More than four thousand Egyptian artifacts are kept in various archaeological museums and many private collections in Croatia. Today around four hundred artifacts of the Egyptian origin from Croatian museums and private collections were found in the territory of former 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 because the most of these artifacts came to the museums from various privates’ collectors or amateur diggers. The inventory books of the museums today can only tell us how these objects came to the museum, the name of the donator and in some cases the exact provenance of the artifact. But for the most of our artifacts we can only guess the exact location where they were found.

In the known museums and private collections in Croatia there are 354 shabtis. During the excavations on the territory of Dalmatia and Pannonia 26 shabtis and 3 pseudoshabtis were unearthed.1

There are 297 shabtis in Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb2 but only eight3 of them were unearthed on the territory of

1 TOMORAD 2001; TOMORAD 2004.
3 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 Ostroac (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: “Kipje nekoga enskoga u trudnom stanju prikazanoga bo anstva od peëene zemlje - Statuette of some female goddess in pregnant condition from baked soil” (inv. n 676). IB AMZ, inv. nos. 561–565 (Salona) and inv. n. 675 (Nin); MIB AMZ, inv. n. 348 (Ostroac). Tomorad 2001; TOMORAD 2003, 35-36; TOMORAD 2004, 89-90, 97, 109.
Croatia. The inventory book usually described them as the funeral statuettes of Osiris. The Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split keeps nine shabtis from the territory of Roman province Dalmatia (the Middle Dalmatia, Solin and islands). The Archaeology Museum of Istra in Pula keeps four shabtis. In the Archaeological Museum in Dubrovnik there are 25 shabtis originally from Egypt. Some shabtis also exist in collections of the Museum Mimara in Zagreb, the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, the collection of Benko Horvat in the Museum of the Contemporary Art in Zagreb, the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj and Monastery of the Saint Euphemia in Kampor on the island of Rab. One shabti belongs to the private collection of A. Domanèiæ on the island of Hvar, six are in the possession of Tereza Maroviæ (ex-private collection Carrara-Brataniæ). During the excavations in 1996/1997 one shabti was unearthed in Kazale near Filipana in Istra.

8 One artifact, inv. n. ATM 232 originally from Egypt. TOMORAD 2003, 64, Tab. 62; TOMORAD 2004, 91; TOMORAD 2005a, 12.
12 Four artifacts. TOMORAD 2003, 75; TOMORAD 2004, 91; TOMORAD 2005a, 22.
14 They are all originally from Dalmatia. SELEM 1971, 113-117, Tab. XXVII-XXXI; TOMORAD 2004, 91, 97, 105-107, 109.
15 The article by K. Buršiæ-Matijašiæ & R. Matijašiæ only gave general information about the findings without any exact information about the shabti (dimensions, material, period, inscriptions etc.). BURŠIÆ - MATIJAŠIÆ - MATIJAŠIÆ 1998, 10-11, T. 2; TOMORAD 2001, 3; TOMORAD 2004, 91, 109. Now in the private collection of Mr. Lik in Filipani.
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 diffusion of the shabti figures probably began 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). 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

16 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: WITT 1971; TURCAN 1996; 81-85.
the climax of the first phase of this diffusion. The diffusion into the Roman Republic 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: Britannia, Tangier, Belgica (Lungudensis, Aquitania, Narbonensis, the territory around river Rhone and Seine), around Forum Claudii in Alpes region, few pieces in the Germania Superior. Shabtis in numerous numbers were found in Italia, Dalmatia, Pannonia, the Aegean Sea 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 cult's activities but rather small number of shabti figures (only 29 objects). Disposition of the findings

19 TURCAN 1996, 76.
20 On was found in Frinton, Essex and one in Thorney near Iver, Buckinghamshire. HARRIS 1965, 113-114.
21 SELEM 1961, 4.
22 One piece was found around Torcy-le-Gd. Three pieces around Antwerp, one in Blendequyes. BRICAULT 2001, 97, 101.
23 Five pieces were found in Plougonven, one in Locqmariaquer, Jassans and Trévoux, three pieces in Augustodunum. BRICAULT 2001, 97, 105. In Lutetia two shabtis were found among the small statuettes of Isis, Osiris and Bes. SELEM 1972, 66, n. 87.
24 Two pieces were found in Cossium and one in Ormolac. BRICAULT 2001, 97
29 Three pieces in Aquileia, two in Opitergium, seven in Regium Lepidum, one in Orbetallo and one in Alba Fucens. BUDISCHOVSKY 1977; BRICAULT 2001, 119, 131, 137.
32 WITT 1971.
33 TURCAN 1996.
is very different, with the numerous findings from Dalmatia and only few pieces from Croatian part of Pannonia.

In the Middle Dalmatia, in the territory around Solin and on the nearby islands were found the most of shabtis and two figures that look like shabtis. These shabtis are today a part of the collections of the Archaeological Museum in Split, the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and some private collections. In the Archaeological museum in Split there are seven shabtis and one pseudoshabti from the various locations in Middle Dalmatia.

On the island of Hvar was found one shabti and one pseudoshabti. 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. One shabti figure and one pseudoshabti were unearthed in Nin (ancient Aenona). In the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina two shabtis were found near Èitluk at the location of the ancient Roman colonia Claudia Aequum. During the excavation of the Roman grave in Ostroac near Bihaæ one shabti was dug up in 1930.

The territory of the Pannonia is much less archaeologically explored than the territory of Dalmatia. Probably this is the main reason why only two shabtis were found in the territory of Croatia and seven in the territory of Hungary. But in the same time this phenomenon is a little bit strange if we consider it in the pro-

34 Today six pieces belongs to the private collection of Carrara-Brataniæ-Maroviæ: SELEM 1971, pp. 113-114. In 1999 I noticed in the Inventory book of the Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb five previously unknown and unpublished shabtis from Solin under the inventory numbers 561 to 565. It was written that they once belonged to the private collection Lanza from Split and they became the possession of AMZ in 1874. They are described as the standing figures of the god Osiris from the baked soil. Since then they were not published so I investigate these objects with the help of custodian Igor Uraniæ. I mentioned them in my previous publications about shabtis. TOMORAD 2001, 10, 13; TOMORAD 2003, 35; TOMORAD 2004, 90, 97, 109.

35 I noticed these figures in the Inventory book of the Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb under the inventory number 675 and 676. It was written that they once belonged to Dr. Petar Karliæ from Zadar. The figures were given to the Museum in 1912. Object under the inventory number 675 was described as the standing figure of the god Osiris from the baked soil. Object under the inventory number 676 was described as unknown Egyptian goddesses in a form of naked pregnant woman. Both pieces were considered as false in the beginning of the 20th century because they were found in Nin. I analyzed them as the shabti figures. I only mentioned object under the inventory number 675 in my previous publications about shabtis. TOMORAD 2001, 10, 13; TOMORAD 2003, 35; TOMORAD 2004, 90, 97.

36 SELEM 1979, 81-82; SELEM 1997, 93-95.

37 This shabti was given to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb by Vesna Magdiæ from Zagreb on 22nd September 1954. It contains the cartouche of the pharaoh Thutmose 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, 10, 13; TOMORAD 2003, 36; TOMORAD 2004, 97.
portion of the other Egyptian and Oriental cult findings. In the northern Croatia (Slavonia) one shabti was found in Osijek (ancient Mursa) and maybe one in Ilok (ancient Cuccium).

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

For the time being 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) as some kind of magical objects or souvenirs from Egypt.

The pseudoshabti from Hvar (collection of Marchi) 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 heka which is characteristic of the iconography of the god Osiris. Usually the head of the shabti contains klaft while the figure of Osiris contains the atef crown. P. Selem considers this as the

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38 Seven shabtis were found in Hungary. Three shabtis were found in Carnuntum, two in Aquincum, one in Batu, and one in Brigetio. Two of them were found during the excavations of the Sarmatic necropolis. WESSEIZKY 1961, 15, 49, 53; BRICAULT 2001, 125.
40 BRICAULT 2001, 125.
41 WESSEIZKY 1961, 15.
44 SELEM 1979, 83-84.
example of contamination and mixture of two functions of the shabtis: the first function – a magical replacement of the deceased during the agricultural works in the netherworld and the second function – the image of Osiris with whom deceased identify after the death. But this kind of phenomenon is very rare so L. Speleers 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.

The legs of the shabti from green colored enamel soil that was found in the island of Hvar 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.

Shabtis found at the territory of Dalmatia and Pannonia can be dated from the New 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 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 and unknown Amenhotep. They probably came to

45 SELEM 1979, 83-84.
46 SPELEERS 1923, 64.
47 Inv. n. G. 1625. Now is the part of the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split.
48 SELEM 1969, 133-134.
49 Shabtis under the inventory number B 212 and B 213 from the collection of the Archeological museum in Split. SELEM 1969, 128. Shabti with the cartouche of the pharaoh Thutmose III was found during the excavation of a Roman grave in Ostro near Bihac. MIB AMZ, inv. n. 348; TOMORAD 2001, 10, 13; TOMORAD 2004, 99, 102, 104.
Dalmatia directly from Egypt\textsuperscript{51} or from some Roman serial workshop. 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 (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 usage.

I can even make few other interesting hypotheses that are almost impossible to prove. Shabtis were 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 function 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.

The period when shabtis came to the east coast of the Adriatic is usually dated from the 1\textsuperscript{st} to the 4\textsuperscript{th} 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 6\textsuperscript{th} century BC and it ended in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century BC.\textsuperscript{52} 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 4\textsuperscript{th} century BC. The contacts with Egypt can also be proved with the frequent findings of Ptolemaic and African currency in Illyricum.\textsuperscript{53} G. Höbl

\textsuperscript{51} Maybe from some huge serial workshop.
\textsuperscript{52} BOARDMAN 1999; CAMBI 2002.
\textsuperscript{53} TRUHELKA 1889; MIRNIK 1981; MIRNIK 1982; MIRNIK 1987; MIRNIK 1993.
and J. Padro I Parcerisa\textsuperscript{54} proved similar hypothesis for the Western Mediterranean (Sardinia, Sicily, Iberian Peninsula)\textsuperscript{55}.

One interested fact is that 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 research or shabtis really never existed in larger numbers. Until then historians can not make conclusion about the reasons of this disproportion.

1. SHABTI FROM GREEN COLORED ENAMEL BAKED SOIL (Pl. 69/1)

\textit{Provenance}: Ètituk (Claudia Aequum)

\textit{Collection}: Franciscan monastery in Sinj – Archaeological collection

\textit{Inventory number}: 47

\textit{Height}: 12, 5 cm

\textit{Material}: green colored enamel baked soil

\textit{Condition}: good

\textit{Type}: Schneider, class XIA5

\textit{Iconography}: Mummiform with back-pillar

\textit{Period}: 26\textsuperscript{th} Dynasty

\textit{Description}: Mummiform. Saite common striated lappet wig, with plaited beard. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed right over left, sleeves not indicated. Pick without cross bar in left hand and cord in right hand. Basket is quiet small and is suspended behind the left shoulder. Face is oval with long and prominent nose and big eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are well modeled. Back-pillar without inscription. Front inscription in one vertical column framed but open at top begins with the formula $\text{Wsr 'nh}$ – "The Osiris live". Trapezoidal base.


\textsuperscript{54} HÖBL 1979; HÖBL 1986; PADRO I PARCERISA 1980-85.
\textsuperscript{55} CASSON 1991; CASSON 1994.
2. SHABTI FROM BROWN BAKED SOIL (Pl. 69/2)

**Provenance:** Èitluk (Claudia Aequum)
**Collection:** Franciscan monastery in Sinj – Archaeological collection
**Inventory number:** unknown
**Height:** 10, 8 cm
**Material:** brown baked soil
**Condition:** much damaged surface
**Type:** Schneider, class XII
**Iconography:** Mummiform without back-pillar
**Period:** Late period - Roman period

**Description:** Mummiform. Late plain lappet wig and flat back with plain beard. Arms crossed on the chest with much damaged implements. Some kind of pick or hoe could be on the right shoulder. Face is oval and much damaged. Eyes and ears are very big. Two vertical columns on the front but without inscription.


3. PSEUDOSHABTI FROM BAKED SOIL (Pl. 69/3)

**Provenance:** Hvar (Pharos)
**Collection:** private collection Domanèiae (ex-private collection Marchi)
**Height:** 12 cm
**Material:** baked soil
**Condition:** damaged; missing head
**Type:** Schneider, class X
**Period:** 27th Dynasty-Ptolemaic Dynasty

**Description:** Mummiform. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed left over right, unsleeved. Heka scepter in left hand and hoe in right hand. Without basket. Head is missing. Front inscription in one vertical column framed but open at top is unreadable.

4. SHABTI FROM GREEN COLORED ENAMEL SOIL (Pl. 70/1.)

Provenance: Hvar (Pharos)
Collection: Archaeological Museum in Split
Inventory number: G 1625
Height: 4.8 cm
Material: green colored enamel soil
Condition: broken in the height of knees; missing the lower part of figure
Type: Schneider, class XI
Period: 27th Dynasty-Ptolemaic Dynasty

Description: Mummiform. Late plain lappet wig; wig and back-pillar combined. Plain beard. Hands crossed on the chest opposite combined, arms not indicated. Hoes in both hands. Basket is quiet small and is suspended behind the left shoulder. Face is oval with big nose and stylized eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are big and well modeled. Inscription in the front and on the back-pillar. Front inscription in two vertical column framed but open at top, unreadable. Inscription on back-pillar begins with formula $\text{ष्ठि} Wsir – "The illuminated one, the Osiris"$; the rest is unreadable. Broken in the height of knees. Missing the lower part of figure.


5. SHABTI FROM GREEN COLORED ENAMEL (Pl. 70/2.)

Provenance: Solin (Salona) (1857)
Collection: private collection Maroviæ (ex-private collection Carrara-Brataniæ)
Without inventory number
Height: 10.8 cm
Material: green colored enamel
Condition: good
Type: Schneider, class XIA3
Period: 26th Dynasty

Description: Mummiform. Saite plain lappet wig with plain beard. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed right over left, both sleeves indicated. Narrow hoe in right hand and pick without crossed bar in left hand. Basket is quiet small and is suspended behind the left shoulder. Face is oval with big nose and eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are big and well modeled. Back-pillar without inscription. T shaped
inscription on front side begins with the formula \( Shd \ Wsir \) – "The illuminated one, the Osiris". One line heading one column, both framed. Trapezoidal base.


6. SHABTI FROM GREEN COLORED ENAMEL (Pl. 71/1.)

**Provenance:** Solin (Salona)

**Collection:** private collection Maroviæ (ex-private collection Carrara-Brataniæ)

**Without inventory number**

**Height:** 9, 2 cm

**Material:** green colored enamel

**Condition:** damaged; missing the lower part of legs

**Type:** Schneider, class XI

**Period:**

**Description:** Mummiform. Saite plain lappet wig with plain beard. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed right over left, both sleeves indicated. Narrow hoe in right hand and pick without crossed bar in left hand. Basket is quiet small and is suspended behind the left shoulder. Face is oval with big nose and eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are big and well modeled. Back-pillar without inscription. T shaped inscription on front side begins with the formula \( Shd \ Wsir \) – "The illuminated one, the Osiris". One line heading one column, both framed.


7. SHABTI FROM GREEN COLORED ENAMEL BAKED SOIL (Pl. 71/2)

**Provenance:** Solin (Salona)

**Collection:** private collection Maroviæ (ex-private collection Carrara-Brataniæ)

**Without inventory number**

**Height:** 5, 6 cm

**Material:** green colored enamel baked soil

**Condition:** broken in the height of knees; missing the lower part of figure

**Type:** Schneider, class XI
Period: 27th Dynasty-Ptolemaic Dynasty

Description: Mummiform. Late plain lappet wig; wig and back-pillar combined. Plain beard. Hands crossed on the chest opposite combined, arms not indicated. Hoes in both hands. Basket is quiet small and is suspended behind the left shoulder. Face is oval with big nose and eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are big and well modeled. Inscription in the front and on the back-pillar. Front inscription in one vertical column framed but open at top. Inscription on back-pillar in one column. Broken in the height of knees. Missing the lower part of figure.


8. SHABTI FROM GREEN COLORED ENAMEL BAKED SOIL (Pl. 72/1.)

Provenance: Solin (Salona)

Collection: private collection Maroviae (ex-private collection Carrara-Brataniæ)

Without inventory number

Height: 6.4 cm

Material: green colored enamel baked soil

Condition: broken in the height of knees; missing the lower part of figure

Type: Schneider, class XI

Period: 27th Dynasty-Ptolemaic Dynasty

Description: Mummiform. Late plain lappet wig; wig and back-pillar combined. Plain beard. Hands crossed on the chest opposite combined, arms not indicated. Hoes in both hands. Basket is quiet small and is suspended behind the left shoulder. Face is oval with big nose and eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are big and well modeled. Inscription in the front and on the back-pillar. Front inscription in one vertical column framed but open at top. Inscription on back-pillar in one column. Broken in the height of knees. Missing the lower part of figure.


9. SHABTI FROM GREEN COLORED ENAMEL BAKED SOIL (Pl. 72/2.)

Provenance: Solin (Salona)

Collection: private collection Maroviae (ex-private collection Carrara-Brataniæ)
Without inventory number
Height: 8, 6 cm
Material: green colored enamel baked soil
Condition: good
Type: Schneider, class XIA5
Period: 26th Dynasty
Description: Mummiform. Saite plain lappet wig with plain beard. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed right over left, sleeves not indicated. Pick in left hand and narrow hoe and cord in right hand. Basket is quiet small and is suspended behind the left shoulder. Face is oval and very big. It has long and prominent nose and big eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are big and well modeled. Inscription on back-pillar in two vertical columns begins with the formula Shd Wsr – "The illuminated one, the Osiris". Trapezoidal base.

10. SHABTI FROM LIGHT GREEN ENAMEL (Pl. 71/3.)
Provenance: Solin (Salona)
Collection: private collection Marovia (ex-private collection Carrara-Brataniae)
Without inventory number
Height: 5, 5 cm
Material: light green enamel
Condition: damaged; preserved only fragment of the lower part
Type: unknown
Period: 26th Dynasty - Ptolemaic Dynasty
Description: Mummiform. Preserved only fragment of the legs. Inscription on back-pillar in one vertical column. Trapezoidal base.

11. PSEUDOSHABTI FROM DARK BROWN BAKED SOIL (Pl. 73/1)
Provenance: Middle Dalmatia (unknown location)
Collection: Archaeological Museum in Split
Inventory number: B 216
Height: 14, 9 cm
Material: dark brown baked soil
Condition: damaged; broken in the height of breasts and glued
Type: Unconventional form
Period: 18th Dynasty or Later periods

12. SHABTI FROM GREEN PALE ENAMEL (Pl. 73/4.)
Provenance: Middle Dalmatia (unknown location)
Collection: Archaeological Museum in Split
Inventory number: G 1623
Height: 13, 8 cm
Material: green pale enamel
Condition: very good
Type: Schneider, class XIC
Period: 26th Dynasty
Description: Mummiform with back-pillar. Saite plain lappet wig with plain beard. Hands crossed opposite unsleeved on the chest. Arms not indicated. Pick in left hand and narrow hoe and cord in right hand. Basket is quiet small and is suspended behind the left shoulder. Face is oval with long and prominent nose and big eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are big and well modeled. Inscription on front in one vertical column framed but open at top begins with the formula $\text{Shd Wsir } \text{hm-ntr} '$". Trapezoidal base.
13. SHABTI FROM GREEN COLORED ENAMEL BAKED SOIL (Pl. 74/1.)

Provenance: Middle Dalmatia (unknown location)
Collection: Archaeological Museum in Split
Inventory number: G 1624
Height: 14, 1 cm
Material: green colored enamel baked soil
Condition: damaged; broken beard
Type: Schneider, class XA3
Period: 18th Dynasty-26th Dynasty
Description: Mummiform. New Kingdom lappet wig with horizontal bands on lappets and artificial beard. Hands crossed opposite unsleeved, arms not indicated. Crock turned to the left in left hand and narrow hoe and the twisted cord of a basket in right hand. Basket is carried behind the left shoulder. Face is small. It has long nose and big eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are very big and well modeled. Inscription on front in one vertical column framed but open at top begins with the formula \textit{Wsir Hm-nTr} – "The Osiris, the Priest ...". Trapezoidal base.

14. SHABTI FROM BAKED SOIL (Pl. 74/2.)

Provenance: Middle Dalmatia (unknown location)
Collection: Archaeological Museum in Split
Inventory number: B 212
Height: 16, 5 cm
Material: baked soil
Condition: good
Type: Schneider, class V
Period: 18th Dynasty
Description: Mummiform. New Kingdom striated lappet wig with one horizontal band on lappets. Without beard. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed opposite unsleeved, arms indicated. Pick in left hand and narrow hoe and cord of a basket in right hand. Basket is carried behind the left shoulder. Face is oval with long prominent nose and big eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are very big and well modeled. A wesekh collar is shown with three incised lines across the chest. The car-
touche with inscription *mn-hpr-R* – *Men-Kheper-Ra* = Thutmose III. Inscription in front in eight horizontal parallel framed lines; back plain.


15. SHABTI FROM DARK BROWN TERRACOTTA (Pl. 73/3.)

**Provenance:** Middle Dalmatia (unknown location)

**Collection:** Archaeological Museum in Split

**Inventory number:** B 213

**Height:** 14, 4 cm

**Material:** dark brown terracotta

**Condition:** damage surface and inscription

**Type:** Schneider, class V

**Period:** 18th Dynasty

**Description:** Mummiform. New Kingdom striated lappet wig with one horizontal band on lappets. Without beard. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed opposite unsleeved, arms indicated. Pick in left hand and narrow hoe and cord of a basket in right hand. Basket is carried behind the left shoulder. Face is oval with long prominent nose and big eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are very big and well modeled. A wesekh collar is shown with three incised lines across the chest. The cartouche with inscription *mn-hpr-R* – *Men-Kheper-Ra* = Thutmose III. Inscription in front in four horizontal parallel framed lines are unreadable; back plain.


16. SHABTI FROM DARK GREEN ENAMEL CALCAREOUS STONE (Pl. 73/2.)

**Provenance:** Middle Dalmatia (unknown location)

**Collection:** Archaeological Museum in Split

**Inventory number:** B 214

**Height:** 11, 3 cm

**Material:** dark green enamel calcareous stone

**Condition:** good

**Type:** Schneider, class XIC

Aegyptus et Pannonia 3, 2006
Period: 26th Dynasty
Description: Mummiform with back-pillar. Saite plain lappet wig with plaited beard. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed right over left, both sleeves indicated. Pick in left hand and narrow hoe and cord in right hand. Basket is quiet small and is suspended behind the left shoulder. Face is quiet narrow. It has big thick nose and eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are big and well modeled. Inscription in two vertical columns begins with the formula \( \text{Shd Wsir} - \text{"The illuminated one, the Osiris"}\); unreadable in lower part. Trapezoidal base.


17. SHABTI FROM DARK GRANITE (Pl. 75/1.)
Provenance: Middle Dalmatia (unknown location)
Collection: Archaeological Museum in Split
Inventory number: G 1625
Height: 17, 4 cm
Material: dark granite
Condition: damage; broken in the height of knees
Type: Schneider, class XIA1
Period: 26th Dynasty
Description: Mummiform with back-pillar. Saite common plain lappet wig with plaited beard. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed opposite, sleeves indicated. Pick in left hand and narrow hoe and cord in right hand. Basket is quiet small and is suspended behind the left shoulder. Face is oval with long nose and big eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are big and well modeled. Inscription on the back in one vertical column begins with the formula \( \text{Shd Wsir} - \text{"The illuminated one, the Osiris"}\). Trapezoidal base.

18. SHABTI FROM BLUE FAIENCE (Pl. 75/2.)
Provenance: Middle Dalmatia (unknown location)
Collection: Archaeological Museum in Split
Inventory number: B 215
Height: 6.1 cm
Material: blue faience
Condition: damaged
Type: Schneider, class XI
Period: 30th Dynasty - Ptolemaic Dynasty
Description: Mummiform. Late plain lappet wig; wig and back-pillar combined. Plain quiet damaged beard. Hands crossed on the chest opposite combined, arms not indicated. Hoes in both hands. Basket is quiet small and is suspended behind the left shoulder. Face is oval with big nose and eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are big and well modeled. Without inscription. Trapezoidal base.

19. SHABTI FROM GREEN COLORED ENAMEL BAKED SOIL (Pl. 75/3.)
Provenance: Osijek (Mursa) (1954)
Collection: Museum of Slavonia in Osijek
Inventory number: 5243
Height: 6.7 cm
Material: green colored enamel baked soil
Condition: damaged; missing the lower part
Type: Schneider, class VIII
Period: Third Intermediate Period; 22nd - 25th Dynasty
20. SHABTI?
Provenance: Ilok (Cuccium)
Collection: Hungarian National Museum in Budapest
Unknown inventory number, probably lost
Height: unknown
Material: baked soil
Condition: damaged
Type: unknown
Period: uncertain

Description: Mummiform. It's very unsure what this object really was. For sure it was some kind of smaller Egyptian artifact connected with the cult of Osiris and Isis. It was found in Ilok (Cuccium) probably in early 19th century and brought to Hungarian National Museum in Budapest. Today is probably lost.

It was first mentioned in 1825 in catalogue of Hungarian National Museum in Budapest. In 1968 in her doctoral dissertation B. Perc described it as a small figure of Isis priestess. In his works P. Selem (1980, 1997) described it as small Egyptian statuette from baked soil. In Atlas de la diffusion des cultes Isiaques (IVe s. av. J.-C. - IVe s. apr. J.-C.) L. Bricault 2001 mentioned it as shabti figure from Cuccium. So it could be any kind of small Egyptian statuette.


21. SHABTI FROM BAKED SOIL
Provenance: Ostroac near Bihaæ (1930)
Collection: Archaeological Museum in Zagreb; gift from Vesna Magdà in 1954.; lost
Inventory number: GIK 348
Height: unknown
Material: baked soil
Condition: good
Type: Schneider, class V

Description: Mummiform. New Kingdom striated lappet wig with one horizontal band on lappets. Without beard. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed opposite unsleeved, arms indicated. Pick in left hand and narrow hoe and cord of a basket in right hand. Basket is carried behind the left shoulder. Face is oval with
long prominent nose and big eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are very big and well modeled. A wesekh collar is shown with three incised lines across the chest. Inscription contains cartouche of Thutmose III.

Previously unpublished


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22. **SHABTI FROM PALE BLUE GLAZE FAIENCE** (Pl. 74/3.)

*Provenance:* Solin (Salona)

*Collection:* Archaeological Museum in Zagreb - Egyptian collection; ex-private collection Lanza

*Inventory number:* E-561

*Height:* 10 cm

*Material:* light blue faience

*Condition:* damaged surface on front and back side

*Type:* Schneider, class VIIIb2

*Period:* Third Intermediate Period; 22nd - 25th Dynasty

*Description:* Mummiform. Third Intermediate Period common lappet wig with twisted fillet. Without beard. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed left over right, unsleeved. Hoes in both hands. Basket on the back. Face is oval and poorly shaped. Eyes with brows. Ears are poorly shaped. Very pale inscription in one vertical column begins with the formula $\text{HD Wsir}$ – "The illuminated one, the Osiris".

Previously unpublished


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23. **SHABTI FROM BAKED SOIL**

*Provenance:* Solin (Salona)

*Collection:* Archaeological Museum in Zagreb – Egyptian collection; ex-private collection Lanza; lost

*Inventory number:* E-562

*Height:* 9, 5 cm

*Material:* baked soil

*Condition:* good

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*Aegyptus et Pannonia* 3, 2006
Type: Schneider, class XI
Period: 26th Dynasty-Ptolemaic Dynasty
Description: Mummiform with back-pillar. Late common plain lappet wig with plaited beard. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed opposite, sleeves indicated. Pick in left hand and narrow hoe and cord in right hand. Basket is quiet small and is suspended behind the left shoulder. Face is oval with long nose and big eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are big and well modeled. Inscription on the front and the back side. Trapezoidal base.
Previously unpublished

24. SHABTI FROM BROWN-GREEN BAKED SOIL (Pl. 76)
Provenance: Solin (Salona)
Collection: Archaeological Museum in Zagreb – Egyptian collection; ex-private collection Lanza
Inventory number: E-563
Height: 9 cm
Material: brown-green baked soil
Condition: very good
Type: Schneider, class XIA1
Period: 26th Dynasty
Description: Mummiform with back-pillar. Saite plain lappet wig with plain beard. Hands crossed opposite, unsleeved, arms not indicated. Pick in left hand and narrow hoe and cord in right hand. Basket is quiet small and is suspended behind the left shoulder. Face is narrow with long prominent nose and normal eyes. Lips are thick. Ears are big and well modeled. Inscription on the back in one vertical column begins with the formula Shìd Wsîr – "The illuminated one, the Osiris". It also contains the name of the owner Djed-Ptah-lou-ef-Ankh. Trapezoidal base.
Previously unpublished

25. SHABTI FROM GREEN GLAZE FAIENCE (Pl. 77)
Provenance: Solin (Salona)
Collection: Archaeological Museum in Zagreb – Egyptian collection; ex-private collection Lanza
Inventory number: E-564
Height: 8, 5 cm
Material: green glaze faience
Condition: very damaged; missing the upper part of the head and the lower part of legs
Type: Schneider, class XI
Period: 26th Dynasty-Ptolemaic Dynasty
Description: Mummiform. Surface is much damaged. Saite plain lappet wig with plain beard. Upper piece of head is missing. Hands crossed opposite, unsleeved, arms not indicated. Hoes in both hands. Left hand is missing Basket is quiet small and is suspended behind the left shoulder. Face is oval with long prominent nose and normal eyes. Lips are thick but poorly modeled. Ears are big and well modeled. Without inscription. Lower part of the figure is missing.
Previously unpublished

26. SHABTI FROM PALE GREEN GLAZE FAIENCE (Pl. 78/1.)
Provenance: Solin (Salona)
Collection: Archaeological Museum in Zagreb – Egyptian collection; ex-private collection Lanza
Inventory number: E-565
Height: 8, 5 cm
Material: pale green glaze faience
Condition: damaged; missing the lower part of legs
Type: Schneider, class XI
Iconography: Unconventional mummiform
Period: 30th Dynasty-Roman period
Description: Mummiform. Surface is very damaged and stylized. Late plain lappet wig without beard. Left hand above right hand, unsleeved, arms not indicated. Some kind of hoe in every hand. Without inscription.
Previously unpublished
27. SHABTI FROM DARK BROWN BAKED SOIL (Pl. 78/2.)
Provenance: Nin (Aenona)
Collection: Archaeological Museum in Zagreb - Egyptian collection; ex-private collection Karliæ
Inventory number: E-675
Height: 13 cm
Material: dark brown baked soil
Condition: damaged surface
Type: Schneider, class V
Period: 18th-20th Dynasty
Description: Mummiform. New Kingdom striated lappet wig with one horizontal band on lappets. Without beard. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed right over left, unsleeved. Pick in left hand and narrow hoe and cord of a basket in right hand. Basket is carried behind the left shoulder. Face is oval but much damaged. Lips are thick. Ears are very big and well modeled. A wesekh collar is shown with uncertain number of incised lines across the chest. Inscription contains cartouche with unreadable signs. Inscription on the front side in seven horizontal lines in unreadable.
Previously unpublished

28. PSEUDOSHABTI FROM DARK BROWN BAKED SOIL (Pl. 78/3.)
Provenance: Nin (Aenona)
Collection: Archaeological Museum in Zagreb – Egyptian collection; ex-private collection Karliæ
Inventory number: E-676
Height: 15,5 cm
Material: dark brown baked soil
Condition: damaged
Type: Uncoventional form
Period: Late period-Roman period
Previously unpublished


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**29. SHABTI FROM MAJOLICA**


*Collection:* private collection Lik in village Filipani

*Without inventory number*

*Height:* unknown

*Material:* majolica

*Condition:* damaged

*Type:* unknown

*Period:* Late period-Roman period

*Description:* Mummiform. Detail description unknown. Mr. Lik didn't want to give us his artifact for detail analysis.


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**SUMMARY**

In this paper the author analyses shabti figures unearthed in Croatia which dates back to the Roman provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia. In the first section author gives the general information about of shabtis kept in various museum and private collections in Croatia. In the second section he described the diffusion and discoveries of shabtis in the Roman World. In the third section he analyzed the findings of the shabti figures in the territory of the Roman provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia. He also discussed the basic connection between shabtis and the Egyptian cults of Isis and Serapis and their possible usage in ancient times. In the final part of the paper the author gave the detail analyses of twenty nine shabtis excavated in the various parts of Croatia.

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*Aegyptus et Pannonia 3, 2006*
ABBREVIATIONS

AMS = Archaeological Museum in Split
AMZ = Archaeological Museum in Zagreb
AMIP = Archaeological Museum of Istra, Pula
FMS = Franciscan monastery in Sinj
MSO = Museum of Slavonia in Osijek
CBM = Private collection Carrara-Brataniæ-Maroviae
MD = Private collection Marchi-Domaniae

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

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TOMORAD 2005b = M. Tomorad, Egyptian cults of Isis and Serapis in Roman

TOMORAD 2005c = M. Tomorad, Egyptian cults in major Roman fleets, Proceedings from Illyrica antiqua in memoriam Duje Rendia-Mioèeviæ – International convention on problems on ancient archaeology (Zagreb 6-7 November 2003), Zagreb 2005 (in print)

TRUHELKA 1889 = È. Truhelka, Afrikanski novci od tuèa (mjedi), nađeni na Vrankamenu kod Krupe, Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja, I. Sarajevo 1889.


