Shabtis from Roman provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia

Shabtis in Croatia

Mladen Tomorad

The Archaeological museums in Croatia keep various types of the Egyptian artifacts with different origin. The majority (more than 90%) of the artifacts came directly from Egypt during the 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} century.

But few hundred artifacts of the Egyptian origin were found in the territory of the ex-Roman provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia. They probably came here in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Unfortunately, we have to admit that for the most of these artifacts we do not know the exact place where they were found. Most of these artifacts came to the museums directly in the form of donations from privates' collectors or amateur diggers. The inventory books of the museums today can only tell us how these objects came to the museum and the name of the donator but nothing more. We can only guess the exact location where these objects were found.

In Croatia there are many private collections with many small Egyptian objects. The origin of these collections is usually unknown for most of them. But sometimes we do know how they became part of the family heritage. Many amateur diggers in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century excavated ancient places in the area where they lived. In some cases they found Egyptian artifacts, mostly small funeral statuettes, shabtis, amulets etc., and in the next decades these objects became the family treasure.

The biggest Egyptian collection in Croatia is kept in the Archaeological museum in Zagreb. Everyone who comes to the museum can find more than 3100 Egyptian artifacts in three major collections of the antiquities (The Egyptian collection; the collection of the Greek and Roman antiquates; The Numismatic collection). The Egyptian collection\textsuperscript{1} of the Archaeological museum in Zagreb became a part of these institutions in 1868.\textsuperscript{2} It was bought from the family of the Austrian general and consul Franz Koller (1767-1826) who collected the artifacts during his diplomatic

\textsuperscript{1} IB AMZ; Gorenc 1979; Monnet Saleh 1970; Tomorad 2003a, pp. 31-48.

service in Naples (1815; 1821-1826). Koller bought these objects from the Roman dealer of antiquates named Lancius. Lancius\(^3\) probably bought it from the Greek dealer of antiquates Papiandropolus\(^4\). Around 2100 objects of his collection are today kept in Zagreb. Other artifacts in the Egyptian collection were donated by many different families in the second part of the 19th century and in the 20th century.\(^5\) Today in the Egyptian collection you can find more than 2300 objects (scarabs, amulets, statuettes of the gods and goddesses, few bigger statuettes, canopic jars, stele, mummies, sarcophagus, papyrus, books of dead, etc.).

Shabti figures from Egypt were partly published by Janine Monnet Saleh in 1970.\(^6\) In the Egyptian collection she found 297 shabtis from Egypt dated from the 18\(^{th}\) dynasty to the Ptolemaic periods. The material and iconography of these objects were very different.

The seven shabtis\(^7\) found on the territory of Croatia are also part of that collection. The inventory book usually described them as the funeral statuettes of Osiris. There were published by Mladen Tomorad in 2001.\(^8\)

The Egyptian collection of the Archaeological museum in Split mostly keeps statuettes of Egyptian gods and goddesses, shabtis and amulets found in the territory of Roman province Dalmatia (the Middle Dalmatia, Solin and islands)\(^9\). The nine shabtis\(^10\) from this territory were published by Petar Selem\(^11\) during 1960's and Mladen Tomorad in 2001.\(^12\)

The Archaeology museum of Istra in Pula also keeps smaller Egyptian collection with objects of various origins.\(^13\) There are four shabtis\(^14\) in this collection. They are published by Igor Uranić\(^15\) in 2001.

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\(^3\) Ljubić 1889, p. 1; Tomorad 2003a, p. 19.
\(^5\) IB AMZ.
\(^7\) In the Archaeological museum in Zagreb there are five shabtis from Salona (today Solin, near Split; ex-collection Lanza), one shabti from Nin and one from Oстроžac (near Bihać at the border of Bosnia and Herzegovina). There is also one unknown figure from Nin which is described in the inventory book of the Archaeological museum of Zagreb with these words: “Kipić nekoga ženskoga u trudnom stanju prikazanoga božanstva od pećene zemlje - Statuette of some female goddess in pregnant condition from baked soil” (inv. n. 675). IB AMZ, inv. nos. 561-565 (Salona) and inv. n. 675 (Nin); MIB AMZ, inv. n. 348 (Oстроžac).
\(^8\) Tomorad 2001, pp. 1-14.
\(^9\) Selem 1963; Selem 1969; Selem 1997; Tomorad 2003a, pp. 52-55.
\(^10\) IB AMZ inv. nos.: G 1623-1626, B 212-216.
\(^11\) Selem 1961, p. 4; Selem 1969, pp. 125-144, Tab. XIV-XXI.
\(^12\) Tomorad 2001, pp. 1-14.
\(^14\) IB AMIP: inv. nos.: P 7580, P 30331-30333.
In the Archaeological museum in Dubrovnik there is another Egyptian collection with 197 objects. They were donated to the museum during the second part of the 19th century. There are 25 shabtis in these collections, originally from Egypt. They are published by Igor Uranić in 2001 and Mladen Tomorad in 2003.

Some shabtis also exist in these collections: one in the Museum Mimara in Zagreb, one in the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, three in the collection of Benko Horvat in the Museum of the contemporary art in Zagreb, two in the Franciscan monastery in Sinj, four in the Monastery of the Saint Euphemia in Kampor on the island of Rab, one in the private collection of A. Domančić on the island of Hvar and six in the private collection Carrara-Bratanić (today in the possession of dr. Tereza Marović). One shabti figure was found in the 1990's during the archaeological excavations in Kazale near Filipana in Istra.

In the known museums and private collections in Croatia there are 334 or 92.5% of shabtis originally from Egypt. They became part of different collections during the 19th and 20th century. During the excavations in the territory of Dalmatia and Pannonia there were found 27 shabtis or 7.5% of all the shabtis in various collections in Croatia. There is still a possibility that few figures can be found in depots of the museums or in various private collections until now unknown to the Egyptologists and historical science.

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16 *IB AMD*: inv. nos. 473, 504, 506-508, 550, 552-564, 566-567, 595, 3805-3807. Uranić 2002 nos.: 18, 48, 50-52, 93, 95-109, 136, 184, 186-192. Uranić also believes that the shabtis under the inv. n. 551 and 554 are false.
18 Inv. n. ATM 232 originally from Egypt. Tomorad 2003a, p. 64, Tab. 62.
21 Both from Čitluk. Selem 1979; Selem 1997, nos. 2.58 and 2.59, pp. 93-95; Tomorad 2003a, p. 76.
22 TOMORAD 2003a, p. 75.
23 They are all originally from Dalmatia and they are published by Petar Selem. Selem 1971, pp. 113-117, Tab. XXVII-XXXI; Selem 1979, pp. 79-92, Tab. I-II.
24 The article by K. Buršić-Matijašić & R. Matijašić only gave general information about the findings without any exact information about the shabti (dimensions, material, dating, inscription etc.). Buršić-Matijašić & Matijašić 1998, pp. 10-11, T. 2; Tomorad 2001, p. 3.
History of shabti figures
(definition, use, history, materials and making)

Shabti figure is very important element of the Egyptian cult of dead and their funeral rituals. They appear in Dalmatia and Pannonia from the time of Ptolemaic dynasty and during the reign of the Roman Empire. They are usually connected with the diffusion of the Egyptian cults (Jupiter-Ammon, Harpocrates, Hathor, Horus, Isis, Osiris, Serapis etc.) into the Mediterranean world.

Shabti is a figure found in the Egyptian tombs from the Middle Kingdom onwards very often in large numbers in wooden boxes, sarcophagi, and coffins or laid along the floor. It is presented in the form of a mummy bearing agricultural implements. The shabti was intended to serve as a magical replacement in the case when the deceased should be called upon to perform tasks of manual labour in the netherworld. There are three different variations of the Egyptian words for the shabtis. The first one is shabti, which is etymology unknown, the second is shawabti, and by the time of the Late Period the common term for these figures was ushabti. All these terms have the root in the Egyptian word wSb - meaning answerer.

Egyptians believed that when they died they had to perform some tasks of manual labour for the king of the dead - Osiris the same as they, during the time of living, performed the same tasks for the king of the living - Pharaoh. Egyptians had to work different tasks (for example building and cleaning the irrigation system, agricultural works on the fields etc.) for the Pharaoh and priests during the floods. Rich members of the Egyptian society always had someone else to do their works. But in the netherworld every Egyptian had to work agricultural works for the gods. This is the main reason why the shabtis appeared from the time of the Middle Kingdom. The most common tasks that shabti had to do for the deceased were filling the furrows with water, ploughing the fields and carrying the sand. Therefore, the main role for the shabti was to substitute the deceased and perform labours in the land of the dead. But, when they appeared for the first time during the Middle Kingdom their purpose was mainly to answer in the name of ba when the gods called the deceased to the court. During the Middle

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25 The exact description of the Egyptian funeral procession is given by Herodotus. Herodotus, The histories, II. Very useful are the classical works by J. Gardner Wilkinson and W. A. W. Budge.
26 CDA, s. v. shabti or ushabti; Shaw & Nicholson 1995, s. v. shabtis; Bunson 1995, s. v. shabti, Budge 1893, pp. 171, 211-215; Petrie 1974; Schneider 1977.
27 Budge 1893, p. 172.
Kingdom ka was shown as the mummy. In the time of the New Kingdom ka was united with the figure which wore the name of the deceased.

The most common formula which appears on the shabtis found in Dalmatia and Pannonia was the shd Wsir\textsuperscript{28} meaning “enlighten Osiris”. It can be connected with the role of shabtis in the funeral rituals but at the same time with the role of Osiris in the regeneration in the netherworld.

Shabtis were made of stone, alabaster, wood, clay, metal and green, blue, brown or red glazed faience.\textsuperscript{29} They appeared during the First intermediate period\textsuperscript{30}. Shabtis of the 13\textsuperscript{th} dynasty were made of calcareous stone, wood and sometimes even granite shown with the hands crossed over the breast but without any agricultural implements. The inscriptions upon them usually contained the name and titles of the deceased. Glazed faience shabtis appeared from the beginning of the New Kingdom until the end of Saite period. During the 18\textsuperscript{th} dynasty shabtis began to carry agricultural implements (hoe, mattlock and basket). At the time of the 19\textsuperscript{th} dynasty there was some change in the dress of shabtis, and after that period they were represented as wearing the garments which the deceased wore during his/her lifetime. During the time of the 26th dynasty shabtis stood on a square pedestal and had a rectangular upright plinth on the back. They were usually made in moulds and coloured with light blue and green. It seems that during the time of the Third intermediate period shabtis were not placed in the tombs. From the end of the Saite period they were made with less care and with much shorter inscriptions. By the end of Ptolemaic period shabtis became very small and they bore no inscriptions. During the time of the New Kingdom shabtis were placed in the tombs in large numbers. In a perfectly equipped tomb there would be 401 shabti figures: 365 workers, one for each day of the year, and 36 overseers - one for every ten workers.\textsuperscript{31}

The best known form is taken from the 6\textsuperscript{th} chapter of the Egyptian book of the dead which is also the part of the 151\textsuperscript{st} chapter (XIII Speech of the Ushabti figure - The chapter of not doing work in Khert-Neter)\textsuperscript{32}. Here is the one version of this text according to Budge\textsuperscript{33}:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{28} Selem 1969, pp. 126-127.
\textsuperscript{29} Budge 1893, p. 212; Petrie 1909, p. 113.
\textsuperscript{31} Hobson 1993, p. 169.
\textsuperscript{32} It is a part of the texts in the funeral chamber.
\textsuperscript{33} Budge 1895, p. 629.
\end{quote}
“Illumine the Osiris Any, whose word is truth. Hail, Shabti figure! If the Osiris Ani be decreed to do any of the work which is to be done in Khert-Neter, let everything which standeth in the way be removed from him - whether it be to plough the fields, or to fill the channels with water, or to carry sand from (the East to the West). The Shabti figure replieth: I will do it, verily I am here (when) thou callest.”

**Diffusion of Egyptian cults and shabtis to territory of Roman Empire**

Egypt opened its gates to the whole Mediterranean World in the time of the Ptolemaic dynasty (305 - 30 BC).

The consequence of this action was opening of Egyptian cult centers to Greek and Eastern influences and as the result the new Hellenistic cults were born (Serapis, Harpocrates). At the same time the Egyptian cults (Isis, Osiris, Serapis, Horus, Harpocrates and Anubis) and objects connected with their beliefs and funeral ceremonies, together with Eastern cults of Mithras, Cybele, Magna Mater, started their diffusion through the sea and land. In the time of the great Roman Empire these cults made their way all the way to the borders of Ethiopia to the south, Indian to the east, Tangier to the west, Great Britain to the north-west, the Baltic Sea to the north, and the Black Sea to the north-east.

The Oriental gods and goddesses were introduced into Roman *Pantheon* in the end of the 3rd century BC. The first temples of Isis and Serapis in Rome were built around 220 BC. At the end of the 2nd Punic War around 201 BC the symbols of Oriental religions were removed from the Roman *Pantheon*. The diffusion started again more intensively at the end of the Republican era. In the 1st century BC cults of Isis and Serapis made their way into Italy as the religious beliefs mainly of the lower classes. The first Egyptian community in Rome was registered in the time of the Roman dictator *Lucius Conelius Sulla* (138 – 78 BC). But at that time the diffusion

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34 The diffusion of Egyptian cults was one of the major aspects in the Ptolemaic multi-stage foreign policy to Crete and the Aegean Sea. The consolidations of Egyptian cults in that area gave them an opportunity to spread their influence into the whole Eastern Mediterranean. From their main base *Ianos* on the island of Crete they spread the political influence to the other islands of the Aegean and Greek world. More about Egyptian influence on the island of Crete. Spyridakis 1970. More about connections with the Aegean world in: Turcan 1996, pp. 81-85; Witt 1971.

of Egyptian cults was disapproved by the Romans. In the late Republican era, a few years before the death of *Iulius Caesar* (c. 100 – 44 BC), the first statue of Isis was placed in the temple of *Venus Genetrix*. The first Roman Emperors, *Augustus* (27 BC – 14 AD) and *Tiberius* (14 – 37 AD) did not look at that diffusion with approval. In 38 AD the Emperor *Gaius* (*Caligula*) built *Isis* temple in Rome at the *Campus Martius* (37 – 41 AD) and with that act he acknowledged her into the rank of the official goddesses of the Roman Empire. In the time of the Emperor *Caracalla* (211 – 217 AD) the god Serapis was introduced to the rank of the official gods. He built him a temple at the Roman hill *Quirinalis* with dedication *Serapidi Deo*.

In the same time the cult of the Emperor was linked up with Egyptian cults. From the time of *Domitian to Trajan* (81 – 117 AD) various Egyptian gods (Horus, Anubis) can be found with the warrior symbols of the Roman Empire (spear, shield). Isis and Serapis became the protectors of the Emperor from the time of the Emperor *Caracalla*.

The Roman Emperors *Hadrian*, *Trajan*, *Commodus*, *Septimius Severus*, and *Diocletian* were the great admirers of Egyptian culture. They decorated their palaces with Egyptian elements delivered directly from Egypt. The traces of those activities today can be found in Hadrian’s Villa at Tivoli and Diocletian Palace in Split.

At the end of the 3rd century AD diffusion of the Egyptian cults started to weaken and the major reason for this was the new rising of Christianity. The last official Isiac ceremony in Rome was noted in 394 AD and in Egypt in 535 in the time of the East Roman Emperor *Justinianus* (527 – 565 AD).36

We have to search for the beginning of the diffusion of the shabti figures in the middle of the 1st millennium BC. The confirmation of this theory can be found in the Eastern Mediterranean where first the Phoenician and later the Greek merchants from Naucratis traded with Egyptian amulets, scarabs, seals, shabtis and other Egyptian merchandise. They diffused these objects along with the beliefs in Egyptian gods and goddesses in the Western Mediterranean (Sicily, Italy, Sardinia and Iberian Peninsula).37 During the 4th and 3rd century BC Egyptian objects diffused along with the beliefs of Egyptian deities into the Greek colonies all around the Mediterranean Sea. The Hellenistic period can be considered as the climax of the first phase of this diffusion.38 The diffusion into the Roman Republic

38 Turcan 1996, p. 76.
began in the 3rd century BC but the climax was during the Roman Empire in the 2nd and 3rd century AD.

Shabtis were located all around the great Roman Empire. They are usually connected with the Egyptian cults of Isis, Osiris, and Serapis but sometimes also with the cult of the Oriental god Mithras. They were found in small numbers in Britannia39 and Tangier40. Shabtis were found in Gaul in Lutetium (Paris)41, Avignon, Orange, Caderousse, Boutae near Annecy, Lyon, and the territory around river Rhone and Seine42. Few pieces were found in the Netherlands and the Rhine area. Shabtis in numerous numbers were found in Italy43, Dalmatia44, Pannonia45, the Aegean Sea46 and the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.

Findings of shabtis in Dalmatia and Pannonia

There is a huge difference among the number of findings of various sources that can confirm the existence of the Egyptian cults and the number of shabtis. There were found numerous sources of Egyptian cults activities but rather small number of shabti figures (27 pieces). Disposition of the findings is very different, with the numerous findings from Dalmatia and only few pieces from Croatian part of Pannonia.

These different and indeterminate phenomenons of the shabtis in the European provinces of the Roman Empire create two different opinions in the historiography. According to the Hungarian Egyptologists V. Wessetzky47 the role of the shabtis in the Egyptian cults outside Egypt is not determine. So he tries to connect shabtis with the Roman army. Croatian Egyptologist P. Selem48 tries to connect them with the Egyptian cults which were first recognized in the Roman periods through the mysteries of Osiris and Isis.

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39 On was found in Frinton, Essex and one in Thorney near Iver, Buckinghamshire. Harris 1965, pp. 113-114.
30 Selen 1961, p. 4.
41 Two shabtis were found among the small statuettes of Isis, Osiris and Bes. Selem 1972, p. 66, fn. 87.
43 Budishovskey 1977.
44 Selen 1997.
46 Witt 1971.
47 Wessetzky 1961, p. 15.
In the Middle Dalmatia, in the territory around Solin and on the nearby islands were found twelve shabtis and two figures that look like shabtis. These shabtis are today a part of the collections of the Archaeological Museum in Split (9), the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (5) and some private collections (7) (Table I). In the Archaeological museum in Split there are seven shabtis and one pseudoshabti from the various locations in Middle Dalmatia (Table I). On the island of Hvar was found one shabti and one pseudoshabti (Table I). Both figures are broken under the knee, which suggests a possibility of the same ritual as in the Ancient Egypt. In the surroundings of Solin (ancient Salona) eleven shabtis were found made of different materials, and one pseudoshabti (Table I). Today five pieces can be found in the Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb⁴⁹ and six pieces in the private collection of Carrara-Bratanić-Marović⁵⁰ (Table I). One shabti figure found in Nin (ancient Aenona) is also kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb⁵¹ (Table I). In the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina two shabtis were found near Čitluk at the location of the ancient Roman colonia Claudia Aequum⁵². During the excavation of the Roman grave in Ostrožac near Bihać one shabti was dug up in 1930.⁵³

The territory of the Pannonia is much less archaeologically explored than the territory of Dalmatia. Probably this is the main reason why only one shabti was found in the territory of Croatia and few in the territory of Hungary. But in the same time this phenomenon is a little bit strange if we

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⁴⁹ In 1999 I noticed in the Inventory book of the Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb five figures from Solin under the inventory numbers 561 to 565. It was written that they once belonged to the private collection Lanza from Split. They are described as the standing figures of the god Osiris from the baked soil. In that time they were not published so I decided to investigate these objects. In that time custodian Igor Uranić and I analyzed these figures as shabti figures. I published it in 2001. Tomorad 2001, pp. 10, 13; Tomorad 2003a, p. 35.

⁵⁰ Selem 1971, pp. 113-114.

⁵¹ I noticed this figure in the Inventory book of the Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb under the inventory number 675 in the same time as the previous shabtis from Solin. It was written that this piece once belonged to Dr. Petar Karlić from Zadar. The figure was given to the Museum in 1912. It is described as the standing figure of the god Osiris from the baked soil. This piece was considered as false in the beginning of the 20th century because it was found in Nin. I. Uranić and I analyzed it as the shabti figure. I published it in 2001. Tomorad 2001, pp. 10, 13; Tomorad 2003a, p. 36.

⁵² Selem 1979, pp. 81-82; Selem 1997, pp. 93-95.

⁵³ This shabti was given to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb by Vesna Magdić from Zagreb on 22nd September 1954. It contains the cartouche of the pharaoh Thutmos III. This piece is not written into the Inventory book of the Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. It is only mentioned in the Major inventory book of the Egyptian collection of the Archaeological museum of Zagreb under the inventory number 348. Tomorad 2001, pp. 10, 13; Tomorad 2003a, p. 36.
consider it in the proportion of the other Egyptian and Oriental cult findings.\textsuperscript{54} The only shabti in the northern Croatia was found in Osijek (ancient \textit{Mursa}) and today it is kept in the Archaeological Department of Museum of Slavonia in Osijek.\textsuperscript{55}

The role of the shabtis in the Central and Southeastern Europe is not explained. It is possible that these findings can be connected with previously mentioned cults of Osiris and Isis. Surely we have to consider this major role of shabtis in the magical regeneration of the deceased in the netherworld of Osiris.

But in my opinion shabtis can also appear as the magical objects whose major function in the funeral rites of Ancient Egypt is long forgotten. They were probably brought to Europe from the Hellenistic times until the Late Antiquity by some unknown strangers who were citizens, slaves and libertines with various professions (travelers, sailors, merchants, soldiers, various public officials and custom officials)\textsuperscript{56} as some kind of magical objects or souvenirs from Egypt.

The pseudoshabti from Hvar (collection of Marchi)\textsuperscript{57} very well illustrate the similarity between shabtis and statuettes of Osiris. The head of this pseudoshabti is missing so it is very hard to determinate if it is shabti or a figure of Osiris. In the same time the inscription on one column is almost unreadable. The dilemma is much bigger because on it are shown both attributes: agricultural implement characteristic of shabtis and scepter \textit{heka} which is characteristic of the iconography of the god Osiris. Usually the head of the shabti contains \textit{klaft} while the figure of Osiris contains the \textit{atf} crown. P. Selem\textsuperscript{58} considers this as the example of contamination and mixture of two functions of the shabtis: the 1\textsuperscript{st} role, a magical replacement of the deceased during the agricultural works in the netherworld and the 2\textsuperscript{nd} role, the image of Osiris with whom deceased identify after the death. But this kind of phenomenon is very rare so L. Speleers\textsuperscript{59} believes that this figure can only succeed the role of the deceased as Osiris. Due to the arguments mentioned previously the lack of head makes this identification very difficult so we consider this figure as pseudoshabti.

\textsuperscript{54} Four shabtis were found in Hungary. Two shabtis were found in Aquincum, one in Batu, and one in Brigetio. Two of them were found during the excavations of the Sarmatic necropolis. Wessetzky 1961, pp. 15, 49, 53.
\textsuperscript{55} Degmedžić 1954, pp. 147-148.
\textsuperscript{56} Tomorad 2003b
\textsuperscript{57} Selem 1979, pp. 83-84.
\textsuperscript{58} Selem 1979, pp. 83-84.
\textsuperscript{59} Speleers 1923, p. 64.
The legs of the shabti from green colored enamel soil that was found in the island of Hvar\textsuperscript{60} were broken in the height of its knees. The remaining part has 4,8 cm. It is similar to the shabti with broken legs found in Tangier. This kind of breaking can be accidental but we also have to consider the possibility of the ritual of breaking shabtis in the height of knees which was adapted in the Ancient Egypt. A lot of similar shabtis were found in the Nubian temple in Soleb. The cultic significance of this ritual is still unexplained. P. Selem connected it with an Ancient Egyptian custom of breaking the statue in order to stop possibly dangerous activities of the object.\textsuperscript{61}

Shabtis found at the territory of Dalmatia and Pannonia can be dated from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Antiquity. They are made from calcareous stone or baked soil with green or light-green colored enamel. The height varies from 4,8 to 17,4 cm with average height of 11 cm. They are products of the common manual craft without any esthetic and artistic value. Inadequacy of information and circumstances of the findings make almost impossible to determine the way when and how they came to the east coast of the Adriatic Sea. Preserved condition of the found specimens is very different from one object to another. Some of them are in very good condition but some are very much damaged.

Most of the inscriptions on shabtis are much damaged and hieroglyphic signs are in most cases unrecognized. But sometimes the formula \textit{shd Wsir hm ntr} can be read on few shabtis. This common formula is sometimes written completely and in few cases only partly. Few figures also contain the cartouche of the pharaohs Thutmose III\textsuperscript{62} and unknown Amenhotep\textsuperscript{63}. They probably came to Dalmatia directly from Egypt or maybe from some huge serial workshops in Egypt.

Shabtis found in Croatia, as the original element of the Egyptian funeral cult, surely belong to the cultic cycle of Osiris and Isis. I can make a presumption that they were sometimes also recognized as an important part of regeneration in netherworld.

But findings of two shabtis in Sarmatic graves in the part of Pannonia in Hungary also enable the hypothesis that all kinds of ancient object

\textsuperscript{60} Inv. n. G. 1625. Now is the part of the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split.

\textsuperscript{61} Selem 1969, pp. 133-134.

\textsuperscript{62} Shabtis under the inventory number B 212 and B 213 from the collection of the Archeological museum in Split. Selem 1969, p. 126. Shabti with the cartouche of the pharaoh Thutmose III was found during the excavation of a Roman grave in Ostrožac near Bihać. \textit{MIB AMZ}, inv. n. 348; Tomorad 2001, pp. 10, 13.

(shabtis, amulets, scarabs, statuettes etc.) from various ancient civilizations had some kind of magical role in barbaric tribes even if they did not know their original apportionment. I can even make another interesting hypothesis. Shabtis can be found very frequently in the territory near limes of Roman Empire (at the surroundings of river Danube and Rhine). Shabtis maybe had some kind of role in various shaman rituals among barbaric tribes on that territory. Local shamans probably believed that they had some unknown ancient magical effect so they acquired these object from travelers. Maybe they were used as protection from bewitchment, spells, disease or in some malicious spells. Therefore, the phenomenon of shabtis in the Central and Northern Europe can also be connected with magical rituals besides their role in cultic cycle of Osiris and Isis. Surely there is a possibility they were only used as decoration of a house. Maybe some wealthy members of the community, who can afford this object, bought it as some exotic specimen from the ancient cultures. Maybe they were just a souvenir brought by some travel from Egypt. It is impossible to prove all these hypotheses.

The period when shabtis came to the east coast of the Adriatic is usually dated from the 1st to the 4th century AD (from the period of the early Roman Empire to the period of the Late Antiquity). I think that the contacts with Egypt had existed long before the Roman period. There is a possibility that the first shabtis arrived much earlier during the Greek colonization of islands along the east coast of Adriatic and the Illyricum. Greek colonization of this territory started at the very end of the 6th century BC and it ended in the 3rd century BC.64 New archaeological excavations in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and findings of few unpublished Egyptian objects can prove that. These objects probably arrived to the Illyricum in the 4th century BC. The contacts with Egypt can also be proved with the frequent findings of Ptolemaic and African currency in Illyricum.65 G. Höbl and J. Padro I Parcerisa66 proved similar hypothesis for the Western Mediterranean (Sardinia, Sicily, Iberian Peninsula).

One interested fact can be seen in the table with detailed analyzes of the shabtis from Dalmatia and Pannonia - almost all shabtis were found in Dalmatia and on islands. This fact can be an argument that the territory of Dalmatia is much better archaeologically explored than the Pannonia. The future excavations will confirm if this is only inadequately condition of the

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64 Boardman 1999; Cambi 2002.
65 Truhelka 1889; Mirk 1981; Mirk 1982; Mirk 1987; Mirk 1993; Manojlović 1923.
research or shabtis really never existed in larger numbers. Until then historians can not make conclusion about the reasons of this disproportion.

Summary

The author analyses shabti figures excavated in Croatia from the Roman provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia. In the first section author gives the general information about the shabtis from various museums in Croatia. The definition, general description and the use of shabti figures in Ancient Egyptian funeral customs is given in the second section of the article. In the third section the author first describes the diffusion of Egyptian cults (Isis, Serapis, Harpocrates, Anubis, and Apis) and later the diffusion and discoveries of shabtis in the Mediterranean and Roman World. The author also gives basic connection between shabtis and the most common Egyptian cults of Isis and Serapis. In the final section of these articles the author analyses 27 shabtis excavated mostly in Croatia. The articles are equipped with one table and few photos of shabtis.
Photos

Shabti 1954 - Mursa - Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, inv. n. 5243

Shabti 1961 - Archaeological museum in Split, inv. n. B 212
Shabti 1969, Tab XIV, 2 – Archaeological museum in Split, inv. n. G 1623

Shabti 1969, Tab XIX:
1 – Archaeological museum in Split, inv. n. B 215;
2 – Archaeological museum in Split, inv. n. B 216
Shabti 1969, Tab XVI:
1 – Archaeological museum in Split, inv. n. G 1624;
2 – Archaeological museum in Split, inv. n. B 213

Shabti 1969, Tab XVII: 1 – Archaeological museum in Split, inv. n. B 214;
2-3 – Archaeological museum in Split, inv. n. G 1625
Shabti 1969, Tab XVI, I-3 – Archaeological museum in Split, inv. n. G 1626

Shabti 1971, Tab. XXIX – Private collection of Carrara-Bratanić-Marović
Shabti 1971, Tab. XXVII, 1-3 – Private collection of Carrara-Bratanić-Marović

Shabti 1971, Tab. XXVIII: 1 – Private collection of Carrara-Bratanić-Marović; 2 – Private collection of Carrara-Bratanić-Marović
Shabti 1971, Tab. XXX - Private collection of Carrara-Bratanić-Marović

Shabti 1972, Sl. 1 – Collection Domančić
Shabti 1979, Tab. I – Franciscan monastery in Sinj

Shabti 1979, Tab. II, 1 – Franciscan monastery in Sinj
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Abbreviations

AMS = Archaeological Museum in Split
AMZ = Archaeological Museum in Zagreb
AMIP = Archaeological Museum of Istra, Pula
FMS = Franciscian monastery in Sinj
MSO = Museum of Slavonia in Osijek
CBM = Private collection Carrara-Bratanić-Marović
MD = Private collection Marchi-Domančić

Sources

IB AMD = Inventory book of the Archaeological Museum in Dubrovnik
IB AMS = Inventory book of the Archaeological Museum in Split
IB AMZ = Inventory book of the Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb
IB AMIP = Inventory book of the Archaeological Museum of Istra, Pula
MIB AMZ = Major inventory book of the Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb
ÖBL = Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815-1950
CDA = Collins dictionary of Archaeology, Glasgow 1992 (ed. by P. BAHN)

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