

UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN

Pataikos

A forgotten amulet

A study of the Pataikoi amulets of the National
Museum of Antiquities in Leiden

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Abbreviations

AE = Ancient Egypt.

ASAE = Annales du Service des Antiquités de L'Égypte.

BdE = Bibliothèque d'Étude, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

BMSAP = Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris.

BMHBA = Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts.

CGC = Catalogues General des Antiquités Egyptiennes du musée du Caire.

LÄ = Lexicon der Ägyptologie.

MIO = Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.

OBO = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis.

OMRO = Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden.

MDAIK = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo.

RAr = Revue Archéologique.

RdÉ = Revue d'Égyptologie.

RecTrav = Recueil de Travaux à la philology et à l'archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes.

SBAW = Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

SMPK = Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

TMS = The Museum System.

ZÄS = Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.

Introduction

The subject of this thesis is the collection of Pataikoi of the National Museum of Antiquities of the Netherlands in Leiden. In the collection of the museum there are one-hundred and sixteen amulets that are named Pataikoi. These amulets were first introduced to me by Professor Dr. M.J. Raven. The Pataikoi are numerous in even the smallest collections¹, though they are often not known. Hardly any Egyptologist or layman is familiar with the amulets. This is not that strange for there is not that much written about these amulets, which may explain why this subject is fairly unknown. I have tried to collect all the texts written in the last two centuries about the Pataikoi and I think my description is fairly complete². Herodotus³ named these amulets Pataikoi, but this is not their Egyptian name. This creates problems in comparing the amulets to Egyptian texts. Because the real name is not known the amulets have been called Pataikoi by Egyptologists. The Pataikoi were interpreted in the 1880's by Parrot⁴ for the first time in modern history. Since this time many have attempted to interpret the amulets, but have not come up with a good solution. Györy was the first who dared to question the existing interpretation⁵. The danger however is that many interpretations are new and might not be accepted or be correct.

The Pataikos amulet is not easily interpreted, and trying to make a thesis of all the amulets known around the world would take too much time. Therefore I have chosen to focus this thesis on the collection of the museum only, with some references to other pataikoi in different museums for comparison or explanation. Even focusing on the collection to the museum itself is a challenge; therefore I have chosen to leave some amulets out. The amulets that are left out of the thesis will be the Pataikoi with animal heads (though they will be mentioned), the amulets that are missing (they do not give a lot of information so they are not useful for this thesis) and amulets that are dwarfs and are listed in the database of the museum as being a Pataikos, but are in fact not real Pataikoi. With these amulets excluded from this thesis, the total of amulets is ninety-nine.

In the first chapter a general introduction will be given about dwarfs and Pataikoi. The complete history of research and with it the problems concerning the Pataikoi will be explained. The second chapter describes the collection of the museum and the amulets will be divided into six types. The third chapter is an analysis of the amulets and tries to explain the function of the amulets. The last chapter is about the Pataikoi in museums and exhibitions.

¹ See for example the small Egyptian collection of the museum Meermanno.

² See chapter 1: History of Research.

³ Herodotus' History III, 37.

⁴ Parrot, J., 'Sur l'origine d'une des forms du Dieu Phtah' in: *Recueil de Travaux à la philology et à l'archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes*, Vol. 2. (Paris, 1880), 129- 133.

⁵ She has written several articles from 2001-2011.

I will offer a complete and elaborate analysis of the Pataikoi amulets. In my research about these amulets I found that most writers give statements or conclusions about the amulets, but do not provide arguments. I hope to break this pattern of unsupported statements and really analyze why people come to certain conclusions. I will either try to explain, or I will refer to works that explain more about it.

Chapter 1: Pataikoi and Dwarfs

Dwarfs have always been popular with people, and they are fascinated by them. Not only the Egyptian culture depicted them frequently, in tombs and as amulets like Bes and Pataikos, but also in the western culture of the 16th -18th century⁶. There are numerous paintings, tales and other representations of dwarfs⁷.

In medical science, there are various types of dwarfism or growth disturbances. They can be divided into disproportionate and proportionate types⁸. The most common type of dwarfism is Achondroplasia and is a disproportionate type. In this type the limbs are shortened and the torso is normal, the forehead is enlarged and the abdomen and buttocks are prominent. The hands only reach to the thigh or hips and the legs are crooked⁹. This type was also the most common in Egyptian art and material culture. The Pataikoi show this type of Achondroplasia, but they are not the only representations of dwarfism in Ancient Egypt.

In the pre-dynastic time there were already representations and statuettes of dwarfs¹⁰. They were depicted on funerary vessels, seals and votive statuettes, were they might already have had an apotropaic function¹¹. In the early dynastic period they were buried alongside the kings and elites and thus must have had a special place at court¹².

In the Old Kingdom¹³ dwarfs make their appearance in the tombs, being represented in different functions like members of the household of elites, as goldsmiths and as bearers. The dwarfs are usually represented just like ordinary servants, bearing objects for their masters, and wear the same clothing as normal servants; therefore they must have had the same status. There were some famous dwarfs in that time, like the dwarf Seneb. He bore many titles, including: 'overseer of weaving in the palace' and 'overseer of the dwarfs in charge of linen'. From this we can say that dwarfs also had managing positions. But Seneb was not the only dwarf who was overseer of linen, the dwarfs Ankhef and Redji bore the same title. Other positions in which dwarfs are often found are that of animal tenders, jewelers and entertainers. Dwarfs are also often in the same position as children, for they usually have about the same size, the difference is clear though, for the dwarfs have smaller and more crooked legs than children. Beside children, dwarfs are also often found together with women. They may have not been regarded as full men and therefore

⁶ Enderle, A., Meyerhöfer, D., Unverfehrt, G., *Small people, great art: restricted growth from an artistic and medical viewpoint* (Hamm, 1994).

⁷ Kent R. Weeks, *The anatomical Knowledge of the Ancient Egyptians and the representation of the human figure in Egyptian Art*, (Michigan, 1970).

⁸ Dasen, V., *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (Oxford, 1993), 7.

⁹ Dasen 1993, 8-10. For a more elaborate discussion of dwarfism see: Dasen, 7-15.

¹⁰ Dasen 1993, 104-105.

¹¹ Raven, M., *A puzzling pataekos*, *OMRO 67*(leiden, 1987), 9.

¹² Dasen 1993, 106-109.

¹³ For this paragraph see: Dasen 1993, 109-134.

often placed together with women and children. So in the Old Kingdom dwarfs were represented as humans, not as gods as will later be the case.

In the Middle Kingdom the function of dwarfs changes, they are mainly nurses and personal attendants, other functions like animal tenders and jewelers are no longer practiced by dwarfs. They also begin to be represented as gods and statues of dwarfs begin to appear and function as offerings as protectors of childbirth and charms¹⁴. Most statues from the Middle kingdom are crudely made. A dwarf can be recognized but no more than that. There are however also some statues that already have a resemblance to the Pataikoi from the Late New Kingdom and later¹⁵. The dwarf god from this period was Aha¹⁶; he resembles Bes more than the Pataikoi. He is a protective deity, mainly for women and children. He holds snakes or knives in his hands, which is a reoccurring theme among dwarf gods.

From the New Kingdom¹⁷ on dwarfs are not represented in tombs anymore, with exception of Amarna. Dwarfs are however still present as statues, like the Middle Kingdom statues they are still protectors during childbirth, which seems to be the general role of dwarfs (statues). The human dwarf is less visible in Egyptian material culture but has made room for the dwarf as a religious being; the dwarf is being represented in reliefs in religious festivals as a symbol of regeneration. In the city of Amarna, dwarfs are however still depicted as being part of the household, in which they might have had an entertaining role, given their titles like 'the Sun' and 'the vizier of his mother'. Though they also might have been there because of the association of dwarfs with the sun. In the 18th dynasty dwarf amulets became popular. They gradually developed into two separate dwarf amulets, one was Bes who can be recognized by his lion features. The other one, without animal features, was Pataikos¹⁸.

In the Late Period¹⁹ and the Greco-Roman period²⁰ images of human dwarfs are rare, though dwarf gods are very numerous and especially the gods Bes and the Pataikoi.

Pataikos

In the Ancient Egyptian language there are three words for dwarfs and small people: *dng*, *nmw* and *ḥwꜥ*, often accompanied by a determinative of a dwarf²¹. The oldest attested of these three is *dng*, found in the Old Kingdom and can probably be translated best as pygmy and not as dwarf.

¹⁴ Dasen 1993, 135.

¹⁵ Dasen 1993, 140.

¹⁶ Altenmüller, H., 'Aha' in: *Lexicon der Ägyptologie I* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 96-98.

¹⁷ For this paragraph see: Dasen 1993, 143 -150.

¹⁸ Györy, H., 'Über die Patäken-Amulette in Neuen Reich' in: *Das Alte Ägypten und seine Nachbarn, Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Helmut Satzinger* (Krems, 2003 B), 58.

¹⁹ Dasen 1993, 150.

²⁰ Dasen 1993, 155.

²¹ Dasen 1993, 25-33.

Nmw is attested from the Middle Kingdom on and is connected to human and supernatural dwarfs in magical and religious texts. This term is used to identify the dwarf gods Bes, Pataikos and anonymous dwarf gods. This makes identifying the gods in texts problematic when there is no clear description of the dwarf and its functions or connections. The last word, *ḥwꜥ*, comes from the Old Kingdom and describes a small person or thing. It is often translated as 'the Short One'. Unfortunately there is no specific word for the amulets that are called Pataikos. In the texts about dwarfs there is however no difference in the name. They are all called 'dwarf', which can refer either to Bes, Pataikos or another dwarf god. This might mean that it did not matter for the Egyptians themselves what dwarf was needed, just that it was a dwarf²². The Pataikos was first mentioned by Herodotus in his History III, 37. They refer to the dwarf-like statues of Ptah in his temple in Memphis, which Cambyses saw there and ridiculed by comparing them to the Phoenician dwarf gods²³. According to Györy²⁴ and Bonnet²⁵ this word Pataikoi means 'Little Ptah'. Egyptologists have named these images this way for lack of a better word. This means that the name of these amulets is not Egyptian and unfortunately there is no other name available in the ancient Egyptian language that properly suits these amulets, for there are no texts that give them another name than 'dwarf'²⁶.

Pataikoi are small amulets which, as already mentioned, represent a human dwarf with Achondroplasia²⁷, the most common type of dwarfism. The amulets are usually made of faience, but they can also occur in gold, bronze, semi-precious materials etc. They vary in height from less than 1 cm to 9 cm²⁸. The dwarf is represented naked and the most common type of Pataikos has no attributes. Their heads are bald and big, with big features on their faces. Their torso is relatively big and their arms and legs are crooked which lay beside their torso with fists as hands. Often they stand on a small base. There are other types of Pataikoi, which also have the same features but they have attributes. They have for example a scarab beetle on their heads. They can have snakes in their hands and the most elaborate type is accompanied by goddesses on his side and also on his back where he stands on crocodiles and has snakes in his hands.

History of research

The problem with the research of Pataikoi amulets is that there is not that much information available about them. There have been several articles about them but none have really made a

²² For more information about dwarfs in texts see chapter 3: Dwarfs in texts.

²³ Sandman Holmberg, M., *The God Ptah* (Lund, 1946), 182.

²⁴ Györy 2003 B, 58-68.

²⁵ Bonnet, H., *Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 584.

²⁶ Dasen, 85.

²⁷ Parrot 1880, 129- 133; Hückel, R., 'Über Wesen und Eigenart der Pataiken' in: *ZÄS* 70 (Leipzig, 1934), 103-107; Raven 1987, 7; Dasen 1993, 84.

²⁸ This is at least the case in the Leiden collection where the smallest amulet is 1.1 cm and the biggest is 8.6 cm.

large contribution in the research of these amulets until recently²⁹. Therefore making a chronological overview of all the information available is not so difficult, and can help with solving the problems concerning Pataikos.

As already mentioned Herodotus was the very first one who wrote something about the Pataikoi amulets which are discussed in this thesis³⁰. He wrote about the journey of Cambyses in Egypt and that he entered into a temple of Hephaistos (Ptah), where he encountered a horrible image of a god in dwarfish form. He compared it to the images of the Phoenician 'Pataicoi'. Later he entered into another temple where he mocked the images and even set them on fire. The first writings about the Pataikoi were not extensive, but it gave these amulets their name, even though it is a mocking one which is still used today. The Egyptian did not call these amulets like this, but called them 'dwarfs'. Because Herodotus connected the Pataikoi to Ptah, this link was established and difficult to argue against.

In the 19th century B.C ³¹ the Pataikoi amulets were known to researchers but they did not know what they were. The most common theory was that they represented embryos of fetuses or that they had the disease rickets. Parrot (1880) was the first one to identify them as being Achondroplastic dwarfs. This was a drastic change in the view on these amulets, but this view would stay.

Petrie (1914) was the next one to give a view about the Pataikoi, which he called Ptah Seker³². He separates the amulets into three groups: A, alone; B, backed by gods on a plaque; c, double³³. This is still a good and useful typology of the amulets. He published some photographs of the amulets for the first time.

Spiegelberg³⁴ (1925) is the first one to give a small overview of the Pataikoi. He confirms that they are dwarfs and that they should not be called Bes but that it is a completely different dwarf. He mentions texts in which the dwarf is stated. He is the first to mention that the Pataikos has a cap from the god Ptah on his head. He is the first one to question why Ptah would have a dwarf figure, but he can't really give a satisfying answer to this question.

Hückel³⁵ (1934) continues on what Parrot already stated; that the Pataikoi is an Achondroplastic dwarf and that it has nothing to do with the disease rickets. He calls it Chondrodystrophischen³⁶

²⁹ Dasen 1993, Györy 2001-2011.

³⁰ Herodotus' History III, 37.

³¹ Parrot 1880, 130-133.

³² Petrie, F.W., *Amulets* (London, 1914), 38.

³³ Petrie, 38.

³⁴ Spiegelberg, W., 'Ägyptologischen Mitteilungen' In: *SBAW* (München, 1925), 8-11.

³⁵ Hückel 1934, 103-107.

and not Achondroplastic. The only new thing which he mentions is that the amulets are lifelike and that that is remarkable for Egyptian amulets³⁷.

Sandman Holmberg³⁸ (1946) has a critical and in my opinion a correct view on the amulets of Pataikos and looks at the amulets from a different point of view. He asks why the amulets are connected to Ptah and he does not assume that the amulet is always related to, or a representation of Ptah. He says that the amulets sometimes represent Ptah, but that they can also represent other gods when they carry their attributes. He gives different options about how a connection was made with the god Ptah because he knows that the truth is difficult to find. In his opinion, the dwarf figures were used as apotropaic amulets and later became identified with Ptah and other gods, or that the dwarf figure was meant to represent Ptah and later was used to be apotropaic amulets.

Montet³⁹ (1952) tries to give a connection between dwarfs in jewelry making scenes and the god Ptah, he occasionally mentions Pataikos and wants to make a connection but in my opinion he fails in this. He argues that the jewelry making dwarfs from the Old Kingdom and the Pataikoi are the same. But the only thing they have in common is that they are dwarfs. He argues too that Pataikos is connected to Ptah because Herodotus has said so. His title is misleading in my opinion, it should say 'Ptah et les Orfèvres', instead of 'Ptah Patèque et les Orfèvres'.

Morenz⁴⁰ (1954) talks about Pataikos as a cult statue. He also claims that Pataikos comes from the Greek mythology.

Vassal⁴¹ (1956) has a completely different view on the Pataikoi amulets, he argues that the amulets do not represent a dwarf but they do represent an embryo or fetus. He gives arguments concerning the representation of the amulets, for example they are hairless and have a big bald head. He gives these as indications that they are fetuses or very young children. He also argues that the Egyptians might have had problems with representing fetuses so they made them look like dwarfs instead⁴². According to Vassal Pataikos embodies an embryonic matter. The other dwarf god Bes however is an Achondroplastic dwarf according to him, even though they look the same.

³⁶ A term given by: Kaufmann, E., *Untersuchungen über die sog. Fötale Rhachitis, Chondrodystrophia foetalis* (Berlin 1892).

³⁷ Hüchel 1934, 105.

³⁸ Sandman Holmberg 1946, 182-185.

³⁹ Montet, P., 'Ptah Patèque et les orfèvres' in : *Revue Archéologique* 40 (Paris, 1952), 1-11.

⁴⁰ Morenz, S., 'Ptah-Hephaistos, der Zwerg, beobachtungen zur Frage der interpretation graeca in der Ägyptischen religion' in: *Festschrift für Friedrich Zucker zum 70. Geburtstage* (Berlin, 1954), 275-290.

⁴¹ Vassal, A., 'La physio pathologie dans le pantheon Egyptien: Les dieux Bes et Phtah le Nain et l'Embryon' in: *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris X^e Série*, tome 7, fascicule 3-4, (Paris, 1956), 168-81.

⁴² It is wrong to assume that the Egyptians made a mistake; it just means that our interpretation is wrong.

Raven⁴³ (1987) gives a nice short overview of dwarf gods throughout the Egyptian history, though he does not discuss the Pataikoi in particular, he does give useful information about them and interesting views. He states, like Sandman Holmberg, that the connection of Pataikos is probably secondary. He also argues that the dwarfs could be regarded as apotropaic beings all by themselves, because they would have been frightening to normal people because of their abnormal appearance.

El-Aguizy⁴⁴ (1987) does not mention the name of the Pataikoi, but she calls the amulet a dwarf-shaped Ptah or dwarf-shaped sun god in different manifestations. She does not mention them elaborately. In her article she gives a short summary of all the representations of dwarfs in Egyptian history. It is a good summary, but unfortunate all the topics are therefore neglected and mostly only mentioned.

Matzker⁴⁵ (1990) is the first and only one so far that has made a typology of a collection of Pataikoi. He has made a typology for the collection of the Egyptian museum in Berlin, SMPK⁴⁶.

Dasen⁴⁷ (1993) has written the most about the Pataikoi. She has written an entire book about dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece and has dedicated a chapter to the Pataikoi in which she discusses them fairly elaborately. She discusses everything from name, origin and typology to religious status and function. The great thing about this book is that all information about the dwarfs in Ancient Egypt is together in this book. It is a valuable source of information. She concludes that the dwarf gods deserve more attention and that both Bes and Pataikoi should be researched more extensively than she has done⁴⁸.

Andrews⁴⁹ (1994) writes a short passage about the Pataikoi in her book about amulets. She places the Pataikoi in a row of protective cippi or plaques with a connection to the famous Horus-on-crocodiles. She briefly gives some of the attributes of the amulet and variants of the amulet and then goes on with the dwarf god Bes. It is short but three illustrations show the essence of the Pataikoi.

⁴³ Raven 1987.

⁴⁴ El-Aguizy, O., 'Dwarfs and Pygmies in Ancient Egypt' in: *ASAE* 71 (Cairo, 1987), 53-60.

⁴⁵ Matzker, I., 'Gruppierung von Patäken anhand von merkmalsvergleichen' in: *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. Februar 1990* (Hildesheim, 1990), 199-207.

⁴⁶ See chapter 2: Making a typology.

⁴⁷ Dasen 1993.

⁴⁸ Dasen 1993, 4.

⁴⁹ Andrews, C., *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1994), 38-39.

Györy⁵⁰ is the most recent author to write about the Pataikoi. She has written several articles about them in a timespan of ten years. In her first article⁵¹ she writes about one Pataikos from the museum of fine arts in Budapest which has a scarab on its head, feathers in his hands, he stands on vaguely recognizable crocodiles and has hieroglyphs on the bottom. From the fact that there are hieroglyphs on the bottom she argues and concludes that this Pataikos could possibly have been used as a seal. She gives a short summary about the Pataikoi amulets, but is not entirely complete in my opinion. She gives a small list of the types of Pataikoi but she only indicates the complex types and not the plainest types. She indicates the basic type as the one with crocodiles beneath the feet. Though, following her argumentation, I agree with her that these amulets could be used as seals. This might be applicable to two amulets in the Leiden collection, this will be discussed later.

In her second article⁵² Györy has made a typology and dating system for the ordinary Pataikos. Using her methods she summarizes the features of the Pataikoi throughout the periods, starting with the New Kingdom. This has been very helpful for me with the dating of the amulets in this collection.

In her third article⁵³ she describes another Pataikos amulet from the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, this time the amulet is a more complex one with hawks on his shoulders. In this article she also gives a short dating system for the complex Pataikoi.

In 2003⁵⁴ Györy has written another article, this time about the Pataikoi amulets in the New Kingdom. In 2004⁵⁵ she has written another article about the amulets in the New Kingdom, but this time about the religious aspects with mainly focuses on texts.

Her last known article⁵⁶ is about medicine practice in which she devotes a few pages to the Pataikoi and their use in medicine practice.

⁵⁰ Györy, H., 'To the interpretation of Pataikos Standing on Crocodiles' in: *BMHBA* 94 (Budapest, 2001); Györy, H., 'Changes in styles of ordinary Pataikos amulets' in: Damati, M.M., *Egyptian museum collections around the world vol. 1-II* (Cairo, 2002), 491-501; Györy, H., 'A Pataikos with hawks on the shoulders' in: *BMHBA* 98 (Budapest, 2003 A), 11-29 ; Györy 2003 B, 58-68; Györy, H., 'Oh kumm gutter zwerg komm. Über den Religiösen Hintergrund der Patäken-Amulette im Neuen Reich' in: Takács, G., *Egyptian and Semito-Hamatic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam W. Vychichl* (Leiden-Boston, 2004); Györy, H., 'Some aspects of Magic in Ancient Egyptian medicine' in: Kousoulis, P., *Ancient Egyptian Demonology, studies on the Boundaries between the Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic* (Leuven-Paris-Walpole, 2011), 151-166.

⁵¹ Györy 2001.

⁵² Györy 2002.

⁵³ Györy 2003 A.

⁵⁴ Györy 2003 B.

⁵⁵ Györy 2004.

⁵⁶ Györy 2011.

These articles were used as a basis for this thesis. There were not that many new insights on the amulets until the research of Györy. Therefore her contribution to the topic is very valuable, though we need to be skeptical for she is the only one with the new insights I have to say that I agree with most of her views about the amulets.

Chapter 2: The collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden

The collection of Pataikoi in the Museum of Antiquities consists of ninety-nine amulets that will be catalogued here. The collection will be discussed in detail in this chapter. First I will start with a description of the database and other typologies.

The database

The database in which all the amulets of the Pataikoi are stored is an essential part of this thesis. All the information about the individual amulets have been put together on a single page, together with photographs of the amulets. Most of the information comes directly from the database TMS of the National Museum of Antiquities. The rest of the information has been researched by myself. The database is ordered alphabetically on inventory number. The number can be found easily in the table of contents at the beginning, the numbers in front of the inventory numbers correspond to the page number. The types of Pataikoi are also indicated in the database.

Making a typology

Petrie was the first one to divide the Pataikoi into three categories: A, alone; B, backed by gods on a plaque; c, double⁵⁷. This typology is still very useful, but there are more variations of Pataikoi than just these three categories. The next one to make an attempt at making a typology was Matzker⁵⁸, he made a typology for the collection of the Egyptian museum in Berlin, SMPK. These are the categories he used to identify the amulets:

- a. On the head a line is visible. This can be a cap or a hairline, but this is not distinguishable;
- b. In the hands, which are held on the belly, either snakes, knives or are visible, but again to distinguish them is hard to do between these two;
- c. There is a scarab on the head;
- d. The figure is wearing a collar;
- e. The figure is standing on the heads of two crocodiles;
- f. A winged goddess figure of Isis-Ma'at is at the back of the figure;
- g. On the right and left shoulder there is a falcon;
- h. The figure is double;
- i. The figure has a back pillar;
- k. On both sides there is a figure of Isis and Nephthys;

This typology is good to work with, but I do not agree with all of his categories, he makes them too narrow for example, and leaves some pieces out. His F. category is in my opinion too narrow,

⁵⁷ Petrie 1914, 38.

⁵⁸ Matzker 1990, 199-207.

for the figure on the back can also be another god or goddess. He does not mention the suspension loop, or the small pedestal on which the figures stand. After making these categories he divides the amulets into nine groups, with the first group having almost all the attributes from the categories and going down to fewer categories.

Hermann⁵⁹ has also made a division in the amulets, but to the extreme. He has sixteen categories in which he divides the Pataikoi that were found outside of Egypt, in Palestine and Israel. He discusses all amulets individual, with their finding spots, their location now and also dates them⁶⁰. These are his categories:

- A. Pataikos in simple form;
- B. Simple Pataikos in bigger size;
- C. Pataikos with Ptah cap;
- D. Pataikos with high shoulders and Ptah cap;
- E. Small and thin Pataikos;
- F. Pataikos with collar;
- G. Pataikos with scarab on his head;
- H. Pataikos with knives in his hands;
- J. Pataikos with knives, standing on crocodiles, biting on snakes;
- K. Pataikos with scarab, falcons, knives, biting on snakes;
- L. Pataikos with scarab, knives and uraeus;
- M. Pataikos with double feather crown;
- N. Winged Pataikos;
- O. Stylized Pataikos;
- P. Pataikos with head broken off;
- Q. Not classified whether Bes or Pataikos figure;

This classification does have all the types, but it is a bit too elaborate to make it feasible for a museum collection. It is however easy when there is a lot of material.

The typology of the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden

There are lots of different ways to make a typology of the amulets. The typology for this thesis is divided into six types, classified A-F and will be discussed next. The first three types are the same as the classification of Petrie. The other three types are not mentioned by Petrie, but I think they should be considered as a type of their own.

⁵⁹ Hermann, C., *Ägyptische Amulette aus Palästina/Israel, mit einem Ausblick auf ihre Rezeption durch das Alte Testament*, OBO 138 (Freiburg, 1994), 404-492.

⁶⁰ This will be used later in chapter 3: Dating of the amulets.

Type A

The first group that will be discussed is the group that Petrie categorized as: A, 'alone'⁶¹. This is a simple but accurate description. These amulets consist only of the dwarf themselves and that is all. They can be recognized by their big, bald head, small body with crooked and small arms and legs which are placed beside the body with fists as hands. This is a typical Achondroplastic dwarf. In the neck there is a suspension loop, which indicates that they may have been worn as a necklace. In the collection being researched here, there are sixty-three amulets of this type. The quality of these varies, there are some amulets which are of outstanding quality and craftsmanship, but there are also some that are not so well-crafted. Their facial features are crooked and crude. Some even have no features at all.

Most of these type A Pataikoi come from two big collections which the museum bought in the 19th century, the collection D'Anastasi (26 Pataikoi, the total collection was 5675 pieces⁶², starting the inventory number with an A; AA stands for Anastasi amulets⁶³) bought in 1828⁶⁴ and the collection Cimba bought in 1827 (13 Pataikoi, the total collection was 335 pieces, starting the inventory numbers with CI)⁶⁵. Other amulets come from small private collections which donated these amulets to the museum. Two amulets were found in an excavation in Saqqara and donated to the museum by Egypt⁶⁶.

There is one special amulet in the collection that belongs to this type but is not completely the same as the others, namely AAVIII-1. First of all this amulet is made of bronze, the only one in this collection. Secondly it is made on a plaque, so the amulet is merged into it, making the back invisible. There is no inscription or anything else on the amulet. It belongs to this type because it is a plain Pataikos. This figurine is not unique however; an example of the same sort can be seen in the Catalogue General, number 176m⁶⁷

There are four necklaces that contain small Pataikos amulets; three of them are of type A. The Pataikos F 1987/3.16 is part of a necklace with mainly beads. The Pataikos from this necklace is very small, only 1.1 cm in height. AO 6a-2 is part of a necklace with three other amulets, one of which is a scarab with the name of Amun-Re. The necklace has, besides the amulets, big beads. The Pataikoi is 1.4 cm long. The last necklace with the Pataikos amulets of

⁶¹ Petrie 1914, 38.

⁶² Schneider, H., *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* (Haarlem, 1981), 47.

⁶³ Raven, M.J., *Numbering systems in the Egyptian department of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden, OMRO 72* (Leiden, 1992), 8.

⁶⁴ Halbertsma, R.B., *Scholars, travellers and trade: the pioneer years of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, 1818-40* (London, 2003), 106.

⁶⁵ Halbertsma 2003, 98.

⁶⁶ Inventory numbers: F 1987/ 3.12 and F 1987/3.16, more information about these amulets can be found in the database.

⁶⁷ Petrie 1914, 38, Pl. XXXI, 176m.

Type A is AO 5h. The necklace is made of all small dark blue beads, and some red beads, with three green amulets, two of which are Pataikoi, the other one is the goddess Sakhmet.

Type B

The second group of Pataikoi is the group called by Petrie 'backed by gods on a plaque'⁶⁸, this group however can be divided into more specific groups⁶⁹. The amulets that will be marked as type B in this thesis are the ones that are 'complex' with gods. What is meant by complex is that they consist of many attributes and animals, like crocodiles, snakes, scarabs and falcons. They resemble the Horus-on-crocodiles, where the young Horus stands on crocodiles and is protected by all sorts of attributes, gods and spells. There are seven amulets in the collection that are this type. As this group contains many different attributes, I will discuss them individually.

The first complex Pataikos with gods is A-9. The dwarf stands on two crocodiles; the head of the left⁷⁰ crocodile is broken off. The crocodiles are looking forward, which is unique in this collection⁷¹, and they are detailed. In his hands the dwarf is holding either two sticks or two snakes. On its shoulders on each side a falcon is seated, behind the ears. The figure is standing against a kind of pillar in the shape of a goddess with wings; she is carved into the pillar. She has a sun disk and horns on her head; her face seems like that of a lioness. On the head of the Pataikos a scarab is carved. There is a hole for a string behind the shoulders. The dwarfish proportions of this figure are mainly visible in its legs, which are very crooked. The figure is 7.6 cm in height and made of green faience. The amulet came into the collection via the collection of d'Anastasi.

The next complex Pataikos is AA 5. The dwarf stands on two crocodiles. In his hands he holds two snakes by the heads; their bodies are hanging on the sides of the dwarf's body. Around the neck of the figure a collar is placed. His head is decorated with a detailed wig and a crown composed of two horizontal horns, on top of that some flower stems, flanked on each side by an uraeus. The figure is standing on a pedestal and has a back pillar which covers the entire figure from the crocodiles to the top of the crown. This pillar is decorated with a goddess with wings and a sun disk with horns on her head. She holds in both her hands a feather of Ma'at above her head. There is another section above the goddess which is marked with a horizontal stripe. In this section hieroglyphs are placed, which say: 'Ptah, who gives life', unfortunately two signs are not easily read. There is a suspension between the wig and the crown. The amulet is 8.6 cm in

⁶⁸ Petrie 1914, 38.

⁶⁹ Complex with gods and complex without gods.

⁷⁰ All statement of directions such as left and right are made from the view of the figurine/amulet itself, not from the point of view of the reader.

⁷¹ Daressy, G., *Statues de divinités I, II, CGC* (Cairo 1905): CGC 39.238 has a similar rendering of the crocodiles.

height and is made of dark green faience with some light green accents. This amulet also comes from the collection of Anastasi.

The Pataikos AA 8 stands on a base and two crocodiles. He has crooked legs, a small phallus and a protruding belly. He is holding his hands horizontally with the thumbs against each other. He has clearly indicated breasts. On his side there are two goddesses. On his left side is Isis with a sun disk and horns on her head, on his right side is Nephthys with her *Nb.t ḥw.t* crown. On his shoulders there were originally two falcons but they are broken, only their feet remain visible. The dwarf has a bald head with a scarab on it. He is standing against a pillar which covers his entire body. On this pillar the image of a goddess is carved. She has wings and a sun disk with horns on her head, beside her head there are two Ma'at feathers. This figure is 8.5 cm in height and is made of brown faience. He comes from the collection of Anastasi.

F 1955/2.31 is a different kind of Pataikos than the three others just mentioned, because it is not standing alone. The Pataikos is standing on two crocodiles. These crocodiles are special because only one has his head to the front of the statue. The other one faces to the back of the amulet with his tail in front. This rendering of the crocodiles is unique to this collection and they are also very detailed. He holds sticks in his hands and has snakes in his mouth. He seems to have a tight cap around his head with a scarab on top. Next to him stands the moon god Khonsu⁷² with a moon disk and crescent on his head. They stand against a back slab with cryptographic⁷³ inscriptions on the back about Amun: '*Light-scarab-noblemen*⁷⁴' (*Iḥw-tḥ-ms =Imn*)⁷⁵, '*Lotus-Lion-Ram*⁷⁶' (*srp.t-mḥj-srjw =sms*)⁷⁷, which means '*Amun the elder*'. This is a common title of Amun in papyri⁷⁸ and also occurs on some Pataikos⁷⁹. Below the feet there are inscriptions too with titles of Amon-Re⁸⁰. The combination of Chonsoe and Amun is not strange, they occur regularly on amulets together. The names of Chonsoe and Amun can even be read in the same hieroglyphs because of the cryptographic writings sometimes⁸¹. The amulet is 6 cm high and is made of light green faience. He came into the collection through the collection of Professor Dr. L. Keimer.

F 1994/9.3 stands on the heads of two crocodiles, has two snakes in his hands. The figure has a dwarflike body. On his head there is a scarab and it seems like he either has a tight cap on his

⁷² Schneider, H. D., *Egyptisch kunsthandwerk* (Amsterdam, 1995), 85.

⁷³ Hornung, E., Staehelin, E., *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen* (Mainz, 1976) 173-180.

⁷⁴ Schneider 1995, 86.

⁷⁵ Györy 2001, 37, footnote 78 (1).

⁷⁶ Schneider 1995, 86.

⁷⁷ Györy 2001, 37, footnote 78 (2).

⁷⁸ Ryhiner, M.L., A Propos de Trigrammes Panthéistes in: *RdÉ* 29 (Paris, 1977), 125-137.

⁷⁹ Ryhiner 1977, 127: Musée du Florence 1731; British Museum EA3613, EA13531.

⁸⁰ Schneider 1995, 86.

⁸¹ Hornung 1976, 178.

head or a line to indicate his hair. On his back there is a goddess with wings, a sun disk on her head with horns and there are feathers above her arms. What that makes it look different is the face, the lips are thick and protruding and the nose is big. The amulet is made of steatite and not from the normal faience and it has a height of 4.7 cm. The amulet is currently in a traveling exhibition in Spain, so the amulet was not available for elaborate research, other than the information given in TMS.

The L.XIII.18 Pataikos stands with his feet on the heads of two crocodiles. He holds snakes in his hands which rest on his chest. On his shoulders are two falcons. He has a scarab on his head. He stands against a back pillar on which a winged goddess is carved in with a sun disk with horns on her head. Above her wings are feathers depicted. On both of the dwarf's sides stands a goddess, Isis is standing on the right and Nephthys on the left side. The amulet is 7.5 cm high and is made of blue-green faience. The amulet came into the collection through the collection of de Lescluze.

The Pataikos with inventory number ZN775 is unfortunately very worn down. The feet are broken off as is the upper left side. All that is still there is the trunk, the legs above the knees, and the left shoulder, on which a falcon is sitting. The figure has a goddess on his sides; they are both visible but also worn. There is a scarab on the head. On the back pillar there is a winged goddess depicted with a sun disk and horns and feathers above the arms. The amulet is in its condition now 6 cm in height; it is made of faience, the color is faded away, but can still be discerned in some places. The former owner is not known.

Type C

The next group of Pataikoi is the double faced and/or bodied. This group was the last group in the classification of Petrie⁸². In the Leiden collection there are sixteen Pataikoi of this type and within this group there is a lot of variety. The most common variety is the Pataikos that is double bodied and double faced of which there are twelve amulets. Among these twelve amulets, one group of six has a scarab on their head⁸³ and the other six do not have anything on their heads⁸⁴. Besides this group of twelve, there are in this collection two other groups: two are only double faced⁸⁵; the other is only double bodied⁸⁶, making a total of three groups within this type. There is one amulet that has not yet been mentioned, because the head is missing⁸⁷. The body is double, but it is not possible to place it either in the group of double faced and bodied or only double bodied, as the evidence of having or not having a double face is gone.

⁸² Petrie 1914, 38.

⁸³ Inventory numbers: CI-52, CI-53, CI-54, CI-55, EG-ZM821, RO.I.F14.

⁸⁴ Inventory numbers: AA.VIII-14, AA.VIII-17, AA.VIII-20, EG-ZM819, F 1934/11.33, F 1940/11.69.

⁸⁵ Inventory numbers: AA.VIII-18, F 1947/11.11.

⁸⁶ Inventory number: EG-ZM813.

⁸⁷ Inventory number: CI-45.

Apart from these three groups within type C, there is another group, namely the amulets with more than two heads. This does not occur in the Leiden collection but there is an amulet in the Cairo museum with four heads⁸⁸, whether this amulet is double bodied can't be seen and is not mentioned.

Type D

The Pataikoi amulets that are of type D are the simple amulets like type A, but they have an attribute that distinguishes them from that type. There are eight Pataikoi amulets which are this type. The most common attribute is the collar around the neck. Five amulets have a collar around their necks. One of them is very special because it is made entirely out of gold and is only 1.2 cm high⁸⁹. The other four amulets with collars are made of faience⁹⁰. The other three amulets⁹¹ have a scarab on their heads. This is a common attribute on Pataikoi amulets and is almost always present in the complex types. Though in these three amulets the only attribute is the scarab. One of these, F 1940/11.37, is part of a necklace.

Type E

Type E are the Pataikoi amulets that are 'complex' without gods. These amulets are basically the same as type B, but without the gods. These amulets will also be discussed separately, because they have a lot of attributes. There are four in total. The attribute that they have in common is that they all are standing on crocodiles.

The first one of this type E is the amulet A-10. This amulet stands on the heads of two crocodiles, these crocodiles are not very detailed but they are recognizable. Other attributes are the youth lock on the left side of his head; this is the only amulet in the collection with a youth lock. There is a scarab on his head. This amulet is quite detailed, it has a big flat nose, detailed eyes and eyebrows and his hands are very detailed, a thumb is sticking out. Overall it is a quality piece.

The next Pataikos is more crudely made in comparison to A-10. This amulet is F 1955/2.30. The amulet has a lot of attributes. He stands on two crocodiles, he has two sticks or feathers in his hands, in its mouth he has two snakes. On this head is a scarab. He has a back pillar with inscriptions. These inscriptions are very crude however and unreadable, though they look like animals. They might be the same inscriptions as on F1955/2.31, so cryptographic names of Amun, but because it is not really legible it is difficult to determine. The amulet also has some

⁸⁸ Daressy 1905, 199, Plate XLII, CGC 38789.

⁸⁹ Inventory number: AO 1hh.

⁹⁰ Inventory numbers: CI-47, EG-ZM820, EG-ZM823, unknown.

⁹¹ Inventory numbers: AA.X, F 1940/11.37, ZN661.

signs beneath the base, this might be a seal compared to the theory of Györy⁹². This will be explained later in chapter 3.

F 1983/4.15 is an amulet which does not seem complex at first sight, but when looked at more closely it contains some attributes which make it complex. It has a scarab on its head, snakes in its mouth and snakes or sticks in its hands. The legs are broken off but he might have been standing on crocodiles as well. The amulet is bright dark blue and a bit crudely made.

H.III.K is a small (2.8 cm) amulet which has many attributes: he stands on crocodiles, which are almost not recognizable when you do not know what to look for. He has sticks or snakes in his hands and snakes in his mouth. He has a scarab on its head. It has a back pillar on which the old inventory number is written.

Type F

Type F is the type with animal-faced Pataikoi. These won't be discussed in this thesis, but should be mentioned because they do belong to the collection. These amulets are not part of the database, but are put into database 2. In total there are six animal-headed Pataikoi in the collection of the museum. Three of them have a ram head and a falcon tail⁹³, one has a baboon head and a falcon tail⁹⁴ and the last one has a falcon head and a falcon tail⁹⁵.

Other amulets

There is another curious amulet which can be found in the database at the back listed as unknown. This amulet has no number. It was on a card together with a couple of other amulets put there by Boeser, but he also did not know the number of this amulet. It is plausible however that this amulet should bear the inventory number EG-ZM814 because this number has no amulet and is not listed as missing in the database TMS, so I suspect that this amulet can be connected to this number. However the problem is that this amulet is a simple amulet with a simple description: "Pataikos, standing." Which could be any amulet of Type A or E. The only thing special about the amulet with no number is that it has a collar around its neck, though the description matches the amulet. The only way to figure it out is to look at the height of the amulet, which matches up. I measured the amulet to be 3.4 cm and TMS says the amulet is 3.2 cm. This difference can be neglected, for there are several other amulets where the measurement are slightly off. This can be explained by the fact that our rulers are more precise than in the past.

⁹² Györy 2001, 27-40.

⁹³ Inventory numbers: AED98, EG-ZM264, EG-ZM952, F 2010/7.1.

⁹⁴ Inventory number: EG-ZM2775.

⁹⁵ Inventory number: F 1934/11.40.

In the second database there are other figurines that do not belong to the regular types of Pataikos, they are however listed in TMS as Pataikos⁹⁶ or as dwarf⁹⁷. I have chosen not to include these in the thesis, though I have put them in the second database because their part of the collection should not be denied.

As in all collections, unfortunately sometimes amulets go missing, also in the collection of Pataikoi there are three amulets that are registered as missing. AED 6, according to the description this would have been an amulet with the head of monkey and a falcon tail. Another amulet, EG-ZM817 was a standing Pataikos of faience and a height of 6.4 cm. The last amulet is L.III.38-b, a standing Pataikoi of faience and a height of 4.1 cm. This is unfortunately all the information we have on these amulets⁹⁸.

⁹⁶ Inventory numbers: EG-ZM198, F 1940/10.38, F1940/12.27, F 1983/7.3.

⁹⁷ Inventory numbers: F 1983/7.2, F 1984/11.3, F 1988/1.1.

⁹⁸ For this reason these amulets have been placed in the second database.

Chapter 3: Analysis

In this analysis of the Pataikoi collection of the museum I will cover most of the elements concerning the amulets. I will mainly focus on this collection, though sometimes it is necessary to make comparisons to other collections and amulets. In this chapter the locations of finds will be discussed, as well as the symbolism and function of the amulets and the elements which contribute to the function of Pataikos like the animals, attributes, gods and goddesses. The materials, colors and dating of the Pataikoi will be discussed as well as texts in which they might occur. With these subjects concerning the Pataikoi I hope to establish a clear picture of the amulets and their function.

The exact location of the Pataikoi was, like most amulets, not recorded when they were found or only a big site is indicated. This is unfortunately also the case with the amulets from the collection of the museum. For the amulets of the collection d'Anastasi it is likely that they have come from Saqqara, where most of the amulets of that collection come from⁹⁹. This assumption is also likely because the amulets were very popular in the region of Memphis¹⁰⁰. There are two amulets however in this collection that do have an exact finding location: F 1987/3.12 and F 1987/3.16. These amulets come from Saqqara and were dug up by the excavation team of the National Museum of Antiquities. The first one, F 1987/3.12 comes from the surrounding areas of the tomb of Paser¹⁰¹. Even the exact place is known: Shaft C, south chamber, bottom of the shaft and it is dated to the 27th – 30th dynasty. The other amulet, F 1987/3.16, was also found by the team of the museum in Saqqara and comes from the tomb of Iurudef¹⁰². It was found in chamber A, burial 40 on the pelvis. The burial belonged to an old-aged male¹⁰³. These two amulets are very unique because the exact location is known to us. They were granted to the museum by the Egypt Exploration Fund.

Because the exact finding places are often not known it is difficult to determine whether they were used only in daily life or also in the hereafter. Some amulets as just stated do however have an exact finding spot, and most of these are found in tombs. This means that they were taken to the grave. Most amulets and thus also Pataikoi amulets were given to children and women, because they were the ones that would need them¹⁰⁴, they were the weak ones of the society¹⁰⁵. An example of a burial of children with a Pataikos is in the tomb of Iurudef, where a Pataikos

⁹⁹ Schneider 1981, 47.

¹⁰⁰ Györy 2002, 492.

¹⁰¹ Martin, G.T., *The tomb chapels Paser en Ra'ia at Saqqara* (London, 1985), 27.

¹⁰² Raven, M., *The tomb of Iurudef: a memphite official in the reign of Ramesses II*, *OMRO* 69 (Leiden, 1991), 43.

¹⁰³ Raven 1991, 28.

¹⁰⁴ Györy 2004, 56 and 62.

¹⁰⁵ Raven 1991, 34-35: Amulets were mostly buried with children and women; Brunton 1948, 83; Raven, M.J., *Egyptische magie: op zoek naar het toverboek van Thot* (Zutphen, 2010), 91-98; Györy 2011, 160.

was found in the location of three burials (no. 43-45), which were all children¹⁰⁶. F 1987/3.16 however was found on a man, who did not need amulets. This man however was of old age, which made him vulnerable again, therefore explaining the need for amulets.

The function or symbolism of Pataikos is not easy to determine and it was almost never mentioned in modern literature because it is a difficult subject. Most writers focus on what they represent and that they were used for protection, and leave it at that. It is however very important to at least try. The things that we know is that the Pataikoi belong to the group of amulets. They were probably worn by the owner because most of them have a suspension loop¹⁰⁷. In order to determine the function of symbolism of the Pataikoi I first want to look at all the aspects of the Pataikos, so all the animals, attributes and gods that are put on the amulets. They are there for a reason. They only occur on types B-E¹⁰⁸, with each aspect the Pataikoi that have that aspect will be mentioned.

Animals

There are different animals associated with the Pataikoi: scarabs, snakes, crocodiles and falcons. Each animal can be represented on a Pataikos; sometimes only one is on the amulets, but some amulets have all of these animals on them. But why are they on the amulets, what is their function or power?

The scarab is placed on top of the flat head of the Pataikoi. In the Leiden collection there are eighteen Pataikoi with a scarab on their heads¹⁰⁹. The scarab beetle has been in the Egyptian iconography since the Old Kingdom. They depicted several types of beetles, but the most known and used one is the *Scarabaeus Sacer*, the sacred scarab beetle¹¹⁰. The scarab beetle is known for rolling dung ball to holes under the ground, the Egyptians saw this as a representation of the sun moving across the sky. The eggs were laid inside a dung ball, from which the young beetles would emerge, the Egyptians saw this as a form of self-creation¹¹¹. Thus the scarab beetle became associated with the sun and the sun god Re and it became a powerful symbol of rebirth and renewal. The scarab amulet was a widely spread and popular amulet and used for different purposes like seals, jewelry and protective amulets¹¹². The scarab has been put on the Pataikos for a reason, either to connect the amulet to Re or to give it a connection to rebirth and

¹⁰⁶ Raven 1991, 28 and 43-44.

¹⁰⁷ Petrie 1914, 5.

¹⁰⁸ Type A has no attributes and type F has to many other attributes that they will not be discussed here as already determined earlier.

¹⁰⁹ Inventory numbers: A-9, A-10, AA 8, AA.X, CI-52, CI-53, CI-54, CI-55, EG-ZM821, F 1940/11.37, F 1955/2.30, F 1955/2.31, F 1983/4.15; F 1994/9.3, L.XIII.18, RO.I.F 14, ZN 661, ZN 755.

¹¹⁰ Houlihan, F., *The Animal World of the Pharaohs* (London, 1996), 187-188.

¹¹¹ Houlihan 1996, 188-189.

¹¹² Houlihan 1996, 189.

regeneration. One small detail about the scarabs upon the heads must be mentioned and that is that the scarab always faces forward.

In the Leiden collection there are four Pataikoi with snakes in their mouths¹¹³ and eleven with either snakes, feathers or knives in their hands¹¹⁴. The knife was a magic weapon, a symbol of defense for rendering evil things harmless¹¹⁵. Feathers¹¹⁶ probably represented Ma'at, so order against chaotic evil beings. Snakes are and were a serious threat to humans and In Ancient Egypt this was also the case. It was rarely fatal for adults, but children and weak persons were very vulnerable to snake bites. The Ancient Egyptians tried in various ways to protect themselves against these animals through magic. Spells and charms were used as protection, throughout Egyptian history¹¹⁷. Snakes also occur throughout Egyptian art, culture and script. They can be either evil and dangerous, like the arch enemy of Re, Apophis, or protective and apotropaic like the uraeus snakes¹¹⁸, or even as part of a healing statue, like the Horus-on-crocodiles¹¹⁹, healing animal bites and stings¹²⁰. The Pataikoi either hold the snakes in their hands or in their mouths. The snakes were the enemies who needed to be made harmless. The Pataikos does this by biting them with his mouth or holding them in his hands. The amulet thus protects against the animals by making them harmless for the owner of the amulet and thus makes the amulet apotropaic. Snakes and dwarfs seem to be depicted together in general because also in the Middle Kingdom Aha¹²¹ was depicted with snakes in his hands and also Bes is seen with snakes¹²².

In the Leiden collection there are ten Pataikoi which stand on the heads of crocodiles¹²³. Some crocodiles are hard to recognize, but they have a similar shape to make them identifiable as crocodiles. Crocodiles are very dangerous and deadly animals. The Egyptians were well aware of this fact. It is no wonder that they made spells to ward off the danger of these animals. At the same time admired them and worshipped them as gods, like Tawaret, the protectress of pregnant and nursing women¹²⁴ and Sobek who represented the Nile flood and fertility¹²⁵. The

¹¹³ Inventory numbers: F 1955/2.30, F 1955/2.31, F 1983/4.15, H.III.K.

¹¹⁴ Inventory numbers: A-9, AA 5, AA 8, F 1955/2.30, F 1955/2.31, F 1983/4.15, F 1994/9.3, H.III.K, L.XIII.18, ZN 661, ZN 775.

¹¹⁵ Lurker, M., *The gods and symbols of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1974), 75.

¹¹⁶ Daressy 1905, pl. XLII 38.813.

¹¹⁷ Houlihan 1996, 168.

¹¹⁸ Houlihan 1996, 170-173.

¹¹⁹ Sternberg-El Hotabi, H., *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen, ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte Ägyptens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1999), 17-18.

¹²⁰ Houlihan 1996, 176, 185.

¹²¹ Altenmüller 1975 B, 97.

¹²² Altenmüller, H., 'Bes' in: *Lexicon der Ägyptologie I* (Wiesbaden, 1975 A) 720-724.

¹²³ Inventory numbers: A-9, A-10, AA 5, AA 8, F 1955/2.30, F 1955/2.31, F 1983/4.15, F 1994/9.3, H.III.K, L.XIII.18.

¹²⁴ Houser-Wegner, J., 'Tawaret' in: Redford, D.B., *The Ancient Gods speak* (Oxford, 2002), 351-352.

¹²⁵ Doxey, D.M., 'Sokar' in: Redford, D.B., *The Ancient Gods speak* (Oxford, 2002), 336-337.

crocodile is also used as a regeneration symbol in books of the underworld¹²⁶. The Pataikoi are standing on the heads of crocodiles, like the Horus-on-crocodiles. This might symbolize that they keep the crocodiles at distance or they might be trampling them and thus making them less harmful¹²⁷ and thus apotropaic. Though the crocodiles themselves might also have a protective function to ward off evil.

In the Leiden collection there are four Pataikoi with falcons on each of their shoulders. On one of the amulets¹²⁸ the falcons are broken and only the feet remain. On another amulet¹²⁹ one falcon is broken off, but on the other shoulder the bird is still intact. On the other amulets the falcons are completely intact¹³⁰. The falcon is one of the most iconic and popular birds of Ancient Egypt. The bird was closely associated with the god Horus¹³¹. The falcon that is represented in these images of the falcon cannot be singled out. There are four species in Egypt and each of these is represented in the iconography¹³². Horus was a sky and sun god and in his falcon form he was associated with the sun god Re, when he had a sun disk on his head¹³³. The falcons first appeared on the shoulders of Pataikos in the Third Intermediate Period, first in connection with Nefertem. When the birds became standardized they possibly became associated with other myths and deities¹³⁴. The falcons can for example be interpreted as the 'two guides' of Sokar, to assist with birth as well as rebirth. The two birds could also be Isis and Nephthys, protecting the new-born, though this is maybe not so for usually when the falcons are present, the goddesses are too already in their human form. All the interpretations however lead to the concepts of protection and (re)birth.

Gods and goddesses

Not only animals are represented on the Pataikoi, but also gods and goddesses. There are some depicted more than others, but even more gods or goddesses are associated with Pataikos.

The Pataikoi in the collection of Leiden that have gods or goddesses on their sides are not that numerous, only three in the collection¹³⁵. Isis and Nephthys are the two goddesses standing to the sides of these Pataikoi. Isis is the wife and sister of Osiris and the mother of Horus. Nephthys is her sister and is the wife of Seth. Their role together is during funerary activities the most important. They mourn the deceased, and do rites during purification and mummification and

¹²⁶ Sternberg-El Hotabi 1999, 15.

¹²⁷ Houlihan 1996, 117.

¹²⁸ Inventory number: AA 8.

¹²⁹ Inventory number: ZN 755.

¹³⁰ Inventory numbers: A-9, AA 8, L.XIII.18.

¹³¹ Houlihan, F., *The Birds of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1986), 46- 48.

¹³² Houlihan 1986, 48.

¹³³ Meltzer, E.S., 'Horus' in: Redford, D.B., *The Ancient Gods speak* (Oxford, 2002), 166.

¹³⁴ Györy 2003 A, 23-28.

¹³⁵ AA 8, L.XIII.18, ZN775.

the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. These rites were done to ensure the revival of the dead¹³⁶. Isis as a mother protected Horus in the swamps. The goddesses Isis and Nephthys appeared from the Late Period. Other gods or goddesses can also appear besides the Pataikos, like Sachmet and Neith in the Third intermediate period¹³⁷, though this does not occur in the Leiden collection. One Pataikos in the collection stands out from the other amulets. F1955/2.31 has a god on his side, but not like the others. This god is of equal height and proportions as the Pataikos. It has already been discussed briefly in chapter 2: Type B. This Pataikos is a subject for further discussion and much more research, which is too extensive for this thesis.

Different gods or goddesses can be depicted on the back of the Pataikoi. They cannot always be distinguished clearly. They were however protective gods or goddesses¹³⁸. They are mostly depicted with wings and feathers on the sides. There are no hieroglyphic inscriptions to tell which goddess they represent. It can be interpreted as Isis-Ma'at¹³⁹, when you look at the crown, it could be Isis, and the Ma'at feathers link the goddess to Ma'at. Five amulets¹⁴⁰ in the Leiden collection have a goddess like Isis-Ma'at on their backside. Sometimes the winged goddess has a lioness head, like A-9 in the Leiden collection. The lioness headed goddess is most probably Sakhmet. She is a fierce goddess, which is why she might be present on a protection amulet, to protect against the dangerous animals¹⁴¹. She can also be linked to the Pataikos in the fact that she protected the heart, which was affected when one was bitten by a snake¹⁴². When she was tame and pacified she was also the goddess of healing and 'the Lady of Life'¹⁴³. Her son Nefertem also appears on the back of the Pataikos sometimes¹⁴⁴, though not in the Leiden collection.

The Pataikoi are associated with a number of different gods and goddesses. I have chosen to give some details about the most important ones. There are other gods and goddesses associated with Pataikos but their relations are not so clear¹⁴⁵.

The most important god in association with Pataikos is the god Ptah. There are different theories about this relationship. The first association of Ptah with the Pataikoi comes from the history of Herodotus III, 37. There he stated that an image of Ptah was worshipped in the shape of a pygmy in the temple of Ptah in Memphis according to Cambyses¹⁴⁶. That there is an association between

¹³⁶ Griffiths, J.G., 'Isis' in: Redford, D.B., *The Ancient Gods speak* (Oxford, 2002), 169-170.

¹³⁷ Györy 2011, 161; Brunton, G., *Matmar* (London, 1948), pl. LVIII, no. 40, Tomb 736.

¹³⁸ Györy 2003 A, 17, footnote 24.

¹³⁹ Györy 2003 A, 20.

¹⁴⁰ Inventory numbers: AA 5; AA 8; F 1994/9.3; L.XIII.18; ZN755.

¹⁴¹ Györy 2011, 162.

¹⁴² Györy 2011, 162.

¹⁴³ Györy 2011, 163.

¹⁴⁴ Brunton 1948, pl. LVIII, no. 40, Tomb 736; www.britishmuseum.org: EA60207.

¹⁴⁵ See Dasen for further information about these gods and goddesses: Dasen 1993, 91-97.

¹⁴⁶ Sandman Holmberg 1946, 182.

Ptah and Pataikos can also be seen on some of the amulets themselves, which sometimes mention the name of Ptah. In the Leiden collection there is also a Pataikos which mentions the name of Ptah¹⁴⁷. Some say that there is a link to Ptah and Pataikos in the fact that Pataikos wears a tight Ptah cap¹⁴⁸. We do need to be careful though, to suggest that these amulets were always and from the beginning onwards associated with the god Ptah. It is possible that the association with Ptah was established later¹⁴⁹. According to Spiegelberg¹⁵⁰ the association with Ptah was already established in the Old Kingdom when dwarfs were jewelry makers. Though Ptah is a patron of craftsmen, this is only attested from the Middle Kingdom onwards¹⁵¹. This means that this association is indirect and also the difference in time, Old Kingdom to Middle Kingdom needs to be approached with care. Pataikos can be linked to Ptah in another way, namely in Ptah's role as a creator-god, according to Dasen¹⁵². She states that the 'half-formed' appearance of dwarfs could possibly embody the continuing process of creation. Supporting this theory are three aspects of Pataikos. The first is that the amulets usually have a scarab on their heads, which stands for the concept of 'coming into being' and the emerging of the uncreated world. Secondly is that the first feature is stressed by the fetus-like appearance of several figurines. The last aspect is that Pataikos is often associated with the goddess Ma'at, who is the personification of 'the pristine state of the world' at the time of creation and its perfect harmony¹⁵³. Ptah himself is also closely related to Ma'at, he is often called the Lord of Ma'at¹⁵⁴. What is clear is that the association with Ptah was a fact in the time of Cambyses and when the amulets were made with the name of Ptah on it. It is however difficult to date these amulets so it is speculative when this was.

Re was one of the important deities throughout the Egyptian history. He was part of many myths and could occur in many forms. During the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period dwarfs were considered a manifestation of Ra, this can be based on textual evidence¹⁵⁵. A spell from Deir el-Medina connects a dwarf directly to Re: '*O Re, whose half is a dwarf in the sky (its other half) the dwarf of the earth*'; '*O that dwarf, man who is in Heliopolis, the short, whose legs are between the earth and the sky*'; '*Dwarf, who is in the middle of the sky*'¹⁵⁶. Another spell connects the dwarf to Re as well: '*The sacred child who is in the house of Re, the holy dwarf who is in the*

¹⁴⁷ Inventory number: AA 5.

¹⁴⁸ This will be explained later with the other attributes.

¹⁴⁹ Sandman Holmberg 1946, 183-184.

¹⁵⁰ Spiegelberg 1925, 10.

¹⁵¹ Dasen 1993, 92.

¹⁵² Dasen 1993, 92.

¹⁵³ Dasen 1993, 92-93.

¹⁵⁴ Dasen 1993, 93.

¹⁵⁵ Györy 2011, 161.

¹⁵⁶ Cerný, J., Posener, G., *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh* (cairo 1978), 9.

cave'¹⁵⁷; 'O poison who is in the heart of Re who is in the heart of the dwarf of a man' (i.e. Re)¹⁵⁸. We cannot be sure if this dwarf is Pataikos, but it does make clear that there is a special relationship between Re and dwarfs. According to Györy there could also be a creation link between Re and dwarfs. Dwarfs look like a new-born with an old face and Re was born and grew old every day¹⁵⁹.

Amun can also be associated with Pataikos. As already said in chapter 2, one¹⁶⁰ or even two¹⁶¹ amulets from this collection bear his cryptographic name. Besides this name, Pataikos sometimes wears the Amun crown¹⁶². Some of the Pataikoi of Type F¹⁶³ can be related to the god Amun¹⁶⁴ because of their ram head. The ram is a theriomorphic symbol for Amun and a symbol for fertility¹⁶⁵.

The goddess Neith was an important deity from the beginning of the Pharaonic times. She was mostly a goddess of warfare, but she was also associated with the inundation of the Nile. The Nile gave life to the Egyptians, which makes her, Neith, an even more important deity¹⁶⁶. Her relationship with Pataikos may be based on this fact, the giving or re-giving of life. In some texts¹⁶⁷ she has been said to have worn a dwarf of faience, possibly a Pataikos, around her neck as protection. Some texts even refer to a 'dwarf of Neith', 'the chapel of the dwarf of Neith'¹⁶⁸, 'a priest of the dwarf'¹⁶⁹ The texts that mention a dwarf but it is not specified which dwarf is meant. The combination of faience amulet, worn around the neck and protection leads me to think that this amulet might be a Pataikos. However it is not completely sure, it can also be Bes or an anonymous dwarf god.

Lastly, Horus is connected in several ways to Pataikos. The complex Pataikos resembles the Horus-on-crocodiles and can be compared in their functions. They both protect against snake bites. Both the Horus-on crocodiles and Pataikos stand on crocodiles, and are protected by several deities, like Bes on the Horus-on-crocodiles and both amulets can have a connection to

¹⁵⁷ Griffith 1921, 6-7.

¹⁵⁸ Koenig, Y., 'Le Papyrus Boulaq 6' in: *BdE* 87 (Cairo, 1981), 70.

¹⁵⁹ Györy 2011, 164.

¹⁶⁰ Inventory number: F 1955/2.31.

¹⁶¹ Inventory number: F 1955/2.30.

¹⁶² Daressy 1905, pl. XLII, 38.807, 38.808. There is no Pataikos with an Amun crown in the Leiden collection.

¹⁶³ Inventory numbers: AED98, EG-ZM264, EG-ZM952, F 2010/7.1.

¹⁶⁴ Painkoff, A., 'A Pantheistic representation of Amon in the Petrie collection' in: *AE* 1934-1935 (London-New York, 1934), 49-51.

¹⁶⁵ Tobin, V.A., 'Amun and Amun-Re' in: Redford, D.B., *The Oxford encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt I* (Oxford, 2001), 21.

¹⁶⁶ Lesko, B.S., *The great goddesses of Egypt* (Oklahoma, 1999), 45-51.

¹⁶⁷ See chapter 3: Dwarfs in texts.

¹⁶⁸ Spiegelberg, W., 'Neue Schenkungsstelen über Landstiftungen a Tempel' in: *ZÄS* 56 (Leipzig, 1920), 59-60; El-Sayed, R., *La Déesse Neith de Saïs I, importance et rayonnement de son cult* (Cairo, 1982), 131.

¹⁶⁹ El-Aguizy, 1987, 57; El-Sayed, R., 'Deux aspects nouveaux du culte à Saïs' in: *BIFAO* 76, (Cairo, 1976), 93.

Nefertem¹⁷⁰. Pataikos has incorporated several elements of Horus in his iconography, like the youth lock and nudity.

Other attributes

The last category of attributes is the amulets. It is sometimes hard to distinguish what they really are, but here I will try to explain why they are on the amulets and what their function could be.

The thing that almost all Pataikoi have in common, or at least most of them, is the small hole at the back of their necks so it could be worn around the neck of the owner. This classifies the figurines as amulets according to Petrie¹⁷¹.

In the Leiden collection there are four Pataikoi with a collar around their neck¹⁷². Collars were depicted on shoulders from the Old Kingdom onwards on divinities and humans, and from the 21st dynasty on collars were depicted on sarcophagi. Collars were also among the offerings given to the deceased and the elegance of collars was important as a status symbol¹⁷³. The collars on Pataikos also suggest a garment, so the dwarf is not naked, which he normally is. Nudity is a reoccurring theme which might be explained because the Pataikoi resemble children (in height). Children are almost always depicted naked¹⁷⁴. Nudity can also be a symbol for rebirth and renewal¹⁷⁵.

A characteristic feature of the Pataikoi is a small line just above the eyes (and eyebrows if they have those). This line occurs in seventy-five of the ninety-nine amulets, the other amulets lack this line or it is not possible to see because that part is broken. What this line represents is not clear to say. Some authors argue that this represents the tight cap of Ptah¹⁷⁶, and so making an extra link to Ptah. Though it could also just be a hair line¹⁷⁷. The fact remains that the line is there, in most of the amulets, so it must mean something.

In the Leiden collection there is one Pataikos with a youth lock on his head¹⁷⁸. The youth lock is a typical element for the god Horus/ Harpokrates¹⁷⁹. It is always placed on the right side of the head against the temple¹⁸⁰. The youth lock is in gods usually not the only thing on the head. A crown or cap can be seen, or in the case of Pataikos a scarab. Just like nudity, the youth lock is a

¹⁷⁰ Györy 2003 A, 22.

¹⁷¹ Petrie 1914, 5.

¹⁷² Inventory numbers: AO 1hh, CI-47, EG-ZM814, EG-ZM823.

¹⁷³ Goff, B.L., *Symbols of Ancient Egypt in the Late Period, the twenty first dynasty* (The Hague, 1979), 92-93, 104-105, 126.

¹⁷⁴ Sandri, S., *Har-pa-Chered (Harpokrates)*, OLA 151 (Leuven-Paris-Dudley, 2006), 97-98.

¹⁷⁵ Sandri 2006, 98.

¹⁷⁶ Spiegelberg 1925, 9; Györy 2004, 55.

¹⁷⁷ Matzker 1990, 201.

¹⁷⁸ Inventory number: A-10.

¹⁷⁹ Sandri 2006, 97.

¹⁸⁰ Sandri 2006, 100.

symbol for children¹⁸¹. The reason why some pataikoi have a youth lock is that they resemble small children, and they can be associated with Horus/ Harpokrates, especially in his form as the Horus-on-crocodiles where he stands on crocodiles. The youth lock is rare in Pataikoi, but not unique to this amulet¹⁸².

There is also one Pataikos with an Atef-crown on his head¹⁸³. Crowns are usually worn by pataikoi to assimilate them with a particular god, the Atef crown in this case. The Atef crown is already attested in the Old Kingdom¹⁸⁴. It has a central element in the shape of the White Crown¹⁸⁵, and has woven plant stems, flanked by two ostrich feathers. It is generally worn with a wig, as is also the case with this pataikos. From the New Kingdom onwards it can have disks and uraeus snakes. This means that the Pataikos we have here is New Kingdom or later. The crown is associated mainly with Osiris, but could also be worn by Horus or Re. The crown also symbolizes solar renewal and fertility, again confirming these concepts in relation to pataikos. Other Pataikoi outside of this collection wear other crowns which associates them with the god who usually wears this crown.¹⁸⁶

In the collection of the museum there are two Pataikoi amulets that have an inscription on the foot of the amulet: F 1955/2.30 and F 1955/2.31. According to Györy¹⁸⁷ these Pataikoi were used as seals. The main argument is that there are inscriptions on the bottom of the amulet. If this is so these amulets were the only seal amulets in the New Kingdom¹⁸⁸. The two amulets in the museum that might be a seal are the only ones with texts on them (with an exception of AA 5). They both have inscriptions on their back pillar and on the bottom of the amulet. They have already been discussed in Chapter two, where we established that they had cryptographic writings of the names of Amun on them. Both amulets have a suspension loop or at least a hole to put a string through, so they could have been worn around the neck.

Dwarfs and Pataikoi in texts

As already mentioned in chapter 1, the dwarf gods are called *nmw* in texts. This makes distinguishing them from each other difficult. There are numerous texts in which dwarfs are mentioned, the ones that are relevant here are those that mention dwarf gods, these are religious texts and spells. There are some interesting spells called '*a spell of the dwarf*', this is a spell that needed to be said for a woman in labor, above a dwarf of clay: '*to be recited four times*

¹⁸¹ Sandri 2006, 100.

¹⁸² Daressy 1905, 38.797.

¹⁸³ Inventory number: AA 5.

¹⁸⁴ Goebis, K., 'Crowns' in: Redford, D.B., *The Oxford encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt I* (Oxford, 2001) 232.

¹⁸⁵ Goebis 2001, 323.

¹⁸⁶ Daressy 1905, I will not go into further detail about these crowns for they are not part of the collection of the museum.

¹⁸⁷ Györy 2001, 27-40.

¹⁸⁸ Györy 2001, 37.

over a dwarf of clay placed on the brow of a woman who is giving birth while suffering'¹⁸⁹; 'the woman had shouted to the man for a dwarf-statue of clay'¹⁹⁰. This means that the amulet was used during labor to help the woman. It was also called a health amulet of Hathor in the former spell¹⁹¹. It is not specified which dwarf is meant so it could be either Bes, as he is the god that is often mentioned as dwarf of clay, or Pataikos that is meant¹⁹². Maybe that it did not matter even which dwarf it was, just that it was a dwarf, like I mentioned earlier in chapter 1.

Dwarfs are mentioned in texts concerning snake-bites: '*O Poison, descend Bastet to the belly of the dwarf and of the man*'¹⁹³. The pataikoi amulets can be connected to poison/ snakes by the fact that they often have snakes in their hands or mouths, and that they therefore make them harmless, and the one that wears them is therefore protected against snakes and their poisons.

There was apparently a link between giving birth and snake-bites which seems a bit strange, but the ancient Egyptians have written several texts in which they compare the two: '*I have made your mother pregnant with you. And how does she give birth? It means that she is suffering and weeping/ because of the snake, the one which the god assigned to you!*'¹⁹⁴. Geneva Papyrus MAH 15274 makes the link the other way, talking about the poison of a snake: '*and Horus was standing, his face being in a manner of (the face of) a woman who gives birth*'¹⁹⁵. Apparently both of the experiences were very painful and could be compared to each other according to the Egyptians. Both of these conditions were life-threatening in ancient Egypt especially to the weak ones of the society like children, women and elderly people. Györy assumes that the plain Pataikos was probably used for the protection of giving birth and that the complex Pataikos was used against snake-bites, though she also says that they probably could be used for both¹⁹⁶. The connection between birth, snakes and dwarfs was also thought to have been evident on a 'woman's bed decorated with snakes and Bes'¹⁹⁷, but this might be a dated view¹⁹⁸. In the texts in the tomb of Ramses VI about the birth of Horus, snakes are mentioned as protection for different stages in conception¹⁹⁹, but also as a threat to the birth²⁰⁰.

¹⁸⁹ Borghouts, J., *The magical texts of papyrus Leiden I348, OMRO 51* (Leiden, 1971), 29, Spell 30.

¹⁹⁰ Borghouts 1971, 29, Spell 31.

¹⁹¹ Borghouts 1971, 29, Spell 31.

¹⁹² Györy 2011, 159; Györy 2004, 62.

¹⁹³ Koenig 1981, 68.

¹⁹⁴ Borghouts 1971, 158: note that this is said to a demon.

¹⁹⁵ Massart, A., *The Egyptian Geneva Papyrus MAH 15247*. In: *MDAIK 15* (Wiesbaden, 1957), 178.

¹⁹⁶ Györy 2011, 160.

¹⁹⁷ Brunner-Traut, E., 'Die Wochenlaube' in: *MIO III* (Berlin, 1955), 24; Toivari-Viitala, J., *Women at Deir el-Medina, a study of the status and roles of the female inhabitants in the workmen's community during the Ramesside Period, Egyptologische Uitgaven 15* (Leiden, 2001), 177.

¹⁹⁸ Raven, M. J., 'Women's Beds from Deir el-Medina' in: Haring, B.J.J., Kaper, O.E. and van Walsem, R., *The Workman's Progress, studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and Other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée* (Leiden, 2014), footnote 36.

¹⁹⁹ Sticker, B.H., *De geboorte van Horus* (Leiden, 1963), 37.

There are more texts that mention a dwarf but again it is not specified which dwarf is meant. For example there are texts mentioning a dwarf amulet of faience, either around the neck of Geb as protection against Neith (P. Turin 1993²⁰¹) or in later texts around the neck of Neith where it protects her (Horus-on-crocodiles Cairo CG 9431²⁰²; Cairo CG 9403²⁰³; Cairo JdE 47280²⁰⁴; maybe: Edfu Mammisi, 173, 15)²⁰⁵. The combination of faience amulet, worn around the neck and protection leads me to think that this amulet might be a Pataikoi. However it is not completely sure, it can also be Bes or an anonymous dwarf god.

Other texts speak of 'a dwarf between the sky and earth'²⁰⁶ or 'in the middle of the sky'²⁰⁷ and also often in connection with Re, he even is the dwarf in some texts²⁰⁸. The dwarf can also go around the two lands at twilight²⁰⁹. These dwarfs are even more difficult to identify, for they are only described as a dwarf and nothing more.

In the Book of the Dead spell 163 and 164 dwarfs are also mentioned. In spell 163 a pantheistic dwarf is probably meant: 'a head of Bes with two plumes, whose back is like a falcon's'²¹⁰. In spell 164 the dwarfs are standing on the sides of Mut: 'A dwarf stands before her, another behind her, each facing her and wearing plumes. Each has a raised arm and two heads, one is the head of a falcon, the other a human head'²¹¹.

Material and colors

Most of the Pataikoi in the collection of the museum were made out of Egyptian faience; there are only four amulets that have a different material. These amulets are made of gold²¹², bronze²¹³, coralline²¹⁴ or steatite²¹⁵. So it is clear that Egyptian faience was the most preferred material for these amulets, but why is that? Egyptian faience was often used for its symbolic

²⁰⁰ Sticker 1963, 287: the snake is the umbilical cord.

²⁰¹ Rossi, F., Pleyte, W., *Papyrus de Turin* (Leiden 1869-1876) rt. 124, 14; Griffith, F. L., Thompson, H., *The demotic magical papyrus of London and Leiden* (Oxford, 1921) rt. 20,21: an amulet of Geb is also mentioned, though it does not state what kind of amulet it is.

²⁰² Daressy, G., *Textes et dessins magiques, Catalogues General des Antiquités Egyptiennes du musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1903), 40-41.

²⁰³ Daressy 1903, 11-12.

²⁰⁴ Daressy, G., 'Description des Monuments Épigraphiques trouvés à Karnak en 1921-1922' in: *ASAE 22* (Cairo, 1922), 268.

²⁰⁵ Borghouts, 154.

²⁰⁶ Cerný, J., Posener, G., *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh* (Cairo 1978), 9.

²⁰⁷ Cerný 1978, 9 Papyrus 1, text 4.

²⁰⁸ Cerný 1978, 9.

²⁰⁹ Klasens, A., *A magical statue base in the Museum of antiquities in Leiden* (Leiden 1952), 94.

²¹⁰ Faulkner, R.O., Andrews, C., *The Ancient Book of the Dead* (London, 1985), 158.

²¹¹ Faulkner 1985, 160.

²¹² Inventory number: A0 1hh.

²¹³ Inventory number: AA.VIII-1.

²¹⁴ Inventory number: AA.VIII-21.

²¹⁵ Inventory number: F 1994/9.3.

meaning, such as rebirth, immortality and life²¹⁶. The material was often used to add these meanings to it, so this may also be the case for the Pataikoi. Another reason might be that the material was relatively cheap²¹⁷, or a cheap substitute for more expensive materials.²¹⁸ The material was also rather easy to use either by modeling or molding the material into a (single-sided) mold²¹⁹. Amulets were mostly made in molds; many molds have been found, especially in places like Amarna and Qantir. Even some of the molds of the Pataikoi amulets were found²²⁰.

Egyptian faience is a form of ceramic made of quartz, alkali, lime. The presence of copper is what gives the blue-green color²²¹. This makes a sort of paste or clay which can be used. The glazing of faience can be divided into three categories: efflorescence, cementation, and application²²². With efflorescence the glazing materials (salts) are mixed together with the faience material. When the water evaporates the salts come to the surface, when fired this surface melts and forms a glazed layer.

Cementation is the second technique and occurs when the glazing powder is put on the amulet, which can occur in various ways²²³. The last method is application, where a slurry of the glazing material is made. The amulet can either be dipped into the slurry; the slurry can be poured over it or it can be applied with a brush. A feature of this method is the variations in thickness and drips may be visible²²⁴.

In the Leiden collection most of the Pataikoi are blue, green or somewhere in between. There are some amulets however with a different color, like red²²⁵ or brown/black²²⁶. Most of the colors of Egyptian faience symbolized life, health and rebirth²²⁷. The color turquoise was associated with

²¹⁶ Friedman, F. D., 'Faience: The brilliance of Eternity' in: Friedman, F.D., *Gifts of the Nile, Ancient Egyptian Faience* (London, 1998), 15.

²¹⁷ Friedman 1998, 15.

²¹⁸ This view might not be true for it was also used by the Pharaohs, see: Shaw, I., Nicholson, P., *The Princeton Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2008), 110-111.

²¹⁹ Nicholson, T., 'Materials and technology' in: Friedman, F.D., *Gifts of the Nile, Ancient Egyptian Faience* (London, 1998), 51; Friedman 1998, 18, fig. 4.

²²⁰ Anthes, R., *Mit Rahineh 1956, Museum monographs, The University museum, university of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1965), pl. 50, nos 260-261, pl. 51 no. 259; Herrmann, C., *Formen für ägyptische Fayencen aus Qantir Band II, Katalog der Sammlung des Franciscan Biblican Museum, Jerusalem und zweier Privatsammlungen*, OBO 225 (Fribourg-Göttingen, 2007), pl. 2.V-2.VI.

²²¹ Friedman 1998, 15; Nicholson 1998, 50.

²²² For the following about the techniques see: Nicholson 1998, 52, 53, fig. 27.

²²³ Cementation does not occur in the New Kingdom or later: Nicholson 1998, Table V.

²²⁴ See for an example in the collection: AA 5. In the database I have tried to divide the amulets between the three categories, though this is very hard to do and therefore I am not completely sure about most amulet. Some are however very clear like AA 5.

²²⁵ Inventory number: AA.VIII-21.

²²⁶ Inventory numbers: AA 8, AA.VIII-3, CI-44, EG-ZM822, EG-ZM825, F 1994/9.3, I 1934/11.27

²²⁷ Friedman 1998, 15.

the rebirth of the sun²²⁸. Green symbolized fresh vegetation, vigor and regeneration, which is why Osiris was often green of skin. Blue had also regenerative properties. These colors were probably picked for their symbolic value which matches the function of the pataikoi: (re)birth. Red stood for hot and dangerous as well as life-giving and protective. Brown/black was associated with the underworld and renewal in the afterlife. If the colors of the Pataikoi were especially made for these symbolic meanings is not sure, though it might of course be the case.

Dating the Pataikoi

Dating these amulets is a difficult task, mainly because dating Egyptian faience is impossible without archaeological context or stylistic means, because manufacturing Egyptian faience did not change in the course of time²²⁹. Some Pataikoi have been dated, but usually it is said that they come from the Late Period or later. Dasen²³⁰ was the first to make a small attempt, though she also admits that most are difficult to date. She says that the ones that come from the New Kingdom are usually made of dark blue faience, are crowned with scarabs, have a broad collar and are biting snakes and holding knives or feathers. The Third Intermediate Period has more varied head-dresses and wings may be added. The Pataikoi which standing on crocodiles and that have falcons on its shoulders are no earlier than the 25th dynasty because it is borrowed from the Horus-on-crocodiles. This argumentation of Dasen is wrong because the Horus-on-crocodiles is already known in the New Kingdom²³¹. The hybrid dwarfs, the ones with animal heads and bodies were made only in the Late Period. This assumption is also wrong because most of these pantheistic amulets are from later periods, no earlier than the 30th dynasty. They appear in the book of the dead together with other dwarfs who might represent Pataikos²³². The other Pataikoi are difficult to date.

Györy has made two attempts at dating the amulets: a dating system of the ordinary, plain type for mainly the Memphite region²³³ and a dating system for the more complex types²³⁴. For the plain type she states that the Pataikoi started developing into the shape as we know it probably during the 18th dynasty²³⁵. Its popularity expanded till the Ptolemaic period and they were even

²²⁸ Robins, G., 'Color symbolism' in: Redford, D.B., *The Oxford encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* I (Oxford, 2001) 291. For the rest of this paragraph see this article.

²²⁹ Bianchi, R.S., 'Symbols and meanings' in: Friedman, F.S., *Gifts of the Nile, Ancient Egyptian Faience* (London, 1998), 27.

²³⁰ Dasen 1993, 88-89.

²³¹ Sternberg-El Hotabi 1999, 58.

²³² Faulkner 1985, 158-160, spell 163, 164: Ptolemaic Period, 300-200B.C.; see also chapter 3: Dwarfs and Pataikoi in texts.

²³³ Györy 2002, 491-501.

²³⁴ Györy 2003 A, 15-21

²³⁵ For the dating of the plain type that follows see: Györy 2002, 491-501. For the dating of the complex type that follows see: Györy 2003 A, 15-21.

found in great numbers abroad²³⁶. They were made throughout Egypt, but seem the most popular in the Memphite region, were they were made in varied shapes and models.

The first models in the New Kingdom were sheet-amulets. These amulets are two-dimensional in shape with relief or small statuettes. By the end of the New Kingdom the amulets had evolved into three-dimensional amulets, stylized and sketchy at first but later more realistic. They were worn around the neck together with other amulets and beads. The suspension loop was placed behind the face of the statuette, or horizontally through the head. In the Amarna Period the suspension loop was fused on top of the head²³⁷. There could be small openings between the arms, body and legs. Characteristic was the baby-like shape with a large head, protruding belly, short limbs and hands on the hips, elbows bent. There are several of these sheet amulets present in the collection of the Museum. AO 6a-2 is part of a necklace with other amulets. AA.VIII-27 and F 1934/10.176²³⁸ have a suspension loop on top of their heads.

The complex Pataikoi from the New Kingdom mostly have an elongated face, stocky torso, snakes in high relief which are hanging down from the mouth, resembling moustaches and an elevated scarab on the top of the head. The Pataikos holds two knives or Ma'at feathers and is standing on two crocodiles. There is always a back pillar behind the god with cryptographic inscriptions of various names and epithets of Atum. On the bottom of the amulet are various hieroglyphic signs, which also refer to Atum or Amun. This is the exact description of an amulet in the collection of the museum, namely F 1955/2.30, which means that according to the dating system of Györy, this amulet was made in the New Kingdom. A similar amulet found in Gurob was also dated to the late 18th-19th Dynasty, which would prove that this particular amulet was made in the New Kingdom²³⁹. Other similar amulets however are not dated properly or later, though these amulets have been made into prove by Györy²⁴⁰. So to what period these ones belong is not that clear.

In the Third Intermediate Period there are the most variations of Pataikos. In this period the first double Pataikoi are made. Both sides of the double Pataikoi are the same, though there are some exceptions where the head is different²⁴¹. The sheet amulet is still being made. The suspension

²³⁶ Hermann 1994, 404-492.

²³⁷ Kemp, B., Stevens, A., *Busy lives at Amarna: Excavations in the Main city (Grid 12 and the House of Ranefer, N49.18, Volume II: The Amulets* (London, 2010), 75-81.

²³⁸ A similar amulet was found in Gurob: Brunton, G., Engelbach, R., *Gurob* (London, 1927) Plate XLII, 1c, tomb 450.

²³⁹ Brunton 1927, Plate XXVIII. No 18. Another example: Downes, D., *The excavations at Esna 1905-1906* (Warminster, 1974) 52, Tomb 227: early 18th dynasty.

²⁴⁰ Randall-Maciver, D., Mace, A.C., *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901* (London, 1902) 78, pl. XLV: Dynasties 20- 25; Reisner, G. A., *Semna Kumba, second cataract forts volume 1* (Boston, 1960) 98-100, figure 58: Kushite period.

²⁴¹ If this is the case one head is bigger and mask-like.

loop is either behind the chin, or behind the head. The amulets can also be pierced horizontally. The back of the Pataikos is often roughly formed and there is no back pillar. The figure can be either plump and stubby or slender. The legs become shorter and the head is bigger in comparison to the body, which makes the amulet more like a squatting man. There is often no neck, or it is wide and short. The chest is highlighted and can have a collar. The faces get a more realistic and individual look. The eyes are almond shaped and placed in sockets. On the smaller amulets the eye is only a small dot or arc that is bulging or deepened. The lips are long and straight and turn down at the corners.

There are many variants of types between the plain and complex ones, with either knives in their hands, snakes in their mouths or stylized crocodiles.

During the Third Intermediate Period the back pillar almost disappears, to make way for a more elaborated back side with a god. Crocodiles on these amulets are either emphasized or have disappeared entirely. During this period the hawks or falcons begin to appear on the shoulders of Pataikos.

In the Third Intermediate Period till the Late Period amulets could be reduced to only a few details with mainly horizontal grooves. A Pataikos of this type can be found in the collection of the museum: F 1987/3.12²⁴². The chest of the Pataikos is divided by a vertical groove; the arms are divided by three grooves to indicate the muscles²⁴³.

From the Late Period on the arms are more disproportionate, which makes the Pataikoi more dwarflike. The arms are being placed alongside the trunk, straight and with fists. The head is big and the face has old features; the stomach oblong and protruding, the navel is deepened. The figurines are made with an openwork technique²⁴⁴.

Some changes in the complex types occur in the Late Period. A new feature is that the crocodiles under the feet of the dwarf can be separated, so not facing each other like they did before²⁴⁵. An example of this can also be found in the Museum collection with the amulet A-9 and I think also in F 1994/9.3, but I have not seen this amulet myself, only on a photograph. Another change in the amulets, are the gods beside the dwarf. They were Neith and Sachmet and at the back

²⁴² A similar Pataikos can be seen in: Schlick-Nolte, B., *Von Droste zu Hülshoff, V., Ägyptische Bildwerke, Liebieghaus-Museum Alter Plastik, Band 1: Skarabäen, Amulette und Schmuck* (Melsungen- Gutenberg, 1990), 261, no. 232.

²⁴³ Inventory numbers: AA.VIII-2, AA.VIII-5, AA.VIII-6, AA.VIII-9, AA.VIII-10, AA.VIII-11, AA.VIII-23, CI-36, CI-40, CI-41, CI-50, CI-51, CI-52, CI-53, CI-54, CI-55, EG-ZM815, EG-ZM819, EG-ZM824, EG-ZM825, F 1987/3.12, L.III.38-d, TU 22.

²⁴⁴ Inventory number: BA 1, CI-38, CI-49, RO.I.F 12

²⁴⁵ Györy 2003 A, 19.

Nefertum before, now there are replaced by Isis and Nephthys, and at the back the winged goddess Isis-Ma'at²⁴⁶. There can be a pair of hawks or falcons on the shoulders.

In the Saitic Period the amulets have triangular faces with jug-ears; the eyes are blob-like. The nose is small with wide wings. The lips are two straight solid lines which may be turned towards the ends. During this period the Pataikoi could have a youth lock to make his connection to Horus/ Harpocrates closer. An example of a Saitic Pataikos from the Leiden collection is A-10.

In the Ptolemaic Period some of the amulets have come to appear individual, with a portrait-like head. The hands often become almost ornamental designs. The belly is barrel-like with a large navel. The breasts are modeled with circular nipples. The nose is longer than earlier and the mouth is smiling²⁴⁷.

I have tried to give dates to as many Pataikoi as possible with this dating system. It is however difficult to date all of them. Most of the amulets come from the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period however.

²⁴⁶ Inventory numbers: AA 5, AA 8, F 1994/9.3, L.XIII.18, ZN775

²⁴⁷ Inventory numbers: AO 1hh, EG-ZM822, EG-ZM823, F 1948/6.3, I 1934/11.27.

Chapter 4: Museology

Pataikos is a relatively unknown amulet even among Egyptologists. They are present in the exhibitions in museums though they are rarely noticed because they are so small. In the current exhibition in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden there is one Pataikos present. If you look at Museums like the Louvre, there are more present in the permanent exhibition. A probable reason for this is that there is more space. Though probably most amulets are, like in the museum of Leiden and most other museums, in storage. Pataikoi are rarely used in temporary exhibitions. Though there are however some instances where Pataikoi were used. One example can even be found in this collection, F 1994/9.3 is currently on a traveling exhibition in Spain: 'Mòmies Egípcies, El Secret de la Vida Eterna'. In the exhibition of the Brooklyn Museum: 'To Live Forever: Art and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt' (2010)²⁴⁸, a complex Pataikos was used. As in the exhibition: 'Body Parts: Ancient Egyptian Fragments and Amulets' (2009-2013)²⁴⁹, where a plain Pataikos was used²⁵⁰. Also in the exhibition: 'The Immortals of Ancient Egypt' (1997), from the Abraham Guterman Collection of Ancient Egyptian Art, Israel Museum in Jerusalem²⁵¹, two Pataikoi were used, one plain and one complex type. Two Pataikoi were used in the exhibition: 'Papyri, mummies and gold, Michal Tyszkiewicz and the 150th anniversary of the first Polish and Lithuanian excavations in Egypt', Warsaw (2011-2012)²⁵².

The common theme in which Pataikos is being exhibited is the afterlife and mummies. They could however also be exhibited together with themes such as giving birth, magic and medicine, minorities in Ancient Egypt. It is good to know that the amulets are not always forgotten, and are occasionally used for exhibitions.

²⁴⁸ Inventory number: 37.949E.

http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/amulets/4115/Figure_of_Pataikos.

²⁴⁹ Inventory number: X1182.2.

http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/amulets/185805/Fragmentary_Amulet_of_Pataikos/set/exhibition-3208.

²⁵⁰ This Pataikos look remarkably similar like BA 1, from the Leiden collection.

²⁵¹ Inventory numbers: 97.63.104, 97.63.108. <http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/exhibitions/18>

²⁵² Niwiński, A., *Papyri, mummies and gold, Michal Tyszkiewicz and the 150th anniversary of the first Polish and Lithuanian excavations in Egypt* (Warsaw, 2011), 47-48.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have analyzed as many elements of Pataikos as possible. In this thesis and accompanying database I used elements from the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. In the database there are ninety-nine amulets and it has a separate part containing seventeen others that were left out. There are several types of Pataikoi and they are divided in this thesis in six categories; A: plain, B: Complex with gods, C: Double, D: Plain with one attribute, E: complex without gods, F: Pataikos with animal head. On these elements and reviewing other published data we can now see that our previous understanding of these small dwarf amulets was not entirely correct in some aspects and that there are some areas that still need to be explored.

Researchers into Pataikoi amulets long thought that the amulets were mainly or even only connected to the god Ptah. This was mainly due to Herodotus who said that the amulets were seen in the temple of Ptah and even worshipped as Ptah. He was the name giver of the Pataikoi relating them to Ptah as that was what he described to be the case. Pataikoi is the Greek name but we don't know what the original Egyptian name would have been for these dwarf amulets. I suspect that the original Egyptian name for these amulets was more generic to 'dwarf'.

Later some writers expressed the view that Pataikoi could also be associated or even represent other gods like Re and Amun. Only a few really questioned the connection to Ptah or were at the least careful in their comparisons, like Sandman Holmberg. This thesis shows that Pataikos was not connected to just one god, but that he can be associated with different gods depending on his attributes or his function.

The function of the amulets was long thought to be apotropaic. Though this view can still be regarded as accurate, this is not the only function. Most of his attributes confirm connection to either protection against harmful animals or (re)birth. When we look at texts concerning dwarfs we can see the function of the protection of women during childbirth. In these texts the dwarf amulets are not specified, as they are mentioned as 'a dwarf', without being specific whether it is Pataikos or Bes. That is why I think that it was only important that it was a dwarf amulet.

Texts, shown in chapter 3, also confirm that a dwarf amulet was used as protection against snake-bites like the Horus-on-crocodiles who himself protected against harmful animals and which can be compared to the complex Pataikos in its iconography.

Most of the Pataikoi amulets are made of faience. This could be because of the properties of faience, or because it was a cheaper material. Amulets were usually made in molds, and this is also true for Pataikoi amulets as evidence has shown here.

Dating the Pataikoi amulets has been a challenge. Györy has made two articles on the dating of the amulets and I have tried to give a clear picture of her dating system. I do not however agree with everything she says, mainly because her argumentations and references are not always that reliable in my opinion. When looking at the primary sources she refers to I could not always see the evidence she said was there. For this reason it is important to document the Pataikoi that are being found or already have been found. It also shows that the research of Pataikoi could still use help with dating of the amulets.

The pataikoi should still be researched in more detail. The amulets are fascinating and interesting to study, but it can take some time to fully understand and describe them. I have studied the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, but there are many more amulets in the world, and so much more variations to study.

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Appendix

Database 1 & Database 2: