
BURIAL AND MORTUARY PRACTICES IN LATE PERIOD AND GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

Edited by Katalin Anna Kóthay

BURIAL AND MORTUARY PRACTICES IN LATE PERIOD AND GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

Proceedings of the International Conference
held at Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 17–19 July 2014

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FOREWORD

The present volume collects papers presented at the international conference 'Burial and Mortuary Practices in Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt' organised by the Egyptian Department of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, and held on 17–19 July 2014. The aim of the conference was to share up-to-date information and research on the funerary culture of Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt, addressing both past and current issues and themes. In addition to reconsidering and reinterpreting published text and artefacts, as well as previously known archaeological sites, a special objective was to integrate into the discussion unpublished materials preserved in museum collections, archival records relating to earlier excavations and research, as well as recent archaeological discoveries.

The great majority of the contributions deal with various aspects of the funerary culture of the Late and Graeco-Roman periods (c. second half of the first millennium BC – first half of AD first millennium). Yet the actual time span covered by the volume is broader, extending back to the previous epoch, the Third Intermediate Period (c. first half of the first millennium BC), a time of innovative re-interpretation of old motifs and traditions in funerary culture, which can be seen as a starting point for the semantic changes that took place in funerary symbolism during the second half of the first millennium BC. It is then also essential to investigate aspects of this earlier process, as is done by two papers (Maya Müller; Alain Dautant, Rita Lucarelli, Luca Miatello, Cynthia May Sheikholeslami).

This long period of the funerary history of Ancient Egypt presents a number of contradictory and unresolved issues, such as dating and chronological problems; interpreting old concepts and traditions in changing contexts; reconstructing original burials and burial equipment; interpreting and reconstructing ritual practices; interaction of textual, visual and material representations; distinguishing regional variants of styles; identifying collectives of artists and regional networks of artists producing the surviving funerary artefacts; as well as establishing typologies for various types of funerary objects. These are the main issues addressed by the papers, which provide a list of perspectives on the interpretation of burial practices and funerary beliefs of the period in question. The various approaches, methods and interpretations of the contributors hence offer a comprehensive scope of and a very valuable contribution to the present state of research.

The first chapter (*Texts, objects, iconography and rituals*) sets out to discuss issues concerning the interaction between rituals on the one hand, and their representations in the burial context in textual, visual and material forms, on the other. The opening paper aims at understanding the broader textual and ritual context and roots of the corpus of funerary literature (Martin Stadler). The bulk of the contributions in this chapter interpret specific ritual texts and objects in terms of meaning, function and use (Susanne Töpfer, Nadine Guilhou, Ladislav Bareš, Mandy Mamedow, Silke Grallert), while the semantic and contextual changes of a particular iconographic motif (the image of the papyrus scroll) associated with rituals, is also explained (Mykola Tarasenko).

The papers of the second chapter (*Burial contexts*) are organised in chronological order, and attempt to reconstruct and interpret original burial contexts or parts of contexts (Zoltán Imre Fábián, Orsolya László, Gábor Schreiber, Mélanie Flossmann-Schütze), decoration programmes in particular tombs (Renata Landgráfová and Jiří Janák; Silvia Einaudi), as well as to reconstruct sacred funerary landscape (Nenad Marković).

The third chapter (*Burial equipment: coffins and associated material*) is devoted to coffins and associated objects. The first two contributions are concerned with particular coffins and coffin sets (Maya Müller; Alain Dautant, Rita Lucarelli, Luca Miatello, Cynthia May Sheikholeslami), and demonstrate the high degree of creativity in funerary symbolism during the Third Intermediate Period. A distinct group of the papers identify and examine coffins originating from specific funerary sites in the northern part of Middle Egypt, while also drawing conclusions on certain aspects of coffin production and workshops in that region (Beate Gessler-Löhr, Sabine Schmidt, Katalin Anna Kóthay). A next group of papers focus on certain aspects of the mummy, as well as of particular objects or objects types directly associated with it (Alessandra Colazilli, Adrienn Almásy, Asja Müller, Carlo Rindi Nuzzolo, Piotr Czerkwiński).

The title of chapter four (*Beyond the burial context*) refers back to the key point of the opening contribution to the volume (Martin Stadler), which suggests to see the roots of funerary texts and rituals in a complex textual and

ritual tradition extending beyond the funerary sphere. In the same way, this chapter collects papers discussing funerary object types that are not exclusive to the funerary sphere, but appear in various ritual contexts (Mladen Tomorad; Simone Musso and Simone Petacchi; Grzegorz First).

The staff of the Egyptian Department thank all people who contributed to the organisation of the conference and the production of the volume. We are indebted to the participants and to each of the contributors to the volume. We would also like to thank Dr László Baán, General Director of the Museum of Fine Arts for his substantial support. The publication of the volume was financially supported by the Museum of Fine Arts and the National Research, Development and Innovation Office (grant no. K108S07).

7 April 2017, Budapest

Katalin Kóthay

SHABTIS FROM THE LATE AND GRAECO-ROMAN PERIODS: PROPOSAL FOR THE CLASSIFICATION (TYPOLOGY) OF SHABTIS DISCOVERED OUTSIDE EGYPT

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ABSTRACT

Ancient Egyptian shabtis were usually produced from the First Intermediate period until the end of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Their shapes, forms, texts and position of agricultural implements changed during the history of pharaonic Egypt. These changes were classified in various typologies during twentieth century (Speleers (1923), Petrie (1935), Monnet Saleh (1970), Aubert (1974), Schneider (1977), and Stewart (1995)), but chronologically only until the end of the Late period (Thirtieth Dynasty). By the time of the Ptolemaic dynasty their main role almost disappeared. Since the early first millennium BC they became part of the typical merchant goods which were traded outside Egypt. During the Graeco-Roman period they became one of the symbols of Isaic cults which diffused around the Mediterranean world and later during the Roman Empire to its northern *limes* and beyond. Shabtis were manufactured in Egypt, but it seems they were also produced in various workshops outside Egypt during the Graeco-Roman period. During these periods shabtis changed their appearance and became commonly classified as 'fakes' by various Egyptologists. For all these reasons these types of shabtis deserve to be re-interpreted and re-classified. In this paper the author will propose the first classification of shabtis dated to the Late and the Graeco-Roman periods which were discovered outside Egypt.

1. CLASSIFICATION OF THE SHABTIS BY VARIOUS EGYPTOLOGISTS

Probably the best known and the most commonly used typology of shabtis was written by Hans B. Schneider. In 1977, he published book entitled *Shabtis – An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*.¹ This excellent, out of print, monograph is still the best source for any scholar, museum curators and Egyptologist interested in shabtis. Its first volume (366 pages) contains excellent descriptions of the shabtis and a well written study about Chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead* which is often referenced on shabti figures. The second volume (254 pages) contains valuable descriptions of the hundreds of shabtis housed in the museum in Leiden, and the third volume contains plates of the previously described shabtis. His typology was later followed by many other scholars and it became the foundation for all new interpretations and works about shabtis. Schneider's typology divided shabtis according to period, materials and iconography with certain type of code. His type of code comprised of: class, wig, hand positions, implements, bags and baskets, attributes, text position and version of the shabti spell. Shabtis were divided into 12 classes. *Class I*: human form (from Ninth to Eleventh Dynasties), *class II*: mummiform (from Eleventh to Thirteenth Dynasties), *class III*: mummiform (Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties), *class IV*: stick-formed (Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties), *class V*: mummiform (Eighteenth to Twentieth Dynasties), *class VI*: dress of daily life (Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties), *class VII*: unconventional forms (Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties), *class VIII*: mummiform (Twenty-first to Twenty-third Dynasties), *class IX*: dress of daily life (Twenty-first to Twenty-third Dynasties), *class X*: mummiform (Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties), *class XI*: mummiform with back-pillar (Twenty-sixth to Ptolemaic Dynasties), and *class XII*: unconventional forms (Twenty-sixth to Ptolemaic Dynasties). Each of the main elements like wings, hand positions, bags and baskets, amulets and attributes, and text position were divided into many subdivisions and subtypes which help scholars to interpret and date shabtis in various museum and private collections. There has been no other work as detailed as Schneider's, which is why his typology is so fundamental and superior to all other works about shabtis.

¹ Schneider 1977.

Along with Schneider's monograph, several other works which partly classified shabtis, their material and appearance were used by scholars. These useful books and catalogues were published by L. Speleers,² W.M.F. Petrie,³ J. Monnet Saleh (1970),⁴ J.F. Aubert and L. Aubert,⁵ and H.A. Steward.⁶ In the last fifteen years several catalogues about the private and museum collections of shabtis in Europe were also published by G. Janes.⁷ Since 2012 Tomorad classified shabtis from the Archaeological museum in Zagreb according to Schneider's typology.⁸ Since 2013 Tomorad developed his own typology of the shabtis of the Graeco-Roman period (**Plates 74–77**),⁹ and in 2015 he also classified all the shabtis from various Egyptian collections in Croatia.¹⁰

2. SHABTIS FROM THE LATE AND GRAECO-ROMAN PERIODS DISCOVERED OUTSIDE EGYPT

Shabtis from the Graeco-Roman period discovered in Europe can be compared to the Ancient '*Aegyptiaca*' or with the diffusion of the Isiac cults during the Ptolemaic dynasty and the Roman Empire. According to this long study which started in 1996, an unknown number of shabtis were discovered in Europe (c. 150–200), and it is often very hard to find any information about them. Most of them were dated during the First millennium B.C. or the first few centuries of the Roman Empire. After their discovery in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries they were sometimes published in various, often obscure and hard to find publications around Europe. All these factors made their classification even harder. After almost twenty years of comparison I have created a proposal of typology for these groups of shabtis.

Since the Third Intermediate period (c. 1069–664 BC), Egyptian art greatly influenced early Greek art,¹¹ and since the seventh century BC Egyptian imports started to play an important role on the Aegean islands and Greek mainland,¹² Etruria,¹³ and Italy¹⁴ where various artifacts were made under Egyptian influences. At the beginning of the Late period (c. 650 BC), Egyptian pharaohs wanted to obtain various quality goods which could not be found inside Egypt (e.g. timber, silver, myrrh, various luxury items from the Ancient East etc.).¹⁵ That was probably the main reason why, in the middle of the seventh century BC, pharaoh Psammetichus I (c. 664–610 BC) opened up Egypt to Greek and Phoenician traders.¹⁶ At the end of the seventh century, Necho II (610–595 BC) allowed Greeks to establish the first colony in Egypt, in Naukratis.¹⁷ According to Herodotus, pharaoh Amasis II (570–526 BC) often gave gifts to Greek cities¹⁸ which contained various religious artifacts used for trade (e.g. shabtis, amulets, scarabs, statuettes of divinities etc.). During the Late period, Egyptian funerary practices started to change, and at the beginning of the fourth century BC there is evidence of the further development of burial practices. In tombs and graves a much wider range of grave goods were discovered, and sometimes traces of various foreign connections and influences (e.g. Greeks, Etruscans, Jews and other ancient tribes and nations) were also visible.

2 Speleers 1923.

3 Petrie 1935.

4 Monnet Saleh 1870.

5 Aubert and Aubert 1974.

6 Steward 1995.

7 Janes 2002.

8 Tomorad 2011.

9 Tomorad 2014.

10 Tomorad 2017.

11 Cf. Boardman 1999, 143–153.

12 Boardman 1999, 141–153.

13 More about the relations between Etruria and Egypt, and the aspects of Egyptian cults in Etruria in: Hölbl 1979; Bubenheimre 2006.

14 Hölbl 1979.

15 Llyod 1983, 329; Boardman 1999, 142.

16 Herodotus, II.154; Diodorus, I.66, 8; 67, 9.

17 Herodotus, II.178–179.

18 Herodotus, II.178–182.

Since the fourth century BC the Ancient Egyptian cults started to play a more important role in the eastern Mediterranean world.¹⁹ At the same time, Greeks adopted some typical Egyptian Late period burial traditions (e.g. decorations with sphinxes placed at the entrance of the tomb, stele, columns, statues, wall paintings, decorations of pillars, copies from temple decorations, etc.) with tombs equipped with coffins, objects of daily life, wooden or bronze statuettes of gods, amulets, and common shabtis without any artistic value.²⁰ During the reign of Ptolemy I Soter cults of Serapis and Harpocrates penetrated Athens and soon after other Greek cities.²¹ In the middle of the third century BC these cults, along with the old Ancient Egyptian cults (Isis, Osiris, Horus, Anubis, Hathor, etc.) and cultic related artifacts connected with these beliefs (amulets, shabtis, statuettes etc.), funerary ceremonies and various cultic rituals, started the diffusion to the Greek world, North Africa and Europe through the sea and land.²² According to the latest studies, this diffusion happened in two waves: the first started in the third century BC and ended in the first century BC, the second started in the middle of the first century AD and ended in the fourth century.²³ The Egyptian gods and goddesses were introduced into the Roman Pantheon in the first half of the third century BC along with other Oriental cults of their time,²⁴ but at the end of the Second Punic war the symbols of oriental religions were removed from the Roman Pantheon.²⁵ A more intense phase of diffusion started at the end of the Roman Republic. At the beginning of the first century BC, the cults of Isis and Serapis along with various cultic material (e.g. amulets, shabtis, sistrums, statuettes, etc.) made their way to the shores of Italy as the religious beliefs mainly of the lower classes, merchants and sailors.²⁶ In the middle and during the second half of the first century BC the Egyptian cults were condemned by the Romans and their Senate and they were often persecuted.²⁷ That kind of treatment ended in the year 38 AD when Emperor Gaius Caligula built the Temple of Isis in Rome at the *Campus Martius* and with that act he accepted her into the rank of the official goddess of the Roman Empire.²⁸ The Isiac ceremonies were soon after inscribed into the Roman calendar from 28 October to 3 November each year.²⁹ The Roman imperial coinage, since the middle of the first century AD, had images of Egyptian deities on the reverse of the coins, which exemplifies the popularity of these cults among Roman rulers.³⁰ The Oriental and Egyptian cults became very popular by the end of the first century and the beginning of the second century AD, especially in the army and navy where the official attitude towards worship of Egyptian and the other Oriental cults was very tolerant. Soldiers in legions and auxiliary troops could worship the cults of their homeland wherever they liked without any prohibitions or interference.³¹ That was probably the main reason why the historians rightly recognized them as one of the greatest centers of diffusion. Various professions (sailors, soldiers, merchants, officials, slaves, servants) from diverse origins (Egyptians, Orientals, Greeks, Roman citizens, ...) commonly used traditional Ancient Egyptian artefacts (e.g. shabtis, amulets, statuettes, and sistrums) during their private or public ceremonies. In some cases, these artefacts were buried with them in their graves where they were later discovered during archaeological excavations of various Roman sites around Europe, North Africa and Middle East.

19 Perhaps the first Egyptian cult worshipped by the citizens of Athens was Ammon who was present there as early as the beginning of the fourth century BC. The cult of Isis was recorded c. 333/332 BC, but in that time, it was still a cult of immigrants. Dow 1937, 184; Turcan 1996, 81. A more detailed analysis of this diffusion in: Dunand 1973, 4; Garland 1987, 126; Turcan 1996, 81; Tomorad 2015, 169–172.

20 Tomorad 2009: 20–21; Tomorad 2015, 169.

21 Pausanias I.18.4; IG², II, 1292; Dow 1937, 187; Witt 1971, 86; Turcan 1996, 82; Tomorad 2015, 169, 172.

22 Tomorad 2005b: 242; Tomorad 2015, 172.

23 Bricault 2001; Versluys 2013, 252–253.

24 Witt 1971, 72; Turcan 1996, 82; Tomorad 2005a, 242; Tomorad 2015, 172.

25 Jurkić-Girardi 1972, 43; Tomorad 2005a, 242; Tomorad 2015, 172.

26 Malaise 1972a; Malaise 1972b; Turcan 1996, 85; Tomorad 2005, 242; Tomorad 2015, 172.

27 Statues of Isis and Serapis were erected in the Roman Capitol in 58 BC, and later in private chapels. The Senate had them destroyed in the years 58, 53, and 50 B.C. Nock 1952, 212–213; Turcan 1996: 86. The civil war with Anthony Octavian started anti-Egyptian propaganda in Rome, and in the end the Roman Senate banned the worship of Egyptian cults in the *pomerium* of the cities on two occasions: the first in 28 BC (Vitruvius 1.7.1.) and the second in 21 BC (Dio Cassius, LIV.6.6.). During the reign of Augustus and Tiberius (30 BC – 37 AD), Isiac cults in Rome were mostly prohibited and their worshippers were banished. Dio Cassius, LII.36; Nock 1925, 64; Nock 1952, 217; Tomorad 2015, 172.

28 Nock 1952, 214; Turcan 1996, 89; Tomorad 2005a, 243.

29 Tomorad 2005a, 252.

30 At the end of second century AD, during the reign of Severus dynasty, coins commonly had images of Isis, Osiris, Serapis, Apis, Harpocrates etc. Tomorad 2015, 172.

31 Hoey 1939, 456–481; Tomorad 2005a, 241–253.

The diffusion of the shabti figures probably began in the middle of the first 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 Egyptian amulets, scarabs, seals, shabtis and other Egyptian merchandise. These artefacts were more commonly traded during the second half of the first millennium BC all over Mediterranean world. Great numbers of various Egyptian artefacts were discovered around Greek colonies in Sicily, at various sites in Italy and Sardinia, around the Phoenician settlements in Iberian Peninsula,³² and on both sides of the Adriatic Sea.³³ During the Roman Republic shabtis came to the Roman world and were later discovered in almost every province of the Roman Empire, in various regions of North Africa,³⁴ Levant, Turkey, Greece,³⁵ Romania,³⁶ Serbia,³⁷ Bosnia and Herzegovina,³⁸ Croatia,³⁹ Hungary,⁴⁰ Austria,⁴¹ Germany,⁴² Belgium,⁴³ France,⁴⁴ United Kingdom,⁴⁵ Portugal,⁴⁶

32 Witt 1971; Hölbl 1979; Solmsen 1979; Padro i Parcerisa 1980–1985; Hölbl 1986; Turcan 1996; Bricault 2001.

33 Tomorad 2015, 167–200.

34 At least one was discovered in Tangier.

35 According to J. Boardman (1999, 141–153) they were discovered in various sites in Greece and the Greek islands.

36 Pseudo-shabti from *Tibiscum*, discovered in 1983, today in Caransebes Ethnography and Border Regiments County Museum.

37 One shabti from Pannonian area is today kept in the Municipal museum in Sombor, inv. no. 4100.

38 One shabti from Ostrozac near Bihać was discovered in a Roman grave in 1930. Today it is kept in the Archaeological museum in Zagreb (Croatia), inv. no. GIK 348.

39 In Croatian territory 31 shabtis were discovered so far: two shabtis from Čitluk are kept in the Franciscan monastery in Sinj (inv. nos. 47 and one without inventory number); two shabtis from the island of Hvar (one in the private collection Domančić, and one in the Archaeological museum in Split, inv. no. G-1625); eight shabtis kept in the Archaeological museum in Split came from various unknown sites in Middle Dalmatia (inv. nos. G-1623-1624, G-1626, B-212-B216); eleven shabtis from Salona (today Solin) are kept in the private collection Marović (6), and the Archaeological museum in Zagreb (5, inv. nos. E-561-E-565); two shabtis from Aenona (today Nin) are kept in the Archaeological museum in Zagreb (inv. nos. E-675-E676), one from the village Kazale in Istria is kept in the private collection Lik; two shabtis from *Cunicum* (today Krk) are kept in the Franciscan monastery in Košljun (inv. nos. 641-642), one from Aqua Balissae (today Daruvar) is kept in the Museum in Szekszard (Hungary), one from Mursa (today Osijek) is kept in the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek (inv. no. 5243); one from *Cuccium* (today Ilok) was kept in Hungarian National Museum (today it seems to be lost).

40 In Hungarian territory four shabtis were discovered so far, three came from *Aquincum* and one from *Brigettio*. They are reported to be kept in the *Savaria* Museum in Szombathely.

41 The only shabtis located in Austria came from *Carnuntum* and their current location is unknown to me.

42 In Germany sixteen shabtis were located so far. They were discovered in: one shabti from *Augusta Rauricorum* (today Augst) (current location is unknown); one shabti from Bad Godesberf (it seems to be lost); one shabti from the area around Bonn is kept in Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn (inv. no. 29520); one shabti from Colonia Agrippinesium (today Köln) was kept in Sammlung E. Herstatt in Köln; one shabti was discovered in Durlach (current location is unknown); one shabti from Frankfurt is kept in Liebieghaus in Frankfurt (inv. no. X 21.938); one shabti was discovered in Güglingen (it seems to be lost); one shabti from Karlsruhe-Durlach region is kept in Städtisches Pfinzgaumuseum Karlsruhe-Durlach; two shabtis were discovered in Mainz, one is kept in Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn (inv. no. 407), and the other seems to be lost; one shabti was discovered in Praunheim; one shabti was discovered in *Saletia* (today Seltz); one shabti was discovered in Stockstadt; one shabti from unknown location is kept in Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn (inv. no. 398); one shabti was discovered in *Vindonissa*; and one shabti from Wuppertal-Elberfeld in Sammlung des Bergischen geschichtsvereins.

43 In Belgium three shabtis were discovered in Antwerp, and one shabti was discovered in *Samarobriva* (today Amiens). Their current location is unknown to me.

44 The biggest number of shabtis outside Egypt was discovered in France, fifty-three shabtis were discovered so far. They are located in: one shabti in *Arausio* (today Orange); six shabtis in *Arelate* (today Arles); three shabtis in *Augustodunum* (today Autun); one shabti in Blendecques; one shabti in *Boutae* (today Annecy); one shabti in Camaret; one shabti in Casio; one shabti in Chestellard; two shabtis in *Cossium*; one shabti in Entrepierres; one shabti in *Forum Claudii Ceutrorum*, *Axima* (today Aime); one shabti in *Forum Iulii* (Fréjus); one shabti in *Glanum* (today Saint-Rémy-de-Provence); one shabti in Gonfaron; one shabti in Jassans-Riottier; one shabti in La Bastidonne; one shabti in Locmariaquer; five shabtis in *Lugdunum* (today Lyon); two shabtis in Lutatia (today Paris); one shabti in *Mediolanum Santonum* (today Saintes); four shabtis in *Narbo Matris* (today Narbonne); one shabti in *Nemausus* (today Nîmes); one shabti in Ormolac-Ussat; one shabti in Pierrelatte; five shabtis in Plongonven; one shabti in Rabastens; three shabtis in Roaix; one shabti in Thun; one shabti in Torcy-le-Grande; one shabti in Trevoux; and one shabti in *Vasio* (today Vaison-la-Romain).

45 The only shabti in the United Kingdom was discovered at the end of the nineteenth century in Tilford, Surrey. Its current location is unknown.

46 According to the study by J.P. Parcerisa several shabtis were discovered in the region of Portugal.

Spain,⁴⁷ and Italy.⁴⁸ Several shabtis were also discovered outside the territory of the Roman Empire in Ukraine.⁴⁹

These different and indeterminate circumstances of the distribution of shabtis in the European provinces of the Roman Empire have created different opinions in their research. V. Wessetzky⁵⁰ thought that the role of shabtis in the Egyptian cults outside Egypt is not determinate and that was the reason why he tried to connect them with the Roman army. P. Selem,⁵¹ however, tried to connect them with the Egyptian cults which were first recognized in the Roman periods through the mysteries of Osiris and Isis. He also thought that shabtis during the Roman Empire had two major functions: 1) a magical replacement of the deceased during the agricultural works in the netherworld and 2) the image of Osiris with whom deceased identify after death.⁵² L. Speleers thought that shabti figures can only succeed the role of the deceased as Osiris.⁵³

For the time being the role of the shabtis in the European provinces of the Roman Empire is still not explained. It is very possible that these findings can relate to previously mentioned cults of Osiris and Isis as part of the magical regeneration of the deceased in the netherworld of Osiris, but surely not only with such cults and beliefs. In my previous papers⁵⁴ about shabtis I traced the diffusion of shabtis back to the first part of the first millennium BC when they were sold by various merchants from the Eastern Mediterranean as part of their trading goods. Shabtis most likely played very important role in the diffusion of Isaic cults from the time of the Ptolemaic period until the end of the third century AD.⁵⁵ Although, in my opinion, shabtis also appeared as magical objects whose major function in the funeral rites of Ancient Egypt is long forgotten.⁵⁶ They were probably brought to Europe during the Hellenistic Period up until the Late Antiquity by some unknown persons (Phoenicians, Greeks, Egyptians, Romans, etc.) who were citizens, slaves or libertines with various professions (travelers, sailors, merchants, soldiers, various public officials and custom officials)⁵⁷ as magic objects related to Isaic cults.⁵⁸ The discovery of various shabtis and other Ancient Egyptian statuettes in Sarmatic and other barbaric graves in *Pannonia*⁵⁹ and Ukraine⁶⁰ also help to create other hypotheses. All kinds of objects (shabtis, amulets, scarabs, statuettes etc.) from various ancient civilizations played an unknown magical role in barbaric tribes even if their original usage remains unknown. Shabtis were frequently found in the territory near *limes* of the Roman Empire around the Danube and Rhine rivers. They may had function in various shaman rituals among barbaric tribes in that territory. Local shamans probably believed that they had some unknown ancient magical effect so they acquired these object from travelers. They may have been used as protection against bewitchment, spells, disease or in some malicious spells. Therefore, the phenomenon of shabtis in Central, Northern and Eastern Europe can relate to magical rituals besides their role in the cultic cycle of Osiris and Isis. There is also the possibility they were only used as decorations in houses. Wealthy members of the community, who could have afforded these objects, may have bought them as some exotic specimens from an ancient culture or as a souvenir brought home after travelling to Egypt.

Ancient Egyptian shabtis discovered in Europe were made of various stones, alabaster, wood, clay, pottery, metal (copper, bronze), colored (green, blue, brown or red) faience and glass. During the time of the Twenty-sixth

47 According to the study by J.P. Parcerisa several shabtis were discovered in the region of Spain.

48 Almost twenty shabtis were discovered in various regions of Italy. One shabti was located in *Alba Fucens* (today Alba); an uncertain number was discovered in *Aquileia* (today Aquileia), they are kept in Museo Archaeologico in Aquileia, and a few in the Monastery of St. Euphemia in Kapor at the island of Rab (Croatia); two shabtis from Biggemi in Sicily are kept in Museo archaeologico in Siracusa (inv. nos 47424–47425); two shabtis from *Opitergium* (today Oderzo); one shabti from Orbetello; an uncertain number was discovered in Rome; seven shabtis were located in the tomb of Publeia Tertia in *Regium Lepidum* (today Reggio Emilia); and one shabti in Syracusae (today Siracusa) is kept in Museo archaeologico (inv. no. 8998).

49 One shabti is currently kept in the Archaeological museum in Krakow (Poland), and several in a museum in Zolochiv (Ukraine).

50 Wessetzky 1961, 15.

51 Selem 1972, 65–66.

52 Selem 1979, 83–84.

53 Speleers 1923, 64.

54 Tomorad 2000, 11–12; Tomorad 2004, 100; Tomorad 2006, 282; Tomorad 2014; 143–144.

55 Tomorad 2006, 282.

56 Tomorad 2000, 11–12; Tomorad 2004, 100; Tomorad 2006, 282.

57 Tomorad 2005a; Tomorad 2005b; Tomorad 2006: 282.

58 Tomorad 2006, 282.

59 Tomorad 2000, 11; Tomorad 2004, 99–100; Tomorad 2006, 284.

60 In early July 2012, I saw few such items from some unknown sites in Ukraine in the Archaeological Museum in Krakow.

Dynasty shabtis were usually made in molds and colored with light blue and green pigments or where glazed. From the end of the Saite period they were made with less care and had short inscriptions. By the end of the Ptolemaic Period shabtis became small and were usually without inscriptions. During the Graeco-Roman Period shabtis started to be crafted in smaller serial workshops related with cultic centers inside and outside Egypt. They were manufactured in smaller cultic workshops from molds as symbols of Isiac cults. With the diffusion of Egyptian cults throughout the Mediterranean and Europe such workshops often existed in Isiac cultic centers all over the Roman world.⁶¹ Shabtis discovered in various areas of the Roman world were often described by scholars as 'forgeries'. After a long study of shabtis from various regions in Europe I simply cannot agree with that statement and description. The biggest number of shabtis was discovered during archaeological excavations around the Mediterranean Sea and in Europe. Shabtis are often found in Roman graves or near Roman religious centers or shrines. In some cases, shabtis were also discovered in barbaric graves outside *limes* of the Roman world. Most likely during the Roman period shabtis lost their primary function and instead became symbols of ancient Egyptian magic, and they were commonly connected with Isiac cults or as a symbol of Egyptian cults. The biggest problem with shabtis discovered in Europe is their unknown origin. However, that does not necessarily mean that the artefacts are the ancient Eastern Mediterranean 'forgeries'. Such artefacts were most likely made by some craftsmen who did not possess knowledge of hieroglyphic script in some Isiac cultic center. Texts on them are usually poorly written with many mistakes. These observations do not necessitate that such objects are modern 'forgeries'.

3. PROPOSAL FOR THE CLASSIFICATION (TYPOLOGY) OF LATE AND GRAECO-ROMAN SHABTIS FROM MUSEUMS AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS IN EUROPE

For this study, shabtis from various private and museum collections in Europe were analysed. The proposal of the classification is based on a huge group of shabtis which were discovered in various parts of Europe (mostly in the provinces of the Roman Republic and later in the Roman Empire from the seventh century BC). These shabtis were compared with the shabtis discovered in Egypt which are kept in almost every Egyptian collection in the world. For this comparative study the author used the collections of shabtis from the British Museum in London, the Petrie Museum of Egyptian archaeology in London, the Louvre Museum in Paris, and the *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* in Leiden.

The biggest problem for the classification of shabtis from the Ptolemaic Period was previous cataloguing of shabtis in various museums where they were commonly catalogued in huge groups without any information about their provenance. They were crafted in a very simple manner without any inscriptions, and that was probably the main reason why they were not very interesting for scholars.

The result of this comparative study is a proposal for the classification of Late and Graeco-Roman shabtis discovered outside Egypt, mostly in Europe.

3.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW CLASSIFICATION (TYPOLOGY) OF SHABTIS AND PSEUDO-SHABTIS

Shabtis from Third Intermediate Period, Late Period, Hellenistic period/Ptolemaic dynasty and Roman period discovered outside Egypt were, according my proposal of typology, classified in great number of groups and sub-groups (class A-O, **Plates 74–76**).⁶² Each group is divided according: a) mummiform, b) appearance of back-pillar, c) position of hieroglyphic inscription if such exists, d) type of wig, e) type of artificial beard if such exists, f) position of arms, hands and sleeves, g) type of implements (hoes (narrow, pointed, broad), pick, crock, flail), h) bags

⁶¹ Tomorad 2006, 283–284; Tomorad 2014, 141.

⁶² There is still great possibility that this typology will change in the future if the new type of artefacts will be discovered in situ or in museum depositories. The current problem with typology is pretty simple – it cannot be finished until we rediscover all shabtis in the various European museums, and it seems that many, specially in the museums in Hungary, Germany, and France appear to be lost.

and baskets), and i) materials: stone, pottery, clay, terracotta, and coloured faience (blue, turquoise blue, green). Pseudo-shabtis⁶³ were also classified in five main groups (class A-E) with several subgroups (Plate 77).

3.1.1 CLASSIFICATION OF SHABTIS

Type A (Plate 74) Third Intermediate Period female shabti in typical mummiform, with Third Intermediate Period striated lapped wig with one horizontal band on lappets, and one vertical hieroglyphic inscription carved below hands. It holds hoes in both hands. Unsleeved hands are crossed right over left. These types of shabtis were previously classified according to Schneider typology as class VIIID1. Most likely it was a product of the Third Intermediate Period (Twenty-first – Twenty-second Dynasties) which was taken from the original tomb and sold. Later it was taken by some unknown merchant, soldier or some other traveller to other regions of the Mediterranean world. It was made from brown terracotta.

Type B1 (Plate 74) Third Intermediate Period (Twenty-first – Twenty-second Dynasties) female and male worker shabtis with hieroglyphic inscriptions, with Third Intermediate period common lappet wig or striated lappet wig. It holds hoes in both hands. A Third Intermediate Period trapezoid bag with crossed fibres at the back. Hands are crossed right over left, and unsleeved arms are crossed on the chest. These types of shabtis were previously classified according to Schneider typology as class VIIIA1, VIIIA2. These types of shabtis were commonly traded by eastern Mediterranean merchants (e.g. Phoenicians, and Greeks) during the period from the seventh to the third centuries BC. It was made from blue glazed faience or blue glazed terracotta.

Type B2 (Plate 74) Third Intermediate Period (Twenty-second – Twenty-third Dynasties) female and male worker shabtis with hieroglyphic inscriptions, with Third Intermediate period common lappet wig with twisted fillet and *seshed* head-band. It holds hoes in both hands. A Third Intermediate Period trapezoid bag with crossed fibres at the back. Hands are crossed right over left, and unsleeved arms are crossed on the chest. These types of shabtis were previously classified according to Schneider typology as class VIIIB1, VIIIB2, and VIIIB3. These types of shabtis were commonly traded by eastern Mediterranean merchants (e.g. Phoenicians, and Greeks) during the period from the seventh to the third centuries BC. Such shabtis were discovered in various regions of the Mediterranean world mostly in archaeological context. It was made from blue glazed faience.

Type C (Plate 74) It can be divided into three subgroups. The main difference of each subgroup is the position of the hieroglyphic text, type of separated wig, and position of hands and arms.

Type C1 (Plate 74) Saite mummiform with back pillar, and common Saite plain lappet wig. It holds a narrow and pointed hoe in the left hand, a broad hoe and cord in the right hand. It usually has inscribed hieroglyphic text on back-pillar. Hands are crossed right over left; unsleeved arms are not indicated. It was previously classified as Schneider class XIA1. It was produced during the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Dynasties. It was made from blue or glazed faience and terracotta.

Type C2 (Plate 74) Saite mummiform with back pillar, and common Saite plain lappet wig. It holds a pick in the left hand, and narrow hoe and cord in the right hand. It usually has inscribed hieroglyphic text on back-pillar. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed opposite, sleeves indicated. It was previously classified as Schneider class XIA1. It was produced during the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Dynasties. It was made from blue or glazed faience and terracotta, and stone.

Type C3 (Plate 74) Saite mummiform with back pillar, and separated Saite plain lappet wig. It holds a narrow and pointed hoe in the left hand, a broad hoe and cord in the right hand. It has framed hieroglyphic text in horizontal lines carved in front of the shabti. Hands are crossed right over left; arms are unsleeved with short right sleeve. It was previously classified as Schneider class XIA3. It was produced during the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Dynasties. It was made from blue or glazed faience and terracotta.

63 Pseudo-shabtis are Aegyptiaca figurines made in the form of a shabti, usually with some pseudo hieroglyphic inscription. These types of artefacts were commonly made during the Greco-Roman period and they are commonly associated with Isaac cults which spread around the Mediterranean world since the fifth century BC.

Type C4 (Plate 74) Saite mummiform with back pillar, and separated Saite striated lappet wig. It holds a narrow and pointed hoe in the left hand, a broad hoe and cord in the right hand. It has framed hieroglyphic text in horizontal lines carved in front of the shabti. Hands are crossed right over left or hands crossed opposite; unsleeved arms are not indicated. It was previously classified as Schneider class XIA2. It was produced during the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Dynasties. It was made from blue or glazed faience and terracotta.

Type D (Plate 74) It can be divided into two subgroups. The main difference between these two groups is the type of separated wig.

Type D1 (Plate 74) Late mummiform with back-pillar, separated Late plain lappet wig, and T-shaped hieroglyphic text carved or inscribed on the front. It holds a pick without cross bard in the left hand and a narrow hoe and cord in the right hand; a Late rectangular bag or basket are visible on the back. It was previously classified as Schneider class XIA3. It was produced during the Late Period (Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Dynasties). It was made from glazed faience or terracotta.

Type D2 (Plate 74) Late mummiform with back-pillar, separated Late striated lappet wig, and T-shaped hieroglyphic text carved or inscribed on the front. It holds a pick without cross bard in the left hand and a narrow hoe and cord in the right hand; a Late rectangular bag or basket are visible on the back. It was previously classified as Schneider class XIA4. It was produced during the Late Period (Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Dynasties). It was made from glazed faience or terracotta.

Type E (Plate 75) Mummiform. Late plain lappet wig. Without artificial beard. Hands crossed opposite, sleeves combined, arms indicated. Hands are empty. Flat back. Face is oval and well-shaped. Eyes, nose, mouth and the big ears are well shaped. Without hieroglyphic inscription. Variation of the Schneider New Kingdom class VB1 and Late period class XIB. Probably crafted between the Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Dynasties. It was made from terracotta and faience.

Type F. (Plate 75) Mummiform with back-pillar. Late plain lappet wig with plaited artificial beard. Hands crossed right over left, right sleeve indicated. Pick in the left hand, and hoe and cord in the right hand. The basket is quite small and is suspended behind the left shoulder. Mediocre modelling with narrow face, eyes, nose, mouth and ears. Hieroglyphic inscription between two vertical lines. Trapezoid base. Variation of the Schneider class XIC. Probably crafted during the Late period (Thirtieth dynasty) and the Hellenistic period (Ptolemaic dynasty). It was made from faience and glazed calcareous stone.

Type G. (Plate 75) Late mummiform with back-pillar, and separated Late plain lappet wig. With hieroglyphic inscription at the back-pillar. It holds a broad or narrow hoe and cord in the right hand and a pick in the left hand. Late trapezoid basket with crossed fibres is visible on the back. Hands are crossed right over left, with variations of sleeves (both sleeves are indicated; right sleeve is sometimes long, and sleeves are not indicated). These types of shabtis were previously classified according to Schneider typology as class XIA5. Type G shabtis were produced during the Late period (Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Dynasties) and the Hellenistic period. It was made from glazed faience or glazed terracotta.

Type H1. (Plate 75) Mummiform with back-pillar, and separated Late plain lappet wig. Without hieroglyphic inscription. It holds a pick in the left hand, and a narrow hoe with cord in the right hand. A basket with or without crossed fibres is commonly visible in the back. Hands are crossed opposite, and unsleeved arms are not indicated. These types of shabtis were previously classified according to Schneider typology as class XIA6. Type H1 shabtis were produced during the Late period (Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Dynasties) and the Hellenistic period. It was made from blue, turquoise-blue or glazed faience and terracotta.

Type H2. (Plate 75) Mummiform with back-pillar, separated Late plain lappet wig, and with hieroglyphic inscription inscribed in front. It holds a pick without cross bar in the left hand and a narrow hoe and cord in the right hand. A trapezoid basket with a crossed oblique pattern is visible in the back. Hands are crossed opposite, and unsleeved arms are not indicated. These types of shabtis were also previously classified according to Schneider typology as class XIA6. Type H2 shabtis were produced between during the Late period (Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Dynasties) and the Hellenistic period. It was made from brown glazed terracotta.

Type I1. (Plate 75) Mummiform with back-pillar, separated plain wig (Late plain lappet wig or Ptolemaic plain miniature angular wig with lappets), with empty trapezoid bag with cross patterns on the left side; without hieroglyphic inscription. It holds a pick without cross bar in the left hand and a narrow hoe and cord in the right hand. A later type of basket with or without a crossed oblique pattern is sometimes visible in the back. Hands are crossed opposite, unsleeved arms are sometimes indicated. Type I1 shabtis were between during the Late period (Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Dynasties) and the Hellenistic period. It was made from green faience.

Type I2. (Plate 75) Mummiform with Ptolemaic miniature angular wig, and without hieroglyphic inscription. It holds hoes in both hands, and a square basket in the back. Hands are crossed opposite, and unsleeved arms are not indicated. These types of shabtis were previously classified according to Schneider typology as class XIA6. Type I2 shabtis were mostly produced between the Late period (Thirtieth Dynasty) and the Hellenistic period. It was made from green and blue glazed faience.

Type J. (Plate 75) Mummiform with back-pillar. Late plain lappet wig with plaited artificial 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 quite 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 modelled. Inscription on front in one vertical column framed but open at top. Trapezoid base. Variation of the Schneider class XIC. Probably crafted between the Late period (Thirtieth Dynasty) and the Hellenistic period. It was made from glazed faience.

Type K. (Plate 75) Mummiform with back-pillar. Late plain lappet wig with horizontal bands on lappets and plaited artificial beard. Hands crossed opposite unsleeved, arms not indicated. Crook 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 modelled. Hieroglyphic inscription on front in one vertical column framed but open at top. Trapezoid base. Variation of the Schneider class XIC. Probably crafted between the Late period (Thirtieth Dynasty) and the Hellenistic period. It was made from glazed faience.

Type L. (Plate 75) Mummiform. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed left over right, unsleeved. Crook in left hand turned to the left and narrow hoe in right hand. Without basket. Moderate modelling of the face, nose, eyes, lips and ears. Hieroglyphic inscription on front in one vertical column framed but open at top. Variation of the Schneider class XIC. Probably crafted between the Late period (Thirtieth Dynasty) and the Hellenistic period. It was made from terracotta.

Type M. (Plate 75) Mummiform. Late plain lappet wig and flat back with plain beard. Arms crossed on the chest with implements. Face is oval, with big eyes and ears. Without hieroglyphic inscription. These types of shabtis are combination of the shabtis previously classified according to Schneider typology as classes XIA5 and XIA6 and XIC. Probably crafted during the Late period (Thirtieth Dynasty) and the Greco-Roman period. It was made from faience and terracotta.

Type N. (Plate 76) Mummiform. Crude crafting with plain wig, flat back and without artificial beard. Hands right above left. Stylized implements in both hands. Face if oval, with big eyes. Without hieroglyphic inscriptions. Probably crafted during the Greco-Roman period. It was made from faience.

Type O. (Plate 76) Classical mummiform with New Kingdom striated lappet wig with one horizontal band on lappets. Three-tailed flail in both hands. Hands are crossed right over left or opposite; unsleeved arms are indicated. This type was commonly inscribed with a hieroglyphic inscription and cartouche of Thutmose III in front. It can be divided in six subgroups. The main difference between these subgroups are: the type of wig, and the type and position of the hands. These types of shabtis were previously classified according to Schneider typology as class V. This type was commonly considered a fake in many Egyptological collections in Europe. These are most likely just ancient copies of the Egyptian originals (*Aegyptiaca*). They were produced during the Greco-Roman period (Ptolemaic dynasty, late Roman Republic, Roman Empire) by various craftsmen outside Egypt. Such artefacts are commonly connected with the main centres of Isis or Isiac cults around the Mediterranean world. It was made from dark brown terracotta.

3.1.2. CLASSIFICATION OF PSEUDO-SHABTIS

Type A1 (Plate 77) Female pseudo-shabti with naked breasts. New Kingdom striated lappet wig with or without flat back; without any implements. They are crafted in the shape of an African woman clothed in everyday life dress with New Kingdom striated wig, and often with a cartouche of Amenhotep below the dress. It was crafted during the Greco-Roman period. It was made from clay or terracotta.

Type A2 (Plate 77) Female pseudo-shabti with naked breasts. New Kingdom striated lappet wig with or without flat back; without any implements. Pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription below the dress. It was produced during the Ptolemaic period or the Late Roman Republic (second-first centuries BC). It was also commonly considered to be a modern fake, but the recent findings suggest that such pseudo-shabtis were crafted in the main centres of Isiac cults in Sicily and some other regions of the Mediterranean world. It was made from terracotta.

Type B (Plate 77) Pseudo-shabti. Naked, sometimes pregnant, female statuette with Negroid features. Unconventional female figure, with *nemes* or duplex wig on her head, and without implements. Hands are opposite, turned up and unsleeved. It can be divided in two subgroups (B1-B2); the main difference are: the type of wig, and the presence of the artificial beard (B1 with artificial beard; B2 without artificial beard). These types of statuettes were sometimes considered to represent some kind of unknown ancient goddess. It was produced during the Greco-Roman period. It was made from brown terracotta.

Type C (Plate 77) Pseudo-shabti in the shape of Osiris statuette. The mummified figure with flat back. It wears typical *atef* crown on its head which is commonly linked with the Ancient Egyptian god Osiris. It has oval face with big ears, eyes without brows, nose, small thick lips and plain artificial beard. It can be divided in four subgroups (C1-C4). Commonly unsleeved arms are crossed: right over left (C1, C4), left over right (C2); or they are not crossed (C3). In their hands, they carry implements which are common for the representation of Osiris, *heqa* (eg. *ḥk 3*) sceptre or *flagellum*; the type and position of these implements are different in each of four subgroups (C1-C4). Hieroglyphic inscription commonly framed underneath arms. Probably crafted during the Greco-Roman period, probably the Roman Empire. It was made from terracotta.

Type D (Plate 77) Pseudo-shabti. Mummiform. New Kingdom striated short rounded wig, without artificial beard. Hands crossed opposite unsleeved, wide arms indicated; without implements. Face is oval, long nose, big eyes and thick lips. Pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription below the dress. Crude copy of the New Kingdom type of shabti. These types of statuettes were produced during the Greco-Roman period, probably the Roman Empire. It was made from terracotta.

Type E (Plate 77) Pseudo-shabti. Dress of daily life. New Kingdom plain wig, without artificial beard, collar around the neck. Hands crossed opposite unsleeved, without implements. Face is oval, long nose, big eyes and thick lips. Pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription in one vertical framed column on the dress. Crude copy of the New Kingdom (Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties) type of shabti. These types of statuettes were produced during the Greco-Roman period, probably the Roman Empire. It was made from terracotta.

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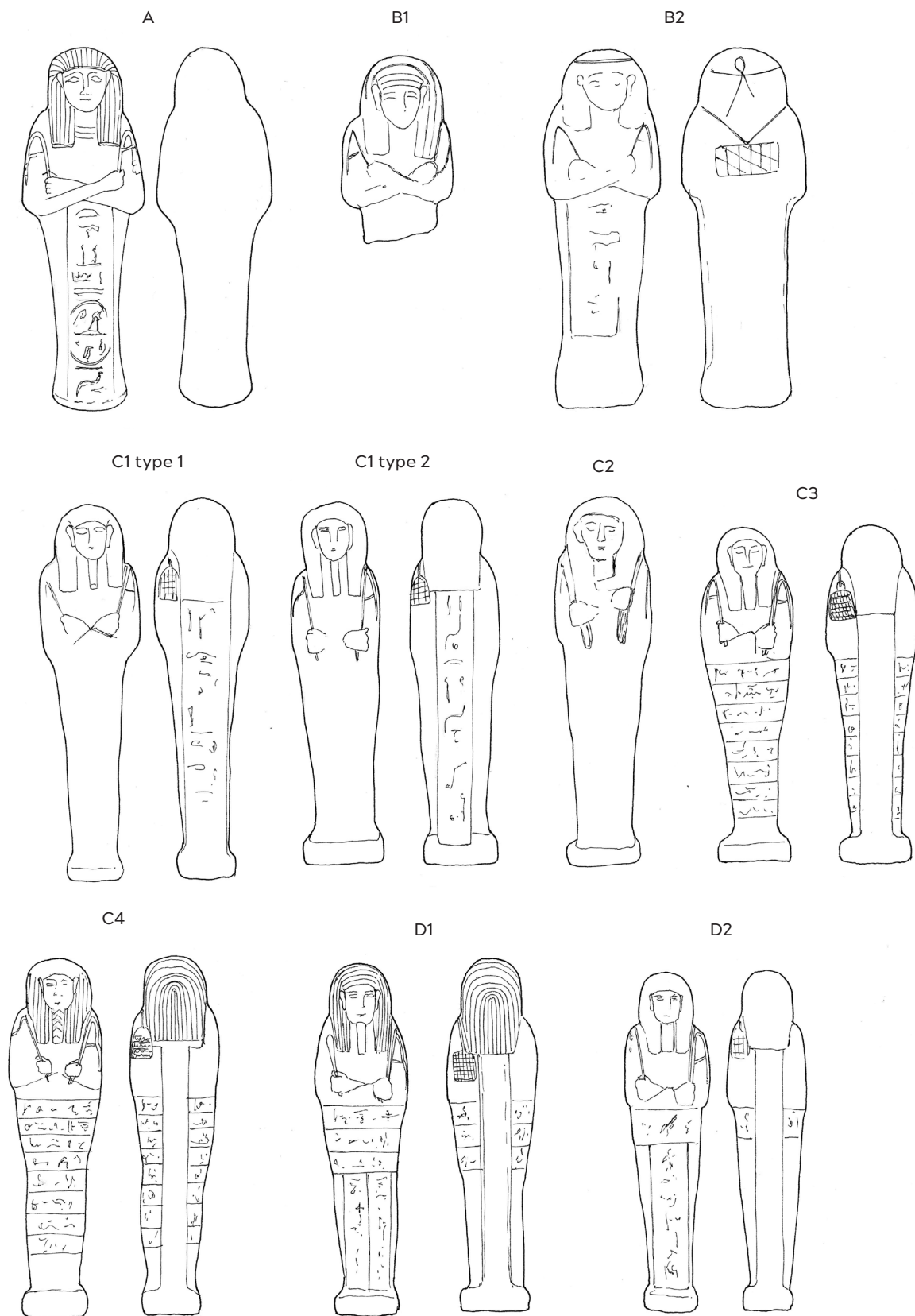
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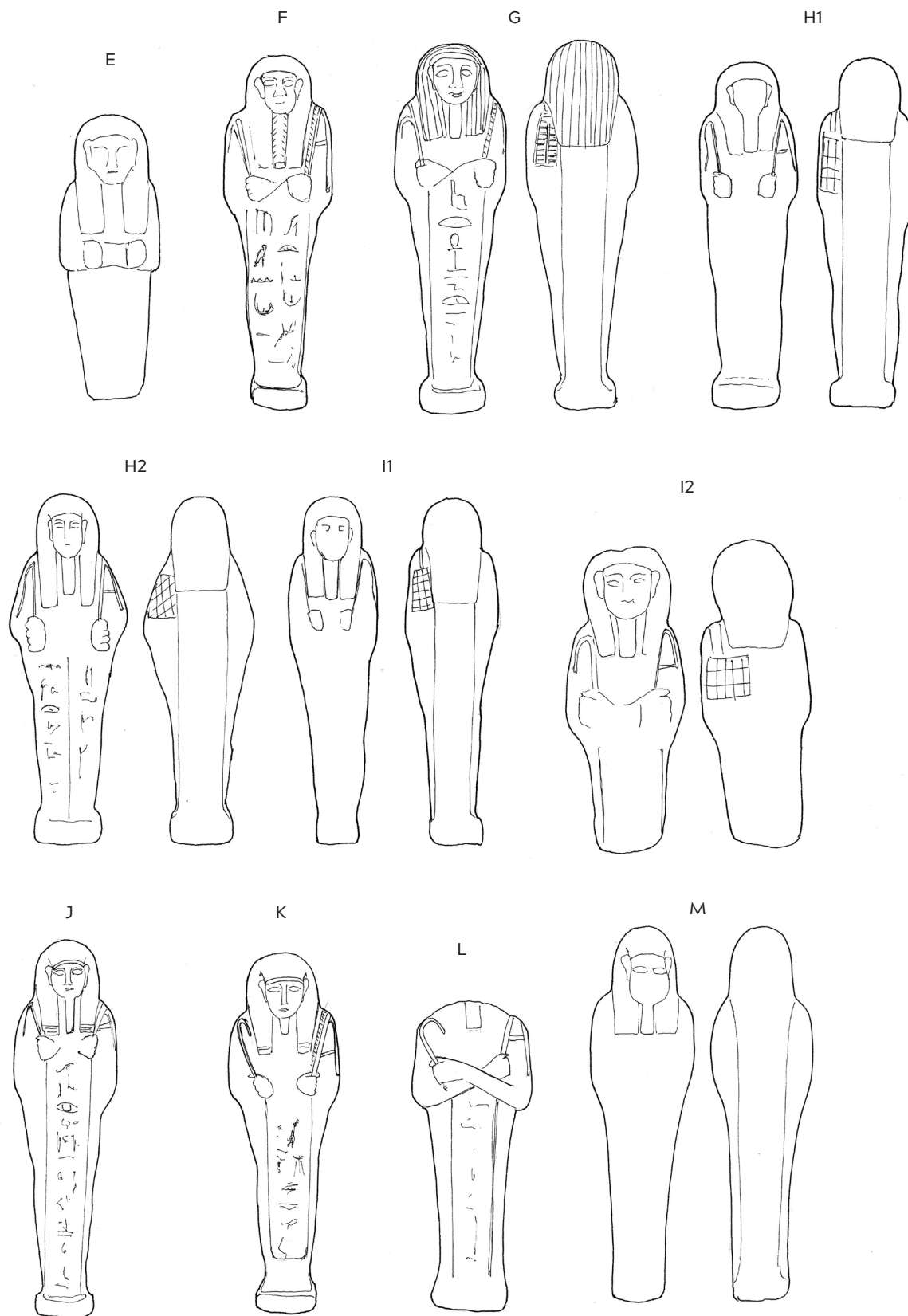
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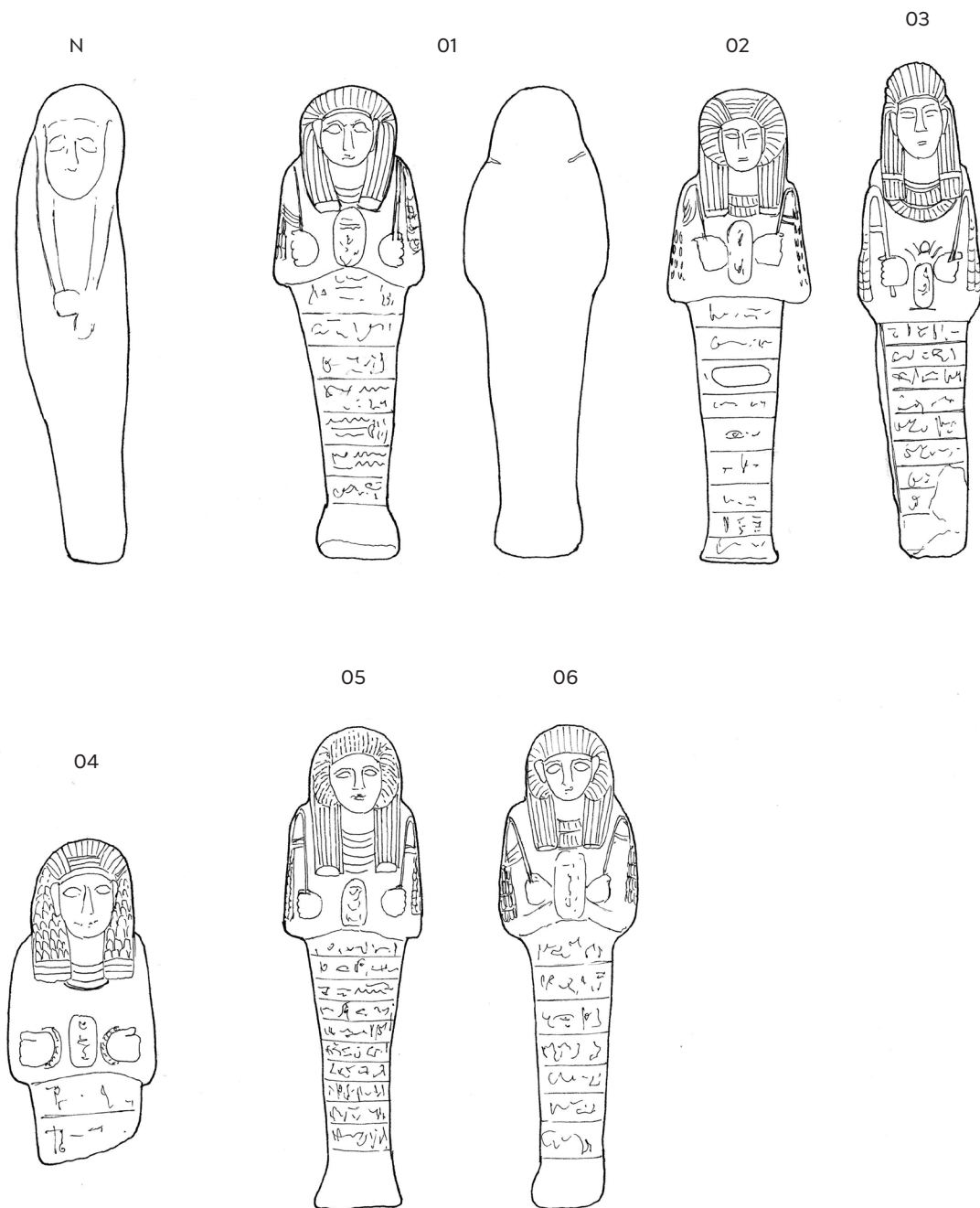
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PLATES





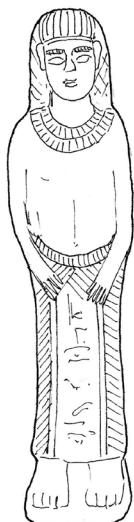


Tomorad M. Typology of shabtis from the Greco-Roman period

A1



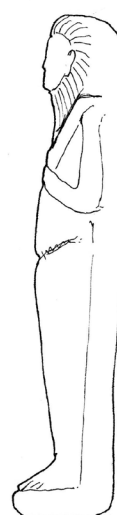
A2



B1



B2



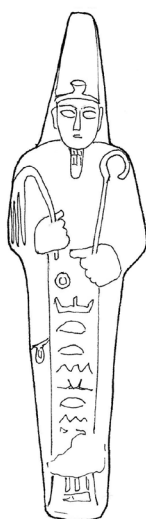
C1



C2



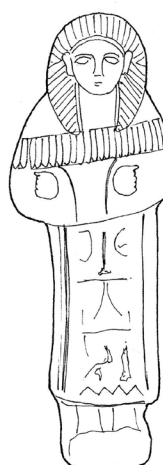
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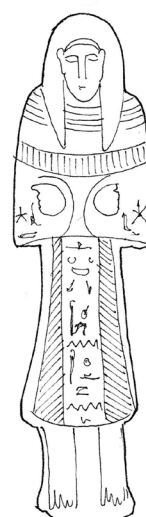
C4



D



E





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