

The Fear of Little Men

On the Prehistorical and Historical Treatment of Individuals with Dwarfism



Großer Hund, Zwerg und Knabe. Jan Fyt. 1652.

Högskolan på Gotland

VT2013

Kandidatuppsats

Författare: Josefin Åkerblom

Institutionen för kultur, energi och miljö

Handledare: Sabine Sten

Bihandledare: Magdalena Fraser

The Fear of Little Men –

On the Prehistorical and Historical Treatment

of Individuals with Dwarfism

ABSTRACT

The Fear of Little Men – On the Prehistorical and Historical Treatment of Individuals with Dwarfism

Skräcken för små män – Om den förhistoriska och historiska behandlingen av individer med dvärgväxt

Den här uppsatsens syfte har varit att kartlägga skillnader i representation av individer med dvärgväxt, från antikens Egypten fram till renässansen. Forskning har gjorts på detta utanför Sverige, men de fyra svenska människorna med dvärgväxt har inte tillfogats och jämförts med det utländska materialet innan denna uppsats. Metoden har varit en litterär jämförelse där andra författare har analyserats. De förhistoriska och historiska litterära verken som dessa författare undersökt har bland annat innefattat egyptiska papyrus, grekisk och romersk lagstiftning och medeltida dokument. Konst från dessa tider har också undersökts.

Resultatet av uppsatsen har varit att uppfattningen av dvärgväxt har undergått stor variation genom förhistorien och historien. Ju längre tillbaka vi går desto högre tolerans finner vi. Dvärgar var populära i Egypten på ett sätt som återkommer i medeltidens och renässansens Europa, då hovdvärgar är på modet. Hur det har sett ut i Skandinavien är svårt att säga trots de mänskliga kvarlevorna som påträffats av individer med dvärgväxt.

I uppsatsen tas även myter och folklöre om dvärgar upp för att måla en djupare förståelsebild av acceptansen i samhället och hur legender kan antingen hjälpa eller stjälpa i sammanhanget.

Key words: dwarfs, dwarfism, achondroplasia, literary comparison, ancient Egypt, Ancient Greece, Roman Empire, Middle Ages, Renaissance, stigma

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Caroline Arcini, Gunnel Ekroth, Anne Ingvarsson Sundström and Elisabeth Iregren for invaluable help when searching for information for this thesis. Many thanks to Sabine Sten, my supervisor and guide during this task. Thanks also to Emma Pearson for English assistance and for telling me when anything was unclear, and to Malin Andersson, Ida Båvlind, Eleonor Hammarsten and Beata Lithander for moral support.

WORDS AND TERMS

Achondroplasia – The most common type of dwarfism, resulting in a shortening of limbs while the trunk is of average size. Average adult height is no more than 140 centimeters.

Ankylosis – Joint stiffness caused by disease or injury.

Cleidocranial dysostosis – A non-fatal disorder causing abnormal development in the skull and clavicle areas.

Genu varum – Bow-leggedness

Hydrocephalus – "Water on the brain." A medical condition where excess fluid builds up in the brain, causing intracranial pressure. May lead to death.

Hypopituitarism – Dwarfism caused by a growth hormone deficiency. The dwarfism is proportionate and the individual retains a childish look. Average adult height is no more than 130 centimeters.

Kyphosis – Hump

Lumbar lordosis – Inward curvature of the spine

Osteoarthritis – The loss of cartilage in joints, leading to bone scraping against bone. It causes chronic pain and stiffness.

Pygmyism – An ethnic type of dwarfism often found in historical references. Pygmy tribes of Central Africa have the smallest recorded human stature on Earth. Average adult height is 145 centimeters for men, and less than 136 centimeters for women.

Spondylo-epiphyseal dysplasia congenita (SED congenita) – A type of dwarfism caused by the flattening of the vertebrae, leading to a short neck and a barrelled chest. Average adult height is between 84 and 128 centimeters.

Contents

<u>1</u>	<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	6
1.1	<u>Purpose and Questions</u>	6
1.2	<u>Limitations</u>	7
1.3	<u>Material and Method</u>	7
1.4	<u>Criticism of the sources</u>	7
1.5	<u>Terminology</u>	7
<u>2</u>	<u>MATERIAL PRESENTATION</u>	8
2.1	<u>Different Types of Dwarfism</u>	8
2.1.1	<u>Disproportionate Dwarfism</u>	9
2.1.2	<u>Proportionate Dwarfism</u>	10
2.2	<u>Ancient Egypt (2700 – 40 BCE)</u>	11
2.3	<u>Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire (800 BCE – ca. 700 CE)</u>	15
2.4	<u>The Middle Ages (ca. 500 CE – ca. 1500 CE)</u>	19
2.5	<u>Renaissance (14th to 17th century)</u>	23
<u>3</u>	<u>DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS</u>	26
3.1	<u>Attitude: Ancient Egypt</u>	26
3.2	<u>Attitude: Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire</u>	27
3.3	<u>Attitude: The Middle Ages</u>	31
3.4	<u>Attitude: The Renaissance</u>	34
3.5	<u>The Myth</u>	35
3.5.1	<u>Dwarfs as Metalworkers, Miners and Jewellers</u>	35
3.5.2	<u>Dwarfs as Magicians</u>	36
3.6	<u>Reality</u>	38
3.6.1	<u>Dwarfs as Entertainers</u>	38
3.6.2	<u>Dwarfs as “The Other”</u>	39
<u>4</u>	<u>CONCLUSION</u>	42
<u>5</u>	<u>SUMMARY</u>	44
<u>6</u>	<u>References</u>	46
6.1	<u>Literary</u>	46
6.2	<u>Internet</u>	47

*Up the airy mountain,
Down the rushy glen,
We daren't go a-hunting
For fear of little men;*
-- William Allingham (1824-1889) *The Fairies*

1 INTRODUCTION

Few conditions have been depicted with such frequency through history as dwarfism. Countless artists over the course of several millennia have been fascinated by the condition, and dwarfs have thus played a part in many depictions, from ancient reliefs to oil paintings. How life may have looked for these individuals is hard to determine, but clues can be found in archaeological skeletal material, literature and art. This thesis has been written to get a comprehensive view over the quantity of material available, and to draw as many conclusions of how the lives of dwarfs might have looked as possible.

A review of Swedish dwarf finds has not previously been done, nor have they been properly analysed in comparison to dwarf finds from other countries. The Swedish dwarfs did not exist in a vacuum, but the treatment of them is a reflection of millennia of superstition, prejudice and stigma.

1.1 *Purpose and Questions*

The intent of this paper is to map the differences in representation of dwarfs in an archaeological context, both prehistoric and historic, as well as in literature and art. This will paint a clearer picture of views on dwarfism during different time-periods and hopefully reveal how these individuals were treated.

- **How have dwarfs and dwarfism been depicted in prehistoric and historic art?**
- **Are they represented at all? If not, why?**
- **What does representation mean when discussing acceptance of dwarfism in society?**
- **Are the grave goods what you would expect from graves of contemporary average-height individuals or do they differ?**
- **What do literary sources say?**

- What can skeletal remains of dwarfs tell us of their life? What does the pathology look like?

1.2 *Limitations*

Chronological: The time period being discussed in this thesis stretches from Ancient Egypt (approx. 2700 BCE) to late 18th century CE.

Geographical: Due to the large amount of material, the dwarfs studied in this thesis come from Egypt, Greece, England, Wales, Poland, Israel, and Sweden. Dwarf skeletal remains have been found in other places as well, but due to time constraints this thesis will not get into detail regarding those.

1.3 *Material and Method*

The material is international science literature published on dwarfs and dwarfism: historical examples, osteological reports and papers. The prehistoric and historic literature includes papyrus scrolls from ancient Egypt, as well as texts from Greece and Rome, and medieval documents. In these the author of this thesis has not been able to do own research on the documents, but look at work on them done by other scholars.

The earliest dwarf ever discovered, the Paleolithic so called 'Rumito 2' is not included in this analysis due to a lack of literature or art from the era.

1.4 *Criticism of the sources*

The structure of this thesis makes it necessary to trust the archaeological and osteological competence of other authors, as I have no possibility to review the material for myself. It is also possible I misinterpret their texts. Any flaw in this paper is utterly my own.

1.5 *Terminology*

During the course of this thesis the term "dwarf" will most often be used when referring to individuals with restricted growth. It is a problematic term around the

world, acceptable in the United States but not used in the United Kingdom. The Swedish equivalent “dvärg” is not favoured by ‘Föreningen för kortvuxna’ (Association for People of Short Stature), as the term is linked to creatures of myth and legend and thus hard to take seriously. However, in the literature referenced in this thesis, “dwarf” and “dwarfism” is used in an academic sense when referring to a multitude of conditions, and thus it is used here.

2 MATERIAL PRESENTATION

2.1 *Different Types of Dwarfism*

There are several different causes that lead to dwarfism in an individual, with the only thing in common being unusually short stature. Including all types of dwarfism, the rate of occurrence today is one in 10 000 live births (Dasen, 1993:8). (Fig. 1) Considering the frequency with which it occurs, dwarfism should be well represented in the archaeological record. In art depictions the different conditions of dwarfism are sometimes difficult to tell apart, as ancient artists and writers did not know the various diagnoses that tell one case from another.

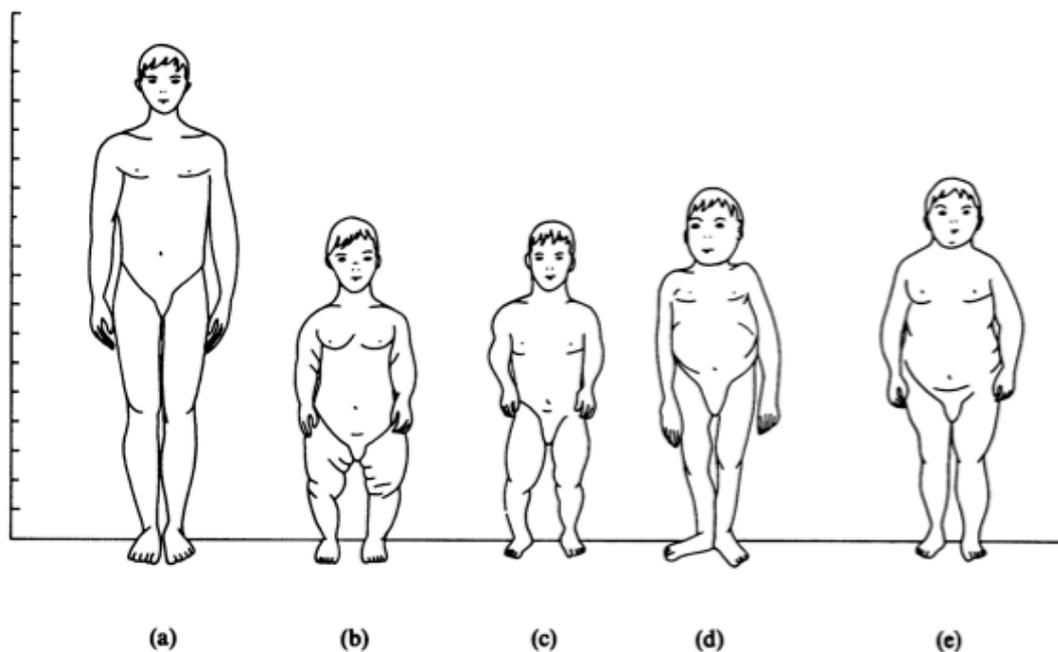


Fig. 1. (a) Average-sized adult (b) Achondroplasia (c) Pseudo-achondroplasia (d) Spondylo-epiphyseal dysplasia congenital (e) Hypothyroidism (Dasen, 1988:256)

Adult dwarf skeletons are also expected to be present, as the condition does not necessarily limit their contributing fully to society nor does it automatically lead to early death (Roberts & Manchester, 2005:61).

2.1.1 Disproportionate Dwarfism

Achondroplasia is the cause for 70% of dwarfism. Even though the condition is hereditary—50% if one parent has the condition, 75% if both parents have it—most cases appear as spontaneous mutations (MedlinePlus: Achondroplasia). The symptoms are visible at birth, or in milder cases when the child is a few years old. Achondroplastic dwarfs have shortened limbs in comparison to the trunk, as well as a large cranial vault, small facial bones, and a shallow thoracic cage (Dasen, 1993: 10). In itself the condition is not classed as a disease. Intelligence is similar to that of an average-height individual, and sexual maturity occurs at normal time. With achondroplasia comes a number of other complications that may need medical care, such as osteoarthritis, hydrocephalus, deafness and limping. An individual with achondroplastic dwarfism usually never grows above 140 cm. Achondroplastic dwarfism affects men and women equally today, and there is no evidence to say that conditions would have been different in the past (Roberts & Manchester, 2005:60).

Hypochondroplasia is as common as achondroplasia, and similar to it. It is a milder form where the skull is not affected, but the trunk may show signs of lumbar lordosis or genu varum (Dasen, 1993:10).

Pseudo-achondroplasia displays a short trunk as well as very short limbs, along with genu varum or other knee conditions, and joint laxity (Dasen, 1993:15).

There are also several conditions that cause short-trunk dwarfism, where the arms and legs are of average length yet look disproportionate to the shortened torso. This is caused by a flattening of the vertebrae, leading to a short neck and barrelled chest. In *spondylo-epiphyseal dysplasia congenita* (SED congenita) the face is flat, with a cleft palate occasionally present at birth. Further conditions as a result of the disorder (such as dislocated hips and premature osteoarthritis) are frequent, and the average adult height is between 84 and 128 cm (Dasen, 1993:11-12).

Mucopolysaccharidoses (MPS) is a group of metabolic disorders related to the failure to break down certain sugar molecules in the body (MedlinePlus: Mucopolysaccharides). This is caused by an inherited disorder in metabolism and has several different forms. Six different types show similar effects on a skeleton, and the most typical are Morquio's and Hurler's syndrome. *Morquio's syndrome* leads to a severely reduced stature, as well as clear curvature of the spine associated with kyphosis (hump). The neck is very short with a protruding sternum. Walking may be difficult due to hip and leg deformities (Dasen, 1993:12). *Hurler's syndrome* is more severe, with symptoms like abnormal spine bones, joint disease, deafness, intellectual disability that worsens with time, as well as heart valve problems (MedlinePlus: Hurler syndrome). Average adult height of adults with MPS is around 100 cm, though it should be noted in the case of Hurler's syndrome that survival is rare beyond fifteen to twenty years old.

Tuberculosis of the spine, *Pott's disease*, may also cause a shortening of the trunk and thus stunted growth, and can also be diagnosed in archaeological contexts (Dasen, 1993:12).

2.1.2 Proportionate Dwarfism

Hypopituitarism is dwarfism caused by growth hormone deficiency. It can be a result of a tumour or lesion in the area of the pituitary gland that secretes growth hormone in the human body, but usually the reason for the deficiency is unclear. It happens in about one in 25 000 live births and leads to proportionate dwarfism. The individual may only reach an adult height of 130 cm. Their face also retains a doll-like, childish look. The voice is high-pitched. Mental development remains normal, but deficiency of another hormone may lead to lack of sexual development and resulting infantilism (Dasen, 1993:12-13).

Infantilism can also be the result of endemic *cretinism*, which is caused by iodine deficiency. In that case both intellectual and sexual development is withheld, so that sexual maturity never occurs. The average adult height is 120 cm. This condition is still common today in mountainous regions such as the Andes, the Atlas, the New Guinea highlands and the Himalayas, where glaciation and heavy rain have drained the soil of iodine. This deprives the surrounding wildlife, including humans, who feed off local plants (Leroi,

2005:196). Symptoms of iodine deficiency are infantile proportions, thick lips, a mouth that cannot close, and a large head with coarse features. These symptoms are noticeable at birth. The life-span of people with cretinism is usually around 30 years old (Dasen, 1993:13).

In a historical context we can also often see references or depictions of *pygmy* individuals. The pygmy tribes of Central Africa have the lowest average stature on Earth, with the Eastern pygmies from the Ituri forest being the smallest group. There, the average adult height for males is 145 cm, and less than 136 cm in women (Dasen, 1993:14-15). Pygmies are thin and muscular, with their proportions being similar to those of an eleven-year old child (Leroi, 2005:186).

2.2 Ancient Egypt (2700 – 40 BCE)

Due to the extensive time-frame of what constitutes Ancient Egypt, a period that spans approximately 3000 years, this segment can only strive to clarify lasting tendencies rather than one solitary representation of dwarfism and dwarfs.

Finding skeletal remains from this era is not difficult. Due to the hot and dry weather conditions in North-East Africa, as well as the elaborate burial rituals of ancient Egyptians, mummified bodies are often preserved enough for osteological analysis. This applies to skeletons of dwarfs as well, with Egypt in fact being the main contributor of ancient world examples of achondroplasia (Kozma, 2006:303). Short, squat limb bones have been found in many tombs from different dynastic eras, and many individuals with this condition have also received extravagant burials. In Giza the tomb of Perenankh, a Fifth or Sixth Dynasty court official was found. An analysis of the skeleton proved he was around 40 years old when he died. The skeleton unfortunately lacks the facial part of the skull, but the limb bones show unmistakable traits of achondroplasia.

Another example of the same disorder in a female dwarf, whose cause of death becomes apparent as the remains of an infant was found in situ along with her. She clearly perished while giving birth. A Caesarean section is recommended today to assure safe delivery in an achondroplastic female, but such procedures were not available to her (Filer, 1995:56).

The earliest written mention of a dwarf, or at least a person of small stature, is in the letter of congratulation to a high official named Harkhuf, who had led a trading expedition by boat to the southern Kingdom of Yam. The letter was sent by King Pepy II (c. 2246 – 2152 BCE) who was particularly interested in a dwarf that Harkhuf had found and brought back to the kingdom as a present. The king mentions that the dwarf is to be carefully guarded day and night and watched so he does not fall overboard, and if he is brought in front of the king “live, hale and hearty” the king will greatly reward Harkhuf. It is clear from the text that the king is more interested in this dwarf than in any other of the expensive gifts brought over from the Kingdom of Yam, as a person like that has not been seen in Egypt since the reign of King Izezi more than a century earlier. Based on the expedition routes of Harkhuf, it is generally agreed by scholars that the dwarf referred to in the King’s letter is most likely a pygmy, probably acquired during trading with countries neighbouring territories of pygmy tribes, which were more numerous in the past. Dasen considers the possibility that pygmies were kept in the courts of Yam and Punt, and were offered as gifts to Egypt. She supports this idea with the fact that the oldest known Egyptian word for ‘dwarf’ *dng* is paralleled by the Amharic *denk* meaning the same thing, thus suggesting that it was originally an African term entering Egypt with the import of small men (Dasen, 1993:25-8). Adelson adds to this topic by bringing up another interpretation why the king is so intent on guarding this dwarf. The first is that he is valued, the second is that he needs to be watched constantly, lest he escapes. He is not there by choice, but is kidnapped property (Adelson, 2005:5). Another point however that must be made in this case is that the king is approximately eight years old at this point, and thus childishly excited about what in his world is nothing more than a new toy.

Other examples of ancient Egyptian literature that brings up dwarfs are ethical instructions, written by Amenemope during the reign of Amenhotep III (1381 – 1354 BCE). The Teachings of Amenemope encourage the reader to “not laugh at a blind man nor scorn a dwarf,” indicating that despite the status and importance of dwarfs in ancient Egyptian society, ridicule may still have occurred (Adelson, 2005:5). However, Amenemope’s instructions are very much in support of individuals with handicapping conditions and teach that it is

a moral duty to care for those who are old, sick and malformed (Kozma, 2006:310).

Dwarf gods, presented in further detail in the section on Egyptian art below, are referenced in spells and prayers as well. Bes, who amongst other things is a protector of women during childbirth, is presumably referenced in the Leiden papyrus, in a spell called "The Spell of the Dwarf." *Oh good dwarf, come, because of the one who sent you – for that is Pre, the one who stands upright while Thoth is sitting down, his feet on the bottom which Nun embraces, his hand on the roof-beam* (See Borghouts, 1971:29 for full text). The spell was to be spoken four times as a clay statue of a dwarf was placed on the brow of a woman in labour. In medical papyri dwarfs are not referenced, so it is likely dwarfism was not considered an illness, and there would be no need for treatment or cure (Nunn, 2002:79). Issues related to dwarfism, such as weak legs, poor eyesight and poor hearing are referenced in medical texts, but are never connected to dwarfism. There are no prayers that reference a wish to become taller, nor any signs that pregnant women prayed to not give birth to a dwarf child (Dasen, 1993:158-9).

In ancient Egyptian art dwarfs are often represented, and since the start of the Old Kingdom (2575 – 2134 BCE) they have been depicted in more than fifty tombs of high officials and royalty (Adelson, 2005:5). The earliest representations of dwarfs in Egyptian art are burial goods in predynastic cemeteries of Upper Egypt. These are small ivory statues of both male and female dwarfs, standing naked with their arms at their sides and heads shaven. These positions are exactly like figurines of normally proportioned humans. What purpose these statues serve in funerary rites is unknown, and the subject of debate among scholars. Most agree that they are probably representations of favoured servants, appreciated and valued enough to accompany the deceased into the next world. It is also possible they are family guardians or fertility statuettes (Dasen, 1993:104-5).

Identifying dwarfs depicted in Egyptian art can be difficult to the uninitiated. Size is not always ideal, since scale is used to denote importance in a rendering. Servants or common workers are always shown smaller than the tomb-owner and his wife. Other figures that display smallness are children. Children have three distinct characteristics. They are depicted naked and well-

proportioned, with a lock of hair hanging to the right side of the head, and often they hold a hand to their mouth. Dwarfs may have these characteristics as well, but they usually have something that set them apart, such as a disproportionate body or other signs of adulthood like beards or kilts (Dasen, 1993:36). Female dwarfs are usually shown in a long dress with two wide shoulder straps, sometimes wearing jewellery. They have also been depicted naked.

One of the more well-known dwarfs from ancient Egypt is Seneb, a court official in the Old Kingdom, whose tomb in the Giza necropolis was excavated between 1925 and 1926 (Kozma, 2006:306).

Seneb's tomb has been plundered, like many in the area, and his body has never been found.

There are however many clues to his life based on the art and hieroglyphs in his tomb. Seneb had many titles, several of them purely honorific such as "Beloved of his Lord" and "Friend of the House," but he was also an overseer of the clothing in the palace and an animal-tender, as well as holding a position within the priesthood. The artist behind

Seneb's depictions has given the deceased some dignity in death. Seneb's achondroplastic proportions have been kept in artistic renderings of him, but his size is equal to those of his servants. Seneb is never shown with his wife in the same relief, this presumably because the artist could not find a way to show that they are both high in status using scale. She would have needed to be shown as larger than her servants, but that would have meant she would also be larger than her husband. In a limestone statue of the family they are however depicted together, as well as two out their three children, all of who are average sized (fig. 2). Seneb's short legs are tucked underneath him as he sits next to his wife, to avoid the degrading sight of his legs not being long enough for his feet to reach the floor. The children are standing in front of him in place of his legs (Dasen, 1993:127-30).



Fig 2. Seneb with family. 6th century BCE.

In the Egyptian pantheon there were several dwarf gods, two of which shall be presented in detail here. The first is Bes (fig. 3), who in his most characteristic depictions is shown with bandy legs, a protruding tongue, a paunchy belly and a feather head-dress. He can be found adorning furniture and pots for cosmetics, to scare evil influences away. As well as the animalistic, often monstrous appearance, he also often shown holding weapons, his primary function being a repeller of evil. Bes is associated with family life and the protection of women during childbirth. The previously mentioned Spell of the Dwarf is usually connected to him even though he is not mentioned by name, due to it being a spell to ensure the safety of a woman in labour. Bes is also associated with other transitional or chaotic periods, such as sleep, warfare and the protection of the dead, as well as celebration of music, dancing and wine. He is connected to other deities, the family goddesses Hathor and Taweret (Dasen, 1993:55 – 83).



Fig.3. The god Bes, playing a tambourine. ca 1300 BCE.

The second dwarf god is Ptah-Pataikoi, a form of Ptah, the patron of craftsmen. Unlike Bes he is not referenced to in texts from ancient Egypt, but is instead shown in numerous representations. They are usually amulets, lacking Bes's decorative purpose. Ptah-Pataikoi seems to have a more generic protective function, guarding the living against many dangers. Figurines of him have been found in burials, so he may also have associations with regeneration and rejuvenation (Dasen, 1993:84 – 98). He is often shown naked like a child, with achondroplastic proportions and no weapons. Sometimes he may show other childish characteristics, such as the side lock of hair hanging to the right (Kozma, 2006:308).

2.3 Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire (800 BCE – ca. 700 CE)

Due to Greece and Rome's different means of burial to Egypt, no biological remains of dwarfs have been found from this period.

Aristotle defined a dwarf as similar to a child, in that they both have an abnormally large upper body and a very small lower part. He did not detail it further than that, neglecting to mention any other features that distinguish dwarfs, but adds that they, like mules, have over-large genitalia. The large upper body brings certain problems for Aristotle's dwarfs. He claims they, like children, need more sleep than average, and that their intelligence is impaired due to their disorder. He does mention that dwarfs may have other qualities to balance such intellectual deficiencies, but he does not specify what these qualities may be (Dasen, 1988:268).

Homer mentions dwarfs in the Iliad, as a people being attacked by cranes. "The Trojans filled the air with clamour, like the cranes that fly from the onset of winter and sudden rains and make for the Ocean Stream with raucous cries to bring sudden death to the Pigmies" (Leroi, 2005:181). Ovid describes the origin of this feud: "...that Pygmy, whom the angry Juno changed from queen-ship to a crane; because she thought herself an equal to the living Gods, she was commanded to wage cruel wars upon her former subjects" (Classical E-texts: Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6 86). Antoninus Liberalis, in his work *Metamorphoses* embellishes further, saying the girl still longed for her son even after her transformation, and returned to her village to find him, but was chased away by her old subjects (Celoria 1992:70).

These pygmies were not as much a poetic invention of writers, but an actual statement of fact. Aristotle confirmed that they were not inventions. Many details of these pygmies were written down and embellished upon, with different authors giving them different geographical locations; Pliny placed them in Ethiopia, Thrace, India, the Anatolian peninsula and the source of the Nile (Leroi, 2005:182). Only one author, Ctesias, wrote a physical description of pygmies, describing them as snub-nosed, with hair and beard so long to negate the need for clothing, with genitals reaching down to their ankles. The pygmies reached between 69 and 92 centimetres in length. They were also farmers, keeping small horses and cattle, and rode on rams and goats. Their enemies were the tall, slender cranes, who during migration attacked pygmy populations. The pygmies lived in either caves underground, or in huts made of mud, feathers and eggshells (Dasen, 1993:175-6).

Some of these details have grains of truth in them. Pygmy tribes are likely to once have lived in the swamps of the White Nile, as hunters and nomads, where they had connections to the people of Egypt, Greece and Rome. Cranes are migrating birds, and they may become quite tall. Their hostility towards those who approach their young, as well as the males fighting during mating season, may have lent credence to the wrongful idea that they attacked men (Dasen, 1993:176-8).



Fig. 4. Dwarf battling crane. Classical period (www.theoi.com/Gallery/T92.1.html)

There are no Hellenistic or Roman medical texts that mention restricted growth, but it is likely that the views were similar to those of Aristotle. Dwarfs were included on the list of popular malformed entertainers in Rome, and a few texts suggest that poor children were crippled on purpose to attract customers. Longinus mentions cages that dwarfs and pygmies have been kept in to make certain they do not grow more (Dasen, 1988:273).

In Greek art the same battle of pygmy against crane is depicted frequently. (fig. 4.) The motif is referred to as geranomachy. Greek art is otherwise sensitive to how the human body is portrayed. They did not enjoy depicting disability, as they did not depict mutilation or other deviations from the healthy, intact human form (Dasen, 1993:165-6). A couple of exceptions exist in depictions of the god Hephaistos – Vulcan in Ancient Rome – , who is shown to be lame, or the blind hero Teiresias. (Dasen, 1988:269) Mythical monsters are

hybrids of animals and humans, but strong, healthy and intact despite their monstrosity. It is likely dwarfism was an exception to this rule as well, as the dwarf body is still an intact body despite the diminished size.

In the Classical period (4th – 5th century BCE) the depictions of pygmies are usually with achondroplastic proportions, this due to the fact that most ancient artist had probably never seen a real pygmy. Their knowledge stretched only to their dwarf contemporaries, so they copied those features. In red-figure vase-paintings from the latter half of the 5th century depictions of proportionate dwarfism are more frequent, but the achondroplastic depictions still dominate (Dasen, 1988:270).

Dwarfs and pygmies have also been connected to Dionysos myths. If depicted with an overly-large phallus, as Aristotle claimed they had, they are perhaps satyr-like creatures, something deeply focused on sexual energy. It may also be interpreted as a sign of mocking. When viewing those statues that we now consider classic we see that the genitalia of the men are quite small and modest. Ancient artists did not think it necessary to grant ridiculous proportions to honourable members of the public. Opinions were different regarding dwarfs, who were already considered grotesque, and could thus safely be equipped with genitalia that are much too large for their body-size (Andersson, 2004:137-8).

Almost all Greek dwarfs and pygmies also have long beards or moustaches, but balding heads. This does not have a medical meaning, but is another sign of the dwarfs' affinity with Dionysos and satyrs. The prevalence of these typically male features means we only have one depiction of a female dwarf. Her features suggest a short-trunk dwarfism, her neck is short and her trunk is stunted with a protruding thoracic cage. She has a pronounced lordosis of the back with prominent buttocks. Her appearance may be a caricature, as her disorder would mean severe complications (such as paraplegia) which are not consistent with her apparent health. (Dasen, 1988:271) With the exception of this woman there are no other depictions of female dwarfs, perhaps because deformed females were more disturbing than males without the dionysiac connection (Dasen, 1988:273).

As was the case with Egypt, depictions of dwarfs in Greece may be interpreted as depictions of other aspects of humanity. Children can be

separated from dwarfs by how they are portrayed. They often have an amulet around their necks, a *crepundia*, to protect them from the evil eye. They are also seen doing childish things, such as pushing a cart, playing with pet animals or crawling. The item on which they are painted also provides a clue to their interpretation; children were usually painted on vessels appropriate to them, such as the miniature jugs that were made for them on festive occasions. Sometimes the features of children would be mixed with the features of dwarfs, perhaps to highlight the physical and thus social similarities between them, as clarified by Aristotle (Dasen, 1993:168).

Disproportionate dwarfism prevails in Rome as well during the same time, dwarfs being depicted in bronze and terracotta, but also on mosaics. Disproportionately large genitals occur in many instances. Other instances of caricature, such as grimacing faces, is more common, as exaggerated abnormality appealed greatly to the Romans. Malformed people were appreciated due to the belief that their deformity attracted the evil eye away from average folk (Dasen, 1988:275).

2.4 *The Middle Ages (ca. 500 CE – ca. 1500 CE)*

As the source material in the Middle Ages is so wide-spread, this segment is not locked to one particular point in geography within Europe. The limitation will instead be chronological.

Several biological remains of medieval dwarfs have been discovered to this day. In Sweden there are four separate individuals that lend themselves to analysis, and all of them fall within the chronological limitations of this section. The two earliest (fall between 550 and 1050 CE) were buried near each other in Skämsta, north of Uppsala. Both were 40-50 years or older, one male and one female, showing similar pathologies apart from congenital SED (Arcini & Frölund, 1996). The rarity of this condition leads to the conclusion that they were probably related. None of them exceeded 130 cm in height. They have each received a comb with them in their graves; the male also has a knife. These items match finds in contemporary graves located around the dwarfs. They also suffered from osteoarthritis due to old age. This lead to a need for

assistance in common, everyday activities such as hair-combing or getting dressed (Arcini & Frölund, 1996).

The third individual was found in Löddeköpinge, Scania. The grave (dated to ca. 1050 to 1150 CE) measures 125-130 centimetres, and contained an adult individual (Svensson 2007 unpublished). Body length was not possible to measure due to a lack of intact bones, but it was likely that the grave was dug to fit the individual. The bones were fragmented and there were no grave goods. The osteological diagnosis concluded that the individual's appearance was reminiscent of achondroplasia, but also with many other pathologies including cleidocranial dysostosis which is a difficult diagnosis to make for certain. In her thesis, Svensson (2007 unpublished) graded the individual as a possible male, based on few characteristics but also the fact that the grave was on the male (south) side of the cemetery (Svensson, 2007 unpublished). This detail is interesting as well, perhaps indicating that the individual was, despite his condition, still thought of as a real man and not a child.

The fourth individual was located in an early Viking Age grave (approximately 800-900 CE) from Kopparsvik, Gotland (Larje, 1985). It was a male, 50 years or older, with typical finds for the period in his grave, including three bronze and iron brooches. Larje makes a tentative diagnosis of mild achondroplasia, but also expresses uncertainty about a few of the details. The individual certainly was of short stature despite exact diagnosis of his condition, and was buried like his contemporaries in the cemetery. Larje (1985) concludes that he was a well-known and respected member of society.

During an archaeological excavation in Pembrokeshire, Wales, a medieval infant skeleton was unearthed. It was in such excellent condition (60% complete with most of the long bones preserved), that a diagnosis could be made (Sables, 2010). An analysis of the ossification process was done, specifying the age of the infant to approximately 24 months old, however the measurements of the long bones revealed that the limbs had not grown to the average length of the bones of an infant of the same age. For instance, the left humerus was only 78% of the average length for a 24-month old. This, in combination with the average-sized trunk of the infant, indicates achondroplasia (Sables 2010). Sables (2010) does however make the wrong assumption that simply because this child had achondroplasia, it is almost certain that at least one parent also

had it. It is possible Sables (2010) equates one type of dwarfism with another, such as congenital spondylo-epiphyseal dysplasia, but most cases of achondroplasia happen as a result of random mutation (Dasen, 1988:255), and it is entirely likely that this is also the case of the Pembrokeshire infant.

In Scandinavia, the Middle Ages were a tumultuous time. The old-fashioned Norse gods were exchanged for Christianity, and old superstitions of trolls and giants were cast aside as heresy. In the Eddic Sagas of Scandinavian Bronze Age, dwarfs had been a separate people, known for superior skill in metalwork and jewellery-making. Many of the items used by the famed Aesir gods, such as Thor's hammer or Freya's necklace were crafted by dwarfs. They were thought of as deformed, hunchbacked with large heads, and guardians of vast treasure. Four dwarfs were also believed to stand in each corner of the world, holding up the sky (Johnson, 1990:211). The Aesir did not trust the dwarfs, despite how dependant the gods were on them. The efforts of the dwarfs were rarely rewarded, and in the legends they are portrayed as greedy and malicious, lusting after women, power, and gold and only looking to their own interests (Adelson, 2005:102).

Few renditions of dwarfs in medieval art remains to this day, but the most intriguing one must be the dwarf depicted in the Bayeux tapestry, who is present at the 1066 Battle of

Hastings (fig. 6). Only fifteen out of 626 human characters on the tapestry are singled out by name, and the dwarf is one of them. His name is Turolf. There has been controversy on whether or not the name is meant for the dwarf or for the Norman emissary



Fig. 6. Turolf the Dwarf on the Bayeux tapestry. 11th century.

refer to

standing next to him, but most scholars agree that it does in fact the dwarf. The name stands alone, not a part of a sentence, and has been lowered to fit over the dwarf's head. Whenever a name is figured alone in the tapestry, it is always placed over the owner's head (Bridgeford, 2004:225-6).

Tuold is shown in the tapestry holding two horses, showing normal upper body strength. His proportions are achondroplastic with short limbs and large head, and his pointed beard singles him out as an adult. More details can be made out by his appearance. His clothes are that of a *jongleur*, an entertainer who might be a jester, acrobat, juggler, minstrel, bard or other performer. Some *jongleurs* during the Middle Ages travelled from town to town making their living on marketplaces and along pilgrim routes, and some were lucky enough to become attached to the court of a wealthy patron. Since Tuold is named and featured in something as important as the Bayeux tapestry, it is likely he is one of those few fortunate performers. Tuold is depicted in the same scene as Count Guy of Ponthieu, a wealthy man who was closely related to the King of France, and it is easy to assume Tuold was in the Count's employ. No written records survive, however, so it can never be more than logical conjecture (Bridgeford, 2004:229-31).

A medieval court *jongleur* provided entertainment at the castle of their patron, and also accompanied them on travels. By gaining the patron's favour they could acquire both wealth and land, and thus achieve high social status. Common *jongleurs* working the marketplaces were not held in high regard, being instead thought of as blasphemous drunks and scoundrels by the clergy, but Tuold was not one of them. He may have been a writer of songs himself, not bawdy or scandalous but epic tales of feudal and Christian valour, songs that priests may be able to accept (Bridgeford, 2004:232-3).

Bridgeford (2004) also brings forth the hypothesis of the Bayeux tapestry Tuold as the original author of the *Chanson de Roland*, the greatest of these so-called *chansons de geste*. Not much is known of the author of this 12th century piece, which is considered the first great work of French literature, but the very last line of the song reads, "Here ends the story which Tuold dictates." It was a very common name at the time, of course, and scholars do not know whether the line refers to the author of the poem, the performer of the poem, the author of its source material or merely the copyist that made the last surviving version of the tale. It is a fascinating possibility that the tapestry Tuold's claim to fame may have been a song that remains to this day and is "familiar to every school child in France" (Bridgeford, 2004:233-4).

Literary sources tell us more of the existence of court dwarfs during this era. A letter sent to Bishop Gunther of Bamberg in 1064 tells us that Gunther had a “monster” in his possession: a dwarf named Askericus that he was very fond of. Askericus had been promised as a gift to King Henry IV, then 13 years old, but Gunther had delayed the delivery and engendered the king’s displeasure. Another reference comes from the Chronicle of Johannes Oxenedes, an originally Latin text written by a Benedictine monk in Norfolk. The particular text, dated to 1249, describes an 18-year old dwarf named Johannis, who was scarcely three feet tall and a companion of the queen (Johnson, 1990:212).

2.5 *Renaissance (14th to 17th century)*

In early Renaissance the depiction of deformities was ambivalent, still mirroring the cultural belief that it stood in correlation to spiritual sin but also in some cases sympathetic, particularly amongst Italian artists. The High Renaissance however returned to the Classical depictions of the human form, and by the end of the era depictions of deformity had returned to be a way to allegorically depict sin, madness and physical corruption (Sullivan, 2001:265).

As an example of this we have Richard III, the villain in William Shakespeare’s play of the same name from the end of the 16th century, who is portrayed as a hunchback with a withered arm, so ugly that “dogs bark at me as I halt by them”. In the opening speech of the play he laments his deformity, but admits that he has set a number of schemes in motion to distract himself from it. The real Richard III is presumed to have had severe scoliosis, causing a curvature of the spine but no hump. In 2012 during a dig in Greyfriars, Leicester, a skeleton was unearthed that bore strong indicators of scoliosis. The remains were identified using a mitochondrial DNA analysis and were deemed beyond reasonable doubt to be those of Richard III, after his defeat by Henry Tudor in 1485 (Current Archaeology: Reconstructing Richard III). Shakespeare’s villain was not a hunchback in real life, but his stature would presumably have been impaired slightly due to his condition. By how much is hard to estimate, but it might have been as much as a foot (approx. 30 centimetres). His right shoulder would have been raised higher than his left. His remains showed no signs of a withered arm, and it is likely his appearance has

been caricatured and exaggerated by later Tudor propaganda, to depict him as an unpleasant man and murderer (Current Archaeology: Richard III: the search for the last Plantagenet king).

Despite his diminished height Shakespeare's Richard III was not a dwarf. The Renaissance otherwise continued the court dwarf phenomenon, with courts all over Europe proudly displaying their dwarfs as a sign of status. Isabella d'Este (1474-1539), marchioness of Mantua, kept a number of dwarfs, considering them an equal collection to those of her classical writings, paintings, sculptures and other objects of value. She created special rooms for them, adapted to their size, so she could display them more elegantly. She also generously shared her dwarfs; for example, sending her favourite dwarf to entertain her brother Alfonso when he was ill, and giving them as gifts to friends and family (Adelson, 2005:11-2).

Catherine de Medici (1519-1589) was equally fascinated by her dwarfs. In her French court she kept several of them, and created a household especially for them, with their own footmen, apothecaries, laundresses, housekeepers and tutors. She let them wear expensive clothes and they received an allowance



*Fig. 7. Wedding of Catherine de Medici. Giorgio Vasari. 16th century.
(http://www.pbs.org/empires/medici/gallery/vas_cat.html)*

from her (Frieda, 2003:179).² Giorgio Vasari also painted Catherine's own wedding to Henry II in 1533, where two dwarfs can clearly be seen standing near the couple. (fig. 7.)

Court dwarfs appear on paintings all over Europe. They stand in elaborate dress, holding miniature weapons, surrounded by grandeur and the extravagant possessions of wealthy patrons. Diego Velázquez's *Hofswerg mit Hund* from the mid-17th century shows a proportionate dwarf standing with a large, muscular dog on a leash. In Jan Fyt's *Großer Hund, Zwerg und Knabe* from 1652 a large dog is also featured along with the dwarf, as well as a young boy dressed in finery. It is possible the stunted limbs of the dwarf are meant to provide a sharp contrast to the slender features of the boy, a way to underline the difference between beauty and deformity (Lerois, 2005:169).

In religious Renaissance literature the Roman Catholic manuals of moral theology discuss *De baptizandis monstribus*, on whether or not to baptise infants that due to congenital deformities were stillborn or died soon after birth. Their deformities may somehow exclude them from being human and worthy of the sacraments (Sinclair Carey, 1996:28-9). It is not certain whether or not dwarfs would be counted amongst those "monsters". If such a child is born their dwarfism may not be immediately apparent, nor will it instantly lead to the child's early death. In cases of dwarfed individuals dying prematurely, either before birth or shortly thereafter, it is often a result of other pathologies. An English document from 1568, *The forme and shape of a Monstrous Child, born at Maydstone in Kent*, describes such a birth and uses it as a warning against sinful parents. The child's condition is described in detail as having several grave disabilities, including a deformed arms and legs, a mouth "slitted on the right side, like a Libardes [lizard's], terrible to beholde" and a lesion growing on the child's back. The infant did not survive 24 hours, and it is not revealed if it was baptised or buried in the cemetery (Anderson, 1997).

3 DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

In this segment I will discuss those points regarding the interpretation of dwarf acceptance through prehistory and history. Recurring themes surrounding the mythological dwarfs will also be analysed, and attempts will be made to explain the prevalence of these themes.

3.1 *Attitude: Ancient Egypt*

As can be seen in the sources, dwarfs are well represented in ancient Egyptian art, literature and burials. Those representations show that dwarfs partook in many activities in the household and in society as a whole. In pictures they are shown to perform many different tasks, including jewellery making, animal and pet handling, fishermen, keeper of the wardrobe, supervisor of clothing and linen, as well as entertainers and personal attendants (Kozma, 2006:309). Most of the depicted dwarfs are male, but females are also shown. A calcite boat from the tomb of Tutankhamun shows a dwarf woman steering at the stern, standing naked with a black curly wig and gold armlets (Filer, 1995:56). Female personal attendants may also be shown bringing items, such as fans or ointment jars. Dwarf men may appear in the company of both men and women, which is unusual. In depictions of a multitude of servants they are exclusively of the same sex as their master in ancient Egypt. This may imply that the dwarf was not seen as a full man. Female dwarfs are only seen with adult women (Dasen, 1993:114). Dwarf entertainers could also be of either sex, and are shown dancing, singing or playing musical instruments. They can be shown to perform their arts in the company of average-sized performers. Female dwarfs have been linked to nursing and child-care, and may have assisted during childbirth (Kozma, 2006:309).

Only male dwarfs tended animals or pets. It was often linked to the task of overseer of linen in the household. The animals are usually dogs or monkeys, and are shown being led in a leash by the dwarf. In reliefs monkeys behave much more respectfully towards dwarf retainers rather than retainers of average size (Dasen, 1993:116).

Male dwarfs were also often shown in connection to clothing and jewellery making. Dwarf craftsmen on reliefs do not melt or hammer metals, perhaps a

task considered too difficult for them, but can be seen threading beads or fastening lockets to the ends of collars. They often work in pairs on the same piece, and sometimes there are even more dwarfs than that working together. On occasion they are sitting on furniture adapted for their size, with finished versions of the product they are completing on shelves behind them (Dasen, 1993:119).

Dwarfs are rarely shown in outdoor activities, this presumably because they were considered too valuable to be assigned heavy work. When they are shown in outdoor activities they stand in boats, holding an object that has been interpreted as a club or a sceptre and are possibly in charge of navigating the vessel (Dasen, 1993:126).

The religious role of dwarfs in ancient Egypt cannot be ignored. Seneb's role within the priesthood indicates that dwarfism was not a condition that stood in the way of his religious work, quite the opposite. In fact, dwarfs held a connection to the sun god, their short limbs often being compared to the legs of the sacred scarab beetle Khepri, an aspect of the sun god Re (Dasen, 1993:50).

After death, the good treatment of dwarfs continued. They, like average-sized servants, were buried in wooden coffins, with grave goods much like theirs: pottery or stone vessels, linen, and personal items such as flint bracelets or bits of furniture. Dasen (1993:107) also references Swiss Egyptologist Peter Kaplony, who mentions that stelae of dwarfs and dogs in the King Den cemetery are of a better quality and workmanship than those full-sized retainers, confirming that dwarfs held a particular position in the household.

3.2 *Attitude: Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire*

Dwarfs are not mentioned in Greek texts of law and custom, thus secondary sources of attitudes towards deformity at large must be used and applied in this case. Dasen (1993) brings up various laws regarding newborns and deformity in her work. A newborn child in Athens was officially recognised by the father a few days after its birth. By that time it would also presumably receive a name. There are no laws that indicate reasons for why this might not always happen, but the fact that the recognition of the practice exists may be an indication that

acceptance was not always a matter of course. It was entirely up to the father whether or not an infant was accepted, and it was a private matter, not a public one. In myths and plays the reasons for infant exposure vary, but the child is usually illegitimate or female. It is easy to imagine though that a deformed child might fall in the same category (Dasen, 1993:205-6). Aristotle did propose a law to prevent parents from rearing deformed children, on the grounds of couples having too many children already, thus preventing over population. He was not in favour of exposing infants, but instead suggested abortion “before sense and life have begun” (The Internet Classics Archive: Politics by Aristotle Book VII). Dasen also reminds us that it is vital to keep in mind that the musings of Aristotle and others of his contemporaries are the thoughts of philosophers, not reflections of popular opinion. Severely disabled children probably did not survive naturally, as the infant mortality was high and their fragile constitution would have led to them not surviving (Dasen, 1993:209).

Dasen (1993) continues by discussing Sparta, where the difference is substantial. The State decided which children should be reared by close inspection of the infant. If it was deformed or weak it was sent to foot of Mount Taygetus, to be either thrown down the escarpments or simply abandoned there. A child with a weak constitution, it was reasoned, had not been equipped by nature to cope with life, and thus would not be an advantage to either itself or the state. The exact nature of these deformities is not mentioned, so a further elaboration on what would deserve exposure is unknown. This practise does seem to have disappeared by the end of the fifth century BCE. King Agesilaus of Sparta was lame in one foot, and his lameness was still deemed less disturbing than his rival for the throne, Leotychidas, who might not have been a true son of the previous king (Dasen, 1993:206-7). The king after Agesilaus, Archidamos, was however fined by the Spartans due to him marrying a “little woman”, their reasoning for this being that “he meant to beget for them not kings, but kinglings” (Perseus Digital Library: De liberis educandis by Plutarch).

Dasen (1993) points out that when it comes to dwarfism, noticing the particular pathology at birth can sometimes be difficult. It is likely that for this reason dwarfed infants were not eliminated at birth. Their constitution is also often strong, and they would not need special care to survive infancy. Dasen (1993) can only conjecture on the subject of equal opportunity for education,

both intellectual and physical, when it comes to disabled children in Greece. Some examples can be given for occurrences when a deviant appearance has not prevented a man from being educated, such as the Athenian schoolmaster Tyrtaios, who was lame. He was however a victim to prejudice from other Athenians, and was eventually sent to Sparta as a sign of their disdain, both towards him and Sparta (Dasen, 1993:210).

The spread opinion on deformity in overall Greece seems to be mixed, according to Dasen (1993). The satyr-like dwarf with the over-sized phallus was a creature that embodied wildness, something deeply in touch with nature and sexuality. The pygmies of foreign lands were alien and sub-human; those with physical abnormalities around ancient Greeks were subject to prejudice and ridicule. The reasoning was that the outside was a reflection of the inside. The spirit of the era was physical perfection and fear of deformity, which is shown in both art and myth. The only cripple in myth is – as has been previously mentioned – Hephaistos, the god of metalwork. His name is similar to Ptah-Pataikoi from Egypt, and the two deities may be somewhat influenced by each other (Dasen, 1993:84). Hephaistos was lame in both feet, but there have been some suggestions by modern authors saying that his deformed lower limbs may be a remnant of an earlier dwarf form. He is not shown dwarfed in iconography, however, and his deformity is most often accounted for by his fall from Olympos (Dasen, 1993:198-9).

Several other minor deities were also connected to Hephaistos, according to Dasen (1993). His centre of worship was on the island Lemnos, where it was said he had landed after being thrown from the heavens, and this island also has a sanctuary of the mysterious Kabeiroi. They were said to be the sons and grandsons of Hephaistos, and well skilled at the forge. Several sources allude to their short stature, calling them “crabs” which may refer to their dwarf proportions (Dasen, 1993:194-5).

Dasen (1993) describes the Daktyloi, another minor group of gods in Greek myth, who are also connected to metallurgy. They were said to have discovered the uses of fire to work copper and iron, and they created many objects. Their relation to Hephaistos is a little unclear, but like him they are also magicians and associated with mysteries. It is not certain whether or not they were considered to be dwarfs. Their name is associated with fingers, meaning that

they might have been as small as a finger, or simply that they were dexterous (Dasen, 1993:196).

Finally Dasen (1993) mentions the Telchines. They are also said to have invented smithcraft, and like Hephaistos they created weapons for gods. Ancient sources refer to them as slanderous, jealous, wicked beings that can cast the evil eye, destroy crops and control the weather. Their appearances vary since they are seemingly able to take the shape of other things. Suetonius distinguishes between those of the Telchines that are benign metalworkers, and those that are evil creatures (Dasen, 1993:197).

Sullivan (2001) adds that Hephaistos in turn fathered a deformed child named Erithanus, who due to his disfigurement was kept in a box that was guarded by the daughters of Cecrops. They opened the box despite orders not to, and were so shocked and frightened at what they saw that they ran away, so horrified that they jumped off a cliff to their deaths (Sullivan, 2001:263).

Dasen (1993) explains one paradox in this worldview: the apparent opinion that the disabled were somehow compensated for their deformities with some other type of power. Hephaistos was a skilled smith and a magician. The equally lame Tyrtaios was a poet, who was recognised for his talent in Sparta and celebrated. Homer himself was blind, but is still mentioned in connection to not only song and poetry, but also seeing things other men do not (the skill of prophecy). Dwarfs have a similar advantage, according to ancient writers. A short stature might be the subject of cruel jokes, but it was not a sign of cowardice nor would it mean you were not clever. In fact, many examples exist of small, thin, ugly men who were successful in clever endeavours such as satirical poetry and other works of literature. The reason for the supposed above-average cleverness of short people is explained in a fable by Aesop, where he writes that Hermes put intelligence in men, giving each one an equal quantity. The measure was enough to fill the dwarfs entirely, making them wise, when those of a larger size could not be entirely permeated by it and thus became rather stupid (Dasen, 1993:215).

So a Greek dwarf may reach intellectual success, able to defend themselves in battles of wit where others may make fun of their appearance. Despite the opinions of Aristotle and the like, there is no evidence that their ideas were ever implemented in practice, nor that a disabled Athenian was ever stripped of

citizenry due to a physical deficiency. The theoretical ideas of the ideal man in comparison to how important it was deemed to be in reality do not coincide; ancient Athenians knew that the notion was flawed (Dasen, 1993:233).

In Rome the focus was on the spectacle of dwarfs. They were popular slaves showing the wealth of their Roman masters, and they were popular gladiators in the arena, sometimes brought home by wealthy women after training to participate in erotic games (Adelson, 2005: 11). Since the Roman Empire inherited many of the opinions and ideas of ancient Greece, it is likely that the view of disability was similar. Roman writers such as Cicero determined that, "It matters greatly to the soul by what body it is placed; for there are many conditions of the body that sharpen the mind, and many that blunt it" (Sinclair Carey, 1996:30). Thus there is an idea of deformity as divine punishment for sins. This notion will return later on as well, as we shall see (Sullivan, 2001:262-3). By the end of the fifth century dwarfs' religious association begins to vanish, and they are thought of simply as figures of ridicule or fascination for deviance. Their ritual meaning fades, being replaced with that of professional entertainment (Dasen, 1993:245).

3.3 *Attitude: The Middle Ages*

In light of this cultural background with dwarfs as a separate, unfriendly people, it is unknown how early Scandinavians reacted to seeing such mythological creatures in reality. Dwarfs may have been considered to have both creativity and great skill in their field, and they possessed certain magical power besides, but their status was still low. They were not friendly, social creatures, and any human dwarfs may have become isolated as a result of this notion.

The double grave in Skämsta, Uppland is perhaps one of the most interesting for further study, as the burial took place during a period of societal change. The graves around the two dwarfs display elements of paganism as well as Christianity, and it is impossible to determine what religion is most prevalent (Arcini & Frölund, 1996). They should also be interpreted along with the graves that were found around them. There were six contemporary graves, including the dwarfs, with a seventh individual found in a different context nearby. Four of these lived all or part of their life with either disabling skeletal malformation or

disease, which had considerable effect on everyday life. Apart from the two dwarfs, there was also an elderly man with osteoarthritis in both hips, and a woman who died quite young (approximately 20-25 years) who shows signs of lepromatous leprosy. She also had an infection between the third and fourth lumbar vertebrae, causing ankylosis. In the two other graves of the same context there was a man and a woman. The man was of average height but the woman measured 171 centimetres, tall for a woman of the time (Arcini & Frölund, 1996).

The area certainly lends itself to interpretation. Was this a particular family that were buried together? Was this area separated from other individuals as the final resting place of those that were different? It is of course possible that those individuals without peculiar pathologies still showed signs of conditions we cannot see in a skeletal record, but would have singled them out in a medieval society (Arcini & Frölund, 1996).

The biological evidence for the existence of dwarfs during this time is otherwise ambivalent. There seems to be nothing indicating that the four individuals found in Sweden have suffered any more or less as a result of their dwarfism. They have different pathologies and different grave goods, indicating that their handling after death had more to do with social status or wealth rather than special treatment due to them being dwarfs.

The introduction of Christianity during this time highlights another paradox of acceptance. To care for the ill and deformed was considered a duty, and healing was an act of God. Jesus himself is many times shown in the New Testament as a healer, spending time with those unfortunate sufferers of leprosy, seizures, paralysis and fever (Slon *et al.* 2011:15). However, a perfect physical form was vital if one wished to approach the Lord. Leviticus 21:1-24 commands to not let those with deformities approach the altar, so that they may not profane the sanctuaries of the Lord. Dwarfs are included in this list of deformities, along with blind or lame men, those with a mutilated face, an injured foot or hand, a hunchback, a defect in sight or an itching disease (Sinclair Carey 1996:28-9).

The Middle Ages serve largely to further separate the two preconceptions of dwarfs: the mythological “little people” of folklore and the human dwarfs. One side has magical powers and are ethnically small, much like the pygmy tribes of

Greek myth, with villages and societies of their own. The other side is made up of “freaks of nature”, creatures that may have been born by humans, but are in fact something abnormal and alien.

Linked to both of these preconceptions is the fear of changelings, which Schön (2001) describes further. Despite the supposed Christianity of Scandinavia, old Germanic traditions remained. The idea of trolls and dwarfs stealing human children and replacing them with their own offspring is a fairly common motif in stories of folklore. The difference between a troll child and a human child is often apparent: a troll child is only interested in eating, it will have a hard time learning how to speak and walk and is seen as lethargic when it believes itself to be watched. It is easy to see how the stories could reflect a more tragic reality, that they are a way for parents to understand conditions like Down’s syndrome or other delays in cognitive ability (Adelson, 2005:110). The solution to the problem is to trick the troll child, and sometimes the trick is fairly innocent. Pretending to do something absurd like boiling water in an eggshell but stirring with a large pine-top will cause the child to laugh and thus reveal itself as an impostor. Sometimes, however, the solution could be cruel. Preparing to shove the child into the oven and cook it would bring the troll’s mother running to change back her child, appalled that the human mother could even consider treating her child that way (Schön, 2001:78-9).

A dwarf child may be thought of as a changeling, or something sub-human. The fear of the unusual might have frightened superstitious parents into hiding their child from the outside world, or perhaps even exposing it to the elements. Much like in Ancient Athens however, this would very much be an individual choice rather than a matter of the state, and since child murder was the most appalling sin, the author of this thesis finds it unlikely that the clergy would have condoned such an act despite the child’s deformity. It should be noted that children that were exposed were so due to them being illegitimate, not because of deformity, and then it was usually a desperate mother who made the choice in secret.

3.4 Attitude: The Renaissance

The court dwarfs of the Renaissance were appreciated for their entertainment value, but their treatment could vary depending on the patron. Often, though, they were luxury possessions, with some wealthy courts keeping hundreds of them. They did not lack anything in ways of comfort, but were still largely considered to be more like intelligent pets or animated toys than human beings. Leroi (2005) mentions a few examples of this. Catherine de Medici hoped to breed more dwarfs by arranging a marriage between two of her favourites in a miniature ceremony, but to her disappointment the couple proved childless. The Electress of Brandenburg attempted the same thing a few years later, with the same results (Leroi, 2005:170). This as well as the casual gifting of dwarfs between the courts clearly shows that the wealthy had little regard for dwarfs as people, viewing them as something separate from themselves.

The man commonly referred to as the last of the court dwarfs was a Polish gentleman named Joseph Boruwlaski, described by Heron (1986), Adelson (2005), and Leroi (2005). Born in 1739, he was the second oldest of six children, two of which were also very short. Joseph Burowlaski was proportionately dwarfed and slender, his body seemingly that of a child's. When born he was only eight inches long (ca. 20 centimetres) and he reached his full height of three feet and three inches (barely 100 centimetres) before he was 30 years old. Most people stop growing in their late teens, so the fact that Burowlaski continued to grow through his twenties is quite interesting. Evidently he also reached sexual maturity rather late (Leroi, 2005:173-4).

The Boruwlaski family became very poor due to the death of Joseph's father when Joseph was only nine years old, but luckily the patron of Joseph's mother, Lady de Caorliz, became very fond of Joseph and took him into her household to give him an education. When his patron later married and became pregnant Joseph was sent to the Countess Humiecka. He was then 15 years old. The Countess travelled a lot, and took him with her to courts all over Europe. Joseph learned to play the violin and how to speak several languages, and he also fell in love. Isalina Borboutin was a lady-in-waiting of his benefactress and when the Countess noticed Joseph's secret meetings with her, she ordered him to cease at once or leave her household. Joseph decided on the latter. He went to the king of Poland, Stanislaus II, and asked for a pension so that he could support a

wife. He received one, as well as the title of Count, and married Isalina. Joseph eventually moved to Durham, England, where he wrote his memoirs, and where he also died in 1837, aged 98 (Heron, 1986).

Burowlaski's life was vastly improved by his dwarfism. It saved him from destitution and gave him opportunities he could hardly have dreamed of otherwise, transforming him to a true gentleman. All who met him considered him a delight, intelligent and witty. However, ladies of the courts would treat him like a child, caress and play with him. They would not take him seriously. Burowlaski was well aware of this. At one point he overheard the Countess discussing with a friend on how dwarfs could have children, and how she remarked, "How pleasant it would be to join these two little creatures, that the result might decide the question." She later denied any intention of performing such an experiment, but the remark was yet another example of nobility viewing the court dwarf as something other than a person (Adelson, 2005:19-20).

Once more we become aware of the paradox in dwarf history. We know very little on how life might have been for those dwarfs living outside the courts and how they might have faced any hardships. Like Burowlaski's mother, parents of dwarfs at this time may have been inclined to send their children to courts, knowing that they would receive care and education there, and that might be a reason for the lack of stories of dwarfs in rural areas.

3.5 *The Myth*

Dwarfism may not have been a common enough condition for everyone in society to have seen a dwarf before, unless one had access to the courts. Explanations for deviance were needed, presumably more so in rural areas. It is naive to assume this explanation could not have played a part in the perception of dwarfs in the past. That is why this section exists. A short review of common themes in dwarf mythology can serve as a reminder of the importance of folklore when painting a clear picture of the past.

3.5.1 *Dwarfs as Metalworkers, Miners and Jewellers*

This theme is a recurring one, appearing even as one of the professions of dwarfs in Ancient Egypt. The god Ptah-Pataikoi was a dwarf and the patron of

metalworkers, but Dasen (1993) reminds us that the Egyptian dwarf jewellery-makers were not similar to the later, Indo-European smiths. The tasks of the Egyptian jewellery-makers mostly consisted in threading beads or fastening necklaces. The mythology surrounding metalwork and mining never developed in Egypt but the activity had a low status and is as a result almost absent from texts (Dasen, 1993:121).

The aspect of deformity in connection to metallurgy continues into Ancient Greek culture, with the lame Hephaistos as the greatest amongst them. The previously mentioned Kabeiroi, Daktyloi and Telchines are reminiscent of the mythical dwarfs in Norse mythology, magical beings that were skilled at metallurgy and created items for the gods. They were all cave-dwellers, separated from gods and humans alike, secretive and not entirely friendly.

So why the connection to the earth and minerals? When Odin and his two brothers killed the frost giant Ymer and sculpted the world out of his body in Norse mythology, they made the dwarfs out of the maggots in his flesh. The dwarfs were then consigned to the caves and caverns of the world (Adelson, 2005:102). With the close proximity to precious minerals and hidden gems, it is easy to make the connection to metalwork.

3.5.2 Dwarfs as Magicians

Human dwarfs in Ancient Egypt had religious connotations, being linked to deities and holding positions within temples. It is likely that their tasks mainly consisted of upkeep in the temple, and not performing of religious rites. Stories of pygmies dancing during ritual circumstances do occur, in association with sun worship and to gladden the king (Dasen, 1993:132-3).

In Ancient Greece, the knowledge of fusing metals carried with it some mystical connotations, as is the case with the dwarfs of the Eddic sagas. Superior technology is always in a separate class. Metallurgy required secret knowledge that few people fully understood and great smiths were very valued in these societies, and mythical smiths were surrounded by a great deal of mystery. This is clear in the examples of the Kabeiroi, Daktyloi and Telchines. Similar to them, the Eddic dwarfs could take elements like the sound of a cat walking or the roots of a mountain and weave them together into a chain that

despite its lightness was strong enough to bind the enormous Fenrir wolf. The Norse dwarfs were also exclusively male, and said to reproduce by making other dwarfs literally from earth (Adelson, 2005:102-3).

In later literature, the connection between dwarfs and magic was still being made. In fairy tales diminutive peoples are common, sometimes helpful to humanity by doing them favours. Scandinavian folklore speaks of *vättar* or *vittra*, a people with their own customs that are very often similar to humans. Schön (2001) mentions that their magical powers have little to do with metallurgy, though occasionally beautiful items such as silver bells or bridal crowns make appearances. The *vittra* have the power to turn invisible or to turn themselves into small creatures such as frogs. They have their own cattle that are often more beautiful than ordinary cattle, and give off better milk in higher quantities. The *vittra* vary in size but are usually smaller than humans, neatly dressed and with beautiful features (Schön, 2001:140).

In folktales of elves and dwarfs they more often than not come across in a positive light, according to Marie-Louise Von Franz, Jungian analyst and folklorist. Her conclusion from studying thousands of folktales is that in 85% of references to little people, the reference is positive. The elf or dwarf may display childish attributes such as mischief from time to time, but their purpose is mainly to help. In most European countries there have been stories of friendly small folk, even though their loyalties may quickly turn if they are wronged or insulted (Adelson, 2005:105).

Stories about elves and magical little people serve to set human dwarfs as separate from the rest of humanity. It is an old superstition, possibly related to the pygmies of Ancient Greece, where dwarfs are considered a different species than humans. Related, yes, but not as highly evolved. This notion has survived even in more modern times. Scientists have been fond of the idea that we are all descended from dwarfs in some capacity, and that conditions such as achondroplasia is an expression of ancient pygmy genes that are no longer as common. The conclusion is drawn from the prevalence in depictions of dwarfism in ancient art, and assuming there were more dwarfs in ancient times. Nowadays we know that this is due to nobility's affection for dwarfs and their tendency to collect them, not a higher percentage of dwarfs being born long ago (Adelson, 2005:116-7).

3.6 Reality

3.6.1 Dwarfs as Entertainers

Dwarfs entertained kings and high officials in Ancient Egypt, and that role has persisted all through the ages. Although the jobs of dwarfs consisted of much more than only entertainment it is the one job that has lasted from ancient times and into modern. In Egypt the entertainment consisted of dancing (possibly also in ritual contexts) as well as playing musical instruments. This combines a talent with their appearance, perhaps a sign of a more dignified way of entertainment.

The same actions would be in a different context in Greece, and possibly be focused more on the ridiculous. Fighting dwarfs have been depicted with large phalluses to seem more grotesque, and we know they fought as gladiators in Rome (Andersson, 2004:136; Adelson, 2005:10). The entertainment might have been in the discrepancy between their size and their fighting spirit, or that they were considered an amusing miniature reflection of the average-sized gladiators. Adelson (2005) also mentions that they were often paired together with Amazons, a battle of sorts between beauty and ugliness.

The dwarf entertainer continued into medieval times, with jesters and *jongleurs*. Some of them may have enjoyed many perks of their trade if they were fortunate enough to be attached to a kind patron, but their treatment was entirely up to the whim of their benefactor and could vary greatly. The same is said for the Renaissance, with stories of famed courts keeping many dwarfs. More often than not amused the nobility were amused merely by the notion that the court dwarfs were so similar to themselves, but in miniature form.

The dwarfs were luxury items. Tuan (1984) compares their dehumanisation as a result of their condition to the dehumanisation suffered by black slaves due to their skin colour. During the course of history, both groups have been reduced to pet status. A pet might be a creature to be delighted by or play with, but it is certainly a personal belonging and may be ignored or appreciated at will. A court dwarf's name was often chosen by the patron, and more often than not it was absurdly inappropriate. In Renaissance courts a dwarf might be addressed as King. Queen Elizabeth had a dwarf fool who was referred to as Monarch. (Tuan 1984:145, 155) Names like "Bebe" and "Joujou" (toy) were also in use, the latter being a nickname for Count Joseph Burowlaski. A dwarf at

court may also be called diminutives ending in *illo* (little) to further highlight their lack of respect (Adelson, 2005:20).

3.6.2 Dwarfs as “The Other”

There are two separate views on disability, both discussed by Cross (2007). These are commonly called the medical and the social model. The medical model views the disabled in a largely negative light, with their disability being the direct result of a personal failure. It is the individual’s own problem and thus theirs to amend; the individual might be pitied but is also forced to adapt to their surroundings. For example, deaf school children are prevented from using sign language. Able-bodied people are responsible for the treatment of the disabled, who are not considered capable of making decisions for themselves (Cross 2007:181). The superstition of disability as a punishment for sin comes to mind.

The social model appeared as a result of the American civil-rights movement in the 1960’s, where the self-perception of the disabled underwent a transformation. It had to do with a separation of disability and the social construct surrounding it; in short, the removal of stigma (Cross, 2007:181-2). Since the social model is a modern construct we shall continue to look at the medical model and make our interpretations of history through that lens.

A handicap only becomes a handicap when society views it as such. In Egyptian iconography there are several depictions of dwarfs sitting comfortably on low stools adapted to their size, so that their feet may touch the floor (Dasen, 1993:119). That is a sign of adapting the environment to fit the individual instead of the other way around, going against the medical model. It is true the low stools are not always present, and the dwarfs are sometimes sitting on standard stools, so perhaps their specific needs were not always respected. In the statue of Seneb his short legs are tucked under him, not for the sake of his comfort but to spare him the indignity of having them dangle over the end of the bench where his average-sized wife is also sitting. It is unknown exactly how often dwarfism was considered a handicap in Ancient Egypt. Surely for Seneb, a respected individual with several important assignments, the world had to be somewhat adapted to fit his stature. It would be as simple as adding steps to seats for him to be able to get up unaided, and otherwise adjust the

environment around him to make him less dependent on other people. Since his status in society was more or less equal to that of an average-sized man, he would presumably have disliked being treated as anything less than that.

Count Joseph Burowlaski, the Polish gentleman, is another example of a man whose special needs were respected in polite society. During his later years, the last of the court dwarfs was partly under the patronage of George IV, then the Prince of Wales, but also touring Europe to display his skills with the violin. His size was naturally a large part of the appeal. He eventually settled in Durham, receiving payment from its council merely to live there (Lerois, 2005:174). In a letter to the editor of *The Times*, a Durham woman tells the story of how when her mother was a frequent guest at the dinner parties where the Count was also invited, and witnessed an affront to him. A tactful host would place two large folio volumes on the Count's chair for his comfort, as well as a footstool so he could get on to the chair on his own. Once however a footman lifted him up from behind and set him in the chair as you would a child, which deeply wounded the Count (Heron, 1986:17). One can hardly blame Burowlaski for that.

Being such an obvious deviance from the norm, dwarfism is subject to a great deal of stigmatisation. *Stigma* as a word is Greek in origin, and originally it was a physical brand, a way of determining the status of the marked. The signs were cut or burnt into the body to signify that the individual was a criminal, a slave or a traitor, and thus sending a clear signal to the public on how they should be treated (Goffman, 2009:1). Later on the plural of the term, *stigmata*, would come to take on a profoundly Christian meaning, being believed to be wounds or pain in correlation to the crucifixion wounds of Jesus Christ. (Cross, 2007:184)

Goffman divides stigmatisation into three categories:

1. Physical (deformities)
2. Moral (such as being overweight and as a result considered lazy and weak-willed)
3. Tribal (markers of race, religion or nation that may spread and affect larger populations) (Goffman, 2009:4-5)

Adelson (2005) brings up each of these categories and mentions that dwarfism has, through the ages, carried traces of all three. The physical

deviance is immediately noticeable; the discrepancy between the body of a child and the face of an adult can be astonishing at a first glance. The moral connection might be made due to unconscious recollection of mythical dwarfs as untrustworthy or malignant. The tribal connection can happen due to a similar notion of dwarfs as belonging to a race of little people. This can lead to a triple response of stigmatisation (Adelson, 2005:88).

Adelson (2005) continues to discuss the physical stigmatisation. It lies in two preconceptions of standard, the standard of beauty and the standard of height. There are stereotype responses to physical attractiveness, people working harder to please them or to return their lost possessions, for example, and discrimination against those who are perceived as being more homely. This is of course solely based on the reference point of the viewer, and familiarity and intimacy with a certain body type. The standard of height is visible in nature. Size is most often seen as an advantage or a sign of status. In instances of sexual dimorphism in animal species, the largest of the sexes tends to dominate. In primates this depends on more factors, and Adelson maintains that it is simplistic to regard the tallest member of the group as the leader solely based on height. However, it is still doubtlessly an important factor in human dominance systems today, and likely to have played a part in the past (Adelson, 2005:89-90).

4 CONCLUSION

Here I will revisit my questions for this thesis and attempt to quickly answer them.

How have dwarfs and dwarfism been depicted in prehistoric and historic art? Are they represented at all? If not, why?

Dwarfs and dwarfism have been well represented in prehistoric and historic art. In Egypt the depictions were largely ambivalent, though caricatures also occurred. Most images of dwarfs have been depicted with achondroplastic proportions, though many historical accounts bring up pygmies as a large percentage of Egyptian dwarfs. The same occurs in Ancient Greek and Roman depiction, most likely due to ancient artists not knowing the difference between separate diagnoses that all cause dwarfism. Medieval depictions of dwarfism are scarce, but one that stands out is the individual Tuold on the Bayeux tapestry. Dwarfs during the Renaissance were often depicted in the company of children or elegant dogs, to underscore the difference between perceived ugliness and beauty.

What does this mean when discussing acceptance of dwarfism in society?

Representation may indicate some acceptance of dwarfs in society, but it is not equal to respect. In Greece and Rome the depictions of dwarfs have most often taken on a largely caricaturist feel, with statues of dwarfs being shown with overly large phalluses for comic effect. Dwarfs were considered grotesque during a significant part of time, and were treated accordingly. Dwarf servants have been in practice since Ancient Egypt, but during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance there was a dehumanisation of dwarfs due to their condition. They were considered less than human and treated more like pets.

Are the grave goods what you would expect from graves of contemporary average-height individuals or do they differ?

The grave goods of dwarfs vary. It suggests that dwarfs were for the most part treated as average-height individuals after death, and that their grave goods are dependent on other factors than their condition, such as economic and societal status.

What do literary sources say?

Literary sources reference dwarfism occasionally. In Ancient Egypt the texts were positive, such as a spell to dwarf gods to ensure a successful birth. In Ancient Greece and Rome the attitude was more negative, comparing dwarfs to children. During the Middle Ages texts mostly depict mythological dwarfs as greedy, lustful creatures living underground. The Renaissance took a more playful approach to dwarfism, continuing the tradition of dwarf servants at court.

What can skeletal remains of dwarfs tell us of their life? What does the pathology look like?

The pathology of dwarfism may vary in accordance to a more specific diagnosis. Unusual short stature is the only thing all conditions have in common. Bow-leggedness is common in many diagnoses, leading to difficulty walking. Other complications due to dwarfism may be poor hearing and eyesight, early osteoarthritis and limping.

5 SUMMARY

The intent of this paper was to map the differences in representation of dwarfs in an archaeological context, both prehistoric and historic, as well as in literature and art. The material encompassed published literature on dwarfs and dwarfism in an archaeological context, medical etcetera.

The perception of dwarfs and dwarfism has varied throughout history and prehistory. Scholars are in agreement that Ancient Egypt looked favourably on dwarfism. Dwarfs held a particular connection to the divine and received many favours as a direct result of their condition. They were often portrayed with an emphasis on their different morphology, in art and referenced in text. Two named dwarf gods are known to have been worshiped. Dwarfs held high positions within society, serving nobility and high officials, and after death they received equal burials to those of their average-sized contemporaries. It must be kept in mind, though, that we only know anything about those dwarfs in positions of influence. We cannot say anything about dwarfs in low-status positions, as they are invisible in this context. Even in the case of high-status dwarfs, the overall impression is also that they were still considered possessions, property to be handed over at will as a sign of good favour. Exceptions do exist, dwarfs in high positions were certainly considered proper citizens of Egypt with the right to marry and inherit.

The view on dwarfism in Greece and Rome is both positive and negative. Dwarfs have been portrayed in a ludicrous, animalistic light, but also in ways where their dwarfism gives them positive qualities as they are connected to the god Dionysis and satyrs. Aristotle described them as needing more sleep, comparing them to children, but art shows dwarfs as active. They may have suffered from the prejudice of the people around them, but have also been able to answer back quickly. As slaves they were a luxury, but their purpose was to be an amusing deviance from the norm, and the respect they received from that was presumably varied. It is difficult to reach a proper conclusion on their overall treatment in Greece and Rome, but it was during this time that they lose their religious connotations and become reduced to jester figures.

The treatment of dwarfs during the Middle Ages is largely ambivalent. The court dwarfs of English and French nobility may have reach significant wealth

and status, and if they were all active in composing their own material then their work was valued by their patrons. The court dwarfs were otherwise presumably meant as a spectacle, appealing due to their deviance. In Scandinavia the lives of dwarfs is largely a mystery despite the discovered skeletal remains. Some may have been viewed as productive members of society, others may have been moving in the outskirts of the same. The separation between fairy tale dwarfs and human monstrosities is even more pronounced; the former keeping all the magical elements and superior skills that have been associated with dwarfs over and over since Ancient Egypt.

During the Renaissance there was still a widespread affection for court dwarfs, and they were considered as something similar to humans but irrevocably separated from them at the same time. As during the Middle Ages, the court dwarfs of the Renaissance could enjoy special privileges or mockery based on the whims of their patron, but it is likely the treatment was largely positive.

Though the representation of dwarfs and dwarfism has been vast, both in history and prehistory, it is not on its own a sign of acceptance, let alone respect. With the exception of Ancient Egypt, dwarfs have been followed by prejudice all through the ages. Myth and legend have contributed to old stereotypes and the stigma that surrounds physical deviance. This stigma remains to this day.

6 References

6.1 *Literary*

- Adelson, B.M. 2005. *The Lives of Dwarfs: Their Journey from Public Curiosity Toward Social Liberation*. Rutgers University Press.
- Anderson, T. 1997. Documentary and Artistic Evidence for Congenital Conditions from Sixteenth Century England. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, Vol. 7: 625-627
- Andersson, B. 2004. *Farsoter och handikapp – ett kulturhistoriskt perspektiv*. Carlssons.
- Arcini & Frölund. 1996. Two Dwarfs From Sweden: A Unique Case. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, Vol. 6: 155 – 166
- Borghouts, HF. 1971. *The magical texts of papyrus Leiden*. Leiden: Brill Publishing Company.
- Bridgford, A. 2004. *1066: The Hidden History in the Bayeux Tapestry*. Walker & Company. New York.
- Celoria, F. 1992. *The Metamorphoses of Antoninus Liberalis: A translation with commentary*. London, Routledge.
- Cross, M. 2007. Accessing the inaccessible: disability and archaeology. In: *The Archaeology of Identities*. Edited by Timothy Insoll. Routledge.
- Dasen, V. 1988. Dwarfism in Egypt and classical antiquity: Iconography and medical history. *Medical History*, 32. pp 253-276.
- Dasen, V. 1993. *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*. Clarendon Press. Oxford.
- Filer, J. 1995. *Egyptian Bookshelf: Disease*. British Museum Press.
- Frieda, L. 2003. *Catherine de Medici: a biography* London: Weidenfeld&Nicolson (179)
- Goffman, E. 2009. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* Simon and Schuster
- Heron, T.M. 1986. *Burowlaski – The Little Count*. City of Durham.
- Johnson, S.M. 1990. Medieval German Dwarfs: A Footnote to Gottfried's Melot. In: *Gottfried Von Strassburg and the Medieval Tristan Legend*. Edited by: Adrian Stevens and Roy Wisbey. Boydell & Brewer Ltd. (209 – 222)
- Kozma, C. Historical Review. *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*. *American Journal of Medical Genetics*. Wiley-Liss Inc. 2006
- Larje, R. 1985. The Short Viking from Gotland. *Archaeology and Environment* 4.
- Leroi, A.M. 2005. *Mutants: On the Form, Varieties and Errors of the Human Body*. Harper Perennial. (149 – 157, 161 – 165, 169 – 175, 179 – 198)
- Nunn, J.F. 2002. *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*. University of Oklahoma Press.
- Roberts, R. & Manchester, K. 2005. *The Archaeology of Disease*. Third Edition. Cornell University Press. Ithaca, New York.

- Sables, A. 2010. Rare Example of an Early Medieval Dwarf Infant from Brownslade, Wales. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 20: 47-53
- Schön, E. 2001. *Folketro från förr*. Carlsson bokförlag.
- Sinclair Carey, J. 1996. The Quasimodo Complex: Deformity Reconsidered In: *The Tyranny of the Normal*. Edited by Carol Donley and Sheryl Buckley. Kent State University Press.
- Slon V., Nagar, Y., Kuperman, T., Hershkovitz, I. 2011. A Case of Dwarfism from the Byzantine City Rehovot-in-the-Negev, Israel. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*
- Sullivan R. 2001. Deformity: a modern western prejudice with ancient origins. *Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* 31: 262–266.
- Svensson, S. 2007. *Dvärgen från Löddeköpinge – En paleopatologisk undersökning*. (C-uppsats) Lunds universitet. Unpublished.
- Teaching of Amenemope xxiv, 9-12
- Tuan, Y. 1984. *Dominance & Affection: The Making of Pets* Yale University Press.

6.2 Internet

- Achondroplasia: MedlinePlus Medical Encyclopedia (0804-2013)
<http://www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/ency/article/001577.htm>
- Cleidocranial dysostosis: Medline Plus Medical Encyclopedia (2604-2013)
<http://www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/ency/article/001589.htm>
- Current Archaeology: Reconstructing Richard III (2304-2013)
<http://www.archaeology.co.uk/specials/featured-specials/reconstructing-richard-iii-the-man-behind-the-myth.htm>
- Current Archaeology: Richard III: the search for the last Plantagenet king (2304-2013)
<http://www.archaeology.co.uk/articles/features/richard-iii-the-search-for-the-last-plantagenet-king.htm>
- Mucopolysaccharides: MedlinePlus Medical Encyclopedia (0804-2013)
<http://www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/ency/article/002263.htm>
- Hilts, C. 2013. Reconstructing Richard III: the man behind the myth (0105-2013)
<http://www.archaeology.co.uk/specials/featured-specials/reconstructing-richard-iii-the-man-behind-the-myth.htm>
- Hurler syndrome: MedlinePlus Medical Encyclopedia (0804-2013)
<http://www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/ency/article/001204.htm>
- Classical E-Text: Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, [Translated by More, Brooks, Boston, Cornhill Publishing Co. 1922](http://www.theoi.com/Text/OvidMetamorphoses6.html) (2304-2013)
<http://www.theoi.com/Text/OvidMetamorphoses6.html>

The Internet Classics Archive: Politics by Aristotle (2404-2013)

<http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/politics.html>

Perseus Digital Library: De liberis educandis by Plutarch (2404-2013)

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0138%3Asection%3D1>