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Preface

The history of Ancient Egypt has been studied in the region of Southeast Europe since the end of the nineteenth century. In some countries it seems that the history of the Ancient Egypt was not scholarly researched for various reasons, but mainly because of the undeveloped scholarly capabilities and institutions, insufficient funds for archaeological research in Egypt, and the lack of cooperation with scholars from other countries.

Since the 1960's, however, this situation has changed for the better, first with the numerous publications of the diffusion of the Ancient Egyptian cults during Graeco-Roman period, and then with publications (articles, catalogues, books) about the Ancient Egyptian collections in various museum institutions from Southeast Europe.

Since the early 1990's, we can trace the increased production of various scholarly papers in which researchers from Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Romania, and Bulgaria, not only researched the Egyptian cults in Roman Empire, but also the various aspects of the history, religion and literature of the Ancient Egypt. Their research, however, was mostly unknown to the scholars outside this region primarily because their results were written in their own native languages. In this book we will try to give a review of the history of the research done in this region of the Ancient Egypt, and present some of the latest research.

In it you will find a selection of papers in which scholars from various institutions in this region reviewed the different aspects of past studies and the development of the research of the Ancient Egypt in some countries, along with recent research in the field. We hope that this publication will be useful for all scholars who are unfamiliar with the historiography of this region.

Zagreb, 12 July, 2014

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Chapter I:
The History of the Research of the Ancient Egypt in Southeast Europe

150 Years of Egyptological Reseach in Croatia (1862-2012)

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Abstract**:** *In this paper the author will give a review about the development of Egyptological research in Croatia, which started in 1862. Even though Egyptology was never one of the major fields of ancient history in Croatia there are several main researchers (Š. Ljubić, G. Manojlović, G. Novak, P. Lisičar, P. Selem, I. Uranić, M. Tomorad), and almost two hundred scientific works written by other archaeologists and historians in the last 150 years. All of these works cover various aspects of Egyptian history, culture, religion and artifacts which are preserved in Croatian institutional and private collections. The authors review is based on his own research of Croatian historiography which started at the end of the last decade of the 20th century and continues today.*

Keywords*: Ancient Egypt, Croatia, Egyptology, historiography, history, archaeology, research, culture, religion, artifacts, museum collection*

There are several anniversaries in the world of Egyptology in 2012. It has been exactly 190 years since hyeroglyphs were first deciphered by F. Champollion in 1822 and 100 years since the discovery of the famous Nefretiti bust was discovered in Tell el-Amarna in 1912. There is also one not so famous event; 150 years since the start of Egyptological research in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, where Croatian Egyptology was born in 1862.

In the middle of the 19th century, when the first explorative expeditions began work in the Middle East and Egypt, Croatian historians and archaeologists were mostly concerned with their own national antiquities from prehistory, the Graeco-Roman period, the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. Even since 1862 Croatian historians have not fully embraced the study of Ancient Egypt. This is not difficult to understand. Croatia has a relatively small amount of original material (between 4500 to 5000 artifacts in various institutional and private collections), insufficient funds and not enough scholars for its own field research. These issues have not prevented us from starting our own research in Egypt and the Middle East. In most Croatian institutions there are not enough books, periodicals and catalogues to allow scholars to keep pace with current problems and research. Croatia also does not have a central institution which can gather scholars from various fields. That is the main reason why our research is very segmented and spread between a great number of museums and two departments at the University in Zagreb (Department of History at the Faculty of Philosophy and Department of History at Croatian Studies).

In the days of the great French, British, German and Italian expeditions in Egypt, in the middle of 19th century, the first stage of Egyptological research in Croatia started. It is mostly connected with two private collections which arrived to the National Museum in Zagreb (today Archaeological Museum in Zagreb) between 1862 and 1868. The first collection of the famous 'Zagreb mummy' (fig. 1), with its linen Etruscan wrappings (*Liber linteus Zagrabiensis*) (fig. 2) and two other artifacts (Inv. Nos. AMZ E-664, E-665), belonged to Mihael Barić and his brother Ilija.[1] They were bought by Mihael Barić from Egypt in 1848/1849[2] and then after his death they were donated through his will to the National Museum in Zagreb.[3] These first documented Egyptian artifacts came to the museum in early August, 1862 when they were first examined by custodian Mijat Sabljar (1790-1865).[4] The second private collection to be donated was of the Austrian baron Franz Koller (1767–1826) (fig. 3) with cca. 2100 ancient Egyptian artifacts. They came to the museum at the end of April 1868[5] with the help of Croatian enthusiasts and maecenas (Josip Juraj Strossmayer, Franjo Rački), noble families (Drašković, Rauch, Janković, Vranizany-Dobrinović etc.) and Juraj Haulik, the archbishop of Zagreb.[6] Together they donated 3000 forints for purchase of the collection.[7] During the second half of the 19th and the early 20th centuries the nucleus of today's Egyptian department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb was expanded by a whole series of small donations and purchases.[8]

Since the early 1870s, other analyses of Egyptian artifacts also started in museum institutions around Croatia. The largest and most important collections were formed in Dubrovnik and Split, and later in Pula, Varaždin, Osijek, Zadar, Sinj etc.[9] In 1987 the 'Museum Mimara' in Zagreb opened its doors to the public with the second largest Egyptian collection in Croatia.[10] During that same time almost twenty other institutional and private collections were formed in many different towns from Slavonia to the Adriatic coast.

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1 Tomorad 2003a: 31, 81; Tomorad 2005a: 3; Tomorad, in press.
2 Tomorad 2003a: 28.
3 Tomorad 2003a: 28; 82; Tomorad, in press.
4 Tomorad 2003a: 83.
5 Ljubić 1889a: 2; Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 202; Tomorad 2003a: 20.
6 Tomorad 2003a: 20.
7 Ljubić 1889a: 1; Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 201; Tomorad 2003a: 20.
8 Tomorad 2006a: 7-10. The most updated list will be published in: Tomorad, in press.
9 A full list of artifacts in the Croatian collections, along with their history, see in: Tomorad 2005a; Tomorad 2006a; Tomorad, in press.
10 Tomorad 2003a: 63-69; Tomorad 2005a: 12-13; Tomorad 2006a: 16-18; Tomorad, in press.

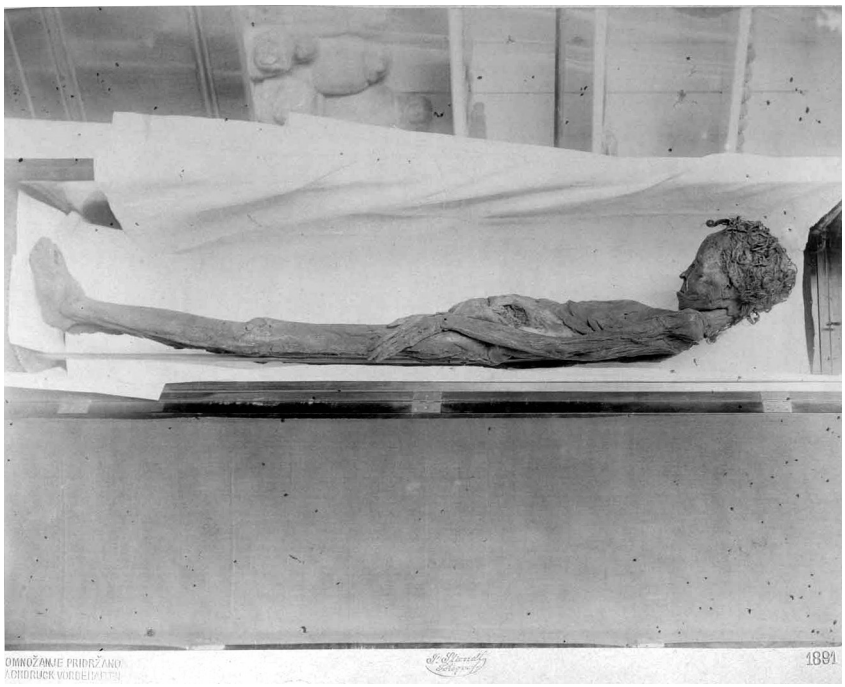


Fig. 1 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Zagreb mummy, inv. no. AMZ E-664, c. 1891. The photographic collection of the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.

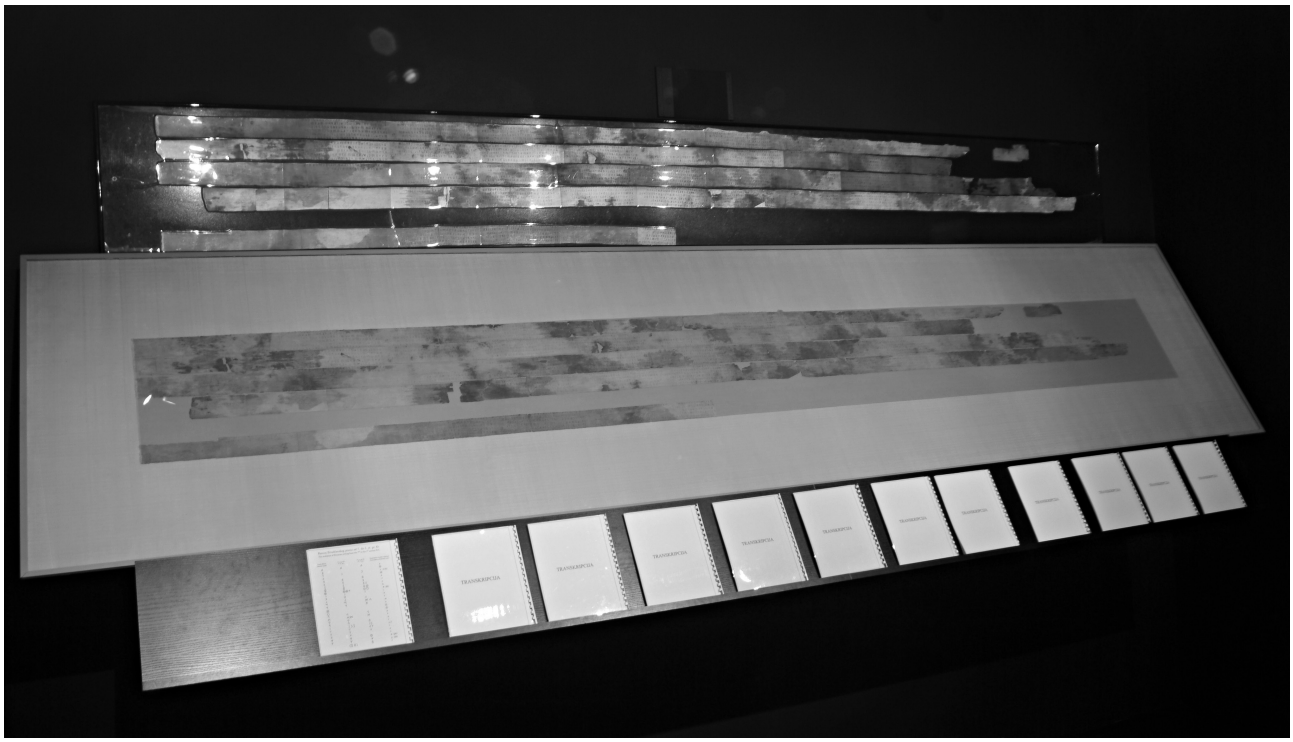


Fig. 2 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: *Liber linteus Zagrabiensis*, inv. no. AMZ E-665. Photo: F. Beusan, 2004.



Fig. 3 Franz Koller. The photographic collection of the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.

The Egyptological collections and material found during archaeological excavations since the early 19th century allowed scholars to become interested in contemporary work in this field. Since 1869 there were visits by well known Egyptologists and Orientalists (e.g. H. Brugsch, R. Krehl, L. Reinisch, R. F. Burton, etc.) who made the first analysis of our Egyptological material in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.[11] During that same time the importance of the 'Zagreb Mummy' and *Liber linteus zagrabiensis* which were kept the Archeological Museum in Zagreb became widely known among scholars around the world.[12]

During the last 150 years the work of several scholars has been associated with Egyptian studies in Croatia. Šime Ljubić (fig. 4) was curator and later director of the National Museum, out of which the present day Archeological museum in Zagreb developed.[13] Gavro Manojlović (1856-1938) was a professor of general history of the Ancient world at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb.[14] Grga Novak (1888-1978) was a professor of the Ancient history at the same faculty.[15] Petar Lisičar (1908-1987) was a professor of the Ancient history first at the University of



Fig. 4 Šime Ljubić. The photographic collection of the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.

Skoplje and later at the Universtity of Zadar.[16] Petar Selem (1936-) is a currently retired professor emeritus of the Ancient history at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb.[17] Igor Uranić (1960-) is the curator of the Department of Egyptology in the Archeological Museum in Zagreb.[18] Finally, Mladen Tomorad (1971-) was firstly assistant at the Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy and later he became professor of the Ancient history at the Croatian Studies, both at the University of Zagreb.

The initial study of the Ancient Egyptian collection in the National Museum was instigated by Šime Ljubić (1822-1896).[19]. Work on the newly established Egyptian collection started almost immediately. In 1869 he invited the famous German Egyptologist Heinrich Ferdinand Karl Brugsch (1827-1894) to examine and analyse the Ancient Egyptian collection.[20] Brugsch notes, with his analysis of the artifacts, were used for the first inventory[21]. Brugsch

11 Tomorad 2003a: 83-84.
12 Mirnik & Rendić-Miočević 1986; Mirnik & Rendić-Miočević 1987; Mirnik & Rendić-Miočević, Uranić 1996; Tomorad 2003a: 83-89; Tomorad 2003b.
13 Tomorad 2003a: 83-85, 90-91.
14 The detail analysis of his work see in: Tomorad 2003a: 108-115.
15 The detail analysis of his work see in: Tomorad 2003a: 115-134.
16 The detail analysis of his work see in: Tomorad 2003a: 166-169.
17 The detail analysis of his work see in: Tomorad 2003a: 169-180.
18 The detail analysis of his work see in: Tomorad 2003a: 180-186.
19 Tomorad 2003a: 33.
20 Ljubić 1871; Tomorad 2003a: 33, 83-84, 90.
21 Tomorad 2003a: 90.

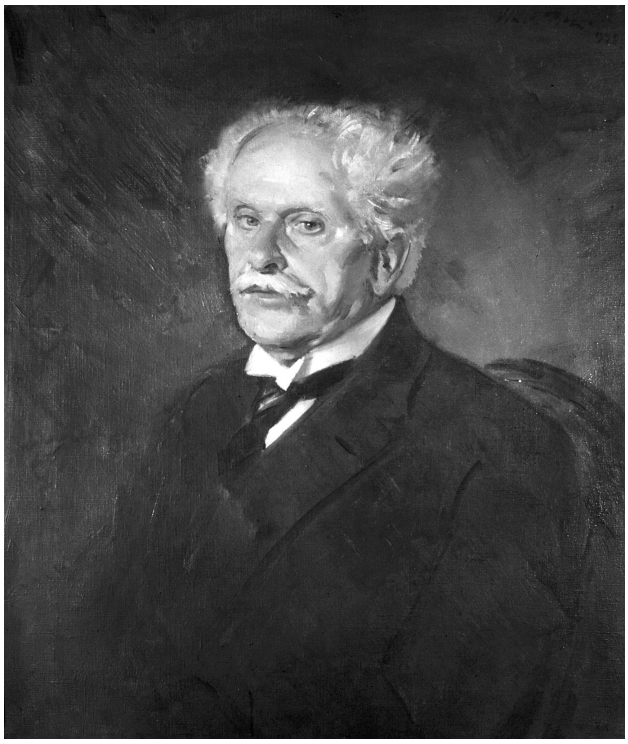


Fig. 5 Gavro Manojlović. The photographic collection of the Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography, Zagreb.



Fig. 6 Grga Novak. The photographic collection of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb.

essential information about the artifacts Ljubić later used for the first two catalogues of this impressive collection which were publish in 1871[22] and 1889[23]. During his later years Ljubić also wrote and published the first article by Croatian scholar about the diffusion of the Ancient Egyptian cults in the Graeco-Roman. This article also contains the analysis of the cult of Hellenistic child-god Harpocrates.[24]

In the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries a whole series of scientific, historical and archaeological articles were published in Croatian periodicals and newspapers covering recent and relevant older sources.[25] At the end of 19th century research of Ancient Egyptian culture was made possible by translations of recent publications[26] and basic ancient sources.[27]

In the late 19th and early 20th century two very important Croatian scholars (historians and archaeologists) started their academic work. From their earliest days, they based their research around civilizations of the Ancient Near East and Egypt. Historian Gavro Manojlović (fig. 5), as a professor and member of the Croatian and Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, published *Povijest Starog Orijenta* (*History of the Ancient Near East*) in 1923.[28] This book was the first attempt to provide a comprehensive historical account of the Ancient Near East down to the 12th century B.C. In 1927 he attempted to write a philosophical history *Sile pokretnice i pravilnosti u univerzalnoj historiji* (*The Universal Forces and Laws of History*) which included certain elements of the history of the Ancient Near East.[29]

The second historian, Grga Novak (fig. 6), was a professor and member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and was the most important scholar in the field of Egyptology from the early 20th century until the late 1960's. He infused his enormous expertise and energy into his writing, lectures and travels to Ancient Egypt[30]. His public lectures and series of newspaper articles enabled a much wider public circle to become interested in Ancient Egyptian history and culture. During the early 1940's he wrote six scientific studies for *Hrvatska enciklopedija* (*The Croatian Encyclopedia*.[31] His most important work was a monographic study of Ancient Egyptian civilization published in 1967 as a book entitled *Egipat – prethistorija,*

22 Ljubić 1871.
23 Ljubić 1889a; Ljubić 1889b.
24 Ljubić 1887.
25 Tomorad 2003a: 90-94, 99-134.
26 Gaston Maspero, *Histoire des peuples de l'Orient.* This book was published in Croatian as *Poviest iztočnih naroda u starom vieku* in 1883. Translated from French by Gavro Manojlović.
27 Herodotus, *The Histories* by published in Croatian as *Herodotova povijest* (1887). Translated from ancient Greek by August Musić.
28 Manojlović 1923.
29 Manojlović 1927.
30 He traveled to Egypt from Christmas, 1932 to late February, 1933, and again from June 30th to July 16th, 1935. His travel journal was published in thirteen articles in the daily newspaper *Novosti* from January 13th to April 12th, 1933. (Novak 1933a-m) His second journey was published in Jadranska straža in 1935. (Novak 1935) After the Second World War his articles were published as a book entitled *U zemlji faraona* (*In the Land of the Pharaohs*). (Novak 1945c) The detail analysis of these publications in: Tomorad 2003a: 117-122.
31 Novak 1941a; Novak 1941b; Novak 1941c; Novak 1934; Novak 1945a; Novak 1945b.



Fig. 7 Petar Lisičar. The photographic collection of the Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography, Zagreb.

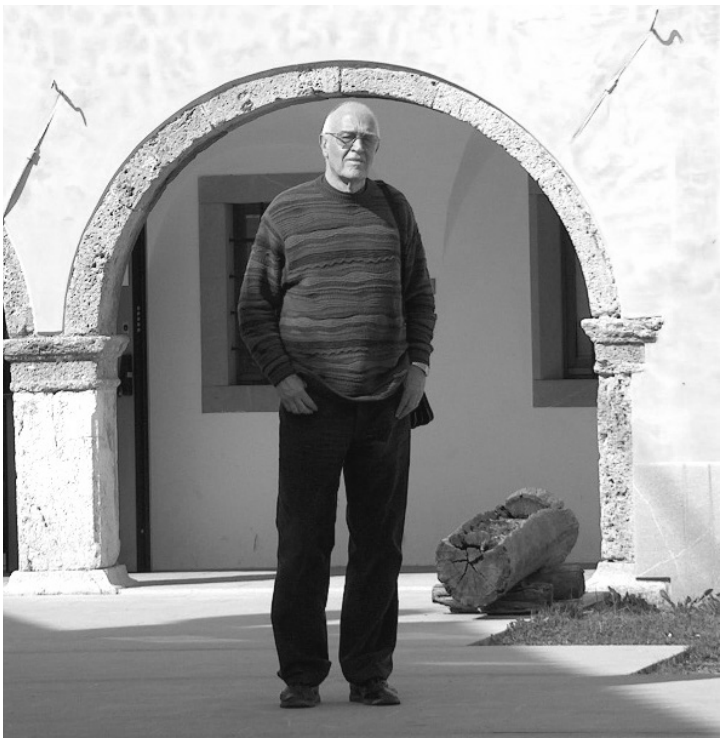


Fig. 8 Petar Selem, 2003. Photo by M. Tomorad.

faraoni, osvajači, kultura (*Egypt – prehistory, the Pharaohs, conquerors, culture*).[32]

Petar Lisičar (fig. 7) also made important contributions to the development of Egyptology in Croatia. From the 1956 to the 1975 he published several university textbooks about the history of the ancient world. For the field of Egyptology the most important are his studies of the history of Ancient Egypt[33] and the Ancient Near East[34].

From the early 1960's until the end of 1990s the most important Croatian Orientalist and Egyptologist was Petar Selem (fig. 8). During his active work (from the early 1960's until his retirement in 2006) he worked as a professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb. He studied Egyptology and the history and art of the Ancient Near East in Strasbourg, France where he studied under the supervision of the famous French Egyptologist J. Leclant.[35] From the 1960's onwards he published a whole series of articles on various aspects of the difussion of the Oriental and Egyptian cults with an analysis of artifacts from the Roman provinces *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*.[36] In them he considered the problems of Isis cults and surveys of Oriental cultural phenomena.[37]

Since the year 1990, Igor Uranić, who studied Egyptology at the University of Budapest, systematically analyse and write articles mostly about the museum's holdings of the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.[38] Since the middle of the 1990's he worked as the curator and later as the head of the Egyptological Department at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Uranić published the first two monographies about ancient Egyptian religion and mythology written by Croatian scholars; the first entitled *Sinovi Sunca* (*Sons of the Sun*) was published in 1997[39], and the second entitled *Ozirisova zemlja* (*The land of Osiris*) in 2005[40]. In 2002 he published the first systematic study on Ancient Egyptian history since 1967. The book was entitled *Stari Egipat – povijest, književnost i umjetnost drevnih Egipćana (Ancient Egypt – history, literature and art)* and was published in two editions.[41] In 2014 he published the first Croatian book about the life of Ancient Egyptians entitled *Životi Egipćana* (*The lifes of Egyptians*). Since the end of 2012 I. Uranić and Kristina Šekrst started the series of lectures about the ancient Egyptian language at the Archaeological museum in Zagreb. The result of their cooperation is the first book about the Ancient Egyptian language and grammer written by Croatian scholar.[42]

[32] Novak 1967.
[33] Lisičar 1956.
[34] Lisičar 1966; Lisičar 1972; Lisičar 1975.
[35] Tomorad 2003a: 169.
[36] Selem 1963a; Selem 1963b; Selem 1969; Selem 1970; Selem 1971; Selem 1972; Selem 1979; Selem 1980; Selem 1988; Selem 1997; Selem 1999; Selem 2000; Selem 2002; Selem 2006; Selem 2008; Selem 2009.
[37] Tomorad 2003a: 169-180.
[38] Uranić 1990; Uranić 1992; Uranić 1994; Uranić 1996a; Uranić 1996b; Uranić 1999a; Uranić 2003a; Uranić 2003b; Uranić 2004; Uranić 2005a; Uranić 2005c; Uranić 2006; Uranić 2009; Uranić, Čavka & Petaros 2012.
[39] Uranić 1997
[40] Uranić 2005d.
[41] The first in 2002, and second revised edition in 2005. Uranić 2002b; Uranić 2005b.
[42] Šekrst & Uranić 2014.

The last Croatian scholar in the field of Egyptology is Mladen Tomorad. He studied Egyptology at the Faculty of Life Sciences, University of Manchester. He started his research in the middle of the 1990's at the Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb where he worked from 2000 to 2011. Since 2011 he has been an assistant professor of Ancient History in the Department of History, Croatian Studies, Univesity of Zagreb. His research and work can be divided into several fields: the Egyptian institutional and private collections in Croatia[43], diffusion of the Ancient Egyptian cults during the Graeco-Roman period[44], development of Egyptology in Croatia and in the world[45], funeral practices and architecture[46], religion[47], art[48], history and everyday life of Ancient Egypt from prehistory to the Arab conquest[49], and usage of names and titles in academic works[50]. He is also head of the first Egyptologicial project in Croatia, *Croato-Aegyptica Electronica*[51] (since 2003) and the main editor of the two web site related to the history of Ancient world and Egypt.[52] He also published the only book about the development of the Egyptian collections in Croatia and the history of the Egyptology in Croatia in 2003 entitled Egipat u Hrvatskoj (Egypt in Croatia). He latest book *Staroegipatska civilizacija* (*Ancient Egyptian civilization*) is currently in process of publishing.[53]

In the last 150 years Egyptian culture and history have not been the subjects of much study in Croatian historiography. Only recently, since the end of 1990's, I. Uranić and M. Tomorad started to study and publish various articles and books about history, culture, mythology, religion and the everyday life of Ancient Egypt. Until then the scientific works of Croatian scholars were mostly segmented.

Of the articles and books researched and analyzed, only certain aspects of Egyptian culture were addressed, mostly from the Graeco–Roman period. Such segmented studies were mostly connected with the diffusion of the Ancient Egyptian and other Oriental cults which had left traces on various regions in Croatia. Our own archaeological material from the Roman Empire made it possible for a greater number of specialists from different fields (art historians, archaeologists, philologists, historians) to write about various aspects of the diffusion of Hellenistic traditions and cults.[54] P. Selem wrote two monographic books about the diffusion of Ancient Egyptian cults (*Les religions Orientales dans la Pannonie Romaine: partie en Yougoslavie*, 1980; *Izidin trag*, 1997). Indeed, in this aspect, Croatian scholars are on the European and world level.

Our scholars (G. Novak, D. Rendić-Miočević, M. Gorenc, P. Selem, I. Mirnik, A. Rendić-Miočević, M. Tomorad, and I. Uranić) have all visited the cradle of civilization – Egypt, and some have even published their accounts in newspapers and journals (i.e. Grga Novak). Others registered their experiences in the form of professional reports which have found a place in museum records. In addition, the contacts they made sometimes resulted in gifts of artifacts. The most outstanding among them being the sarcophagus and mummy presented by the Egyptian government in 1973[55] and attempts to organize two large exhibitions of Egyptian art between 1978 and 1981 which unfortunately were not realized.[56]

Over the last 150 years Croatian Egyptology slowly developed during four main periods.[57] In the first period, from 1862 to the end of the 19th century[58], the centres of attention and the studies of our first scholars were mostly in museums and private collections of Ancient Egyptian artifacts in Croatia (e.g. numerious articles written by F. Bulić[59] (fig. 9). During the second period, from early 20th century to the 1960's[60], scholars mostly analyzed and interpretated our own archaeological material connected with the diffusion of Hellenistic cults. In the same period the first historical monographies[61], university textbooks[62] and scientific articles in our encyclopedias[63] were written.

During the third period, from the 1960's to the 1990's[64], the first professionally trained specialist appeared (P. Selem). The new focuses in world historiography towards the social background, found their way into the research of Ancient Egyptian civilizations. In Croatian historiography one of the most common aspects of such research was

[43] Tomorad 2000; Tomorad 2002; Tomorad 2003a; Tomorad 2003b; Tomorad 2004a; Tomorad 2005a; Tomorad 2006a; Tomorad 2006b; Tomorad & Uranić 2006a; Tomorad & Uranić 2006b; Tomorad 2007a; Tomorad 2007b; Tomorad 2009a; Tomorad 2011; Tomorad 2012b; Tomorad 2012e; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014; Tomorad, in press;

[44] Tomorad 2000; Tomorad 2004a; Tomorad 2005b; Tomorad 2005c; Tomorad 2006b; Pernjak & Tomorad 2014; Pernjak, Štruklec & Tomorad 2014; Tomorad, in press.

[45] Tomorad 2003a; Tomorad 2004b; Tomorad, in press.

[46] Tomorad 2000; Tomorad 2002; Tomorad 2004a; Tomorad 2006b; Tomorad 2006c; Tomorad 2009a; Tomorad 2009d; Tomorad 2009f; Tomorad 2011; Tomorad 2012b; Tomorad, in press.

[47] Tomorad 2005b; Tomorad 2005c; Tomorad 2009f; Tomorad 2012c.

[48] Tomorad 2012d; Tomorad, in press.

[49] Tomorad 2004d; Tomorad 2008; Tomorad 2009e; Tomorad, in press.

[50] Tomorad 2009c; Tomorad, in press.

[51] Tomorad 2004c; Tomorad 2009b;

[52] *Croato-Aegyptica Electronica* [www.croato-aegyptica.hr] and *Stara povijest* [www.starapovijest.eu].

[53] It will be probably published in two separate volumes: Vol. I Staroegipatska civilizacija, and Vol. 2 Uvod u egiptološke studije. It suppose to come out of print in 2015.

[54] Lisičar 1961; Selem 1961; Suić 1965; Cambi 1971; Selem 1971; Jurkić-Girardi 1972; Selem 1972; Jurkić-Girardi 1974; Jurkić-Girardi 1976; Medini 1976; Jurkić-Girardi 1978; Selem 1978; Selem 1979; Selem 1980; Selem 1988; Selem 1997; Bugarski-Mesdijan 1999; Merdita 1999; Selem 1999; Selem 2000; Tomorad 2000; Džin 2001; Jurkić-Girardi 2001; Giunio 2002; Selem 2002; Bugarski-Mesdijan 2004; Tomorad 2004a; Džin 2005; Jurkić-Girardi 2005; Tomorad 2005b; Tomorad 2005c; Selem 2006; Tomorad 2006b; Selem 2008; Jurkić-Girardi 2009; Selem 2009; Pernjak, Pernjak and Tomorad 2014.

[55] Tomorad 2003a: 165.

[56] Tomorad 2003a: 163-164.

[57] The very detail analysis of these period in: Tomorad 2003a: 81-196.

[58] The detail analysis of this period: Tomorad 2003a: 81-98.

[59] Bulić 1879; Bulić 1885; Bulić 1886; Bulić 1887; Bulić 1888; Bulić 1896; Bulić 1896; Bulić 1903; Bulić 1908; Bulić 1910a; Bulić 1910b; Bulić 1910c; Bulić 1927.

[60] The detail analysis of this period in: Tomorad 2003a: 99-134.

[61] Manojlović 1923; Novak 1967.

[62] Novak 1955; Lisičar 1956; Lisičar 1966; Lisičar 1972; Lisičar 1975.

[63] Marković 1945; Novak 1941a; Novak 1941b; Novak 1941c; Novak 1934; Novak 1945a; Novak 1945b; Skok 1945; Širola 1945; Šeper 1962.

[64] The detail analysis of this period: Tomorad 2003a: 135-188.

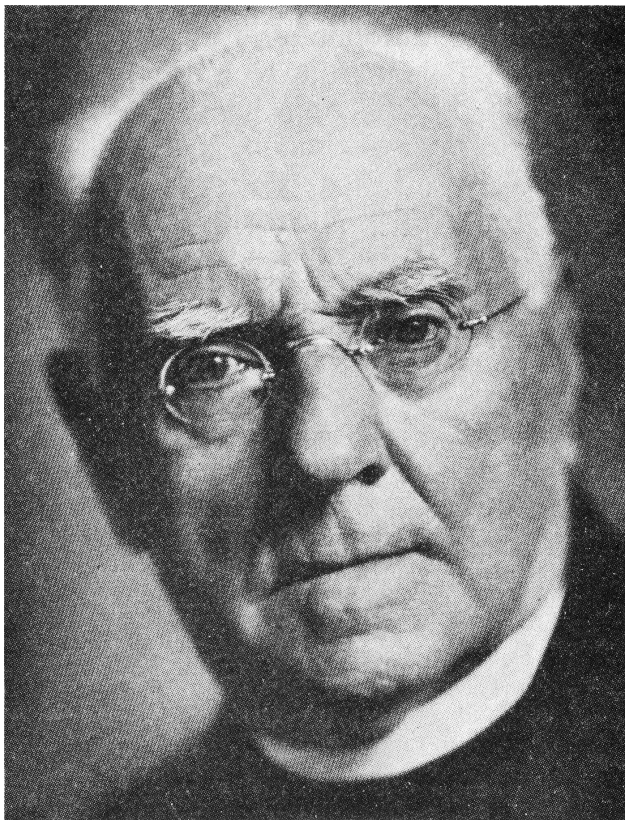


Fig. 9 Frane Bulić. The photographic collection of the Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography, Zagreb.

based on the diffusion of Ancient Egyptian cults in the Roman Empire and the social elements of such diffusion. During these periods various scientific works were written about music[65], literature[66], building and architecture[67] and religion[68].

The final period began at the early 1990's when I. Uranić started his work in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. During this period the center of research became the holdings of the institutional collections in Croatia. Since the end of 1990's many Ancient Egyptian collections were rediscovered in museum depos and anylised as part of our first Egyptological project *Croato-Aegyptica* since 2003. Several monographies and a great number of articles about Ancient Egyptian religion, history and culture were also written by M. Tomorad and I. Uranić. Croatian Egyptologists started connections with their colleagues outside Croatia and Egyptological centers around the world. As the result of all these work the real Egyptology was finally born in Croatia.

My analysis of Croatian publications[69] showed that the majority of our Egyptological research is connected with the analysis of our collections and the existence of the Oriental and the Egyptian cults in the provinces of the Roman Empire. General monographies about Ancient Egyptian history and culture are rarely written[70]. At the same time, major capital books and works from the fields of Egyptology and Oriental studies were not translated. The lack of funding and interest among most Croatian historians can be seen from the fact that the Croatian National and University library in Zagreb is not subscribed to a single periodical covering Egyptian studies. However, a new library at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb has access to several online databases which cover some of the Egyptological periodicals. The library of the Archaeological museum in Zagreb also well cover various Egyptological publications and books. Sadly at the moment Croatia does not have any institute specialized in Ancient history in which a department of Oriental and Egyptian Studies could develop. In Central and Eastern Europe such institutions exists in France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Greece, Russia and Armenia. During the last few years my colleagues and I developed connections with many museums and certain number of institutes and universities in order to train younger scholars in the fields of Egyptology and Oriental studies in the near future. At the moment several young historians showed interest in these subjects and they plan to continue their education in ancient history on a PhD level or to study Egyptology outside Croatia. There are plans for the further development of Egyptology in Croatia: to start multi-institutional summer school of Ancient history, Egyptology and Oriental studies, online Egyptological paper and online accessible digital catalogue of our institutional and private collections. In june 2015, the 7th CECE conference of European Egyptologists will be organized by Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb which could make Egyptology more popular in Croatia. My colleagues and I have hope that by these means Croatian historical sciences may include contemporary Ancient Egyptian studies in the near future.

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[65] Antić 1971; Andreis 1989.
[66] (Selem 1973a; Selem 1973b; Selem 1976; Petrović 1982; Višić 1989; Višić 1993)
[67] Gvozdanović 1962; Milić 1990; Hudec 1998.
[68] Gospodinović 1993.
[69] Tomorad 2003a: 189-196.
[70] Manojlović 1923; Lisičar 1956; Novak 1967; Uranić 2002a; Tomorad 2003a; Uranić 2005d; Šekrst & Uranić 2014; Uranić 2014; Tomorad, in press.

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The Borderline between Predynastic and Dynastic Egypt (4000–3000 B.C.) in the Works of Croatian Egyptologists and Scholar

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***Abstract**: Since its establishment Egyptology has undergone development and change. During its formative years, people were primarily amazed by the splendours and artifacts of pharaonic Egypt. The predynastic period, however, was often neglected and marginalized. But there were some Egyptologists who directed their focus on that particular period, and with good reason. It is now understood that it is impossible to study the pharaonic era without studying the periods which preceded it, from which roots of later Egypt's most noteworthy elements lie (writing, agriculture, burial, weapons, tools, etc.). For this, and many other reasons it is necessary to examine this period with an open mind. Since Croatian scientists have also studied Ancient Egypt, an attempt is made to examine how they perceived the aforementioned time of Egypt's history, considering their background and way of thinking.*

***Keywords**: predynastic, dynastic, transition, symbols, Grga Novak, Gavro Manojlović, Petar Selem, Mladen Tomorad, Igor Uranić*

1. Introduction

The issue of setting an author and his/hers research in a context of their time is still problematic today. It is then often discarded as unreliable and faulty. This is something that is commonly perceived according to my own experience and studies. In this paper I will examine how five Croatian scholars (archaeologists, historians, Egyptologists) represented the period of transition from predynastic to dynastic Egypt. The importance of the time lies in what is referred to as state formation. This is regarded as the offset of the ancient Egyptian civilization. It was very well presented by one of the Egyptologists, Igor Uranić: '*The crossing from the predynastic to the dynastic period is therefore, for Egypt, very important. It is as if something magical happened there, something that hides the secret of the birth of civilization from our eyes'*.[1]

How well is this period present in the works of 19th and 20th century authors exemplify the importance one sets on the topic and the way of thinking of an individual researcher. It also questions the familiarity of such researchers with the theme, the effort they put into their work, the successful application and the possibility of learning from their mistakes.

Each researcher will be represented individually. His work will be assessed by the amount of information provided of the period, *e.g.* chapter(s). This is considered in the amount of effort placed upon the subject, as well as time and information, but understanding it from the context of the writers time. Afterwards these will be brought together for analysis, comparing and noting changes through time. Finally, the conclusion will put the topic in a broader perspective and future potential will be explored.

My theoretical framework will take on a book and articles review approach, with the exception of focusing on a particular section, that of the transition. Rather, what has been written, what was neglected, the mistakes made and forward thinking, such as comparison or establishing relationships, and so on, will present my analysis. Although I focus on a very specific topic, it does touch upon broader issues. For example, similar trails of thought can be found in other parts of the world which examined such themes. It can then be better understood, why was it written and researched in such a way and how did this affect the outcome of the research.

2. Gavro Manojlović

One of the earliest Croatian scientists who took up the study of Ancient Egypt was Gavro Manojlović. With his *History of the Ancient Orient* (1923)[2] (fig. 10) he introduced the theme to the local public.[3] It is interesting that he, at that time, pointed out the uncertainty and the dynamism of knowledge, with which most scientists, and especially Egyptologists, deal and work. This is particularly visible in his valuable, separate chapter *Before & after Men*.[4] He does not focus primarily on political history, which could be very odd for the period when he actually wrote this book. He starts, of course, with the land, its surroundings, fertility, and living conditions. From the earliest hominids to the first settlements, he tries to unravel the still unknown facts of the Ancient Egyptians origins.[5] He presents what the 'Mediterranean people', of Hamitic origin, were like. He believed that the state and culture were already very advanced and complex, and as evidence he presents the birth of the Egyptian calendar (around 4241 B.C.). However, this does not mean Manojlović was not aware of the time, processes and observations that were necessary to make such an innovation. Moving on, Manojlović talks of crafts, farming, cattle breeding and in general the way of

[1] Uranić 2005: 16.

[2] *Povijest Staroga Orijenta* I–III. Zagreb.
[3] Manojlović 1923: 143.
[4] Manojlović 1923: 145-149.
[5] Manojlović 1923: 143.

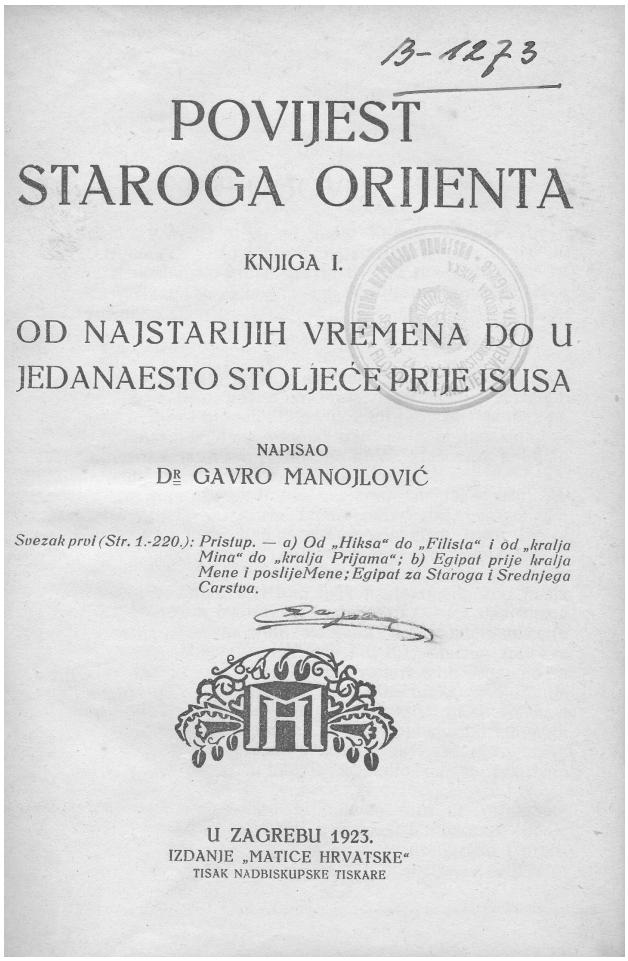


Fig. 10 Manojlović, Gavro. Povijest Starog orijenta, Zagreb 1923.

life, but with very detailed descriptions.[6] He makes a (now known) mistake in chronology (dating the beginnings of the civilisation around 4241 B.C.), portraying an already formed civilisation. On the other hand he highlights the gradualness in forming a civilisation (the gradual transition from stone being the main tool to metal, the size of the tombs, etc.).[7] The facts he presents indicate that he is very familiar with the current situation and the state of research at beginning of 1920's. This is seen when he discusses most recent finds, when he praises the Naqada culture ceramics, jewellery, *etc.*, found in graves as funeral offerings.

Unfortunately, his political background forces him to make wrong assumptions. For instance, he is convinced that there could not have been a unique drainage system without a unique political power (as he states here the centre was in Lower Egypt with Atum being the 'main' god). Nowadays it is quite clear that for a common peasant it was not important who rules over him if he is starving.[8] His opinion was that there was no tribal organisation; that they were simply a unique nation like their state (which was organised much earlier) and that the founders were warriors.[9] It is unclear how he explains the dissidence between the two states, which for Manojlović, happened much later (although there is a clear distinction between the 'coat of arms', gods, main functions, *etc*). Furthermore, he emphasizes that it was possible that the *nomes* could have been independent states, which were conquered later on. Furthermore, the development is equal if the palettes are examined (from where it is also possible to see the conflicts between the two states).[10]

That is one of the main problems in his work (and many scientists still today): he attempts to compare an ancient society to his own, which often leads to wrong and conflicting conclusions. Manojlović does not stress that the transition happened in a specific manner, but he is indeed in search of a definite time. The contradiction is obvious: on one hand he seeks clear dates while simultaneously emphasizing gradualism.

3. Grga Novak

The second author was Grga Novak with his work *Egypt: prehistory, pharaohs, conquerors, culture* (1967)[11] (fig. 11). He starts with common prehistory material as the earliest signs of civilisation (ceramics, stone tools). Based on these artefacts Novak writes about everyday life and work of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic era. Afterwards he moves on to more complex social relations and constitutions and some elements which will have a much more important role later on (calendar, writing system).[12]

After the introduction he brings a very short and somewhat neglected chapter dedicated to the theme, which he refers to as the Tinis era. Novak indicates the periods before and after the transition, which is barely mentioned, and this chapter does not give much information. This could be attributed to numerous reasons, but it is very likely that he did not believe it was such a revolutionary step.[13] Unfortunately, his research does not indicate the slow processes that were part of forming a state and it is as if the jump from tribes and *genuses* to *nomes* and state was a brief one. This is especially noticeable when he mentions Narmer, whom he thinks of as the sole unifier of the state ('3315 B.C. starts the real Egyptian history').[14] Such an opinion is often still present today.

Like Manojlović, Novak was also influenced by his time and life. That is why one of his main focuses is society; often not just rulers but also slaves and common people (with the barely mentioned, and so it would seem fast, transition from small ploughmen and shepherds to large landlords).[15] It cannot be seen from any of the subjects Novak studies

6 Manojlović 1923: 144.
7 Manojlović 1923: 145, 157-158.
8 Manojlović 1923: 146-148.
9 Manojlović 1923: 149-151.
10 Manojlović 1923: 151-153.
11 *Egipat: prethistorija, faraoni, osvajači, kultura*. Zagreb.
12 Novak 1967: 15-20.
13 Novak 1967: 21-23.
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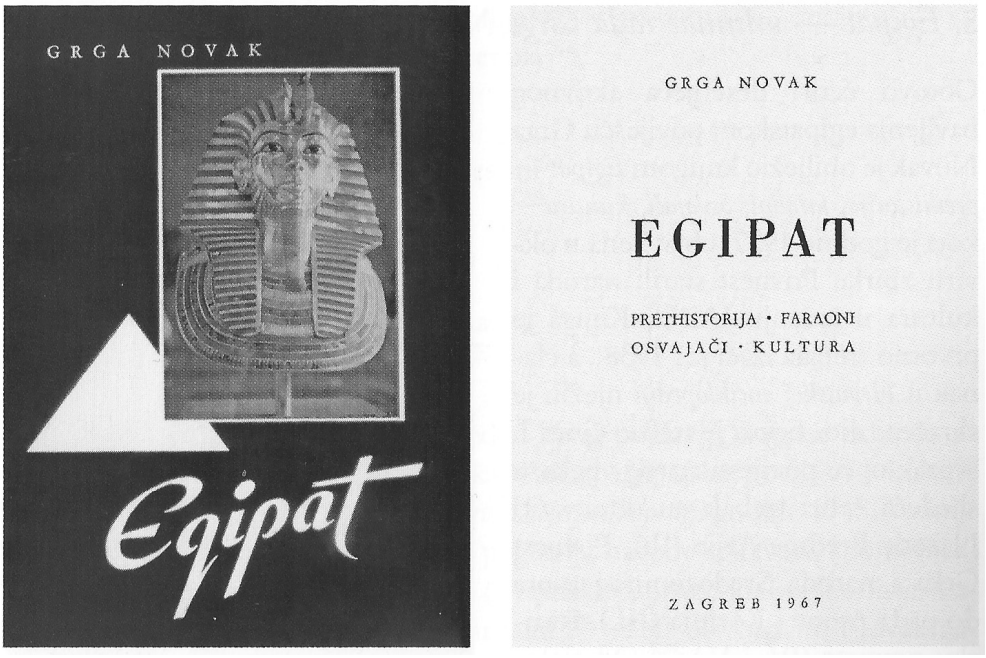


Fig. 11 Novak, Grga. Egipat, Zagreb 1967.

that it was a long-lasting process (architecture, art, administration, trade). That is quite noticeable in one of the most complex inventions of mankind – the writing system. To this subject Novak devotes only a short reference and 'the transition from pictograms to hieroglyphs was over.' This clearly does not represent the effort it took in its development. His main focus is then, of course, directed towards the already formed and widespread literacy.[16]

As I continue in a chronological order towards the end of the 20th century, there is a visible advance in the research methods and themes observed; the analysis is more accurate and this particular area is observed and studied more often and with more enthusiasm[17]

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4. Petar Selem

The following is Petar Selem, an Egyptologist who focused on symbols and pictures as indicators of the transition.[18] Selem stresses that those symbols had a magical and narrative functions from the very beginnings (for example as help with hunting), which will later on become history. The symbols, for Selem, are not the primary truth of what they represent.[19] The transition here is most apparent: from simply copying what they actually saw to more complex and elaborate pictures which tell an entire story.

At first, the symbols are more stylized, just general representations, which eventually become standards (because there is a pattern of what people wanted for an eternal life).[20] As he indicates, these are very useful for numerous purposes. For instance, they can show whether it was a time of war or peace, destruction or prosperity, etc.[21] 'A short, but crucial for its importance, period' indicates an improvement in the way scientists think and act (although the 'short' could be because of lack of material evidence).

Comparing them to comic books, with a certain play acted out by these signs, Selem shows how parts of the most famous finds (like the Narmer Palette, Scorpion Mace head, Louvre palette) narrate stories about two different 'states', in whose struggle the South prevailed. He gives the example of Hieraconpolis where the images are at first scattered, but later on take a sort of organisational pattern in the form of a register. It is in the progress of these symbols that we can observe the postulate for the formation of a more complex unity, state, with its peak, as Selem sees it, in the Narmer palette; a symbol of unity because of the two crowns and perhaps the 'birthplace' of complex writing.[22]

One of the most interesting facts which he points out, is the original 'banality' of the object which lost its function, i.e. everyday objects have become sacramental. The typical symbols of power (bull, lion, hawk) give away much more information than originally thought: about struggle, about the society and its views of the significance of these 'stories', progress towards organization, etc., which, unfortunately, was probably very clear to a common man

16 Novak 1967: 27-33.
17 Novak 1967: 27-33.
18 The original text was published in 1977. Selem 1977.
19 Selem 2006: 9-10.
20 Selem 2006: 11-12.
21 Selem 2006: 12-13.
22 Selem 2006: 13-15, 17, 22, 26.

of the time, but leaves scientists today somewhat baffled (as the Mace head shows the victory in only three pictures). In spite of that, the main problem remains: the constant need to see a definite and clear transition in a date or, in this case, in an object.[23]

5. Mladen Tomorad

Furthermore, Mladen Tomorad, historian and Egyptologist at the University of Zagreb, gives a general overview of the history of Ancient Egypt (*Povijest staroegipatska civilizacije od prapovijesti do arapskog osvajanja Egipta*, 2011). He is one of the most critical among them. His general observation is that the current research of the ancient Egypt in Croatia is very poor and that is the reason why misplaced conclusions were drawn in the older works of Croatian historians.

His review of this period is the most detail in comparation of the all other Croatian scholars. He started his review of the history of Ancient Egypt from the earliest hominids and their tools, climate, life in a complete chapter, he slowly draws near the predynasty era through representative cultures: Faadi, Faiyum, Naqada, Badari. He reviewed Predynastic period with its most important finds and researchers (Flinders Petrie, James Quibell, Gertrude Caton-Thompson)[24]. Unlike the other Croatian scholars, Tomorad highlights numerous individual cultures and their routes of evolution, which could not have been easily united in a single state. For that reason he divides his chapters in cultures of Upper and Lower Egypt, with highly detailed descriptions of the way of life, burial rites, weapons and tools, areas of influence and so on, from which can be seen the beginnings of pharaonic Egypt (starting from small 'states', grouping together over time and prospering). Although he also tries to link certain events to concrete dates (for example the occurrence of the writing system to 3300 B.C.), he also deeply stresses the graduality and time that was needed for the formation of the most famous Egypt, which most likely has its root in Upper Egypt (unlike the previous general view of a foreign warrior race suddenly conquering).[25] He supports this thesis with the aforementioned findings (Narmer palette, Scorpion Mace head), but uses this material for much more: stratification of society (formation of classes), pointing out the role of economy, instead of the usual army based theories, often comparing it to other periods of Ancient Egyptian History (for instance the end of the Hyksos period, which also lasted for a longer period of time).[26] The development of the other topics of this period (writing system, architecture, religion, funeral custums, art, architecture and the review of the most important sites and their researchers) will be published in his book *Ancient Egyptian culture* (in press)[27].

M. Tomorad also wrote article about the evolution of the ancient Egyptian funeral architecture from the Badari culture to the end of Old Kingdom in which he analyzed funeral rites, rituals and architecture from Badari culture to the end of Archaic period.[28] He also described, analyzed and published four predynastic and early dynastic artifacts from the Museum of the city of Varaždin[29] and Museum Mimara in Zagreb[30].

6. Igor Uranić

And the last one is Igor Uranić, Egyptologist and custodian of the Egyptian department of the Archaeological museum in Zagreb, with his work about the general history of Ancient Egypt (*Stari Egipat: povijest, književnost i umjetnost drevnih Egipćana*, 2002, 2nd edition 2004) (fig. 12). Uranić starts off his short review of this period with the some statistics about the archaic period. He stated that around 3100 B.C. in the territory of 16000 km² lived approximately 150.000 people.[31] Uranić takes into account some information that could lead to the unification: the shapes of the skulls to determine origin, the possible Mesopotamian migrations and cultural influence.[32] One feature that he stresses is the period of time that the era lasted, this often called Dynasty 0 or the archaic period, i. e. the long process of forming a nation (so not just a certain date). Here he introduced and researched some elements which have not been taken in account in earlier works by Manojlović, Novak and Selem: the environment, rise of the water level, climate changes and everything this correlates to.[33] It is also noteworthy that 'the oldest history is still an unwritten page'. He mentions that it is uncertain whether the transition lasted for months, years or centuries.[34] Based on specific assumptions he believes there is a lack of evidence which in necessary to make statements facts (for example copper emerges in the first dynasty with king Djer and then there is nothing until the 6th dynasty).[35] In his introduction, until unification of the Upper and Lower Egypt, contains shot review of prehistory from *homo habilis* to the cultures of both 'Lands' (Merimde beni Salame, Faiyum, El Omari, Maadi, El Badari, Tassa, Naqada). His descriptions contains information about the most important excavations, scholars and artifacts which does not differ from the rest of the world in the first half of the fourth millenium B.C.[36] Uranić also mentioned the most important 'written' sources of that time (stone palettes, motifs of lions, bulls, hawks, *mer*, griffons, long necked monsters, etc.). Uranić also refers to the older interpretations, which are now mostly disproven, concerning imperialistic theories

23 Selem 2006: 15-17, 19-20, 22, 26.
24 Tomorad 2011: 1-7.
25 Tomorad 2011: 7-15.
26 Tomorad 2011: 15-21.
27 *Staroegipatska civilizacija*. Zagreb (in press).
28 Tomorad 2006: 13-16.
29 Tomorad 2002: 550, 552, no. 6; Tomorad & Uranić 2006: 88-89, no. 1; Tomorad 2009: 540-541, no. 1.
30 Tomorad 2009: 542-545, nos. 2-4; Tomorad 2012.
31 Uranić 2002: 14.
32 Uranić 2002: 14.
33 Uranić 2002: 17.
34 Uranić 2004: 16.
35 Uranić 2004: 20.
36 Uranić 2002: 18-20.

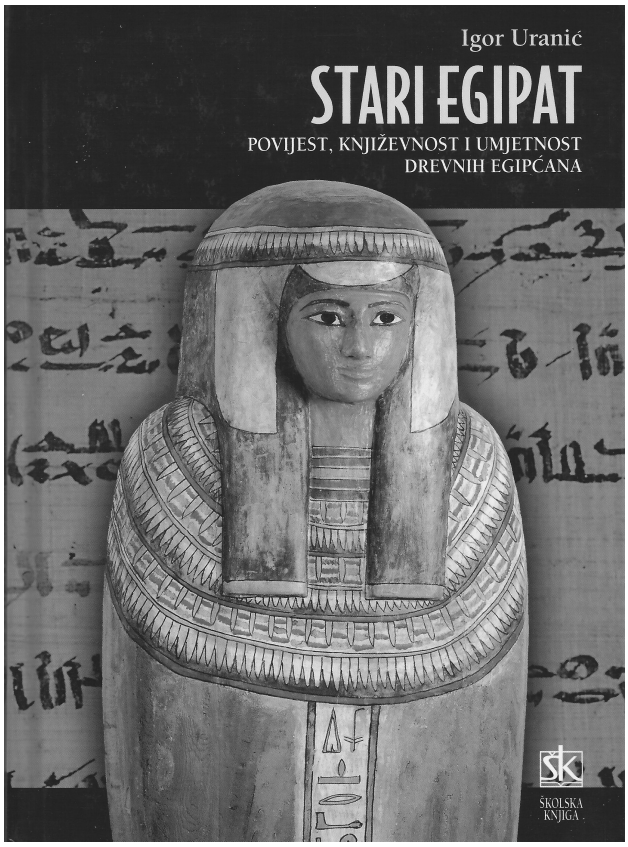


Fig. 12 Uranić, Igor. *Stari Egipat: povijest, književnost i umjetnost drevnih Egipćana*, Zagreb 2002.

about foreigners.[37] Furthermore, there are two more very significant particularities that are unique to Uranić. Firstly, he is the only one who writes not only the translation of the kings names, but also their real Egyptian names (Scorpion king=Seneđ, who Uranić puts a century or two before the unity, which also stresses graduality). Secondly, everything he states is not given as a fact, but 'it is believed' (that the Narmer palette shows the merge). This is not done because of a lack of knowledge, but rather to point out the uncertainty of the period based on available proof.[38] Uranić also tries to find patterns of similarity in later Egyptian history in some universal and repeating 'stories'.[39] Lastly, one of the most intriguing ideas referring to this period is how he explains that it cannot be said that the unification started and ended with a single person (e.g. Narmer) but was probably a process that happened over a period of time.[40] The evolution is especially apparent in the writing system, from the basic imitations of things to more complicated symbols. The problem is not only the lack of evidence, but also its misguided reading and sometimes in its duplicity. As an example he presents the tombs of early kings in both Saqqara and in Abydos which were previously explored by Petrie[41] and Emery[42]. Uranić thinks that the mystical and magical ancestors mentioned by Manetho could also corrupt other uncertain names and rulers.[43] He ends the chapter almost the same way he started it: with open questions and uncertain answers.[44]

7. Discussion, conclusions and future potential

These five Croatian scholars represent only a sample of people who studied/study Ancient Egypt. Their conclusions and trails of thought are examples of agency of a human mind, but also of the context of time in which they write. Manojlović is limited by the state of research of the 1920s but does pursue wider topics nevertheless. Novak focuses on particular aspects of life, which were explored widely in his time. This does not necessarily present false information, but it does leave the picture incomplete. A change towards different views of the transitional period can be seen in Selem's work where a more lyric attitude is expressed. The other two authors, Tomorad and Uranić, return to more classical presentations of the fourth millennium state formation, but with justified reasons. Until their work there has not been a comprehensive review of the Ancients Egypt's history for several decades. Thus, their intention to provide the public with the latest finds, thoughts and theories has fulfilled its purpose, even if it is very cautionary at times. I am not attempting to justify their actions, merely to specify the aim of these works.

It is obvious that change has occurred, as expected. However, a surprising array of ideas was present at the very beginning of research. With time, these were amended as new evidence came to light and thus completing the picture which was presented to the public. The individual approach and line of thought is, of course, often very subjective, but that does not make it any less relevant. Each work can then be seen as a stepping stone for future research and fascination with ancient Egypt.

For most of the time Egyptology has existed, the main focus was on Dynastic Egypt. But in order to understand it completely and to draw correct conclusions one must examine all of its components. To begin with this refers to the predynastic era, which can be a very helpful source of explanations for many later processes. The main problem is that most of the 'facts' ordained by former scientists are taken for granted, without the need to implement new findings and research results. This is something I wished to address in this paper.

By setting authors in the context of their society their data and work is much better understood. This, in turn, can separate the raw information from the often subjective view of the researcher, as well as the mistakes made in the past. From this modern research can be built on to benefit our ideas of Ancient Egypt. Even though I used the example of

[37] Uranić 2002: 27-30.
[38] Uranić 2002: 28-29.
[39] For example Hyksos, where good prevails over evil. Uranić 2002: 128-130.
[40] This is supported by Peribsen *sereh* with Set instead of Horus. Uranić 2002: 34.
[41] Uranić 2002: 30.
[42] Uranić 2002: 29-30.
[43] Uranić 2002: 31-33.
[44] Uranić 2004: 65.

five Croatian scholars, the same process could be applied to numerous other researchers such as Heinrich Brugsch, Gaston Maspero, Flinder Petrie, *etc*. Thus, understanding their work provides a unique opportunity to take several steps back and refocus on particular aspects once more. However, I do not mean to imply that such older works should be disregarded altogether. On the contrary, it is such work that commenced the flow of information Egyptologists have today. Thus, while being cautious, one must strive to work with such ideas and researchers rather than against them.

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The History of Egyptology in Bulgaria

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Abstract**:** *The article discusses the historical developments and current trends in the field of Egyptology in Bulgaria, key authors, their works and research interests. It reviews in detail existing monographic studies published by Bulgarian Egyptologists, as well as projects currently in progress.*

Keywords**:** *Egyptology, Bulgarian Institute of Egyptology, Ancient Egyptian Literature*

Egyptology is the pearl in the crown of the studies of the ancient world. Ancient Egypt's monumental architecture and specific imagery are a magnet for all scholars who dare to tackle the subject of Ancient History. The culture which emerged alongside the bank of the river Nile awakes the imagination with its constructional achievements, religious mysteries and countless enigmas. After Jean-François Champollion decoded the ancient Egyptian language, the rising interest in Egypt gradually transformed into scientific research which has since succeeded in uncovering a large part of the history of this long-vanished civilisation. Scholarly interest is justified not only because Egypt is the most significant and accomplished ancient culture, but also because many of its ideas continued to exist through the subsequent cultures of Ancient Greece and Rome. A large number of the religious ideas held by the ancient Egyptians found their way into Christianity and thus continue to be valid even to this day. Furthermore, studying the subsequent rulership of individual kings, combined with the knowledge of a number of approximately accurate dates of the Middle and New Kingdoms allow us to synchronise the chronology of the entire Eastern Mediterranean. As a result, the study of the language, history and religion of Ancient Egypt proves to be of significant importance not only regarding the interest towards Egypt itself but also Ancient History in general.

In Bulgaria, Egyptology did not develop easily as an academic field. The main reason for this is the fact that the country itself is rich in ancient history. The abundance of archaeological objects and artifacts on Bulgaria's territory dating back from the period of Prehistory to the late Middle Ages has attracted the attention of generations of scholars. The rigorous investigation and publishing of those artifacts takes decades and the efforts of many scholars. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, Bulgaria's young academic field of Ancient History focussed primarily on the history of Bulgarian territories and paid little attention to cultures categorised as belonging to the Ancient East. In this context, it is unsurprising that Egyptology was not among the fast developing areas in the study of the ancient world. For many years, the only part of ancient Egyptian history included in university curricula was Egypt's Greco-Roman period, due to the fact that in that period both Bulgarian and Egyptian lands had been part of the state headed by Alexander the Great and his heirs.

The almost complete lack of ancient Egyptian monuments among the archaeological discoveries on Bulgaria's territory is an additional reason for the lack of in-depth studies dealing with Ancient Egypt. The only monuments found in Bulgaria which can be linked to Ancient Egypt are partially carved scarab-shaped stones which are currently exhibited in the museums in the towns of Smolyan and Sozopol. They were discovered in tombs from the 4th century A.D., but are likely to be older. Scaraboids appeared frequently during the end of the Roman Empire, but were in fact a distant echo of the ancient Egyptian scarabs. In addition to all this, in Bulgaria there are no private collections of traders from the 18th and 19th centuries which would contain ancient Egyptian monuments. Such private collectors could have bestowed their exhibits to museums, thus fuelling the public's interest in Egypt.

The first lectures in Egyptology were read in Bulgaria in 1985 by prof. Sergei Ignatov, who was born in 1960 and who had recently returned from the USSR with a master's degree in Egyptology from St. Petersburg State University. Ignatov's lifelong interest in Ancient Egypt began in his early years. His dream to study this discipline took him to the USSR which at the time was the only place where a person born in the socialist bloc during the Cold War could study Egyptology. In St. Petersburg he found himself surrounded by a constellation of eminent scholars who had devoted their lives to the study of the culture of Ancient Egypt. Among them were O. D. Berlev, E. S. Bogoslovski, Y. J. Perepelkin, as well as big names in the study of the Ancient East, such as B. B. Piotrovski and I. M. Diakonov. Ignatov studied under one of the best professors at the St. Petersburg University, I. V. Vinogradov. Vinogradov inspired Ignatov's love of Ancient Egypt. Their teacher-student relationship blossomed into a friendship, and during multiple conversations on long, cold Petersburg evenings with the family of Igor Vladimirovich, Sergei Ignatov developed a unique understanding and awareness of the ancient culture. In 1984, Ignatov was by his teacher's side when he passed away. The teacher who had died young would be sorely missed in years to come, but

his knowledge and memory had been passed on to the next generations. Ignatov defended his M.A. in Egyptology on the subject of the Qadesh Inscriptions of Ramses II and later also continued to work on this subject.[1]

After his return to Bulgaria, as assistant lecturer at the The Center of Ancient Languages and Cultures at Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski, Ignatov gave the first lectures in Egyptology in Bulgaria, thereby laying the foundations of the field of Egyptology. This is why prof. Sergei Ignatov is considered to be the founder of Bulgarian Egyptology. The lectures were on ancient Egyptian language and history. In order to provide the reading materials necessary for the course, in 1987 prof. Ignatov published a collection of translations and commentaries of ancient Egyptian texts, including '*The Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor*', '*The Story of Sinuhe*' and '*The Report of Wenamun*'[2]. This was the beginning of the study of the ancient Egyptian language which to this date remains the best developed discipline in Bulgarian Egyptology.

In 1994 Ignatov returned to Russia to study for a PhD in Egyptology at St. Petersburg State University with a PhD thesis entitled '*The Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor in the context of the Middle Kingdom in Ancient Egypt*'[3]. Ignatov's study of this text made him one of the best specialists of ancient Egyptian literature from the period of the Middle Kingdom. Some of the conclusions and contributions from his PhD have been published as articles[4]. A recent monograph[5] offers an even more in-depth study of the text and detailed comments not only on the grammar of each sentence, but also in the context of all other texts from the Middle Kingdom and in the context of ancient Egyptian mentality and worldview. With this study Ignatov became the most eminent expert on this text which is one of the most popular texts in Egyptology.

In 1993 and 1995, both before and after defending his doctorate, Ignatov carried out research visits to the 'All Souls' College at Oxford University. As a student of the Soviet school in Egyptology which is well known for its scholarship on the social history of Ancient Egypt, Ignatov was the bearer of the knowledge of this school on a number of important terms, such as *pr ḏt* and *ḥmw niswt*. Due to the political and language barriers during the Cold War, Soviet achievements in Egyptology remained unknown to Western scholars. Prof. Ignatov undertook the hard task to pass on that knowledge. In 1994 he published 'Egypt of the Pharaohs'[6], a book on the history of ancient Egypt which echoed the memory of A. H. Gardiner and his famous treatise[7]. The book, which has since been reprinted multiple times and has become a staple reference for every Bulgarian reader interested in Egyptology, provides a wealth of information on the history of ancient Egypt, outlines the achievements of Russian Egyptologists, and conveys the emotions stirred by this ancient culture. The book was published in English under the title 'The Body of God'[8].

The lectures in Egyptology read by prof. Ignatov at Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski were either optional or ancillary modules within the Ancient History programme of the university. Only after the political changes of 1989 did it finally become possible to establish Egyptology as an individual university discipline. This was partly made possible thanks to the establishment of the New Bulgarian University (NBU) in 1992. The New University is distinguished with its innovative ideas, broad range of disciplines, and liberally-minded professors. In 1994 prof. Ignatov was invited as a lecturer at the NBU where he began to lecture in Egyptology, but once again only as part of other programmes. Creating an entire Egyptology programme, an undertaking too complex for one person, soon became possible with the help of Teodor Lekov.

Teodor Lekov is the kind of scholar who developed a strong interest in this particular science from a very early age and dedicated his life to it. Lekov was born in 1969. In 1981, when he was only 12 years old, he became so fascinated by a visiting exhibition of ancient Egyptian monuments by the British Museum in Sofia that he decided to make Egyptology his life path. Over the next few years, he studied the ancient Egyptian language using books by N. S. Petrovski[9] and A. H. Gardiner[10]. When Lekov was only 15 years old, he made his first translations on entire works of ancient Egyptian literature. In 1985 he met prof. Ignatov and became his student. Having already learned much about ancient Egypt, Teodor Lekov keenly absorbed huge amounts of information on any topic related to this ancient culture. In just a few years, he became a living encyclopaedia on all matters relating to Ancient Egypt. In addition, he undertook the challenge to build a library of Egyptology, because, although some Bulgarian libraries and institutes possessed a large number of books on ancient Egypt, there was no comprehensive library. Some of the more specialised studies related to specific problems in Egyptology were also missing. Lekov ordered those from abroad, and photocopied and catalogued them. Owing to his huge efforts over the course of many years, Bulgarian scholars gained access to a large amount of research devoted to Ancient Egypt in what remains the most comprehensive library of Egyptology in the whole of Eastern Europe. Of course, today everyone can obtain access to almost any book or article over the Internet, but in the last decade of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century it was not so. Teodor Lekov's efforts in creating the library are admirable.

1 Ignatov 1995; Ignatov 1999b.
2 Ignatov 1987.
3 In Russian: *Сказка о потерпевшем кораблекрушение в контексте истории и культуры Древнего Египта эпохи Среднего царства*.
4 Ignatov 1994b; Ignatov 2005a; Ignatov 2005b.
5 Ignatov 2012.
6 Ignatov 1994a.
7 Gardiner 1961.
8 Ignatov 1999a.
9 Petrovski 1958.
10 Gardiner 1957.

In addition to his efforts to establish Egyptology as a field, Teodor Lekov's specific research interests are in the issues of religion in Ancient Egypt. In 1995 he graduated with a degree in Ancient History at Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski, and in 2001 defended his doctorate on '*The Concepts of Human Personality in Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts*'. His work deals with one of the most interesting and difficult problems of the ancient Egyptian religion. Lekov studies concepts, such as *kꜣ*, *bꜣ, ꜣḫ, rn*, among others, both individually and in context, using all currently known examples of their use in ancient Egyptian texts. His study offers a comprehensive conceptual framework of the understanding of the human person in different periods of Egyptian history. Some of the thesis findings have been published.[11]

Alongside his study of religion, Lekov also works on the ancient Egyptian books of the afterlife. In a monograph published in 2004 he reviews the main existing publications, translations and studies of Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, Book of the Dead, as well as the so called kings' books of the afterlife, inscribed in the tombs of the rulers from the New Kingdom in the Valley of the Kings.[12] In the monograph, Lekov comments on the main aspects of these works, the directions in which they can be read, the reasons why they were created, and the changes which occurred during the different periods. The monograph has laid the foundations of a unique project aiming to publish all ancient Egyptian books of the afterlife, transliterated and translated.

As part of the project, a Bulgarian translation of '*Litany of Re*' with a hieroglyphic transcription and transliteration was published in 2004.[13] Two years later, a translation with transliteration of '*The Amduat*' was published ('*The scriptures of the Secret Chamber*'[14]), recently followed by a translation with transliteration and commentary of '*The Book of the Dead*'[15]. In just a few years, Lekov not only succeeded in translating several of the most complex (in terms of composition) Egyptian texts, but also in linking them together into one integrated whole by using terms, the commentaries of which allow them to be understood.

Thanks to the efforts of prof. Sergei Ignatov and prof. Teodor Lekov, Bulgaria's first bachelor programme in Egyptology was launched in 1997 at the Department of Mediterranean and Oriental Studies of New Bulgarian University (NBU) (fig. 13). The programme gradually expanded and two years later a masters' programme was also launched. Both programmes are centred around the study of the ancient Egyptian language in its three phases: Old Egyptian, Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian, and Ancient Egyptian Literature. In the M.A. programme, the Coptic language is also taught. In addition to language, the history of Ancient Egypt from the Pre-dynastic Period until

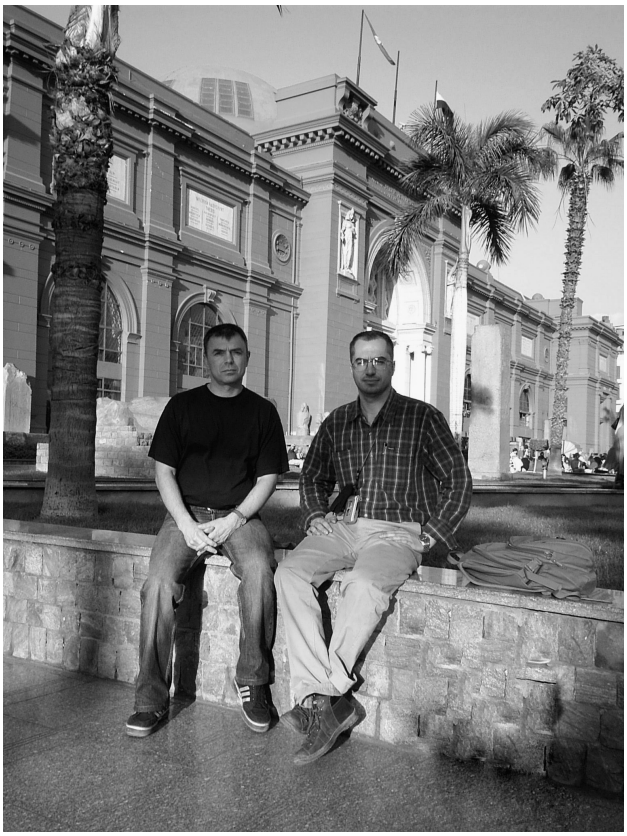


Fig. 13 Prof. Ignatov and Prof. Lekov in front of Cairo Museum.

Byzantine Egypt is taught, as well as a number of courses on Ancient Egyptian Religion, Ritual and Mythology, The Temple in Ancient Egypt, Social History, The Kingship in Ancient Egypt, among others.

After finishing his M.A. in archaeology at Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski, Emil Buzov, the author of this article, also joined the M.A. programme in Egyptology at New Bulgarian University. His research interests are mainly in Ancient Egyptian Wisdom Texts. His M.A. dissertation was a translation and commentary of '*The Teaching of Ptahhotep*'. He then joined the new doctoral programme in Egyptology at NBU and defended his PhD in 2008 with a comprehensive study of all texts from the group of the so called Wisdom Texts. The thesis, entitled '*Ancient Egyptian Wisdom Literature III – II millenium B.C.*', examined their internal organisation, metrics, the reason for their creation, authorship, main topics, and the changes which occurred in the different periods. The main findings from the thesis have been published in Bulgarian[16], and a selection of issues connected to individual texts have also been published in English[17].

In 2009, Yordan Chobanov joined the lecturing team. His research interests in Egyptology are focused on the so called Laments and Prophecies from the Middle Kingdom.

11 Lekov 2004c; Lekov 2005; Lekov 2010.
12 Lekov 2004a.
13 Lekov 2004b.
14 Lekov 2006a.
15 Lekov 2012.
16 Buzov 2011.
17 Buzov 2010.



Fig. 14 Students from New Bulgarian University in Luxor Temple.

In 2007 Chobanov graduated from the B.A. programme in Egyptology at NBU with a translation and commentary of '*The Eloquent Peasant*', and two years later, he earned an M.A. with a dissertation on '*The Dispute Between a Man and His Ba*'. In 2012 he defended his PhD thesis on '*The Harper Songs in the context of the Egyptian writing tradition II millennium B.C.*'.

This is how, after less than 15 years, Bulgaria now has Egyptology programmes on all levels of higher education: B.A., M.A., and PhD. Most of the lectures are led by the aforementioned four lecturers whose interests focus chiefly on ancient Egyptian language and culture. To this date 40 students are studying in the programmes, the popularity of which is rising. The programmes and the development of Egyptology in Bulgaria owe a great deal to the efforts of Prof. Ignatov who became vice-chancellor of NBU in 2002, and since 2009 has been Minister of Education, Youth and Science. Prof. Lekov is also Head of the Department of Mediterranean and Eastern Studies at NBU. His position has allowed for a fast development of Egyptology in Bulgaria.

For educational purposes, in the last few years several monographs were published. In 2006 prof. Ignatov published '*The Wisdom of Ancient Egypt*'[18]. Teodor Lekov (also professor since 2004) has published a monograph on '*The Religion of Ancient Egypt*'[19]. Within the Egyptology programme, a Travel Seminar in Egypt has been organised annually since 2005 during which the students have an opportunity to visit the most important sites about which they have learned, and to audit lectures on different topics (fig. 14).

In 2004, the Bulgarian Institute of Egyptology (BIE) at NBU was established. The main objective of the institute is to carry out projects connected with the study of Ancient Egypt. Prof. Sergei Ignatov, d.c., is the head of the institute, and the above mentioned NBU professors are its members. The institute's secretary, Velichka Gotskova, is herself a graduate of the Egyptology programme and is currently working on a PhD thesis on the Ancient Egyptian biographical inscriptions from the Middle Kingdom.

The BIE's main projects focus on the study of the ancient Egyptian language, culture, religion, and work with texts. The institute's first project, '*Word and Image*', is an ongoing long-term research project in the field of the religion, mythology and culture of Ancient Egypt. Its aim is to create an electronic database, which will be used in the preparation of an encyclopaedic reference book about spiritual life in Ancient Egypt. Along with it, the institute is running a project entitled '*Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts – Translation and Commentary*'. The project aims to complete the publication of the translation of Ancient Egyptian religious literature. The commentary, notes and an archive in electronic format will appear after the full publication of the texts. The following texts are being

[18] Ignatov 2006.
[19] Lekov 2006b.

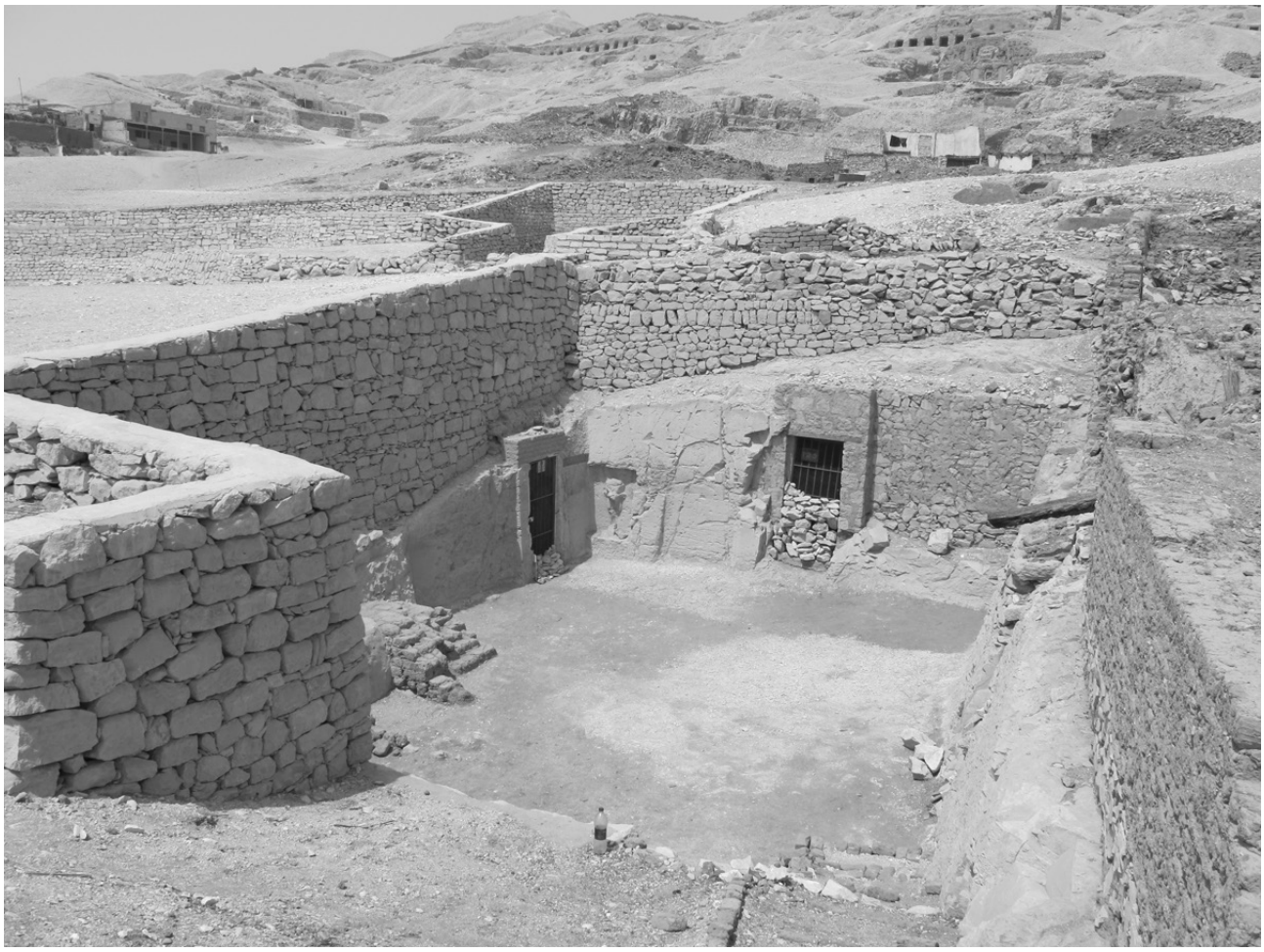


Fig. 15 The Courtyard of TT 263. Luxor, West Bank.

translated: The Pyramid texts, the Coffin texts, the Book of the Dead, the Books of the Netherworld – Amduat, the Book of the Gates, the Book of the Caverns, the Book of the Celestial Cow, The Book of the Day and Night, the Book of Hours, as well as a collection of some smaller texts, including magical incantations, hymns, and ritual texts.

After many years of efforts, the BIE has now also launched its own research in Egypt. The BIE's team is currently working on the tomb of Piay (TT 263), a scribe from the time of Ramesses II. The tomb is situated in Sheih abd el-Gurna. The project started in 2011 and its objectives are the restoration, conservation, and complete publication of the tomb (fig. 15).

The institute's latest project was to organise and host The Fourth International Congress for Young Egyptologists. The congress, entitled '*Cult and Belief in Ancient Egypt*', took place on 22—25 September 2012 in Sofia and was attended by over 90 undergraduate and postgraduate students and postdoctoral scholars. Forty-two reports and 18 poster presentations were delivered during the three-day congress. All materials were collected in a special collection which was due to be published in 2014.

Since 2004, the BIE has been publishing its own journal, *The Journal of Egyptological Studies* (JES). The JES is a result of the development and expansion of Egyptology in Bulgaria. It gives Egyptologists an opportunity to publish new original ideas, new approaches and data in connection with the language, literature, religion, archaeology and history of Ancient Egypt. Three issues of the journal which feature articles by scholars from different countries (2004, 2005 and 2010) have been published so far. The first two issues are available online on the BIE website.

This is how in the last two decades the field of Egyptology emerged in Bulgaria. Today we can proudly say that there is a school of Egyptology in our country which has its own distinctive features and acts as a bridge between the schools of Egyptology in Russia and the west. The future of Egyptology in Bulgaria is intertwined with teaching at New Bulgarian University and research projects carried out by the Bulgarian Institute of Egyptology. The objectives of both organisations are to publish the results of project activities and original research in English, as well to establish close cooperation with similar institutions in Europe.

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Chapter II:
The Ancient Egyptian collections in Southeast Europe

Josef Schwegel (1836–1914) and His Ten Years in Egypt

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Abstract**:** *Baron Josef Schwegel, who was born a farmer's son in a small village near the lake of Bled, became a nobleman, diplomat, politician, and one of the most influential people in the Habsburg monarchy. In December, 1859 a young consular intern, Josef Schwegel sailed from Trieste to Alexandria, where he was to get his first job at the Austrian General Consulate. He stayed in Egypt for ten years, became the Austrian consul in Alexandria and was raised to the ranks of aristocracy. During the preparations for the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, he organized and was in charge of the visit of the Austrian emperor Franz Josef I to Egypt. It was due to his initiative that a number of ancient Egyptian monuments reached Vienna. During his work in Egypt he also collected antiquities. In his will, he left part of his collection to the National Museum in Ljubljana.*

Keywords**:** *Josef Schwegel, diplomat, Trieste, Alexandria, consul*

1. Life and career of Josef Schwegel

Josef Schwegel (slov. Jožef Švegel)[1] was born on February 29, 1836 in Zgornje Gorje near Bled where his father owned a small shop and an inn (fig. 16). In autumn, 1843 his father sent him to elementary school in Villach, in today's Austria. He attended the last two years of elementary school as well as secondary school in Ljubljana. Between 1854 and 1859 he obtained an imperial grant to study at the Oriental Academy in Vienna.[2] In July, 1859 he passed the exam for consular intern and was sent to the Austrian Consulate General in Alexandria. In December, 1859 he sailed from Trieste to Alexandria. Aboard the steamship he met his future wife, then 11-year old Maria von Batistti di San Giorgio.

Schwegel spent ten years of diplomatic service in Egypt[3] and was promoted in the following way: he began his career as consular intern (1859), became vice-chancellor to Alexandria (1863), the first interpreter at the Consulate General (1866), chancellor at the Consulate General (1867) and finally (1869) consul to Alexandria.[4] After this successful career in Egypt, Schwegel was made consul to Istanbul in 1870 in order to improve bad conditions at the Austrian consulate. As an expert on the Orient he was entrusted with preparations of the Oriental Department for the World Exhibition in Vienna in 1873. He started the preparations in spring, 1871 and in 1872 gave up the position of consul general to Istanbul and entirely dedicated himself to the exhibition. In 1873 Schwegel got a job at the foreign ministry in Vienna which was led by count Andrássy.[5] He worked there until 1880. As a successful diplomat he was raised to the rank of Baron and became the third youngest Privy Councillor in the empire. He particularly excelled at the Berlin congress in 1878. Before he left for Berlin, Count Andrássy had made it very clear that he completely trusted him as a diplomat, economist, politician and expert for the Orient. However, the overwhelming influence of Hungary and disagreements with Baron Haymerle forced Schwegel to retire from diplomacy.[6] In 1884 he became member of the Carniolian County Assembly where he represented landowners until 1913. As an influential politician, Baron Schwegel strived



Fig. 16 Josef Schwegel`s portrait in 1868 by Angeli. Photo by T. Lauko. National Museum of Slovenia.

[1] When he was young, Schwegel wrote and published in the Slovene language and used his Slovene name Žvegel. During his diplomatic and political career he used the German language and the German version of his name.

[2] The Oriental Academy was founded by Empress Maria Theresa in 1754 with the aim of educating diplomatic officials for South-Eastern Europe. The students learnt oriental languages and received general as well as legal education.

[3] Rozman 1983: 224.

[4] Schwegel 2004: 47.

[5] Count Julius (Gyula) Andrássy (1823–1890), politician and statesman, Austro-Hungarian foreign minister between 1871–1879.

[6] Baron Heinrich Haymerle (1828–1881), politician, Austro-Hungarian foreign minister between 1879 and 1881.

for the economic development of Carniola. Under his influence several railways were constructed, including the Bohinj railway line.[7] Privately, he started to manage his own land in Carniola which he obtained as a representative in several financial institutions in Vienna and Budapest.

Baron Josef Schwegel died on September 29, 1914 in his mansion Grimšče and is buried in a vault in St. Andrew's church overlooking the mansion Grimšče.[8]

2. Schwegel as collector

We can learn a lot about Schwegel's activities as a collector from his memoirs entitled 'Rückblicken auf mein Leben' which he wrote towards the end of his life in 1911. The typescript is 128 pages long.[9] His most beautiful memories are of his stay in Egypt. It overlapped with the construction of the Suez Canal when Schwegel met with the French constructor Ferdinand Lesseps and his colleagues. During the construction he often visited the whole building site of the canal. He was in charge of the visit of the Austrian Emperor to Egypt for the opening of the Suez Canal and accompanied him from Port Said to Ismailia, as well as in Cairo and Alexandria.[10] On that occasion he received a knightly cross of the Order of the Iron Crown and was raised to the rank of knight.[11]

Schwegel followed the geographical research in central Africa and Abyssinia with great interest. He was closely connected to the Austrian catholic mission on the White Nile, as well as with individual Austrian explorers of Abyssinia. His study on the Red Sea was published in several sequels by the Geographical association in Vienna which made Schwegel its corresponding member.[12] In 1860 Schwegel published four sequels of his travelogue about his first journey to Egypt entitled 'From Trieste to Alexandria'. He wrote it under the pen name of J. Radonievi ć and published it in the Slovene newspaper 'Novice'.[13]

Schwegel obtained several valuable Egyptian antiquities. In 1869 he gave an architectural fragment with reliefs on both sides representing a ritual during New Year celebrations to a museum in Vienna. The stone tablet is probably an architectural element from a kiosk, the so-called intercolumn tablet, originating from the capital city of Sais. It dates back to the 26th dynasty, to the time of Pharaoh Necho II (around 600 B.C.).[14]

Schwegel initiated and enabled the transportation of four granite columns from an Egyptian temple to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. He managed to convince engineer Anton Luković[15] to donate the precious columns which lay abandoned in the moat of the town wall in Alexandria.[16] During the construction of the museum three decorated monolithic columns from red granite were built in the walls of the halls dedicated to the Egyptian collection.[17] They were made in a form of papyrus stalks tied together in a sheaf. Once they were part of the architecture of an Egyptian temple and date back to the 18th dynasty (around 1410 B.C.). These columns contains the remains of cartouches bearing the name of the pharaoh Tuthmosis IV; two hundred years later cartouches bearing the names of Pharaohs Merenptah (1224–1214 B.C.) and Seti II (1210–1204 B.C.) were added to the columns.[18] The forth undecorated column stands in the inner court of the museum.

Schwegel in his memoirs writes that he spent a lot of time together with the Austrian Egyptologist Alfred von Kremer who was consul in Cairo. Kremer advised Schwegel in his Arabic and ancient Egyptian studies which occupied him in Cairo. Schwegel had contacts with other Egyptologists who carried out research in Egypt including Africanist and Egyptologist Leo Reinisch.[19]

After ten years of work in Egypt, Schwegel was transferred to Istanbul. As an expert of the Orient he was entrusted with the preparation of the oriental department for the World Exhibition in Vienna in 1873. He began the preparations in spring, 1871 when he was in Vienna and was allowed to organize the oriental department independently and in agreement with his own ideas. The department covered the Maghreb countries, Egypt, Turkey and the whole of Asia with Japan and China. After the exhibition his organizing committee continued the work in order to strengthen the trade and industrial interests of Austria in the Orient. The result was the foundation of the Oriental museum.[20]

In 1869 Schwegel bought the mansion and land Grimšče in Rečica near Bled. In addition he bought houses in Vienna and Ljubljana, and in Volosko architect Maks Fabiani[21] built him a villa.[22] In 1901 Fabiani planned and built a winter villa in Volosko near Opatija for his friend Schwegel. Villa Schwegel, which is considered one of the best examples of Fabiani's residential architecture, stands opposite the municipality building in Volosko and is well-preserved. Fabiani designed the interior of the building in agreement with the life style of the owner who used to receive many

7 Lucijan 1995: 64–65.
8 Lucijan 1995: 66.
9 Rozman 1983: 223–224.
10 The Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph I attended the ceremonial opening of the Suez Canal on November 17, 1869.
11 Schwegel was raised to the rank of knight in 1870 and to the rank of baron in 1875.
12 Schwegel 2004: 46–56.
13 Radonievi ć 1860a: 182–182; Radonievi ć 1860b: 188–189; Radonievi ć 1860c: 195; Radonievi ć 1860d: 203–204.
14 The tablet is made of green slate and is 1.2 m high. Today it is exhibited in the Egyptian-Oriental collection at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Inv. No. 213. Satzinger 1994: 46.
15 Anton Luković (1815–1880), Croat and engineer from Boka Kotorska, around 1836 moved to Alexandria where he planned public buildings, irrigation systems and took part in the construction of the Suez Canal.
16 Schwegel 2004: 52.
17 They are 6.3 and 5.96 m high with a radius of 1.12 and 1.10 m.
18 Haslauer & Satzinger 1988: 29.
19 Schwegel 2004: 53.
20 Rozman 1984: 225.
21 Maks Fabiani (1865–1962), Slovene architect and urbanist, after the Art Deco period one of the leading contemporary architects.
22 Rozman 1984: 227–228.

guests from high society of the Danube monarchy. He paid special attention to the garden which is now unfortunately neglected.[23] On the corner of the building just above the first floor, there is Schwegel's baron coat of arms carved in stone with an eight-point star and an Egyptian sphinx. The same stone coat of arms is also on the main portal above the balcony door on the first floor on Schwegel's mansion in Grimšče with the exception that it additionally has a stone band with the Latin inscription 'labor-concordia' (eng. effort-harmony). A similar stone coat of arms appears on Schwegel's commemorative plaque in St. Andrew's church in Rečica.

3. Schwegel's collection in the National Museum of Slovenia

In his will Schwegel left, to the County Museum in Ljubljana, a collection of paintings, oriental carpets, arms, books, a numismatic collection and 10,000 golden crowns to cover the exhibition expenses.[24] In the book of donations to the National Museum in Ljubljana in the year 1936 there is the following entry: 'no. 103–144, no. 256–274, December 11, 1936, a bequest of late Baron Josip Schwegel and his wife Maria born Battisti. From their villa in Volosko taken by the museum'.[25] A re-evaluation of Schwegel's collection showed that the Slovene National Museum kept 128 Egyptian artifacts from his will as several objects had been identified under the same number. The Egyptian collection from the will of Baron Schwegel in the National Museum of Slovenia consists mainly of small artifacts which were used as burial equipment to accompany the dead. There are different glazed amulets which were attached to the mummies and amulets made of stone which were put between the layers of bandages on the mummies and are typical of the Late period.[26] There are also small figures of substitute workers for the afterlife, called 'shabtis', numerous statuettes which represent different Egyptian gods and necklaces made of Egyptian faience. Most of the artifacts date to the late period, from 27th to 31st dynasty (525–332 B.C.), but there are also artifacts from the period of 20th Dynasty, the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 B.C.), and the Greek-Roman period (332 B.C.–395). From the point of view of the cultural-historic value, age and a small number of known pieces, two wooden toy dolls which date back to the Middle Kingdom, 11th dynasty (2134–1991 B.C.) are of significant importance.[27]

In 1934 Ivan Švegel, Baron's nephew and diplomat, donated to the National Museum in Ljubljana the right foot of a human mummy. This part of an Egyptian mummy wearing a sandal dates to the late period (525–332 B.C.). The mummified foot is today kept in the Ethnographic Museum of Slovenija (Inv. No. 655). The book of donations to the National Museum in Ljubljana marks the name of the donator as well as the place, in this case Gorje-Wilsonia.[28] This refers to the former mansion Grimšče of Baron Schwegel in Rečica near Bled which his nephew Ivan Švegel in 1918 renamed into Wilsonia to pay tribute to US president Wilson.[29] We can believe that the mummified foot is part of the former Egyptian collection of Baron Josef Schwegel.[30]

Baron Josef Schwegel, who was born a farmer's son in a small village near Lake Bled in today's Slovenia, became a nobleman, diplomat, politician, landowner, banker and one of the most influential people in the Habsburg monarchy. He died in 1914 in his mansion near Bled. He lived to see the beginning of the First World War, the war in which the world Schwegel had helped to create, unquestionably believed in and served, collapsed.

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1860c Iz Tersta v Aleksandrijo. *Novice, gospodarske, obertniške in narodne* 25: 195.
1860d Iz Tersta v Aleksandrijo. *Novice, gospodarske, obertniške in narodne* 26: 203–204.

Rozman, F.

[23] Pozzetto 1997: 141–142.
[24] Lucijan 1995: 66.
[25] Darila 1936: 15–16.
[26] Ikram & Dodson 1998: 144.
[27] Perc 1974: fig. 59, 69.
[28] Darila 1934: 199.
[29] Žnidar 2004: 331.
[30] Ivan Krizostom Švegel (1875–1962), nephew of Baron Josef Schwegel, Austro-Hungarian diplomat to the USA and Yugoslav politician between the two world wars.

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The Ancient Egyptian Antiquities in Institutional and Private Collections in Croatia

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Abstract**:** *Approximately 4000–5000 Egyptian artifacts (usually dated until the 8th century AD) are housed in institutional and private collections in Croatia. Most of the institutional collections can be found in archaeological museums (between 3333 and 3341), in regional and town museums (between 601 and 622), in lapidariums and in situ (10), and in other cultural institutions (3). At least 500 artifacts are housed in known private collections in Croatia. Most of these artifacts are typical smaller objects used as funerary equippement but within this vast number of objects, larger groups of statues, sphinxes, sarcophagi, stelae, papyri and mummies can also be identified.*

Keywords: *ancient Egypt, Croatia, artifacts, collectors and history of collections, museums and other institutions, private collection*

1. Types of artifact

Egyptian antiquities in Croatian institutional and private collections consist mostly of various types of smaller objects such as scarabs (fig. 17a-b), amulets (fig. 18), shabtis (fig. 19), tablets made of different materials, jewelry (fig. 20), fertility symbols, and statuettes of deities (fig. 21) as well as footwear (fig. 22), various vessels (fig. 23) and canopic jars (fig. 24), animal images, and male and female statues (fig. 25). Within this vast number of objects, larger groups can be identified, like the statues of gods made of different materials (primarily Osiris and Isis) (fig. 26), various wooden and stone stelae with inscriptions (fig. 27) and paintings predominantly of sepulchral character, inscriptions on papyrus and linen (fig. 28), Books of the Dead. The sarcophagi for the burial of human and animal remains of different material, mummies and mummy wrappings form a group in their own right.[1] (fig. 29) Thirteen completely or fragmentary preserved sphinxes from the Diocletian's palace in Split, originally from the ancient Egyptian temple complex of Karnak, are also worth mentioning.[2] (fig. 30) In various regions of Croatia few hundred artifacts related to the diffusion of Egyptian cults during the Graeco–Roman Empire can be found. In Zadar, Pula and on the island of Veliki Brijun several monolite stone blocks with the protome of a Jupiter–Amon head can be seen.[3] (fig. 31) In Lapidarium in the Archaeological museum in Zagreb are several fragments of the cornice of a sepulchral stele with a lion pair and head of Serapis (from Petrovci and Srijemska Mitrovica) (fig. 32) along with statues related to the cult of Isis from Nin, Srijemska Mitrovica and Sisak.[4] (fig. 33) The collection of the Ptolemaic coinage (fig. 34) and coinage from the Roman imperial Alexandrian mint is also associated with ancient Egypt (fig. 35). This collection contains the images of the various Roman emperors and their co–rulers. Today these coinage collections are part of the very large Numismatic department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.[5] Glass and faience collections can be found in Museum Mimara in Zagreb.[6] The smaller Coptic collection is also kept in Museum Mimara in Zagreb.[7]

2. Genesis of the collection

Egyptian antiquities in Croatian institutional and private collections consist of: 1) material acquired from abroad through intermediates or donations, and 2) material associated with the ancient Egyptian cults from various provinces of the Roman Empire. Such artifacts have been acquired by Croatian museums or private collectors mostly through archaeological excavations, or in some cases by purchase. The material from this second category posed problems, especially in the second half of the 19th century when they were often considered to be fakes. Fortunately, it has been recently established that such artifacts originated from the Roman antiquity and in present time these antiquities are considered genuine.[8]

The Ancient Egyptian antiquities from the known institutional and private collections have rarely been fully systemized and anylized according to commonly used typologies or their functions. At the present time we can divide all known collections in two major groups:

1) The institutional collections which are systematically analyzed presented and published in exhibition

[1] Tomorad 2003a: 31–80; Tomorad 2005; Tomorad 2006a: 6–37; Tomorad, in press.
[2] Tomorad 2003a: 55; Tomorad 2006a: 24, 30–31; Tomorad, in press.
[3] Tomorad 2003a: 48–49, 52; Tomorad 2005: 16–17, 20; Tomorad 2006a: 24–25, 28; Tomorad, in press.
[4] Tomorad 2003a: 41–42; Tomorad 2005: 7, 16–17, 20; Tomorad 2006a: 10; Tomorad, in press.
[5] The collection of Ptolemaic and Alexandrian coinage is still mostly unpublished. The more detail information in: Tomorad 2003a: 42–48; Tomorad 2005: 7–11; Tomorad 2006a: 12–16; Tomorad, in press.
[6] Ratković–Bukovčan 2001; Tomorad 2003a: 67–69; Tomorad 2005: 12–13; Tomorad 2006a: 18; Tomorad, in press.
[7] Tomorad 2003a: 65-67; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006a: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 90-94, nos. 14-25.
[8] Tomorad 2006b; Tomorad, in press.



Fig. 17a The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Scarabeus, inv. no. E-004av. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.



Fig. 17b The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Scarabeus, inv. no. E-004av. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.



Fig. 18 The Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula: Wedjet-eye amulet, inv. no. AMIP P-30337. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.



Fig. 19 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Group of shabtis. Photo: F. Beusan.

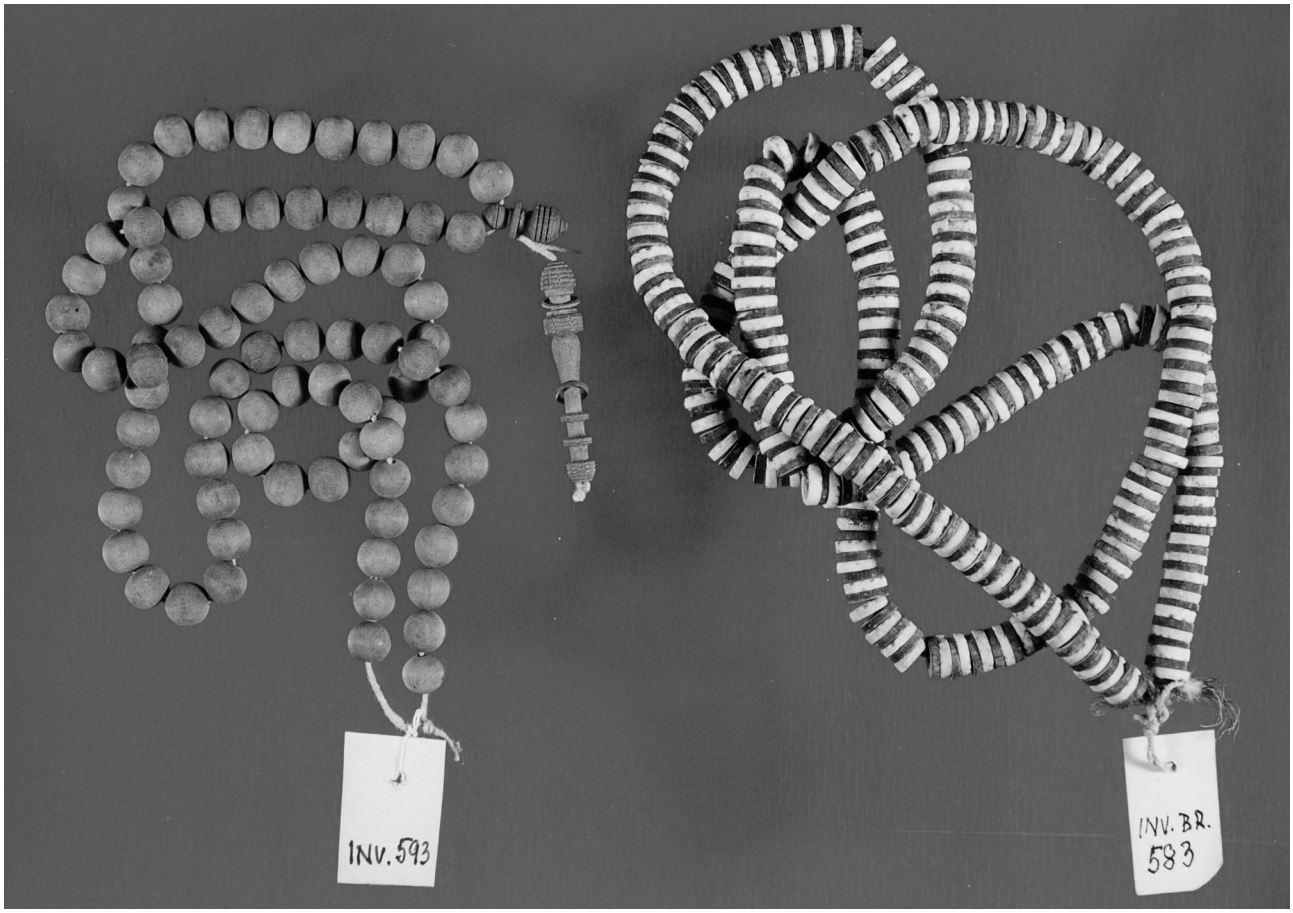


Fig. 20 Dubrovnik museums, The Archaeological museum, Dubrovnik: Jewelry, inv. nos. DM 583 and 593. The photographic collection of the Archaeological museum in Dubrovnik.



Fig. 21 Dubrovnik museums, The Archaeological museum, Dubrovnik: The group of statuettes of various Egyptian deities. Photo: M. Tomorad, 2003.

catalogues, and scientific periodicals. These are mostly the collections of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and the Archaeological Museum in Split. For the Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb there are several catalogues: a very old catalogue by Š. Ljubić[9], a French catalogue by J. Monnet Saleh[10] and the new catalogue published by I. Uranić[11]. Many specialized exhibition catalogues[12] or specialized publications were also published during 20th century[13]. Egyptian artifacts housed in the Archaeological Museum in Split have been presented and published mostly in *Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata* (Spalato, 1878–1918) and *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* (Split, 1919–present day) but also in books[14]. The Egyptian antiquities included in the Ante Topić Mimara museum in Zagreb are presented in several museum catalogues[15]

[9] Ljubić 1871; Ljubić 1889a; Ljubić 1889b.
[10] Monnet Saleh 1970.
[11] Uranić 2009.
[12] Gorenc 1979; Rendić–Miočević 1982; Rendić-Miočević 1993; Uranić 1996; Uranić 1999; Uranić 2003; Uranić 2005; Uranić, Čavka & Petaros 2012.
[13] Brunšmid 1904; Brunšmid 1905; Brunšmid 1907; Brunšmid 1914; Rendić–Miočević 1986.
[14] Selem 1997; Tomorad 2003a: 52–55; Selem 2008; Tomorad, in press.
[15] Lukšić 1987; Lukšić 1998; Ratković Bukovčan 2001, Ratković Bukovčan 2004.



Fig. 22 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Egyptian footwear, inv. no. E-191. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.



Fig. 23 The Museum of the city, Varaždin: Badari vessel, inv. no. AO 6521. Photo M. Tomorad, 2002.



Fig. 24 The Museum of the city, Varaždin: Group of canopic vessels. Photo M. Tomorad, 2002.



Fig. 25 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Male head, inv. no. E-213. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.

and works by M. Tomorad[16] and I. Čukman Nikolić and M. Tomorad[17]. The large collections in the Archaeological Museums in Dubrovnik[18] and Pula[19] have only recently been partly analyzed and published. The minor collections in the museums have mostly been examined during since the end of 1990's[20] with the exception of the collection of the Franciscan monastery in Sinj[21], the Archeological museum in Zadar[22], the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek[23]

[16] Tomorad 2003a: 63–69; Tomorad 2005: 11–13; Tomorad 2006a: 16–18; Tomorad 2009: 541–544; Tomorad 2012b; Tomorad, in press.
[17] Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014.
[18] Uranić 2002; Menalo 2003; Tomorad 2003a: 56–63; Tomorad 2005: 13–16; Tomorad 2006: 19–21; Tomorad, in press.
[19] Džin 2001: 18–21; Jurkić–Girardi 2001: 5–17; Uranić 2001: 22–28; Tomorad 2003a: 48–51; Tomorad 2006a: 24–25; Tomorad 2007; Tomorad, in press.
[20] Tomorad 2001; Tomorad 2003a: 63–64, 69–70, 73–79; Tomorad 2006b: 26–37; Tomorad, in press.
[21] Cambi 1971; Selem 1979; Selem 1997: 93–95; Tomorad 2000; Tomorad 2003a: 75–76; Tomorad 2004; Tomorad 2005: 22; Tomorad 2006a: 31; Tomorad 2006b: 287–288; Selem 2008; Tomorad 2011; Tomorad 2012a; Tomorad, in press.
[22] Bersa 1900; Bersa 1906; Abramić 1913; Bersa 1915; Suić 1954; Suić 1965; Medini 1968; Suić, Batović & Belošević 1968; Perc 1968; Suić 1969; Selem 1972; Suić 1976; Suić, Batović & Belošević 1979; Ginuio 2000; Giunio 2002: 29–37; Suić 2003; Tomorad 2003a: 51–52; Tomorad 2005: 20; Tomorad 2006a: 27–28; Giunio & Gluščević 2007; Tomorad, in press.
[23] Celestin 1895; Liebl 1900; Höger 1942; Degmežić 1954; Pinterović 1954; Perc 1968; Selem 1972: 38–40; Pinterović 1978; Selem 1980:



Fig. 26 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Isis with Horus, inv. no. E-735. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.



Fig. 27 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Wooden stele, inv. no. E-568. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.

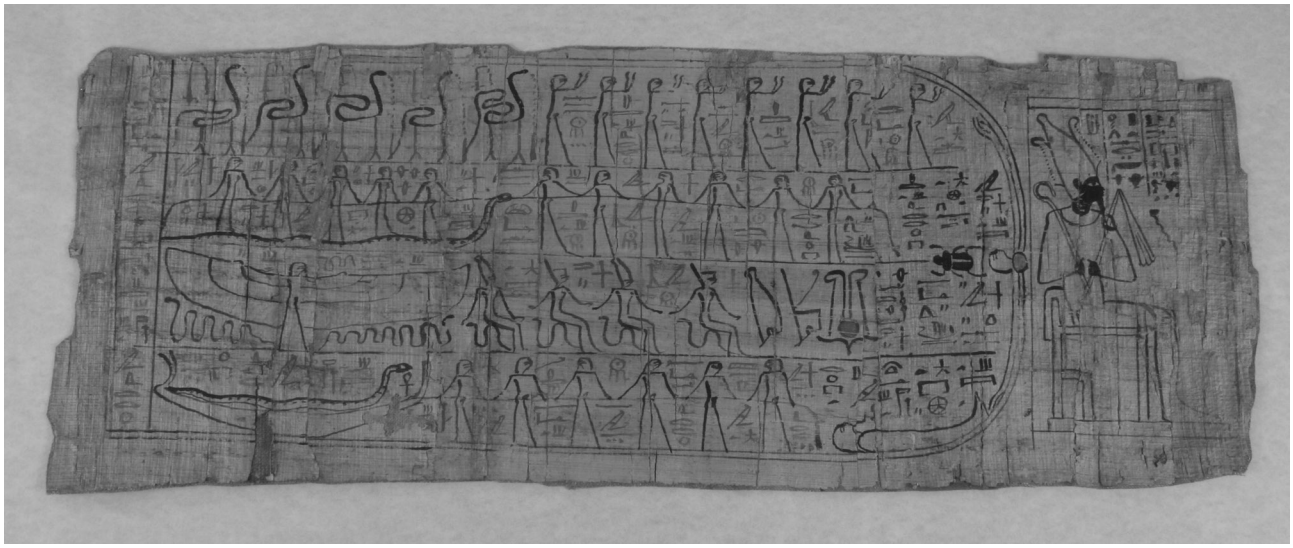


Fig. 28 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Papyrus, inv. no. AMZ E-597. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.



Fig. 29 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: The outside coffin of the Kaipamau, inv. no. AMZ E-687. Photo F. Beusan, 2005.

and the important collections in the Museum of Varaždin[24] which have only recently has been systematically analyzed and published. The important position Croatia has in the world of Ancient history and Egyptology is mostly due to the large and valuable collection in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb that includes a world rarity, the so–called 'Zagreb Egyptian mummy with the linen book (*Liber linteus Zagrabiensis*)'.[25]

2) The collections in institutions and in private collections which are not on display and previously unknown and unpublished. Their number is still unknown; it is necessary to establish how many artifacts are kept in regional museums, and to determine the origin of the artifacts, their authenticity, date, and cultural and historical value. It is often very hard to say how the artifacts found their way to these institutions mostly because valuable documentation about the purchase, donations or excavations has not survived or was not kept in many of the institutions. The private collections form a special group and of these, unfortunately, it is hard to prove their authenticity, mainly because they are almost completely unknown to the scientific public.

3. Collections of Egyptian antiquities in Croatia

3.1. *The Archaeological Museum, Zagreb*

The Archaeological Museum in Zagreb is a rare museum institution in Croatia that has systematically collected and presented Ancient Egyptian antiquities since the middle of 19th century. By systematic preservation, housing and presentation of Egyptian collections, through permanent exhibitions and many part–time temporary exhibitions, the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb became one of the most important institutions in Croatia which constantly gives the general public and scholars the opportunity to learn about the culture and history of Ancient Egypt.

3.1.1. The Egyptian Department

The Egyptian collection in the former National Museum of Croatia and today's Archaeological Museum in Zagreb has been formed through different sources during its 150 years of existence. The so–called Zagreb mummy and its wrappings (Inv. nos. E–664, E–665) were part of the first Egyptian artifacts in the collection. They were brought to the museum on the 5th of August, 1862[26] during the time Mijat Sabljar was curator (Dubica, 1790–Zagreb, 1865). Thanks to the bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer and Franjo Rački (historian, politician and in that time the president of the ex–Yugoslav Academy of Science and Art), the

20–23; Filipović 1997a; Filipović 1997b; Radić 1997; Selem 1997: Göricke-Lukić 2000; Ivanković & Grubišić 2002; Tomorad 2003a: 73–74; Tomorad 2005: 21; Tomorad 2006a: 29; Bulat 2007; Selem 2008; Kovač 2013; Tomorad, in press.

[24] Panić 1974; Panić 1976; Tomorad 2002; Tomorad–Uranić 2006; Tomorad 2009; Tomorad, in press.

[25] Rendić–Miočević 1986; Rendić–Miočević 1993; Tomorad 2003a: 31–48, 81–89; Tomorad 2003b; Uranić 2009; Tomorad, in press.

[26] Tomorad 2003a: 83; Tomorad 2003b.

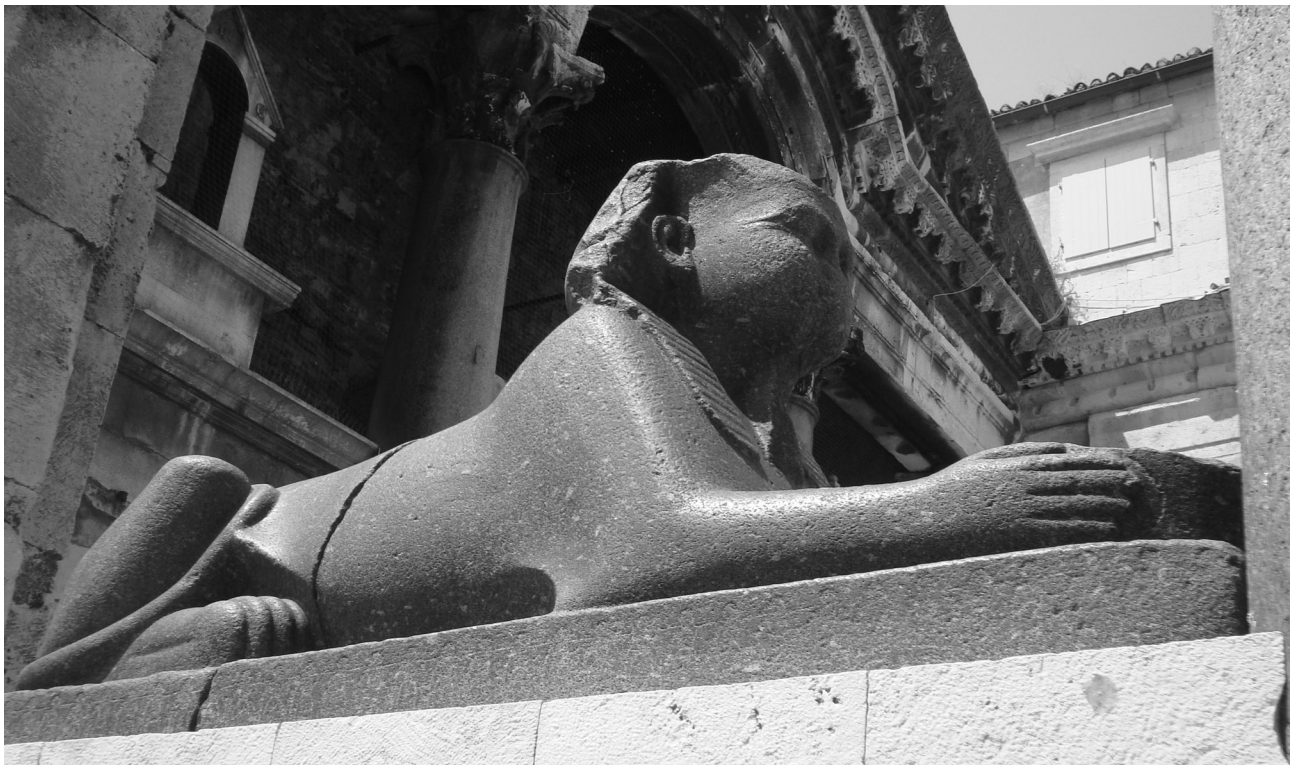


Fig. 30 Sphinx from the Peristil of the Diocletian palace in Split.

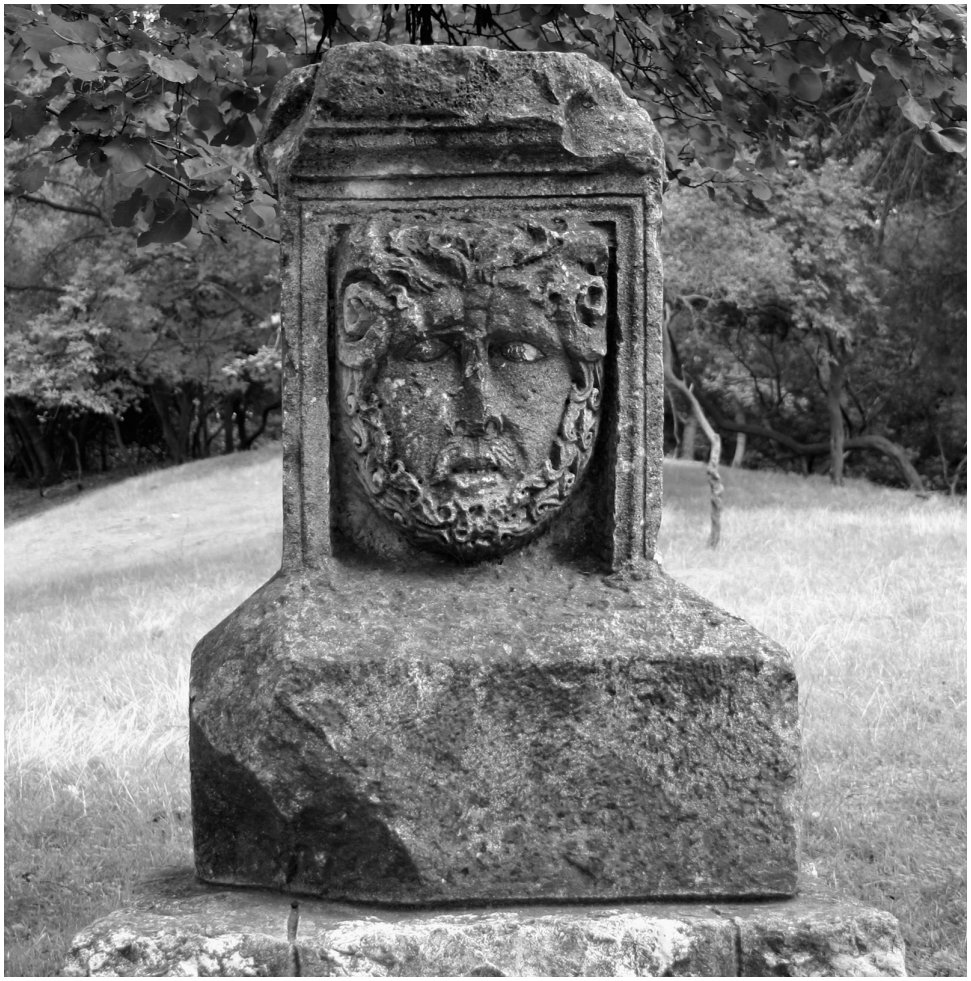


Fig. 31 Monolite stone block with the protome of a Jupiter–Amon. Veliki Brijun. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.



Fig. 32 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: The fragment with the head of Serapis from Petrovci, inv. no. A-164. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.

collection was augmented in 1868 with a large collection of Egyptian antiquities from the private collection of baron Franz Koller (Mnichovo Hradište, 1767–Naples, 1826) which was earlier that year purchased from the heirs of baron Koller.[27] (fig. 36) Up to the present day, this previously private collection formed in the early 19th century was the backbone of the Egyptian department. During the 150 years of its existence, their holdings have increased mostly by constant small donations from local citizens, with one donation from the Egyptian government in 1973[28], and by several purchases of smaller private collections.[29] (fig. 37a-d) The collection contains approximately 2300 artifacts of which the majority are small objects; scarabs, amulets, shabtis, and the statuettes of gods. There are also valuable examples of stelae, books of the dead, mummies, and sarcophagi.[30] The collection chronologically comprises mostly artifacts from the Middle Kingdom, the New Kingdom, the Late Period and the Graeco–Roman period. The precise provenance of the artifacts is relatively unknown. (fig. 38)

3.1.2. The Ancient Department

The Archaeological Museum in Zagreb also stores a variety of artifacts connected with the worship of the

[27] Mirnik & Uranić 1999; Tomorad 2003a: 31, 33.
[28] Tomorad 2003a: 142.
[29] Detail list of all acquisitions in: Tomorad 2003a: 33–37; Tomorad 2005: 4–5; Tomorad 2006a: 7–10; Tomorad, in press.
[30] Detail catalogues were published by J. Monnet Saleh and I. Uranić. Monnet Saleh 1970; Uranić 2009.



Fig. 33 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: The statue of Isis from Nin, inv. no. A-34. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.



Fig. 34 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: The Ptolemaic coin with the images of Cleopatra VII and Marcus Antonius, inv. no. AMZ B1921av. Photo M. Tomorad, 2002.



Fig. 35 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: The Roman coin with the images of Serapis, inv. no. AMZ C7959rv. Photo M. Tomorad, 2002.



Fig. 36 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: The pernament exhibition, c. 1920.



Fig. 37a



Fig. 37b



Fig. 37c



Fig. 37d

Fig. 37a-d The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: The pernament exhibition, c. 1970's.



Fig. 38 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: The pernament exhibition, c. 1990's.

Egyptian cults in the territory of Roman *Illyricum*[31]. At the moment there are at least 36 such objects in the Ancient department.[32] They are mostly the statuettes of gods (Isis, Serapis, Hermes–Thot, Isis–Fortuna, and Harpocrates) and many other artifacts associated with the worshippers of the Egyptian deities.[33] (fig. 39) The majority of these artifacts were acquired during the course of archaeological excavations since the 19th century. Several bronze Hermes–Thot, Isis–Fortuna, and Harpocrates statuettes, sphinx, and other smaller artifacts originating from Graeco–Roman Egypt came into the possession of the Museum through the purchase of the Koller collection in 1868.[34]

3.1.3. The Numismatic Department

The Numismatic department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb has a very large collection of various currencies. Two parts of the collection are associated with ancient Egyptian civilization; the collection of the Ptolemaic coinage, and the collection of coinage from the Alexandrian mint of the Roman province of *Aegyptus*. There are at least 175 specimens[35] of the Ptolemaic coins from all periods of the Ptolemaic dynasty.[36] (fig. 40) Most of them were purchased from various private collections (e.g. Benko Horvat)[37], but there are also specimens which were excavated in several places in Croatia.[38] The numismatic collection of the Roman imperial Alexandrian mint (emperors from Augustus to Constantine I) is very large and comprises at least 520 coins.[39] This coinage contains the images of the various Roman emperors and their co–rulers or the images of various Egyptian Hellenistic deities (such as Apis, Isis, Osiris, Harpocrates) originating from the other African, and Oriental provinces of the Roman Empire.[40]

3.2. *The Mimara Museum, Zagreb*

The Mimara Museum was founded by the City of Zagreb as the institution which holds the large private collection

[31] Mostly from the provinces of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* with several exceptions from other provinces of the Southeastern region of the Roman Empire.

[32] Tomorad 2003a: 40-42; Tomorad 2005: 7; Tomorad 2006a: 10-11; The most detail list in: Tomorad, in press.

[33] Brušmid 1904; Brunšmid 1905; Brunšmid 1907; Brunšmid 1914; Gorenc 1952: nos. 51, 68-69; Rendić-Miočević 1987: 201; Rendić-Miočević 1991: 134, no. 117; 139, no. 136; Rendić-Miočević 1993: 122-127; Rendić-Miočević 1996: 110 no. 104, 115, no. 123; Cambi 2003; Tomorad 2003a: 40–42; Tomorad 2005: 7; Tomorad 2006a: 10–11; Tomorad, in press.

[34] Brunšmid 1914; Tomorad 2005a: 7.

[35] Tomorad, in press.

[36] Tomorad 2003a: 42–46; Tomorad 2005: 8–9; Tomorad 2006a: 12–13; Tomorad, in press.

[37] Tomorad, in press.

[38] Brunšmid 1897; Mirnik 1981: 36–49; Mirnik 1982; Mirnik 1987; Mirnik 1993; Mirnik 2000.

[39] Tomorad, in press.

[40] Detail list in: Tomorad 2005: 9–11; Tomorad 2006a: 14–16; Tomorad, in press.



Fig. 39 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Isis-Fortuna from Lika, inv. no. A-4633. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.



Fig. 40 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Ptolemy I Soter, inv. no. A3822. Photo M. Tomorad, 2002.



Fig. 41 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Jupiter-Ammon, minted in Alexandria, inv. no. C7945rv. Photo M. Tomorad, 2002.

(3750 artifacts) of Ante Topić Mimara (Korušca, 1898–Zagreb, 1987). Mr. Topić Mimara donated his art collection to the Socialist Republic of Croatia and the Council of the City of Zagreb on October 6th 1973 and October 29th 1986.[41] The artifacts of the Egyptian provenance are kept in two collections, The Collection of Ancient Civilizations, and The Glass Collection.

The Archaeological Collection (ex-Collection of Ancient Civilizations) of the Mimara Museum contains 617 artistic artifacts dating from prehistory to the formation of the first medieval states. The Egyptian collection contains 35 artifacts of Egyptian origin dating from Predynastic Egypt to Late Antiquity.[42] The collection contains three artifacts from the Naqada I–III cultures[43] and twelve Coptic artifacts[44] which makes this collection unique in Croatia.

The Glass Collection contains 470 Egyptian artifacts with a chronological range from the New Kingdom to Late Antiquity.[45] This is the only glass collection with artifacts of the Egyptian provenance in Croatia.

41 Tomorad 2003a: 64.

42 Detailed list in: Tomorad 2003a: 64–67; Tomorad 2005: 11–12; Tomorad 2006a: 16–17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014; Tomorad, in press.

43 Tomorad 2009: 541–544; Tomorad 2012b.

44 Tomorad 2003: 65, 57; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006a: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 90-94, nos. 15-25, 106-111, figs. 15-25; Tomorad, in press.

45 Detailed list in: Ratković Bukovčan 2001; Tomorad 2003a: 67-69; Ratković Bukovčan 2004; Tomorad 2005a: 12–13; Tomorad 2006a: 18;



Fig. 42 Dubrovnik museums, The Archaeological museum, Dubrovnik: The group of Egyptian artifacts during exhibition in March, 2003. Photo M. Tomorad.

3.3. *The Museums of Dubrovnik: The Archaeological Museum, Dubrovnik*

The large Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum within the Museums of Dubrovnik was assembled through donations of now mostly unknown persons. The only known donators are Tonko Kuraica, Ivo Nordeli, and the brothers Frane (Dubrovnik, 1821–?) and Nikola (Dubrovnik, 1823–Vienna, 1892) Amerling[46], who probably donated the majority of artifacts. Frane Amerling lived in Cairo in the second half of the 19th century. Nikola (Niko) Amerling lived in Alexandria from 1842 until he left Egypt after the British occupation in 1882.[47] The Amerling brothers were both involved in the founding of the Museum to which the Amerling family donated many other artifacts gathered around the world. In 1872, they donated a collection of Ancient Egyptian and Oriental artifacts to the local Dubrovnik museum.[48] According to the records in the inventory book, all the artifacts originate from Egypt, and the only recorded year of the donation is 1872.[49] The time of arrival and the donators can be determined for only three other artifacts (inv. nos. 638, 639, 3808). It can be concluded from the archive that the

Tomorad, in press.

[46] Tomorad 2001: 24; Menalo 2003; Tomorad 2003a: 56.

[47] Menalo 2003: 6.

[48] Tomorad 2001: 24; Menalo 2003: 6; Tomorad 2003a: 56; Tomorad 2005: 14; Tomorad 2006a: 19; Tomorad, in press.

[49] Tomorad 2003a: 56.



Fig. 43 Dubrovnik museums, The Archaeological museum, Dubrovnik: The mummy in coffin, 2003. Photo M. Tomorad.

Amerling family donated a large collection in 1872, and as the Amerling brothers were frequently in Egypt, it can be assumed that they are probably the donators of the majority of artifacts.[50] The archive records showed that one large collection was donated by Ivo Nordeli who is not mentioned as a direct donator in the collection's inventory. Unfortunately, the precise data is not preserved so the genesis of the collection remains unknown.

Today the Egyptian collection contains 191 smaller artifacts and a mummy (fig. 43) whose authenticity and age is yet not determined.[51] (fig. The majority of artifacts originate from the Late and Ptolemaic periods but it is impossible to determine the provenance of the artifacts. During his examination of the collection I. Uranić identified 164 genuine and 31 fake objects; it was also established that one artifact originates from Etruria[52]. Scientific analysis of the artifact will be done in the next few years.

3.4. *The Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula*

The Archaeological Museum of Istria in Pula houses 37 Egyptian artifacts. These artifacts can be divided into three large groups. The first group consists of fifteen artifacts connected to the worshippers of Egyptian cults in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The artifacts of this group were found during archaeological excavations in the area of Istria and are connected to the cults of Serapis, Isis, Isis–Fortuna, Jupiter–Amon, and Hathor.[53] (fig. 44) The second group consists of seven bronze artifacts of mostly votive character.[54] (fig. 45) The third group consists of seventeen artifacts, mostly Egyptian shabtis and amulets that were part of the collection of an unknown Austrian donator.[55]

3.5. *The Archaeological Museum, Split*

The Archaeological Museum in Split stores between 131 and 139 artifacts connected with the diffusion of Egyptian cults in Roman provinces of Dalmatia.[56] They were found in the area of Mid–Dalmatia and its islands. The artifacts were acquired through archaeological excavations, by purchasing and by donations of private persons (for example, Lanza from Split, Marchi, Machiedo from Hvar, and Lukanović from Šibenik).[57]

The Archaeological Museum in Split, Department for History of Building and Architecture and in Diocletian's

[50] Tomorad 2003a: 56.
[51] Detail list in: Uranić 2002; Tomorad 2005: 14–16; Tomorad 2006a: 19–21; Tomorad, in press.
[52] Inv. n. 3809. Uranić 2002.
[53] Jurkić–Girardi 2001: 5–17; Tomorad 2003a: 48–49; Tomorad 2005: 16–17; Tomorad 2006a: 24–25; Tomorad 2007: 43; Tomorad, in press.
[54] Džin 2001: 18–21; Selem 2002; Tomorad 2003a: 49; Tomorad 2005: 17; Tomorad 2006a: 25; Tomorad 2007: 44; Tomorad, in press.
[55] Uranić 2001; Tomorad 2003a: 49–50; Tomorad 2005: 17–18; Tomorad 2006a: 25; Tomorad 2007: 45; Tomorad, in press.
[56] Bulić 1879; Bulić 1885; Bulić 1886; Bulić 1887; Bulić 1888; Bulić 1896; Bulić 1896; Bulić 1903; Bulić 1908; Bulić 1910a; Bulić 1910b; Bulić 1910c; Bulić & Karaman 1927; Novak 1932; Karaman 1937; Fisković 1950; Gabričević 1956; Selem 1961; Selem 1963a; Selem 1963b; Perc 1968; Selem 1969; Cambi 1971; Selem 1972; Žanić-Protić 1988; Cambi 1993; Selem 1993; Selem 1997; Selem 2000; Marin et. al. 2002; Selem 2002; Cambi 2003; Tomorad 2003a: 52–55; Tomorad 2005: 18–19; Tomorad 2006a: 22–24; Tadinac 2011; Tomorad, in press.
[57] Tomorad 2003a: 52; Tomorad 2005: 18; Tomorad 2006a: 22; Tomorad, in press.



Fig. 44a-b The Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula: Stone monument with sistrum from Savudrija, inv. no. AMIP A-41. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.

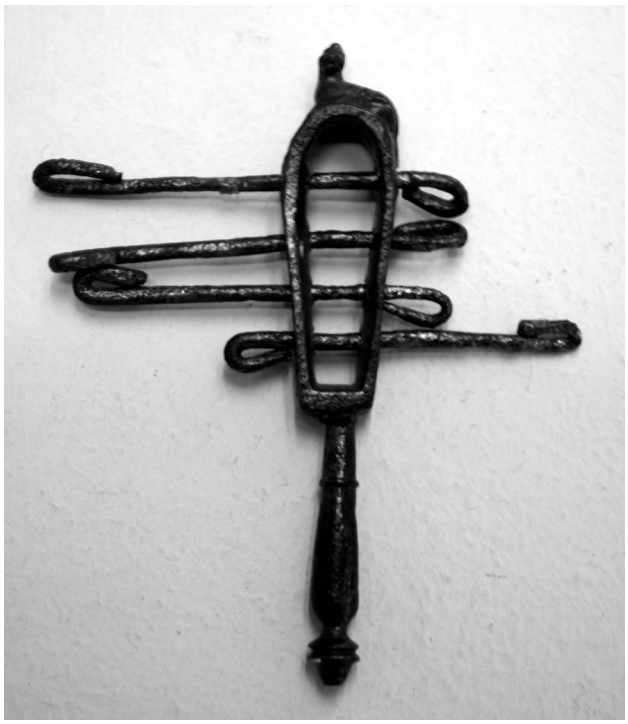


Fig. 45 The Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula: Sistrum from Nesactium (early 2nd c. B.C.), inv. no. AMIP A-5048. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.

palace in Split contains eleven sphinx or their parts brought by the Emperor Diocletian during the building of his palace.[58] The Museum also stores an Egyptian head made of reddish granite which was found in the northern part of the palace.

3.6. *The Archaeological Museum, Zadar*

The collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zadar has at least sixteen Egyptian cult artifacts found during excavations in the territory of Zadar (ancient *Iader*) and its surrounding areas.[59] (fig. 46)

3.7. *The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek–The Archaeological collection*

The Archaeological Department of the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek stores nineteen artifacts connected to Egyptian cults worshipped in the Roman province of *Pannonia*.[60] They were acquired during archaeological excavations in

[58] Novak 1932; Karaman 1937; Rismondo 1953; Selem 1963b; Selem 1970; Selem 1997: 97–106; Tomorad 2003a: 55; Tomorad 2005: 18–19; Tomorad 2006a: 24, 30–31; Tadinac 2011; Tomorad, in press.

[59] Selem 1997: 50-59; Giunio 2002: 29–37; Tomorad 2003: 51–52; Tomorad 2005: 20; Tomorad 2006a: 27–28; Tomorad, in press.

[60] Detailed list in: Perc 1968: 198-205, nos. 47-51; Selem 1972; Selem 1980; Filipović 1997a: 49–51; Filipović 1997b: 65–79; Selem 1997:



Fig. 46 The Archaeological museum, Zadar: Oil lamp with Serapis and Isis, from Nin, inv. no. 375. Photo K. A. Giunio.

and around Osijek (ancient Mursa) and eastern Slavonia. The most notable discovery was a white limestone stele with a representation of the Egyptian divinities (the so–called Pedi–Hor–pa–khereda stele). It was discovered in the area of Osijek's upper town in the late 19th century.[61]

3.8. *The Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb–The Benko Horvat archaeological collection*

The large private archaeological collection of Benko Horvat, which dates from the 11th c. BC to the 11th c. AD., was donated to the city of Zagreb in 1946.[62] It contains 381 artifacts[63] among which eleven artifacts of the Egyptian provenance can be found.[64] Today they is stored in the Galleries of the city of Zagreb (currently in the Museum of Contemporary Art), and in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (the Numismatic department).

3.9. *St. Euphemia monastery, Kampor (island of Rab) – The Archaeological collection*

The St. Euphemia monastery on the island of Rab owns a diverse collection that contains artifacts from the ancient Near East and Egypt. The collection was donated to the monastery by Ivo Kugli after the Second World War.[65] There is no information preserved on the date of the donation but it is known that the artifacts of Egyptian culture were purchased in Aquileia from a Jew who ran

141–145; Tomorad 2003a: 73–74; Tomorad 2005: 21–22; Tomorad 2006a: 29; Kovač 2013; Tomorad, in press.

61 Celestin 1895; Liebl 1900; Höger 1942: 22–25; ¨Perc 1968: 201-202, no. 49; Selem 1972: 39–40; Selem 1980: 20–21; Selem 1997: 142.

62 Tomorad 2003a: 70.

63 Koščević 2000; Tomorad 2003a: 70.

64 Koščević 2000; Tomorad 2003a: 70; Tomorad 2005: 22; Tomorad 2006a: 28–29; Tomorad, in press.

65 Tomorad 2003a: 75.

from the Gestapo to the United States of America.[66] The provenances of the artifacts are unknown; they could originate from ancient Egypt or from surrounding area of ancient *Aquileia*. It is not even established if they were originals or fakes. The collection consists of ten to twenty-one artifacts.[67] The exact number is hard to determine because some of the artifacts are broken in pieces so we cannot say without full analysis if these pieces belong to the same or different artifacts. Analysis is at the moment not possible for various reasons.

3.10. *The Franciscan monastery, Košljun – The Archaeological collection*

In the archaeological collection of the Franciscan monastery on the island of Košljun, ten Egyptian artifacts (two shabtis, three scarabs, and five amulets) discovered during archaeological excavations in the town of Krk (ancient *Curricum*) are kept.[68] (fig. 47) They have been recently analyzed and now they are in process of publishing.

3.11. *The Museum of the City of Varaždin, Varaždin*

The Archaeological Department of the Museum of the City of Varaždin was founded in the first half of the 20th century. The museum currently stores seven ancient Egyptian artifacts, six of them were part of the smaller Egyptian collection of the noble Pasthory–Varady family[69] (fig. 48), and one scarab which came to the museum after 2007[70]. The Pasthory–Varady collection was probably acquired during the 19th century when one of the family members stayed in Egypt during his diplomatic service. After his return to the country, the artifacts were kept in the Križovljan castle, and were later moved to the museum.[71] The time when these artifacts arrived at the Museum cannot be determined with certainty, although it can be assumed that this took place in the first half of the 19th century.[72] The predynastic cup from the Badari or Naqade I culture[73] is the oldest Egyptian artifact stored in any Croatian institution which makes this collection very valuable.

3.12. *The Franciscan monastery, Sinj–The Archaeological collection*

The Archaeological collection of the Franciscan monastery in Sinj contains six Egyptian artifacts. It consists of a Serapis bust made of terracotta, a shabti from Čitluk made



Fig. 47 The Franciscan monastery, Košljun: Shabti, inv. no. AO5279. Photo M. Tomorad 2002.

66 Bonifačić 1985; Tomorad 2003a: 75; Tomorad 2005: 22; Tomorad 2006a: 26; Tomorad, in press.
67 Tomorad 2003: 75; Tomorad 2005: 22; Tomorad 2006: 26–27; Tomorad, in press.
68 Tomorad, in press.
69 Tomorad 2003: 71-72; Tomorad 2005: 20-21; Tomorad 2006: 30; Tomorad, in press. Detail analysis of the artifacts in: Panić 1974; Panić 1976; Tomorad 2002; Tomorad–Uranić 2006; Tomorad 2009: 539-541.
70 Tomorad, in press.
71 Tomorad 2003a: 71; Tomorad, in press.
72 Tomorad 2002; Tomorad 2003a: 71; Tomorad 2005: 20; Tomorad 2006a: 30; Tomorad & Uranić 2006; Tomorad, in press.
73 Tomorad 2002; Tomorad–Uranić 2006: 88–89; Tomorad 2009: 540–541.

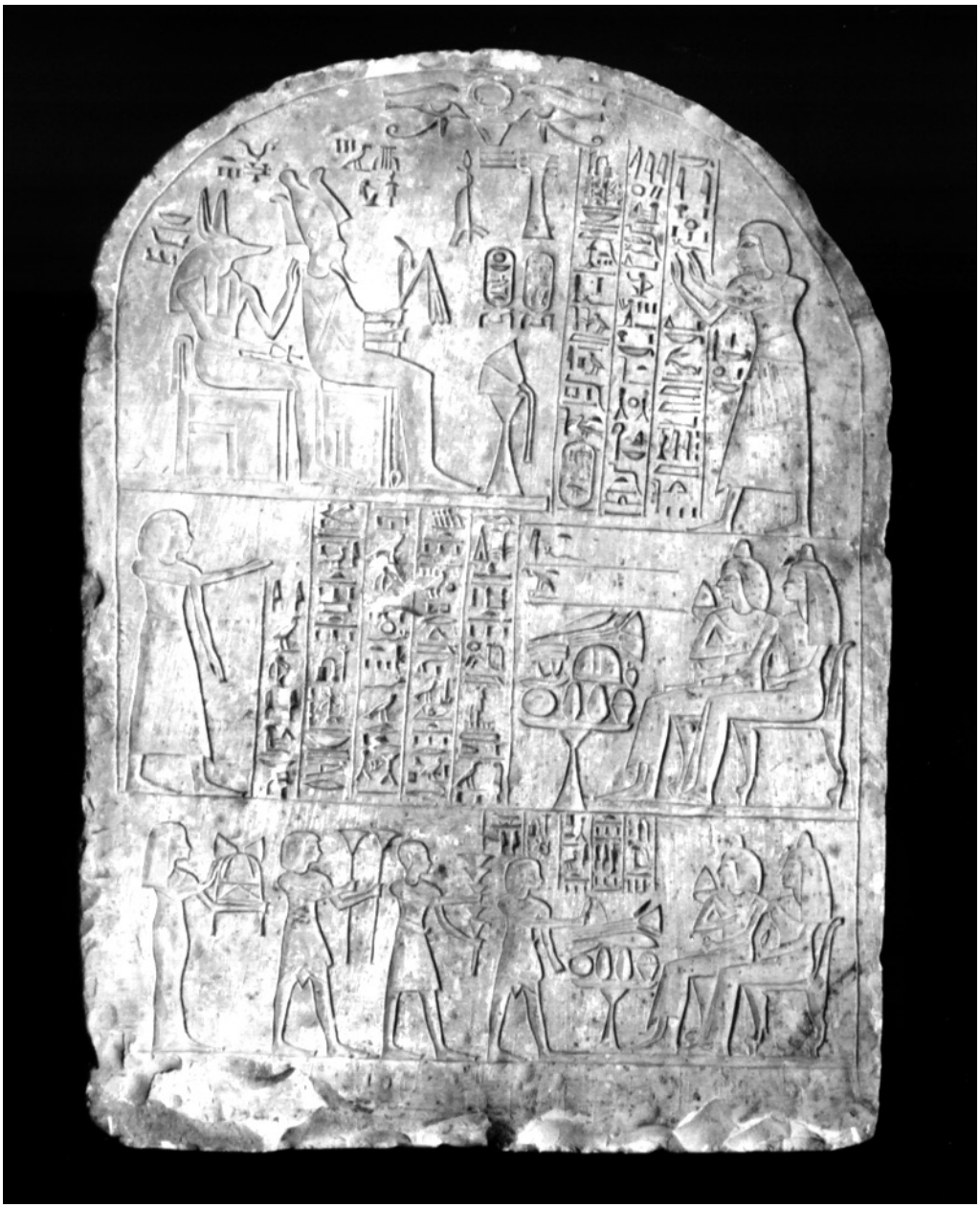


Fig. 48 The Museum of the city, Varaždin: Stele of Mery-Mery, reign of Amenhotep III, inv. no. AO 6521. Photo M. Tomorad, 2002.

of green enameled terracotta, a shabti from Čitluk made of brown terracotta, a bronze Isis statuette, and two scarabs. One of them, made of a dark stone, was brought by father Ante Jadrijević from Egypt before the outbreak of World War II.[74]

3.13. *Smaller Egyptian collections in regional museums and institutions in Croatia*

In the Museum of the City of Požega one handle with the relief of Egyptian female head is kept.[75] It was discovered in May 1979 in the field near the village Sesvete in the Požega valley. According mine preliminary analysis in May 2013 it seems that goddess Isis was carved on this bone handle.[76] Without radiocarbon analysis will be hard to determine hold old this artifact really is and is it genuine or just modern copy. The first analysis suggests that can be genuine from Nubia or Levant. Several prehistoric and Roman sites are surrounding village of Sesvete so it could arrive there during Antiquity.

In the August of 2001, a marble cornice of a stele with a pair of lions was excavated from the lake located in the area of Gabajeva Greda gravel pit near the Drava River at a depth of 25 m. The cornice was found by the gravel pit supervisor and amateur archaeologist Ivan Zvijerac. After

[74] Cambi 1971: 85–107; Selem 1979: 79–92; Selem 1997; Tomorad 2000; Tomorad 2003a: 75–76; Tomorad 2004; Tomorad 2005a: 22; Tomorad 2006a: 31; Tomorad 2006b; Tomorad 2011; Tomorad, in press.

[75] Tomorad 2003a: 138.

[76] Tomorad, in press.

the discovery, the cornice was stored on the water dredge, and it was transferred to the Museum of Koprivnica in late September 2001.[77]

The other Egyptian artifact is kept in the Museum of the city of Križevci. It is a cornice with two lion figures made of white marble which was found in Križevci during the excavation of the new St. Rochus graveyard during 1950's.[78] The cornice corresponds iconographically to the imagery of the Egyptian god Serapis.

In the Museum of Pregrada 'Dr. Zlatko Dragutin Tudjina' one small Egyptian amulet of the god Bes can be seen. It came to the museum as a donation from the private collection of mr. Tudjina from Münich.[79]

One Egyptian artifact, the so–called 'head of a citizen' (26th dynasty; inv. n. MGZ 4759), was donated to the city of Zagreb by the famous German actress Tilla Durieux and is housed today in the Museum of the city of Zagreb.[80]

In the Museo del territorio parentino in Poreč one small statuette of Isis–Fortuna is kept, which was excavated in Loron during a period from 1994–1998.[81]

In a private lapidary located in the courtyard of a house on J. Malevac Street no. 12, in Novigrad in Istria, two fragments of a small altar dedicated to Isis are housed.[82]

One monolith stone block with a relief of Jupiter–Amon can be seen in the Lapidarium of the island of Veliki Brijun. It was discovered in Pula and transferred to the island from the Archaeological museum of Istria in Pula in 1949.[83]

In the Naval and History Museum of Hrvatsko primorje in Rijeka several Ptolemaic coins are kept. They were discovered in the surrounding region and they are still unpublished.

One fragment of a votive sculpture with an inscription dedicated to Serapis is located in the Lapidarium of the City museum of Senj. It was discovered in 1898 in a nearby site and it has been kept in this regional museum since 1962.[84]

In the Museum of the city of Šibenik three artifacts related to the diffusion of Egyptian cults in Dalmatian are kept. An altar made of white limestone with an inscription dedicated to Isis was found during excavations in *Varvaria*; it was previously kept in the Lapidary of the *Varvaria* locality in Bribirska Glavica.[85] A yet unpublished bronze statuette of Hermes-Thot was discovered in Danilo (ancient *Municipium Riditarum*) and is in the possesion of Dragica Klarić, and now kept in this museum.[86] One bronze piece of the Ptolemaic coin with the head of Jupiter-Amon and Isis cult symbol was discovered in the cape Ploče.[87]

In the Dr. Grga Novak archaeological collection and its lapidary in Hvar one Egyptian artifact is stored. It is a bronze statuette representing the god Nefertem, discovered on the island of Hvar. In the museum a few other smaller Egyptian artifacts can be seen but they are borrowed from the Archaeological Museum in Split.[88]

A female alabaster bust with plain Isaic features (veil, the Isaic knot, and scarf) is kept in the Archaeological museum Narona in Vid near Metković.[89]

The collection of 'Narodno sveučilište' in Imotski holds a bronze statuette of Isis–Fortuna found near the Šarampov Bridge in Prološac at Imotski. The statuette was purchased for the collection soon after it was discovered in 1986.[90]

In a small local museum in Bostan one female alabaster artifact connected with the Isis cult is housed. It was found in 1968 during archaeological excavations in that area.[91]

4. Private collections of Egyptian antiquitie

There are an unknown number of private collections of Egyptian antiquities today in Croatia. They can be divided into two groups:

1. private collections included in various museums and institutions,
2. the collections kept by private persons, often in their homes. These collections are mostly unpublished, not systematized, and unknown to the public. According to the law, every private collection has to be reported, examined, and evaluated, but the law is rarely followed.

Around the cities of Zagreb, Hvar, Kutina, Požega, Sisak, and Split[92], there are private persons who are in possession of larger or smaller collections of Egyptian antiquities. Some of them are known to the public but many more are not. The largest known private collection is owned by Dražen Kovačić and Žarko Bošnjak. Their collection had an exhibition in June 1991 in the Museum of Moslavina in

[77] Kulenović & Muštra 2002; Tomorad 2003a: 73; Tomorad 2005: 22; Tomorad 2006a: 33; Tomorad, in press.
[78] Zajc 1954; Demo 1982; Horvat 1982; Kolar 2001; Tomorad 2003: 73; Tomorad 2005: 22; Tomorad 2006a: 34; Tomorad, in press.
[79] Tomorad, in press.
[80] Kadić 1984; Tomorad 2003a: 69; Tomorad 2005: 21; Tomorad 2006a: 34; Tomorad, in press.
[81] Jurkić–Girardi 2005: 204–205; Tomorad, in press.
[82] Mlakar 1957: 445-446, fig. 14; Tomorad 2003a: 75; Tomorad 2005a: 23; Tomorad 2006a: 32; Tomorad, in press.
[83] Jurkić–Girardi 2005: 147; Tomorad 2006a: 32; Tomorad, in press.
[84] Brunšmid 1898: 172-173, fig. 76; Salač 1915, no. 100; Marić 1933: 81; Perc 1968: 222, no. 70; Selem 1972: 8; Budischovsky 1977: 176; Glavičić 1994: 69-70; Selem 1997: 47, no. 1; Giunio 2002: 28; Glavičić 2005; Tomorad, in press.
[85] Kuntić–Makvić 1982; Selem 1997: 59–61; Tomorad 2003a: 74; Tomorad 2005: 23; Tomorad 2006a: 32; Tomorad, in press.
[86] Tomorad, in press.
[87] Šešelj 2009: 321, no. 11; Tomorad, in press.
[88] Tomorad 2003a: 74; Tomorad 2005: 23; Tomorad 2006a: 33; Tomorad, in press.
[89] Cambi 1971: 98–99; Selem 1972; Selem 1997: 112–113; Tomorad 2003a: 76; Tomorad 2005: 23; Tomorad 2006a: 33; Tomorad, in press.
[90] Tonković 1991: 53–54; Selem 1997: 93; Tomorad 2003a: 76; Tomorad 2006a: 33; Tomorad, in press).
[91] Tomorad 2006a: 34; Tomorad, in press.
[92] e.g. private collection Carrara–Bratanić Selem 1971: 113–117.

Kutina.[93] This collection has approximately 500 artifacts, and the exhibition showed about 100 artifacts ranging from the Naqada period to the Roman era. The exhibited artifacts were objects of everyday life; death masks, small plaster, amulets, jewelry, fragments of the sarcophagi, and votive stelae. The origin of the collection is unknown.

5. Conclusion

Most of the Egyptian antiquities came to Croatia in the second half of 19th century from various private collections. Today the biggest collection is kept in the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb. The nucleus of the Egyptian department of Archaeological Museum in Zagreb is connected with the donation of the well-known 'Zagreb mummy' with its linen Etruscan wrappings (*Liber linteus Zagrabiensis*) in 1862. The bulk of the collection consists of objects from the private collection of the Austrian baron Franz Koller that was bought for the National Museum of Croatia in 1868. Today it comprises about 2300 artifacts of Egyptian origin. The Archaeological Museum of Zagreb also owns a large number of other artifacts related to the history of ancient Egyptian civilization. There are almost 700 pieces of ancient Egyptian coinage from the Graeco–Roman period in the Numismatic department. The Antique department is comprised of statues, statuettes and epigraphic monuments related to the diffusion of Egyptian cults during the Graeco–Roman period, originating from the Roman provinces in Southeastern Europe. During the last 150 years, these collections have been supplemented by a variety of small and large purchases and through the donations of private individuals, so the number of artifacts increases constantly.

In other museums and institutions throughout Croatia there are at least twenty-five other variously sized collections of Egyptian artifacts. The most important collections can be seen in: the Mimara of Ante Topić Mimara in Zagreb, the Archaeological Museum of Dubrovnik, the Archaeological Museum of Split, the Archaeological Museum of Istria in Pula, the Archaeological Museum of Zadar, the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek and the Museum of the City of Varaždin. According to our knowledge, there are at least 3947 artifacts in museum institutions[94] and at least 500 artifacts in private collections in Croatia.

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The Collection of Egyptian Artifacts in the Mimara Museum in Zagreb (Croatia)

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Abstract**:** *The authors in this paper presents thirtyfive Egyptian artifacts from Predynastic, Pharaonic and Coptic Egypt which are kept in the Museum Mimara in Zagreb, Croatia. These artifacts were most likely purchased at the international art market between the First and Second World war. Mr. Topić Mimara donated his art collection to the Socialist Republic of Croatia and the Council of the City of Zagreb on October 6th 1973 and October 29th 1986. His collection was presented to the public in the newly open museum in 1987. The Ancient Egyptian collection contains 505 artifacts which are separated in two collections: The Glass collections (470 artifacts), and the Archaeological collection (ex-collection of Ancient Civilizations).*

Keywords**:** *Museum Mimara, Ancient Egyptian collection, Coptic collection*

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1. Introduction

The Mimara Museum was founded by the City of Zagreb as the institution which holds the large private collection (3750 artifacts) of Ante Topić Mimara (Korušca, 1898–Zagreb, 1987). Mr. Topić Mimara donated his art collection to the Socialist Republic of Croatia and the Council of the City of Zagreb on October 6th 1973 and October 29th 1986.[1] Museum Mimara was opened to the public on the 17th of July, 1987.he artifacts of the Egyptian provenance are kept in two collections, the Archaeological collection[2], and the Glass collection. The Archaelogical collection of the Mimara Museum contains 617 artistic artifacts dating from prehistory to the formation of the first medieval states. During his lifetime of collecting Ante Topić Mimara was guided by his affinity towards the aesthetics of art, according to his knowledge of history, culture and of different cultures and civilisations.

The main characteristics of the collection are the diversity of styles and long periods of time the artifacts encompass, their different geographic origin, and the various materials they are made of. The permanent museum display is in chronological order and presents works of art in collections of Asian art, glass, archaeology, European sculpture, decorative arts, carpets, ivory, European paintings, icons and drawings. The works of art in the collection of archaeology belong to the ancient cultures of Europe, Middle East and South America.

2. The Ancient Egyptian collection

Inside the Archaeological collection 35 artifacts of Egyptian origin dating from Predynastic Egypt to Late Antiquity are kept.[3] The collection contains three artifacts from the Naqada I–III period[4] twenty artifacts from pharaonic Egypt, and twelve Coptic artifacts[5] which makes this collection unique in Croatia.

The Ancient Egyptian artifacts in the Mimara collection were purchased by the donor at the international art market. Their sites of origin are unknown. The attributions given to the artifacts upon their entrance to the museum were systematically rechecked by general research methods–stylistic analysis, comparative method and analysis of data provided by XRF laboratory test and other similar laboratory methods. Following the results of these tests, some attributions were changed, but the value of the entire collection remains high. Two artifacts have been identified as 19th century replicas which, at the time, were produced in great numbers, often found their place into the collections of great European museums as a manifestation of the idea of art historical continuity.

The variety of artifacts in the collection reflects the period between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. During this time a collector's wish to present himself as an enlightened connoisseur of art determined his choice to gather objects from all periods of time and in all styles of art in spite of the donor's evident preference towards certain art forms.

Respecting the donor's wish to create a museum that would become a place of national heritage and methods of modern curatorship, this important collection of art has successfully passed over from private possession to a public cultural institution.

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1 Tomorad 2003a: 64;
2 The ex-Collection of Ancient Civilizations.
3 Tomorad 2003a: 64–67; Tomorad 2005: 11–12; Tomorad 2006a: 16–17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014; Tomorad, in press.
4 Tomorad 2009: 541–544; Tomorad 2012b.
5 Tomorad 2003: 65, 57; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006a: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 90-94, nos. 15-25, 106-111, figs. 15-25; Tomorad, in press.

Mladen Tomorad

3. Catalogue

3.1. *Predynastic and Archaic Egypt*

1. Vessel (fig. 49)

Inv. no.: ATM 230.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: Naqada II-Naqada III (3600-3100 B.C.).
Material: red breccia.
Dimensions: height 6.7 cm, width 11.3 cm.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 64, fn. 384; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 270; Tomorad 2009: 542–543; Tomorad 2012: 187-189; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 87, no. 2.

2. Bowl (fig. 50)

Inv. no.: ATM 231.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: Naqada III-Archaic period (c. 3200-2700 B.C.).
Material: travertine or alabaster.
Dimensions: height 4.5 cm, diametar: 15 cm.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 64, fn. 385; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 270; Tomorad 2009: 543; Tomorad 2012: 189-190; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 87-88, no. 3.

3. Bottle (Fig. 51)

Inv. no.: ATM 233.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: Naqada II-Archaic period (3500-2700 B.C.).
Material: terracotta.
Dimensions: 10.3 cm, width: 5 cm.
Bibliography:



Fig. 49 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Vessel, Naqada II-Naqada III, inv. no. ATM 230.



Fig. 50 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Bowl, Naqada III-Archaic period, inv. no. ATM 231.



Fig. 51 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Bottle, Naqada II-Archaic period, inv. no. ATM 233.

Tomorad 2003: 64-65, fn. 386, fig. 57; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 270; Tomorad 2009: 543–544; Tomorad 2012: 190-192; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 87, no. 1.

3.2. *Pharaonic Egypt*

4. Statuette of a carrier(fig. 52)

Inv. no.: ATM 243.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: the Middle Kingdom, 12th Dynasty, ca 2000-1770 B.C.
Material: wood.
Dimensions: height 14 cm; width 4.4 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 64-65, fn. 389, fig. 58; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 88, no. 4.

5. Head of an unknown Pharaoh (fig. 53)

Inv. no.: ATM 229
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: the Middle Kingdom (c. 2055-c.1650 B.C.).
Material: marble.
Dimensions: 15.5 cm; width 15 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 64, 66, fn. 387, fig. 60; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17.

6. Statuette of a woman (fig. 54)

Inv. no.: ATM 244.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: the Middle Kingdom or the New Kingdom.
Material: wood and silver.
Dimensions: height 24 cm; width 5.4 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 64, fn. 396; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 88, no. 5.

7. Upper part of shabti figure (fig. 55)

Inv. no.: ATM 232.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: the 18th Dynasty (c. 1550-1295 B.C.), previously was dated during the Middle Kingdom or the Second Intermediate period.
Material: limestone.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 64, 66, fn. 390, fig. 62; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Tomorad 2012: 277; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 89, no. 8.



Fig. 52 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Statuette of a carrier, Middle Kingdom, inv. no. ATM 243.



Fig. 53 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Head of and unknown pharaoh, Middle Kingdom, inv. no. ATM 229.

8. Bowl (fig. 56)

Inv. no.: ATM 234.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: New Kingdom, 18th dynasty, reign of Amenhotep III (1390-1352 B.C.).
Material: faience.
Dimensions: height 4 cm, diameter: 20 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 64, fn. 392; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 90, no. 13.

9. Scarab (fig. 57)

Inv. no.: ATM 236.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: New Kingdom.



Fig. 54 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Statuette of a woman, Middle Kingdom-New Kingdom, inv. no. ATM 244.



Fig. 55 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Upper part of shabti figure, 18th Dynasty, inv. no. ATM 232.



Fig. 56 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Bowl, New Kingdom, inv. no. ATM 234.



Fig. 57a-b The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Scarab, New Kingdom, inv. no. ATM 236.

Material: faience.
Dimensions: height 4 cm, lenght 10 cm, width 8 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 64, fn. 394; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17.

10. Horus (fig. 58)

Inv. no.: ATM 239.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: New Kingdom.
Material: bronze.
Dimensions: height 6.5 cm, width 3 cm.
Unpublished.



Fig. 58 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Horus, New Kingdom, inv. no. ATM 239.

Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 64, fn. 395; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17.

11. Osiris (fig. 59)

Inv. no.: ATM 245.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: New Kingdom.
Material: bone.
Dimensions: height 12 cm, width 2.5 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 65, fn. 397; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17.

12. Ba-bird (fig. 60)

Inv. no.: ATM 242.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: the Third Intermediate Period (c. 1069-664 B.C.).
Material: wood.
Dimensions: height 12.8 cm, width 8 cm.
Unpublished.



Fig. 59 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Osiris, New Kingdom, inv. no. ATM 245.



Fig. 60 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Ba-bird, Third Intermediate Period, inv. no. ATM 242.

Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 65, fn. 402; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 89-90, no. 10.

13. Osiris (fig. 61)

Inv. no.: ATM 238.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: the Third Intermediate Period (c. 1069-664 B.C.).
Material: bronze.
Dimensions: height 59 cm, width 22 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 64, fn. 388; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 89, no. 9.

14. Falcon Akhem (fig. 62)

Inv. no.: ATM 241.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: the Third Intermediate Period (c. 1069-664 B.C.).
Material: wood.
Dimensions: height 14.2 cm, width 23.5 cm.



Fig. 61 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Osiris, Third Intermediate Period, inv. no. ATM 238.



Fig. 62 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Falcon Akhem, Third Intermediate Period, inv. no. ATM 241.

Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 65, 67, fn. 404, fig. 65; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 90, no. 11.

15. Canopic cover with the head of Duamutef (fig. 63)

Inv. no.: ATM 228.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: probably the Late period (c. 664-332 B.C.); previously was dating in the Middle Kingdom.
Material: limestone.
Dimensions: height 16.5 cm, width 20 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 64, fn. 387; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 88, no. 6.

16. Horus (fig. 64)

Inv. no.: ATM 237.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: the Late period (c. 664-332 B.C.).
Material: faience.
Dimensions: height 6 cm, width 6.5 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 65, fn. 403; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 90, no. 12.

17. Unconventional shabti, pregnant naked African woman with implements (fig. 65)

Inv. no.: ATM 235.
Provenance: Egypt or Nubia.
Dating: New Kingdom to Graeco-Roman period.
Material: terracotta.
Dimensions: height 15 cm, width 4.5 cm.



Fig. 63 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Canopic cover with the head of Duamutef, Late period, inv. no. ATM 228.



Fig. 64 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Horus, Late period, inv. no. ATM 237.



Fig. 65 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Unconventional shabti, pregnant naked African woman, New Kingdom to Graeco-Roman period, inv. no. ATM 235.



Fig. 66 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Figure of a woman, Graeco-Roman period, inv. no. ATM 240.

Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 64, fn. 392; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17.

18. Figure of a woman (fig. 66)

Inv. no.: ATM 240.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: Graeco-Roman period.
Material: bronze.

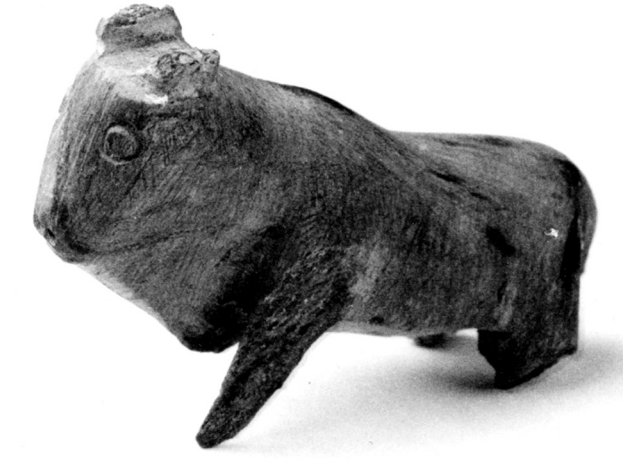


Fig. 67 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Apis amulet, not dated, inv. no. ATM 1376.

Dimensions: height 16.8 cm, width 5.2 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 65, fn. 405; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17.

19. Apis amulet (fig. 67)

Inv. no.: ATM 1376.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: not dated.
Material: stone.
Dimensions: height 2.4 cm, width 4.3 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 65, fn. 398; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17.

20. Hare amulet (fig. 68)

Inv. no.: ATM 1376a.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: not dated.
Material: stone.
Dimensions: height 1.9 cm, width 2.1 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 65, fn. 399; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17.

21. Hare amulet (fig. 69)

Inv. no.: ATM 1376b.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: not dated.
Material: stone.
Dimensions: height 2.6 cm, width 3.4 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 65, fn. 399; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17.



Fig. 68 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Hare amulet, not dated, inv. no. ATM 1376a.



Fig. 69 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Hare amulet, not dated, inv. no. ATM 1376b.

22. Anubis amulet (fig. 70)

Inv. no.: ATM 1376c.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: not dated.
Material: stone.
Dimensions: height 3 cm, width 3 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 65, fn. 400; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17.



Fig. 70 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Anubis amulet, not dated, inv. no. ATM 1376c.



Fig. 71 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Bes amulet, not dated, inv. no. ATM 1376d.

23. Bes amulet (fig. 71)

Inv. no.: ATM 1376d.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: not dated.
Material: stone.
Dimensions: height 2 cm, width 2 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 65, fn. 401; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17.

3.2. Coptic artifact

24. Oil lamp on a stand (fig. 72)

Inv. no.: ATM 361.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: 6th century A.D.
Material: bronze.
Dimensions: height 36 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 67, fn. 409; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 91 no. 14.

25. Oil lamp stand (fig. 73)

Inv. no.: ATM 358.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: 6th century A.D.
Material: bronze.
Dimensions: height 30 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 67, fn. 411; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 91 no. 15.



Fig. 72 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Oil lamp on a stand, 6th century A.D., inv. no. ATM 361.

26. Oil lamp stand (fig. 74)

Inv. no.: ATM 359.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: 7th century A.D.
Material: bronze.
Dimensions: height 29.6 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 67, fn. 412; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 91 no. 16.



Fig. 73 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Oil lamp on a stand, 6th century A.D., inv. no. ATM 358.

27. Oil lamp (fig. 75)

Inv. no.: ATM 357.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: 5th-7th century A.D.
Material: bronze.
Dimensions: height 11.2 cm, width 15 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 65, fn. 406; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 91-92 no. 17.

28. Stand (fig. 76)

Inv. no.: ATM 1719.
Provenance: Eastern Roman Empire (*Byzantium*); probably from Egypt.
Dating: 6th century A.D.



Fig. 74 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Oil lamp on a stand, 7th century A.D., inv. no. ATM 359.



Fig. 75 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Oil lamp, 5th-7th century A.D., inv. no. ATM 357.



Fig. 76 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Stand, 6th century A.D., inv. no. ATM 1719.

Material: bronze.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 92 no. 18.

29. Oil lamp (fig. 77)

Inv. no.: ATM 356.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: 6th century A.D.
Material: bronze.
Dimensions: height 9.2cm, width 12 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 67, fn. 410; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 92 no. 19.



Fig. 77 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Oil lamp, 6th century A.D., inv. no. ATM 356.

30. Oil lamp on a stand (fig. 78)

Inv. no.: ATM 355.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: 6th century A.D.
Material: bronze.
Dimensions: height 21 cm, width 14 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 67, fn. 409; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 92 no. 20.

31. Menasampulla (fig. 79)

Inv. no.: ATM 349.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: 6th century A.D.
Material: terracotta.
Dimensions: height 7.8 cm, width 21.7 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 65, fn. 408; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 92-93 no. 21.

32. Menasampulla (fig. 80)

Inv. no.: ATM 351.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: 6th century A.D.
Material: terracotta.
Dimensions: height 12 cm, width 10 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 65, fn. 408; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 93 no. 22.



Fig. 78 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Oil lamp on a stand, 6th century A.D., inv. no. ATM 355.



Fig. 79 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Menasampulla, 6th century A.D., inv. no. ATM 349.



Fig. 80 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Menasampulla, 6th century A.D., inv. no. ATM 351.



Fig. 81 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Relief with two female saints, 5th-6th century A.D., inv. no. ATM 340.



Fig. 82 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Box, 5th-6th century A.D., inv. no. ATM 3582.

33. Relief with two female saints (fig. 81)

Inv. no.: ATM 340.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: 5th-6th century A.D.
Material: gilded marble.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 93 no. 23.

34. Box (Fig. 82)

Inv. no.: ATM 3582.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: 5th-6th century A.D.
Material: wood.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 93 no. 24.



Fig. 83 The Archaeological collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Fragment of a tunique, 5th-6th century A.D., inv. no. ATM 246.

35. Fragment of a tunique (fig. 83)

Inv. no.: ATM 246.
Provenance: Egypt.
Dating: 5th-6th century A.D.
Material: linen cloth.
Dimensions: height 24.8 cm, width 21.7 cm.
Unpublished.
Bibliography:
Tomorad 2003: 65, 67, fn. 407, fig. 64; Tomorad 2005: 12; Tomorad 2006: 17; Čukman Nikolić & Tomorad 2014: 93-94 no. 25.

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The Ancient Egyptian Glass Collection in the Mimara Museum

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***Abstract**: The Mimara Glass Collection reflects the complexity of the entire donation of Ante Topić Mimara (1898-1987) and explicitly presents the different stages in the development of glassmaking. For this presentation I have selected nine objects from the collection of Egyptian glass and three examples of Greek glassmaking made in the long period from 2nd millenium B.C.to 4th century B. C.: core-made balsamariums (amphoriskos, alabastron, oinochoe) and pearl. Bowls made in Alexandria in 1st c. B. C. and 1st c. A. D., using the so-called mosaic glass technique, clearly show that, having undergone a development from an opaque glass paste to a unique material with its own identity, glassmaking completed its dawn period and entered a new phase.*

***Keywords**: Mimara Glass Collection, Egyptian glass, core-made glass, mosaic glass*

1. Introduction

The Ante and Wiltrud Topić Mimara Art Collection—the Mimara Museum was opened on 17 July 1987 at Rooseveltov trg 5.[1] It houses a collection created by the donation of Ante Topić Mimara (Korušce, 1898 – Zagreb, 1987) in 1973 and a supplemental donation on 29 October, 1986, given to the Croatian people.[2] The Museum holds artifacts of extraordinary variety and includes diverse collections. A range of artifacts, numbering 3750 works of the art heritage of the world, presents an opportunity to describe and analyze artistic creation from ancient civilizations to the late 19th century.[3] The Museum houses, for instance, collections of the art of ancient civilizations, European sculpture, ivory, and art of the Far East. Egyptian sculpture, Greek ceramics, vessels, statues, and objects for everyday use are among the works created in the vast territory of the Roman Empire; Romanesque and Gothic Madonnas made of polychrome wood at German and French workshops, Renaissance sculptures by Florentine and Paduan masters; a Gothic hunting horn made of walrus tusk ivory, carved of 17th century ivory – these are just some of the examples of the art housed in the Museum. The rich painting collection includes works by Italian, Flemish, Dutch, Spanish and French masters, and by workshops and schools spanning a vast time period from the Early Middle Ages to the very end of the 19th century. Lorenzetti, Beccafumi, Rubens, Ruisdael, Holbein, Libl, Manet and many other painters take us through the paintings of the Renaissance, Baroque and Rococo periods. There is also a rich collection of icons, and collections of drawings and graphic art. Almost a thousand objects of applied arts are sorted into several collections: glass collection, furniture collection, collection of fabrics and oriental rugs, collection of European porcelain and faience, and collection of metals and other materials. These collections, spanning a vast historical period and representing a multiplicity of workshops around the world, can serve as a genuine starting point for scholarly research.[4]

The Mimara Glass Collection perfectly reflects the complexity of the entire collection, and it also explicitly presents the different stages in the development of glassmaking and shows its admirable achievements. 600 complete objects and a group of 450 fragments can serve as an authoritative resource of knowledge on all aspects of glassmaking—its history, technologies, aesthetic and stylistic turning points, variety of forms, interaction of influences among different regions, etc. Collected over decades, sometimes in larger groups of objects and sometimes supplemented by an individual object of great significance, the collection presents a clear chronology of ancient glassmaking, while also containing some of the highest-quality achievements in glassmaking.[5]

One of the most important characteristics of the collection is that its different parts maintain a single primary feature; the comprehensiveness of the presentation of glassmaking activities in a specific period, whether it be Venetian Renaissance glass, European glassmaking of the Baroque style, or Bohemian glassmaking of the 19th century.

It is no wonder then that the collection of Egyptian glass also presents the 'introductory chapter' of glassmaking history–the work of Egyptian glassmakers–in all of its breadth of achievement, revealing the foundations and all construction elements of this complex branch of applied arts. The collection of Egyptian glass includes 21 objects and 450 fragments. This collection was the subject of my research, the results of which were published for the Mimara Museum.[6] For this presentation I have selected nine objects of Egyptian provenance and three objects from Greece which exemplify the value of this collection

1 Tomorad 2003: 64; Tomorad 2005: 11; Tomorad 2006: 16.
2 Tomorad 2003: 64.
3 Tomorad 2003: 63.
4 Lukšić 1987; Lukšić 1997.
5 Ratković Bukovčan 2001.
6 Ratković Bukovčan 2001. The collection was also presented by M. Tomorad in: Tomorad 2003: 67-69, figs. 66-68; Tomorad 2005: 12-13; Tomorad 2006, 18. Some objects were published by Otto von Falke in: Falke 1940: 196-197.

as a resource for learning about this period, and create connections between this collection and related glass objects in other collections around the world.

2. Egypt, 15th to 11th Century B.C.

Rock crystal and obsidian were the natural materials closest to glass, and humankind became familiar with them several millennia ago. It is usually assumed that to work with them people used the same tools that they used in the making of stone objects. The first record of the existence of glass material comes in the form of cuneiform writing on Mesopotamian clay tablets from the third millennium B.C. The inscriptions suggest that the glass was used to imitate precious and semiprecious stones, and that glass objects were made and finished by techniques similar to stonecutting. Around the year 1500 B.C., Mesopotamian artisans developed a technology of making glass objects from faience with the aid of a sand core, which (accidentally?) became perfectly suited for glassmaking (undoubtedly due to the almost identical chemical composition of the two materials). Mesopotamian experience was disseminated through contacts among ancient civilizations, during times of peace as well as war, and they blended with the newly emerging Egyptian glassmaking. Reino Liefkes describes that 'new Mesopotamian glass-workers, brought back to Egypt after successful campaigns conducted by Thutmose III (1479—1425 B.C) in Syria and up to the Mesopotamian borders, were probably responsible for establishing the glass industry'.[7]

While evidence of glassmaking activity in Mesopotamia comes mainly from inscriptions on clay tablets, finds from Egyptian tombs provide clear evidence of all aspects of making and using glass. Some fragments from the tomb of Amenemhat III, from the 12th Dynasty (2050-2000 B.C.), a green bead bearing the name of Amenophis I, which confirms that there was a custom in Thebes in the period from the 15th to the 10th century B.C. of putting the ruler's name on glass objects, a find with more than 1000 fragments of small vessels made of blue and green glass in the tomb of Amenophis III (1400 B.C.), and the finds from El-Amarna from the time of Akhenaton (1450-1400 B.C.), all illustrate the fundamental properties of glass objects and glassmaking of the period.[8]

Due to clear material evidence and preserved fragments of glass objects, the glassmaking of the period has come to serve as the point of departure for any concrete analysis of the history of glass. Scholarly debate has often focused on the theme of the influence and originality of early Egyptian glass artifacts. Paul Nicholson offers the most succinct as well as most realistic summary to these debates, referring to a predecessor of his: 'Petrie himself believed glass to have been introduced into Egypt … and then independently manufactured there once it had been established,' becoming 'among the finest from the ancient world'.[9] Ultimately, it is now widely accepted that as early as the second millennium B.C. Egypt became, for its autochthonous craft or for its excellent compilation of outside influences and indigenous achievements, the most important region in the making of high-quality glass objects.

These technological and formal properties would not change for centuries, and they would be adopted by a growing number of workshops in Egypt, as well as elsewhere around the Mediterranean-both by indigenous workshops that sprung up or those featuring Egyptian glassmakers. One can rightly state that the widespread uniformity of forms and glassmaking techniques characterized the production of glass from the 2nd millennium B.C. up to the emergence of Alexandrian workshops at the end of the 4th century B.C. Throughout this period glass was considered an exceptionally valuable material (especially in Egypt), almost equal to precious and semiprecious stones. Only the pharaohs, the clergy and high-ranking officials could own it. It was produced in small quantities, and used for the making of amulets, pendants, pearls, and, from the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C., small vessels called balsamariums, used for storing perfumes, essential oils and unguents. In addition, glass was used for the making of appliques and inlays placed on furniture, wood and stone tablets.

Glass was obtained by melting together sodium carbonate (soda), calcium oxide (lime) and silicon dioxide (silica) into a thick soft paste whose colour came from adding different metal oxides. Cobalt was added for blue, copper for turquoise, manganese for violet, silver for yellow, and the content of iron dioxide or some admixture from the other primary ingredients could also have an effect on the final colour of the glass. Sometimes the mix included the addition of pulverized semiprecious stones, especially malachite, the imitation of which, along with the imitation of lapis lazuli, was a dominant feature of early Egyptian glassmaking. In the production of amulets, pendants and plaques the glass paste would be pressed into a mould that imparted a desired shape to the glass. In the making of beads layers of differently coloured glass were combined together, with the brightness of colour being emphasized by sharply cut, often slanted edges.

Small Jug (Egypt, 2nd millennium B.C.)[10] (fig. 84) was made by pressing blue glass paste into a mould, and then finished by cutting. The oval body with a flattened bottom continues into a long neck. The slender handle, made from the same material, is attached to the top of the belly and the upper part of the neck. The rim of the lip is flat, fairly pronounced, and crisscrossed with fragments of orange-yellowish glass paste. A tubular cavity 0.5 cm in diameter

7 Liefkes 1997: 10.
8 Neuburg 1949: 8-10.
9 Henderson & Nicholson 2000: 195.
10 H. 9.8 cm; w. 4.3 cm; rim d. 0.5 cm. Museum Mimara: inv. no. ATM 1337. Bibliography: Luksic 1987: 270, 443; Ratković Bukovčan1998: 16, 41, 67, no. 1; Tomorad 2003: 68, fig. 67; Tomorad 2005: 13; Tomorad 2006: 18.



Fig. 84 The Glass collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Small Jug, Egypt, 2nd millennium B.C, inv. no. ATM 1337.

and 2.5 cm in length extends from the lip inside the jug. The entire surface of the jug is rough. The jug is a gracious summary of the main characteristics of early glassmaking in terms of colour and technique. An almost identical blue jug found in the tomb of Amenhotep II in Maherpra (15th-14th century B.C.) and described by Frederic Neuburg confirms the dating of this jug, and allows us to rank it among the very rarest products from the 2nd millennium B.C.[11]

Bead (Egypt, 15th c. B.C.)[12] (fig. 85) was made by winding layers of red, white and red glass around a solid core

[11] Neuburg 1949: 9-10.

[12] L. 5.4 cm; h. 4.2 cm. Museum Mimara: inv. no. ATM 1336. Bibliography: Lukšić 1987: 271, 443; Ratković Bukovčan1998: 17, fig. 1; Ratković Bukovčan2001: 8, no. 1; Tomorad 2003: 68; Ratković Bukovčan2004: 16, 67, no. 2; Tomorad 2005: 13; Tomorad 2006: 18.



Fig. 85 The Glass collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Bead, 15th c. B.C., Egypt, inv. no. ATM 1336.

with a circular cross-section. The polygonal shape was achieved by cutting. The central part of the bead is shaped into flat, rectangular surfaces, with oblique surfaces continuing on both ends. A layer of white glass forms a zigzag pattern where the oblique edges meet the central part. This bead belongs to the so-called 'aggry' type with a zigzag pattern obtained by the cutting of overlaid layers of glass paste. Excellently preserved, the bead exemplified the fundamental characteristics of the dawn of Egyptian glassmaking: the continuation of cutting techniques inherited from the working of objects in stone, obsidian and rock crystal; application of the solid core technique, which became dominant at that time; ambition to imitate precious and semiprecious stones in colour (primarily lapis lazuli, and then also turquoise and malachite). This type of bead continued to be made over the subsequent centuries, so that there are finds from the 4th century A.D.[13]

Small balsamariums, which originated in the 2nd millennium B.C., suggest a highly perfected level of workmanship. Over a period of 15 centuries a harmonious style in the making of this class of object developed and spread across the Mediterranean region. The Egyptian glassmakers made small alabastra, *amphoriskoi* and *aryballoi* by imitating small vessels made of other materials, and in the process they adapted such techniques to the performance characteristics of glass and enriched them with a complex approach to glass material.

The most characteristic and widespread technique of glassmaking in Antiquity, which would continue to be dominant until the 1st century B.C. was the process of manufacturing glass objects by wrapping glass around a solid core. Glass was first wound around the core (which was attached to a metal rod), and then followed marvering, or the rolling of the glass on a hard flat surface (usually

[13] Kisa 1908: 64, fig. 31, 65, fig. 32.



Fig. 86 The Glass collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Balsamarium, 15th c. B.C, Egypt, inv. no. ATM 1334.

a marble plate or table) in order to gradually achieve the desired form.[14]

The next stage almost always involved the winding of thin horizontal glass threads of bright colours around the glass object: usually they were rolled entirely into the surface of the object, while less often the threads would be left in light relief. Metal instruments were used to shape the threads into patterns that usually belonged to one of the following groups: a) the arcade pattern and the feather pattern, b) the hanging garland and the wavy line pattern, and c) the garland pattern and the zigzag pattern. The last stage of making glass artifacts involved the addition of handles, and sometimes broad rims and feet, and at the very end of the process the core would be pulverized and removed from the interior of the vessel, leaving behind a hollow space.

Balsamarium (Egypt, 15th c. B.C.)[15] (fig. 86) was made by the technique of wrapping glass paste around a solid core. The blue ground is decorated with yellow threads forming the so-called feather pattern. The threads are in low relief in several places. The body of the balsamarium is globular and wide, and at the top of the upper part of the body two small handles of irregular circular shape are applied, and a small gold chain runs through them. The vessel has a short neck ending in a thickened rim. The yellow thread motif, as a decoration on a darker monochrome surface, became popular during the 18th Dynasty and was frequently found on Egyptian glass products. This balsamarium can be seen as a highest-quality product of early Egyptian glassmaking, especially for its multifaceted qualities. Anton Kisa, in his book fundamental to the study of glassmaking in Antiquity, presented and described, as part of his typology of Egyptian glass, precisely this type of balsamarium made during the 18th Dynasty.[16] Excellently preserved, the Mimara collection of balsamarium was published in 1990 in the renowned *Journal of Glass Studies* as the first among 51 presented objects from American and European glass collections.[17]

The same fundamental characteristics of Egyptian glassmaking are exemplified by an *amphoriskos* in the Mimara Museum, made in the 2nd millennium B.C. This object shows an early version of an almost complete inventory of forms that would be repeated and elaborated on for centuries thereafter.

Amphoriskos (Egypt, 14th c. B.C.)[18] (fig. 87) was made by wrapping blue glass around a solid core. The base is round. A thin thread of yellow glass winds around the foot where it joins with the body. The tall body has a round belly with two opposing small handles applied to the upper part. The body tapers into a long neck with a thickened rim. The blue ground is decorated with variously shaped threads of yellow, milky white and light blue glass, divided into three bands. The lower part of the amphoriskos and the neck are decorated by threads in the feather pattern, and the middle section is decorated with a series of threads forming a garland pattern. The Egyptian department of the

[14] S. M. Goldstein and N. Kunina presented in their books very precise and detailed sketches of the glass-making techniques in Antiquity based on the available knowledge and analysis of history and main objects. See: Goldstein 1979: 14, 26-29; Kunina 1997: 29, 31, 35.

[15] H. 5.9 cm; w. 4.8 cm; rim d. 1.9 cm. Museum Mimara: inv. no. ATM 1334. Bibliography: Lukšić 1987: 443, fig. 271; Ratković Bukovčan 1990: 195; Lukšić 1998: 18, fig. 2; Ratković Bukovčan 2001: 9, no. 2; Tomorad 2003: 68; Ratković Bukovčan 2004: 17, 68, no. 3; Tomorad 2005: 13; Tomorad 2006: 18.

[16] Kisa 1908: 9, fig. 4.

[17] Ratković Bukovčan 1990: 195.

[18] H. 10 cm; w. 4.5 cm; rim d. 2.5 cm. Museum Mimara: inv. no. ATM 1335. Bibliography: Lukšić 1987: 272, 443; Ratković Bukovčan 2001: 13, no. 5; Tomorad 2003: 68; Ratković Bukovčan 2004: 68, no. 4; Tomorad 2005: 13; Tomorad 2006: 18.



Fig. 87 The Glass collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Amphoriskos, 14th c. B.C., Egypt, inv. no. ATM 1335.

British Museum in London houses five small vessels with a foot, made of blue glass decorated with glass threads (EA 4741, EA 64342, EA 47983, EA 4742 and EA 4743). These vessels were finished the same way and had the same use as the vessel from the Mimara Museum. They were found in Memphis and Faiyum, and they were made in the 14th century B.C., during the 18th Dynasty.[19]

3. Egypt; Greece—7th to 4th Century B.C.

In the period from the 11th to the 7th centuries B.C., Egyptian glassmaking stagnated, and there are almost no traces left of production from the period. Frederic Neuburg writes that 'after the liberation of Egypt from the Assyrian yoke … there began a renaissance of the (glassmaking) art.'[20] From the 7th century to the 2nd century B.C. the newly revived Egyptian glassmaking started to blend with, and indeed dominate the thriving glassmaking scene in the Mediterranean. The standards in both manufacturing technique and style set during the New Empire continued to be followed, so that small balsamariums were still modelled after objects made of other materials. It is therefore not surprising that alabastra, amphoriskoi, aryballoi, etc. are predominant among the Egyptian glassware, and intermixed with a range of kindred objects made in Rhodes, throughout Greece, and in the workshops of Asia Minor.

Alabastra, vessels of elongated, slender bodies, were modelled after objects made of semiprecious stones; at that time they were among the most commonly produced Egyptian glassware. They can also be seen as the origin of balsamariums made over the later centuries using the techniques appropriate to these different times.

Alabastron (Egypt, 6th—5th c. B.C.)[21] (fig. 88) was made by winding glass around a solid core. The body is longish, like a test-tube, with a rounded bottom. The vessel is made of milky white glass and decorated with evenly arranged blue glass threads. The vertical, slightly oblique sections, lined by thin threads of white glass, contain white sections, framed by blue glass, which form patterns resembling a pair of leaves. These leaves are laid in a horizontal parallel series one above another, increasing in density towards the top of the vessel. The body of the alabastron tapers into a very short neck with a broad, folded-over rim of translucent turquoise glass. Frederic Neuburg's foregrounds, for the use of milky white glass, a group of alabastra manufactured in Egypt in the period from the 7th to the 2nd centuries B.C., are currently held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Along with familiar colours and decretive styles, these pieces are significant because they are characterized, just like the Mimara alabastron, by a milky white glass as the basic mix, which doubtlessly suggests that the light colouring of original alabaster, from which such vessels were primarily made, was a model.[22]

Alabastron (Egypt, 3rd—4th c. B.C.)[23] (fig. 89) was made by winding glass around a solid core. The elongated body with a rounded bottom is made of blue glass. The entire surface is decorated with the feather pattern formed by yellow and light blue threads that stand out against the blue ground. Two small, opposing handles are applied to

[19] Neuburg 1949: Pl. II, fig. 3; Sidney 1979: 52, nos. 11-12.

[20] Neuburg 1949: 12.

[21] H. 12 cm; w. 3.5 cm; rim d. 3.5 cm. Museum Mimara: inv. no. ATM 1340. Bibliography: Ratković Bukovčan 2001: 15, no. 6; Tomorad 2003: 68; Ratković Bukovčan 2004: 18, 70, no. 7; Tomorad 2005: 13; Tomorad 2006: 18.

[22] Neuburg 1949: T. 5, fig. 16.

[23] H. 14 cm; w. 3 cm; rim d. 3.3 cm. Museum Mimara: inv. no. ATM 1343. Bibliography: Ratković Bukovčan 2001: 17, no. 7; Tomorad 2003: 68; Ratković Bukovčan 2004: 19, 71, no. 10; Tomorad 2005: 13; Tomorad 2006: 18.

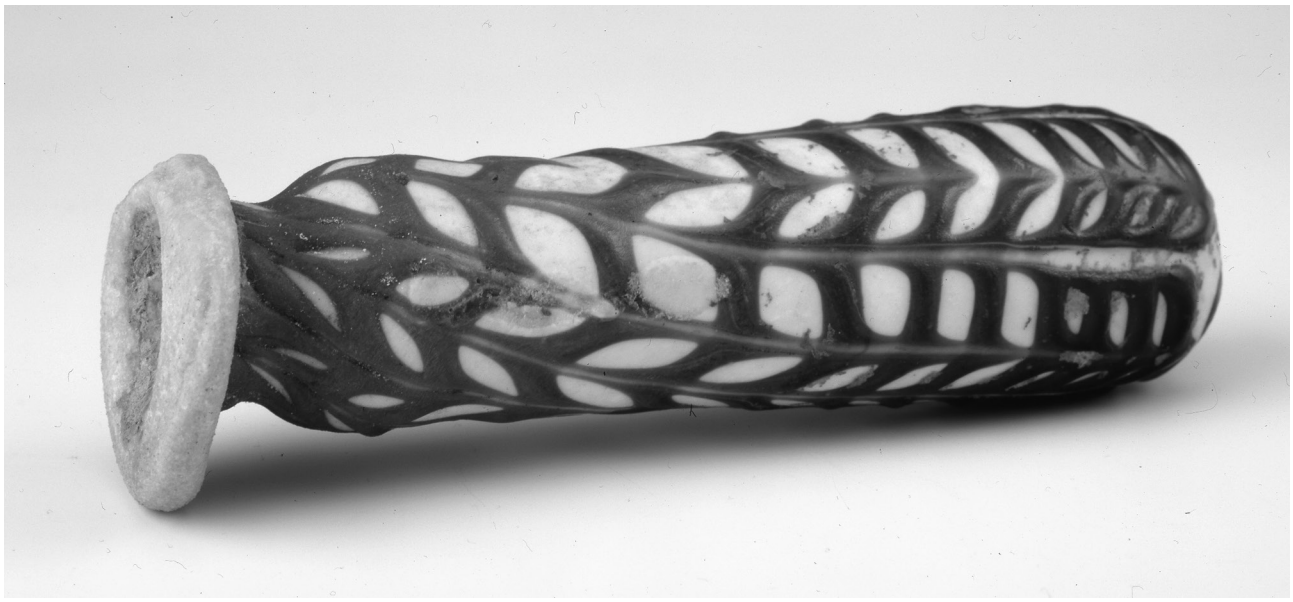


Fig. 88 The Glass collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Alabastron, Egypt, 6th-5th c. B.C., inv. no. ATM 1340.

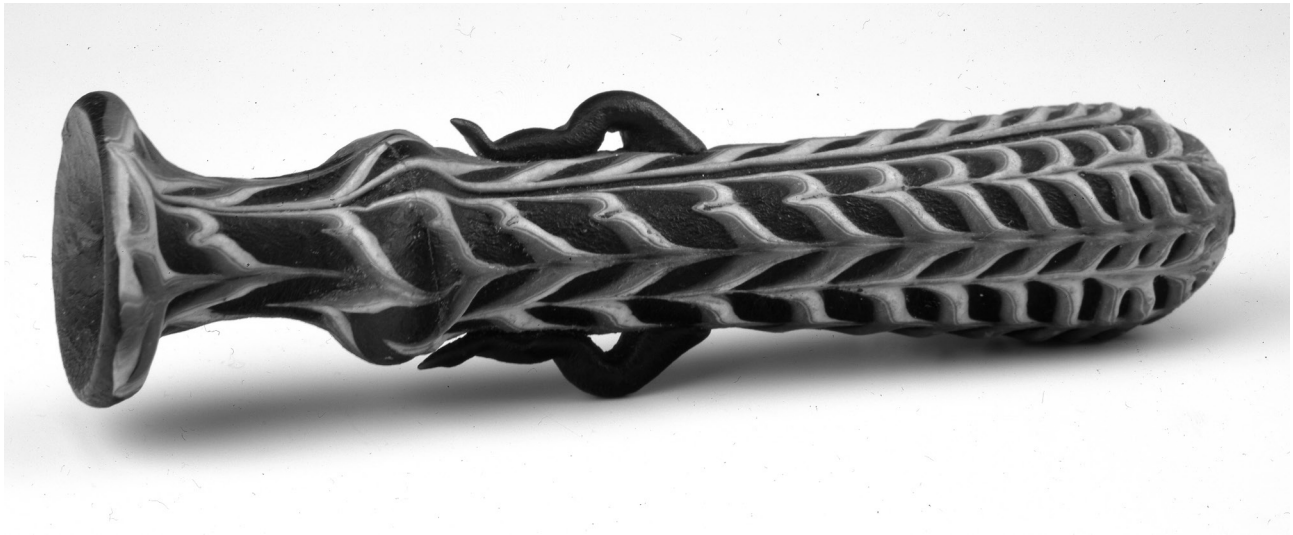


Fig. 89 The Glass collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Alabastron, Egypt, 3rd-4th c. B.C. no. ATM 1343.

the upper part of the body. Their function is decorative. The body of the alabastron tapers into a slender neck that runs into a broad flaring mouth. The rim is rounded.[24]

As previously stated, due to migrations of craftsmen and lively commerce, Egyptian glassmaking spread throughout the Mediterranean region; in some places becoming the foundation of local glassmaking and in others complementing and enriching the pre-existing local traditions. The transfer of knowledge as well as the blending of transferred knowledge with local experiences characterized glassmaking in the period from the 8th to the 3rd centuries B.C. Glassware from Syria, Cyprus and Greece (Rhodes and Lesbos were the centres of Greek glassmaking; in Rhodes glassmaking was flourishing as early as the 7th century B.C.) from the period between the 6th and the 2nd centuries B.C. largely corresponded to the established typology of Egyptian artifacts, which continued to provide the formal inventory of glassmaking in Egypt itself. There are records of contacts among Egyptian, Syrian and Phoenician workshops. Phoenician traders dealt extensively in these objects (along with original Phoenician glassware). Phoenicians were also excellent glassmakers, while Phoenician traders provided a strong connection among Egyptian, Asian and Cypriot glassware. Their long-ranging voyages brought glassware to the shores of Sicily and the even more remote places

[24] Neuburg 1949: Pl. 5, figs. 15, 17.



Fig. 90 The Glass collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Amphoriskos, Greece, 5th/4th c. B.C., inv. no. ATM 1354.



Fig. 91 The Glass collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Amphoriskos, Greece, 5th/4th c. B.C., inv. no. ATM 1355.

like Gaul. One can justifiably speak of a vibrant, strong network of exchange of glassmaking skills and formal canons.

Greek workshops produced glassware that blended harmoniously into the traditions of Mediterranean glassmaking. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the range of Greek glass objects coincides with the range of Egyptian glassware in terms of the techniques of manufacturing and shaping glass (from core-forming to decorative finishing with trail decoration in different colours).

The two amphoriskoi: amphoriskos **(**Greece, 5th-4th c. B.C.; opaque blue, yellow and milky white glass; iridescence; core-made)[25] (fig. 90) and amphoriskos **(**Greece, 5th-4th c. B.C.; opaque blue, yellow and light blue glass; iridescence; core-made)[26] (fig. 91) were made in Greece at the turn of the 4th century B.C. Following established conventions, these amphoriskoi playfully combine function and decoration. Zigzag trail decorations wind around the entire middle section of their bodies. The zigzagging threads are framed by belts of horizontally laid threads on the bottom and the top. Two small handles, applied on opposite sides, are joined to the top part of the body and the middle section of the neck, creating a harmonious whole.[27]

These two objects undoubtedly belong to the same quality level of Greek glassware found in renowned museums around the world and, just as the oinochoe **(**Greece, 4th c. B.C.)[28] (fig. 92), they were core-formed. The round sloping foot connects to a globular body which has a blue exterior decorated with yellow and light-blue zigzag threads lined by a belt of straight horizontal threads. The neck opens into a trefoil mouth, characteristic of this type of oinochoe. Just like the two amphoriskoi described above, this oinochoe is a clear example of the skill and sophisticated taste of artisans who created an imaginative, multicoloured world

[25] H. 6.8 cm; w. 4.3 cm; rim d. 2.5 cm. no. Museum Mimara: inv. no. ATM 1354. Bibliography: Ratković Bukovčan 2001: 19, no 11; Ratković Bukovčan 2004: 19, 72, no. 11.

[26] H. 7.2 cm; w. 5 cm; rim d. 2.6 cm. Museum Mimara: inv. no. ATM 1355. Bibliography: Ratković Bukovčan 2001: 20, no 12; Ratković Bukovčan 2004: 19, 73, no. 12.

[27] Goldstein 1979: 38; *Glass at the Fitzwilliam Museum* : 19, no. 23 b; 20, no. 25a; *Historic Glass from Collections in North West England*: 5, no. 18; Bergman & Oliver Jr. 1980: 36, nos. 4- 5.

[28] H. 11.2 cm; w. 6.6 cm; mouth d. 3 cm. Museum Mimara: inv. no. ATM 1356. Bibliography: Lukšić 1987: 272, 444; Lukšić 1998: 18, fig. 3; Ratković Bukovčan 2001: 4, 21, no. 13; Ratković Bukovčan 2004: 19, 74, no. 13.



Fig. 92 The Glass collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Oinochoe, Greece, 4th c. B.C., inv. no. ATM 1356.

in glass.[29] An interesting group of pieces of Greek and Western Mediterranean origin, from the same period and with the same formal and decorative traits, can be found in the Oppenländer collection.[30]

4. Alexandria—2nd Century B.C. to 1st Century A.D.

Over the next few centuries Egyptian and Mediterranean glassmaking continued to dominate conventions, and opaque glass paste continued to be the basic material. Only seldom is translucent glass found. Made in imitation of clear rock crystal, it suffered from the problem of chemical 'impurities' leaving a strong mark on the colour and transparency of the glass mixture. In the workshops springing up in the new Ptolemaic metropolis of Alexandria immediately after the city's founding in 332 B.C., further progress was made in improving glass material. Alexandrian workshops also strove to enrich the repertory of glassmaking, and to achieve perfection in the execution of glass objects. It comes as no surprise then that some of the best achievements of Antiquity come from the workshops of Alexandria during the period from the third century B.C. to the first century A.D, and that they simultaneously perfected established conventions and introduced innovations, setting up a new paradigm as a result! Perhaps the most telling assessment of Alexandrian workshops comes from Frederic Neuburg, who said that glassmaking 'was brought to a zenith in Alexandria—a development technically so diverse and complex that the products of it were wonderingly looked upon in Rome as marvels. Even to this day we are confronted by technical riddles which can only be solved after considerable deliberation and by experts.'[31] In the period from the end of the 3rd century B.C. to the end of the 1st century A. D., glassmaking was a very productive activity, so that the high reputation of Alexandrian glassmaking is a true indication of its significance and high quality.

Alexandrian craftsmen for the most part abandoned the use of opaque glass material, and persisted in seeking out ways to improve and purify translucent glass, but blue and pale green colours remained dominant. The two hues would be still found even where the use of manganese yielded a much more purified and 'decolorized' glass material.

By increasing the quantity of manganese, a mixture was obtained that made it possible to manufacture objects with translucent walls through which light penetrated easily thus enriching and enabling an ever broader spectrum of colour. A considerable increase was achieved in the range of forms, adding cups, bowls, and small plates to the established repertory of Alexandrian workshops. However, it is necessary to point out that these new forms were still luxury goods intended for wealthy buyers. Alexandrian artisans made a qualitative leap forward in the use of age-old techniques, which they improved to perfection.

The technique of pressing the glass mix into the mould was given, in Alexandrian workshops, a complex application in the making of multi-layered tablets, appliques, medallions, etc.; the walls of glass objects were often decorated by gilding or gold leaves, while spirally intertwined threads of glass were often trailed on the rims. Beads were still made using the old techniques, whereas small balsamariums, while still being made, were increasingly losing ground to vessels, bowls and plates with representative uses.

However, it is not an exaggeration to say that the best and doubtlessly the most complex Alexandrian works were executed in so-called mosaic glass. This kind of glass gave birth to an even more complex and imaginative method that would, centuries later during the Renaissance flourishing of glassmaking in Murano, be given the name of *millefiori*, or 'thousand flowers' (from Italian *mille*, thousand, and *fiore*, flower). Because of the similarities and extraordinary overlaps in the process of production, as

[29] *Glass at the Fitzwilliam Museum*: 19, no. 23d; Goldstein 1979: 38, 126; no. 261.

[30] Saldern 1974: 55, 62, 64, figs. 127, 140-141, 146.

[31] Neuburg 1949: 13.



Fig. 93 The Glass collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Small bowl, Alexandria, 1st c. B.C., inv. no. ATM 1352.

well as the finished appearance of the entirety of the glass objects thus produced, it is not uncommon that scholarly literature uses only one of these designations, while covering thereby the entire range of patterns.

The first step is to fuse together glass canes of different colour into a rod whose cross-section forms patterns such as flowers, stars, or irregular geometric shapes. While the glass is still soft, it is sliced into small plates, whose centre displays the chosen pattern. The plates are then joined together on a flat surface and heated again to fuse the edges. The flat piece obtained in this way is then shaped by pincers or mould-pressing, and sometimes overlaid by a layer of translucent glass. Often the connections between slices would remain slightly rough, so that the object would have to be reheated, and its surface polished thereafter. Relief moulds were also used, among which the dominant kind was used for the making of small vessels whose entire surface was decorated (wrapped) with vertical and parallel ribbed shapes.

Three small bowls from the Mimara Museum Collection exemplify all the refinement and harmony of technological accomplishments and impeccable aesthetics.

Small bowl (Alexandria, 1st c. B.C.)[32] (fig. 93) was made by the technique of mosaic glass. The surface of the polished vessel is made up of irregular polygonal platelets of green translucent glass fused together. Inside the

[32] H. 4.1 cm; d. 16.9 cm; no. Museum Mimara: inv. no. ATM 1352. Bibliography: Lukšić 1987: 273, 444; Lukšić 1998: 19, fig. 4; Ratković Bukovčan 2001: 25, no. 15; Tomorad 2003: 68; Ratković Bukovčan 2004: 21, 75, no. 15; Tomorad 2005: 13; Tomorad 2006: 18.



Fig. 94 The Glass collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Bowl, Alexandria, 1st c. A.D., inv. no. ATM 1350.

platelets, threads of yellow opaque glass form irregularly shaped spirals. The vessel has a flattened circular bottom, and the upper part of the vessel curves out. A thin spiralling thread of yellow glass is applied to the entire rim.[33]

Bowl (Alexandria, 1st c. A.D.)[34] (fig. 94) was made by the *millefiori* technique. The surface is made up of hexagonal plaques of blue glass in the centre of which there are violet flowering lilac twig motifs. The bowl is shallow and round, and the upper part of the rim curves out slightly. The floral pattern is formed in the upper part of the vessel by pinching. The joints between plaques are clearly visible because the vessel was not polished. A thin ribbon formed by intertwining spiralling threads of milky white glass is applied to the rim.[35] As this object is characterized by a sophisticated technological execution and a perfect harmony of colour, it is no wonder that Otto von Falke wrote admiringly of it and described it first in his article on vessels from Antiquity in the Mimara Collection.[36]

Cup (Alexandria, 1st c. A.D.)[37] (fig. 95) was made by combining the *millefiori* technique and the use of a mould. The basic blue paste was sprinkled with threads and fragments of glass of irregular shape. The lower part of the cup, which is of a regular circular shape, is decorated with vertical ribbing, while the top part, about 1 cm wide, is smooth. The rim is rounded.[38]

Alexandrian works were exported to the entire Mediterranean world, and Alexandrian masters often

[33] Neuburg 1949: Pl. X, no. 34; Saldern 1974: 117, 122, no. 322; Goldstein 1979: 181, no. 475.

[34] H. 4.4 cm; d. 17 cm. Museum Mimara: inv. no. ATM 1350. Bibliography: Falke 1940: 196-197; Lukšić 1987: 444; Tomorad 2003: 68; Ratković Bukovčan 2004: 22, 78, no. 20; Tomorad 2005: 13; Tomorad 2006: 18.

[35] Neuburg 1949: Pl. X, no. 32.

[36] Falke 1940: 196-197.

[37] H. 5.7 cm; rim d. 9.5 cm. Museum Mimara: inv. no. ATM 1767. Bibliography: Ratković Bukovčan 2001: 26, no. 16; Tomorad 2003: 68, fig. 68; Ratković Bukovčan 2004: 20, 76, no. 17; Tomorad 2005: 13; Tomorad 2006: 18.

[38] Goldstein 1979: no. 467; Saldern 1974: no. 325.



Fig. 95 The Glass collection, The Museum Mimara, Zagreb: Cup, Alexandria, 1st c. A.D., inv. no. ATM 1767.

spread their experiences to faraway workshops, leaving a considerable mark on the development and significance of glassmaking, as an increasingly complex branch of applied arts. Alexandrian glassmaking remained significant even in the period after 30 B.C. when Egypt became one of the provinces of the Roman Empire. Glass objects from Alexandria were exported not only across the Mediterranean, but they also reached England and the distant lands of Scandinavia. Along with their domestic and export activities, in the 1st century A.D. the Alexandrian glassmakers set up workshops in Italy, between Cumae and Liternum in the vicinity of the Volturnus, and in Rome at Porta Cassena (in the year 14 A.D. according to Neuburg). Over the next few centuries they played an active role in the world of glassmaking, and the range of their glassware, manufacturing techniques and decorative styles varied from a strong reliance on centuries-long traditions to an acceptance of new technological achievements.

The invention of the glass blowpipe happened in the region of Syria and Palestine, probably in the period between 50 and 40 B.C. Having undergone a development from an opaque glass paste to a unique material with its own identity, glassmaking completed its dawn period, and entered a new phase. Thousands of glass objects subsequently manufactured in Asia Minor, Egypt, and elsewhere in the Roman Empire testify to a mass production of glass, in which glassmakers continually strove to innovate and improve. Bottles, beakers, bowls, plates and urns, all belong to the boundless creative field of glassmaking.

The Mimara Collection offers numerous, often extraordinary examples of that expanding world of glass in Antiquity. However, any account of glassmaking in Antiquity would be incomplete without the selected examples from the initial period of glassmaking published here, which clearly illustrate the technological and aesthetic norms. In this regard, the Mimara Glass Collection provides a reliable and unavoidable point of departure for an informed analysis of the history of glass and the essential characteristics of glassmaking.

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The Egyptian Collection in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb: History and Research

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***Abstract**: Museums have been filling their shelves with Egyptian artifacts for over 200 years. Every institution wanted to have a little piece of the Orient in them. The Archaeological Museum in Zagreb bought a small, but very peculiar collection from the family of Franz Koller in 1868. Over 2200 items of original Egyptian origin now reside in Zagreb. The permanent exhibit includes bronze statuttes of gods, scarabs, papyri, several mummies, shabtis figures and many more. Its history in the museum is very long, as is the research that was conducted on it. From the first director Šime Ljubić to the present-day curator Igor Uranić the collection has fascinated and attracted all sorts of visitors, including scientists, and is a valuable jewel in the Zagreb Museum.*

***Keywords**: Zagreb, Igor Uranić, Mladen Tomorad, Petar Selem, collection*

1. Introduction

The ancient East has always been a powerful magnet for amateurs and scientists alike. Ancient Egypt and its magnificent civilization and beautiful objects have fascinated and attracted researchers, collectors, tourists, etc. Since the first treasure hunts and excavations were carried out by Westerners, many artifacts found themselves in museums worldwide, out of their true context. Many different institutions and museums fought for a little piece of Ancient Egypt to reside in their collections. It is not very different in Croatia. Although there are many Egyptian artifacts scattered across the country, the most significant is the Egyptian collection in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Its history in the museum is almost 150 years old and during that period it has grown at a constant rate.[39] Perhaps these items are not comparable to great collections of the world's largest museums, but its pieces are invaluable to the museum. Consisting of many typical objects this small collection has found its place in the world of Ancient Egypt and its museum home.

2. The Beginning

Today this small exhibition consists of approximately 2287 classified items with 783 inventory numbers and is the most intriguing collection in Croatia.[40] A century and a half ago the first Egyptian artifact was obtained for the museum. What is now known as the Zagreb mummy, with its world famous *Liber Linteus zagrabiensis*, was bequeathed to the National Museum in 1862 by a Croat named Mihael Barić.[41] Unfortunately he kept the mummy in a vertical showcase, unwrapped in his apartment in Vienna, which led to serious damage over the years since its acquisition from Egypt or America around 1848/1849.[42] Heinrich Brugsch was the first who notice the strange inscription on the mummy's wrappings and thus began the thirty year long process of discovering the true translation.[43] But, the main body of the collection (1934 objects) came to the Museum in 1868.[44] It was bought from the family of a field marshal in the Austro-Hungarian army Franz Koller[45] in the early 19th century.[46] A man with fine taste in arts, he acquired the objects during his stay in Naples, Italy from a famous Roman 'junkman' Lantius, who in turn got his merchandise from Papiandropolos, a Greek merchant.[47] At first Koller kept it in his castle Obristov, but then moved it to nearby Prag.[48] During the national uprising of the 19th century, countess Elizabeta Drašković[49] was the first who urged the museum to buy Kollers collection, with the help of Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer.[50] Being close friends, she was able to lower the price from 4000 forints to 3000.[51] Although Strossmayer gave one third (he was one of the most meritorious in the process), the countess the second, it was necessary to raise the final third through donations with the help of Franjo Rački, among others.[52] After a very successful and fast fundraising campaign (it lasted only three months) the collection arrived on the 28th of April in six great chests and was received by the museum custodian Šime Ljubić on the 29th of April.[53]

[39] Detail history of donations and purchase in: Tomorad 2003a: 33-37; Tomorad 2005: 3-4, t. 2.

[40] This is the approximately number of artifacts in the collection at the end of 2012. The number has changed since the last publication of the collection. Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 198; Tomorad 2003: 3; Uranić 2005: 5; Uranić 2009.

[41] Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 198; Tomorad 2003a: 31, 82-83; Tomorad 2003b: 54; Tomorad 2005: 3; Uranić 2009: 420.

[42] Tomorad 2003a: 20-21; Tomorad 2003b: 55; Tomorad-Uranić 2006: 43; Uranić 2006: 197.

[43] Tomorad 2003a: 83-84; Tomorad 2005: 3.

[44] Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 198; Tomorad 2003a: 20-27.

[45] One of the peculiarities about him is that he was one of the commissars who accompanied Napoleon Bonaparte to his exile on the island of Elba. For more about Koller see Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 199.

[46] Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 198; Tomorad 2003a: 20; Tomorad 2005: 3.

[47] Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 200-201; Tomorad 2003a: 19.

[48] Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 201; Tomorad 2003a: 19.

[49] She was married to count Karlo I. Drašković, who built the building which was the first home of the National Museum.

[50] Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 201; Tomorad 2003a: 20; Uranić 2009: 420.

[51] According to Šime Ljubić the original estimated price was 7000 forints. Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 201; Tomorad 2003a: 20.

[52] Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 201; Tomorad 2003a: 20; Uranić 2009: 420.

[53] Uranić 1996: 89; Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 202; Tomorad 2003a: 20.



Fig. 96 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: The latest pernament exhibition, 2005. Photo F. Beusan.

3. Over the year

Since then the collection has grown thanks to the generosity of many significant cultural and public figures of the 19th and 20th centuries: Ivan Bojničić, Stjepan Bojničić, Sir Richard Burton (British consular, art collector, traveller in Trieste), Heinrich Brugsch (Egyptologist), Josip Brunšmid (director of the museum), archbishop Juraj Haulik, and many others.[54] (figs. 96-98) One of the most interesting set of artifacts, the sarcophagus and the mummy Kaipamaw from the 22nd Dynasty, were a gift from the Egyptian government in 1973-1974.[55] (figs. 99-100) They were given to Yugoslavia as expression of gratitude for the help of some Yugoslavian firms and experts who helped UNESCO and Egypt to save numerous monuments from Nubia during the building of Aswan Dam.[56]

4. Research[57]

One of the first experts who examined the collection was Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch-Paša, during his stay in Zagreb in 1869.[58] He laid the foundation on which Šime Ljubić, the museum director, made the first list and order (with some errors).[59] For all the years that the artifacts have been in the museum, they have often been sought and admired by Egyptologists who wished to examine them and compare them to other finds, or simply to praise them on many levels. It is quite unfortunate that, in this light of acquiring the collection and its growth, it was not accompanied by a parallel development in the field of Egyptology in Croatia. Besides some general works of Grga Novak and expert lectures which are still given by Petar Selem at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, and Mladen Tomorad at the Studia Croatica, University of Zagreb, not much has been done to make Egyptology an important part of the Croatian scientific community. However, progress is evident. A science project led by Mladen Tomorad called *Croato-Aegyptica-Electronica,* has a goal to collect information about every Egyptian artifact and collection in Croatia.[60]

Early research was primarily focused on secondary Egyptian material, i.e. artifacts from Croatia from the Greco-Roman period. Mirko Šepers, PhD wrote an article

[54] Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 199; Tomorad 2003a: 33-37; Tomorad-Uranić 2006: 43. Detail list in: Tomorad 2005: 3-4, t. 2.

[55] Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 199; Tomorad 2003a: 142.

[56] Tomorad 2003a: 142; Uranić 2005: 6; Tomorad-Uranić 2006: 44; Uranić 2009: 422.

[57] Mladen Tomorad has studied and classified periods of the research. More detail analysis in: Tomorad 2003a.

[58] Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 202; Tomorad 2003a: 83-84; Uranić 2009: 421. During his stay in Zagreb he also examined the strange writing of the Zagreb mummy wrappings but did not recognize them. Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 198; Tomorad 2003a: 83-84; Uranić 2006: 198.

[59] He saw some shabti figures as Osiris statues due to lack of knowledge in the relatively new science. See: Tomorad 2000: 2; Tomorad 2003a: 90; Tomorad 2004: 90; Uranić 2005: 5; Tomorad 2006b: 277-278; Tomorad 2011: 83-85.

[60] Tomorad 2003a: 7-8; Tomorad & Zlodi 2005; Tomorad 2006b; Tomorad 2007; Tomorad 2009; Uranić 2009: 425; Tomorad & Zlodi 2012.



Fig. 97 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: The latest pernament exhibition, 2005. Photo F. Beusan.



Fig. 98 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: The latest pernament exhibition, 2005. Photo F. Beusan.

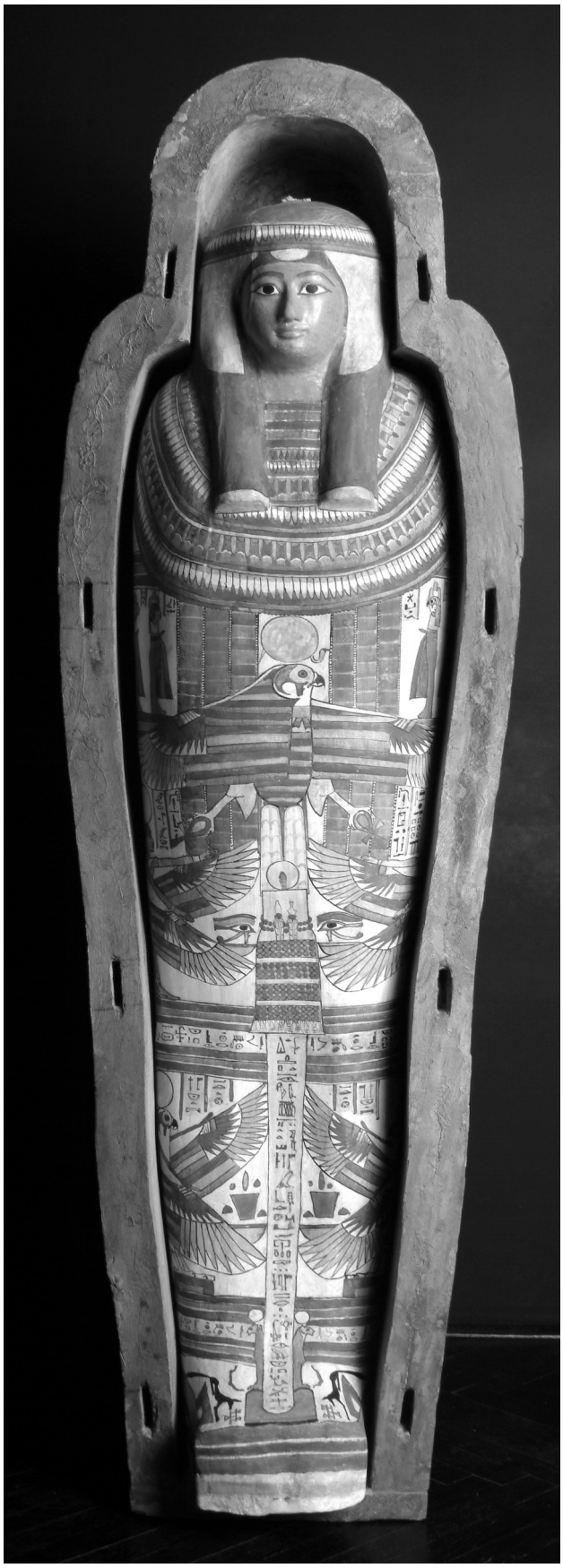


Fig. 99 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Lower part of scarcophagus with coffin of Kaipamau, inv. no. E-687. Photo F. Beusan, 2005.



Fig. 100 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Lower part of scarcophagus of Kaipamau, inv. no. E-687. Photo F. Beusan, 2005.

about his researche of gems and amulets from antiquity, where he also analyzed Egyptian gods.[61] Presently most of the collection has been published by numerous scientists over the years.[62] One of the first articles was written by the museum director Šime Ljubić.[63] The next director, Josip Brumšmid published some of the museums stone[64] and bronze[65] objects. His successor, Viktor Hoffiler, published a paper related to the history of the museum, in which he also elaborates on the Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.[66] However, most of the material was published after the 1970s, when they generally followed different exhibitions.[67] In 1970 Janine Monnet Saleh published the first catalogue of the collection.[68] The catalogue was based on her PhD thesis and did not include the bronze artifacts.[69] Petar Selem has published article regarding two bronze statuettes (Bastet and Nefertum) where he analyzed the new museums acquisitions according their iconography.[70] Since the early 1990's Igor Uranić is constantly publishing the articles[71] and catalogues[72] about the artifacts from the Egyptian department.

According to iconographic characteristics, most of the artifacts are dated to the 25th Dynasty, Late and Ptolemaic period.[73] The difficulty which scholars usually come upon is the revival of tradition in the Late period, whose ideal was the Old Kingdom, which they tried to mimic to the finest details. That problem occurred during the research of the numerous shabtis[74], canopic jars, bronze statues of gods[75], mummy and sarcophagus iconography, and stone stelae.[76] Besides Late period items, there is a pharaoh head of Aswan granite from the 18th Dynasty, scribes utensils with the name of Ramses II and several papyri with writings in all three scripts (e.g. a medical papyri written in hieratic)[77] or the Book of the Dead.[78]

In 1974, when the museum set up the permanent exhibition, the museums journal (*Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*) followed with numerous articles on ancient Egyptian topics. Marcel Gorenc showed the collections brief history, along with its cultural significance for Zagreb and beyond.[79] He also researched the newly arrived mummy Kaipamaw[80] and prepared an exhibition a year later.[81] In 1979 Gorenc also published the first guide of the permanent exhibition.[82] During the 1990s several articles were written about the general history of the museum. In them, the Egyptian collection always had its place referring to its history and acquisitions over the years.[83] In 2003 the most extensive piece was written by Mladen Tomorad. He gathered information about every Egyptian collection and artifact in Croatia. In it the collection in Zagreb is thoroughly examined and presented along with its earlier research.[84]

Every temporary exhibition was also supplemented by a catalogue. These involved different approaches over the years[85], new interpretations[86], new discoveries[87] new acquisitions, etc. The popularity of the collection is indicated by several tours in other cities (e.g. Pula and Arezzo).

Unfortunately, most of the objects are of an unknown origin due to suspicious ways of acquisition.[88] The basic aim through the years has been to determine the objects origin,[89] their context, connecting personal names with familiar ones in other museums, dating and finally publishing the results.[90] For instance the current curator Igor Uranić went on a professional trip which included the visit to the Luxor museum where Kaipamaws mother or sister is kept, both from tomb TT192 in El Asasif.[91]

One of the most researched objects in the museum is of course the Zagreb mummy. Through the Book of the Dead that came with it (Papyrus Zagreb 602) Uranić tried to date it and find out exactly who the woman was.[92] It has been confirmed in the late 20th century that the mummy is a

61 Šeper 1942; Tomorad 2003a: 104-105.
62 See bibliography at the end and Tomorad 2003a: 39 – 40.
63 Ljubić 1887.
64 Brunšmid 1904: 230-231; Brunšmid 1905: 87-89; Brunšmid 1907: 166-167.
65 Brunšmid 1914: 223-224, 236-238, 251, nos. 35-37, 71-74, 181-183.
66 Hoffiller 1921: 23-24.
67 Tomorad 2003a: 140.
68 Monnet Saleh 1970.
69 Tomorad 2003a: 3-4, 140-141.
70 Selem 1989: 147-154; Tomorad 2003a: 173.
71 Uranić 1990; Uranić 1992; Uranić 1994; Uranić 1996; Uranić 2006.
72 Uranić 2000; Uranić 2005b; Uranić 2009; Uranić 2012.
73 Uranić 1996: 89.
74 Tomorad 2006b; Tomorad 2011a; Tomorad 2011b; Tomorad 2012.
75 In 1978-1979 these items were, for the first time, analyzed more extensively for the exhibition *Egipatska brončana plastika*. Tomorad 2003a: 143.
76 Uranić 1996: 89; Tomorad & Uranić 2006: 44-45
77 Uranić 1996: 89-90.
78 See also Tomorad 2003a: 188; Uranić 2005b.
79 Vinski-Gasparini & Gorenc 1974; Tomorad 2003a: 141.
80 Although, the first one to report about it was Duje Rendić Miočević, then head of the museum. Later on, in 1994., Igor Uranić reinterpreted the sarcophagus, its place of origin, the iconography and translated the text. Uranić 1994; Tomorad 2003a: 181-182
81 Gorenc 1975: 172; Tomorad 2003a: 142.
82 Gorenc 1979; Tomorad 2003a: 144.
83 Rendić-Miočević 1993; Uranić 1996; Mirnik & Uranić 1999; Tomorad 2003a; Tomorad & Uranić 2006.
84 Tomorad 2003a.
85 Rendić-Miočević 1981; Rendić-Miočević 1986; Uranić 2000; Tomorad 2003a: 144, 180, 187; Uranić, Čavka & Petaros 2012.
86 Ivan Mirnik published an article about the pharaoh head statue which he believes belonged to Maketaton or Ankhesenpaton, princesses from Tell-el-Amarna. Mirnik 1975. Husein Kadić later questioned its authenticity, but states that it probably does not show royal members. Kadić 1981.
87 The scans of the mummies were published earlier, in October 2011. New discoveries were made with them, e.g. the sarcophagus that was thought had a female mummy Kareset in fact had a mummy of an unknown man. The study also shows cooperation between two different institutions: the Museum and the Hospital in Dubrava. Research was not only carried out on the mummies in the permanent exhibit, but also on the so called 'fifth mummy', and animal mummies. Uranić, Čavka & Petaros 2012.
88 Mirnik & Uranić 1999: 199; Tomorad 2003a; Uranić 2009: 421.
89 Based on some teomorphic names on objects where the god Khonsu is the most common, Igor Uranić originates most of the objects around the Luxor area.
90 Uranić 2009: 421.
91 Uranić 2009: 423.
92 No definite conclusion could have been made, but Uranić suggests an immigrant, possibly in an Etruscan colony in Egypt, who wanted both traditional burial rites, which are very similar (e.g. Book of the Dead and

female, between 30 and 40 years old, 164 cm tall, who was treated with a standard mummification process.[93] In 1998 an expert from the Vatican Museums Nazzareno Gabrielli took action to clean and maintain the mummy for the future.[94] Even before that, the wrappings, *Liber Linteus Zagrabiensis*, underwent a restoration process in order to preserve them in 1985.[95] A year later radiocarbon dating was also done at the Institute of Ruđer Bošković.[96] These items were not the only ones that were treated. Hrvoje Malinar presented conservation works done on five objects from the collection.[97]

5. Conclusion

Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, has been lucky to have in its possession such an amazing collection of ancient Egyptian artifacts. The small but significant collection holds numerous objects of great value and interest not only to the scientific community but to people in general as well. For almost 150 years it has been in the museum, moving with it, growing over the years thanks to a great number of people who have seen the importance of such a collection. Of course there is always room for more. It cannot be expected to have new items added on an annual basis, but it can, should and must grow steadily as it has during the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. With that in mind new research and attractions can be made to improve the matter. Simultaneously one should always have in mind that along with the collection itself the science must grow too; Egyptology has room to improve and benefit from the Zagreb collection. The museum and society alike must consciously work on protecting and improving the collection, reinterpreting the exhibit and items, and continue to hold a special place for them. If such actions and measures are taken, who can tell where this Zagreb collection is heading?

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Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek (Croatia)

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***Abstract**: The Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Slavonia, similar to other collections of the Museum, was established through donations from the citizens of Osijek. The collection consists of sixteen objects, among which only two were actually discovered in the Osijek area–shabti figurine (Lower Town, Mursa area) and Pedi-Hor-pa-Khered votive stele (Upper Town). According to the Inventory books most of the artifacts have Egypt as their place of discovery. It is important to say that none of the artifacts were collected through systematic archaeological research and their timeframe can only be determined by interpreting the data on the artifacts themselves. In July 2012, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia declared the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Slavonia a cultural heritage, and it was included as such on the List of Protected Cultural Heritage under the number 3808.*

***Keywords*:** *Egypt, Egyptian collection, Museum of Slavonia, Osijek, donations, amulet, stele*

1. History of the collection

The Egyptian collection of the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, although relatively small in number, sixteen specimens, is an important testament to a great and ancient civilization, its influence on other cultures and nearby civilizations. It also bears witness to the beauty and wonder of the various paths it took towards Osijek and, finally, to the Museum.

The Museum of Slavonia was founded on February 17, 1877[1], based on the donation of a numismatic collection by Franjo Sedlaković, an Osijek merchant.[2] In the initial decades, the Museum holdings were filled up exclusively through donations. Next to F. Sedlaković, other worthy and notable citizens, city fathers and curators are considered as the founders of the Museum. All of them collected valuable artifacts which they donated or sold to the Museum. Two distinguished citizens of Osijek stand out: Karlo Franjo Nuber, wholesaler and collector, largest donor to the Museum from 1893 to 1910[3], and Vjekoslav Celestin, curator of many years and director of the Museum of the Royal Free City of Osijek. Both K. F. Nuber and V. Celestin are connected to the Egyptian collection in their own unique ways.

V. Celestin was a curator for the Museum of the Royal Free City starting in 1893.[4] In that same year, the donation of the faience amulet was registered in the Inventory Book I. The Shu amulet was registered under MSO-AA-1343 (fig. 101), as a donation from Ludwig H. Fischer. As for its origin, in the rubric *where from*, it says: Egypt. This is the oldest donation and acquisition in the Egyptian collection of the Museum.

The next donation is one of the most interesting and imposing specimens in our Egyptian collection. The votive stele of Pedi-Hor-pa-Khered (fig. 102) was donated in 1895 by Bettina Krausz, widow of Ivan Krausz, who was a wholesaler and land owner. The stele was discovered in the Osijek Upper Town in March of 1895 among the rocks in a rotary washing machine, as reported by V. Celestin in the *Narodne novine*. V. Celestin also informed the readers that he was trying to investigate how the stele ended up in the rotary washing machine. He was told the stele might have been dug up some ten years before, during the construction of a new house.[5] It was probably moved around, from the basement to the yard, until it ended up in the rotary washing machine. Whether the stele had been actually found in the Upper Town or it was merely brought there remained a burning question that V. Celestin never managed to find the answer to.

Following V. Celestin‘s footsteps, we searched the Museum‘s Old Archives for information about the Krausz family,[6] in an effort to find out the exact location of their house in the Upper Town. We have not found any records of that nature, but the information provided by V. Celestin about the construction of a house led us to the State Archives in Osijek with the documents about the location of the Krausz house. In 1884, I. Krausz bought a building site[7] from the Osijek Evangelical Church. From the Cadastre Collection[8] in the Osijek State Archives, we gathered that the site was situated in L. Jäger Street. A year later, I. Krausz, petitioned the Government of the Royal Free City of Osijek to issue a construction permit[9] for a house in the Upper Town, in the extension of Kapucinska Street. This corresponds to the year mentioned by V. Celestin when referring to the construction of a house. It is possible that the stele was discovered while the Krausz‘s were building their house. What is more, there

1 In the early days, it was called the Museum of the Royal Free City of Osijek.
2 Radić 1997: 7–8.
3 Ivanković & Grubišić 2002: 12; Göricke-Lukić 1999: 97–101.
4 Šimić 1999: 117.
5 Celestin 1985: 129.
6 Sometimes, this surname appears in the Osijek records as Krauss or Kraus.
7 Land site 1775/4.
8 State Archives in Osijek, Osijek City Government (HR-DA-OS-10), General Records, record no. H-101/1885.
9 State Archives in Osijek, Cadastre Collection, (HR-DAOS-1009), Supplements, C.1.

is a document from the State Archives confirming that B. Krausz commissioned an extension on the house in 1906 on the address in question.[10]

After B. Krausz reported a stele was found, it was cleaned and transported to the Museum. V. Celestin showed great interest for the Egyptian votive stele. However, he specialized in classical philology[11], so hieroglyphs were not his area of expertise. On May 2, 1895 he wrote to Leo Reinisch, a Viennese University professor and director of the Egyptian chair, and asked for his help.[12]

L. Reinisch replied to V. Celestin on May 6, 1895[13] with an explanation and translation of the hieroglyphs on the stele. In the *Narodne novine* of June 1895, V. Celestin published a description of the stele, together with the translation of the text from the votive stele. He also mentioned L. Reinisch's help. In the description of the middle part, he refers to the hieroglyphs interpreted by dr. Reinisch as: *This is Nephthys*, next to the figure on the left; *This is Osiris, the great god*, next to the central figure; *This is Isis, mother of gods*, next to the figure on the right. Furthermore, L. Reinisch identified the person consecrated by the stele: *Life and salvation to Pet-hôr-pe-chrud*. He also mentions that the name of the owner's father is damaged, but the name of the mother, Ta-chrud-hôr-hera, is preserved. After that, V. Celestin tried to determine the origin of the stele. He guessed it might have been brought by a Roman merchant or soldier, since *Mursa* was an important strategic location. In addition, he concluded the location of the find in the Upper Town was unusual because, as a rule, Roman artifacts had mostly been found in the Lower Town.[14]

It would have been unusual indeed, if the stele had been excavated in the Upper Town, because the centre of the ancient Mursa was in the Lower Town. Even today, ancient Roman artifacts are being discovered there. It is, however, possible that the stele was brought to the Upper Town some time later, perhaps as a spolia or simply as a piece of rock for general purposes. That would not be unusual at all, since it was discovered as a stone weight for stabilizing a rotary washing machine.[15] Pedi-Hor-pa-Khered Egyptian votive stele bears the inventory number MSO-AA-2590.

The following year, on December 4, 1896, Captain Franjo Folk donated two Egyptian artifacts (figs. 103-104): sculpture of Osiris (MSO-AA-1340) and a plaque with goddess Nephthys (MSO-AA-1341). Sculpture of Osiris has a cartouche of Ramesses II (1279-1212 B.C.), ruler during the 19th dynasty, and on the relief plaque there is the goddess Nephthys holding a cartouche of Thutmose III (1504-1450 B.C.), ruler during 18th dynasty. There is no record of how F. Folk acquired these artifacts. In the Inventory Book I, Egypt is listed as the place of origin for both objects. In those times, this kind of donation was not peculiar, given that a significant number of Osijek citizens were often required to travel overseas as high-ranking military and navy. In the Museum, a notable number of donations were collected precisely from these donors.

The aforementioned K. F. Nuber is the largest donor in the history of the Museum. Since 1893 all the way to 1910, he donated vast numbers of Roman ceramic lamps, on several occasions it included valuable archaeological artifacts from Prehistory, Ancient Rome to the Middle Ages. There is a numismatic collection, Greek vases and even two Egyptian artifacts.[16] These are two small bone scarabs, with inventory numbers MSO-AA-1605 (fig. 105) and MSO-AA-1606 (fig. 106), donated in 1897 by K. F. Nuber. It is interesting to note that K. F. Nuber also wrote about the stele in *Slavonische Presse* in 1895.[17]

Among the major donors of the Museum, we also have Emerik Hild, imperial and royal bookkeeper for the military engineering services in Zadar. His donations included malacological specimens, as well as specimens from flora and fauna in 1898.[18] It was the first large natural history donation to the Museum. That same year, E. Hild donated Egyptian faience amulets of Pataikos (MSO-AA-2665) and Bes (MSO-AA-2670) (figs. 107-108). Apart from the sea shell and snails from the Indian, Pacific and Atlantic Ocean, he donated Egyptian figurines and a faience amulet, a Roman bronze pendant from Solin, together with a collection of ancient, Asian and African coins.[19] The information about the Egyptian figurines and only one faience amulet out of ten is interesting. It is likely that the initial entry was incorrect, which was later reflected in the Inventory Book.

In Inventory Book II, MSO-AA-6243 stands for an Egyptian shabti figurine (fig. 109). Under the rubric *Acquired, when and from whom* it says: 'submitted by Plećaš' in October 1954. However, the Entry Log 620 (July 1, 1949-June 14, 1953) records that the figurine was brought in by Milan Plećaš, carpenter from *Gradnja* company, on October 27, 1953. Shabti was found in front of a foundry *OLT* 'during pipeline construction works for Vukovarska Road'.[20] The piece of information from the

[10] State Archives in Osijek, Osijek City Government (HR-DA-OS-10), General Records, record no. N-43/1885; State Archives in Osijek, Osijek City Government (HR-DAOS-10), Construction (Engineering) Bureau, Approved Construction Drawings Collection, item no. 52.1.1.

[11] Burić 1999: 85.

[12] *Kind Sir,*
In Osijek, in the Upper Town, a stone has been found (not excavated), bearing Egyptian pictures and hieroglyphs. It is 13 cm wide, the size can be deemed from the imprint (enclosed). Since I am not able to read hieroglyphs, I take the liberty to kindly ask you to transcribe and translate the inscription, which you can forward to the City Museum.
With the expression of sincere gratitude, V. Celestin.
Letter from V. Celestin to L. Reinisch is kept under the inventory number MSO-206271, 16/1895, in the Documentary Collection of the Museum of Slavonia.

[13] Letter from L. Reinisch to V. Celestin is kept under the inventory number MSO-206273, 18/1895, in the Documentary Collection of the Museum of Slavonia.

[14] Celestin 1895: 129.

[15] Liebl 1900: 102.

[16] Bulat 2007: 515.

[17] Nuber, K. F. (1895) Ueber das hier gefundene ägyptische Grabdenkmal. *Slavonische Presse* 11/104.

[18] Ivanković & Grubišić 2002: 13.

[19] Bulat 2007: 516.

[20] Entry Log (July 1, 1949-June 14, 1953).

Entry Log could be the more reliable one, since it was the first book in the process of documentation when an artifact arrived to the Museum. Danica Pinterović[21] (states that the Museum has been surveying the construction of a new house, from September to November of 1954, called 'Volf house' in Inventory Book II. The house is situated on the north-east corner of Vladimir Nazor Square (Ban Josip Jelačić Square) and Branko Radičević Street in the Lower Town, Osijek. At the site, among many Roman finds, D. Pinterović reports an shabti figurine. However, in Inventory Book II, in the entry from 1958, a mistake was clearly made. Afterwards, under *Notes*, it was added: 'according to Ent-Log nr 620 = in front of OLT, 1953!'. Shabti is registered under MSO-AA-6243. Next to the Pedi-Hor-pa-Khered votive stele, it is the only Egyptian find from the Osijek area.

Lastly, the brown baked clay sculpture of a man (fig. 110) was purchased from Jaša Avdija from Osijek on August 26, 1987 (MSO-AA-19469). In Inventory Book V, it is noted that the sculpture probably came from an unknown site in Egypt in late 19th century.

The remaining six specimens (figs. 111-114) from the Egyptian collection have no detailed records. The brown baked clay sculpture of the god Osiris (MSO-194962) and faience scarabs (MSO-AA-1432, MSO-AA-1433 and MSO-AA-1434) have not been registered. For the Thoth faience amulet (MSO-AA-1342) and hare faience amulet (MSO-AA-1344), there is only an entry of origin stating Egypt (figs. 115-116). According to entry in the Inventory Book on September 22, 1955, it can be concluded that they had arrived in the Museum in the previous period, e. g. from the founding of the Museum until 1955.

It is important to say that none of the artifacts was collected through systematic archaeological research and their timeframe can only be determined by interpreting the data on the artifacts themselves.

In July 2012, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia declared the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek a cultural heritage, and it was included as such on the List of Protected Cultural Heritage under the number 3808.

2. Catalogue

1. Shu amulet (fig. 101)

Inv. no. MSO-AA-1343

Location of the site: unknown

Acquisition: donated by Ludwig H. Fischer

Dimensions: height 2.6 cm; length 1.6 cm; width 1.5 cm



Fig. 101. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Shu amulet, inv. no. MSO-AA-1343.

Dating: Late period (664-332 B.C.)–Roman period (30 B.C.-311 A.D.)

Blue-green faience amulet of Shu, god of air and wind. The Osijek god Shu is reduced and very stylized, but judging by the pose, it is clear this is god Shu. The hands are raised high, indicated by a line cut on the place of the hands. Head is carelessly shaped, with eyes, mouth and nose barely recognizable. God Shu holds the sky with his hands; his right leg is kneeling on a rectangular base. On his back, in line with the hands, there is a horizontal perforation for the hands, like shoulder support.

Bibliography: Perc 1968: 203, no. 50b; Tomorad 2003: 74, fn. 458; Tomorad 2005: 21; Tomorad 2006a: 29; Kovač 2013: 30–31; Tomorad, in press.

2. Pedi-Hor-Pa-Khered votive stele (fig. 102)

Inv. no. MSO-AA-2590

Location of the site: Osijek, Gornji grad (Lorenz Jäger Street)

Acquisition: donated by Bettina Krausz

[21] Pinterović 1954: 173.



Fig. 102. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Pedi-hor-pa-khered votive stele, inv. no. MSO-AA-2590.

Dimensions: height 40 cm; length 26 cm; width 12 cm

Dating: Late period (664-332 B.C.)–Roman period (30 B.C.-311 A.D.)

Pedi-Hor-pa-Khered Osijek stele is rectangular with an arch in the upper part. It is made of limestone. On the upper part, there are two parallel arching lines chiseled above a winged sun with two stylized uraeuses (serpents). Wings are divided into three areas each; the upper one is without decoration, while the lower two have vertical lines that illustrate feathers. In the middle, underneath the winged sun, there are three gods in bas-relief. On the left, we have the goddess Nephthys, who is turned to the right. Nephthys has a hieroglyph of her name on her head, and a combination of a house and a basket. Her face has gentle features, with eyes, nose and mouth visible, and she is wearing a tight dress. In her left hand, she is holding a sceptre, and an ankh is in her right hand; a symbol of eternal life. Osiris stands in the middle and he is facing right, with arms crossed on his chest and a regal insignia–whip and sceptre called heqa. Osiris has an atef crown. His face is not as expressive as the goddesses and what stands out the most is his beard. He is standing on a pedestal. On his right, there is the goddess Isis, who is looking to the left. She has horns and a sun disk on her head. Also, she is holding a sceptre in her left hand and an ankh in her right hand. She is wearing a tight dress; the same as Nephthys. There are clear physionomical features on her face. Between their heads, there are hieroglyphs indicating what Nephthys, Osiris and Isis are saying.

Next to Nephthys: *ḏjd .mdw Nb.t-hwt*

Next to Osiris: *ḏjd.mdw Wsi̯r ntr*

Next to Isis: *ḏjd.mdw Ỉst mwt ntr*

Leo Reinisch read *This is Nephthys* next to the left figure; *This is Osiris, the great god* next to the middle figure and *This is Isis, mother of gods* next to the figure on the right. On the bottom, there are two rows of hieroglyphs between two parallel straight lines. The work on the inscription is second-rate compared to the upper hieroglyphs, suggesting it was added at a later time. The inscription is difficult to read, but we can identify the name of the person who ordered the inscription as Pedi-Hor-pa-Khered, and probably his mother Ta-khrud.

Bibliography: Celestin 1895; Liebl 1900: 102-103, fig. 243; Höger 1942: 22-24; Leclant 1958: 98; Perc 1968: 201-203, no. 49; Selem 1972: 39-40; Selem 1980: 20-21, no. 34; Pinterović 1978: 135-136; Selem 1997: 142-143; Radić 1997: 68; Tomorad 2003: 73; Tomorad 2005: 21; Tomorad 2006a: 29; Selem 2008: 171-173; Kovač 2013: 52–55, Tomorad, in press.

3. Sculpture of Osiris (fig. 103)

Inv. no. MSO-AA-1340

Location of the site: unknown

Acquisition: donated by Franjo Folk

Dimensions: height 17.5 cm; length 5.2 cm; width 2.7 cm

Dating: New Kingdom (1550-1069 B.C.); 19th dynasty (1295-1186 B.C.); reign of Ramesses II

(1279-1212 B.C.)

Sculpture of Osiris is made of brown baked clay. Osiris is standing and wearing an atef crown; a combination of the crown of Upper Egypt with an ostrich feather on each side. Facial features are clearly expressed. Above his big almond eyes, eyebrows arch in two, long, relief lines. His nose is large and dominant, while his mouth protrudes slightly and is accentuated with a horizontal line. Osiris is standing with his arms on his chest. He is holding a long flagellum in both hands that extends from the shoulders, down the arm towards the lower part of his body. He is wearing a long, tight dress with hieroglyphs on the bottom, including a cartouche of Ramesses II (1279-1212 B.C.), third ruler of the 19th dynasty. Similar to the previous sculpture, there are traces of final processing, like polishing and clay cutting. A round plaster pedestal



Fig. 103. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Sculpture of Osiris, inv. no. MSO-AA-1340.



Fig. 104. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Relief plaque, inv. no. MSO-AA-1341.

for Osiris was added sometime after the artifact arrived to the Museum of Slavonia.

Bibliography: Kovač 2013: 48–49; Tomorad, in press.

4. Relief plaque (fig. 104)

Inv. no. MSO-AA-1341

Location of the site: unknown

Acquisition: donated by Franjo Folk

Dimensions: height 7.9 cm; length 2.8 cm; width 1.5 cm

Dating: New Kingdom (1550-1069 B.C.); 18th dynasty (1550-1295 B.C.); reign of Thutmose III (1504-1450 B.C.)

Small relief plaque made of brown baked clay. It is narrow and rectangular with flat endings on top. There is a representation of the goddess Nephthys, identifiable by her headdress, which is a combination of a basket and a house. Also, there is a hieroglyph of her name. The goddess' right profile is shown and she is wearing a long, ankle dress, with an ornament or possibly a belt around the waist. A big, almond-shaped eye is clearly indicated, along with lips and a big right ear. She has long hair, executed in sidelong straight lines that fall to the middle of her back. Her disproportionately long hands are raised, holding a cartouche of Thutmose III (1504-1450 B.C.), from the 18th dynasty. Her gaze follows the hands. The plaque has a semi-circular cross section, planted in the round pedestal that was added after the artifact had come to the Museum of Slavonia.

Bibliography: Perc 1968: 204, no. 49f; Tomorad 2003: 74, fn. 458; Tomorad 2005: 21; Tomorad 2006a: 29; Kovač 2013: 50–51; Tomorad, in press.



Fig. 105. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Scarab amulet, inv. no. MSO-AA-1605.

5. Scarab amulet (fig. 105)

Inv. no. MSO-AA-1605

Location of the site: unknown

Acquisition: donated by Karlo Franjo Nuber

Dimensions: height 1.1 cm; length 0.85 cm; width 0.5 cm

Dating: Late period (664-332 B.C.)–Roman period (30 B.C.-311 A.D.)

Bone amulet in the form of a scarab. It is very small and oval. Wings are indicated by an indented T on the upper side. On the side, relief wings are visible. The head of the beetle is stylized. There are two hieroglyphs on the bottom side. On the middle of the body, from head to bottom, there is a perforation for the string.

Bibliography: Kovač 2013: 42–43; Tomorad, in press.

6. Scarab amulet (fig. 106)

Inv. no. MSO-AA-1606

Location of the site: unknown

Acquisition: donated by Karlo Franjo Nuber

Dimensions: height 1.1 cm; length 0.8 cm; width 0.5 cm



Fig. 106. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Scarab amulet, inv. no. MSO-AA-1606.



Fig. 107. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Dwarf Pataikos amulet, inv. no. MSO-AA-2665.

Dating: Late period (664-332 B.C.)–Roman period (30 B.C.-311 A.D.)

Bone amulet in the shape of a beetle. It is oval and very small. There is a T indent for the wings on the upper side and relief wings on the side. The head of the scarab is stylized. On the bottom surface, there are hieroglyphs. There is a perforation for the amulet string on the middle of the body, from head to bottom.

Bibliography: Kovač 2013: 44–45; Tomorad, in press.

7. Dwarf Pataikos amulet (fig. 107)

Inv. no. MSO-AA-2665

Location of the site: unknown

Acquisition: donated by Emerik Hild

Dimensions: height 3.8 cm; length 1.5 cm; width 1.1 cm

Dating: Late period (664-332 B.C.)–Roman period (30 B.C.-311 A.D.)

Blue-green faience amulet of the god Pataikos in the Museum of Slavonia is anthropomorphic and highly stylized. It is a bald dwarf with an irregular head. He has big, almond eyes, with eyelids indicated by a horizontal line across the middle. The nose is big and wide. His big mouth is stretched into a grimace, indicated by an irregular horizontal line. Pataikos is nude and his chest is formed by two lines dropping to his round stomach. Short hands, flexed at the elbows, rest on his hips, while fists are shown as horizontal lines. He has short, deformed, buckled legs and feet are indicated by indents. On the back of his head, there is a wad of hair with three vertical lines. Underneath both of his big ears, there is a horizontal perforation for the amulet string.

Bibliography: Perc 1968: 203, no. 49c; Tomorad 2003: 74, fn. 458; Tomorad 2005: 21; Tomorad 2006a: 29; Kovač 2013: 26–27; Tomorad, in press.

8. Bes amulet (fig. 108)

Inv. no. MSO-AA-2670

Location of the site: unknown

Acquisition: donated by Emerik Hild



Fig. 108. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Bes amulet, inv. no. MSO-AA-2670.

Dimensions: height 2.6 cm; length 2.3 cm; width 0.8 cm

Dating: Late period (664-332 B.C.)–Roman period (30 B.C.-311 A.D.)

Brown baked clay amulet showing the dwarf god Bes, god of marriage, fertility and birth, god of good mood and fun. The Osijek specimen is practically rectangular and has an irregularly oval cross section. Bes is en face. His wide face is stylized and raised on the front of the amulet, so it looks like a mask. Vertical lines form a trapeze to give him a full head of untamed hair, but that could also be a long feather headdress of the goddess Satis, goddess of the Nile flood. Large stylized eyes dominate the face, while the nose is wide with expressive nostrils. The mouth is shaped like a semi-circle with the tongue sticking out. His round face is framed by a thick beard, indicated by vertical indentations. On the back of the amulet, there seem to be simplified hieroglyphs. In the middle, there is a vertical perforation for the amulet string.

Bibliography: Kovač 2013: 34–35; Tomorad, in press.

9. Shabti figure (fig. 109)

Inv. no. MSO-AA-6243

Location of the site: Osijek (Mursa), Vukovarska Road

Acquisition: submitted by Milan Plećaš

Dimensions: height 6.6 cm; length 3.5 cm; width 1.7 cm

Dating: Late period (664-332 B.C.)–Roman period (30 B.C.-311 A.D.)

Turquoise faience shabti figurine, very simple, only the upper part of the body has been preserved. Wears a head garment that was used to cover a three-part wig. The head garment usually had two ends falling across the shoulders, with the third one going down the back. Details on the garment are painted with parallel dark blue lines to imitate drapery. Eyes and eyebrows are accentuated with dark-blue colour and short lines, while the nose is slightly protruded. Hands are across the chest, with a mattock in the right hand which used to be dark blue, while nothing can be seen in the left hand. Apart from mattocks and pick-axes, shabtis carry a basket or a bag of grain on their back, just like on our artifact. The one in Osijek is very stylized and painted dark blue. In the 1950's, I. Degmežić claimed there were several hieroglyphs visible from the waist down, but he did not write them down. Today, they are not visible.

Bibliography: Degmežić 1954: 147–148; Pinterović 1954, 173; Leclant 1958: 98; Perc 1968: 200-201, no. 48; Selem 1972: 40; Pinterović 1978: 136; Selem 1980: 22, no. 35; Selem 1997: 109; Göricke-Lukić 2000: 43, 91-92, 139; Tomorad 2000: 2-3, 10, 13; Tomorad 2003: 75, 137-138; Tomorad 2004: 91, 97-98, 102, 109; Tomorad 2005: 21; Tomorad 2006a: 29; Tomorad 2006b: 295, no. 19; Selem



Fig. 109. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Shabti, inv. no. MSO-AA-6243.

2008: 200; Tomorad 2012: 275; Kovač 2013: 22–23; Tomorad, in press.

10. Sculpture of a man (fig. 110)

Inv. no. MSO-AA-19469

Location of the site: unknown

Acquisition: bought from Jaša Avdija

Dimensions: height 8.2 cm; length 4.4 cm; width 2.9 cm

Dating: New Kingdom (1550-1069 B.C.); 18th dynasty (1550-1295 B.C.)–19th dynasty (1295-1186 B.C.)

Brown, baked clay sculpture of a man. The face has negroid features, with big almond-shaped eyes, heavy eyelids and strong eyebrows. The nose is wide and dominates the



Fig. 110. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Sculpture of a man, inv. no. MSO-AA-19469.

face, while the unsmiling mouth has big, fat lips. He has a double wig on his head, also known as a duplex wig, with details shown only on the front. On the upper part of the wig, there are vertical nicks that go around the head in a semi-circle and fall across the shoulders. The lower half of the wig has four rows of little triangles in relief, narrowing from the shoulders to the ears and then going under the wig like a triangle. The decoration on the upper part of the wig could be braids, and the lower one might be curls. This type of wig was extremely popular during the reign of Amenhotep III (1388-1351 B.C.), frequently represented in the art of the 18th (1550-1295 B.C.) and 19th dynasties (1295-1189 B.C.). The Osijek sculpture has a big necklace, the figure is naked from the waist up, and the belly button is indicated by a circle. The sculpture has been broken at the waistline and the lower part is missing.

Bibliography: Kovač 2013: 24–25; Tomorad, in press.

11. Sculpture of Osiris (fig. 111)

Inv. no. MSO-194962

Location of the site: unknown



Fig. 111. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Sculpture of Osiris, inv. no. MSO-194962.

Acquisition: unknown

Dimensions: height 17 cm; length 3.9 cm; width 1.9 cm

Dating: Late period (664-332 B.C.)–Roman period (30 B.C.-311 A.D.)

Sculpture of Osiris is made of brown baked clay. Osiris is shown standing, wearing the hedjet crown of Upper Egypt. Facial features are prominent. Eyes are small and almond-shaped, the retina is marked by a circle. He has strong eyebrows executed in sloping lines. His medium large nose is flat, the mouth is indicated only with a horizontal line. Then, there is the typical Egyptian ruler beard. The god of afterlife is standing and his hands are next to his body. He is wearing tight clothes. Through the vertical slits on the clothes, hands peep from his chest. He is holding regal insignia, probably a flagellum in his left hand and a heqa sceptre in his right hand. This may be reversed but we cannot say due to poor execution and damage to the sculpture. On the lower part of the long, tight dress, there are hieroglyphs, including a cartouche. In the final production stages, the sculpture was polished, which is clearly visible on the back, as well as the final cut on the clay on the hedjet crown. This is good work. The round, plaster pedestal for Osiris was added sometime after the artifact arrived to the Museum of Slavonia.

Bibliography: Kovač 2013: 46–47; Tomorad, in press.



Fig. 112. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Scarab amulet, inv. no. MSO-AA-1432.

12. Scarab amulet (fig. 112)

Inv. no. MSO-AA-1432

Location of the site: unknown

Acquisition: unknown

Dimensions: height 2.7 cm; length 1.75 cm; width 1.1 cm

Dating: New Kingdom (1550-1069 B.C.)–Roman period (30 BC-311 A.D.)

Turquoise faience amulet in form of a dung beetle, known as a scarab. This larger oval amulet is very life-like. The hard wings of the beetle are indicated by a T-shaped cut on the top, with two wings expressed in relief on the sides. The head of the scarab is stylized on the front part of the amulet. There are hieroglyphs on the bottom side of the beetle. On the middle of the body, from head to bottom, there is a perforation for the amulet string.

Bibliography: Kovač 2013: 36–37; Tomorad, in press.



Fig. 113. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Scarab amulet, inv. no. MSO-AA-1433.

13. Scarab amulet (fig. 113)

Inv. no. MSO-AA-1433

Location of the site: unknown

Acquisition: unknown



Fig. 114. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Scarab amulet, inv. no. MSO-AA-1434.

Dimensions: height 1.8 cm; length 1.3 cm; width 0.9 cm

Dating: New Kingdom (1550-1069 B.C.)–Roman period (30 B.C.-311 A.D.)

Smaller, turquoise faience amulet, in the form of a dung beetle, scarab. It is oval, with hard wings indicated by a T indent on the upper side, as well as the stylized head. Other features, such as other wings that are usually present in the profile, are not indicated on this specimen. On the bottom side, there are hieroglyphs, identical to the ones on scarab MSO-AA-1432. On the middle of the body, from head to bottom, there is a perforation for the amulet string.

Bibliography: Kovač 2013: 38–39; Tomorad, in press.

14. Scarab amulet (fig. 114)

Inv. no. MSO-AA-1434

Location of the site: unknown

Acquisition: unknown

Dimensions: height 1.6 cm; length 1.2 cm; width 0.85 cm

Dating: New Kingdom (1550-1069 B.C.)–Roman period (30 B.C.-311 A.D.)

Smaller, turquoise faience amulet in the form of a dung beetle, scarab. It is an oval amulet, with hard wings indicated by a T indent on the upper side. Other wings are



Fig. 115. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Thoth amulet, inv. no. MSO-AA-1342.

in relief on the side. Scarab has a stylized head. On the bottom side, there is a single hieroglyph. On the middle of the body, there is a perforation from head to bottom for the amulet string.

Bibliography: Kovač 2013: 40–41; Tomorad, in press.

15. Thoth amulet (fig. 115)

Inv. no. MSO-AA-1342

Location of the site: unknown

Acquisition: unknown

Dimensions: height 3.2 cm; length 0.8 cm; width 1.3 cm

Dating: Late period (664-332 B.C.)–Roman period (30 B.C.-311 A.D.)

Blue-green faience amulet of Thoth, god of wisdom, knowledge and magic. The scorekeeper of the Last Judgment was often zoo anthropomorphous with a head of an ibis or baboon. In the Museum of Slavonia‘s collection, he appears with ibis’ head. His face is highly stylized with



Fig. 116. The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: Hare amulet, inv. no. MSO-AA-1344.

unremarkable physiological features. Thoth's left foot is forward. He is naked from the waist up, wearing only a skirt decorated with shallow vertical lines. There is a scarf on his head that falls forward over his shoulders. His arms are tightly drawn to his body. At the back, as some kind of shoulder support, there is a perforation for the amulet string in line with his shoulders.

Bibliography: Kovač 2013: 32–33; Tomorad, in press.

16.* Hare amulet *(fig. 116)

Inv. no. MSO-AA-1344

Location of the site: unknown

Acquisition: donated by Emerik Hild

Dimensions: height 2.2 cm; length 2 cm; width 1 cm

Dating: Late period (664-332 B.C.)–Ptolemaic period (332-30 B.C.)

Blue-green faience amulet in the form of a hare. Hare amulets were used not only for protection, but also for luck, blessing and patronship. It is a symbol of fertility, usually worn by women during life. In death, however, it was thought to bring the hope of rebirth. Phonetically, the hieroglyph of a hare was wn, representing the essence of life and symbol of Osiris. Hare amulet from the Egyptian collection of the Museum of Slavonia has almost lion-like muscles, barely resembling a hare. The animal is sitting like a sphinx, looking straight ahead. The face, reminiscent of a human, is detailed. Long ears, shaped by relief lines, are dominant and decorated with short, diagonal lines. Underneath the ears, there is a perforation for the amulet string.

Bibliography: Perc 1968: 203, no 49e; Tomorad 2003: 74; Tomorad 2005: 21; Tomorad 2006: 29; Kovač 2013: 28–29; Tomorad, in press.

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Formation and Composition of the Egyptian Collections in Serbia

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Abstract**:** *The main corpus of the Ancient Egyptian objects present in Serbia was purchased in Egypt during the second half of the 19th century and donated to the particular museums. Today, Ancient Egyptian collections are present in four different museums: two in Belgrade, one in Vršac and one in Sombor. The chronological span of the objects ranges from the Old Kingdom to the Roman Period. The mummy of Nesmin from Akhmim, also known as the 'Belgrade mummy' is the principal Egyptian item in Serbia. The only Egyptian object found in situ in Serbia is a scarab from a local Iron Age ruler's grave mound. The factors that might affect the interest in Egyptian antiquities and their distribution in the Balkans are considered.*

Keywords**:** *Egyptian collections, Serbia, Balkans, cultural boundaries, Belgrade mummy, Egyptian antiquities*

In terms of major cultural boundaries, the Balkan Peninsula should be perceived as the border line between two different cultural spheres of influence, aesthetic and artistic tendencies, value systems, world views: Rome and Byzantium, the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, West and East, Modern and Oriental, to mention the most influential. Moreover, the Balkans has its own relevant differences between the north and south.

The random appearance of archaeological objects of Near Eastern provenience in the present-day territory of Serbia can be classified in four wider chronological and contextual settings[1]:

I. The first – represented by a scarab (glazed composition, 18th-22nd Dynasties, L. 2.6 cm, pierced lengthwise) found *in situ* during the excavation of a local Iron Age ruler's grave mound dated 550-520 B.C. in Trnjaci-Pilatovići, southwestern Serbia[2] (see the map in fig. 117) – corresponds to prehistory.

II. The second, related to the era of Roman domination, includes a number of artifacts, chiefly figurines, lamps and inscribed altars, connected to Egyptian or syncretistic deities, such as Isis, Isis-Fortune, Harpocrates, Anubis, Hermes-Thoth, etc.[3] mostly, however, of Roman rather than Egyptian manufacture. Worthy of mention is the fact that, during the construction of Felix Romuliana – Roman emperor Galerius' palace in Eastern Serbia, *ca*. 300 A.D. – a number of architectural elements (including some columns) and statuary, were made of Aswan red granite, Gebel Dokhan porphyry, and Egyptian grey granodiorite.[4]



Fig. 117 Map of the locations in Serbia.

III. The Middle Ages, as the third chronological and contextual stage has yielded only objects related to the Christian cult (such as Coptic pottery, textiles and bone boxes), brought from the Holy Land and Egyptian monasteries by Serbian monks and pilgrims.

IV. The fourth stage encompasses the Enlightenment era, and it echoes in Serbia when, among other things, the attempt was briefly made to promote interest in Ancient Egyptian civilization as the common heritage of humanity.

[1] Anđelković 1991: 67-69; Anđelković & Teeter 2006: 253-254.

[2] Zotović 1985: 92-95, T.32/1-2; Anđelković 1991: 67-68, fig.1; *cf.* Newberry 1906: Pl. XLII/20. The scarab was probably brought to the attention of the local magnate by a Greek trader. Anđelković 2002a: 47.

[3] Tadin 1979: 79-81; Anđelković 1991: 68-69, with references.

[4] Jović 1990.

There are four Egyptian collections[5] in Serbia (in chronological order): in the National Museum in Belgrade, the City Museum of Vršac, the City Museum of Sombor, and the Museum of Yugoslav History in Belgrade.[6]

1. The National Museum in Belgrade

The National Museum in Belgrade has 15 Egyptian antiquities.[7] Since 1990/1992 the items 1-12 are kept in the Archaeological Collection of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade.

1. In July 1888 an Egyptian human mummy was donated by Pavle Riđički (b. August 15th, 1805 in Mokrin, d. November 4th, 1893 in Gorica).[8] The mummy, dated *ca*. 300 B.C., that became known as the Belgrade mummy[9], originated from the necropolis of Akhmim and was purchased in Luxor in February 1888. The mummy rests in a decorated anthropoid wooden coffin with a pedestal[10] (L. 182.5 cm, max. W. 52 cm, max. Dp. *ca*. 42 cm). Four wood samples, reddish in colour, were analyzed and all (coffin lid, coffin trough, tenon and peg) were of *Tamarix* wood, probably *Tamarix aphylla* – a plant of deep and moist wadis in hot Egyptian deserts.[11] The lid is hollowed out from a single large trunk to which about nine smaller pieces of timber were pegged, whereas the trough was shaped from a single piece of wood to which only one additional piece of timber was glued and pegged with three pegs. All in all, about 52 separate wooden parts were used to make the coffin. Numerous, roughly horizontal, scratch-like lines on the outer surface of the wood helped a single layer of a loosely woven gauze-like fabric to be applied, over which went a thin layer of gesso. The final treatment consisted of polychrome (blue, green, yellow, red, black, white) decoration and gilding. A lot of the painted surface is lost. The gilded face is surrounded by the blue wig, the lappets of which fall to the mid breast, whereas the eyebrows and eyes were prepared to receive inlay (some fragments of dark-blue glass paste are still present). There was a rectangular mortise hole on a chin, for a false beard (that is missing) to be attached. The gentle expression of the face is a good example of skillful craftsmanship and a high artistic achievement. The painted representations include a six-rowed floral collar with sun disk-crowned falcon terminals on the chest, and a sun disc crowned kneeling Nut with extended arms and wings below it. A double column of text runs in the central axis of the coffin. Aside from the dead person's name, his title and lineage, the rest of the text is a very rare Book of the Dead 191 'Spell for bringing the soul to the body'[12]; translation: '… the stoalist, Nesmin [son of Djedhor, son of the same-titled] Wennefer, true of voice, son of the same-titled Djedhor, true of voice, born of the lady of the house, the sistrum player of Min, Chay-Hathor-Imw, O' you who carry off the soul, O' you who cut off [shadows, O'] all these [gods] who are over the living, come, may you bring [the soul of Nesmin to him. May you present his body to him that his heart may be glad, that his soul may come to his body and] to his heart. That his body may embrace his soul, that his soul may equip his body and his heart. Bring them to him O' gods who are in the temple of the Benben in Heliopolis beside Shu, son of Atum'. Although the hieroglyphic text on the coffin names the owner as *sma* priest Nesmin, the name of Nesmin's father was lost in the lacuna. The names of his mother Chay-Hathor-Imw, his grandfather Wennefer and great grandfather Djedhor are preserved.[13] However, there is a limestone stele, now in Cairo (CG 22053)[14], that was discovered at Akhmim in 1885.[15] The Cairo stele, dated to *ca*. 300 B.C., belonged to a Nesmin, son of Djedhor, son of Wennefer, born by Chay-Hathor-Imw.[16] Since the name of Nesmin's mother Chay-Hathor-Imw is a rare name, her association with the names of her son Nesmin and his grandfather Wennefer on both monuments (the Belgrade coffin and the stele from Akhmim) as well as her husband Djedhor (CG 22053) and his grandfather Djedhor (the Belgrade coffin), is strong evidence that the owner of the stele and the coffin is the very same person.[17] The early Ptolemaic style of the coffin agrees well with the dating of the text that was used to decorate the coffin lid. On the foot section of the coffin, between two figures of Anubis reclining on top of a pylon-shaped shrine holding a flail, there is a single line of text, a recitation of Anubis for the protection of Nesmin; translation: 'Words said by Anubis Lord of the Two Lands and Ro-setcha (?), and Anubis, Foremost of the Embalming Booth: I make protection for the Osiris, the stoalist Nesmin'. Most of the coffin was painted black. On the reverse, a back pillar rises from the pedestal, terminating at the bottom of the edge of the wig. Some of the mortise holes were partially filled. The fill consisted of mud, plaster, straw, papyrus fragments and linen fragments, with a more recent addition of oothecae of *Blatta orientalis*.[18] The interior of the coffin is neither decorated nor coloured, so the chisel marks are clearly visible. The mummy is of a 50 years old male, who was about 165 cm tall.[19] His skin is dark-toned and hard due to an intensive treatment during the mummification. His cranium is partly filled with resin, with a clear intracranial fluid level on the left side. On the right os temporale there is an oval hole, obviously made with some tool, post mortem, for the purpose of filling the cranium with resin. The x-ray and CT examinations, suggest some sort of non-metal artificial eyes within the

5 The term 'collection' was applied in the cases where there are three or more genuine Egyptian artifacts present in a particular museum.
6 Anđelković 2002a.
7 Anđelković 2002b. The Belgrade mummy, its coffin and other related artifacts are all counted as one item/register number. More detail in: Anđelković 2003.
8 Anđelković 1993; Anđelković 1995.
9 Anđelković 1997.
10 Originally there was a horizontal painted hieroglyphic text on the pedestal, but it is now lost.
11 Anđelković & Asensi Amorós 2005.
12 Anđelković & Teeter 2005.
13 Anđelković & Harker 2011: 719.
14 Kamal 1905: 49-50.
15 Note that it was shortly before the purchase of the Belgrade mummy in 1888.
16 Awadalla 1998.
17 Anđelković & Teeter 2005; Anđelković & Harker 2011: 719, n. 19.
18 Anđelković, Anđus & Stanković 1997.
19 His height was calculated to approximately 165 cm, based on the length of the femora.

orbits. His arms were crossed right over left on the breast, and his nails (as well as his toenails) were gilded. Traces of spondylitis and scoliosis (with left convexity) verified on the spine, while a post osteomyelitis reparation of bone is verified on the right fibula. The first right molar was extracted intravitally. As far as DNA analysis is concerned, the alleles of the Belgrade mummy do not differ from the most frequent alleles of the present human population, except for the FESFPS gene.[20] The linen wrappings[21] were covered by 2-5 mm of black resinous coating, that still bears the impression of a bead-net shroud, along with the embalmer's fingerprints. The further artifacts related to the Belgrade mummy are cartonnage, amulets, beads and papyrus roll. At least six separate sections of decorated, polychromatic cartonnage (red, blue, yellow, olive green and black colours, as well as golden foil, applied on the white gesso surface[22] include: a collar with falcon-headed terminals, Isis and Nephthys in the mourning posture, Nut, Duamutef, and Imsety. The mummy was ornamented with at least ten faience *djed*-pillar amulets, two faience plaques with Nephthys and Isis holding the hands of Horus-the-Child, an *wedjat*-eye of lapis lazuli, two golden pendants representing Maat and the heart (*ib*), and a necklace made of alternating spherical and elongated biconical faience beads. A thick papyrus roll, the Book of the Dead, is located between the body and the outer bandages, near the left upper arm.[23]

2. Decorated anthropoid wooden coffin with plinth (L. 183.5 cm), 30th Dynasty, a fragment of resinated cloth from the mummy's back still adhering to the interior of the trough.[24] It was purchased at Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge auction in London by Ernest Brummer, June 1921, and donated to the National Museum in Belgrade.[25] Part of the former Amherst collection, wrongly attributed to Anpeti[26], or Hennufer.[27] The hieroglyphic text on the coffin names the owner as Nefer-renepet, dancer of Min, from Akhmim[28]. Its black coloured interior shows rough linear figures (in whitish-yellow paint) of the 'gliding Nut with hair streaming upward' (lid) – accompanied by abbreviated texts derived from the Book of Day and Book of Night – and Imentet (trough) wearing a diagonally-veined maat-feather on her head, clearly a reduction of the full hieroglyphic symbol for 'West'.[29] The accompanying inscriptions are barely legible, but were possibly intended as additional *Stundenwachen* texts, intended to further ease Nefer-renepet's journey through the netherworld.

3-4. Two statuettes, solid-cast in bronze (Cu-Sn alloy with a small percentage of lead)[30]; Late Period:[31] (3) Isis nursing the infant Horus seated on her lap, Late Period, H. 12.7 cm; the left forearm and the feet of the figurine are missing. (4) Fragmentary infant Horus in sitting posture, H. 3.3 cm, obviously once part of a composite group of Isis nursing Horus, as indicated by traces of Isis' hand on the figurine's nape; lower part of legs and right forearm are missing.

5-7. Three *shabti* figurines: (5) Limestone *shabti*, with a vertical cartouche of Menkheperra[32] on the chest, and two horizontal rows of incised signs below, that are damaged and beyond understanding, H. 10.6 cm; black-coloured surface, lower part is missing; the authenticity of the figurine is very questionable. (6) *Shabti* figurine of Djed-Ptah-iw-ef-ankh, 23rd Dynasty, schematic, flat-backed, light greenish-blue glazed faience, mould-made, H. 8.2 cm; front side bears vertical text in black; translation: 'The Osiris, the 2nd God's Servant of Amun, Djed-Ptah-i[w-ef]-ankh'. The *shabti* is likely that of Djed-Ptah-iw-ef-ankh D, 2nd God's Servant of Amun and son of Takelot III.[33] (7) Uninscribed *shabti*, brownish-red terra-cotta, with traces of heavily worn blue colouring, mould-made, Late Period?, H. 4.8 cm; the authenticity of the piece is questionable.

8-9. Two amulets: (8) Taweret amulet in the round, glazed-composition, 26th Dynasty and later, H. 4.3 cm. (9) Ibis-headed Thoth, striding, wearing a kilt, green glazed-composition, Late Period, H. 4 cm; pierced horizontally.

10-12. Three scarabs: (10) Naturalistic scarab, diorite, 26th Dynasty and later, L. 1.85 cm; pierced transversely so the scarab might be stitched to mummy wrappings. (11) Schematic scarab, translucent blue glass, Late Period, L. 2 cm. (12) Brown faience Scarab, New Kingdom, L. 1.54 cm; a magic formula for the protection of the god Amun-Re engraved on the base; translation: 'May Amun-Re (give) power to the soles of (your) feet'; pierced lengthwise; legs pierced through.

13-15. Three coffin faces, undetermined gessoed wood, donated to the National Museum in 2003[34]: (13) Coffin face of roughly triangular shape, with a wig, probably Roman period, H. 28.8 cm; painted terracotta-red, with black contoured eyes against painted white eyeballs. (14) An oval face with a broad horizontal wig above, probably 26th Dynasty, H. 25.5 cm; the red paint has largely flaked off the face; the eyebrows and eyes were hollowed to receive inlay, which is now only present in the form of gesso filling. (15) An oval pinkish-red painted face, with

[20] Čuljković, Anđelković, Stojković & Romac 2000.
[21] Anđelković 1994a: 155, 158, T.1.
[22] Ristić-Šolajić 1994.
[23] Such location, 'under the left arm, close to the heart', was so far supposedly reserved for the Book of Breathingis. Goyon 1972: 229.
[24] Anđelković & Elias 2013.
[25] Anđelković 1994b.
[26] N.N. 1921: 35 No. 351, pl.10/351.
[27] Porter & Moss 1973: 821.
[28] For the translation see: Panić-Štorh 1997; Brech 2008: 138-140, Abb. 6.
[29] Anđelković 2002a: 41; Anđelković 2002b: 215-216; Anđelković & Elias 2013.
[30] Anđelković, Pavlović & Savović 2004.
[31] Items 3-12 are of unknown provenance, so to speak, namely the time (probably before 1930s) and the circumstances of their arrival to the National Museum are unknown. Some additional items, early donations to the Museum, such as arm of a mummy and papyrus fragment (donated by Jovan Šorak from Rijeka in 1895), two scarabs, and bronze statuette/pendant of Horus-the-Child in a sitting posture H. 10.5 cm (Anđelković 2002b: 213, T.II/a-b), are now missing.
[32] The prenomen of Thutmose III of 18th Dynasty; his name occurs on many objects of all subsequent periods.
[33] Anđelković & Sagrillo 2003.
[34] Anđelković & Teeter 2006: 256-259.

the eyebrows, outline of eyes and the circular pupils drawn in black paint, probably Late Ptolemaic Period, H. 25.3 cm; the face consists of two vertical pieces pegged together; slightly wider horizontal headdress above, detailed with parallel horizontal black lines; the forehead is high; the nose, originally attached by two pegs is now missing.

2. The City Museum of Vršac

The City Museum of Vršac has 97 Egyptian antiquities.[35] The donors were Paja Jovanović (in 1894), Vilmos Wettl (in 1896), Miksa Adler (in 1899) and Leonhard Böhm.

1. Canopic jar stopper, human headed, marble, probably New Kingdom, H. 17.5 cm.

2. Three fragments of a limestone hieroglyphic inscription, part of offering list; fragments A+B, mention one of the two types of bread[36] (det. T14, M16, V31) H. 7.4 cm; fragment C (det. Z2, M17, D21), H. 4.7 cm; probably 9th Dynasty or later; minor traces of a colouring are still visible in incised hieroglyphic signs.

3-7. Five bronze statuettes/statuette parts: (3) Standing mummiform statuette of the *atef*-crowned Osiris, a lead bronze[37], hollow-cast, Late Period, H. 14.4 cm; a blackish siliceous core can be viewed through a crack on the back; the radiographic examination demonstrates that the metal is heavily corroded. (4) Standing mummiform statuette of the *atef*-crowned Osiris, a lead bronze, hollow-cast, Late Period, H. 13 cm; an inner core composed 70±4% of SiO_2.[38] (5) Flat-backed, standing mummiform statuette of the *atef*-crowned Osiris, a lead bronze, solid-cast, Late Period, H. 12 cm. (6) Standing goddess Neith, a lead bronze[39], solid-cast, Late Period, H. 11.3 cm; lower part of the legs and the left arm are missing. (7) Fragment of an *atef*-crown (an ostrich plume, ram's horns, and a *uraeus* surmounted by the solar disc), solid-cast, New Kingdom, H. 3.9 cm; probably part of a multipartite statuette of the god Osiris or a member of royalty.

8-25. Eighteen *shabti* figurines: (8) *Shabti* provided with a rectangular plinth, bright-green glazed faience, mould-made, 26th Dynasty, H. 17.5 cm; hieroglyphic inscription in eight horizontal rows separated by dividers, that goes around the figure except for the uninscribed back-pillar, seems to be illegible (the owner's name was Ptahmes?). (9) *Shabti* figurine of a male[40], coloured terracotta, New Kingdom to Third Intermediate Period, H. 16.6 cm; hieroglyphic inscription, stretching vertically from the waist to the feet, is written in black; translation: 'The illuminated Osiris, Overseer of the Treasury, true of voice'; note that in this case 'Imy-r pr-HD (Overseer of the Treasury) is not a title but rather the name of the deceased.[41] (10) *Shabti* with eyes and eyebrows, forehead ribbon, hoes and basket (thrown over the shoulders) painted in red; illegible inscription, stretching vertically from the waist to the feet, is written in red coloured hieroglyphs; pale-green whitish matte-glazed faience, 22nd Dynasty, H. 11.6 cm. (11) *Shabti* provided with a rectangular plinth; a small bag for the seeds is on the left shoulder, a supporting pillar up the back, brownish-green glazed faience, probably Late Period, H. 10.66 cm; hieroglyphic inscription incised on the back-pillar; translation: 'The Osiris Hor, born of Iwn (?) true of voice'.[42] (12) *Shabti*, mould-made, blue glazed faience, Late Period to Ptolemaic Period, H. 9.36 cm. (13) *Shabti*, mould-made, blue glazed faience abraded in places, Late Period to Ptolemaic Period, H. 9.27 cm. (14) *Shabti*, mould-made, flat-backed, bright-green glazed faience, 22nd Dynasty, H. 4.93 cm. (15) *Shabti*, mould-made, light-green glazed faience (glaze heavily abraded to grayish surface), a bag for the seeds, thrown over the left shoulder, a supporting pillar up the back, Late Period to Ptolemaic Period, H. 8.1 cm; top of the head and lower part of legs are missing. (16) *Shabti* fragment (a), mould-made, bluish-green glazed faience, Late Period to Ptolemaic Period, H. 3.35 cm; hieroglyphic inscription is partly preserved on the back-pillar; translation: 'The revered one, Ankh...'.[43] (17-20) Four various s*habti* fragments (b-e), Late Period to Ptolemaic Period, blue/green glazed faience; (b). H. 2.96 cm, (c). H. 3.07 cm, (d). H. 2.86 cm, (e). H. 4.55 cm. (21) *Shabti* fragment (f), light-green glazed faience, 25-26th Dynasties, H. 4 cm; hieroglyphic inscription is partly preserved at the back; translation: 'Amunirdis born [of]...'.[44] (22-25) Four various s*habti* fragments (g-j), Late Period to Ptolemaic Period, blue/green glazed faience, (g). H. 2.76 cm, (h). H. 1.73 cm, (i). H. 2.06 cm, (j). H. 1.82 cm.

26-69. Forty-four amulets:[45] (26) Horus-the-Child in a sitting posture, wearing a triple *atef*-crown, bronze, solid-cast, Late Period, after 600 B.C., H. 7.65 cm; lower part of legs and right forearm are missing; suspension loop on the back. (27) Unidentified deity fragment (human head wearing an *atef*-crown, above the forehead a scarab in place of an *uraeus*; rest of the body is missing), dark-green glazed faience, mould-made, Late Period, H. 2.73 cm; suspension was by a hole through the back-pillar. (28) Nefertum, bronze, solid-cast, Late Period, H. 3.2 cm; suspension loop behind the head; legs are missing. (29) Shu, kneeling, green glazed faience, mould-made, Late Period, H. 2.68 cm; suspension was by a hole in the back-pillar. (30) Plaque, flat-backed, with a shrine containing a walking Apis bull; pale-green glazed faience, mould-made, Late Period, H. 3.44 cm; ribbed suspension loop on top. (31) Horus, standing, with back-pillar, green glazed faience, mould-made, Ptolemaic Period to Roman

35 Anđelković 2002c; Anđelković & Panić-Štorh 2002.
36 Thanks are due to D. Stefanović, who suggested this new reading (personal communication, August 2009). The previously presented reading (Anđelković & Panić-Štorh 2002: 22) should be corrected.
37 Anđelković, Pavlović & Savović 2002.
38 Anđelković, Pavlović & Savović 2002.
39 Anđelković, Pavlović & Savović 2004.
40 Anđelković & Teeter 2006: 260.
41 Stefanović 2008.
42 Anđelković & Teeter 2006: 260.
43 Anđelković & Teeter 2006: 261.
44 Anđelković & Teeter 2006: 261.
45 About 29 of the amulets were published by Tutundžić. Cf. Tutundžić 1970.

Period, H. 2.65 cm; ribbed suspension loop atop the head; legs are missing. (32) Sekhmet, dark-green glazed faience, Third Intermediate Period, H. 3.01 cm; ribbed suspension loop at the upper back of the head; legs are missing. (33) Sekhmet, flat-backed plaque in raised relief, leaf-green glazed-composition, handmade, Third Intermediate Period, H. 3.55 cm; ribbed suspension loop on top. (34) Ptah-pataikos, pale-green glazed faience, mould-made, Third Intermediate Period to Late Period, H. 3.7 cm; a suspension loop behind the head; left arm and legs are missing. (35) Bes, openwork, green glazed faience, mould-made, Third Intermediate Period, H. 2 cm; suspension loop atop the head; legs are missing. (36) Bes, two-faced amulet, provided with a rectangular plinth, green glazed faience, mould-made, Third Intermediate Period, H. 2.4 cm; suspension was by a hole in the plumed headdress. (37) Bes, provided with a rectangular plinth, green glazed faience, mould-made, Third Intermediate Period, H. 1.95 cm; suspension loop behind the head. (38) Bes, provided with a square plinth, green glazed faience, mould-made, Third Intermediate Period, H. 2.08 cm; suspension loop behind the head. (39) Bes, provided with a rhomboid plinth, green mat-glazed faience, mould-made, Third Intermediate Period, H. 2.21 cm; suspension was by a loop behind the head. (40) Bes, flat-backed, green glazed faience, mould-made, Third Intermediate Period, H. 1.59 cm; suspension was by two transverse holes. (41) Lion-headed Taweret standing; a crocodile's tail runs up the back, green stone, Late Period, H. 4.23 cm; top of the head and lower part of the amulet are missing. (42) Real cowrie shell with the back cut off, undated, H. 1.8 cm. (43) Cowrie, leaf-green glazed faience, mould-made, Third Intermediate Period. H. 3.9 cm; a central groove perforated near the ends. (44) Plaque with a right *wedjat*-eye in raised relief on one face, and an undefined goddess (?) incised on the back; green glazed faience, mould-made, additionally incised; Third Intermediate Period, L. 1.98 cm; suspension was by a hole through the length. (45-53) Nine plaques with a right *wedjat*-eye incised on the convex face, bluish-green glazed faience, Third Intermediate Period; suspension was by a hole through the length; on the plain back there is: (a). the name of goddess Wadjyt, L. 1.49 cm; (b). the name of the goddess Nephthys, L. 1.41 cm; (c). a scorpion image, L. 1.42 cm; (d). a scorpion image, L. 1.43 cm; (e). the name of the goddess Bastet, L. 1.45 cm; (f). the name of the goddess Bastet, L. 1.5 cm; (g). the name of the goddess Bastet, L. 1.45 cm; (h). the name of the goddess Bastet, L. 1.2 cm; (i). undefined, L. 1.05 cm. (54) Anubis, pillar-backed, provided with a rectangular plinth; pale-green glazed faience, mould-made, Late Period, H. 2.42 cm; suspension was by a hole through the head. (55) Fragment of a deity in a walking posture, blue glazed faience, mould-made, probably Late Period, H. 2.18 cm. (56) Couchant hare on a rectangular base, pale-green glazed faience, mould-made, Late Period, L. 1.78 cm; pierced through the width, between the spine and ears. (57) Couchant hare on an oval plinth; the base is incised with the hieroglyphic *s* sign (S29), perhaps an abbreviated form of *snb* '(be) healthy'; dark-green glazed faience, mould-made, Late Period, L. 1.8 cm; pierced through the width, between the hare's chest and the base. (58) Recumbent lion on a rectangular base, green glazed faience, mould-made, Late Period, L. 0.91 cm; suspension was by a longitudinal hole. (59) Twin *ba*-birds, bronze, solid-cast, Third Intermediate Period, H. 4.9 cm; the legs and the right sun disc are missing. (60) White Crown of Upper Egypt, pale-green glazed faience, mould-made, 26th Dynasty, H. 3.7 cm; ribbed suspension loop on the upper back face. (61) *Wadj*-sceptre, pale-green glazed faience, mould-made, Late Period, H. 6.5 cm; ribbed suspension loop on the top. (62) *Wadj*-sceptre, green glazed faience, mould-made, Late Period, H. 2.55 cm; suspension loop at the top of the shaft, below the open head. (63) *Wadj*-sceptre fragment (?), bluish-green glazed faience, mould-made, Late Period (?), H. 1.19 cm. (64) Flower head, green glazed faience, mould-made, Late Period, H. 2.1 cm; rectangular ledge on top, surmounted by a suspension loop. (65) Palmette, flat-backed, perhaps part of an openwork broad collar, yellowish light-brown glazed-composition, mould-made, 18th-19th Dynasty, H. 2.38 cm; a suspension loop situated both at the top and at the bottom. (66) Sun disc appliqué, brown glazed faience, mould-made, 26th Dynasty or later, D. 3.33 cm; pierced by four holes so the disc could be stitched onto mummy wrappings. (67) Model Bes-vase, pale-green glazed faience, 26th Dynasty, H. 1.58 cm; suspension is by the loop handle. (68) Model lamp, terracotta of buff-colour, red slip, handmade, Roman Period, probably first half of the 1st century A.D., L. 5.76 cm; pierced handle for suspension. (69) Model lamp, reconstructed; only a fragment of the spout and pierced handle are genuine; fired clay, blackish-grey in colour, Roman Period, probably first half of the 1st century A.D.; measurements similar to previous piece.

70-86. Seventeen scarabs and scaraboids: (70) Scarab, darkly-green glazed steatite, Middle Kingdom to New Kingdom, L. 2.31 cm; base/seal seems to bear the title and private name of 'Overseer of the Treasury, Wepwawet'; pierced lengthwise. (71) Scarab, ocher-yellow glazed steatite, end of the Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period, L. 1.58 cm; base: human figure kneeling and holding an *uraeus* in his raised left hand; below the hand is a plano-convex sign (?); Canaanite influence; pierced lengthwise. (72) Scarab, dark-green glazed steatite, 18th Dynasty or later, L. 3 cm; base is carved with a figure of a couchant royal sphinx wearing the two Maat-feathers as head-dress and holding a vertical cartouche of Menkheperra (the prenomen of Thutmose III); above the sphinx's back is a winged uraeus; to the right of the cartouche, vertically, is *nb*-sign (V30); pierced lengthwise. (73) Scarab, green mat-glazed steatite, Late Period (if genuine?), L. 1.43 cm; base: a carved figure of a waterfowl with spread wings; pierced lengthwise. (74) Scarab, green mat-glazed steatite, Late Period (if genuine?), L. 1.41 cm; base: a carved figure of a lizard; pierced lengthwise. (75) Scarab, green mat-glazed steatite, Late Period, L. 1.32 cm; base: a carved figure of a hare; pierced lengthwise. (76) Scarab, light-brown glazed steatite, 19th Dynasty, L. 1.9 cm; base is bearing the inscription 'Menkheperra resting on Truth';

pierced lengthwise. (77) Scarab, purple amethyst, 12th Dynasty, L. 1.67 cm; pierced lengthwise. (78) Scarab, red carnelian, 18th Dynasty, L. 1.1 cm; pierced lengthwise. (79) Scarab, dark-green stone (gabbro?), New Kingdom, L. 3.41 cm; no perforation. (80) Funerary scarab appliqué, dark-greenish glazed composition, Late Period, L. 6.33 cm; pierced by five holes, each on the lateral sides, so it could be stitched on (probably with the same technique as the wings on each side) to mummy wrappings, or incorporated into a bead net for a mummy. (81) Funerary scarab appliqué, dark-bluish glazed composition, Late Period, L. 5.44 cm; the front and rear end were each pierced by a hole, while the lateral sides were each pierced by two holes. (82) Funerary scarab appliqué, brown glazed faience, Late Period, L. 5.54 cm; the front, rear, and lateral edges are each pierced by a hole. (83) Scaraboid/seal-ring, convex back with three horizontal engraved 'rope-designed' ribbons, white glazed steatite, First Intermediate Period, L. 2.2 cm; base is carved with an antelope, with some additional linear ornaments (?) incised above and below; pierced lengthwise. (84) Scaraboid-seal in the form of hedgehog, legs pierced through, pale-green glazed faience, Second Intermediate Period to New Kingdom, L. 3 cm; base is carved with an elaborate four-leaved rosette intermingled with a cord pattern; pierced lengthwise. (85) Scaraboid/ plaque rectangular in shape, used as a ring bezel/seal; green glazed steatite (?), Late Period (if genuine?), L. 1.47 cm; one side is carved perhaps with a version of the name Amun (?), whereas on the other side is the four legged creature, probably a lizard[46] (but without the tail), and *nb*-sign (?) (V30); a hole 0.2 cm deep on both ends. (86) Scaraboid, oval in shape, used as a ring bezel/seal; green glazed steatite, Late Period to Ptolemaic Period (if genuine?), L. 1.71 cm; on one side is carved a seated deity (Osiris?) holding a *was*-sceptre and a *heka*-sceptre (?), whereas on the other side is the image of the Horus falcon, holding a flail and a crook, with *nb*-sign (?) (V30) above, and two other unclear signs behind and in front of the bird; a hole 0.5 cm deep on both ends.

87-94. Eight jewellery items: (87-91) Five strings[47] of 339 beads in total; faience, glass paste, steatite, green stone, agate, cornelian; New Kingdom to Roman Period; cylinders, barrels, spheroids, double spheroids, rings, multiple beads/spacers, plan-convex ellipsoid, elongated biconical, pentagonal, four-leaved, flattened drop-shaped, flattened rectangular, flattened septagonal, rhomboid, tubular, and irregular. (92) An open-ended bracelet, semi-circular in cross-section, brass, Late Period to Roman Period, external D. 6.2 cm; the convex outer face is decorated with a row of parallel notches at both ends. (93) Fragment of a ribbed earring, circular in cross-section, bronze, Late Period, external D. 1.85 cm. (94) Earring, roughly rhomboidal in cross-section, bone, external D. 1.52 cm; a break where the two ends meet.

95-97. Three vessels: (95) Miniature bowl, 'Egyptian alabaster' (*i.e.* calcite), Late Period, H. 1.3 cm. (96) Pilgrim-bottle/flask fragment, spherical flattened body, originally with two loop-handles, 'Egyptian alabaster' (i.e. calcite), New Kingdom, H. of genuine stone fragment 11.1 cm, wall thickness 0.4-2 cm; horizontal drilling marks inside the vessel, and low omphalos on the base; reconstructed. (97) Pilgrim-bottle/flask, spherical flattened body, short neck with a wide rim and two loop-handles, pottery, New Kingdom and later, H. 12.9 cm; decorated with dark-red paint and burnished with irregular, concentric circles.

3. The City Museum of Sombor

The City Museum of Sombor has 22 items, mostly donated by János Fernbach in 1899.[48]

1. *Shabti*, terracotta, black coloured surface, the front mould-made, H. 18 cm; a vertical cartouche containing the royal prenomen Menkheperra of Thutmose III on the chest; a hieroglyphic text in seven horizontal rows below; a horizontal cartouche containing the royal prenomen Usermaatra Setepenra of Ramses II in the third row; this piece is not genuine.

2-18. Sixteen amulets: (2) Nefertum, pale-green glazed faience, Late Period, H. 1.89 cm; suspension was by a hole at the back-pillar; lower part of the amulet is missing. (3) Pataikos, flat-backed plaque with an irregular trapezoidal plinth, perhaps a positive mould to produce other open-backed moulds; dark brown faience, mould-made, additionally engraved to give detail; Ptolemaic Period to Roman Period, H. 1.74 cm. (4) Pataikos, in the round, light-blue glazed faience, mould-made, Late Period (if genuine?), H. 1.33 cm; suspension was by a hole through the neck; most of the amulet, aside from the head and the shoulders, is missing. (5) Pataikos, pale turquoise-blue glazed faience, handmade, late Ptolemaic Period to Roman Period (if genuine?), H. 1.19 cm; suspension was by a hole through the neck; most of the amulet, aside from the head, is missing. (6) Bes, flat-backed, with a small rectangular plinth, pale green glazed faience, Third Intermediate Period, H. 1.61 cm; suspension was by a hole through the width. (7) Bes, light green glazed faience, mould-made, Third Intermediate Period, H. 1.24 cm; most of the amulet, aside from the plumed headdress, is missing; suspension was by a hole through the width. (8) Taweret, green glazed faience, mould-made, Third Intermediate Period, H. 3.9 cm; head, right hand and legs are missing; suspension loop at the back. (9) *Wedjat*-eye, double sided, light-green glazed faience, Third Intermediate Period, L. 2.71 cm; pierced lengthwise. (10) Openwork *wedjat*-eye in an oval frame, double sided, milled edge, light-green glazed faience, Late Period, L. 1.7 cm; pierced lengthwise. (11) Quadruple *wedjat* (in outline only), pale-green glazed faience, an oval bulge of blackish-blue glass paste in the middle, 25th Dynasty, L. 1.3 cm; pierced lengthwise. (12) Quadruple *wedjat* (four horizontal grooves to represent

[46] The lizard form is very similar to the one depicted on the scarab no. 74.

[47] Beads were strung in modern times, i.e. the present strings do not show either choice and number or the order of beads when initially used.

[48] Tutundžić 1989; Anđelković 2007.

eyes), double sided, pale-green glazed faience, 25th Dynasty, L. 0.8 cm; pierced lengthwise. (13-15) Quadruple *wedjat* (crossed diagonal twin lines divide the amulet into four sections), double sided, milled edge, pale-green/blue glazed faience, Ptolemaic period, 13. L. 1.66 cm, 14. L. 0.94 cm, 15. L. 0.88 cm; pierced lengthwise. (16) Anubis, blue glazed faience, mould-made, Late Period, H. 1.61 cm; suspension was by a hole in the back-pillar; legs are missing. (17) Isis, pale-green glazed faience, mould-made, Late Period, H. 1.68 cm; suspension was by a hole in the back-pillar; head and legs are missing. (18) Flower head, irregular ledge on top, green glazed faience, mould-made, Late Period, H. 1.23 cm; suspension loop at the top.

19-20. Beads: one separate bigger bead (convex, elongated barrel, with slightly cylindrical ends), pale-green glazed faience, L. 2.37 cm, and the string of 211 other beads (rings, tubular, discs, multiple beads/spacers, spheroids, cylinder, flattened with an oval cross-section; all faience, except one of glass paste), Late Period to Roman Period.[49]

21-22. Two vessels (?): (21) Cylindrical object open at both ends as a sort of a hollow elongated tube (a fragment of a Late Period offering jar set which has broken off its platform?), calcium sulphate (probably anhydrite), perhaps Late Period (if genuine?), H. 6.52 cm. (22) Conical object open at both ends, vertical chisel marks inside the object (a fragment of an alabastron?[50]); calcium sulphate, probably anhydrite, perhaps 26th Dynasty (if genuine?), H. 5.63 cm.

4. The Museum of Yugoslav History

The Museum of Yugoslav History in Belgrade has four Egyptian antiquities, presented to J. B. Tito, the president of former Yugoslavia, by Egyptian officials in 1956, 1971 and 1972.[51]

1. Osiris, in the round, provided with a trapezoidal plinth, a tin bronze[52], solid-cast (except for the plinth), sporadic traces of gilding, second half of 26th Dynasty, H. 51.5 cm, weight 8.5 kg; from the Beni Suef area;[53] presented by Egyptian president A. el Sadat probably in October 1971.[54]

2-4. Three calcite (*i.e.* 'Egyptian alabaster') vessels from the Djoser's Step Pyramid at Saqqara, 3rd Dynasty: (2) Tall cylindrical jar, concave sides, rope decoration, H. 51 cm; presented by A. el Sadat, in May 23rd, 1972. (3) A high-shouldered jar, H. 23.5 cm. (4) A pointed jar, convex sides, H. 69.3 cm; obtained from the excavations of the Egyptian Antiquities Department in May 5th, 1935; presented by G. A. Naser in January 5th, 1956.

[49] It is not clear why (in the City Museum of Sombor records) the first bead is registered separately from the others.
[50] Vasiljević 2008.
[51] Cvijović 1991: 4, 25-27; Cvijović 2003: 21, 35, 37.
[52] Anđelković, Pavlović & Savović 2004.
[53] About 115 km south of Cairo.
[54] M. Cvijović, personal communication in April 2013.

5. Conclusion

The modest corpus of Egyptian antiquities in Serbia numbers 144 items (177 items if we include Ptolemaic bronze coins and Coptic textiles).[55] It is noteworthy that all of the 19th century donors of Egyptian antiquities were born and/or lived in the territory north of the Danube and Sava rivers (fig. 117),[56] i.e. in what was, at the time, part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (ruled by the Habsburgs until 1918; now Vojvodina, northern province of Serbia). In the area south of the Danube and Sava rivers, namely most of present-day Serbia (fig. 117), where different cultural conditions related to the Ottoman Empire held sway, there were neither donors nor collections of Egyptian antiquities. Additional confirmation of this pattern is the fact that there are 4000 to 5000 Egyptian pieces in Croatia[57], within the Western political and cultural sphere, whereas immediately to the south, in neighboring Bosnia, influenced by the Ottomans and manifesting different cultural conditions, there are none. By irony of fate, Egypt herself, including all of her ancient cultural legacy, was for centuries under Ottoman suzerainty and remained nominally an Ottoman province until 1914.

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[55] In addition to 138 items in the collections mentioned above, there is a scarab from Trnjaci-Pilatovići, shabti, scarab, scaraboid and bone handle (the last four not genuine) from the Belgrade City Museum, shabti (not genuine) from Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade (Stefanović & Anđelković 2002), that makes 144 items. If we include 9 bronze coins of Ptolemy III Euergetes from the City Museum of Vršac (Ujes & Bakić 1996), 23 Coptic textiles from the Museum of Applied Arts, Belgrade (Stojanović 1980) and a Coptic clay lamp from the Home Museum in Knjaževac, that makes 177 items.
[56] Pavle Riđički was born in Mokrin, Ernest Brummer was born in Sombor, Paja Jovanović was born in Vršac.
[57] Tomorad 2002; Tomorad 2003; Tomorad 2005; Tomorad 2006; Tomorad, in press.

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* Serbian, English summary

Ancient Egyptian Artifacts from Romania. Their Research and Future Perspectives[1]

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Abstract**:** *This paper aims to present a brief introduction to the scientific activity of Egyptologists in Romania who focus on Egyptian collections, both private and public which were acquired on the 'black market'. The aegyptiaca finds coming from the archaeological excavations dating back to the Roman era are not the subject of this paper. This report will list the numerous artifacts of ancient Egyptian origin housed by different institutions in Romania that are currently published and to present the ones still waiting to be made known to the scientific community throughout the entire world.*

Keywords*: Romania, Egyptology, academic research, museums.*

The[1] ancient Egyptian civilization has always been attractive and intriguing for individuals around the world, making this civilization, which is shrouded in mystery, an important objective for scholars from the 19th century onwards. After the expedition of Napoleon in Egypt and after the decipherment of the Hieroglyphic script by Jean François Champollion in 1822, scholars from the western part of Europe and the U.S. manifested great interest in all knowledge about ancient Egypt, an initiative that still continues today in Egyptological centers throughout the world.

Ancient Egyptian artifacts were brought into Romania by scholars during the 19th century and the start of the 20th century and were housed by different institutions or private collections (for the establishment of these collections, the difficulties in managing them and the challenges of properly housing them.[2]

In the 1980`s the known ancient Egyptian artifacts (all of which were bought on the ``black market``) from all Romanian museums were brought to the National History Museum of Transylvania and were published in a collection catalogue[3], under the supervision and scientific consultancy of professor Miron Cihó, from the University of Bucharest. These artifacts, more than 400 in number, including mummies and papyri were previously housed by the following institutions: The National Museum of History of Transylvania, The County Museum of Oradea, The Museum Complex of Sibiu, The County Museum of Timişoara, The County Museum of Târgu-Mureș, The Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest, The Archaeological Insitute ``A.D. Xenopol`` of Iași, The Museum of Deva, The National History Museum of Bucharest and the University of Bucharest. The artifacts were organized in ten categories: I. Sculptures (1-40), II. Servants statuettes and funerary statuettes (41-83), III. Stelae, namely the fragmentary stela of Hor (no. 84), IV. Reliefs (85-88), V. Sarcophagi (89-100), VI. Scarabs (101-113), VII. Amulets (114-420), VIII. Daily use objects (421-427), IX. Human mummies and mummified fauna (428-436) and X. Unexposed items which consist of the papyrus of Sah, dating back in the New Kingdom era, a false-door stela, dating back in the 12th Dynasty and a scarab of the 18th Dynasty. Still, most of these artifacts are not published to this day.

This was indeed the first time Romanian scholars turned their attention to the ``exotic`` artifacts of ancient Egypt. Some of these artifacts were properly published by the leading authority in the science of Egyptology in Romania, prof. PhD. Miron Cihó, of the History Faculty of the University of Bucharest (the list is not exahustive). The funerary cone was later published once more in one of professors` books in 1996.[4]

We will categorize them through the geographic position and historical regions as follows:

Moldavia:

Iași:

1. The magical statuette of the Archaeological Institute 'A.D. Xenopol' Iași.[5]

Transylvania:

Cluj-Napoca and Oradea:

2. The *shabties* from the Transylvanian National History Museum of Cluj-Napoca[6],
3. The collections of Kolb Ede from Oradea and the one of Orbán Balász of Cluj-Napoca[7],

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[2] Cihó 1999: 19-27.

[3] Glodariu *et al.* 1988.

[4] Cihó 1996.

[5] Kákosy & Cihó 1985: 45-53 and pl. I-III; Cihó 1989: 401-415; Cihó 1997: 27-38.

[6] Cihó 1984d: 77-84.

[7] Cihó 1984b: 73-75.

Some of the most relevant artifacts housed in these cities are:

4. The bronze statuettes of the ‚Țării Crișurilor' Museum of Oradea[8],
5. A sculptures model with the depiction of Horuz, from the same ‚Țării Crișurilor' Museum of Oradea[9],
6. The *shabti* of Amenmose, dating to the 18th century and housed by the ‚Țării Crișurilor' Museum of Oradea[10].

Sibiu:

7. A scarab dating to the 18th Dynasty[11].

Sebeș:

8. At the local museum there is a nice collection donated by Franz Binder which M. Cihó presented without a strong analysis.[12]

Sf. Gheorghe

9. Three *shabties* dating back to the Late Period and Graeco-Roman era, housed by the Museum of the East Carpathians from the same town.

Bucharest:

10. Nesy-Amun`s *shabti* from Bucharest.[13]
11. The small collection of the History Faculty of the University of Bucharest.[14]
12. The Papazoglu collection from Bucharest in a preliminary report.[15]
13. A clay funerary cone[16] from the Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest, coming from the former collection of the Museum of Antiquities.
14. The stela of Sebek-Hor with the false-door depiction, housed by the National History Museum of Bucharest.[17]
15. The bronze statuette/amulet of Osiris from the Faculty of History`s collection of Bucharest.[18]

As it could be observed, this small introduction reveals the fact that most of the ancient Egyptian artifacts are still not known to the scientific world. They have been scattered all over the cultural institutions of Romania (as a matter of fact, some other new collections housed by museums of Satu Mare or Baia Mare were reported).[19] Only a small percentage of them were ever published as a result of prof. M. Cihó`s tremendous work.

The only two mummies ever housed by Romanian cultural institutions, are held by the Ethnographic Museum ``Franz Binder`` of Sibiu[20] and one in the National History Museum of Cluj-Napoca[21]. What we know is that the second mummy dates back to the Hellenistic era. Both of them are being studied by dr. Katalin Kóthay, curator of the department of Egyptian Antiquities Museum of Fine Arts of Budapest with what we hope will be a ground-breaking result.

The goal of this reduced paper was to offer a very brief report to the community of Egyptologists worldwide and to let them know that the Romanian institutes and museums still possess many unknown items. This situation we hope will be improved in the years to come.

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[20] Cihó 1990; Bozan 2002: 187-196; Bozan 2006: 70-75.
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Chapter III:
The current Egyptological research

CT and MR Research on Two Egyptian Mummies from the Archeological Museum in Zagreb

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Abstract**:** *During 2009-2011, the Egyptian human mummies from the Archeological Museum in Zagreb were subject to radiological and other scientific research. CT and MR scanning was performed in Dubrava University Hospital. The mummies were also submitted to anthropological analyses and C^{14} dating. Some findings radically changed what had been previously thought of these mummies.*

Keywords**:** *Egyptian mummies, radiology, CT scanning*

1. Introduction

In the Egyptian Collection of the Archeological Museum in Zagreb five human mummies and several mummified body parts are being kept. The main part of the collection arrived in Zagreb in 1868 as a purchase of the collection of a field marshal Koller. This purchase took place in Prague during 1867 and early 1868. Amongst other monuments in the collection there were two mummies: of Kareset and Shepenun, and it had been thought these two were both females. A few years before the rest of the collection, in 1862, a mummy ended up in the National Museum. This time it was a gift from Michael Barić, a Croat who lived in Vienna. In his last will, he left the mummified body that he once acquired in Egypt to a newly founded Croatian National Museum. This mummy is known as the famous 'Mummy of Zagreb'. A similar case of a mummy donation happened one other time in the 19th century. The mummy of an anonymous female person was a gift of the Zagreb bishop Juraj Haulik. The last Egyptian mummy arrived in Zagreb as a gift of the Egyptian government, because some companies and experts from the former Yugoslavia helped in saving the monuments of Nubia before the dam near Asuan had been activated. That happened between 1970 and 1974 and the mummified body belonged to 'singer of the god Amun', a woman Kaipamaw. Along with five whole mummies, the collection also contains several mummified human remains: three heads, four arms, and two feet. Our aim is to give a review of our paleoradiological examinations performed on the mummified remains from the Egyptian Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, started in 2009 and published so far. Up to this day, the research has been done on two mummies.

2. Methods and material

Articles were published in scientific journals and in abstract books of conferences regarding mummified remains from the Egyptian Collection.

Results from the studies of the unknown mummy were published in *Collegium Antropologicum*[1] and later in *Radiographics*[2], and presented at the *1st Bolzano Mummy Congress*[3] and at the *18th European Meeting of the Paleopatological Association*[4]. Kareset's results were published in *Collegium Antropologicum*[5] and presented at the *7th World Congress on Mummy Studies*[6]. Two mummified heads were presented at the *7th International CROSS*[7]. Single results for other mummies and body parts are sistematically reviewed in Cavka's PhD thesis named 'Radiological analysis of mummified remains from the Egyptian Collection of Archaelogical Museum in Zagreb'[8] in 2013 and in Exhibition 'Mummies; science and myth' catalogue[9]. Some other data, for example CT-MR signal comparison, psychological components of discovered diseases and some specific forensic data were also presented at the *5th Congress of Croatian Society of Radiology*[10], at the *19th European meeting of the paleopathology association*[11], at *the 3rd Croatian Psychodermatological Congress*[12], at *the European Congress of Radiology*[13] and at the *International Journal of Legal Medicine*[14].

All 19 specimens were scanned using CT. Axial CT slices were obtained using 16x0.75 collimation and images were reconstructed at 0.75-mm section thickness and 0.7 mm reconstruction increments using MDCT unit (Sensation16;

1 Čavka, Janković, Rajić Sikanjić, Tičinović *et al.* 2010: 797; Čavka, Glasnović, Janković, Rajić Sikanjić *et al.* 2010: 803.
2 Čavka, Petaros, Boščić, Kavur *et al.* 2012: 2151.
3 Čavka, Tičinović, Ivanac, Brkljačić *et al.* 2009: 19.
4 Kavur, Čavka, Glasnović, Ivanković *et al.* 2010: 130; Čavka, Boščić, Kavur, Janković *et al.* 2010: 64.
5 Čavka, Petaros, Ivanac, Aganović *et al.* 2012: 281.
6 Čavka, Ivanac, Aganović, Reiter *et al.* 2011: 136.
7 Komnenić, Barić, Čavka & Brkljačić 2011: 30.
8 Čavka 2013.
9 Uranić, Čavka & Petaros 2012.
10 Čavka, Tičinović, Radoš, Ivanac *et al.* 2010: 96.
11 Čavka, Petaros, Komnenić, Reiter *et al.* 2012: C2-3.
12 Čavka, Bušić & Brkljačić 2012: 63.
13 Čavka, Ivanac, Petaros, Sonicki *et al.* 2012: c2562.
14 Petaros, Čavka, Bosnar, Janković *et al.* 2012: S172.

Siemens Healthcare, Erlangen, Germany). The scanning parameters were 220 mA and 140 kV. We were able to scan 16 specimens using MR, as they had metal objects inside. Three-dimensional (3D), spoiled gradient echo based UTE images[15] of the mummy were acquired on a 1.5-T scanner (Magnetom Avanto, Siemens Healthcare, Erlangen, Germany), employing manufacturer's head and spine array coils, contrast-determining parameters echo time, repetition time and flip angle were chosen 0.07 ms,15 ms and 45°, respectively. The 40000 radial projections used to reconstruct 256 slices of 1.3x1.3x1.3 mm^3 isotropic resolution, resulted in an imaging time of 10 min per 3D slab. Postprocessing was performed on Leonardo workstation (Siemens AG Medical Solutions, Erlangen, Germany), Aquarius workstation (Terarecon Inc, San Mateo, USA) and OsiriX Imaging Software (Pixmeo, Geneve, Switzerland).

3. Results and discussion

The unknown mummy was considered to be fake, as it had been donated to the museum by the Zagreb archbishop Haulik in the 19th century in an obviously fake sarcophagus.[16] Before any radiological studies, we had to perform microbiological analysis and the conclusion was that the microorganisms we had found were mainly saprophytic and posed no threat to human health because[17] they are present in air flora, and are naturally ubiquitous, rarely causing diseases.[18] It was concluded that the remains belong to a female person of at least 40 years of age.[19] Brain removal had been done transnasally and thorax and abdomen filling is consistent with procedures used in the Ancient Egypt, and the details were consistent with the examples from the 21st Dynasty onwards, and the results of the radiometric dating to between 410 and 370 years B.C. suggested the mummy was from the Late Period.[20] Intriguing findings had been found inside the skull; where a regular tubular structure of around 10 cm was located, and a metal bar, around 90 cm in length, from the level of diaphragm to the mid calves.[21] A bar's function had definitely been to strengthen the posture of the mummy, but the exact time when it had been inserted remains a mystery; probably during the period of 'Egyptomania' and before it was sold to Arcbishop Haulik. A tubular structure remained a mystery until we performed CT-guided endoscopy, which was the first time in the history of mummy studies that it was performed.[22] A stick had been removed from the head and the analysis at the Faculty of Forestry showed that was a monocotyledon (cane, bamboo or less probable palm stem). It is a second finding of a brain removing tool inside a head, and the first one had been described in 2008.[23]

The mummy of a married lady named Kareset was dated based on the sarcophagus in the 3rd century B.C.[24] After X-ray, CT and MR scans, it is clear that the body is male between 20 and 30 years old at the time of death and clearly corresponded to the mummification style from 21st and 22nd dynasty, which has been confirmed with 14 C.[25] It is not entirely clear when exactly the body had been placed in another sarcophagus. The most important findings were lytic changes scattered around spine and skull, vertebral collapse and a large defect located on the frontoparietal bones on the right side. Lytic changes suggested malignant disease, but when distribution of lesions was analyzed, Hand-Schueller-Christian's disease has become a real possibility. One of the three syndromes connected with Langerhans cell histiocytosis is Hand-Schueller-Christian's disease, caused by uncontrolled monoclonal proliferation of the Langerhans cells, but the etiology is still uncertain.[26] Exophtalmus, lytic bone lesions and diabetes insipidus are the most often described, but they very rarely appear together at the same time (1:10).[27] Diabetes insipidus is caused by the compression of the pituitary gland, and the exophtalmus by compression of the orbital content by granulomatous infiltration.[28] Lesions in our case involve orbital wall, sella turcica, frontal and parietal bones and spine, which correspond to above mentioned disorders.[29] Except by the neoplastic diseases, vertebral collapses can be caused by inflammative processes, such as spondylitits and discitis. MR played a crucial role in establishing the diagnosis, as intervetebral disks are well visualized with the UTE sequence.[30] In our case they had been preserved and we could conclude that we had dealt with the Langerhans cells histiocytosis. This is the first time in the history of paleoradiology that a clinical MRI was used in differantial diagnosis.

4. Conclusion

Our research is entirely completed on only two mummies, which both underwent some intervention in the later periods of history, probably in the 19th century during the 'Egyptomania' period. Data of the other specimens are ready for the final analyses and will be published by the end of the year. We have implemented new diagnostic tools, some for the first time in the world, and we strongly suggest that all cultural and archaeological material should be made available to modern paleoradiological methods. Furthermore, we would suggest, based on new discoveries, that the unknown mummy (inv. no E-666) should, from now on, be called 'the fifth mummy', and the mummy formerly known as Kareset (inv. no E-668) should be called 'a mummy of an unknown man.'

15 Nielles-Vallespin, Weber, Bock, Bongers *et al.* 2007: 74.
16 Čavka, Janković, Rajić Sikanjić, Tičinović *et al.* 2010: 797.
17 Čavka, Glasnović, Janković, Rajić Sikanjić *et al.* 2010: 803.
18 Murray, Baron, Jorgensen, Landry *et al.* 2007.
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A Case of Egyptian Revival at the Turn of the 18th Century: the Painter Franc Kavčič Caucig and His *Oeuvre* D'Egitto

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***Abstract**: Franc Kavčič/Caucig (Gorizia, 1755 – Vienna, 1828) was attracted to ancient Egyptian art during his stay in Rome (approx. 1780–1787). Several drawings in each of Kavčič's collection contained elements of 'Egyptomania' or the 'Egyptian Revival', as well as drawings which include several Egyptian elements on one sheet of paper. The latter were then linked into the oeuvre 'd'Egitto' (figs. 4–6). Today the common folder 'd'Egitto' is kept at the Kupferstichkabinett Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Vienna. However, Kavčič's Egyptian themed drawings were created not only during his stay in Rome, as previously thought, but were probably done in 1821/22 when Kavčič was the director of the Viennese Academy.*

***Keywords**: Franc Kavčič/Caucig, Egyptian Revival, 'd'Egitto'*

Painter Franc Kavčič/Caucig (Gorica, 1755 – Vienna, 1828) was somewhat overlooked until he was paid homage to in 1978 by the National Gallery's curator Ksenija Rozman who organized a retrospective exhibition, which was accompanied by the first catalogue on the painter ever to be published.[1] The exhibition presented him as an 'indefatigable and diligent drawer of ancient monuments and admirer of distinguished Renaissance, Mannerist and Baroque painters whose masterpieces he saw in various Italian collections and museums'.[2] 'Given the quality of his works and the prominent position he attained, Franc Kavčič (1755–1828), a painter from Gorica/Gorizia, stands out among artists of Slovene origin who have won recognition outside Slovenia since the late 18th century.'[3]

Franc Kavčič[4] was born on 4 December 1755. His parents, father Andrej and mother Katarina, lived in Gorica/Gorizia, a town which was at that time located in the Habsburg Monarchy.[5] Count Guido Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1716 – Gorica, 1797) recognized young Kavčič's potential and sent him to stay with his son Filip in Vienna when he was 20 years old. Filip Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1741 – Vienna, 1810) remained a faithful patron to Kavčič all his life, supporting him in his studies as well as his later artistic endeavours.[6] For approximately four years (until 1779), Kavčič copied old masters, in particular Italian, in imperial galleries in the Belvedere Palace in Vienna and read history books on classical antiquity.[7] In 1779, his patron, having convinced himself of Kavčič's talent and diligence, sent him to Bologna to study and copy old masters.[8] As early as in 1781, he was living in Rome,[9] one of the most renowned artistic centres in the world and therefore a 'must' for young artists. '/…/ Rome, the richest Italian city in antique works and other masterpieces, will give the most gifted students of the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts the opportunity to strengthen their cultivated talent and develop it to perfection …'[10] read the justification to grant a scholarship to study in Rome in the 18th century.[11]

1 Rozman 1978.

2 Rozman 1978: 9.

3 The words quoted open the introduction to the catalogue accompanying the exhibition of France Kavčič/Caucig's works (Rozman 1978: 9). The retrospective exhibition set up by the National Gallery in 1978 marks the beginning of the long process of rediscovering Franc Kavčič's works. It put on display 8 oil paintings, 135 drawings and 1 graphic work incised in accordance with the artist's draft. In 1982 and 1984, 62 drawings from the National Gallery's collection were exhibited in Weimar and Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum) respectively. Yet it was only the following two exhibitions – *Franz Caucig. A Vienna Artist of Goethe's Time in Italy* (Museum Stendal, 2004) and *Franc Kavčič/ Caucig and Bohemia* (National Gallery in Ljubljana, 2005) – that gave fresh impetus to scientific production on his art.

4 His surname was written in several ways: Caucic, Caucig, Caucigh, Kavčič, Kaucig, Kauzich. Throughout his life, the painter used to sign himself as Caucig, Franco or Francesco. Rozman 1978: 14.

5 According to earlier researchers, Kavčič was supposedly born in 1759 or 1762, which means that he must have left Gorizia around 1778. Rozman discovered that he was actually born in 1755, so that he could have left his home town around 1770. He probably left for Vienna around 1775, when he was approaching 20, upon the recommendation of Count Guido Cobenzl. Rozman 1978: 24–25.

6 Filip Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1741 – Vienna, 1810), born to Count Guido Cobenzl and Countess Maria Benigna Montrichier, was an Austrian statesman and a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Between 1791 and 1796 he was the president, and between 1796 and 1810 the protector of the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts. Philipp Cobenzl was first schooled at home. Between 1755 in 1760, he was educated in Vienna (Savoy Academy) and Salzburg. In 1760, he left for Brussels to live with his learned uncle Johann Karl Filip Cobenzl, an imperial minister in the Austrian part of the Netherlands. His role and relation with Emperor Joseph II can be inferred from their secret correspondence. They established a close working relationship in 1771 in Linz when discussing the toll and other financial issues. In 1774, Maria Theresa appointed Cobenzl vice-president of the bank deputation. During that time, he accepted his father's recommendation and took young Franc Kavčič under his patronage. In the aftermath of Maria Theresa's death (1780), Cobenzl's ties with the Vienna court strengthened. He was even granted unlimited access to the Emperor. Rozman 1978: 26; Rozman 2007: 15–18.

7 Rozman 2007: 19, 23.

8 At that time, Bologna was an important artistic centre. Its *Accademia Clementina* was one of the first institutions to teach nude figure drawing using wax models. Rozman 1978: 26–29.

9 According to an entry of 1781 in the *Status Animarum* of the S. Andrea delle Fratte, the painter *Francesco Causich*, aged 25, lived at Piazza di Spagna. In 1783, still referred to as a 25-year-old man, he lived at St. Isidore together with the painters Joseph Bergler and Simon Pomardi. In 1784, Kavčič still shared the apartment with the same artists, while a year later they were joined by two new room-mates, Michael Köck and Felice Giani. Rozman 1978: 41, 45–46.

10 Rozman 1978: 29.

11 After seven years in Rome where he acquired invaluable knowledge and experience, Kavčič returned to Vienna in 1787. Rozman 1978: 60

Among Kavčič's imitations of antique works of arts there are also several drawings depicting Egyptian motifs.[12] The artist had the opportunity of admiring the antique masterpieces in the Vatican and the Capitoline Museums, the Villa Albani and the Villa Borghese as well as some other palaces during his stay in Rome (around 1780–1787). According to earlier research, it was during his stay in Rome that the young artist became attracted to the art of Ancient Egypt and produced several drawings with the motif of the *Pyramid of Cestius*. Its form has fascinated artists since the ancient times. Built in 12 B.C. as a memorial to Gaius Cestius Epulo and later on incorporated into the Aurellian walls surrounding Rome, the pyramid is regarded as the archetype of European pyramid.[13] In Kavčič's *oeuvre*, it is depicted in the following drawings: *The Pyramid of Cestius*[14], *The Memorial to Gaius Cestius and the Gate of St. Paul*[15], *The Pyramid of Cestius from the City*[16], *The Memorial to Gaius Cestius*[17]. In addition to the pyramid, Kavčič's *oeuvre* is characterized by another typical Egyptian form – obelisk. It is depicted on two graphics, with one showing the veduta from the *Domitianus Villa in Castel Gandolfo with the Obelisk* as the central figure[18], and the other depicting the motif of *The Massacre of the Innocents*[19].

Apart from these two motifs, the obelisk and the pyramid, Kavčič also painted some sculptures from Egypt which he saw in Roman villas and private collections during his stay in Rome; among these works there is a drawing of a standing statue representing king Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.) which he saw in the Villa Albani; it was adorning the villa's bathing complex.[20] (fig. 118) Two similar statues were, at that time, located in the Egyptian room of the Palazzo Massimo. In the next drawing Kavčič depicted three figures[21]; for the kneeling male figure he used the basalt statue of priest Neshor holding the Elephantine triade in his hands (fig. 119). The statue was originally located in the Khnum temple at Elephantine Island in Aswan during the reign of Apris (589–570 B.C.) from the 26th dynasty (664–525 B.C.). The Elephantine triade were the goddess Satis, the wife of Khnum and the mistress of Elephantine, depicted as a woman wearing the crown of Upper Egypt; next, the god Khnum, the keeper of the spring of the Nile, depicted with the human body and the head of a ram; and thirdly, the goddess Anukis, the goddess of the Cataract region on the Nile near Aswan, depicted as a woman wearing the crown of Osiris. The statue was rediscovered in the 17th century in the Villa Flaminia in Rignano near Rome; in Kavčič's time it was a part of the Egyptian collection in the Villa Albani. The statue of Neshor which is now kept by the Musée du Louvre in Paris was also depicted by Johann Joachim Winckelmann in his *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*. Among the 'Egyptianized' motifs of the Roman period Kavčič also depicted the statue of the goddess Isis[22], which he copied from the monumental black granite statue of Isis from the Emperor Hadrian's time (117–138). (fig. 120) During Kavčič's stay in Rome the statue was exhibited in the Vatican museum; originally it was displayed in the Hadrian's villa in Tivoli. In the 17th century it was made a

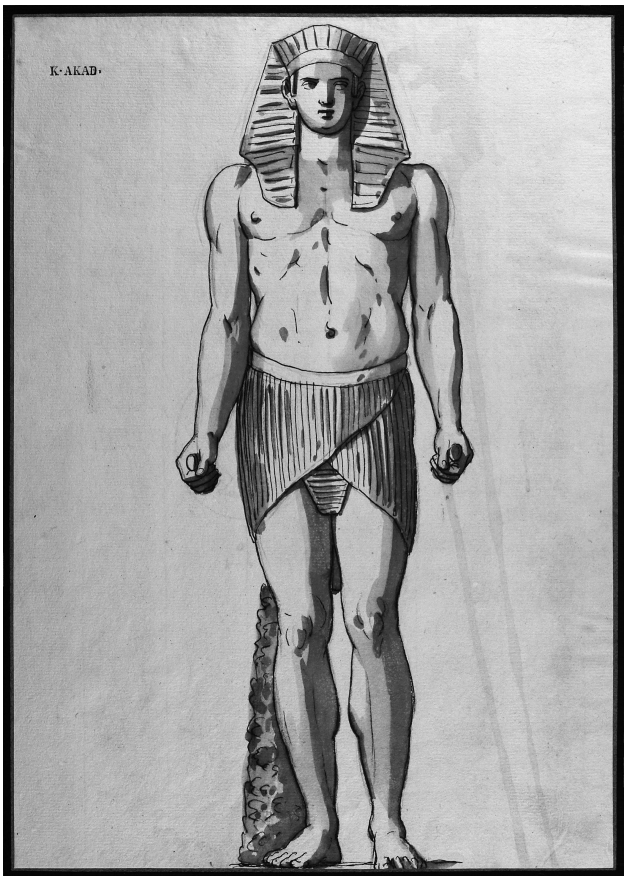


Fig. 118. Franc Kavčič, Ptolomey II. Philadelphus, graphite, wash pen and ink drawing, 270 x 190 mm. Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien, inv. no. 209. Photo: ©Kupferstichkabinett Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Wien.

In 1791, Count Philipp Cobenzl became the president of the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts, and in that same year he sent Kavčič to Italy for the second time, this time to Mantua, in order to procure plaster casts. (Rozman 2007: 19) Kavčič stayed there for five months, and then headed for Venice where he lived for as many as seven years. In the meantime, Count Cobenzl, looking for a replacement for the late painter Carlo Conti, strove to convince the Emperor to appoint Kavčič the corrector at the Vienna Academy. With Cobenzl being successful, his protégé occupied the prestigious teaching position upon his return to Vienna in 1799 Rozman 1978: 62–67; Rozman 2007: 19.

12 Kamin Kajfež 2010a: 109–114; Kamin Kajfež 2010b: 363–372; Kamin Kajfež 2010c: 133–148.

13 Navrátilová 2003: 138–139.

14 Graphite, pen and ink drawing, 217 x 330 mm. Today in the National Gallery in Ljubljana, No. G 68.

15 1781/87, graphite, pen and ink drawing, 220 x 335 mm. Today in the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, No. 1203.

16 1781/87, graphite, pen and ink drawing, 326 x 482 mm. Today in the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, No. 1316.

17 1781/87, graphite, pen and ink drawing, 334 x 219 mm. Today in the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, No. 1204.

18 Graphite, pen and ink drawing, 249 x 179 mm. Today in the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, No. 1239.

19 Graphite, pen and ink drawing, 214 x 268 mm. Today in the National Gallery in Ljubljana, No. G 19.

20 Graphite, wash pen and ink drawing, 270 x 190 mm. Today in Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, Inv. 209.

21 Graphite, wash pen and ink drawing, 228 x 313 mm. Today in Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, Inv. 183.

22 Graphite, wash pen and ink drawing, 210 x 290 mm. Today in Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, Inv. 188.

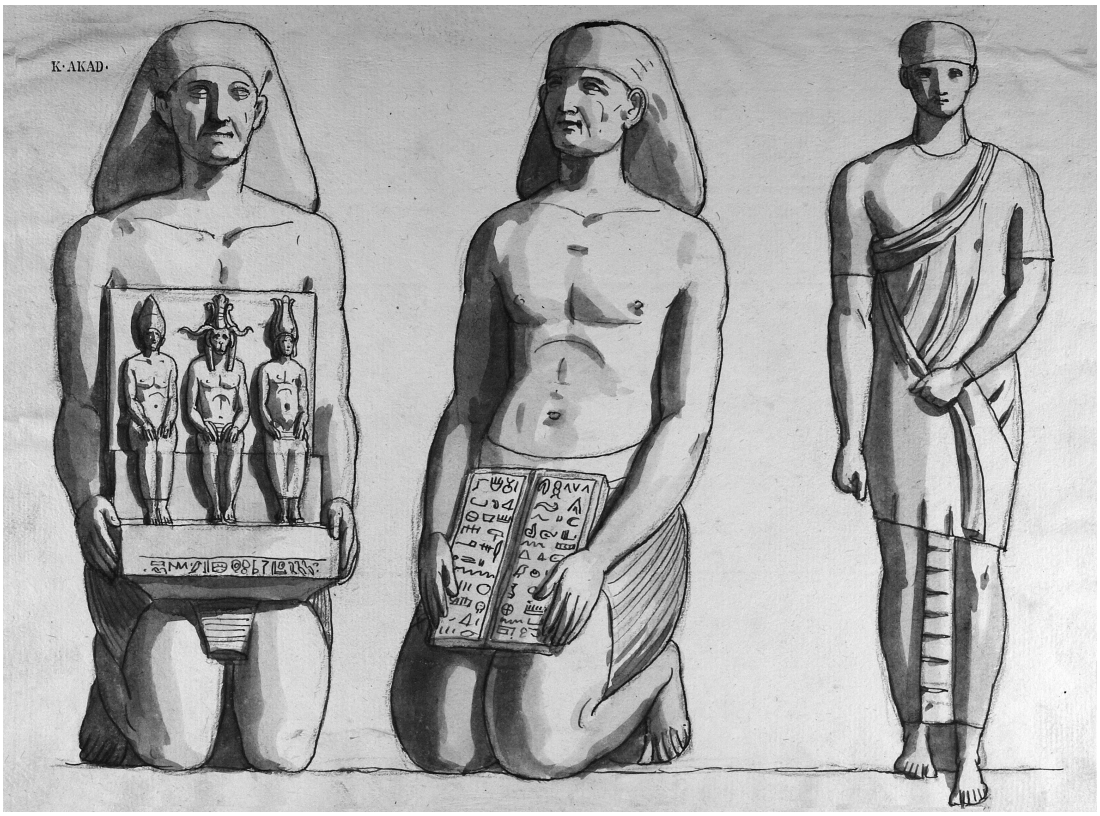


Fig. 119. Franc Kavčič, Neshor with the triad of Elephantine, graphite, wash pen and ink drawing, 228 x 313 mm. Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien, inv. no. 183. Photo: © Kupferstichkabinett Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Wien.

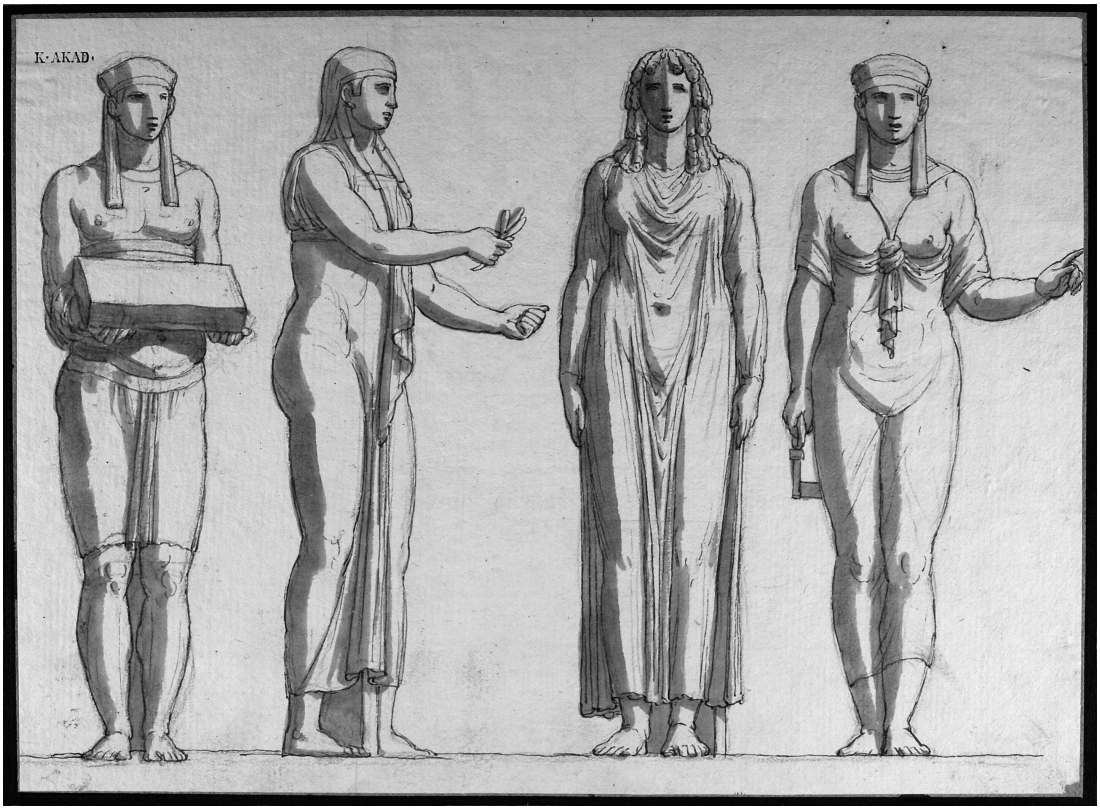


Fig. 120. Franc Kavčič, The Goddess Isis, graphite, wash pen and ink drawing, 210 x 290 mm. Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien, inv. no. 188. Photo: © Kupferstichkabinett Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Wien.

part of the Este collection and from there it was transported to the Vatican museums in 1753.

Oeuvre 'D`Egitto'

Out of 28 drawings with motifs of Egyptian art he created the portfolio entitled 'D'Egitto', which is currently kept by the *Kupferstichkabinett Akademie der Bildenden Künste* in Vienna. Yet the drawings were not created during his stay in Rome as initially argued by some art historians, but around 1821/22[23] when he was the director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna.[24] Kavčič could have found the motifs for his 'D'Egitto' *oeuvre* in the contemporary work *Description de l`Égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l`expédition de l`Armée française publié par les ordres de sa Majesté l`Empereur Napoléon le Grand. A Paris, de l`imprimerie impériale. Antiquités, planches* (1809–1822). In Vienna, he could have read its second edition published by Charles Louis Fleury Panckoucke since 1820. He received the inspiration for his Egyptian motifs from the pictorial materials included in the first four volumes of the second edition. Reportedly, the latter could be obtained in Vienna as early as 1822, while the first edition was available only after 1860. Therefore, it can be concluded that Kavčič used only the second edition and that his *oeuvre* 'D'Egitto' must have been conceived between 1820 and 1822.

However, all the motifs cannot derive from the published discoveries by French scientists; some of them must come from before the famous French endeavours and the great Egyptian revival. In the 17th and early 18th centuries numerous travellers ventured off to Egypt simply out of a curiosity for this mystic country. One of the last such great travellers in the 18th century was James Bruce (1730–1794) from Kinnaird in Scotland. His work, published in Edinburgh in five volumes in 1790, was entitled *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile*. Graphic materials included the depiction of two blind harpists from the tomb of Ramses III (20th dynasty, ruled from 1182 to 1151 B.C.). The motif of blind harpists was depicted by Bruce as two male figures in priest's garments, playing the harp; the depiction is an artistic interpretation of the motif and not the documented *rerum status* in the tomb. The next depiction of the same motif comes from the first edition of the *Description de l'Égypte*, the initial result of scientific research, which is why this is such a detailed documentation of the monument. The blind harpist is playing the harp in front of the heavenly god Onuris. The harp is topped off with the head of a pharaoh wearing the crown of Lower Egypt. Another similar depiction shows a blind harpist playing in front of the god Shu, the personification of sky and air; this harpist's harp ends with the head of a pharaoh wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. Both depictions are equipped with hieroglyphs. The harpists became a popular motif of Egyptian revival in 19th century Europe; they represent the taste for Egyptian antiquities of the time. We therefore come upon numerous versions of the motif, some fashioned after the first publication of the motif in the work of James Bruce or after the first publication (called imperial) of the *Description de l'Égypte*.

The Two Blind harpists were depicted by Kavčič in two separate *folia*[25], both part of the 'D'Egitto' *oeuvre* (figs. 121-122). The drawings compare to the depiction from the *Description de l'Égypte*; in Kavčič's drawing we see a harpist with the instrument topped off with a pharaoh's head wearing the double crown. The male figure of the harpist is fashioned in the Greco-Roman tradition which insinuates that Kavčič didn't simply copy from the *Description de l'Égypte*, but rather added Greco-Roman elements to the Egyptian motif, since he had plenty of opportunity to familiarize himself with these elements on his journeys through Italy. In all the recognizable elements, including the figure of the harpist, he specified the colours and added the explanation of objects and persons. An important detail of the drawing shows that Kavčič used the *Description de l'Égypte* and not the Bruce's *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile* as his model: namely, the pharaoh's head with the double crown. The harp on the Bruce's depiction is topped off with the pharaoh's crownless head, whereas Kavčič's drawing shows the celestial gods Onuris and Shu above the harpist. Onuris (eg. Anhur) represented the divine hunter; he is depicted as a beardless young man, holding a spear and wearing a plumed hat, made from four ostrich feathers. Closely related to Onuris is Shu, the personification of sky and air, also depicted as a young man with a plumed hat. Kavčič used the *Description de l'Égypte*[26] for the depiction of the third *harpist*, whom he included in his *oeuvre* 'd'Egitto'[27] (fig. 123). This harpist is depicted in the lower right part of the drawing together with some studies of Egyptian heads with different hairstyles. This modest and less known depiction of the harpist doesn't come from the royal tombs but from the tombs of dignitaries in upper Thebes. In this case it is a kneeling figure of the musician playing a smaller harp whose resonator ends with a form of a bird with partly open wings. In this drawing Kavčič closely followed the original in the *Description de l'Égypte*.

Kavčič must have been at least 65 years old when he started drawing individual Egyptian objects and figures. He was largely interested in their forms rather than their functions or contents, and was certainly not an Egyptologist, but a historical painter interested in simple strokes, lines and forms. When drawing inspiration from *Description de l`Égypte*, he imitated only those motifs that he could use for paintings and for the conception of historical scenes. Thus it is not surprising that he depicted no Egyptian

[23] Ksenja Rozman corrected her initial dating of Kavčič's Egyptian drawings in her later papers, arguing that they must have been created round 1821, Rozman & Müller-Kaspar 2004: 109.

[24] Rozman 1978: 51.

[25] Graphite, wash pen and ink drawing, 347 x 234 mm. Today in Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, Dunaj, Inv. 808. Graphite, wash pen and ink drawing, 350 x 230 mm. Today in Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, Dunaj, Inv. 922.

[26] Thebès, Hypogées – Antiquités vol. II, pl. 44.

[27] Graphite, wash pen and ink drawing, 247 x 230 mm. Today in Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, Dunaj, Inv. 840.

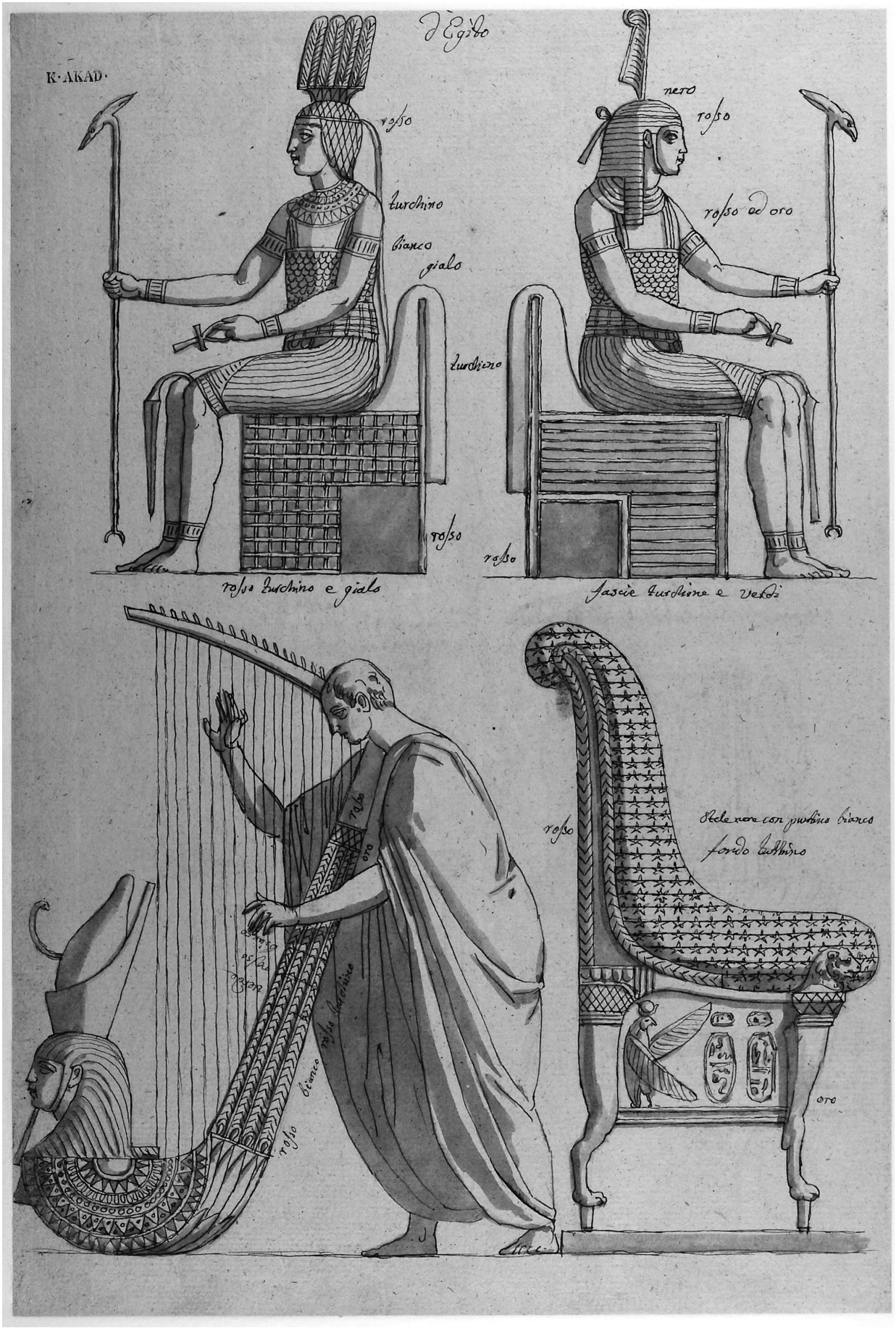


Fig. 121. Franc Kavčič, The Blind harpist from 'D'Egitto', graphite, wash pen and ink drawing, 347 x 234 mm Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien, inv. no. 808. Photo: © Kupferstichkabinett Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Wien.

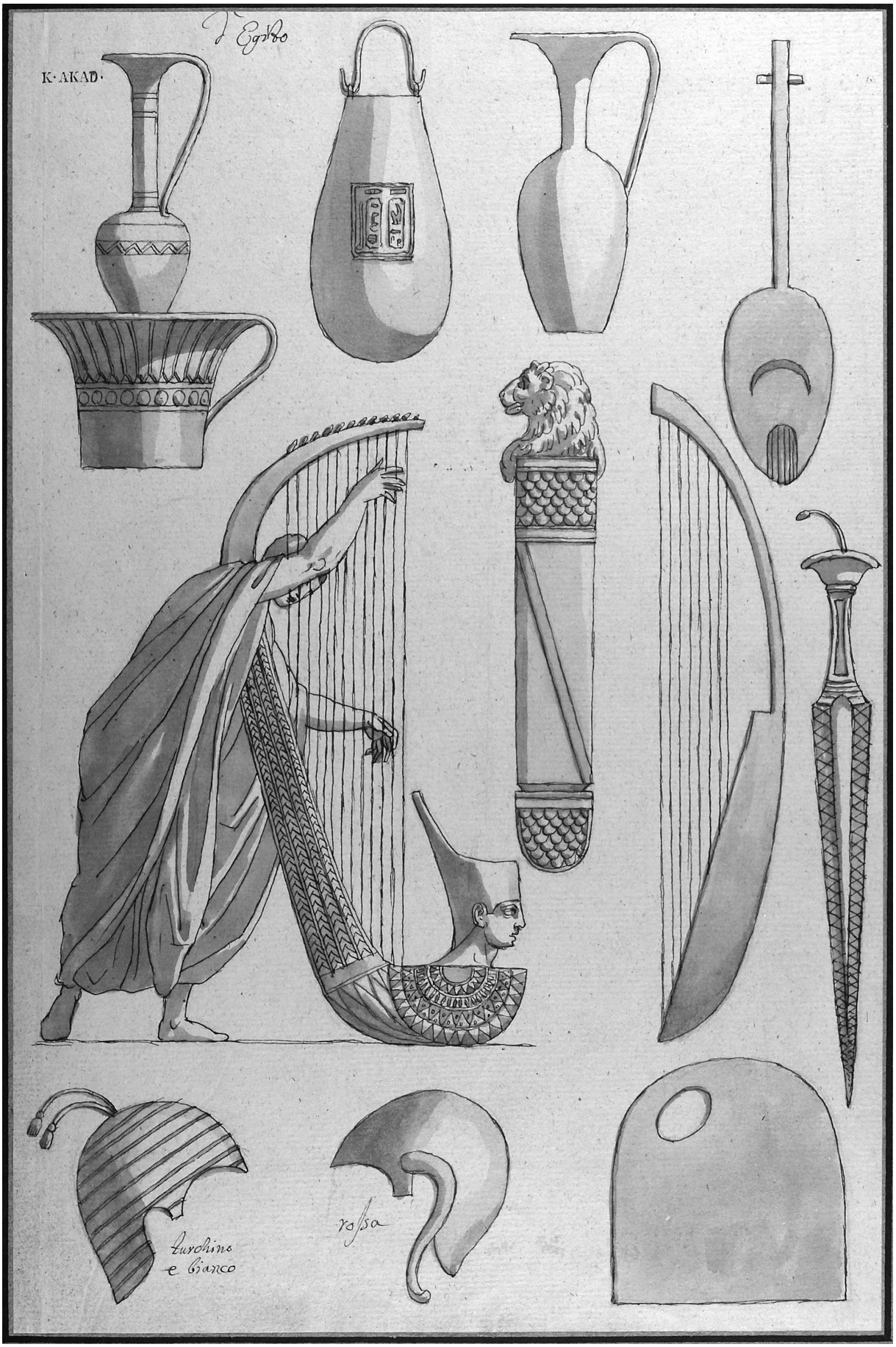


Fig. 122. Franc Kavčič, The Blind harpist from 'D'Egitto', graphite, wash pen and ink drawing, 350 x 230 mm. Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien, inv. no. 922. Photo: © Kupferstichkabinett Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Wien.

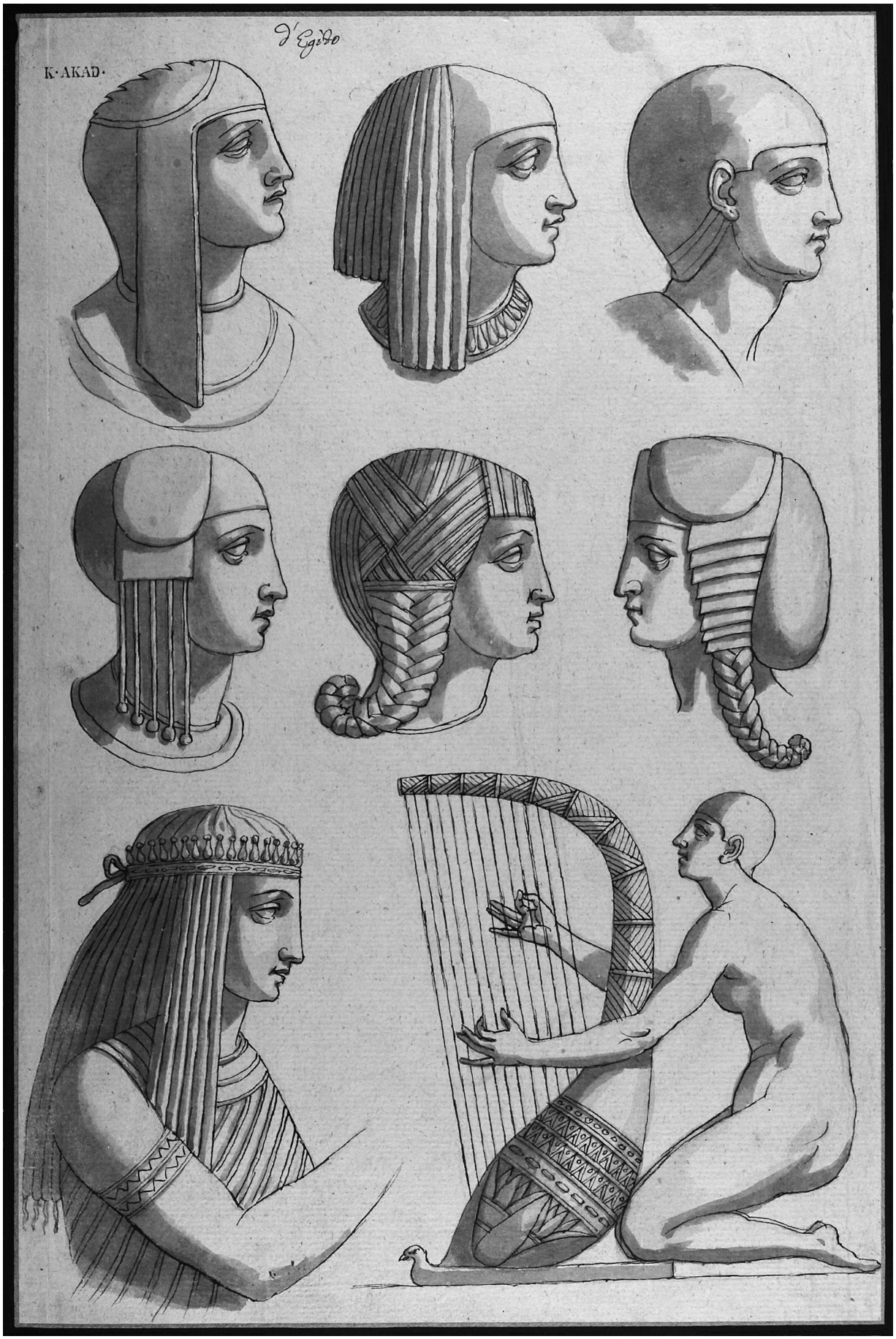


Fig. 123. Franc Kavčič, The Blind harpist from 'D'Egitto', graphite, wash pen and ink drawing, 247 x 230 mm. Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien, inv. no. 840. Photo: © Kupferstichkabinett Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Wien.

vedutas, but, as mentioned above, only individual objects and figures that aroused his interest. In addition, Egyptian motifs were used to embellish dinner and tea sets, vases, trays and other items produced by Vienna Porcelain Manufactory. When Anton Grassi (1755–1807) came in charge of its fine arts department, such motifs even became its decorative signature. After his death in 1807, Grassi was replaced by Kavčič. With his task being to supervise painters and drawers employed in the industry, it is not surprising that Egyptian motifs were often used to decorate new products.[28]

Kavčič died from pneumonia on 17 November, 1828 at Kirchengasse 20. His obituary introduced him as 'a councillor and the director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna and a member of several academies, with a home address at Wieden No. 543'.[29] He was buried November 19th at the cemetery in Matzleinsdorf. His depictions of harpists make a part of a long series of interpretations of this very popular motif from the tomb of Ramses III in the Valley of the Kings. Western art drew on the Egyptian motifs both from tradition and the imagination of travellers and writers as well as from scientific research of old Egypt. Elements of ancient Egyptian culture in Slovenia are hardly unusual, since this region has continually been a part of the middle European and Mediterranean cultural space. Despite the obvious distance between Egypt and southern Austrian countries, plentiful connections have been established between the two regions, particularly when Trieste was the main port of the great Danubian Monarchy.

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[28] Rozman 1978: 72–74.

[29] Kavčič's tombstone bears the following inscription (translated from Latin): *'Here rests Franc Kavčič together with his wife Barbara Haitzinger, a distinguished painter from Gorizia and the director of the Vienna Imperial Academy; they lived in great harmony, respect and love. Nothing separated them throughout their 25 years of concord. They were both snatched away from their friends by Death within only three days in November 1828*.' Rozman 1978: 75–76.

The Cult of the Sacred Bull Apis: History Of Study

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Abstract**:** *The highly publicized discovery of the Serapeum in the area of North Saqqara by French archaeologist Auguste Mariette in November of 1851 marked the beginning of scholarly interest for the cult of the sacred bull Apis. The study varied over time with academic fashion and the interests of individual authors, yet has significantly expanded our knowledge not only about the above mentioned cult, but our understanding of ancient Egyptian worship of animals in general as well. Excavations in the underground burial galleries of the sacred bulls produced more than 7,000 stone dedications inscribed in hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic scripts dated from the middle of Amenhotep III's reign (1390-1353 B.C)*[1] *until the end of the Ptolemaic era (30 B.C.), although the cult has been attested since the very beginnings of the Dynastic period and probably lasted until the end of fourth century A.D. Nevertheless, full exploitation of this corpus of historical sources has been far from completion, since the large number of inscriptions still waiting for publication in many museums and private collections worldwide. The aim of this paper is to analyze results of past research and to recognize possible opportunities for the future.*

Keywords*: Apis bull, Memphis, Saqqara, Serapeum, ancient Egyptian religion, animal cults, historiography.*

1. Introduction

The cult of the sacred bull Apis is probably one of the oldest and most prominent cults in ancient Egypt. Evidence for Apis bulls goes back to the first king of the 1st Dynasty, Horus-Aha c. 2900 B.C.[1] The Apis bull was mentioned for the last time in the Panegyric to the Western Roman Emperor Honorius, written by Egypt-born poet Claudian in 398 A.D.[2] There is a strong possibility that some sort of a ritual involving the bull existed long before the traditional unification of Lower and Upper Egypt as suggested by numerous preserved burials of cattle during the Predynastic period throughout Egypt. Nevertheless, it is certain that the Apis bull had been involved in the enigmatic ritual called 'run of the Apis bull' (*pḥrr Ḥp*) since the time of the 1st Dynasty. This ritual involved the king's participation and had been integrated, by the time of the 5th Dynasty (c. 2435-2306 B.C.) if not before, into the sed-festival rites[3], royal ritual of renewal and regeneration of the king's strength, usually celebrated after reigning thirty years and at intervals of three years afterwards. Such close connection with the king from the very beginnings of the Dynastic period allowed the cult's tremendous endurance. Whether independent or associated with other deities, the cult of the sacred bull Apis lasted for little less than three and half thousand years mostly due the constant support of the state no matter if Egyptian rulers were of native or foreign origin.

From New Kingdom (c. 1539-1077 B.C.) onwards, the theology of the Apis bull got double meaning: on one hand, Apis remained a living image of royal succesion, and on the other hand, became symbol of Osirian resurrection. During its lifetime, the Apis bull was dominantly associated with Ptah, the primary god of Memphis, as 'Living Apis, the herald of Ptah' and after death was transformed into god Osiris as Osiris-Apis and Apis-Osiris respectively.[4] The name of Osiris-Apis could sometimes be associated with the living Apis bull (e.g. 'living Osiris-Apis, the herald of Ptah'), but usually was the identification of the dead Apis bull in the necropolis of Saqqara, near Memphis. Formulation Apis-Osiris was reserved only for the syncretistic funerary deity of the Memphite necropolis. This double nature was also apparent in the iconography of the sacred bull: Apis was depicted either as a living bull (inside or outside of naos) or as a mummy of a bull, rarely as human with bull's head.

Details from the life of the Apis bull are known mostly thanks to the accounts of several Greek and Roman authors.[5] It is evident that Apis bull became, especially during the Late period (664-332 B.C.), some sort of national symbol of Egypt, especially for foreign visitors.[6] There was only one sacred bull Apis at a time. The four principal events in the life of the Apis bull were birth, installation, death and burial. The sacred bull was identified by characteristic markings on his body and might appear anywhere in Egypt. Apparently, the general rule was that the birth of a new Apis should occur immidiately after the death of his predecessor. Once found, the calf, together with his mother, was transported from the place of birth to Nilopolis on the east bank of Nile, probably near modern Cairo[7], where

[1] The absolute chronology is based on Hornung *et al.* 2006: 490-495.
[1] Simpson 1957: 139-142.
[2] Hermman 1960: 45.
[3] Kees 1928: bl. 15, no. 251, 252.
[4] Devauchelle 1998: 593-594; Devauchelle 2010: 51-55.
[5] Hdt. III.28.3; Diod. Sic. I.84.4-85.5; Strab. VII.1.22, 27, 31; Plin. NH VIII.184-186; Plut. DIO 43; Ael. NA XI.10; Polyaenus VII.11.7; Amm. Marc. XXII.14.6.
[6] Smelik & Hemelrijk 1984: 1863-1864.
[7] Bresciani 1983: 70-71.

they stayed for 40 days and then in the night of the full moon were moved to the ancient capital of Memphis. The installation and coronation ceremony took place within the temple of Ptah, where priests from all over Egypt gathered. The high priest of Ptah performed the ceremony. The average lifespan of the Apis bulls was probably between 18 and 20 years.[8] After death, the elaborate burial rituals and mourning lasted for 70 days. During this period of time, the inhabitants of Memphis, together with many visitors and pilgrims from all over Egypt, attended several ceremonies and processions. Once the burial vault in the Serapeum had been sealed, the search for the new sacred bull could begin.

The peak of popularity the cult of Apis achieved during the first millennium B.C. when his stable and sanctuary within the temple of Ptah in Memphis, and the burial place in the Saqqara necropolis, became prominent pilgrimage sites. Macedonian kings of the Ptolemaic Dynasty (305-30 B.C.) showed a great interest for the sacred bulls in general[9], and later several Roman emperors (e.g. Hadrian) presented offerings for the cult of Apis in Egypt[10], although probably to a more modest extent than previous rulers. Together with the hellenized cults of Serapis, Isis, Harpocrates and Anubis, worship of the sacred bull Apis extended beyond Egypt proper and reached the edges of the Roman Empire.[11] The saced bull of Memphis had been found for the last time during the reign of Julian the Apostate, in 362 A.D. Once the support of the state had been withdrawn, the cult just disappeared. Legislation of the Eastern Roman Emperor Theodosius I between 389 and 391 A.D. marked an end for many pagan cults.[12] The cult of Apis was not an exception.

During the 1400-1500s A.D. enormous interest for the ancient civilizations arose. Works of many ancient Greek and Roman authors were discovered and published for the first time during this period (e.g. Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus and Ammianus Marcellinus). Together with the process of rediscovery of the Classical authors, motifs of ancient Egyptian deities have appeared in renaissance art.[13] In decoration of the Room of the Lives of the Saints in the Appartamento Borgia for Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503 A.D.), painter Bernardo Pinturicchio used themes from the legend of Isis and Osiris with the Apis Bull in a sacred procession, along with depictions of Madonna and Saint Catherine of Siena. This example is only the most striking one among many others. The physical appearance of the Apis bull might have been known by frequent discoveries of his numerous bronze cultic statuettes in several cities of renaissance Italy, but besides sporadic references in ancient Greek and Roman texts, nothing had been known about the cult and its genuine meanings.

8 Vercoutter 1958: 340.
9 Crawford 1980: 1-42; Goldbrunner 2004.
10 Toutain 1916: 193-202.
11 Malaise 1972: 212-214; Takács 1995.
12 Mitchell 2007: 339-340.
13 Curl 2005.

2. Archaeological excavation

2.1. *Discovery and further excavations of the area of the Serapeum*

The most important role in our understanding the cult of Apis probably belongs to the so-called Serapeum (Egyptian: *Kȝ-kmt* or *Pr-Wsir-Ḥp*; Greek: Σαραπειον; Latin: *Serapeum*), a burial place of the sacred bulls, located in an area north-west from Zoser's Pyramid in Saqqara. References about the Serapeum were recognised early in texts of the Classical authors, but its exact location had been unknown. Strabo, a Greek geographer who visited Egypt at the end of 1st century B.C., left a description of the processional way leading to the Serapeum: 'There is also a Sarapeion at Memphis, in a place so very sandy that dunes of sand are heaped up by the winds; and by these some of the sphinxes which I saw were buried even to the head and others are only half-visible'.[14] Precisely this description encouraged a young Frenchmen Auguste Mariette (1821-1881) to abandon his previous task (the Louvre Museum sent him to negotiate the purchase of Coptic manuscripts from monasteries in Wadi Natrun), and soon after his arrival in Egypt he started searching for the Serapeum. Today it is known that Auguste Mariette was neither the first person nor even the first European who entered the underground galleries of Serapeum since the ancient times,[15] and certainly not the first person who had a similar idea during the first half of 19th century,[16] but he will be remembered as the first person who undertook early systematic excavations in the area of the Serapeum and who actually found the main entrance to the underground burial vaults of the Apis bulls.

Excavations at the edge of the desert in North Saqqara started on 1st November, 1850 and were conducted in several phases over a nearly four year period: (1) From 1st November, 1850 until 1st January, 1851: uncovering of a long avenue of 134 sphinxes leading westward from the pyramid complex of the 6th Dynasty king Teti into the desert; (2) From 1st January until 15th March, 1851:

14 Strab. XVII.1.32.
15 Paul Lucas (1664-1737), a French merchant, naturalist and antiquarian of King Louis XIV, visited Egypt in 1716, and described in his memoirs sightseeing of long underground corridors, which was recognized by researchers as the Lesser Vaults of Serapeum. Cf. Aufrére 1997: 55-68; Cf. Dodson 2000: 48-53 The description left by the Austrian Consul General Anton Ritter von Laurin, who visited Saqqara in 1846, still does not allow a decisive conclusion if he visited either Serapeum, the Mother of Apis Catacomb or maybe an unknown underground burial place of some other bovid, possibly the children of Apis. (Cf. Davies 1998: 51-52) Also, there are several pieces of information in the letters of Claude Sicard (1677-1726), a French Jesuit priest on a mission in Egypt 1708-1712, about Arabs from the nearby villages, who had been frequent visitors of the underground galleries of Serapeum for centuries before his arrival and who merchandised many objects found down there. Cf. Aufrére 1997: 55-68.
16 Anthony Charles Harris (1790-1869), a wealthy British businessman and a collector of antiquities, well-known for a series of hieratic papyri, now in the British Museum (in particular the Great Harris Papyrus), was near the discovery of Serapeum in 1847/1848. Among the papers of pioneer British Assyriologist Archibald Henry Sayce (1846-1933), kept in the Griffith Institute in Oxford, has been found several of Harris' handwritten notes, where he described his observations about the sphinxes of Saqqara. Cf. Malék 1983: 65-72.

clearance of the area around the hemicycle of eleven limestone statues of the great Greek philosophers and poets (among others are Pindar, Plato, Protagoras and Homer) dated to the Hellenistic period and a small temple built by Nectanebo II (360-343 B.C.), both situated at the eastern end of the dromos (ceremonial approach to the temple area); (3) From 15th March until 5th June, 1851: the dromos area with hundreds of stone and bronze statues, statuettes and amulets, mostly from the Late and Ptolemaic Periods; (4) From 29th June until 19th November, 1851: the foundations of a pylon gateway and enclosure wall were found, within which the Late Period temple once stood. On 12th November, 1851 the discovery of the entrance to the Greater Vaults was made; (5) From 19th November, 1851 until 15th February, 1852: clearance of the Greater Vaults with twenty-eight tombs of the sacred bulls dated from the 52nd year of Psamtek I (613/612 B.C.) until the end of Ptolemaic era or perhaps the beginning of Roman rule; (6) From 15th February until 15th March, 1852: the Lesser Vaults with numerous tombs from the 55th year of Ramesses II (c.1250 B.C.) until the beginning of the 26th Dynasty; (7) From 15th March until 15th September, 1852: eight so-called Isolated Tombs, chapel-tombs from the middle of Amenhotep III reign (c.1390-1353 B.C.) until the middle of Ramesses II's reign; (8) From 5th September, 1852 until 24th September, 1854: work around the site.

Conflict escalation in the Crimean War during the autumn of 1854 and lack of funding, ended the excavations in North Saqqara. Around 7.000 different objects were recovered during the research. More than 3.000 objects from the Serapeum (among others, monumental statue of the Apis bull from the chapel on the dromos, six sphinxes, three lion statues and jewellery of Khaemwaset, son of Ramesses II and the High Priest of Ptah in Memphis) plus almost 3.000 objects from other parts of the Saqqara necropolis were packed in two hundred and thirty cases and were shipped to France in two naval frigates. Among most important finds are numerous funerary votive stelae, which were dedicated by people who had been initiated into the cult of Osiris-Apis/Apis-Osiris and had participated in funerary rituals of the sacred bulls. Some 800 stelae were transported to France, where they are kept today in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the Louvre Museum in Paris, while remaining 400 stelae were housed in the Boulaq Museum, then near Cairo. Egyptian rulers, Muhammad Said Pasha (1854-1863) and his nephew Ismail Pasha (1863-1879), confered several stelae from the Cairo Museum to several foreign representatives in Egypt and some important guests and visitors. Therefore, many of them are today a part of private and museum collections in United Kingdom, Denmark, Italy, Austria, Russia and Germany.[17] However, the majority of stelae from the Boulaq Museum were destroyed by flooding resulting from severe inundations of the Nile in 1878 and 1891, and only 30 survived to be transferred to the museums of Cairo and Alexandria.

Yet, this had not been the only misfortune with finds from the Serapeum. Although Auguste Mariette himself published his observations in several studies and monographies, the original diary of the excavations (*Journal des fouilles*) was irreversibly lost to modern Egyptology. Eugène Grébaut (1846-1915), director of Egypt's Antiquities Service 1886-1892, borrowed this document from the archives of the Louvre Museum, and never returned it. Gaston Maspero (1846-1916), director of Egypt's Antiquities Service twice 1881-1886 and 1899-1914, assembled after Mariette's death his unpublished notes into a final report.[18] Today this publication represents a basic study for the understanding of history and archaeology of the Serapeum. Besides some opposing statements and incorrectly dated monuments, the main problem with this report (and Mariette's excavations in general) is the fact that Mariette had not recorded everything he may have found in the Serapeum and the original archaeological context of many objects is often vague. Also, Mariette's notes seem to end with the monuments of the beginning of the 26th Dynasty, leaving numerous other monuments unpublished or simply just unrecorded.

The so-called Serapeum Way, leading from the Nile valley to the Serapeum, has been excavated only partially since 1850 and today is under deep layers of sand. Most of the sphinx statues are currently either in the Cairo Museum or the Louvre Museum. The western part of the avenue, including monuments of the so-called Hemicycle of Philosophers and the dromos, was excavated again in 1938 by Rizkallah Macramallah and in 1951 by French architect Jean-Philippe Lauer. Results of both excavations were published by Lauer and Charles Picard.[19] The beginning of the Serapeum Way between the edge of the cultivation and the area of the great mudbrick enclosure called Anubieion was excavated by the Egypt Exploration Society (United Kingdom) between 1978 and 1981.[20] Most recently, a team from the Saqqara Geophysical Survey Project (United Kingdom) did an extensive survey of the central section of the avenue in 2004 and managed to prove the existence of numerous rectangular structures under many meters of sand lining both sides of it, which were probably mudbrick tombs, temples or chapels.[21] The Project has plans for return to the Serapeum Way.[22]

Until 1980s the complex of underground galleries of the Serapeum has not been subject to further archaeological research. The Greater Vaults were opened to visitors for a long time, being one of the main tourist attractions of the Saqqara necropolis, but entrance to the Lesser Vaults was covered by sand soon after Mariette finished his work there. The Greater Vaults were inspected again in 1985, when an architectural survey of the Serapeum had been initiated by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization.

17 Limme 1972: 82-102.

18 Mariette 1882.

19 Lauer & Picard 1955.

20 Smith & Jeffreys 1978: 10-21; Smith & Jeffreys 1979: 17-29; Smith & Jeffreys 1980: 17-27; Smith 1981: 331-339.

21 Mathieson 2007: 165-166.

22 Price 2012: 51.

The purpose of the survey was to obtain the best method of securing and consolidating the roof of the main underground galleries, where several cracks were noticed since the natural living rock of the Saqqara necropolis is the type of material known as 'swelling clay'. The removal of limestone flags, which compose the floor in the eastern section of the main gallery from the time of Psamtek I and Darius I, revealed a large number of shabtis, some 80 stelae (whole and in fragments with inscriptions in hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts dated to the time of the 26th, 27th and 29th Dynasties), pieces of statues and a section of a carved tomb wall.[23] Work in the Lesser Vaults began in the spring of 1986. The team discovered an earlier entrance stairway probably from the time of the 19th Dynasty, which was missed by Mariette.[24] Numerous examples of graffiti in demotic script were also found in this area. On the north wall of the Vestibule, across the entrance into the Greater Vaults from the time of Psamtek I (664-610 B.C.), a fourth doorway was revealed below the floor level of the other entrances. This doorway probably leads into an even deeper subterranean chamber(s) under the Lesser Vaults[25], but has been resealed to wait for further excavations. During clearance of the Ramesside section of the Lesser Vaults several shabti figures were found; large numbers of reused blocks from the 19th Dynasty (carved with representations of Khaemwaset with his mother Isetnefret) and 73 excellently preserved stelae from the Third Intermediate Period.[26]

Further excavations were planned, but have never been undertaken due an earthquake in 1992 seriously weakened the stone, leaving the entire monument in danger of collapse. Being unsafe for public visits, the Serapeum remained closed to tourisim many years afterwards. After years of searching for the best idea to repair and protect the structure, the actual work began in 2001 and was finished in December 2010. Nevertheless, the unstable political situation in Egypt caused the monument to remain closed. Finally, on 20th September, 2012 the Serapeum was officially reopened for the public, and waits for new excavations.

2.2. *Excavations of the temple of Ptah in Memphi*

During his lifetime the Apis bull probably resided in the southern part of the sacred enclosure of Ptah in Memphis. The site, now known as the Embalming house of Apis bulls, is located in the south-western corner of the temple area. There is little doubt that the buildings which once stood there were used as *wꜤb.t* or an embalming place where corpses of Apis bulls were mummified after death.[27]

The site has been known since 1843, and excavations were conducted several times. In 1908 the archaeological work was initiated by British archaeologist William Matthew Flinders Petrie. F. Petrie found part of a small Late or Ptolemaic Period chapel with reused inscribed blocks from the 25th Dynasty, but he thought that the stall and sanctuary of Apis was situated further south of the precinct of Ptah.[28] In 1941 Egyptian archaeologists Mustafa el-Amir and Ahmed Badawy started digging on the site. M. el-Amir dated the buildings to the 26th Dynasty and believed that they represent the stall, in which the Apis bull was kept during his lifetime.[29] This statement was surpassed in 1955, when American architect John Dimick, together with Rudolph Anthes, identified limestone and alabaster slabs with lions carved on their longer sides, as tables on which the body of the dead Apis bull was embalmed and prepared for burial.[30] Results of surveys and excavations carried out by the Institute of Fine Art of New York University from 1982 until 1986 were that the structure founded by M. el-Amir and A. Badawy is the latest of several buildings on the site constructed between the 19th Dynasty and the Ptolemaic or Roman periods.[31] Identification of other parts of buildings dedicated to the Apis bull still waits for further exavations.

3. Recording and publication

3.1. *Funerary votive stelae*

Inscriptions from the Serapeum can be divided into two categories: (1) the official hieroglyphic stelae for the individual bulls dedicated by the kings, and (2) the unofficial private dedications set up by different kinds of priests (stelae in hieroglyphic or hieratic script), masons and other workers in the burial vaults (stelae and graffiti in demotic with some in hieroglyphic) and private individuals (mainly graffiti in both hieroglyphic and demotic). The proportion of preserved stelae is: around 40% in hieroglyphic, around 10% in hieratic and around 50% in demotic script.[32]

Auguste Mariette has never finished the publication of vast material recovered from the complex of Serapeum. He published only 38 stelae in several of his early studies[33] and afterwards was too busy with other projects all over Egypt. After his death, Emmanuel de Rougé[34], Heinrich Karl Brugsch[35], Eugène Revillout[36] and Karl Piehl[37] published only those monuments which were, according to their opinions, the most relevant for ancient Egyptian history and chronology. Therefore, information from

[23] Aly *et al.* 1986: 32-34.
[24] Aly & Rohl 1988: 13.
[25] Aly & Rohl 1988: 17.
[26] Aly & Rohl 1988: 14.
[27] Jones 1990: 146.
[28] Petrie 1909: 3-4.
[29] El-Amir 1948: 51-56.
[30] Anthes 1959: 75-79.
[31] Jones & Milward Jones 1982: 51-58; Jones & Milward Jones 1983: 33-45; Jones & Milward Jones 1985: 17-28; Jones & Milward Jones 1987: 35-46; Jones & Milward Jones 1988: 105-116; Jones 1990: 141-147.
[32] Ziegler 2000: 45.
[33] Mariette 1855: 45-50, 53-58, 66-68, 85-90, 93-100; Mariette 1856a; Mariette 1856b; Mariette 1857
[34] De Rougé 1885: 106-120; De Rougé 1888: 1-9.
[35] Brugsch 1884: 110-136; Brugsch 1886: 19-40; Brugsch 1891.
[36] Revillout 1891a: 95-100; Revillout 1891b: 113-149.
[37] Piehl 1886.

numerous stelae and other type of monuments were left unused.

Émile Chassinat (1868-1946) was the first scholar who tried to comprehensively study the Serapeum stelae and started his work in 1899. In the first couple of years he published inscriptions of 181 stelae, but without almost any additional commentary except dating.[38] However, soon after publication of the last provisional study, E. Chassinat devoted his time entirely to inscriptions of the Ptolemaic temples of Edfu and Dendera. The next scholar who worked with the material from the Serapeum was Georges Posener (1906-1988) and he included several important inscriptions into his monograph about the First Persian Period.[39] Posener himself proposed Jean Vercoutter (1911-2000) to assist him. Vercoutter's first important publication about material from the Serapeum contains 18 stelae mostly from the Third Intermediate and the Late Periods.[40] However, the most comprehensive edition of the Serapeum stelae was published in 1968 by the joint editorship of Georges Posner, Jean Vercoutter and Michel Malinine (1900-1977) in two volumes. The first volume contains texts with detailed commentaries of 252 mainly hieroglyphic stelae dated from the middle of the 18th Dynasty until the 20/21 Year of Psamtek I.[41] The second volume contains photographs of published monuments.[42] This edition includes a general index which covers everything mentioned in the two volumes (kings, deities, anthroponyms, titles, expressions and older numeration). The editors also found it necessary to reassign a number of stelae to different dynasties. During the investigation of style and content they concluded that Mariette had incorrectly attributed them to other periods. Although authors planned to publish all stelae housed in the Louvre Museum, lack of funding prevented their wishes. The remaining 600 stelae, whole and in fragments[43], still waits for comprehensive publication. This project is entrusted to Didier Devauchelle from Université Lille 3 (France). Besides inscriptions from the stelae, this edition will also include numerous examples of graffiti dated to the Ptolemaic period. According to the latest information, the catalogue is still in process. Nevertheless, D. Devauchelle contributed with several important preliminary studies.[44]

The inscriptions and graffiti on the walls in the 26th Dynasty section of the Greater Vaults was recorded and published by a team from the Egypt Exploration Society (United Kingdom), consisting of John Ray, Jaromir Malék, and Helen McKeown.[45] However, there are numerous other graffiti which still remains unpublished.

During the excavation of 1985-1986, new material was discovered. Mouhamed Ibrahim Aly, former director of the Saqqara necropolis and current Egyptian minister of Culture, used inscriptions of 31 stelae and 6 graffiti, mostly from the Third Intermediate Period, in his yet unpublished Ph.D dissertation.[46] Nevertheless, he published several studies containing information about newly discovered material.[47] Also, M. I. Aly planned to publish (together with D. Devauchelle) the above mentioned material in the catalogue titled '*Les stèles de Sérapéum de Memphis* (*Catalogue des stèles trouvées dans les Grands Souterrains en 1985*)' and a manuscript of 120 pages was submitted, but has never been realised.[48]

Demotic inscriptions from the Serapeum were also published by Adel Farid[49] and Edda Bresciani[50], but there are many more waiting to be recorded and published.

3.2. *'The Embalming Manual'*

In the Egyptian and Near Eastern Collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Austria) is housed an important manual for the mummification of the sacred bull Apis, papyrus Wien KHM ÄS 3873, but the provenance is unknown. This document arrived in Vienna in 1821 as part of a large quantity of Egyptian antiquities. The collection was purchased by Dr Ernst August Burghart in Cairo for the Emperor Franz I. The papyrus is inscribed on the both sides in both hieratic and demotic script by two different scribes. It was probably a section of a broader manual of the mummification process, because the preserved document contains only the last phase: embalming the body of the sacred bull into linen and numerous prayers to enable its last journey. However, it is possible to suggest, according to several guidelines in the text itself, how the whole process may have looked. Information from this manual is valuable for the reconstruction of both funerary ritual and the techniques of mummification. The text was probably written in the late Ptolemaic period (between 125 and 75 B.C.), but archetype might originate from the time of the 26th Dynasty.

The document was first studied by Heinrich Karl Brugsch, pioneer of Demotic studies. Ernst von Bergmann made the photolithographic edition[51], but the fact that he did not know demotic affected the quality of his facsimile. The first translation was made by Wilhelm Spiegelberg[52], but he did not have sufficient time to study the original in Vienna and used von Bergmann's facsimile, which caused many mistakes in translation, even leaving some passages untranslated. More recently, a critical edition with detailed commentary of this papyrus was prepared by René Vos[53].

[38] Chassinat 1899: 56-73; Chassinat 1900: 9-26, 163-180; Chassinat 1901: 76-90; Chassinat 1903: 50-62.
[39] Posener 1936.
[40] Vercoutter 1962.
[41] Posner, Vercoutter & Malinine 1968a.
[42] Posner, Vercoutter & Malinine 1968b.
[43] Devauchelle 1994a: 96, no. 6.
[44] Devauchelle 1994b: 75-86; Devauchelle 2000: 21-32; Devauchelle 2001: 41-61; Devauchelle 2004: 95-108; Devauchelle 2009; Devauchelle 2011: 139-152.
[45] Jeffreys & Smith 1988.
[46] Aly 1993.
[47] Aly 1993: 97-106; Aly 1994: 5-16; Aly 2006: 43-61.
[48] Ziegler 2000: 47, no. 31.
[49] Farid 1993: 69-92; Farid 1997: 23-56; Farid 2000: 181-201.
[50] Bresciani 1967: 23-45.
[51] Von Bergmann 1886.
[52] Spiegelberg 1920: 1-33.
[53] Vos 1993.

One more piece of this manual is kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Croatia) and is published by Pierre Meyrat.[54]

3.3. *Other monuments*

Stone statues, bronze statuettes, fragments of reliefs and coins from the Serapeum and many other sites, mainly from the Late, Ptolemaic and Roman periods, were collected in three volumes under the joint editorship of G. Kater-Sibbes and M. Vermaseren. The first volume includes monuments found in Egypt[55], the second volume includes monuments found outside Egypt[56], and the third volume includes coins with representations of the sacred bull[57]. For every monument there are short descriptions, possible dating, photographs and a bibliography, if it was published. This edition represents a starting point for iconographic research of the Apis bull.

Numerous bronze cultic statuettes of the Apis bull from the Louvre Museum were analyzed by Christiane Ziegler.[58] Jewellery of Khaemwaset was published first by Farouk Gomaà[59] and then by Christiane Ziegler[60]. The canopic equipment from the Serapeum was published by Aidan Dodson[61]. The inscriptions on the sarcophagus were analyzed by Bartholomew Gunn[62].

4. Analysis and interpretation

The first synthesis about the cults of the sacred bulls in general was published by Eberhard Otto[63] and this publication, slightly outdated, still represents a basic study for further research. Still useful is the article about the Apis bull of Charles Bonnet[64]. Jean Vercoutter's contribution concentrated primarily on Late Period burial rituals.[65] Erich Winter provided a concise account of the cult, although it is intended for a general audience.[66]

Also, general overview of the cult could be found in the publications of Harry S. Smith for the Late Period[67], Dorothy Thompson for the Ptolemaic era[68], Dieter Kessler about the connection of animal cults and kings[69], and Aidan Dodson for a detailed overview of the bull cults in general[70]. A more recent study of the cult of the sacred bull Apis in particular was undertaken by Claus Jurman[71].

Another synthesis titled 'Le culte du taureau Apis' is in preparation by Didier Devauchelle[72].

5. Conclusion

After more than 150 years of constant study, there are still large gaps in our knowledge about the cult of the sacred bull Apis. Chronological and cultural distance of modern researchers from ancient times, dispersal of data throughout almost all periods of ancient Egyptian history, large numbers of yet unpublished sources and scholarly disagreements, are just a few problems facingt thepresent study of the Apis cult. Indeed, until the complete publication and interpretation of vast material from the Memphite area, any account can only be provisional.

Therefore, there are many unanswered questions. The origin of the cult and its character during the early Dynastic period is unclear. What happened with the Apis bulls during the period from the end of the Old Kingdom until the middle of the 18th Dynasty, when there are no mentions about the cult in contemporary sources, is still subject of debate. There are probably undiscovered burials in the Serapeum during the 21st and first half of the 22th Dynasties as well. An additional problem is the currently published material, which gives us only glimpse of the funerary sphere of the cult. The location of the living quarters of the sacred bull, described by Herodotus[73] and Strabo[74], still remains uncertain. Another problem in the Memphite area is the relationship between the Serapeum Way and the ancient road which led from the Ptah temple to the Bubastieion gate. That area today is buried deep under cultivated soil or built over by modern villages.

Nevertheless, although the material from the Serapeum and Memphis gives us only a partial view of the Apis cult, it is valuable for the research of onomastics, prosopography, history and religion of the Memphite area, especially during the Late and Ptolemaic periods, as well as lexicography and the development of demotic script.

Abbreviation

ANRW = *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
ASAE = *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*
BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*
CdÉ = *Chronique d'Égypte*
EVO = *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*
JAC = *Jahrbuch fur Antike und Christentum*
JACF = *Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum*
JARCE = *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studie*
MDAIK = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*

54 Meyrat 2014.
55 Kater-Sibbes & Vermaseren 1975.
56 Kater-Sibbes & Vermaseren 1975.
57 Kater-Sibbes & Vermaseren 1977.
58 Ziegler 1981: 29-45; Ziegler 1985: 441-451.
59 Gomaà 1973.
60 Ziegler 1996: 244-251; Ziegler 1999: 15-41.
61 Dodson 1999: 59-75.
62 Gunn 1926a: 82-91; Gunn 1926b: 92-94.
63 Otto 1938.
64 Bonnet 1952: 46-51.
65 Vercoutter 1975: 338-350.
66 Winter 1978.
67 Smith 1973.
68 Thompson 1988.
69 Kessler 1989.
70 Dodson 2005: 72-91.
71 Jurman 2009: 224-267.
72 Devauchelle 2010: 50, no. 10.
73 Hdt. II.153.
74 Strab. XVII.1.31.

RdÉ = *Revue d'Égyptologie*
RevEg = *Revue égyptologique*
RT = *Recueil de traveaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyrienne*
ZÄS = *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

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Was There Ever a 'Minoan' Princess on the Egyptian Court?

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***Abstract**: Egyptology did not seriously participate in discussions on the archaeological culture equals 'people' debate. Identity studies in Egyptology are only an emerging field and there is still much to be done in revaluating the colonial legacy of the discipline and the embedded cultural-historical approach. This paper is a case study in reflexive archaeology of Ancient Egypt and discusses a fairly direct question of the presence of a 'Minoan' princess on the New Kingdom Egyptian court. It will discuss how the cultural-historical approach to material culture shaped the interpretations of 'Minoan' frescoes from the site of Tell el-Dabᶜa. Based on other evidence of foreign women at the New Kingdom court it can be argued that they did not express their foreign identity openly. This has major consequences for the 'Minoan' princess interpretation.*

***Keywords**: 'Minoan' princess, Tell el-Dabᶜa, archaeological culture, ethnicity*

1. Introduction: How did 'Minoans' come to be?

The main question this paper intends to answer calls for yet another question. What do we mean when we say 'Minoan' princess? The term itself obviously represents an adjective, or rather an 'ethnonym', derived from the name Minos. Minos, himself was a mythical king of Crete, son of Zeus and Europa, famous for his cruel entertainment by receiving seven young boys and seven young girls from king Aegeus, and sending them to be devoured by Minotaur in the Labyrinth. The myth about Minos is preserved in the writings of Homer, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch. However, these ancient writers lived quite later in regard to the Bronze Age population referred to as 'Minoans' by archaeologists. This opens a 'Pandora's Box' from which emerge a series of yet more questions and the interpretative strategy often referred to as narrative deconstruction, which will only be an introductory or starting point of this paper.

Arthur Evans ventured into one of most famous archaeological discoveries celebrated by introductory books and histories of archaeological discipline. Not only he discovered Knossos, but he also created it from archaeological remains of the site itself; modern cement and modernist metanaratives of Greek soil as the cradle of civilization.[1] Evans described his discoveries as the first appearance of European civilization having its earliest phase even before the first dynasty of Egypt, proposing the term 'Minoan' for it.[2] The fact that ideas of Evans had a strong echo in the scholarly world of his time can be argued also by a statement of Angelo Mosso, Italian physiologist and traveller. He wrote that the discovery of Knossos put an end to a legend of origins of civilization in Egypt.[3] Inspired by writings of Thucydides[4], who states that Minos was first to organize a navy, controlling vast regions of Mediterranean, ruling Cycladic islands, establishing colonies and fighting piracy, Evans wrote how Crete ruled the seas long before Venice.[5] Efforts of Evans to produce first European civilization were also fuelled by the Greek war for independence and the necessity of Europe to show that Crete was in every sense European already in the Bronze Age, as Crete was under Ottoman government shortly before the coming of Evans on the island.[6] That this narrative was very strong is also corroborated by Mosso who wrote that Crete was so powerful on the sea, that just as England of his time, it could stand without forts. Mosso also wrote how civilization on Crete developed through the same stages as modern Europe, from absolute to parliament government, from democracy to socialism.[7]

Not often is it stressed that Evans saw 'Minoans' first as a race having the same 'artistic genius' as the later Greeks[8], however, with all gruesome ideas behind this concept. Not to much earlier, he wrote about his journey through Bosnia and Herzegovina:

'In these Illyrian lands I have often been addressed as *brat*, or brother, and the Bosniacs are known to call the stranger *shija*-neighbour. I, who write this, happen individually not to appreciate this *égalitaire* spirit. I don't choose to be told by every barbarian I meet that he is a man and a brother. I believe in the existence of inferior races and would like to see them exterminated'.[9]

Evans used craniometry to argue that 'Minoans' belonged to long-headed Mediterranean race.[10] He also recognised the 'Minoan' race in the Egyptian tomb imagery[11], as did Harry Reginald Hall who recognised Roman or Italian, more generally European facial features (e.g nose, jaw) in these depictions[12], and John Pendlebury who made

1 Morris 1994: 11; Hitchcock & Koudounaris 2002: 41-46; Papadopoulos 2005: 88-90; Hamilakis 2006: 146–148; Hamilakis & Momigliano 2006: 27.
2 Evans 1921: 1.
3 Mosso 1907: 156.
4 Th. I.4.
5 Evans 1921: 25.
6 Hamilakis 2006: 147; Hamilakis & Momigliano 2006: 27; Díaz-Andreu 2007: 106; Hamilakis 2007: 77-78.
7 Mosso 1907: 159-165.
8 Evans 1912: 278.
9 Evans 1877: 312.
10 Evans 1921: 8.
11 Evans 1928: 737-748.
12 Hall 1901-1902: 164.

physical difference between populations based on Egyptian tomb imagery.[13] Terms such as race or cultural area were, before the concept of archaeological culture and cultural-historical archaeology, used without mutually excluding each other.[14] Language, race, customs, culture and history were the dominant features defining nations already by the half of the 19th century.[15] Arthur Evans should not be taken as a straw man for these ideas which were part of intellectualism of his time; but this background of his work, on the other hand, is not to be neglected as it framed how archaeologists have approached the Aegean Bronze Age ever since.

However, the emergence of cultural-historical archaeology and archaeological culture as a tool of bringing prehistory into order and history, gave definitional background for already rooted narratives on 'Minoans'. Vere Gordon Childe defined archaeological culture as a set of vessels, tools, ornaments, graves and houses regularly appearing together and interpreted it as a material expression of 'a people'.[16] Therefore, 'Minoans' were already here to stay, now for sure and with a widely accepted explanation. Childe himself was influenced by Evans in engagement on the question of the origins of Greeks with 'Minoan' being the first archaeological culture name and ethnic name which he came in contact with.[17] Of course the narratives of superiority did not change as, after all, 'Minoans' were, for him, in some way the first 'Europeans'. Childe wrote it is not possible to argue for any significant contribution of European origin in the Bronze Age outside the Aegean area.[18] Childe was inspired by *Siedlungsarchäologie Methode* of Gustaf Kossina and the classification of archaeological record into archaeological cultures, representing different peoples, was related to late 19th century obsession with racial, ethnic and national identity.[19] The same normative concept of culture was adopted in Egyptology devoiding Egypt of dynamics and innovation.[20]

These newly invented archaeological cultures were additionally ethnically labelled when there was an appropriate name mentioned in the ancient sources for the population living on the territory of a specific archaeological culture argued by archaeologists.[21] The name for 'Minoans' was already there, as it was previously argued and it gained strength through tradition and mythology, deeply rooted in contemporary Bronze Age archaeology. Arguing for e.g 'Vinčanians' (derived from Vinča culture) would be strange to most of archaeologists today except the cultural-historical archaeologists, however the term 'Minoans' is rarely criticised even by those archaeologists who are not estranged to theory and recent developments in identity studies. The additional 'historical' name for 'Minoans', like e.g 'Celts' for 'bearers of La Tène culture' (also a heavily criticised equation), came from Egyptian tombs, as did the physical appearance, already discussed. Aegean figures depicted in the tomb of Rekhmire[22] labelled as 'princes of Keftiu and the islands in the middle of Great Green' (*wrw n kftjw jw hrjw jb nw wꜣḏ wr*) were taken as a paradigm for Keftiu meaning 'Minoans', even if the same inscription naming them as Keftiu in the tomb of Rekhmire, also names them as coming from the islands in the middle of Great Green (Aegean or Mediterranean).[23] There are also Syrian figures labelled by this term in the tombs of Menkheperreseneb and Amenemhab.[24] Objects carried by these figures were recognised in the archaeological assemblage of 'Minoan' culture, and together with textual labels in the tombs a perfect circular argument was complete. 'Minoans' became Keftiu, people of the Late Bronze Age.[25] However, it was recently suggested that the transference of the term Keftiu on Syrian figures is related to other mutual transferences of Aegean and Syrian elements as much as to iconographical hybridism of Aegean and Syrian figures and objects. This is interpreted as a consequence of Egyptian cultural geography relating Aegean figures, objects and geographical places (Crete and other islands) with the north, as is the case with Syrian figures, objects and places.[26]

Strangely enough, the modernist narrative on 'Minoans' was accepted by Egyptologists who only disputed over the localization of Keftiu. They located it on Crete[27], Cyprus[28], a place in Syria-Palestine[29], or a place in the delta region[30]. They, however, did not deal much with the root of the problem and adopted an already existing vision of 'Minoans'. On the other hand, the same was done in Aegean Bronze Age archaeology were one can often find the same ideas of 'Minoans' being called Keftiu even in the most recent publications.

The relations of Aegean Bronze Age archaeology to the complex disciplinary history of Classical archaeology have already been noted.[31] Only recently was the issue of colonial legacy of both disciplines posed from an Egyptological standpoint in relation to the representation of Aegean emissaries depicted in Theban 18th dynasty tombs.[32] Egyptologists gave strength to modernist narratives on 'Minoans' by appropriating them and not questioning them from the standpoint of their own discipline. This can

13 Pendlebury 1930: 82.
14 Jones 1997: 16-17.
15 Díaz-Andreu 2007: 6.
16 Childe 1929: V-VI.
17 Renfrew 1994: 128.
18 Childe 1930: 238.
19 Arnold & Hassmann 1995: 71-72; Jones 1997: 16; Roberts & Vander Linden 2011: 2-3.
20 Schneider 2003: 155.
21 Jones 1997: 27; Lucy 2005: 88.
22 Davies 1943: 20.
23 Evans 1928: 737-748.
24 Hallmann 2006: 29-46.
25 Evans 1928: 737-748; Pendlebury 1930: 82.
26 Matić 2012: 246-248.
27 Vercoutter 1956: 33-123; Sakellarakis & Sakellarakis 1984: 202; Strøm 1984: 193; Wachsmann 1987: 98-99; Panagiotopoulos 2001: 263-265.
28 Strange 1980: 145-184.
29 Vandersleyen 2003: 209-211.
30 Vandersleyen 2002: 109-112; Duhoux 2003: 211-228; MacGillivray 2009: 164–166.
31 Hamilakis & Momigliano 2006: 27.
32 Matić 2012: 235-239.

be explained by general lack of theoretical discussions on these issues in Egyptological literature. However, the time has come to rethink the disciplinary roots of Egyptology. There is much work yet to be done on this.

Archaeologists working on different societies adopted the idea that ethnicity, in the broadest sense, is shifting, situational and a subjective identification of self and others rooted in daily practice and historical experience, but also subject to transformation and discontinuity.[33] Cultural-historical archaeology reached rock bottom and suffered severe criticism[34] which has rarely been discussed in Egyptology.[35] Material remains of the past do not directly reflect different ethnicities when grouped into archaeological cultures. This approach can have gruesome social and political consequences.[36] Classifications of archaeological material are dependent and derived from theory and an infinite number of classificatory systems may be developed for the same data set.[37] Methodology of cultural-historical archaeology is also not a value-neutral tool of analysis to be applied as a first step in archaeological investigations. Archaeological cultures are deeply rooted in the project of modernity.[38] These ideas did not necessarily exist in the Bronze Age and should not be *a priori* assumed.

Further text of this paper focuses on the consequence of cultural-historical methodology in approaching material culture on the case study of 'Minoan' frescoes from the site of Tell el-Dabᶜa. The 'Minoan' princess interpretation of the frescoes is an epitome of the cultural-historical approach to material culture and therefore this paper is primarily concentrating on this particular problem. However, all other related problems are framed within Egyptological writings on Late Bronze Age dynastic marriages, gift-exchange and identity and status of foreigners on the Egyptian court. Throughout the paper, quotation marks are used when writing 'Minoans' or 'Minoan'. This is not to be misinterpreted as scepticism in fresco material relation to the artistic traditions of Crete and the Aegean. Rather, the use of quotation marks is a distantiation from common and rarely questioned cultural-historical narratives on archaeological culture being unequivocally remains of 'people'. The paper also does not call for the abandoning of the word 'Minoan' but to strong and serious reflexivity towards it and what it hides in the depth of its history and genealogy.

2. Before the frescoes

The Ceremonial axe of the first king of the 18th dynasty Ahmose, found in the tomb of his mother Ahhotep and today kept in The Egyptian Museum in Cairo, already attracted the attention of Arthur Evans. The griffin represented on the axe head was for Evans a sign of artistic exchange between Egypt and the Aegean, and he described the griffin on the axe as 'Egypto-Minoan'.[39] Aegean influence evident in the representation of the griffin on the axe is argued by most of the authors today.[40] The griffin depicted and the title 'mistress of the banks of the *ḥ3w nbwt*' (*ḥnwt jdbw ḥ3w nbwt*) was already, for Eduard Meyer, a proof of an alliance between the Egyptian royal family and Crete, which maybe included a dynastic marriage, after which the Cretans helped in expelling the Hyksos.[41] The term *ḥ3w nbwt* was thus here taken to signify Crete and Aegean islands. What is important to highlight here is that the ethnic identity of the queen Ahmose was argued both on the basis of iconography and title (containing a supposed ethnonym). What was entirely neglected was the fact that she was an Egyptian queen buried in accordance to Egyptian customs and decorum. The interpretation of the term *ḥ3w-nbwt* also does not show scholarly consensus as *ḥ3w-nbwt* is one of the most debated 'geographical' terms in Egyptology.[42] The term was connected to the Mediterranean islands or the Aegean islands[43], Asiatic shores of the eastern Mediterranean[44], the coasts of Palestine, supposedly conquered by Ahmose[45], vicinity of Rakotis or the delta region near Alexandria[46]. There is no scholarly concensus on the geographical placement of the term, however scholars agree that the limited hints of Egyptian sources relate this term to the north and the sea.[47] It was already suggested that the term itself is of vague and changing meaning through Egyptian history, signifing the delta in the Old Kingdom, Asia and north-east, together with the Mediterranean in the Middle and the New Kingdom, and 'barbarians' by the end of the New Kingdom, and finally reffering to Greeks in the Ptolemaic Age.[48] According to Mónica M. Bontty *ḥ3w-nbwt* are to be understood as 'everything beyond' and signifing no specific geographical location, but rather being vital for kingship ideology.[49] However, as argued by Bill Manley, some of these interpretations can be reconceiled by undertstanding the term as refering to any islands or estuaries, including perhaps the fringes of the delta. This is also understandable in the context of epithets of the queen Ahhotep, as she is said to have had dominion over three types of land: *t3* 'flat land', *ḫ3st* 'hill country' and *nbwt* (islands?). These are the only type of living land known to Egyptians. Ahhotep is said to have authority of every habited land and this is also collaborated by the summary epithet *jrt sḫr ꜥš3t* 'who counsels the multitude'.[50] Thus, her attribute 'mistress of the banks of the *ḥ3w nbwt*'

[33] Jones 1997: 13.
[34] Shanks & Tilley 1987: 81-84; Jones 1997: 107-110.
[35] Schneider 2003: 155; Smith 2009: 220-221.
[36] Arnold & Hassmann 1995: 73-74.
[37] Shanks & Tilley 1987: 84.
[38] Thomas 2004: 112-113.
[39] Evans 1921: 713.
[40] Jánosi 1991-1992: 102-103; Bietak 1996: 80; Lacovara 2008: 119-122.
[41] Meyer 1928: 54-7; Hankey 1993: 13-14.
[42] Quack 2007: 331-337.
[43] Gardiner 1947: 208; Bietak 1996: 80.
[44] Smith 1965: 28; Jánosi 1991-1992: 100.
[45] Vandersleyen 1971: 175-177; Seipel 1975: 98.
[46] Nibbi 1983: 76; Nibbi 1989: 160.
[47] Vandersleyen 1975: 1053; Goedicke 2002: 134-135; Quack 2007: 355.
[48] Vercoutter 1956: 15.
[49] Bontty 1995: 45.
[50] Manley 2002: 57-58.

and the griffin on the axe found in her grave are not direct evidence of her Aegean identity in light of the presented arguments and the following discussion on foreign women on the Egyptian court.

3. After the frescoes

Not being clairvoyant, or particularly intuitive, no one other than Arthur Evans was actually predicting the discovery in the eastern delta of Egypt which gave so much new insight into Late Bronze Age interconnections and raised new problems and a hot debate. Evans asked a very direct question in order to explain certain similarities between Egypt and Aegean in e.g iconography: 'Had the Minoan lords some seaport at their own disposal in the Delta or its borders?'.[51] This is clearly a consequence of his ideas about 'Minoans' as thalassocratic aristocrats and colonists whose origins are deeply connected to Egyptian civilization from which they supposedly originated.[52] However, the archaeological team of The Austrian Archaeological Institute in Cairo discovered the remains of the 18th dynasty palace compound in the context of which 'Minoan' fresco fragments were found in dumps north-east of palace F with some fresco remains found *in situ* on the wall of a doorway with portico north-east of palace G.[53] The discovery of the frescoes opened a hot debate on new evidence for interrelations between Egypt and Aegean and so far much work has been done on the frescoes and they are still being analyzed by the Tell el-Dabᶜa team. What is published so far is merely a part of the whole fresco assemblage from the palaces. Detailed accounts on the discovery, context and dating are well published.[54] The same is the case with iconography, technique and manufacture.[55] The frescoes are, according to latest publications, dated to a period between the rules of Thutmose I and Amenhotep II with Manfred Bietak preferring early reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.[56] Extensive work has been done on reconstructing different scenes and their context. So far the reconstruction work on the Bull and the Maze frieze[57], the Beige frieze[58], and the scenes with lions[59], leopards[60] and griffins[61] is making fast progress and is well published. There are also fragments depicting an almost life-sized male bearded head[62], landscape fragments depicting river and aquatic plants, reeds, papyrus, waz-lilies, myrtle and pebbles in 'easter egg' style[63], fragments of floor with maze pattern[64], fragments with ornamental scenes etc. It is thought that lions, leopards and small griffin together with representations of collared domestic dogs all belonged to the Hunt frieze[65] which is yet to be fully reconstructed and published. Stylistically the frescoes are dated into Late Minoan IA-IB by Manfred Bietak[66] while Sturt Manning dates them to Late Minoan II[67].

Finally different interpretations have been offered. This paper will pay particular attention to the most frequently expressed opinion that the frescoes are evidence of an interdynastic marriage and the presence of 'Minoan' princess on the Egyptian court. The aim of the paper is not to give yet another interpretation of the frescoes, or to debunk previous interpretations, rather the aim from the start was to criticise one particular way of thinking and research still present in the archaeology of Egypt. The last part of the paper will discuss the identity of foreign women on the Egyptian court in relation to the main question of the paper: Was there ever a 'Minoan' Princess on the Egyptian court?

There are several different interpretations of the frescoes. Common to all of them is that the frescoes were painted by Aegean artists hired by the Egyptian court. Some of the earlier views on the artists involved argued that they were 'Egyptianized Minoans'.[68] The question remains, why were the frescoes painted? One of the first interpretations in chronological order was that 'Minoans' lived in Avaris and were in close contact to the ruling class there and were even able to have ritual life there as well.[69] Thus, the presence of 'Minoan' frescoes was taken unequivocally as the presence of 'Minoan' people in a clearly cultural-historical approach. Later, some even suggested that 'Minoans' left the islands they inhabited after the eruption of Thera and slowly but surely migrated into the Egyptian delta, before which they had already painted palaces in Miletus, Alalakh, and Tel Kabri.[70] Even the arguments against this interpretation are rooted in material-culture equals ethnicity idea, as it is emphasised that 'Avaris was no Minoan trading post and no Minoan pottery or other finds are so far reported from the destruction period'.[71] Also, some thought that 'perhaps there is an undiscovered Minoan enclave that lies beyond the area of the Hyksos palace'.[72] These interpretations are clearly a product of the same scholarly tradition as Arthur Evans, and they are also strikingly similar to the hypothesis he raised.

Soon after, a working hypothesis was offered for the frescoes as evidence of the presence of a 'Minoan' princess.[73] However, there are opinions that the 'Minoan' frescoes outside Crete are part of the 'international style' and gift-exchange which also included the exchange of

51 Evans 1921: 291.
52 Evans 1921: 19.
53 Bietak 2007a: 26-38.
54 Bietak 1995: 23; Bietak & Marinatos 1995: 49; Bietak 2007a: 26–38.
55 Bietak 1995: 23; Bietak 2007b: 68–81.
56 Morgan 2004: 285; Bietak 2007a: 39-40.
57 Bietak 1995: 23-24; Bietak & Marinatos 1995: 51; Bietak, Marinatos & Palyvou 2007: 45-61.
58 Bietak 1995: 23-24; Bietak & Marinatos 1995: 51; Bietak, Marinatos, Palyvou 2007: 62–65.
59 Bietak 1995: 25; Marinatos 2011.
60 Bietak 1995: 25; Marinatos 2011; Morgan 2011a.
61 Bietak 1995: 25; Marinatos 2011; Morgan 2011a.
62 Bietak 1995: 24; Bietak & Marinatos 1995: 55.
63 Bietak 1995: 25; Bietak & Marinatos 1995: 57.
64 Bietak & Marinatos 1995: 51.
65 Marinatos 2011: 325; Morgan 2011a: 263; Morgan 2011b: 321.
66 Bietak 1995: 26; Bietak 2007b: 67-68.
67 Manning 2009: 222-223.
68 Shaw 1995: 94.
69 Bietak 1992: 28.
70 Duhoux 2003: 148-154.
71 Warren 1995: 17; Matić 2011: 56-57.
72 Shaw 1995: 110.
73 Bietak 1995: 26; Bietak & Marinatos 1995: 61; Bietak 2007b: 86.

artists and craftsmen.[74] This view was criticised on the basis that there is a significant chronological difference in the dates for frescoes at other sites supposedly related to the 'international style' and that the uniqueness of the Tell el-Dabᶜa frescoes does not allow framing them within 'international style'.[75] There is also a suggestion related to the interpretation of 'Minoan' princess. Instead it is argued that the frescoes are a result of a diplomatic meeting on the highest level between the court of Egypt and court of Crete.[76] This view is often corroborated by the first appearance of Aegeans in Theban tomb representations[77], often called upon in arguing for the 'Minoan' princess. The latest independent interpretation views the frescoes and the palace of Tell el-Dabᶜa as the place were 'Minoan' refugees settled after the eruption of Thera and the destruction of Cretan palaces. Supposedly, they lived in the eastern delta and from the delta they came at the Egyptian court with their gifts for Hatshepsut who also supposedly helped reconstructing palaces on Crete.[78] This last interpretation is strikingly similar in its background and conclusion to that of Evans' question with which the debate on the fresco discovery was opened in this paper, and the first suggestion of frescoes as evidence of 'Minoans' living in Avaris. The same interpretation is also an example of cultural-historical legacy in Aegean Bronze Age archaeology. However, there is no place in this paper to go into a detailed discussion on each of the interpretations. It is expected that arguments brought after the discussion on a 'Minoan' princess could also affect the background of some other interpretations embedded in the same traditional approach to archaeological culture. What is important to highlight is that most of the interpretations of the Tell el-Dabᶜa frescoes were framed within a cultural-historical approach. Archaeological material ordered into a specific archaeological culture and found outside its primary distribution, was seen as evidence of ethnic presence.

The publication of the preliminary results of the excavation in area H/I also proposed that the frescoes are a consequence of a dynastic marriage; of a 'Minoan' princess present on the Hyksos court.[79] After the new date for the frescoes was offered, the interpretation did not suffer major change because now the marriage was argued to be between 'Minoan' Crete and 18th Dynasty Egypt.[80] Eric Cline, criticising the date change, wrote how the 'Minoan princess has shifted her quarters, retinue, and dowry from Hyksos Avaris to Egyptian Avaris'.[81]

Basic arguments for a 'Minoan' princess are:

1. The frescoes have only 'Minoan' emblems and not Egyptian, which excludes the possibility that the frescoes were made for Egyptian court and ruler, as the Egyptian king would not allow them to be painted without Egyptian emblems.
2. 'Minoan' emblems of the Tell el-Dabᶜa frescoes are related to femininity.
3. Dynastic marriages of great importance are not unknown in the Near East during the periods for which there is more written evidence; such as the Amarna letters dealing with the policy of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, or the Boghazköy letters dealing with the policy of Ramesses II.[82]

There are several problems with these arguments and here they will be discussed in detail. Firstly, the fresco fragments currently published do not show Egyptian emblems, but as there are indications of Egyptian paintings on mud plaster[83], the possibility that there are fresco fragments with Egyptian elements is not to be excluded before the work on the frescoes is completed.[84] Also, the idea that the Egyptian king would not allow paintings at his court lacking Egyptian emblems is a consequence of a common view in Egyptology that Egyptian culture was rather unfriendly to the appropriation of a foreign culture. This is a consequence of a normative view which sees cultures as unchanging and static.[85] This common view was seriously criticised and the New Kingdom evidence is showing the contrary in adoption of e.g glass technology, chariots and certain deities, such as Baal.[86] What is considered foreign by archaeologists can appropriate and express local meanings by those who imported certain objects, materials, technologies or styles.

The 'Minoan' emblems of the Tell el-Dabᶜa frescoes are related to femininity, as opposed to masculinity, which is also very problematic. It was argued that certain motifs, such as the big griffin, reconstructed as one of the two antithetic griffins which are flanking the throne, are related to a female ruler or a goddess. This interpretation is directly related to the view that the throne in the throne room of Knossos, which was an analogy for reconstructing the big griffin of Tell el-Dabᶜa, belonged to a woman.[87] Also this is argued with a close analogy to Tell el-Dabᶜa griffins in Xeste 3, Thera, where a griffon is depicted behind the goddess on a throne.[88] It is, however, very interesting that on a Syrian cylinder seal in the Vienna museum, two young men with 'Minoan' type loincloths approach an enthroned male (!) figure. Behind the throne is a griffin with frontal legs leaning on the throne and back

74 Niemeier & Niemeier 1998: 93.
75 Bietak 2007c: 275.
76 Bietak 2007b: 86; Bietak 2007c: 293-295.
77 Bietak 2007a: 39.
78 MacGillivray 2009: 164–166.
79 Bietak 1992: 27-28.
80 Bietak & Marinatos 1995: 61; Warren 1995: 17; Bietak 1996: 80; Bietak 2000: 204–205; Bietak 2007a: 150; Bietak 2007b: 86; Manning 2009: 223.
81 Cline 1998: 209.
82 Bietak 2000: 204-205; Bietak 2007b: 86.
83 Bietak 2007a: 43.
84 The author of this paper would like to express his enormous gratitude to the Tell el-Dabca fresco team for kindly sharing this information and for discussion about the frescoes and to The Austrian Archaeological Institute in Cairo the opportunity to join their team in Tell el-Dabca between March and May 2012.
85 Johnson 2010: 18.
86 Schneider 2003.
87 Niemeier 1987: 163-167; Marinatos 1993: 107-108.
88 Bietak 1995: 25; Bietak 1996: 80; Bietak 2007b: 86.

legs standing on a goat[89], which is a posture analogical to the one of the Xeste 3, Thera griffin. This alone suggests that griffins are not unequivocally related to femininity in the Eastern Mediterranean Late Bronze Age. Whether or not the throne at Knossos was seated by a man or woman is debated and there is no general consensus on the matter. It was also postulated that no one actually sat on the throne, related to sacred emptiness as a category of aniconism.[90] The interpretation of feminine kingship (matriarchy) in Knossos has also been discredited.[91] Also, quite often, the argument of 'Minoan Mother Goddess' is contrasted by a complete iconographic silence on anthropomorphic motherhood in Crete and the near complete silence in the so called 'Myceanean period' of the island.[92] The other iconographic argument offered is the presence of the rosettes under the Bull and the Maze and the Biege frieze. Nannó Marinatos related this to the 'Minoan' solar goddess of kingship by analysing Syrian, Hittite and Minoan iconography. She postulates that the rosette and palm tree are atributes of a female deity worshipped at Tell el-Dabᶜa and to which the bull games were dedicated.[93] However, the possibility that some of the motifs such as these are related to a goddess of kingship does not, by direct analogy, neccesarily mean that the kingship was female and that the fresco owner was a woman.

What is of great importance is that if the femininity of emblems is an argument for the presence of 'Minoan' princess on the Egyptian court, than the Tell el-Dabᶜa frescoe material is not directly providing such an argument. Already, Lyvia Morgan argued how bull-leaping was a sport exclusively related to men and how the same idea was not strange to Egyptians.[94] Before relating Tell el-Dabᶜa frescoes with a 'Minoan' solar goddess, Nannó Marinatos argued that hunting and acrobatic skills were related to and performed by men and ultimately related to the elite of 'Minoan' society.[95] The Bull frieze and the Hunt frieze fragments were found together; they share facets of landscape and are of the same relative size, meaning that they belonged to the same iconographic programme. Also, there is a symbolic parallel between bull sports and hunting, both in Aegean art and Middle Kingdom tomb paintings.[96] New work on the Hunt frieze recently published in several preliminary reports also suggests the contrary; that the frescoes are representing masculine power. Preliminary publications of what is to be grouped and published together as the Hunt frieze, show how hunt scenes of leopards, lions and griffins are related to images of strength, power and kingship within both Aegean and Egyptian societies, and quite certainly with masculinity for the whole eastern Mediterranean.[97] In the context of a potential Hatshepsut reign, it would also not be problematic as her adoption of kingship also meant adopting constraints of decorum, which were related to the masculinity of kingship.[98] However, whether the frescoes were painted for Hatshepsut[99] or not can be subject to criticism on a chronological basis.

4. Identity and status of foreigners at Egyptian court

Foreigners were certainly present at the New Kingdom Egyptian court. However, it was already argued that the term foreigners itself loses applicability in the setting of Egyptian society.[100] This is because decorum circumscribed elite expression encouraging association with a harmonious privileged 'Egyptian' ideal.[101] Decorum as a concept signifies 'a set of rules and practices defining what may be represented and pictorially with captions, displayed, and possibly written down, in which context and in what form'[102]. There are several persons frequently quoted in relation to identity and its expression in New Kingdom Egypt, and their self-representation is ordered by decorum. Maiherpri was educated on the Egyptian court as one of the *ḥrdw n k3p* ('children of the Kap') and was buried in the Valley of the Kings, and the only indication of his supposed Nubian origin is the fact that he was depicted dark skinned and tightly curled, chin-length hair in vignettes of his *Book of the Dead* papyrus, corroborated by his preserved mummy. Amarna period vizier Abd'el was buried at the Bubasteion cliff at Saqqara with his tomb architecture and funerary equipment being entirely Egyptian. Only his semitic name 'Servant of El' suggests his non-Egyptian origins.[103]

Markers of ethnicity were displayed to a varying, yet small degree. These depended on the decorum and the social status of the individual. These markers are, in the majority of cases, missing from the biographical or archaeological record. Most of the individuals of foreign origin are, using available evidence, distinguished from Egyptians only by an ethnonym or foreign personal name; rarely in appearance, dress or funerary equipment.[104] Within the context of this paper, the evidence of foreign princesses at the New Kingdom court, can be shown in both written and archaeological forms.

The Amarna letters and the Boghazköy letters are most frequently quoted while discussing diplomatic marriages.[105] However, the status of a newly arrived princess on the Egyptian court is rarely discussed.[106] One of the letters from Amarna is particularly interesting in regards to this

89 Aruz 1995: 42.
90 Hitchcock 2010: 108-109.
91 Lee 2000: 114; Davies 2010: 97-98.
92 Olsen 1997: 391.
93 Nannó Marinatos 2007: 147-148.
94 Morgan 1998: 18-25.
95 Nannó Marinatos 1994: 92–93.
96 Morgan 2004: 286.
97 Marinatos 2011: 345-349; Morgan 2011a: 295; Morgan 2011b: 304.
98 Robins 1993: 45-47.
99 Matić 2011: 58.
100 Schneider 2010: 144.
101 Riggs and Baines 2012: 2.
102 Baines 1990: 20.
103 Schneider 2010: 155; Riggs and Baines 2012: 3-6.
104 Schneider 2010: 148.
105 Zaccagnini 1973: 14-18; Pintore 1978; Schulman 1979; Artzi 1987; Liverani 1990: 274-277; Moran 1992; Bryce 2003: 100–112; Feldman 2006.
106 Zaccagnini 1987: 59; Liverani 1990: 274-275; Robins 1993: 30-36; Liverani 2000: 26; Bryce 2003: 100-103; Feldman 2006: 21; Xekalaki 2007.

discussion (EA 1). Apparently, the Egyptian king asked for a daughter to marry from the king of Babylon, who answered that his sister, already given to the Egyptian king, was not seen by anyone anymore. They did not know if she was alive or not. The Egyptian king asked the king of Babylon to send his own dignitary who knows his sister and could speak with her and identify her. The king of Egypt wrote how instead the Babylonian king sent nobodies, one of them being assherder, and not one of them was close to his king. However, the most intriguing part is when the letter said that when the Babylonian messengers were brought in front of pharaoh's wives, gathered in his presence, they still could not recognize the Babylonian princess, even though the pharaoh told them that their mistress stands before them. The Babylonian king also complained that the woman next to the pharaoh did not open her mouth, and he asked if the messengers of Babylon saw a daughter of some poor man, or of a Kaskean, or of a Hanigalbatean or someone from Ugarit. The Egyptian king replied how he would not have reasons to present another woman even if the sister of the Babylonian king were dead.[107] One could of course argue that this dispute is embedded in a power game being rather discursive. However, a later letter deals with more or less the same problem, as the Hittite queen Puduhepa complained to Ramesses II on the same issue quoting the problems the Babylonian emissary had when wanting to see the princess of Babylon.[108]

Back to the discussed Amarna letter (EA 1), the discussion about the invisible princess is followed by a discussion on how the Egyptian king presented the chariots sent as a gift from the king of Babylon together with the chariots of the mayors, thus humiliating him. The Egyptian king answered it does not matter where the chariots were, as they still needed his own horses.[109] This is actually demonstrating the problem of identifying something exchanged, after the exchange itself has been completed, thus the same item of exchange can assume different values depending on the status of the giver relative to the recipient.[110] From the point of view of the Babylonian king the marriage of the great king's daughter with another great king is a paritetic marriage, and the status of the woman should be the status of the first-rank wife, i.e the queen.[111] Apparently, the Egyptians did not share the same view as the procession at the Egyptian court did not replicate diplomatic reality but rather represented the virtual reality of the overall domination of the Egyptian king.[112] The women from the foreign lands were being grouped together (like the *jnw*) whatever their rank was in the original country and whatever was the rank of their original country.[113] Thus, it can be argued that decorum did not only order how people and objects are represented in image and word, visual and written culture, but it also ordered representation in ceremonies and processions. Decorum also ordered how people look and behave on the Egyptian court and this has major consequences on how we imagine a foreign princess at the Egyptian court. This is also collaborated by the burial of three minor wives of none other than Thutmosis III, during whose reign the frescoes were probably painted.[114] Three minor wives of Thutmose III were buried in a tomb of Egyptian architectural tradition with objects and body ornaments which can be described as recognizably Egyptian in style and production, however they had foreign (west Semitic) names.[115] Therefore, being of foreign origin did not always mean practicing one's identity openly, especially at the Egyptian court and more certainly within the royal household. The identity of these three women was primarily in relation to their husband, the Egyptian king, as their title also says.[116] Only the Hittite princess Maathorneferure, wife of Ramesses II appears in Egyptian sources with the titles of an Egyptian queen[117] which itself is an exception. Foreign brides could not have the same rights as the Great Royal Wife (*ḥmt-nsw wrt*); they could not communicate with envoys of their countries and make commercial exchanges. Having a foreign wife as the Great Royal Wife was avoided before the rule of Ramesses II.[118] Foreign wives probably had ways of expressing their own identity even though their identities were fluid, changing and emergent. However, within the decorum constraints, it was regulated when, where, and in which context they could have expressed those identities.

5. Conclusion

The overall background of a 'Minoan' princess on Egyptian court, argued on the basis of 'Minoan' frescoes in an Egyptian palace, is cultural-historical and it therefore paved the way in which the frescoes were interpreted in a rigid definition of ethnicity. Thus, seeing 'Minoans' where 'Minoan' culture is present was taken as the interpretative path which neglected the available information on the status of foreign women on New Kingdom court prior to Ramesses II. The answer to the main question of this paper, if there ever was a 'Minoan' princess at the Egyptian court is, no; if this means freedom to directly express foreign identity at the court through e.g material culture, visual symbolism etc. This was just not allowed according to Egyptian kingship and decorum, as a wife of the king had to comply to the ordered rules of conduct and representation, whether she was the main wife (in this case rather more) or a secondary wife. Decorum excluded direct foreignness if it did not comply with elite identity which was ideologically opposed to foreign *topos*.[119] What we consider to be 'foreign' has to be contextualised, and when this is done within Egyptian elite court society[120] and royal household, it becomes rather an appropriated element of elite identity.

107 Moran 1992: 1-2.
108 Zaccagnini 1973: 169; Kitchen 1982: 84; Bryce 2003: 55.
109 Moran 1992: 2.
110 Feldman 2006: 21.
111 Liverani 1990: 274.
112 Matić 2012: 243-246.
113 Liverani 1990: 275.
114 Bietak 2007a: 39–40.
115 Robins 1993: 30; Lilyquist 2003: 329-333; Grajetzki 2005: 55.
116 Lilyquist 2003: 333.
117 Grajetzki 2005: 48.
118 Xekalaki 2007: 169-171.
119 Loprieno 1988.
120 Spence 2007: 276.

This is collaborated both by the so called 'international' correspondance and the archaeological data (burial of three Syrian wives of Thutmose III). Also, what we would too often and too quickly label as 'foreign' also gains new meanings when it is re-contextualised. Thus, the 'Minoan' frescoes in Tell el-Dabᶜa could have been interpreted in accordance with Egyptian royal ideology and kingship, in that even if ideology and symbolicity of kingship was different in different areas of the eastern Mediterranean, there certainly was the 'least common multiple'. Thus, the Bull and the Maze frieze, Beige frieze and the Hunt frieze, even in the 'Minoan' style, can undoubtedly be enjoyed by an Egyptian ruler as by any other Late Bronze Age ruler in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Being that the frescoes decorated a palace, and most likely covered the walls of the 'throne room' or 'reception court,' suggests that the frescoes were painted for the ruler of Egypt, whoever he or she was (e.g Hatshepsut) during the time the frescoes were painted. There were quite strict rules regarding what is in order with Egyptian kingship ideology, and the motifs of Tell el-Dabᶜa frescoes do not contradict it they actually express it through the medium of 'Minoan' iconography. Peter Warren already proposed how this operated in his model in which artists could express their understanding of e.g Egyptian ideology in the visual terms and structural principles of e.g Aegean iconography.[121] After all, it is very problematic to argue for monolithic stylistic production, geographically bordered, and conflated with 'national' ethos.[122]

Thus, an interesting question regarding this topic is, what precedes the formation of *koiné* luxurious objects (vessels, furniture, weapons and clothes)? Marian Feldman defines these as a small corpus of pieces which exhibit complete hybridization, such that no one 'foreign' culture can be said to predominate.[123] Before this *koiné* appeared associated with 'brotherhood and sisterhood'; 'reciprocity' in gift-giving among 'great kings'; and shared ideology of kingship beyond state borders. These ideas must have existed, and we indeed find them within the Amarna correspondance.[124] It would be tempting to suggest that their formation started earlier, as corroborated by the adoption and appropriation of 'Minoan' iconography, for expressing kingship ideology in different contexts (e.g Cretan and Egyptian) and the already noted ajdustment to the Egyptian context.[125] Therefore before these ideas were expressed through visually hybrid *koiné* objects, they were expressed through different iconographical styles. That is to say, in the context of interrelations, there was a shared least common multiple of ideology of kingship, expressed through different artistic traditions, and appropriated by different courts.

[121] Warren 1995: 2.
[122] Feldman 2006: 2-4.
[123] Feldman 2006: 30-31.
[124] Zaccagnini 1973; Moran 1992.
[125] Morgan 2004: 290-291; Morgan 2011a: 294.

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The Studies of the Ancient Egyptian Language in Croatia and Serbia

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Abstract**:** *The history of Ancient Egypt has been thoroughly studied in Southeastern Europe since the 19th century. However, there is a shortage of linguistic papers in this region, compared to the vast number of historical and archaeological studies available in these topics. This paper presents a number of grammatical, lexicographic and linguistic studies of Egyptian language. The goal is to: highlight the imperative of exact language classification and transcription, which is an important part of not only academic writing and research, but of language teaching as well, and to give further implications of existing works along with the future plans and projects.*

Keywords**:** *Afro-Asiatic languages, Egyptian language, Southeastern Egyptology, Croatian linguistics.*

1. Comparative approach and modern linguistic

Since the ancient times of Indian grammarians, linguistics in itself always had a comparative approach as one of the most exact parts of the study of language, which has always been strengthened using the historical methods of word analysis. One of the most important events in the scientific diachronic study of language was the scholarly 'discovery' of Sanskrit, i. e. following the translations, which started in the 17th century. In 1786 Sir William Jones delivered the famous speech in which he emphasized the similarities between Sanskrit, Latin and Ancient Greek, which is commonly considered the beginning of modern comparative linguistics, even though the connections were made prior to his often-cited conclusions.[1] Modern comparative linguistics has focused on the Indo-European studies, and the comparative philology of various Indo-European language subgroups has been thoroughly investigated.

Nowadays, comparative Indo-European linguistics often serves as the methodological template of language comparison and reconstruction, because of the scientific methods established mostly by the Neogrammarians, which have been proven successful in firming up the position that sound laws rarely held exceptions.[2] Combining the historical approach of the regularities of sound change with the sociolinguistic and cognitive approach, one can easily reconstruct not only the phonological, morphological and syntactical aspects of a language but derive further implications from semantics, which guides us to the way of conceptualization in a certain culture.

Using methodological apparatus of certain linguistic disciplines and Indo-European studies, one can easily implement them into the study of the Afro-Asiatic subgroup, which includes Ancient Egyptian as a separate group. Combining the comparative approach with the findings of cognitive semantics and sociolinguistics, one can establish a thorough analysis of languages of Ancient East and Egypt.

In the last century significant progress has been made in the studies of these languages – mostly in Sumerian, Middle Egyptian and Akkadian, other Semitic languages, and especially in Indo-European languages of this historical region, such as Hittite and Old Persian. While some scholarly progress has been made in this study, Southeastern Europe still awaits its upcoming rise as an academic force in this type of research.

2. Language families and linguistic classification

2.1. *Afro-Asiatic classification*

Similar to the discovery of the Proto-Indo-European language, there has been significant linguistic evidence of genetic relatedness in some African and Asian languages. The most significant part of research has been focused on the Semitic group,[3] but there are a certain number of, not only phonological sound laws, but morphological correspondences, which undoubtedly trigger the possibility of a faithful reconstruction of the Proto-Afro-Asiatic grammatical system.[4]

Karl Richard Lepsius introduced the term 'Hamito-Semitic'[5] to describe the Afro-Asiatic language group, which consisted of Semitic languages and Hamitic ones. Friedrich Müller[6] claimed that the Hamitic group consisted of Kushitic, Berber and Egyptian, whilst Lespius maintained that it contained Chadic languages as well

[1] Beekes 2011:14.
[2] Hale 2003: 333.
[3] Since 1898. when H. Zimmern published *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* the Semitic studies continued to develop, cf. Lipinski's *Semitic Languages – Outline of a Comparative Grammar*, the newest Semitic comparative grammar, in which the Semitic languages are correctly put in the Afro-Asiatic language group, and then thorougly analyzed using the comparative method. Lipinski 2000: 24. However, Lipinski only includes Egyptian, Kushitic, Libyco-Berber and Chadic as Afro-Asiatic language families.
[4] Some of the important factors include three series of stops, laryngeals and pharyngeals, 'ablaut' and 2-4 consonant root, noun classes, mostly VSO order, *status constructus* in expressing the posession etc. See Matasović 2001:145. On the phonological level one can observe sound similarities in the gender system (feminine is often marked with a *–t*), similar pronominal system (cmp. 1st person sg. personal pronoun–Middle Egyptian: ink, Arabic: *anā*, Hebrew: *ani*, Tashelhit: *nkk*), similarities in the case system (nominative, genitive, accusative) etc.
[5] Diakonoff 1988:14.
[6] Müller 1876.

as the Beja language.[7] However, both of these were not strictly linguistic classifications, as they used outdated anthropological factors such as racial elements etc.[8] In modern linguistics, the term 'Afro-Asiatic' was coined by Maurice Delafosse and advocated by Joseph Greenberg.[9]

The Afro-Asiatic language group consists of these language families: Semitic languages, Egyptian languages, Berber languages, Kushitic languages, Omotic languages and Chadic languages.[10] There is a strong disagreement regarding the inside relations of the group, for instance Ehret[11] divides the group into an Omotic and Erythrean subgroup. Omotic consists of North and South Omotic, whereas Kushitic (Beja, East-South Kushitic, Agaw) and North Erythrean (Chadic and Boreafrasian, including Egyptian, Berber and Semitic) fall into the Eryhthrean sub-group. Diakonoff[12] groups Egyptian and Chadic into North-South Afrasian, Semitic, Kushitic and Berber into East-West Afrasian, and completely excludes Omotic from the group.[13] Orel's and Stolbova[14]'s view is interesting because they see Kushitic as a linguistic area, not a language sub-group.

Whatever the true classification and its connection to other language families of the world is, there is not significant evidence of an arbitrary subdivision of Semitic languages versus Hamitic ones, and this is a common problem in today's bibliography in modern Egyptological studies. Furthermore, the dialogue between non-linguistic Egyptologists (historians, archaeologists etc.) and linguists is often not realized, and there are a vast number of outdated claims not only in Egyptological papers, but in linguistic ones as well.[15]

In Croatia most of the historical research mentions the Semitic-Hamitic relation, which was disproven by the comparative linguists nearly half a century ago. However, there is progress in Egyptological studies; for example, both Tomorad[16] and Stefanović[17] mention the Afro-Asiatic classification in their interdisciplinary approach to Ancient Egypt and Ancient East respectively.

As expected, in comparative linguistics the distinction has been thoroughly investigated and respected, such as in the comparative introductions of Matasović[18] or in the specialized linguistic studies of Marković.[19] One of the possible continuations of the *Croato-Aegyptica* project is to pursue the Afro-Asiatic reconstruction, using existing language material to give a linguistic approach to the study of Ancient Egypt.

3. Transcription, transliteration and translation

3.1. *Egyptological onomastical problem*

Transliteration, as a conversion of a linguistic unit from one writing system to another, differs from transcription, which, seeks to correctly systematize and present pronunciation of a certain word (most often a name), and is focused on the phonemic system of a certain language. For Ancient Egyptian, most of the Egyptologists follow Gardiner's system from 1954[20] or from earlier systems such as Erman and Grapow's, which was used since 1926.[21] A thorough computer-friendly system was proposed in 1988, and developed by Jan Buurman *et al.* (1988) under the name *Manual for the encoding of hieroglyphic texts for computer-input* (Fr. *Manuel de codage des textes hiéroglyphiques en vue de leur saisie sur ordinateur*), often shortened as *Manuel de Codage*. After the rise of Unicode systems, it was possible to continue the already widely accepted Ancient Egyptian transliteration, such in Gardinger[22] or in the recent publication of J. Allen[23].

In Croatian Egyptological studies there have been significant problems in the transcribing of names into the Croatian language. A certain tradition has been established regarding Ancient Greek and Latin[24], however, since the beginning of the Egyptological studies in Croatia, there has not been one single uniform system used in the transliterating of names.

Gavro Manojlović, Grga Novak, and Petar Lisičar used foreign sources or Greek as the mediator in the 19th century. Gavro Manojlović, in his '*Povijest Staroga Orijenta*' ('*History of the Old Orient*')[25], tried to find adequate Croatian terms for the Ancient Egyptian historical terms, so he equated pharaohs to kings, etc.[26] Grga Novak, in his book '*Stari Egipat*' ('*Ancient Egypt*'), continues to use the usual terms, but he gives a short description of the Egyptian writing system[27], and so does Petar Lisičar (1956: 96) in his book '*Egipat u starom vijeku*' ('*Egypt in ancient history*')[28].

7 Ruhlen 1991: 79.
8 Ruhlen 1991: 79.
9 Pereltsvaig 2012: 205.
10 Matasović 2001: 141.
11 Ehret 1995: 490.
12 Diakonoff 1996: 293.
13 Diakonoff 1987: 17–20. He presents a conventional classification of individual branches of the Afro-Asiatic family: the Semitic branch, the Kushitic branch, the Omotic branch, the Libyan-Guanche languages and the Egyptian branch.
14 Orel and Stolbova 1995: 10.
15 The term 'Hamito-Semitic' still present throughout Orel's and Stolbova's *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary* in 1995.
16 Tomorad, in press.
17 Stefanović 2012: 29.
18 Matasović 2001: 141; Matasović 2005: 107.
19 Marković 2010: 61, 72, 84; Marković 2012: 1, 7, 11.
20 Gardiner 1954.
21 Erman and Grapow 1926.
22 Gardiner 2007: 27.
23 Allen 2010: 14.
24 Badurina, Mićanović and Marković 2008: 259, 291. The transliteration of Greek and Latin names and their morphophonological adaptation had been laid out in many Croatian ortographic handbooks, however, this is the first book to unify various systems of transliteration and transcription, including modern languages as well.
25 Manojlović 1923.
26 Tomorad 2003: 113.
27 Novak 1967: 27.
28 Lisičar 1956: 96.

A whole century later Igor Uranić[29] handed out a new proposal for royal names, which had been continued by Mladen Tomorad[30], who tried to systematize and compare the Croatian variants with international terminology and ancient languages. *The Croato-Aegyptica Electronica* project, will use the proposed system of the transposition of names into Croatian and other South Slavic languages. The terminology[31] itself is divided into protodynastic cultures, historical eras, rulers, cities, localities, gods and common Ancient Egyptian concepts, and can be used not only in scientific research, but for educational purposes, as well in textbooks and teaching.

4. Grammar books and dictionarie

There are not a large number of grammar books and dictionaries in Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia, and the most known works are oriented towards Semitic languages. In 2013, Uranić and Šekrst (2014) have completed the first grammar of the Middle Egyptian language in Croatia, entitled '*Srednjoegipatski jezik: gramatika, pismo i lingvistički uvod* ('*Middle Egyptian language: grammer, script and lingvistic introduction*'), which emphasizes Afro-Asiatic historical grammar and other Afro-Asiatic languages, while focusing on Coptic and Middle Egyptian material.

5. Linguistic departments, coursework and forthcoming research

In a larger perspective, the development of linguistics studies of Ancient East in Croatia is still in progress. While the University of Belgrade offers Egyptological linguistic courses under the module of ancient studies, in Croatia that is not the case, since the field of Egyptology consists of a small number of scholars. Mladen Tomorad's '*Uvod u egiptološke studije*' ('*Introduction to the Egyptological Studies*') was the first course which dealt not only with the culture and history of the Ancient Egypt, but had a small part dedicated to the structure of the language as well – at first under the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences and later under the Centre for Croatian Studies in Zagreb.

The Archaeological Museum in Zagreb had organized a series of lectures on Ancient Egypt, including the language, taught by Croatian Egyptologist Igor Uranić. These lectures later developed into a full course (beginner's and advanced) of Middle Egyptian grammar with linguist Kristina Šekrst, and continued with the collaboration of Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb. The course '*Middle Egyptian language and script*', which uses the *Middle Egyptian Language and Script* (in print) as its textbook, also prepares the students for a follow-up course which focuses on the history of Egyptology and the analysis of the Egyptological collection in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

[29] Uranić 2002. Compare glossary of terms in Uranić 2002: 264–268.
[30] Tomorad 2009; Tomorad, in press.
[31] Tomorad 2009: 118.

The *Croato-Aegyptica* project under the guidance and supervision of Mladen Tomorad includes linguistic texts as well, and special emphasis will be given to the problem of terminology and onomastics in the work started by Igor Uranić and developed by Mladen Tomorad. The goal is to continue incorporating the modern linguistic research into the project and its vast database of artifacts, texts and information about the Egyptian culture, language and history, with bilingual thesauri, digital catalogues and new articles.

6. Goals and further implication

Presented works show that the study of Ancient Egypt in Southeastern Europe, with special emphasis on Croatia, is still in its beginning phase, but significant progress has been made, especially in the last decade. The modern informational era allows for more efficient communication between scholars in this region, which has proved successful after the international conference *Research of history and culture of Ancient Near East and Egypt in the territory of Southeast Europe* giving incentive to future linguistic projects as well.

The study of Ancient Egypt is marginalized, but Semitic studies are quite prominent in Southeastern Europe, with special emphasis on Biblical Hebrew. The M.A. studies of comparative linguistics in Zagreb and Ljubljana and the *Croato-Aegyptica* project offer a potential source of new projects, courses and grammars on the mentioned languages and further translations, which will contribute to the interdisciplinary approach to the preservation of linguistic legacy and cultural significance in general.

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Development of the 'Croato-Aegyptica' Database

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Abstract**:** *The basic aim of the Croato-Aegyptica (CA) database project is to select relevant material which represents the Egyptian cultural heritage in Croatia from both institutions and private collections (c. 4000–5000 artifacts). From its initial phase in 2003 around 3000 artifacts were analyzed and inserted into our CA database. In the next phase (2015–2018), the online digital catalogue, as the final product, will include all Egyptian museum and private collections in Croatia from the Predynastic periods until the Arab conquest of Egypt in the 7th century AD. The plan is to implement CA database into the Global Egyptian Museum*[1] *which is carried out under the aegis of the International Committee for Egyptology (CIPEG) and the Center for Documentation of Cultural & Natural Heritage of Egypt (Cultnat)*[2].

Keywords**:** *ancient Egypt, Croatia, institutional and private collections, project Croato-Aegyptica Electronica (CAE), online digital catalogue CA, future project development*

1. Purpose of the project

The ultimate purpose of the project *Croato-Aegyptica Electronica* was to build up a targeted and selected database of relevant institutional and private collections of the Ancient Egyptian antiquities in Croatia.

2. History of the project

The first phase of the project's development started in late 2001 when the idea of the project was initially presented (paper '*Egyptian antiquities in Croatia: Computerised processing of Sources and Literature*') at the international scientific conference '*Historical research, study of history and computerization*' (December 10-12, 2001, Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia). During next two years (2002-2003) the first team of researchers and project developers was formed (M. Tomorad, I. Uranić, G. Zlodi, H. Gračanin, I. Malus Tomorad, M. Gračanin). During this period, with the help of prof. dr. P. Selem, we got support from all the museums and other institutions to start research of their collections and for future publishing of all the material as an online digital catalogue.

After a successful application at the Ministry of Science, Education, Technology and Sport of the Republic of Croatia in early 2004, the project got sufficient financial funds to start its development. After solving the problem of funding our project team started the second phase of the project.

During the first half of 2004 the first project web site entitled '*Croato-Aegyptica Electronica*' was created. M. Gračanin designed and programmed the whole site. In May 2004 the Croatian version of the web site was launched at [http://infoz.ffzg.hr/cae]. The English version, which is slightly different from the Croatian version, was launched at the end of June, 2004. A few hundred pages of text written by M. Tomorad, I. Uranić, H. Gračanin and I. Malus Tomorad were implemented at the site between 2004 and 2007. The CAE database has been accessible online since July, 2004 until the early 2010. In September, 2004 the site got its own domain [www.croato-aegyptica.hr] and the first version of the database was incorporated into it. Firstly, accessible online database included some 120 artifacts from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, and later it included few hundred artifacts.

3. Croato-Aegyptica Electronica website (2004-2014)

CAE website [www.croato-aegyptica.hr] was the first Croatian educational and informational web portal about the history of any civilisation in the world. It included texts and sections about: 1) project *Croato-Aegyptica Electronica*, 2) history of the Ancient Egyptian museum collections in Croatia, 3) links to the most important Egyptological web sites, 4) development of Egyptology, 5) Ancient Egyptian chronology from Prehistory until the Arab conquest of Egypt, 6) Ancient Egyptian towns and sites, 7) Ancient Egyptian mythology, 8) Ancient Egyptian history, 9) famous monuments in Egypt, 10) everyday life in Ancient Egypt. Site had its own news database which was constructed using the free software programs PHP and My SQL. It was divided into five categories: Egyptological discoveries on the field, exhibitions (past, current and future), lectures, conferences and symposiums and new Egyptological books in the Croatian language. Soon after its creation the whole site became very popular which resulted in a nomination for the Croatian scientific award for popularization of sciences for the year 2004.

In 2006 the project stopped receiving the required financial support which resulted with a number of problems. In

[1] *The Global Egyptian Museum* [http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/].
[2] *The Center for Documentation of Cultural & Natural Heritage of Egypt (Cultnat)* [http://www.cultnat.org/].

2007 the project news part of the web site was hacked. In early 2010 we lost our domain with the introduction of some new regulations at CARNet. At the same time in early 2010 the server of the Faculty of Philosophy where it was implemented crashed and our database has not been available since then. In April, 2011 I stopped working at the Faculty of Philosophy and become Assistant professor in the Department of History of the Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb. As the main editor and the head of the project I moved the whole 'old' web site to the new web address at the portal of Croatian Studies [http://www.hrstud.unizg.hr/sites/cae/]. In February, 2014 this site was also shut down during the making of the new faculty web site.

4. Stara povijest website (2014-)

In March, 2014 I created the completely new web site for the project *Stara povijest (Ancient History)*. In the meantime we bought the new domain [www.starapovijest.eu] for the period of 10 years and new hosting. In June, 2014 the new site became bilingual (different Croatia and English versions) with intentions to add *CA* datebase to both versions of the site when we got sufficient financial support for its further development.

5. Development of the *Croato-Aegyptica* (*CA*) database (2004-2012)

Our on-line *Croato-Aegyptica* (*CA*) database, which was accessible online from July, 2004 to January, 2010, offered various kinds of information about the Ancient Egyptian artifacts (collection, inventory number, origin, date, material, techniques, description, inscriptions with transliteration and translation, various images, etc). Database is built using the M++ application, which is based on MS Access, Visual Basic script and C++ with more than 20,000 code lines.

From the early Spring, 2004 to late 2008 we managed to analyse and process into the database artifacts from the Museum 'Mimara' in Zagreb (the Collection of Ancient Civilizations), the Archaeological museum in Zagreb (artifacts from the Egyptian and the Antiquties department), the Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb (The Benko Horvat collection), the Archaeological Museum of Split, the Archaeological Museum of Istria in Pula, the Archaeological Museum of Zadar, the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, The City Museum of Varaždin, and a variety of town and regional museums with minor collections. Today our *CA* database has c. 2500 analyzed, documented and implemented artifacts. For now database contains the small description of the each artifact with its basic information which included data about the collection, inventory number, origin, dating, material, dimensions, and several images. At this moment only certain number of artifacts are completely analyzed.

The database as a final product, available through various media, will guarantee a comprehensive insight into the rich Croatian Egyptological material for national and foreign researchers and cultural institutions, offering a practical and quick search through the whole inventory, and a data display suitable for the general public.

6. Domestic and international presentation of the *Croato-Aegyptica* project (2003-2012)

Since early 2003 the *Croato-Aegyptica* project was presented at various domestic and international conferences: *Geschichte und neue Medien / History and New Media* (9-11 April, 2003, Berlin, Germany); *Prvi hrvatski simpozij o nastavi povijesti* (27-29 November, 2003, Opatija, Croatia); *Third Central European Conference of Egyptologists* (12-14 May, 2004; Warsaw, Poland); *II. kongres hrvatskih povjesničara–Hrvatska i Europa* (29 September-3 October, 2004, Pula, Croatia); *Ancient Studies; New Technology III: The World Wide Web and Scholarship in Ancient, Byzantine, and Medieval* Studies (3-5 December, 2004; Harrisonburg, Virginia, United States of America); *Serbian Archaeological Society–Section for the Near Eastern Archaeology* (20 May, 2005, Beograd, Srbija); *CIDOC 2005* (24-27 May, 2005, Zagreb, Croatia); *Informatique et Egyptologie 2006* (8-10 August, 2006, Oxford, United Kingdom); *Vith Central European Conference of Egyptologist – Egypt 2012: Perspectives of Research* (5-7 July, 2012, Cracow, Poland); *CIPEG 2012: Collections at risk: New challenge in new environment* (25-28 September, 2012; Bruxelles, Belgium).

7. The Future development of the *Croato-Aegyptica* project

During the last three years (2012-2014) we applied for various sources of funding but with only small success. In September, 2013 we got sufficient financial support from the University of Zagreb (project '*Stara povijest*') to develop the new web site. During the first half of 2014 we applied for the implementation of our database at the new web site. We also applied for funding of the database so we hope that we will get sufficient funds to start next phases of the project development.

The project's future development can be divided into several phases:

1. analysing and implementing the rest of the collections into the database;
2. transferring the new web site to the online Egyptological journal;
3. development and implementation of the whole new online digital catalogue *CA* prepared by G. Zlodi, I. Uranić and M. Tomorad;
4. implementation of the *CA* database into *GEM* (*The Global Egyptian Museum*).[3]

[3] *The Global Egyptian Museum* was formed at the beginning of 2003. Today the whole virtual museum has almost 20000 artifacts from museums all over the world. At the beginning it was formed under aegis of the *CCER* and today under *CIPEG-ICOM* and the *Center for Documentation*

5. transliterating and translating all Egyptian inscriptions on our artifacts;
6. documentation of all private collections of Egyptian antiquities in Croatia;
7. publishing a series of catalogues as books and CD-ROMs,
8. creating online interactive historical maps of Ancient Egypt (from Prehistoric periods until the end of Byzantine rule in Egypt).

8. Computer-aided research

The basic aim of the computer-aided research part of the Croato-Aegyptica project is to build a relevant Egyptological web site, online scientific journal and online digital database which, in the future, should be incorporated into the *Global Egyptian Museum* project.

Our current database is based on the M++ application developed by dr. Goran Zlodi, (Chair for Museology at the Department for Information Science, Faculty of Philosophy – University of Zagreb). At the moment we have two divided databases developed by M. Tomorad and I. Uranić and in the near future we plan to merge them into one online digital catalogue. This unique online digital database will be adapted for input and storage of data from the databases of museum information systems, and for the purpose of presenting the monumental heritage of the Egyptian civilisation from the Pharaonic and Greco-Roman eras kept in Croatian institutional and private collections. Such a database enables various and frequent use of digital content. The adopted forms of presentation, created by the automatised generating of interactive multimedia content from the data stored in the database, will enable possible distribution through different media: web-pages, printed catalogues, CD-ROMs, info-kiosks located in the museums, etc. The adopted project's approach is based on international experience in computerisation of museum inventories by recognising the difference between data for description of a museum artifact with managing the museum collections, and the data used for presentation and communication of the museum inventory to a variety of users. As one cannot foresee how the particular institutions will use different applications to manage their museum collections, it is necessary to implement such an approach to distributed databases. The link between the categories in respective museum systems and the database developed within the project will be established via generic data modeling (the *Dublin Core* as a widely accepted standard that enables description and access to heterogeneous material in digital form will be used for its definition). Novel use of technology used during the development of the project included: 1) integration and visual presentation of thesauri structure, as a terminology control tool and access aid to users, 2) advanced search methods (logical operators, including broader/narrower terms...), 3) reuse of created digital content for multiple purposes.

Mladen Tomorad

Future development of Croato-Aegyptica database

It would be of great value to have a set of ground rules or basic categories which all the currently existing web sites and databases would use. Such planning makes later searches much easier. It is user friendly but hard to accomplish since it would demand a clear vision of a joint mission and some reorganizing of all the parties involved. Therefore new partners with less experience in data management could more eagerly accept the existing systems.

The Museo Egizio in Turin, Italy[4], specializing in Egyptian archaeology and anthropology, houses the world's second largest collection of Egyptian antiquities after Cairo. It is a clear example of a museum that is trying to comply with the demands of a modern society. By its own admission it is striving to modernise itself calling it a 'work in progress'. One of their objectives is to improve information and services for the public. Openly displeased by the state of their meagre documentation they chose to go on-line in order to make information more accessible. They constantly update and upgrade their website and database, especially bibliographic references and dating/ chronology hoping it will prove to be a useful contribution to Egyptology and individual research. The new *Croato-Aegyptica* website, now at www.starapovijest.eu should connect with such institutions because they share a common interest – presenting Egyptian cultural heritage to the public.

During the new development of the *Croato-Aegyptica* website it is crucial to have at least one foreign language translation and a word-for-word browser. That way users could use key words but would not have to rely solely on them. To children key words may be very helpful, but students and scholars who know exactly what to look for might want to use more targeted terminology. Because of specific knowledge that this website offers it is best to leave all options open for searchers. It should also include different possibilities for all types of users (children, teachers, students, scholars, tourists, people with special needs and disabilities, etc). Different users require different approaches, but no matter their age and interests they should always have the same opportunities to get all the information that the database has to offer. It is important to keep in mind a variety of user's needs, for example to have subtitles for the hearing impaired and audio explanations for the blind. Maybe sometime in the future voice searches on websites such as this one will be set as default. Perhaps special tips and maps would be a good idea for those who would like to visit museums from which the artifacts came.

of Cultural and Natural Heritage (*CULTNAT*) in Egypt. At the end of 2012 I started exchanging e-mails with the people in Alexandria who are responsible for this project but without much progress.

[4] The Museo Egizio, Turin, Italy [http://www.museoegizio.it/pages/hp_en.jsp]

Mobile applications can offer both detailed searches and/or basic information for tourists as well as instructions on how to get to a certain museum, collection or a finding site. There's a wide range of applicability in tourism. When it comes to children, it is best to present information with more audio-visual material such as short films which of course would be based on the data from the database. Games or quizzes make the content more appealing and give the users a better understanding of what they've heard and read. Maps of excavation sites and a guessing game of where the artifact was found would surely be interesting and educational at the same time. Some extra information which is not scientifically significant attracts the general public while it does not diminish the study. Stories of the artifact's journey to its current location, information about previous owners, value and possible legends contribute to the allure surrounding the artifact. If the design of the CA database and the website is done properly and continuously updated it could once again get acknowledged as a relevant source of information and its existence could lead to some new research and collaboration between heritage institutions. It is also very important to extend research and collaboration activities in further interdisciplinary contexts such as mineralogy, cultural anthropology, film and art history. All research results and content development should be systematically communicated to different user groups such as elementary and secondary schools pupils, university students and the cultural tourism sector.

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Chapter IV:
The reseach of the Egyptian cults in Graeco-Roman world

The Early Penetration of Ancient Egyptian Artifacts and Dissemination of the Cults of Egyptian Divinities in Istria and Illyricum (1St Millennium B.C.-1st Century A.D.)

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Abstract**:** *Author in article discussed the possible evidences of the earlier penetration of the ancient Egyptian artifacts, divinities and cults to the east Adriatic coast (Istria, Illyricum and Pannonia). Based on the analysis of the findings, their typology, iconography and previous archaeological and historical studies few phases of penetration Egyptian artifacts can be identify, from the early 1st millennium B.C. to the 1st century B.C., which later developed into diffusion of the Egyptian divinites and Isiac cults (c. 1st century B.C-4th century A.D.). During the Greek colonization (c. 8th century to the end of 3rd century B.C.) of the Adriatic sea Greek and Oriental merchants started to sell the Egyptian artifacts to local community or even the first worshippers of the Egyptian divinities (e.g. Isis, Osiris, Harpocrates, Serapis). During the Roman conquest of Illyricum (3rd century B.C.-1st century A.D.) connections with Egypt, North Africa, Aegean and Italy became much more intensive. The findings of the coin hoards with North African and Ptolemaic coinage can support the theory that by the late 3rd century B.C. trading connections were already well established and that is possible that the great number of Egyptian artifacts (scarabs, amulets, shabtis, bronze figurines of divinities) could arrive to Istria (e.g Nesactium), Aenona, Iader, region of Lika, Salona, and the middle Dalmatia islands (Hvar, Korčula, Vis) maybe as the first presence of Egyptian divinities. During the Romanization and the Roman rule of Illyricum (the 1st century B.C.- the end 4th century A.D.) Egyptian cults were present and well documented from varius artifacts and epigraphic evidences. The more vital dissemination of the Egyptian cults (Isis, Serapis, Harpocrates, etc.) started during the reign of Emperor Claudius and continued until the early 4th century.*

Keywords*:* Istria, Illyricum. Egyptian artifacts, Egyptian divinities, penetration, Greek colonization, Roman conquest, dissemination of the Egyptian cults.

1. Introduction

The penetration of ancient Egyptian artifacts, divinities and cults along the eastern Adriatic coast and western part of *Illyricum* and *Pannonia* probably happened during several phases. According to the previous archaeological and historical studies and mine preliminary typological research of ancient Egyptian artifacts kept in the various museum collections in this region, we can identify four main phases of dissemination: 1) During the 10th century through the 6th century B.C. when the first ancient Egyptian artifacts were probably traded by the Phoenician and Greek merchants, 2) During the Greek colonization of the eastern Adriatic coast when more intensive connections were established and when the first dissemination probably started (late Bronze Age-early Iron Age, c. 9th century to the end of 3rd century B.C.), 3) The period of the Roman conquest of *Illyricum* (the end of 3rd c. B.C. to the end of Augustus' reign), 4) During the Roman rule of Illyricum (the 1st-the first half of the 4th century A.D.), dissemination started during the reign of Emperor Claudius, and it became more vital during the reign of the Flavian dynasty (A.D. 69-96). Egyptian cults with syncretistic elements (Isis Fortuna, Hermes-Thoth, Jupiter-Ammon, Serapis with lions etc.) appeared during the 1st century and their popularity continued until the middle of the 3rd century A.D. With the rising of Christianity at the beginning of the 4th century A.D. we can see a gradual decline in popularity of all pagan cults which were, at the end of the 4th century, completely prohibited by emperor Theodosius[1].

The previous studies and catalogues of the artifacts and dissemination of the ancient Egyptian cults in Illyricum were dated from the 1st century to the middle of the 4th century[2], and all genuine ancient Egyptian artifacts (shabtis, amulets, scarabs, figurines) which could not be dated with any archaeological context were not dated. In most cases they were not studied according their typology and were not used as the authority , which can determine an earlier penetration of the ancient Egyptian elements and possible cults in Istria and Illyricum. In this study I will try to review several possibilities of a much earlier penetration of the artifacts and the possibility of the presence of the first Egyptian cults (Isis, Osiris, and Serapis) in the Greek and Illyrian settlements along the eastern Adriatic coast.

2. The first contacts with eastern Mediterranean and Ancient Egypt

The first cultural contacts between both sides of the Adriatic coast, with the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt, probably started during the late Chalcolithic and early

[1] *CTh* XVI.1.2; *CTh* XVI.10.8; *CTh* XII.1.112; *CTh* IX.16.11; *CTh* XVI.10.10- XVI.10.12; *CTh*, II.8.22; *CTh*, XVI.10.13; *CTh*, XVI.10.16.

[2] Drexler 1890; Drexler 1900; Perc 1968; Selem 1971; Selem 1972; Budischovsky 1977; Selem 1980; Selem 1997; Giunio 2002; Jurkić-Girardi 2005.

Bronze Age periods (c. 2200-1700 B.C.)[3]. At the end of the third and beginning of the second millennium B.C. Indo-European migrations started all along the eastern Mediterranean world, and with them many cultural changes started in Illyricum with the development of advanced Bronze Age cultures, mostly in the Danube region. The archaeological remains of typical Minoan megalithic settlement walls and pottery discovered at the end of 1990's, at the central Dalmatian island of Škrip, suggested that during the middle Bronze Age period contacts with Minoan culture was definitely present on the eastern Adriatic islands.[4] On the other islands some Minoan pottery shards were also discovered. These established Minoan culture settlements or trade routes[5] could suggest that the first Egyptian artifacts could have arrived with merchants from the eastern Mediterranean world or directly from Egypt.[6] The Mycenaean Greece culture settlements were established on the south-eastern Adriatic coast, along the coast of Albania, during the 15th century B.C., but we do not have any remains of their settlements along the Dalmatian coast and hinterland. According previous studies,[7] the Mycenaean influence was indirect through merchants who sold their ceramics along the well established amber trade route which circled around both sides of the Adriatic.[8] They also traded with local tribes on the eastern Adriatic islands and on the Dinarids mountain range.[9] During migrations of the Sea Peoples at the end of the second millennium B.C. it seems that some groups passed through Illyricum and the eastern Adriatic on their way to Italy. There are some theories that some of them even established settlements in Illyricum.[10] Since the 9th century B.C. geometric Greek pottery has been found on both coasts of the northern Adriatic.[11] The dissemination of ancient Egyptian artifacts probably started during the first millennium B.C. when Egyptian religious artifacts (amulets, scarabs, seals, shabtis etc.) were traded by the Phoenician and Greek merchants at almost every region of the eastern Mediterranean coast.[12] The typological study of blue faïence shabti (AMZ, inv. no. E-561, cat. no. 1, fig. 124), discovered in Solin (ancient *Salona*) during the 19th century[13], dated it to the period of the 22nd Egyptian dynasty (945-715 B.C.).[14] Since the early Iron Age, the Illyrian settlement of Salona was one of the most influential trading posts along the coast. This type of shabti was not typical for the later periods of Egyptian history and it was not discovered anywhere in Southeastern Europe during the Greco-Roman period. However, could it have arrived to the Illyricum settlement of *Salona* before the Greek colonization of the Adriatic? Without any archaeological context of the finding we can not confirm or deny such a thesis. It could have come to *Salona* anytime between the 8th and 1st centuries B.C. with some unknown merchant from the Aegean region, Near East or directly from Egypt. In my opinion there are two options for such a thesis: 1) it could simply be an exotic artifact or souvenir brought from Egypt before the Hellenistic period, or 2) it might have been robbed from some 22nd dynasty tomb somewhere in Egypt and later sold to an unknown merchant, traveller or member of the Isiac cults during the Hellenistic period and the late Roman Republic. There is one other shabti from the Third Intermediate period which could back up the second possibility. It was discovered on the island of Krk (ancient *Curicum*) in a late Hellenistic grave, dated c. 50-49 B.C. (cat. no. 11, fig. 134). I will go back to this point later in this paper. The blue fäience shabti from *Salona* is the first ancient Egyptian religious artifact which could have come to the eastern Adriatic coast during the 1st millennium B.C.

3. The Greek colonization of the eastern Adriatic (7th-3rd century B.C.)

During the period between the 8th and 6th centuries B.C., Greek trade started to be very influential on the eastern Adriatic coast. The Greek trading posts were probably present in *Aenona* (today Nin) and *Iader* (today Zadar) since the early Iron Age (c. 8th-7th centuries B.C.).[15] The pre-colonial Apulian painted geometric pottery, dated during the early Iron Age, was discovered on the middle Dalmatian islands.[16] The Greek pottery fragments on black-figured lekythos, dated to the 7th century B.C., were discovered on the island of Hvar where Greeks had already established a small community during the early Iron Age.[17] Archaeological remains suggest that contacts between a native community and Greek merchants/settlers were established.[18] A more active trade between Greek merchants and Illyrian tribes on the eastern Adriatic coast started between the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.[19] Greek colonies on the eastern Adriatic coast were established by the end of the 6th century B.C. The first Greek colony *KÒrcura ¹ mšlcina* (*Corcyra nigra*) was founded at the end of the 6th century B.C.[20] During the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. Greeks established naval trade routes along the coast of both sides of the Adriatic sea.[21] During the 6th century B.C. Greek black figured pottery came to *Nesactium*, the

[3] Šišić 1925: 60; Rostovtzeff 1957: 238; Cambi 2002: 11; Olujić 2007.
[4] Gaffney, Čače, Hayes, Kirigin, Leach & Vujnović 2002: 29-33.
[5] Gaffney, Čače, Hayes, Kirigin, Leach & Vujnović 2002.
[6] During the Second intermediate period and the New Kingdom, ancient Egyptians established their trade routes on the Cyprus and Aegean islands. For a more detailed analysis of these contacts see in: Bietak 1995; Davies-Schofield 1995; Bietak 2000.
[7] Ćurčić 1909: 95; Zaninović 1973; Sakellarakis & Marić 1975: 153; Zaninović 1996: 296; Dimitrijević, Težak-Gregl & Majnarić-Pandžić 1998.
[8] Mihovilić 2002: 500.
[9] Matijašić 2009: 51.
[10] Zaninović 1973: 81-93; Zaninović 1996: 296.
[11] Mihovilić 2002: 514.
[12] About relations with Ancient Egypt and the penetration of Ancient Egyptian elements to the Mediterranean world see: Witt 1973: 46-58; Dunand 1973; Hölbl 1979; Padró i Parcerisa 1980-1985; Hölbl 1986; Tomorad 2000: 8-9; Tomorad 2004: 95; Tomorad 2006: 279.
[13] Today it is kept in the Ancient Egyptian department of the Archaeological museum in Zagreb. It came to the museum from the private collection of Lanza from Split.
[14] Tomorad 2006: 297, no. 22.
[15] Dimitrijević, Težak-Gregl & Majnarić-Pandžić 1998: 306.
[16] Gaffney, Čače, Hayes, Kirigin, Leach & Vujnović 2002: 36.
[17] Gaffney, Čače, Hayes, Kirigin, Leach & Vujnović 2002: 39.
[18] Gaffney, Čače, Hayes, Kirigin, Leach & Vujnović 2002: 39.
[19] Cambi 2002: 11.
[20] Šišić 1925: 75-76; Lisičar 1951; Bracesi 1977; Suić 1996; Boardman 1999: 225-229; Cambi 2002: 12; Matijašić 2009: 56-61.
[21] Čače 2002: 95, 100.

most important settlement of the Illyrian tribe *Histri* in Istria.[22] In Stari Grad on the island of Hvar, archaeologists discovered, at the end of 1990's, remains of the post of Corinthian merchants with typical ceramics which dated to the 5th century B.C.[23] At the beginning of the 4th century B.C. Greeks formed the most important Greek colonies of the eastern Adriatic: *Issa* on the island of Vis (c. 392-385 B.C.)[24], and *Pharos* on the island of Hvar (c. 385/384 B.C.)[25]. According to the results of the latest archaeological excavations in Narona and Salona, Hellenistic settlements were formed during the 2nd century B.C.[26] Greek emporiums were also formed in Trogir (ancient *Tragurim*), Poreč (ancient *Epetium*), and Cavtat (ancient *Epidarum*) by the end of the 3rd century B.C.[27]

4. Diffusion of ancient Egyptian artifacts and cults in the Mediterranean world (5th century B.C.-1st century A.D.)

Since the Third Intermediate period (c. 1069-664 B.C.), Egyptian art greatly influenced the early Greek art[28], and since the 7th century B.C. Egyptian imports started to play an important role on the Aegean islands and Greek mainland[29], Etruria[30], and Italy[31] where various artifacts were made under Egyptian influences. At the beginning of the Late period (c. 650 B.C.), 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.).[32] That was probably the main reason why, in the middle of the 7th century B.C., pharaoh Psammetichus I (c. 664-610 B.C.) opened up Egypt to Greek and Phoenician traders.[33] At the end of the 7th century, Necho II (610-595 B.C.) allowed Greeks to establish the first colony in Egypt in *Naukratis*[34]. According to Herodotus, pharaoh Amasis II (570-526 B.C.) often gave gifts to Greek cities[35] which could contain 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 4th century B.C. 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.[36] One of the best examples of these types of changes is the mummy of Nesu-hensu wrapped in linen with Etruscan script. She was the wife of the Amun priest in Thebes c. 380 B.C. Today her mummy, with linen wrappings (*Liber linteus zagrabiensis*), is kept in the Archaeological museum in Zagreb (AMZ inv. no. E-664, E-665).[37]

At the same time, Egyptian cults started to play a more important role in the eastern Mediterranean world. According to archaeological remains from the 4th century, it seems that Egyptian cults were worshiped in Athens[38] and Piraeus[39]. At the end of the 4th century B.C. Egyptian and Greek burial practices started to merge (e.g. the tomb of the priest of Thoth Petosiris in Tuna el-Gebel) and since then this mixture of styles has appered in only a few cases[40] as it was never completely adopted by the Greeks. Greeks who lived in Egypt, since the first colonies, buried their dead in Greek-type tombs which were discovered mostly in Northern Egypt (Alexandria, Naucratis, Abusir and the Faiyum region). At the same time, they 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.[41] After the conquest of Alexander the Great (334-323 B.C.), the Egyptian satrap and later pharaoh Ptolemy I Soter, introduced a 'holy god'[42] Serapis to Alexandria[43], the new capitol of Egypt. Sometime during the 3rd century B.C. this cult penetrated Athens[44] and soon after it started its diffusion among other Greek cities.[45] During the same time, the Greeks from Ptolemaic Alexandria adopted the old Egyptian god Horus and transformed it into Harpocrates 'the child Horus' which was, according the new Hellenistic mythology, the son of Serapis and Isis.[46] It was one of the first new syncretistic gods which developed from the old Greek, and later Roman religious traditions (e.g. Zeus-Ammon, Jupiter Ammon, Isis Tyche etc.).[47] Soon after, during the reign of Ptolemy I Soter and Ptolemy II Philadephus, the

22 Šišić 1925: 75; Mihovilić 2002: 506.
23 Cambi 2002: 14; Katić 2002: 425.
24 Šišić 1925: 76; Matijašić 2009: 69-70.
25 Matijašić 2009: 69.
26 Marin 2002: 415-421.
27 Matijašić 2009: 78.
28 More detail in: Boardman 1999: 143-153.
29 Boardman 1999: 141-153.
30 More about the relations between Etruria and Egypt, and the aspects of Egyptian cults in Etruria in: Hölbl 1979; Bubenheimre 2006.
31 Hölbl 1979.
32 Llyod 1983: 329; Boardman 1999: 142.
33 Hdt, II.154; D.S. I.66, 8; 67, 9.
34 Hdt. II.178-179.
35 Hdt. II.178-182.
36 Tomorad 2009: 19.
37 Tomorad 2003: 20, 28, 81-89; Tomorad 2009: 19.
38 Probably 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 B.C. The cult of Isis was recorded c. 333/332 B.C. but in that time it was still the cult of immigrants. Dow 1937: 184; Turcan 1996: 81.
39 Dunand 1973: 4; Garland 1987: 126; Turcan 1996: 81.
40 Tomorad 2009: 20.
41 Tomorad 2009: 20-21.
42 *P. Oxy*. XV. 1803.
43 Manetho fr. 80; Tac. *Hist*., IV. 83-84; The datethe statue of Serapis was transported to Alexandria is not certain. According to various sources, that event happened between 311 and 306 B.C., just before Ptolemy I Soter became the pharaoh of Egypt. Waddell 1940: xiii, fn. 1.
44 It is not clear which Egyptian ruler was reigning at the time. Pausanias cannot be used as chronology simply because he wrote that the cult of Serapis 'the Athenians received from Ptolemy'. Paus. I.18.4. At the end of the third century B.C., a community of his worshippers surely existed. Inscriptions from an unknown site (probably Athens or Piraeus), reside today in the British museum in London. *IG2*, II, 1292. For a more detailed analysis about the adoption of the Serapis cult and its further diffusion see in: Dow 1937.
45 Dow 1937: 187.
46 Tomorad 2005b: 241-242.
47 Hellenistic syncretistic cults slowly started their diffusion in the second century B.C. from the Greek islands e.g. Delos where Isis Tyche/ Protogeneia was indentified c. 115/114 B.C. Witt 1971: 86; Turcan 1996: 82.

cults of Serapis and Harpocrates were well organized in Egypt and Alexandria. In the middle of the third century B.C. 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.[48] According to the latest studies, this diffusion happened in two waves: the first started in the 3rd century B.C. and ended in the 1st century B.C.,the second started in the middle of the 1st century A.D. and ended in the 4th century.[49] In the middle of the 3rd century B.C., the Temple of Serapis was erected in Carthage by merchants from Alexandria[50], where the name *Μανέθων* was inscribed on the base of a marble bust.[51] The Egyptian gods and goddesses were introduced into the Roman Pantheon in the first half of the 3rd century B.C. along with other Oriental cults of their time.[52] The first temples of Isis and Serapis in Rome were built around 220 B.C.[53] At the end of the Second Punic war the symbols of oriental religions were removed from the Roman Pantheon.[54] The more intense phase of the diffusion started at the end of the Roman Republic. At the beginning of the 1st century B.C., the cults of Isis and Serapis made their way to the shores of Italy as the religious beliefs mainly of the lower classes, merchants and sailors.[55] The Egyptian communities were registered in the ports of *Puteoli*, *Pompeii*, *Herculanum* and *Ostia* and in the time of the Roman dictator Lucius Conelius Sulla in Rome.[56] During the first century B.C. the Egyptian cults were condemned by the Romans and their Senate and they were often persecuted.[57] Not long before the death of Julius Caesar, the first statue of Isis was erected at the temple of *Venus Genetrix* in Rome.[58] In the year 43 B.C. the triumvirs Mark Anthony, Lepidus and Octavian built the Temple of Isis and Serapis.[59] After the civil war with Anthony, the battle of Actium, and the conquest of Egypt[60] in August 30 B.C., Octavian visited the temple of Serapis in Alexandria[61]. Soon thereafter Octavian started anti-Egyptian propaganda in Rome[62], and in the end the Roman Senate banned the worship of Egyptian cults in the *pomerium* of the cities[63] on two occasions: the first in 28 B.C.[64], and the second in 21 B.C.[65] During the reign of Augustus and Tiberius (30 B.C.-37 A.D.), Isaic cults in Rome were mostly prohibited and their worshippers were banished.[66] That kind of treatment ended in the year 38 A.D. 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.[67] The Isaic ceremonies were soon after inscribed into the Roman calendar from 28 October to 3 November each year. The Roman imperial coinage, since the middle of the 1st century A.D., had images of the Egyptian deities on the reverse of the coins[68], which exemplifies the popularity of these cults among Roman rulers. [69] On 19 December A.D. 69 the future Emperor Domitian was shielded by the *Isiaci celatus habitu* – the Isaic costume.[70] From the end of the 1st century A.D. the official cult of the Emperor was connected with Egyptian cults, and by the reign of Domitian various Egyptian gods (Horus, Anubis) were attested to by spears and a shield; the warrior symbols of the Roman Empire.[71] The oriental and Egyptian cults became very popular by the end of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd century A.D., 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.[72] That was probably the main reason why the historians rightly recognized them as the one of the greatest centres of diffusion.

5. Possible contacts with Egypt during the Greek colonization of the eastern Adriatic coast (7th-3rd centuries B.C.)

It is most likely that the first influential dissemination of ancient Egyptian artifacts in Dalmatia started during the Greek colonization of the eastern Adriatic coast. Along with the Greek archaic material remains, the first ancient Egyptian artifacts probably came to Istria and *Illyricum* (amulets, scarabs, shabtis, and maybe the first statuettes of divinities).[73] Such artifacts could have come to the eastern Adriatic coast from the Etruscan coastal port *Spina*, in the valley of the river Po, which was established on the

48 Tomorad 2005b: 242.
49 Bricault 2001; Bersluys 2013: 252-253.
50 Kater-Sibbes 1973: cat. 737.
51 Probably Manetho the well know Ancient Egyptian priest, who was usually connected with the first diffusion of the Serapis cult in Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy I Soter. *CIL*, VIII.1007.
52 Witt 1971: 72; Turcan 1996: 82; Tomorad 2005: 242.
53 Jurkić-Girardi 1972: 43; Kater-Sibbes 1973: cat. 621-673; Tomorad 2005: 242.
54 Jurkić-Girardi 1972: 43; Tomorad 2005: 242.
55 Malaise 1972a; Malaisse 1972b; Turcan 1996: 85; Tomorad 2005: 242.
56 Squarciapino 1962; Tran Tam Tih 1971; Tran Tam Tih 1972; Turcan 1996: 85; Tomorad 2005: 242.
57 Statues of Isis and Serapis were erected in the Roman Capitol in 58 B.C., and later in private chapels. Senate had them both destroyed in the years 58, 53, and 50 B.C. Nock 1952: 212-213; Turcan 1996: 86.
58 Luc. X.63; Green 1993: 669; Tomorad 2005: 243.
59 Turcan 1996: 87; Tomorad 2005: 243.
60 Vergilius described the battle of Actium as the battle between the Roman and Egyptian gods lead by Cleopatra with sistrum in her hand. Verg. *Aen*. VIII.696-700.
61 Turcan 1996: 87.
62 Historians usually explain the reason for this prohibition as his fear that Anthony could become a god like Julius Caesar.
63 Vitr. 1.7.1.
64 Dio. LIII.2.4.
65 Dio. LIV.6.6.
66 Dio. LII.36; Nock 1925: 64; Nock 1952: 217.
67 Nock 1952: 214; Turcan 1996: 89; Tomorad 2005: 243.
68 E.g. Harpocrates lying on the back of a crocodile from the reign of Nero (AMZ: inv. no. A3973), Serapis from the reign of Vespasianus (AMZ, inv. no. A3959, A3961), Isis in front of the city with her statue from the reign of Traianus (AMZ, inv. no. A3977).
69 At the end of 2nd century A.D., during the reign of Severus dynasty, coins commonly had images of Isis, Osiris, Serapis, Apis, Harpocrates etc. Tomorad 2003: 48; Tomorad 2005: 9-11.
70 Tac. *Hist*. III. 74; Suet. *Dom*. 1.4.
71 Tomorad 2005: 243.
72 Detail analysis in, Hoey 1939: 456-481; Tomorad 2005: 241-253.
73 Tomorad 2000: 8-9; Tomorad 2004: 95; Tomorad 2006: 279.

northern Adriatic coast during the 7th-6th centuries B.C.[74], or directly from the Aegean region, Egypt or the eastern Mediterranean. In this region, Oriental, Greek and Etruscan ceramics, bronze and goldsmith products, reliefs, pottery and figurines were traded from southern Italy, Etruria, Greece, and Macedonia to the Near East and Egypt.[75]

On the middle Dalmatian islands, inland of the eastern Adriatic coast, and Istria, a great number of shabtis, amulets, scarabs, and beads, with hieroglyphic inscriptions, figurines, and statuettes of Isis, Osiris, Isis-Hathor with Horus or Harpocrates were discovered.[76] (Table 1) Typological studies made during the research of the Egyptian collections in museums and private collections in Croatia (project Croato-Aegyptica) showed that these artifacts were all products of pre-Roman periods, and can be dated from the New Kingdom until the Late period. For most of them we do not know the archaeological context, but we do know where they were found and in some cases the exact year.

The only artifact for which we have archaeological context is the New Kingdom glazed pierced scarab of the local Illyrian magnate, discovered during the Iron Age *tumulus,* in Trnjaci-Pilatovići (near Užička Požega in southwestern Serbia). It was unearthed during the archaeological excavations of a grave mound in 1978.[77] The discovery is dated around 550-520 B.C. The piercing through the scarab suggests that it was used as an amulet which was worn around a person's neck or ankle. A wealthy member of the local community probably bought it from a trader from the East. The reason why he bought it will probably remain mystery.

An Egyptian bone handle of a dagger, discovered by local farmer in the village Sesvete, near Požega, in May 1979 (table 1), is another interesting artifact which could have come to Slavonija during this period. It has the goddess Isis carved onto it. During the late spring of 2013 I had interesting discussions and correspondence with various Egyptologists (D. Stefanović, F. Tiradritti, R. Schulz, S. Ikram, G. Pieke, and G. Hölbl) about this handle and they agreed with my preliminary analysis that Isis was carved on it. They told me that it is possible that it was crafted in Nubia or the Ancient Near East and that it is probably a product of the 27th dynasty or the Late period. The location where it was discovered is surrounded by several Neolithic, Iron Age and Roman sites and it is possible that it was bought by some wealthy member of the Illyrian community (like the finding from Trnjaci-Pilatovići).

74 Cambi 2002: 14; Mihovilić 2002: 514.
75 Nikolanci 1966: 107; Cambi 2002: 12-17.
76 AMZ: inv. nos. E561-E-565, E675, E766, MIB348; AMS: inv. nos. AMS 1221, AV372-AV375, B214-218, B757, G1622-G1632, G1676, G1886-G1887, H374-H378; H5503-H5007, H2604, H5459-H5462, I11, I1185; AMIP: inv. nos. A5220; NMU inv. 202 etc.
77 Zotović 1985: 92-95; Anđelković 1991: 67-68. Today it is kept in the National museum in Užice, inv. no. 202.

6. Contact with Egypt during the Roman conquest of Illyricum (3rd century B.C.-1st century A.D.)

During the Ptolemaic period (306-30 B.C.) the connections and trading between Illyricum and Egypt were more active. Archaeological remains do not reveal if these connections were direct or indirect, but they certainly existed. Along the well established Amber Route, merchants from the Aegean region and possibly from Phoenicia and Egypt traded various kinds of goods which were paid for with Greek, North African (Numidia, Carthago) and Ptolemaic coins. It seems that the more frequent connections with Ptolemaic Egypt were established between the 3rd and the 1st century B.C. Such trading is documented with several coin hoards, containing Ptolemaic coins, which were discovered in territories in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Slovenia. According to the studies by I. Mirnik[78], the coin hoards can be dated between the 3rd century B.C. and the early 1st century A.D. The dating of the coin hoards from the 2nd century vary from 186 B.C. to the late 2nd century, and coin hoards of the 1st century vary from the beginning of the century to 9 A.D.

These coin hoards were discussed in various articles since the middle of the 19th century but the data about them is very confusing and it is difficult to determine the exact number of these coins and where they are the kept. The best information can be found in the article about the North African currency in Illyricum written by I. Mirnik. In separate sections he wrote: 'The Egyptian Ptolemaic bronze has been found on the following sites in Yugoslavia, Bosnia (5 spec.); ? Bosnia (6 spec.), Bosnia and Hercegovina (2 spec.); Croatia (c. 70 spec.); Dalmatia (+40 spec.); the island of Hvar (1 spec.); Istria (13 spec.), Istria or Croatian Coast (32 spec.); the island of Korčula (4 spec.); Košaki; Muta; Senj; Spodnje radvanje; Surduk; the island of Vis (5 spec.).'[79] According to the research that I did during the spring of 2013 most of these specimens are now kept in the Archaeological museum in Zagreb, the Archaeological museum in Split, Zemaljski muzej in Sarajevo, the Archaeological museum of Istria in Pula, the Museum of naval history and history of Hrvatsko primorje in Rijeka, the Museum of Senj, the Museum of the city of Šibenik, and Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

In March 1846 a smaller coin hoard with Ptolemaic, Carthago, and Numidia coinage, dated to the late 2nd century B.C., was discovered near Široka Kula in Lika (Croatia).[80] Today they are dispersed between Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.

In 1850 six Ptolemaic coins were discovered in a grave at the site 'Muta' (Radlje) near Maribor (Slovenia). They were dated to be from the 2nd and the 1st centuries B.C. They are now kept in museums in Graz and Vienna.[81]

78 Mirnik 1981: 37.
79 Mirnik 1987: 371, 382-386.
80 Brunšmid 1897: 46; Mirnik 1981: 40, no. 43; Mirnik 1987: 381.
81 Mirnik 1981: 46, no. 77a.

During the 19th century a few pieces of Ptolemaic coinage, dated to be from the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., were found in Kula and Zvonigrad (Bosnia and Herzegovina) but they seem to be lost.[82]

In 1886 a coin hoard with c. 200 *aes rude* and 53 Roman Republican coins were discovered in Valpovo (Croatia). Among them one coin of Cleopatra VII (51-30 B.C.) was found. It is dated between 27 B.C. and 9 A.D. The coins were disperesed and kept in a private collection in Vinkovci and the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.[83]

In the spring of 1887 a pot burial, with 25 kg of *aes rude* and coins from Syracusa, Carthago (94), Numidia (94), and Egypt (4), were discovered in Vrankamen near Krupa (Bosnia and Herzegovina).[84] Ć. Truhelka[85] originally attributed Ptolemaic coins to Ptolemy I Soter I (306-282 B.C.) and Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246-222 B.C.), but later J. Brunšmid[86] attributed them to Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (170-116 B.C.) and Ptolemy X Soter[87]. According to the latest studies by I. Mirnik[88] these coins should be attributed to Ptolemy I Soter, Ptolemy III Euergetes, Cleopatra I (2nd century B.C.) and Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II. They are now kept in the National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine*) in Sarajevo.

In Donji Unac, near Drvar (Bosnia and Herzegovina), a coin hoard with several Ptolemaic, Numidian and Carthago coins was found in 1894.[89] It was dated to be fromthe beginning of 1st century B.C. The coins are now dispersed, but a small number of them are kept in the National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo.

In Mazin, near the road to Donji Lapac in Lika (Croatia), a huge coin hoard with 456 pieces of *aes rude*, 505 Carthago, 328 Numidia and 40 Ptolemaic coins were discovered in 1896.[90] The discovered Ptolemaic coins were minted during the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180-145 B.C.; 13 pieces), Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (15 pieces; among them 6 were minted in Cyrene and Cyprus between 156-127 B.C.[91]), and 12 pieces were crafted during the reign of Ptolemy IX Soter II. (116-107, 88-81 B.C.) or Ptolemy X Alexandros I (107-88 B.C).[92] The coin hoad was dated to be from the end of the 2nd or early 1st century B.C.[93] Most of the coins are now kept in the Numismatic department of the Archaeological museum in Zagreb, and 13 pieces are kept in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

In Izačić, near Bihać (Bosnia and Herzegovina), one Ptolemaic coin was found in early November, 1907.[94] The discovery is not dated and the coin is unpublished. It is now kept in the National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In 1925 and 1926 a huge pot burial coin hoard was discovered in Gračac (in Lika, Croatia). It had 213 pieces of *aes rude*, 8 *aes signatum*, 127 coins from Carthago, 203 coins from Numidia, and 9 Ptolemaic coins (Ptolemy III Euergetes I (264-222 B.C.) (1), Ptolemy IV Philopator (222-204 B.C.) (1), Ptolemy VI Philometor (4), Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (3)).[95] They are now kept in the Numismatic department of the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.

In October, 1976 a huge hoard with more than 150 pieces of *aes rude*, and coins from Carthago, Numidia, Macedonia, Baetica and Egypt were found in Štikada, near Gračac (Croatia).[96] They are currently disperesed between museums in Gospić (c. 140), Varaždin (3) and Zagreb (8). The hoard was dated to be from the end of the 2nd century or early 1st century B.C. Inside the hoardthree Ptolemaic coins were discovered: one coin with the head of Zeus Ammon from Alexandria minted during the period from Ptolemy VI Philometor to Ptolemy VIII Euergetes, and two coins minted during the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes (Fig. 4).

According to my knowledge a certain number of Ptolemaic coins were discovered in Istria, and along the northern Croatian coast at a few archaeological sites near Senj and Rijeka. Around 30 pieces from this region are now kept in the Naval museum of Rijeka and Croatian Primorje (*Pomorski muzej Rijeke i hrvatskog primorja*).

According to the correspondence with Maja Bonačić Mandinić, custodian of the Numismatic department at the Archaeological museum in Split, at least 59 Ptolemaic coins discovered in the middle Dalmatia region are kept in that museum. They were discovered in unknown sites in Dalmatia[97] (Ptolemy I Soter I (8), Ptolemy II. Philadelphos (2), Ptolemy III Euerget I (9), Ptolemy IV Philopator (7), Ptolemy VI Philometor (11), Ptolemy X Alexandros I (1), and 10 pieces of unindentified Ptolemaic rulers), on the islands of Vis[98] (Ptolemy II Philadelphos (1), Ptolemy VI Philometor (1), Tiberius from Alexandrian mint), Korčula[99] (Ptolemy II Philadelphos (1), Ptolemy VI Philometor), and Hvar[100] (Ptolemy VI Philometor (1), Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (3)). The coin hoards in which they were discovered are dated from the 3rd century B.C. to the early 1st century A.D.

82 Brunšmid 1897: 46; Mirnik 1987: 382.
83 Mirnik 1981: 48, no. 91.
84 Truhelka 1889: 38-43; Mirnik 1981: 48, no. 93; Mirnik 1987: 382.
85 Truhelka 1889: 38-43.
86 Brunšmid 1897: 42 fn. 4.
87 Ptolemaic rules Ptolemy X Soter does not exist. It is more likely Ptolemy IX Soter II. who ruled between 116-107 and 88-81 B.C.
88 Mirnik 1981: 48, no. 93; Mirnik 1982: 151; Mirnik 1987: 382.
89 Mirnik 1981: 42, no. 57; Mirnik 1987: 380.
90 Brunšmid 1897: 42; Mirnik 1981: 45-56, no. 76; Mirnik 1987: 381; Tomorad 2003: 42-46; Tomorad 2005: 7-9.
91 Brunšmid 1897: 63-64, cat. no. 1-6.
92 Mirnik 1981: 46, no. 76. In his publication, Brunšmid only mentioned three coins of Ptolemy IX Soter II. 1897: 63-64, cat. No. 7-9.
93 Mirnik 1981: 45, no. 76.
94 Mirnik 1987: 381.
95 Mirnik 1981: 38, no. 24; Mirnik 1982: 151; Mirnik 1987: 380-381.
96 Mirnik 1981: 47, no. 88a; Mirnik 1982: 149, 152.
97 AMS: inv. nos. 16603-16617, 16625-16629, 16631-166645, 16648-16659.
98 AMS: inv. nos. 13467, 16630, 16646.
99 AMS: inv. nos. 14698, 16647.
100 AMS: inv. nos. 16618-16624.

One Ptolemaic coin, dated to be from the late 2nd or early 1st century B.C., was discovered near the Hellenistic sanctuary at Cape Ploče.[101] It is now kept in the Museum of the city of Šibenik.[102]

According the dating of the coin specimens discovered at the various sites on the eastern Adriatic coast and inland, we can assume that some kind of economic commerce between *Illyricum* and Egypt existed since the early 3rd century B.C. Sadly, these archaeological finds do not give us answers whether this was direct commerce indirect from some other traders (who were most likely from Carthago, Numidia, Greece or a Greek colony around the Mediterranean and used Ptolemaic coins as the means of payment). According to Morris Finley, studies of ancient economies during the Hellenistic and Roman world, 'money was coin and nothing else.'[103] In the ancient world coins were part of very extensive trade, and they were exchanged by weight, 'without coining the metal' [104]. During the Late period, the Egyptian economy did not use their own currency, and for international and domestic commerce Egyptians used mostly Greek and Persian coins.[105] Ancient Egypt started to use their own currency during the early Ptolemaic period, and since then Ptolemaic coinage was used in their international trade within Egypt and outside Egypt.[106] The Ptolemaic coins were used for the payment of various kinds of goods and services by Egytian traders, but also by Phoenician and Greek merchants who used them in their international commerce all over the Mediterranean world.

It is interesting to note that the biggest number of Ptolemaic coins were located at the territory of the Illyrian tribe *Japodes* (*Iapodes*, *Giapidi*; gr. *Ιάποδες*)[107] in Široka Kula(1846), Mazin (1896), and Gračac (1925/1926), Donji Unac (1894), and Izačić (1907) on the western boarder of modern Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. These findings confirm that *Japodes* established trade routes with merchants from Egypt, Greece and the Ancient Near East. According to historical and archaeological interpretations of the archaeological material from the region of the Illyrian tribes *Japodes* and *Liburnes,* these two tribes had well organized amber trade since the beginning of the 1st millenium B.C. At the same time, Liburnes had been the most important naval and political force on the eastern Adriatic from the 9th century until the 6th century B.C.[108] During the 5th century B.C. they lost their influence in the central Dalmatian region but they kept their influence on the Northern Adriatic and inland from their main centres, Aenona and Iader, until the end of the 1st century B.C.[109] In the fourth century B.C. Greek geographer *Pseudo-Skylax* described the women in the societies of *Liburnes* and *Iapodes*[110] as women who had more influential positions and sexual freedom.[111] P. Selem[112] used it for his hypothesis that the prominent positions of women in their societies could enable a more influential perception of the ancient Egyptian goddess Isis during the Roman colonization and the Romanization of Dalmatia, but without any presumption that the dissemination of the ancient Egyptian cults could start earlier than the first century A.D. In the region around Zadar, Nin, Lika, and the border between Bosnia and Croatia several Egyptian artifacts have been discovered so far. During an archaeological excavation in 1932, in Ostrožac near Bihać (Bosnia and Herzegovina), shabti was discovered in a Roman grave (1st century B.C.)[113]. In another 1st century Roman grave, from an unknown site in Lika, a statuette of Serapis and shabti was discovered during 1940's.[114] In *Aenona* shabti and pseudoshabti (New Kingdom, Ptolemaic dynasty) were discovered along with several oil lamps inscribed with Isis, Serapis and Jupiter Ammon, and a statue of Isis (1st century A.D.); in *Iader* a terracotta oil lamp with Isis and Serapis (1st century A.D.) and a bronze amulete of a mummified figure (Ptolemaic dynasty-1st century A.D.). All these findings document the presence of Egyptian cults in that region from at least the 1st century B.C. and possibly earlier.

In the territory of the nearby Illyrian tribe *Colapiani,* two shabtis made from terracotta[115] were discovered near ancient *Aequum* (today Čitluk, a small village near Sinj, Croatia). The first shabti, made from green colored enameled terracotta, with the common inscription Wsir anx, is a typical product of the 26th dynasty. The second shabti, made from brown terracotta, was probably crafted during the Late or Ptolemaic period. The typology of these shabtis suggests that they could have come to the area around *Aequum* sometime during the last centuries B.C.[116]

More then one hundred Egyptian artifacts (shabtis, amulets, beads, scarabs, bronze statuettes of divinities etc.)[117] were

[101] Šešelj 2009: 321, no. 11.
[102] MGŠ: inv. no. 11001.
[103] Finley 1999: 166.
[104] Finley 1999: 166.
[105] Bowman 1986: 107.
[106] Bowman 1986: 107.
[107] *Japodes* dwelt to the north of the other Illyrian tribe *Liburnians*. They occupied the interior of the eastern Adriatic coast between the rivers Kupa and Una, and the great mountain range of Velebit which separated them from the coastal Liburnians. Their territory covered the central inlands (today in Croatia) and the Una river valley (today in Bosnia and Herzegovina). For a more detailed analysis of the Illyrian tribes on the eastern Adriatic coast see in: Šišić 1925: 72-102; Stipčević 1974; Wilkes 1992; Dimitrijević, Težak-Gregl & Manjarić-Pandžić 1998; Olujić 2007; Matijašić 2009: 30-47.
[108] Dimitrijević, Težak-Gregl & Manjarić-Pandžić 1998: 306.
[109] Dimitrijević, Težak-Gregl & Manjarić-Pandžić 1998: 306-318.
[110] *Ps. Skyl.*, 21. This description is part of the so called Pseudo-Skylax *Períplous* which was probably written between 380 and 320 B.C. For a more detailed analysis of the Pseudo-Skylax text related to the Illyrian tribes along the Eastern Adriatic coast see in: Suić 1955: 121-185. For the latest translation and commentary of this source see in: Shipley 2011.
[111] Šišić 1925: 83 fn. 23; Suić 1955.
[112] Selem 1971: 299.
[113] AMZ: inv. no. MIB348. Unpublished.
[114] AMZ: inv. no. MIB358. Unpublished.
[115] FMS: without inventory numbers.
[116] Tomorad 2006: 285-286, nos. 1-2.
[117] AMZ: inv. nos. E561-E-565, E675, E766, MIB348; AMS: inv. nos. AMS 1221, AV372-AV375, B214-218, B757, G1622-G1632, G1676, G1886-G1887, H374-H378; H5503-H5007, H2604, H5459-H5462, I11, I1185; AMIP: inv. nos. A5220; NMU inv. 202. Several artifacts without inventory numbers are also kept in private collections in Lik, Marović and Domančić, and in museum collections in Graz, Hvar, Ptuj, Senj, Szekszárd, Triest and Vienna.

discovered along the eastern Adriatic coast from Istria[118] to *Epidaurum* (today Cavtat)[119]. (Table 1). The biggest number of Egyptian artifacts were discovered in Salona[120], the middle Dalmatia region[121], on the islands of Korčula, Hvar, and Vis[122]. Most of them were discovered during 19th century, and the archaeological context of these findings was not preserved. The only information available in the inventory books is the location of where these artifacts were found. According to their typology[123], iconography, and the artistic style of crafting, they should be dated from the Late period to the Ptolemaic dynasty. These artifacts most likely came to the eastern Adriatic region from the early 3rd century B.C. to the end of 1st century B.C. In previous historical interpretations these artifacts were not dated.[124] Were these artifacts just part of the goods which merchants sold to local communities or were they the first evidence of Egyptian cults which penetrated the eastern Adriatic region during the same period? Sadly we do not posses any archaeological evidence that could provide an answer to that question. If we compare these findings with the artifacts discovered in Spain, France, Italy, Aegean and North Africa there is a great possibility that those artifacts could have arrived to the eastern Adriatic coast and inland before the romanization of Illyricum during the 1st century A.D.[125] They could be a crucial element in confirming that the first worshippers of Egyptian cults were already present in that region. If this thesis is correct then the first active penetration of ancient Egyptian divinities probably happened between the end of the 3rd century B.C.until the end of the 1st century B.C., before the end of the Roman conquest of Illyricum. Sadly, from this period we do not have any epigraphic evidence which could confirm the existance of Egyptian cults. The earliest surviving epigraphic evidence of Isaic cults and communities were dated to be from the 1st century A.D. In *Auternum Vestinorum* (today Pescara, Italy) two epigraphic inscriptions from the 1st century A.D. document the presence of *collegium Serapis* (*CIL* IX.3337 = *SIRIS* 475, 677 = *RICIS* 615/0401) and *collegium Isidis* (*CIL* IX.3338) in *Salona*. These collegiums could have developed from the previous individual worshippers or even small communities of worshippers of Egyptian divinities (Isis, Serapis, Osiris, Harpocrates) which are documented on bronze figurines discovered along the eastern Adriatic coast. They could be imports from Egypt, Italy, the eastern Mediterranean or Aegean region during the period from the 3rd to the 1st centuries B.C., or they could have been be looted from ancient Egyptian tombs and sold during the Greco-Roman period. The findings discovered in the Roman settlements on the eastern Adriatic coast and inland, which date from the 1st century A.D. until the end of 3rd century A.D., have a different typology from the artifacts from the Late and Ptolemaic periods. Does it mean that these typologicaly older artifacts came from an earlier period than the artifacts from the Roman period? We cannot confirm such a hypothesis but that is definitely possible, and I will try to prove it using one type of artifact–shabtis.

In my opinion shabtis isthe key to this debate. Shabtis were made of stone, alabaster, wood, terracotta, and colored fäience since the First Intermediate period. From the Late period they were crafted with much less care and with much shorter inscriptions. By the end of the Ptolemaic period shabtis became very small and they bore no inscriptions, and during the Roman Empire shabtis were no longer produced in Egypt.[126] Since the late Ptolemaic period Egyptians stopped using shabtis as part of their funerary equipment. In very rare cases shabtis were discovered in Egypt during the Roman period, but at the same time they were found in great numbers in the Mediterranean world and in all provinces of the Roman Empire.[127] There is no evidence that workshops which made shabtis ever existed in Egypt during the Roman period, but it seems that such workshops existed outside Egypt in places where communities of worshippers of Egyptian divinites were recorded during the Greco-Roman period. According to mine typological studies, there are only a few types of shabtis which could be associated with the Roman Empire (types H, I, J, and L). Most of these artifacts seem to be copies of the original New Kingdom shabtis[128], sometimes with cartouches of pharaohs Thutmose III[129] or Amenhotep III[130]. In some cases such shabtis bore pseudohieroglyphic inscriptions.[131] All other types of shabtis discovered in Southern Europe are common products from the second half of the 1st millenium B.C. (types A-G, J, K, M). Types of shabtis which were discovered in Central, Northern and Western Europe are the types typical for the late Ptolemaic

[118] AMIP: the bronze figurine of the goddess Neith (A5220), the bronze figurine of the pharaoh in kneeling position (A5210), the bronze figurine of Osiris from Bale (ancient *Valle*) (A5224), the bronze amulet of Harpocrates (A5221), the two bronze statuettes of Apis (A5223; the second seems to be lost), the small bronze sistrum from *Nesactium* (inv. no. A5048). AMIP also possesses seventeen Ancient Egyptian artifacts (amulets: *Wedjet*-eye, *wadj*, Bes, lotus flower, scarabs, and four shabtis) for which we do not know their provenance. It is very likely that they came from Istria or from northeastern Italy.

[119] The bronze statuette of goddess Sekhmet (AMS: inv. no. H2604).

[120] The ten shabtis crafted from the 26th to the Ptolemaic dynasty (coll. Marović, AMZ: inv. nos. E561-565), ten bronze statuettes of Osiris (AMS: inv. nos. H374-378, H5006, H5459, H5461-5463), five statuettes of Isis-Hathor nursing Horus (AMS: inv. nos. H5003-5005, H5007, H5460), and Wedjet-eye amulet (AMS: inv. no. G1629).

[121] The eight shabtis crafted from the 18th dynasty to the Late period (AMS: inv. nos. B212-B216, G1623-1624, G1626), the four scarabs (AMS: inv. nos. AV373, G1632, G1886-1887), pearl with hieroglyphic signs (AMS: inv. nos. AV372, 374-375), the fragments of the Ancient Egyptian artifacts with or without hieroglyphic signs (AMS: inv. nos. B217-218, B757), Wedjet-eye amulet (AMS: inv. no. G1676).

[122] Shabti (27th dynasty-Ptolemaic dynasty; coll. Domančić), shabti (27th-Ptolemaic dynasty, AMS G1625), the two wedjet-eye amulets and the pendant amulet with falcon with crown (AMS: inv. nos. G1627-1628, G1631).

[123] Tomorad 2006, 285-301; Tomorad 2011, 110, 115, 122, 125, 134; Tomorad, forthcoming.

[124] Drexler 1890; Drexler 1900; Perc 1968; Selem 1971; Selem 1972; Budischovsky 1977; Selem 1997; Giunio 2002.

[125] Tran Tam Tih 1971; Tran Tam Tih 1972; Witt 1971; Dunand 1973; Parcerisa 1980-1985; Budischovsky 1977; Hölbl 1979; Hölbl 1986; Bricault 2001.

[126] Tomorad 2004: 93.

[127] Tomorad 2004: 206; Tomorad 2006: 280.

[128] AMS: inv. no. G1624.

[129] AMS: inv. nos. B212B213; AMZ: inv. nos. MIB348, E-675; GMS: inv. nos. 4100.

[130] AMS: inv. no. B216.

[131] KMH: inv. no. 6708; MARPOS: 47425 (from Biggemi, Sicily); FMK: inv. no. 641 (from *Curicum*, Krk).

and the Roman periods which could mean that older types of shabtis were not usually used from the 1st century B.C. onwards.[132] This is one argument why the arrival of such artifacts could be dated before the 1st century B.C.

According to the previous discussion and the archaeological findings from the eastern Adriatic coast and inland, I assert that the first penetration and dissemination of Egyptian cults could have started during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. The first worshippers of Egyptian gods and goddesses were probably present along the coast and inland in the communities of various Illyricum tribes, and in locations where Greeks established their colonies and trading posts which developed prominent communications with the Aegean region, Egypt and North Africa (e.g. Etruscans, Phoenicians, Carthago etc.).

One of the most interesting artifacts from the region is a small bronze sistrum (cat. no. 5, fig. 128)[133] discovered in the pre-Roman settlement of *Nesactium* (today Vizače near Pula). It is dated from the the early 2nd century B.C. to the 1st century A.D.[134] Since the early 1st millenium B.C., Nesactium was the main settlement of another Illyrian tribe, *Histrii* which settled in Istria for centuries. It was found in 1908 during archaeological excavations in *Nesactium,* in a grave with an urn and a terracotta oil lamp which were dated to the 2nd century B.C.[135] Later it was not dated, or it was dated to the 1st century A.D. The reason for different dating is probably the typical thinking: that Egyptian cults appeared in that region from the 1st century A.D. Since the pharaonic period sistrums were, in the ancient world, typical symbols of the cults of Isis and Hathor. According to the typology, iconography and comparisons with similar sistrums from various museums in Europe and the United States, this sistrum can be dated to the Ptolemaic period. It could be evidence of some worshipper of Isis or Hathor who lived in the area of *Nesactium*, or evidence of early dissemination of Egyptian divinities in Istria. Bronze figurines of the Egyptian divinites Neith, Harpocrates, Apis and Osiris, discovered in Istria (cat. nos. 6-8, 10 & figs. 129-131, 133), are products of the Ptolemaic period (3rd-1st centuries B.C.) which could have come to Istria anytime during that period. Sadly the archaeological context for all these findings was not preserved, and the only confirmed location is Bale (ancient *Valle*), where a larger Osiris statuette was found (cat. no. 10, fig. 133). There are several possible regions from where they could have come to Istria: from the Etruscan settlements on the west coast of the Adriatic, some Greek settlement on the eastern Adriatic coast, directly from the Aegean region, south Italy, eastern Mediterranean, North Africa or Egypt.[136]

During my latest research of the various museum institutions in Croatia, I discovered the existance of ten ancient Egyptian artifacts unearthed on the island of Krk.[137] According to the information given by the archaeologist Ranko Starac (Pomorski i povijesni muzej Hrvatskog primorja, Rijeka), these artifacts were found in late Hellenistic graves from the middle of the 1st century B.C. The graves, which were excavated in the backyard of the house Šinigoj in the city of Krk (ancient *Curicum*), were dated to be from the early civil war between Pompey and Julius Caesar, c. 49 B.C. These latest findings can definitively backup my hypothesis that ancient Egyptian artifacts (shabtis, scarabs and amulets) came to the eastern Adriatic coast before the 1st century A.D. In early 49 B.C. Julius Caesar ordered Publius Cornelius Dolabella to build a fleet in the Adriatic[138], and part of this fleet was stationed in *Curicum* under the command of Gaius Antonius[139], probably the brother of Marcus Antonius. At the same time, a Pompey fleet, under the command of Marcus Octavius and Lucius Scribonius Libo, was stationed in Issa, and sent to the north Adriatic. After the famous battle at Krk, in the middle of 49 B.C., the fleet of Gaius Antonius was defeated and he had to surrender to Marcus Octavius' troops who took charge of *Curicum*.[140] It is known that part of the Pompey fleet and military forces who defeated Gaius Antonius near Krk were recruited in Egypt.[141] It is very likely that a few of these soldiers or sailors who died during the early years of the civil war (49-48 B.C.) were buried in these late Hellenistic graves along with the Egyptian artifacts which they brought from Egypt. We canneither confirm nor deny that they were worshippers of Egyptian divinites, but that option is possible.

The next phase of penetration (and according to previous historians the first phase of diffusion of Egyptian cults), happened during the period of the Romanization of the Istrian peninsula; western *Illyricum* and Pannonia during the 1st century A.D.[142] According to previous studies the settlers from Italy were considered to be the first members of Roman society which introduced the cult of Isis and Serapis in *Pannonia*.[143] The oldest artifacts from this period are two oil lamps with the relief of Isis[144] which were discovered in *Poetovio* (Ptuj, Slovenia). They are usually dated to the reign of the Emperor Claudius I (A.D. 41-54).[145] The artifact, which could actually be dated to the period of the Flavian dynasty, was discovered in *Pola*. It is a marble fragment of a head depicting the Egyptian goddess

[132] Tomorad, forthcoming.
[133] AMIP: inv. no. A-5048.
[134] Puschi 1914: 59-60; Perc 1968: 157-158, no. 14; Budischovsky 1977: 173; Džin 2001: 18-19; Tomorad 2003: 49, fn. 193, Giunio 2002: 26-27; Tomorad 2005: 17; Tomorad 2007: 48-49, no. 3.
[135] Puschi 1914: 60.
[136] Cambi 2002: 14-17; Mihovilić 2002: 506, 514.
[137] Two shabtis figures, three scarabs with hieroglyphic inscriptions and five amulets of cats. They are now kept in the Franciscan monastery on the island of Košljun.
[138] App. *Civ*. II.41..
[139] App. *Civ*. II.41..
[140] App. *Civ*. II.47; D. C. XLI.40-411-2.
[141] Veith 1924; Šišić 1925: 93-94; Matijašić 2009: 129-131.
[142] More about the process of pacification and Romanization in: Matijašić 2009: 87-221; Domić-Kunić & Džino 2013.
[143] Wessetzky 1961; Móscy 1962: 734-736; Pinterović 1967: 26-27; Móscy 1974; Lengyel & Radan 1980: 185-193; Selem 1980: 1-75; Rendić-Miočević & Šegvić 1998: 10.
[144] LJG: inv. nos. 5683, 8310.
[145] Saria 1937: 23; Perc 1968: 192, nos. 40-41; Selem 1972: 34, 37; Selem 1980: 19, nos. 31-32; Selem 1997: 136, nos. 8.23-8.24.

Hathor (cat. no. 21, fig. 144)[146], which was excavated from an amphitheatre in Pula during the archaeological season of 1932-1933. It was found among building material and mortar during the reconstruction work of the visitors' seats, together with a coin of the Roman emperor Galba.[147] There are many other artifacts that could be dated to the 1st century A.D. They were discovered in Tergeste, Loron near Poreč, *Pola*, Galižana, Savudrija (cat. no. 22, fig. 145), *Aenona*, *Iader*, *Aternum* (Pescara), *Salona*, Oklaj Promine, *Poetovio,* Sv. Križ, *Andautonia*, *Siscia*, and *Mursa* (Table 1). Many of the Egyptian artifacts which I 're-discovered' in various museums during my research of the ancient Egyptian collections in Croatia in 2013 are still not analyzed, dated or published. Due to the lack of archaeological context of most of the findings, we will probably never find out when and how they came to Istria and Illyricum. According to typology, iconography and crafting techniques of these artifacts, we can presume that many of them could have arrived during the 1st or 2nd centuries A.D. In his articles and books, Selem made a hypothesis that some of them could have been crafted in local workshops related to the worshippers of Egyptian cults[148], but there is no evidence that can support such a hypothesis. It is possible that such workshops existed near the sanctuaries or temples in the main centers of Isaic cults. The pseudoshabti figures, which were clearly crafted in Egyptian style as symbols, but without the original meaning of shabtis, discovered in Krk and Sicily, could be just exotic 'Aegyptiaca' style artifacts. However, in the case of the pseudoshabti from Krk, I doubt the accuracy of that because it was discovered with several other 'genuine' artifacts (shabti, scarabs). During my study of shabtis and Egyptian funerary customs and beliefs in Greco-Roman world, I mentioned the possibility that original Egyptian artifacts, which were used earlier as funerary equippement, were later re-used and sold by merchants who traded them to some interested third parties, who liked exotic luxury goods or maybe even worshippers of Egyptian divinities.[149] All of these theories are possible but they cannot be supported by any written evidence.

7. Conclusion

In this article I have tried to show evidence that supports my theory of a much earlier penetration of ancient Egyptian artifacts, divinities and cults to the eastern Adriatic coast (Istria, *Illyricum* and *Pannonia*). Based on analysis of the findings, their typology, iconography and previous archaeological and historical studies, we can identify a few phases of penetration of Egyptian artifacts (the early 1st millennium B.C.-1st century B.C.) which later developed into a thorough diffusion of Egyptian divinites and Isiac cults (c. 1st century B.C-4th century A.D.). According to the few findings of Egyptian artifacts discovered in the region of Illyricum (blue fäince shabti from Salona, 22nd dynasty; scarab from Trnjaci-Pilatovići, later 6th century B.C.; bone handle of dagger from Sesvete), we can presume that the first Egyptian artifacts could have arrived during the early Iron Age (c. 8th-5th centuries B.C.). They were probably traded by merchants to wealthy members of the local communities with an unknown purpose. The possibility that their buyers were worshippers of Egyptian divinities is very low but still possible.

During the Greek colonization along the Adriatic coast (c. 8th century B.C. through the end of the 3rd century B.C.) ; with well established colonies on the central Dalmatian islands (Korčula, Hvar, Vis) and coast (*Epetium*, *Tragurium*, *Epidaurum*), Greek emporiums in *Aenona*, *Iader* and *Salona*, and Greek influenced Illyrium tribes both on the coast and inland, it is possible that the Greek colonists, with their traders, started selling Egyptian artifacts to the local community or even the worshipers of Egyptian divinities (e.g. Isis, Osiris, Harpocrates, Serapis).

During the Roman conquest of Illyricum (3rd century B.C.-1st century A.D.) connections with Egypt, North Africa, Aegean and Italy became much more intensive. The findings of the coin hoards with North African and Ptolemaic coinage can support the theory that; by the late 3rd century B.C. trading connections were already well established. It is also possible that the large number of Egyptian artifacts (scarabs, amulets, shabtis, bronze figurines of divinities) could have arrived in Istria (e.g *Nesactium*), *Aenona*, *Iader*, region of Lika, *Salona*, and the central Dalmatian islands (Hvar, Korčula, Vis) as the first presence of Egyptian divinities.

During the Romanization and the Roman rule of Illyricum (1st century B.C. through the end of the 4th century A.D.), Egyptian cults were present and well documented from varius artifacts and epigraphic evidence. The more vital dissemination of Egyptian cults (Isis, Serapis, Harpocrates, Jupiter Ammon etc.) started during the reign of Emperos Claudius and continued until the early 4th century A.D.. Roman cults with syncretistic Egyptian elements (Isis Fortuna, Hermes-Thoth, Jupiter-Ammon, Serapis with lions, etc.) were the most popular from the end of the 1st century to the middle of the 3rd century A.D. Several monuments from *Salona* (Nilotica relief) and Split (sphinxs and 'Aegyptiaca' style decorations from Diocletian's palace in Split) which had privously been analyzed in the context of Egyptian cults on the eastern Adriatic coast should be reconsidered as the Roman 'Aegyptiaca', as they probably had nothing to do with Egyptian cults or divinities. With the rising of Christianity at the beginning of the 4th century A.D. we can observe a gradual decline in the popularity of the all pagan cults which were, at the end of the 4th century, completely prohibited by emperor Theodosius.

146 AMIP: inv. no. A-8712.
147 Degrassi 1933: 395-396; Perc 1968: 148-150; Jurkić-Girardi 2001: 14-15; Tomorad 2003: 48, fn. 180; Tomorad 2005: 16-17; Tomorad 2007: 45-46.
148 Selem 1963; Selem 1969; Selem 1971; Selem 1972; Selem 1980; Selem 1997.
149 Tomorad 2000: 11-12; Tomorad 2006: 284-285; Tomorad, forthcoming.

8. Catalogue of the selected artifacts (1st millenium B.C. – 1st c. A.D.)

1. Shabti (fig. 124)

Solin (*Salona*), date unknown.

Third Intermediate Period; 22nd Dynasty.

Pale blue faience (damaged on front and back sides). H. 10 cm.

Schneider 1977, class VIIIB2; Tomorad forthcoming, class K.

Ex coll. of family Lanza (Split). Eg. Coll., AMZ: inv. no. E-561; not on display.

Bibliography: Tomorad 2000, 13; Tomorad 2003, 35; Tomorad 2004, 109; Tomorad 2005, 4; Tomorad 2006, 297, no. 22; Tomorad 2011, 110, 115, 122, 125.

Description:

Mummiform. Lappet wig with twisted fillet and *seshed* head-band. Without beard. Arms crossed on the chest, left over right, unsleeved. Hoes in both hands. Basket on the back. Face oval and poorly shaped. Eyes with brows. Hieroglyphic inscription in one vertical column nearly unreadable.

Cf. Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, London: 29869, 39933, 39934, 40400, 40435, 40444, 40466, 40469; Bolton Museum: 211.1979.579, A.75.1967, AW.132; Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford: 1958.348, 1971.1428; University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia: E1907, E14559, E14593.

2. Ptolemaic coin (fig. 125av/rv)

Mazin near Gračac, 21 June 1896.

Ptolemy VI Philometor (180-145 B.C.).

Alloy metal mixture (badly damaged surface on front and back side). D. 25,5 mm; Wt. 14.39 g.

Alexandrian mint.

Inv. no. AMZ: A3870; not on display.

Unpublished.

Bibliography: Brunšmid 1897; Mirnik 1981; Mirnik 1982, 151; Mirnik 1987, 381; Tomorad 2003, 45; Tomorad 2005, 8.

Description:



Fig. 124 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Shabti, from Salona, Croatia, inv. no. E-561. Photo M. Tomorad, 2005.





Fig. 125 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Ptolemaic coin, from Gračac, Croatia, inv. no. A3870. Photo M. Tomorad, 2002.





Fig. 126 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Ptolemaic coin, from Gračac, Croatia, inv. no. A3892. Photo M. Tomorad, 2002.

Avers: head of Ptolemy VI Philometor. Reverse: eagle with spread wings standing on the lightning bolt (?).

Cf. British Museum, London: 1866,1201.3901, G.1119, 1947,0606.211, G1956,0409.64.

3. Ptolemaic coin (fig. 126av/rv)

Mazin near Gračac, 21 June 1896.

Ptolemy VI Philometor (180-145 B.C.).

Alloy metal mixture (badly damaged surface on front and back side). D. 29x30 mm; Wt. 20.42 g.

Alexandrian mint.

AMZ: inv. no. A3892; not on display.

Unpublished.

Bibliography: Brunšmid 1897; Mirnik 1981; Mirnik 1982, 151; Mirnik 1987, 381; Tomorad 2003, 45; Tomorad 2005, 45.

Description:

Avers: head of Zeus-Ammon. Reverse: two eagles with spread wings are standing on the lightning bolts (?).

Cf. British Museum, London: 1863,0813.14, 1864,1118.187, 1950,0404.21.





Fig. 127 The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: Ptolemaic coin, from Gračac, Croatia, inv. no. A9371. Photo M. Tomorad, 2002.

4. Ptolemaic coin (fig. 127av/rv)

Gračac, 1925/1926.

Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (170-116 B.C.).

Alloy metal mixture (surface in good condition; edges are damaged, parts are missing). D. 28 mm; Wt. 12.57 g.

Cyrene mint.

AMZ: inv. no. A9371; not on display.

Unpublished.

Bibliography: Mirnik 1981; Mirnik 1982, 151; Mirnik 1987, 380-381; Tomorad 2003, 45; Tomorad 2005, 8.

Description:

Avers: head of Zeus-Ammon with diadem and flower adornment. Reverse: eagle with spread wings is standing on the lightning bolt (?).

Cf. British Museum, London: 1841,B.3708, 1947,0606.1059.

5. Sistrum (fig. 128)

Vizače (ancient *Nesactium*), 1906-1908.

3rd-2nd c. B.C.

Bronze (well preserved). H. 7.8 cm; W. 5.2 cm.

AMIP: inv. no. A-5048; on display in *Nesactium* room.

Bibliography: Puschi 1914, 59-60, abb. 25; Perc 1968, 157-158, no. 14; Budischovsky 1977, 173, pl. IX; Džin 2001, 18-19, unmarked fig.; Giunio 2002, 26-27; Tomorad 2003, 49, fn. 193, fig. 46; Tomorad 2005, 17; Tomorad 2007, 48-49, no. 3.

Description:

Miniature sistrum, probably amulet, is made from a prolonged trapezoidal ring with four sticks. These metal objects were commonly used in various Isaic rituals during



Fig. 128 The Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula: Sistrum, from Nesactium, Croatia, inv. no. A-5048. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.

the Hellenistic period and the Roman Empire. They were making sounds when metal sticks where shaken. Above the trapezoidal ring small installment, probably the part of small hook used for hanging the amulet on a string, is still visible. There is a very small handle below trapezoidal ring. In the ancient times sistrum-amulet probably belongs to the member of small Isaic community who lived in the area of the pre-Roman settlement *Nesactium*.

In the previous publication authors did not agree about the dating of this sistrum. They did not date it or they dated it to the 1st century A.D. simply because they did not research the connections with Egypt in previous periods or they just thought that such communities could exist in Istria peninsula only from the period of the Roman Empire. According to my research it could belong to the pre-Roman settlement of *Nesactium* which was destroyed by the Romans in 177 B.C. In that important town the small community of ancient Egyptian believers could exist since the 3rd century B.C. which could be proved with some other Ptolemaic material which was found along the coast of Istria of the unknown provenance.

6-9. Group of the Ancient Egyptian artifacts discovered in Istria for which we do not know any archaeological content of these findings. Most of these artifacts were previously dated from the Late period to the 2nd century A.D.[150] According to the latest typological study and discussion with the various Egyptologist in the European museums all these artifacts are product of the Ptolemaic period. We can not be sure when exactly these artifacts came to Istria; it probably happened between 3rd century B.C. and the 1st century A.D.

6. Neith (fig. 129)

Istria, unknown site, date unknown.

Ptolemaic period (306-30 B.C.).

Bronze (badly damaged; missing: left lower leg below dress, right ankle, foot, *Ankh* and *was* scepter). H. 9.2 cm; W. 2.2 cm.

AMIP: inv. no. A-5220; not on display.

Bibliography: Perc 1968, 160-161, no. 17; Budischovsky 1977, 174-175; Džin 20-21, no. 4, fig. 4; Tomorad 2003, 49, fn. 197; Giunio 2002, 27, fn. 17; Tomorad 2005, 17; Tomorad 2007, 51-51, no. 5.

Description:

Standing figure represents the ancient Egyptian goddess Neith in her characteristic pose. On her head she is wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, the region with which she was in ancient times most closely associated. The neck is decorated with a stylized necklace, and the upper arms with stylized bracelets. Her right arm is laid down by her body; her left arm and leg are thrown forward. The upper torso (breasts and belly) seems to be naked. The breasts are visible. The lower part of the body is covered with typical Egyptian dress. In her the most common representation she usually holds *was* (power) scepter in her left arm, and *ankh* (life) symbol in her right hand. In this case these symbols are missing. The position of her left hand suggests that *was* staff originally existed. Previously was interpreted as an ancient Egyptian figure[151] and as ancient Egyptian man in walking position.[152]

7. Harpocrates (fig. 130)

Istria, unknown site, date unknown.

Ptolemaic period (306-30 B.C.).

Bronze (well preserved). H. 6.7 cm; W. 2 cm.

AMIP: inv. no. A-5221; not on display.

Bibliography: Perc 1968, 162, no. 19; Budischovsky 1977, 174-175 ; Džin 2001, 20-21, no. 3, fig. 3; Giunio 2002, 27, fn. 17; Tomorad 2003, 49, fn. 196; Tomorad 2005, 17; Tomorad 2007, 52-53, no. 6.

Description:

Small figure-amulet of the Hellenistic god Harpocrates. The young god is shown naked with touching knees. His head is pointed little bit forward. Arms are laid down close to the body. Harpocrates is shown with the typical ichnographical hair style–on the right side of the head the hair is tied into small lock or tail. There are a small *ureus* in the middle of his forehead, and a small base below feet. Small hook used for hanging the amulet on a string is visible behind the neck.

Previously was interpreted as small statuette of Harpocrates[153], and as small amulet of naked man with touching knees[154].

8. Apis (fig. 131)

Istria, unknown site, date unknown.

Ptolemaic period (306-30 B.C.).

Bronze (damaged, missing: lower part of left front and hind legs). H. 4.8 cm; W. 9.5 cm.

AMIP: inv. no. A-5223; not on display.

Bibliography: Perc 1968, 159-160, no. 16; Budischovsky 1977, 174-175; Džin 2001, 19-20, no. 2, fig. 2; Giunio

[150] Tomorad 2007: 51.

[151] Perc 1968: 160-161, no. 17.
[152] Džin 2001: 20-21, no. 4, fig. 4; Giunio 2002.
[153] Perc 1968: 161, no. 19; Tomorad 2007: 52-53, no. 6.
[154] Džin 2001; Giunio 2002.



Fig. 129 The Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula: Neith, from unknown site in Istria, Croatia, inv. no. A-5220. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.

2002, 27, fn. 17; Tomorad 2003, 49, fn. 195; Tomorad 2005, 17; Tomorad 2007, 53-54, no. 7.

Description:

Small figure of the sacred bull Apis. It wears solar or lunar disc and small *ureus* between its horns. Along the body cuts are disposed which probably represent ornaments as the proof that the animal is the incarnation of the god Apis.

9. Young Egyptian prince or Pharaoh in kneeling position (fig. 132)

Istria, unknown site, date unknown.

Ptolemaic period (306-30 B.C.).

Bronze (badly damaged, missing: right forearm and left hand). H. 6.5 cm; W. 2.2 cm.

AMIP: inv. no. A-5210; not on display.

Bibliography: Perc 1968, 161, no. 18; Budischovsky 1977, 174-175; Džin 2001, 20-21, no. 5, fig. 5; Giunio 2002, 27, fn. 17; Tomorad 2003, 49, fn. 199; Tomorad 2005, 17; Tomorad 2007, 49-50, no. 4.

Description:



Fig. 130 The Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula: Harpocrates amulet, from unknown site in Istria, Croatia, inv. no. A-5221. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.

Small figurine represents young male in kneeling position. On his head he is wearing *klaft–nemesis* which was usually worn by Egyptian Pharaoh or prince who will inherit the throne. His torso is naked but he wears some kind of jewelry on it. There are two necklaces around his neck. Arms are gently descended down the body. The upper right arm seems to be decorated with stylized bracelet. His right forearm and hand, and left hand are missing. Hips are covered with typical ancient Egyptian cloth which is decorated with ornaments. The legs and feet are bare. There is a small base below the figure. The body of the figure is slightly bent upfront. It seems that the figure was offering some sacrifice to the gods. The figure is badly damaged so we can not be sure what kind of offering it really was. Ichnographically statuette represents the kneeling figure of young prince of Pharaoh during the some kind of offering to the ancient Egyptian gods. Previously was interpreted as ancient Egyptian figure[155] and ancient Egyptian woman.[156]

10. Osiris (fig. 133)

Bale (lat. *Valle*), date unknown.

Ptolemaic period (306-30 B.C.).

Bronze (damaged base). H. 15.5 cm; W. 3.8 cm.

AMIP: inv. no. A-5224; not on display.

Bibliography: Perc 1968, 158-159, no. 15; Budischovsky 1977, 168; Džin 2001, 19-20, no. 1, fig. 1; Giunio 2002, 27;

[155] Perc 1968: 161, no. 18.
[156] Džin 2001: 20-21, no. 5, fig. 5; Giunio 2002: 27, fn. 17.



Fig. 131 The Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula: Apis, from unknown site in Istria, Croatia, inv. no. A-5223. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.

Tomorad 2003, 49, fn. 194; Tomorad 2005, 17; Tomorad 2007, 54-55, no. 8.

Description:

Statuette of the Ancient Egyptian god Osiris in anthropomorphic form. He is shown as a mummified standing male figure with the feathered *Atef* crown on his head. Small *ureus* is also attached on the front side of the crown. There is the crook in his left and flail in his right hand. The face is stylized and schematically represented. It is also decorated with two thin stylized beards.

11-20. Group of the Ancient Egyptian artifacts (nos. 11-20) discovered in the late Hellenistic grave in the backyard of the house Šinigoj in Krk during the archaeological excavations of the ancient necropolis of *Curicum*. The grave was dated to 50-45 B.C. According to the discussion with archaeologist Ranko Starac from *Pomorski muzej Rijeke i hrvatskog primorja*, who informed me about this collection in May 2013, the excavated Hellenistic graves were connected with the blockade of the Caesar military troops at this region by the Pompey forces during their civil war. All artifacts are kept in the Franciscan monastery at the island of Košljun, in the bay of Punat, island of Krk.



Fig. 132 The Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula: Young Egyptian prince or Pharaoh in kneeling position, from unknown site in Istria, Croatia, inv. no. A-5210. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.

Among these artifacts is the group of small figurines or amulets of the cat (nos. 13-17) typical for the Ancient Egyptian art. Maybe they can be associated with goddess Bastet.

11. Shabti of lady Mehytweskhet (fig. 134)

Krk (ancient *Curicum*), date unknown.

Third Intermediate Period; the late 21st-early 22nd Dynasty or the copy of the original shabti crafted during the Ptolemaic period (306-30 B.C.).

Terracotta (well preserved). H. 15.8 cm; W. 5 cm.

Schneider 1977, class VIIIC1; Tomorad forthcoming, class N.

FMK: inv. no. 642, on display.

Unpublished.

Description:

Mummiform. Third Intermediate Period striated lappet wig with one horizontal band on lappets. Without beard. Arms crossed on the chest. Hands crossed right over left, unsleeved. Hoes in both hands. Flat back. Face is oval and well shaped. Eyes with brows. Ears are well shaped. Hieroglyphic inscription is written in one vertical column names the owner *Mehyt-weskhet*. Her name is written in a royal cartouche with the title 'Divine Adoratrice of Amun, Lord of the Two Lands'.

Hieroglyphic inscription:

Wsjr dwꜣt-nṯr n Jmn nb tꜣwy Mhyt-wsḫt mry-Mwt ḏt

The Osiris, the Divine Adoratrice of Amun, Lord of the Two Lands, Mehyt-weskhet, beloved of Mut forever.

It seems that the Lady *Mehyt-weskhet* was the important character from the Third Intermediate period. Sometimes scholars call her *Mehyten-weskhet*[157] or *Mehten-weskhet*[158] (. On her shabtis she held the titles 'The Divine Adoratrice of Amun' and 'God's Wife of Amun' which means that she was very important person in the region of Thebes, probably the daughter of the High Priest of Amun, maybe *Menkheperre Hemnetjertepyenamun* (1045-992 B.C.), who ruled the Upper Egypt during the Third Intermediate period. On her shabtis she also held name *Mut-em-hat* what was suggested to be the prenomen or throne name of *Mahyt-weskhet*.[159] According to the Yoyotte dating of

[157] Dodson & Hilton 2004: 200; Tyldesley 2006: 181.
[158] Kitchen 1996: 437, 506.
[159] Yoyotte 1972: 47.



Fig. 133 The Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula: Osiris, from Bale in Istria, Croatia, inv. no. A-5224. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.



Fig. 134 The Franciscan monastery, Košljun: Shabti of lady Mehytweskhet, from Krk, Croatia, inv. no. 642. Photo M. Tomorad 2013.

the 'Divine Adoratrices of Amun' it seems that she was the third in line and that she lived at the end of 11th or during the early 10th century B.C.[160] Historians and the Egyptologist has very little knowledge about her life. She is also mentioned on the stele Pasenhor B from Serapeum in Saqqara and on the text formerly on the roof of the Khonsu temple in Karnak.[161] According to the previous historiographical research she married Shoshenq with whom she got Akheperra Setepenra, later know as king Osorkon the Elder (984-978 B.C.). She was also grandmather of Hedjkheperra, Shoshenq I (945-924 B.C.).[162]

Her shabtis were often broken, probably during the antiquity, which could also mean that her tomb was robbed in antiquity when her grave goods along with shabtis were taken out and probably sold. From one of such robberies during the middle of the 1st century B.C. probably came this shabti which was found in the Hellenistic grave in Krk.

This shabti is one of three known terracotta shabtis which belonged to the owner *Mehyt-weskhet*. The other two specimens are kept in Montserrat and Moscow.

Her faience shabtise were discovered in Thebes. Lepsius brought two of them from Thebes.[163] Petrie mentioned that he acquired her shabti in 1887 in Luxor where it was brought from western Thebes.[164] One of her shabtis (Cairo CG48527) was discovered in Deir el-Bahri pit in the so-called the Royal Cache.[165]

160 Yoyotte 1972: 50.
161 Dodson and Hilton 2004: 207.
162 Dodson and Hilton 2004: 207.
163 Lepsius 1858: no. 574.
164 Petrie 1905.III: 251.
165 Newberry 1930, 428, 434.



Fig. 135 The Franciscan monastery, Košljun: Pseudoshabti, from Krk, Croatia, inv. no. 641. Photo M. Tomorad 2013.

Cf. Ägyptisches Museum-Neues Museum, Berlin: 7418; Egyptian museum, Cairo: CG48455-CG48457, CG48527; Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, London: UC38077, UC39870, UC39871; Museo de Montserrat, Montserrat: 610.105; Hermitage Museum, Moscow: 1615; Brooklyn museum of art, New York: 37.154E; Metropolitan museum of art, New York: 22.3.13, 22.3.14; Musée du Louvre, Paris: N2249, E5334; Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Swansea: W1315.

12. Pseudoshabti (fig. 135)

Krk (ancient *Curicum*), date unknown.

Ptolemaic period (306-30 B.C.).

Terracotta (well preserved). H. 15.4 cm; W. 5.2 cm.

Tomorad forthcoming, class J.

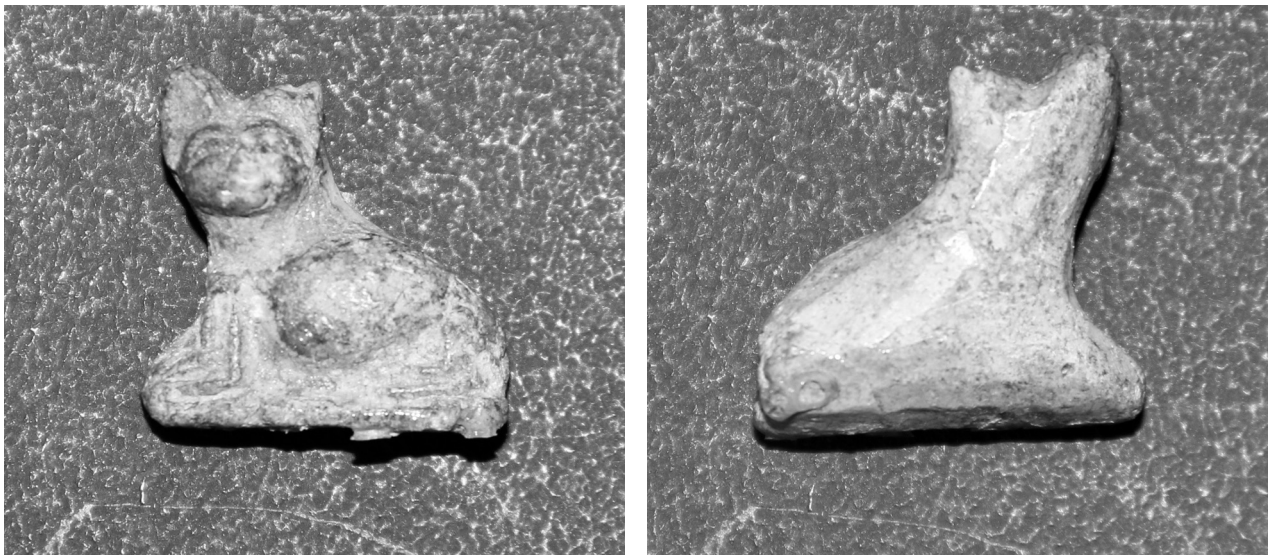


Fig. 136 The Franciscan monastery, Košljun: Amulet of the cat, from Krk, Croatia, without inventory number. Photo M. Tomorad 2013.

FMK: inv. no. 641, on display.

Unpublished.

Description:

Female pseudoshabti figurine with naked breasts. The striated lappet wig with flat back. Without beard. Collar around neck. Naked arms with hands on skirt in attitude of praying. Without implements, bags and baskets. Face is oval and well shaped. Eyes with brows. Ears are well shaped. Pseudo hieroglyphic inscription in one vertical column is carved on skirt above naked feet. Typical features of the life shabtis from the New Kingdom.

The almost identical pseudoshabti is kept today in Siracusa. It supposed to be discovered in Biggemi before 1935 when it was firstly mentioned in the museum inventory books. E. Hauslauer analysed it and wrote that it si modern 'fake' probably made at the end of the 19th or at the beginning of the 20th century.[166] She also thinks that similar shabtis from New York and Vienna are all those modern 'fakes' because of the pseudo hieroglyphic text. I actually doubt that opinion for two reasons: 1) this identical shabti from Krk was discovered in archaeological context which means that it original and not modern product; 2) the false hieroglyphic signs do not have to prove that such shabtis are fakes. If such shabtis were crafted outside Egypt in Sicily and North Africa they are probably connected with some workshops related with ancient Egyptian cults and those artists probably do not know ancient Egyptian language and hieroglyphic signs. Such aftefacts were probably sold all over Mediterranean world in ancient times and region of Siracuse with good trade connection with Mediterranean east and Egypt could easily be one of the centers for distribution of these kind of goods.

Cf. private collection, New York; Museo Archeologico Regionale 'P. Orsi', Siracusa: 47425; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna: 6708.

13. Amulet of the cat (fig. 136)

Krk (ancient *Curicum*), date unknown.

Late Hellenistic period (c. Ist century B.C.).

Brown terracotta (well preserved). H. 2.1 cm; W. 2.2 cm.

FMK: without inventory number, on display.

Unpublished.

Description:

Small figurine or amulet of the cat. Head with large ears is turn on the left side; both front and the back legs are visible. Flat back side.

14. Amulet of the cat *(fig. 137)*

Krk (ancient *Curicum*), date unknown.

Late Hellenistic period (c. Ist century B.C.).

Brown terracotta (well preserved). H. 2.1 cm; W. 2.5 cm.

FMK: without inventory number, on display.

Unpublished.

Description:

Small figurine or amulet of the cat. Head with large ears is turn on the left side; larger neck between the head and the

[166] Hauslauer 2006: 42.

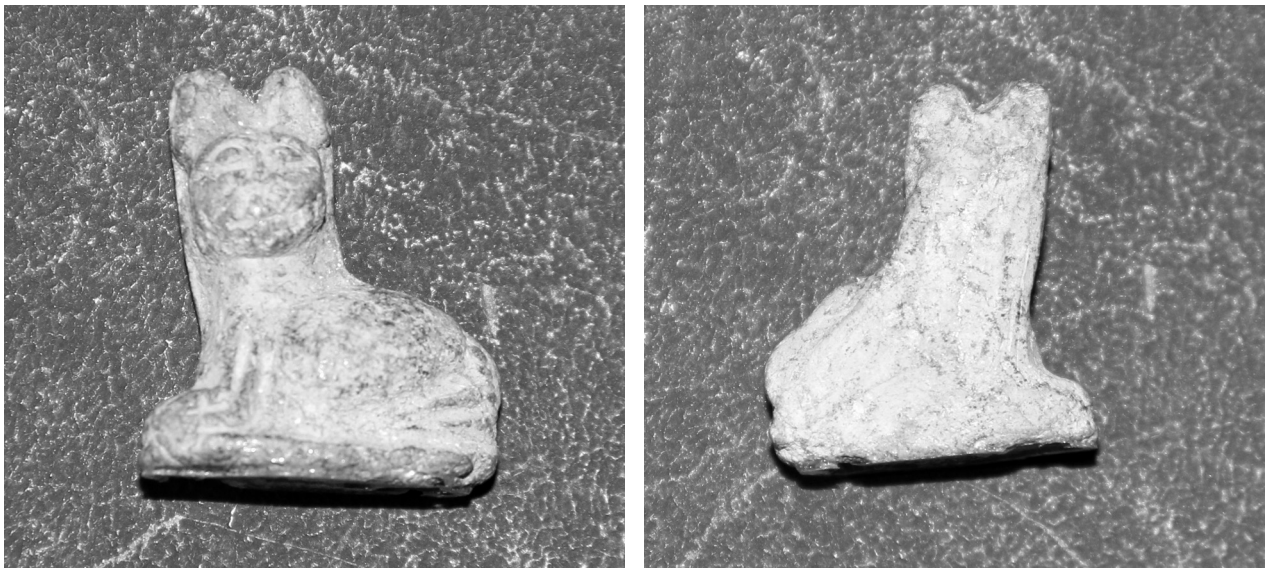


Fig. 137 The Franciscan monastery, Košljun: Amulet of the cat, from Krk, Croatia, without inventory number. Photo M. Tomorad 2013.

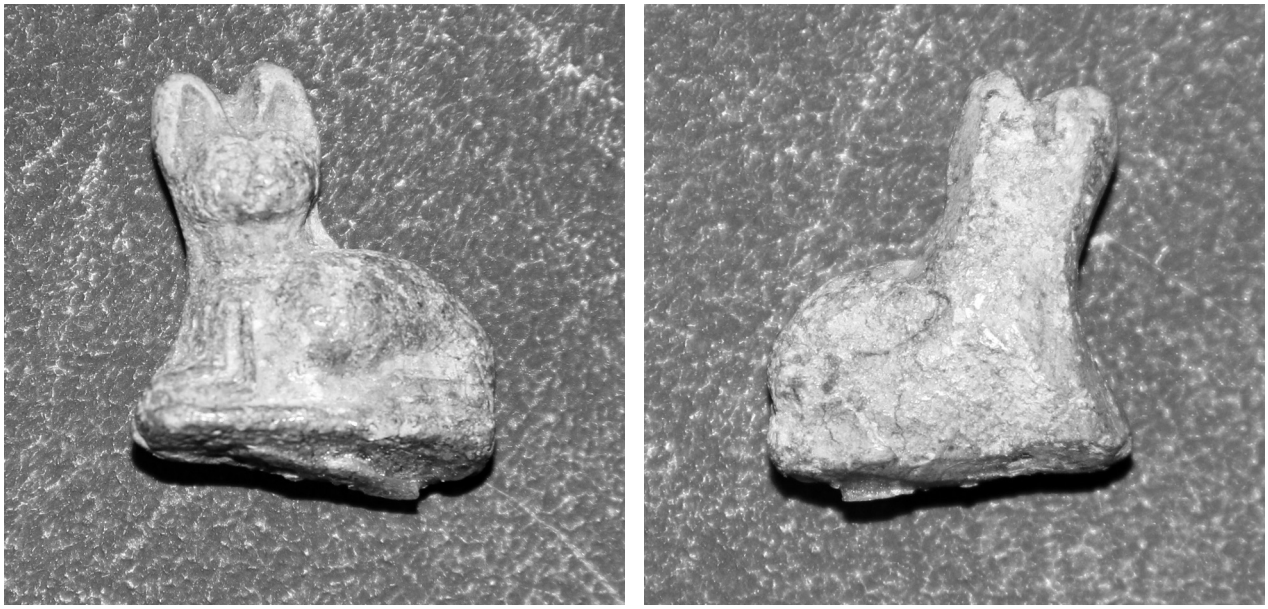


Fig. 138 The Franciscan monastery, Košljun: Amulet of the cat, from Krk, Croatia, without inventory number. Photo M. Tomorad 2013.

body; both front and the back legs are visible. Flat back side.

15. Amulet of the cat (fig. 138)

Krk (ancient *Curicum*), date unknown.

Late Hellenistic period (c. Ist century B.C.).

Brown terracotta (well preserved). H. 1.9 cm; W. 2.2 cm.

FMK: without inventory number, on display.

Unpublished.

Description:

Small figurine or amulet of the cat. Head with large ears is turn on the left side; both front and the back legs are visible. Flat back side.

16. Amulet of the cat (fig. 139)

Krk (ancient *Curicum*), date unknown.

Late Hellenistic period (c. Ist century B.C.).

Brown-orange terracotta (well preserved). H. 2.1 cm; W. 2.5 cm.

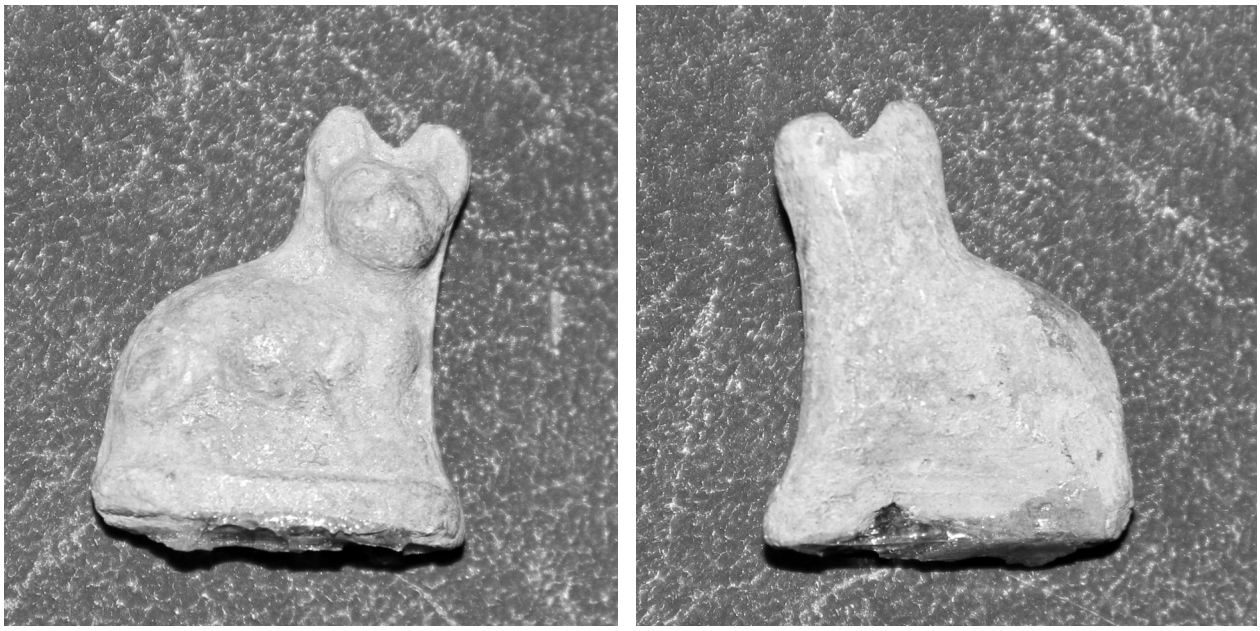


Fig. 139 The Franciscan monastery, Košljun: Amulet of the cat, from Krk, Croatia, without inventory number. Photo M. Tomorad 2013.

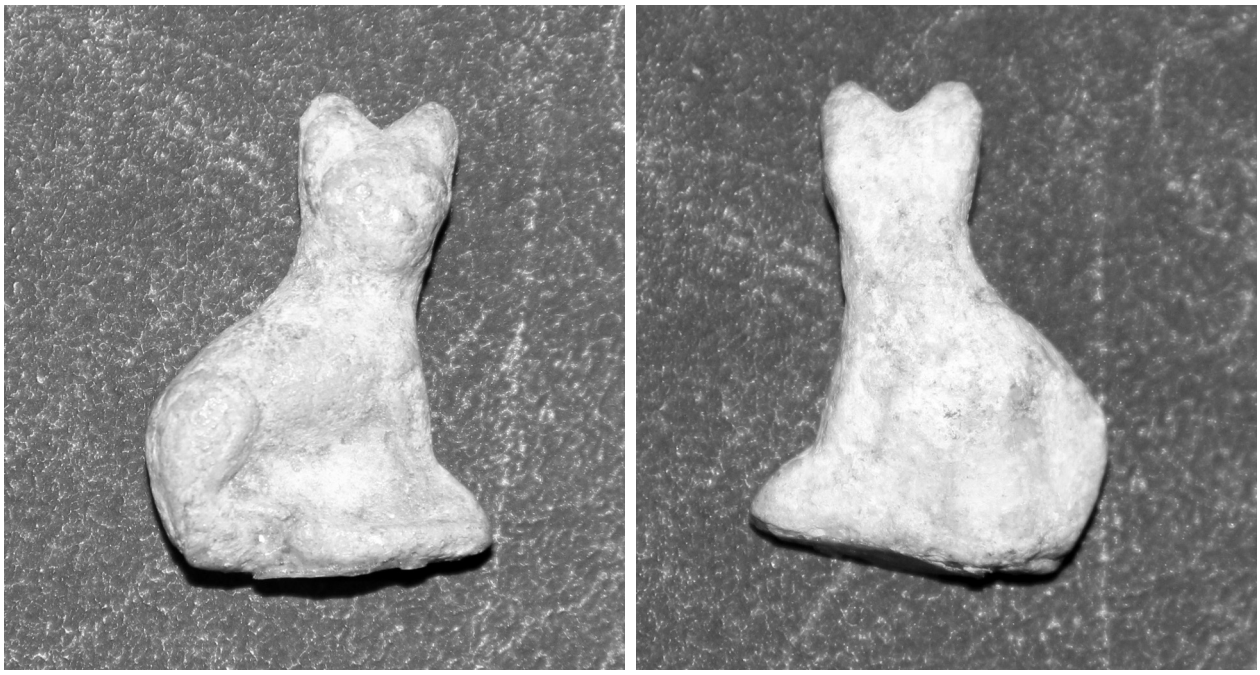


Fig. 140 The Franciscan monastery, Košljun: Amulet of the cat, from Krk, Croatia, without inventory number. Photo M. Tomorad 2013.

FMK: without inventory number, on display.

Unpublished.

Description:

Small figurine or amulet of the cat. Head with large ears is turn on the right side; both front and the back legs are visible. Flat back side.

17. Amulet of the cat *(fig. 140)*

Krk (ancient *Curicum*), date unknown.

Late Hellenistic period (c. Ist century B.C.).

Green glazed terracotta (well preserved). H. 1.9 cm; W. 2.8 cm.

FMK: without inventory number, on display.

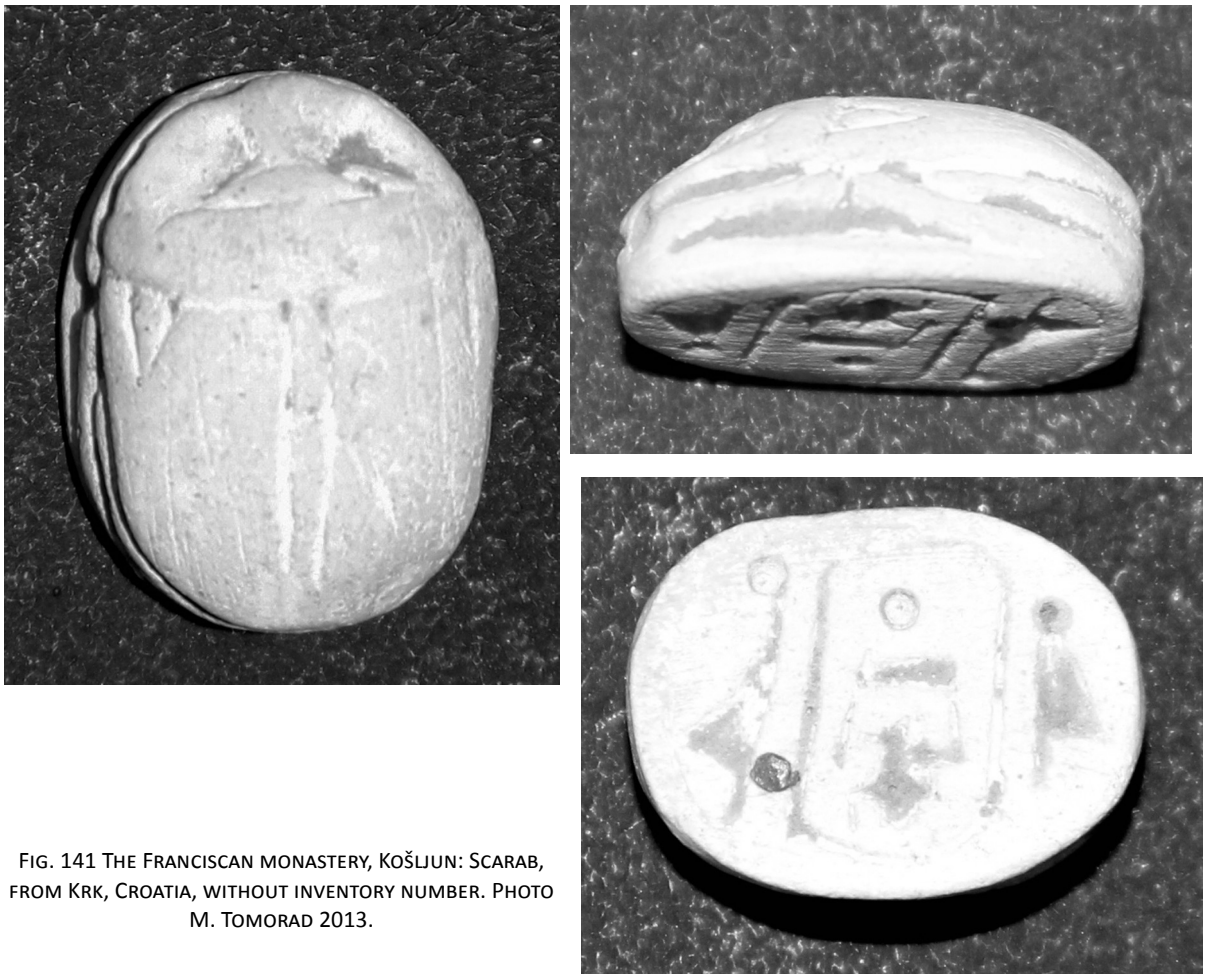


Fig. 141 The Franciscan monastery, Košljun: Scarab, from Krk, Croatia, without inventory number. Photo M. Tomorad 2013.

Unpublished.

Description:

Small figurine or amulet of the cat. Head with large ears is turn on the right side; larger neck between the head and the body; both front and the back legs are visible. Flat back side.

18. Scarab (fig. 141)

Krk (ancient *Curicum*), date unknown.

Ptolemaic period (306-30 B.C.).

Fäience. L. 1.8 cm; W. 1.3 cm; H. 0.65 cm.

FMK: without inventory number, on display.

Unpublished.

19. Scarab (fig. 142)

Krk (ancient *Curicum*), date unknown.

Ptolemaic period (306-30 B.C.).

Fäience. L. 1.8 cm; W. 1.5 cm; H. 0.65 cm.

FMK: without inventory number, on display.

Unpublished.

Description of the scarabs (nos. 18-19)

Two almost identical scarabs. They seems to be made of Egyptian fäience whith was strongly abraded by water activity during the long period of time. Carved scarab beetle on the front side. The head with eyes are shown. A groove separates the

pronotum from the wing cases (*elytra*) which are divided by a line. A V-shaped notch at the top of each wing-case. Legs are delineated. On the base, inside an oval frame, hieroglyphic inscription with cartouche is carved. The signs are not clear but the name with the pronomen of Thutmose III (*Mn-ḫpr-Rᶜ*) is probably carved. The name Menkheperre was commonly used to denote the prenomen of Thutmose III. Long after his reign that name was used



Fig. 142 The Franciscan monastery, Košljun: Scarab, from Krk, Croatia, without inventory number. Photo M. Tomorad 2013.

as the name of Amun-Ra. Probably the Hellenistic copies of the New Kingdom to Later period scarabs.

20. Scarab (fig. 143)

Krk (ancient *Curicum*), date unknown.

Ptolemaic period (306-30 B.C.).

Green glazed fäience (well preserved). L. 1.5 cm; W. 1 cm; H. 0.55 cm.

FMK: without inventory number, on display.

Unpublished.

Description:

Carved scarab beetle on the front side. The head with eyes and the clypeus are shown. A groove separates the *pronotum* from the wing cases (*elytra*) which are divided by a double lines. A V-shaped notch at the top of each wing-case. Legs are delineated. On the base, inside an oval frame, couple damaged hieroglyphic signs are inscribed.

21. Marble fragment of a head relief depicting the Egyptian goddess Hathor (fig. 144)

Pula (ancient *Pola*), ancient Roman amphitheatre (Arena), 1932/1933.

Galba (68-69 A.D.)-Titus (79-81 A.D.).

White-gray polished marble (wig is badly damaged, missing: the lower right side and the whole left side). H. 11.8 cm; W. 17.4 cm.

AMIP: inv. no. A-8712; on display in Temple of Augustus in Pula.

Bibliography: Degrassi 1933, 395-396; Perb 1968, 148-150, no. 11; Jurkić-Giradi 1974, 13, fig. 15; Jurkić-Girardi 2001, 14-15; Tomorad 2003, 48, fn. 180; Tomorad 2005, 16-1; Tomorad 2007, 45-46, no. 1.

Description:

Marble fragment of a head with representation of the ancient Egyptian goddess Hathor. Hathor is ichnographically shown with a human face, cow ears and narrow slant eyes, typical for her anthropomorphic form of a woman wearing a long wig with a low *modius*. Face is shown like the face of small child, with flat nose and disproportional small mouth. Head is covered with triply folded wig and tied with three gold-plated bands. Neck is decorated with tiny gold necklace with triangle shaped incisions. It was once attached to the vertical wall surface as the part of the decoration of the ancient Roman amphitheatre in Pula (now 'Arena'), built in the second part of 1st century A.D. There are several fixing holes on the backside of this fragment. Also some remains of mortar are still visible. On the backside there is engraved sign 'XIII'. It was probably one of the several similar head reliefs which decorated the column or the walls of the amphitheatre. It was discovered among building material and mortar during reconstruction works of the visitors' seats together with a coin of the Roman emperor Galba.

22. Isis-Fortuna (fig. 145)

Savudrija (ancient *Silbonis; Silvium Promontorium*, date unknown.

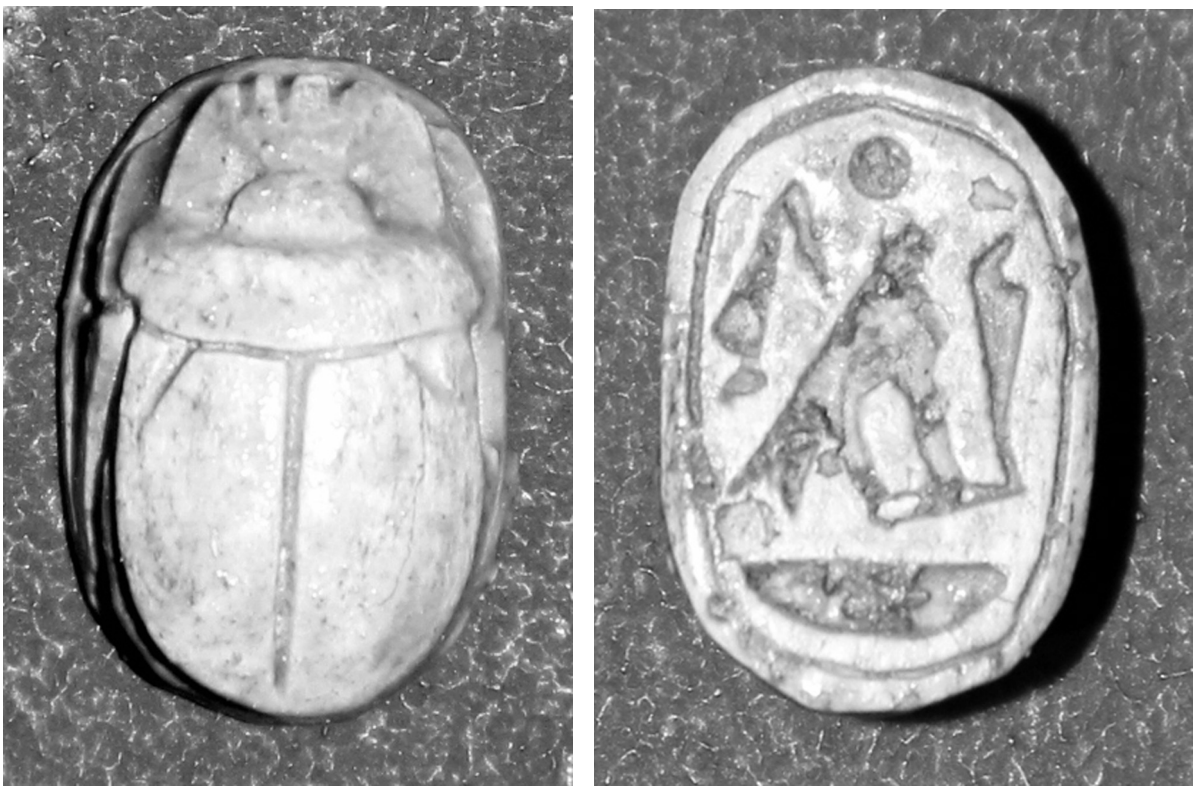


Fig. 143 The Franciscan monastery, Košljun: Scarab, from Krk, Croatia, without inventory number. Photo M. Tomorad 2013.



Fig. 144 The Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula: Marble fragment of a head relief depicting the Egyptian goddess Hathor, from Arena in Pula, 1st c. A.D., inv. no. A-8712. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.

Ist century A.D.

Bronze (well preserved). H. 9.2 cm.

AMIP: inv. no. A-4620; on display in Temple of Augustus in Pula.

Bibliography: Degrassi 1962, 881-884; Perb 1968, 148-150, no. 11; Jurkić-Giradi 1974, 8, fn. 29; Budischovsky 1977, 168-170; Jurkić-Girardi, 13-14; Tomorad 2003, 48, fn. 179; Tomorad 2005, 16; Tomorad 2007, 47-48, no. 2.

Description:

Figure represents the Hellenistic-Roman syncretistic goddess Isis-Fortuna which was very popular among the population of the Roman Empire. The whole statuette is made very graceful and proportional with face which represents classical beauty. Figure ichnographically represents the Hellenistic form of ancient Egyptian goddess Isis (hairstyle), Isis-Pelagia or the Roman goddess Fortuna (crown above her head which symbolize the control of human destiny), the Greek goddess Demetres (rim of modius or her wheat recipient) and the Hellenistic *Pelagitatia* (horn of abundance, exotic fruits). It leans on her right foot and hip twisted on the right. Head is slightly turned to the right, decorated with hairstyle of Isis divided on two sides and collected in a bun at the back. Above



Fig. 145 The Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula: Isis-Fortuna, from Savudrija, Croatia, inv. no. A-4620. Photo M. Tomorad, 2004.

hair is a crown decorated with two horns, solar disc, and two feathers. On the back side of her head there is the rim of modius. She is dressed in a long shirt, *hiton*, without sleeves which is cut in a neckline. She wears cloak, *himation*, which goes from the left shoulder diagonally over the back, fixed around hips in the height of her fingers. In right arm, lowered and turned on the right, she holds a tiller. In left hand she holds *cornucopia*, horn of abundance full of exotic fruits.

Abbrevation

1. Museums:

Archaeological collection and the Lapidarium dr. Grga Novak, Hvar (Croatia) = ACGN
Archaeological collection of Benko Horvat–Museum of contemporary art, Zagreb (Croatia) = MCA
Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula (Croatia) = AMIP
Archaeological museum, Split (Croatia) = AMS
Archaeological museum, Zagreb (Croatia) = AMZ
Archaeological park 'Andautonija', Ščitarjevo (Croatia) = APA
Franciscan monastery, Košljun (Croatia) = FMK
Franciscan monastery, Sinj (Croatia) = FMS
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Austria) = KMH
Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz (Austria) = LJG
Museo Archeologico Regionale 'P. Orsi', Siracusa (Italy) = MARPOS
Museo civico archeologico, Pescara (Italy) = MCAP
Museo civico archeologico, Trieste (Italy) = MCAT
Museo del territorio parentino, Poreč (Croatia) = MTP
Museum of Požega, Požega (Croatia) = MP
Museum of Slavonia, Osijek (Croatia) = MSO
Museum of Sombor (Serbia) = GMS
Museum of Szekszárd, Szekszárd (Hungary) = MS
Museum of Šibenik, Šibenik (Croatia) = MGŠ
National museum, Užice (Serbia) = NMU
Prähistorische Abteilung, Naturalhistorisches Museum, Vienna (Austria) = NHMV

2. Countries

Bosnia = BiH
Croatia = CR
Italy = IT
Serbia = SR
Slovenia = SL

3. Historical periods

New Kingdom = NK
Third Intermediate Period = 3rd IP
Late Period = LP
Greco-Roman period = GRP
Ptolemaic period = PP
Roman Period = RP

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Isis and Her Affiliates in Dalmatia. Some Reflections on Isiac Religious Communities

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Abstract**:** *The presence of representations of Isis and her affiliates in the repertoire of artistic craftsmanship, the luxury arts, in the Roman Age are notable outside of the actual areas of worship of the goddess. Their figures were reproduced not only in bronze and clay statuettes that were probably part of the images for family worship and so refer to the private sphere of religion, but also on ornamental objects such as jewelry and gems, and daily use objects such as lamps. We will examine the traces of worship of the Ancient Egyptian deities and of activities of Isiac communities in the major urban centres of the coastal zone of the Roman province of Dalmatia. We can assume that the worship of the goddess Isis and her affiliates spread from the coast, through harbour cities, and toward the interior. It seems that the introduction of this cult has been favoured and promoted by wealthy merchant families, linked by more generations to the East and in general the Mediterranean coasts by maritime traffic. The presence of the mentioned Ancient Egyptian and Roman-Egyptian deities confirms a permanent existence of commercial, artistic and religious ties between the south-eastern Mediterranean and the Croatian coastal area which made it possible for the incoming populations to coexist and cultivate their traditions in the period from the 1st to the 3rd century A.D.*

Keywords**:** *Isis, isiac communities, Dalmatia, Salona, Jader, Aenona, Narona*

In this paper we will not be discussing large collections of the Ancient Egyptian artifacts in various museum institutions in Croatia, specifically Dalmatia, or in private collections of which we already have an extensive bibliography.[167] The presence of representations of Isis and her affiliates in the repertoire of artistic craftsmanship, the luxury arts, in the Roman Age are notable outside of the actual areas of worship of the goddess. Their figures were reproduced not only in bronze and clay statuettes that were probably part of the images for family worship and so refer to the private sphere of religion, but also on ornamental objects such as jewelry and gems, and daily use objects such as lamps (figs. 146 and 147).[168] We will examine the traces of worship of the Ancient Egyptian deities and of activities of Isiac communities in the major urban centres of the coastal zone of the Roman province of Dalmatia.

The proposed area includes part of the coastline of the Republic of Croatia with the immediate hinterland, which was included in the Roman province of *Dalmatia*.[169] The Roman province of *Dalmatia* occupied a comparatively large territory, of which we are considering the narrow coastline zone with rock-bound harbours and numerous islands, with an expressive Mediterranean climate, karst landscape, but with a little fertile land shut, mostly divided from the hinterland with mountainous chains.[170] The



Fig. 146 Lamp with the representation of Isis and Serapis from Aenona.

[167] Uranić 2001: 181-204; Tomorad 2002; Tomorad 2003; Tomorad 2005a; Tomorad 2006; Tomorad and Uranić 2006; Tomorad 2007; Uranić 2007; Tomorad, in press.

[168] Detail list of monuments in: Perc 1968; Selem 1997: 47-152; Giunio 2000: 177-191; Giunio 2002: 21-63; Tomorad 2003; Tomorad 2005a; Tomorad 2006; Giunio and Gluščević 2007: 69-92; Tomorad 2007; Tomorad, in press.

[169] Dalmatia refers to the southern region of Croatia, on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, from the Zadar County on the North, to the Dubrovnik County on the South.

[170] Roman *Dalmatia* as constituted at the end of Augustus's reign included not only the Adriatic coastline which still bears that name today,



Fig. 147 Lamp with the representation of Harpokrates from Aenona.

administrative centre of *Dalmatia* was settled in *Salona*, *Salonae* (Solin near Split).

Isis was the dominant figure of the Egyptian cult sphere which spread through the Hellenistic and Roman world, but she was not the only Egyptian deity which the Hellens, and then the heterogeneous ethnic and social groups in the Roman Empire, accepted. Along with her the other Egyptian gods (Osiris and Serapis, Anubis, Harpokrates) were closely connected with the mysteries of Isis.

but also the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina and the Montenegro, most of Southern Croatia, together with a large part of western Serbia. On the Adriatic it began in the north at the river Raša in Western Istria and extended as far south as *Lissus* (Lješ) at the mouth of the Albanian Drin (Drilo).

Isis metamorphoses in the Hellenistic-Roman world Isis gained the characteristics of a supreme and universal divinity which in the special structures of the Egyptian religion she couldn't have had. With this we can examine Isis' fundamental role of a goddess whose legislative characteristics arrange the world. She is the goddess who brings the basics of civilization, regulates the order and justice; moreover her fundamental identity as the goddess of fertility is weaved in her cosmic functions.

According to changes in her nature, her iconography also changes. The Egyptian Isis was represented as a woman dressed in a typical tight dress, which is wrapped around her body from the neck to the ankles. On her head she wears the *set* in the form of a throne. With her sincretism with Hathor she began to wear a crown from which the cowish horns sprout, which framed the sundisc, and on the front the erected cobra–*ureus*. Two of Isis' determinants which will follow her in the Hellenistic-Roman period are the Isiac knot, as the sign of the mystical twist of energy, and the musical instrument *sistrum*, which with its four (or three) sticks declares the totality of the world and also descends from the Pharaonic period.

This new and complex religion spread in Rome through Sicily and Magna Graecia.[171] In Rome, where this religion arrived at the time of Lucius Cornelius Sulla, it was not commonly popular.[172] On one side it was particularly sensitive and as such offended the Roman idea of dignity. On the other side it came from a country which in the last years of the Republic was almost always in bad relations with Rome, which culminated in the unhappy relationship of Marc Anthony and Cleopatra. So the Roman Senate four times in one decade (in 58, 53, 50 and 48 B.C.) ruled that the Egyptian shrines should be demolished and their sculptures annihilated.[173] After the defeat of Marc Anthony and Cleopatra the cult was more potentially dangerous than ever. The reasons were political in nature. The Senate was the authoritative body to accept or reject a foreign cult. With the emergence of Augustus, this picture changed. The princeps was the sole religious authority. In addition, although Augustus displayed a resolute public stand against anything Egyptian, in 28 B.C. it was forbidden to raise altars to the Alexandrian divinities inside the city walls (inside the *pomerium*).[174] Seven years later, in 21 B.C., Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, August's assistant, increased the injunction to one mile from the city.[175] Augustus was, nevertheless, crucial in the introduction of the Ptolemaic dynastic explanation and Rome's understanding of itself as the Mediterranean's premier hegemony. The 'Egyptomania' was a figurative fashion set up in Rome after the battle of Actium and the conquest of Egypt by Octavian Augustus in the twenties of the 1st century B.C.

[171] Vidman 1970: 106-124; Malaise 1978: 627-717; Malaise 1984: 1629-1648; Grimm 1997: 120-133; Tomorad 2000: 7; Tomorad 2005: 242.
[172] Malaise 1972a: 96; Malaise 1972b: 363-364; Turcan 1997: 85; Tomorad 2000: 7; Tomorad 2005b: 242.
[173] Turcan 1997: 86; Tomorad 2005b: 242.
[174] Dio Cassius LIII.2.4.
[175] Dio Cassius LIV.6.6.

At that particular time the use of decorative elements of the Egyptian world took on the value of a symbolic allusion to the kingship, as if to signify the transfer of power from the Pharaonic and Ptolemaic world to the new Principate. So he used decorative motifs related to the goddess Isis in his house on the Palatine.[176] In A.D. 19 at the time of Emperor Tiberius, Isis's cult provoked a great scandal, which lead to the great persecution of Isis' followers. But all of these were not effective enough. The religion spread throughout Italy, even when it was persecuted in Rome. After Tiberius's death, the days of banishment of this religion passed away. We must not forget, at this point, that one of the aspects that characterize the Roman religion the most was the tendency of assimilation of local deities with 'foreign' gods and cults transplanted in Rome from conquered cities. There were 'foreign' cults that remained strongly linked to particular ethnic groups in Rome, and those that were purely elective, entered not by virtue of race or social position, but through individual choice, as was the cult of Isis. So members of local élites were involved in these cults much more widely and fully. The goddess Isis might claim longstanding, if not 'ancestral', acceptability in various parts of the Roman world. As *Minucius Felix* said *Haec tamen Aegyptia quondam nunc et sacra Romana sunt* (translation: 'Yet these were formerly Egyptian rites, and now are Roman ones').[177]

We can assume that the worship of the goddess and her affiliates spread from the coast, through harbour cities, and toward the interior. It seems that the introduction of this cult had been favoured and promoted by wealthy merchant families, linked by more generations to the East and in general the Mediterranean coasts by maritime traffic.

As was pointed out earlier, the administrative centre of *Dalmatia* was settled in *Salona*, *Salonae* (Solin by Split). Favourable geographical position in the central part of the eastern coast of the Adriatic at the bottom of the well-sheltered Bay of Kaštela, along the delta of the river Salon (today the river Jadro), as well as having good road links to the hinterland all contributed to the quick and unhindered development of the town.

In small religious communities, such they were in Dalmatia, the priestly hierarchy in the Egyptian cult was quite simplified. At the head of those communities of believers was a person generally called *sacerdos* (priest). This office was at first almost exclusively filled by non-Romans; by individuals with no public office. Even during the phase in the 4th century when accumulations of priesthoods were common, it was usually attained very late in the course of such careers. However, we do not have epigraphical confirmations in Dalmatia. Surely a *sacerdos* was at the head of an organized religious community with a corresponding collegiate body. Maybe it was the *collegium Serapis Salonitanus*[178], which we find mentioned on an inscription from *Aeternum* (Pescara, Italy), unfortunately lost to us. The funerary inscription was dedicated by his wife, *Ulpia Candida*, orginated from Salona, to her husband, *Lucius Cassius Hermodorus*, a captain (*nauclerus*) originated from the Hellenistic East, as it is suggested by his name. He sailed the seas, carried by the winds and waves, spent a significant part of his life he spent in Salona, was married to a woman from Salona and there he has been a member of the collegiate dedicated to Serapis. He ended his life on the opposite side of the Adriatic, in *Aeternum*. As an Oriental, Hermodorus may have already been into the cult of the Alexandrian god and found in his new residence an already organized community. The function performed by Hermodorus suggests that it was an association of sailors under the protection of the husband of Isis.

In Salona we can presume the existence of a shrine or temple dedicated to the goddess Isis. Temples dedicated specifically to Isis, i.e. those in which she was worshiped as the main god, took the Latin name of *isea* (singular *iseum*, from the greek *iseion*). Because of her multiple aspects and powers, however, Isis was hosted and venerated also in temples of other deities.[179] From one source we have knowledge of the existence of a statue of the goddess in natural size and other evidences of her cult in Salona.

Among the manuscripts kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split, a document in Latin has been discovered which tells us about a very important archaeological finding in Salona.[180] The anonymous writer calls this bronze statue the statue of Juno, basing his judgment on the appearance of the statue, mostly the gesture of lactation. He describes the goddess as full of the mature feminine dignity, dressed in the women's stola which falls down to the feet, with a scarf decorated with fringes harmoniously combed in three lines and falling in front on both shoulders. The right hand is lowered to the knee, while the left hand is brought up toward the right breast, where the nipple is, like she wants to squeeze the milk. Later on it is cited that the head of the sculpture is adorned with a rayish crown, what gives the biggest difficulty for interpreting it. Owing to the writer's description of the scarf thrown over the goddess's shoulders, the attribution to Isis is possible. Although the scarf is not tied in a knot on the front, the fringes exclude our doubts. In the Hellenistic-Roman period the scarf with fringes is a determinant for Isis. This sculpture could be enlisted in the category of the Hellenized representations of Isis, where the Egyptian attributes are contaminated with the attribute of Greco-Roman divinities, in this specific example with Hero-Juno. A special riddle is represented by the rayish crown, which is not a typical Isiac attribute. Not

176 The so-called 'Isiac Hall' or *Aula Isiaca*. Iacopi 1997: 5-45.

177 Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, XXI.

178 *L(ucio) Cassio Hermo/doro nauclero/ qui erat in colleg(io) / Serapis Salon(itano) Per / freta per maria tra/iectus saepe per und(as) / qui non debuerat / obitus remanere / in Atern(o) set mecum / coniunx si vivere / nolueras at Styga / perpetua vel rate / funerea utinam / tecu(m) comitata / fuisse(m) Ulpia Candi/da domu Salon(itana) con(iugi) / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)*. *CIL* IX.3338; Selem 1997: 62-64; Tomorad 2005c: 447; Selem 2009: 180-181.

179 Of course among those are the *serapea*, temples dedicated to Serapis, the chief god of Alexandria, which Isis was believed beeing a consort.

180 Nikolanci 1963-65: 119-126; Budischovsky 1977: 194-198; Selem 1997: 67-70; Giunio 2002: 40-43.

without reason can we ask ourselves whether it is really a rayish crown or Isis was wearing much complicated cap-horns, the crescent, a plume, ears, which the anonymous writer, because of the damages or his ignorance had, wrongfully described. If it was really a rayish crown it could be a substitution for the ancient sun-disc which from old times made the fundamental part of Isis' cap. The usual cap of her divine husband Serapis is the *kalathos*, but during the Roman Empire, especially from the 2nd century A.D., a strong assimilation of Serapis with Sol, i. e. Helios begins. Serapis with the rayish crown becomes then an often iconographical form, also Harpokrates, the third partecipant of the Alexandrian divine triad, wears the rayish crown.[181]

During the first archaeological excavations in Salona in 1820-1821 three bronze busts of Isis, Serapis (figs. 148 and 149) and of one anonymous winged male figure[182] were discovered.[183]

The third figure represents a knealing young man dressed in a short Egyptian apron with two opened wings on the back. The hands descend to the sides of the body, the palms are closed. His Egyptized style is accentuated, but he does not bear any indication of his connection to the cult. It may just be that he had a decorative purpose. His finding, together with the busts of Isis and Serapis, indicates he could have been a part of an entirety connected to the Egyptian cult.

A testimony of Isis's cult, and of great importance for the knowledge it gives about the Isiac community in Salona, is a cover of a sarcophagus of a boy, *Aurelius Satrius* and his sister *Aurelia Maxima*.[184] (fig. 150) It is a cover of a sarcophagus, i. e. of a sepulchre hollowed out in the rock. The cover is dated in the third or fourth decade of the 4th century A.D. Two medallions are represented on the cover, the left one with the figure of the boy Aurelius Satrius dressed in a wide white dress (*palla contabulata*) and on the head the so-called Horus's lock (*Horuslocke*), which from the 2nd century A.D. in the Roman iconography designates the members of Isis's religious community (fig. 151).[185] The diptych beside his head can be explained as the proof for him beeing instructed in the way of the mysteries, i. e. the proof of his status of neophyte who



Fig. 148 Bust of Isis from Salona.



Fig. 149 Bust of Serapis from Salona.

[181] Vidman 1965: 390-394.

[182] Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Antikensammlung, inv. no. VI 395, VI 376, VI 543.

[183] Sacken 1871: 90; Budischovsky 1977: 198; Selem 1997: 70-73; Giunio 2002: 38-39.

[184] Dimensions 234 x 129 x 63 cm. Today in the Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. A 393 or D 86. *CIL* III.8921; Abramić 1924-25: 68-70; Cambi 1963-65: 85-97; Budischovsky 1977: 192-193; Selem 1997, 64-67; Cambi 2000: 88, fn. 633, fig. 144; Giunio 2002: 42-44; Cambi 2005: 207; Cambi 2010: 120, cat. n. 118, pl. 68.

[185] Gonzenbach 1957. She explained the origin of the lock as with Horus, as with the portraits of boys, as a tradition African-Hamite custom which had the purpose of signing up a group of boys of a certain age who were instructed collectively before they entered in the tribal community. From this cultural circle the lock was moved to the Isiac religion. Symbolically the meaning the of this lock in the cult of Isis is signing the under aged, not yet full powered members of the Isiac religious community.



Fig. 150 Cover of the sarcophagus of Aurelius Satrius and Aurelia Maxima from Salona. Photo T. Seser, Arheološki muzej u Splitu.

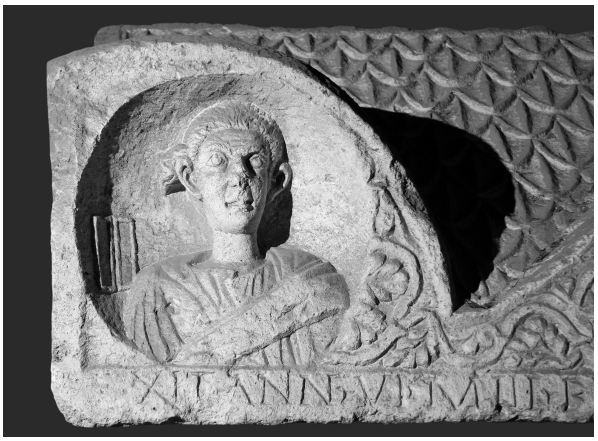


Fig. 151 Left medallion, cover of the sarcophagus of Aurelius Satrius and Aurelia Maxima from Salona. Photo T. Seser, Arheološki muzej u Splitu.

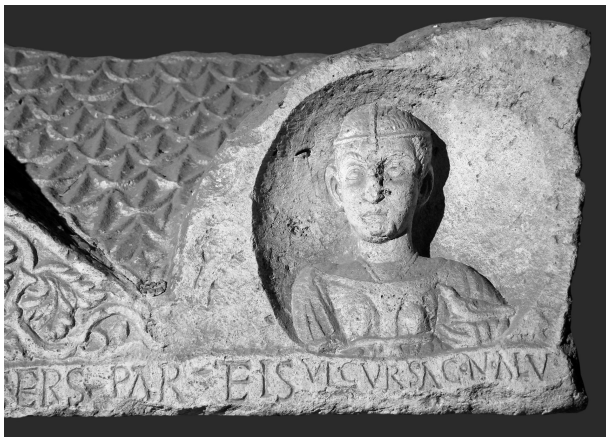


Fig. 152 Right medallion, cover of the sarcophagus of Aurelius Satrius and Aurelia Maxima from Salona, left medallion representing Aurelius Satrius. Photo T. Seser, Arheološki muzej u Splitu.

is being instructed in the religious doctrine. The right medallion represents a little girl, Aurelia Maxima, on whose head there are two ribbons – one surrounding the head, the second axially over the top of the head (fig. 152). On the crossover of the two ribbons hangs a little ball as a decorative pendant. In her hand she holds a bird. The signs are less evident, but they are also connected to the Isiac iconography. The flower motifs on the sarcophagus are interpreted as lotus pods.

In the central medallion the inscription was carved which was extended also on the border band of the cover on the front and partly on the right side (fig. 153). There is a segment of the inscription under the figure of a little girl (a group of letters) which gives us some problems. The members of the *collegium isiacum* of Salona were buried in this tomb, so the solution of the mysterious abbreviations in the inscription is possible to find inside Isiac religious concepts.[186] The inscription is incomplete, the second name and *posuerunt* are missing. It is not known if Isis appears in any inscription as *Isis Urania*, but Isis often had the symbolic meaning of the goddess of Heaven. The inscription should be explained as the dedication of two parents, *Aurelius Flavius* and Ceres, to their early deceased children, boy *Aurelius Satrius*, who died at the age of nine and girl *Aurelia Maxima*, who died at the age of six. The same inscription is dedicated to Isis, the heavenly winner and Serapis the Savior and moreover the dedicants were joined by *Publius Hipetius* with one other person, whose name should come at the end of the inscription after the conjunction *et*, with whom *Hipetius* taught the children faith. The term *alumni* was used for the students in faith. *Publius Hipetius* was one of the *mystagogos* or the religious teacher in that community.

All this findings refer us to the conclusion that a developed Egyptian and Isiac religious community, and by all means

[186] The inscription should be read as: *D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elio) Satrio / qui vixit a/nn(os) VIII m(enses) IIII / et Aur(eliae) Max/imae quae vi/xit ann(os) VI m(enses) III fili(i)s piissimis Aur(elius) Flav(u)s et Cer(e)s par(entes) et Is(idis) Vic(tricis) Vr(aniae ?) (et) Sa(rapidis) Con(servatoris) Alum(n)is P(ublius) Hipetius et .*



Fig. 153 Central meallion with inscription, cover of the sarcophagus of Aurelius Satrius and Aurelia Maxima from Salona, right medallion representing Aurelia Maxima. Photo T. Seser, Arheološki muzej u Splitu.

a temple or shrine, existed in Salona. That community existed from the 1st or 2nd century and lasted at least until the beginning of the 4th century disposing the systematical education on the youth. The examples are the deceased *Aurelius Satrius* and *Aurelia Maxima* buried in the rock. This example teaches us about the importance of the family model in the cult. We can presume that in the first decades of the 4th century the Isiac cult is redeemed from the public. The connection with the Imperial cult has finally been broken and the Isiac cult became part of the opposition to the everyday, more official, Christianity. The followers of Isis from Salona created their closed, maybe even secret circles.

A city second only to the provincial capital *Salona*, *Iader* (Zadar) became a Roman colony at the end of the 1st B.C. The Roman city was built on the peninsula on which its centre is still located. Between the peninsula and the mainland is a good harbour.

By shape and dimension the most monumental votive altar[187] discovered in Zadar was dedicated to Isis and Serapis, Liber and Libera (fig. 154). Its tall base was separated from the central part of the entirety with a simple profilation (it lacks on the left lateral side due to greater damages on this part), which we find also on the top of the altar. On the crown of the altar are positioned two rounded, torqued cushionets as *acroteria*, tied in the middle with a ribbon. Inside the cushionets stands a small relief rosette. On the front side there is a triply profilated inscription area



Fig.154 Votive altar dedicated to Isis and Serapis, Liber and Libera from Iader, front side. Photo Museo archeologico Maffeiano, Verona, Italy.

[187] Height 94 cm, width 59 cm, depth 46 cm. Today in Museo archeologico Maffeiano, Verona, inv. no. 246. *CIL* III.2903; Budischovsky 1977: 178-179; Modonesi 1995: 59-60; Selem 1997: 49-50; Giunio 2002: 32-34.



Fig. 155 Votive altar dedicated to Isis and Serapis, Liber and Libera from Iader, left lateral side. Photo Museo archeologico Maffeiano, Verona, Italy.



Fig. 156 Votive altar dedicated to Isis and Serapis, Liber and Libera from Iader, right lateral side. Photo Museo archeologico Maffeiano, Verona, Italy.

(29 x 39 cm) with Latin inscription[188]. The letters are quite regular and nicely engraved, there are also traces of the three-cornered punctuation marks (height of the letters 3.8–4–3 cm) On the left lateral side in a single profilated area we can see the representation of Isis and Serapis, female and a male erected figures, dressed in tunics covered up with cloaks, with the faces quite damaged (fig. 155). Isis' hair falls in locks on the left shoulder, with her left hand she holds a long scepter and in her elevated right hand she holds a *sistrum*. Serapis with his left hand also holds a long scepter. On the right lateral side, in a panel of equal, simple profilation, two sitting figures are represented, male and female, most probably Liber and Libera (fig. 156). On the back side, inside a deeper field, two male erected figures on the sides of a column are represented; the right figure leaning against it (fig. 157). These are probably the figures of Anubis and Harpokrates. The figures are quite damaged which makes identification difficult. In the *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum,* it is cited that the altar was found in Zadar *prope aedem S. Salvatoris*. The quotations about the location where the altar was found all indicate the vicinity of the city harbor. Vitruvius, in his chapter about the choice of building-ground for public buildings, states that the temples of Isis and Serapis should be raised in harbours.[189] The altar was raised by the vow taken (*voto suscepto*) by libertine *Publius Quinctius Paris* for the health of his son *Scapula*. Although an opinion was stated that the altar could not have been raised before the first half of the 2nd century, in my opinion it could be stretched into the late 1st century A.D.

Aenona (Nin) lies on the coast, 18 km north of *Iader.* It lies on a small island partly surrounded by the sea and partly by marshy lagoons, and is connected to the mainland by two causeways. Its municipal status was conferred under Augustus as early as 16 B.C.

In 1852 a monumental statue of Isis with two inscriptions (Height 136.5 cm, width 45 cm) was found in Nin.[190] (fig.

[188] *Isidi Serapi(di) Liber(o) / Liberae voto / suscepto pro salute / Scapulae filii sui / P(ublius) Quinctius Paris / s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

[189] Vitr. I.7: '*... ut Isidi et Serapi, in emporio*'.

[190] Today in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, the Ancient department, inv. no. 34. Kubitschek & Loewy 1879: 166; Brunšmid



Fig. 157 Votive altar dedicated to Isis and Serapis, Liber and Libera from Iader, back side. Photo Museo archeologico Maffeiano, Verona, Italy.

158). The statue is made from white grossly granuled marble, which became yellow on the surface. The statue lacks the head with the neck (they were made of a separate piece of stone, then fixed in the appropriate hole), and the arms below the elbows. Owing to the general iconographical composition and the layout, we know that is a representation of Isis. The goddess is represented erect; the left leg is slightly curved backwards, while the right leg is firmly positioned on the pedestal, so the weight is thrown over to it. She is dressed in an ionic chiton, above which she wears a nicely draped cloak, tied in a knot above the bosom. The Isiac knot, or the Egyptian *tjet,* symbolised the fertility and it represents the most typical Isiac attribute. Under the fine fold of the texture the luxurious bosom and the leg gently rounded are evident. Both on the left side of the bosom and on the right shoulder falls the characteristically cringed lock of hair. Upon the position of the right arm, before the point of breaking, the goddess probably held a *sistrum*, and in the left hand probably a situla. It is a Hellenistic-Roman version of Isis, which is confirmed by the Isiac knot. In my opinion it can



Fig. 158 Marble statue of Isis from Aenona. Photo I. Krajcar, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu.

be excluded that this is the representation of a priestess of Isis, for it is not remotely probable that in *Aenona,* in the first half of the 1st century A.D., such a monumental statue to a priestess of the goddess would be erected. Although, images of goddesses and mortal women were not always fully distinguished formally, and in many cases they can be hard for us to tell apart. The iconographical model of this Isis belongs to the Greek art of the second half of the

1903-04: 230; Budischovsky 1977: 176-177; Selem 1997: 54-55; Giunio 2002: 29-30; Cambi 2005: 32-35.

4th century B.C. This statue probably belonged to a temple or shrine of the goddess (*iseum*).

Recently new opinions were made, and the beautiful Isis has been associated with the group of Imperial statues from *Aenona*.[191]. Of this Imperial group at least ten statues were already discovered in the 18th century. Four of them are held today in Zadar, in the Archaeological Museum.[192] The nucleus of the group appeared in Tiberius' time, but it was enlarged later. One represents Augustus[193], the second Tiberius[194] and two male statues are headless[195]. The first is shown in divine nakedness, most probably a posthumous image. If we connect this statue to a possible representation of Julius Caesar, than our Isis could personate Cleopatra, since sources recorded that she used to be represented with Caesar[196] and that she was often depicted with the attributes of the goddess Isis. My problem in accepting this theory is purely artistic; the difference in height between them. Julius Caesar is 2.50 m high, Cleopatra – Isis is 1.36 m high; quite an imbalance.

From the time of the earliest contacts between Dalmatia and the Greek world the river Narenta (Neretva, *Naro flumen*) was a major trade route between the Adriatic and the interior. Before the fourth century a Greek trading post (*emporion*) was established near the mouth of the river. Its importance increased with the growth of the settlement *Narona*. The ruins of the ancient town are located in the village of Vid some 4 kilometres to the west of Metković. During the rule of Emperor Augustus, Narona was granted the status of a colony, and this event marked the beginning of the period of its greatest prosperity.

Evidence of the cult of Isis in Narona has been witnessed due to the finding of the bust of the goddess made from alabaster.[197] (fig. 159) The choice of material (alabaster) marks the representations of eastern divinities of small proportions, which became more frequent in the age of the Roman Empire. The bust lacks a face, while the rest is quite preserved. The face had to be inserted in a specially made camp (height about 13 cm, thickness about 2-3 cm), forming a veil which would frame the face of the goddess. The camp was hollowed with a chisel without further polishing. The soft alabaster would not be suitable for frequent changes, so it should eliminate the possibility of the bust holding the face of the goddess' priestesses, because with every new priestess the face would have to have been changed. The bust lacks some of the usual attributes (the lotus flower, the crown), but surely one was attached above the front, near the edge of the veil where



Fig. 159 Bust of Isis from Narona. Photo T. Glučina, Arheološki muzej Narona, Vid.

the remains of an iron wedge used for fixing it are visible. Above the head she has the veil which framed the oval of the face. The edges of the veil and scarf are nicely decorated. It is without doubt the representation of the goddess Isis, dressed in her usual clothes; a richly draped *peplos* with a scarf thrown over decorated with fringes and on the front tied in a knot. The missing face was made of alabaster or some other sort of stone, probably black granite which is frequently the case. The black face of the goddess or the black dress symbolically declares the goddess' grief over Osiris. Through the examination of the treatment of the drapery the bust can be dated to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. The back side is summarily treated which indicates that the bust was positioned in a niche.

From the complex of Egyptian monuments, a particular group belongs to Diocletian's palace in Split, but that tells us a completely different story.[198] The Palace is, above all, a first-rate monument of classical architecture; a World Cultural Heritage declared by the UNESCO. The Palace is permeated with Eastern symbolism and as a component of such symbolism appears to contain Egyptian sphinxes and columns made of red granite from Assuan (fig. 160).[199]

[191] Statue of an empress or other member of the imperial family in Isis' dress. Cambi 2005: 32-35, fig. 38.
[192] Bankó & Sticotti 1895: 53; Kolega 1989: 9-22; Cambi 1998: 47-49; Cambi 2000: 93-95.
[193] The Archaeological Museum in Zadar, inv. no. A7733.
[194] The Archaeological Museum in Zadar, inv. no. A7301.
[195] The Archaeological Museum in Zadar, inv. no. A7734 and A7735.
[196] In the Temple of *Venus Genetrix* on the Forum of Caesar in Rome.
[197] Height 28 cm, height with the base 32.5 cm. Today in the Archaeological museum of Narona. Cambi 1963-1965: 98-100; Budischovsky 1977: 187-188; Selem 1997: 112-113; Giunio 2002: 52.
[198] Bulić & Karaman 1927; Marasović 1967; J. and T. Marasović 1970; Selem 1970; Selem 1997: 97-106; Tomorad 2003; Tomorad 2005; Tomorad 2006; Tomorad, in press.
[199] Some of the columns are standing even today on the western colonnade of the Peristyle, the others are dislocated.

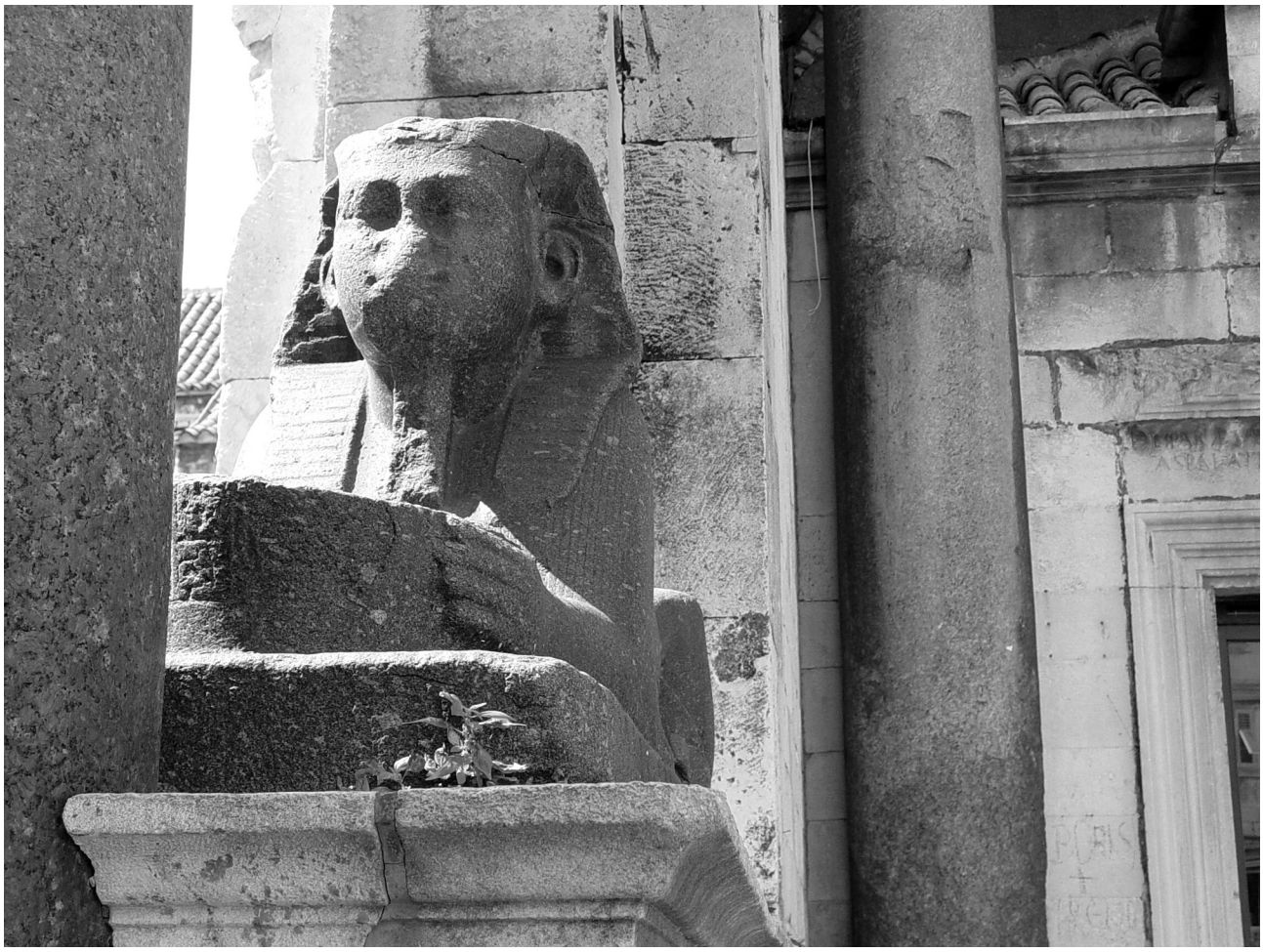


Fig. 160 Sphinx of black granite from the 18th Dynasty on the Peristyle of the Diocletian's palace in Split.

In the Palace there exists eight sphinxes and another four monuments that can be connected to them.[200] Diocletian's inclination to decorate the central spaces of his Palace with material of Egyptian origin can be connected to the idea of the divine nature of the Imperial person. The Egyptian sphinx is a lion with a Pharaonic head, a symbol of sovereign strength. The Pharaoh, with his divine personality, connects this world with the world of the gods and the sphinx watches the roads which lead to the Underworld showing the power of the ruler. The ruler's honour at the time of Diocletian had distinctly Eastern characteristics (like his divine nature), although the first Roman Emperors had already had the epithet *divus*, divine. This was mostly the way of declaring the magnificence of their ruler; the strength of their virtues, which cannot compare to the Oriental rulers' label as being a god's son or a god's personality. Diocletian was formally Jupiter's son, *Iovius*, in his official nomenclature. The sphinxes are in the vicinity of the Peristyle and Diocletian's Mausoleum. The connection of the sphinxes with the Mausolem seems founded since, from the time of the Old kingdom, the sphinx watched the access to Pharaonic funeral temples and sepulchres.

Votive and dedicatory inscriptions on which the name of one or more gods appears are the only firm and direct proof of the religious belonging of the person who erected them.[201] Meanwhile it is necessary to separate the inscriptions with theophoric names from the inscriptions with figural representations which connect them to the cult of Isis. Eight inscriptions with theophoric names come from the Dalmatian coast. They are: the inscription with the theophoric name of *Isidora* from Zadar or Nin[202], a fragment of a tombstone with the name *Apius* from Obrovac (*Clambetae* ?)[203], the tombstone from Trogir or Klis near Salon with the name *Sarapia*[204] the tombstone from Salona with the name *Serafio*[205], the tombstone from Split (?) with the name *Isicia*[206], a marble sepulchral plate from Salona (?) with the name *Isidorus*[207], a stella from Dugopolje (road Split-Sinj) with the name *Isiada*[208], a

[200] Selem 1970: 633-656; Selem 1997: 97-106; Giunio 2002: 48-51; Tomorad 2003; Tomorad 2005; Tomorad 2006; Tomorad, in press.

[201] Most of all of those are votive altars (ara), then sepulchral monuments, pedestals of statues, plates of votive character. The inscriptions can be accompanied with figurative relief representations.

[202] *CIL* III.10004; Budischovsky 1977: 176; Selem 1997: 50, 58.

[203] Colnago and Keil 1905: 2, 46; Budischovsky 1977: 182; Selem 1997: 59.

[204] *CIL* III.2401; Budischovsky 1997: 184; Selem 1997: 62).

[205] Budischovsky 1977: 193; Selem 1997: 80-81.

[206] Selem 1997: 81.

[207] *CIL* III.8935; Budischovsky 1977: 193; Selem 1997: 81.

[208] Cambi 1993: 164-165; Selem 1997: 95-96.

stella from Pučišća on the island of Brač (*Brattia*) with the name *Serapion*[209]. The rule, corroborated in Italy, that the Egyptian theophoric names mostly appear as *cognomina*, is confirmed in Dalmatia. The big question is, in what proportions do theophoric names state the appurtenance to a certain cultural area? It is reasonable to presume that persons of Egyptian origin, in a certain way, remained in touch with the Egyptian religion.

The appearance of Egyptian cults in the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia is articulated with the broadness of their spread on the entire territory of the Roman Empire, and even beyond its borders. The diffusion of Egyptian gods in the Mediterranean does not begin with the Ptolemaic period. Syrian and Palestinian territories were under strong Egyptian cultural and religious influence for generations. Greece also received the same influence during the pre-classical phase. It is sure, though, that the political strength and cultural fascination of Hellenistic Egypt gave this diffusion its final push.

Isiac traces are numerous in our territory, from popular amulets and statuettes to monumental marble statues and Pharaonic sphinxes. These traces are equally connected with the slaves and libertines as with the citizens, the *eques* and the Imperial person decorating his Palace with Egyptian contents. Isis' followers were surely a minority in our *municipia* and colonies, but their presence beamed with a special spiritual and cultural charge, acting outside the severe cultural context.

The chronological facts supporting the presence of the Isiac cult in the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia can be examined in regards to the roads with which this presence arrives. The oldest epigraphic monuments from Dalmatia derive from the second half of the 1st century A.D. The context of these monuments, however, gives us the possibility that, at the time of their appearance, the Isiac cult was not an entirely new religious and cultural factor, but already had a certain tradition.

The statue of Isis from Nin is a testimony of the presence of an already developed cult of the goddess in the territory of Liburnia, not far away from the time of its legalization in Rome. The later inscription from Zadar proves that the Isiac cult in the Liburnian territory follows this general development. Isis on the altar, from Zadar, doesn't appear alone but appears with her companion Serapis, although she is still more important and her name in the dedication appears first.

The receptiveness of the Liburnians toward the mighty goddess finds its base firstly in the series of female divinities by the Liburnians, which obviously had many similarities with the universal Hellenistic Isis. According to inscriptions from the Roman period, we know that the Liburnians worshipped predominantly female deities in the old Mediterranean matriarchal tradition. Almost every territorial community (*civitas* later *municipium*) had its local deity.

In the 1st century A.D. Egyptian cults are present in all classes of social structure, while at the same time in Rome, without looking at some singular or isolated examples, the Egyptian cult slowly rises from the lower classes of society. At the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd century, during the Severan dynasty, a new regeneration of the cult could be seen.

At the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th century A.D. Christianity slowly takes the position once held by the Eastern and Egyptian cults. The Isiac cult began its decline in smaller, aristocratic groups, (as we saw with the example in Salona) which became the forts of resistance to Christianity. The last ascension is the time when the Emperor Diocletian decorated his Palace with Egyptian sphinxes and other examples like this.

The nature of forms and objects on which the figure of Isis appears, and other figures of the Isiac circle, is at first monumental statues and busts which are testimonies of the public and official cult. On the other hand it is the numerous smaller objects, statuettes, amulets, lamps, and gems which are the testimonies of the personal or private level of the cult.

Oriental cults in Roman dominated territories appear during times which are conditioned and determined by important social factors as well as by socio-political and philosophic-religious conditions of life in the Roman state. The need for new deities in the popular religions was based on ancient autochthonous beliefs of the conquered population and it appeared in the form of ideas, which have gradually come into shape and have almost continuously followed the strengthening of the Roman Empire during the shift from a Republic to an Empire.

The presence of the mentioned Egyptian and Roman-Egyptian deities confirms a permanent existence of commercial, artistic and religious ties between the south-eastern Mediterranean and the Croatian coastal area which made it possible for the incoming populations to coexist and cultivate their traditions in the period from the 1st century to the 3rd century A.D.

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History of the Research of the Ancient Egyptian Cults in Pannonia

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***Abstract**: The authors analyze the state of research of the Ancient Egyptian cults in Pannonia. It was a province of the Roman Empire which was from the reign of emperor Trajan administratively divided into Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior. Pannonia did not circumvent the Egyptian and Oriental influences, which are becoming more intense the Roman conquest of Egypt in the first c. BC. Most of the cases related to the Ancient Egyptian cults are kept in various museums. From the second half of the 19th century scholars started to analyse such material. The authors give a brief review of the relevant research from the second half of the 19th century onwards. They conclude that the situation could be much better with the existence of historical institute for Ancient history in Croatia. Such institution could develop specialized department for Ancient Egyptian and Oriental Studies.*

Keywords*: *Pannonia, Oriental cults, Ancient Egyptian cults, research

1. Introduction

Croatia has a rich cultural and monumental heritage that bears witness to the ancient times and whose interpretation we obtain direct knowledge of the cultural and social achievements of a population then. In this heritage encompasses Egyptian artifacts that are crucial in the study of Egyptological studies. In ancient times, most of Croatian territory is included in the province of *Illyricum*, which soon after its formation is divided into two provinces: *Superior Illyricum* (*Dalmatia*) and *Illyricum Inferior* (*Pannonia*). Probably during the Dacia wars Trajan divides the Pannonia on *Pannonia Superior* (Upper Pannonia) and *Pannonia Inferior* (Lower Pannonia). *Pannonia* and geopolitical entities within today's Croatian borders are essential for historical research that accompanies this article.

Processing and publication of Ancient Egyptian antiquities within the museums is one of the main tasks of the Croatian historical science. Most of the objects related to this subject is kept in various museum institutions, which belong to the Pannonian area: National Museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana, *Naturhistorisches Museum* in Wien, Sisak City Museum, Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Ptuj Museum, *Universalmuseum Joaneum* Graz, Museum of Slavonia in Osijek.[1] Croatian museums are keeping the subjects of much historical value that form awareness of the importance of civilization of Ancient Egypt. These artifacts testify about different cultural values, and Pannonia find valuable materials that are classified as a cult group testimonials. These original, primary materials do not often attract a lot of attention of Croatian historians and scientists. The largest number of papers which we can track is exactly related to the phenomenon of cults in the Graeco-Roman period. These issues are occupying most of the Croatian scientists of antiquity. They can be seen any many scientific articles and books written during the second half of the 20th century.

When we talk about the cult and cult objects, we must look at the work of the well known Croatian Egyptologist Petar Selem. He pointed out a connection between the monuments and the Ancient Egyptian cults in three levels. First, the artifacts that bear witness to the faith, cult and the worship of Egyptian gods and which belong dedicatory and votive inscriptions as well as artistic representations of gods who look and meaning is the object of worship. The second, the small statuettes the gods, shabtis and various amulets which can be religious elements, but can also be used for purposes that may not be associated with the cult whose figuration belong. Last, third level, includes various items of figurative nature that are related to the Ancient Egyptian cult, but can be used as decorative motives or similar–motives in public buildings, memorials and objects of everyday use.[2] Similar studies can be analyzed in several stages from the beginning of the 19th century onwards.

2. Studies of the Ancient Egyptian cults in Pannonia

2.1. The first collections and the beginning of the research during the second half of the 19th century

Large amounts of the Ancient Egyptian artifacts preserved in the collections of the museums were collected in the second half of the 19th century. During this period, we can also trace the beginning of the large Egyptian collection in

[1] The more detail in: Selem 1980.

[2] Selem 2008: 11.

the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.[3] Other monuments are scattered at various museums and major collections in Croatia. In the collection of the Antiquity Department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, there are a number of cases associated with the worship of the Ancient Egyptian cults in *Pannonia*.[4] Most of the artifacts came to the museum from several archaeological excavations during the 19th and 20th century. The Museum of Slavonia in Osijek[5] also house artifacts, related to the archaeological excavations in the Osijek and eastern Slavonia.[6]

Scientific literature about the Ancient Egyptian and Oriental cults of the late 20th century is minor and is not accompanied by a large number of available archaeological materials. This segment of history has remained more or less unexplored until the second half of the 20th century.

The first article that examines the Ancient Egyptian cult testimonies were published in '*Vjesnik hrvatskog arheološkog društva*' in 1887 where Šime Ljubić wrote an article about Harpocrates.[7] Ljubić thus became the first scholar who analyzes the diffusion of the Ancient Egyptian cults.[8] A statue of Harpocrates was found around Brod on the Sava and the occasional for the first time published.[9]

More than a decade earlier, in 1874, J. J. Strossmayer published an article 'Two marble statues' in Vienac in which he analyzed the statue of Zeus, or unconsciously Serapis found in Sriem.[10]

In the late 19th century scholars began to publish articles about the artifacts kept in various museum collections. During the same period, Wilhelm Drexler published the first review of the Ancient Egyptian cults in Pannonia, in his article '*Des Cultus der ägyptischen Gottheiten in den Donauländer*'.[11]

In this period, it should be noted works of Josip Brunšmid which mainly deals with the cults of Mithras, an Silvanus, Liberus and the Ancient Egyptian cults (Isis, Serapis, Harpocrates, Hermes-Thot) in the Pannonian region.[12]

2.2. The research during the 20th century

At the beginning of the 20th century, mostly we can still follow the publication of material from museum institutions. From the 1920's onwards notable is increasing interest in the study of the Ancient Near East which resulted with a few significant works. The work of Mirko Šeper is based on antique signet rings and amulets.[13]

In the doctoral dissertation of Ratislav Marić '*Antički kultovi u našoj zemlji'* ('*The ancient cults in our country*'), published in 1933, the author cited inscriptions dedicated to Isis and Serapis from Ptuj and Sisak.[14]

Viktor Hoffiller and Balduin Saria published a collection of epigraphic inscriptions from the area of *Noricum* and *Pannonia Superior*, which includes several inscriptions related to the appearance of the Oriental deities.[15]

The second half of the 20th century brings momentum in the study of Ancient Egyptian antiquities. Systematic archaeological research contributes in detecting a large number of materials which we attach to the Ancient Egyptian cults.

Branko Gavela in the article '*Antički spomenici grčko-egipatskog sinkretizma u našoj zemlji, I. Serapis*' ('*The ancient Monuments Greco-Egyptian syncretism in our country*') analyzes the artifacts dedicated to the Hellenistic god Serapis, which are kept in the collection of the museum in Srijemska Mitrovica. He gave an overview of the history of Serapis cult from earliest times to the end of the 4th century A.D.[16] Epigraphic monuments are often found in the context of the debate about the phenomena of the Oriental cults.

The Archaeological remains which were excavated in Croatian territory were analyzed by Marcel Gorenc in the book '*Antikna skulptura u Hrvatskoj*' ('*Antique sculptures in Croatia*')[17] and in the article '*Antičko kiparstvo jugoistočne Štajerske i rimska umjetnost Norika i Panonije*' ('*Ancient sculptors of Southeast Styria and Roman art of Noricum and Panonnia*')[18]. In these works the author has presented the monuments which we bound with Ancient Egyptian cults in *Pannonia*.

Petar Lisičar published an article 'Isis-Fortuna spomenici o kultu Izide, Fortune i Izde-Fortune u našoj zemlji' ('*Isis-Fortuna monuments of the cult of Isis, and Isis Fortune-Fortune in our country*') in which he systematically analysed the statues of Isis and Isis-Fortune from various museum institutions.[19]

[3] The start of the collection we attach to the 1862 when the National museum comes into possession of the Zagreb mummy and its wrappings. In 1862, the same institution bought a large Egyptian collection of the heirs of Franz Koller. More detail in: Tomorad 2003: 19-28.

[4] These artifacts mostly include statuettes of deities and epigraphic monuments. Details in Tomorad 2003: 24-25.

[5] Detailed list in: Perc 1968: 198-205, nos. 47-51; Selem 1972; Selem 1980; Filipović 1997a: 49–51; Filipović 1997b: 65–79; Selem 1997: 141–145; Tomorad 2003a: 73–74; Tomorad 2005: 21–22; Tomorad 2006a: 29; Kovač 2013; Tomorad, in press.

[6] The most important finding is certainly the stele depicting Egyptian deities discovered in Mursa. Selem 1997: 142-143; Tomorad 2003: 45.

[7] Ljubić 1887.

[8] Ljubić 1887: 33-36.

[9] Tomorad 2003: 61.

[10] Strossmayer 1874: 765-766.

[11] Drexler 1890; Tomorad 2003: 63.

[12] Brunšmid 1895; Brunšmid 1899-1900a; Brunšmid 1899-1900b; Brunšmid 1902; Brunšmid 1904; Brunšmid 1905; Brunšmid 1907; Brunšmid 1914.

[13] Šeper: 1942.

[14] Marić 1933: 81-82; Tomorad 2003: 72.

[15] Hoffiler & Saria 1938; Tomorad 2003: 104.

[16] Gavela 1956: 43-51; Tomorad 2003: 148.

[17] Gorenc, Tadijanović & Szabo 1952.

[18] Gorenc 1971.

[19] Lisičar 1961: 125-132.

The artifacts related with the presence of the Oriental cults in Slavonija were published and analyzed by Ivica Degmedžić[20] and Danica Pinterović[21]. In her study D. Pinterović engaged the Ancient Egyptian and the Oriental cults in ancient Mursa. The most of her papers on this subject are published in the journal '*Osiječki zbornik*'.

Ljubica Zotović '*Les cultes orientaux sur le territoire de la Mésie Supérieure*' very briefly notes the existence of Ancient Egyptian cult of Isis and Serapis in Ravna, Kostolac (*Moesia Superior*), Donji Petrovci and Srijemska Mitrovica (*Pannonia Inferior*).[22]

Very valuable work that provides an overview of the material of the Ancient Egyptian cults in the ex–Yugoslavia's territory is an doctoral dissertation by Bernarda Perc '*Beiträge zur Verbreitung ägyptischer Kult auf dem Balkan und in den Donauländern zur Römerzeit*'[23]. The catalogue of the artifacts related with the Oriental and Ancient Egyptian cults in Istria, and the Roman provinces of *Noricum*, *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, *Moesia* and *Macedonia* are still very important for any scientific work in this field.[24]

The most important Orientalist in Croatia is Petar Selem.[25] His research spheres of Ancient Egyptian cults are key works in understanding cultural phenomena in the Croatian region. Article from 1961 '*Egipatska prisutnost u našoj antici*' ('*Egyptian presence in our antiquity*') examines the issue of cults of Ancient Egyptian deities (Isis, Serapis and Harpocrates) and artifacts (amulets, shabtis) which appeared in the Roman Empire.[26] His further work is being linked with the study of various cults in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*. Especially significant are the two articles, '*Boginja s tisuću imena–Neki aspekti pojave egipatskih bogova u dalmatinsko-panonskom krugu*' ('*Goddess of a thousand names–Some aspects of the occurrence of the Egyptian gods in Dalmatian-Pannonian circle*')[27] and the '*Egipatski bogovi u rimskom Iliriku*' ('*Egyptian gods in the Roman Illyricum*')[28] in which the phenomenon of the cults of the Ancient Egyptian divinities along with other Oriental cults in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* were analysed. The first is the synthetic overview of Ancient Egyptian deities which appeared in *Illyricum*, while the second review of all previously discovered monuments in *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia Superior*, *Pannonia Inferior* and *Moesia Superior*. Selem results over the years of research have been published in three books. '*Les Religions Orientales dans la romaine Pannonia–partie en Yougoslavie*' is the first monograph of the Oriental cults in Pannonia.[29] '*Izidin trag*' ('*Isis trail*') follows the expansion of Ancient Egyptian cults in the area of the Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia.[30] The last book, a compilation of all of Petar Selem work was published under the title '*Lica bogova*' ('*The faces of gods*').[31] This book is a reflection of systematic research of the all Oriental and Ancient Egyptian cults in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* conducted by Selem.

Slavica Filipović in the catalogue of the '*Kelti i Rimljani na području Osijeka*' ('*Celts and Romans in the Osijek*') area analyzed objects that may be associated with Egyptian cults.[32] Analyzing different beliefs in *Mursa*, she mentioned worship of the Egyptian cults of Isis, Nephtis, Serapis and some other artifacts.[33] In paper '*Antička arheologija*' ('*Ancient archaeology*') she mentioned various objects (few statues, amulets and figurines of Egyptian deities, stele with inscription dedicated to Osiris, Isis and Nephtis and one shabti figure and several altars).[34]

Very important issues that can be linked to the Ancient Egyptian cults are shabtis which were analyzed by Mladen Tomorad in the article '*Šauabtiji u Dalmaciji i Panoniji*' ('*Shabtis in Dalmatia and Pannonia*').[35] Furthermore, Tomorad published several other papers concerning the typology of shabti figures as well as their detailed analysis. The same author wrote additional two studies which are related to the appearance and significance of shabti figures in the region of Dalmatia and Pannonia, as well as their impact on the Ancient Egyptian cults of the Roman Empire: 'Roman provinces Shabtis from Dalmatia and Pannonia'[36] and 'Shabtis from Roman provinces Pannonia and Dalmatia and their role in Egyptian cults during Roman Empire'[37]. The entire Ancient Egyptian monuments in Croatian museum and private collections were covered by Tomorad in the article 'The Egyptian antiquities in Croatia'[38], where, among other things, the artifacts related with the Ancient Egyptian cults in Pannonia were listed. In the end, it is important to mention another book by the same author entitled '*Egipat u Hrvatskoj*' ('*Egypt in Croatia*'), which is very valuable synthesis of previous research of Ancient Egypt in Croatia and it contains a lot of useful information.[39] Tomorad also wrote a paper about the Ancient Egyptian cult in Roman fleet, 'Egyptian cults in Roman fleets – certain aspects considering role of inhabitants from Illyricum in diffusion of Egyptian cults', in which he reflects the sailors from the territory of Pannonia.[40]

The artifacts related with the Ancient Egyptian cults which were found in Sisak, Slavonski Brod and Srijemska

20 Degmedžić 1954.
21 Pinterović 1958; Pinterović 1960; Pinterović 1962; Pinterović 1965a; Pinterović 1965b; Pinterović 1965c; Pinterović 1967a; Pinterović 1967b; Pinterović 1975; Pinterović 1977.
22 Zotović 1966: 54, 103-104; Tomorad 2003: 148.
23 Perc 1968.
24 Tomorad 2003: 109.
25 Croatian archaeologist, historian, art historian, critic, and director.
26 Selem 1961: 4; Tomorad 2003: 129.
27 Selem 1971.
28 Selem 1972.
29 Selem 1980.
30 Selem 1997.
31 Selem 2008.
32 Tomorad 2003: 152.
33 Šimić & Filipović 1997: 64.
34 Filipović 1997b: 65-79; Tomorad 2003: 152.
35 Tomorad 2000: 1-14.
36 Tomorad 2004
37 Tomorad 2006.
38 Tomorad 2005a.
39 Tomorad 2003.
40 Tomorad 2005b.

Mitrovica were published and analyzed by Zdenko Burkowsky[41], Marija Buzov[42], Hrvoje Gračanin[43], Zoran Gregl and Branka Migotti[44], Aleksandra Nikolovska and Josip Burmaz[45], Ante Rendić-Miočević[46] and Marina Šegvić[47]. Ante Rendić Miočević and Marina Šegvić also published the synthetic work about the religions and cults in Southern Pannonian regions which analyzed the existence of the Oriental and the Ancient Egyptian cults.[48]

3. Conclusion

Since *Pannonia* was the province of the Roman Empire, it was not circumvented by the Ancient Egyptian and Oriental influences, which the Empire intensively spread after the establishment of the Roman rule in the region in the 1st century B.C. The most important works on the Ancient Egyptian and Oriental cults in Croatian territory were written during the second half of the 20th century, even though the interest in this aspect appeared in the scholarly publications in the second half of the 19th century.

The most of the published artifacts are preserved in various museums and institutions in Pannonian region. There are also certain findings of the Oriental provenance that have not been analyzed and processed to this date. Such items can be found in almost every museum in Pannonia region. The biggest problem for the further research of the Pannonian area is the lack of systematic archaeological excavations in some areas. We all hope that would change in the near future.

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Evidence of the Cults of Isis on the Territory of the Republic of Macedonia

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***Abstract**: Cults of the Egyptian deities, such as Isis and her circle, were a common feature all over the Roman Empire. After going through the basic understanding of the cults of Isis in context with the 'Oriental cults' from Roman times, the findings from the Republic of Macedonia are presented in order to better comprehend the local worship. Evidence comes from the main centres of the time–Lycnidos, Stobi, Heraclea Lyncestis, but also from other sites from the Vardar Valley, although not always as a proof of an organized local form.*

***Keywords**: Cults of Isis, 'Oriental cults', Lychnidos, Stobi, Heraclea Lyncesti*

One of the most distinct occurrences that illustrates the intensity of the cultural contacts in the Hellenistic and Roman times, especially concerning the Balkan Peninsula, is the diffusion of the so-called Oriental cults. These cults portray a separate formation influenced by different geographical and historical circumstances, defined by their separation from the Graeco-Roman ones in relation to their origin, language and practice.[1] The cults of Isis fit into this categorization of 'Oriental cults', so we should examine them within this context. Several questions are crucial to understanding this category–which were the factors that led towards the adaptation of these cults in different regions and that acted upon their varying development; also, the ways of diffusion and the multitude of modalities of cohabitation and interaction among the religious groups. However, the most important thing to understand is that these Oriental influences are often not a result of some direct form of cultural contact between the 'Oriental' realm on one hand and the local societies on the other. On the contrary, the processes of Hellenisation and Romanisation are much more defining while understanding the diffusion of the 'Oriental cults'. It is precisely why lately they are referred to as the *so-called*.

Before we present and interpret the material from the Republic of Macedonia, let us say a few more words about the history of research, the terminology and the categorization of the cult in the context of the latest research, in order to better comprehend the local development. The legendary Franc Cumont laid down the groundwork for the studies of the so-called 'Oriental cults' in the beginning of the last century, and used the terms *cult of Isis* or the *Alexandrian cult*, referring to the Ptolemaic politics in relation to the Hellenisation of the cult and its spreading. Certainly, the cult was present in Ancient Greece in the early fourth century BC owing to the trade with Egypt, although very sporadic. Notably, the cult started spreading more systematically after the Ptolemaic dynasty sat on the Egyptian throne and established the cult of Serapes.[2] The revival of these studies occurred in the second half of the 20th century. Because of the strong presence of the cult in the West, Françoise Dunand[3] speaks of the Egyptian cults outside Egypt. It is actually accurate to speak in the plural of this cult, to refer to it as the cults of Isis, like Jean Leclant and Gisele Clerc suggested in their works.[4] Plural is important because it allows the inclusion of other deities from the circle of Isis, or *Gens Isiaca* in this category such as Sarapis, Hrapokrat, Anubis, and Horus, Bastet, Apis, Bubastis, Hydreos, Nephtis and Neilos. We must not omit the final publication *Nile into Tiber*, the proceedings of the Congress of Leiden in 2005, which appeared in print in 2007. It is quite important when studying the Isis cults, particularly their expansion in the Balkan region. In respect to the terminology, the last important contribution was of Michel Malaise[5], explaining all Egyptian divine phenomena in the context of Isis, but also referring to the other divine figures. Furthermore, he explains the phenomenon of Aegyptomania, which is an important element of our presentation; while analyzing the specific context of found materials indicating nostalgic preserving of religion, usually in the Late Antiquity, in a private setting and not necessarily with a ritual purpose.

Let us start with the time frame and the routes of the local cult. Though the epigraphic material of the cult of Isis in the Republic of Macedonia is quite limited, we can roughly estimate the time and conditions of acceptance, relying mainly on the rest of the archaeological material which tells us more about the local popularity of the cult. The Egyptian cults emerged in the region after the so-called first diffusion that occurred around 100 B.C., and became more prominent after the second diffusion that took place in parallel with the strengthening of Romanisation, which is the case with all other inland regions of the eastern Mediterranean.[6] The Egyptian cults in the Hellenistic Age were present only in coastal cities, only later becoming

[1] Considering the concept of the 'Oriental' and mystery deities, we greatly rely on the works of Auffarth 2008; Auffarth & Ribichini 2008; Belayche-Rebillard 2008.

[2] Turcan 1996: 75-76.

[3] Dunand 1980.

[4] Leclant & Clerc 1991.

[5] Malaise 2005; Malaise 2007.

[6] Bricault 2005.



FIG. 161 BRONZE BUST OF ISIS FROM GRAMADIŠTE.

widespread deeper in the inland areas, including the territory of today's Macedonia.

Judging by the concentration of finds in one particular territory, the cult in this part of the Roman Empire most likely came by the trading routes on *Via Egnatia*. Several findings tell us about the possible temples along this path. In the village of Gramadište nearby Herakleia Lyncestis, the assumed site of ancient Nicea[7], bronze statues of Isis and Sarapis were found inside a second century building, which is thought to have been a temple despite the lack of sufficient archaeological evidence.[8]We have a bronze bust of Isis portrayed as Regina, with a crown on her head (fig. 161). There is also a bronze Isis Fortuna, holding a cornucopia with her left hand, while on her head there is a diadem with a sicklemoon, sun disc and lotus flower (fig. 162). Sarapis is presented on a bronze appliqué of 8.8cm with a kalathos on his head, decorated with floral designs (fig. 163).

The findings from Ohrid, ancient Lychnidos, offer another possibility for the existence of a temple dedicated to the Isis cults. Within the architectural remains researched in the 1970s, the most representative statue of Isis from the territory of the Republic of Macedonia was found (fig. 164). The statue is a product of fine craftsmanship and made in fine-grained alabaster, dated somewhat earlier than the other finds from the building.[9] It is made in the Hellenistic manner; the shape of the body can be seen under the clothing, a scarf is thrown over the shoulder and tied on the chest indicating the Isis knot. By the styling of the hair on the back, as well as by the solution of the folds of the clothing we see that it is made in an archaized style typical for the late second century and known throughout the first century BC. In typical Egyptian manner, the hands are clinging tightly to the body, the one holding a sistrum, and the second most likely an ankh, while the goddess is stepping forward with one leg. The statue was recognized as a Hellenistic import of Alexandria[10], quite possibly brought there later, in the first or second century AD.

7 Janakievski 1976.

8 Düll 1977: nos. 268-269; Bitrakova Grozdanova 1999: 65, 81.

9 Malenko 1976; Bitrakova Grozdanova 1987: 127-128; Sokolovska 1987: 207; Bitrakova Grozdanova 1999: 67-71.

10 Sokolovska 1987: no. 197; Bitrakova Grozdanova 1999: 66-70.



Fig. 162 Bronze figure of Isis Fortuna from Gramadište.

Taking into account all the elements of this finding, the possibility that we are dealing with an earlier diffusion of the cult is very small. This statue, as mentioned, was found in the context of a building, together with another statue of Isis from the second century[11] (fig. 165), as well as with a multitude of unidentifiable fragments of other statues. Of course we cannot rule out the possibility that there was a temple that existed in continuity for two or even three centuries, however, we should have much more concrete evidence to confirm that.

In Heraclea Lyncestis a bust of Isis was also found, as well as a bronze statue of the young god Harpocrates[12] (fig. 166). Harpocrates points us to another very important feature of the cults of Isis – the mystery aspect. Because of the typical iconography of the finger on his mouth, his figure is usually interpreted as the embodiment of the divine mysteries. Although not directly on the *Via Egnatia*, Prilep is one of the cities that accepted the cultural impulses coming through this corridor and, according to findings of other related so called Oriental cults, was quite open to new ideas. What we have as an indication of the worship of Isis is not much and it does not reveal an existence of a locally organized cult–two bronze statues that portray syncretized Isis–Fortuna, holding the cornucopia with the left hand, while with the other a rudder borrowed from the iconographic type of Isis Pelagia[13] (fig. 167).

The cults of Isis were certainly more popular in developing cosmopolitan cities like Stobi, and were most likely accepted under the influence of Thessaloniki. The main temple of Stobi was recently discovered.[14] The dedication of T. Flavius Longinus Augustalis[15] who raised this temple further suggests that the cult in Stobi was associated with

11 Sokolovska 1987: no. 196; Bitrakova Grozdanova 1999: 73-75.

12 Düll 1977: nos. 270-271; Bitrakova Grozdanova 1999: 82-83.

13 Düll 1977: nos. 272-274.

14 The discovery of the temple was presented by Silvana Blaževska and Jovan Radnjanski at the International symposium *Romanising Oriental Gods? Religious transformations in the Balkan provinces in the Roman period. -New finds and novel perspectives* held at the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts in September 2013. The proceedings of the symposium are yet to be published.

15 *Deo Caes(ari) / et municipio / Stobensium / sacrum Isidis T. Fl(avius) / 5 Longin(u)s Augustalis*. Wiseman 1978: 427-428; Papazoglou 1990: 217-220; Bitrakova Grozdanova 1999: 84.



Fig. 163 Bronze applique of Serapis from Gramadište.



Fig. 164 Marble sculpture of Isis from Ohrid. Photo M. Tomorad, 2013.

the Imperial cult (fig. 168).The inscription was found during the research of the Episcopal basilica in 1977 and incorporated as a polia. Therefore it is difficult for us to find the exact location of the temple. It must be noted that the inscriptions connected to the cult are a rarity in the region. Particularly interesting is the context of the discovery of a gilded marble statue of Sarapis (fig. 169) in one of the rooms of the so called House of Parthenius in Stobi.[16] Other statues were found in the same context – bronze satyrs, a marble head of Artemis and statues of Venus, Apollo, and Lar, all of them Alexandrian imports. The fact that it is a private and not a public space from the fourth century, tells us that this was a preserved, Hellenised pagan atmosphere at a time when Christianity is prevalent, particularly in Stobi, which became very early and important episcopal center in the region. The numismatic material from Stobi, on the other hand, reveals us a form of worship from the Severan period of strongly syncretized Egyptian deities. On the reverse of the coins minted during the reign of Caracalla there is a depiction of Sarapis-Asclepius, while some attributes of Isis were added to the syncretized Victoria, as seen on the coins of Caracalla and Julia Domna (figs. 170 and 171).[17] It means that the distribution of the currency, and thus the idea of the cult set on an imperial level, also reached the centre of the Roman Empire.

Except in Stobi, the cult was not particularly popular along the Vardar valley, yet there are some discoveries connected

[16] Düll 1977: no. 276; Sokolovska 1987: no. 196.

[17] Düll 1977: no. 277; Bitrakova Grozdanova 1999: 62, 82-84; Josifovski 2001: 60.



Fig. 165 Marble sculpture of Isis from Ohrid. Photo M. Tomorad, 2013.

to it. In Marvinci, a gemma was found depicting Isis *Pelagia*.[18] This iconographic model of Isis indicates the nautical aspect of her cult. The connection of the goddess with the sea is richly documented by authors throughout the reign of Ptolemy, but also throughout the Roman

[18] Dragojević Josifovska 1967: 320, Bitrakova Grozdanova1999: 80-83.



Fig. 166 Bronze statuette of Harpocrates from Heraclea Lyncestis.



Fig. 167 Bronze statuette of Isis Fortuna from Prilep.

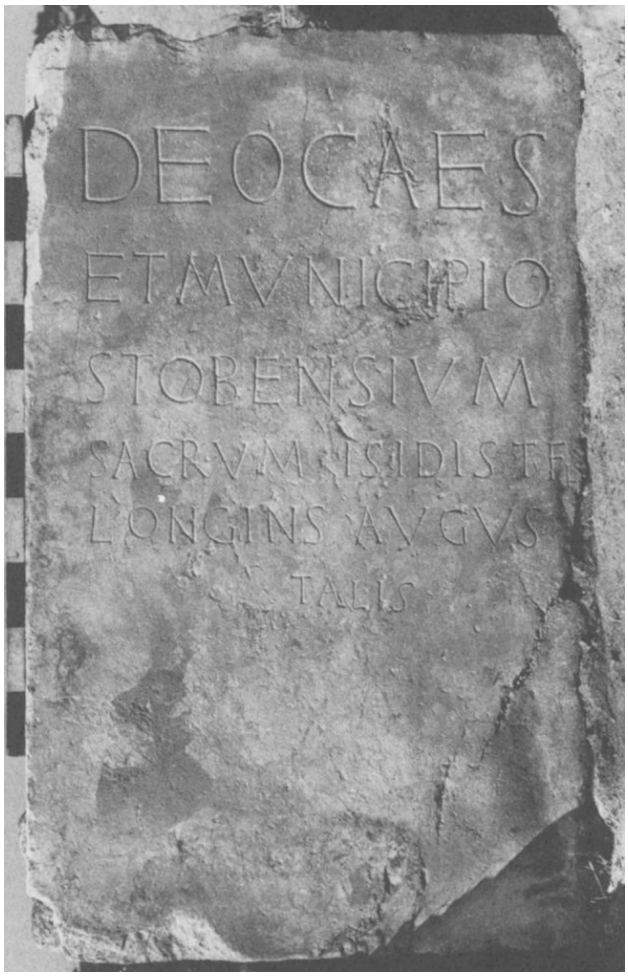


Fig. 168 Inscription from Stobi.

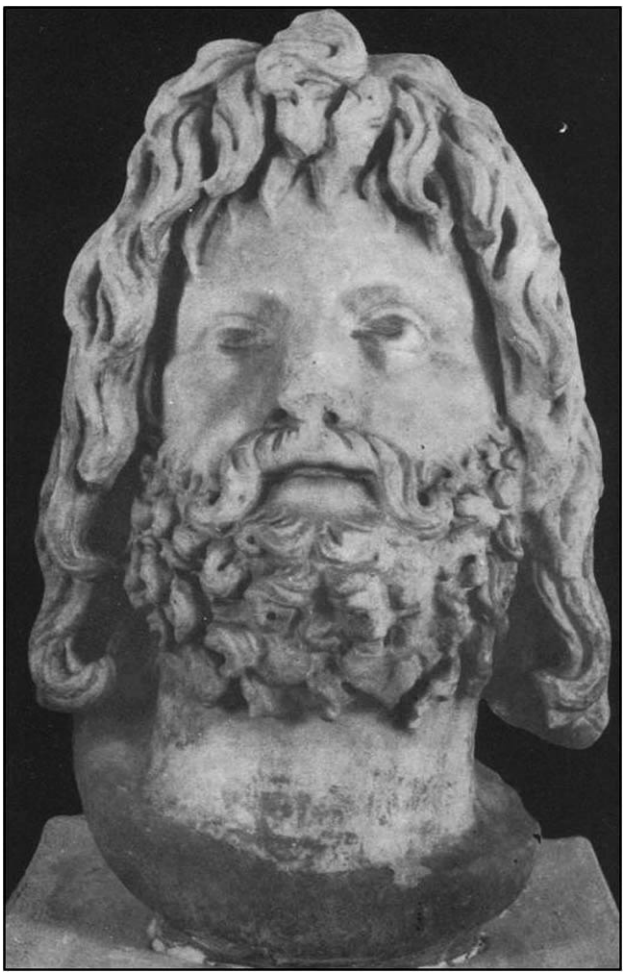


Fig. 169 Marble head of Serapis from Stobi.

period. *Isidis navigium* is one of the two main Roman festivals in honor of the goddess, performed on the fifth of March, as the paradigm for the search of the goddess for Osiris overseas. This festival also opened the navigable season, and was performed until the late sixth century.[19] From the previously published photographs of the gemma from Isar Marvinci, we could not actually recognize that it is indeed the iconographic type of Isis *Pelagia*.[20] If we take into account that this had indeed been a depiction of Isis *Pelagia*, a single piece of evidence, it cannot possibly lead one to think that the cult was known here in this particular ritual form. This finding tells us only of the commercial exchanges and the fluctuation of ideas and items that were coming both from the south and the east. From the environment of Strumica we find a bronze statue of the god Bes.[21] Although not a member of the Isis family, Bes is a frequent companion of the goddess, usually placed in front of small shrines.[22] The northernmost occurrence of a possible cult practice comes from Scupi; it is an inscription in which *Ἐπήκοος* Sarapis is mentioned[23], a rare form of his epithets. Of course all of these finds are to be seen as isolated examples, without a clear context. Without more systematical research, we cannot have a clear picture of the local worship form. For now, we can only say that they were supporting the religious sentiment, but did not necessarily have the purpose of organized devotion.

In conclusion, we are only able to say a few things about the form of the cult, which was locally known as 'Oriental' and mystery cults. In the territory of present-day Macedonia, Dionysus is traditionally dominant, especially if we take into account the popularity of the funerary character of the cult in the second and third centuries. It was popular both among the common people and the nobility. This situation actually demonstrates a certain conservatism among the local population that was traditionally more associated with Dionysus and never fully accepted by the other cults that were offering salvation, an important element of the 'Oriental cults'. This, of course, surpasses the larger cities such as Lychnidos and Stobi, where the 'Oriental' and the mystery cults were greatly accepted and cohabitated in alongside the cosmopolitan character of the

[19] Turcan 1996: 114, 115.
[20] This gemma is registered in depot of the Archaeological Museum in Skopje which is in the process of displacement, so the object is not available for observation.
[21] Düll 1977: no. 275.
[22] Malaise 2007: 27.
[23] Mirdita 2007: 55-59.



Fig. 170 Reverse of a coin from Stobi.



Fig. 171 Reverse of a coin from Stobi.

environment. When we look at the cults of Isis in relation to the other so-called Oriental cults, we see that on the studied territory, there is not much evidence. The cult of Cybele was present in the Hellenistic period in the region of ancient Macedonia, known as Amphaxitida, as well as in the vicinity of Prilep, but is only known from one Roman monument, a relief from Stobi.[24] Mithra, on the other hand, was worshiped only in the distant northern parts at the end of the second and during the third century, and only in the region of Scupi where Roman soldiers camped and where the veterans were given their estates.[25] The southernmost finding of a Mithraeum is in Prilep[26], the city which seems to be another center of cosmopolitan character; where different religious groups cohabitated. According to the number of findings in relation to the situation which we explained earlier, the cult of Isis was very well accepted. However, the cult did not spread much further from the corridors of *Via Egnatia*. The cults of Isis in this area are mostly confirmed in the second century, associated with temples, but most recognizable in the private context without sufficient evidence of any ritual activity.

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Chapter V: Bibliographies

These bibliographies contains the works related to the various topics of Ancient Egypt history and culture written by authors who's academic career was based mostly in the area of modern Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria. The bibliography of each country is presented separately. As the first such bibliography, certain minor omissions are to be expected. These bibliographies will offer a solid ground for any similar future efforts and additions.

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Mladen Tomorad

Slovenia:
Bibliographia Aegyptiacae Slovenicae
(from the middle of the Ninetheenth century till the end of 2012)

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