

PERIPIOUS

PAPERS ON CLASSICAL ART
AND ARCHAEOLOGY PRESENTED
TO SIR JOHN BOARDMAN

Edited by
G.R. TSETSKHLADZE
A.J.N.W. PRAG
A.M. SNODGRASS

with 188 illustrations

Squatting Comasts and Scarab-Beetles

FIGURES OF SQUATTING MEN, conventionally called comasts, are among the favourite shapes of Archaic Greek modelled vases. These clay figures are characterized by grotesque physical proportions: the most common form shows a bearded man with obese phallic body, the legs drawn up, the elbows resting on the knees; the hands are held against the chest, sometimes joined or raised at different levels; the front of the torso is covered with small black dots, the back, buttocks and limbs may be decorated with various designs, geometric, floral or animal. Some wear high boots or sandals.¹

Around forty examples of squatting comasts are recorded. Most of them were manufactured at Corinth. Their height is between 9 and 10 cm. The bodies are usually made from two moulds, with heads, limbs and phalloi added separately. Heads were made in series from moulds which were also used for figures of sirens and sphinxes; the uniformity of the type suggests that one factory produced most of the terracottas. A few examples may be Rhodian imitations. The vases date largely to the Middle Corinthian period, from 595 to 570 BC. They were widely distributed in mainland Greece (Athens, Boeotia, Corinth, Isthmia, Perachora, Sparta), Rhodes (Camirus, Ialysus), Italy (Etruria) and Sicily (Gela, Catania, Syracuse), and as far as Egypt (Naucratis). They ceased to be made with the decline of Corinthian production.

The function of the vessels is well known. They served as oil or scent containers, like aryballoi and alabastro; a graffito inscribed on a figure from Camirus gives directions for use: $\chi\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\iota\ \delta\theta\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\ \dot{\iota}\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ('pour there, where the liquid is longed for').² On Corinthian ware, the mouth of the bottle is usually a simple unobtrusive opening at the top of the head (Figs. 1, 3), whereas Rhodian figures have a spout (Fig. 5b). Holes through the hands and the side hair show that the vases could be suspended from a string. No satisfactory interpretation, however, has been found for the meaning of these grotesque figures. Some scholars assimilate them to the padded dancers depicted on contemporary Corinthian vase-painting: bordering lines around the neck, the shoulders or the wrists indicate that the comasts wear some kind of garment; but this costume is not comparable to the belted chiton of padded dancers who are usually not phallic (Amyx 1988, 531-2). Some regard them as 'the counterpart of the Attic and Ionian satyrs' (Higgins 1975, 38), with a hairy chest symbolized by small black dots, and attribute their squatting pose and obesity to drunkenness.³ Others take them for amusing caricatures.⁴ A few note their typological similarities with faience Bes-vases from Camirus and other places, but make no further comment.⁵

This paper presents an unusual piece which throws some light on the origin and the significance of the squatting comast-vases. The figure, of unknown provenance, was part of the private collection of Dr. J. Lauffenburger in Geneva (Fig. 1).⁶ The style is



1 Terracotta (ht 10.3 cm): (a) front; (b) back. From Selinus? Paris market (ex J. Lauffenburger coll., Geneva). Photo D. Widmer, Basel.

Middle Corinthian: the head, with hair falling down in a mass on either side and a festooned fringe, seems to have been made from the same mould as those of four sphinxes and one comast listed in Ducat's 'Groupe Stathatos' dating to 595–585 BC.⁷ The comast has dwarfish proportions; his large ovoid body contrasts with his short limbs and phallos plastically rendered. If the dot-field decoration on his chest is common, the design on his back is puzzling: it depicts the carapace of a scarab-beetle. A vertical line runs down the back from the basis of the neck to the waist level and divides the elytra which are separated from the prothorax (*pronotum*) by a horizontal line. This evocation of a scarab is stressed by the peculiar appearance of the lower limbs, with incomplete, footless legs, like those of an insect.⁸

This type of monstrous being, half-human, half-insect, has no parallel in Corinthian or in Greek art generally; the Archaic period saw the emergence of many composite creatures formed of parts of mammals, birds, fishes or snakes, never of insects.⁹ The origin of this hybrid figure must be sought in Egyptian art, where the images of scarabs and dwarfs can blend as in the Geneva piece.

The Egyptians had a special liking for hybrid beings and created various forms of scarab-beetles with human parts. The scarab is one of the most popular religious symbols from the First Intermediate Period (2134–2040 BC) until the Graeco-Roman

Period (Keel 1995, 23–4). It is strongly associated with ideas of regeneration and resurrection: it represents the morning manifestation of the sun-god, rising from the eastern horizon, rejuvenated after his nightly passage in the Underworld; his name is Khepri, 'he who is coming into being' by himself. He can appear in fully animal or in mixed forms. From the New Kingdom on, illustrations of religious or magical texts occasionally show a human being with a full scarab in place of the head,¹⁰ or inversely as a scarab with a human head, and sometimes also human legs (Fig. 2a–b).¹¹ Amuletic scarab seals can also have human elements. A human head may be plastically rendered on the front, as on heart scarabs, or a human face substitutes for the scarab's head, as on a scarab inscribed with the name of a Hyksos ruler of the 15th Dynasty (Fig. 2c); this last type may have been produced down to the 26th Dynasty (664–525 BC).¹² The whole back can also be replaced by a human head with hair, as on scaraboids produced in the Naucratis faience factory at the end of the seventh century and in the sixth century BC (Fig. 2d).¹³

The symbolism of dwarfs was closely related to that of scarabs. In dynastic Egypt, dwarfs were regarded as another solar hypostasis; they embodied the morning form of the sun-god, for they mysteriously look young and mature at the same time, like the rising sun, newly born and as old as eternity (Dasen 1993, 48–50). In the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu the birth of Horus is described thus: 'A lotus emerged in which there was a beautiful child who illuminated the earth with rays of light, a bud in which was a dwarf'.¹⁴ Egyptian iconography stresses their analogy with the sacred beetle Khepri, and plays with their similar silhouettes, both characterized by a large trunk and short, bent limbs. Dwarfs can interchange with scarabs: on a New Kingdom mythological papyrus, the painter placed a dwarf instead of a beetle in the solar disk beside a ram-headed figure symbolizing the evening form of Re.¹⁵

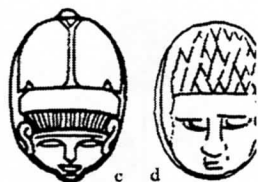
Two popular Egyptian dwarf-gods with strong solar associations, Ptah-Pataikos and Bes, display many features similar to our Corinthian figure and may be regarded as his iconographic prototypes. In particular, the pose of the Corinthian comast, squatting with clenched fists, seems to derive from that of Ptah-Pataikos. From the New Kingdom onwards, this dwarf-god is commonly found in the form of small amuletic figurines, usually made of faience. He appears as a juvenile dwarf, standing on bandy-legs, naked, holding knives or snakes in his closed hands laid on the chest (Fig. 2e).¹⁶ His attributes indicate his power as repeller of evil: very often he is biting snakes and



a



b



c

d



e

2 (right)

(a) Papyrus of Neskaa, vignette of spell 163 (second or first century BC). Paris, Louvre. Author's drawing. After de Cenival, J.-L. 1992: *Le livre pour sortir le jour: le livre des morts des anciens Egyptiens* (Bordeaux, Paris), 106.

(b) Gold band (l. 198 mm overall; l. of figure c. 10 mm) from Tharros (seventh–sixth century BC). Author's drawing after Hölbl 1986, I, Fig. 57, no. 95.

(c) Scarab seal (l. c. 15 mm; c. 1585–1542 BC). New York, MMA 15.171. After Tufnell, O. 1984: *Studies on scarab seals II* (Warminster), Pl. 62, no. 3460.

(d) Scaraboid seal from Lindos (seventh–sixth century BC). Lindos Mus. 1371. Author's drawing after Blinkenberg, Ch. 1931: *Lindos I* (Berlin), Pl. 59, no. 1371.

(e) Faience Ptah-Pataikos (ht 8.4 cm). From Matmar (Third Intermediate Period). London, BM 63475. Author's drawing after Dasen 1993, Pl. 12.3.

stands on crocodiles; a scarab-beetle is placed on top of his head, and different protective deities may be carved on the sides and the back of the amulet. These figurines were widely distributed in the Mediterranean world from the eighth century onwards. Most attributes (crocodiles, knives, scarab, headdress) are omitted in Hellenized clay figures which offer striking similarities with our comast; sixth- and fifth-century Cypriote statuettes thus represent Ptah-Pataikos in a crouching pose, the knees bent outwards, his closed fists raised to the chest, sometimes holding snakes.¹⁷

Other features are borrowed from Bes, a hybrid demonic being mingling human and leonine forms. His iconography varied little during the pharaonic period. In his most typical guise, Bes is naked, standing or squatting, hands on thighs, crowned with a tall feather headdress; he combines the plump body of a short-limbed dwarf with mane-like hair, a large protruding tongue and a lion's tail hanging between his legs.¹⁸ The dot-field over the chest of the comast could derive from the animal-skin covering the back and the shoulders of the god from the Third Intermediate period on. His large ovoid belly evokes also the protruding abdomen of Bes and belongs to an Oriental tradition. In Egypt and the East, cosmetic containers were often made in the form of pot-bellied beings related to the protection of fecundity, such as dwarfs, pregnant women or the hippopotamus-goddess Taweret;¹⁹ kohl-pots may be found in the shape of Bes or else the vessel is held by the god squatting.²⁰ Archaic Greek faience objects display similar Egyptian influences, but combine the iconography of Bes with that of other protective deities, such as the Nile god Hapy. A series of double vases, probably made in Rhodes, depict a naked kneeling figure, male or female, with a paunchy belly, holding between the knees a jar topped with a frog; the palm capital on his head derives from the aquatic plants crowning Hapy as well as from the headdress of Bes; large black dots indicate the presence of an animal-skin knotted in front and covering the back and the shoulders.²¹

Was the Geneva piece made by an artist with a special taste for Egyptianizing style? The Stathatos workshop produced another comast with Egyptian associations. The figure, now in the Louvre, shows a squatting man. His belly is not covered with dots: the navel is encircled with the drawing of an apotropaic eye, and two similar eyes are



3 Terracotta (ht 9 cm). From Boeotia. Paris, Louvre CA 1631. Photo M. et P. Chuzeville.

4 (opposite above)

(a) Terracotta (ht 9 cm). From Camirus. London, BM A 1102. Author's drawing after Higgins 1975, Pl. 26, no. 1666.

(b) Terracotta (ht 9.7 cm). From Etruria? Coll. G. Ortiz. Author's drawing after Wallenstein 1971, Pl. 30.4.

(c) Terracotta. From Camirus. Rhodes Mus. 13809. Author's drawing after *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII (1932-33), Fig. 100.

depicted on his buttocks (Fig. 3). This motif appears also in the iconography of Egyptian dwarf-gods. In the Late Period pantheistic figures of Bes may have the body covered with eyes,²² whereas Ptah-Pataikos may be crowned with an apotropaic eye instead of a scarab, or the plinth of the amulet is carved with an *udjat*-eye.²³

Our Corinthian artist, however, was not very familiar with Egyptian designs: the carapace of the Geneva piece points downwards, as though the head of the insect was to be imagined at the bottom of the vase. The painter probably never looked at a real scarab-beetle; he was perhaps misled by amuletic scarabs where the head and the legs are not clearly indicated.²⁴ Is the Geneva figure really unique? The painter's inspiration is not as original as it may first seem. The whole series of squatting comasts display similar Egyptianizing features, but less easily identifiable. Several comasts hold their hands against the chest at the same level like Ptah-Pataikos (Fig. 3);²⁵ the depiction of snakes running along the back and on one shoulder of a comast in Boston may derive from the attributes of the small god.²⁶ On some specimens, such as a comast found at Isthmia, small black dots cover only the upper part of the chest, like an animal-skin,²⁷ the modelling evokes the pendulous breasts of Bes and of Egyptian fecundity figures.²⁸ An elaborate double vase in the Louvre in the form of a comast holding a skyphos strongly recalls statuettes of Bes with a kohl-pot: like Bes, the comast is seated, the knees bent up, holding a vessel, here for mixing wine; he is fat, phallic, and his back and shoulders are covered by an animal-skin knotted in front.²⁹ The scaraboid aspect of the Geneva piece is not unique. The designs painted on the back of other figures may evoke too the carapace of a scarab, but in a more fantastic way: a vertical line runs down the back to meet or cross a horizontal or curving line; the lines may end in volutes and are often combined with simple patterns, such as rosettes, rhomboids and zigzags with triangles (Fig. 4 a-c).³⁰ Other squatting comasts have crudely modelled legs, like those of an insect (Fig. 3).³¹

Egyptian influence is more visible in Rhodian figures of squatting comasts. Three specimens found at Gela and Catania have wrinkled bellies with creases sometimes painted in black (Fig. 5a).³² This unusual way of rendering a protruding abdomen is



4a



4b



4c



5a



5b

5 (left)

(a) Terracotta (ht 9 cm).
From Gela. Gela, Museo
Archeologico Regionale 7673.
Photo Museum.

(b) Terracotta (ht 14.7 cm).
From Taranto. Taranto,
Museo Nazionale, 4960.
Photo Museum.

characteristic of East Greek statuettes or plastic vases of kourotrophic demons which present other similarities with the comast shape. The figures appear at the end of the seventh century, at about the same time as the squatting comasts, down to 520 BC. They show plump dwarfs standing on short bent legs, holding their hands over a paunchy belly often marked with deep creases (Fig. 5b),³³ a child may be seated on their shoulder or held in the arm. It is now commonly agreed that these dwarfs represent a Hellenized form of the Egyptian dwarf-gods Bes and Ptah-Pataikos. Many pieces were found in sanctuaries of female deities and in tombs of children on different Mediterranean sites. Most likely the fat belly expressed their kourotrophic function.³⁴ It may be noted that Rhodian squatting comasts are beardless, which could show the stronger influence of the image of Ptah-Pataikos on East Greek artists.

Conclusion

The enigmatic motif painted on the back of the Geneva piece sheds light on the demonic nature of Corinthian and Rhodian squatting comasts. Like other minor objects of the sixth century, these plastic vases were manufactured by Greek craftsmen inspired by Egyptian art, especially by figures of the dwarf-gods Bes and Ptah-Pataikos and by the hybrid forms of the scarab-beetle Khepri. Squatting comasts blend several Egyptianizing features: a scaraboid and a dwarfish shape, the squatting pose and the clenched fists of Ptah-Pataikos, the fatness and the animal-skin of Bes, and perhaps also related attributes such as apotropaic eyes, pendulous breasts and snakes.

The production period of the type (595–570 BC) corresponds to a time of intensive trading contacts with Egypt, especially through Naucratis. One squatting comast was found on that site which yielded sixth-century Greek pottery of various provenances.³⁵ Egyptian or Egyptianizing figures of dwarf-gods were then familiar in the West; Ptah-Pataikos is one of the most common type of Egyptian amulets found on seventh- and sixth-century sites, especially Punic.³⁶ Representations of scarabs with human parts were also not foreign to Greek artists. Amuletic scarab seals of Egyptian or Near-Eastern origin, made of faience, coloured paste or steatite, were exported in large numbers to the West in the first half of the first millennium BC; the Naucratis factory supplied many Greek and Punic sites.³⁷ Egyptian funerary iconography was known either through direct contacts or via Phoenician or Punic images: a gold band from Tharros made by a Punic artist in the seventh–sixth century BC depicts a man with the trunk of a scarab in a procession of Egyptianizing gods (Fig. 2b).³⁸ The influence of Egyptian funerary literature on Greek iconography is not unparalleled; an Etruscan amphora of 530 BC shows Achilles lying in ambush in the wait of the young Troilos; he is hidden behind a fountain on top of which stands a jackal-headed demon armed with a knife similar to the ferocious guardians of the Underworld gates.³⁹

Did squatting comasts inherit the apotropaic qualities of their Egyptian models, or were they just 'meant to be amusing' (Amyx 1988, 532)? Like kourotrophic demons or the Cypriote forms of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos, the figures seem to have conveyed the Egyptian notion of dwarfs as healing gods and family guardians; their scaraboid features may also have translated into Greek idiom the Egyptian concept of scarab-beetles as regenerative and life-giving symbols. A minority of squatting comasts come from

recorded excavations, but the contexts of their discovery may be revealing. Several pieces were found in tombs, and probably had a specific funerary meaning; one vessel in particular was found with two small silver bracelets and one Corinthian aryballos in the tomb of a child in Ialysus.⁴⁰ Others come from sanctuaries of female deities, such as that of Hera at Perachora and of Demeter at Gela; it is revealing that two vases were found with three statuettes of kourtophobic dwarfs in a votive deposit dedicated to Demeter at Catania.⁴¹ The association of squatting demons with the protection of fecundity is also suggested by the decoration of the comast from Isthmia: the figure has pendulous breasts, like Bes or Egyptian personifications of fecundity, and his belly is painted with a large phallos surrounded by phallic padded dancers.⁴²

The hybrid form of the Geneva figure, half-human, half-animal, does not seem to have been repeated in later artistic works. The image of scarab-beetles, however, remained associated with Dionysiac iconography; a scarab is thus depicted below the profile of a satyr on a Sicilian tetradrachm from Aetna dating to 470–465 BC.⁴³ The influence of Egyptian dwarf-gods is also perceptible in the iconography of Corinthian padded dancers, with bandy legs, protruding abdomens and buttocks like Bes figures, and likewise associated with music, wine and powers of fecundity.⁴⁴

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am happy to dedicate this essay to my former teacher, Sir John Boardman, in tribute to his pioneering and clear-sighted work. I am grateful to O. Keel (Institut Biblique, Fribourg) for reading this paper and offering valuable advice on Egyptian scarab seals. R. Wachter (Basel and Fribourg) studied the graffito of the comast from Camirus and provided me with a new transcription and translation. I am also indebted to many people for discussion, especially to participants in the symposium *Images as mass media* in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East held in Fribourg on 25–29 November 1997 (E. Hornung, A. Niwiński, C. Spieser, Ch. Uehlinger). My thanks are also due to N. Horsfall (Rome), who kindly read this paper, and to J. Chamay (Geneva), R. Panvini (Caltanissetta), A. Pasquier (Paris), V. Tatton-Brown (London) and F. Wolsky (Boston) for sending me original information and museum photographs.

NOTES

- 1 For a definition of the group, see Amyx 1988, 530–2 (with earlier bibliography). I use here the catalogues established by Ducat 1963, completed by Wallenstein 1971.
- 2 Rhodes Mus. 13809; Jacopi, G. 1932–1933: *Clara Rhodos* 6–7, 90, no. 5, Figs. 97–100, Pl. 4; Wallenstein 1971, 122, no. 30. For the new reading of the graffito, and its erotic connotations, see Wachter, R. 1998: 'Ein schwieriges rhodisches Graffito', *ZPE* 121, 90–3.
- 3 'Drinking satyr': the term was coined by Pottier, E. 1895: 'Le satyre buveur, vase à surprise du Musée du

Louvre', *BCH* 19, 225–35. See also e.g. Robinson, D.M. 1906: 'Ointment-vases from Corinth', *AJA* 10, 423–4, Fig. 3; Maximova, M.I. 1927: *Les vases plastiques dans l'antiquité II* (Paris), no. 159, Pl. 42.

4 For Jenkins, R.J.H. 1940: 'Terracottas', in Payne, H. et al., *Perachora I* (Oxford), 235, no. 199, the figure is excreting, 'hence the joke of his being used as a scent bottle'. *Contra*: Higgins 1975, 38.

5 Washburn, O. 1906: 'Eine protokorinthische Lekythos in Berlin'. *JDAI* 21, 125–6, Fig. 3. Different authors call them Bes-figures: e.g. Pellegrini, G. 1900: *Catalogo dei vasi antichi dipinti* (Bologna), 14, no. 90, Fig. 16 ('Tipo arcaico di Bes').

6 It may come from the necropolis of Selinus. The piece was first recorded in Chamay/Maier 1984, 140–1; it is mentioned in Dasen 1993, 201–2, Pl. 40.3 b.

7 Ducat 1963, 445–6; Wallenstein 1971, 119, no. 25. Chamay/Maier 1984 propose to date it to 610–600 BC.

8 These misshapen legs do not represent a pathological condition. Cf. Dasen, V. 1997: 'Autour de l'estropié du Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève. Une représentation archaïque grecque d'hémimélie'. *Gesnerus* 54, 5–22.

9 On hybrid beings in Corinthian pottery, see Payne, H. 1931: *Necrocorinthia I* (Oxford), 76–91; Amyx 1988, 660–2. In Greek art in general, see Dasen, V. 1997: 'Des Molionides à Janus: les êtres à corps et à parties multiples dans l'Antiquité classique', in Schmutz, H.-K. (ed.), *Phantastische Lebensräume, Phantome und Phantasmen* (Marburg), 119–41.

10 See e.g. Piankoff, A., Rambova, N. 1957: *Mythological papyri* (New York), nos. 6, 10, 11, 19 and 23 (21st Dynasty papyri). On these mixed forms: Hornung, E. 1983: *Conceptions of god in ancient Egypt. The one and the many* (London), 109–25, esp. 117, Pl. 4.

11 See also Piankoff, A. 1955: *The shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (New York), 123, Fig. 41; Dasen 1993, 49, Figs. 5.2–3.

- 12 Malaise, M. 1978: *Les scarabées de cœur dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Brussels), 42; Hornung/Stachelin 1976, 190-3; Stooft 1992, 159-68; Andrews, C. 1994: *Amulets of ancient Egypt* (London), 56-9, Figs. 44g, 56c; Keel 1995, 72-4.
- 13 The type appears in the 19th Dynasty; Stooft 1992, 172-83; Keel 1995, 74-5.
- 14 Dasen 1993, 48, n.24.
- 15 Papyrus Meermann-Westreenianum 37, The Hague; Dasen 1993, 49-50, Fig. 5.1. The images of dwarfs and scarabs also blend on human face scarabs or scaraboids carved with the face of Bes; see e.g. Gorton 1996, 116, Fig. 10; 124, Fig. 25.
- 16 For their typology and meaning, see Dasen 1993, 84-98, esp. 92-3.
- 17 Wilson 1975, 94, Pls. 15A, 16A; Yon/Caubet 1989, 32; Clerc 1991, 110; Karageorghis 1996, 14, Pl. 8.3-4.
- 18 Bes is originally the collective name of a group of dwarf-gods; Dasen 1993, 55-7 (with earlier bibliography).
- 19 See e.g. Lagarde/Leclant 1976, 235; Pinch, G. 1993: *Votive offerings to Hathor* (Oxford), 303; Dasen 1993, Fig. 6.5a, Pl. 37.1-4.
- 20 See e.g. Webb 1978, 122, 144, Ct. Pl. 2; Dasen 1993, 67-8, Pl. 4.4.
- 21 Lagarde/Leclant 1976, 233-4, Pls. 29-30; Webb 1978, esp. 11-19, Pls. 1-2.
- 22 Sauneron, S. 1970: *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn), 11-12, Fig. 2; Dasen 1993, 65-6, Pl. 11.1 a-b.
- 23 Hölbl 1979, I, 115; II, nos. 398, 405 and 408, Pl. 50.1-3 (inscribed plinth); Dasen 1993, 92, n.42 (dwarf-gods on Horus-cippi). On the motif of 'the eye of the dwarf' in magical texts, see Dasen 1993, 46-7.
- 24 There are also two-headed scarab seals; Stooft 1992, 169-71. On Greek scarab-beetles, see Beavis, I.C. 1988: *Insects and other invertebrates in Classical antiquity* (Exeter), 157-86, esp. 157-64.
- 25 See e.g. the vases in Athens, National Museum 13754 (Ducat 1963, Fig. 11; Wallenstein 1971, 118, no. 21); Bonn, Akad. Kunstmuseum 457 (Washburn, n.5 above; Wallenstein 1971, 120, no. 28a); Paris, Louvre H 18 (CVA Louvre 8, Pl. 504, 8-9; Wallenstein 1971, 122, no. 291).
- 26 Boston, MFA 01.8039; Fairbanks, A. 1928: *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan vases I* (Cambridge, Mass.), 176, no. 503, Pl. 49; I am very grateful to F. Wolsky, Boston, for sending me a drawing of the unpublished back of this figurine. Payne (n.9 above), 180 n.2, mentions an unpublished ovoid Protocorinthian aryballos in the form of a female figure squatting, the feet on two snakes. Bes too can be associated with snakes; see e.g. Karageorghis 1996, 13, Pl. 7.7.
- 27 Isthmia IP 1708; Broneer, O. 1959: 'Excavations at Isthmia', *Hesperia* 28, 335-6, Pl. 71a-b (Amyx 1988, 530, n.360). Sometimes they cover the whole body: Bonn, Akad. Kunstmuseum 457 (n.25 above). Corinth Mus. C-54-3; Roebuck, M.C. and C.A. 1955: 'Excavation at Corinth: 1954', *Hesperia* 24, 151, Pl. 60, 9 (Wallenstein 1971, 119, no. 26).
- 28 See Baines, J. 1985: *Fecundity figures* (Warminster), 127-31. See also the figure in Boston, MFA 01.8039 (n.26 above).
- 29 Paris, Louvre CA 454 (585-575 BC); CVA Louvre 8, Pls. 500-1 (Wallenstein 1971, 123, no.31). For a drawing of the panther's skin on the back, see Pottier 1895 (n.3 above) 230, Fig. 2.
- 30 The designs on the back of three comasts in London, BM (Higgins 1975, 39, nos. 1666-8, Pl. 27) are similar to those on our Fig. 4a; I am grateful to V. Tatton-Brown for this information. See also the figures in Athens and Bonn (n.25 above). For a typology of the floral, geometric or animal designs painted on the comasts, see Fellmann, B. 1978: 'Zur Deutung frühgriechischer Körperornamente', *JDAI* 73, 1-29, esp. 22-4.
- 31 See also, for example, Boston, MFA 01.8039 (n.26 above).
- 32 Gela: Orlandini, P. 1963: 'Gela: La stipe votiva arcaica del predio sola', *MonAnt* 46, 67, no. 1, Pl. 27 a-b (Corinthian for Wallenstein 1971, 118 no. 22); Catania: Rizza, G. 1960: 'Stipe votiva di un santuario di Demetra a Catania', *BollArte* 45, 252, 258, Figs. 16a and 22.12 (Ducat 1963, 435; 1966, 149).
- 33 Dasen 1993, 313, no. 162, Pl. 79.3.
- 34 Sinn 1983; Dasen 1993, 200-4. For O. Keel, these creases could evoke the stylized belly of scarab seals with tucked legs (personal communication); see e.g. Petrie, W.M.F. 1914: *Amulets* (London), 24-5, no. 92, Pl. 11; Andrews (n.12 above), 59, Fig. 59 ('characteristic of the 26th Dynasty and later').
- 35 London, BM A1103; Higgins 1975, 39, no. 1667, Pl. 27 (Wallenstein 1971, 118 no. 201). Naucratis pottery: Boardman 1980, 121-33.
- 36 His favour competes only with that of *udjat*-eye amulets; Hölbl 1979, I, 112-18; Clerc 1991, 108-13, esp. 109; Karageorghis 1996, 14. On the popularity of Bes and dwarf-gods in general, see Wilson 1975, esp. 93-100; Hölbl 1979, I, 118-25; Clerc 1991, 97-9.
- 37 Finds from Perachora: Gorton 1996, 166. For human-face scaraboids from Naucratis and Punic factories, see e.g. Hölbl 1979, II, 172-3, nos. 683-4, Pl. 97.4; Hölbl 1986, II, Pl. 124.3-4.
- 38 On these gold bands, see Vercoutter, J. 1945: *Les objets égyptiens et égyptisants du mobilier funéraire carthaginois* (Paris), 311-37.
- 39 Schmidt, M. 1971: 'Ein ägyptischer Dämon in Etrurien', *ZAS* 97, 118-25. Egyptian underworld guardians may also be related to the figures of Argus and Janus; see Dasen (n.9 above), 137. On oriental influences in Greece in the eighth and seventh centuries, see Burkert 1992 (with earlier bibliography).
- 40 Rhodes Mus. 10555; Jacopi, G. 1929: *Clara Rhodos* 3, 112, tomb 74, Fig. 105 (Wallenstein 1971, 121, no. 29f). Other specimens from tombs: Jacopi (n.2 above) (Camirus, with three Egyptian amulets on Fig. 104); Orsi, P. 1895: 'XII. Siracusa. Gli scavi nella necropoli del Fusco a Siracusa', *Not.Sc* 152-3, tomb 345, Fig. 39; Ortiz, G. 1996: *Faszination der Antike. The George Ortiz collection* (Bern), no. 104 (from an Etruscan tomb?); and perhaps also the Geneva piece (n.6 above).
- 41 Catania and Gela (n.32 above). Perachora: Payne, H. et al. 1940: *Perachora I* (Oxford), 235-6, nos. 199-201, Pls. 104, 106. Other figures come from the temple of Apollo at Corinth, and from a pit near the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia (n.27 above).
- 42 Isthmia IP 1708 (n.27 above).
- 43 See Jenkins, G.K. 1972: *Monnaies grecques* (Paris), Fig. 364.
- 44 See e.g. Helck, W. 1987: "'Phönizische Dämonen" im frühen Griechenland'. *AA*, 445-7. See also Dasen 1993, 79-80, on the association of Bes dancers with the pacifying power of alcohol in the Egyptian myth of the 'Solar eye', where they accompany the return to Egypt of Hathor, 'the lady of drunkenness'.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amyx, D.A. 1988: *Corinthian vase-painting of the archaic period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).
- Boardman, J. 1980: *The Greeks Overseas. Their early colonies and trade*² (London).
- Burkert, W. 1992: *The orientaling revolution. Near Eastern influence on Greek culture in the early archaic age* (Cambridge, Mass., and London).
- Chamay, J. and Maier, J.-L. 1984: *Céramiques corinthiennes. Collection du docteur Jean Lauffenburger* (Geneva).
- Clerc, G. 1991: 'Aegyptiaca', in *Etudes chypriotes XIII. La nécropole d'Amathonte. Tombes 110-385* (Nicosia), 1-157.
- Dasen, V. 1993: *Dwarfs in ancient Egypt and Greece* (Oxford).
- Ducat, J. 1963: 'Les vases plastiques corinthiens', *BCH* 87, 431-58.
- Gorton, A. Féghali 1996: *Egyptian and Egyptianizing Scarabs. A typology of steatite, faience and paste scarabs from Punic and other Mediterranean sites* (Oxford).
- Higgins, R.A. 1975: *Catalogue of the terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum II* (London).
- Hölbl, G. 1979: *Beziehungen der ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien* (Leiden).
- Hölbl, G. 1986: *Ägyptisches Kulturgut im phönikischen und punischen Sardinien* (Leiden).
- Hornung, E., Stachelin, E. et al. 1976: *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen* (Mainz).
- Karageorghis, V. 1996: *The coroplastic art of ancient Cyprus VI. The Cypro-Achaic period* (Nicosia).
- Keel, O. 1995: *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel. Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit. Einleitung* (Freiburg and Göttingen).
- Lagarce, E. and Leclant, J. 1976: 'Vase plastique en faïence KIT. 1747: une fiole pour eau de jouvence', in *Kition II: Objets égyptiens et égyptisants* (Nicosia), 183-290.
- Sinn, U. 1983: 'Zur Wirkung des ägyptischen "Bes" auf die griechische Volksreligion', in Metzler, D., Otto, B. and Müller-Wirth, Ch. (eds.), *Antidoron. Festschrift für J. Thimme* (Karlsruhe), 87-92.
- Stoof, M. 1992: *Ägyptische Siegelamulette in menschlicher und tierischer Gestalt* (Frankfurt a.M.).
- Wallenstein, K. 1971: *Korinthische Plastik des 7. und 6. Jahrhunderts vor Christus* (Bonn).
- Webb, V. 1978: *Archaic Greek faience. Miniature scent bottles and related objects from East Greece, 650-500 B.C.* (Warminster).
- Wilson, V. 1975: 'The iconography of Bes with particular reference to the Cypriot evidence'. *Levant* 7, 77-103.
- Yon, M. and Caubert, A. 1989: 'Ateliers de figurines à Kition', in Tatton-Brown, V. (ed.), *Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean in the Iron Age* (London), 28-43.