



## EGYPTIAN SHABTIS DISCOVERED IN VARIOUS REGIONS OF EUROPE

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### ABSTRACT

In this paper the author analyzes the presence of ancient Egyptian shabtis discovered around Europe. These are commonly related to the diffusion of ancient Egyptian cults during the Late and Greco-Roman periods. The first section discusses the role of shabtis in Egyptian religious and funerary custom. The second describes the production of shabtis. The third deals with the so-called forgeries from the Greco-Roman period. The fourth discusses the diffusion of shabtis during this period, and the fifth offers hypotheses about their use in the Mediterranean world. The sixth analyzes various examples of shabtis discovered in Europe.

### INTRODUCTION

Most articles and books about Egyptian shabtis date them to between the late Old Kingdom/First Intermediate period and the end of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Shabtis were also crafted during the Roman Empire, but by this time they were no longer connected with ancient Egyptian funerary customs and beliefs. During almost two thousand years of constant usage as funerary equipment they changed shape and form, the types of texts they present and the position of the agricultural implements they often hold. Over the last century these changes have been classified according to several different typologies.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of Ptolemaic period the original roles of shabtis as funerary equipment and reflections of beliefs about the afterlife had all but disappeared. From this point on shabtis became cult symbols, specifically of the Isis circle, which included the gods

Isis, Osiris, Serapis, Harpocrates, Anubis, and Bes, among others. These cults became very popular in the Mediterranean in the 3rd century BCE. During the period of the Ptolemaic dynasty they spread throughout the Near East, northern Africa and Europe. Under the Roman Empire they reached the borders of the Empire, including the Rhine region, Britannia, and the Danube region. As one of the symbols of Isiac cults during the Greco-Roman period, shabtis became an important element of commerce and craftsmanship. During the late Roman Republic and the period of the Roman Empire, shabtis were manufactured outside Egypt in workshops of the main Roman provincial cultic centers. Such shabtis have commonly been labeled forgeries by scholars.

After two decades of research, I have prepared a typology of shabtis according to the material I have collected from various museums and institutions, as

well as private collections. Most of these shabtis come from northern Italy, Austria, Croatia, Serbia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and the Ukraine. I have also drawn on information about shabtis from older publications, mostly concerning shabtis from Germany, France, Belgium, and the United Kingdom.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, there is not enough information about shabtis found on the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal), in Greece, on the Aegean islands, and in the eastern Mediterranean in general to permit many conclusions.<sup>3</sup> It is my hope that the data presented in this article will deepen our understanding of the diffusion and use of shabtis in the Greco-Roman period.

#### SHABTIS IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN FUNERARY CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS

The shabti (*wšbty*) is a figure found in Egyptian tombs from the late First Intermediate Period/the early Middle Kingdom onwards. They have often been discovered in tombs in large numbers. Over the centuries they have been placed in wooden boxes near sarcophagi and coffins or laid on tomb floors.

The shabti is presented in the form of a mummified person bearing various agricultural implements.<sup>4</sup> During the New Kingdom shabtis were placed in tombs in very large numbers; a perfectly equipped tomb might hold 401 shabtis: 365 workers (one for each day of the year), and 36 overseers (one for every ten workers).<sup>5</sup>

There are three different variations of the Egyptian word for shabti. The first is *shabti*, which has an unknown etymology. The second is *shawabti*. By the Late Period the common term was *ushabti*. All these terms contain the root *wšb*, “answerer.”<sup>6</sup>

The shabti was intended to serve as a magical replacement should the deceased be called upon to perform tasks in the Underworld.<sup>7</sup> The Egyptians believed that when they died they had to perform manual labor for Osiris, the king of the dead, the same as they did during their lives for the pharaoh, the king of the living. Common Egyptians had to do various kinds of labor for the pharaoh during the annual Nile flood, such as building and cleaning irrigation systems, agricultural work in the fields, and the like. Elites did not do these kinds of work by themselves, but the lower classes were forced to do so. In the Underworld all Egyptians, no matter which class they belonged to, had to do such work for the gods. Therefore, the main role of the shabti was to act as a substitute for the deceased and to perform labor in the land of the dead. The most

common shabti tasks were filling the furrows with water, plowing the fields, and carrying sand.<sup>8</sup>

Shabtis commonly bear inscriptions of various types. Usually they preserve the name of the owner, as well as offering formulae, dedications, and spells. The most common shabti spell derives from a section of the Coffin Texts which later became the 6th chapter of the Egyptian Book of the Dead.<sup>9</sup> Shabtis from the New Kingdom onward typically bear formulae from this text, whole or in part:

Illumine the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth. Hail, Shabti figure! If the Osiris Ani be decreed to do any of the work which is to be done in Khert-Neter, let everything which standeth in the way be removed from him—whether it be to plough the fields, or to fill the channels with water, or to carry sand from (the East to the West). The Shabti figure replieth: I will do it, verily I am here (when) thou callest.<sup>10</sup>

From the New Kingdom onwards, the phrase *shd wsir* (“the Illuminated Osiris”) was also commonly written on shabtis.<sup>11</sup>

Shabtis appeared for the first time during the late Old Kingdom or early First Intermediate Period.<sup>12</sup> During the end of the 3rd millennium BCE and the early Middle Kingdom, wooden models of servants—agricultural workers, bakers, brewers, butchers—were commonly placed in tombs.<sup>13</sup> Their purpose was to answer in the name of the *ba* when the gods called the deceased to their court. During the Middle Kingdom the *ka* was presented in the form of a mummy.<sup>14</sup> In the time of the New Kingdom, the *ka* was united with the shabti, which then bore the name of the deceased.<sup>15</sup>

During the 13th Dynasty shabtis were presented with their hands crossed over the breast but without any agricultural implements. They also contained the name and titles of the deceased. The iconography of shabtis changed during the 18th Dynasty, when they began to carry various agricultural implements, such as hoes, mattocks, and baskets.<sup>16</sup> By the time of the 19th Dynasty, the dress of shabtis had changed. Afterwards, shabtis typically wore the same garments the deceased wore during their lifetime.<sup>17</sup> By the time of the 26th Dynasty, shabtis were commonly stood on a square pedestal and had an upright rectangular plinth on the back. From the end of the Saite period onwards, shabtis were usually produced with less care and with shorter inscriptions. By the end of Ptolemaic period shabtis had become small and usually no longer carried

inscriptions.<sup>18</sup> Under the Roman Empire shabtis were mostly produced in cultic centers, in many cases with pseudo-hieroglyphic inscriptions.<sup>19</sup>

#### **CRAFTSMANSHIP AND PRODUCTION OF SHABTI FIGURINES**

Shabtis were made from various materials including alabaster, wood, clay, pottery, metal (copper, bronze), colored faience (green, blue, brown, or red), and glass.<sup>20</sup> During the 13th Dynasty shabtis were made of calcareous stone, granite, or wood. Glazed faience shabtis appeared at the beginning of the New Kingdom, and they were used until the end of Saite period. During the time of the 26th Dynasty shabtis were usually made in molds and colored with light blue and green pigments. Alternatively, they could be glazed. From the end of the Saite period they were made with less care and mostly from faience and terracotta. During the Ptolemaic period most shabtis were made from faience.<sup>21</sup>

During the Pharaonic period shabtis, along with other funerary equipment, were manufactured by specialist sculptors, painters, scribes, and other types of craftsmen in temples or palace workshops.<sup>22</sup> The manufacture of a shabti is shown on the wall of Theban tomb no. 36 of Ibi.<sup>23</sup> During the Greco-Roman period shabtis were crafted in smaller workshops connected with cult centers. Such workshops could be found in most Isiac cult centers in Egypt and throughout the Mediterranean world.<sup>24</sup> In some cases, they were crafted as copies of the Thutmose III shabtis and were probably made in molds.<sup>25</sup> Such shabtis have commonly been considered forgeries by modern scholars.

#### **THE PROBLEM OF "AEGYPTIACA" SHABTIS AND SO-CALLED "ANCIENT FORGERIES"**

Imitations of Egyptian shabtis from the Greco-Roman period must be considered typical aegyptiaca. Such artifacts were crafted during ancient times and should not be considered forgeries.

During the 19th and 20th centuries many scholars did not consider these shabtis to be Isiac cult artifacts and commonly concluded that they were modern forgeries. However, a great deal of research over the past twenty years proves that all such shabtis, hailing from all over the Mediterranean world and even the edges of the Roman Empire, should be considered original material connected with the Isiac

cult.

There are many reasons why scholars should reconsider the earlier interpretations. The most important reasons are the provenance of these artifacts and the details of their discovery. Typological and archaeological information can prove that such artifacts were made in antiquity and used for cultic purposes. The places where they have been discovered are always near the cultic centers of Isiac cults in the provinces of the Roman Republic and Empire. Sometimes they have also been discovered in the graves of tribes in the Pannonian region and the Ukraine. Shabtis discovered within the territory of the Roman Empire were crafted using ancient techniques, and in some cases even in molds. The pseudo-hieroglyphic texts which they commonly contain do not necessarily prove that they are modern forgeries, as poor knowledge of the Egyptian language and script is the main reason why ancient craftsmen added pseudo-hieroglyphic texts. The existence of such texts was not relevant for the use of shabtis during the Greco-Roman period, as noted above, because the role of shabtis had changed by then, and during the Greco-Roman period hieroglyphic or pseudo-hieroglyphic texts were no longer associated with ancient Egyptian funerary beliefs and rituals. Such texts were used more like decorations. Shabtis containing such texts were crafted during the Late Period or during the Greco-Roman period, until the 4th century CE.

In addition, these shabtis were not bought from antiquities dealers in or outside of Egypt. In fact, according to a study of almost 50 shabtis from the Roman provinces of central and southern Europe, none of them was bought from a dealer.<sup>26</sup> All of them were discovered during archaeological excavations of ancient Greek, pre-Roman, or Roman settlements, all of which were important centers for Isiac cults in their regions. These facts demonstrate that most shabtis discovered in the Mediterranean world and in Europe are not modern forgeries made during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

#### **DIFFUSION OF SHABTIS AROUND THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD**

The diffusion of shabtis probably began in the middle of the 1st millennium BCE. During that period shabtis were traded in the eastern Mediterranean. Phoenicians and Greek merchants from Naukratis traded with Egyptians, exchanging

amulets, scarabs, seals, shabtis, and other goods. Probably beginning in the late 7th and early 6th centuries BCE, merchants started to exchange Egyptian artifacts on both sides of the Adriatic Sea, as well as in Italy, Sardinia, and on the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>27</sup> As noted above, during the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, shabtis spread together with belief in ancient Egyptian gods and goddesses into the Greek colonies of the Mediterranean. The Hellenistic period can be considered the climax of the first phase of this diffusion. The diffusion of shabtis into the territory of the Roman Republic began in the 3rd century BCE. The climax of the second phase was during the first centuries of the Roman Empire, most likely between the second half of the 1st and the middle of the 3rd centuries CE.

To date, almost 200 shabtis have been excavated in various regions of the Roman world (APPENDIX: TABLES 1–17), and a few at the western edge of the Ukraine.<sup>28</sup> An uncertain number of shabtis have been found near the Rhone and Seine rivers<sup>29</sup> and in Italy (especially in Rome),<sup>30</sup> along the coasts of the Aegean Sea,<sup>31</sup> in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire,<sup>32</sup> and in North Africa.<sup>33</sup> Since the end of the 19th century, these shabtis have commonly been published in various archeological journals, newspapers and other scholarly sources. In most cases they have been published without photographs and described only briefly.<sup>34</sup>

#### **HYPOTHESES ABOUT THE USE OF SHABTIS DURING THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD**

To date, the appearance of shabtis in the European provinces of the Roman Empire has led to a number of different scholarly viewpoints. In 1923, French Egyptologist L. Speleers made the hypothesis that shabti figures were only intended to succeed the role of the deceased as the god Osiris.<sup>35</sup> In 1961, Hungarian Egyptologist V. Wessetzky concluded that the role of shabtis in Egyptian cults outside Egypt could not be determined with certainty.<sup>36</sup> He came up with the hypothesis that shabtis were likely connected with the Roman military based on ten shabtis that were discovered in the vicinity of the Danubian *limes* of the Roman Empire.<sup>37</sup> In 1972, Croatian Egyptologist P. Selem tried to connect shabtis discovered within the European provinces of the Roman Empire with Egyptian cults, in particular the mysteries of Osiris and Isis, which were among the first such cults first recognized by the Romans.<sup>38</sup> In 1979, Selem also made a new hypothesis about

two major functions of shabtis during the Roman Empire. He suggested that they were intended to serve as magical replacements for the deceased during agricultural work in the underworld, and as the image of Osiris with whom the deceased identified after death.<sup>39</sup>

Today the role of shabtis in the European provinces of the Roman Empire is still not clear. In my view it is certain that shabtis from the Greco-Roman period were connected with Isiac cults and with the magical regeneration of the deceased in the underworld as Osiris, but surely not exclusively. The diffusion of shabtis dates back to the first part of the 1st millennium BCE, when their value as magical goods led to exchange between Egyptian and eastern merchants.<sup>40</sup> Shabtis also played a very important role in the diffusion of Isiac cults from the Ptolemaic period until the late 3rd or early 4th centuries CE.<sup>41</sup> But in my opinion, by the time of the middle Roman Republic (late 3rd/2nd century BCE) shabtis also were treated as magical cult objects without any connection to the funeral rites of ancient Egypt.<sup>42</sup> They were probably brought to Europe from Hellenistic times until Late Antiquity by travelers, sailors, merchants, soldiers, public officials, and customs officials, among others.<sup>43</sup> These people came from various walks of life and could have been citizens, slaves or freedpeople. The common thread connecting them all was their use of shabtis as magic objects related to Isiac cults.<sup>44</sup>

The discovery of shabtis and other Egyptian statuettes in Sarmatian and other graves in Pannonia<sup>45</sup> and the Ukraine<sup>46</sup> suggests another hypothesis. Ancient artifacts like shabtis, amulets, scarabs, and statuettes certainly had magical roles among foreign peoples, even if they did not know their original usage. This would help explain the discovery of an Egyptian scarab near Užice dated to the middle of the 6th century BCE, a time when the local population was certainly not familiar with ancient Egyptian cults or religion. In pagan communities, shamans perhaps used such items in cult rituals. They probably believed that these items could have some magical effect, so they acquired them from eastern merchants. There is also the possibility that in these communities shabtis were used as protection from witchcraft, spells or disease. Therefore, in my opinion the phenomenon of shabtis in central, northern and eastern Europe can also be explained by their role in magical rituals in addition to their role in the cult of Osiris and Isis.<sup>47</sup>



Finally, there is also the possibility that shabtis were only used as decorations in Roman houses.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps some wealthy members of a community, who could afford such objects, bought them as mysterious relics from an exotic, ancient civilization, or as ancient souvenirs brought by travelers from Egypt.<sup>49</sup>

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE SHABTIS DISCOVERED IN EUROPE BASED ON THEIR TYPOLOGY

Shabtis discovered in Europe were crafted during the New Kingdom, the Third Intermediate Period, the Late Period, the Hellenistic period, and the Roman Empire. Figurines are divided into a great number of groups and subgroups (FIGS. 2, 4, 5).<sup>50</sup> Shabtis are described according to the following elements: a) mummiform appearance; b) inclusion of a 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) types of implements included, such as hoes (narrow, pointed or broad), picks, crocks and flails; h) bags and baskets included; and i) material: stone, pottery, clay, terracotta, or colored faience (blue, turquoise blue or green). Pseudo-shabtis are also classified into five main groups and several subgroups (FIG. 8).<sup>51</sup> A pseudo-shabti is a figurine made in the form of a shabti, usually with some pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription. These types of artifacts were commonly made during the Greco-Roman period and they are commonly associated with Isiac cults that spread around the Mediterranean world from the 5th century BCE onwards.

In what follows, I will provide examples of shabtis belonging to each of the groups in the typology.

##### TYPE A (FIGS. 1, 2)

Third Intermediate Period female shabti with typical mummiform appearance, Third Intermediate Period striated lapped wig with one horizontal band on the lappets, and one vertical hieroglyphic inscription carved below the hands. She holds hoes in both hands. Her unsleeved hands are crossed right over left. These types of shabtis were previously classified according to the Schneider typology as class VIID1. In Europe only one shabti of this type has been discovered, in Krk (Croatia).<sup>52</sup> Most likely this shabti was taken from its original tomb and sold. Later it was perhaps taken by a merchant, soldier, or traveler



FIGURE 1: Shabti of Type A, of Mehy-Weshet, from Krk (Croatia). Košljun: Franciscan Monastery, Archaeological collection, inv. no. 642. Photo: Mladen Tomorad.

to another region of the Mediterranean world. It was made from brown terracotta.

##### TYPE B1 (FIG. 2)

Third Intermediate Period female and male worker shabtis with hieroglyphic inscriptions, with common Third Intermediate Period lappet wig or striated lappet wig. They hold hoes in both hands and have Third Intermediate Period trapezoidal bags with crossed fibers at the back. The hands are crossed right over left, and the unsleeved arms are crossed on the chest. These types of shabtis were previously classified according to the Schneider typology as classes VIIIA1 and VIIIA2. They were commonly traded by eastern Mediterranean merchants between the 7th and 3rd centuries BCE. These shabtis were made from blue glazed faience or blue glazed terracotta. They have been discovered in Egypt and in Europe, though there has been confirmed discovery of only one shabti of this type in Europe, in Osijek (Croatia).<sup>53</sup>

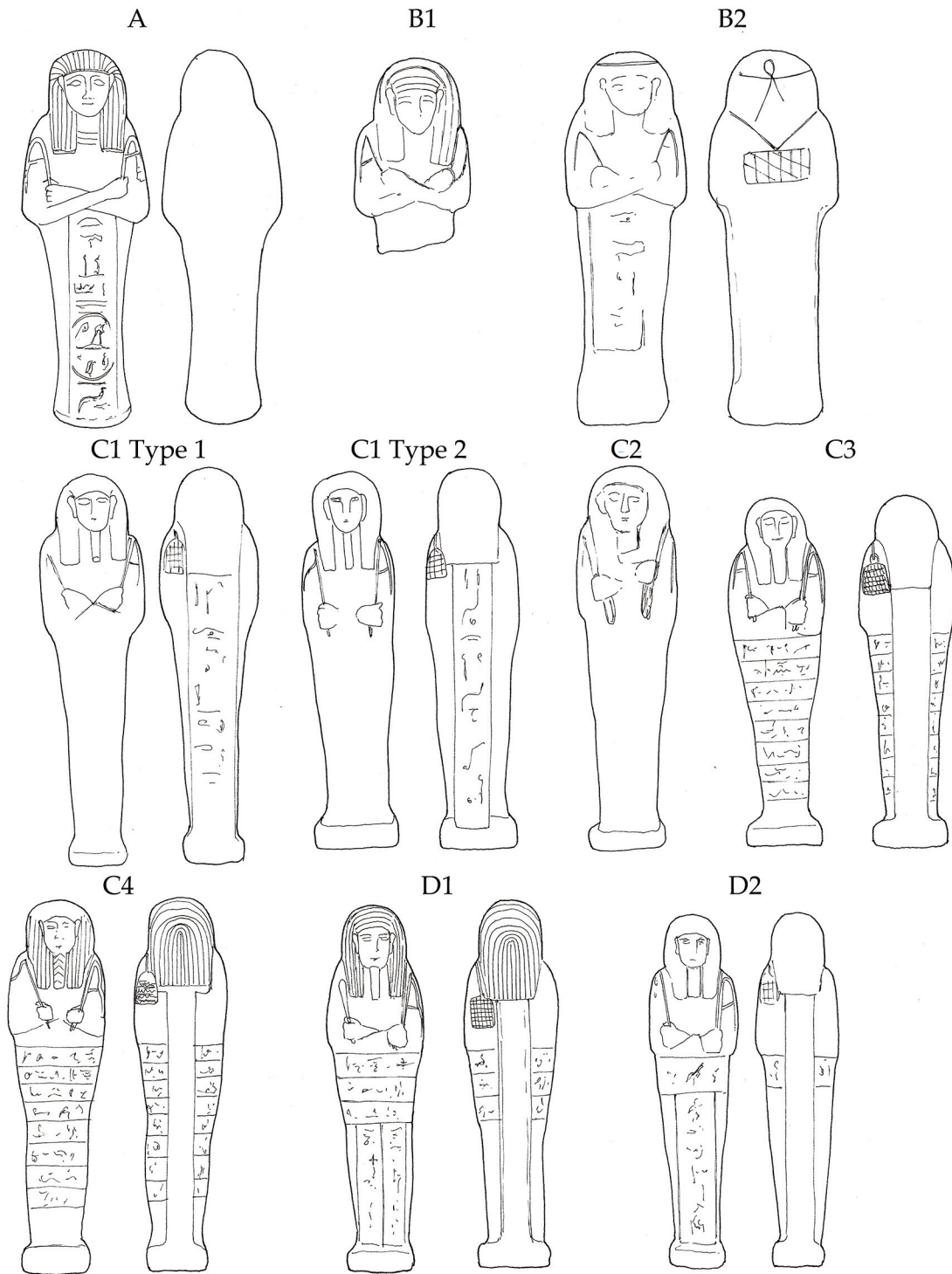


FIGURE 2: Greco-Roman period shabtis, Types A-D2, according to the Tomorad typology.

TYPE B2 (FIGS. 2, 3)

Third Intermediate Period female and male worker shabtis with hieroglyphic inscriptions and common Third Intermediate period lappet wigs with twisted fillet and *seshed* head-band. They hold hoes in both hands and have Third Intermediate Period trapezoidal bags with crossed fibers at the back. Their hands are crossed right over left, and unsleeved arms are crossed on the chest. These types of shabtis were previously classified according to the Schneider typology as classes VIII B1, VIII B2, and VIII B3. They were commonly traded by eastern Mediterranean merchants between the 7th and 3rd centuries BCE. They were made from blue glazed faience. Shabtis of this type have been discovered in Egypt and in Europe, though in Europe only one shabti of this type has been discovered, in Solin (Croatia).<sup>54</sup>



FIGURE 3: Shabti of Type B2, from Solin (Croatia). Ex private collection Lanza. Zagreb: Archaeological Museum, Egyptian Department, inv. no. E-561. Photo: Mladen Tomorad.

TYPE C (FIG. 2)

Type C can be divided into four subgroups. The main difference between each subgroup is the position of the hieroglyphic text, the type of separated wig, the types of implements in the hands, and the position of the hands and arms. Shabtis of this type have been discovered in Praunheim (Germany).<sup>55</sup> According to Grimm, similar shabtis have also been discovered in Augst and Mining bei Braunau (Germany); Arles, Bazas, Blendecques, and Rabastens (France); and Frinton (United Kingdom). Unfortunately, without photographs it is hard to draw any conclusions.<sup>56</sup>

TYPE C1 (FIG. 2)

Saite mummiform shabti with back-pillar and common Saite plain lappet wig. It holds a narrow and pointed hoe in the left hand, and a broad hoe and cord in the right hand. It usually contains an inscribed hieroglyphic text on the back-pillar. Hands are crossed right over left; unsleeved arms are not indicated. Shabtis of this type were previously classified as Schneider class XIA1. They were produced during the 26th and 27th Dynasties. Some of them were made from blue or glazed faience, and others from terracotta. Shabtis of this type have been discovered in Solin (Croatia)<sup>57</sup> and on the island of Hvar (Croatia), respectively.<sup>58</sup>

TYPE C2 (FIG. 2)

Saite mummiform shabti 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 an inscribed hieroglyphic text on the back-pillar. Arms are crossed on the chest, and hands are crossed opposite. Sleeves are indicated. Shabtis of this type were previously classified as Schneider class XIA1. They were produced during the 26th and 27th dynasties and made from blue or glazed faience, terracotta or stone. Shabtis of this type have been discovered in the middle of Dalmatia (Croatia).<sup>59</sup>

TYPE C3 (FIG. 2)

Saite mummiform shabti 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. It has inscribed hieroglyphic text in the front on one vertical column. Arms are crossed on the chest. Hands are crossed right over left, and both sleeves are indicated. Shabtis of this type were previously



classified as Schneider class XIA1. They were produced during the 26th Dynasty and made from blue or glazed faience, terracotta or stone. In Europe, only one shabti of this type has been discovered, in Syracuse (Italy).<sup>60</sup>

#### TYPE C4 (FIG. 2)

Saite mummiform shabti with back-pillar and separated Saite striated lappet wig. It holds a narrow and pointed hoe in the left hand, and a broad hoe and cord in the right hand. It has framed hieroglyphic text in horizontal lines carved in front. Hands are crossed right over left or left over right; unsleeved arms are not indicated. Shabtis of this type were previously classified as Schneider class XIA2. They were produced during the 26th and 27th Dynasties and were made from blue or glazed faience or terracotta. Shabtis of this type have been discovered in Budapest<sup>61</sup> and Sicily.<sup>62</sup>

#### TYPE D (FIG. 2)

Shabtis of Type D can be divided into two subgroups. The main difference between these two groups is the type of separated wig they contain.

#### TYPE D1 (FIG. 2)

Late Period mummiform shabti with back-pillar, separated Late Period plain lappet wig, and T-shaped hieroglyphic text carved or inscribed on the front. It holds a pick without crossbar in the left hand and a narrow hoe and cord in the right hand. A Late Period rectangular bag or basket is visible on the back. Shabtis of this type were previously classified as Schneider class XIA3. They were produced between the 27th and 30th Dynasties and were made from glazed faience or terracotta. In Europe they have been discovered in Solin (Croatia).<sup>63</sup>

#### TYPE D2 (FIG. 2)

Late Period mummiform shabti with back-pillar, separated Late Period striated lappet wig, and T-shaped hieroglyphic text carved or inscribed on the front. It holds a pick without crossbar in the left hand and a narrow hoe and cord in the right hand. A Late Period rectangular bag or basket is visible on the back. Shabtis of this type were previously classified as Schneider class XIA4. They were produced between the 27th and 30th Dynasties and were made from glazed faience or terracotta. In Europe shabtis of this type have been discovered in Budapest<sup>64</sup> and Vaison-la-Romaine (France).<sup>65</sup>

#### TYPE E (FIG. 4)

Mummiform shabti with Late Period plain lappet wig, but without artificial beard. Hands are crossed opposite, sleeves are combined, arms are indicated. Hands are empty and back is flat. Face is oval and well-shaped. Eyes, nose, mouth and large ears are well-shaped. These shabtis are without hieroglyphic inscription. They are variations of Schneider New Kingdom class VB1 and Late Period class XIB. They were probably crafted between the 27th and 30th Dynasties and were made from terracotta or faience. In Europe shabtis of this type have been discovered in Kazale (Istria, Croatia)<sup>66</sup> and Budapest.<sup>67</sup>

#### TYPE F (FIG. 4)

Mummiform shabti with back-pillar, Late Period plain lappet wig and plaited artificial beard. Hands are crossed right over left, and the right sleeve is indicated. There is a pick in the left hand, and a hoe with a cord in the right hand. A small basket is suspended behind the left shoulder. These shabtis feature mediocre modeling with narrow faces, eyes, noses, mouths and ears. They contain hieroglyphic inscriptions between two vertical lines and trapezoidal bases. They are a variation of Schneider class XIC and were probably crafted between the 30th Dynasty and the Hellenistic period. Shabtis of this type were made from faience and glazed calcareous stone. In Europe they have been discovered in the region of middle Dalmatia (Croatia).<sup>68</sup>

#### TYPE G (FIG. 4)

Late Period mummiform shabti with back-pillar, separated Late Period plain lappet wig and hieroglyphic inscription on the back-pillar. It holds a broad or narrow hoe and cord in the right hand and a pick in the left hand. A Late Period trapezoidal basket with crossed fibers is visible on the back. Hands are crossed right over left, with variations in the sleeves: either both sleeves are indicated, and the right sleeve is sometimes long, or sleeves are not indicated at all. These types of shabtis were previously classified according to the Schneider typology as class XIA5. Type G shabtis were produced during the Late and Hellenistic periods. They were made from glazed faience or glazed terracotta and have been discovered in Čitluk (Croatia),<sup>69</sup> Solin (Croatia),<sup>70</sup> and Karlsruhe-Durlach (Germany).<sup>71</sup>



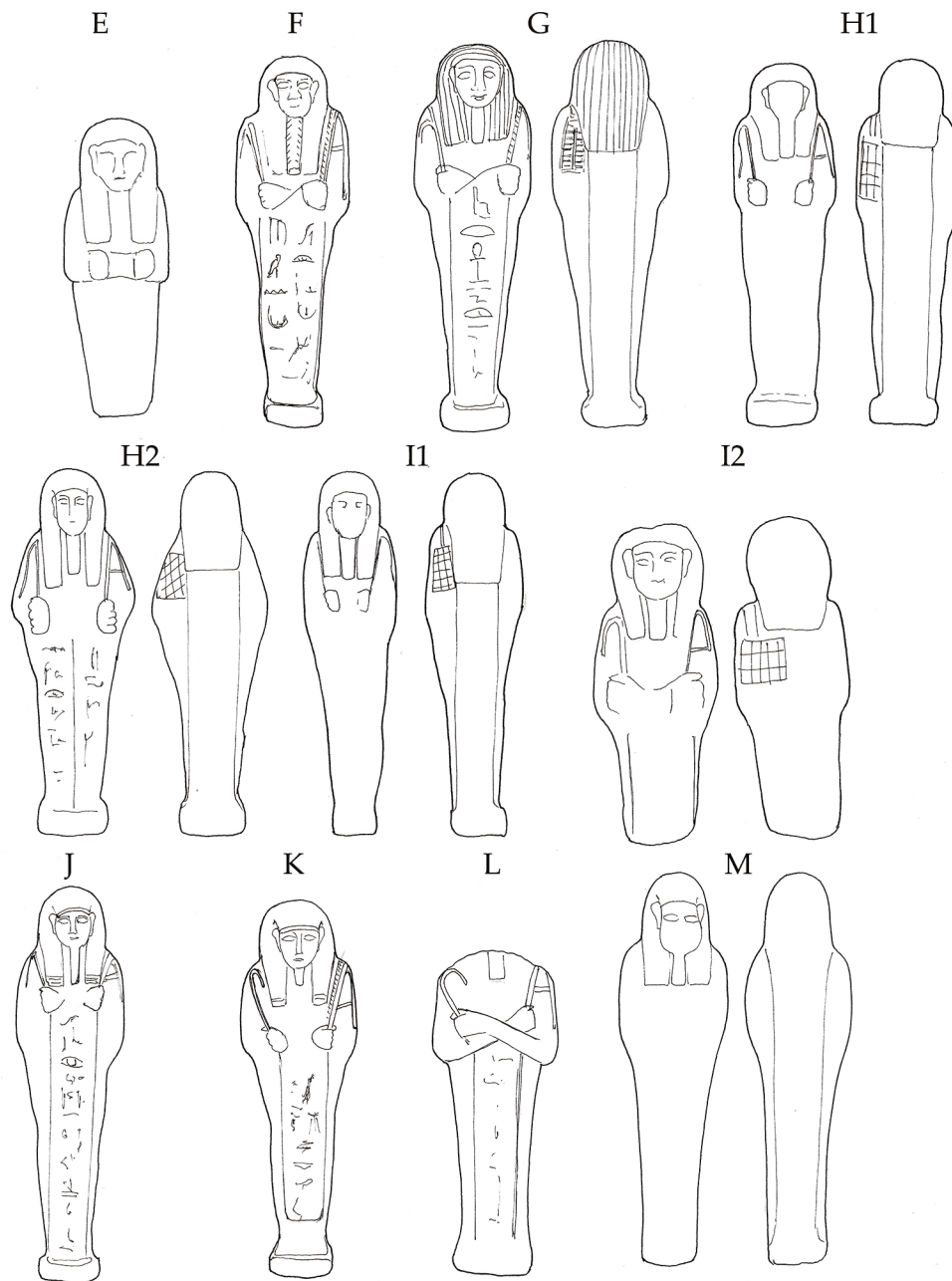


FIGURE 4: Greco-Roman period shabtis, Types E-M, according to the Tomorad typology.

TYPE H1 (FIG. 4)

Mummiform shabti with back-pillar and separated Late Period 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 fibers 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 the Schneider typology as class XIA6. Type H1 shabtis were produced during the Late and Hellenistic periods. They were made from blue, turquoise-blue or glazed faience and terracotta, and have been discovered in the region of middle Dalmatia (Croatia).<sup>72</sup>

TYPE H2 (FIG. 4)

Mummiform shabti with back-pillar, separated Late Period plain lappet wig, and hieroglyphic inscription in front. It holds a pick without crossbar in the left hand and a narrow hoe and cord in the right. A trapezoidal 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 previously classified according to the Schneider typology as class XIA6. Type H2 shabtis were produced between during the Late and Hellenistic periods. They were made from brown glazed terracotta. In Europe, only one shabti of this type has been discovered, in the region of Salona (Croatia).<sup>73</sup>

TYPE I1 (FIG. 4)

Mummiform shabti with back-pillar, separated plain wig (Late Period plain lappet wig or Ptolemaic plain miniature angular wig with lappets) and empty trapezoidal bag with cross patterns on the left side. There is no hieroglyphic inscription. It holds a pick without crossbar in the left hand and a narrow hoe and cord in the right. A later type of basket with or without a crossed, oblique pattern is sometimes visible on the back. Hands are crossed opposite, and unsleeved arms are sometimes indicated. Type I1 shabtis were produced between the Late and Hellenistic periods. They were made from green faience. In Europe, only two shabtis of this type have been discovered: in the region of Middle Dalmatia (Croatia) and in Salona.<sup>74</sup>

TYPE I2 (FIG. 4)

Mummiform shabti with Ptolemaic miniature angular wig, and without hieroglyphic inscription. It holds hoes in both hands, and there is 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 the Schneider typology as class XIA6. Type I2 shabtis were mostly produced between the Late and

Hellenistic periods. They were made from green and blue glazed faience. In Europe, only one shabti of this type has been discovered, in Solin (Croatia).<sup>75</sup>

TYPE J (FIG. 4)

Mummiform shabti with back-pillar, Late Period plain lappet wig with plaited artificial beard. Hands are crossed opposite and unsleeved on the chest. Arms are not indicated. These shabtis hold a pick in the left hand and a narrow hoe and cord in the right hand. A small basket is suspended behind the left shoulder. The face is oval with a long and prominent nose and big eyes. The lips are thick. The ears are big and well modeled. Shabtis of this type contain an inscription on the front in one vertical column that is framed but open at top. They have a trapezoidal base. These shabtis are a variation of Schneider class XIC. They were probably crafted between the Late and Hellenistic periods and were made from glazed faience. In Europe shabtis of this type have been discovered in the region of middle Dalmatia (Croatia)<sup>76</sup> and Sicily.<sup>77</sup>

TYPE K (FIG. 4)

Mummiform shabti with back-pillar, Late Period plain lappet wig with horizontal bands on lappets and plaited artificial beard. Hands are crossed opposite unsleeved, and arms are not indicated. A crock turned to the left is held in the left hand and a narrow hoe and the twisted cord of a basket is held in the right hand. A basket is carried behind the left shoulder. The face is small, with a long nose and big eyes. The lips are thick. The ears are very big and well modeled. There is a hieroglyphic inscription on the front in one vertical column that is framed but open at top. The base is trapezoidal. Shabtis of this type are a variation of Schneider class XIC. They were probably crafted between the Late and Hellenistic periods and were made from glazed faience. In Europe shabtis of this type have been discovered in the region of middle Dalmatia (Croatia),<sup>78</sup> at an uncertain site in Dacia (Romania)<sup>79</sup> and in Blendecques (France).<sup>80</sup>

TYPE L (FIG. 4)

Mummiform shabti with arms crossed on the chest and hands crossed left over right, arms unsleeved. There is a crock in the left hand turned to the left and a narrow hoe in the right hand. No basket. There is moderate modeling of the face, nose, eyes, lips and

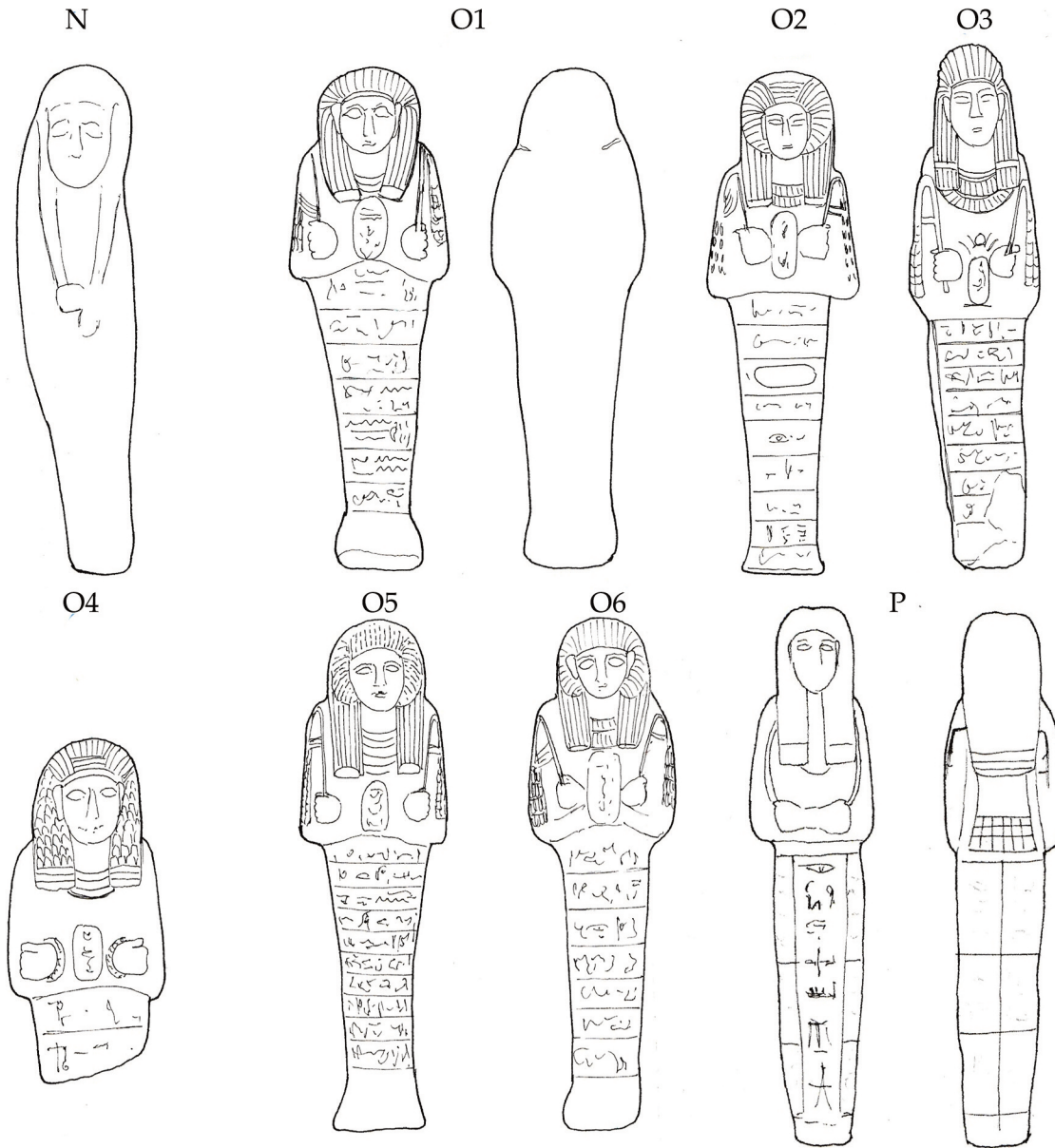


FIGURE 5: Greco-Roman period shabtis, Types N-P, according to the Tomorad typology.

ears. A hieroglyphic inscription appears on the front in one vertical column, framed but open at top. Shabtis of this type are a variation of Schneider class XIC. They were probably crafted between the Late and Hellenistic periods and were made from terracotta. In Europe shabtis of this type have been discovered on the island of Hvar (Croatia)<sup>81</sup> and in Bad Deutsch Altenburg (Austria).<sup>82</sup>

TYPE M (FIG. 4)

Mummiform shabti with Late Period plain lappet wig and flat back with plain beard. Arms are crossed on the chest with implements. The face is oval, with big eyes and ears. No hieroglyphic inscription. These Types of shabtis are a combination of the shabtis previously classified according to the Schneider typology as classes XIA5, XIA6 and XIC. They were

probably crafted during the Late and Greco-Roman periods and were made from faience and terracotta. In Europe, shabtis of this type have been discovered in Erracotta. In Eur<sup>83</sup> Daruvar (Croatia),<sup>84</sup> Budapest,<sup>85</sup> and Arles.<sup>86</sup>

TYPE N (FIGS. 5, 6)

Crudely crafted mummiform shabti with plain wig, flat back and without artificial beard. Hands are placed right above left. Stylized implements are held in both hands. The face is oval, with big eyes. No hieroglyphic inscription. Shabtis of this type were probably crafted during the Greco-Roman period and were made from faience. In Europe, shabtis of this type have been discovered in Solin (Croatia)<sup>87</sup> and Bad Deutsch Altenburg (Austria).<sup>88</sup>

TYPE O (FIGS. 5, 7)

Classical mummiform shabti with New Kingdom striated lappet wig with one horizontal band on the

lappets. A three-tailed flail is held in both hands. Hands are crossed right over left or left over right; unsleeved arms are indicated. Shabtis of this type commonly include a hieroglyphic inscription and a cartouche of Thutmose III in front. They can be divided into six subgroups. The main differences between these subgroups are the type of wig, the type and position of the hands, and the position of the cartouche (Fig. 3). Shabtis of these types were previously classified according to the Schneider typology as class V. These types have often been considered fakes, though they are most likely just ancient copies of Egyptian originals (*Aegyptiaca*). They were produced during the Greco-Roman period by various craftsmen outside Egypt. Such artifacts are commonly connected with the main centers of Isis or Isiac cults around the Mediterranean. They were made from dark brown terracotta. In Europe, shabtis of this type have been discovered in Ostrožac (Croatia),<sup>89</sup> Nin (Croatia),<sup>90</sup>



FIGURE 6: Shabti of Type N, from Solin (Croatia). Ex private collection Lanza. Zagreb: Archaeological Museum, Egyptian Department, inv. no. E-565. Photo: Mladen Tomorad.



FIGURE 7: Shabti of Type O3, from Veneto region (Italy). Padova: Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d'Arte, inv. no. E-14.



the region of middle Dalmatia (Croatia),<sup>91</sup> the region of Pannonia,<sup>92</sup> the region of Veneto (Italy),<sup>93</sup> in Vaison-la-Romaine (France),<sup>94</sup> and in the vicinity of the Rhone (France).<sup>95</sup>

#### TYPE P (FIG. 5)

Mummiform shabti with New Kingdom plain lappet wig. It holds agricultural implements in both hands and has a reversed trapezoidal bag with horizontal fibers. There is a carved hieroglyphic text in horizontal and vertical lines. The hands are crossed opposite and sleeved, and arms are indicated. This type of shabti was previously classified according to the Schneider typology as class VB4. Shabtis of this type were produced during the period of the New Kingdom and were made from glazed faience. They have been discovered in Sicily.<sup>96</sup>

#### TYPES OF PSEUDO-SHABTIS DISCOVERED IN EUROPE

##### TYPE A1 (FIG. 8)

Female pseudo-shabti with naked breasts, New Kingdom striated lappet wig with or without flat back, and without any implements. These are crafted in the shape of an African woman clothed in everyday dress, and often with a cartouche of Amenhotep below the dress. These were crafted during the Greco-Roman period and were made from clay or terracotta. In Europe, pseudo-shabtis of this type have been discovered in the region of middle Dalmatia (Croatia)<sup>97</sup> and the region of Veneto (Italy).<sup>98</sup>

##### TYPE A2 (FIG. 8)

Female pseudo-shabti with naked breasts, New Kingdom striated lappet wig with or without flat back, and without any implements. There is a pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription below the dress. These were produced during the Ptolemaic dynasty or the Late Roman Republic (2nd–1st centuries BCE). They have also commonly been considered to be modern fakes, but recent findings suggest that such pseudo-shabtis were crafted in the main centers of Isiac cults in Sicily and some other regions of the Mediterranean. They were made from terracotta. In Europe, pseudo-shabtis of this type have been discovered in Krk (Croatia)<sup>99</sup> and Biggemi (Italy).<sup>100</sup>

##### TYPE B (FIG. 8)

Naked, sometimes pregnant female pseudo-shabti with African features. This is an unconventional female figure, with *nemes* or duplex wig on her head,

and without implements. The hands are opposite, turned up and unsleeved. Pseudo-shabtis of this type can be divided into two subgroups. The main differences between them are the type of wig, and the presence or absence of an artificial beard; Type B1 features the artificial beard, while B2 does not. These types of statuettes were sometimes considered by Egyptologists to represent ancient goddesses of uncertain identification. Similar pseudo-shabtis housed in Padova have been dated to the 6th–8th centuries CE, though to my knowledge pseudo-shabtis were not produced during Late Antiquity in or outside of Egypt. Pseudo-shabtis of this type were most likely produced during the Greco-Roman period and were made from brown terracotta. In Europe, pseudo-shabtis of this type have been discovered in Nin (Croatia),<sup>101</sup> Muć (Croatia),<sup>102</sup> the region of Pannonia,<sup>103</sup> and the region of Veneto (Italy).<sup>104</sup>

##### TYPE C (FIGS. 8, 9)

Pseudo-shabti in the shape of an Osiris statuette. A mummified figure with a flat back. It wears on its head a typical *atef* crown, which is commonly linked with the ancient Egyptian god Osiris. It has an oval face with big ears; eyes without brows; a nose; small, thick lips; and a plain, artificial beard. Pseudo-shabtis of this type can be divided into four subgroups (C1–C4). Commonly unsleeved arms are crossed right over left (subgroups C1 and C4) or left over right (subgroup C2). In the case of subgroup C3, the statuette has only indicated hands. Other differences include the representation of the *atef* crown (in some cases with a background or small stripes on the sides), and the *flagellum*, which is usually in the left hand on the right side of the statuette (subgroups C2–C4). In their hands these pseudo-shabtis carry implements which are common for the representation of Osiris: a *heqa* (i.e., *ḥkꜣ*), a scepter, or a *flagellum*. The type and position of these implements are different in each of the four subgroups. They contain a hieroglyphic inscription commonly framed underneath the arms. Pseudo-shabtis of this type were likely crafted during the Roman Empire and were made from terracotta. In Europe, pseudo-shabtis of this type have been discovered in Osijek (Croatia),<sup>105</sup> the region of Veneto (Italy),<sup>106</sup> Biggemi (Italy),<sup>107</sup> Caransebeș (Romania),<sup>108</sup> an uncertain site in Dacia Inferior (Romania),<sup>109</sup> and Balcik (Bulgaria).<sup>110</sup>

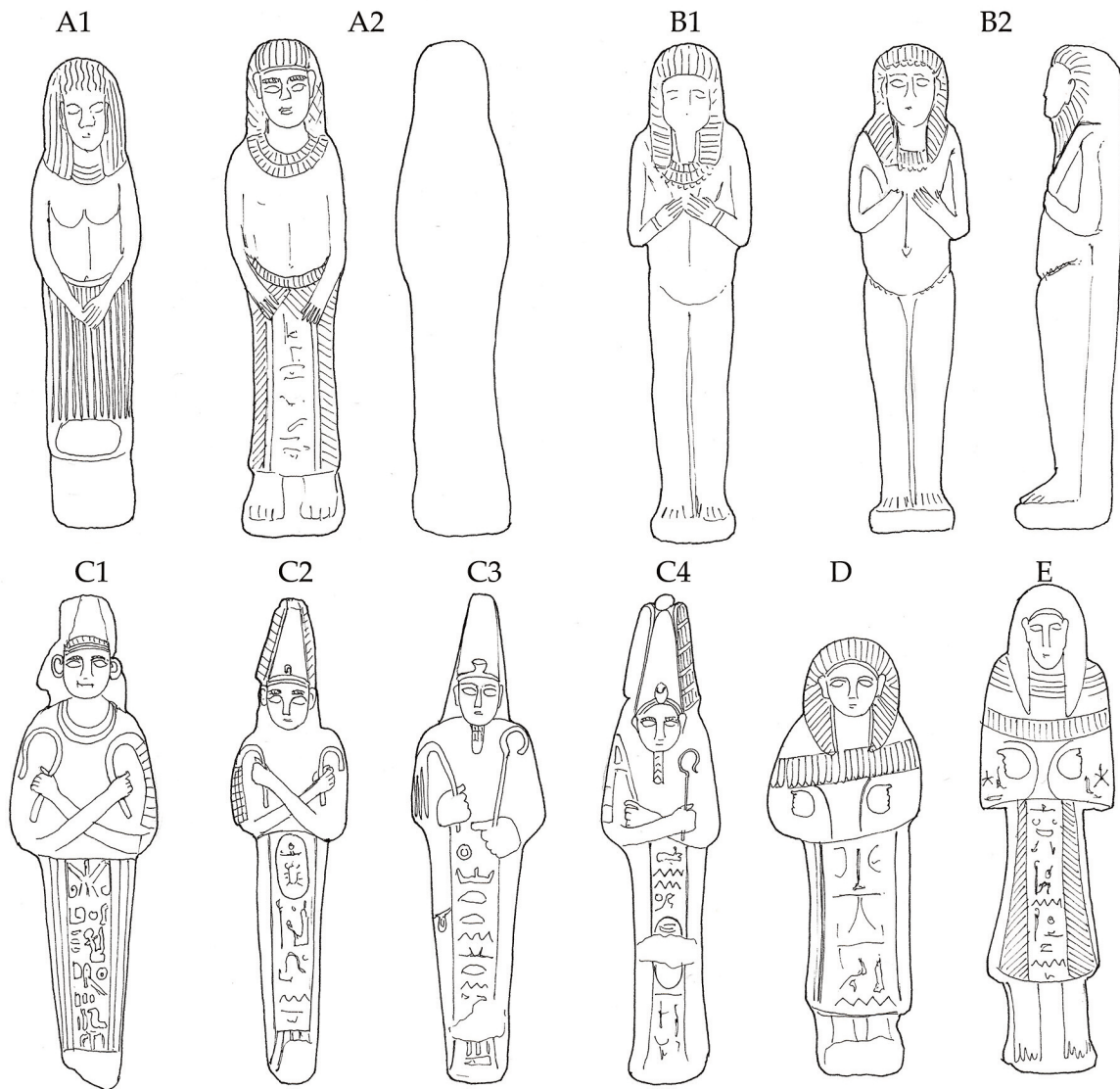


FIGURE 8: Greco-Roman period pseudo-shabtis, Types A1-E, according to the Tomorad typology.

TYPE D (FIG. 8)

Mummiform pseudo-shabti with New Kingdom striated short rounded wig, without artificial beard. Hands are crossed opposite unsleeved, and wide arms are indicated. Hands are without implements. The face is oval with a long nose, big eyes and thick lips. A pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription sits below

the dress. These are crude copies of shabtis produced during the New Kingdom (Schneider Classes VC3–VC5). They were most likely produced during the Roman Empire and were made from terracotta. In Europe they have been discovered in the region of Veneto (Italy).<sup>111</sup>



FIGURE 9: Pseudo-shabti of Type C3, from Veneto region (Italy). Padova: Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d'Arte, inv. no. E-23.



FIGURE 10: Pseudo-shabti of Type E, from Veneto region (Italy). Padova: Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d'Arte, inv. no. E-47.

#### TYPE E (FIGS. 8, 10)

Pseudo-shabti with dress of daily life, New Kingdom plain wig, without artificial beard, and a collar around the neck. Hands are crossed opposite unsleeved, without implements. The face is oval with a long nose, big eyes and thick lips. A pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription is in one vertical framed column on the dress. These are crude copies shabtis produced during the New Kingdom (Schneider Class VIB3). They were most likely produced during the Roman Empire and were made from terracotta. In Europe they have been discovered in the region of Veneto (Italy).<sup>112</sup>

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#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Speleers 1923; Petrie 1935; Monnet Saleh 1970; Aubert 1974; Schneider 1977; Tomorad 2017.
- <sup>2</sup> In most cases these publications mention that the shabtis have been misplaced or lost.
- <sup>3</sup> I have confirmation of the existence of shabtis in various collections in museums located in these areas, but no images or details.
- <sup>4</sup> Schneider 1977, 3; Tomorad 2004, 92.
- <sup>5</sup> Tomorad 2000, 5; Tomorad 2004, 93.
- <sup>6</sup> Schneider 1977, 2–3; Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 266; Stewart 1995, 13; Tomorad 2004, 92.
- <sup>7</sup> Budge 1893, 171, 211–215; Schneider 1977, 5; Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 266; Stewart 1995, 9.
- <sup>8</sup> Budge 1893, 172.
- <sup>9</sup> De Buck 1935, spell 472.
- <sup>10</sup> Budge 1895, 629.
- <sup>11</sup> Tomorad 2006, 283.
- <sup>12</sup> According to G. Mariette (1869, 48) the first shabtis and associated inscriptions appeared during the 6th Dynasty. See also Schneider 1977, 23.
- <sup>13</sup> Stewart 1995, 8.
- <sup>14</sup> A detailed study of the development of shabtis during the Middle Kingdom can be found in Schneider 1977, 32–70.



- 15 Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 266.
- 16 Budge 1893, 212; Tomorad 2004, 93.
- 17 Budge 1893, 212; Tomorad 2004, 93.
- 18 Tomorad 2004, 93.
- 19 Tomorad 2017a, Pseudo-shabtis Types A–E, 334.
- 20 Budge 1893, 212; Petrie 1909, 113; Stewart 1995, 40–44; Tomorad 2004, 93.
- 21 Budge 1893, 212; Petrie 1909, 113; Stewart 1995, 40–44; Tomorad 2004, 93; Tomorad 2011, 115, 130–134.
- 22 Stewart 1995, 40.
- 23 Davies 1902, pl. 25.
- 24 Tomorad 2006, 283–284.
- 25 Tomorad 2017a, Type O, 333.
- 26 Tomorad 2014.
- 27 More about the relationship between Egypt and the diffusion of Egyptian elements in the Mediterranean can be found in, James 1960; Witt 1971; Hölbl 1979; Solmsen 1979; Padro i Parcerisa 1980–1985; Hölbl 1986; Green 1993; Turcan 1996; Beard, North and Price 1998; Bricault 2001; Tomorad 2005a; Tomorad 2005b; Bricault 2006; Tomorad 2015a.
- 28 Tomorad 2017a.
- 29 Guimet 1900, 82–83; Guimet 1912, 207; Turcan 1996, 101–102; Tomorad 2000, 9; Tomorad 2004, 96; Tomorad 2006, 280.
- 30 Tomorad 2006, 280.
- 31 Witt 1971; Tomorad 2000, 9; Bricault 2001, 125; Tomorad 2004, 96; Tomorad 2006, 280.
- 32 Turcan 1996; Tomorad 2000, 9; Bricault 2001, 125; Tomorad 2004, 96; Tomorad 2006, 280.
- 33 Selem 1961, 4; Tomorad 2000, 9; Tomorad 2004, 96; Tomorad 2006, 280.
- 34 Over the last four years I have attempted to contact a number of museums and other institutions where many of these shabtis are supposed to be kept. So far, I have only been able to track down approximately one quarter of these artifacts. In these cases, I was able to get new photographs and to study them in detail. As for the remaining three quarters, in many cases they seem to have been lost or misplaced.
- 35 Speleers 1923, 64.
- 36 Wessetzky 1961, 15.
- 37 Wessetzky 1961, 15.
- 38 Selem 1972, 65–66.
- 39 Selem 1979, 83–84.
- 40 Tomorad 2000, 11–12; Tomorad 2004, 100; Tomorad 2006, 282; Tomorad & Deac 2013; Tomorad 2014; Tomorad 2015a; Tomorad 2017a.
- 41 Tomorad 2006, 282.
- 42 Tomorad 2000, 11–12; Tomorad 2004, 100; Tomorad 2006, 282.
- 43 Tomorad 2005a; Tomorad 2005b; Tomorad 2006, 282.
- 44 Tomorad 2006, 282.
- 45 Tomorad 2000, 11; Tomorad 2004, 99–100; Tomorad 2006, 284.
- 46 Shabtis that have been discovered in the Ukraine are kept in the Archaeological Museum in Krakow and the Museum of Oriental Civilizations in Zolochiv Castle in the Ukraine. See Tarasenko and Tomorad 2017.
- 47 Tomorad 2000, 11–12; Tomorad 2004, 100; Tomorad 2006, 284.
- 48 Tomorad 2000, 12; Tomorad 2004, 100; Tomorad 2006, 284.
- 49 Tomorad 2000, 12; Tomorad 2004, 100; Tomorad 2006, 284.
- 50 Tomorad 2017. The typology delineates classes A–O for shabtis, as well as one additional type (class P) that was not included in the previous typology.
- 51 Tomorad 2017. Pseudo-shabtis are divided into classes A–E.
- 52 Košljun: Franciscan monastery, inv. no. 642. Tomorad 2015a, 117, no. 11, 186–189; Tomorad 2015b, no. 2.1, 141–145; Tomorad 2018, no. 4.1, 399–400.
- 53 Osijek, Archaeological Museum, AA-6243. Degmedžić 1954, 147–148 t. 1; Pinterović 1954, 173; Leclant 1958, 98; Perc 1968, no. 48, 200–201; Selem 1972, 40; Pinterović 1978, 136; Selem 1980, no. 35, 22 t. IX; Selem 1997, no. 9.3, 143, t. LXXa; Göricke-Lukić 2000, 42, 91–92, 139; Tomorad 2000, 2–3, 10, 13; Bricault 2001, 125–126;



- Tomorad 2003, 75, 137–138; Tomorad 2004, 91, 97–98, 102, 109; Tomorad 2006, no. 19, 295; Tomorad 2012, 275; Deac 2013, no. 61, 126; Kovač 2013, 22–23; Kovač 2015, no. 9, 100; Deac 2017, no. 13, 249.
- <sup>54</sup> Zagreb: Archaeological Museum, inv. no. E-561. Monet Saleh 1970, no. 624, 139; Tomorad 2000, 2, 13; Tomorad 2004, 90, 109; Tomorad 2006, 297 no. 22 t. 74/3; Uranić 2007/2009, no. 428, 187; Tomorad 2011, 110, 115, 122, 125, 134; Selem 2012, no. 55, 55–56; Tomorad 2012, 278; Tomorad 2015, 168, no. 1, 179.
- <sup>55</sup> Frankfurt: Liebieghaus, inv. no. X 21.938. Grimm 1969, no. 88, 186–187, T. 6.1–2.
- <sup>56</sup> Grimm 1969, 301.
- <sup>57</sup> Zagreb: Archaeological Museum, inv. no. E-563. Monet Saleh 1970, no. 727, 158; Tomorad 2000, 2, 13; Tomorad 2004, 90, 109; 2006, 298 no. 24 t. 84; Uranić 2007/2009, no. 429, 187; Tomorad 2011, 110, 115, 122, 125, 134; Selem 2012, no. 56, 56; Tomorad 2012, 278. Private collection of the Marović family, from the Carrara-Bratanić collection from Split. Selem 1971, nos. 3–4, 113; Selem 1972, 19; Budischovsky 1977, no. 32, 207; Selem 1997, nos. 2.48–249, 89, t. XXIXb, XXXa; Tomorad 2000, 2, 10, 13; Bricault 2001, 129; Tomorad 2004, 91, 97, 105–107, 109; Tomorad 2006, nos. 7–8, 288–289, T.78/2, T.80/1; Selem 2012, nos. 51–52, 53–54; Tomorad 2012, 277; Tomorad 2015a, 176–177; Tomorad 2016, 186, 197; Tomorad 2017c, 220, 225, 237.
- <sup>58</sup> Split: Archaeological Museum, inv. no. G1625. Selem 1969, no. 26, 127, t. XVII.2–3; Selem 1972, 21; Budischovsky 1977, 186 t. XIII.2, XCIVa, XCIVc; Selem 1997, no. 4.6, 109–110, t. LIa; Tomorad 2000, 2, 9–10, 13; Bricault 2001, 129; Tomorad 2003, 78; Tomorad 2004, 90, 97, 108–109; Tomorad 2006, 287 no. 4 t. 78/1; Tomorad 2012, 277.
- <sup>59</sup> Split: Archaeological Museum, inv. no. B215. Selem 1969, no. 27, 127 t. XVIII; Selem 1972, 19; Budischovsky 1977, no. 29, 206, t. CI; Selem 1997, no. 2.43, 87 t. XXVI; Tomorad 2000, 2, 9–10, 13; Tomorad 2004, 90, 97, 108–109; Tomorad 2006, no. 17, 294, t. 83/1; Selem 2012, no. 47, 50–51; Tomorad 2012, 277.
- <sup>60</sup> Syracuse: Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 5884. Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 11, no. 51, 183; Haslauer 2006, 37–38, 47.
- <sup>61</sup> A shabti of this Type was found in 1869 in Obuda on Hajógyári island. It was kept in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest but was lost during the Second World War. Dobrovits 1943, 58, fig. 7; Wessetzky 1961, 15, fn. 2; Deac 2013, no. 50, 122; Deac 2017, no. 7, 245, fig. 140, 2.
- <sup>62</sup> Syracuse: Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 5883. Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 11, no. 50, 183; Haslauer 2006, 33–35, 45.
- <sup>63</sup> Private collection of the Marović family, from the Carrara-Bratanić collection from Split. Perc 1968, no. 88, 246; Selem 1971, nos. 1–2, 113; Selem 1972, 19; Budischovsky 1977, no. 32, 207; Selem 1997, nos. 2.46–2.47, 89, t. XXVIIIa; Tomorad 2000, 2, 10, 13; Bricault 2001, 129; Tomorad 2004, 91, 97, 105–107, 109; Tomorad 2006, nos. 5–6, 287–288, T.78/2, 79/1; Selem 2012, nos. 49–50, 52–53; Tomorad 2012, 277; Tomorad 2015a, 176–177; Tomorad 2016, 186, 197; Tomorad 2017c, 220, 225, 237.
- <sup>64</sup> Sepsiszentgyörgy: Székely National Museum, inv. no. 6433. A shabti of this Type was found in Aquincum (Budapest). Deac 2013, no. 46, 120, pl. 15–16; Deac 2017, no. 8, 245–246, fig. 140, 1.3a–d.
- <sup>65</sup> Guimet 1900, 76–77.
- <sup>66</sup> Private collection of the Lik family in Filipana (Croatia). Tomorad 2006, no. 29, 301.
- <sup>67</sup> Sepsiszentgyörgy: Székely National Museum, inv. no. 6435. A shabti of this Type was found in Aquincum (Budapest). Deac 2013, no. 48, 121, pl. 18; Deac 2017, no. 10, 246, 248, fig. 141.1 1a–b.
- <sup>68</sup> Split: Archaeological Museum, inv. no. B214. Selem 1969, no. 25, 126–127 t. XVIII.1; Selem 1972, 19; Budischovsky 1977, no. 28, 206 t. Cb; Selem 1997, no. 2.42, 86–87, t. XXIV; Tomorad 2000, 2, 9–10, 13; Tomorad 2004, 90, 97, 108–109; Tomorad 2006, no. 16, 293–294, t. 81/2; Selem 2012, no. 46, 49–50; Tomorad 2012, 277; Tomorad 2015a, 170, 174–175; Tomorad 2016a, 184–185, 197; Tomorad 2017a, 220, 224, 237; Tomorad 2017c, 255.
- <sup>69</sup> Sinj: Franciscan Monastery, inv. no. R299. Selem 1979, no. 2, 80 t. I; Selem 1997, no. 2.58, 93–94 t. XXXIII.a; Tomorad 2000, 2, 10; Tomorad 2004, 91, 97, 108–109; Tomorad 2006, no. 1, 285, t. 77.1;

- Uranić 2008, no. 3, 70; Tomorad 2012, 277.
- <sup>70</sup> Private collection of the Marović family, from the Carrara-Bratanić collection from Split. Selem 1971, no. 5, 113; Selem 1972, 19; Budischovsky 1977, no. 32, 207; Selem 1997, no. 2.50, 89, t. XXVIIIb; Tomorad 2000, 2, 10, 13; Bricault 2001, 129; Tomorad 2004, 91, 97, 105-107, 109; Tomorad 2006, no. 9, 290, T.80/2; Selem 2012, no. 53, 54-55; Tomorad 2012, 277; Tomorad 2015a, 176-177; Tomorad 2016, 186, 197; Tomorad 2017c, 220, 225, 237.
- <sup>71</sup> Karlsruhe-Durlach: Städtisches Pfinzgaumuseum, unknown inv. no. Grimm 1969, no. 119, 207, T. 6.3.
- <sup>72</sup> Split: Archaeological Museum, inv. no. G1626. Selem 1969, no. 28, 127, t. XIX.1; Selem 1972, 19; Budischovsky 1977, no. 30, 206, t. CIIa; Selem 1997, no. 2.44, 87, t. XXVII; Tomorad 2000, 2, 9-10, 13; Tomorad 2004, 90, 97, 108-109; Tomorad 2006, no. 18, 295, t. 83/2; Selem 2012, no. 48, 51; Tomorad 2012, 277.
- <sup>73</sup> Split: Private collection Marović. Tomorad 2006, no. 10, 290, Pl. 80/2.
- <sup>74</sup> Sinj: Franciscan monastery, R300. Tomorad 2006, no. 2, 286, Pl. 77/2. Zagreb: Archaeological Museum, E-563. Tomorad 20011, 110, 115, 122, 125, 134.
- <sup>75</sup> Zagreb: Archaeological Museum, inv. no. E-564. Tomorad 2000, 2, 13; Tomorad 2004, 90, 109; Tomorad 2006, no. 25, 298-299, t. 85; Tomorad 2011, 110, 115, 122, 126, 134; Selem 2012, no. 57, 56-57; Tomorad 2012, 278.
- <sup>76</sup> Split: Archaeological Museum, inv. no. G1623. Perc 1968, no. 88, 246; Selem 1969, no. 21, 126, t. XIV; Selem 1972, 18; Budischovsky 1977, no. 24, 204; Selem 1997, no. 2.38, 82-84, t. XXIIa; Tomorad 2000, 2, 9-10, 13; Tomorad 2004, 90, 97, 108-109; Tomorad 2006, no. 12, 291, t. 81/4; Selem 2008, no. 136, 186-188; Selem 2012, no. 42, 45; Tomorad 2012, 277.
- <sup>77</sup> Syracuse: Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 5884. Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 11, no. 51, 183; Haslauer 2006, 37-38, 47.
- <sup>78</sup> Split: Archaeological Museum, inv. no. G1624. Perc 1968, no. 88, 246; Selem 1969, no. 22, 126 t. XVI.1; Selem 1972, 18; Budischovsky 1977, no. 25, 204-205 t. XCVIIIc; Selem 1997, no. 2.39, 84-85 t. XXIIb; Tomorad 2000, 2, 9-10, 13; Tomorad 2004, 90, 97, 108-109; Tomorad 2006, no. 13, 292 t. 82/1; Selem 2012, no. 43, 46; Tomorad 2012, 277.
- <sup>79</sup> Craiova: Museum of Oltenia, inv. no. I 5060. Deac 2013, 201-202; Deac 2017, no. 19, 252-253, fig. 143, 1.
- <sup>80</sup> Leclant 1955, 173-175.
- <sup>81</sup> Private Domančić collection from Split, from the Marchi collection from Split. Selem 1972, 22; Budischovsky 1977, 185 t. XIII.1; Selem 1979, 83-84 t. 1; Selem 1997, 109 no. 4.5 t. Lb; Tomorad 2000, 2, 10, 13; Tomorad 2004, 90, 97-98, 108-109; Tomorad 2006, no. 3, 286, t. 77/3; Tomorad 2012, 277; Tomorad 2015a, 176-177; Tomorad 2016, 186, 197; Tomorad 2017a, 220, 225, 237.
- <sup>82</sup> Bad-Deutsch Altenburg: Museum Carnuntinum, inv. no. 9989. Budischovsky 1984, 36, fig. 4; Bricault 2001, 127; Deac 2013, no. 20, 109-110, pl. 12; Deac 2017, no. 1, 244, fig. 139, 1.
- <sup>83</sup> Sinj: Franciscan Monastery, R300. Selem 1979, no. 3, 80, t. II; Selem 1997, no. 2.59, 94, t. XXXIIIb; Tomorad 2000, 2, 10, 13; Tomorad 2004, 91, 97, 108-109; Tomorad 2006, 286 no. 2 t. 77.2; Uranić 2008, no. 4, 70; Tomorad 2012, 277.
- <sup>84</sup> Szekszárd: Balogh Ádám Museum, inv. no. 59.48.1. Lakatos 1961, no. 6, 10-11, fig 6. Deac 2017, 243, no. 4, 244-245.
- <sup>85</sup> Sepsiszentgyörgy: Székely National Museum, inv. no. 6434. A shabti of this Type was found in Aquincum (Budapest). Deac 2013, no. 47, 120-121, pl. 18; Deac 2017, no. 9, 246, fig. 141, 2a-d.
- <sup>86</sup> Four shabtis have been found around Arles. Guimet 1900, 83-84.
- <sup>87</sup> Zagreb: Archaeological Museum, E-565. Tomorad 2000, 2, 13; Tomorad 2004, 90, 109; Tomorad 2006, no. 26, 299; Tomorad 2011, 110; Tomorad 2012, 278.
- <sup>88</sup> Bad-Deutsch Altenburg: Museum Carnuntinum, inv. nos. 9988, 9990. Budischovsky 1984, 36, fig. 4; Bricault 2001, 127; Deac 2013, no. 21, 110, pl. 12; Deac 2017, nos. 2-3, 244, fig. 139, 2-3.
- <sup>89</sup> Zagreb: Archaeological Museum, GIK 348; Tomorad 2000, 2, 10; Tomorad 2004, 90, 109; Tomorad 2006, no. 21, 296-297; Tomorad 2011, 110; Tomorad 2012, 277-278.

- <sup>90</sup> Zagreb: Archaeological Museum, E-675. Tomorad 2000, 2, 13; Tomorad 2004, 90, 109; Tomorad 2006, no. 27, 300 Pl. 86-2; Tomorad 2011, 110, 115, 122, 126, 134; Tomorad 2012, 277–278.
- <sup>91</sup> Split: Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. B212–213. Selem 1961, 4; Selem 1969, nos. 23–24, 126, t. XV, XVI.2; Selem 1972, 18–19; Budischovsky 1977, no. 27, 205; Selem 1997, nos. 2.40–2.41, 85–86, t. XXIII, XXVa; Tomorad 2000, 2, 9–10, 13; Tomorad 2004, 90, 97, 108–109; Tomorad 2006, nos. 14–15, 292–293, t. 81/3, 82/2; Selem 2012, nos. 44–45, 47–48; Tomorad 2012, 277; Tomorad 2015a, 170, 174–175; Tomorad 2016a, 184–185, 197; Tomorad 2017a, 220, 224, 237; Tomorad 2017c, 75, fig. 92.
- <sup>92</sup> Sombor: City Museum, inv. no. 4100. Anđelković 2007, 229–231, 241, T. I/1; Anđelković 2015, 112, no. 1. Beograd: Jewish Historical Museum, inv. no. 365. Stefanović and Anđelković 2002. Beograd: National Museum, inv. no. 7/VI. Anđelković 2015, no. 5, 109.
- <sup>93</sup> Padova: Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d'Arte, Università di Padova, inv. nos. E-11, E-12, E-14; E-18.
- <sup>94</sup> Guimet 1900, 78–80.
- <sup>95</sup> Guimet 1900, 81–82.
- <sup>96</sup> Syracuse: Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 5885. Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 11, no. 52, 183; Haslauer 2006, 35–37, 47.
- <sup>97</sup> Split: Archaeological Museum, inv. no. B216. Selem 1969, no. 29, 127–128, t. XIX.2; Selem 1972, 20; Budischovsky 1977, no. 31, 207, t. CIIb; Selem 1997, no. 2.45, 88–89, t. XXVb; Tomorad 2000, 2, 9–10, 13; Tomorad 2004, 90, 97, 108–109; Tomorad 2006, no. 11, 290–291, t. 81/1; Selem 2012, no. 58, 57–58; Tomorad 2012, 277.
- <sup>98</sup> Padova: Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d'Arte Università Padova, inv. nos. E40–41, E43–44.
- <sup>99</sup> Košljun: Franciscan Monastery, inv. no. 641; Tomorad 2015a, 177, no. 12, 189–190; Tomorad 2015b, 141–142, no. 2.2, 144–145; Tomorad 2018, no. 4.2, 400–401.
- <sup>100</sup> Syracuse: Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 47425. Sfameni Gasparro 1973, no. 46, 180; Haslauer 2006, 41–42, 47.
- <sup>101</sup> Zagreb: Archaeological Museum, E-676. Tomorad 2000, 2, 13.; Tomorad 2004, 90, 109; Tomorad 2006, no. 28, 300–301 Pl. 86-3; Tomorad 2011, 110, 115, 122, 126, 134; Tomorad 2012, 277–278.
- <sup>102</sup> Split: Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Fb-757. Unpublished.
- <sup>103</sup> Osijek: Archaeological Museum, inv. no. AA-19469. Kovač 2013, 24–25; Kovač 2015, no. 10, 100–101.
- <sup>104</sup> Padova: Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d'Arte, Università di Padova, inv. nos. E41–44.
- <sup>105</sup> Osijek: Archaeological Museum, inv. no. AA-1340. Kovač 2013, 48–49; Kovač 2015, 96–97 no. 3.
- <sup>106</sup> Padova: Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d'Arte, Università di Padova, inv. nos. E21–25.
- <sup>107</sup> Syracuse: Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 47424. Sfameni Gasparro 1973, no. 45, 180; Haslauer 2006, 40–41, 47.
- <sup>108</sup> Caransebeș: Ethnography and Border Regiments County Museum, inv. no. 11791. Tomorad and Deac 2013; Deac 2017, no. 17, 251, fig. 142.1.
- <sup>109</sup> Craiova: Museum of Oltenia, inv. no. 15058/4674. Deac 2013, no. 231, 200–201; Deac 2017, no. 18, 251–253, fig. 143: 2.
- <sup>110</sup> Varna: Varna Museum, inv. II 2291. Bricault 2001, 30; Deac 2013, no. 260, 211; Deac 2017, no. 20, 252–253, fig. 143: 3.
- <sup>111</sup> Padova: Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d'Arte, Università di Padova, inv. no. E-17.
- <sup>112</sup> Padova: Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d'Arte, Università di Padova, inv. no. E-47.

**APPENDIX:  
TABLES 1–17**

**TABLE 1:** Shabtis discovered in the Roman Province of Britannia (Harris 1965, 113–114; Tomorad 2006, 280).

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY  | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|---|-------------------|
| Frinton in Essex <sup>a</sup>   | 1                 |
| Thorney near Ivey, Buckinghamshire <sup>b</sup>   | 1                 |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>2</b>          |
| <p><sup>a</sup> According to E. and J. R. Harris this is a 30th Dynasty shabti. It was found in 1964 near the bank of the Colne Brook to the east of Larbourne Farm, Thorney. It was published without images and there is no information about where this shabti is kept today (Harris 1965, 114).</p> <p><sup>b</sup> This is a shabti of Nesdjehuty, probably from the 25th Dynasty. It was found partly buried in loose, sandy soil in Frinton, Essex. It was published without images and there is no information as to where it is kept today (Harris 1965, 114).</p> |                   |

**TABLE 3:** Shabtis discovered in the Roman Province of Gallia Narbonensis (Bricault 2001, 105, 131; Tomorad 2006, 280).

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY              | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| Arausio (Orange)                | 1                 |
| Arelate (Arles)                 | 6                 |
| Avennio (Avignon)               | 1                 |
| Boutae (Annecy)                 | 1                 |
| Camaret                         | 1                 |
| Chastellard                     | 1                 |
| Entrepierres                    | 1                 |
| Forum Iulii (Fréjus)            | 1                 |
| Glanum (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence) | 1                 |
| Gonfaron                        | 1                 |
| Le Bastidonne                   | 1                 |
| Narbo Martius (Narbonne)        | 4                 |
| Nemausus (Nîmes) <sup>a</sup>   | 1                 |
| Pierrelatte                     | 1                 |
| Roaix                           | 3                 |
| Vasio (Vaison-la-Romaine)       | 1                 |
| <b>Total</b>                    | <b>26</b>         |
| <sup>a</sup> Guimet 1900, 86.   |                   |

**TABLE 2:** Shabtis discovered in the Roman Province of Gallia Belgica (Bricault 2001, 97, 101; Tomorad 2006, 280).

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY   | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| Antwerp              | 3                 |
| Blendecques          | 1                 |
| Samarobriva (Amiens) | 1                 |
| <b>Total</b>         | <b>5</b>          |

**TABLE 4:** Shabtis discovered in the Roman Province of Gallia Aquitania (Bricault 2001, 97; Tomorad 2006, 280).

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY            | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| Cossium (Bazas)               | 2                 |
| Mediolanum Santonum (Saintes) | 1                 |
| Ornolac-Ussat                 | 1                 |
| Rabastens                     | 1                 |
| <b>Total</b>                  | <b>5</b>          |



**TABLE 5:** Shabtis discovered in the Roman Province of Gallia Lugudensis (Selem 1972, 66, fn. 87; Bricault 2001, 97, 105; Tomorad 2006, 280).

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY   | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| Augustodunum (Autun) | 3                 |
| Jassans-Riottier     | 1                 |
| Locqmariaquer        | 1                 |
| Lugdunum (Lyon)      | 5                 |
| Lutetia (Paris)      | 2                 |
| Plougonven           | 5                 |
| Thun                 | 1                 |
| Trévoux              | 1                 |
| Torcy-le-Grand       | 1                 |
| <b>Total</b>         | <b>20</b>         |

**TABLE 7:** Shabtis discovered in the Roman Province of Germania Superior (Grimm 1969, 186–187, 206; Bricault 2001, 105; Tomorad 2006, 280).

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY                | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| Augusta Rauricorum (Augst)        | 1                 |
| Bonn <sup>a</sup>                 | 2                 |
| Güglingen <sup>b</sup>            | 1                 |
| Karlsruhe-Durlach <sup>c</sup>    | 1                 |
| Mogontiancum (Mainz) <sup>d</sup> | 2                 |
| Praunheim <sup>e</sup>            | 1                 |
| Saletia (Seltz)                   | 1                 |
| Vindonissa (Wildish) <sup>f</sup> | 1                 |
| <b>Total</b>                      | <b>10</b>         |

<sup>a</sup> Bonn: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. nos. 398, 29502.

<sup>b</sup> Found in 1860. According to Wiedemann it is a 26th dynasty shabti. It seems to be lost (Grimm 1969, no. 117, 206).

<sup>c</sup> Grimm 1969, no. 119, 207, T. 6.3.

<sup>d</sup> Bonn: Rheinischen Landesmuseum, inv. no. 407. The other shabti seems to be lost. They are both published without photographs (Grimm 1969, 33, fn. 2).

<sup>e</sup> Found in 1905 in Praunheim. Frankfurt: Liebieghaus, inv. no. X.21.938. It seems to be lost (Grimm 1969, no. 88, 186–187).

<sup>f</sup> It was kept in the Vindonissa Museum (Grimm 1969, 54, fn. 4).

**TABLE 6:** Shabtis discovered in the Roman Province of Germania Inferior (Grimm 1969, 178).

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY                         | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|--|-------------------|
| BadGodesberg <sup>a</sup>                  | 1                 |
| Colonia Agrippinensium (Köln) <sup>b</sup> | 13                |
| <b>Total</b>                               | <b>14</b>         |

<sup>a</sup> Found in 1889. There is no information on where it is kept today (Grimm 1969, no. 76, 178).

<sup>b</sup> One shabti was found on Benesis Street in Köln in 1883. Another twelve shabtis were discovered in Köln during the same year. One of them was kept in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Köln. They all seem to be lost (Grimm 1969, nos. 56–57, 165–166).

**TABLE 8:** Shabtis discovered in the Roman Province of Germania (Grimm 1969, 302).

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| Unknown site       | 2                 |
| <b>Total</b>       | <b>2</b>          |

**TABLE 9:** Shabtis discovered in the Roman Province of Alpes Graiae et Poeninae (Bricault 2001, 135; Tomorad 2006, 280).

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY                   | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Forum Claudii ceurorum, Axime (Aime) | 1                 |
| <b>Total</b>                         | <b>1</b>          |

**TABLE 11:** Shabtis discovered in Sicily (Haslauer 2006).

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY            | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| Biggemi/Syracuse <sup>a</sup> | 5                 |
| <b>Total</b>                  | <b>5</b>          |

<sup>a</sup> Syracuse: Museo Archeologico, inv. nos. 5883–5885, 8998, 47424–47425 (Haslauer 2006).

**TABLE 10:** Shabtis discovered Italy.

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY                    | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Alba Fucens (Alba)                    | 1                 |
| Aquileia (Aquilea)                    | 3                 |
| Herculaneum (Ercolano)                | ?                 |
| Lazio and Campania regio <sup>a</sup> | ?                 |
| Opitergium (Oderzo)                   | 2                 |
| Orbetello                             | 1                 |
| Ortona                                | 1                 |
| Ostia                                 | ?                 |
| Pompei                                | ?                 |
| Regium Lepidum (Reggio Emilia)        | 7                 |
| Rome                                  | ?                 |
| Santa Maria Cardetolda di Crecchio    | 1                 |
| Veneto, unknown sites <sup>b</sup>    | 25                |
| <b>Total</b>                          | <b>41+?</b>       |

<sup>a</sup> A large but uncertain number of shabtis have been discovered in Lazio and Campania. Where they are kept is uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> Budischovsky 1977; Bricault 2001, 119, 131, 137, 140; Tomorad 2006, 280; Menegazzi, Carrara, and Moser 2013. Eighteen unpublished shabtis and pseudo-shabtis are kept in Padova. Padova: Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d'Arte Universitate Padova, inv. nos. E11–12, E14, E17–18, E21–25, E38–44, E47.

**TABLE 12:** Shabtis discovered in Istria (Tomorad 2000, 13; Tomorad 2004, 91; Tomorad 2006, 301).

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| Kazale             | 1                 |
| <b>Total</b>       | <b>1</b>          |

**TABLE 13:** Shabtis discovered in the Roman Province of Dalmatia (Selem 1969; Selem 1997; Tomorad 2000; Tomorad 2004; Tomorad 2006; Tomorad 2015a).

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY            | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| Aenona (Nin)                  | 2                 |
| Claudia Aequum (Čitluk)       | 2                 |
| Curicum (Krk)                 | 2                 |
| Lika, unknown site            | 1                 |
| Middle Dalmatia, unknown site | 8                 |
| Muč                           | 1                 |
| Ostrožac                      | 1                 |
| Pharaos (Hvar)                | 2                 |
| Salona (Solin)                | 11                |
| <b>Total</b>                  | <b>30</b>         |

**TABLE 14:** Shabtis discovered in the Roman Province of Pannonia (Budischovsky 1984; Selem 1997; Tomorad 2000; Tomorad 2004; Tomorad 2006; Deac 2017).

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY   | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|--|-------------------|
| Aqua Balissae/Municipium Iasorum (Daruvar)   | 1                 |
| Aquincum (Budapest)  | 5                 |
| Báta   | 1                 |
| Brigetio (Szönyi)  | 1                 |
| Carnuntum (Deutsch Deutsch Altenburg) <sup>a</sup>   | 3                 |
| Ilok   | 1                 |
| Mursa (Osijek)   | 1                 |
| unknown sites  | 5                 |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>18</b>         |
| <sup>a</sup> Budischovsky 1984, 36, fig. 4; Bricault 2001, 127; Deac 2013, no. 20, 109–110, pl. 12; Deac 2017, no. 1, 244, fig. 1. |                   |

**TABLE 15:** Shabtis discovered in the Roman Province of Dacia (Tomorad and Deac 2013; Deac 2017).

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY            | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| Dacia Inferior, unknown sites | 2                 |
| Potaissa (Turda)              | 3                 |
| Tibiscum (Caransebeş)         | 1                 |
| <b>Total</b>                  | <b>6</b>          |

**TABLE 16:** Shabtis discovered in the Roman Province of Moesia (Deac 2017).

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| Dyonysopolis       | 2                 |
| <b>Total</b>       | <b>2</b>          |

**TABLE 17:** Shabtis discovered in the Roman Provinces of Europe.

| PLACE OF DISCOVERY | NUMBER OF SHABTIS |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| Alpes region       | 1                 |
| Britannia          | 2                 |
| Dacia              | 6                 |
| Dalmatia           | 30                |
| Gallia             | 56                |
| Germania           | 26                |
| Istria             | 1                 |
| Italy              | 41+               |
| Moesia             | 2                 |
| Pannonia           | 18                |
| Sicily             | 5+                |
| <b>Total</b>       | <b>188</b>        |