

Egypt in Croatia

Croatian fascination with ancient Egypt
from antiquity to modern times

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Preface

At first sight it seems that ancient Egyptian history and culture have no meaningful ties with present-day Croatia. However, when we scratch beneath the surface of the common image of Egypt, as that of a distant and ancient civilisation, we notice that its elements have been present in Croatia ever since Antiquity. In the 1st millennium BCE the first ancient Egyptian artefacts, various small statuettes and amulets, were 'imported' by unknown merchants and seafarers as elements of exchange. During the Ptolemaic Dynasty, trade relations developed between Egypt and various Greek settlements, both along the coast and inland, as evidenced by the presence of Ptolemaic deposits in Dalmatia and Lika. From the 2nd century BCE various symbols and artefacts related to the diffusion of Egyptian cults (e.g. Isis, Serapis, Osiris, Harpocrates, Horus, Apis, etc.) reached Croatian lands; they went on to gain popularity during Roman rule over Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Istria.

Yet elements of Egyptian religion were not the only imports. Under the influence of ancient Egyptian architecture, buildings were sometimes decorated with Egyptian symbols, as can be seen in examples from Arena in Pula, and 'Diocletian's Palace' in Split.

The first travellers found their ways to Egypt in the periods of Humanism and the Renaissance, and the first collections of ancient Egyptian art were created. One notable example of such a traveller, although an unintentional one, was Juraj Hus from Rascinia, who lived in Egypt as the hired servant of a Turkish sea captain in the late 1530s and early 1540s. Unfortunately the names of many other travellers, most probably from the area of the Dubrovnik Republic, remain unidentified.

The first museums were created in Croatia in the 19th century, and many collectors busied themselves, fascinated by the re-discovery and exploration of ancient Egypt. The 19th and 20th centuries witnessed the arrival of in excess of 4000 Egyptian artefacts at more than 40 institutional collections, not to mention an unknown number of private collections.

At the same time, during the second half of the 19th and into the early 20th century, a scientific study of ancient Egyptian history was initiated and lectures on the ancient Near East and Egypt began at the University of Zagreb (Gavro Manojlović, Grga Novak). From the middle of the 19th century, wealthier citizens and the social elite began what we might think of as 'tourist trips' to Egypt. These can be traced in various diaries and other manuscript material (Jakov Šašel, Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin), and from the beginning of the 20th century the appeal of Egypt's wonders is seen reflected in newspaper articles (Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin, Grga Novak), photographs, unpublished

writings (Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin, Ivan Meštrović), books (Vladimir Nazor, Grga Novak), and the new medium of private film footage (e.g. Deutsch-Maceljski family).

From the end of the 18th century, the influence of ancient Egyptian, Greek and Roman art is visible in European and world architecture, where many new buildings were decorated with ancient motifs, while parks and cemeteries sprouted obelisks and tombs built under the influence of ancient Egyptian architecture: examples can be seen in many Croatian cities, with the best examples in Zagreb (Maksimir Park, Mirogoj Cemetery, Zagreb's Zoo, etc.). All of these represent a form of 'Egyptomania', starting at the end of the 18th century, and carried on into numerous decorations and objects of everyday life, as found in the residences of the Croatian nobility and citizens. Indeed, examples can still be found in modern Croatian art, literature, and architecture.

The main aim of this book, presented in five chapters, with each containing several themes, is, therefore, to provide a closer look at all aspects of the presence and fascination of ancient Egyptian culture in Croatia, from Antiquity to the present.

The first chapter, 'Ancient Egyptian culture in Croatia in Antiquity', written by Mladen Tomorad, presents three main groups of artefacts discovered in present-day Croatia, mostly from the early 19th century. Seven areas of interest are covered: the early dissemination of ancient Egyptian artefacts in the Mediterranean (1st millennium BCE); the elements of diffusion and the presence of ancient Egyptian cults (from the end of the 1st century BCE to the end of the 4th century CE); the possible ancient Egyptian sanctuaries of Illyricum and Croatia and the professions related with this diffusion; Egyptian elements as architectural decorations of Roman buildings and palaces; the most important ancient Egyptian divinities identified on Croatian lands; the decorative and architectural elements of ancient Egypt along the eastern Adriatic coast; and select assemblages of artefacts related to ancient Egypt discovered in Istria, Dalmatia, and the Pannonia region of Croatia.

The second chapter, 'Croatian travellers to Egypt from the 16th to the middle of the 20th century' (Mladen Tomorad, Sanda Kočevar, Zorana Jurić Šabić and Sabina Kaštelančić), previews travellers and explorers to Egypt over last 400 years. The themes covered are: early Croatian travellers to Egypt, from the early modern period to the tours of the 'Yugoslav Lloyd' shipping company of the 1930s; the early Croatian traveller Juraj Hus from Rascinia, who lived in Egypt between 1536 and 1540; the voyage of Slovenian (Karlovac) traveller Jakov

Šašel, who travelled to Egypt and the Sudan in 1853/4; and photographs of ancient Egyptian monuments by the famous Italian photographer Antonio Beato. His collection of 37 albumen photographs taken between 1865 and 1882 found their way into Dubrovnik's archaeological museum sometime between 1872 and 1882. A further contribution in this chapter presents another Croatian traveller, Gavro Manojlović, who visited Egypt at the end of 1902. His voyage in Egypt is well documented in the 453 pages of his unpublished diary. As a medical doctor he attended the first Egyptian medical congress in Cairo in December 1902 and witnessed the opening of the 'Old' Aswan dam. Early Croatian immigrants (from the middle of the 19th century to the Yugoslav firms involved in the building of the Second Aswan dam) to Egypt are also brought into focus, as are the journal and postcards of the famous Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović and his ex-wife Ruža Meštrović, who visited in 1927 and 1933. The last two contributions cover the cruises organised between 1932 and 1938 by the 'Yugoslav Lloyd' shipping company, and the research voyage to Egypt by Grga Novak between December 1932 and February 1933.

The third chapter (Mladen Tomorad and Marina Kovač), 'Egyptian collections in Croatia', explores: the early collectors and genesis of the most important Egyptian collections in Croatia, formed from the 1820s until

the 1950s; the more than forty Egyptian collections in Croatia, mostly in institutional but also in private collections; the history of Egyptian objects in Osijek's archaeological museum; and a selection of important artefacts from Croatia's institutional collections.

The fourth chapter, 'Egyptology in Croatia' (Mladen Tomorad), overviews the development of this field of study and the work of leading researchers since the middle of the 19th century.

The final chapter, 'The Egyptian revival and 'Egyptomania' in Croatia' (Mladen Tomorad, Marina Bagarić, Zorana Jurić Šabić, Vanja Brdar Mustapić, Vesna Lovrić Plantić), discusses the various elements of 'Egyptomania' found in Croatia, mostly from the beginning of the 19th century. Included are: a general overview; various elements of Egyptomania in Zagreb, specifically elements found on buildings and monuments; ancient Egypt and the art of Ivan Meštrović; Egyptian influences in items of furniture and clocks in Zagreb's Museum of Arts and Crafts.

As the first book to present wide-ranging studies on Croatia's fascination for ancient Egypt, we hope that our efforts will reach all readers interested in these diverse subjects.

Zagreb, 22 June 2019

Mladen Tomorad

Chapter I:
Ancient Egyptian Culture in Croatia in Antiquity

Early Penetration of Ancient Egyptian Artefacts and Aegyptiaca (7th–1st Centuries BCE)

Mladen Tomorad

Early contacts between the eastern Adriatic coast, the Eastern Mediterranean, and Ancient Egypt

The first cultural contacts between both sides of the Adriatic coast, with the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt, probably started in the late Chalcolithic and early Bronze Age periods (c. 2200–1700 BCE).¹ At the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE Indo-European migrations started all around the eastern Mediterranean, 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 1990s, on the central Dalmatian island of Škrip, suggested that in the middle Bronze Age contacts with Minoan culture was definitely present on the eastern Adriatic islands.² On the other islands some Minoan pottery shards were also discovered. These established Minoan culture settlements, or trade routes³, could suggest that the first Egyptian artefacts might have arrived with merchants from the eastern Mediterranean world or directly from Egypt.⁴ The cultural settlements of Mycenaean Greece were established on the south-eastern Adriatic coast, along the coast of Albania, during the 15th century BCE, but we have no remains of their settlements along the Dalmatian coast and hinterland. According to previous studies,⁵ the Mycenaean influence was undertaken indirectly, via merchants who sold their ceramics along the well-established Amber Route that encircled the Adriatic;⁶ they also traded with local tribes on the eastern Adriatic islands and within the Dinaric mountain.⁷

During the migrations of the ‘Sea People’, at the end of the 2nd millennium BCE, it seems that some groups passed through Illyricum and the eastern Adriatic on their way to Italy; there are theories that some even established settlements in Illyricum.⁸

Dating from the 9th century BCE, geometric Greek pottery has been found on both coasts of the northern Adriatic.⁹ The dissemination of ancient Egyptian artefacts probably started during the 1st millennium BCE, when Egyptian religious artefacts (amulets, scarabs, seals, shabtis, etc.) were traded by Phoenician and Greek merchants in almost every region of the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁰

A typological study¹¹ of blue faïence shabti¹² (Figure 1), discovered in Solin (ancient Salona) in the 19th century,¹³ has dated it to the 22nd Dynasty (945–715 BCE).¹⁴ From 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 untypical of later periods of Egyptian history and was not recovered anywhere in south-eastern Europe from the Greco-Roman period. However, could it possibly have reached the Illyricum settlement of Salona before Greek colonisation of the Adriatic? With no archaeological context for such a find, however, we cannot confirm or deny the thesis. It could have found its way to Salona at any time between the 8th and 1st centuries BCE, via some unknown merchant from the Aegean, Near East, or directly from Egypt. There are, arguably, two options for such a thesis: it might simply be an exotic artefact or souvenir brought from Egypt before the Hellenistic period; or

¹ ŠIŠIĆ 1925: 60; ROSTOVITZ 1957: 238; CAMBI 2002: 11; OLUJIĆ 2007; TOMORAD 2015a: 167–168.

² GAFFNEY, ČAČE, HAYES, KIRIGIN, LEACH and VUJNOVIĆ 2002: 29–33; TOMORAD 2015a: 168.

³ GAFFNEY, ČAČE, HAYES, KIRIGIN, LEACH and VUJNOVIĆ 2002; TOMORAD 2015a: 168.

⁴ During the 2nd Intermediate period and the New Kingdom, ancient Egyptians established their trade routes with Cyprus and the Aegean islands. For a more detailed analysis of these contacts see: BIETAK 1995; DAVIES and SCHOFIELD 1995; BIETAK 2000.

⁵ ČURČIĆ 1909: 95; ZANINOVIĆ 1973; SAKELLARAKIS and MARIĆ 1975: 153; ZANINOVIĆ 1996: 296; DIMITRIJEVIĆ, TEŽAK-GREGL and MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1998; TOMORAD 2015a: 168.

⁶ MIHOVIĆ 2002: 500; TOMORAD 2015a: 168.

⁷ MATIJAŠIĆ 2009: 51; TOMORAD 2015a: 168.

⁸ ZANINOVIĆ 1973: 81–93; ZANINOVIĆ 1996: 296; TOMORAD 2015a: 168.

⁹ MIHOVIĆ 2002: 514; TOMORAD 2015a: 168.

¹⁰ For relations with Ancient Egypt and the penetration of Ancient Egyptian elements into 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; TOMORAD 2015a: 168.

¹¹ For the typology of shabti figures discovered in various regions in Europe, see in: TOMORAD 2017b; TOMORAD 2017c.

¹² Zagreb: *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*, inv. no. E-561. TOMORAD 2017a: Tomorad class B2; Table 10, 237.

¹³ The shabti is today kept in the Ancient Egyptian department of the *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*. It came to the museum from the private collection of the family Lanza from Split. *Inventar arheološkog odjela narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu – Egipatska zbirka* no. 561, 29.

¹⁴ TOMORAD 2006: no. 22, 297.

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 Hellenistic times and the late Roman Republic. There is one other shabti from the 3rd Intermediate period that might support the second possibility; it was discovered on Krk (ancient Curicum) in a late Hellenistic grave, dated c. 50–49 BCE (Figure 2) and will be discussed here later. The blue faïence shabti from Salona is probably the first ancient Egyptian funerary artefact to reach the eastern Adriatic coast in the first half of the 1st millennium BCE.

Greek colonisation of the eastern Adriatic (7th–3rd centuries BCE)

During the period between the 8th and 6th centuries BCE, Greek trade began to be very influential along the eastern Adriatic coast. Greek trading posts were probably present in Aenona (today Nin) and Iader (today Zadar) from the early Iron Age (c. 8th–7th centuries BCE).¹⁵ The pre-colonial Apulian painted geometric pottery, dated to the early Iron Age, was discovered on the central Dalmatian islands.¹⁶ Greek pottery fragments of a black-figured lekythos, dated to the 7th century BCE, were discovered on 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 More active trade between Greek merchants and Illyrian tribes on the eastern Adriatic coast started seems to have begun in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE.¹⁹ Greek colonies on the eastern Adriatic coast were established by the end of the 6th century BCE. The first Greek colony *Κόρυρα ἡ μέλαινα* (Corcyra nigra) was founded at the end of the 6th century BCE.²⁰ During the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, Greeks established naval trade routes along the coast of both sides of the Adriatic.²¹ During the 6th century BCE, Greek black-figured pottery came to Nesactium, the most important settlement of the Histri tribe in Istria.²² In Pharos (today's Stari Grad), on Hvar, archaeologists discovered at the end of the 1990s the remains of a trading post of Corinthian merchants, with typical ceramics dated to the 5th century BCE.²³ At

the beginning of the 4th century BCE, Greeks formed the most important colonies of the eastern Adriatic: Issa on Vis (c. 392–385 BCE),²⁴ and Pharos on Hvar (c. 385/384 BCE).²⁵ According to the results of the latest archaeological excavations at Naronia and Salona, Hellenistic settlements formed there during the 2nd century BCE.²⁶ Greek emporiums were also formed at Trogir (ancient Tragurion), Poreč (ancient Epetium), and Cavtat (ancient Epidarum) by the end of the 3rd century BCE.²⁷

Possible contacts with Egypt during Greek colonisation of the eastern Adriatic coast (from the 7th–3rd centuries BCE)

It is most likely that the first influential penetration of ancient Egyptian artefacts into Dalmatia and Istria started during the Greek colonisation of the eastern Adriatic coast. Along with the Greek archaic material remains, the first ancient Egyptian artefacts probably came to Istria and Illyricum (amulets, scarabs, shabtis, and perhaps the first statuettes of divinities).²⁸ Such artefacts could have come to the eastern Adriatic coast from the Etruscan coastal port of Spina, in the Po Valley, which was established on the northern Adriatic coast in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE,²⁹ or directly from the Aegean region, Egypt, or the eastern Mediterranean. In this region, Oriental, Greek, and Etruscan ceramics, bronze and gold items, reliefs, pottery and figurines were traded from southern Italy, Etruria, Greece and Macedonia to the Near East and Egypt.³⁰

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 (Table 1).³¹ Typological studies made during research into Egyptian assemblages in museums and private collections in Croatia showed that these artefacts were all products from pre-Roman periods, and can be dated from the New Kingdom until the Late period. For most of them we have no archaeological contexts, but we do know where they were found, and in some cases the exact year.

¹⁵ DIMITRIJEVIĆ, TEŽAK-GREGL and MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1998: 306; TOMORAD 2015a: 168.

¹⁶ GAFFNEY, ČAČE, HAYES, KIRIGIN, LEACH and VUJNOVIĆ 2002: 36; TOMORAD 2015a: 168.

¹⁷ GAFFNEY, ČAČE, HAYES, KIRIGIN, LEACH and VUJNOVIĆ 2002: 39; TOMORAD 2015a: 168.

¹⁸ GAFFNEY, ČAČE, HAYES, KIRIGIN, LEACH and VUJNOVIĆ 2002: 39; TOMORAD 2015a: 168.

¹⁹ CAMBI 2002: 11; TOMORAD 2015a: 168.

²⁰ ŠIŠIĆ 1925: 75–76; LISIČAR 1951; BRACESI 1977; SUIĆ 1996; BOARDMAN 1999: 225–229; CAMBI 2002: 12; MATIJAŠIĆ 2009: 56–61; TOMORAD 2015a: 168.

²¹ ČAČE 2002: 95, 100; TOMORAD 2015a: 168.

²² ŠIŠIĆ 1925: 75; MIHOVIĆ 2002: 506; TOMORAD 2015a: 169.

²³ CAMBI 2002: 14; KATIĆ 2002: 425; TOMORAD 2015a: 169.

²⁴ ŠIŠIĆ 1925: 76; MATIJAŠIĆ 2009: 69–70; TOMORAD 2015a: 169.

²⁵ MATIJAŠIĆ 2009: 69; TOMORAD 2015a: 169.

²⁶ MARIN 2002: 415–421; TOMORAD 2015a: 169.

²⁷ MATIJAŠIĆ 2009: 78; TOMORAD 2015a: 169.

²⁸ TOMORAD 2000: 8–9; TOMORAD 2004: 95; TOMORAD 2006: 279; TOMORAD 2015a: 172.

²⁹ CAMBI 2002: 14; MIHOVIĆ 2002: 514; TOMORAD 2015a: 172–173.

³⁰ NIKOLANCI 1966: 107; CAMBI 2002: 12–17; TOMORAD 2015a: 173.

³¹ Zagreb: *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*, inv. nos. E561-E-565, E675, E766, MIB348; Split: *Archaeological Museum in Split*, inv. nos. AMS 1221, AV372-AV375, B214-218, B757, G1622-G1632, G1676, G1886-G1887, H374-H378; H5503-H5007, H2604, H5459-H5462, I11, I1185; Pula: *Archaeological Museum of Istria*, inv. nos. A5220; Užice: *National Museum*, inv. 202; TOMORAD 2015a: 170–171.

The only artefact for which we have an archaeological context is the New Kingdom glazed and pierced scarab of a local Illyrian elite, discovered while excavating at an Iron Age *tumulus* at Trnjaci-Pilatovići (near Užička Požega in south-western Serbia);³² the grave mound was investigated in 1978.³³ The discovery is dated to c. 550–520 BCE. The piercing through the scarab suggests that it was used as an amulet to be worn around the neck or ankle. A wealthy member of the local community probably bought it from a trader from the East: why he bought it will probably remain a mystery.

An Egyptian bone handle of a dagger³⁴ (Figure 3), discovered by local farmer in the village of Sesvete, near Požega, in May 1979, is another interesting artefact that could have come to the Pannonia region during this period. It has the goddess Isis carved on it.³⁵ The location where it was discovered is surrounded by several Neolithic, Iron Age, and Roman sites; it is possible that it was bought by some wealthy person from the Illyrian community (as with the find from Trnjaci-Pilatovići).

Contact with Egypt during the Roman conquest of Illyricum (from the 3rd century BCE – early 1st century CE)

During the Ptolemaic Period (306–30 BCE), connections and trade between Illyricum and Egypt were more active. The 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 also from Phoenicia and Egypt, traded various goods paid for with Greek, North African (Numidia, Carthage) and Ptolemaic coins. It seems that more frequent connections with Ptolemaic Egypt were established between the 3rd and 1st centuries BCE: such trade is evidenced by several hoards of Ptolemaic coins discovered in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Slovenia. According to the studies by I. Mirnik,³⁶ the coin hoards can be dated between the 3rd century BCE and the early 1st century CE. The hoards from the 2nd century vary from 186 BCE to the late 2nd century, and

those of the 1st century vary from the beginning of the century to 9 CE.³⁷

These coin hoards were discussed in various articles from the mid-19th century, but the data is very confusing, and it is difficult to determine the exact number of these coins and where they are kept. The best information can be found in the article on North-African currency in Illyricum written by I. Mirnik.³⁸ In separate sections he wrote: 'Egyptian Ptolemaic bronze has been found on the following sites in Yugoslavia, Bosnia (5); ? Bosnia (6), Bosnia and Herzegovina (2); Croatia (c. 70); Dalmatia (+ 40); Hvar (1); Istria (13), Istria or Croatian Coast (32); Korčula (4); Košaki; Muta; Senj; Spodnje radvanje; Surduk; and Vis (5).'³⁹ According to research undertaken by the present author in early 2013, most of these specimens are now in the *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*, the *Archaeological Museum in Split*, the *National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina* in Sarajevo, the *Archaeological Museum of Istria* in Pula, the *Maritime and History Museum of the Croatian Littoral* in Rijeka, the *Museum of Senj*, the *Museum of the city of Šibenik*, and the *Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*.

In March 1846 a smaller coin hoard containing Ptolemaic, Carthaginian and Numidian coinage, dated to the late 2nd century BCE, was discovered near Široka Kula in Lika (Croatia).⁴⁰ Today they are divided between the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna and the *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Zagreb*.

In 1850 six Ptolemaic coins were discovered in a grave at the site of 'Muta' (Radlje) near Maribor (Slovenia). They are dated from the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE and now kept in museums in Graz and Vienna.⁴¹

During the 19th century a few pieces of Ptolemaic coinage, dated to the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, were found in Kula and Zvonigrad (Bosnia and Herzegovina), but they seem to be lost.⁴²

In 1886 a coin hoard with c. 200 *aes rude* and 53 Roman Republican coins were discovered in Valpovo (Croatia). Among these was a coin of Cleopatra VII (51–30 BCE), dated between 27 BCE and 9 CE. The coins were dispersed and kept in a private collection in Vinkovci and Zagreb's *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*.⁴³

In the spring of 1887 a pot burial, with 25 kg of *aes rude* and coins from Syracuse, Carthage (94), Numidia (94), and Egypt (4), were discovered in Vrankamen

³² Užice: *National Museum*, inv. no. 202; TOMORAD 2015a: 173.

³³ ZOTOVIĆ 1985: 92–95; ANĐELKOVIĆ 1991: 67–68; TOMORAD 2015a: 173.

³⁴ Požega: *City Museum of Požega*, GMP 21.628; TOMORAD 2015a: 173.

³⁵ During the Spring of 2013, the present author had interesting correspondence with various Egyptologists (D. Stefanović, F. Tiradritti, R. Schulz, S. Ikram, G. Pieke, and G. Hölbl) about this handle, agreeing with preliminary analysis that Isis was carved on it, and that it was possibly crafted in Nubia or the Ancient Near East, perhaps a product of the 27th Dynasty or the Late period. It is also possible that it could be the modern copy of such a handle. Until radiocarbon dating is undertaken, we cannot be sure it is an ancient or modern object. TOMORAD 2015a: 173.

³⁶ MIRNIK 1981: 37; MIRNIK 1987. For the complete catalogue of the Ptolemaic coinage, see in: MIRNIK 2016.

³⁷ MIRNIK 1981: 37.

³⁸ MIRNIK 1987.

³⁹ MIRNIK 1987: 371, 382–386.

⁴⁰ BRUNŠMID 1897: 46; MIRNIK 1981: 40, no. 43; MIRNIK 1987: 381.

⁴¹ MIRNIK 1981: 46, no. 77a.

⁴² BRUNŠMID 1897: 46; MIRNIK 1987: 382.

⁴³ MIRNIK 1981: 48, no. 91.

near Krupa (Bosnia and Herzegovina).⁴⁴ Č. Truhelka⁴⁵ originally attributed the Ptolemaic coins to Ptolemy I Soter I (306–282 BCE) and Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–222 BCE), but later J. Brunšmid⁴⁶ attributed them to Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (170–116 BCE) and Ptolemy X Soter.⁴⁷ According to the latest studies by I. Mirnik,⁴⁸ these coins should be attributed to Ptolemy I Soter, Ptolemy III Euergetes, Cleopatra I (2nd century BCE), and Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II. They are now kept in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo.

At Donji Unac, near Drvar (Bosnia and Herzegovina), a coin hoard with several Ptolemaic, Numidian and Carthaginian coins were found in 1894⁴⁹ and dated to the beginning of the 1st century BCE. The coins are now dispersed, but a small number of them are held 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 Carthaginian, 328 Numidian, and 40 Ptolemaic coins was discovered in 1896.⁵⁰ The Ptolemaic coins were minted in the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 BCE; 13 pieces), Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (15 pieces; of these, six were minted in Cyrene and Cyprus between 156–127 BCE),⁵¹ and 12 pieces were crafted during the reign of Ptolemy IX Soter II (116–107, 88–81 BCE) or Ptolemy X Alexandros I (107–88 BCE).⁵² The coin hoard was dated from the end of the 2nd or early 1st century BCE.⁵³ Most of these coins are now kept in the Numismatic Department of Zagreb's *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*,⁵⁴ with 13 being held by the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

In Izačić, near Bihać (Bosnia and Herzegovina), one Ptolemaic coin was found in early November 1907.⁵⁵ The discovery is not dated, and the coin remains unpublished; it is now 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), containing 213 pieces of *aes rude*, 8 *aes signatum*, 127 coins from Carthage, 203 coins from Numidia, and 9 Ptolemaic coins (Ptolemy III Euergetes I (264–222 BCE) (1), Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–204 BCE) (1), Ptolemy VI Philometor (4), Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (3)).⁵⁶ These are now in the Numismatic Department of the *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*, Zagreb.⁵⁷

In October 1976 a large hoard with more than 150 pieces of *aes rude*, and coins from Carthage, Numidia, Macedonia, Baetica and Egypt were found in Štikada, near Gračac (Croatia).⁵⁸ They are currently dispersed between museums in Gospić (c. 140), Varaždin (3) and Zagreb (8). The hoard was dated to the end of the 2nd or early 1st century BCE. This hoard also contained three Ptolemaic coins: one with the head of Zeus Ammon from Alexandria, minted in the period from Ptolemy VI Philometor to Ptolemy VIII Euergetes, and two coins struck during the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes (Figure 4).

A certain number of Ptolemaic coins were also 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 in the Maritime and History Museum of the Croatian Littoral in Rijeka.

According to correspondence with Maja Bonačić Mandinić, custodian of the Numismatic Department of the *Archaeological Museum in Split*, at least 59 Ptolemaic coins discovered in the central Dalmatian region are kept in that museum.⁵⁹ They were discovered at unknown sites in Dalmatia⁶⁰ (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 of unidentified Ptolemaic rulers), and on the islands of Vis⁶¹ (Ptolemy II Philadelphos (1), Ptolemy VI Philometor (1), Tiberius from Alexandrian mint), Korčula⁶² (Ptolemy II Philadelphos (1), Ptolemy VI Philometor), and Hvar⁶³ (Ptolemy VI Philometor (1), Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (3)). The coin hoards in which they were discovered are dated from the 3rd century BCE to the early 1st century CE.

One Ptolemaic coin, dated from the late 2nd or early 1st century BCE, was discovered near the Hellenistic

⁴⁴ TRUHELKA 1889: 38–43; MIRNIK 1981: 48, no. 93; MIRNIK 1987: 382.

⁴⁵ TRUHELKA 1889: 38–43.

⁴⁶ BRUNŠMID 1897: 42 fn. 4.

⁴⁷ There was no Ptolemy X Soter; it is more likely to be Ptolemy IX Soter II, who ruled between 116–107 and 88–81 BCE.

⁴⁸ MIRNIK 1981: 48, no. 93; MIRNIK 1982: 151; MIRNIK 1987: 382; MIRNIK 2016.

⁴⁹ MIRNIK 1981: 42, no. 57; MIRNIK 1987: 380.

⁵⁰ BRUNŠMID 1897: 42; MIRNIK 1981: 45–56, no. 76; MIRNIK 1987: 381; TOMORAD 2003: 42–46; TOMORAD 2005: 7–9; MIRNIK 2016.

⁵¹ BRUNŠMID 1897: 63–64, cat. no. 1–6; MIRNIK 2016.

⁵² MIRNIK 1981: 46, no. 76. In his publication, Brunšmid only mentions three coins of Ptolemy IX Soter II. 1897: 63–64, cat. no. 7–9; MIRNIK 2016.

⁵³ MIRNIK 1981: 45, no. 76; Mirnik 2016.

⁵⁴ Zagreb: *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*, inv. nos. A3328, A3870, A3874–A3886, A3892–A3894, A3896–A3897, A3890, A3904–A3907, A13324–A13327, A13329.

⁵⁵ MIRNIK 1987: 381.

⁵⁶ MIRNIK 1981: 38, no. 24; MIRNIK 1982: 151; MIRNIK 1987: 380–381.

⁵⁷ Zagreb: *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*, inv. nos. A9366, A9369–A9373.

⁵⁸ MIRNIK 1981: 47, no. 88a; MIRNIK 1982: 149, 152.

⁵⁹ TOMORAD 2017d: 75–76.

⁶⁰ Split: *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*, inv. nos. 16603–16617, 16625–16629, 16631–166645, 16648–16659.

⁶¹ Split: *Archaeological Museum in Split*, inv. nos. 13467, 16630, 16646.

⁶² Split: *Archaeological Museum in Split*, inv. nos. 14698, 16647.

⁶³ Split: *Archaeological Museum in Split*, inv. nos. 16618–16624.

sanctuary at Cape Ploče;⁶⁴ it is now in the Šibenik museum.⁶⁵

According to the dates of the coin specimens discovered at the various sites along the eastern Adriatic coast and inland, we can assume that economic commerce between Illyricum and Egypt existed from the early 3rd century BCE. Sadly, these archaeological finds do not give us answers as to whether this was direct or indirect commerce from other traders (most likely from Carthage, Numidia, Greece, or a Greek colony around the Mediterranean) using Ptolemaic coins as the means of payment. According to Morris Finley, in his studies of ancient economies of the Hellenistic and Roman world, 'money was coin and nothing else'.⁶⁶ In the ancient world, coins were part of very extensive trade, and were exchanged by weight, 'without coining the metal'.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹ Ptolemaic coins were used for the payment of various kinds of goods and services by Egyptian traders, but also by Phoenician and Greek merchants – who used them in their international commerce all over the Mediterranean.

It is interesting to note that the largest finds of Ptolemaic coins are from the territories of the Illyrian tribe *Japodes* (*Iapodes*, *Giapidi*; gr. *Ἰάποδες*)⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹ These finds confirm that the *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 regions of the Illyrian *Japodes* and *Liburnes* tribes, they both carried out well-organised trade in amber from the beginning of the 1st millennium BCE. At the same time, the *Liburnes* were the most important naval and

political force along the eastern Adriatic from the 9th until the 6th century BCE.⁷² In the 5th century BCE they lost their influence in the central Dalmatian region but retained their influence in the northern Adriatic and inland from their main centres, Aenona and Iader, until the end of the 1st century BCE.⁷³ In the 4th century BCE, the Greek geographer Pseudo-Skylax described women in the societies of the *Liburnes* and *Iapodes*⁷⁴ as having more influential positions and sexual freedom.⁷⁵ P. Selem⁷⁶ used this 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 colonisation and the Romanisation of Dalmatia, but with no presumption that the dissemination of the ancient Egyptian cults could start earlier than the 1st century CE.

In the region around Zadar, Nin, Lika, and the border between Bosnia and Croatia, several Egyptian artefacts have been discovered. During an archaeological excavation in 1932, in Ostrožac near Bihać (Bosnia and Herzegovina), a shabti was discovered in a Roman grave (1st century BCE).⁷⁷ In another 1st-century Roman grave, from an unknown site in Lika, a statuette of Serapis and a shabti were discovered in the 1940s.⁷⁸ At Aenona a shabti and pseudo-shabti (New Kingdom, Ptolemaic Dynasty)⁷⁹ were discovered, along with several oil lamps inscribed with Isis, Serapis, Harpocrates and Jupiter Ammon,⁸⁰ and a statue of Isis (1st century CE),⁸¹ and a bronze amulet of a mummified figure (Ptolemaic Dynasty – 1st century CE).⁸² All these finds document the presence of Egyptian cults in that region from at least the 1st century BCE/1st century CE, and possibly earlier.

In the territory of the nearby Illyrian *Colapiani* tribe, two terracotta shabtis were discovered near ancient Aequum (today's Čitluk, a small village near Sinj, Croatia). The first shabti, made from green-coloured enamelled terracotta, with the common inscription *Wsir ʿnh*, is a typical product of the Late period

⁶⁴ ŠEŠELJ 2009: 321, no. 11.

⁶⁵ Šibenik: *Šibenik Museum*, inv. no. 11001.

⁶⁶ FINLEY 1999: 166.

⁶⁷ FINLEY 1999: 166.

⁶⁸ BOWMAN 1986: 107.

⁶⁹ BOWMAN 1986: 107.

⁷⁰ The *Japodes* dwelt to the north of the other Illyrian tribe, the *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 interior (today in Croatia) and the Una Valley (today in Bosnia and Herzegovina). For a more detailed analysis of the Illyrian tribes of the eastern Adriatic coast, see in: ŠIŠIĆ 1925: 72-102; STIPČEVIĆ 1974; WILKES 1992; DIMITRIJEVIĆ, TEŽAK-GREGL and MANJARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1998; OLUJIĆ 2007; MATIJAŠIĆ 2009: 30-47.

⁷¹ MIRNIK 1987.

⁷² DIMITRIJEVIĆ, TEŽAK-GREGL and MANJARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1998: 306.

⁷³ DIMITRIJEVIĆ, TEŽAK-GREGL and MANJARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1998: 306-318.

⁷⁴ PS. SKYL. 21. This description is part of the so-called Pseudo-Skylax *Periplus*, probably written between 380 and 320 BCE. 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: SHIPLEY 2011.

⁷⁵ ŠIŠIĆ 1925: 83 fn. 23; SUIĆ 1955.

⁷⁶ SELEM 1971: 299.

⁷⁷ Zagreb: *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*, Main inventory book, inv. no. 348. Unpublished.

⁷⁸ Zagreb: *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*, Main inventory book, inv. no. 358. Unpublished.

⁷⁹ Zagreb: *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*, E-675 and E676.

⁸⁰ Zadar: *Archaeological Museum in Zadar*, 3672, A11260, A10178, A10180.

⁸¹ Zagreb: *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*, A-34.

⁸² Zadar: *Archaeological Museum in Zadar*, without inventory number.

(27th–31st Dynasty, late 6th–early 4th century BCE).⁸³ The second shabti, made from brown terracotta, was crafted between the 30th and the Ptolemaic Dynasty (4th–1st century BCE).⁸⁴ The typology⁸⁵ of these shabtis suggests that they could have come to the area around Aequum at some time between the 1st century BCE and 1st century CE.⁸⁶

More than 100 Egyptian artefacts (shabtis, amulets, beads, scarabs, bronze statuettes of divinities, etc.)⁸⁷ were discovered along the eastern Adriatic coast from Istria⁸⁸ to Epidaurum (today's Cavtat) (Table 1).⁸⁹ The largest numbers of Egyptian artefacts were discovered in Salona,⁹⁰ the central Dalmatian region,⁹¹ and on the islands of Korčula, Hvar, and Vis.⁹² Most were discovered in the 19th century, but unfortunately their archaeological contexts are not preserved. The only information available in the inventory books are the locations where these artefacts were found. According to their typology,⁹³ iconography, and the artistic style of crafting, they should be dated from the Late period to the Ptolemaic Dynasty. These artefacts most likely came to the eastern Adriatic region from the early 3rd century BCE to the end of the 1st century BCE; in previous historical interpretations these artefacts were not dated.⁹⁴ Were these artefacts just some of the goods

that merchants sold to local communities, or were they the first evidence of the Egyptian cults that penetrated the eastern Adriatic region during the same period? Sadly, we possess no archaeological evidence that could provide an answer to the question. If we compare these findings with the artefacts discovered in Spain, France, Italy, the Aegean and North Africa, there is a great possibility that the artefacts could have reached the eastern Adriatic coast and inland before the Romanisation of Illyricum in the 1st century CE.⁹⁵ 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 BCE and the end of the 1st century BCE, meaning that these artefacts could have reached the eastern Adriatic coast before the end of the Roman conquest of Illyricum (9 CE).

Sadly, from this period we have no epigraphic evidence that could confirm the existence of Egyptian cults. The earliest surviving epigraphic evidence of Isaic cults and communities is dated from the 1st century CE. In Auternum Vestinorum (today's Pescara, Italy) two epigraphic inscriptions from the 1st century CE document the presence of *collegium Serapis*⁹⁶ and *collegium Isis*⁹⁷ in Salona. These collegiums could have developed from previous individual worshippers or even small communities of worshippers of Egyptian divinities (Isis, Serapis, Osiris, Harpocrates), as documented on bronze figurines discovered along the eastern Adriatic coast. They could be imports from Egypt, Italy, the eastern Mediterranean or Aegean regions, from the 3rd to the 1st centuries BCE, or they could have been looted from ancient Egyptian tombs and sold during Greco-Roman times.⁹⁸ The finds discovered in Roman settlements along the eastern Adriatic coast and inland, dated from the 1st to the end of the 3rd century CE, have a different typology from artefacts of the Late and Ptolemaic periods.⁹⁹ Does it mean that these typologically older artefacts came from a period earlier than those from the Roman period? We cannot confirm such an hypothesis but it is possible, and it may possibly be proved using one type of artefact – shabtis.

Arguably, the shabti is the key to this debate. Shabtis were made of stone, alabaster, wood, terracotta, and coloured faïence from the 1st Intermediate period. From

⁸³ Sinj: *Franciscan Monastery - Archaeological collection*, inv. no. R299.

⁸⁴ Sinj: *Franciscan Monastery - Archaeological collection*, inv. no. R300.

⁸⁵ The latest typology according to: TOMORAD 2017a, TOMORAD 2017b, TOMORAD 2017c.

⁸⁶ TOMORAD 2006: 285–286, nos. 1–2.

⁸⁷ Zagreb: *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*, inv. nos. E561-E-565, E675, E766, MIB348; Split: *Archaeological Museum in Split*, inv. nos. AMS 1221, AV372-AV375, B214-218, B757, G1622-G1632, G1676, G1886-G1887, H374-H378; H5503-H5007, H2604, H5459-H5462, I11, I1185; Pula: *Archaeological Museum of Istria*, inv. nos. A5220; Užice: *Nacional Museum*, inv. no. 202. Several artefacts without inventory numbers are also kept in private collections in Lik, Marović and Domančić, and in museum collections in Graz, Hvar, Ptuj, Senj, Szekszárd, Trieste and Vienna.

⁸⁸ Pula: *Archaeological Museum of Istria*, 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).

⁸⁹ The bronze statuette of the goddess Sekhmet. Split: *Archaeological Museum in Split*, inv. no. H2604.

⁹⁰ The ten shabtis crafted from the 26th to the Ptolemaic Dynasties are in the private Marović collection and the *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb* (inv. nos. E561-565). In the *Archaeological Museum in Split* there are ten bronze statuettes of Osiris (inv. nos. H374-378, H5006, H5459, H5461-5463), five statuettes of Isis-Hathor nursing Horus (inv. nos. H5003-5005, H5007, H5460), and a Wedjet-eye amulet (inv. no. G1629).

⁹¹ The *Archaeological Museum in Split* has eight shabtis from the 18th Dynasty to the Late period (inv. nos. B212-B216, G1623-1624, G1626), four scarabs (inv. nos. AV373, G1632, G1886-1887), a pearl with hieroglyphic signs (inv. nos. AV372, 374-375), fragments of Ancient Egyptian artefacts with or without hieroglyphic signs (inv. nos. B217-218, B757), and a Wedjet-eye amulet (inv. no. G1676).

⁹² The *Archaeological Museum in Split* has a shabti from the 27th to the Ptolemaic Dynasty (inv. no. G1625), two Wedjet-eye amulets, and a pendant amulet with falcon with crown (inv. nos. G1627-1628, G1631). The private Domančić collection contains a shabti from the 27th to the Ptolemaic Dynasty.

⁹³ TOMORAD 2006: 285–301; TOMORAD 2011: 110, 115, 122, 125, 134; TOMORAD 2017a, TOMORAD 2017b, TOMORAD 2017c.

⁹⁴ DREXLER 1890; DREXLER 1900; PERC 1968; SELEM 1971; SELEM 1972;

BUDISCHOVSKY 1977; SELEM 1997; GIUNIO 2002.

⁹⁵ TRAN TAM TIH 1971; TRAN TAM TIH 1972; WITT 1971; DUNAND 1973; PARCERISA 1980-1985; BUDISCHOVSKY 1977; HÖLBL 1979; HÖLBL 1986; BRICAULT 2001.

⁹⁶ CIL IX.3337 = SIRIS 475, 677 = RICIS 615/0401.

⁹⁷ CIL IX.3338.

⁹⁸ TOMORAD 2015a: 176.

⁹⁹ TOMORAD 2007; TOMORAD 2016b; TOMORAD 2017a, TOMORAD 2017b, TOMORAD 2017c; TOMORAD 2018a.

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 bore no inscriptions, and in the Roman Empire they were no longer produced in Egypt.¹⁰⁰ From 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.¹⁰¹ There is no evidence that shabti workshops 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 divinities were recorded in the Greco-Roman period. According to our typological studies there are only three types of shabtis¹⁰² and several of pseudo-shabtis that could be associated with the late Roman Republic or the Roman Empire.¹⁰³ Most of these artefacts seem to be copies of original New Kingdom shabtis,¹⁰⁴ sometimes with cartouches of pharaohs Thutmose III¹⁰⁵ or Amenhotep III.¹⁰⁶ In some cases, such shabtis bore pseudo-hieroglyphic inscriptions.¹⁰⁷ All other types of shabtis discovered in southern Europe are common products from the second half of the 1st millennium BCE.¹⁰⁸ Types of shabtis discovered in central, northern and western Europe are those types typical of the late Ptolemaic and Roman periods, which could mean that older types of shabtis were not commonly used from the 1st century BCE onwards.¹⁰⁹ This is one argument why the arrival of such artefacts could be dated before the 1st century BCE.

According to the previous discussion and the archaeological findings from the eastern Adriatic coast and inland, it can be asserted that the first penetration and dissemination of Egyptian cults could have started in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. 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 that developed prominent communications with the Aegean

region, Egypt and North Africa (e.g. the Etruscans, Phoenicians, Carthage, etc.).

One of the most interesting artefacts from the region is a small bronze sistrum (Figure 5) discovered in the pre-Roman settlement of Nesactium (today Vizače near Pula).¹¹⁰ It is dated from the early 2nd century BCE to the 1st century CE.¹¹¹ Since the early 1st millennium BCE, Nesactium was the main settlement of another Illyrian tribe, the *Histrii*, who 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 dated to the 2nd century BCE.¹¹² Sistrum, commonly, was not dated by scholars, or it was dated to the 1st century CE. The reason for the different dating is probably due to the typical thinking that Egyptian cults appeared in that region from the 1st century CE. Since the pharaonic period sistra were, in the ancient world, typical symbols of the cults of Isis and Hathor. According to the typology, iconography and comparisons with similar sistra 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 divinities Neith, Harpocrates, Apis and Osiris, discovered in Istria¹¹³ (Figures 6-10), are products of the Ptolemaic Period (3rd-1st centuries BCE) that could have come to Istria at any time 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 (Figure 10).¹¹⁴ 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; southern Italy; the eastern Mediterranean; North Africa; and/or Egypt.¹¹⁵

From researches within various museum institutions in Croatia, the present author, in 2014, discovered the existence of ten ancient Egyptian artefacts that were archaeologically discovered on Krk.¹¹⁶ These artefacts were found in late Hellenistic graves from the middle of the 1st century BCE, and they probably arrived with some unknown soldiers stationed at Curicum during

¹⁰⁰ TOMORAD 2004: 93.

¹⁰¹ TOMORAD 2004: 206; TOMORAD 2006: 280.

¹⁰² TOMORAD 2017a, TOMORAD 2017b, TOMORAD 2017c: shabti types M, N, O.

¹⁰³ TOMORAD 2017a, TOMORAD 2017b, TOMORAD 2017c: pseudo-shabti types A1-A2, B-E.

¹⁰⁴ Split: *Archaeological Museum in Split*, inv. no. G1624.

¹⁰⁵ Split: *Archaeological Museum in Split*, inv. nos. B212B213; AMZ: inv. nos. MIB348, E-675; GMS: inv. nos. 4100.

¹⁰⁶ Split: *Archaeological Museum in Split*, inv. no. B216.

¹⁰⁷ Vienna: *Kunsthistorisches Museum*, inv. no. 6708; MARPOS: 47425 (from Biggemi, Sicily); Košljun: *Franciscan Monastery - Archaeological collection*, inv. no. 641 (from Curicum, Krk).

¹⁰⁸ TOMORAD 2017a, TOMORAD 2017b, TOMORAD 2017c: shabtis types A-L.

¹⁰⁹ TOMORAD 2017b: 329-330.

¹¹⁰ Pula: *Archaeological Museum of Istria*, inv. no. A-5048.

¹¹¹ 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: no. 3, 48-49; TOMORAD 2015a: no. 5, 181-182.

¹¹² PUSCHI 1914: 60.

¹¹³ TOMORAD 2015a: nos. 6-10, 182-185.

¹¹⁴ TOMORAD 2015a: no. 10, 184-185.

¹¹⁵ CAMBI 2002: 14-17; MIHOVIĆ 2002: 506, 514.

¹¹⁶ Two shabti figures, three scarabs with hieroglyphic inscriptions, and five amulets of cats. They are now kept in the Franciscan monastery on the island of Košljun.

the early civil war between Pompey and Julius Caesar in 49/48 BCE.¹¹⁷ These latest findings can definitively support an hypothesis that ancient Egyptian artefacts (shabtis, scarabs) (Figures 11-15) came to the eastern Adriatic coast before the 1st century CE. In early 49 BCE, Julius Caesar ordered Publius Cornelius Dolabella to build a fleet in the Adriatic,¹¹⁸ and part of this fleet was stationed in Curicum under the command of Gaius Antonius,¹¹⁹ probably the brother of Marcus Antonius. At the same time, one of Pompey's fleets, under the command of Marcus Octavius and Lucius Scribonius Libo, was stationed in Issa and sent to the northern Adriatic. After the famous battle at Krk, in the middle of 49 BCE, the fleet of Gaius Antonius was defeated and he had to surrender to Marcus Octavius' troops, who then took charge of Curicum.¹²⁰ It is known that part of Pompey's fleet and the military forces who defeated Gaius Antonius near Krk were recruited in Egypt.¹²¹ It is very likely that a few of these soldiers or sailors, who died during the early years of the civil war (49–48 BCE), were buried in these late Hellenistic graves together with the Egyptian artefacts they brought from Egypt. We can neither confirm nor deny that they were worshippers of Egyptian divinities, but that option is possible.

Conclusion

This chapter has tried to present evidence of the hypothesis about the earlier penetration of ancient Egyptian artefacts, divinities and cults along the eastern Adriatic coast (Istria, Illyricum and Pannonia) in the 1st millennium BCE. 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 artefacts (the early 1st millennium BCE – 1st century BCE) that later developed into a diffusion of Egyptian divinities and Isiac cults (c. 1st century BCE – 4th century CE). According to the few finds of ancient Egyptian artefacts discovered in the region of Illyricum (the blue faience shabti from Salona, 22nd Dynasty; the scarab from Trnjaci-Pilatovići, later 6th century BCE; the bone handle of a dagger from Sesvete?), we can presume that the first Egyptian artefacts could have arrived during the early Iron Age (c. 8th–5th centuries BCE). They were probably traded by merchants to wealthy members of the local communities for unknown purposes. The possibility that their buyers were worshippers of Egyptian divinities is very low but still possible.

¹¹⁷ For more on these finds, see in: TOMORAD 2015a: nos. 11-20, 185-195; TOMORAD 2015b; TOMORAD and SLIWA 2015; TOMORAD 2018b: 398-399.

¹¹⁸ APP. CIV. II.41; TOMORAD 2018b: 398-399.

¹¹⁹ APP. CIV. II.41; TOMORAD 2018b: 398.

¹²⁰ APP. CIV. II.47; DIOD. SIC. XLI.40-41¹⁻²; TOMORAD 2018b: 398.

¹²¹ VEITH 1924; ŠIŠIĆ 1925: 93-94; MATIJAŠIĆ 2009: 129-131; TOMORAD 2018b: 398.

During the Greek colonisation along the Adriatic coast (c. 8th – end of the 3rd century BCE), 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 Illyrian tribes, both on the coast and inland, it is possible that the Greek colonists, with their traders, started selling Egyptian artefacts to the local community or even worshippers of Egyptian divinities (e.g. Isis, Osiris, Harpocrates, Serapis).

During the Roman conquest of Illyricum (3rd century BCE – 9 CE) connections with Egypt, North Africa, Aegean and Italy became much more intensive. The findings of hoards with North African and Ptolemaic coinage can support the theory that by the late 3rd century BCE trading connections were already well established. It is also possible that the large number of Egyptian artefacts (scarabs, amulets, shabtis, bronze figurines of divinities) could have arrived in Istria, Aenona, Iader, the region of Lika, Salona, and the central Dalmatian islands (Hvar, Korčula, Vis) as the first presence of Egyptian divinities.

Abbreviations

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 in Split, Split (Croatia) = AMS
Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Zagreb (Croatia) = AMZ
Archaeological Park 'Andautonija', Ščitarjevo (Croatia) = APA
Franciscan Monastery, Košljun (Croatia) = FMK
Franciscan Monastery, Sinj (Croatia) = FMS
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Austria) = KHM
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
Archaeological Museum in Osijek, Osijek (Croatia) = AMO
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 = CRO

Table 1. Aegyptiaca and Ancient Egyptian cultic artefacts discovered in Istria and Illyricum (1st millennium – 1st century BCE)

Provenance	Description	Dating	Collection inv. no.	Publication
Aenona (Nin, CRO)	Terracotta shabti	NK; GRP import	AMZ E675	Published
Aenona (Nin, CRO)	Terracotta pseudo-shabti	PP	AMZ E676	Published
Aequum (Čitluk, CRO)	Terracotta shabti	LP-PP; GRP import	FMS, Arch. Coll., no inv. nr	Published
Aequum (Čitluk, CRO)	Terracotta shabti	26th Dyn.; GRP import	FMS, Arch. Coll., no inv. nr	Published
Curicum (Krk, CRO)	Terracotta shabti	1st c. BCE	FMK, 641	Unpublished
Curicum (Krk, CRO)	Terracotta shabti of Mehyt-weskhet	22nd Dyn. or copy from 1st c. BCE	FMK, 642	Unpublished
Curicum (Krk, CRO)	Terracotta scarab	1st c. BCE	FMK, no inv. nr	Unpublished
Curicum (Krk, CRO)	Faience scarab	1st c. BCE	FMK, no inv. nr	Unpublished
Curicum (Krk, CRO)	Terracotta scarab	1st c. BCE	FMK, no inv. nr	Unpublished
Dalmatia(?), CRO	Bronze Nefertum	GRP	AMZ E767	Published
Epidaurum (Cavtat, CRO)?	Bronze Sekhment	LP	AMS H2604	Published
Istria, CRO	Bronze Apis	PP – 1st c. CE	AMIP A5223; ex 3236	Published
Istria, CRO	Bronze Apis	PP – 1st c. CE	AMIP, no inv. nr, lost	Published
Istria, CRO	Bronze pendant amulet of Harpocrates	2nd c. BCE – 1st c. CE	AMIP A5221	Published
Istria, CRO	Bronze kneeling male figure with klaft	PP	AMIP A5210	Published
Istria, CRO	Bronze Neith	LP-PP	AMIP A5220	Published
Kazale, CRO	Majolica shabti	Not dated	Coll. Lik	Unpublished
Loron near Poreč, CRO	Bronze Isis Fortuna	1st c. BCE	MTP, no. inv. nr.	Published
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Terracotta pendant amulet with Nefertum	30th Dyn. – 1st c. CE	AMS G1677	Published
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Terracotta shabti	18th Dyn. or Roman copy	AMS B212	Published
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Terracotta shabti	18th Dyn. or Roman copy	AMS B213	Published
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Limestone shabti	LP	AMS B214	Published
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Terracotta shabti	LP	AMS G1623	Published
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Terracotta shabti	LP	AMS G1624	Published
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Faience shabti	30th Dyn. – PP	AMS G1626	Published
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Granite shabti	26th Dyn.	AMS B215	Published
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Scarab	LP – PP	AMS G1632	Unpublished
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Scarab	LP – PP	AMS G1886	Unpublished
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Scarab	LP – PP	AMS G1887	Unpublished
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Scarab	LP – PP	AMS AV373	Unpublished
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Bead with hieroglyphics	LP – PP	AMS AV372	Unpublished
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Bead with hieroglyphics	LP – PP	AMS AV374	Unpublished
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Bead with hieroglyphics	LP – PP	AMS AV375	Unpublished
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Terracotta Wedjat-eye amulet	LP – PP	AMS G1676	Unpublished
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Egyptian figurine	LP – PP	AMS B217	Unpublished
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Egyptian figurine	LP – PP	AMS B218	Unpublished
Middle Dalmatia, CRO	Egyptian figurine	LP – PP	AMS B757	Unpublished
Nesactium (Vizače, CRO)	Bronze sistrum	3rd – 2nd c. BCE	AMIP A5048	Published
Ostrožac, BiH	Shabti	1st c. BCE	AMZ MIB 348	Unpublished
Pharos (Stari Grad, CRO)	Faience pendant amulet of hawk with crown	LP – PP	AMS G1631	Published
Pharos (Stari Grad, CRO)	Bronze Nefertum	LP; RP import	ACGN, no inv. nr.	Published
Pharos (Stari Grad, CRO)	Terracotta pseudo-shabti	27th Dyn. – PP	Coll. Domančić (ex-Marchi Coll.)	Published
Pharos (Stari Grad, CRO)	Terracotta shabti	27th Dyn. – PP	AMS G1625	Published
Pharos (Stari Grad, CRO)	Terracotta Wedjat-eye amulet	LP – PP	AMS G1628	Published

Provenance	Description	Dating	Collection inv. no.	Publication
Pharos (Stari Grad, CRO)	Terracotta Wedjat-eye amulet	LP – PP	AMS G1627	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Bronze Isis Hathor with Harpocrates	PP	AMS H5003	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Bronze Isis Hathor with Harpocrates	PP	AMS H5004	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Bronze Isis Hathor with Harpocrates	PP	AMS H5005	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Bronze Isis Hathor with Harpocrates	PP	AMS H5007	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Bronze Osiris	LP – PP	AMS H374	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Bronze Osiris	LP – PP	AMS H375	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Bronze Osiris	LP – PP	AMS H376	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Bronze Osiris	LP – PP	AMS H377	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Bronze Osiris	LP – PP	AMS H378	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Bronze Osiris	LP – PP	AMS H5006	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Bronze Osiris	LP – PP	AMS H5459	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Bronze Osiris	LP – PP	AMS H5461	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Bronze Osiris	LP – PP	AMS H5462	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Bronze Osiris	LP – PP	AMS H5463	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Terracotta pseudo-shabti	18th Dyn.	AMS B216	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Carnelian scarab	Not dated	AMS I1835	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Carnelian scarab	Not dated	AMS I11	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Terracotta shabti	26th Dyn. – PP	Coll. Marović (ex-Carrara-Bratanić Coll.)	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Terracotta shabti	27th Dyn. – PP	Coll. Marović (ex-Carrara-Bratanić Coll.)	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Terracotta shabti	27th Dyn. – PP	Coll. Marović (ex-Carrara-Bratanić Coll.)	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Terracotta shabti	27th Dyn. – PP	Coll. Marović (ex-Carrara-Bratanić Coll.)	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Terracotta shabti	26th Dyn. – PP	Coll. Marović (ex-Carrara-Bratanić Coll.)	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Terracotta shabti	26th Dyn. – PP	Coll. Marović (ex-Carrara-Bratanić Coll.)	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Faïence shabti	22nd Dyn.	AMZ E561	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Terracotta shabti	LP – PP	AMZ E562	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Terracotta shabti	26th Dyn.	AMZ E563	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Faïence shabti	LP – PP	AMZ E564	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Faïence shabti	30th Dyn. – RP	AMZ E565	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Terracotta Wedjat-eye amulet	LP – PP	AMS G1629	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Terracotta amulet with Isis and Harpocrates	30th Dyn. – 1st c. CE	AMS G1622	Published
Salona (Solin, CRO)	Bronze Isis Hathor with Harpocrates	PP	AMS H-5460	Published
Salona? (Solin, CRO)	Ithyphallic pendant amulet	LP – early RP	AMS 1221	Published
Sesvete, near Požega, CRO	Bone handle of a dagger with Isis	Not dated	MP, no inv. nr	Unpublished
Trnjaci-Pilatovići, SR	Glazed scarab	NK	NMU 202	Published
Valle (Bale, CRO)	Bronze Osiris	PP – 1st c. CE	AMIP A5224 (ex 3227)	Published

Italy = IT
 Serbia = SR
 Slovenia = SL

3. Historical periods

New Kingdom = NK
 3rd Intermediate period = 3rd IP
 Late Period = LP
 Greco-Roman period = GRP
 Ptolemaic period = PP
 Roman period = RP

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