and a sceptre in his right hand, with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΡΟΥΣΙΟΥ (Of King Prusias).<sup>219</sup> The second motif is of either a harp or lyre, again with the same

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<sup>218</sup> *Coin* (1867,0506.7), Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BC, Silver, D: 34 mm, W: 17.21 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin* (1925,0303.1), Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BC, Silver, W: 16.33 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>219</sup> *Coin* (1993,0629.1), Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BC, Silver, D: 31 mm, W: 16.50 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

inscription (Figure 1.36).<sup>220</sup> The third motif depicts the goddess Nike, standing with her left leg bent, her right arm outstretched, and her left arm holding a shield. Again, the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΡΟΥΣΙΟΥ appears on these coins as well (Figure 1.18).<sup>221</sup> In these, he is associating himself with the king of the gods, and with victory, thus emphasising his military victories, and perhaps suggesting that he viewed his impairment again as a badge of war. Unfortunately, full portraits of the king do not survive, so we have no way of knowing if they depicted him with his lame leg. It is interesting, however to note that the instead of being depicted from both sides, later on in his reign he seems to be depicted exclusively from the right, and one has to wonder if he was imitating Antigonus and Philip II, and had ordered the artists to depict him exclusively from his nondisabled side.

### *Conclusions*

The above accounts of the disabled as discussed in this chapter seem to reveal that attitudes about disability among the ancient Macedonians during this period were mixed, and depended upon the disabled individual. As we have seen, there were two distinct recognized societal classes of disability- the congenitally disabled, and the war-wounded, however the attitudes about these two classes do not seem to have differed significantly. Disability as caused by war-wounds seems to have been looked on with a source pride, as evidenced in the throne names of different Hellenistic kings. However, just because these disabilities became attached to the throne names of these rulers, does not mean that they wanted them depicted artistically in all cases. In the case of Alexander the Great, the idea and recognition

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<sup>220</sup> *Coin* (1982,0920.21), Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.11 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>221</sup> *Coin* (1961,0301.142), Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 11.35 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

of the autonomy of the disabled seems to have existed as an accepted concept. This may be because disability was normalised through his father, half-brother, friends, and other royal acquaintances. Furthermore, he helped create a new elite class of disabled men by placing them in prominent positions of authority in the foundation of the new Alexandrias and other settlements. Furthermore, this policy continued under the Ptolemies, leading to this group having both political and religious power in Egypt creating a unique situation for perhaps the first time in history. It also seems that ableist and disablist biases have distorted our understandings of the ancient world, particularly in the case of Philip III Arrhidaeus, and the mutilated Greeks discovered in Persia. These biases also have had the effect of denying some of these men agency as disabled individuals, which is ironic given that the mutilated Greeks may have been the first clear recorded case of disabled individuals being given agency in history. Clearly disability in ancient Macedon, and perhaps ancient Greece, seems to have been more complicated than we have traditionally been led to believe. Our next chapter on dwarfism will give us more insight into how congenital disabilities were viewed in the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic world.

### 3. People & Mythological Artistic Representations of Dwarfism

By examining the artistic evidence we have for disability and focusing on people with dwarfism, during the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic Periods, we start with the most obvious and are confronted with a dichotomy. Did the ancients see dwarfism as a disability or was it a part of the life experience? By starting with the mythological, and moving into historical examples which can be traced back to named historical figures, we shall start to see the ancients' concept of disability. This will be followed by examples of those seemingly from the working classes for which there is no identification available either because it did not survive, or because these examples are from a specific genre type rather than representing individuals. This section will also comment on the ableist and disablist biases present in other historical scholarly work which analyses this disability. Depictions of those with dwarfism are often the most easily recognizable, and can be used to train one's eye to spot other artistic representations. We will see that they were by no means alone in artistic representations, that they were seemingly non-stigmatized depictions, and that the biases mentioned above have affected past scholarly interpretations of some of this material.

Dwarfism is defined by the medical community as a congenital disability, meaning that it is either inherited genetically, or caused by certain factors which adversely affects a foetus. The average height of an adult with dwarfism is 4 feet tall (1.23 meters).<sup>222</sup> There are two main categories of dwarfism: (1) proportionate dwarfism, where all body parts are shortened equally to one another, and (2) disproportionate dwarfism where either the torso is of normal size and the limbs are

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<sup>222</sup> Veronique Dasen. *Dwarves in Ancient Egypt and Greece*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 7-15.

shortened, or the torso is shortened but the limbs are of a normal length.<sup>223</sup> The most common type of dwarfism is achondroplasia, which is evident at birth and is characterized by a large head and forehead, flattened bridge of the nose, a forward curvature of the lower spine, bowed legs, and flat, short, broad feet, with the individual being of average or above average intelligence. Please see the following footnote for the other types of dwarfism.<sup>224</sup> Today, within the disability community, dwarfism is recognised as congenital difference, but also as a distinctive cultural community.<sup>225</sup>

It is important to note that the ancient Egyptians distinguished linguistically, and therefore also in their society, between the Bayaka/Efé/Twa (pygmies) and those with dwarfism, as well as those who were short.<sup>226</sup> There are three different words in ancient Egyptian which refer to a person of short stature. They are *nmw*, *hw*, and *dng*, and their usage dates back as early as the Old Kingdom.<sup>227</sup> *Nmw* is often depicted with a determinative of a small man with a long trunk, short limbs and prominent buttocks and is thought to translate to the word *short*.<sup>228</sup> It is also thought to refer exclusively to people with dwarfism of ancient Egyptian descent.<sup>229</sup> *Hw* is used to denote shortness and a physical insufficiency, while *dng* is also associated with a determinative of a man with short limbs, and is believed to refer exclusively to a separate ethnic group that is described historically by primarily European

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 7-15.

<sup>224</sup> Other types of dwarfism include *spondyloepiphyseal dysplasia*, which is characterized by a shortened trunk, clubbed feet, a cleft palate, severe osteoarthritis of the hips, weak hands and feet, and a barrel-chested appearance, and *diastrophic dysplasia*, characterized by shortened forearms and calves, misshapen hands and feet, a limited range of motion, cleft palate, and misshapen ears.

<sup>225</sup> "Welcome to Little People of America," Little People of America, accessed April 18, 2022, <https://www.lpaonline.org/>

<sup>226</sup> David P. Silverman. "Pygmies and Dwarfs in the Old Kingdom." *Serapis: The American Journal of Egyptology* 1 (1969): 53-62.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid., 53-62.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 53-62.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., 53-62.

Egyptologists as pygmies.<sup>230</sup> While the ancient Egyptians did not have the modern-day cultural connotations of the term pygmy (Bayaka/Efé/Twa as they're known today), they did seemingly distinguish between this ethnic group, native Egyptians, and individuals with dwarfism.

*Prior Historical Context of Dwarfism in Egypt and Greece*

Dwarfism, particularly achondroplastic dwarfism is the most depicted disability in Egyptian art. The number of artistic representations far outweighs the number of literary sources that can be found on the subject in ancient Egyptian literature, and it seems as stated in Chahira Kozma's article, that rates of dwarfism in ancient Egypt were higher than is currently seen in today's population from the sheer number of depictions that survive.<sup>231</sup> From the Old Kingdom alone there are individuals with dwarfism depicted in at least fifty different tombs.<sup>232</sup> Based on this evidence, I agree with Kozma's assessment. However, there are a number of named individuals with dwarfism who date back as early as Predynastic Egypt, as well as other individuals for whom we do not have names, but their skeletal remains survive. These include many high-status individuals such as Seneb, a high ranked court official married to Senetites a nondisabled high status priestess with whom he had three children, Pereniankh, a court official whom was also married, Khnumhotep, a high ranking priest, and Djeho, whom was buried in an elaborate granite coffin which features his portrait.<sup>233</sup> There was also an unnamed woman whom appears to have died in childbirth buried along with her infant in the workmen's cemetery located by the Great Pyramids.<sup>234</sup> Other depictions of those with dwarfism dating prior to this

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<sup>230</sup> Ibid., 53-62.

<sup>231</sup> Chahira Kozma. "Historical Review: Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt," *American Journal of Medical Genetics Part A* 140 (2005): 303-311.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 303-311.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., 303-311.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., 303-311.

period portray them engaging in a variety of work activities including being the foreman of a boat (also notable because we have both male and female depictions), caring for animals, working as gold and metalsmiths, tending to agriculture, and as household servants.<sup>235</sup> We know that these were dwarf people based on a combination of skeletal and artistic evidence, and can use the proportions seen here to extrapolate to other later representations of dwarf people. Smaller shabtis or other statues would not have had the same proportions as a representation of a dwarf person. It seems, therefore that those with dwarfism were accepted into Egyptian society long before the Ptolemaic Period, and had been incorporated into the very fabric of religion for centuries.

There are at least two deities with dwarfism from ancient Egypt whom are recognized by Egyptologists. The two deities who are relevant for our discussion are Pataikos and Bes. Veronique Dasen discusses them in her book *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (1993), and gives a good general overview of both. However, she did not fully examine the ramifications present in artistic depictions of both gods, nor fully discuss possible religious implications of these figures, or fully examine the different manifestations of both gods. Jane Masségia also discusses Bes in her book *Body Language in Hellenistic Art and Society* (2015), but ignores evidence from the Egyptian side of Ptolemaic culture such as Pataikos, and also seems to transfer cultural biases about disability and dwarfism today onto the ancient past by concluding, "In some, albeit rare, cases we also find figurative commemorations of dwarfs who held magisterial office. But this degree of acceptance and integration cannot have been common."<sup>236</sup> This conclusion directly contradicts all the named

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<sup>235</sup> Joyce Filer. *Disease*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 59-60.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.



individuals with dwarfism mentioned above, as well as the numerous artistic depictions discussed in this chapter, as well as by other scholars, such as Dasen. This appears to be a blatant example of ableist bias effecting historical interpretation. I will attempt to expand upon both of their works and elucidate these results in my analysis below. First, we will examine two ancient Egyptian gods with dwarfism who were still present, and extremely popular during the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic Period, as some depictions of them have been found outside of Egypt.

#### *Artistic Representations of Dwarfism from the Ptolemaic Period*

Pataikos is known as a form of the god Ptah with dwarfism, and occasionally as the combined form of the gods Ptah-Sokar.<sup>237</sup> Ptah was the Egyptian god of creation, craftsmen, architects, patron god of Memphis, and husband of Sekhmet, the goddess of warfare and medicine.<sup>238</sup> He is also considered to be one of the Egyptian creator gods.<sup>239</sup> In later time periods Ptah was considered to be the father of both Nefertum, god of the blue lotus, and Imhotep, a deified historical figure, who was considered the god of medicine and healing.<sup>240</sup> Sokar was a falcon solar deity who was also associated with craftsmen.<sup>241</sup> The Pataikos manifestation of Ptah is considered to function as an apotropaic entity who was depicted as a dwarf.<sup>242</sup> We first get the name Pataikos from the historian Herodotus, who was comparing the figures to the Greek god Hephaestus (Hephaistos), who was also a god of craftsmen and also disabled.<sup>243</sup> Hephaestus is known to have had a lower limb impairment and will be examined more fully later on in this chapter, and in the chapter on clubfoot.

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<sup>237</sup> Veronique Dasen. *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 91-93.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 46- 49.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 46- 49.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, 49; Miriam Lichtheim. *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 106.

<sup>241</sup> Veronique Dasen. *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, 91-93.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, 47, 84-85.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

We have numerous amulets and small statues of Pataikos from the Ptolemaic Period (see catalogue). Most are made from blue or green faience, carnelian or other semi-precious stones and similar materials. In examples of these amulets there is either a back pillar, or a loop at the neck or back of the amulet. Some also feature a rectangular base. Pataikos is typically depicted nude, with the short stature, and heavier proportions usually seen in those with dwarfism. He is also commonly depicted in three distinct poses which were first documented by Egyptologist William Matthew Flinders-Petrie in 1914.<sup>244</sup>



Figure 2.2. *Pataikos*.

In the first pose, Pataikos stands on the backs and closed mouths of two crocodiles, their heads bent in submission (Figures 2.1-2.5, 2.33, 2.35, 2.37).<sup>245</sup> In

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<sup>244</sup> William Matthew Flinders-Petrie. *Amulets*. (London: Constable & Company LTD, 1914), 38, no. 176.

<sup>245</sup> *Pataikos Amulet* (EA58314), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 630-30 BC, Glazed Composition, H: 8.3 cm, W: 3.6 cm, D: 2.25 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet of Pataikos*

his hands, both bent in front of him, he is commonly depicted strangling two snakes, or other dangerous animals. He is usually depicted with either a bald head, or with a single lock of hair. It should be noted that being depicted with a single lock of hair was often a way that the ancient Egyptians used to denote youth, or someone who was still a child.<sup>246</sup> This hairstyle is commonly seen on Ptolemaic depictions of the Ptolemaic god Harpocrates, i.e. Horus the child, who was another Egyptian solar deity, who the Greeks adopted and made their own.<sup>247</sup> These two hairstyles create an interesting dichotomy since Ptah is also the only Egyptian god who is depicted without hair. As mentioned above, he is in the Memphite mythological tradition considered to be the god of creation, and therefore the first god, who created all the other gods and the universe. Therefore, he can be depicted as both a youth and as an adult without either interpretation being implausible. This is also important since it means that one of the oldest, major ancient Egyptian gods was disabled. A scarab, falcon, or other regalia such as a crown featuring a sun disk associated with solar deities usually appeared on Pataikos's head and shoulders. Sometimes he is flanked

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*Flanked by Goddesses*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 7.5 cm, W: 4.3 cm, D: 2.5 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020,

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/4115>; *Pataikos Flanked by Goddesses Amulet*, Saite-Ptolemaic Period, 727-30 BC, Faience, H: 7.3 cm, W: 4.5 cm, D: 2.4 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020,

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/19172>; *Amulet of Pataikos Flanked by Goddesses*, Ptolemaic to Roman Period, 305 BC- AD 395, Sericite, H: 3.5 cm, W: 2.3 cm, D: 1.7 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020,

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/117572>; *Pataikos Amulet* (EA59052), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Glazed Composition, H: 6.17 cm, W: 4.29 cm, D: 2.41 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Pataikos Amulet Fragment* (EA54856), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Glazed Composition, H: 4 cm, W: 2.57 cm, D: 2.84 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Pataikos Amulet* (EA54857), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Glazed Composition, H: 3.63 cm, W: 2.18 cm, D: 1.07 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>246</sup> Gay Robins. "Hair and the Construction of Identity in Ancient Egypt, c. 1480-1350 BC," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 36 (1999): 57-58.

<sup>247</sup> Emma Swan Hall. "Harpocrates and Other Child Deities in Ancient Egyptian Sculpture," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 14 (1977): 55.

by other gods or goddesses such as Isis and Nephthys. Occasionally he is also pictured with a *ba* (spirit/soul) bird. Pataikos is also commonly associated with fellow god with dwarfism Bes who will be discussed below.

In the second pose, Pataikos is shown standing, with both hands clenched by his side (Figures 2.6-2.32, 2.34, 2.36).<sup>248</sup> He can be depicted either wearing a

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<sup>248</sup> *Mold for Making Pataikos Figure*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-332 BC, Clay, H: 5.8 cm, W: 4.7 cm, D: 2.1 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/118389>; *Faience Amulet in the form of the Dwarf God Pataikos*, Hellenistic Period, 304–30 BC, Faience, H: 6.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/243729>; *Amulet of the Dwarf Ptah with Isis on the Back*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664–30 BC, Faience, H: 4 cm, W: 1.5 cm, D: 1.4 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/558126>; *Pataikos Amulet*, Third Intermediate Period-Ptolemaic, 1075-30 BC, Faience, H: 7.6 cm, W: 3.5 cm, D: 2.4 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/19199>; *Pataikos Amulet*, Third Intermediate Period-Ptolemaic, 1075-30 BC, Faience, H: 3.3 cm, W: 1.5 cm, D: 1 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/9838>; *Amulet of Pataikos*, Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Faience, H: 8.1 cm, W: 4.1 cm, D: 2.6 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/117516>; *Faience Amulet in the form of the Dwarf God Pataikos*, Late-Hellenistic Period, 664–30 BC, Faience, H: 5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/243732>; *Faience Amulet in the form of the Dwarf God Pataikos*, Late-Hellenistic Period, 664–30 BC, Faience, H: 4.1 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/243731>; *Pataikos Amulet (EA67227)*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 7.22, W:3.14 cm, D: 1.98 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Pataikos Amulet (1894,1101.694)*, Cypro-Classical Period, 705-300 BC, Faience, H: 2.3 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Pataikos Amulet (1894,1101.77)*, Cypro-Classical Period, 705-300 BC, Faience, H: 1.8 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Fragmentary Amulet of Pataikos*, New Kingdom-Ptolemaic Period, 1539-30 BC, Faience, H: 5 cm, W: 3.8 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/185805>; *Pataikos Fragment (EA74747)*, Graeco-Roman Period, 300 BC- AD 200, Faience, L: 0.4 cm, W: 0.3 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Pataikos Fragment (1886,0401.1438)*, Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Terracotta, H: 4 cm, W: 5.2 cm, L: 5.9 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Pataikos Fragment (1894,1101.692)*, Cypro-Classical Period, 750-300 BC, Glazed Composition, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Pataikos Amulet (1894,1101.272)*, Cypro-Classical Period, 750-300 BC, Glazed Composition, H: 2.2 cm, W: 1.1 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Pataikos Amulet (1894,1101.75)*, Cypro-Classical Period, 750-300 BC, Glazed Composition, L: 1.9 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020,

skullcap, with a single lock of hair, or bald in this pose. Very rarely is he depicted with a full head of hair (Figure 2.26).<sup>249</sup> He is usually nude, except for a necklace. He is most often depicted alone without other animals, gods, goddesses or religious symbols present. In both poses, genitalia are usually depicted as proportionally sized, but can be occasionally depicted as exaggerated and ithyphallic (Figure 2.28).<sup>250</sup>

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[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet of Pataikos*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 5 cm, W: 2.3 cm, D: 1.8 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/117563>;

*Pataikos Amulet* (EA54490), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 1.52 cm, W:0.97 cm, D: 0.82 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx);

*Pataikos Amulet* (EA11234), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 6.69 cm, W:3.59 cm, D: 2.59 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx);

*Pataikos With Curly Hair*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Wood, H: 1.9 cm, W: 0.7 cm, D: 0.6 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/564549>;

*Pataikos Amulet* (EA54489), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 4.14 cm, W:1.87 cm, D: 1.33 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx);

*Pataikos Figure* (EA59052), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Glazed Composition, H: 6.17 cm, W: 4.29 cm, D: 2.41 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx);

*Pataikos with Two Faces*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 4.8 cm, W: 2.1 cm, D: 1.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570345>;

*Pataikos Amulet* (EA11692), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 2.74 cm, W:1.82 cm, D: 0.99 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx);

*Pataikos Amulet* (E1894,1101.74), Cypro-Classical Period, 750-300 BC, Faience, H: 2 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx);

*Pataikos Amulet* (E1969,0401.89), Cypro-Classical Period, 750-300 BC, Faience, H: 1.7 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx);

*Pataikos Amulet* (EA73833), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Faience, H: 3.2cm, W:2.25 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx);

*Pataikos Amulet* (EA57836), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Faience, H: 4.23 cm, W:1.75 cm, D: 1.24 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>249</sup> *Pataikos With Curly Hair*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Wood, H: 1.9 cm, W: 0.7 cm, D: 0.6 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/564549>

<sup>250</sup> *Pataikos Figure* (EA59052), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Glazed Composition, H: 6.17 cm, W: 4.29 cm, D: 2.41 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

The third pose, is similar to the other poses, but involves a multi-headed Pataikos. This can mean a Pataikos with a head on each side of the figure (Figure 2.29), or a Pataikos with multiple heads- there have been documented instances of Pataikos figures with up to four heads.<sup>251</sup> These heads can be both human, and animal (falcon, ram, or baboon- all animals associated with solar deities).<sup>252</sup> Like the first pose, these figures also can depict other gods and goddesses in addition to Pataikos, and also may feature scarabs and other solar imagery.<sup>253</sup> Figure 2.29 is an example of a Pataikos figure that closely mimics the second pose type discussed above. The only difference is it has two heads, one facing forwards, and one facing backwards. Both are human. It has been theorized that multiple heads increased the apotropaic qualities of the amulet for the wearer, allowing the figures to see and protect the wearer from all directions.<sup>254</sup>

These figures became popular starting in the New Kingdom and continued to be made into Roman times.<sup>255</sup> The first pose can be read as Pataikos triumphing over *Set*, or Pataikos restoring order to the universe. This is important for two reasons. First, the action being depicted in this amulet type both reinforces and depicts the amulet's apotropaic function. Simply put, it literally displays the intended use of the amulet, protecting the wearer from danger. The second important reason, for our discussion, is the amulet is a depiction of someone with a disability driving away/conquering evil. This seems to show that rather than physical impairment being associated with the negative/evil, as seen commonly in later time periods, the ancient Egyptians associated it with *Ma'at* (order) or the positive. Most revealing is

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<sup>251</sup> Veronique Dasen. *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, 86-87.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, 86-87.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.* 86-87.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.* 86-87.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.* 86-87.

that the ancient Egyptians seemed to associate dwarfism with the divine. These amulets, and their continued production into the Ptolemaic Period, also show that these concepts survived even after the Greeks became the rulers of ancient Egypt and Greek settlement in Egypt became more widespread.

Another god with dwarfism present in Egypt was Bes. Bes was the Egyptian god of music, women, children, childbirth, and protector of households. He is believed to have had a non-Egyptian origin, but exactly what ancient Near Eastern or African culture he originated from is not clear.<sup>256</sup> Some Egyptologists posit Bes may have come from Somaliland, while others posit that he instead originated from other points south, while still others posit that he was actually Egyptian in origin.<sup>257</sup> It does not change the fact, he too remained popular in Egypt through the Roman Period. Bes had a variety of names throughout the history of ancient Egypt; these included Aha (*ḥ3*), Segeb (*sgb*), Soped (*spd*), and Hit (*hjt*).<sup>258</sup> Also starting in the Late Period/ early Ptolemaic, Bes started to be referred to by the name Tettenu (*tttnw*).<sup>259</sup> He is commonly depicted in the Ptolemaic Period in small statues or amulets, as well as on reliefs/stele, and on vases and other material goods. Unlike Pataikos imagery, Bes imagery cannot be divided neatly into specific sub-types or genres of images, as there are too many variations, though some Egyptologists, such as Franz Ballod have tried.<sup>260</sup> Bes is generally depicted with leonine facial features with the proportions and shorter stature of a person with dwarfism, while also as bow-legged.

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<sup>256</sup> JF Romano. "The Origin of the Bes-Image," *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 2 (1980): 40-41.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*, 40-41.

<sup>258</sup> Veronique Dasen. *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, 55-56.

<sup>259</sup> Veronique Dasen. *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, 55-56; Franz Ballod. *Prolegomena zur Geschichte der zwerghaften Gotter in Aegypten*. (Moscow: H. Liessner & D. Sobko, 1913), 11-14, 24-36.

<sup>260</sup> Franz Ballod. *Prolegomena zur Geschichte der zwerghaften Gotter in Aegypten*. (Moscow: H. Liessner & D. Sobko, 1913), 71-85.

One historian recently proposed that Bes could also have Down's Syndrome.<sup>261</sup> In his paper, Kellenberger looks at both medical criteria and current cultural associations of Down's Syndrome and compares it to depictions of Bes, concluding that it is possible that Bes is depicted as having the disability.<sup>262</sup> Specific things referenced are physical features, especially facial features, and associations with dancing and entertaining.<sup>263</sup> I believe it is plausible that Bes could also be depicted as having Down's Syndrome, but find the comparisons to current cultural associations of Down's Syndrome problematic at best, and ableist at worst, as the Egyptians and Greeks did not have the same cultural associations with disability that we do today.



Figure 2.40. *Bes Dressed as a Soldier.*

However, one general category into which the Bes figures can be grouped is Bes wearing military uniforms and other regalia, which look surprisingly Greek in

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<sup>261</sup> Edgar Kellenberger. "The Quest for Down Syndrome (and Other Symptoms) in Antiquity," Paper presented at Natural Born Fools in the Ancient World Symposium, Manchester University, Manchester, UK, January 31, 2020.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.



origin (Figures 2.39-2.40, 2.93).<sup>264</sup> Bes does not take on any one pose when depicted in this manner. All my examples come from the British Museum. In Figure 2.38, a pottery flask, Bes is depicted sitting astride a kneeling horse.<sup>265</sup> The horse is wearing a double breast-band and saddle, sans stirrups. Bes is wearing full Macedonian armour consisting of a cuirass, short-sleeved tunic, and *pteryges*. He also wears a *chlamys* that is fastened with a brooch at chest height. A sword and scabbard are also partially visible. In addition to this, Bes also wears ankle-length boots, and there is evidence for him wearing some kind of headgear as well, but the type cannot be determined since the top of the piece, as well as the horse's head, have been lost. The horse in this particular image, especially since Bes is wearing full Macedonian armour, may be a reference to Bucephalus, Alexander the Great's horse who was said in some ancient accounts to kneel so Alexander could mount him while in full armour.<sup>266</sup> It should be noted that the surviving accounts that we have of Alexander the Great were actually written after the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE when this artefact is from, but the ancient historians at the time were drawing on older accounts, some of which were contemporaneous with the date of this particular artefact, which unfortunately no longer survive. The legend of Alexander was also very much alive during this period since the Ptolemies and other Hellenistic rulers

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<sup>264</sup> *Pottery Flask* (EA15477), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 7.3 cm, W: 6.6 cm, D: 3.2 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Figure* (EA12745), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century to 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 24.8 cm, W: 12.5 cm, D: 4.6 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Figure* (1888,0601.96), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 12.7 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>265</sup> *Pottery Flask* (EA15477), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 7.3 cm, W: 6.6 cm, D: 3.2 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>266</sup> Diodorus Siculus. *Bibliotheca Historica: Diodorus of Sicily in Twelve Volumes*, translated by C.H. Oldfather. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), Perseus Digital Library, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0084>, (accessed May 6, 2020).

were using him to help legitimize their own reigns. Since some of these statues date to early in the period, it is possible that artists were creating objects that would appeal to both the Greeks and the Egyptians in order to capitalise on both potential markets, and that these were popular because the Egyptians saw the Greeks as liberators, and the Greeks bought them because they had familiar clothing. Artists would potentially have had living Greek soldiers to model these figures off of, as well as depictions of Alexander the Great. Being a form of political propaganda for the Ptolemies, in linking things to Alexander, may have been an additional bonus.

In Figure 2.39, a terracotta figure, Bes is depicted standing.<sup>267</sup> He wears a short-sleeve tunic, which is tied at the waist, and holds a circular shield decorated with a seven-pointed star with his left hand. The remains of a sword's scabbard are present directly under the shield. Bes's right hand is unfortunately missing, but from the position of his arm, and the presence of the scabbard suggests he most likely was holding a sword with his right hand. Additionally, Bes wears a feathered headdress. The seven-pointed star in ancient Egypt is associated with the goddess Seshat.<sup>268</sup> Seshat was the goddess of writing, wisdom, and knowledge, and her worship continued into the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>269</sup>

In Figure 2.40, also a terracotta figure, Bes is once again depicted standing, but has his right knee bent.<sup>270</sup> He is once again wearing a short-sleeved tunic, tied at the waist and holding a rounded shield in his left hand, and a sword above his head

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<sup>267</sup> *Bes Figure* (EA12745) Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century to 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 24.8 cm, W: 12.5 cm, D: 4.6 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>268</sup> Dusan Magdolen. "A New Investigation of the Symbol of the Egyptian Goddess Seshat," *Asian and African Studies* 18 (2009): 172, 185-187.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.*, 172-173, 185-187.

<sup>270</sup> *Bes Figure* (1888,0601.96), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 12.7 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

in his right hand. He wears ankle-length boots. Bes's overall posture suggests that he is lunging at an opponent.

Another general category for the figures, is Bes wearing a feathered crown, and sometimes carrying feathers or weapons of some kind (Figures 2.41- 2.48, 2.58, 2.90 -2.91, 2.96, 2.104).<sup>271</sup> These figures are typically very similar to Bes wearing military uniforms, but he is usually not clothed in these examples. All these figures depict Bes standing upright, most of them with his right hand raised, carrying either a sword, or feather, and his left hand either carrying a shield, a snake, or resting on his

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<sup>271</sup> *Stela of the God Bes*, Ptolemaic- Roman Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Limestone, Paint, H: 38.7 cm, W: 17.7 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547866>; *Bes on a Column Holding a Knife*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 9.7 cm, W: 2.5 cm, D: 1.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570698>; *Bes-Image of the god Hor-Asha-Khet*, Late- Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Bronze, Gold, Electrum, Auriferous-silver, Copper, and Copper Alloys, H: 16.8 cm, W: 9.6 cm, D: 6.7 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547904>; *Bes Figure* (EA61296), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 49.5 cm, W: 10.5 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Figure* (EA65438), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 11 cm, W: 6.32 cm, D: 2.39 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Figure* (EA43381), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 10.7 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Front Mould* (EA20883), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 40.5 cm, W: 16.6 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Plaque* (EA61298), Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 16.6 cm, W: 10.41 cm, D: 3.58, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bell in the form of Bes*, Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 6.3 cm, D: 4.6 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551369>; *Bes Figure* (EA36060), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 5.7 cm, W: 2.2 cm, D: 2.6 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Figure* (EA36085), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 4.4 cm, W: 2.1 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Figure* (EA61297), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 12.67 cm, W: 6.05 cm, D: 2.56 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Stela with Bes and Tutu*, Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Limestone, H: 26.5 cm, W: 47.7 cm, D: 9 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3660>

left thigh. Figure 2.91 depicts Bes wearing a lionskin, and both hands to his chest holding a club in each hand.<sup>272</sup> He seems to be imitating Herakles in this particular example. In Figure 2.104, Bes is depicted with the Late Period god Tutu, who was a protector god who chased away bad dreams and demons, and guarded tombs.<sup>273</sup> Bes's genitalia in all of these figures is visible, and ithyphallic, but appears to be of proportional size. The objects the god is depicted upon in this type, range from terracotta figures and reliefs, to drinking flasks, to bells, to amulets.

Bes, in a third general category, is featured on amulets, or drinking flasks (Figures 2.49 -2.57, 2.61, 2.83-2.85, 2.87, 2.89, 2.92, 2.94-2.95, 2.97-2.102).<sup>274</sup> He

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<sup>272</sup> *Bes Figure* (EA36085), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 4.4 cm, W: 2.1 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>273</sup> *Stela with Bes and Tutu*, Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Limestone, H: 26.5 cm, W: 47.7 cm, D: 9 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed December 2019,

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3660>

<sup>274</sup> *Flask* (EA36270), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 9cm, W: 5.14 cm, D: 4.38 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Blue and Yellow Faience, H: 6 cm, W: 2.9 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570279>; *Front Mould* (EA38290), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Clay, H: 17.3 cm, W: 8.2 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Figure* (EA22378), Ptolemaic and Hellenistic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H:42.8 cm, W: 14.12 cm, D: 6.6 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Figure* (EA53872), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 24.2 cm, W: 7.69 cm, D: 5.13 cm, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Flask* (EA12741),

Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 9.25, W: 5.13 cm, D: 4.5 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Figure* (EA68308), Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, H: 15.6 cm, W: 5.54 cm, D: 4.81 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Figure* (1886,0401.1455), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 6.5 cm, D: 2.5 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Amulet* (2013,5012.8), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Glazed Composition, H: 1.9 cm, W: 1 cm, T: 0.8 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Amulet* (EA68932), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Glazed Composition, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Medallion* (EA59413), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Glazed Composition, L: 8.04 cm, W: 7.29 cm, T: 2.51 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Amulet* (EA16555),

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Amulet* (EA16555),

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Amulet* (EA16555),

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Amulet* (EA16555),

is typically naked and does not usually carry or hold anything in these depictions. In 2.49– 2.57, 2.87, 2.92, 2.95, 2.97, 2.101-2.102 Bes, is depicted either standing or sitting, with his legs together, and his arms by his side. He typically wears his feathered crown in these examples. All other examples from this category depict Bes only from the head or chest up.

A fourth general category are Bes jars. These typically are jugs, vases, or other drinking apparatuses which feature only Bes's head or facial features (2.59-2.60, 2.62).<sup>275</sup> Some of them, like Figure 2.62 seem to be more animal looking than

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Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Glass, H: 2.63 cm, W: 1.12 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Amulet* (EA64110), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Glass, L: 2.42 cm, W: 1.21 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Amulet* (EA7368), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Glazed Composition, L: 7 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Figure* (EA84862), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Glazed Composition, H: 2 cm, W: 1.4 cm, T: 0.3 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Ring* (EA51426), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Copper Alloy, D: 1.29 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Amulet* (EA61288), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Glazed Composition, H: 2.1 cm, W: 1.1 cm, T: 0.3 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Figure* (EA37509), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Terracotta, H: 14 cm, W: 10 cm, D: 4.26 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Pendant* (1879,0522.12), Ptolemaic Period, late 4<sup>th</sup> Century- late 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Glass, L: 4.1 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Pendant* (1879,0522.11), Ptolemaic Period, late 4<sup>th</sup> Century- late 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Glass, L: 4.1 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Pendant* (1879,0522.14), Ptolemaic Period, late 4<sup>th</sup> Century- late 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Glass, L: 1.6 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Pendant* (1879,0522.15), Ptolemaic Period, late 4<sup>th</sup> Century- late 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Glass, L: 2.6 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Pendant* (1879,0522.16), Ptolemaic Period, late 4<sup>th</sup> Century- late 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Glass, L: 2.2 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); <sup>275</sup> *Flask* (EA26818), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Wax, H: 6.6 cm, W: 4.6 cm, D: 3 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Ampulla* (EA36033), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 7.1 cm, W: 4.1 cm, D: 4.5 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx);

human, while others like Figure 2.60 seem to be more human looking. Bes appears on these jars to keep the contents safe from possible harmful influences. These jugs are thought to have been used to feed either small children or sick infants in the belief that it would help them recover from their illnesses.<sup>276</sup> If we incorporate Kellenberger's hypothesis that Bes might have had Down's Syndrome into the context of these jars, there is another related explanation for their use. Infants with Down's Syndrome, as well as some other disabilities which feature lower muscle tone, can have trouble breastfeeding. In this case, then these jars would have been an accommodation to deal with a very real potentially life-threatening problem, and can be seen as evidence for how invested the ancient Egyptians were in raising all their children, regardless of disability or impairment status.

A fifth category is Bes being depicted in a temple or religious context. In these images, Bes may appear as an atlas/telamon (male weight-bearing figure used in place of a column/support equivalent to the female caryatids) on the temples depicted, or as carrying animals, or statues of the gods (Figures 2.63 -2.70, 2.88, 2.103).<sup>277</sup> Bes is naked in all the figures where he is depicted as an atlas/telamon

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<sup>276</sup> Petr Charvat. "The Bes Jug: Its Origin and Development," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 107 (1980): 46.

<sup>277</sup> *Plaque* (E16025), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-300 BC, Terracotta, H: 9.5 cm, W:8.4 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Plaque* (1886,0401.1458), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-300 BC, Terracotta, H:6.5 cm, W: 7.5 cm, T: 1.7 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Figure* (1986,1208.7), Ptolemaic Period 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 7.2 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Figure* (1888,0601.105), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H:8.6 cm, W: 3.1 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Figure* (EA68856), Ptolemaic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 6.33 cm, W: 4.49 cm, D: 1.6 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Column Capital in the Form of a Bes-Image*, Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Limestone, H:39.5, W: 52 cm, D: 21.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019,

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551897>; *Bes Carrying a Ram Over His Shoulders*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 6.3, W: 3.5 cm, D: 1.3 cm, New York,

wearing only a feathered crown. He stands with his hands on his thighs. Between the Bes columns is a naked goddess, her hands by her sides, wearing a short, layered, wig. This goddess has been identified as either Isis or Hathor, but one has been found that is thought to depict Athena.<sup>278</sup> The temple itself is depicted with a triangular pedimented roof, which suggests it is more Greek than Egyptian in style, and indicating a blending of cultures. In Figure 2.64 Bes, stands on a plinth on which is depicted recumbent lions, which were associated with both the Egyptian pharaoh as well as Alexander the Great, meaning that this particular artefact is again representative of the cultural fusion between Egyptian and Greek. In figures (Figures 2.69, 2.88) where Bes is carrying an animal he is minimally clothed wearing only an animal pelt around his neck paired with a short loincloth/penis sheath.<sup>279</sup> He is wearing his feathered crown. Notably, he is also missing the protruding leonine tongue, making him appear more human in this figure. In Figure 2.69, Bes is carrying a ram around his shoulders. In Figure 2.88, the animal is an ibex. In figures where Bes is carrying statues of gods, he is typically clothed. In Figure 2.70, he is wearing

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Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570702>; *Bes Figure* (1888,0601.95), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 12.7 cm, W: 7.3 cm, D: 3.3 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes Statuette* (EA64622), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Egyptian Blue, H: 4.16 cm, W: 4.22 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bes*, Late Hellenistic-Early Roman, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC- 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 5.9 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/241060>

<sup>278</sup> *Plaque* (E16025), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-300 BC, Terracotta, H: 9.5 cm, W:8.4 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>279</sup> *Bes Carrying a Ram Over His Shoulders*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 6.3, W: 3.5 cm, D: 1.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570702>; *Bes Statuette* (EA64622), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Egyptian Blue, H: 4.16 cm, W: 4.22 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

a short-sleeved tunic, tied at the waist, as well as a crown.<sup>280</sup> In his left hand he holds an Egyptian style statue of an unidentified god. In his right hand he holds a small pot, and by his right side is what appears to be an animal, but is now largely lost. This specific figure also has an exaggerated penis, that hangs down between Bes's legs and touches the ground.



Figure 1.71. *Dancing Bes Alongside Seated Group of Musicians.*

A sixth general category is the dancing Bes. Figure 2.71 depicts Bes dancing with a group of musicians.<sup>281</sup> He is standing, naked, apart from his feathered crown, and raising his arms and legs in time to the music. Three musicians are seated on a bench with a long footstool next to Bes. All are clothed, and wear elaborate wigs. One musician is a syrinx (pan-pipe) player, one is playing a double-flute, and one is playing a lyre. All the musicians appear to be sighted. The importance of sight,

<sup>280</sup> *Bes Figure* (1888,0601.95), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 12.7 cm, W: 7.3 cm, D: 3.3 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>281</sup> *Dancing Bes Alongside Seated Group of Musicians*, Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Terracotta, H 8.8 cm; W. 9.9 cm; D. 3.2 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551321>



especially in relation to Egyptian musicians, will be discussed further in the section covering sight impairments and blindness.

A seventh general category depicts Bes with other gods. Figures 2.74, 2.75, 2.76, and 2.86 depict either Bes, or the head of Bes with depictions of the goddess Isis or gods Pataikos or Harpocrates.<sup>282</sup> Figures 2.72 –2.74, and 2.105 depict Bes on large jars /amphorae or basins, sometimes with the goddess Isis-Hathor.<sup>283</sup> In all of these, Bes is either standing or dancing, and naked apart from his feathered crown. On Figure 2.72, Bes reaches up and touches his crown with his right hand, with his other hand resting on his hip. His legs are bent, as he is dancing. He is bordered by acanthus leaves, and unidentified flowers. On Figures 2.73, 2.74, and 2.105 Bes stands with both hands resting on his hips. On Figure 2.74 Bes is bordered by acanthus leaves, as well as the goddess Isis-Hathor. On Figure 2.105 Bes stands with both hands by his sides. Above him are the feet of someone who unfortunately does not survive, but could be either a priest, or a dedicant. Bes's genitalia are of

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<sup>282</sup>*Cup Fragment* (1886,0401.1583), Ptolemaic Period, 150-50 BC, Terracotta, H: 7.6 cm, W: 7.5 cm, D: 5.5 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Cippus* (EA27373),

Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Steatite, H: 22 cm, W: 4.88 cm, T: 2.71 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Cippus* (EA36250), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Black Steatite, H: 19.5 cm, W: 13 cm, D: 6.1 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Cippus* (EA27374) Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Green Steatite, H: 14.98 cm, W: 6.21 cm, T: 2 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>283</sup> *Kantharos* (1997,1005.1), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 14.3 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Transport Amphora* (1955,0920.76), Ptolemaic/Hellenistic Period, 200-1 BC, Pottery, H: 5.7 cm, W: 4.1 cm, D: 2.3 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Cup Fragment* (1886,0401.1583), Ptolemaic Period, 150-50 BC, Terracotta, H: 7.6 cm, W: 7.5 cm, D: 5.5 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Basin Fragment* (EA36856), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Basalt, H: 9.9 cm, T: 6.2 cm, L: 13.5 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

normal size in all of these depictions. On Figures Figures 2.75, 2.76, and 2.86 only Bes's head appears. In both depictions he is in the vicinity of a god strangling snakes. On Figure 2.76 it is Patakius, and on Figure 2.75 and 2.86 it is the child solar deity Harpocrates (Horus).

Two final notable examples are found in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum (Figures 2.77-2.78). The Metropolitan Museum of Art piece (Figure 2.77) depicts Bes being worshipped by an unnamed Egyptian man.<sup>284</sup> Bes is depicted standing naked on a raised platform. He does not have his feathered crown, but does have his typical leonine features, including a tail. He holds a harp in his hands. It is theorized that the harp may be a reflection of his power to calm angry spirits.<sup>285</sup> The male worshipper kneels before the raised platform, what remains of his arms outstretched towards the Bes figure. It is possible that he could have been holding something as an offering to the god, but because his hands do not survive, this is not known. The worshipper wears a belted kilt. This figure can be interpreted as having an apotropaic meaning. The example from the British Museum, depicts a boy petting a rabbit (Figure 2.78).<sup>286</sup> He is wearing a short-sleeved tunic that is covered with pendant amulets depicting Bes, as well as wearing anklets and bracelets. The tunic is raised to expose the boy's genitalia, which rests on his left foot. Rabbits in ancient Egypt were associated with both fertility and Osiris, the god of the dead, and resurrection, and the goddess Wenet (Unut), who was also associated with the underworld and resurrection of the

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<sup>284</sup> *Bes with Worshiper*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Bronze or Copper Alloy, H: 13.2 cm, W: 5.5 cm, L: 14.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548217>

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> *Temple Boy Figure* (1917,0701.125), Hellenistic Period, c. 300 BC, Limestone, H: 41 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

deceased in the afterlife.<sup>287</sup> It seems in this instance, that the boy is perhaps representing fertility and resurrection of the deceased, and is wearing the Bes amulet for further protection.



Figure 2.79. *Bes & Beset.*



Figure 2.82. *Beset Nursing Bes.*

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<sup>287</sup> Richard H. Wilkinson. *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 199.

There is also a feminine version of the god Bes known as Beset. She is also described as Bes's wife. Interestingly, she too, is depicted with the proportions and stature of an individual with dwarfism. She appears in small terracotta statues, although she is not as frequently depicted as her masculine counterpart. She originates in the Middle Kingdom, and was seldom depicted until the Ptolemaic Period, when she had a sudden increase in popularity.<sup>288</sup> In Figures 2.79, 2.80 and 2.81 Beset is depicted standing with her arms resting on her hips.<sup>289</sup> She also wears a feathered crown. In two of these examples she is nude except for anklets, but in Figure 2.79 she is wearing a see-through linen dress that is tied with an Isis knot between her breasts. In Figure 2.79, Beset appears on the reverse of a Bes figure, both of them in the same position with hands by their sides.<sup>290</sup> In all of these examples, she has long, layered hair. In Figure 2.82 she sits in a basket, nursing an infant Bes, who is naked apart from his feathered crown.<sup>291</sup> She is once again wearing a sheer linen Isis fringed dress that is open to expose her breasts. On her head she wears both a feathered crown and wreath that is tied at each end with ribbons. The depictions of her nursing are also interesting because it may suggest that the Egyptians recognised that the disability could be passed down in families.

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<sup>288</sup> Veronique Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, 59-60.

<sup>289</sup> *Bes Standing on a Papyriform Capital, Beset on Opposite Side*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 9.3 cm, W: 2.7 cm, L: 2.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/552463>; *Statuette of Beset (Besis)*, Late- Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 14.5 cm, W: 5.3 cm, L: 5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/552462>; *Beset Figure* (EA37581), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 15.6 cm, W: 5.25 cm, D: 3.43 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>290</sup> *Bes Standing on a Papyriform Capital, Beset on Opposite Side*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 9.3 cm, W: 2.7 cm, L: 2.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/55246>

<sup>291</sup> *Beset Figure* (1995,0123.1), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 14.8 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

All these depictions of Bes are important for several reasons, some of which relate to disability in the ancient world, and some of which speak to cross cultural relations between the ancient Egyptians and Greeks. Like Pataikos, Bes is a positive mythical depiction of someone with a disability; one who not only continued, but increased in popularity under the Ptolemies. Also, like Pataikos, Bes depictions were intended to serve an apotropaic function, meaning that as someone with a disability, Bes protected against negative spirits and evil, rather than having an unfavourable cultural association, although his appearance was also understood to be frightening for this reason. Beset is representative of the same, and in addition is a depiction of a woman with a disability, something that seems to be uncommon in artistic representations from both Greece and Egypt. This lack of disabled female representation may be due to difficulties some disabilities, such as dwarfism, could cause in childbirth that could negatively affect survivability, especially since medical interventions such as the Caesarian section had not been invented yet. An example of this is the woman with dwarfism who appears to have died in childbirth who was mentioned in the beginning of this section. In terms of the importance that relates to cross cultural relations between the ancient Egyptians and Greeks, the depictions of Bes (an Egyptian god) wearing Greek/Macedonian style armour that is sometimes combined with Egyptian religious symbols such as that of the goddess Seshat shows that at least artistically, there was some exchanging of cultural ideals. The fact that some of the poses of Bes/Beset seem to depict them in motion/ in more active poses, rather than in the typically more static/rigid poses of Egyptian statuary also attests to this combination of cultural ideals. In a way this exchange of ideas about art seems to have come full circle during this period, as it was Egyptian art which originally influenced Greek art during the Greek Archaic Period (800-500 BCE). We

will also see later, that this overall generally positive attitude towards those with dwarfism in ancient Egypt seemed to extend to other levels of Ptolemaic society as well, while there was a more mixed stance about those with dwarfism elsewhere in the Hellenistic world.

All the gods and goddesses discussed above are also unusual in that they are depicted as human, or primarily human with some animal features. Egyptian gods were typically depicted with theriocephaly, or as being an animal, in at least one of their forms. The exception to this rule being Osiris, who was depicted primarily as a mummy with green skin, which was thought to be a reference to his roles as a fertility and agriculture god.<sup>292</sup> A foreign origin for Bes/Beset may possibly explain them, however it does not explain why Pataikos was similarly depicted. It may be because Ptah was considered one of the main creator gods that the Egyptians felt comfortable depicting as human. It is important to note these gods, especially Pataikos, were considered major gods within the religion of ancient Egypt. They were also gods of the people, representing skilled and unskilled professions upon which the entire society rested, as well as addressing health concerns, such as safety during childbirth, that would have affected the entire population regardless of social status. That the Egyptians had not one, but two gods with dwarfism, seems to attest to the how numerous this population may have been within Egypt. The Egyptians seemed to create gods using animals, and other elements that appeared commonly in Egypt. Gods utilising crocodile features (Sobek, Taweret, and Ammit among others), are one such example of this. Given that there are two gods, and as mentioned above, and depictions of those with dwarfism in over fifty tombs dating to

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<sup>292</sup> William Kelly Simpson and William Stevenson Smith. *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*. (London: Yale University Press, 1998), 5, 17.

the Old Kingdom alone, suggests they were a common, integrated part of life in Egypt. We will now look at other deities with dwarfism who are primarily Greek in origin.

### *Hellenistic Representations of Dwarfism*

Other minor deities who are thought to have dwarfism are the god Hephaestus's helpers known as the Kabeiroi (Cabeiri). Hephaestus, as mentioned earlier, was the god of craftsmen and the forge.<sup>293</sup> He himself was also disabled, being described as either lame of leg, or as having clubbed feet by ancient authors such as Homer.<sup>294</sup> The Kabeiroi were chthonic minor deities and have been described as either Hephaestus's sons or grandsons.<sup>295</sup> Like Bes, they too are thought to have possibly a non-native origin that dates prior to the Greeks, with the possibilities for their origins ranging from Phrygia to Thrace to the north Aegean islands of Lemnos and Samothrace.<sup>296</sup> Some other scholars have suggested that they have a Sanskrit or Hindu origin.<sup>297</sup> Dasen discusses the Kabeiroi in her book, but only looks at statuettes dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>298</sup> During the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic Periods, the Kabeiroi also appeared on coins (Figures 2.106-2.120).<sup>299</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> Veronique Dasen. *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, 74.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, 198-199.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, 195-196.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, 195-196.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, 195-196.

<sup>299</sup> *Coin; Greek* (1853,0716.216), Hellenistic Period, 200-100 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 8.12 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (1866,1201.844), Hellenistic Period, 200-100 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.43 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (HPB,p84.8.B), Hellenistic Period, 300-1 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 2.18 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (1872,0709.43), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 8.22 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek*



Figure 2.109. *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.*

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(EH,p255.6.The), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.64 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (TC,p93.6.Tha), Hellenistic Period, 200-100 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.66 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (1861,1112.37), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.7 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (RPK,p73.4.The), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 6.05 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (1919,0304.1), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.56 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (BNK,G.141), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 6.72 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (1970,0503.2), Hellenistic Period, 300-1 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 15.46 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (TC,p99.9.The), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 4.04 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (1841,B.633), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 9.44 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (HPB,p84.5.B), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 0.99 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (1841,B.639), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 4.92 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)





Figure 2.114. *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.*



Figure 2.119. *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.*

These coins were produced in places ranging from Thessaloniki (Macedon), to Thasos (Greece), and Syros (Greece).<sup>300</sup> The majority of coins feature the Kabeiroi on the reverse face of the coin. Figures 2.109, 2.110, 2.112-2.114, 2.117, 2.118, and 2.120 depict on the reverse side of the coin, a singular Kabeiroi.<sup>301</sup> The Kabeiroi

<sup>300</sup> *Coin; Greek* (1872,0709.43), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 8.22 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (TC,p93.6.Tha), Hellenistic Period, 200-100 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.66 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (1970,0503.2), Hellenistic Period, 300-1 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 15.46 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>301</sup> *Coin; Greek* (1872,0709.43), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 8.22 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (EH,p255.6.The), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.64 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek*

on these is standing facing to the left, while holding a *rhyton* and hammer. Some also have Greek inscriptions identifying the figure as a Kabeiroi (KABEIPOC). Some of these coins have the Kabeiroi with the shorter stature, and proportions typically seen in individuals with dwarfism, but on other coins, the Kabeiroi is depicted as an average sized person (Figures 2.110, 2.112, 2.118). The obverse of these coins depicts either female busts/personifications of the city in which the coins were manufactured or inscriptions in Greek bearing the name of the city of manufacture (ΘΕCΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ, ΘΕCΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ) framed by oak leaves. Other coins depict the Kabeiroi on the reverse jugate as portraits or busts, and surrounded by a vine-wreath border.<sup>302</sup> Some of them have an inscription in Greek on the reverse stating the place of manufacture (ΘΕΩΝ CΥΠΙΩΝ) or identifying the figures as Kabeiroi (ΘΑCΙΩΝ, KABEIPOC). On the obverse of these coins is the bust of either the goddess Demeter or Persephone wearing a corn wreath and veil. On Figures 2.108,

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(1861,1112.37), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.7 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (RPK,p73.4.The), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 6.05 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (1919,0304.1), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.56 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (TC,p99.9.The), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 4.04 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (1841,B.633), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 9.44 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (1841,B.639), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 4.92 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>302</sup> *Coin; Greek* (1853,0716.216), Hellenistic Period, 200-100 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 8.12 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (1866,1201.844), Hellenistic Period, 200-100 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.43 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (TC,p93.6.Th), Hellenistic Period, 200-100 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.66 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

and 2.116 the Kabeiroi are again depicted on the reverse of the coin.<sup>303</sup> However, instead of there being a singular Kabeiroi or busts of two Kabeiroi, there are two Kabeiroi depicted standing side by side in a frontal position. On the obverse is the head of Demeter. The whole scene is surrounded by a wreath. Figure 2.119 differs from the others in that it features a recumbent goat on the reverse side of the coin, with the partial Greek inscription of Σ Υ (SY). On the obverse is the head of a singular Kabeiroi facing to the right. These details reveal that the Kabeiroi were depicted on coins throughout ancient Greece, meaning they had a wide range, and multiple cities felt that they were important enough deities to want themselves to be associated with them. The depictions of Persephone and Demeter on the obverse reveals that the Kabeiroi were also seen as important enough to be associated with important goddesses in the ancient Greek world. Certain symbols such as the vines, oak leaves, and goat found on the coins also reveal that both the Kabeiroi and the cities that these coins were manufactured in were associating themselves with fertility, and the harvest, as well as possibly alluding to other gods from Greek culture (i.e. Zeus and Dionysus) whose symbols included the oak, grape vines, and the goat. Again, these seem to be quite the opposite of stigmatizing depictions of mythological individuals with dwarfism, coming from a primarily Greek cultural background, which should make one question whether the Greeks viewed physical impairment as either a negative or as stigmatizing.

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<sup>303</sup> *Coin; Greek* (HPB,p84.8.B), Hellenistic Period, 300-1 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 2.18 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (1970,0503.2), Hellenistic Period, 300-1 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 15.46 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Ptolemaic & Hellenistic Depictions of the Non-Elite with Dwarfism*



Figure 2.134. *Woman with Dwarfism Dancing*.

Another category of art which depicts people with dwarfism during the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic are depictions of workers, servants, dancers, actors, and others from the working classes. Figures 2.134, 2.135, and 2.137 depict dancing people with dwarfism.<sup>304</sup> Figure 2.134 is a female with achondroplasia dwarfism wearing a tunic with a fringed hem, and holding a pair of *krotala*.<sup>305</sup> She steps to the right, both arms extended up and into the air in front of her, but her head and face are turned towards the viewer. Overall, the composition of this art piece follows the

<sup>304</sup> *Figure* (1926,0415.32), Hellenistic Period, 150-100 BC, Bronze, H: 9 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx);

*Figure* (1882,0729.8), Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 4.2 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Dancing Dwarf* (26.7.1403), Ptolemaic Period, 332-150 BC, Marble, H: 10 cm, W: 4.9 cm, D: 4.2 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019,

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551343>

<sup>305</sup> *Figure* (1926,0415.32), Hellenistic Period, 150-100 BC, Bronze, H: 9 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

spiral format typically seen in Hellenistic art.<sup>306</sup> Figure 2.137 is a partial sculpture of a nude male with dwarfism. From what is left of the sculpture, it follows the same overall composition of Figure 2.134, in which the dancer is turned to the right, but whose head faces the viewer. However, the dancer also has the idealised musculature commonly seen in Greek sculpture. Figure 2.135 is an even more fragmentary sculpture of a dancing nude male with dwarfism. This sculpture is missing a head, its arms, and its legs, but the torso has the same musculature as 2.137, and the same twisting shape as both 2.134 and 2.137. Figures 2.124, 2.131, and 2.136 depict individuals with dwarfism who are either actors, musicians, or entertainers.<sup>307</sup> Figure 2.136 depicts a musician with dwarfism sitting with legs bent, playing a flute. The gender of this musician is unknown, and it is also unfortunately not clear if the musician is sighted or not. Figure 2.131 depicts a male actor with dwarfism. His right arm is outstretched and his left hand is on his hip. He has a himation draped over his left shoulder and lower body. Figure 2.124 is a lamp that depicts two people with dwarfism who are lovers on a bed.

Figures 2.128, 2.129, 2.132, 2.133, 2.140, and 2.142 depict people with dwarfism who are workers/ are from the menial classes.<sup>308</sup> Figure 2.128 depicts a

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<sup>306</sup> Jane Masségliia. *Body Language in Hellenistic Art and Society*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 168, 278, 305.

<sup>307</sup> *Lamp* (1980,1001.15), Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Pottery, L: 9.3 cm, W: 6.5 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1906,0512.4), Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H:11.2 cm, W: 8.2 cm, D: 5 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure of a Dwarf Playing a Flute* (08.480.116), Ptolemaic Period, 330-30 BC, Faience, H: 3.4 cm, W: 1.4 cm, D: 0.9 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/19181>

<sup>308</sup> *Figure* (1886,0401.1444), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 15.4 cm, W: 7 cm, T: 3.9 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1936,1229.1), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 16 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1925,0120.2), Hellenistic Period, 100-30 BC, Bronze, H: 7 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed

workman with dwarfism, who is most likely a fisherman. He carries a basket in his left hand and wears an *exomis* over a short-sleeved tunic. His left arm is raised, but unfortunately does not survive. Unlike, the major dwarf gods, this workman has a full head of hair, but still has a sidelock off to the right side of his head. His facial expression borders on the exaggerated. Figure 2.129 depicts a man with dwarfism carrying two jugs, one in each hand. Unlike figure 2.128, this dwarf person is nude, and has a receding hairline. He wears a wreath made from leaves and ribbons, perhaps indicating that he is a religious festival celebrant. Figure 2.132 depicts a nude male with dwarfism carrying a basket over his left arm. He appears to have hair. Unfortunately, the statue, in its entirety, is badly deteriorated and does not survive at all from the knees down. Figure 2.142 depicts a nude man with dwarfism carrying a large jar over his left shoulder. He appears to be very rotund, and has either mostly bald or shaved head, meaning he is recognized here as an older adult. Out of all the sculptures in this section, his features appear to be the most individualized, and more of a portrait than any of the other sculptures. The sculpture is unfortunately fragmentary but follows the same overall stylistic pattern as figures 2.128, 2.129, and 2.132. Figure 2.133 depicts a man with dwarfism looking down at

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January 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1824,0431.2), Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Bronze, H: 6.35 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed January 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Bronze Statuette of Dwarf with Silver Eyes* (97.22.9), Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Bronze and Silver, H: 7.9 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551343>; *Fragment of a Man Carrying a Jar* (16.223), Hellenistic-Early Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 7 cm, W: 1.8 cm, D: 4.4 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, Accessed January 2020,  
<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/9489>

something with his right arm raised and left arm and hand drawn back and into a fist. Whatever the man was looking at does not survive. He is wearing a short tunic and conical hat, which may indicate he was a metal worker as this profession was often associated with this hat type. What is also notable about this particular dwarf person is his genitalia is exaggerated and ithyphallic and can be seen dangling out from underneath the man's tunic. Figure 2.140 depicts a street vendor. This man with dwarfism carries a tray of edible goods to sell and is captured in the moment of helping himself to one. He wears an apron, and short hat. He also has a large bag tied to his side. His genitalia are slightly exaggerated and visible, hanging down below his apron, but do not appear to be ithyphallic.



Figure 2.122. *Man with Dwarfism Riding a Frog.*



Figure 2.143. *Obelisk Depicting Woman with Dwarfism.*

Figures 2.122, 2.125, 2.126, and 2.143 either are objects that depict dwarf people that were used in religious rituals or show the dwarf people participating in religious rituals.<sup>309</sup> Figure 2.122 depicts a man with dwarfism riding a frog which is swimming in water. The man has exaggerated genitalia. He leans back, mouth open in an ecstatic expression. His right arm is now lost. In his left hand he is holding either a club or torch pressed to his left shoulder. He is wearing a short cloak with arm straps as well as a festival wreath. The frog is in a twisted position which would not occur naturally with both back legs visible as if from below, while the head is

<sup>309</sup> *Figure* (2005,0920.1), Ptolemaic Period, 199-100 BC, Terracotta, H: 12.7 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet* (M.49), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Faience, H: 0.6 in, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1837,0717.162), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 18.1 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Obelisk of a Woman* (50.169), Ptolemaic Period, 330-30 BC, Limestone, H: 23.4 cm, W: 4.7 cm, D: 5.4 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/64322>



visible as if viewed from the top, but is designed so that the viewer sees the frog from above and below at the same time. There are several holes in the supporting plinth that appears under the frog, which may have been intended for the insertion of incense, possibly for the use of the object as a household shrine. The frog itself is most likely associated with the Egyptian goddess Heqet/Heket, who was a fertility goddess associated with the goddess Hathor, the creation of the world, the annual inundation of the Nile, the last stages of labour, and in later time periods also became associated with resurrection.<sup>310</sup> She was also the consort of the god Khnum, who was the god of the source of the Nile as well as a potter, and is thought to have crafted children out of clay and straw and placed them in their mother's wombs.<sup>311</sup> This is an important association because these two deities were both responsible for creating human life, for determining what that life looked like, and for the safe arrival of human life. In this case, the pairing of the man with dwarfism and the frog may have been to ensure safe childbirth, or the safety of the occupants through the burning of incense in either the household or temple where this was used. Figure 2.125 is an amulet depicting a squatting man with dwarfism who has a phallus as a head. Since the genitalia is the prominent feature of this amulet, it is likely that the amulet had some sort of religious function, probably as an apotropaic object. Figure 2.126 depicts a dwarf celebrant. The bearded man with dwarfism stands facing the viewer with his right hand on a sealed amphora, which sits on a wooden stand. His left-hand rests on his hip. He wears a short skirt, and a garland around his head, and is balding with only some hair visible at the back of his head. The garland has lotus blossoms attached to it with ribbons, which are located just above his ears, and on

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<sup>310</sup> E.A. Wallis-Budge. *The Gods of the Egyptians: Or Studies in Egyptian Mythology, Volume II.* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 1904), 398; Richard H. Wilkinson. *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 229.

<sup>311</sup> Richard H. Wilkinson. *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, 229.

the top of his head. His penis is exaggerated and hangs down below the skirt, touching the ground, while his right leg is raised so that he can rest his right foot on top of his penis. Figure 2.143 is a small Egyptian obelisk, which was most likely a votive offering. It is inscribed on the front faces in Egyptian hieroglyphs with conventional utterances to the gods Osiris and Neith. Depicted in sunk relief below the inscriptions is a standing woman who appears to have dwarfism. She is wearing a traditional Egyptian dress, and is in a traditional pose, meaning her feet and head are facing to the right, while her upper torso faces forwards towards the viewer. It should be noted that her arms and shoulders appear to be greatly misshapen and not proportionate with the rest of her body. However, since the ancient Egyptians artists always seem to have had problems depicting arms and shoulders throughout the history of Egyptian art, this appears to be an artistic idiosyncrasy, rather than a representation of any specific impairment or disability. The proportions with which the artist depicted the rest of the woman do appear to be deliberate, rather than an artistic mistake. Unfortunately, this woman is not named, but presumably, she might have been the one who either left the votive offering, or was the person who the votive offering was intended to invoke the gods for.

Figures 2.123, 2.127, 2.130, 2.138, and 2.139 are either fragmentary statues, or statues of dwarf people where there is no identifying information present, but do give insight into how else individuals with dwarfism were depicted in art during this period.<sup>312</sup> Figure 2.123 is a partial group sculpture from which only the dwarf person

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<sup>312</sup> *Figure* (1888,0601.104), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 7.1 cm, W: 5.3 cm, T: 2.1 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (M.68), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 1.1 in, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1925,1120.18), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 5.6 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Terracotta Statuette of a Dwarf* (2000.667.1), Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 9.8 cm, New

and the partial leg of another figure survive. The man with dwarfism is nude and is either sitting or walking to the right with his head turned towards the viewer. The surviving leg of the other person is to the man's back, and depicts a full-sized leg with drapery presumably from clothing. The man with dwarfism is depicted as obese and balding, his left hand to his mouth, and his right hand resting on his buttocks. His facial features border on being extremely exaggerated. Figure 2.127 is a depiction of a dwarf person in which only the head and upper torso survive. The dwarf person is facing forwards, and appears to have a shaved head. However, it also appears to possibly be female and pregnant as what could be breasts are present, and what could be interpreted as arms are resting on a large stomach. However, not enough of the statue survives to determine whether this is a possible depiction of Beset, or some type of amulet which might have been used for apotropaic purposes. There are many other fragmentary depictions of individuals with dwarfism whose exact purpose is not known. Please see the following footnote for a further discussion of these depictions.<sup>313</sup>

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York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257558>; *Terracotta Statuette of a Male Dwarf* (2000.667.2a), Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 8.6 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257559>; *Terracotta Head of a Male Dwarf* (2000.667.2b), Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 4.4 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/25>

<sup>313</sup> Figure 130 depicts a partially nude male torso in a striding position. A cloth is wrapped around the figure's waist, and enough is remaining to tell that the figure's penis was ithyphallic. The torso does seem to have idealised musculature, but no other information can be gleaned from what remains of this particular statue.

Figures 138 and 139 depict partial sculptures of men with dwarfism that have grotesque features. They appear to be a pair stylistically and were accessioned to the Metropolitan Museum of Art together from the same collection (Accession numbers: 2000.667.1, 2000.667.2a and 2000.667.2b, gifted from the collection of Peter Sharrer). Figure 138 depicts a man with dwarfism standing facing forwards, legs apart, with both fragmentary arms outstretched. His penis is exaggerated and ithyphallic, being the same size as both legs. The man's facial features are also incredibly grotesque/not flattering, with one eye open, the other shut, with an open mouth with tongue hanging out. The man is also bald with a misshapen head. Figure 139 consists of two separate

### *Conclusions*

Artists chose to create large numbers of depictions of individuals with dwarfism in the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic world for a reason. They were desired by the population. These depictions ranged from the religious, including major and minor gods as well as their worshippers, to depictions of those from the working and lower classes. In cases of religious use, they would have served an apotropaic purpose, in particular if they were part of a household shrine, meaning they were seen as protecting the household or person they were with. In the case of certain statues, they would have been seen as living manifestations of these disabled gods, and would have been dressed and fed, as per both Egyptian and Greek custom. It is important to note that almost all the depictions of those individuals with dwarfism as discussed above seem to be nonstigmatizing representations of those with physical disabilities, even if some have exaggerated features. In cases of those with exaggerated features, they seem to be linked with a specific religious or apotropaic function (i.e. fertility, or relating to childbirth), rather than the artists intending the depictions to be demeaning. The minority of depictions that seem to have overly exaggerated features were either caricatures not meant to be taken seriously, or

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pieces, the lower half, and the head that has become separated from the body of the sculpture. Stylistically, it appears to be in the same pose as Figure 138, facing forwards, legs apart, with both arms reaching upwards ending with both hands in closed fists. What remains of the face seems to be similarly non-flattering and grotesque as seen in Figure 138, with the figure having an open mouth and a large nose. The genitalia also appear to have been similarly sized and erect like in Figure 138, but no longer survive.

*Terracotta Statuette of a Dwarf* (2000.667.1), Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 9.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257558>; *Terracotta Statuette of a Male Dwarf* (2000.667.2a), Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 8.6 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257559>; *Terracotta Head of a Male Dwarf* (2000.667.2b), Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 4.4 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257593>

likely used for fertility purposes which could explain the exaggerated characteristics of these figures. All these sculptures and figures seem to have been intended for everyday use, as well as everyday viewing, with functions ranging from household shrines, to protective amulets, jugs intended to aid in the cure of disease, lamps, bells, and coins. These objects, especially the coins would have been used by members of all social classes, and not necessarily just the wealthy. This may partially explain why there is such a diversity of objects and number of individuals with dwarfism depicted per capita in the Ptolemaic world especially. All these art pieces also suggest to a certain extent cross-cultural influence between the Egyptians and Greeks. This can be seen through clothing, as is the case with some of the Bes figures, or some of those working-class figures of actors, dancers, entertainers, fishermen, and other workers who are dressed in clothing containing Greek elements/styles. It can also be seen through what appear to be Greek figures that have traditional Egyptian motifs as is the case with the celebrant with dwarfism with the lotus flower garland, or through the Egyptian god Bes depicted in a Greek style temple with other associated Egyptian imagery.

The depictions of Pataikos, Bes, and Beset, are notable because these gods are among the oldest of the major Egyptian gods mythologically, and because their function was to ward off illness and evil, rather than being associated with it. All these gods also can be said to be an embodiment of the concept of *Ma'at*. Pataikos by being the oldest god known to exist in some of Egypt's mythological traditions, while being depicted as being youthful in some of his depictions and having a disabled and nondisabled form. Both Bes and Beset, who was his feminine equivalent, were the disabled counterparts to other nondisabled gods and goddesses. The disabled gods were viewed as just as important as these

nondisabled deities. The Kabeiroi, while minor gods, are interesting because they, like Pataikos were associated with craftsmen and skilled professions. They are also associated with the Greek god Hephaestus who will be discussed later, who was also physically disabled. They are also interesting because they are featured in positions of prominence, opposite other more powerful goddesses such as Demeter or Persephone on everyday objects that would have presumably been in wide circulation at the time. They also in this context seem to be associated with fertility and the harvest. Coins were also often used as propaganda pieces to help promote their place of manufacture, and it seems several cities decided that they wanted to be associated with disabled individuals. This is interesting, and must make one question the idea of disability and impairment being seen as a negative in the ancient world. More interestingly Greek cultural elements such as the military dress seen on Bes statues seem to have been introduced early on in the Ptolemaic Period, and do not seem to have changed as the period went on. Egyptian style depictions also continue into the end of the period as seen in Figure 2.104, showing Bes and the Egyptian god Tutu. Depictions of Pataikos, Bes, Beset, and the Kaberoi also do not seem to have changed over the course of the period. This could be linked to the Egyptians seeing the Greeks as liberators, being appreciative of the Ptolemies respecting and in some cases officially adopting their religious beliefs, and making objects that would appeal both to this ruling class, and the native Egyptian population.

All of the artefacts including, figures of workers, as well as those depictions found on religious objects such as the obelisk are important because they give us a glimpse into both what professions could have been considered acceptable for those individuals with dwarfism. In addition to perhaps providing individual portraits of

disabled individuals during this time period, such as the woman depicted on the obelisk, and the men depicted with receding hairlines, these representations were desired. There is no doubt that some of the depictions discussed above are genre figures and therefore do not necessarily represent any singular individual but they were created to fill a desire by the larger population. However, many of the artefacts above also appear to have individualizing features present, which indicates they might have been inspired partially by actual people. The woman present on the obelisk also is indicative that either she, or someone who knew her, was a person of status since they were able to afford having a personalised obelisk with her portrait created. This woman, as well as the other depictions of women with dwarfism as discussed above, while seemingly not depicted in the same numbers as male figures with dwarfism, are also representative of multiple levels of society ranging from an important goddess to those of status, to entertainers, as well as perhaps giving us some insight into what life was like for disabled women in the ancient world. These women still were only depicted in roles that were deemed acceptable for women in ancient Greek and Egyptian society, meaning that disabled women did not seemingly fall outside the societal norms of the time. Depictions of workers also do not seem to have changed over the course of the period, once again with Greek elements being introduced early on in the period as seen in Figure 2.128 which is from the beginning of the period and depicts a man with dwarfism wearing Greek style clothes, and Egyptian elements still appearing towards the end of the period as seen in the statue of a dwarf man riding a frog (Figure 2.122), and the obelisk depicting the dwarf woman (Figure 2.143). The sheer number of surviving artefacts, leads one to believe individuals with dwarfism were part of everyday life, one that most people recognized and accepted. Gods with dwarfism and other artefacts

depicting men and women with dwarfism, were woven into the everyday narrative during the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic Period. As demonstrated in Masségia and Kellenberger, it also seems that the scholars of today are projecting their ideas about disability and impairment onto the past, rather than seeing what is actually there. Additionally, neither Masségia or Dasen provide an explanation for why there are so many depictions of individuals with dwarfism. As mentioned earlier, it may well be an attestation to the how numerous this population may have been within Egypt, since the Egyptians seemed to have based their gods on elements that were prevalent in their environment. The next chapter will focus on another recognisable disability, blindness, and visual impairment.



#### 4. Mythological and Historical Representations of Blindness & Visual Impairment

Blindness, and other vision impairments are part of life, but how were they shown in the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic world and addressed in historical scholarship? We will see, as with artistic examples of individuals with dwarfism, that there are also numerous depictions of blind and visually impaired mythological and historical figures. These representations were seemingly non-stigmatized depictions, and the ableist and disablist biases mentioned above have affected past scholarly interpretations of some of this material. Also, like individuals with dwarfism, depictions of blindness and visual impairment are also easily recognizable because of the artistic conventions and mythological understandings used by the Egyptians and Greeks. In the ancient world, the term blindness was used broadly, as not all conditions which impaired vision were treatable by the doctors of the time, and there was no set cultural understanding of what perfect and/or non-perfect (corrected vision) was. This section will look at art and artefacts related to this disability, and will be divided into the following subsections; gods and mythological representations, genre representations/representations of the working classes, and documented historical figures who are believed to have been either blind or visually impaired.

##### *Gods & Mythological Representations*

We will start our investigation by examining gods and mythological representations. Horus was one of the ten main Egyptian gods, whose centre of worship was in Heliopolis. These gods were referred to as the *Ennead*. He was the son of Osiris and Isis, and was considered the divine manifestation of the pharaoh, as well as a sky god, and solar deity.<sup>314</sup> Set, the god of chaos, became pharaoh after

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<sup>314</sup> William Kelly Simpson. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 91-104.

he murdered Osiris, his own brother and father of Horus. Horus challenged his uncle for the throne. During this fight, Set gouged out one of Horus's eyes (or in some versions both of his eyes), leaving Horus blind on at least one side. This missing eye or eyes, which were later restored in some versions of the myth (in others both of the destroyed eyes were planted and produced a new variety of lotus flowers), became known as a *wedjat/udjat/wadjet*, or the eye of Horus, and was often reproduced by the ancient Egyptians in the form of amulets which depicted the eye, in a stylized fashion often made of blue or green faience (Figures 3.1-3.12).<sup>315</sup> These amulets were also fashioned out of gold, limestone, glass, obsidian, and other semi-precious stones (Figures 3.13-3.20, 3.50).<sup>316</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> Geraldine Pinch. *Handbook of Egyptian Mythology*. (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2002), 82-83. *Wadjet-Eye Amulet* (37.1294E), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 2.2 cm, W: 0.6 cm, D: 2.8 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/117857>; *Wadjet-Eye Plaque* (05.343), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 3.7 cm, W: 0.6 cm, D: 4.3 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/17384>; *Wadjet-Eye Amulet* (53.89), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 3 cm, W: 0.7 cm, D: 3.8 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/67089>; *Wadjet-Eye Amulet* (02.235), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 2.2 cm, W: 2.4 cm, D: 0.3 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/15557>; *Amulet* (1885,1101.34), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 2.10 cm, W: 0.50 cm, D: 2.15 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet* (1885,1101.38), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 2.15 cm, W: 0.45 cm, D: 1.45 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet* (1887,0101.661), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 3.51 cm, W: 1.25 cm, D: 2.82 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet* (1887,0101.664), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 2.50 cm, W: 0.92 cm, D: 2.07 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet* (1887,0101.716), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 4.33 cm, W: 1.08 cm, D: 3.78 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet* (1887,0101.662), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 3.38 cm, W: 1.16 cm, D: 2.78 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet* (1894,1101.692), Cypro-Classical Period, 750-300 BC, Glazed Composition, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>316</sup> *Wedjat-Eye Amulet* (04.2.395), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Obsidian, L: 1.9 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545353>; *Wedjat-Eye Amulet* (23.2.67), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Gold, H: 3.2 cm, W: 4 cm, D: 0.4 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 3.16. *Gold Wedjat.*



Figure 3.20. *Wedjats (Eyes of Horus).*

Their purpose is believed to have been apotropaic in nature, and they continued to

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Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/550940>; *Wedjat-Eye Amulet* (23.2.68), Ptolemaic Period, 332–30 BC, Gold, H: 3.2 cm, W: 3.7 cm, D: 0.4 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547767>; *Wedjat-Eye Amulet* (30.8.377), Ptolemaic Period, 332–30 BC, Gold with Filigree Ornament, H: 4.5 cm, W: 5.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551353>; *Wedjat-Eye Amulet* (89.2.416), Ptolemaic Period, 332–30 BC, Carnelian, L: 1.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/550998>; *Mold for Making a Wedjat Eye* (16.580.219), Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Terracotta, H: 8 cm, W: 1.7 cm, L: 6 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020 <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/10030>; *Amulet* (1887,0101.561), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Gold, L: 0.88 cm, T: 0.18 cm, W: 0.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet* (1897,0112.1323), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Jasper, L: 3 cm, W: 1.90 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Wadjet-Eye Amulet* (08.480.217), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Sheet Gold, H: 1.3 cm, L: 1.8 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020 <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/117857>

be produced throughout the Ptolemaic Period, and even today. They were used to protect both the living and the dead. The following are examples, shown within these contexts, of a disability being used to ward off evil. The eye of Horus was associated with both the destruction of evil, and of disability being associated with important, powerful Egyptian gods. It was accessible to those from the menial classes in the form of mould-made mass-produced amulets, as well as to the wealthy in the form of elaborate gold ones. The *wedjats* were made from a variety of materials, and seemed to be available to people of varying levels of wealth, with some being mould-made while others were more individualised and made from more expensive and higher quality materials than others.<sup>317</sup> These higher quality ones were also much more elaborately decorated with gold rosettes or other elaborate carvings, rather than just painted on features. These *wedjats* are also reproduced on sculptures and reliefs either depicting or involved with the worship of other gods and goddesses.



Figure 3.27. *Relief Panel showing Two Baboons Offering the Wedjat Eye to the Sun God Khepri, who holds the Underworld Sign.*

<sup>317</sup> *Mold for Making a Wedjat Eye* (16.580.219), Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Terracotta, H: 8 cm, W: 1.7 cm, L: 6 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020 <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/10030>; *Wedjat-Eye Amulet* (30.8.377), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Gold with Filigree Ornament, H: 4.5 cm, W: 5.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551353>

These include *wedjats* being held by gods or animals associated with them as is the case with a wooden statue of Nehebkau holding a *wedjat* (Figure 3.21), statues and reliefs of baboons holding *wedjats* (Figures 3.27-3.29), and the numerous statues of cats that were designed to hold cat mummies, which feature them wearing the *wedjat* as a pendant/amulet (Figures 3.22-3.26).<sup>318</sup> The statues containing cat mummies also evoked an apotropaic function of the *wedjat* since the cats are wearing *wedjat* amulets. Baboons were associated with solar deities and were thought to worship the sun by the ancient Egyptians.<sup>319</sup> Therefore the *wedjat* in this context is meant to evoke Horus. Similarly, the snake god Nehebkau, was believed to be one of the warriors who protected the sun-god Ra on his journey each night through the underworld.<sup>320</sup> The *wedjat* in this context was meant to evoke both an

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<sup>318</sup> *Nehebkau (snake deity) Holding a Wedjat Eye*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Wood, H: 3.8 cm, W: 0.8 cm, D: 1 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/564544>; *Cat Statuette intended to contain a Mummified Cat* (56.16.1), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Leaded Bronze, H: 32 cm, W: 11.9 cm, D: 23.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544118>; *Cat* (10.130.1332), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 15.8 cm, W: 5.8 cm, L: 11.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570740>; *Cat* (04.2.812), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 11.9 cm, W: 4 cm, L: 6.7 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570737>; *Cat* (04.2.477), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 6.1 cm, W: 2.1 cm, L: 3.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570721>; *Cat Figurine* (30.8.104), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 11.8 cm, W: 4.5 cm, L: 8.4 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/572106>; *Relief Panel showing Two Baboons Offering the Wedjat Eye to the Sun God Khepri, who holds the Underworld Sign* (66.99.73), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Limestone, H: 30.9 cm, W: 39.3 cm, D: 6 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/549700>; *Thoth with Wedjat Eye* (08.480.80), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 4.1 cm, W: 1.9 cm, L: 2.2 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/19148>; *Relief* (1908,0411.52), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Limestone, L: 36 cm, W: 27 cm, D: 8.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>319</sup> Jan Assmann. *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 62, 82, 104, 110.

<sup>320</sup> Nageh Omar Ali. "The God Nehebkau in Heliopolis," *Abgadiyat* 7.7 (2012): 35-36.

association with sun deities, and to serve apotropaically to ward off the enemies of Ra.



Figure 3.37. *Shrew Mummy*.

Blindness as associated with Horus also occurs with metal and bronze statues and boxes designed to house shrew mummies (Figures 3.30-3.37).<sup>321</sup> The

<sup>321</sup> *Box for Animal Mummy* (90.6.292), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC Cupreous Metal, H: 4.3 cm, W: 2.5 cm, L: 10.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570715>; *Shrew-Mouse Surmounting Shrine-Shaped Box for an Animal Mummy* (04.2.656), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC Cupreous Metal, H: 3.5 cm, W: 1.8 cm, L: 5.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570736>; *Shrew* (4.2.465), Ptolemaic Period, 304-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 3 cm, W: 2.5 cm, L: 9.6 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544116>; *Shrew Coffin of Pahapy* (37.411Ea-b), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Bronze, H: 5.4 cm, W: 3.8 cm, L: 8.9 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/117064>; *Figure of a Shrew Mouse Standing on an Oblong Plinth* (05.368), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Bronze, H: 4.4 cm, W: 3.5 cm, L: 6.6 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/17405>; *Shrew Mouse Coffin* (53.82.1), Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Wood, Gesso, Pigment, H: 3.8 cm, W: 3.8 cm, L: 8.7 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/67077>; *Shrew Mouse Coffin* (53.82.2), Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Wood, Gesso, Pigment, H: 3.5 cm, W: 3.7 cm, L: 6.7 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/67078>; *Shrew Coffin* (37.410Ea-b), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Bronze, Animal Remains, H: 3.3 cm, W: 1.9 cm, L: 6.4 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/117063>

shrew was believed in ancient Egypt to be associated with the blind eye of Horus, possibly because the Egyptians recognized that shrews themselves have poor eyesight, and are nocturnal.<sup>322</sup> They therefore saw shrews as being the embodiment of the blind eye, and additionally associated them with the sun's journey to the underworld each night (aka the sunset).<sup>323</sup> These statues and boxes were made using a lost wax casting process, and depicted the shrew on top of the metal box, which was just big enough to house the mummy.<sup>324</sup> The shrew was considered to be one of the sacred animals of Horus, and was associated with resurrection and rebirth.<sup>325</sup> In yet another example of *Ma'at*, shrews were also believed to be the equal opposites of ichneumon (Egyptian mongoose), who were believed to be the embodiment of the sighted eye of Horus, and associated with the sun returning from the underworld each morning.<sup>326</sup> These mummies were often used as votive offerings by the ancient Egyptians, both to the god Horus, as well as to other gods associated with the solar cult, to ensure rebirth in the afterlife. Once again, these statues and boxes were of varying quality, and therefore were probably priced differently so as to be accessible to a variety of people from different backgrounds, as well as to temples and priests who needed them for religious rituals.

Oedipus is another mythological representation of blindness who can be found in Hellenistic and Ptolemaic art. There are two examples which are thought to

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<sup>322</sup> Hana Vymazalova and Zdenka Suvova. "A Story of an Ancient Egyptian Mouse," *Anthropologie* 54.3 (2016): 190-192; Dorothea Arnold. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin: An Egyptian Bestiary*. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995), 40: *Box for Animal Mummy* (90.6.292), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC Cupreous Metal, H: 4.3 cm, W: 2.5 cm, L: 10.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570715>

<sup>323</sup> Ibid.

<sup>324</sup> *Box for Animal Mummy* (90.6.292), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC Cupreous Metal, H: 4.3 cm, W: 2.5 cm, L: 10.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570715>

<sup>325</sup> Hana Vymazalova and Zdenka Suvova. "A Story of an Ancient Egyptian Mouse," *Anthropologie* 54.3 (2016): 190-192.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid., 192.

depict Oedipus from the Hellenistic Period at the British Museum. Our first example is a cup fragment that depicts an older Oedipus (Figure 3.38).<sup>327</sup> He is bearded, stoops forward to the left, wrapped in a himation (tunic) with his hand extended. Behind him is a fragment of a shield. Above him is the fragmentary inscription:

ΙΟΥΣ ΚΕΛΕΥΕΙ... // ΤΩΜΑΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΜΗΤ // ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΥΙΩΝ  
 Οίδίπ]ους κελενει [άγειν προς // το π]τωμα της αυτου μητ [ρός τε // και  
 γυναικός και των υιω[v.

This references these lines (Euripides. *Phoenissae*. 1481 and 1693), reproduced here in full translation:

Chorus: No longer do the misfortunes of this house extend to hearsay only; three corpses of the slain lie here at the palace for all to see; by one common death they have drawn their lot, a life of darkness.

Oedipus: Lead me near, so that I may touch your mother's corpse.<sup>328</sup>

The inscription is a reference to Euripides's tragedy, *Phoenissae* (The Phoenician Women), which itself is a retelling of the myth of Oedipus. In this myth, as well as in this particular play, Oedipus blinds himself as punishment upon discovering he had killed his father, and married and had children with his mother. The next example of art is a relief that was from a large pottery vessel (Figure 3.39).<sup>329</sup> It depicts an older, bearded, blind Oedipus who stands to the right, both arms outstretched in supplication. Oedipus wears a himation, which is twisted around his waist. The hands and feet of the relief no longer survive. It has also been posited that this figure might also be King Phineus, who was also blinded later in life, although accounts differ as to the cause of his blinding, but tend to agree that it was either a form of

<sup>327</sup> *Cup* (1871,0512.2), Hellenistic Period, 300-100 BC, Pottery, H: 3.80 cm, W: 3.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>329</sup> *Vessel Fitting* (1856,1004.148), Hellenistic Period, 300-100 BC, Pottery, H: 18.5 cm, W: 9 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)



divine punishment, or a trade for a longer life expectancy.<sup>330</sup> Both of these examples deal with blindness as a form of punishment, and are reflexive of the different Greek view of blindness. Blindness as punishment was something terrible to be avoided in the Greek mind, rather than the Egyptian view of blindness, as acquired during the battle between Good and Evil, as an honourable war wound. It seems that both of these views of acquired blindness were able to exist during the Hellenistic Period, and is representative of two different worldviews about disability. Much like today, there does not seem to have been only one overarching view of the blind. We will now discuss cases of historical figures, and other menial class representations which are a combination of both acquired and congenital blindness and vision impairment, and will see that congenital blindness was perhaps viewed differently.



Figure 3.40. *Blind Harpist*.

#### *Historical Representations of Blindness & Visual Impairment*

Blind musicians, whose depictions continued into the Ptolemaic Period, appear in Egyptian art dating back to the Middle Kingdom (circa 2060-1650 BCE),

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<sup>330</sup> William Smith. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology: Volume III*, (London: John Murray, 1876), 336.

usually on tomb paintings or in tomb models.<sup>331</sup> They continued to be depicted throughout Egypt's history, even under the reign and religious revolution of the Pharaoh Akhenaten when both the art style and the religion changed.<sup>332</sup> The most common depiction of blind musicians are harpists, but there are also examples of blind singers in Egyptian art as well.<sup>333</sup> Figure 2.40 is an ostrakon fragment that depicts a blind harpist, sketched in red ink.<sup>334</sup> The male harpist sits facing to the right, wearing a kilt, playing a harp and singing. His body pose, particularly that of his back is more curved than is typically seen in other earlier depictions of musicians, which makes the harpist appear more naturalistic. He also has recognizable shoulders, perhaps indicating that the artist was not trained in traditional Egyptian artistic techniques. The ostrakon was found in the rubbish pile outside of the tomb of the Theban Vizier Nespekashuty, which dates approximately 300 years prior to the Ptolemaic Period (656-610 BCE).<sup>335</sup> It was excavated in the 1920s and first published in 1923.<sup>336</sup> However, more recent studies (2002) suggest that some of the other ostraca sketches with which it was found, particularly that of a crocodile, appear to date to the Ptolemaic Period stylistically.<sup>337</sup> The more naturalistic pose of the harpist, along with the recognizable shoulders seems to support this theory, as the art despite still looking Egyptian, also appears to have been influenced by later

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<sup>331</sup> *Travelling Boat Being Rowed*, Middle Kingdom, 1981-1975 BC, Wood, Gesso, Paint, Linen Twine & Fabric, L: 175 cm, H: 37 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544214>

<sup>332</sup> Aylward M. Blackman and Alan B. Lloyd. *Gods, Priests, and Men: Studies in the Religion of Pharaonic Egypt*, (New York: Routledge, 2011), 252.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

<sup>334</sup> *Ostrakon with Sketch of a Harpist*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Limestone, Ink, H: 11 cm, W: 15 cm, T: 4.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/558429>

<sup>335</sup> Herbert E. Winlock. "The Egyptian Expedition 1922-1923," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 18.12.2 (1923): 23, figure 16.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>337</sup> Elena Pischikova. "Two Ostraka from Deir el-Bahri and the Lily Flower Motif in Twenty-sixth Dynasty Theban Tombs," *Journal of the American Research Center of Egypt* 39 (2002): 197-202.

Greek artistic style. Some Egyptologists such as Lise Manniche have suggested that the blindness is a purely symbolic construction that related to the harpist's role as the voice of the gods as sight might interfere with this role.<sup>338</sup> However, if this were the case, then it does not explain why some musicians including harpists are depicted as sighted, especially in the same scenes as blind musicians, and why musicians other than harpists are depicted as blind. It also does not explain why depictions of blind musicians continued even through major religious upheavals in Egypt's history.

There are enough other examples in Egyptian art to argue that this was deliberate and not a mistake, especially since we know that the Egyptians also depicted sighted musicians, sometimes even in the same scenes as blind ones. We know the harpist is blind because rather than being drawn with the frontal eye as was convention in Egyptian art, his eye is depicted by a single red line. It seems more likely that there were some blind as well as sighted musicians in ancient Egyptian society.

Manniche's assertions here are more likely an example of ableist bias; she was unable to conceive that blind people existed in the ancient past, and the Egyptians readily distinguished them from the nondisabled in their art. If true, this is suggestive of those with sight disabilities being trained in a skilled profession and also suggests an integrated, rather than segregated society, for those with vision disabilities. This particular example of a blind harpist possibly suggests that this societal belief continued in some form into the Ptolemaic Period.

Other examples that reference historic individuals during this period include a Fayuum mummy portrait and an ostrakon with a prayer to Amun (Figures 3.41-3.42).<sup>339</sup> Fayuum mummy portraits originated in the late 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE at the tail

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<sup>338</sup> Lise Manniche. "Symbolic Blindness" *Chronique d'Égypte* 53 (1978): 13-21.

<sup>339</sup> *Portrait of a Youth with a Surgical Cut in One Eye* (09.181.4), Ptolemaic?-Roman Period, 32 BC-AD 210, Encaustic Paint on Limewood, H: 35 cm, W: 17.2 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547768>; *Ostrakon*

end of the Ptolemaic Period/beginning of the Roman Period in Egypt, and continued on into later Roman Egypt until the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century CE. Fayuum mummy portraits represent a unique fusion of Greek and Egyptian culture, were designed to be used at burial, and often depicted a realistic version of the person's likeness, with the age of people at death seeming to correspond to the age they were depicted in the portraits.<sup>340</sup> Further research has also been conducted, and has shown that the portraits are so realistic looking, down to the reflection and light patterns reflected in each subject's eyes, that researchers were been able to diagnose a variety of visual and neurological conditions, including Parry-Romberg Syndrome and tropia, from looking at a combination of the eyes in these portraits and the mummies themselves.<sup>341</sup>

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with *Demotic Inscription* (37.1821E), Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, H:25.9 cm, W: 23.7 cm, D: 3 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/4180>

<sup>340</sup>Susan Walker. *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt*. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), 26.

<sup>341</sup> Otto Appenzeller, J.M. Stevens, Robert Kruszynski, and Susan Walker. "Neurology in Ancient Faces," *Journal of Neurology, Neurosurgery, and Psychiatry* 70 (4): 524-529.



Figure 3.41. *Fayum Mummy Portrait, Young Man with Surgical Scar.*

The Fayum mummy portrait is of a young man, who appears to be in his twenties. His right eye seems to show signs of a possible disability that has been treated. His right eye is missing eye lashes, while his left eye still has them. He has a greyish coloured fold of skin that is missing under his right eye, and the musculature on the right side of his face directly under his eye appears to be slightly slack. He also has what appears to be a straight line along the lower lid of his right eye, which may be from a surgical cut, or scar.<sup>342</sup> Again, Fayum portraits are highly individualized, so this most likely was how this man appeared in life. This is a non-stigmatizing portrait.

<sup>342</sup> *Portrait of a Youth with a Surgical Cut in One Eye* (09.181.4), Ptolemaic?-Roman Period, 32 BC-AD 210, Encaustic Paint on Limewood, H: 35 cm, W: 17.2 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547768>



Figure 3.42. *Ostrakon with Prayer to Amun.*

The Amun ostracon is thought to have come from Thebes, is written in Demotic script, and contains a prayer to the god Amun. In this prayer, a blind man calls on the god Amun to restore his sight, "...Return to me, my great Lord, Amun. I am defenseless; let me not perish; do not forget me."<sup>343</sup> This is possibly an example of someone who was not congenitally blind, and reveals that people during this time period relied on magic as well as medical means to treat disability. There were many potential causes of acquired blindness besides ageing including, but not limited to, occupational hazards such as working in dimly lit tombs, other health conditions such as diabetes (Hatshepsut being an example of a famous ancient Egyptian who had it), and parasites that are native to Egypt known to cause blindness.<sup>344</sup> The *Ebers Papyrus*, a medical text dating to the New Kingdom (c. 1550 BCE), describes treatments for several eye diseases as well as diabetes.<sup>345</sup> We also have pictorial

<sup>343</sup> *Ostrakon with Demotic Inscription* (37.1821E), Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, H:25.9 cm, W: 23.7 cm, D: 3 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/4180>

<sup>344</sup> S. Ry Anderson. "The Eye and Its Diseases in Ancient Egypt," *History of Ophthalmology* 75 (1997): 338-344.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.*, 340-344.

depictions of doctors treating patient's eyes from the Tomb of Ipwy in Thebes (c. 1200 BCE).<sup>346</sup> It is not unreasonable to think that these understandings of eye diseases as well as their treatments continued into the Ptolemaic Period. Both of these examples also reveal that certain types of blindness and other eye conditions were viewed as something to be treated and cured in the Ptolemaic world. They, and the above example of the harpist also show that there were distinctions between different types of blindness. Congenital blindness was viewed differently than acquired blindness. Congenital blindness seems to have been an accepted and expected part of daily life. Individuals seem to have been incorporated into and accommodated within Egyptian society, rather than being ostracized. Acquired blindness, while also expected, also had some expectation of being curable through medical and magical means.

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<sup>346</sup> Ibid., 340-344.



Figure 3.45. *The Apotheosis of Homer by Archelaos of Priene.*

A final historical figure for whom we have a variety of depictions of is the poet Homer, who is believed to be the author of the epics the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and who is believed to have been born circa 750 BCE in Ionia, Greece. He was also described as blind in ancient accounts of his life, including those by Pseudo-Herodotus, and Hesiod.<sup>347</sup> These depictions range from sculpture portraits to portraiture on coins. There are two similar portrait busts of Homer dating from the

<sup>347</sup> Mary R. Lefkowitz. *The Lives of the Greek Poets.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 14-30.



Hellenistic Period (Figures 3.43-3.45).<sup>348</sup> Both depict him as an older man with full beard and long curly hair. In one portrait, Homer is wearing a cap. His face in both has a weary, haggard look, and there seems to be no indication of blindness. In both portraits he appears to look directly at the viewer. These depictions of him were made centuries after he actually lived, so there is no way of knowing how realistic these portraits actually were. However, they are done in the style of other famous Greeks, which speaks to Homer's status in the ancient world centuries after his death. Two more objects that speak to Homer's status as a beloved Greek poet are a marble relief that depicts the apotheosis of Homer, and a fragmentary papyrus copy of the *Odyssey*. In Figure 3.45 Homer is depicted as blind being crowned by Time and the World in the presence of the gods Zeus, Apollo, and the Muses (his eyes protrude rather than being in sunken relief like everyone else).<sup>349</sup> Homer is seated in a pose reminiscent of Zeus, in that he is seated on a throne and clutching a sceptre in one hand and a scroll in the other. Behind him, crowning him, are King Ptolemy IV Philopater and Queen Arsinoe III in the guises of Time and the World. They are also flanked by characters from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The Muses and Apollo appear above them. A procession of worshippers approaches an altar in the same register containing Homer, while Zeus appears at the top of the relief, presiding over the entire scene. This particular piece is signed by the Greek sculptor Archelaos of Priene, and appears to be Greek in style.<sup>350</sup> However, it is believed to

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<sup>348</sup> *Homer Portrait* (1805,0703.85), Roman Copy of Hellenistic Original, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Marble, H: 57.15 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Imaginary Portrait of the Blind Homer*, Hellenistic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Marble, H: 53 cm, Paris, The Louvre. Accessed February 2020, [https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/imaginary-portrait-blind-homer?sous\\_dept=1](https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/imaginary-portrait-blind-homer?sous_dept=1)

<sup>349</sup> *The Apotheosis of Homer* (1819,0812.1), Archelaos of Priene, Ptolemaic Period, 225-205 BC, Marble, H: 1.21 m, W: 0.76 m, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*

have been made in Alexandria, Egypt.<sup>351</sup> The entire piece glorifies Homer, and suggests that his literary contributions were divinely inspired. It was most likely made as a prize for the winner of a poetic competition in Alexandria.<sup>352</sup> This is therefore, also an example of Greek and Egyptian cultural fusion, and also perhaps a subtle reference to the Ptolemies continuing to try and associate themselves with Alexander the Great, and his love of the *Iliad* and Homer, in order to legitimize their own reign. Also, from Egypt is a fragmentary papyrus copy of the *Odyssey* containing an alternate version of Book 20 (Figure 3.46).<sup>353</sup> This particular version attests to the continuing popularity of Homer's stories into the Ptolemaic Period, as well as the continuation of local adaptations of the story. One of the characters in the *Odyssey*, Polyphemus, is also blinded, and this too is a form of punishment, seemingly following the Greek mythological representations of blindness. Finally, there were also coins that depicted Homer during the Hellenistic Period (Figures 3.47-3.49).<sup>354</sup> These copper coins typically depicted Apollo on the obverse, and Homer on the reverse side. Homer is depicted seated, holding a scroll in his left hand, resting his chin on his right hand, and behind him is a sceptre.<sup>355</sup> Apollo is either shown standing holding a *kithara* (musical instrument) and *phiale* (bowl), or is depicted as a bust in profile wearing a laurel crown, and sometimes framed within a

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<sup>351</sup> Ibid.

<sup>352</sup> J.J. Pollitt. *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 16.

<sup>353</sup> *Papyrus Fragment with Lines from Homer's Odyssey* (09.182.50), Hellenistic Period, 285-250 BC, Papyrus, H: 19.1 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/248134>

<sup>354</sup> *Coin; Greek* (1994,0915.152), Hellenistic Period, 75-50 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 5.42 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (1994,0915.135), Hellenistic Period, 50 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 5.67 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Coin; Greek* (1994,0915.151), Hellenistic Period, 190-75 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 8.65 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>355</sup> Ibid.

laurel wreath as well.<sup>356</sup> The coins are inscribed with the names of the places that minted them.<sup>357</sup> These coins show that Homer was still renowned as an important historical figure during this period, and like the Kabeiroi discussed in the last chapter is another example of the Greeks depicting the disabled on their coinage. However, rather than depicting mythological figures, this was an actual historical figure who was given equal status with a god by being on the reverse side of the coins, and was recognized as a god in the apotheosis scene depicted on the marble relief as discussed above.

### *Conclusions*

While the Egyptians and Greeks had differing world views of blindness, they both accepted it as part of the human condition, and in the Egyptian's case, *Ma'at*. It was recognized in terms of both people and animals, that sight would deteriorate as one got older. Eye diseases and parasites were also a fairly common occurrence in the ancient world. Whether it was congenital, work related, age related, or caused by disease or parasites, people lost their sight. Both cultures recognized and immortalized the sightless. Both cultures also recognized that certain types of vision loss could be treated by either medical or magical means, as referenced in the Fayuun portrait and the ostrakon. The Egyptians also seem to have continued their established practice of integrating those with disabilities into society as referenced by the harpist. Both cultures continued to associate themselves with disabled people in public materials, made to be seen and handled, by large sections of the population, as well as foreign populations, as referenced in both the coins, and the poet's prize. Other mythological representations for which there is no surviving artistic evidence

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<sup>356</sup> Ibid.

<sup>357</sup> Ibid.

from this period, such as that of other blind seers, will be discussed in a separate footnote.<sup>358</sup> There are other historical figures, largely forgotten or ignored in a disability context, from this period who were visually impaired, such as Antigonus I Monophthalmus, who was mentioned in the second chapter. Our next chapter, however, will focus on another congenital disability, cerebral palsy, which has seemingly been missed in artistic representations in part because of ableist bias.

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<sup>358</sup> There are many other examples of blindness in the mythologies of Egypt and Greece, but because they are not represented artistically, they are outside the scope of this thesis. However, their prevalence deserves at least some mention. Other examples of blindness from mythology include but are not limited to the seers Tiresias Evenius, and Ophioneus (who differed from the others in that he was congenitally blind), poets and musicians Demodocus, Daphnis, Stesichorus, Thamyris, and Achaïos, princes and brothers Plexipus and Pandion, princess Metope, goddesses Tyche, Themis and the Graeae, gods Plutus and Weret, hunter Orion, demi-god Erymanthus, cyclops Polyphemus, king Polymestor, soldier and mentor Phoenix, and soldier Epizelus. What is common about these figures is they were either in positions where their ability to see seems to have been traded for the gift of foresight or prophecy (as is the case for all but one of the seers, and is the cases with all of the goddesses who are either associated with fortune or seeing the future), they had cases of acquired, rather than congenital blindness where this was done as a punishment for seeing or doing or supposedly seeing or doing something they should not have, or they were temporarily blinded and had their sight restored, or they were associated with music and poetry as is the case with the many musicians listed. As some of those musicians are either lyre or harp players, perhaps this was a carry-over from ancient Egypt who we know trained the blind as musicians, or perhaps Greece evolved this practice separately as a tribute to Homer who as mentioned in this chapter was blind. In the case of Epizelus, his acquired blindness is explicitly mentioned as being a result of combat. Either way, the commonality in this between cultures and the associations of blindness with certain abilities or professions is interesting.

## 5. Harpocrates & Artistic Representations of Cerebral Palsy

While we have seen some of the more obvious disabilities, such as dwarfism and severe war wounds, is it possible to find more subtle disabilities, depicted in both gods and people, like cerebral palsy? The following discussion will demonstrate that ableist bias has led to depictions of disability not being recognised, demonstrate how an understanding of the physical embodiment of this impairment has aided in its identification in ancient art, and show why a disabled perspective is needed in the examination of the ancient world. We will also see that depictions of this impairment are seemingly non-stigmatized depictions, and that depictions of Harpocrates are perhaps some of the best representations of the cultural fusion that occurred during this period. This section will be structured differently with some images placed directly in the text, as well as using modern diagnostic images for clarification purposes. I will also draw upon methodology as seen in some historical disability scholarship and disability studies scholarship of using my own embodied understanding of this impairment to further clarify and identify it in the historical record. This is a method which has been seen in such scholarship as Jaipreet Virdi's *Hearing Happiness: Deafness Cures in History* (2020) in which she discusses and interweaves her own experiences as a deaf individual in relation to her scholarship on the history of technologies built to aid or cure the deaf, and Simon J. Williams and Gillian Bendelow's *The Lived Body: Sociological Themes, Embodied Issues* (1998) in which, "an embodied sociology is proposed, one that makes embodiment central rather than peripheral, and puts minds back into bodies, bodies back into society and society back into the body."<sup>359</sup> This methodology has also been used in *Being Deaf:*

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<sup>359</sup> Jaipreet Virdi. *Hearing Happiness: Deafness Cures in History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020).

*The Experience of Deafness* edited by George Taylor and Juliet Bishop (1991) which states, “the aim is to enable deaf women, men and children to express and explore the social and personal implications of their own experiences in, as far as possible, their own words.”<sup>360</sup> It was used in *She Dances to Different Drums: Research into Disabled Women’s Sexuality* by Kath Gillespie-Sells, Mildrette Hill, and Bree Robbins (1998), (all disabled themselves), which “acknowledged the isolation which disabled women experience in expressing their sexuality and given them a platform to voice their fears, traumas, expectations, delights, and hopes” and supported, “the creativity of the disabled women who contributed to this project.”<sup>361</sup> The methodology of drawing upon personal expertise and experience was also used most effectively in *Disability Politics: Understanding Our Past, Changing Our Future* by Jane Campbell and Mike Oliver (1996), which chronicles the history of disabled politics in twenty-first century Britain, and was, “written by disabled people and uses their own voices to describe these changes,” aims to “help disabled people understand their past and change their future,” and states, “this book is a mixture of social theory, political history, action research, individual biography, and personal experience. We have resisted the temptation (and some academic advice) to separate out these things and treat them as analytically distinct, because we do not regard them as separable.”<sup>362</sup>

Cerebral palsy is a disability/group of disorders which affects movement, balance, posture, coordination, and motor skills.<sup>363</sup> It is often, but not always, caused

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<sup>360</sup> Simon J. Williams and Gillian Bendelow. *The Lived Body: Sociological Themes, Embodied Issues* (London: Routledge, 1998), i.

<sup>361</sup> Kath Gillespie-Sells, Mildrette Hill, and Bree Robbins *She Dances to Different Drums: Research into Disabled Women’s Sexuality* (London: King’s Fund, 1998), v.

<sup>362</sup> Jane Campbell and Mike Oliver. *Disability Politics: Understanding Our Past, Changing Our Future* (London: Routledge, 1996) i,1.

<sup>363</sup>Centers for Disease Control and Prevention “What is Cerebral Palsy?” last updated April 30, 2019, <https://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/cp/facts.html>

by brain damage occurring in utero, during, or shortly after birth, and is often associated with premature birth.<sup>364</sup> This impairment is one of the most common congenital disabilities today, and is the most common childhood physical disability, affecting every 4 out of 1000 births worldwide.<sup>365</sup> Please see the following footnote for a further discussion of cerebral palsy subtypes.<sup>366</sup> This was most likely a common impairment in the ancient world as well since pregnancy and childbirth difficulties also existed back then. We can ascertain through the examination of artefacts and textual evidence that those with this impairment lived in and were accepted by society during the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic Period, and were not necessarily subjected to infanticide at birth. We can also theorise that this acceptance was a continuation of earlier practices in ancient Egypt.

#### *Historical Context of Cerebral Palsy*

The historical context of earlier depictions of cerebral palsy in ancient Egypt and Greece starts in the 13<sup>th</sup> dynasty with a woman of high status named Geheset (Gazelle).<sup>367</sup> Geheset was buried in the Dra Abu-el Naga necropolis located in Western Thebes, and was given what Egyptologists describe as an upper-class burial, featuring an elaborate sarcophagus.<sup>368</sup> Unfortunately, the tomb itself was

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<sup>364</sup> Ibid.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid.

<sup>366</sup> Cerebral palsy can be categorized into different types: the most common of which involves rigid muscles, known as spastic cerebral palsy (affects approximately 70-80% of all those diagnosed with cerebral palsy), athetoid cerebral palsy which involves a mixture of rigid muscles and low muscle mixed cerebral palsy, which involves two or more types, and the least common type ataxic/ataxia (affects 5-10% of those diagnosed) which involves low muscle tone, depth perception issues, and balance/coordination problems. (See AS Bangash, MZ Hanafi, R Idrees, N Zehra, "Risk Factors and Types of Cerebral Palsy," *Journal of the Pakistani Medical Association*, 64.1 (2014): 103-107). Some people with cerebral palsy may only have one limb effected, while others have their entire body effected by the disability. No two cases are identical, even when people have the same sub-type. Essentially, the damaged areas of the brain do not communicate properly with the rest of the body which can lead to the aforementioned difficulties.

<sup>367</sup> Sandra Losch, Stefanie Panzer, and Andreas G. Nerlich. "Cerebral Paralysis in an Ancient Egyptian Female Mummy from a 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Tomb- Paleopathological and Radiological Investigations," In Rupert Breitwieser, editor, *Behinderungen und Beeintrachtigungen*, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), 37-40.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid., 37-40.

robbed sometime in antiquity.<sup>369</sup> Geheset is believed to have been about 5 feet tall and 50 years of age or older when she died.<sup>370</sup> An analysis of her skeletal remains led to the cerebral palsy diagnosis by the bioarchaeology team of Sandra Losch, Stefanie Panzer, and Andreas G. Nerlich, as her teeth and tempo-mandible joint were worn unevenly, with wear on the left side being significantly more pronounced than the other, and her left-hand showed signs of hyperextension and flexion of the musculature.<sup>371</sup> Kyle Lewis Jordan examined her in depth in a recent presentation, and concluded that she occupied her societal positions, and potentially was seen as a valuable societal member, in part because of the impairment.<sup>372</sup> He also suggested Geheset's name may well also be a direct reference to her gait as a disabled person.<sup>373</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty Pharaoh Siptah (Son of/beloved of Ptah) is also believed to have had cerebral palsy as well as clubbed foot, although some Egyptologists think he had polio.<sup>374</sup> This impairment was again theorised because of the unusual position of the hands and arms in his mummy, as the musculature was too rigid to be able to bend his arms into the crossed position typically seen in royal mummies.<sup>375</sup> He is believed to have died in his late teens or early twenties.<sup>376</sup> The noblewoman Labda as described in Herodotus's *The Histories* also has symptoms which fit the impairment as she is described as being born lame, with her feet turned outwards

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<sup>369</sup> Ibid., 37-40.

<sup>370</sup> Ibid., 37-40.

<sup>371</sup> Ibid., 37-40.

<sup>372</sup> Kyle Lewis Jordan. "Disability in Ancient Egypt: The Case of Geheset," *Unlimited Access Symposium, Allaird Pierson Museum*, June 25, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fMBMdbpE-qM&t=12s>

<sup>373</sup> Ibid.

<sup>374</sup> Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson. *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt: Equipping the Dead for Eternity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 98-100; Gae Callendar, "The Cripple, the Queen, and the Man from the North," *KMT* 17.1 (2006): 52.

<sup>375</sup> Ikram and Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*, 98-100.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid., 98-100.



resembling the λ.<sup>377</sup> The physician Hippocrates also described cerebral palsy in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, noting the relationship between premature birth, and congenital infection or prenatal stress, with the onset of brain damage, and other impairments.<sup>378</sup> He describes women who had difficult births as well as a phlegmatic condition seen in infants/young children, “women who gave birth to lame, blind or children with any other deficit [disability], had foetal distress during the 8th month of pregnancy...” and “If the flow be slight, and make its descent either into both veins or into one or the other, the child recovers but bears the marks of the disease - a distortion of mouth, eye, hand or neck, according to the part from which the minor vein, filled with phlegm, was mastered and reduced.”<sup>379</sup>

#### *Artistic Representations of Cerebral Palsy*

The most well-known example of someone with cerebral palsy who is depicted artistically is the god Harpocrates, but there have also possibly been others who have not been recognised by the larger nondisabled scholarly community, but have been recognised by the disabled scholarly community.<sup>380</sup> Please see the following footnote for a further discussion of these individuals, and why cerebral palsy may actually make more sense than the polio diagnoses some of these individuals have been given.<sup>381</sup> This recognition of the possibility of Harpocrates

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<sup>377</sup> Herodotus. *The Histories*. Translated by A.D. Godley. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920), Perseus Digital Library, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.%205.92B&lang=original> (accessed June 12, 2020).

<sup>378</sup> Christos Panteliadis, Panos Panteliadis, and Frank Vassilyadi. “Hallmarks in the History of Cerebral Palsy: From Antiquity to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century,” *Brain & Development* 35 (2013): 286: Christos Panteliadis, Christian Hagal, Deiter Karch, and Karl Heinemann. “Cerebral Palsy: A Lifelong Challenge Asks for Early Intervention,” *Open Neurology Journal* 9 (2015): 45-52.

<sup>379</sup> Christos Panteliadis, Panos Panteliadis, and Frank Vassilyadi. “Hallmarks in the History of Cerebral Palsy: From Antiquity to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century,” *Brain & Development* 35 (2013): 286

<sup>380</sup> Email exchange “CP Egyptologists” between Alexandra Morris, Dr. Aidan Dodson, and Kyle Lewis Jordan, September 4, 5, and 7, 2021.

<sup>381</sup> In certain cases where individuals have been traditionally described as having polio, cerebral palsy may actually make more sense. While polio was in itself a disabling illness, many of the medical interventions designed to keep patients alive (i.e. iron lungs) did not exist back in the ancient world, making survivability rates much lower. We must also remember that individuals such as Claudius,

being disabled, and the ancient artists depicting the disability in ancient art is to my knowledge being recognised by me for the first time in the history of historical and disability studies scholarship. A closer examination of this art reveals that depictions of Harpocrates's impairment have been present in many artistic depictions of him, but have not been recognised as such until now. However, I want to first look at an example of a sculpture which depicts a child. This child is the most visible representation of possible cerebral palsy discovered to date, and has also been recognised by other scholars as being a possible representation of physical impairment.

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Emperor of Rome, were initially described as having polio, but have now been largely interpreted as having cerebral palsy. Specific individuals for whom cerebral palsy may make more sense, and for whom there is still some debate about include Roma the Doorkeeper, and the pharaoh Siptah.





Figure 4.1. *Child with a Walker.*

Figure 4.1 is a terracotta sculpture from the British Museum that depicts an older looking child using what appears to be the ancient equivalent of a walking aid and is a depiction of someone with possible cerebral palsy, although it might also depict someone with polio.<sup>382</sup> It should be noted that this is a later Ptolemaic representation, which perhaps shows that attitudes towards disabled children did not change within Egypt towards the end of the period. As noted elsewhere in this thesis, the Egyptians did not practice infanticide. This has previously been suggested to be a walking aid, as well as a representation of physical impairment by Keith Armstrong (2014).<sup>383</sup> The child's gender cannot be determined as they have a longer hairstyle. The child wears a tunic which is pulled and knotted up at waist level at the back, in addition to a protective pendent.<sup>384</sup> The child's head is also tilted slightly to one side (in this case the left), something also commonly seen in those with certain types of cerebral palsy due to muscle weakness.<sup>385</sup> The child also has a posture of knees slightly bent and turned inwards, as is commonly seen in cerebral palsy, and the musculature on the right leg is more developed than on the left, which also is suggestive of cerebral palsy since muscle and posture weakness on one side of the body is common. The walking aid has a triangular base, with wheels at each corner, a bar at the top to hold on to, and struts that drop vertically to the back wheels and at angle to the front wheels.<sup>386</sup> The purpose of this art object is not currently definitively

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<sup>382</sup> *Figure* (1996,0712.2), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 12 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>383</sup> Keith Armstrong. "Possibly the First Wheeled Walking Aid," (Unpublished Manuscript, 2014), 6-12.

<sup>384</sup> *Figure* (1996,0712.2), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 12 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>385</sup> Sandra Saavedra, Majorie Woollacott, and Paul van Donkelaar, "Head Stability During Quiet Sitting in Children with Cerebral Palsy: Effect of Vision and Trunk Support," *Experimental Brain Research* 201 (2010): 13-23.

<sup>386</sup> *Figure* (1996,0712.2), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 12 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

known. However, it has been theorised that it is a visual depiction of part of someone's biography.<sup>387</sup> What is also interesting about this example, and possibly runs counter to the biographical narrative, is it is mould-made implying that there was a mass market for this type of art.<sup>388</sup> If this does indeed depict a disabled child, then this is evidence that not all disabled people were subjected to infanticide at birth. It also possible proof that adaptations were made to help those with mobility impairments navigate society. This was additionally evidenced in Debby Sneed's article on ramps on healing temples located in ancient Greece as an access adaptation for disabled people.<sup>389</sup> While Keith Armstrong identified this as a possible example of a disabled child and walking aid, I seem to be the first individual who has examined this object in terms of possible societal implications. This may yet be another example of how ableism is interfering with interpretation of the past, since if there were a lot of these statues, then this also questions the commonality of infanticide in Greek society, as otherwise representations of disabled children would not be this accurate looking or wanted on a mass scale. Additionally, thought was put into designing and making the walker. Since this art was mould made, it also implies that there was more than one walker, and that they were recognised as such, or there would not have been a market for this type of art. This further implies that these people who utilized mobility aides were at least partially accepted into society. This societal acceptance was probably a continuation of earlier practice, as shown in the examples below.

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<sup>387</sup> Ibid.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid.

<sup>389</sup> Debby Sneed. "The Architecture of Access: Ramps at Ancient Greek Healing Sanctuaries," *Antiquity* (2020): 1-15.

*Artistic Representations of Harpocrates*

The Egyptian-Greek hybrid god Harpocrates (a later iteration of the Egyptian god Horus, more roughly translated to Horus the child), was described by the historian Plutarch as, “prematurely delivered and weak/lame in his lower limbs.”<sup>390</sup> It should be noted that Plutarch’s life and work briefly overlapped with that of the Roman Emperor Claudius, who is also believed by historians such as Barbara Levick, and medical professionals to have cerebral palsy, which may have influenced Plutarch to describe Harpocrates in this fashion.<sup>391</sup> However, when looking at artistic examples of Harpocrates from the Ptolemaic Period (which was earlier), there does seem to be signs of the impairment present.

Harpocrates was recognised as the son of Isis, heir of Osiris, and son of the Ptolemaic god, Serapis, and was considered to be a child iteration of Horus, the sun god.<sup>392</sup> He was considered to be the god of secrets, confidentiality, silence, the embodiment of hope, and representative of the newborn sun.<sup>393</sup> Later on, he was also recognised as a protector of mothers and children.<sup>394</sup> Harpocrates was also closely associated with the solar cult of Ptah-Sokaris, and the mortuary cult.<sup>395</sup> His fertility aspect was most closely associated with the cult of Serapis.<sup>396</sup> There are numerous artistic depictions of him, most of which appear at first glance to show him as appearing nondisabled. However, since some types of cerebral palsy can be

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<sup>390</sup> Plutarch. *Loeb Classical Library: Moralia*. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 154.

<sup>391</sup> Christos Panteliadis, Panos Panteliadis, and Frank Vassilyadi. “Hallmarks in the History of Cerebral Palsy: From Antiquity to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century,” *Brain & Development* 35 (2013): 286: Barbara Levick. *Claudius*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 13-15.

<sup>392</sup> Plutarch. *Loeb Classical Library: Moralia*. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 145-149.

<sup>393</sup> Laszlo Torok. *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas from Egypt*. (Rome: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 1995), 19- 21.

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-21.

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-21.

<sup>396</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-21.

invisible to the casual observer, it is entirely possible that in some of these examples the impairment was implicitly understood by those viewing these sculptures, and there is just no artistic evidence that survives to show this. Nevertheless, there are also numerous examples of Harpocrates that if one looks closer seem to show clear evidence of his impairment, which have seemingly been overlooked or not recognised for what they are. I noticed them because of my own personal physical embodiment with this impairment, and the majority of different poses and postures discussed below, besides being recognised by medical experts as being signs of cerebral palsy, are also ones with which I have physical experience. These include Greek or Egyptian style statues or amulets in which he is standing, statues in which he is either in a sitting or half crawling position, statues in which he is sitting or riding on the back of animal, depictions of him breastfeeding from the goddess Isis, and depictions of Harpocratis. Artistic depictions of him can be divided into the following categories: Greek or Egyptian style statues or amulets in which he is standing, statues in which he is either in a sitting or half crawling position, statues in which he is sitting or riding on the back of animal, depictions of him breastfeeding from the goddess Isis, and ithyphallic representations of him, which often feature a large penis, or show him engaged in sexual intercourse. Harpocrates was also sometimes shown as a smaller statue depicted with his worshippers or priests as well. Like Bes, there is also a feminine version of Harpocrates known as Harpocratis.

There are numerous statues and amulets that depict Harpocrates standing (Figures 4.2-4.10, 4.12-4.26).<sup>397</sup> Some of these just depict him as holding his finger

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<sup>397</sup> *Figure; Amulet* (AN1896-1908-EA.616), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 3.70 cm, W: 0.90 cm, D: 0.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA49137), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 2.95 cm, W: 0.80 cm, D: 0.85 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure*



(9,9,86,105.b), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 6.80 cm, T: 2 cm, W: 2 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure* (H1029.3), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, L: 5.30 cm, T: 1.40 cm, W: 1.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure* (H1029.2), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 3.15 cm, W: 1.15 cm, D: 1 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure* (9,9,86,105.a), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 5.70 cm, T: 1.20 cm, W: 1.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA60975), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 8.10 cm, W: 2.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure; Amulet* (H1029.1) Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 2.20 cm, W: 1.15 cm, D: 1.25 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (86.253) Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 8.80 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Standing Statuette of Harpocrates in the Greek Style*, Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Bronze, H: 14.8 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed February 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/60259>; *Figure* (86.252), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 8.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure; Plaque* (CG32822), Ptolemaic Period, 300-200 BC, Terracotta, H: 10 mm, T: 4 cm, W: 5 cm, February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure of Harpocrates* Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Painted Pottery, H: 19.3 cm, W: 3.1 cm, D: 6.6 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed February 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/118147>; *Figure* (EA67198), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 15.40 cm, W: 4.20 cm, D: 6 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA60992), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 22.30 cm, W: 5.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Glass Pendant in the Shape of Harpokrates* (17.194.419), Hellenistic Period, late 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Moulded Glass, H: 2.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed February 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/249656>; *Glass Pendant in the Shape of Harpokrates* (17.194.421), Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Moulded Glass, H: 2.8 cm, W: 0.7 cm, D: 0.9 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed February 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/249658>; *Glass Pendant in the Shape of Harpokrates* (17.194.420), Hellenistic Period, late 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Moulded Glass, H: 2.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed February 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/249657>; *Figure; Amulet* (E20829), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 9.80 cm, W: 4.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Pendant* (1879,0522.33), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Glass, Gold, L: 2.60 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1982,0301.1), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 16.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Alabastron* (2011,5016.6), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, L: 11.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1886.31.60.a),

to his lips (Figures 4.2-4.7, 4.9, 4.13-4.14, 4.16-4.26).<sup>398</sup> It should be noted that

some of these representations are from Ptolemaic Egypt, and some of them are from

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Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 4.30 cm, W: 1.60 cm, D: 1.10 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>398</sup> *Figure; Amulet* (AN1896-1908-EA.616), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 3.70 cm, W: 0.90 cm, D: 0.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA49137), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 2.95 cm, W: 0.80 cm, D: 0.85 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure* (9,9,86,105.b), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 6.80 cm, T: 2 cm, W: 2 cm, , London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure* (H1029.3), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, L: 5.30 cm, T: 1.40 cm, W: 1.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure* (H1029.2), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 3.15 cm, W: 1.15 cm, D: 1 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA60975), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 8.10 cm, W: 2.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA64487), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, Electrum, H: 15 cm, W: 4.80 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Standing Statuette of Harpocrates in the Greek Style*, Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Bronze, H: 14.8 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/60259>; *Figure* (86.252), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 8.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure of Harpocrates* Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Painted Pottery, H: 19.3 cm, W: 3.1 cm, D: 6.6 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/118147>; *Figure* (EA67198), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 15.40 cm, W: 4.20 cm, D: 6 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA60992), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 22.30 cm, W: 5.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Glass Pendant in the Shape of Harpokrates* (17.194.419), Hellenistic Period, late 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Moulded Glass, H: 2.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed February 2020,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/249656>; *Glass Pendant in the Shape of Harpokrates* (17.194.421), Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Moulded Glass, H: 2.8 cm, W: 0.7 cm, D: 0.9 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed February 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/249658>; *Glass Pendant in the Shape of Harpokrates* (17.194.420), Hellenistic Period, , late 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Moulded Glass, H: 2.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed February 2020,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/249657>; *Figure; Amulet* (E20829), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 9.80 cm, W: 4.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Pendant* (1879,0522.33), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Glass, Gold, L: 2.60 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1982,0301.1), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 16.50 cm, London, British

the larger Hellenistic world based upon the labelling used by these museums. Some of them are clothed, and some of them show him as nude, another trait in Egyptian iconography that meant the figure is a child. This gesture, along with depicting him with the sidelock of hair he is usually depicted with, was another one recognised by the ancient Egyptians as indicating that the subject was a child, and stems from the hieroglyph determinative for child (𓆎).<sup>399</sup> These amulets and sculptures are often made out of copper, bronze, terracotta, or glass, and some were mould made, showing that these were popular items in the ancient world.<sup>400</sup> Others depict him as holding a cornucopia, which was a symbol of fertility, and some also depict him as leaning against a column or other architectural feature typically placed to one side, rather than behind him (Figures 4.13, 4.16, 4.22, 4.24).<sup>401</sup> Harpocrates is shown

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Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Alabastron* (2011,5016.6), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, L: 11.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1886.31.60.a), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 4.30 cm, W: 1.60 cm, D: 1.10 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>399</sup> Chahira Kozma. "Historical Review: Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt," *American Journal of Medical Genetics Part A* 140 (2005): 307.

<sup>400</sup> *Glass Pendant in the Shape of Harpocrates* (17.194.421), Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Moulded Glass, H: 2.8 cm, W: 0.7 cm, D: 0.9 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed February 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/249658>; *Figure* (EA60975), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 8.10 cm, W: 2.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Standing Statuette of Harpocrates in the Greek Style*, Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Bronze, H: 14.8 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed February 2020,

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/60259>; *Figure* (1982.0301.1), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 16.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>401</sup> *Standing Statuette of Harpocrates in the Greek Style*, Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Bronze, H: 14.8 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed February 2020,

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/60259>; *Figure of Harpocrates* Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Painted Pottery, H: 19.3 cm, W: 3.1 cm, D: 6.6 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed February 2020,

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/118147>; *Figure; Amulet* (E20829), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 9.80 cm, W: 4.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1982,0301.1), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 16.50 cm, London, British

wearing the crown of upper and lower Egypt in the majority of these, which is a further symbol of his connections to the pharaohs of Egypt as heir of Osiris and son of Serapis.<sup>402</sup> However at first glance while these depictions of him appear to be nondisabled, a closer examination reveals an opposite truth. Figures 4.2–4.9, and 4.11 are all bent at the knee, and are described as either bent or sitting in their respective catalogue entries.<sup>403</sup>

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Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>402</sup> Laszlo Torok. *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas from Egypt*, 19-21.

<sup>403</sup> *Figure; Amulet* (AN1896-1908-EA.616), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 3.70 cm, W: 0.90 cm, D: 0.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA49137), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 2.95 cm, W: 0.80 cm, D: 0.85 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure* (9,9,86,105.b), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 6.80 cm, T: 2 cm, W: 2 cm, , London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure* (H1029.3), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, L: 5.30 cm, T: 1.40 cm, W: 1.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure* (H1029.2), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 3.15 cm, W: 1.15 cm, D: 1 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

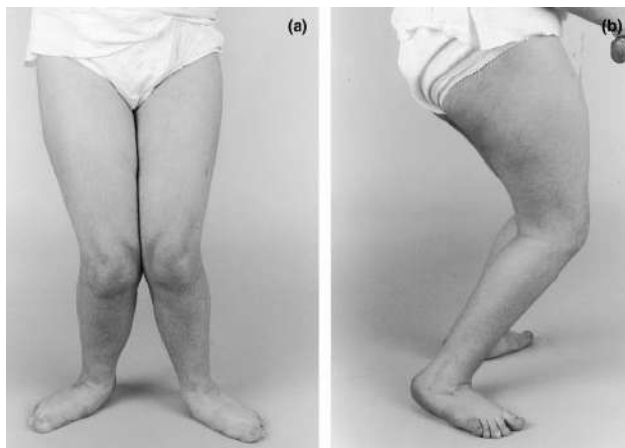
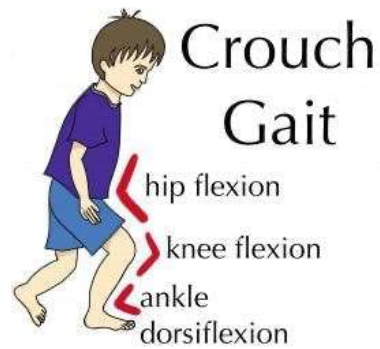
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure* (9,9,86,105a), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H:5.70 cm, T: 1.20 cm, W: 1.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA60975), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 8.10 cm, W: 2.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure; Amulet* (H1029.1) Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 2.20 cm, W: 1.15 cm, D: 1.25 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (86.253) Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 8.80 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)



Figures E & F. *Crouch Gait as Seen in Cerebral Palsy.*

Flint Rehab. "Crouch Gait and Cerebral Palsy: What it Looks Like and How to Treat It." Accessed July 2020, <https://www.flintrehab.com/crouch-gait-cerebral-palsy/>.  
Physiopedia. "Classification of Gait Patterns in Cerebral Palsy," Accessed July 2020, [https://www.physio-pedia.com/Classification\\_of\\_Gait\\_Patterns\\_in\\_Cerebral\\_Palsy](https://www.physio-pedia.com/Classification_of_Gait_Patterns_in_Cerebral_Palsy).



Figure 4.4. *Harpocrates.*



Figure 4.6. *Harpocrates*.

However, if one looks closely at the angle, some are not physically bent over enough to be sitting, and their posture of knees slightly bent and turned either inwards or outwards most closely resembles someone with cerebral palsy, especially if they're having a bad function day (I say this from personal experience). It also does not make sense to describe some of them as sitting, when the angle for this is incorrect, and as we will see in figures of Isis nursing Harpocrates, the seat is created as part of the same material/piece as the statue itself, and there's no evidence for there being a separate seat in these cases. We also have other examples where Harpocrates is clearly sitting, where the seat he is sitting on survives.<sup>404</sup>

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<sup>404</sup> *Statuette of Harpocrates as a Child*, Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Bronze, H: 14.5 cm, W: 4.5 cm, D: 8.4 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed February 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/117176>



Figure 4.11. *Seated Harpocrates.*



Figure 4.27. *Seated Harpocrates.*

Furthermore, when one looks at the positioning of the left hand and arm which held at the side of the torso, the palm of the hand faces downwards, and is not flat and pointing outwards towards the viewer as is seen on the examples when Harpocrates is clearly shown sitting. This positioning would not be possible if he were in fact

sitting on something. It seems in yet another instance of ableism, that the impairment is clearly shown, but has not been recognised for what it is. In terms of function, these amulets were apotropaic. The statues were often located in temples and shrines as well as private household shrines, and used for religious purposes relating to both the living and the dead.<sup>405</sup>

Another category of Harpocrates sculptures depicts him sitting/crawling in a half-crouched position with legs off to one side (Figures 4.28-4.34).<sup>406</sup>



Figure G. *Child with Cerebral Palsy.*

<sup>405</sup> Laszio Torok. *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas from Egypt*, 19-21.

<sup>406</sup> Figure (1990,0601.2), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 9 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); Figure (AN1888.176), Ptolemaic Period, 300-100 BC, Terracotta, H: 10.20 cm, L: 10.80 cm, W: 3.80 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); Figure (1845,0705.1), Ptolemaic Period, 245 BC, Silver, H: 9.20 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); Figure-Mould (EA46702), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Pottery, H: 17 cm, W: 16 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); Figure (1972,0125.8), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century, Terracotta, H: 15 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); Figure (E20832), Ptolemaic Period, 300-100 BC, Terracotta, H: 5.60 cm, T: 2.90 cm, W: 4.80 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); Figure (86.397), Ptolemaic Period, 300-100 BC, H: 4 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)



Archie Hinchcliffe. *Children with Cerebral Palsy: A Manual for Therapists, Parents, And Community Workers*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9788132108528.n2>



Figure 4.28. *Harpocrates*.



Figure 4.29. *Harpocrates*.

These are mostly made out of terracotta or silver and were mould made.<sup>407</sup> He either clutches a cornucopia, a goose, or a jar in these figures, and is depicted primarily in Greek style clothing. However, some sculptures do show him in the nude.<sup>408</sup> On his head in these depictions are either two lotus flowers, sometimes with the crown of upper and lower Egypt, or a festival wreath. The lotus flowers are a reference to the god Nefertum, who was another solar deity, but it is also known that lotuses were used by the ancient Egyptians as a source of pain relief, and pain is something commonly seen in those who have cerebral palsy, especially the spastic cerebral palsy subtype.<sup>409</sup> In these depictions Harpocrates's penis is sometimes

<sup>407</sup> Figure (1990,0601.2), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 9 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); Figure (1845,0705.1), Ptolemaic Period, 245 BC, Silver, H: 9.20 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>408</sup> Figure (86.397), Ptolemaic Period, 300-100 BC, H: 4 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>409</sup> W. Benson Harer Jr. "Pharmacological and Biological Properties of the Egyptian Lotus." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 22 (1985): 49-54; Ana Maria Rosso. "Poppy and Opium in Ancient Times: Remedy or Narcotic?" *Biomedicine International* 1 (2010): 83-84.

visible as well, most likely referencing his fertility aspect. In terms of impairment, what is interesting about this set of depictions is Harpocrates' posture and sitting position. His seated position with legs out to the side is what is known as a wide-base stance. This posture is commonly seen in individuals with cerebral palsy as well as those with other neuromuscular disorders, as it helps compensate for a lack of balance or stability as well as a lack of core strength commonly present in these conditions.<sup>410</sup> Like the statues discussed above, these were also used for religious purposes for both the living and dead.

There is also a type of Harpocrates figure that show him sitting, sometimes in a chair, with his feet out in front of him in a way that evokes a visual similarity to the Gandharan type Buddha, which were also produced during the Hellenistic period. There have been some scholars who have suggested that the similarities seen in these sculptures suggests a cultural link between ancient India and Hellenistic Egypt, and this particular pose is representative of the fusion of different cultures which occurred in this period.<sup>411</sup> This particular pose is similar to the one discussed above where Harpocrates is sitting with his legs out to the side. All of these figures are made out of either terracotta or bronze. However, what makes these particular figures different is they either have additional objects that either Harpocrates is holding, or are placed near him, or the Harpocrates figure is part of a larger functional object.

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<sup>410</sup> Bih-Jen Hsue, Freeman Miller, Fong-Chin Su. "The Dynamic Balance of the Children with Cerebral Palsy and Typical Developing During Gait. Part I: Spatial Relationship Between COM and COP Trajectories," *Gait & Posture* 29 (2009): 465; "Cerebral Palsy: Hope Through Research," Office of Communication and Public Liaison: National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke, National Institutes of Health. [https://www.ninds.nih.gov/Disorders/Patient-Caregiver-Education/Hope-Through-Research/Cerebral-Palsy-Hope-Through-Research#3104\\_6](https://www.ninds.nih.gov/Disorders/Patient-Caregiver-Education/Hope-Through-Research/Cerebral-Palsy-Hope-Through-Research#3104_6), last updated March 30, 2020

<sup>411</sup> Cristina Scherrer-Schaub. "The Poetic and Prosodic Aspect of the Page: Forms and Graphic Artifices of Early Indic Buddhist Manuscripts in Historical Perspective," In *Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages*, Vincenzo Vergiani, Daniele Cuneo, Camillo Alessio Formigatti, editors, 239-286. (Germany: De Gruyter, 2017), 254-257.



Figure 4.35. *Seated Harpocrates.*



Figure 4.39. *Seated Harpocrates.*

Figure 4.35 is a vessel, Figure 4.38 is a flask, Figure 4.39 is part of an architectural

column, and Figures 4.36, and 4.37 are decorative objects with Figure 4.37 being part of a larger decorative motif that has since been lost.<sup>412</sup> Harpocrates in these particular images wears a combination of a festival wreath, lotus flowers, and the crown of upper and lower Egypt. In Figure 4.39, one of the figures that most strongly evokes a Gandharan Buddha, Harpocrates is seated directly on a lotus flower. As mentioned earlier, the Egyptians used lotuses medicinally for pain relief; pain is common with cerebral palsy.<sup>413</sup> In Figure 4.36, Harpocrates has either a cake or bread loaf that is decorated to match the festival wreath he is wearing with a rosette pattern in the centre, on his left, and is holding a pot with his right hand. The food item and pot are most likely an offering or something used to collect offerings in. In Figure 4.37, Harpocrates sits between two palm branches and atop two columns decorated with a palm motif. In Figure 4.38, the flask is designed to look like two amphorae tied together with a wide floral ribbon that doubles as a handle and decorated with acanthus leaves. Harpocrates sits between them, resting on the ribbon holding a cornucopia. All of these depictions reference either the religious or fertility aspects of Harpocrates, or as in the case of Figure 4.36, both. These particular Harpocrates figures also potentially reveal cross cultural influence between

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<sup>412</sup> *Figure; Vessel* (CG43445), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC- 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Painted Terracotta, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA37507), Ptolemaic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 14.90 cm, W: 10.63, D: 4.35 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (86.436), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 200 BC- 200 AD, Terracotta, H: 11.60 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Flask* (EA37631), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century -1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 9.81 cm, L: 7.92 cm, W: 3.61 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Harpocrates on a Lotus Column*, Late Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Bronze, H: 7.1 cm, W: 3.2 cm, D: 2 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed February 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/17379>

<sup>413</sup> W. Benson Harer Jr. "Pharmacological and Biological Properties of the Egyptian Lotus." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 22 (1985): 49-54; Ana Maria Rosso. "Poppy and Opium in Ancient Times: Remedy or Narcotic?" *Biomedicine International* 1 (2010): 83-84.

not only the Greeks and the Egyptians, but between ancient Greece, Egypt, and India. It is also interesting that despite being physically disabled, Harpocrates was seen and depicted as a god of abundance and fertility to the point of even including him on objects associated with food and drink as seen in the above examples. It may be that the Egyptians and Greeks associated fertility with cerebral palsy because the more children one has, the more chances of cerebral palsy presenting itself, and the more chances of having a child who was the physical manifestation of Harpocrates.

Harpocrates is also depicted as an infant in some art. In this, he is usually either depicted as nursing from Isis, being carried by Isis, or in a half-crawling position. What is interesting in all of these depictions is that despite appearing nondisabled at first glance, when one looks closer, there are signs in each type of depiction that seem to suggest his impairment. Figures 4.40-4.55 all depict Isis either nursing or carrying the infant Harpocrates.<sup>414</sup> Some of these depictions do appear to

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<sup>414</sup> *Figure* (1888,0601.107), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 15.50 cm, T: 4.40 cm, W:7.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1888,0601.108), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 16.50 cm, T: 4.30 cm, W: 6.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA63797), 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty-Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 12.20 cm, W: 3.13 cm, D: 5.94 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (9,9,86,102.a), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 7.30 cm, T: 1.80 cm, W: 3.60 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (86.247), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 11.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA49136), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 630-200 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 9.45 cm, W: 2.95 cm, D: 1.60 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA60749), Ptolemaic Period, 330-30 BC, Limestone, H: 35 cm, W: 8 cm, D: 18 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure* (9,9,86,102.b), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 4.60 cm, T: 1.10 cm, W: 1.10 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA60756), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Bronze, H: 23.60 cm, W: 6 cm, D: 8.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (E.4.1909), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Calcite, H: 5.20 cm, L: 2.60 cm, W: 3.30 cm, London, British

depict a nondisabled Harpocrates (Figures 4.43-4.48, 4.51-4.52).<sup>415</sup> However

Figures 4.40 –4.42 do not, and instead seem to depict a disabled infant with cerebral palsy.<sup>416</sup>

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Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure* (9,9,86,58), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 2.70 cm, L: 1.35 cm, W: 0.60 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure* (H3538), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 4.50 cm, W: 1.10 cm, D: 2 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1886.31.59), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 8.10 cm, W: 2.50 cm, D: 2 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1886.0401.1446), Ptolemaic Period, 330-250 BC, Terracotta, H: 12.30 cm, T: 3.90 cm, W: 5 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure; Amulet* (AN1896-1908-EA.849), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BC, Glazed Composition, H: 3.20 cm, W: 1 cm, D: 1.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx);  
<sup>415</sup> *Figure* (9,9,86,102.a), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 7.30 cm, T: 1.80 cm, W: 3.60 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (86.247), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 11.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA49136), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 630-200 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 9.45 cm, W: 2.95 cm, D: 1.60 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA60749), Ptolemaic Period, 330-30 BC, Limestone, H: 35 cm, W: 8 cm, D: 18 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure* (9,9,86,102.b), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 4.60 cm, T: 1.10 cm, W: 1.10 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA60756), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Bronze, H: 23.60 cm, W: 6 cm, D: 8.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Amulet; Figure* (H3538), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 4.50 cm, W: 1.10 cm, D: 2 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1886.31.59), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 8.10 cm, W: 2.50 cm, D: 2 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx);  
<sup>416</sup> *Figure* (1888,0601.107), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 15.50 cm, T: 4.40 cm, W: 7.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1888,0601.108), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 16.50 cm, T: 4.30 cm, W: 6.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA63797), 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty-Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 12.20 cm, W: 3.13 cm, D: 5.94 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

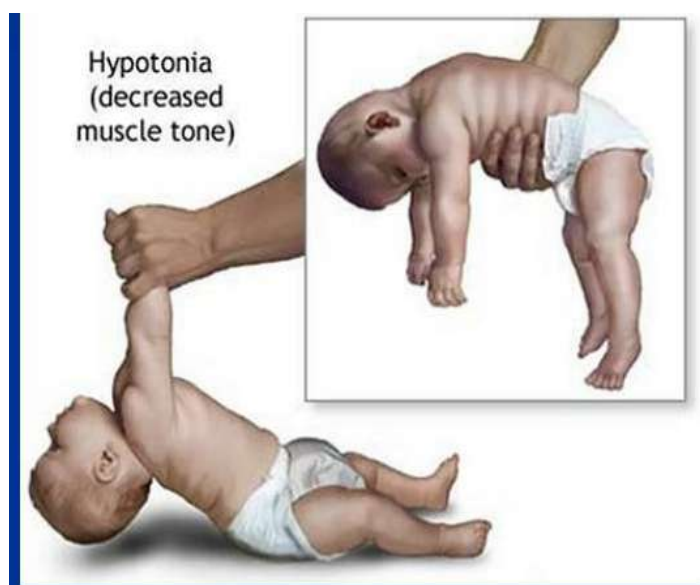


Figure H. *Infant with Cerebral Palsy.*

Samarpan Physiotherapy Clinic. "Hypotonia," Accessed July 2020, <https://samarpanphysioclinic.com/hypotonia/>



Figure 4.40. *Isis Carrying the Infant Harpocrates.*





Figure 4.41. *Isis Carrying the Infant Harpocrates.*



Figure 4.42. *Isis Nursing Harpocrates.*



Figure 239. *Isis Nursing Harpocrates*.

Figure 4.40 and Figure 4.41 depict a Greek style Isis holding Harpocrates who is resting on her left hip.<sup>417</sup> Isis wears a Greek style dress and a cloak knotted in an Isis knot which leaves her breast bare as well as either a diadem or himation over her head.<sup>418</sup> She also was clutching what probably was a sistrum in her right hand that unfortunately no longer survives.<sup>419</sup> Sistrums were used to calm the gods, and in this case, to calm a fussy child who also happens to be a god. Harpocrates is wrapped in a short cloak, but is otherwise naked. However, what is interesting about him in

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<sup>417</sup> *Figure* (1888,0601.107), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 15.50 cm, T: 4.40 cm, W:7.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1888,0601.108), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 16.50 cm, T: 4.30 cm, W: 6.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>418</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>419</sup> *Ibid.*

these statues is his leg and knee positioning. Instead of his feet and legs being straight together like in some of the depictions of Isis nursing him, his knees are bent inwards touching either other, with his lower legs and feet flared outwards in a knock-kneed/ pigeon-toed stance, that is commonly seen in infants and young children with cerebral palsy.<sup>420</sup> Furthermore his overall posture and musculature in these statues looks floppy, and is overall an s-shape, with him seemingly not being able to hold his head up, something also commonly seen in young children with certain types of cerebral palsy.<sup>421</sup> Again I had what my parents referred to as “frog’s legs” as an infant, and also have low muscle tone, so this is again something I have personal experience with. Figure 4.42 depicts Harpocrates sitting on Isis’s lap, while she offers her breast to him to nurse from.<sup>422</sup> Unlike the Isis in the same statue who is depicted as straight, Harpocrates seemingly leans to his left side, with his left arm also depicted as crooked and bent unlike his right arm, and his left hand seemingly depicted as turned inwards and slightly twisted. One side being weaker than the other, and posture abnormalities are other common cerebral palsy traits. I again have personal experience with this, as my right side is much weaker than my left, and the arm twisting often happens when I am under duress.

Figures 4.56-4.61, which are all terracotta statues, depict Harpocrates as an infant or young child in a crawling position.<sup>423</sup> Once again, while Harpocrates

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<sup>420</sup> “Cerebral Palsy: Hope Through Research,” Office of Communication and Public Liaison: National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke, National Institutes of Health. [https://www.ninds.nih.gov/Disorders/Patient-Caregiver-Education/Hope-Through-Research/Cerebral-Palsy-Hope-Through-Research#3104\\_6](https://www.ninds.nih.gov/Disorders/Patient-Caregiver-Education/Hope-Through-Research/Cerebral-Palsy-Hope-Through-Research#3104_6), last updated March 30, 2020

<sup>421</sup> Ibid.

<sup>422</sup> *Figure* (EA63797), 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty-Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 12.20 cm, W: 3.13 cm, D: 5.94 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>423</sup> *Figure* (AN1896-1908-E.4729), Ptolemaic Period, 330-30 BC, Terracotta, H: 7.60 cm, T: 3 cm, W: 6.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (AN1896-1908-E.4735), Ptolemaic Period, 330-100 BC, Terracotta, H: 4 cm, T: 1.30 cm, W: 7.10 cm, London, British

appears to be nondisabled at first glance, if one looks closer, he seems to be exhibiting signs of cerebral palsy.

### **A floppy child's sitting position**

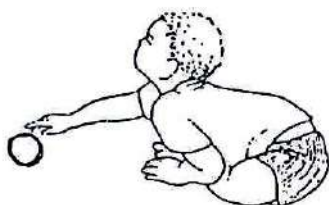


Figure I. *Child with Low Muscle Tone's Sitting Position.*

WikiEducator. "Lesson 20: Disability and Rehabilitation Part 2," Accessed July 2020, [https://wikieducator.org/Lesson\\_20:\\_Disability\\_and\\_Rehabilitation\\_Part\\_2](https://wikieducator.org/Lesson_20:_Disability_and_Rehabilitation_Part_2)

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Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA68834), Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, H: 8.18 cm, W: 5.76 cm, D: 5.57 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1933,1020.1), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 7.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (86.435), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 6.60 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (86.434), Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, H: 5.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)



Figure 4.60. *Harpocrates*.



Figure 4.59. *Harpocrates*.



Figures 4.56-4.57. *Harpocrates*.

Harpocrates in these figures is never depicted in a fully crawling position, instead, he half sits and half crawls, often dragging one leg, which is folded either in front or behind him. The other leg often sticks out to the side at an awkward angle. One of the early missed or disrupted developmental milestones in children with cerebral palsy is crawling, with some children only doing so in an awkward fashion, and some children skipping this developmental milestone all together due to the muscle weakness and balance issues that can be caused by the impairment.<sup>424</sup> I was one of the children who skipped crawling as a milestone.

Another category of Harpocrates art is him depicted as riding an animal. These depictions are typically made out of terracotta, painted faience, or bronze, and are mostly mould made, signalling their widespread popularity and use. They would have been used as votive offerings in a religious context. Figures 4.62 –4.66 and

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<sup>424</sup> “Cerebral Palsy: Hope Through Research,” Office of Communication and Public Liaison: National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke, National Institutes of Health. [https://www.ninds.nih.gov/Disorders/Patient-Caregiver-Education/Hope-Through-Research/Cerebral-Palsy-Hope-Through-Research#3104\\_6](https://www.ninds.nih.gov/Disorders/Patient-Caregiver-Education/Hope-Through-Research/Cerebral-Palsy-Hope-Through-Research#3104_6), last updated March 30, 2020

4.68-4.77 depict Harpocrates riding animals such as horses, geese, or elephants.<sup>425</sup>

Figure 4.67 shows Harpocrates riding in a chariot.<sup>426</sup>

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<sup>425</sup> *Figure* (NA490), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 9.60 cm, T: 3.60 cm, W: 7.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (NA489), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 11.30 cm, T: 3.70 cm, W: 6.20 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1972,0125.6), Ptolemaic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 12 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA37559), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 17.50 cm, W: 10.75 cm, D: 4.33 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA22159), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 13.90 cm, W: 8.20 cm, D: 4.33 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1814,0704.1649), Hellenistic or Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Lead, H: 3.70 cm, W: 3.90 cm, D: 0.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA24372), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 15.30 cm, W: 8.37 cm, D: 4.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure; Plaque* (A.1832), Ptolemaic, 330-250 BC, Terracotta, H: 7.70 cm, T: 2 cm, W: 7.80 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure; Plaque* (GR.11.1885), Ptolemaic Period 330-250 BC, Terracotta, H: 7 cm, T: 1.40 cm, W: 7.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1886,0401.1450), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, H: 9.80 cm, T: 3.90 cm, W: 8.80 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (86.410), Ptolemaic Period, 330-250 BC, Terracotta, H: 8 cm, L: 11.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure; Plaque* (E20831), Ptolemaic Period, 330-250 BC, Terracotta, H: 11.30 cm, W: 10.10 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure; Plaque* (NA499), Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 7.70 cm, T: 2.20 cm, W: 8 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure; Amulet* (7624), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 4.80 cm, L: 5 cm, W: 2.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Plaque; Figure* (GR.10.1885), Ptolemaic Period 330-250 BC, Terracotta, H: 7.40 cm, T: 1.35 cm, W: 5.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>426</sup> *Figure* (1986,1006.12), Ptolemaic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 9.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)



Figure 4.1. *Child with a Walker.*






Figure 4.67. *Harpocrates in a Chariot.*

However, if one compares this to Figure 4.1, this may actually be another depiction of a walker that has again not been recognised for what it is due to ableist bias. All of these depictions show Harpocrates as an older child. In some of the depictions of Harpocrates riding on horses, he is dressed in the military gear of a Macedonian soldier, much like the historical Macedonians discussed in the previous chapter. In these depictions he seems to be nondisabled, but this might not actually be the case. In some of these depictions, the horse is seen trampling a prisoner.<sup>427</sup> This is most

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<sup>427</sup> *Figure* (86.410), Ptolemaic Period, 330-250 BC, Terracotta, H: 8 cm, L: 11.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure; Plaque*

likely a continuation of the traditional Egyptian motif of Egyptian pharaohs trampling or crushing prisoners.<sup>428</sup> It is also another visual example of order triumphing over chaos, with the prisoners representing chaos and Harpocrates taking the place of the pharaoh and representing order. These examples also show cross cultural influence from both ancient Greece and Egypt. The Harpocrates figures that depict him riding on geese and elephants show cross cultural influence from Greece and India/the Seleucid Empire. Figure depicts Harpocrates riding an elephant, and is very similar to the figures that show him as a Macedonian soldier riding a horse. It seems that the artists extended this motif to include what became another animal used by the ancient Greeks in war. The depictions of Harpocrates riding a goose, however, have a different origin. It has been noted that the Harpocrates riding a goose figures were directly modelled off of Greek figures of the Greek god Eros riding a goose (2016), and the goose was also associated with the Greek goddess Aphrodite.<sup>429</sup> Eros was the god of love who was sometimes depicted as a child, and was also considered a fertility symbol.<sup>430</sup> This makes this yet another example of the cultural fusion which existed in this period. To the Egyptians, these Harpocrates figures also became literal hieroglyphs as the word for “son” s3/z3, was a goose followed by a child

determinative (  ).<sup>431</sup>

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(E20831), Ptolemaic Period, 330-250 BC, Terracotta, H: 11.30 cm, W: 10.10 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.asp](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.asp)

<sup>428</sup> Maria Michela Luiselli. “The Ancient Egyptian scene of ‘Pharaoh Smiting His Enemies’: An Attempt to Visualize Cultural Memory?” 10-25. In *Cultural Memory and Identity in Ancient Societies*, Martin Bommas, editor. (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), 12-16.

<sup>429</sup> Attilio Mastrocinque. “Birds and Love in Greek and Roman Religion,” In *Animals in Greek and Roman Religion and Myth*, 213-226. Patricia A. Johnston, Attilio Mastrocinque, Sophia Papaioannou, editors. (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 220-222.

<sup>430</sup> Ibid, 220-222.

<sup>431</sup> Ibid, 220-222.



Figure J. *Child with Cerebral Palsy.*

Archie Hinchcliffe. *Children with Cerebral Palsy: A Manual for Therapists, Parents, And Community Workers*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9788132108528.n2>



Figure 4.65. *Harpocrates on a Goose.*



Figure 4.66. *Harpocrates on a Goose*.

What is also interesting about the Harpocrates/goose figures, is Harpocrates does not sit astride the goose with his feet hanging straight down on either side like he does the horse, instead, he is depicted in much the same pose that we saw earlier where his feet stick out to one side, with one leg dragging behind the other one, with one leg mostly bent and the other sticking straight out.<sup>432</sup> As mentioned earlier, this is what is known as a wide-based stance, and is commonly seen in those with cerebral palsy. Harpocrates in these figures either wears Greek style clothing, or is

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<sup>432</sup> *Figure* (NA490), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 9.60 cm, T: 3.60 cm, W: 7.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (NA489), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 11.30 cm, T: 3.70 cm, W: 6.20 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1972,0125.6), Ptolemaic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 12 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA37559), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 17.50 cm, W: 10.75 cm, D: 4.33 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA22159), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 13.90 cm, W: 8.20 cm, D: 4.33 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

depicted as mostly nude. He wears either a festival wreath with lotus flowers (again noted for their use by the ancient Egyptians as pain relief, something that would have been very useful for those who had cerebral palsy), or the double crown of ancient Egypt. In some of these depictions, he also carries the club of the Greek demi-god Herakles, signalling his role as a protector god, or the cornucopia, signalling his role as a fertility god.<sup>433</sup> All of the depictions of him riding an animal are also interesting and can further possibly reference him having an impairment, as the Greek god Hephaestus who also had mobility issues that affected his lower body is commonly depicted, as we will see in the next section, as either riding a donkey, or in a chariot.<sup>434</sup> We already saw earlier in this section, that mobility aids, and other societal accommodations were possibly in use, and it is not a stretch to consider an animal as a mobility aid, particularly when there was already a history as will be seen in the art of other disabled gods like Hephaestus who were depicted as using them.

Harpocrates was also combined further with Greek gods, as there are some depictions of him besides the ones of him riding geese which depict him as Harpocrates-Eros, and another that depicts him with the Greek goddess Athena. These were made out of variety of materials and had different functions including a mould made terracotta statue that most likely was a votive, a gold pendent that was probably apotropaic, and a mould made pottery lamp.<sup>435</sup> The depictions of him as

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<sup>433</sup> *Figure* (1972,0125.6), Ptolemaic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 12 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA22159), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 13.90 cm, W: 8.20 cm, D: 4.33 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>434</sup> Martha L. Rose. *The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 71.

<sup>435</sup> *Figure* (D397), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC- 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 12.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Pendant* (EA29499), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Gold, H: 2.31 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

Harpocrates Eros show him as seen previously in the standing pose sometimes with finger to his lips, but feature the addition of wings. However even in these mixed-god depictions, Harpocrates Eros does not appear to be fully nondisabled upon closer examination.



Figure 4.78. *Harpocrates Eros*.

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[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Lamp* (1963,0715.48), Ptolemaic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 10.30 cm, L: 6.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)



Figure 4.79. *Harpocrates Eros*.



Figure 4.80. *Harpocrates holding an Athena Shrine.*

In Figure 4.78, Harpocrates Eros leans on a pillar to his left, and is nude with longer curly hair.<sup>436</sup> Additionally he has wings. Although this statue is partially damaged, one leg (the left) appears to be more muscular than the other, and he leans and

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<sup>436</sup> *Figure* (D397), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC- 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 12.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)



places the majority of his weight on his more muscular leg. The gold pendant (Figure 4.79) depicts Harpocrates Eros wearing an Egyptian crown and sash, standing with his finger to his lips, and holding a cornucopia which he rests on a tree trunk.<sup>437</sup> He additionally has wings, and a small dog sits on his right. Interestingly again, his left leg is depicted as the more muscular leg, and both his knees seem to turn inwards in the wide based stance that is commonly seen in those with cerebral palsy. The pottery lamp (Figure 4.80) depicts a nude seated Harpocrates, who is wearing an elaborate headdress.<sup>438</sup> In his left hand, he holds a shrine containing the standing goddess Athena, who is wearing her traditional chiton and helmet, and clutches a shield and spear. In his right hand, he holds a torch. Harpocrates is seated with one leg bent in front under him, and one leg bent upright out to the side, again in a seated wide-based posture commonly seen in those with cerebral palsy.

Harpocrates can also be depicted as a statue in a shrine in other statues, usually in the presence of priests or worshippers, or as a pendent worn by worshippers or priests in a larger statue. Figures 4.81-4.86 depict these statues inside statues, and are mould made terracotta statues.<sup>439</sup> Figures 4.81, 4.82, 4.85, and 4.86 all depict Harpocrates in a shrine usually carried by priests.

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<sup>437</sup> *Pendant* (EA29499), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Gold, H: 2.31 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>438</sup> *Lamp* (1963,0715.48), Ptolemaic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 10.30 cm, L: 6.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>439</sup> *Figure* (EA37546), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Painted Terracotta, H: 18 cm, W:10.84 cm, D: 3.38 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1986,1006.13), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Clay, H: 15.20 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1995,1211.1), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1881,0709.10), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 15 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Goblet* (86.471), Ptolemaic Period, 200-30 BC, Pottery, L: 5.60 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Shrine; Model*



Figure 4.81. *Harpocrates Shrine being Carried by Priests.*

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(1986,1006.11), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, H: 3.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)



Figure 4.86. *Harpocrates Shrine*.

In these statues within the larger statue, Harpocrates is shown nude wearing either the double crown, or a wreath with lotus flowers, and is depicted either standing, or in the same wide-based sitting position with legs out to one side that was seen earlier. He also holds either a pot or cornucopia. In Figures 4.81 and 4.82 Harpocrates's shrine is being carried by priests. In Figure 4.81, the shrine contains a throne upon which Harpocrates sits in the wide-based position. Underneath this shrine is an altar with an offering placed on it, and the altar itself is placed on a

carrying pole shaped like a lotus flower column.<sup>440</sup> In Figure 4.82, instead of an altar, a pot is found beneath the shrine, and between the priests.<sup>441</sup> Figure 4.83 depicts a cult-attendant of Harpocrates carrying a statue of Harpocrates for a night-time procession.<sup>442</sup> The cult attendant has a lantern besides his right foot, holds a torch in his right hand, the statue of a nude seated Harpocrates with legs out to one side in his left, and is dressed in a himation, and is wearing a wreath with lotus buds on his head. Figure 4.84 depicts a priest wearing a long religious robe, holding a basket on his left forearm, and both hands are bent vertically downwards and held against his body. The priest stands in a wide based stance, with legs apart and knees close together, and his penis is visible hanging down below his robes by his feet. The exaggerated genitalia is a reference to the god's fertility aspect. Additionally, the priest wears an amulet around his neck depicting a nude, standing Harpocrates in the pose with his finger to his lips.

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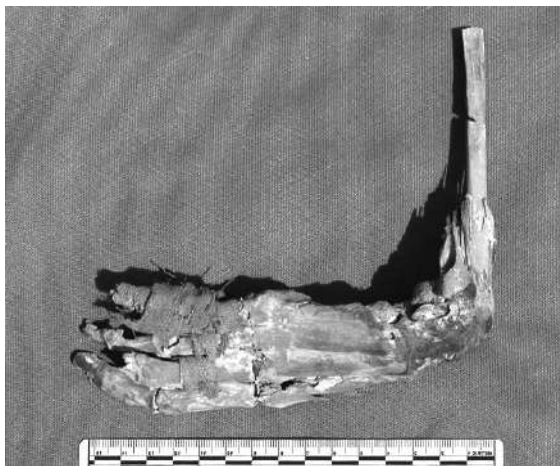
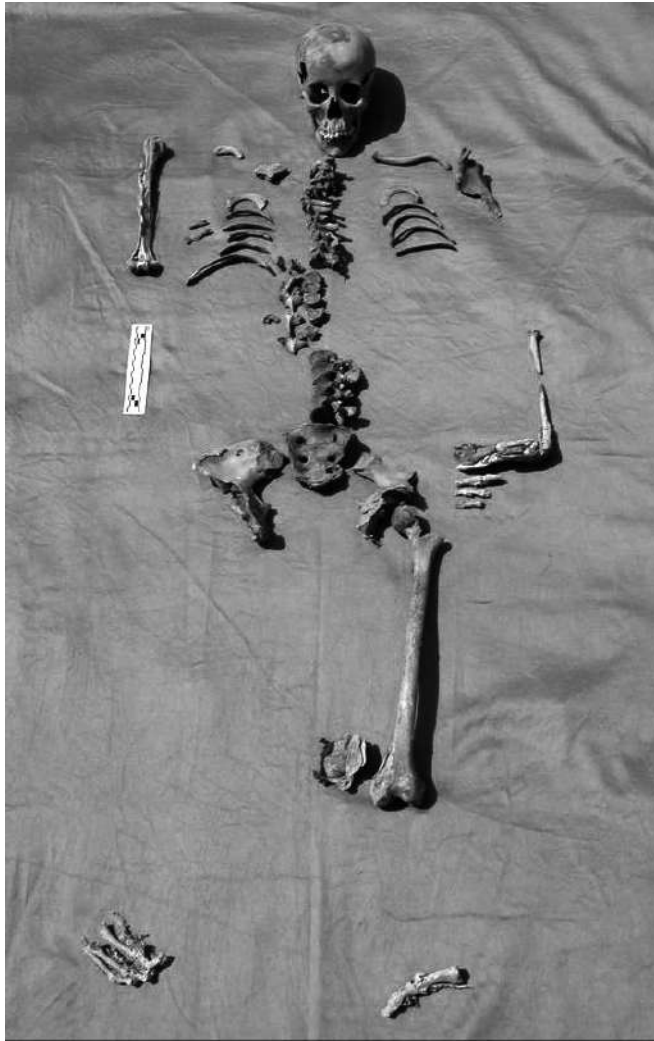
<sup>440</sup> *Figure* (EA37546), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Painted Terracotta, H: 18 cm, W: 10.84 cm, D: 3.38 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>441</sup> *Figure* (1986,1006.13), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Clay, H: 15.20 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>442</sup> *Figure* (1995,1211.1), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)



Figure 4.84. *Priest Wearing a Harpocrates Amulet.*



Figures K-L. *Mummy of Geheset.*

Sandra Losch, Stefanie Panzer, and Andreas G. Nerlich. "Cerebral Paralysis in an Ancient Egyptian Female Mummy from a 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Tomb- Paleopathological and Radiological Investigations," In Rupert Breitwieser, editor, *Behinderungen und Beeinträchtigungen*, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), 37-40.

It should be noted that this particular priest also possibly shows signs of having cerebral palsy because of both the wide based stance, and his hand positioning which closely resembles that of both Geheset and Siptah as discussed above. The cult-attendant with the Harpocrates statue is also described as a “grotesque” (which is a modern term, again most likely representative of ableist bias), and other statues of priests who are described as being associated with either Harpocrates or Ptah are also done in this “grotesque” style.<sup>443</sup> However, not all priests and religious attendants of Harpocrates are depicted this way, as seen in Figures 4.81 and 4.82.<sup>444</sup> This may possibly point to those with similar impairments as these two disabled gods being allowed to serve as their priests. It unfortunately cannot be ascertained as to whether those with these impairments were granted special status or access to these gods on account of their impairment, or if the priesthood was open to both the nondisabled and disabled solely on the basis of merit and social status. Besides continuing to show signs of Harpocrates having cerebral palsy, these group statues are also important because they give us a glimpse into the religious rituals as practiced by the priests of Harpocrates, and also show that the Egyptian tradition of parading the statue and shrine of the god outside the temple for the

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<sup>443</sup> Ibid; *Figure* (1881,0709.10), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H:15 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx) *Figure* (AN1896-1908-G.98), Ptolemaic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H:4.50 cm, T: 4.10 cm, W: 3.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (86.440), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 5 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx) <sup>444</sup> *Figure* (EA37546), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Painted Terracotta, H: 18 cm, W: 10.84 cm, D: 3.38 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1986,1006.13), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Clay, H: 15.20 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

public still existed in the Ptolemaic Period, despite Greek control and influence during this time period.

Harpocrates is also depicted in some art in a sexually explicit fashion. These sexually explicit poses are thought to refer to his function as fertility god, and can be divided up into four main types. While these types generally appear to be nondisabled, they also are depicted with a combination of uncircumcised and circumcised genitalia, while both types being depicted in both Greek and Egyptian art styles, which again shows the fusion of cultures in this period.



Figure 4.91. *Harpocrates*.





Figure 4.104. *Harpocrates*.

The Egyptians practised circumcision, whereas the Greeks did not.<sup>445</sup> The first type of pose is referenced in Figures 4.87-4.90.<sup>446</sup> These mould made terracotta sculptures depict a nude Harpocrates half sitting and half lying down, with a hugely exaggerated penis that in some cases is wrapped around his body so that he can rest against it. He is bald except for the sidelock which denotes youth, and in some instances is also holding a pot or has a loaf of bread next to him as well. These sculptures appear to be both circumcised and uncircumcised. What is interesting about these figures is that some of them have the same pose as seen earlier, despite the addition of the huge penis, where he sits with legs out to the side is what is known as a wide-base stance. As mentioned earlier, this posture is commonly seen in individuals with cerebral palsy. The second type of pose seen in these terracotta sculptures is Harpocrates sitting with his exaggerated penis, that in some cases is bigger than he is extended out in front of him; in some cases he holds either a pot or harp on top of it, in some other cases the penis extends upwards, and he plays it like a harp (Figures 4.91-4.99).<sup>447</sup> Again these sculptures are depicted as

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<sup>445</sup> Mohamed Megahed and Hana Vymazalova. "Ancient Egyptian Royal Circumcision from the Pyramid Complex of Djedkare," *Anthropologie* 49.2 (2011): 155-161; Fredrick Mansfield Hodges. "The Ideal Prepuce in Ancient Greece and Rome: Male Genital Aesthetics and Their Relation to Lipodermos, Circumcision, Foreskin Restoration, and the Kynodesme," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 75.3 (2001): 375-405.

<sup>446</sup> *Figure* (EA37524), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 15.20 cm, W: 10.60 cm, D: 4.74 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1986,1006.5), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 7.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1973,0501.13), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Terracotta, H: 5.80 cm, L: 6.70 cm, W: 3.60 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1973,0501.14), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 330-200 BC, Terracotta, H: 3.50 cm, L: 5.80 cm, W: 1.80 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>447</sup> *Figure* (E.85.1914), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Limestone, H: 6.70 cm, L: 7.90 cm, W: 3.60 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA90351), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Limestone, H: 4.62 cm, L: 5.30 cm, W: 2.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

both circumcised and uncircumcised.



Figure 4.95. *Harpocrates*.

In some rarer cases (Figure 4.95), he appears to have two penises, one extended directly out in front of him, and one that extends upwards resembling a harp. He is once again depicted as nude with the sidelock of hair. One penis is circumcised,

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[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (E.118.1914), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Limestone, H: 4.30 cm, L: 7 cm, W: 2.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (E.131.1914), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Limestone, H: 7.10 cm, L: 7.10 cm, W: 2.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1973,0501.61), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 600-300 BC, Terracotta, H: 8.60 cm, L: 4.60 cm, W: 2.80 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1973,0501.48), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 500-250 BC, Terracotta, H: 6.50 cm, L: 5.90 cm, W: 2.80 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1973,0501.40), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 500-250 BC, Terracotta, H: 9.80 cm, L: 5.70 cm, W: 3.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1973,0501.67), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 500-250 BC, Terracotta, H: 6.70 cm, L: 5 cm, W: 2.90 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1973,0501.66), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 500-250 BC, Terracotta, H: 5.70 cm, L: 5.70 cm, W: 2.90 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

while the other appears uncircumcised. In these depictions there does not appear to be any evidence of impairment, but the penis seems to be the main focus of these sculptures so this is not surprising. The third type of pose in these terracottas has a nude Harpocrates standing, with his exaggerated penis wrapped around him (Figures 4.100-4.104).<sup>448</sup> These sculptures again have the wide-based stance, but it is hard to tell if this is because of possible impairment representation, or a necessity because of the exaggerated size of his genitalia. The fourth type of pose has a nude Harpocrates having sex with what appears to be a nondisabled woman (Figures 4.105-4.106).<sup>449</sup> The woman in these sculptures either lays on a cushion on her stomach or is on all fours while Harpocrates kneels and penetrates her from behind. He appears to be much smaller than his partner apart from his exaggerated genitalia, which again appears to be almost as large as he is. Unfortunately, these sculptures only partially survive, so Harpocrates's head in both instances has been lost. The fact that Harpocrates is kneeling might be evidence of impairment, but this also might be because of the size and implied weight of his genitals, as well as to make up for his smaller stature in the act of intercourse. The circumcised and

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<sup>448</sup> *Figure* (E20834), Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Terracotta, H: 5.50 cm, W: 2.80 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1982,0406.6), Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 7.80 cm, W: 3.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1973,0501.28), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Terracotta, H: 4.50 cm, T: 1.80 cm, W: 2.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (EA90388), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 3.70 cm, W: 1.65 cm, D: 1.65 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Naukratic Figure* (EA90389), Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Terracotta, H: 6.38 cm, W: 2.68 cm, D: 1.86 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>449</sup> *Figure* (NA598), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Terracotta, H: 3.40 cm, L: 5.90 cm, W: 2.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Figure* (1973,0501.50), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Terracotta, H: 4.90 cm, L: 9.60 cm, W: 2.90 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

uncircumcised genitalia again represent the fusion of both Greek and Egyptian cultures, and the overall appeal of the god to people from both cultures, as the market for the art would not have had both options if Harpocrates only appealed to one culture.

Harpocrates is also shown on stele/cippus, some of which are known to have been used medicinally in ancient Egypt. These obsidian and steatite Harpocrates stele/cippuses usually depict him in a pose reminiscent of the god Pataikos, standing on the backs of crocodiles, with his left foot in front of his right, and strangling snakes in each hand (Figures 4.107-4.111).<sup>450</sup>

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<sup>450</sup> *Cippus of Horus on the Crocodiles*, Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Steatite, H: 23.2 cm, W: 13.5 cm, D: 5.6 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, Accessed February 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3684>; *Cippus* (EA36250), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, H: 19.50 cm, W: 13 cm, D: 6.10 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Cippus* (AN1896-1908-E.4561), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Limestone, H: 6.70 cm, T: 2.30 cm, W: 2.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Cippus* (EA60961), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Steatite, H: 9.60 cm, W: 9.09 cm, D: 3.55 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx); *Cippus* (EA27373), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Steatite, L: 22 cm, T: 2.71 cm, W: 4.88 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)



Figure 4.108. *Harpocrates Stele*.

Magical texts cover the rest of these depictions. In these, the head of the god Bes sometimes appears above Harpocrates. This is most likely due to Bes's role as a protector god for women in childbirth as well as children. Also, interestingly unlike in the majority of depictions of Harpocrates, the Harpocrates here as depicted in this particular context appears to be nondisabled, rather than disabled, but those from this time period may have been expected to know from the context of his other depictions that he was disabled. However, as seen in Figure 4.108, he does have papyrus canes that appear on either side of him, which could be interpreted as being mobility aides as well as ceremonial. Harpocrates's nondisabled appearance may be because these particular cippuses were known to have been used medicinally. Water was poured over them and then collected to be given to patients for various

ailments as part of medical treatment.<sup>451</sup> There are however also stele that depict Harpocrates in the presence of other gods.



Figure 4.112. *Harpocrates on a Stele with other Gods.*

<sup>451</sup> *Cippus of Horus on the Crocodiles*, Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Steatite, H: 23.2 cm, W: 13.5 cm, D: 5.6 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, Accessed February 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3684>

Figure 4.112 depicts Harpocrates seated in the top register, while the gods and goddesses Min, Hathor, Nephthys, Isis, and Osiris appear standing in the register below Harpocrates, with two people making offerings to all the gods.<sup>452</sup> Harpocrates is separated from everyone else by a row of stars. This particular stele seems to continue depicting Harpocrates as disabled like the majority of sculptures discussed in this section, since he is once again seated with his legs curled up in front of him, while everyone else is standing. The other deities he is depicted with are all important ones, Min was another fertility god, who was also believed to be one of the creator gods, and Nephthys was a protector goddess who was a sibling of Osiris and Isis. Figure 4.113 depicts the goddesses of upper and lower Egypt, Nekhbet, and Wadjet on the top register in their animal forms.<sup>453</sup> On the register below them are standing, the gods Min, Wadjet again in her human form, and Harpocrates between them in his usual pose, finger to his lips, and clutching an ankh with the other hand, standing on a block so that he matches them in height. King Ptolemy IV and Queen Arsinoe III appear before the gods, but do not make any offerings, instead they appear in the god's company as a marker of their status as divine in their own right.<sup>454</sup> Harpocrates appears to be nondisabled here, but it may be that the Egyptians and Greeks would have recognised him as disabled from the context of other depictions of him. Both of the above steles are offering steles, with Figure 4.113 being found set in a recess of a mudbrick chapel in San el-Hagar (Tanis).<sup>455</sup> These two limestone stele are important because they show that the

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<sup>452</sup> *Stela* (EA1426), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Limestone, H: 67 cm, W: 41 cm, D: 8.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>453</sup> *Stela* (1885,1101.1), Ptolemaic Period, 222-204 BC, Limestone, Gold, H: 74 cm, W: 51.70 cm, D: 13.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>454</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>455</sup> *Ibid.*



Ptolemies wanted to be linked with the cult of Harpocrates, as well as reveal how important a god Harpocrates actually was in the Ptolemaic religious world.

*Artistic Representations of Harpocratis*

There is also a female version of Harpocrates, known as Harpocratis. Harpocratis statues closely mimic the other types of statues and repeat the poses of these statues that were discussed above.



Figure 4.114. *Harpocratis*.





Figure 4.115. *Harpocratis*.



Figure 4.116. *Harpocratis*.



Figure 4.117. *Harpocratis*.



Figure 4.118. *Harpocratis*.

Figure 4.114 is a painted pottery goblet Harpocratis that like the figures above resembles a Gandharan type Buddha. She stands holding her right index finger to her mouth (the Egyptian sign of youth), clutches a cornucopia in her left hand, and wears a Greek style tunic dress augmented by a bracelet on her right wrist and double crown of Egypt. Traces of black and red paint can be found on the figure.<sup>456</sup> Despite the long dress, her legs are visible, and she is standing with a wide stance with her knees bent and turned inwards. Additionally, her left leg appears to be bigger than her right leg. Figure 4.115 also depicts a standing terracotta Harpocratis with right index finger to her mouth, holding a cornucopia in her hand, and dressed in a Greek style tunic dress.<sup>457</sup> She has curly hair, and wears crescent shaped earrings, a wreath and double crown of Egypt. She is also resting her arm, the one holding the cornucopia, against an altar upon which a falcon (the animal sign of

<sup>456</sup> *Goblet* (2002,0419.5), Ptolemaic Period, 200-30 BC, Pottery, H: 6.40 cm, W: 3.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>457</sup> *Votive Figure* (EA27333), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 18.70 cm, W: 7.68 cm, D: 3.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

Horus) sits, possibly to give herself extra stability. This particular figure is inscribed with hieroglyphs which are a partial copy of the *Instructions of Khety*, which date to the Middle Kingdom (c. 2025-1700 BCE), but these seem to have been added after the piece was fired, and there is no clear reason for why this inscription appears on this piece of art. *The Instructions of Khety* is considered to be a satirical piece that extolls the advantages of being a scribe while disparaging various forms of manual labour.<sup>458</sup> However, taking this possible mobility impairment into account may give us a clue for the inscription's purpose, as a scribe was a sedentary job, whereas most forms of manual labour are not. Again, despite the long dress, Harpocratis is standing with a wide-based stance and has her knees bent inwards as is commonly seen in those with cerebral palsy. Figure 4.116 depicts a terracotta Harpocratis in the same standing position with her right index finger to her lips as the previous two figures.<sup>459</sup> The difference in this particular depiction is that Harpocratis is naked and she is clutching what appears to either be a cornucopia or a swaddled child, it is not clear. She also either wears lotus flowers on her head, or the double crown of Egypt, again in this depiction it is not clear. What is interesting about this figure is it very clearly depicts both the wide based stance commonly seen in those with cerebral palsy, and it also clearly shows her left leg as being bigger than her right leg. Figure 4.117 depicts a terracotta Harpocratis sitting with legs out to one side in the posture which we already saw with Harpocrates is common among those with cerebral palsy.<sup>460</sup> She wears a short-sleeved tunic, along with a wreath, and double crown of

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<sup>458</sup> Miriam Lichtheim. *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 184-193.

<sup>459</sup> *Figure* (1972.0125.4), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 14.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

<sup>460</sup> *Figure* (EA37560), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 20.50 cm, W: 11.12 cm, D: 7.56 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

Egypt, and holds a pot in her left hand. Her right index finger is held to her lips. Figure 4.118 depicts a terracotta Harpocratis riding a ram.<sup>461</sup> She is dressed in a Greek style short sleeved tunic, and wears a round pendant around her neck, a bracelet around her right wrist, and a wreath and the double crown of Egypt. She holds a cornucopia in her left hand. The ram in this particular instance may refer to the animal form of either the god Zeus-Ammon (another Egyptian-Greek hybrid solar deity) or Serapis, who was Harpocrates's father, and also a fertility god, which would make sense in this context given the cornucopia. Harpocratis's seated position copies that of Harpocrates riding a goose figure seen earlier, with the feet sticking out to one side, with one leg dragging behind the other one, with one leg mostly bent and the other sticking straighter out. As mentioned earlier, this is what is known as a wide-based stance, and is commonly seen in those with cerebral palsy. These Harpocratis figures, like their male counterparts would have been used for religious purposes in both temples and household shrines, and with the exception of the painted pottery one, are all mould made, meaning they were made for mass consumption. What is interesting is that despite being female, evidence of possible cerebral palsy still continues to be shown. It is also extremely interesting that out of the two known gods who have female counterparts in ancient Egypt (Harpocrates/Harpocratis and Bes/Beset), both are believed to have been disabled, and this suggests that the ancient Egyptians understood both dwarfism and cerebral palsy as being permanent conditions one was born with despite gender changes. This also may suggest that they did see impairment as being the opposite of being nondisabled without seeing it as a negative.

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<sup>461</sup> *Figure* (1928,0612.1), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 15 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

### *Conclusions*

Harpocrates is representative both of how the disabled were portrayed mythologically, and the fusion of Greek, Egyptian, and other cultures that occurred during this time period. When one looks at the different types of Harpocrates statues in context, it seems clear that the ancient Egyptians and Greeks were depicting him as disabled as described in literary sources by Plutarch, and that this impairment was most likely cerebral palsy. The symptoms and physical manifestations of the impairment appear consistently in both Harpocrates, and Harpocratis art, and also consistently appear despite changes in art style from either more Egyptian, more Greek, or more Asian looking. Statues were both circumcised and uncircumcised and used imagery that was common to both the Greek and Egyptian religions like the goose. Certain Harpocrates statues also depicted hybrid forms of the god, such as Harpocrates-Eros which shows a direct blending of cultures. Representations also seem to have stayed consistent despite the different art styles across the entirety of the period. Both the Harpocrates figures and other art discussed above seems to depict what may have been a common birth occurrence, and was created for mass consumption. Anecdotally, those who have cerebral palsy, including myself, often appear to be much younger than our actual age, so Harpocrates and Harpocratis being depicted as youths, and being called "Horus the child," may be a direct reference to this physical manifestation of cerebral palsy. The above also illustrates the potential dangers of approaching art from a default nondisabled perspective, and as a blatant example of ableist bias, as signs of impairment can be ignored or missed, effectively erasing these people and gods from the historical narrative, or resulting in their being re-written as nondisabled, when they most likely were not. Our next section will examine artefacts related to Hephaestus, another well-known

god with an impairment, as well as other artefacts related to *talipes equinovarus* (clubfoot).

## 6. Hephaestus and Other Artistic Representations of Clubfoot

Were there other disabilities besides cerebral palsy, other impairments, which seem to have been depicted often in both Hellenistic and Ptolemaic art? They are mobility impairments either caused by war wounds, diseases like polio, or as the result of other congenital conditions like clubfoot. We have already looked at some examples that most likely are representative of cerebral palsy and those of war wounds, however Harpocrates and Horus are not the only gods with physical impairments. The Greek god Hephaestus who continued to be depicted in the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic Period, was described as either congenitally lame, or as having *talipes equinovarus* (bilateral clubfoot).<sup>462</sup> Interestingly, the Roman god Vulcan, their equivalent of Hephaestus was also described as having the impairment as well. Clubfoot results in an inwards curvature of the affected foot, which can hinder an individual's ability to walk. Muscles and tissue in the affected foot are also typically shorter than usual. Clubfoot, especially untreated, can lead to arthritis, an inability to walk due to underdeveloped muscles and the foot being twisted out of position or out of shape, large calluses and/or sores from trying to walk on the foot, and an overall awkward gait.<sup>463</sup> It also is twice as likely to develop in males than females, can be passed down genetically, and can also be associated with spina bifida.<sup>464</sup> Today, it is thought to effect one or two out of every thousand children born each year, so it is likely this was also common disability in the ancient world as well.<sup>465</sup> Artistic depictions of Hephaestus, as well as the physical remains and artistic depictions of

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<sup>462</sup> E.H. Statch. "Clubfoot Through the Centuries," *Historical Aspects of Pediatric Surgery* 20 (1986): 215.

<sup>463</sup> Mayo Foundation for Medical Education and Research, "Diseases and Conditions: Clubfoot," Mayo Clinic, last modified 2021, <https://www.mayoclinic.org/diseases-conditions/clubfoot/symptoms-causes/syc-20350860>

<sup>464</sup> Ibid.

<sup>465</sup> Adnan Ansar, Ahmed Ehsanur Rahman, Lorena Romero *et. al.* "Systematic Review and Meta-analysis of Global Birth Prevalence of Clubfoot: A Study Protocol," *BMJ Open* 8.3 (2018): e019246.

others from earlier time periods, reveal that physical impairment was seemingly not stigmatised in art from this period. They also possibly show that physical impairment was not seen as a negative or source of stigma in either the Hellenistic Period or earlier periods in ancient Egypt and Greece.

### *Hephaestus and Clubfoot*

Hephaestus was the god of craftsmen, carpenters, the forge, metallurgy, metal working, artisans, sculptors, and fire.<sup>466</sup> As we saw earlier, he was associated with the Kabeiri, who had dwarfism. His Egyptian equivalent, whom we also saw earlier was Pataikos, who has dwarfism. Both gods seem to have developed independently of one another thousands of years before this period. However, it is interesting to note that both gods associated with the same professions were disabled. This may be because members of both ancient civilisations recognised some of the physical hazards associated with metallurgy. These hazards included lead and arsenic poisoning, prolonged exposure to toxic gases and fumes, and burns and other potentially serious injuries from hot temperatures.<sup>467</sup>

Hephaestus is mentioned in multiple myths, where he plays an active role in the affairs of the gods, and has multiple origin stories for his impairment. However, while there are multiple stories, his impairment is a constant in all of these stories. One main origin story says that Hephaestus acquired his lameness after being thrown from Mount Olympus trying to defend his mother Hera, from Zeus.<sup>468</sup> Another origin story states that the lameness was congenital as he was born with clubfoot and thrown from Mount Olympus by Hera for being ugly. He was then raised by the

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<sup>466</sup> Euterpe Bazopoulou-Kyrkanidou. "What Makes Hephaestus Lame?" *American Journal of Medical Genetics* 72.2 (1998): 144-145.

<sup>467</sup> Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw. *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 153.

<sup>468</sup> Euterpe Bazopoulou-Kyrkanidou. "What Makes Hephaestus Lame?," 145-148.



goddess Thetis.<sup>469</sup> Interestingly, it is the later writers who seem to favour the origin story where his lameness is acquired rather than being congenital, as Homer was a proponent of the congenital clubbed foot origin story.<sup>470</sup> More interestingly, however, is one of Hephaestus's roles in the *Iliad* as it possibly relates to an artefact that was mentioned earlier in this thesis. In the *Iliad*, there is a passage that is cited by modern day historians as being either Hephaestus's robots or Hephaestus's automatons. The passage is as follows:

On this wise spake they one to the other; but silver-footed Thetis came unto the house of Hephaestus, imperishable, decked with stars, preeminent among the houses of immortals, wrought all of bronze, that the crook-foot god himself had built him. Him she found sweating with toil as he moved to and fro about his bellows in eager haste; for he was fashioning tripods, twenty in all, to stand around the wall of his well-built hall, and golden wheels had he set beneath the base of each that of themselves they might enter the gathering of the gods at his wish and again return to his house, a wonder to behold. Thus much were they fully wrought, that not yet were the cunningly fashioned ears set thereon; these was he making ready, and was forging the rivets. And while he laboured thereat with cunning skill, meanwhile there drew nigh to him the goddess, silver-footed Thetis.<sup>471</sup>

This passage, not only explicitly describes Hephaestus as impaired, but also is important because of the mention of tripods. These independently moving, wheeled tripods are reminiscent of an artefact discussed earlier in the section on cerebral palsy. This artefact was the artistic depiction of the child with the walker. This walker had three wheels, hence possibly making the walker a tripod. If this is the case, then Hephaestus's automatons become wheeled-walkers, not automatons. Another thing of note from this passage is the description of Thetis. As mentioned earlier, Thetis

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<sup>469</sup> Ibid., 145-148.

<sup>470</sup> Ibid., 145-148.

<sup>471</sup> Homer. *The Iliad*. A. T. Murray, trans. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), Perseus Digital Library, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0134%3Abook%3D18%3Acard%3D360>

was in some mythological traditions, Hephaestus's caretaker after he was thrown from Olympus. She was also the mother of Achilles. Therefore, her description here, and in other myths as "silver-footed," is interesting, especially since the other gods were not commonly referred to in this manner. It is unknown if these silver-feet were perhaps artificial ones made by Hephaestus, or if she had special shoes that Hephaestus made her that cause her to be described thusly. It also interesting to note that Achilles's only weak spot was said to be his ankle, again referencing feet, especially since Hephaestus's own impairment is linked to his feet. It should also be noted that Hephaestus was responsible for creating things of value for all the other Olympian gods, making all the Olympian gods dependent upon him and his services, thereby making him perhaps the most important Olympian god, and the one who seemingly held the power for the Olympians- nothing happened without his involvement in some fashion. The nondisabled Olympians were, in fact, dependent upon a disabled god.

#### *Prior Historical Context of Clubfoot*

Historically, in ancient Egypt and Greece, there are also a few other examples of clubfoot that date back as early as 11<sup>th</sup> dynasty Egypt. One individual who was mentioned prior in the section on cerebral palsy, who is also believed to have had clubfoot is the Pharaoh Siptah.<sup>472</sup> Another pharaoh who is now believed to have had clubfoot in addition to other disabling conditions is the Pharaoh Tutankhamun.<sup>473</sup> There is also an example of a middle-aged male mummy from the Dakhleh Oasis in Egypt who had clubbed foot. Unlike Tutankhamun or Siptah, he possibly may have

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<sup>472</sup> E.H. Stratch. "Clubfoot Through the Centuries," *Historical Aspects of Pediatric Surgery* 20 (1986): 215.

<sup>473</sup> Zahi Hawass, Yehia Z. Gad, Somaia Ismail, *et al.* "Ancestry and Pathology in King Tutankhamun's Family," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 303 (2010): 638-647.

self-medicated with alcohol as evidenced from cirrhosis of his liver.<sup>474</sup> He may have been unable to afford the high-quality medicines containing opium that the pharaohs and very elite had access to. There is also an example dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> dynasty tomb of viziers Khety and Baqt (a father and son duo), which depicts a male servant with clubfoot, in addition to other servants, one of whom has dwarfism. They are bringing a pair of sandals to the tomb owners. An inscription above the man with clubfoot is *dnb*, which translates to crooked, or the crooked one.<sup>475</sup> While this inscription at first glance may appear to be derogatory, it may actually be just a nickname this man was given by the people he served, or a statement of fact about the physical impairment. He was included in artistic depictions of the tomb in the same scenes as other servants. His presence in the tomb also seems to indicate that Khety and Baqt wanted him with them in the afterlife, something that would not have occurred if he was being excluded or stigmatised in ancient Egyptian society. There are also representations of clubbed feet in tomb drawings at Deshasha and in sculptures of two women from the Amarna Period, thought to also possibly have had dwarfism.<sup>476</sup> None of these depictions appears to be stigmatising.

The Greek physician Hippocrates also mentions clubfoot in his work written circa 400 BCE, and a treatment for it, which is still in use to this day.<sup>477</sup> The Hippocratic core states:

There are some congenital displacements which, if they are slight, are capable of being brought back to their normal position. Congenital club-foot is for the most part curable if the dislocations are not very great or the child is not too far advanced in growth. It is best to treat such cases as

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<sup>474</sup> Michael R. Zimmerman, and Arthur C. Aufderheide. "Seven Mummies of the Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt: Seventeen Diagnoses," *Paleopathology Newsletter* 150 (2010): 18-19.

<sup>475</sup> Veronique Dasen. *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 32-33.

<sup>476</sup> Joyce Filer. *Disease*. (Austin: First University of Texas Press, 1995), 64.

<sup>477</sup> James Longrigg. *Greek Medicine from the Heroic to the Hellenistic: A Source Book*. (New York: Routledge, 1998), 182.

soon as possible before there occurs any great deficiency in the bones of the foot and a corresponding deficiency in the flesh of the leg. Now there is not one but many kinds of club-foot; in most cases there is not complete disarticulation, but deformities are due to the habitual contraction of the foot. In the course of treatment attention must be paid to the following factors: to push back and straighten the bone of the leg at the ankle inwards from without and make counter-pressure outwards upon the external part of the heel so as to bring together the bones projecting at the middle and side of the foot; again, bend, or rather force round, all the toes together, including the big toe. Dress with *cerate* [a salve] well mixed with resin and with not a few pads and soft cloths of linen - but without too much pressure; make the turns of the bandage correspond with the manual correction of the foot so that there is rather a slight discernible inclination towards splay-footedness. A sole should be made of not too stiff leather or lead and this should be bound on, not in immediate contact with the skin, but just when you are going to put on the last dressings.<sup>478</sup>

The treatment was wrapping the feet in bandages in the correct positioning for extended periods of time in an effort to straighten the foot, acting as a kind of orthosis<sup>479</sup> Also interestingly, the treatment involved either lead, or leather, making this utilise a profession that was under Hephaestus's purview as a god. Hippocrates also recognised that some cases of clubfoot were congenital, while others are acquired during infancy.<sup>480</sup> A further possible earlier Greek example of clubfoot, or other physical lower limb disability, is the Spartan King Agesilaus II, who ruled circa 398-360 BCE. He was born with one leg described as being shorter than the other, and was also described as of shorter stature.<sup>481</sup> Agesilaus II became king in his forties, and died in his eighties, and is thought to have been educated in the traditional Spartan education system, which consisted of military and physical training.<sup>482</sup> While his impairment was used as an argument against his succession, ultimately it did not prevent him from becoming king, unlike his nephew who was

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<sup>478</sup> Ibid., 182.

<sup>479</sup> Ibid., 182.

<sup>480</sup> Ibid., 182.

<sup>481</sup> Martha L. Rose. *The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 13, 44.

<sup>482</sup> Ibid., 13, 44.

disqualified for supposedly being illegitimate.<sup>483</sup> Agesilaus II's impairment also did not prevent him from taking part in battle, as he led several military campaigns to Asia Minor and Egypt, and also fought in the Corinthian War.<sup>484</sup> Agesilaus II also seemed to have been viewed as both competent and attractive by both Spartans and Greek society, as he had a longstanding romantic partner of approximately thirty years in the general Lysander, and the ancient historian Xenophon is believed to have been favourably biased towards Agesilaus II in his biography of him.<sup>485</sup> A story told by Plutarch, which may be anecdotal, connected to Agesilaus II mentions a Spartan actor named Damonides, who had the sandals designed for his misshapen feet stolen, and is reported to have responded by wishing that they fit the thief.<sup>486</sup> This story is later repeated in Aristodemus who has changed the name, ethnicity, profession, and venue of the incident. In his version, the musician named Dorion from Delphi had his sandal that was designed for his clubfoot stolen while he was at a symposium.<sup>487</sup> While possibly anecdotal, this story attests to other disabled Spartans (and possibly other Greeks) besides Agesilaus II, shows that they were also employed in society, had accommodations made to help navigate their disability (custom sandals), and allowed into societal events.

#### *Harpalus and Clubfoot*

Another historical case of possible clubfoot, also mentioned in an earlier chapter, is Alexander the Great's friend Harpalus.<sup>488</sup> Given what we know about

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<sup>483</sup> Ibid., 13, 44.

<sup>484</sup> Ibid., 13, 44.

<sup>485</sup> James Romm. *The Sacred Band*. (New York: Scribner, 2021), 38-42, 72-73; Plutarch. *Agesilaus*. 2.3.

<sup>486</sup> David Sansone. "Agesilaus and the Case of the Lame Dancer," *Illinois Classical Studies* 37 (2012): 75-96.

<sup>487</sup> Ibid., 75-96.

<sup>488</sup> Arrian, *The Landmark Arrian: The Campaigns of Alexander*. trans. Pamela Mensch & edited by James Romm (New York: Pantheon Books, 2010), 110; F.S. Naiden. *Soldier, Priest, and God: A Life of Alexander the Great*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 132.

medical treatments available at the time and Harpalus's family's economic and social status, his case presents us with an interesting enigma, which may actually tell us a great deal about how impairment was viewed in the ancient world. In Harpalus's case, his family was well off economically and socially, with Philip II, Alexander the Great's father, being Harpalus's father's brother-in-law, making Harpalus cousins with Alexander the Great.<sup>489</sup> This meant that the family would have been able to afford treatment for Harpalus's disability, and potentially would have had access to court physicians, especially since Harpalus was attending school with Alexander. The condition was either so severe that treatment did not work, or that, for whatever reason, the family chose not to have Harpalus's condition treated. It may have been seen as a source of pride if it had been passed down genetically, but unfortunately we do not know enough about other members of his family to know if this was the case. If they chose not to have it treated, it raises the possibility that it may have been seen as either a means to an end, it having allowed Harpalus to be exempt from military service, or that the impairment was not seen as a socially stigmatising thing.

#### *Artistic Representations of Clubfoot*

Prior to the Hellenistic Period, Hephaestus is shown with clubfoot in some artistic depictions. This includes several vase paintings and sculptural depictions.<sup>490</sup> In these portrayals, Hephaestus is sometimes shown riding a horse/donkey, or sitting down with a crutch. He is typically shown included amongst other gods and people, and from these depictions there does not seem to be any evidence of social exclusion. He is also typically, but not always, shown with noticeably clubbed feet,

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<sup>489</sup> F.S. Naiden. *Soldier, Priest, and God: A Life of Alexander the Great*, 132.

<sup>490</sup> Veronique Dasen. *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, 194-200; Debby Sneed. "The Architecture of Access: Ramps at Ancient Greek Healing Sanctuaries," *Antiquity* (2020): 4,6.

where the feet are rotated so that they appear to be facing backwards. It should be noted that in these instances both the horse/donkey and crutch function as mobility accommodations for his disability.



Figure 5.1. *Emaciated Youth with Clubfoot and Possible Lead Poisoning.*

There is one possible case of clubfoot present in a statue of a male youth that was on display as part of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's exhibition *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World, 2016* (Figure 5.1).<sup>491</sup> The sculpture depicts an emaciated looking youth sitting on a stool. He holds onto the stool with his right hand, is partially dressed in a long *exomis* (tunic), and his arm is elevated with his left hand hanging limply. On his right foot he appears to be wearing some kind of shoe, which corrects the relation between his ankle and toes, and may actually be one of the prescribed treatments by Hippocrates for clubfoot. The youth's symptoms

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<sup>491</sup> Carlos A. Picon and Sean Hemingway. *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World, Exhibition Catalogue*. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), 163.

also seem to suggest lead poisoning, as symptoms can include tingling in the hands and feet, muscle weakness, pain, nausea, vomiting, and diarrhoea which would have contributed to his emaciated appearance.<sup>492</sup> Pathologist Dr. Horton A. Johnson disagrees with the diagnosis of clubfoot, but other scholars have remarked on it, and there seems to be enough evidence to suggest that it is plausible.<sup>493</sup> The piece is also inscribed in Greek with the name Eudamidas and the partial inscription of Perdik, which may be a partial inscription of the name Perdikkas.<sup>494</sup> This piece is interesting in terms of disability representation because it not only shows a possible medical treatment for clubfoot, but it also may be representative of the hazardous effects of the professions associated with the god Hephaestus.



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<sup>492</sup> Ibid., 163.

<sup>493</sup> Ibid. 163.

<sup>494</sup> Ibid. 163.



Figure 5.64. *Hephaestus Coin.*

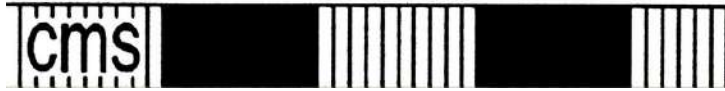


Figure 5.65. *Hephaestus Coin.*



Figure 5.27. *Hephaestus Coin.*



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Figure 5.104. *Hephaestus Coin*.

Like the Kabeiri, Hephaestus was depicted on coins throughout the course of the Hellenistic Period. These copper coins usually included bust portraits of Hephaestus complete with his metalworking tongs, and featured other major deities or important symbols on the opposite side of the coin (Figures 5.2 -5.98, 5.104).<sup>495</sup>

<sup>495</sup> *Coin* (1906,1103.300), Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 6.35 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1906-1103-300](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1906-1103-300); *Coin* (1955,1107.44), Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.25 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1955-1107-44](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1955-1107-44); *Coin* (1919,0213.1304), Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 5.64 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1919-0213-1304](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1919-0213-1304); *Coin* (1933,1107.8), Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.01 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1933-1107-8](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1933-1107-8); *Coin* (1933,1107.9), Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.29 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1933-1107-9](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1933-1107-9); *Coin* (1937,0508.72.A), Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.19 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1937-0508-72-A](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1937-0508-72-A); *Coin* (EH,p3.3.Luc), Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 5.94 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_EH-p3-3-Luc](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_EH-p3-3-Luc); *Coin* (1908,1111.140), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 1.54 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1908-1111-140](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1908-1111-140); *Coin* (1998,0202.57), Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 9.25 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1998-0202-57](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1998-0202-57); *Coin* (RPK,Gre.14), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 11.93 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_RPK-Gre-14](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_RPK-Gre-14); *Coin* (1867,1109.98), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 10.74 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1867-1109-98](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1867-1109-98); *Coin* (1905,0310.1), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 13.10 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1905-0310-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1905-0310-1)

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1; *Coin* (RPK,Gre.15), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 12.49 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_RPK-Gre-15](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_RPK-Gre-15); *Coin* (1933,1107.12), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 9.59 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1933-1107-12](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1933-1107-12); *Coin* (1955,1107.46), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.77 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1955-1107-46](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1955-1107-46); *Coin* (2002,0102.1335), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.84 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1335](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1335); *Coin* (1950,1006.272), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.72 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1950-1006-272](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1950-1006-272); *Coin* (1843,0116.227), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.85 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1843-0116-227](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1843-0116-227); *Coin* (R.7894), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.49 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_R-7894](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-7894); *Coin* (2002,0102.1321), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.81 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1321](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1321); *Coin* (1843,0116.225), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.76 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1843-0116-225](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1843-0116-225); *Coin* (1843,0116.222), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.76 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1843-0116-222](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1843-0116-222); *Coin* (R1956,0409.33), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.86 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_R1956-0409-33](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R1956-0409-33); *Coin* (2002,0102.1336), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.87 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1336](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1336); *Coin* (2002,0102.1330), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.81 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1330](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1330); *Coin* (2002,0102.1324), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.47 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1324](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1324); *Coin* (B.8105), Roman, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE- 4<sup>th</sup> Century CE, Lead, W: 3.47 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_B-8105](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_B-8105); *Coin* (RPK,Gre.17), Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy, W: 8.35 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_RPK-Gre-17](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_RPK-Gre-17); *Coin* (EH,p3.1.Luc), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy, W: 8.30 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_EH-p3-1-Luc](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_EH-p3-1-Luc); *Coin* (1866,1201.3956), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy, W: 9.43 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1866-1201-3956](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1866-1201-3956); *Coin* (G.2989), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy, W: 10.07 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_G-2989](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_G-2989); *Coin* (1928,1004.95), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy, W: 7.67 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1928-1004-95](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1928-1004-95); *Coin* (2002,0102.1323), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.82 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1323](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1323); *Coin* (R.7896), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.89 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_R-7896](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-7896); *Coin* (2002,0102.1331), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.91 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1331](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1331); *Coin* (2002,0102.1332), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.82 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1332](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1332); *Coin* (1901,0407.71), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.77 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1901-0407-71](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1901-0407-71); *Coin* (2002,0102.1329), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.74 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1329](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1329); *Coin* (1843,0116.226), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.91 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1843-0116-226](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1843-0116-226); *Coin* (1867,0101.1145), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.84 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1867-0101-1145](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1867-0101-1145); *Coin* (2002,0102.1326), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.92 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1326](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1326); *Coin* (R.7895), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.80 g, London, British Museum,

accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_R-7895](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-7895); *Coin* (1901,0407.72), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.95 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1901-0407-72](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1901-0407-72); *Coin* (1843,0116.223), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.87 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1843-0116-223](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1843-0116-223); *Coin* (2002,0102.1322), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.95 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1322](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1322); ; *Coin* (2002,0102.1328), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.95 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1328](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1328); *Coin* (1871,0506.2), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.91 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1871-0506-2](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1871-0506-2); *Coin* (2002,0102.1320), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.86 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1320](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1320); ; *Coin* (1950,1006.273), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.96 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1950-1006-273](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1950-1006-273); *Coin* (2002,0102.1327), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.97 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1327](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1327); *Coin* (2002,0102.1325), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.94 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1325](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1325); *Coin* (1843,0116.229), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.92 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1843-0116-229](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1843-0116-229); *Coin* (1843,0116.224), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.68 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1843-0116-224](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1843-0116-224); *Coin* (1843,0116.228), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.19 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1843-0116-228](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1843-0116-228); ; *Coin* (1867,0101.1144), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.85 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1867-0101-1144](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1867-0101-1144); *Coin* (2002,0102.1334), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.83 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1334](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1334); *Coin* (2002,0102.1333), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.88 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1333](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1333); *Coin* (R.7814), Roman, 112-111 BC, Silver, W: 3.92 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_R-7814](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-7814); *Coin* (1901,0407.81), Roman, 112-111 BC, Silver, W: 3.93 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1901-0407-81](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1901-0407-81); *Coin* (2002,0102.1128), Roman, 112-111 BC, Silver, W: 3.91 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1128](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1128); *Coin* (1867,0101.29), Greek, 268-225 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 6.90 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1867-0101-29](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1867-0101-29); *Coin* (1869,1001.11), Greek, 268-225 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 6.36 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1869-1001-11](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1869-1001-11); *Coin* (1867,0101.1616), Roman, 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Silver, W: 3.19 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1867-0101-1616](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1867-0101-1616); *Coin* (2013,4030.173), Greek, 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 8.50 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2013-4030-173](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2013-4030-173); *Coin* (2013,4030.9), Greek, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.31 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2013-4030-9](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2013-4030-9); *Coin* (R.7816), Roman, 112-111 BC, Silver, W: 3.89 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_R-7816](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-7816); *Coin* (2002,0102.1129), Roman, 112-111 BC, Silver, W: 3.89 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2002-0102-1129](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-1129); *Coin* (R.7815), Roman, 112-111 BC, Silver, W: 3.87 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_R-7815](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-7815); *Coin* (1866,1201.4165), Roman, 112-111 BC, Silver, W: 3.71 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1866-1201-4165](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1866-1201-4165); *Coin* (1929,0709.2), Roman, 112-111 BC, Silver, W: 3.88 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1929-0709-2](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1929-0709-2); *Coin* (1933,1107.7), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 8.81 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1933-1107-7](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1933-1107-7); *Coin*

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(1914,0905.201), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 8.80 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1914-0905-201](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1914-0905-201); *Coin* (1847,0619.1), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 3.39 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1847-0619-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1847-0619-1); *Coin* (EH,p3.5.Luc), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 4.17 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_EH-p3-5-Luc](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_EH-p3-5-Luc); *Coin* (EH,p5.4.Urs), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 4.53 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_EH-p5-4-Urs](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_EH-p5-4-Urs); *Coin* (1844,0115.165), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 4.24 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1844-0115-165](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1844-0115-165); *Coin* (1866,1201.4253), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 2.55 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1866-1201-4253](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1866-1201-4253); *Coin* (1933,1107.11), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 10.05 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1933-1107-11](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1933-1107-11); *Coin* (1906,1103.299), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 9.06 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1906-1103-299](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1906-1103-299); *Coin* (1928,0817.8), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 9.10 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1928-0817-8](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1928-0817-8); *Coin* (DEV.5), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.97 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_DEV-5](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_DEV-5); *Coin* (1908,1111.139), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 8.78 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1908-1111-139](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1908-1111-139); *Coin* (1844,0115.166), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 2.34 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1844-0115-166](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1844-0115-166); *Coin* (1928,1004.96), Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 6.38 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1928-1004-96](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1928-1004-96); *Coin* (1955,1107.45), Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.25 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1955-1107-45](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1955-1107-45); *Coin* (1933,1107.10), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 13.78 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1933-1107-10](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1933-1107-10); *Coin* (HPB,p14.16), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 1.91 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_HPB-p14-16](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_HPB-p14-16); *Coin* (1928,0817.9), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 8.90 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1928-0817-9](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1928-0817-9); *Coin* (EH,p3.2.Luc), Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.06 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_EH-p3-2-Luc](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_EH-p3-2-Luc); *Coin* (1906,1103.298) Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 10.43 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1906-1103-298](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1906-1103-298); *Coin* (RPK,Gre.16) Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 9.10 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_RPK-Gre-16](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_RPK-Gre-16); *Coin* (1867,1109.99) Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 5.72 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1867-1109-99](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1867-1109-99); *Coin* (G.2987) Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 6.96 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_G-2987](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_G-2987); *Coin* (1908,1111.138) Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.13 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1908-1111-138](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1908-1111-138); *Coin* (1919,0213.1303) Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 13.21 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1919-0213-1303](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1919-0213-1303); *Coin* (1908,1111.141) Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 4.70 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1908-1111-141](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1908-1111-141); *Coin* (1937,0508.72) Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 3.86 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1937-0508-72](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1937-0508-72); *Coin* (1867,0101.26) Greek, 250-200 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 9.58 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1867-0101-26](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1867-0101-26)

While they were not geographically specific to Ptolemaic Egypt, the following examples show the prevalence and large distribution of disabled gods within the larger Hellenistic world. The gods included on the opposite sides of the coin include Helios, a sun god, Apollo, also a sun god, and god of healing and music, and Zeus, king of the gods, driving a racing chariot. Important symbols and other figures that appear include an eight-pointed star, a cluster of six pellets, a temple façade, an eagle with lightning bolt (symbols of Zeus/Jupiter), a warrior advancing with sword

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and shield, seated city guardian deities and a dog and bust of Hephaestus with his tongs, and metalworking tongs and a shield. Some of the coins also featured inscriptions either naming the cities they were from (ΛΙΠΑΡΑΙΟΝ [of the people of Lipara, located in modern day Sicily], MLK' [Malaka, located in modern day Spain]) or featuring other monograms, which show that these coins were in widespread use throughout the ancient world during this period. It is important to note that on all of these, with one exception (the coins featuring Apollo on the obverse and the city guardians, dog, and bust of Hephaestus on the reverse), Hephaestus appears on the obverse, while the other gods and symbols appear on the reverse of the coins, meaning Hephaestus was placed in the more important position, even when he was not the highest-ranking god depicted on the coin. When Hephaestus appears on the obverse, he is typically depicted as a bust, wearing a conical cap, and his metalworking tongs depicted alongside of him. Therefore, his impairment on these coins is not obvious to the viewer, but would have been understood from the context of who he was as a god. Figure 5.64 is different from most of these as it features Hephaestus on the obverse seated on a stool.<sup>496</sup> Unfortunately, this specific coin is badly deteriorated, so nothing else survives from the obverse of the coin, but it appears that it does feature Hephaestus with his left foot as a clubfoot, meaning this is an explicit non-stigmatizing depiction of Hephaestus as disabled. The stool itself can also potentially be viewed as an accommodation for his impairment, as he is depicted as seated rather than standing.

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<sup>496</sup> *Coin* (2013,4030.173), Greek, 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 8.50 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_2013-4030-173](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2013-4030-173)



Figure 5.101. *Hephaestus*.

Hephaestus was also depicted in sculpture (Figures 5.99 – 5.102).<sup>497</sup> These statues date within the Hellenistic Period, or are copies of Hellenistic sculptures and are identified as being representations of Hephaestus/Vulcan by the British Museum. This once again highlights the difficulties expressed in the introduction with non-standardised labelling and dating systems in museum catalogues as different museums could ostensibly classify/date these objects differently. These statues were often in a more Greek looking style, and therefore more realistic looking. Interestingly, they seem to depict Hephaestus as nondisabled at first glance.

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<sup>497</sup> *Figure* (1824,0493.2), Roman copy of Greek Original, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE, Bronze, H: 15.24 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1824-0493-2](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1824-0493-2); *Figure* (1868,0520.57), Greek, 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC, Bronze, H: 22.86 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1868-0520-57](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1868-0520-57); *Figure* (1914,1117.1), Greek, 400-330 BC, Bronze, H: 14 cm, W: 5.50 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1914-1117-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1914-1117-1); *Plug* (1925,1120.10), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta, H: 9.60 cm, London, British Museum Accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1925-1120-10](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1925-1120-10)



However, if one looks closer they do seem to show some signs of impairment. Figures 5.99 –457, all bronzes, show Hephaestus clothed in an *exomis* (tunic) in a standing pose, that appears at first glance to be the standard *contrapposto* pose commonly seen in Greek and Roman statues. In each of these it also appears that he would have been holding objects which unfortunately no longer survive. He is also depicted with a full beard, curly hair, and a conical cap. Caps of this style (πίλος) were typically worn by workmen and sailors in the ancient world, as they were made of felt or boiled wool and provided some protection against heat and fire.<sup>498</sup> Figures 5.100 and 5.101 depict him barefoot, but in 5.99 he is wearing boots. However, if the viewer looks closely at the positioning of legs and feet, especially in comparison to other Greek bronzes from both the Hellenistic Period and Classical Greece such as the *Riace Warriors* and the *Hellenistic Prince*, they do appear to have marginal differences. In both Figures 5.100 and 5.101, Hephaestus's left leg and musculature is at an odd angle, and he appears to almost have an extra muscle on top of his inner back calf muscles resulting in both legs looking misshapen, in positioning that is sometimes seen in those who have neuromuscular disabilities like cerebral palsy. Additionally, on Figure 5.101, Hephaestus appears to be dragging his right leg, with it slightly turned inwards, while his foot is turned outwards slightly and not quite touching the ground. Therefore, it seems that his impairment, while not obvious at first glance is depicted in these sculptures. The Romans most likely copied the sculpture here as a continuation of copying other Greek statues, but this shows a continued interest in Greek religion and culture even after the end of the Hellenistic Period.

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<sup>498</sup> Ernst Guhl and Wilhelm Koner. *The Greeks: Their Life and Customs* (Old Saybrook: Konecky & Konecky, 2009), 170.



Figure 5.102. *Hephaestus*.

Another sculpture of Hephaestus is a plug that seems to have been used for something with a fire source such as a kiln (Figure 5.102).<sup>499</sup> It features a bust of Hephaestus and rather than portraying him as the handsome young man seen in the previously discussed sculptures, it depicts him as a wrinkled older looking bearded man, who is wearing a conical cap. It may be that Hephaestus appears to be aged here because of the function of the object, which was related to craftmaking/a trade. Since this portrait is a bust, there does not seem to be any evidence of disability portrayal, but this may have been expected to have been implicitly understood by the viewer.

<sup>499</sup> *Plug* (1925,1120.10), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta, H: 9.60 cm, London, British Museum Accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1925-1120-10](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1925-1120-10)



Figure 5.103. *Engraved Gem Featuring Olympian Gods.*

A final depiction of Hephaestus is an engraved gem (Figure 5.103).<sup>500</sup> While this is from later in time, this was found in Alexandria, Egypt, and uses Greek and not Latin for the inscription, showing how strongly the Hellenistic culture continued to

<sup>500</sup> Gem (1874,0510.1), Roman Imperial/Found in Alexandria, Egypt, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE, Engraved Sard, L: 2.90 cm x W: 2.30 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1874-0510-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1874-0510-1)

prevail in the ancient world. The engraving depicts an assembly of the Olympian gods, and in the centre is the Greek inscription ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΘΕΩΝ ΕΝ ΟΛΝ? Π?, which might translate roughly to “temple of all gods...”. Hephaestus is depicted in this scene standing and addressing Zeus. He’s wearing his conical hat, which identifies him. Hephaestus does not appear to have any mobility aids, and frustratingly his legs are not depicted clearly in this image. Instead, they blend in with some of Apollo’s clothing and lyre, as Apollo is depicted sitting with his lyre to the lower right of Hephaestus. Therefore, there is no clear indication of whether his impairment is depicted visibly or not. However, this particular artefact is significant because it shows Hephaestus as seemingly an equal among the Olympians. He is depicted as roughly the same size as everyone else, with everyone else, and in a position of authority, as he is the one shown addressing Zeus, who is the king of the gods.

### *Conclusions*

Clubfoot, like other instances of physical disability, seems to have been a common occurrence in the ancient world, which effected people from multiple social classes. To this end it seems to have been normalised. Interestingly, the Greeks seem to have developed successful medical treatments for it, while the Egyptians did not. This could be indicative of differences in opinion surrounding disability between the two ancient civilisations. The Egyptians many not have seen the condition as something that needed to be fixed, and instead as a natural part of human variation, as seems to be indicated by both high status and low-ranking members of their society who are known to have had it. The fact that this is known to have a genetic factor, may lend credence to this. What is also interesting about this difference is the Greeks depicted the disability mythologically in their god Hephaestus, and never

thought to have his condition fixed in the mythological traditions. The depiction of clubfoot, and those who are known to have had this disability in art and coinage from a large geographic area in the Hellenistic/Ptolemaic Period is also interesting since it reveals again those people and gods with clubfoot were not depicted in a stigmatising way, and in some instances were seen as the more important individuals based on their placement on these objects. It also shows the vastness of the influence of Hellenistic culture. The presence of Hephaestus's mobility aids also reveals that accommodation was made for this disability in the ancient world. Interestingly, once again depictions do not seem to have changed much, if at all, over the course of the period into the later Roman Period. Agesilaus II also shows that there were other things that effected a person's social status that were seen as more disqualifying to hold positions of power in society than impairment. His existence, as well as Plutarch's story about the disabled Spartan actor, also shows that impairment was not necessarily seen as a negative, and should make us question the validity of reports of infanticide of disabled individuals, especially among the Spartans, in ancient Greece. Agesilaus II would not have been seen as an attractive, competent individual by members of both Greek and Spartan society, much less would he or the others have been allowed to live, if infanticide and eugenics had been actively practiced in Spartan and Greek society. Hephaestus, similarly would not have been embraced by the Greeks as a god, and given the most important role of sustaining all the other gods if this were the case. It seems prior conclusions about infanticide in Greece are yet another manifestation of ableist biases by more modern scholars, rather than examining what the evidence is telling us. Our next section will examine evidence for other impairments in the Hellenistic world.

## **7. Pott's Disease and Artistic Representations of Spinal & Other Disabilities**

Were there artistic depictions of other physical disabilities besides clubfoot and other mobility impairments also present in both Hellenistic and Ptolemaic Art? This section will cover some of these other disabilities, including spinal impairments, and the artistic depictions of them. The chapter will start with artistic depictions in Egypt of both royalty and elite status people as well as the menial class that occurred prior to the Ptolemaic Period, and then will move on to artistic representations of people from menial classes dating to the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic Period. The majority of these objects seem to be presented without stigma, except for a small subset of objects which may actually be representative of negative caricatures of certain professions or racial identities. In these instances, it seems the negativity towards those professions or races supersedes any disability which is depicted. Additionally, ableist and disablist biases have affected past scholarly interpretations of some of this material.

### *Prior Historical Context of Disability*

There were many conditions which could cause disabilities relating to the spine. Some of these conditions are congenital such as scoliosis and kyphosis, others are acquired such as spinal impairment as caused by Pott's disease, or other spinal impairment as caused by the occupational hazards of certain professions. Kyphosis is caused by the curvature of the thoracic vertebrae located in the upper back, and results in a frontwards curvature. Scoliosis also involves vertebrae curvature but instead typically results in an S or C shaped curvature, and can involve any vertebrae along the spine. Untreated scoliosis can result in difficulty breathing and lung infections if the lungs are pressed against the rib cage, arthritis of the spine, kyphosis, and if the heart is pressed against the rib cage in the most extreme

instances, heart failure.<sup>501</sup> This curvature in both instances can be congenital but can also occur later in life as a result of tuberculosis (Pott's disease), arthritis, vertebrae fractures, nutritional deficiencies, or normal aging.<sup>502</sup> Spina bifida is a condition in which the spine does not fully form, resulting in a gap in the spine.<sup>503</sup> Figures 6.2 – 6.5, 6.7, 6.13-6.14, and 6.18-6.19 are representative of individuals with spinal disabilities.<sup>504</sup> Historically in ancient Egypt and Greece, examples prior to the Ptolemaic Period of art depicting those who appear to have either scoliosis or spina bifida include: a wooden figure from the tomb of Merti circa the Old Kingdom, 5th dynasty; a stela of the Vizier Neferrenpet circa the New Kingdom, the 19th dynasty; and a stela of Djemi circa the First Intermediate Period from either the 9th or 10th dynasty.<sup>505</sup> All of these are found at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The statue from the tomb of Merti depicts Merti wearing a wig in a seated position similar to that of the stone statues from the period. However, Merti has an extremely obvious curvature of his upper body, suggesting that the artist went to great lengths to depict this as accurately as possible even in a medium as difficult as wood. On the stela of Vizier Neferrenpet, Neferrenpet is depicted making offerings to the god Ptah. Neferrenpet also appears to have a slight curvature of the spine, which the artist may have tried to cover using the full-length, high-waist kilts of the period.<sup>506</sup> This is the only example found of a disability being partially covered by the artist, but that may just be because of the style of clothes from the period. New Kingdom clothing for upper-class men consisted of full length high-waisted kilts, and multiple layers of

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<sup>501</sup> Joyce Filer. *Disease*. (Austin: First University of Texas Press, 1995), 61-62.

<sup>502</sup> *Ibid.*, 61-62.

<sup>503</sup> *Ibid.*, 61-62.

<sup>504</sup> *Ibid.*, 61-62.

<sup>505</sup> Alexandra F. Morris, "Let the Artifacts Speak: A Look at the Physically Disabled of Ancient Egypt," (MA Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2014): 44-46.

<sup>506</sup> *Ibid.*, 44-46.

linen clothing designed to conceal the genital area.<sup>507</sup> Neferrenpet looks to also have an unusually large head and somewhat misshapen ears, suggesting that there might have been a secondary condition as well. Neferrenpet achieved a high status in society as the king's vizier and priest under Ramses II. The stela of Djemi depicts Djemi and his wife and contains an autobiographical text.<sup>508</sup> Djemi's wife places her arms around his waist as he strides forward holding a staff. In this particular example, it is Djemi's wife who appears to have a curvature of the spine.

Earlier examples of another physical disability, which also affects the spine is kyphosis. There are numerous examples of kyphosis in Egyptian art. Among the most famous examples are clay Predynastic figures of seated men with kyphotic curved spines, who are often shown holding pots.<sup>509</sup> Some of these figures were found in clay pots. It is unclear whether in this particular instance the kyphosis was caused by a congenital disability, aging, or from years of hard labour. At any rate, the Egyptians thought that it was important enough for them to depict in their art. Another Predynastic wooden figure currently in the Brussels Museum depicts a standing man and shows an angular kyphosis of the spine. An Old Kingdom stone statue found in the Cairo Museum depicts a standing man with a pronounced kyphotic curvature of his spine.<sup>510</sup> In addition, a 19th dynasty relief from the *Tomb of Ipwy* depicts gardeners in a gardening scene.<sup>511</sup> The gardener second from the right is shown watering plants, and has a definite kyphotic curvature of his back.

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<sup>507</sup> Gay Robins. "Male Bodies and the Construction of Masculinity in New Kingdom Art," In *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A Fazzini*, edited by Sue D'Auria. (New York: Brill, 2007), 209-210.

<sup>508</sup> *Ibid.*, 44-46.

<sup>509</sup> Joyce Filer. *Disease*. (Austin: First University of Texas Press, 1995), 30.

<sup>510</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>511</sup> Alexandra F. Morris, "Let the Artifacts Speak: A Look at the Physically Disabled of Ancient Egypt," (MA Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2014): 48.



A final and somewhat controversial example of someone who is believed to possibly have had a form of kyphosis—among other debated medical conditions such as steatopygia (a genetically linked condition found primarily in the Khonsian and Bantu people that results in a high fat accumulation around the buttocks and front of the thighs)—is a depiction of the Queen of Punt.<sup>512</sup> Punt's location is still highly debated today. This depiction is found on Pharaoh Hatshepsut's mortuary temple in Deir el-Bahari from the 18th dynasty. The Queen of Punt is depicted standing beside her husband, followed by a small donkey, and again on the relief flanked by her attendants. There is a definite curvature of her spine, and she also appears to be morbidly obese, a condition possibly related to the steatopygia. This example shows that the Egyptians were aware of there being physically disabled people in other civilizations, and that they were not the only civilized society who had those who were different. However, the Egyptians' sense of tolerance and acceptance here is highly questionable. Placed above the donkey is a caption that roughly translates to, "the donkey that had to carry the queen," and this image and caption has been found repeated on several rough sketches, suggesting that while perhaps the original art and caption may have been statements of fact, at least the common Egyptians found this image humorous.<sup>513</sup> However, because the Egyptians seemed so tolerant of those with physical disabilities within their own society it seems likely that the only reason it was deemed acceptable to poke fun at the queen was because she was foreign, and therefore lesser than the Egyptians. The Egyptians viewed everyone who was not native Egyptian as vastly inferior to themselves, with themselves being both the centre of the universe and a

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<sup>512</sup> Abeer El-Shahawy. *The Egyptian Museum in Cairo*. (New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 162.

<sup>513</sup> Joyce Filer. *Disease*. (Austin: First University of Texas Press, 1995), 30-31.

manifestation of *Ma'at*, and those foreign populations as being on the universe's periphery and manifestations of *Set*.<sup>514</sup> Gender may also be a factor here, but because this was made at the time of Hatshepsut's reign on her official art for her mortuary chapel (Hatshepsut also being a woman and one of several female rulers in Egypt's history), it seems less likely. This image also does not appear to be exaggerated or a caricature in any other way because, as with themselves, the Egyptians tried to depict foreigners as accurately as possible wherever it was possible to distinguish between different groups of people in Egyptian art. It has been suggested by some Egyptologists that the queen's daughter depicted following behind the queen with the queen's sons, also may have steatophygia, albeit a less severe case.<sup>515</sup> There is however no text that directly references the daughter of the queen. This shows that the Egyptians were depicting things as realistically as they could. Scholars such as Cornelius have even remarked that the depiction of Punt's people on Hatshepsut's mortuary temple can, "perhaps be described as some of the earliest examples of ethnography."<sup>516</sup> Ancient Egyptians therefore recognised that those with disabilities existed outside of Egyptian society as well. It also shows that they were not necessarily making fun of the queen because of her condition, but rather may have been poking fun because of her status as a high-ranking foreigner, since nothing is mentioned about her daughter who would have been of lesser rank.

*Artistic Representations of Spinal Disability from the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic*

Some of the following examples of artefacts which depict individuals with spinal disabilities have also been discussed in Lisa Trentin's *The Hunchback in Hellenistic and Roman Art* (2015). Trentin also tried to take a disability studies

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<sup>514</sup> Sakkie Cornelius. "Ancient Egypt and the Other," *Scriptura* 104 (2010): 322, 324, 332-333.

<sup>515</sup> Joyce Filer. *Disease*, 30-31.

<sup>516</sup> Sakkie Cornelius. "Ancient Egypt and the Other," 332.

approach rather than a medical one, but looked at depictions of persons with curved spines in isolation in her analysis, and it is my hope that by discussing these figures in a larger context with other representations of disability to gain a more nuanced understanding of disability during the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic Period. The majority of these figures are from Smyrna, a Greek colony in Asia Minor, which like Egypt had also been liberated by Alexander the Great, which continued to maintain its Greek identity into the Hellenistic Period, and perhaps was representative of the strength of Greek culture throughout this period.



Figure 6.2. *Man with Pott's Disease*.

Figure 6.2 depicts a carved ivory nude man sitting with one leg folded cross-legged, and the other bent upwards in front of him on top of an ivory capital.<sup>517</sup> His left-hand rests on his knee, and his other hand rests on the ground beside him. The man has both a kyphotic spine curvature, and Pott's disease (tuberculosis of the spine), as

<sup>517</sup>Figure (1814,0704.277), Ptolemaic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Ivory, H: 10.16 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1814-0704-277](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1814-0704-277)

first recorded by medical historian and scientist Mirko Gremk and medical historian and Classicist Danielle Gourevitch in 1998, and noted again by Trentin in 2015.<sup>518</sup> Untreated Pott's disease can lead to vertebral collapse (as seen here), other spinal impairments, and in some cases partial paralysis/paraplegia.<sup>519</sup> His shoulders appear uneven and slanted downwards to the left as caused by both the kyphosis and Pott's disease. Figure 6.3 is a partial Knidian relief ware pottery flask which depicts a man with Pott's disease, as first recorded in 1743-1745 by travel writer and Bishop Richard Pococke, in which he also describes it with a negative ableist bias, "[Figure] E is much distorted both before and behind, and one would imagine it to represent some evil being."<sup>520</sup> The surviving fragment depicts the man from mid-waist upwards. He has his hands by his sides, and appears to be an older man with a receding hairline, and wrinkled face. He has a kyphotic spine curvature and misshapen ribs as caused by the Pott's disease. Figure 6.4 also portrays a man with Pott's disease, as first noted by Gremk and Gourevitch in 1998.<sup>521</sup> This figure is made of bronze, and again only partially survives. It depicts a nude dancing man

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<sup>518</sup> Ibid: Mirko Gremk and Danielle Gourevitch. *Les Maladies Dans L'Art Antique*. (Paris: Fayard, 1998), 217-219; *The Hunchback in Hellenistic and Roman Art*. (London: Bloomsbury Academic Publishing, 2015), 9, 14, 21, 33, 37.

<sup>519</sup> Michael J McMaster and Harwant Singh. "Natural History of Congenital Kyphosis and Kyphoscoliosis: A Study of One Hundred and Twelve Patients," *The Journal of Bone and Joint Surgery* 81 no. 10 (1999): 1367; Michael R. Zimmerman, and Arthur C. Aufderheide. "Seven Mummies of the Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt: Seventeen Diagnoses," *Paleopathology Newsletter* 150 (2010): 18-21; Michael R. Zimmerman. "The Mummies of the Tomb of Nebwenef: Paleopathology and Archeology," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 14 (1977): 34-36.

<sup>520</sup> *Flask* (1814,0704.304), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 8 cm, W: 4.50 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,

[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1814-0704-304](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1814-0704-304): Mirko Gremk and Danielle Gourevitch. *Les Maladies Dans L'Art Antique*. (Paris: Fayard, 1998), 217-219; Richard Pococke. *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries*. (London: W. Bowyer, 1743-1745), 213, <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/me6h66jf>

<sup>521</sup> *Figure* (1824,0431.6), Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> -1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Bronze, H: 8.90 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1824-0431-6](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1824-0431-6): Mirko Gremk and Danielle Gourevitch. *Les Maladies Dans L'Art Antique*. (Paris: Fayard, 1998), 217-219.

wearing ceremonial wreath. The man's ribs are clearly visible, and appear to be bent, and the man also has a kyphotic curved spine as a result of the Pott's disease.



Figure 6.5. *Man with Pott's Disease.*

Figure 6.5 is another festival piece made of terracotta, and depicts a man from the upper torso upwards.<sup>522</sup> The man is depicted nude except for a garland which he has around his neck. He has curly hair, and a slightly wrinkled face. His left arm appears to be extended. He has Pott's Disease, also as first recorded by Gremk and Gourevitch in 1998, and the artist has painstakingly depicted each individual vertebra in his spine, as well as depicting him with a slightly kyphotic spine curvature. Figure 6.7 depicts a nude man made of bronze standing carrying a rooster in his left hand and a wine jug in his right hand.<sup>523</sup> He has a kyphotic curvature of his spine and a protuberance of his breast bone. He also has an emaciated appearance, perhaps suggesting that his disability was acquired, perhaps through an occupation, rather than being congenital. These types of figures are thought to be votive offerings for Asclepius, the Greek god of medicine.<sup>524</sup> Figure 6.14 is a partial terracotta of a nude dancing man, who also appears to have a spinal impairment.<sup>525</sup> This figure depicts an old, balding man dancing, his head twisted towards the left, with his buttocks protruding outwards, his stomach protruding down and forwards, while his upper back and torso are bent further backwards and to the right, with his left shoulder raised higher than the right, giving the figure an overall S-shaped appearance. Unfortunately, neither the arms nor legs on the figure survive. However, given the

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<sup>522</sup>Figure (EA37550), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 9.07 cm, W: 7.33 cm, D: 4.61 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA37550](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA37550)

<sup>523</sup>Figure (1922,0712.6), Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> -1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Bronze, H: 7.40 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1922-0712-6](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1922-0712-6): Mirko Gremk and Danielle Gourevitch. *Les Maladies Dans L'Art Antique*. (Paris: Fayard, 1998), 217-219.

<sup>524</sup> Lisa Trentin. *The Hunchback in Hellenistic and Roman Art*. (London: Bloomsbury Academic Publishing, 2015), 34-35.

<sup>525</sup> *Incomplete Statuette*, Late Ptolemaic Period, 145-30 BC, Terracotta, H: 10.8 cm, W: 5.8 cm, D: 4.3 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, accessed January 2021, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/9534>

posture of the man's torso, he possibly could have had scoliosis resulting in the S-shaped curvature. All of these depictions seem to realistically depict spinal disabilities, and most of them seem to also depict people who are middle-aged or older based on noted physical features such as hairlines and age lines depicted in these sculptures, meaning they potentially are of people who lived into middle or old age with their disabilities. This, as well as some of the professions depicted here arguably points to societal care, and societal inclusion despite their disabled status. The festival and ceremonial figures, also tells of inclusion in religious rituals and religious life in the ancient world. Furthermore, the votive offerings also point to disability potentially being an important piece of healing cults in the ancient world.

Figures 6.8, 6.9, and 6.10, all seem to represent the same genre type and depict balding men with large noses and other grotesque features.<sup>526</sup>

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<sup>526</sup>*Bronze Grotesque*, Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC- AD 1<sup>st</sup> Century, Bronze, H: 10.2 cm, W: 3.2 cm, D: 2.2 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed January 2021, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/248675>: *Terracotta Grotesque Head*, Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 2.2 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed January 2021, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/252978>: *Figure* (1814,0704.828), Hellenistic-Roman Imperial Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC- AD 1<sup>st</sup> Century, Terracotta, H: 2.20 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1814-0704-828](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1814-0704-828)



Figure 6.10. *Man with Kyphotic Spine Curvature.*

Figure 6.10 is the most complete, and is made of bronze. It depicts a standing man, who has a disproportionately large head with a prominent nose. He also has a back with a kyphotic spine curvature which is visible through his close-fitting tunic. He also wears sandals. In addition to bronze, his teeth and the whites of his eyes were also inlaid with silver, his hair contains copper highlights, and the buttons on the tunic also seem to be made of a copper-silver mixture.<sup>527</sup> His arms unfortunately do not survive. His facial features border on the grotesque. The identity of this figure has been a subject of debate, but both Trentin (2015), and Richter (1913), the first person to analyse and publish the figure, feel that this is a depiction of a mimic or farcical actor.<sup>528</sup> This means that his clothing could have potentially disguised his body shape, meaning his body, and therefore his disability was not meant to be the main focus of the object. Actors in ancient Greece typically wore masks which

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<sup>527</sup> Lisa Trentin. *The Hunchback in Hellenistic and Roman Art.* (London: Bloomsbury Academic Publishing, 2015), 78-79.

<sup>528</sup> *Ibid.*, 78-79.



featured exaggerated expressions as a reference to the character they were playing.<sup>529</sup> Acting was seen as having some negative societal connotations within ancient Greece by philosophers such as Plato who saw acting, particularly mimic acting, as moral failure within society.<sup>530</sup> It was viewed more negatively by the Romans, who came into power at the end of the Hellenistic Period, and who classed actors as the same low social status as prostitutes within society.<sup>531</sup> Therefore, certain facial features were deliberately exaggerated by the artist in order to reference the masks and play into the negative stereotypes/low social status associated with the acting profession of the time when this object was created. In this particular instance it seems disability was not seen as the negative stereotype, instead acting was. The two other less complete figures have only the heads which survive. Instead of being bronze, these are made of terracotta.<sup>532</sup> However, they have the same exaggerated facial features and large noses as this bronze, making it likely that they too are depictions of mimic or farcical actors. The instance of physical disability here may also point to disabled individuals being employed as actors in the ancient world. Figure 6.11, while not having the same features, may also represent an actor. This figure depicts a terracotta mostly nude standing man.<sup>533</sup> He is speaking and stands with his legs apart and arms outstretched in a gesticulating

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<sup>529</sup> Mary Louise Hart and J. Michael Walton. *The Art of Ancient Greek Theater*. (Los Angeles: The John Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 34.

<sup>530</sup> Karen Bassi. *Acting Like Men: Gender, Drama, and Nostalgia in Ancient Greece*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 16; Thomas A.J. McGinn. *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 41, 72, 93.

<sup>531</sup> *Ibid.*, 16; *Ibid.*, 41, 72, 93.

<sup>532</sup> *Terracotta Grotesque Head*, Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 2.2 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed January 2021, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/252978>: *Figure* (1814,0704.828), Hellenistic-Roman Imperial Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC- AD 1<sup>st</sup> Century, Terracotta, H: 2.20 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1814-0704-828](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1814-0704-828)

<sup>533</sup> *Terracotta Statuette of a Man*, Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 13.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed January 2021, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247892>

gesture as if used to emphasize his point. He is wearing a lined collar around his neck, and a square cap on head. The man is described by the museum as a grotesque and also has exaggerated facial features, with long, sharp eyebrows and a large round nose, as well as enlarged genitalia, while featuring a skinny and overall emaciated appearing frame especially noticeable in his legs. While this being an example of disability representation has not been confirmed by others in this particular instance, the man's enlarged genitalia and odd proportions may be suggestive of an unspecified physical disability. It is also entirely possible that these odd proportions may also be part of the artist's attempts at caricature as related to the acting profession. Another terracotta figure, which may also be representative of an actor, while also apparently featuring physical disability is Figure 6.13. This figure depicts a man walking in a hunched over manner, his right arm raised carrying an oil lamp.<sup>534</sup> He wears a short, belted tunic with his right shoulder bared. Like the earlier examples, this figure also is balding and has an enlarged nose, and grotesque facial features, suggesting that he is an actor, and this is again a caricature of a low status position. However, his posture suggests a kyphotic spine curvature, meaning this is another possible example of disability representation, and disability representation in which other social factors are deemed more noteworthy than the actual disability itself. Additionally, this once again points to disabled individuals being employed as actors in the ancient world. Another possible representation of an actor with a disability is the terracotta figure of an emaciated looking older man holding a shield (Figure 6.12).<sup>535</sup> Like the previous figures we have seen, the man is depicted with an

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<sup>534</sup> *Figure* (1907,0518.9), Hellenistic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 17 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1907-0518-9](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1907-0518-9)

<sup>535</sup> *Terracotta Statuette of a Mime with a Shield*, Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 13.3 cm, D: 7 cm, W: 9.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed January 2021, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257521>

oversized, balding head, with an enlarged nose, and grotesque facial features. However, he is walking, depicted in mid-stride, with his body twisted in the movement, carrying a large round shield in what remains of his right hand and arm, and his left hand appears as if it was holding something too, possibly a sword. He is nude, but no genitalia are present. He also appears to be severely emaciated with his ribs clearly depicted. While this might be an example of an actor, this could also be representative of a soldier dealing with the effects of malnutrition or food shortages, meaning this is an example of an acquired disability. If it is an example of an actor, then this would be yet another example in which other social factors are deemed more noteworthy than the actual disability itself. Another possible example of this type is the head and upper torso of a balding male figure, again with a large nose, exaggerated facial features, and a short, thick neck, and the head set low.<sup>536</sup> At the time of this writing, this is the only piece of ancient art from the British Museum which explicitly references that, “the head appears to have been that of a disabled man,” in the object description. However, there is also no image of it available in the museum’s online catalogue.<sup>537</sup> Interestingly, this particular terracotta is from Ephesus, which had a well-known healing temple, suggesting it might have been a votive offering to the gods for a health condition.

#### *Artistic Representations of Disabled Women*

Other possible examples of disability representation include terracotta figures of both men and women. One such figure is a terracotta of a young woman who

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<sup>536</sup> *Figure* (1863,0820.286), Hellenistic-Roman Period, 100 BC- AD 100, Terracotta, H: 6 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1863-0820-286](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1863-0820-286)

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid.*

appears to be severely emaciated (Figure 6.20).<sup>538</sup>



Figure 6.20. *Emaciated Young Woman*.

She is standing in a contrapposto pose commonly seen in sculptures from this time period and has extremely elongated proportions, an extremely bony frame, sagging misshapen breasts, and a bulging stomach. Her one arm which survives is extremely long and curved, contributing to the overall almost fluid appearance of the sculpture. She is wearing a long semi-transparent dress, and has long curled hair, which is worn down. At first glance she appears to be elderly, but the style of her dress and hair are that of a younger woman. It therefore seems that this is a young woman who has some type of unspecified physical impairment or disease. This is an interesting example because it seems the artist chose to depict this individual in the style of sculptures which featured an ideal physical body, but clearly depicted this woman's physical impairment or illness instead. The piece therefore features a juxtaposition between the ideal and the disabled body, without it being a stigmatizing depiction. If

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<sup>538</sup>*Terracotta Statuette of an Emaciated Woman*, Late Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 16.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed January 2021, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/245538>

this is an example of an actual person, then it also speaks to societal care, as the woman was still alive as an adult despite her impairment, and may have also been wealthy enough to afford a self-portrait. Another example of a woman with a disability/illness is a terracotta statue depicting an older woman, possibly a *hetaira* (high class companion), who is thought to have had Cushing's disease (Figure 6.21).<sup>539</sup>



Figure 6.21. *Nude Woman*.

This figure is of an older, nude, woman standing with arms outstretched. Her hair is

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<sup>539</sup>Figure (1875,0309.9), Classical Greek- Hellenistic Period, 350-290 BC, Terracotta, H: 19 cm, W: 10.10 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1875-0309-9](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1875-0309-9); Stephanie Budin. "A Revised Interpretation of the Ancient Greek Hetaira," In Kenneth Moore (editor). *The Routledge Companion to the Reception of Ancient Greek and Roman Gender and Sexuality*. (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2022), 263-286.

drawn back and tied with a ribbon, and she is also wearing large round earrings, and a necklace, which is painted onto the terracotta. She is obese with a large rounded face and torso, sagging breasts, and additional weight around her neck area. The woman also has painted flowers on her body, perhaps representative of tattoos. The woman's lack of clothing, as well as her jewellery and tattoos may indicate she is an older *hetaira*. The tattoos may also indicate that she is a foreigner, and perhaps Thracian in origin. Her physical appearance has been thought to possibly suggest Cushing's disease.<sup>540</sup> It was first noticed in 1954 by Classicist Dorothy B. Thompson and doctors J.L. Angel of Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia and Chauncey D. Leake of the University of Texas Medical Center.<sup>541</sup> Cushing's disease can be caused when the body overproduces the hormone cortisol, and if left untreated can cause high blood pressure, bone loss, and diabetes.<sup>542</sup> Typical symptoms include a rounded face, fat deposits elsewhere on the body resulting in an overall rounded, obese appearance, stretch marks, muscle weakness, fatigue, cognitive difficulties, stunted growth, and loss of emotional control.<sup>543</sup> It is unknown if this is representative of an actual woman, or is instead a caricature of naked Aphrodite figures, which were also common during this time period. If this does depict an older possibly Thracian *hetaira*, then this is representative of a foreigner with an impairment, who has lived into middle age, and was successfully employed, despite there being no confirmed treatments for this disease at the time. This depiction is also non-stigmatizing. Other examples of partial terracottas that may represent disability are

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<sup>540</sup> Ibid.

<sup>541</sup> Dorothy B. Thompson. "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas: I, B, and C," *Hesperia* 23.1 (1954): 91.

<sup>542</sup> Susmeeta T. Sharma, Lynnette K. Nieman, and Richard A. Feelders, "Cushing's Syndrome: Epidemiology and Developments in Disease Management," *Clinical Epidemiology* 7 (2015): 281-293.

<sup>543</sup> Ibid., 281-293.

Figures 6.15-6.19.<sup>544</sup> Figures 6.15-6.17 are heads, while 6.18 and 6.19 are torsos. Figure 6.15 depicts a young boy who has the overall appearance of an elderly man, much like the earlier figure of the young woman. He is balding, and has raised eyebrows, a short, pointed nose, which also appears to be slightly misshapen, distended cheeks, and a pursed mouth, which appears to be uneven and larger on the right side than the left. The area around his lower nose, and upper mouth also appears to be unusually sunken in, contributing to his somewhat elderly appearance. This may then be a depiction of either cleft lip, or cleft palate, and be representative of the child receiving care to keep him alive despite this being a congenital disability. Figure 6.16 depicts a balding elderly man's head. He has a receding hairline, ears which stick out, a wrinkled forehead, and a jaw/mouth contorted into a grimace. He appears hollow-cheeked, suggesting the absence of teeth. He also wears a *pilos* (cap). In this case, the absence of teeth may have been disabling, as well as fairly common, and was most likely caused by environmental factors like diet and hygiene. As we saw in earlier chapters, the *pilos* was often seen worn by those in professions associated with Hephaestus, so it may be that this man was a craftsmen, metalworker, or artisan of some kind. If this is the case it is possible the disfigurement may have been caused by lead poisoning, which he would have

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<sup>544</sup> *Figure* (1953,0501.4), Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 3.60 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1953-0501-4](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1953-0501-4); *Figure* (1914,0516.10), Hellenistic-Roman Imperial Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC- 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 3.50 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1914-0516-10](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1914-0516-10); *Figure* (1914,0516.7), Hellenistic-Roman Imperial Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC- 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 2.70 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1914-0516-7](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1914-0516-7); *Figure* (1867,1122.185), Hellenistic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 6.50 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1867-1122-185](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1867-1122-185); *Figure* (1868,0620.281), Hellenistic Period, 4<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 5.50 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1868-0620-281](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1868-0620-281)

acquired over the course of his career.

*Intellectual Disability and Other Physical Disabilities*



Figure 6.17. *Head of a Man with Possible Microcephaly.*

Figure 6.17 also depicts a bald man, and is a Hellenistic terracotta from Smyrna.

This may be a depiction of an actor, as many of the features are the same as earlier examples including a large nose, and exaggerated facial features. He also has large ears, heavy lidded eyes, marked eyebrows, and a slightly asymmetrical mouth opened in a grimace. However, what makes this a possible example of disability representation is that his skull appears to have been made by the artist to be deliberately asymmetrical in shape, with indentations in the skull along the upper forehead. His musculature also appears to be weaker on the right side of his face. These indentations, along with the asymmetrical mouth, and musculature could point to some kind of brain injury, or a form of congenital microcephaly, which may mean this might also be an intellectually disabled individual. Those with microcephaly may have seizures, coordination difficulties, facial distortions, and other delays in speech



and movement.<sup>545</sup> If this is the case, then this an example of someone with an intellectual disability and severe impairments who has lived to adulthood in the ancient world. Figure 6.18 a terracotta in which only the torso survives.<sup>546</sup> The male figure overall is thin with a prominent protruding spine and ribs visible from the back, suggesting this may be another example of an individual with Pott's disease. The torso is also wearing a loincloth. Figure 6.19 also depicts a male torso.<sup>547</sup> The figure appears to be an average looking individual from the front, but when viewed from the sides and back, the figure has a severe curvature of the spine, resulting in a kyphotic curved back, and protruding buttocks, reminiscent of the Queen of Punt discussed earlier.

Some other physical disabilities for which there is artistic evidence includes other non-specified mobility impairments, and an example of either partial facial paralysis or stroke/possibly another example of cerebral palsy.

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<sup>545</sup> Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "Facts About Microcephaly," last updated October 23, 2020, <https://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/birthdefects/microcephaly.html>

<sup>546</sup> *Figure* (1867,1122.185), Hellenistic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 6.50 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1867-1122-185](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1867-1122-185)

<sup>547</sup> *Figure* (1868,0620.281), Hellenistic Period, 4<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 5.50 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1868-0620-281](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1868-0620-281)



Figure 6.6. *Votive Offering Depicting a Man and a Child with a Walking Stick.*

Figure 6.6 is a Hellenistic marble votive offering.<sup>548</sup> Votive offerings during this period, as well as the periods prior in ancient Greece were made for religious offerings to give thanks to or curry favour with the gods. Figure 6.6 depicts on the left a standing, bearded man wearing a long tunic. With him depicted on the right is a young boy who gazes at the man, also wearing a short tunic, and a cloak which is

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<sup>548</sup>Relief; *Votive Offering* (1922,0504.96), Hellenistic-Roman Imperial Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Marble, H: 35 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2019, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1922-0504-96](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1922-0504-96)

draped over his left shoulder and clutched in his left hand. He is also standing, but rather than standing straight up, his right leg is bent inwards with his ankles almost crossed, and he places the majority of his weight on his left leg. He appears to be holding a stick in his right hand, which he uses as a crutch. The rest of the offering is empty space with a rectangular border that surrounds the piece. There might have also been an inscription on the piece, but it no longer survives. Since only the boy has a stick, this does not seem to be a status symbol, but rather a mobility aid. However, this border is utilized interestingly. The artist seems to have depicted the boy leaning against the border of the votive offering itself, and also using that as a type of support. We have a partially surviving example of a glass cane from the Ptolemaic Period (Figure 6.22).<sup>549</sup>



Figure 6.22. *Glass Cane Fragment.*

It is made of multi-coloured red, yellow, and blue glass in a striped pattern. This example shows that such mobility devices did exist, and seemed to occupy both a decorative and functional role during this time period. Figure 6.1 is a Fayum

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<sup>549</sup>*Cane*, Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Glass, L: 3.1 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, accessed January 2021, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/67377>

mummy portrait, which as stated previously in the section on vision are believed to be accurate representations of the people they represent.<sup>550</sup>



Figure 6.1. *Fayum Mummy Portrait*.

This portrait is of a young man with dark eyes wearing a white tunic and mantle. He is bearded and has dark curly hair. Interestingly, his face also appears to be asymmetrical, with the musculature on the left side appearing weaker and atrophied compared to the right side. The artist who made the portrait appears to have tried to make it as realistic looking as possible, hence this is most likely what the man looked like, rather than an artistic mistake. This portrait has previously been thought to be an example of hemiatrophy, something that one can be born with, or can occur in

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<sup>550</sup>*Mummy Portrait* (EA74707), Roman Period, AD 70-120, Limewood, Wax, Encaustic, L: 38.30 cm, W: 22.80 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2019, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA74707](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA74707)

those who have had strokes, or cerebral palsy, or who have otherwise acquired damage to one hemisphere of the brain.<sup>551</sup>

### *Skeletal Evidence*

There is also surviving skeletal/tissue evidence for disability from the Ptolemaic Period. The British Museum has two mummies from the Ptolemaic Period who have been determined to have physical disabilities. The first is a mummy of a 10-12-year-old child whom has *spina bifida occulta*, as first diagnosed by Surgeon Commander P.H.K. Gray and Egyptologist Warren R. Dawson in their x-ray examination of some of the mummies in the collection in 1963-1965.<sup>552</sup> The mummy of the 12-year-old child appears to have been in overall good health at the time of death apart from a bilocular cystic area with a sclerotic margin located on the right femur, and signs of arrested growth in the lower ends of the femora and tibiae. The upper right incisors were missing, but several other milk teeth were still present. The *spina bifida* affected the 5<sup>th</sup> lumbar vertebrae, but it is unknown if this affected mobility or not. The child was buried in a painted cartonnage coffin, and was wearing anklets. This child was able to reach this age before death due to invested societal care. This examination of societal care in the ancient world is referenced in *Theory and Practice in the Bioarchaeology of Care* by Lorna Tilly (2015) which critically examines care for disabled individuals who otherwise would possibly have not otherwise survived, in the archaeological record, and the possible societal implications about disability and healthcare that can be gleaned from such case

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<sup>551</sup> Susan Walker. *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits in Roman Egypt* (Routledge: New York, 2000), 43-44.

<sup>552</sup> *Coffin; Cartonnage; Mummy-Case; Human Mummy* (EA6699), Ptolemaic Period, 330-30 BC, Wood, Human Remains, Human Tissue, Painted Plaster, Coffin L: 137.50 cm, Mummy L: 120 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2019, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA6699](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA6699): PHK Gray and Warren R. Dawson. *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum: Mummies and Human Remains* (London: The British Museum, 1968), 20-21; David Antione, Alexandra Fletcher and JD Hill. *Regarding the Dead: Human Remains in the British Museum*. (London: The British Museum, 2014), 105, 109-110.

studies as these.<sup>553</sup> The other mummy is that of middle-aged woman who was determined to have scoliosis, arthritis, and a broken left tibia, also by Gray and Dawson in their 1963-1965 examinations.<sup>554</sup> The middle-aged woman had scoliosis of the cervical vertebrae, and arthritis of the dorsal and lumbar vertebrae. Her teeth all appear worn and her lower incisors are missing. She also has a spiral fracture of her left tibia. Her mummy shows evidence of having been robbed and rewrapped sometime in antiquity. However, there are remains of a decorative bead-net, which would have been placed over the body when it was originally embalmed. Rather than being a congenital disability like that of the child mummy, her disabilities may have had an occupational cause. However, unfortunately, no evidence survived which tells us what her occupation was, so there is no way to definitively know if it was a contributor. Both of these mummies, however, point to the care and societal acceptance of those with congenital and occupationally caused disabilities in both life and death during the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic Periods.

### *Conclusions*

As seen through the above examples, disability was depicted during the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic Periods without any stigma. Furthermore, depictions did not necessarily seem to change over the course of the period. Instead, other negative stereotypes seemed to have superseded disability in certain instances, as was seen in those examples which are thought to be either actors or mimes, and the earlier Egyptian example of the Queen of Punt, which appears to negatively comment on

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<sup>553</sup> Lorna Tilly. *Theory and Practice in the Bioarchaeology of Care* (London: Springer, 2015).

<sup>554</sup> *Human Mummy; Mummy-Wrapping; Bead-Net* (EA6716), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Human Tissue, Linen, L: 148 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2019, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA6716](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA6716): PHK Gray and Warren R. Dawson. *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum: Mummies and Human Remains* (London: The British Museum, 1968), 22: David Antione, Alexandra Fletcher and JD Hill. *Regarding the Dead: Human Remains in the British Museum*. (London: The British Museum, 2014), 105, 109-110.

her identity as a foreigner. Both the Egyptians and the Greeks considered themselves to be superior to everyone else of a different ethnic origin, so this is not surprising. For the Egyptians, the idea of ethnic identity tied into their concepts of *Ma'at* and *Set/Isfet*, with foreigners representing *Set/Isfet*, thus causing this idea of superiority and negative feelings towards them. More importantly, one of these supposed grotesques/caricatures may actually be an example of an adult with an intellectual disability as caused by microcephaly that has just not been recognised for what it is before now, partially perhaps due to ableist societal bias. This same societal bias is seen in the description of the Knidian flask by Robert Pococke in his 1743-1745 publication of this artefact. For those examples which were actors, this also shows that the disabled in Ptolemaic/Hellenistic society were gainfully employed as actors. The materials all of these artefacts were made out of is itself also suggestive. Ivory and bronze among other materials were expensive and difficult to work with. Prior research by Alexandre Mitchell has suggested that figures like these may have had an apotropaic function stating:

the need for these images was rooted in the precarious nature of human life in Antiquity, far more so than today, and the accompanying feeling of powerlessness when faced with a short life expectancy. Some of the images may have been produced to titillate the darker side of the human psyche, just like the preserved remains in the Hunterian museum in London, that reveal a morbid desire to be satisfied, or a way for viewers to reassure themselves they were still alive...they were produced in an effort to name and control an ever present fear.... Whether it was the terror of Apollo's priest, Laocoon, being torn apart by a divine snake come from the sea, whilst witnessing the murder of his own sons, or the fearful look in the eye of a Potts' disease sufferer with horrific physical deformities, these images were all produced in the same day and age... Fear was a natural reaction when confronted, like pity, with something one could have been afflicted with...<sup>555</sup>

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<sup>555</sup> Alexandre Mitchell. "The Hellenistic Turn in Bodily Representations: Venting Anxiety in Terracotta Figurines," 182-196. In Christian Laes, *Disability in Antiquity*, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 192.

He also focused on terracotta figures because, “still, there was no space in expensive materials and art forms, like marble sculpture or metal works, for images of disability. One must look in an entirely different direction: cheap clay market-produced, easily copied and moulded, terracotta figurines.”<sup>556</sup> Mitchell seems to be approaching his study again with modern assumptions, particularly from a medical/charity model viewpoint and ableist and disablist biases about how impairment is viewed by society, and this colours his interpretations. Many examples which have been discussed in this and previous chapters are made from expensive materials, or from terracotta, but are not mould-made, seems to discredit the idea that disability was not represented in these costlier mediums. Still, that these objects were made suggests that there must have been a market for them. I am not entirely convinced that either a purely medical or purely apotropaic functionality for some of these objects is correct, but there is frustrating little clarity on what they could have possibly been used for. That some of these depictions are on seemingly common objects like flasks and lamps, only serves to further complicate the picture. Many of them seem to have individualising features, and artists would not have made these more expensive objects if they could not expect to sell them, or did not have someone commission them. That many of them also depict individuals in festival attire, may suggest a further religious function that has thus far not been elucidated, and has the potential for additional investigation without the ableist and disablist biases seen in the literature so far.

The two mummies discussed are representative of those with disabilities living and being cared for in both life and death by their community. Both seemed to have

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<sup>556</sup> Ibid., 185.



had high-status burials based on what remains of their funerary equipment, and the child with *spina bifida* lived until they were nearly a teenager, showing that there had to be some kind of societal care during this period, rather than the murder of disabled infants. Of course, this could have been because their family was well off, but once again has to make one question accounts of infanticide in the ancient world. The other mummy portrait also points to possible brain injury, and societal acceptance of this as well, as there was seemingly no effort to conceal the man's features in his portrait, and he too was presumably given a proper burial. This would not have happened in any of these cases if disability during this period was stigmatized. It seems to be the case that society today is projecting its own discomfort about disability onto the past, rather than it being anything which existed in the ancient world. Our next section will look at medical evidence for impairment, as well as further examine evidence for societal care in the ancient world.

## 8. Ancient Medicine and Healing as Related to Disability

Will examining art and artefacts as aspects of medicine and healing as related to disability during the Ptolemaic Period help clarify our understanding of disability further? The reason for this last chapter being covered, is that medicine should not be the only lens of our understanding of disability in an ancient world context. If anything, it should be far from it. Starting from the baseline assumption that disability even existed within a medical context is ableist and imposes our modern-day understandings of disability on the ancient world. Indeed, the ancients themselves did not have the same understandings or perceptions of disability as a group marginalized identity. Ancient peoples also did not have the same understanding of disability in a medicalized context, or even in some instances did not see certain impairments we define today as even being impairments, i.e. dwarfism. Additionally, our interpretations of ancient medicine have been skewed by both ableist and disablist bias, meaning our understanding of ancient medicine is incomplete. This chapter will examine healing votives, ancient medicinal and magical practices that overlap with impairment, healing temples, and finally prosthetics. By examining these practices and objects, we will begin to understand what the ancients viewed as being a medical or treatable condition, and what they did not seem to consider a disability as we today understand it from a medical model point of view. It will also comment on how ableist and disablist bias has shaped our understandings of disability in the ancient world.

### *Historical Background of Medicine During the Ptolemaic Period*

It should be noted that during this period, especially in ancient Egypt, the elite individuals in charge of society were retired war veterans whose bodies/impairments

were no longer capable of sustaining them in combat.<sup>557</sup> Alexander the Great had started this policy of leaving disabled individuals who were no longer physically capable of fighting in control of new cities. This policy continued even after his death, thereby creating an elite class of disabled individuals for perhaps the first time in history.<sup>558</sup> Both the Egyptians, and to some extent the Greeks also seemed to understand that there was a difference between physical and mental impairment, and did not necessarily equate one with the other, as reflected in the appointment of these officials. Medicine during this time period was also still very much a combination of more scientific treatments and magical ones, with magic still being seen as an equally valid practice in the healing arts. People during this time period could consult with and utilize healing temples/sanctuaries for either short and long term stays.<sup>559</sup> They could also utilize and consult with other forms of oracular medical instructions, protective and divine amulets, (as we have seen) papyri containing magical spells that were concerned with health, doctors, and druggists. It should be noted that druggists were not the equivalent of today's pharmacists, they were more akin to charlatans who had no formal medical training.<sup>560</sup> Doctors received formal training, often in medical schools, or in healing sanctuaries themselves.<sup>561</sup> People might consult with any or all, of the above options simultaneously depending upon budget and personal beliefs. It is also thought that during the Ptolemaic Period, medicine in Egypt remained much the same as that of the pharaonic era.<sup>562</sup> While there is scholarly debate over the exact nature of

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<sup>557</sup>Michael Rostovtzeff. *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World: Volumes I-III*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), 111, 148-149.

<sup>558</sup> *Ibid.*, 111, 148-149.

<sup>559</sup> Phillipa Lang. *Medicine and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*, (Boston: Brill, 2012), 46.

<sup>560</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>561</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>562</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

knowledge of human anatomy in the ancient world, the Egyptians were generally recognised as more advanced in medicine than the Greeks in some areas, and this continued into the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>563</sup> Additionally, while the Ptolemies did introduce vivisection, the Egyptians were already more familiar with the human body than the Greeks because of the embalming process.<sup>564</sup> That being said, there are some valuable insights one can gain from examining the intersections of disability and medicine in the Ptolemaic Period. Most importantly we can gain an understanding of what the ancients viewed as being conditions significant enough to require medical intervention, and the absence of many things which we today classify medically may indicate that they were not seen as abnormal, or noteworthy enough to need treatment.

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<sup>563</sup> James Longrigg. "Anatomy in Alexandria in the Third Century BC," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 21.4 (1988): 458-460; C.R.S. Harris. *The Heart and the Vascular System in Ancient Greek Medicine*. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973), 177.

<sup>564</sup> James Longrigg. "Anatomy in Alexandria in the Third Century BC," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 21.4 (1988): 458-460; C.R.S. Harris. *The Heart and the Vascular System in Ancient Greek Medicine*. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973), 177.



Figure 7.4. *Imhotep.*



Figure 7.9. *Asclepius.*



Figure 7.11. *Asclepius*.

*Artefacts Relating to Healing Practices from the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic Period*

A group of artefacts which can be associated with both disability and medicine in the Ptolemaic Period are statues of Imhotep and Asclepius. The Greeks and the Egyptians equated the two gods with one another. They were also sometimes worshipped as the syncretic god Imhotep-Asclepius.<sup>565</sup> Asclepius was the Greek god of medicine, who was the demi-god son of Apollo.<sup>566</sup> Imhotep was an historical figure, who today is credited with being the architect of the Step Pyramid, chancellor to Pharaoh Djoser, and high priest of Ra. He was deified after his death, and became known as a god of medicine, healing and patron god of physicians, with his

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<sup>565</sup> James P. Allen. *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 12, 69.

<sup>566</sup> *Ibid.*, 12, 69.

birth rewritten to being a son of Ptah, also making him a demi-god.<sup>567</sup> The statues of Imhotep generally made out of bronze, gold, or other precious metals, depict him sitting, wearing a kilt, and skullcap, and holding a papyrus scroll in his lap (Figures 7.1-7.6).<sup>568</sup> Marble statues of Asclepius (Figures 7.7- 7.11) typically depict him standing, wearing a chiton, with long curly hair and beard, sometimes also wearing a *pilos*, leaning on either a staff (or tree trunk in the case of Roman copies of earlier Greek statues), or the rod of Asclepius (a staff with a singular snake entwined around it, not to be confused with the *caduceus*, which is a symbol of Hermes).<sup>569</sup> Statues of both Imhotep and Asclepius were often used as votive offerings and cult statues at healing shrines and temples set up to the god/two gods, one such popular shrine being located in Deir El-Bahari, in the mortuary temple of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty

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<sup>567</sup> Ibid., 12, 69.

<sup>568</sup> *Small Statue of Imhotep*, Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BCE, Bronze, H: 11.5 cm, W: 3 cm, L: 5.8 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, accessed December 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/117029>; *Small Statue of Imhotep*, Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BCE, Bronze, H: 9.8 cm, W: 2.9 cm, L: 4.8 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, accessed December 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/117030>; *Seated Statuette of Imhotep*, Late- Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Bronze, H: 13.2 cm, W: 3.9 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, accessed December 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3234>; *Statuette of Imhotep*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 381-30 BCE, Bronze, H: 17.8 cm, W: 5.4 cm, L: 11.1 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, accessed December 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3410>; *Statuette of Imhotep*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal, H: 16.2 cm, W: 6.6 cm, D: 7.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed December 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551301>; *Imhotep*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal & Precious Metal Inlay, H: 16.2 cm, W: 4.8 cm, D: 7.7 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed December 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570689>

<sup>569</sup> *Figure* (1939,0327.3), Classical-Hellenistic Period, 400-300 BCE, Marble, H: 33 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1939-0327-3](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1939-0327-3); *Statue* (1874,0805.115), Hellenistic Period, 200-150 BCE, Marble, H: 40.64 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1874-0805-115](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1874-0805-115); *Statue* (1867,0508.115), Hellenistic Period, 325-300 BCE, Marble, H: 0.60 m, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1867-0508-115](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1867-0508-115); *Statue* (1868,0620.3), Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Marble, H: 22.50 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1868-0620-3](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1868-0620-3); *Figure* (1868,0110.742), Hellenistic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Terracotta, H: 21 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1868-0110-742](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1868-0110-742)

female Pharaoh Hatshepsut.<sup>570</sup> Their intersection with disability in this instance is that as votive offerings, these artefacts were dedicated to the god as part of a ritual, in the hopes of healing whatever was afflicting the person on whose behalf they were offered.



Figure 7.12. *Votive Statue of a Left Foot.*

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<sup>570</sup> Jas Elsner and Ian Rutherford. *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 23.





Figure 7.13. *Head of a Priest.*

Statues of the two gods associated with medicine and healing were not the only votives offered as part of healing rituals. Another common practice was to offer models of various body parts, or figures of non-deities as well. One such example of this is Figure 7.12, which depicts a left foot carved out of limestone.<sup>571</sup> The ailment in this case was most likely foot-based. We know that this particular figure was made specifically as a votive offering, rather than coming from a broken statue because the top of the foot where it would join to the leg has been deliberately smoothed and finished. Another example of an object associated with healing (Figure 7.13) is the partial remains of a basalt statue depicting an older man with a wrinkled face, who was most likely a priest.<sup>572</sup> The full statue would have depicted a priest wearing a long robe, wearing a shoulder length wig, and holding a *cippus* (discussed earlier in

<sup>571</sup> *Model or Temple Offering of a Foot*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Limestone, H: 10 cm, W: 6.4 cm, L: 22.3 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, accessed December 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3335>

<sup>572</sup> James P. Allen. *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 68-69: *Head from a Statue with Magical Texts*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, c. 360-343 BCE, Basalt, H: 21.2 cm, W: 14.5 cm, D: 11.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed December 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547766>

the chapter on blindness/Horus). Rather than acting as a votive offering, this statue would have been placed in a temple, and acted as a place of pilgrimage for those looking for treatment for their ailments. Water would have been poured over the *cippus* part of the statue, and collected as a libation to give to the afflicted visitor to drink, in the hopes that the magic associated with the statue would offer a cure. Again, these objects could have been associated with those disabilities that the ancient Greeks and Egyptians recognised as being something to medically treat or cure.

#### *Medicinal Treatments During the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic Period*

Besides these more magical means of treating people, doctors at the time also prescribed and used a wide variety of plant, herbal, and mineral based medications. Both Greek and Egyptian doctors had an extensive variety of herbal, mineral, and botanical substances to draw from. Doctors were typically trained in Egypt in so-called “Houses of Life,” as mentioned in papyri from the time period, with medical schools being located in capital cities.<sup>573</sup> It also known that during the

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<sup>573</sup>Michael Rostovtzeff. *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World: Volumes 1-3*, 1088-1094: *Papyrus* (EA10051,9), Ptolemaic Period, 323-30 BCE, Papyrus, L: 68.2 cm, W: 22 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA10051-9](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10051-9): *Papyrus* (EA10051,6), Ptolemaic Period, 323-30 BCE, Papyrus, L: 52 cm, W: 24 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA10051-6](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10051-6): *Papyrus* (EA10051,8), Ptolemaic Period, 323-30 BCE, Papyrus, L: 46 cm, W: 24.2 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA10051-8](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10051-8): *Papyrus* (EA10051,2), Ptolemaic Period, 323-30 BCE, Papyrus, L: 49 cm, W: 24.4 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA10051-2](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10051-2): *Papyrus* (EA10051,3), Ptolemaic Period, 323-30 BCE, Papyrus, L: 56.8 cm, W: 24 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA10051-3](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10051-3): *Papyrus* (EA10051,7), Ptolemaic Period, 323-30 BCE, Papyrus, L: 48.4 cm, W: 24.2 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA10051-7](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10051-7): *Papyrus* (EA10051,1), Ptolemaic Period, 323-30 BCE, Papyrus, L: 68.8 cm, W: 24.2 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA10051-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10051-1)

Hellenistic Period, every city had at least one public, and some private doctors. In Alexandria, Egypt, a centralized medical service that served all existing cities in the country that was paid for with public taxes, meaning one did not necessarily have to have the means of paying for a doctor.<sup>574</sup> Cos in Greece was another major medical centre.<sup>575</sup>



Figure 7.14. *Copper Strainer.*

Unlike today's doctors, doctors in this era also were expected to prepare their own medications, through processes like grinding, straining, mashing, and cooking the materials they collected. Druggists, on the other hand, while they existed, had no formal medical training, nor were trusted by the general public, having a bad reputation in the ancient world.<sup>576</sup> Figure 7.14, a perforated copper alloy strainer, is one such object that was used in the preparation of medications.<sup>577</sup> We know that

<sup>574</sup> Ibid., 1088-1094.

<sup>575</sup> Ibid., 221,242, 1088-1094; Michel Austin. *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 267-268.

<sup>576</sup> Michael Rostovtzeff. *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World: Volumes 1-3*, 1089.

<sup>577</sup> *Strainer* (EA38230), Ptolemaic Period, 323-30 BCE, Bronze, H: 2.30 cm, W: 12 cm, D: 12 cm, London, British Museum, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA38230](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA38230)

doctors from this period used this wide variety of materials in their prescriptions, some of which were used to treat conditions which we define as disabilities/impairments today, indicating that they also defined them at least partially medically. However, not all conditions described have been able to be translated, and in these instances the illness/impairment/disability is referred to by its Egyptian or Greek name.

During the Ptolemaic Period, and in earlier Egyptian history, there were numerous treatments for afflictions and diseases affecting the eyes. It should be noted that there are so many different treatments for eye afflictions and diseases, because the environment in Egypt is conducive to eye problems making the possible resulting blindness extremely common. Not only were there occupational hazards (again as referenced earlier in Figure 186), as well as geographical hazards associated with living in a desert, but there are also parasites commonly found in Egypt which can cause blindness.<sup>578</sup> Eye afflictions and eye inflammation were treated by poppy anemone, olives, crocus, violets, malachite, and lapis lazuli.<sup>579</sup> Milk was used just as extensively, and could be taken orally, or applied as an enema, vaginally, or directly to the eyes, skin, and ears.<sup>580</sup> Animal bile (primarily cow, but fish and ox bile was also used) was used to treat eye maladies, human bites, and infected breast wounds.<sup>581</sup> Donkey testes mixed with wine were used to treat the unidentified eye disease called *nesyt*.<sup>582</sup> Cannabis was known to have been used medicinally as well, exact uses for the substance are unclear, but we know it was administered orally, vaginally, as an enema, by fumigation, bandaged to the skin,

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<sup>578</sup> Phillipa Lang, *Medicine and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 14-15.

<sup>579</sup> *Ibid.*, 41-42, 53, 77.

<sup>580</sup> *Ibid.*, 136-162.

<sup>581</sup> *Ibid.*, 136-162.

<sup>582</sup> *Ibid.*, 136-162.

and applied directly to the eyes.<sup>583</sup> From these treatments, we know that some forms of blindness and visual impairment, namely acquired blindness and visual impairment were viewed as being a medical condition which could potentially be treated and cured. Notable however, is the lack of treatments seen for congenital blindness, meaning that this condition was not seen as something that was medically treatable, or needing to be cured in the ancient world.

Other common treatments were for disorders and diseases affecting the nervous system or muscles in some way, and substances used to treat muscle tremors or muscle pain, would have been commonly used to treat symptoms associated with certain physical disabilities such as cerebral palsy. The following substances were used to treat epilepsy: pomegranate, wine, and violets.<sup>584</sup> Pomegranate was also used to treat paralysis, and gangrene.<sup>585</sup> Olives were also used as an astringent, and to treat headaches and ulcers.<sup>586</sup> Narcissus was used to treat burns, abscesses, bruises, and strained muscles and joints, and also used as an emetic.<sup>587</sup> In addition to treating epilepsy, wine was used in the treatment of ulcers, depression, asthma, and liver diseases.<sup>588</sup> Violet was also used to treat gout, abscesses, a burning stomach, hangovers, and scorpion stings.<sup>589</sup> Natron (salt) was used to treat leg tremors.<sup>590</sup> Malachite was also used for infected burns, and mouth and breast inflammation.<sup>591</sup> An as of yet unidentified substance called *imru* mixed with gypsum was used to set fractures and dislocations.<sup>592</sup> Honey was utilized

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<sup>583</sup> Ibid., 136-162.

<sup>584</sup> Annette Giesecke, *The Mythology of Plants: Botanical Lore for Ancient Greece and Rome* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2015), 41-42, 69-71, 132.

<sup>585</sup> Ibid., 41-42.

<sup>586</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>587</sup> Ibid., 59-60.

<sup>588</sup> Ibid., 69-71.

<sup>589</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>590</sup> John Nunn. *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 136-162.

<sup>591</sup> Ibid., 136-162.

<sup>592</sup> Ibid., 136-162.

extensively medicinally, as it was included in hundreds of different remedies in medical papyri and applied both externally, and internally (orally), with some of the uses being to reduce swelling, treat open wounds, ulcers, and burns.<sup>593</sup> Excrement, blood, urine, and fat from various animal species were also used extensively for primarily external medicinal applications.<sup>594</sup> Opium and morphine were used to treat pain, and stop children from crying.<sup>595</sup> The lotus was used as an analgesic and could be mixed with either wine or beer, as was willow bark.<sup>596</sup> Terebinth resin, and myrrh were used as analgesics as well, and were taken orally.<sup>597</sup> From these treatments we can speculate that there was perhaps management of pain, and associated neurological symptoms, as associated with physical disability in the ancient world, and that this was seen potentially as something to be treated medicinally, even if the condition which caused the pain and neurological symptoms was not.

Other frequently treated ailments were those affecting digestion, and the digestive system, as well as commonly occurring animal bites and stings externally. Black mulberry was used to treat intestinal parasites, alleviate burns and toothaches, and to neutralize spider venom, and aconite.<sup>598</sup> Apples were used to treat intestinal disorders.<sup>599</sup> Crocus was also used to treat afflictions of the stomach, chest, kidney, liver, lungs, and bladder.<sup>600</sup> Heliotrope was used to treat sunstroke, gout, scorpion stings, and to dry up skin growths.<sup>601</sup> Substances which were known to have been used as aperients are: dates, figs, ricinus fruit, carob, cypress grass, balanites, sycamore figs, umbrella pine of Byblos grains, wormwood, terebinth, valerian,

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<sup>593</sup> Ibid., 136-162.

<sup>594</sup> Ibid., 136-162.

<sup>595</sup> Ibid., 136-162.

<sup>596</sup> Ibid., 136-162.

<sup>597</sup> Ibid., 136-162.

<sup>598</sup> Ibid., 103-104.

<sup>599</sup> Ibid., 109.

<sup>600</sup> Ibid., 119-120.

<sup>601</sup> Ibid., 122-123.

coriander, earth almonds, cumin, juniper, honey, beer, wine, milk, and animal fat.<sup>602</sup> Substances which were used internally to treat urinary disorders included: wheat, honey, cyperus grass, beer, grapes, balanites, juniper berries, ochre, umbrella pine of Byblos grains, beer, honey, bryony, moringa oil, salt of Lower Egypt, sweet beer, and tree gums.<sup>603</sup> Again, this potentially shows medical management of symptoms sometimes associated with physical disability in the ancient world, and that this was seen potentially as something to be treated medicinally, even if the conditions which contributed to these symptoms were not.

Finally, there were also a variety of treatments for disorders and diseases affecting the respiratory system. Substances used to treat coughing and other respiratory ailments included: salt of Lower Egypt, alum, *tcheru*-mineral, ochre, honey, milk, bone marrow, cream, fat of pigs, ox, and geese, acacia gum and leaves, flour, Moringa oil, carob, dates/date flour, earth almonds, emmer seeds, figs, umbrella pine of Byblos grains, peas, raisins, wormwood, and several as of yet unidentified plants and resins.<sup>604</sup> The lily was recommended by the Greek physician Soranus to treat hysterical suffocation, a.k.a. suffocation caused by a “wandering womb.”<sup>605</sup>

All the medicinal uses of these substances show that the ancient Greeks and Egyptians had some understanding of different diseases and disabilities, and some expectation that they could be treated. Specifically, the above shows that they possessed an understanding of impairments which affected an individual physically and neurologically, as well as some understanding of treatments for perceived mental disorders and disabilities. They also devised treatment for life-threatening

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<sup>602</sup> Ibid., 136-162.

<sup>603</sup> Ibid., 136-162.

<sup>604</sup> Ibid., 136-162.

<sup>605</sup> Ibid., 123.

ailments such as scorpion and other animal bites and stings, and treatments for ailments which affected the respiratory and digestive systems. That all these materials were used to treat illness and certain disabilities is also telling of the extensive trade networks which existed at the time, as certain substances like opium, and lapis lazuli are only located in one or two geographical regions (Afghanistan in the case of opium), meaning they were discovered to be effective, or at least thought to be effective more than local options, and then had to be transported often thousands of miles to be used medicinally. This expansive trade network also points to interactions between cultures in the form of trade, as one culture had to know that these substances existed, and then create a market for them, in order for the other culture to go to the expense and hassle of transporting goods hundreds of miles between ancient civilisations.

### *Temples and Religious Treatments*

This mix of the magical and more scientifically medicinal was also present in healing temples during the Ptolemaic Period. People could consult with their gods in a variety of ways, one such popular method being to submit a question in writing directly to the god's sanctuary, at which point the priest would submit two forms of the question (the question and an alternative) directly to the god, and return the "correct" response to the inquirer.<sup>606</sup> Other forms of asking for divine assistance included self-dedication to a god in return for protection or medical assistance, and written demands for assistance, also deposited directly in a sanctuary.<sup>607</sup> Herodotus reports that although consulting oracles was common, ways of receiving responses often were temple specific and varied from temple to temple.<sup>608</sup> Something which

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<sup>606</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>607</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>608</sup> Ibid., 47.



differed between Greek and Egyptian healing temples was the role of priests. Egyptian priests were medical experts, with medical texts and doctor training housed within the temples.<sup>609</sup> Greek priests were not medical experts, and their main roles were to ensure that purity rituals were adhered to, the care of the cult statue, arrangement of votive decorations, and overseeing temple administration and organisation.<sup>610</sup> Asclepeian healing temples also operated slightly differently than the Egyptian ones, and typically contained water for washing and purification, and a sacrifice, and additional fees paid directly to the temple were also expected of visitors hoping to access the temple's god.<sup>611</sup> For those expecting a dream, a separate area called an *abaton* was reserved for this purpose, with purity regulations being in full effect for the area.<sup>612</sup> Debby Sneed has proposed that healing temples in Greece were specifically equipped with ramp access to accommodate those with mobility impairments, as temple buildings contained a higher number of ramps than other spaces, and has found that the ancient Greeks consciously planned for the anticipated needs of the users of these sites.<sup>613</sup> There are reports of miracle/dream cures, associated with certain disabilities, primarily from Asclepeian healing temples, although they are also reported from the temple of Serapis at Kanabos. These included a partially paralyzed hand, and a diseased eye.<sup>614</sup> These follow a very similar narrative structure, where the person seeking a cure doubts the god, who then then cures them and ridicules them for their doubt and were thus described:

A man with the fingers of his hand paralyzed except for one came as a

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<sup>609</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>610</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>611</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>612</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>613</sup> Debby Sneed. "The Architecture of Access: Ramps at Ancient Greek Healing Sanctuaries," *Antiquity* (2020): 1-15.

<sup>614</sup> Michel Austin. *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*, 270.

suppliant to the god, and when he saw the tablets in the sanctuary he would not believe the cures and was rather contemptuous of the inscriptions, but when he went to sleep he saw a vision: he thought that as he was playing dice below the sanctuary and was about to throw the dice, the god appeared, sprang on his hand and stretched out the fingers one by one, and when he had straightened them all out, the god asked him whether he still did not believe the inscriptions on the tablets in the sanctuary, and the man said he did. The god said, 'Since previously you would not believe them, although they are not incredible, in the future let your name be "Incredulous." When day came he went away cured.

Ambrosia from Athens, blind in one eye. She came as a suppliant to the god, and as she walked about the sanctuary she ridiculed some of the cures as being incredible and impossible, that persons who were lame and blind should be restored to health merely by seeing a dream. But when she went to sleep she saw a vision: she thought the god was standing next to her and saying that he would restore her to health, but she must dedicate in the sanctuary as a reward a silver pig, as memorial of her stupidity. Having said this, he split open the diseased eye, and poured in a medicine. When day came she went away cured.<sup>615</sup>

While following a very similar narrative structure, these two accounts do offer us some insight into how these healing temples operated, and the kinds of things people would seek treatment for. It should be noted as well that while these were described as "miracle" cures, and the timeline described for the cures may be somewhat exaggerated/unrealistic, in both accounts there actually does seem to be sound medical practices in both instances, as discussed in the dreams that led to these conditions being cured. In the man's case what he describes sounds very similar to today's physical therapy practices, and in the woman's case, whatever medicine was poured in her eye, may have actually helped. The vision of the Asclepius as described in both cases, may either have been a hallucination caused by the substances given by the priests to supplicants as part of purity rituals, or may be taken as a metaphor for the priests themselves. It should also be noted that the ancient Egyptians also interpreted dreams differently than the Greeks, and believed

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<sup>615</sup> Ibid., 270.

that rather than originating as part of an internal process as the Greeks did, they were visions which allowed them to interact directly with the gods, the dead, and other realms within reality, meaning a nightmare could literally be deadly.<sup>616</sup> Again, these two examples show that acquired blindness and acquired physical disability in the form of paralysis were seen as being treatable medicinally, and therefore were within the ancient understanding of things that could or needed to be cured. It seems prudent to bring up an incident from Alexander the Great's life, which also reflects this understanding. At the siege of Cyropolis, Alexander was temporarily blinded, and physicians understood that it was something to be treated and waited out, rather than giving up all hope, and telling the troops to turn around and go home.<sup>617</sup> Congenital disability once again seems to be absent, meaning it was perhaps not understood as being a negative, or something that needed to be fixed. Instead, it was seen as part of the natural variation of life as reflected in the concepts of *Ma'at* and *Set/Isfet*. Other texts tell of gods curing illnesses and inflicting them as punishment. The Bentresh Stele found in Karnack tells of the god Khonsu making a journey into a foreign kingdom to cure a sick member of the royal family, and in 257 BCE Apollonios, the chief financial officer of King Ptolemy Philadelphos received a letter from an acquaintance, Zoilos of Alexandria, telling him to build a sanctuary to Serapis in the Greek part of the city on the instruction of the god.<sup>618</sup> In this letter, he also revealed that he had initially displayed reluctance in relaying this message, and in doing so had become very ill, which was only cured by agreeing to relay the god's message.<sup>619</sup> It should be noted in these instances that illness, rather than disability was inflicted for failing to fulfil the god's wishes. This again reveals that while certain

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<sup>616</sup> Phillipa Lang, *Medicine and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 51.

<sup>617</sup> Quintus Curtius Rufus. *The History of Alexander*, trans. John Yardley, 164.

<sup>618</sup> Phillipa Lang, *Medicine and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 51.

<sup>619</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

disabilities were expected to be treatable medically by doctors and the gods, disability does not seem to have been associated with divine punishment or stigma during this period.

### *Protheses*

A final intersection between disability, society, and partially with medicine in the ancient world were protheses. Both ancient Egypt and the Classical world are attested to having them in both the archaeological and historical records. However ancient medical care seems to have stopped with surgical amputations, and did not seem to extend to the protheses themselves, meaning there are no ancient medical records discovered to date which mention them.<sup>620</sup> One example of an actual prosthesis from the Classical world is the Capua leg, which was found in the grave of a Roman man, and dated to circa 300 BCE.<sup>621</sup> It was made out of wood, iron, and bronze, with a wooden core covered in bronze, and had a leather and bronze belt which were secured at the thigh and waist, which granted the user some functional amount of movement if used in conjunction with a crutch.<sup>622</sup> The leg also was somewhat realistic looking as historian Lawrence Bliquez noted, “From a cosmetic point of view, the owner of the leg must have cut something of a fashionable figure. His artificial limb was designed with an eye to the real thing, and the glint of the... sun on the then deep gold of his leg’s bronze covering must have made a splendid impression.”<sup>623</sup> The original leg was unfortunately destroyed during an air raid in World War II.<sup>624</sup> The man who was buried with the leg seems to have been a high status individual, and it has been hypothesized that he was either a war veteran, or a

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<sup>620</sup> Jane Draycott. *Protheses in Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2018), 1-28.

<sup>621</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-28.

<sup>622</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-28.

<sup>623</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-28.

<sup>624</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-28.

retired gladiator.<sup>625</sup> Other historical and mythological accounts of prostheses from the Classical world include Pelops, who had a shoulder fashioned out of ivory. He was restored to life after being murdered, cooked, and served to the gods in a meal by his father Tantalus who wished to prove that the gods were fallible. His shoulder was unfortunately eaten by Demeter before the gods realized what they were eating.<sup>626</sup> The historian Herodotus also relates the tale of Hegesistratus, a diviner who was captured by the Spartans during the Greco-Persian Wars. He escaped by cutting off his own foot, and had the foot replaced with a wooden one.<sup>627</sup> We also have several examples of prosthetic toes found on mummies from ancient Egypt, which appear to have been utilized while people were still alive. These date as early as New Kingdom Egypt, circa 1550 BCE.<sup>628</sup> These include a 50-60 year old woman named Tabaketenmut (c. 950-710 BCE) who had her right big toe amputated, and subsequently replaced it with a painted dark brown wooden toe during her life.<sup>629</sup> Other examples include toes made out of cartonnage, or more intricately carved wood and secured with leather straps, indicating that there were different models available for people of varying financial statuses.<sup>630</sup> Jacky Finch and a team of researchers made recreations of two of these toes, and had modern prosthetic users test them out.<sup>631</sup> They found them to be fully functional, as they helped create a more symmetrical walking pattern, aided with plantar pressure distribution, helped prevent

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<sup>625</sup> Ibid., 1-28.

<sup>626</sup> Ibid., 1-28.

<sup>627</sup> Ibid., 1-28.

<sup>628</sup> Jacky Finch, "The Complex Aspects of Experimental Archaeology: the Design of Working Models of Two Ancient Egyptian Great Toe Prostheses," 29-48. In *Protheses in Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2018), ed. Jane Draycott: Andreas G. Nerlich, Albert Zink, Ulrike Szeimes, Hjalmar G. Hegedorn. "Ancient Egyptian Prosthesis of the Big Toe," *The Lancet* 356 (December 23/30 2000): 2176-2179.

<sup>629</sup> Ibid., 29-48.

<sup>630</sup> Ibid., 29-48.

<sup>631</sup> Ibid., 29-48.

damage to the amputated area, and were surprisingly more comfortable to wear than some of the modern options available today.<sup>632</sup>



Figure 7.15. *Female Mummy with Arm Prosthesis.*

An example of a mummy with a prosthesis dating from the Ptolemaic/Hellenistic Period other than the Capua leg, is a female mummy with an arm prosthesis currently located in the Durham Oriental Museum. This mummy is that of a 50-year-old woman who died circa 250 BCE (Figure 7.15).<sup>633</sup> She was buried in an extremely elaborate painted wooden coffin, and painted bandages, with a gold painted mask, and her coffin and associated funerary goods indicate she was extremely wealthy.<sup>634</sup>

<sup>632</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-48.

<sup>633</sup> Barbara A. Atkinson. *Durham University's Oriental Museum Mummies* (Whitely Bay: UK Book Publishing, 2019), 18-34: *Mummies, Organic Material* (DUROM.1999.32.1), Ptolemaic Period, 300-200 BCE, Organic Material, H: 1550 mm, W: 450 mm, D: 380 mm, Durham, Durham Oriental Museum, accessed February 2020, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/oriental.museum/whatswhere/discover/>

<sup>634</sup> Barbara A. Atkinson. *Durham University's Oriental Museum Mummies* (Whitely Bay: UK Book Publishing, 2019), 18-34: *Mummies, Organic Material* (DUROM.1999.32.1), Ptolemaic Period, 300-

Besides the artificial limb, she is known to have experienced childhood malnutrition, a slipped disc, kidney stones, dental abscesses, and a broken toe during her 50 years of life.<sup>635</sup> All of these health conditions, especially the childhood malnutrition would have been common depending upon her social status at birth. Teeth were also regularly worn down due to sand getting into food, and this was most likely the cause of her dental abscesses.<sup>636</sup> Her name does not unfortunately survive, and she was originally misidentified as a male priest based on a combination of a translation error and gender bias from museum officials making assumptions based on her elaborate funerary equipment.<sup>637</sup> It was not until 1964, when the mummy was x-rayed that officials discovered their mistake, and her prosthesis was identified for the first time.<sup>638</sup> The prosthesis itself is made out a combination of linen and plaster, which was painted to match her skin tone.<sup>639</sup> Initially it was thought that the artificial limb was made to replace one that had been amputated, but she is now thought to have been born without the lower part of her left arm and hand.<sup>640</sup> Unlike the other

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200 BCE, Organic Material, H: 1550 mm, W: 450 mm, D: 380 mm, Durham, Durham Oriental Museum, accessed February 2020, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/oriental.museum/whatshere/discover/>

<sup>635</sup> Barbara A. Atkinson. *Durham University's Oriental Museum Mummies* (Whitely Bay: UK Book Publishing, 2019), 18-34: *Mummies, Organic Material* (DUROM.1999.32.1), Ptolemaic Period, 300-200 BCE, Organic Material, H: 1550 mm, W: 450 mm, D: 380 mm, Durham, Durham Oriental Museum, accessed February 2020, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/oriental.museum/whatshere/discover/>

<sup>636</sup> Barbara A. Atkinson. *Durham University's Oriental Museum Mummies* (Whitely Bay: UK Book Publishing, 2019), 18-34: *Mummies, Organic Material* (DUROM.1999.32.1), Ptolemaic Period, 300-200 BCE, Organic Material, H: 1550 mm, W: 450 mm, D: 380 mm, Durham, Durham Oriental Museum, accessed February 2020, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/oriental.museum/whatshere/discover/>

<sup>637</sup> Barbara A. Atkinson. *Durham University's Oriental Museum Mummies* (Whitely Bay: UK Book Publishing, 2019), 18-34: *Mummies, Organic Material* (DUROM.1999.32.1), Ptolemaic Period, 300-200 BCE, Organic Material, H: 1550 mm, W: 450 mm, D: 380 mm, Durham, Durham Oriental Museum, accessed February 2020, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/oriental.museum/whatshere/discover/>

<sup>638</sup> Barbara A. Atkinson. *Durham University's Oriental Museum Mummies* (Whitely Bay: UK Book Publishing, 2019), 18-34: *Mummies, Organic Material* (DUROM.1999.32.1), Ptolemaic Period, 300-200 BCE, Organic Material, H: 1550 mm, W: 450 mm, D: 380 mm, Durham, Durham Oriental Museum, accessed February 2020, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/oriental.museum/whatshere/discover/>

<sup>639</sup> Barbara A. Atkinson. *Durham University's Oriental Museum Mummies* (Whitely Bay: UK Book Publishing, 2019), 18-34: *Mummies, Organic Material* (DUROM.1999.32.1), Ptolemaic Period, 300-200 BCE, Organic Material, H: 1550 mm, W: 450 mm, D: 380 mm, Durham, Durham Oriental Museum, accessed February 2020, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/oriental.museum/whatshere/discover/>

<sup>640</sup> Barbara A. Atkinson. *Durham University's Oriental Museum Mummies* (Whitely Bay: UK Book Publishing, 2019), 18-34: *Mummies, Organic Material* (DUROM.1999.32.1), Ptolemaic Period, 300-

prostheses, this one shows no evidence of being used in life, or to have been functional, which seems to indicate it was created by embalmers as part of the mummification process after her death, perhaps to ensure she would have a complete body for the afterlife.<sup>641</sup> It is unfortunately not known if she would have had another functional prosthesis for use during her life which was replaced by the fancier one as part of her funerary equipment (as no other one from what we know of was found), or if one would not have been seen as being needed.

We know that the ancient Greeks at least viewed some congenital differences as being heritable from either parents or other ancestors, so it seems that the ancient Egyptians could have also considered this just be another manifestation of *Ma'at* and *Set*, and therefore part of the natural order of things not needing medical intervention.<sup>642</sup> While the initial place of her discovery was lost, museum officials think this mummy was discovered in 1884 by Egyptologist Gaston Maspero in a Ptolemaic cemetery in Akhmim, Egypt which contained approximately 6,000 mummies.<sup>643</sup> The art style of her funerary equipment, which was localized to Akhmim, seems to support this.<sup>644</sup> She was then transferred to Darlington, England in the 1930s, before then being moved to Durham in the 1960s.<sup>645</sup> Once the

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200 BCE, Organic Material, H: 1550 mm, W: 450 mm, D: 380 mm, Durham, Durham Oriental Museum, accessed February 2020, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/oriental.museum/whatshere/discover/>

<sup>641</sup> Barbara A. Atkinson. *Durham University's Oriental Museum Mummies* (Whitely Bay: UK Book Publishing, 2019), 18-34: *Mummies, Organic Material* (DUROM.1999.32.1), Ptolemaic Period, 300-200 BCE, Organic Material, H: 1550 mm, W: 450 mm, D: 380 mm, Durham, Durham Oriental Museum, accessed February 2020, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/oriental.museum/whatshere/discover/>

<sup>642</sup> Sarah B. Pomeroy. *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece: Representations and Realities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 98-99.

<sup>643</sup> Barbara A. Atkinson. *Durham University's Oriental Museum Mummies* (Whitely Bay: UK Book Publishing, 2019), 18-34: *Mummies, Organic Material* (DUROM.1999.32.1), Ptolemaic Period, 300-200 BCE, Organic Material, H: 1550 mm, W: 450 mm, D: 380 mm, Durham, Durham Oriental Museum, accessed February 2020, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/oriental.museum/whatshere/discover/>

<sup>644</sup> Barbara A. Atkinson. *Durham University's Oriental Museum Mummies* (Whitely Bay: UK Book Publishing, 2019), 18-34: *Mummies, Organic Material* (DUROM.1999.32.1), Ptolemaic Period, 300-200 BCE, Organic Material, H: 1550 mm, W: 450 mm, D: 380 mm, Durham, Durham Oriental Museum, accessed February 2020, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/oriental.museum/whatshere/discover/>

<sup>645</sup> Barbara A. Atkinson. *Durham University's Oriental Museum Mummies* (Whitely Bay: UK Book Publishing, 2019), 18-34: *Mummies, Organic Material* (DUROM.1999.32.1), Ptolemaic Period, 300-



prosthesis was discovered, it was removed for further study, but unfortunately in such a way that it is unable to be reattached to her body, meaning it is currently on display next to the actual coffin and mummy. However, her wealth/social status, survival into middle-age, and probable place of burial with other nondisabled mummies, seems to indicate that there was not any stigma attached to her missing limb, and it was perhaps only in death that having a complete body became important. This too tells us something about ancient Egyptian religious beliefs and disability as it was apparently important to have a complete body for the journey into the afterlife, otherwise her body would have been left as it was in the mummification process. Her misidentification as a male priest also can tell us something about Ptolemaic society, for if she was a priestess, then her disability did not bar her from participation in religious rituals, and in serving the gods in ancient Egypt. If this is the case, then this can be seen as yet another example we have of disabled priests and priestesses in the Ptolemaic world, the others being those individuals discussed in the section on dwarfism, and another being the priest wearing the Harpocrates amulet who seems to have had cerebral palsy. Her misidentification as a male priest is also telling of the gender biases held by the Egyptologists who examined her. She could, however, also be a reflection of the start of a shift in attitudes towards congenital disability that does appear to be present in the Roman Period, as she is from later in the Ptolemaic Period, and unlike the mummies of Geheset and Siptah mentioned in earlier chapters, which were mummified in such a way as to preserve the congenital differences caused by clubfoot and cerebral palsy, she was given something to help make her body whole for the next life.

### *Conclusions*

As discussed in this section, certain disabilities/impairments, such as mental illnesses like depression, neurological impairments like epilepsy, and physical impairments like acquired blindness, were also recognised by those in the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic world as medical conditions which could be treated by doctors and priests as well as in healing temples, sanctuaries, or by other religious and medical means. However, other disabilities, including congenital limb differences and other congenital disabilities were not necessarily seen as something to be treated medically. There does not seem to have been any religious stigma or negative societal sentiment addressed towards those with disabilities or noticeable physical impairments as has now been evidenced in the multiple examples of disabled priests and priestesses and other high-status individuals we have seen depicted in art and the actual surviving mummies of disabled individuals. Rather disabled individuals seem to have been incorporated into the very fabric of ancient society, and therefore may not have been seen as a separate segment of society at all. Additionally, it appears that our overall understanding of ancient medicine may be flawed because of modern day ableist and disablist biases. It is far easier to think that someone was lucky to have survived, than to accurately credit the societal care that went into dealing with impaired individuals. Our current view of ancient medicine which separates those with impairments out, often discounts that the societal care of individuals with impairments was an expected and accepted part of life during this time period. They were not left to fend for themselves, or disposed of when they became or were born impaired. Instead, society allowed those with impairments to live and thrive during this period, even placing them in control politically and religiously. This is referenced again in Debby Sneed's article on ramps at healing

sanctuaries. The need for healing sanctuaries to be accessible for those with impairments seems to have been taken into account by society, rather than being seen as something that was an additional or extra feature.<sup>646</sup> This societal incorporation perhaps made disabled individuals not remarkable enough to consistently comment upon in the historical record, and this combined with biased past interpretations of the historical record, as is evidenced by the Durham mummy, has led to their consistent absence from it. There are probably many more disabled individuals out there, one just has to have an open enough mind to recognize them.

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<sup>646</sup> Debby Sneed. "The Architecture of Access: Ramps at Ancient Greek Healing Sanctuaries," *Antiquity* (2020): 1-15.

## 9. Conclusion

Currently we have a misleading and incomplete picture of the ancient world, and of the disabled people who lived there and their history. Both ableism and disablism have affected historical scholarship examining the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic Periods, and ancient Egypt and Greece. This view has also led to the erasure of disabled people from historical narratives as presented in museums and other arts and historical institutions. These biases are caused both by individual biases, and an overarching modern society that is openly ableist and disablist. Additionally, the societal/structural biases influence individual ones, as is seen with those from the first and second generation of disability in ancient world scholars, who are primarily nondisabled, and who choose not to engage with the disabled community. The large sampling of artefacts either representative of, or related to disability in this thesis, seems to argue that disabled individuals existed and that their lives were actively being accommodated by society in the ancient world. They were, contrary to popular belief, not specifically targeted for infanticide in ancient Egypt and Greece. I will examine what societal beliefs and conditions may have been factors in this later on in this conclusion.

Disabled people were integrated at various levels into society during the Hellenistic Period, and while the evidence does not necessarily paint the ancient world as a utopia for disabled people, the reality may have been either not that different, or perhaps better than how disabled people are treated today. Society during this time period in the ancient Egypt and Greek world, as well as in time periods prior to this one, does not seem to have been ableist. However, there are some examples of it being disablist as seen through the distinction made between those with congenital impairments, those with occupational impairments, and those impairments as caused by warfare. Additionally, this was perhaps the first time in

history where there was a purposely placed disabled elite class, and this influenced how disabled people were treated during this period. What was unique to Ptolemaic Egypt during this time were the expansion of the prior policies of ancient Egypt and Alexander the Great. These policies included the continued linking of the military with religious practice and political power. Incentives of land grants by the Ptolemies were designed to attract and keep soldiers in the beginning of the period, and these policies led to multi-ethnic generations towards the end of the period. This occurred uniquely in Egypt under Ptolemaic rule, and set up a system in which disabled people were involved in both political and religious power. Disabled people during this period were numerous as impairments could be caused by warfare, occupation, aging, or be congenital. As also seen from the artefacts analysed in this thesis, depictions of impairment in art from this period were primarily non-stigmatising of disabled people. Features were often not exaggerated, distorted, or caricatured, except in reference to undesirable professions such as acting, and even then, the disability itself is not part of that caricature. Instead, the vast majority seem to be more realistic representations of disabled people and disabled gods and goddesses. It is modern day art history that chooses to label such objects as “grotesques,” or “dwarfs,” rather than any negativity or caricatured features found in the depictions themselves, with these depictions ranging from unnamed people, to named people, to important mythological figures. These representations of disabled people and mythological figures include those with dwarfism, blindness and vision impairments, cerebral palsy, mobility impairments as related to clubfoot and other similar conditions, spinal disability, those with prosthetics and mobility aids, and those who were war wounded. Interestingly, for the most part, these artistic representations continued to depict disability, and did not seem to change in terms of stigmatization

as the period went on. However, some skeletal evidence in the form of the Durham mummy does potentially suggest a potential shift in attitude towards the end of the period to one that was perhaps slightly less tolerant of disabled people.

My first chapter focused on the geographic area of ancient Macedonia, and those disabled individuals associated with the time period of Alexander the Great. These individuals were numerous and included Philip II, Philip III Arrhidaeus, Harpalus, Antigonus I Monophthalmus, Kalanos, the mutilated Greeks, Prusias I Cholus, and Demosthenes. These individuals ranged from war wounded to the congenitally disabled. I argued that the ancient Macedonians, much like the ancient Greeks, recognised two categories of disability: the war wounded, and the congenitally disabled, and that there appears to have been the concept of disablism present in this period. I posited that the societal attitude towards disability was mixed, and much like today, disabled individuals had different opinions about disability. I also discussed disabled people being the elite class/people in power for perhaps the first time in recorded history. Additionally, I posited that ableist and disablist biases have muddled our understanding of the ancient world.

In chapter two, I argued that depictions of those with dwarfism were seemingly non-stigmatized depictions, and that ableist and disablist biases mentioned above have affected past scholarly interpretations of some of this material. I demonstrated that the sheer number of surviving artefacts, leads one to believe individuals with dwarfism were very common and part of everyday life for most people. I also showed that there was a history of those with dwarfism in Egypt prior to the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic Periods, including named individuals in high status positions like Seneb, and unnamed individuals like the woman who died in childbirth and was a pyramid worker. Gods with dwarfism, such as Bes, Beset, and

Pataikos, and other artefacts depicting men and women with dwarfism, such as amulets, statues, and portraiture found on an obelisk, were woven into the everyday narrative during the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic Period.

Chapter three argued that artistic depictions of blindness and visual impairment were seemingly non-stigmatized depictions, and that ableist and disablist biases have affected past scholarly interpretations of some of this material. These depictions included sculpture of mythological figures like Oedipus, portraiture of unnamed individuals, and amulets representing the eye of Horus. The chapter also included ostraca containing prayers for healing, demonstrating that there was a distinction made between congenital and acquired blindness and visual impairment. Furthermore, as seen in the example of the blind harpist, the Egyptians also seem to have continued their established practice of integrating those with disabilities into society during this period.

The fourth chapter examined possible depictions of cerebral palsy. I demonstrated through the examples of Harpocrates and Harpocratis that ableist bias has led to depictions of disability not being recognised, how an understanding of the physical embodiment of this impairment has aided in its identification in ancient art, and showed why a disabled perspective is needed in the examination of the ancient world. I also posited that depictions of this impairment are seemingly non-stigmatized depictions, and that depictions of Harpocrates are perhaps some of the best representations of the cultural fusion that occurred during this period. Figure 4.1, the child with the walker, also demonstrates societal care, and accommodation for children with disabilities in the ancient world: children who might grow into adulthood and require further assistance as adults.

The fifth chapter discussed mobility impairments as related to clubfoot and

other similar conditions. I demonstrated that physical impairment was seemingly not stigmatised in art from this period. It also showed that physical impairment was not seen as a negative or source of stigma in either the Hellenistic Period or earlier periods in ancient Egypt and Greece as demonstrated through the examples of the Spartan Agesilaus II, the possibly anecdotal stories of Damonides and Dorion, and the god Hephaestus. The stories of Damonides and Dorion also reveal societal care and accommodation for adults with disabilities in the ancient world. This chapter also examined ableist and disablist biases in past historical scholarship. Finally, I also discussed the Greek practice of infanticide, and posited that prior conclusions about infanticide in Greece are yet another manifestation of ableist biases by more modern scholars, rather than being a widespread historical practice, as has traditionally been believed. This concept will be discussed more below.

Spinal disability and other impairments were addressed in the sixth chapter. The chapter started with artistic depictions in Egypt of both royalty and elite status people as well as the working class that occurred prior to the Ptolemaic Period, and then examined artistic representations of people from working classes dating to the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic Period. I posited that the majority of these objects seem to again be presented without stigma, except for a small subset of objects which may actually be representative of negative caricatures of certain professions like acting or racial identities. Additionally, ableist and disablist biases have affected past scholarly interpretations of some of this material. Finally, this chapter demonstrated that the traditionally held belief that purely medical or purely apotropaic functionality for some of the objects discussed in the thesis is incorrect, and that they may instead be suggestive of a further religious function that has thus far not been elucidated. These depictions, in addition to those found in statues, were also on common objects like



flasks and lamps: many of them seem to have individualising features, and some of these depictions are of individuals in festival attire, suggesting the possible further religious function.

The seventh, and final body chapter of this thesis focused on art and artefacts as aspects of medicine and healing, in addition to prosthetics as related to disability during the Ptolemaic Period. I demonstrated that our interpretations of ancient medicine have been skewed by both ableist and disablist bias, meaning our understanding of ancient medicine is woefully incomplete. This chapter examined healing votives and temples, including those associated with the demi-gods Imhotep and Asclepius, ancient medicinal and magical practices that overlap with impairment, and finally prosthetics, such as that of the female priestess in the Durham Oriental Museum, who has an arm prosthetic. I also commented on how ableist and disablist bias has shaped our understandings of disability in the ancient world, and continues to do so.

Overall, this thesis has argued that the ancients had no concept of disability as being a societal limitation and therefore no concept of lowering expectations of those with disabilities. It was part of life to be dealt with and lived with. Societal accommodations existed both for children and adults in terms of training for jobs that individuals could perform, and assistive mobility devices for both children and adults in terms of walkers, walking sticks, prosthetics, shoes, and animals. Additionally, it examined how instances of ableist and disablist bias have shaped our understanding of the ancient past. Furthermore, it argued that artistic representations of disability from this period in history are non-stigmatising, and examined the societal implications of an elite class of disabled people. I will now examine why this seems

to have been the case during this period in history, and in ancient Egypt more specifically.

As Rosalie David previously stated in her book chapter on disability in ancient Egypt, and as I previously argued in my first MA thesis on disability in ancient Egypt, the Egyptians seemed to have had a different worldview than other ancient civilisations which allowed for the acceptance of disability.<sup>647</sup> Rosalie David concludes, “A unique concept of the world, underpinned by distinctive religious beliefs, may help to explain why the Egyptians’ perception and treatment of deformity and disability differed so much from attitudes seen in some contemporary societies. Many aspects of Egyptian civilization demonstrate that they had an inclusive, multi-faceted view of life...”<sup>648</sup> I have previously concluded that it was ancient Egyptian religious concepts and views that allowed for acceptance of disability.<sup>649</sup> That the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic Period was controlled by a disabled elite class, which was built upon the foundation of these inclusive beliefs, may have actually allowed impaired individuals to further flourish and thrive, leading to the numerous depictions of impaired individuals from this particular time period.

It is my belief that the ancient Egyptian concept of dualism, widely accepted by Egyptologists as a religious and philosophical concept, allowed for this worldview. Dualism pervaded their entire sense of the world and appeared in such concepts as desert/red land (*dšꜣt*) and the Nile/black fertile soil (*tꜣ-mry /km.t*), life and the afterlife, the east and the west, Upper (*tꜣ-šmꜣw*) and Lower (*tꜣ mḥw*) Egypt, native Egyptians

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<sup>647</sup> Rosalie David. "Egyptian Medicine and Disabilities: from Pharaonic to Greco-Roman Egypt", 75-89. In Christian Laes and Martha L. Rose (editors), *Disability in Antiquity*, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 85; Alexandra F. Morris. "Let the Artifacts Speak: A Look at the Physically Disabled of Ancient Egypt," (MA Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2014), 52-53.

<sup>648</sup> Rosalie David. "Egyptian Medicine and Disabilities: from Pharaonic to Greco-Roman Egypt", 85.

<sup>649</sup> Alexandra F. Morris. "Let the Artifacts Speak: A Look at the Physically Disabled of Ancient Egypt," (MA Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2014), 52-53.

and foreigners, land and the heavens, and most notably for our purposes *Ma'at* (balance) and *Set/Isfet* (chaos). It is also important to note that with the exception of foreigners, who were seen as inferior to native Egyptians, all of these concepts were seen as the equal opposites of one another. More specifically, the ancient Egyptian concepts of *Ma'at* and *Set/Isfet* may have been responsible for the acceptance of disability in ancient Egyptian society. The Egyptians viewed these two forces as constantly in a battle with one another, and tried their best not to upset the natural order of things. Infanticide, as David states, was non-existent in ancient Egypt, with the first possible recorded case not being found until the Roman Period.<sup>650</sup> This is likely because to destroy disabled people would have been an upset to *Ma'at* and a contributor to *Set*. Therefore, infanticide was something that most likely would not have been tolerated. It is also very possible that disability was seen as part of the natural extension of dualism- there were those who were nondisabled and those who were different, or to use today's terminology, disabled. Anything to upset this balance would have been frowned upon. This concept of dualism also may point to why there does not seem to have been a stigma attached to disability in ancient Egypt. It is extremely interesting to note that historians studying the Ptolemaic Period have remarked on the absence or lack of infanticide during this period of Egypt's history, as well as in prior periods.<sup>651</sup> What is remarkable about this is it may be an example of the ancient Egyptians influencing Greek culture in Ptolemaic Egypt, and of the continued tolerance of Egyptian religious practices. To the Egyptians, the Greek practice of infanticide would probably have been seen as a very real and imminent threat to the stability of the universe, as it could be seen as an affront to the balance

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<sup>650</sup> Rosalie David. "Egyptian Medicine and Disabilities: from Pharaonic to Greco-Roman Egypt", 84.

<sup>651</sup> Sarah B. Pomeroy. *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece: Representations and Realities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 226-227.

between *Ma'at* and *Set/Isfet*. They would have not tolerated it, and the mixed cultural marriages, initially promoted by Alexander the Great from the period, may have also contributed to the lack of the practice, as did the continued link between the military and religion. To keep the peace, the Greeks would have had to abandon the practice, if it even existed in the first place (see below for a discussion on the prevalence of infanticide). It is also possible that Greeks during this period were more accepting of others with disabilities since the elite population, especially in Egypt, during this time period was the disabled population, due to the number of wounded war veterans who settled in Egypt, and who most likely continued to exist for the duration of the period.<sup>652</sup> Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the population wanted both their art and their gods to reflect themselves during this period. Since the concept of disabled gods was present in both Greek and Egyptian culture before this period, it also is reasonable to conclude that there was some level of acceptance in both cultures prior to the start of this period as well.

It also appears at the time of writing this thesis, that the concept of infanticide in ancient Greece is being rethought. This is seen in Martha Rose's (2015) book, which argues that infanticide was not as commonly practiced as traditionally believed, and in Debby Sneed's latest article (2021) which concludes that infanticide was not commonly practiced, as there is no archaeological evidence for it, and the textual sources we have for it are questionable at best.<sup>653</sup> She also finds that there is archaeological evidence in the form of feeding bottles that seemed to have been aimed at helping to keep disabled and sick infants alive, suggesting invested societal

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<sup>652</sup> Stanley Meyer Burstein. *The Reign of Cleopatra*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 7; Jean Bingen. *Hellenistic Egypt: Monarchy, Society, Economy, Culture*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 104-113, 132-140, 206-212.

<sup>653</sup> Martha L. Rose, *The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 29, 46-49. Debby Sneed. "Disability and Infanticide in Ancient Greece," *Hesperia* 90.4 (2021): 747-772.

care for those with disabilities and illness.<sup>654</sup> One of my latest book chapters on receptions of Agesilaus II, the physically disabled Spartan king mentioned in the chapter on clubbed foot, who was seemingly accepted by Spartan society, also concludes that infanticide may not have been as prevalent as has been traditionally thought in historical scholarship.<sup>655</sup> The thinking that it was a common practice is more of a reflection of the ableist and disablist biases of today, rather than being based in reality. Like the case of Spartan/Greek infanticide, this thesis has also demonstrated the need to re-examine the ancient world without disablist or ableist biases, and to search for disability narratives within an ancient historical context. Disabled people existed, and their stories have been traditionally left out of both ancient historical scholarship, with the exception of palaeopathological and other medical literature, and museum exhibitions about the ancient world despite there being more than enough evidence to begin to piece together the lived experiences of disabled people in the ancient past. Furthermore, while some museums such as the British Museum have started examining their collections for disability narratives, there still are no standardised ways to reference disability in museum catalogues which only further obscures them, and makes them challenging to find. This too, as mentioned above, is most likely caused by ableist and disablist biases, and their systematic effects on modern day society.

Palaeopathological and other medical literature, while addressing disability in an ancient world context, approaches analyses from the medical model of disability, and does not go any further, meaning, as noted by both myself and others, the embodied experience of disability is never addressed, nor is the concept of individual

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<sup>654</sup> Debby Sneed. "Disability and Infanticide in Ancient Greece," 747-772.

<sup>655</sup> Alexandra F. Morris. "Patterns of Force: Receptions of Agesilaus II, Disability, and Greek Sexuality," In Kenneth Moore (editor). *The Routledge Companion to the Reception of Ancient Greek and Roman Gender and Sexuality*. (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2022), 253-262.

agency of disabled individuals.<sup>656</sup> This does a disservice to disabled people of both the past and the present, by continuing to present disability as a binary, or in terms of the ‘overcoming’ narrative as has been previously described by Garland-Thomson.<sup>657</sup> It seems in these analyses that once it is concluded that an individual is disabled, all other analyses cease. Meaning we are often left with a two-dimensional understanding of disabled people in an ancient world context. Rather than seeing the entirety of the disabled person in cases where we have named individuals, we deny them agency as individuals.

My PhD research seems to already be making a definitive impact on the field. At the time of writing this conclusion, my prior published work is considered foundational reading for undergraduate and graduate students at multiple universities internationally. Unintentionally I seem to have become a de-facto worldwide expert on the subject.<sup>658</sup> My work has also seemed to spark ire, with both it, and its publisher being attacked in an anonymous review in the October 2021 issue of the alt-right high culture journal, *The New Criterion*.<sup>659</sup> I have at this stage in my academic career, become accustomed to often volatile criticisms of my work, where people often feel the need to justify their positionality to the disabled community, even without knowing that I myself am a disabled scholar. This discomfort with my research, and how volatile some reactions have been, also seem to be, more than anything else including valid critiques of my scholarship, a reflection of the ableist and disablist discomfort with disability still present in society.

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<sup>656</sup> Kyle Lewis Jordan. (2021) 'Disability in Ancient Egypt: the Case of Geheset', paper presented at Symposium: Onbeperkt Toegang/ Unlimited Access Symposium, 25th June, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum [Online]. <https://allardpierson.nl/events/symposium-onbeperkt-toegang/>

<sup>657</sup> Rosemarie Garland-Thomson. "Feminist Disability Studies," *Signs* 30.2 (2005): 1558-1560, 1570.

<sup>658</sup> Current universities to date (January 2022) whom have let me know they've added my work to their syllabuses/required reading lists include: University of Melbourne, Macquarie University, Princeton University, and Brandeis University.

<sup>659</sup> Anonymous Author. "Crippling Classics: On Contemporary Politics and the Study of Classics." 40.2, October 2021: 2, <https://newcriterion.com/issues/2021/10/crippling-classics>

I am encouraged to see that, unlike when Henri-Jacques Stiker wrote his book on disability as mentioned in the introduction (1999), the field appears to be growing and becoming more diverse, albeit slowly. Out of the third generation of Egyptologists studying disability, I am no longer the only openly disabled Egyptologist, with Kyle Lewis Jordan (University College of London) being the other one. Those nondisabled scholars of this third generation including Debby Sneed and Hannah Vogel, also seem to be actively engaging with today's living disabled community, rather than doing their research in a vacuum like the second generation of disability in ancient world scholars. To my knowledge, I am also currently one of four Egyptologists who has cerebral palsy worldwide, although out of that group, I am the only woman, and the only American. The future of disability in ancient world scholarship appears to be increasingly auspicious.

The title of this thesis, "Plato's Stepchildren," reflects all of the above discussed concepts. It is taken from an episode of the original series of *Star Trek* of the same name (1968), and the episode is also reflective of many of the concepts and issues discussed in this thesis. In it, Captain Kirk and the crew of the *Enterprise* respond to a distress call from the Platonians, of the planet Platonius and who have named themselves after the Greek philosopher Plato.<sup>660</sup> The Platonians, with the exception of one individual named Alexander who has dwarfism, possess telekinetic powers, and believe themselves to be superior lifeforms because of it. The distress call was sent because they required medical assistance, and because of their arrogance, the Platonians demand Doctor McCoy remain on the planet as their medical expert. In response to McCoy's refusal to remain, the Platonians torture

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<sup>660</sup>*Star Trek*. "Plato's Stepchildren." Directed by David Alexander. (1968. United States; Desilu Productions).

various members of the crew and Alexander for the duration of the episode. The situation is resolved when Kirk discovers that it is a mineral present in the planet's food and water supply that gives the Platonians their powers. Alexander did not develop them because of differences in his metabolism caused by his dwarfism. Kirk initially offers to dose Alexander with enough of it so that Alexander can develop telekinesis and rule the planet instead, but Alexander refuses stating:

You think that's what I want? Become one of them? Become my own enemy? Just lie around like a big blob of nothing and have things done for me? I want to run around for myself. If I am going to laugh or cry, I want to do it for myself. You can keep your precious power. All I ask is one thing: if you do make it out of here, take me with you.<sup>661</sup>

Kirk consumes enough of the mineral to develop powers himself, and defeats the Platonians, freeing the crew of the *Enterprise* to leave. They take Alexander with them, with Kirk telling him, "Alexander, where I come from, size, shape, or colour makes no difference."<sup>662</sup> This episode not only includes a disabled actor, Michael Dunn, playing a disabled character, Alexander, (something still not commonly seen today), but it also perfectly demonstrates the social model of disability. It is society that disables an individual not their impairment, or other form of difference.

Alexander is disabled not by his dwarfism, but by his lack of telekinesis, as are initially the nondisabled members of the *Enterprise* crew. The Platonians themselves are also the result of a eugenics program (much like the supposed practices of the ancient Spartans/ those discussed in the idealised societies of Plato and Aristotle) started on Sahndara to save the population from their sun going nova. They escaped to Earth briefly circa the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> Century BCE, the start of the Hellenistic Period, before ultimately settling on Platonius. This episode is also considered ground

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<sup>661</sup> Ibid.

<sup>662</sup> Ibid.



breaking for containing one of the first interracial kisses on television, but Michael Dunn's role as a non-stereotyped disabled character played by a disabled actor, who is treated as an equal by the show's protagonists, and who has agency as a disabled character, is completely overlooked, much like the disability narratives present in museum collections and ancient history today.<sup>663</sup> Finally, *Star Trek* has been recognised as being prescient for many societal changes and technological advances over time.<sup>664</sup> Who is to say that disability representation, and societal acceptance of disability cannot be one of them?

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<sup>663</sup> Sharon Bramlett-Solomon. "Interracial Love on Television: What's Taboo Still and What's Not," 85-93. In Mary-Lou Galician and Debra L. Merskin (editors). *Critical Thinking About Sex, Love, and Romance in the Mass Media*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), 86-87.

<sup>664</sup> M. Keith Booker. "The Politics of *Star Trek*," 195-209, In J.P. Telotte (editor). *The Essential Science Fiction Television Reader*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2008), 195-196; Mark E. Lasbury. *The Realization of Star Trek Technologies: The Science, Not Fiction, Behind Brain Implants, Plasma Shields, Quantum Computing, and More*. (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2017).

## Image Appendix:

Below are all museum artefacts referenced in this thesis. For instances where there was no image available, but the artefact is a confirmed representation of disability in the ancient world, the catalogue description appears instead. Artefacts are numbered by thesis chapter.



**Figures 1.1-1.2.** *Coins of Philip II of Macedon.* Late Classical Period, 359-336 BCE & 352 BCE, Silver and Gold.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 05.44.386 & 52.127.3.  
Photo by Alexandra F. Morris.



**Figure 1.3.** *Philip II of Macedon.* Hellenistic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Vergina, Ivory.  
Photo from NGL Hammond, *Philip of Macedon* (London: Duckworth, 1994), Plate 16.



**Figure 1.4.** *Alexander the Great.* Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Marble. London, British Museum. 1872,0515.1. Photo by British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.5.** *Alexander the Great.* Hellenistic Period, 100-50 BCE, Bronze. London, British Museum. 1877,0810.1.

Photo by British Museum, London.



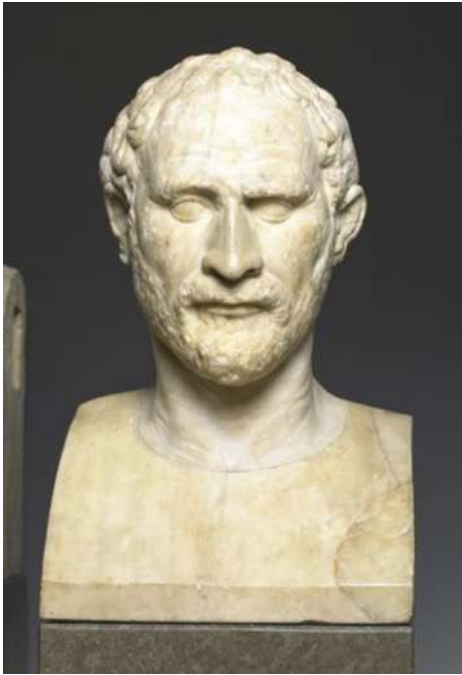
**Figure 1.6.** *Alexander the Great.* Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 150 BCE-200 CE, Copper Alloy.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 08.202.52.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 1.7.** *Alexander the Great.* Hellenistic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Bronze. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 55.11.11.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 1.8.** *Clepsydra Depicting Philip III Arrhidaeus.* Ptolemaic Period, 320 BCE, Basalt.  
London, British Museum. EA938.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.9.** *Demosthenes*. Polyeyktos, Copy of Hellenistic Original, Hellenistic/Roman Period, 280 BCE, Marble. London, British Museum. 1973,0303.2. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.10.** *Demosthenes*. Polyeyktos, Copy of Hellenistic Original, Hellenistic/Roman Period, 280 BCE, Marble. NY Carlesburg, Glyptek, Copenhagen. Photo from Ian Worthington. *Philip II of Macedonia*. (London: Yale University Press, 2008), Plate 12.





**Figure 1.11.** *Coin of Antigonos I Monophthalmos.* Hellenistic Period, 323-319 BCE, Silver.

London, British Museum. 2006,1235.10.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.12.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholos.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.

London, British Museum. 1866,1201.3498.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.13.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholos.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.

London, British Museum. BNK,G.440.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.14.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholos.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.

London, British Museum. 1982,0920.12.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 1.15.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholos.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. 1961,0301.141.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.16.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholos.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. 1982,0920.22.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.17.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholos.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. 1982,0920.26.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.18.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholos.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. 1961,0301.142.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 1.19.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. EH,p563.1.Pru.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.20.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. RPK,p158B.5.Pru.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.21.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. 1961,0301.143.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.22.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. TC,p160.1.Prul.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 1.23.** *Coin of Prusias I Chalus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.

London, British Museum. 1982,0920.20.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.24.** *Coin of Prusias I Chalus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.

London, British Museum. 1979,0101.56.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.25.** *Coin of Prusias I Chalus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1896,0601.58. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.26.** *Coin of Prusias I Chalus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1993,0629.1. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.27.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholos.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1867,0506.7. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.28.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholos.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1925,0303.1. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 1.29.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. 1936,1020.3.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.30.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. RPK,p158B.1.Pru.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 1.31.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. 1930,0906.1.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.32.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. 1914,0709.27.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.33.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.

London, British Museum. 1982,0920.24.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.34.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.

London, British Museum. 1982,0920.25.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.35.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.

London, British Museum. 1982,0920.19.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.36.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.

London, British Museum. 1982,0920.21.

Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 1.37.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholos.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. 1982,0920.14.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.38.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholos.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. HPB,p90.3.C.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.39.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. 1961,0301.155.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.40.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. 1979,0101.55.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 1.41.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholos.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.

London, British Museum. 1979,0101.54.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.42.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholos.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.

London, British Museum. 1982,0920.17.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.43.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholos.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.

London, British Museum. 1982,0920.16.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.44.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholos.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.

London, British Museum. 1982,0920.23.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



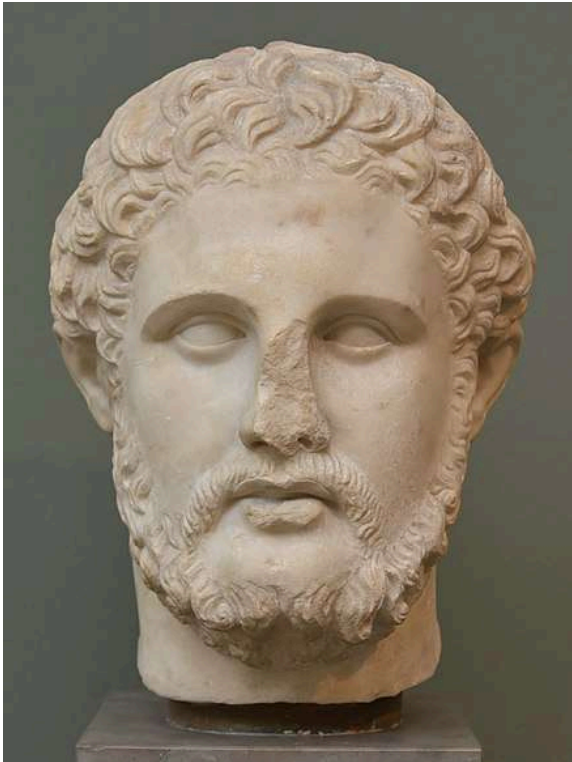


**Figure 1.45.** *Coin of Prusias I Cholus.* Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. 1982,0920.27.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.46.** *Gold Medallion Featuring Philip II.* Roman Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century CE.  
Bibliothèque nationale de France. NV F 1673.  
Photo from Ian Worthington. *Philip II of Macedonia*, Plate 5.





**Figure 1.47.** *Philip II of Macedon.* Roman Copy of Greek Original, Original 382-336 BCE, Marble.

Copenhagen, NY Carlesburg, Glyptek.

Photo by NY Carlesburg, Glyptek, Copenhagen.



**Figure 1.48.** *Philip II of Macedon.* Roman Copy of Greek Original, 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE.

The Vatican/Alfredo Dagli Orti, Chiaramonti Museum.

Photo by The Vatican/Alfredo Dagli Orti, Chiaramonti Museum.



**Figure 2.1** *Pataikos Amulet*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 630-30 BCE, Glazed Composition.  
London, British Museum. EA58314.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.2.** *Amulet of Pataikos Flanked by Goddesses*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Faience.  
New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 37.949E.  
Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.3.** *Pataikos Flanked by Goddesses Amulet*, Saite-Ptolemaic Period, 727-30 BCE, Faience.

New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 08.480.106.

Photos by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.4.** *Pataikos Amulet*. Ptolemaic to Roman Period, 305 BCE- 395 CE, Sericite.

New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 37.995E.

Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.

Green glazed composition amulet in the form of Pataikos with a scarab on top of the head, a falcon on each shoulder and a snake clasped in each hand; the feet rest on the noses of two crocodiles; at either side are the figures of Isis and Nephthys and at the back is a representation of a winged goddess; laterally pierced at the top for suspension.

**Figure 2.5.** *Pataikos Amulet*. Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Glazed Composition.

London, British Museum. EA59052.

Text by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.6.** *Pataikos Mould*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-332 BCE, Clay. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 37.1884E. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.7.** *Pataikos Amulet*. Hellenistic Period, 304-30 BCE, Faience. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 74.51.4461. Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.8.** *Pataikos Amulet*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664–30 BCE, Faience. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 17.6.125. Photos by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



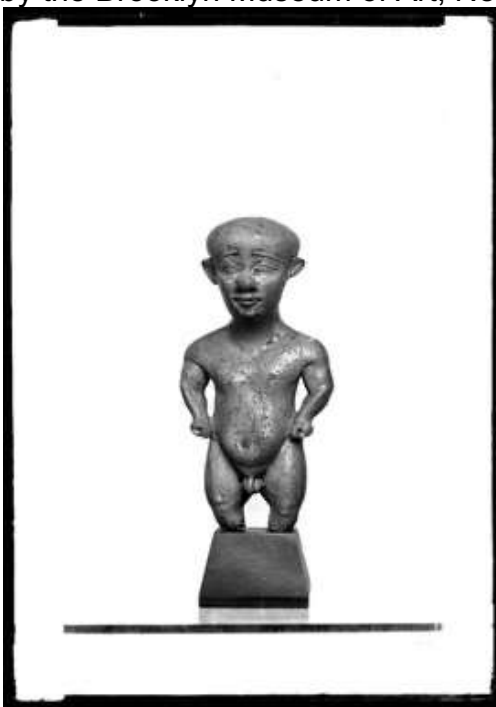
**Figure 2.9.** *Pataikos Amulet*. Third Intermediate Period-Ptolemaic Period, 1075-30 BCE, Faience. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art, 08.480.137. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.10.** *Pataikos Amulet*, Third Intermediate Period-Ptolemaic Period, 1075-30 BCE, Faience.

New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 16.580.9.

Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.11.** *Pataikos Amulet*. Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BCE, Faience.

New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 37.932E.

Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.12.** *Pataikos Amulet*. Late-Hellenistic Period, 664–30 BCE, Faience  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 74.51.4464.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.13.** *Pataikos Amulet*. Late-Hellenistic Period, 664–30 BCE, Faience.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 74.51.4463.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.





**Figure 2.14.** *Pataikos Amulet*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Faience. London, British Museum. EA67227. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.15.** *Pataikos Amulet*. Cypro-Classical Period, 705-300 BCE, Faience. London, British Museum. 1894,1101.694. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 2.16.** *Pataikos Amulet*. Cypro-Classical Period, 705-300 BCE, Faience  
London, British Museum. 1894,1101.77.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.17.** *Pataikos Amulet*. New Kingdom-Ptolemaic Period, 1539-30 BCE,  
Faience.  
New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. X1182.2.  
Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.18.** *Pataikos Amulet*. Graeco-Roman Period, 300 BCE- 200 CE, Faience.  
London, British Museum. EA74747.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.19.** *Pataikos Amulet*. Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 1886,0401.1438.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.20.** *Pataikos Amulets*. Cypro-Classical Period, 750-300 BCE, Glazed Composition.  
London, British Museum. 1894,1101.692.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.21.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Cypro-Classical Period, 750-300 BCE, Glazed Composition.

London, British Museum. 1894,1101.272.

Photos by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.22.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Cypro-Classical Period, 750-300 BCE, Glazed Composition.

London, British Museum. 1894,1101.75.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.23.** Pataikos Amulet. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Faience. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 37.986E. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.

Blue glazed composition amulet in the form of Pataikos bifrons; laterally pierced through the head for suspension.

**Figure 2.24.** Pataikos Amulet. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Faience. London, British Museum. EA54490. Text by the British Museum, London.

Green glazed composition amulet in the form of Pataikos with a black scarab on top of the head, a collar and a feather in each hand; there is a pierced suspension ring at the back of the neck; the feet have broken away.

**Figure 2.25.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience. London, British Museum. EA11234. Text by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.26.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Wood. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 10.130.2445. Photos by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Blue glazed composition amulet in the form of Pataikos; laterally pierced at the back of the neck for suspension.

**Figure 2.27.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Faience. London, British Museum. EA54489. Text by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.28.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 600-30 BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. EA59052.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.29.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 23.6.15. Photos by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Green glazed composition amulet in the form of Pataikos or Horus the Saviour; the pierced suspension hoop at the back of the neck has broken away.

**Figure 2.30.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Faience. London, British Museum. EA11692. Text by the British Museum, London.

Glazed composition (faience) amulet of Ptah-Pataikos; mould-made and covered with a blue-green glaze.

**Figure 2.31.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Cypro-Classical Period, 750-300 BCE, Faience. London, British Museum. E1894,1101.74. Text by the British Museum, London.

Glazed composition (faience) pendant in the form of standing grotesque figure such as Pataikos or Bes; mould-made and covered with a blue-green glaze; double-sided openwork figure; perforated for suspension through the top; glaze worn.

**Figure 2.32.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Cypro-Classical Period, 750-300 BC, Faience. London, British Museum. E1969,0401.89. Text by the British Museum, London.

Green glazed composition standing figure of Petaichos as a dwarf, with a back-plinth, the reverse of which is decorated with a relief of a winged Isis.

**Figure 2.33.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Faience. London, British Museum. EA73833.  
Text by the British Museum, London.

Head from a pale blue glazed composition figure of Pataikos, with an attachment loop at the back of the neck. Very fine facial details.

**Figure 2.34.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Faience. London, British Museum. EA73833.  
Text by the British Museum, London.

Head of a worn glazed composition amulet in the form of Pataikos with a scarab at the top.

**Figure 2.35.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. EA54856.  
Text by the British Museum, London.

Green glazed composition amulet in the form of Pataikos wearing the plumed sun-disc.

**Figure 2.36.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Faience. London, British Museum. EA57836.  
Text by the British Museum, London.

Open-work green glazed composition amulet in the form of Pataikos with the figure of Hathor at the back.

**Figure 2.37.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. EA54857.  
Text by the British Museum, London.

Green glazed composition amulet in the form of Pataikos with a scarab on top of the head and a feather in each hand; at either side are the figures of Sekhmet(?) and Neith(?) and at the back is the figure of Nefertum; laterally pierced at the back of the neck for suspension.

**Figure 2.38.** *Pataikos Amulet.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. EA60207.  
Text by the British Museum, London.



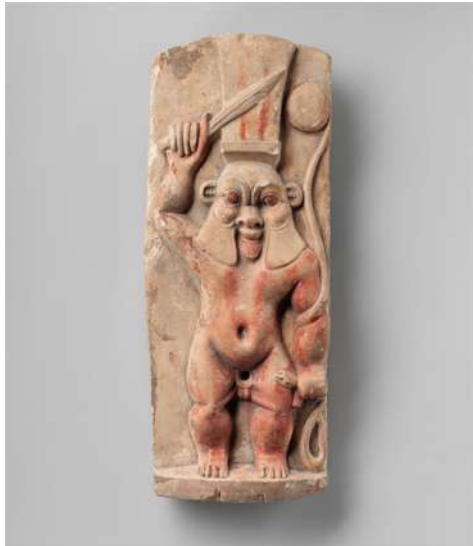


**Figure 2.39.** *Bes in Military Dress.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century to 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. EA12745.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.40.** *Bes Dressed as a Soldier.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 1888,0601.96.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 2.41.** *Stela of the God Bes.* Ptolemaic- Roman Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century BCE-1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Painted Limestone.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 22.2.23.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.42.** *Bes on a Papyrus Column Brandishing a Knife.* Late- Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 21.6.90.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.43.** *Bes Statue.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Bronze, Gold, Electrum, Auriferous-silver, Copper, and Copper Alloys. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 29.2.3. Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.44.** *Bes Statue.* Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. EA61296. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.45.** *Bes*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. EA65438. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.46.** *Bes*. Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. EA43381. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.47.** *Bes Mould*. Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Pottery. London, British Museum. EA20883. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.48.** *Bes*. Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. EA61298. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.49.** *Bes*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. EA36270. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.50.** *Bes Amulet*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Blue and Yellow Faience New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 10.130.1991. Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.51.** *Bes Mould.* Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Clay. London, British Museum. EA38290. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.52.** *Bes.* Ptolemaic and Hellenistic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. EA22378. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.53.** *Bes*. Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta  
London, British Museum. EA53872.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.54.** *Bes*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. EA12741.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.55.** *Bes*. Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. EA68308. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.56.** *Bes*. Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1886,0401.1455. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 2.57.** *Bes Amulet.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. 2013,5012.8. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.58.** *Bes Bell.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1985.73. Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.59.** *Bes Flask*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Pottery, Wax. London, British Museum. EA26818. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.60.** *Bes Ampulla*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Pottery. London, British Museum. EA36033. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.61.** *Bes Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, late 4<sup>th</sup> Century- late 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. EA20691. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.62.** *Bes Jar.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 716-332 BCE, Pottery. Durham, Durham Oriental Museum. EG3991. Photo by Alexandra F. Morris.



**Figure 2.63.** *Bes Plaque.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-300 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1886,0401.1458. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.64.** *Bes Plaque.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-300 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. E16025. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.65.** *Bes.* Ptolemaic Period 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1986,1208.7. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.66.** *Bes*. Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1888,0601.105. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.67.** *Bes*. Ptolemaic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. EA68856. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.68.** *Column Capital in the form of a Bes-image.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Limestone.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 23.2.35  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.69.** *Bes Carrying a Ram.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 23.6.14.  
Photos by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.70.** *Bes Carrying a Statue.* Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.

London, British Museum. 1888,0601.95.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.71.** *Dancing Bes Alongside Seated Group of Musicians.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Terracotta.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 23.6.79.

Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.72.** *Bes Kantharos.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.

London, British Museum. 1997,1005.1.

Photo by the British Museum, London.

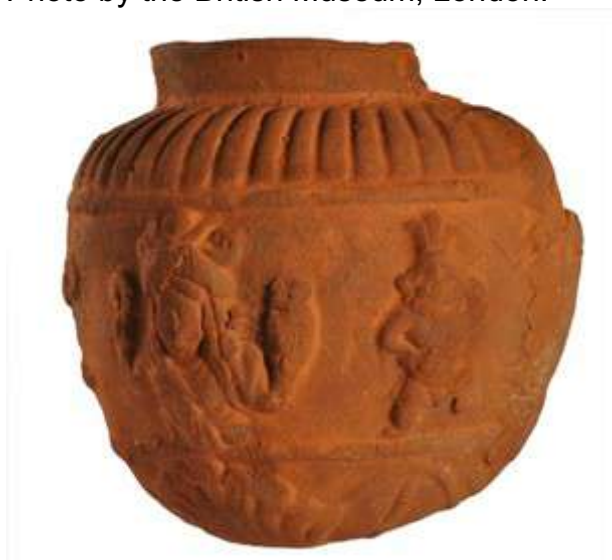




**Figure 2.73.** *Bes Stamp on an Amphora Handle.* Ptolemaic/Hellenistic Period, 200-1 BCE, Pottery.

London, British Museum. 1955,0920.76.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.74.** *Bes Cup.* Ptolemaic Period, 150-50 BCE, Terracotta.

London, British Museum. 1886,0401.1583.

Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 2.75.** *Cippus Featuring Bes and Harpocrates.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Steatite.  
London, British Museum. EA27373.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.76.** *Cippus Featuring Bes and Harpocrates.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Black Steatite.  
London, British Museum. EA36250.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.77.** *Bes with Worshipper.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Bronze or Copper Alloy.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 04.2.403.

Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.78.** *Temple Boy Wearing Bes Amulet.* Hellenistic Period, c. 300 BCE, Limestone. London, British Museum. 1917,0701.125.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.79.** *Bes & Beset Papyrus Capital.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 58.106.6a.

Photos by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.80.** *Beset.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 66.123.3.

Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.81.** *Beset*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. EA37581. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.82.** *Beset Nursing Bes*. Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1995,0123.1. Photo by the British Museum, London.

Collection of thirty-five beads, pendants and amulets of yellow glazed composition: twenty-two elongated convex truncated bicone beads; two barrel beads; two short truncated convex bicone beads; one oblate bead with milled edges; one cylinder disc

bead; six rectangular or square pendants, with suspension loops above, one broken into two pieces and one incomplete; one amulet in the form of a head of Bes.

**Figure 2.83.** *Bes Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. EA68932.  
Text by the British Museum, London.

Green glazed composition medallion decorated on both sides with representations of the face of Bes, verso modelled, recto incised.

**Figure 2.84.** *Bes Amulet.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. EA59413.  
Text by the British Museum, London.

Amulet of Bes: in translucent dark-blue glass. The figure is frontal of a small naked dwarf, standing bending forward slightly, his hands on his knees. The face is bearded, the headdress missing. Modelled on reverse and obverse.

**Figure 2.85.** *Bes Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Glass. London, British Museum. EA16555.  
Text by the British Museum, London.

Green steatite cippus; small figure of Harpocrates beneath a large head of Bes; crossed crocodiles and scorpion at the base; reverse bears two registers depicting an Isis suckling Harpocrates and a representation of Horus with various animals above eight rows of Hieroglyphic text; both ends rounded.

**Figure 2.86.** *Cippus Featuring Bes and Harpocrates.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Green Steatite. London, British Museum. EA27374.  
Text by the British Museum, London.

Amulet of Bes: in the form of an elongated oval plaque in dark-blue glass. Flat reverse, at the top a loop for suspension. On the obverse in raised relief stands a naked dwarf, frontal, bending forwards slightly with his hands on his knees.

**Figure 2.87.** *Bes Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Glass. London, British Museum. EA64110.  
Text by the British Museum, London.

Statuette of the god Bes: a standing statuette of Bes in the round preserved from head to waist and carrying on his shoulders an ibex whose legs he clasps in his right hand. The god's left arm was pendent by his side. A small circular dish perhaps with a central rosette was attached to the back of the ibex. The fabric is soft, apparently fired at low temperature, and is a splendid French blue.

**Figure 2.88.** *Bes Carrying an Ibex.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Egyptian Blue. London, British Museum. EA64622.  
Text by the British Museum, London.

Circular blue glazed composition amulet with the eye of Horus on one side and the head of Bes on the other. An incised border runs around the edge. There is a perforation at each end of the eye.

**Figure 2.89.** *Bes Wedjat Amulet.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. EA7368.  
Text by the British Museum, London.

Solid-cast copper alloy figure of Bes wearing lion skin, standing on a circular plinth with a hole through the centre.

**Figure 2.90.** *Bes Statue.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. EA36060.  
Text by the British Museum, London.

Solid-cast copper alloy figure of Bes wearing a lion skin; knob on head; each hand to chest holding club; feet broken off.

**Figure 2.91.** *Bes Statue.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. EA36085.  
Text by the British Museum, London.

Fragment of a glazed composition mould-made figurine of Bes; consisting of two legs, feet and a tail, standing on a rectangular base; green in colour with a bluish tinge.

**Figure 2.92.** *Bes Statue.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. EA84862.  
Text by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.93.** *Bes on a Horse.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Pottery. London, British Museum. EA15477. Photo by the British Museum, London.

Integral copper alloy finger-ring, much of hoop missing, the circular bezel is elaborated with an impressed representation of a bearded head, perhaps Bes.

**Figure 2.94.** *Bes Finger-Ring.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. EA51426. Text by the British Museum, London.

Green glazed composition amulet in the form of a standing figure of Bes; details schematic; back flat.

**Figure 2.95.** *Bes Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. EA61288. Text by the British Museum, London.

Hollow terracotta figure of Bes standing on a rectangular plinth with upper and lower mouldings. He is armed, with sword held high, and a highly decorated oval shield on his left arm. The shield is ultimately of Gaulish type, with a bound edge and a vertical spine crossed at its centre by a boss with horizontal fittings. The four quarters thus produced have confronted animal heads with long necks – they may be gryphons – but the detail is not sufficient for adequate recognition. Bes is naked except for a panther-skin with the forelegs resting on his shoulders, and a pendent head of a panther on his chest; he wears a feathered crown. A ridge descends from his genitals to the top of the plinth: it does not seem to be an elongated phallus, and must be his tail or the tail of the panther-skin. Back plain, with a circular vent. Two-piece mould. Orange-brown Nile silt, with a little mica and a dark-brown surface. Minute traces of pink paint here and there.

**Figure 2.96.** *Bes Dressed as a Solider.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.

London, British Museum. EA61297.

Text by the British Museum, London.

Hollow terracotta figure of Bes standing, naked except for his feathered crown and an amulet at his breast. On his left are two cakes with cabled edges and a rosette in their centre; on his right is a globular object that may be a pot. Flat-faced plinth. Back plain; circular vent. Two-piece mould. Micaceous red-brown Nile silt with a grey buff surface, perhaps a slip. White plaster-like substance smeared on front of the plinth; similar, or another white dressing, on edges of figure.

**Figure 2.97.** *Bes Statue.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Terracotta.

London, British Museum. EA37509.

Text by the British Museum, London.

Blue glass pendant with a head of Bes.

**Figure 2.98.** *Bes Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, late 4<sup>th</sup> Century- late 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Glass. London, British Museum. 1879,0522.12.

Text by the British Museum, London.

Greenish-blue glass pendant with a head of Bes.

**Figure 2.99.** *Bes Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, late 4<sup>th</sup> Century- late 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE. London, British Museum. 1879,0522.11.

Text by the British Museum, London.

Blue glass pendant in the form of a head of Bes.

**Figure 2.100.** *Bes Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, late 4<sup>th</sup> Century- late 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Glass. London, British Museum. 1879,0522.14.

Text by the British Museum, London.

Greenish-blue glass pendant with Bes in relief.

**Figure 2.101.** *Bes Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, late 4<sup>th</sup> Century- late 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Glass. London, British Museum. 1879,0522.15.

Text by the British Museum, London.

Brown glass pendant with Bes.



**Figure 2.102.** *Bes Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, late 4<sup>th</sup> Century- late 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Glass. London, British Museum. 1879,0522.16.  
Text by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.103.** *Bes Statue.* Late Hellenistic-Early Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE- 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Terracotta.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 74.51.1504.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.104.** *Bes with the God Tutu.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Limestone.  
New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 58.98.  
Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.105.** *Bes*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Basalt. London, British Museum. EA36856. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.106.** *Coin Featuring Kabeiros*. Hellenistic Period, 200-100 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1853,0716.216. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.107.** *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.* Hellenistic Period, 200-100 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1866,1201.844.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.108.** *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.* Hellenistic Period, 300-1 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. HPB,p84.8.B.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.109.** *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.* Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BCE. Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1872,0709.43.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.110.** *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.* Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. EH,p255.6.The.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.111.** *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.* Hellenistic Period, 200-100 BC, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. TC,p93.6.Tha.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.112.** *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.* Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1861,1112.37.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.113.** *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.* Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. RPK,p73.4.The. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.114.** *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.* Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1919,0304.1. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 2.115.** *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.* Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. BNK,G.141.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.116.** *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.* Hellenistic Period, 300-1 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1970,0503.2.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.117.** *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.* Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. TC,p99.9.The.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



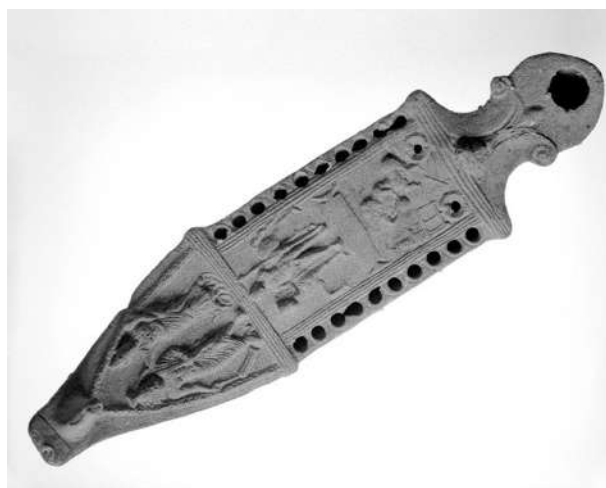
**Figure 2.118.** *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.* Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1841,B.633.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.119.** *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.* Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. HPB,p84.5.B.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.

Copper alloy coin.(obverse) Bust of the City, right, veiled and turreted: border of dots surrounding. (reverse) Kabeiros standing, left, holding rhyton and hammer: border of dots surrounding.

**Figure 2.120.** *Coin Featuring Kabeiroi.* Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1841,B.639.  
Text by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.121.** *Lamp with People with Dwarfism.* Hellenistic-Roman Period, 70-120 CE, Pottery.

London, British Museum. 1862,0414.1.  
Photos by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.122.** *Man with Dwarfism Riding a Frog.* Ptolemaic Period, 199-100 BCE, Terracotta.

London, British Museum. 2005,0920.1.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 2.123.** *Man with Dwarfism*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1888,0601.104. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.124.** *Lamp with People with Dwarfism*. Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Pottery. London, British Museum. 1980,1001.15. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.125.** *Man with Dwarfism*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Faience. London, British Museum. M.49. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.126.** *Man with Dwarfism*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1837,0717.162. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.127.** *Person with Dwarfism.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. M.68. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.128.** *Man with Dwarfism.* Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1886,0401.1444. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.129.** *Man with Dwarfism.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1936,1229.1.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.130.** *Man with Dwarfism.* Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1925,1120.18.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.131.** *Actor with Dwarfism.* Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1906,0512.4. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.132.** *Man with Dwarfism.* Hellenistic Period, 100-30 BCE, Bronze. London, British Museum. 1925,0120.2. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.133.** Man with Dwarfism. Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Bronze.  
London, British Museum. 1824,0431.2.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.134.** *Woman with Dwarfism Dancing.* Hellenistic Period, 150-100 BCE,  
Bronze.  
London, British Museum, 1926,0415.32.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.135.** *Man with Dwarfism*. Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1882,0729.8. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.136.** *Musician with Dwarfism*. Ptolemaic Period, 330-30 BCE, Faience. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 08.480.116. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.





**Figure 2.137.** *Man with Dwarfism Dancing*. Ptolemaic Period, 332-150 BCE, Marble. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 26.7.1403. Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.138.** *Man with Dwarfism*. Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 2000.667.1. Photos by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.





**Figure 2.139.** *Man with Dwarfism.* Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 2000.667.2a and 2000.667.2b. Photos by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.140.** *Man with Dwarfism Sampling Goods from a Tray.* Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE-1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Bronze and Silver. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 97.22.9. Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Marshall, Taxila, plate 133 nos 27-35, 37-50 (Photos.) Terracotta figurines including a standing male figure wearing a dhoti, standing male figure in traditional dress, standing male figure in Hellenistic dress, standing male figure with goat at his side, seated male figure, male and female figures standing side by side, pot bellied dwarfs and Greek figurines.

**Figure 2.141.** *People with Dwarfism.* Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE-1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. Marshall, B6.133.  
Text by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 2.142.** *Man with Dwarfism Carrying a Jug.* Hellenistic-Early Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE-1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Terracotta.  
New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 16.223.  
Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 2.143.** *Obelisk Depicting Woman with Dwarfism.* Ptolemaic Period, 330-30 BCE, Limestone.

New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 50.169.

Photos by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.1.** *Wedjat.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Faience.

New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 37.1294E.

Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.2.** *Wedjat*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Faience.  
New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 05.343.  
Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.3.** *Wedjat*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Faience.  
New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 53.89.  
Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.4.** *Wedjat*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Faience.  
New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 02.235.  
Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.5.** *Wedjat*. Late Dynastic-Hellenistic Period, 664-30 BCE.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 74.51.4530.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.6.** *Wedjat*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Glazed Composition.

London, British Museum. 1885,1101.34.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 3.7.** *Wedjat*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Glazed Composition.

London, British Museum. 1885,1101.38.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 3.8.** *Wedjat*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Glazed Composition.  
 London, British Museum. 1887,0101.661.  
 Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 3.9.** *Wedjat*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Glazed Composition.  
 London, British Museum. 1887,0101.664.  
 Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 3.10.** *Wedjat*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Glazed Composition.  
 London, British Museum. 1887,0101.716.  
 Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 3.11.** *Wedjat*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Glazed Composition.  
 London, British Museum. 1887,0101.662.  
 Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 3.12.** *Wedjat*. Cypro-Classical Period, 750-300 BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. 1894,1101.692. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 3.13.** *Wedjat*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664–30 BCE, Obsidian. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 04.2.395. Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.14.** *Wedjat*. Ptolemaic Period, 332–30 BCE, Gold. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 23.2.67. Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.





**Figure 3.15.** *Wedjat*. Ptolemaic Period, 332–30 BCE, Gold.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 23.2.68.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.16.** *Gold Wedjat*. Ptolemaic Period, 332–30 BCE, Gold with Filigree Ornament. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 30.8.377.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.17.** *Wedjat*. Ptolemaic Period, 332–30 BCE, Carnelian.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 89.2.416.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.18.** *Wedjat*. Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BCE, Terracotta. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 16.580.219. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.19.** *Gold Wedjat*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Gold. London, British Museum. 1887,0101.561. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 3.20.** *Wedjats (Eyes of Horus)*. Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Jasper. London, British Museum. 1897,0112.1323. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 3.21.** *Nehebkau Holding a Wedjat.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Wood.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 10.130.2440.

Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.22.** *Cat Wearing a Wedjat.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Leaded Bronze. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 56.16.1.

Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.23.** *Cat Wearing a Wedjat.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 10.130.1332.

Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.24.** *Cat Wearing a Wedjat.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 04.2.812.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.25.** *Cat Wearing a Wedjat.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 04.2.477.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.26.** *Cat Wearing a Wedjat.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 30.8.104.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.27.** *Relief Panel showing Two Baboons Offering the Wedjat Eye to the Sun God Khepri, who holds the Underworld Sign.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BCE, Limestone.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 66.99.73.

Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.28.** *Baboon with Wedjat.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Faience.

New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 08.480.80.

Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.29.** *Baboon with Wedjat.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Limestone. London, British Museum. 1908,0411.52. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 3.30.** *Shrew Mummy Box.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 90.6.292. Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.





**Figure 3.31.** *Shrew Mummy Box*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 04.2.656.

Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.32.** *Shrew Mummy Sculpture*. Ptolemaic Period, 304-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 4.2.465.

Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.33.** *Shrew Mummy Box*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Bronze.

New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 37.411Ea-b.

Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.





**Figure 3.34.** *Shrew Mummy Sculpture.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Bronze. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 05.368. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.35.** *Shrew Mummy Box.* Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BCE, Wood, Gesso, Pigment. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 53.82.1. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.36.** *Shrew Mummy Box.* Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BCE, Wood, Gesso, Pigment. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 53.82.2. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.37.** *Shrew Mummy Box*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Bronze, Animal Remains. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 37.410Ea-b. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.38.** *Megarian Cup Fragment Featuring Oedipus*. Hellenistic Period, 300-100 BCE, Pottery. London, British Museum. 1871,0512.2. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 3.39.** *Oedipus*. Hellenistic Period, 300-100 BCE, Pottery. London, British Museum. 1856,1004.148. Photo by the British Museum, London.



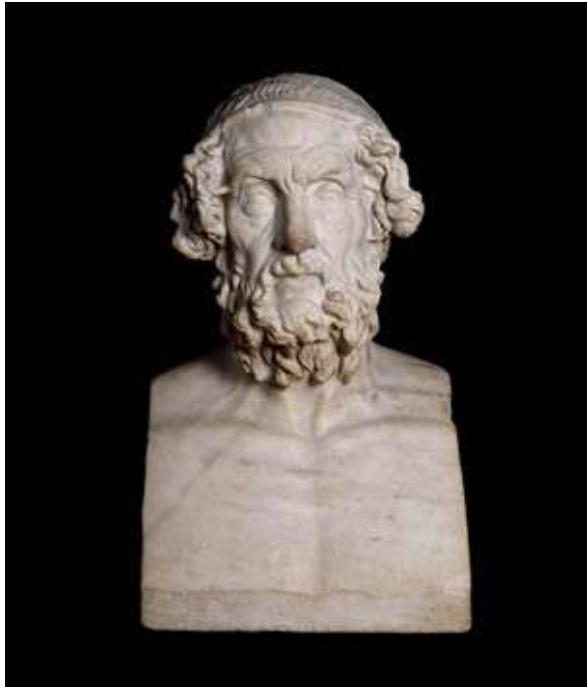
**Figure 3.40.** *Blind Harpist*. Saite-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Limestone, Ink. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 23.3.31. Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.41.** *Fayyum Mummy Portrait, Young Man with Surgical Scar.* Ptolemaic?-Roman Period, 32 BCE- 210 CE, Encaustic Paint on Limewood. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 09.181.4. Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



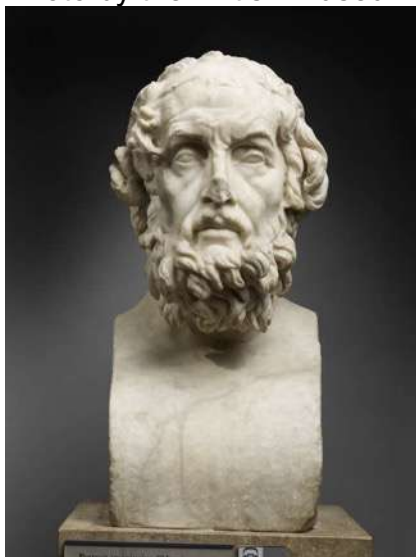
**Figure 3.42.** *Ostrakon with Prayer to Amun.* Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BCE. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 37.1821E. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.43.** *Bust of Homer.* Roman Copy of Hellenistic Original, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Marble.

London, British Museum. 1805,0703.85.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 3.44.** *Bust of Homer.* Roman Copy of Hellenistic Original, Original c.150 BCE, Marble.

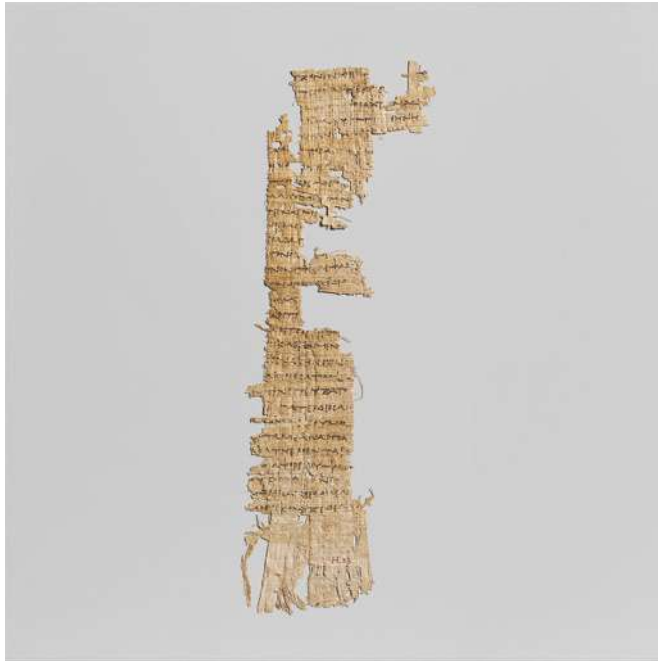
Paris, The Louvre. Ma 440.

Photo by the Louvre, Paris.



**Figure 3.45.** *The Apotheosis of Homer* by Archelaos of Priene. Ptolemaic Period, 225-205 BCE, Marble.  
London, British Museum. 1819,0812.1.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 3.46.** *Papyrus Copy of Homer's Odyssey.* Hellenistic Period, 285-250 BCE, Papyrus.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 09.182.50.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 3.47.** *Coin Featuring a Seated Homer on the Reverse.* Hellenistic Period, 75-50 BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. 1994,0915.152.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 3.48.** *Coin Featuring a Seated Homer Holding a Scroll on Obverse.* Hellenistic Period, 50 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1994,0915.135. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 3.49.** *Coin Featuring a Seated Homer on Reverse.* Hellenistic Period, 190-75 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1994,0915.151. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 3.50.** *Wedjat*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Sheet Gold. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 08.480.217. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.





**Figure 4.1.** *Child with a Walker.* Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 1996,0712.2.  
Photos by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.2.** *Harpocrates.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. AN1896-1908-EA.616.  
Photos by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.3.** *Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. EA49137. Photos by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.4.** *Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 9,9,86,105.b. Photos by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.5.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, Basalt.  
London, British Museum. EA35621.  
Photos by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.6.** *Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE,  
Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. H1029.3.  
Photos by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.7.** *Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. H1029.2. Photos by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.8.** *Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 9,9,86,105.a. Photos by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.9.** *Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. EA60975. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.10.** *Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. H1029.1.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.11.** *Seated Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy, Electrum.  
London, British Museum. EA64487.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 4.12.** *Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 86.253. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.13.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BCE, Bronze.  
New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 47.87.  
Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 4.14.** *Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE,  
Copper Alloy.  
London, British Museum. 86.252.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.15.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 300-200 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. CG32822. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.16.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BCE, Painted Pottery. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 37.1622E. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 4.17.** *Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. EA67198. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.18.** *Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. EA60992. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.19.** *Harpocrates*. Hellenistic Period, late 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Moulded Glass.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 17.194.419.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



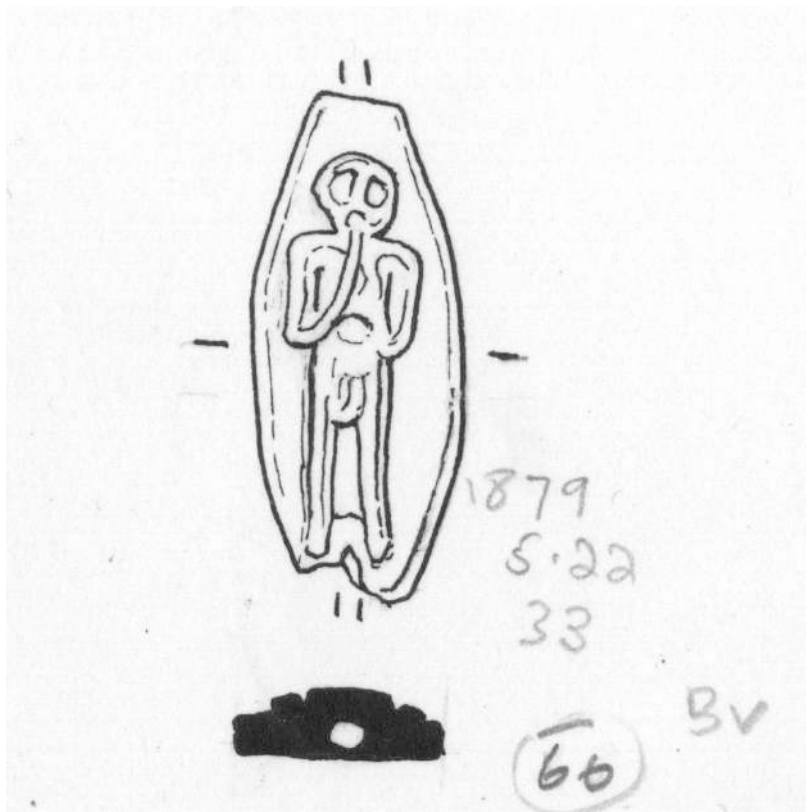
**Figure 4.20.** *Harpocrates*. Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE-1<sup>st</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Moulded Glass.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 17.194.421.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 4.21.** *Harpocrates*. Hellenistic Period, late 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Moulded Glass.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 17.194.420.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 4.22.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Glazed Composition.  
London, British Museum. E20829.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.23.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE-1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Glass, Gold. London, British Museum. 1879,0522.33. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.24.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1982,0301.1. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.25.** *Harpocrates Alabastron*. Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 2011,5016.6. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 4.26.** *Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1886.31.60.a. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.27.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BCE, Bronze. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 37.533E. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 4.28.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1990,0601.2. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.29.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 300-100 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. AN1888.176. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.30.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 245 BC, Silver. London, British Museum. 1845,0705.1. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.31.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE-1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Pottery. London, British Museum. EA46702. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.32.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1972,0125.8. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.33.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 300-100 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. E20832. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.34.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 300-100 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 86.397. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.35.** *Seated Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE- 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Painted Terracotta. London, British Museum. CG43445. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.36.** *Seated Harpocrates.* Ptolemaic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century -2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. EA37507. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.37.** *Seated Harpocrates.* Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 200 BCE- 200 CE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 86.436. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 4.38.** *Seated Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century -1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Pottery. London, British Museum. EA37631. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.39.** *Seated Harpocrates*. Late Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE-1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Bronze. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 05.338. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.





**Figure 4.40.** *Isis Carrying Harpocrates.* Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 1888,0601.107.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.41.** *Isis Carrying Harpocrates.* Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1888,0601.108. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.42.** *Isis Nursing Harpocrates.* 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty-Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. EA63797. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.43.** *Isis Nursing Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 9,9,86,102.a. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.44.** *Isis Nursing Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 86.247. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.45.** *Isis Nursing Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 630-200 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. EA49136. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.46.** *Isis Nursing Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 330-30 BCE, Limestone. London, British Museum. EA60749. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.47.** *Isis Nursing Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum 9,9,86,102.b. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.48.** *Isis Nursing Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Bronze. London, British Museum. EA60756. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.49.** *Isis Nursing Harpocrates.* Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE, Calcite. London, British Museum. E.4.1909. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.50.** *Isis Nursing Harpocrates.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. 9,9,86,58. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.51.** *Isis Nursing Harpocrates.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. H3538. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.52.** *Isis Nursing Harpocrates.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1886.31.59. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.53.** *Isis Nursing Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 330-250 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1886,0401.1446. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.54.** *Isis Nursing Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. AN1896-1908-EA.849. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 4.55.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Bronze.  
London, British Museum. EA35417.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.56.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 330-30 BC, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. AN1896-1908-E.4729.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.57.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 330-100 BC, Terracotta. London, British Museum. AN1896-1908-E.4735. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.58.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. EA68834. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.59.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1933,1020.1. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.60.** *Harpocrates*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 86.435. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.61.** *Harpocrates*. Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 86.434. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.62.** *Harpocrates Riding a Goose*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. NA490. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.63.** *Harpocrates Riding a Goose*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. NA489. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.64.** *Harpocrates Riding a Goose*. Ptolemaic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 1972,0125.6.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.65.** *Harpocrates Riding a Goose*. Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE-1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. EA37559.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.66.** *Harpocrates Riding a Goose*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. EA22159.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.67.** *Harpocrates in a Chariot*. Ptolemaic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1986,1006.12. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 4.68.** *Harpocrates Riding an Elephant.* Hellenistic or Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Lead.  
London, British Museum. 1814,0704.1649.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.69.** *Harpocrates Riding a Horse.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE,  
Pottery.  
London, British Museum. EA24372.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



Figure 4.70. Harpocrates Riding a Horse. Ptolemaic, 330-250 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. A.1832. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.71.** *Harpocrates Riding a Horse.* Ptolemaic Period 330-250 BCE, Terracotta, London, British Museum. GR.11.1885. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.72.** *Harpocrates Riding a Goose*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 1886,0401.1450.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.73.** *Harpocrates Riding a Horse*. Ptolemaic Period, 330-250 BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 86.410.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.74.** *Harpocrates Riding a Horse*. Ptolemaic Period, 330-250 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. E20831. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.75.** *Harpocrates Riding a Horse*. Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. NA499.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.76.** *Harpocrates Riding a Horse*. Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. 7624. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.77.** *Harpocrates Riding a Horse*. Ptolemaic Period 330-250 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. GR.10.1885. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.78.** *Harpocrates Eros*. Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE- 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. D397. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.79.** *Harpocrates Eros*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Gold.

London, British Museum. EA29499.

Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 4.80.** *Harpocrates holding an Athena Shrine.* Ptolemaic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Pottery.

London, British Museum. 1963,0715.48.

Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 4.81.** *Harpocrates Shrine being Carried by Priests.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Painted Terracotta. London, British Museum. EA37546. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.82.** *Harpocrates Shrine being Carried by Priests.* Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Clay. London, British Museum. 1986,1006.13. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.83.** *Priest Carrying a Harpocrates Statue.* Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 1995,1211.1.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.84.** *Priest Wearing a Harpocrates Amulet.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1881,0709.10. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.85.** *Harpocrates Shrine*. Ptolemaic Period, 200-30 BCE, Pottery. London, British Museum. 86.471. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.86.** *Harpocrates Shrine*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Clay. London, British Museum. 1986,1006.11.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.87.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus*. Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Pottery. London, British Museum. EA37524.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.88.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus.* Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 1986,1006.5.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.89.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 1973,0501.13.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.90.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 330-200 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1973,0501.14. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.91.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BCE, Limestone. London, British Museum. E.85.1914. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 4.92.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BCE, Limestone.  
London, British Museum. EA90351.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.93.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BCE, Limestone.  
London, British Museum. E.118.1914.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.94.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BCE, Limestone.  
London, British Museum. E.131.1914.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.95.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 600-300 BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 1973,0501.61.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.96.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 500-250 BC, Terracotta.

London, British Museum. 1973,0501.48.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.97.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 500-250 BCE, Terracotta.

London, British Museum. 1973,0501.40.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.98.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 500-250 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1973,0501.67. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.99.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 500-250 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1973,0501.66. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.100.** Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus. Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BCE, Terracotta.

London, British Museum. E20834.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.101.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus.* Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.

London, British Museum. 1982,0406.6.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.102.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1973,0501.28. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.103.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> Century BCE, Glazed Composition. London, British Museum. EA90388. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.104.** *Harpocrates with Enlarged Phallus.* Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. EA90389. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.105.** *Harpocrates Having Sex with a Woman.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. NA598. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.106.** *Harpocrates Having Sex with a Woman.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 1973,0501.50.  
Photos by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 4.107.** *Harpocrates Cippus*. Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Steatite. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 60.73  
Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 4.108.** *Harpocrates Stele.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Steatite.

London, British Museum. EA36250.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.109.** *Harpocrates Stele*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Limestone.

London, British Museum. AN1896-1908-E.4561.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.110.** *Harpocrates Stele.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Steatite.  
London, British Museum. EA60961.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.111.** *Harpocrates Stele.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Steatite  
London, British Museum. EA27373.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.112.** *Harpocrates on a Stele with other Gods.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Limestone. London, British Museum. EA1426. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 4.113.** *Harpocrates on a Stele with other Gods.* Ptolemaic Period, 222-204 BCE, Limestone, Gold. London, British Museum. 1885,1101.1. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.114.** *Harpocratis.* Ptolemaic Period, 200-30 BCE, Pottery. London, British Museum. 2002,0419.5. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.115.** *Harpocratis*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. EA27333.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.116.** *Harpocratis*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 1972,0125.4.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 4.117.** *Harpocratis*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. EA37560. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 4.118.** *Harpocratis*. Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1928,0612.1. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.1.** *Emaciated Youth with Clubfoot and Possible Lead Poisoning.* Late Hellenistic-Early Roman Period, copy of a Hellenistic Original, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE- 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Bronze. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC. BZ.1947.22. Photo from Picon and Hemingway. (2016: Figure 73).



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**Figure 5.2.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1906,1103.300. Photo by the British Museum, London.

**Figure 5.3.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1955,1107.44. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.4.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1919,0213.1304. Photo by the British Museum, London.

**Figure 5.5.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1933,1107.8. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.6.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1933,1107.9. Photo by the British Museum, London.

**Figure 5.7.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1937,0508.72.A. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.8.** *Hephæstus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. EH,p3.3.Luc. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.9.** *Hephæstus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1908,1111.140. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.10.** *Hephæstus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1998,0202.57. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.11.** *Hephæstus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1867,1109.98. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.12.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1905,0310.1. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.13.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. RPK, Gre.15. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.14.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1933,1107.12. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.15.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1955,1107.46. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 5.16.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1335. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.17.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1950,1006.272. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.18.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1843,0116.227. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.19.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. R.7894. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.20.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1321. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.21.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1843,0116.225. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.22.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1843,0116.222. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.23.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. R1956,0409.33. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.24.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1336. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.25.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1330. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.26.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1324. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.27.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE- 4<sup>th</sup> Century CE, Lead. London, British Museum. B.8105. Photo by the British Museum, London.





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**Figure 5.28.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. RPK, Gre.17. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.29.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. EH,p3.1.Luc. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.30.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1866,1201.3956. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.31.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. G.2989. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.32.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy  
London, British Museum. 1928,1004.95.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.33.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver.  
London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1323.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.34.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver.  
London, British Museum. R.7896.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.35.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1331. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.36.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1332. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.37.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1901,0407.71. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.38.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1329. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.39.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1843,0116.226. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.40.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1867,0101.1145. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 5.41.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver.  
London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1326.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.42.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver.  
London, British Museum. R.7895.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.43.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver.  
London, British Museum. 1901,0407.72.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.44.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1843,0116.223. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.45.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1322. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.46.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1328. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.47.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1871,0506.2. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.48.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1320. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.49.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1950,1006.273. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.50.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1327. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.51.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver.  
London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1325.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.52.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver.  
London, British Museum. 1843,0116.229.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.53.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver.  
London, British Museum. 1843,0116.224.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 5.54.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1843,0116.228. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.55.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1867,0101.1144. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.56.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1334. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.57.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 105 BCE, Silver.  
London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1333.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.58.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 112-111 BCE, Silver.  
London, British Museum. R.7814.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.59.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 112-111 BCE, Silver.  
London, British Museum. 1901,0407.81.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.60.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 112-111 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1128. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figures 5.61-5.62.** *Hephaestus Coins.* Greek, 268-225 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1867,0101.29 & 1869,1001.11. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.63.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1867,0101.1616. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 5.64.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Greek, 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 2013,4030.173.



Photo by the British Museum, London.  
**Figure 5.65.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Greek, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 2013,4030.9.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.66.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Roman, 112-111 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. R.7816.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.67.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 112-111 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 2002,0102.1129. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.68.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 112-111 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. R.7815. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.69.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Roman, 112-111 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1866,1201.4165. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.70.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Roman, 112-111 BCE, Silver. London, British Museum. 1929,0709.2. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.71.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1933,1107.7. Photo by the British Museum, London.

**Figure 5.72.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1914,0905.201. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.73.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1847,0619.1. Photo by the British Museum, London.

**Figure 5.74.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. EH,p3.5.Luc. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.75.** Hephaestus Coin. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. EH,p5.4.Urs. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.76.** Hephaestus Coin. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1844,0115.165. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.77.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1866,1201.4253. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.78.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1933,1107.11. Photo by the British Museum, London.





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**Figure 5.79.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1906,1103.299. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.80.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1928,0817.8. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.81.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. DEV.5. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.82.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1908,1111.139. Photo by the British Museum, London.





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**Figure 5.83.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1844,0115.166. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.84.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1928,1004.96. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.85.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1955,1107.45. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.86.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1933,1107.10. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.87.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. HPB,p14.16. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.88.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1928,0817.9. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.89.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. EH,p3.2.Luc. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.90.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1906,1103.298. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.91** . *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. RPK, Gre.16. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.92**. *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1867,1109.99. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.93**. *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. G.2987. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.94**. *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1908,1111.138. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.95.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1919,0213.1303. Photo by the British Museum, London.

**Figure 5.96.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1908,1111.141. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.97.** *Hephaestus Coin*. Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1937,0508.72. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.98.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Greek, 250-200 BCE, Copper Alloy. London, British Museum. 1867,0101.26. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.99.** *Hephaestus.* Roman copy of Greek Original, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE, Bronze. London, British Museum. 1824,0493.2. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.100.** *Hephaestus.* Greek, 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC, Bronze. London, British Museum. 1868,0520.57. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.101.** *Hephaestus*. Greek, 400-330 BCE, Bronze. London, British Museum. 1914,1117.1. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.102.** *Hephaestus*. Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1925,1120.10. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 5.103.** *Engraved Gem Featuring Olympian Gods.* Roman Imperial/Found in Alexandria, Egypt, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE, Engraved Sard. London, British Museum, 1874,0510.1. Photo by the British Museum, London.



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**Figure 5.104.** *Hephaestus Coin.* Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy London, British Museum. RPK, Gre.14. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 6.1.** *Fayum Mummy Portrait.* Roman Period, 70-120 CE, Limewood, Wax, Encaustic. London, British Museum. EA74707. Photo by the British Museum, London.





**Figure 6.2.** *Man with Pott's Disease.* Ptolemaic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Ivory. London, British Museum. 1814,0704.277. Photos by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 6.3.** *Man with Pott's Disease.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Pottery. London, British Museum. 1814,0704.304. Photos by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 6.4.** *Man with Pott's Disease.* Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> -1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Bronze. London, British Museum. 1824,0431.6. Photos by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 6.5.** *Man with Pott's Disease.* Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.

London, British Museum. EA37550.

Photos by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 6.6.** *Votive Offering Depicting a Man and a Child with a Walking Stick.* Hellenistic-Roman Imperial Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Marble. London, British Museum. 1922,0504.96. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 6.7.** *Man with Kyphotic Spine Curvature.* Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> -1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Bronze.

London, British Museum. 1922,0712.6.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 6.8.** *Man with Exaggerated Features.* Hellenistic-Roman Imperial Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE-1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Terracotta.

London, British Museum. 1814,0704.828.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 6.9.** *Man with Exaggerated Features.* Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 28.168.2.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 6.10.** *Man with Kyphotic Spine Curvature.* Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE- 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Bronze.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 12.229.6.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.





**Figure 6.11.** *Man with Exaggerated Features: Possibly An Actor.* Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 07.286.12. Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 6.12.** *Emaciated Man with Exaggerated Features Holding A Shield.* Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 2000.305.2. Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 6.13.** *Man with Kyphotic Spinal Curvature.* Hellenistic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1907,0518.9. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 6.14.** *Man with Scoliotic Spinal Curvature.* Late Ptolemaic Period, 145-30 BCE, Terracotta. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 16.276. Photos by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.





**Figure 6.15.** *Child with Possible Cleft Lip or Cleft Palate.* Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 1953,0501.4.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 6.16.** *Man with Missing Teeth.* Hellenistic-Roman Imperial Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE- 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 1914,0516.10.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 6.17.** *Head of a Man with Possible Microcephaly.* Hellenistic-Roman Imperial Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE- 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1914,0516.7. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 6.18.** *Male Torso with Possible Pott's Disease.* Hellenistic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1867,1122.185. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 6.19.** *Male Torso with Kyphotic Spinal Curvature.* Hellenistic Period, 4<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.  
London, British Museum. 1868,0620.281.  
Photos by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 6.20.** *Emaciated Young Woman.* Late Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, Terracotta.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 89.2.2141.  
Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 6.21.** *Nude Woman*. Classical Greek- Hellenistic Period, 350-290 BCE, Terracotta.

London, British Museum. 1875,0309.9.

Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 6.22.** *Glass Cane Fragment*. Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BCE, Glass.

New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 53.177.2.

Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 7.1.** *Imhotep*. Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BCE, Bronze. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 37.373E. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 7.2.** *Imhotep*. Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BCE, Bronze. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 37.374E. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 7.3.** *Imhotep*. Late- Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Bronze, Gold.  
New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 08.480.24  
Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 7.4.** *Imhotep*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 381-30 BCE, Bronze.  
New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 36.623.  
Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 7.5.** *Imhotep*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 10.175.132. Photos by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 7.6.** *Imhotep*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal & Precious Metal Inlay.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 10.130.1310.

Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.





**Figure 7.7.** *Asclepius*. Classical-Hellenistic Period, 400-300 BCE, Marble. London, British Museum. 1939,0327.3. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 7.8.** *Asclepius*. Hellenistic Period, 200-150 BCE, Marble. London, British Museum. 1874,0805.115. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 7.9.** *Asclepius*. Hellenistic Period, 325-300 BCE, Marble.  
London, British Museum. 1867,0508.115.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 7.10 (491).** *Asclepius*. Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, Marble.  
London, British Museum. 1868,0620.3.  
Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 7.11** (492). *Asclepius*. Hellenistic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Terracotta. London, British Museum. 1868,0110.742. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 7.12**. *Votive Statue of a Left Foot*. Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Limestone. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art. 34.1001.

Photo by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 7.13.** *Head of a Priest.* Late-Ptolemaic Period, 360-343 BCE, Basalt. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1989.281.102. Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



**Figure 7.14.** *Copper Strainer.* Ptolemaic Period, 323-30 BCE, Bronze. London, British Museum. EA38230. Photo by the British Museum, London.



**Figure 7.15.** *Female Mummy with Arm Prosthesis.* Ptolemaic Period, 300-200 BCE, Organic Material.  
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- Bes-Image of the god Hor-Asha-Khet*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Bronze, Gold, Electrum, Auriferous-silver, Copper, and Copper Alloys, H: 16.8 cm, W: 9.6 cm, D: 6.7 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547904>



- Bes Medallion* (EA59413), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Glazed Composition, L: 8.04 cm, W: 7.29 cm, T: 2.51 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)
- Bes Pendant* (1879,0522.11), Ptolemaic Period, late 4<sup>th</sup> Century- late 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Glass, L: 4.1 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)
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- Bes Pendant* (1879,0522.15), Ptolemaic Period, late 4<sup>th</sup> Century- late 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Glass, L: 2.6 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)
- Bes Pendant* (1879,0522.16), Ptolemaic Period, late 4<sup>th</sup> Century- late 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Glass, L: 2.2 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)
- Bes Ring* (EA51426), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Copper Alloy, D: 1.29 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)
- Bes Standing on a Papyriform Capital, Beset on Opposite Side*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 9.3 cm, W: 2.7 cm, L: 2.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/552463>
- Bes Statuette* (EA64622), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Egyptian Blue, H: 4.16 cm, W: 4.22 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)
- Bes with Worshiper*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Bronze or Copper Alloy, H: 13.2 cm, W: 5.5 cm, L: 14.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548217>
- Beset Figure* (1995,0123.1), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 14.8 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)
- Beset Figure* (EA37581), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 15.6 cm, W: 5.25 cm, D: 3.43 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed

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*Box for Animal Mummy* (90.6.292), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC Cupreous Metal, H: 4.3 cm, W: 2.5 cm, L: 10.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570715>

*Bronze Grotesque*, Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC- AD 1<sup>st</sup> Century, Bronze, H: 10.2 cm, W: 3.2 cm, D: 2.2 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed January 2021,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/248675>

*Bronze Statuette of Dwarf with Silver Eyes* (97.22.9), Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Bronze and Silver, H: 7.9 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551343>

*Bronze Statuette of a Rider Wearing an Elephant Skin*, Hellenistic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Bronze, H: 24.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/254825>

*Bust* (1907,0519.11), Hellenistic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC- 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Terracotta, Gold, H: 6.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1907-0519-11](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1907-0519-11)

*Bust of Alexander*, Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 150 BC-200 AD, Copper Alloy, H: 6.4 cm, W: 5.4 cm, D: 3.6 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551074>

*Bust of Philip II of Macedon*, 1<sup>st</sup> Century Roman Copy of Greek Original, Chiaramonti Museum, The Vatican/Alfredo Dagli Orti,  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip\\_II\\_of\\_Macedon#/media/File:Philip-ii-of-macedon.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip_II_of_Macedon#/media/File:Philip-ii-of-macedon.jpg), Accessed September 9, 2020

*Cane*, Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Glass, L: 3.1 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, accessed January 2021,  
<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/67377>

*Cat* (04.2.477), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 6.1 cm, W: 2.1 cm, L: 3.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570721>

*Cat* (04.2.812), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 11.9 cm, W: 4 cm, L: 6.7 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570737>

*Cat* (10.130.1332), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 15.8 cm, W: 5.8 cm, L: 11.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed

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*Cat Figurine* (30.8.104), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Cupreous Metal, H: 11.8 cm, W: 4.5 cm, L: 8.4 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/57210>

*Cat Statuette intended to contain a Mummified Cat* (56.16.1), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Leaded Bronze, H: 32 cm, W: 11.9 cm, D: 23.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544118>

*Cippus* (AN1896-1908-E.4561), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Limestone, H: 6.70 cm, T: 2.30 cm, W: 2.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Cippus* (EA27373), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Steatite, H: 22 cm, W: 4.88 cm, T: 2.71 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Cippus* (EA27374) Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Green Steatite, H: 14.98 cm, W: 6.21 cm, T: 2 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Cippus* (EA36250), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Black Steatite, H: 19.5 cm, W: 13 cm, D: 6.1 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Cippus* (EA60961), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Steatite, H: 9.60 cm, W: 9.09 cm, D: 3.55 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Cippus of Horus on the Crocodiles*, Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Steatite, H: 23.2 cm, W: 13.5 cm, D: 5.6 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, Accessed February 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3684>

*Clepsydra* (EA938), Ptolemaic Period, c. 320 BC, Basalt, H: 34 cm, W: 30 cm, D: 7 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Coffin; Cartonnage; Mummy-Case; Human Mummy* (EA6699), Ptolemaic Period, 330-30 BC, Wood, Human Remains, Human Tissue, Painted Plaster, Coffin L: 137.50 cm, Mummy L: 120 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2019, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA6699](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA6699)

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*Coin* (1843,0116.222), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.76 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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*Coin* (1843,0116.223), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.87 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1843-0116-223](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1843-0116-223)

*Coin* (1843,0116.224), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.68 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1843-0116-224](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1843-0116-224)

*Coin* (1843,0116.225), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.76 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1843-0116-225](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1843-0116-225)

*Coin* (1843,0116.226), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.91 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1843-0116-226](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1843-0116-226)

*Coin* (1843,0116.227), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.85 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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*Coin* (1843,0116.228), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.19 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1843-0116-228](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1843-0116-228)

*Coin* (1843,0116.229), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.92 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1843-0116-229](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1843-0116-229)

*Coin* (1844,0115.165), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 4.24 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1844-0115-165](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1844-0115-165)

*Coin* (1844,0115.166), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 2.34 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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*Coin* (1847,0619.1), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 3.39 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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*Coin; Greek* (1853,0716.216), Hellenistic Period, 200-100 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 8.12 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020,  
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- Coin; Greek* (1861,1112.37), Hellenistic Period, 187-31 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.7 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020,  
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- Coin; Greek* (1866,1201.844), Hellenistic Period, 200-100 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.43 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020,  
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- Coin* (1866,1201.3956), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE, Copper Alloy, W: 9.43 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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- Coin* (1866,1201.4165), Roman, 112-111 BC, Silver, W: 3.71 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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- Coin* (1866,1201.4253), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 2.55 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1866-1201-4253](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1866-1201-4253)
- Coin* (1867,0101.26) Greek, 250-200 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 9.58 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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- Coin* (1867,0101.29), Greek, 268-225 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 6.90 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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- Coin* (1867,0101.1616), Roman, 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE, Silver, W: 3.19 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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- Coin* (1867,0506.7), Hellenistic Period, 228-182 BC, Silver, D: 34 mm, W: 17.21 g, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020,  
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- Coin* (1867,1109.99) Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 5.72 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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- Coin* (1869,1001.11), Greek, 268-225 BC, Copper Alloy, W: 6.36 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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- Coin* (1871,0506.2), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.91 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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- Coin* (1901,0407.72), Roman, 105 BC, Silver, W: 3.95 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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- Coin* (1901,0407.81), Roman, 112-111 BC, Silver, W: 3.93 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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- Coin* (1905,0310.1), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 13.10 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020,  
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- Coin* (1906,1103.298) Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 10.43 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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- Coin* (1906,1103.300), Ibero-Punic, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 6.35 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020,  
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- Coin* (1908,1111.138) Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 7.13 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
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- Coin* (1908,1111.139), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 8.78 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1908-1111-139](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1908-1111-139)
- Coin* (1908,1111.140), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 1.54 g, London, British Museum, accessed December 2020, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1908-1111-140](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1908-1111-140)
- Coin* (1908,1111.141) Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 4.70 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1908-1111-141](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1908-1111-141)
- Coin* (1914,0905.201), Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 8.80 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1914-0905-201](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1914-0905-201)
- Coin* (1919,0213.1303) Ibero-Punic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, W: 13.21 g, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1919-0213-1303](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1919-0213-1303)
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*Figure* (1982,0301.1), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 16.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

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*Figure* (1986,1006.5), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 7.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

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*Figure* (1996,0712.2), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 12 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

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*Figure* (D397), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC- 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 12.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (E20832), Ptolemaic Period, 300-100 BC, Terracotta, H: 5.60 cm, T: 2.90 cm, W: 4.80 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (E20834), Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Terracotta, H: 5.50 cm, W: 2.80 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (E.4.1909), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Calcite, H: 5.20 cm, L: 2.60 cm, W: 3.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (E.85.1914), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Limestone, H: 6.70 cm, L: 7.90 cm, W: 3.60 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (E.118.1914), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Limestone, H: 4.30 cm, L:

7 cm, W: 2.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (E.131.1914), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Limestone, H: 7.10 cm, L: 7.10 cm, W: 2.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA22159), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 13.90 cm, W: 8.20 cm, D: 4.33 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA24372), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 15.30 cm, W: 8.37 cm, D: 4.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA37507), Ptolemaic, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 14.90 cm, W: 10.63, D: 4.35 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA37524), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 15.20 cm, W: 10.60 cm, D: 4.74 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA37546), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Painted Terracotta, H: 18 cm, W: 10.84 cm, D: 3.38 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA37550), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 9.07 cm, W: 7.33 cm, D: 4.61 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA37550](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA37550)

*Figure* (EA37559), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 17.50 cm, W: 10.75 cm, D: 4.33 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA37560), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 20.50 cm, W: 11.12 cm, D: 7.56 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA49136), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 630-200 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 9.45 cm, W: 2.95 cm, D: 1.60 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA49137), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BC, Copper Alloy, H: 2.95 cm, W: 0.80 cm, D: 0.85 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA60749), Ptolemaic Period, 330-30 BC, Limestone, H: 35 cm, W: 8 cm, D: 18 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA60756), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Bronze, H: 23.60 cm, W: 6 cm, D: 8.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA60975), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 8.10 cm, W: 2.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA60992), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 22.30 cm, W: 5.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA63797), 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty-Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 12.20 cm, W: 3.13 cm, D: 5.94 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA64487), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, Electrum, H: 15 cm, W: 4.80 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA67198), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 15.40 cm, W: 4.20 cm, D: 6 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA68834), Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century-3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, H: 8.18 cm, W: 5.76 cm, D: 5.57 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA90351), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Limestone, H: 4.62 cm, L: 5.30 cm, W: 2.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (EA90388), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 3.70 cm, W: 1.65 cm, D: 1.65 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (M.68), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 1.1 in, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2019,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (NA489), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 11.30 cm, T: 3.70 cm, W: 6.20 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (NA490), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 9.60 cm, T: 3.60 cm, W: 7.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure* (NA598), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 400-200 BC, Terracotta, H: 3.40 cm, L: 5.90 cm, W: 2.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure; Amulet* (7624), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 4.80 cm, L: 5 cm, W: 2.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure; Amulet* (AN1896-1908-EA.616), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 3.70 cm, W: 0.90 cm, D: 0.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure; Amulet* (AN1896-1908-EA.849), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-31 BC, Glazed Composition, H: 3.20 cm, W: 1 cm, D: 1.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure; Amulet* (E20829), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC, Glazed Composition, H: 9.80 cm, W: 4.50 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure; Amulet* (H1029.1) Late-Ptolemaic Period, 6<sup>th</sup> Century-2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Copper Alloy, H: 2.20 cm, W: 1.15 cm, D: 1.25 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,

[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure of a Dwarf Playing a Flute* (08.480.116), Ptolemaic Period, 330-30 BC, Faience, H: 3.4 cm, W: 1.4 cm, D: 0.9 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, Accessed January 2020,

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/19181>

*Figure of Harpocrates* Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Painted Pottery, H: 19.3 cm, W: 3.1 cm, D: 6.6 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed February 2020,

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/118147>

*Figure of a Shrew Mouse Standing on an Oblong Plinth* (05.368), Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BC, Bronze, H: 4.4 cm, W: 3.5 cm, L: 6.6 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020,  
<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/17405>

*Figure-Mould* (EA46702), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Pottery, H: 17 cm, W: 16 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure; Plaque* (A.1832), Ptolemaic, 330-250 BC, Terracotta, H: 7.70 cm, T: 2 cm, W: 7.80 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure; Plaque* (CG32822), Ptolemaic Period, 300-200 BC, Terracotta, H: 10 mm, T: 4 cm, W: 5 cm, February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure; Plaque* (E20831), Ptolemaic Period, 330-250 BC, Terracotta, H: 11.30 cm, W: 10.10 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure; Plaque* (GR.11.1885), Ptolemaic Period 330-250 BC, Terracotta, H: 7 cm, T: 1.40 cm, W: 7.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure; Plaque* (NA499), Ptolemaic Period, 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 7.70 cm, T: 2.20 cm, W: 8 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Figure; Vessel* (CG43445), Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC- 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Painted Terracotta, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Five Ivory Heads from Tomb II. In* NGL Hammond, *Philip of Macedon*. London: Duckworth, 1994, Plate 9b.

*Flask* (1814,0704.304), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 8 cm, W: 4.50 cm, London, British Museum, accessed January 2021,  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1814-0704-304](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1814-0704-304)

*Flask* (EA12741), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 9.25, W: 5.13 cm, D: 4.5 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Flask* (EA26818), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Wax, H: 6.6 cm, W: 4.6 cm, D: 3 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Flask* (EA36270), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 9cm, W: 5.14



cm, D: 4.38 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Flask* (EA37631), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century -1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 9.81 cm, L: 7.92 cm, W: 3.61 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Fragmentary Amulet of Pataikos*, New Kingdom-Ptolemaic Period, 1539-30 BC, Faience, H: 5 cm, W: 3.8 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed December 2019,  
<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/185805>

*Fragment of a Man Carrying a Jar* (16.223), Hellenistic-Early Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Terracotta, H: 7 cm, W: 1.8 cm, D: 4.4 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, Accessed January 2020,  
<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/9489>

*Front Mould* (EA20883), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 40.5 cm, W: 16.6 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Front Mould* (EA38290), Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century- 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Clay, H: 17.3 cm, W: 8.2 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Gem* (1874,0510.1), Roman Imperial/Found in Alexandria, Egypt, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE, Engraved Sard, L: 2.90 cm x W: 2.30 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2020,  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1874-0510-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1874-0510-1)

*Glass Pendant in the Shape of Harpokrates* (17.194.419), Hellenistic Period, late 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Moulded Glass, H: 2.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed February 2020,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/249656>

*Glass Pendant in the Shape of Harpokrates* (17.194.420), Hellenistic Period, , late 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Moulded Glass, H: 2.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed February 2020,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/249657>

*Glass Pendant in the Shape of Harpokrates* (17.194.421), Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Moulded Glass, H: 2.8 cm, W: 0.7 cm, D: 0.9 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed February 2020,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/249658>

*Goblet* (86.471), Ptolemaic Period, 200-30 BC, Pottery, L: 5.60 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Goblet* (2002,0419.5), Ptolemaic Period, 200-30 BC, Pottery, H: 6.40 cm, W: 3.30 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Gold Stater of Philip II*, Late Classical Period, 359-356 BC, Gold, D: 1.6 × 0.2 cm, 8.53g, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/253585>

*Gold Stater of Philip II*, Hellenistic Period, 323- 315 BC, Gold, D: 1.9 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/254717>

*Gold Stater of Philip II*, Late Classical Period, 352 BC, Gold, D:1.8 × 0.4 cm, 8.41g, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/254718>

*Gold Stater of Philip II*, Late Classical Period, 336-323 BC, Gold, D: 1.7 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/25480>

*Harpocrates on a Lotus Column*, Late Ptolemaic-Roman Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC-1<sup>st</sup> Century AD, Bronze, H: 7.1 cm, W: 3.2 cm, D: 2 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/17379>

*Head from a Statue with Magical Texts*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, c. 360-343 BCE, Basalt, H: 21.2 cm, W: 14.5 cm, D: 11.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed December 2020,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547766>

*Head of Philip II*. In NGL Hammond, *Philip of Macedon*. London: Duckworth, 1994, Plate 16.

*Homer Portrait* (1805,0703.85), Roman Copy of Hellenistic Original, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Marble, H: 57.15 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Human Mummy; Mummy-Wrapping; Bead-Net* (EA6716), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Human Tissue, Linen, L: 148 cm, London, British Museum, accessed December 2019,  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA6716](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA6716)

*Imaginary Portrait of the Blind Homer*, Hellenistic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Marble, H: 53 cm, Paris, The Louvre. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/imaginary-portrait-blind-homer?sous\\_dept=1](https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/imaginary-portrait-blind-homer?sous_dept=1)

*Imhotep*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Cupreous Metal & Precious Metal Inlay, H: 16.2 cm, W: 4.8 cm, D: 7.7 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of

Art, accessed December 2020,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570689>

*Incomplete Statuette*, Late Ptolemaic Period, 145-30 BC, Terracotta, H: 10.8 cm, W: 5.8 cm, D: 4.3 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, accessed January 2021,  
<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/9534>

*Kantharos* (1997,1005.1), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 14.3 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed December 2019,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Lamp* (1963,0715.48), Ptolemaic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Pottery, H: 10.30 cm, L: 6.70 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Lamp* (1980,1001.15), Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Pottery, L: 9.3 cm, W: 6.5 cm, London, British Museum, Accessed December 2019,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Model or Temple Offering of a Foot*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BCE, Limestone, H: 10 cm, W: 6.4 cm, L: 22.3 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum, accessed December 2020,  
<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3335>

*Mold for Making Pataikos Figure*, Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-332 BC, Clay, H: 5.8 cm, W: 4.7 cm, D: 2.1 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/118389>

*Mold for Making a Wedjat Eye* (16.580.219), Ptolemaic Period, 305-30 BC, Terracotta, H: 8 cm, W: 1.7 cm, L: 6 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020  
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*Strainer* (EA38230), Ptolemaic Period, 323-30 BCE, Bronze, H: 2.30 cm, W: 12 cm, D: 12 cm, London, British Museum,  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA38230](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA38230)

*Temple Boy Figure* (1917,0701.125), Hellenistic Period, c. 300 BC, Limestone, H: 41 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Terracotta Grotesque Head*, Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 2.2 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed January 2021,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/252978>

*Terracotta Head of a Male Dwarf* (2000.667.2b), Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 4.4 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257593>

*Terracotta Statuette of a Dwarf* (2000.667.1), Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 9.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257558>

*Terracotta Statuette of a Male Dwarf* (2000.667.2a), Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 8.6 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257559>

*Terracotta Statuette of an Emaciated Woman*, Late Hellenistic Period, 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 16.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed January 2021, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/245538>

*Terracotta Statuette of a Man*, Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 13.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed January 2021,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247892>

*Terracotta Statuette of a Mime with a Shield*, Hellenistic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 13.3 cm, D: 7 cm, W: 9.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed January 2021,  
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257521>

*The Apotheosis of Homer* (1819,0812.1), Archelaos of Priene, Ptolemaic Period, 225-205 BC, Marble, H: 1.21 m, W: 0.76 m, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020,  
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)

*Thoth with Wedjat Eye* (08.480.80), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 4.1 cm, W: 1.9 cm, L: 2.2. cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020,  
<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/19148>

- Travelling Boat Being Rowed*, Middle Kingdom, 1981-1975 BC, Wood, Gesso, Paint, Linen Twine & Fabric, L: 175 cm, H: 37 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544214>
- Vessel Fitting* (1856,1004.148), Hellenistic Period, 300-100 BC, Pottery, H: 18.5 cm, W: 9 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed January 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)
- Votive Figure* (EA27333), Ptolemaic Period, 2<sup>nd</sup> Century-1<sup>st</sup> Century BC, Terracotta, H: 18.70 cm, W: 7.68 cm, D: 3.40 cm, London, British Museum. Accessed February 2020, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)
- Wadjet-Eye Amulet* (02.235), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 2.2 cm, W: 2.4 cm, D: 0.3 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/15557>
- Wedjat-Eye Amulet* (04.2.395), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664–30 BC, Obsidian, L: 1.9 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545353>
- Wadjet-Eye Amulet* (08.480.217), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Sheet Gold, H: 1.3 cm, L: 1.8 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020 <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/117857>
- Wedjat-Eye Amulet* (23.2.67), Ptolemaic Period, 332–30 BC, Gold, H: 3.2 cm, W: 4 cm, D: 0.4 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/550940>
- Wedjat-Eye Amulet* (23.2.68), Ptolemaic Period, 332–30 BC, Gold, H: 3.2 cm, W: 3.7 cm, D: 0.4 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547767>
- Wedjat-Eye Amulet* (30.8.377), Ptolemaic Period, 332–30 BC, Gold with Filigree Ornament, H: 4.5 cm, W: 5.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551353>
- Wadjet-Eye Amulet* (37.1294E), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 2.2 cm, W: 0.6 cm, D: 2.8 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/117857>
- Wadjet-Eye Amulet* (53.89), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 3 cm, W: 0.7 cm, D: 3.8 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/67089>
- Wedjat-Eye Amulet* (89.2.416), Ptolemaic Period, 332–30 BC, Carnelian, L: 1.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed December 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/550998>

*Wadjet-Eye Plaque* (05.343), Late-Ptolemaic Period, 664-30 BC, Faience, H: 3.7 cm, W: 0.6 cm, D: 4.3 cm, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Accessed January 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/17384>