

# Staroegipatska lopatičasta lutka iz Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu

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# STAROEGIPATSKA LOPATIČASTA LUTKA IZ ARHEOLOŠKOGA MUZEJA U ZAGREBU

## ANCIENT EGYPTIAN PADDLE DOLL FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM IN ZAGREB

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U radu je po prvi puta detaljnije obrađena staroegipatska lopatičasta lutka iz fundusa Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu. Lopatičaste lutke specifičan su tip grobnih priloga koji se mogu datirati u razdoblje između kraja Staroga i Srednjega kraljevstva, a najveći broj ih dijeli zajedničke oblikovne, dekorativne i ikonografske karakteristike. Važnost zagrebačke lutke leži upravo u tome što ona pojedinim karakteristikama odstupa od većega dijela komparativnih primjera te u činjenici da je to jedini predmet toga tipa čuvan u muzejskim i galerijskim institucijama Republike Hrvatske, ali i šire. Glavni je cilj rada, stoga, pravilno ju tipološki odrediti, opisati, svrstati u pravilan geografski i vremenski kontekst te ukratko naglasiti njezinu važnost za bolje razumijevanje zbirke unutar koje se nalazi. Preciznije, lutka iz Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu promatrana je u okvirima širega korpusa staroegipatskih lopatičastih lutaka, čije su osnovne karakteristike i povijest istraživanja posebno istaknute u središnjem dijelu rada te cjelokupne zbirke staroegipatskih starina u kojoj je čuvana.

**Ključne riječi:** Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, lopatičasta lutka, Srednje kraljevstvo, stari Egipat

This paper presents the first detailed examination of the paddle doll from the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Paddle dolls are a group of specific grave goods primarily dating from a period between the end of the Old Kingdom and the Middle Kingdom, most of which share common morphological, decorative and iconographic characteristics. The Zagreb paddle doll is particularly important because some of its aspects differ from most other examples and because it is the only object of this type kept in the museums and galleries in Croatia and beyond. Therefore, the main goal of the paper is to provide a typological classification of the doll, describe it, place it in the appropriate geographical and temporal context, and briefly emphasize its importance for a better understanding of the collection it belongs to. More precisely, the paper studies the doll within the wider corpus of ancient Egyptian paddle dolls, describing its basic characteristics and history of research in the middle part, but also within the collection of ancient Egyptian antiquities in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

Key words: Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, paddle doll, Middle Kingdom, ancient Egypt

## UVOD

U bogatoj zbirci staroegipatskih starina Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu čuva se rijedak i dobro očuvan primjerak staroegipatske lopatičaste lutke (inv. br. 188). Ovaj predmet do sada je obrađen svega dva puta, unutar kraćih kataloških jedinica, gdje je jednostavno naveden kao „lutka“ (Monnet Saleh 1970: 53, br. 38), odnosno „drvena lutka“ (Uranić 2007: 207, br. 458).<sup>1</sup> Iako su ovi opisi u potpunosti točni, oni su ipak nepotpuni zbog toga što detaljnija obrada već spomenute lutke i njezina valorizacija unutar korpusa srodnih joj predmeta nije moguća bez preciznijega tipološkog određenja. Glavni cilj ovoga rada je, stoga, opisati navedeni artefakt i dati osnovne podatke o lopatičastim lutkama te posvetiti veću pažnju obradi zagrebačkoga primjerka, odnosno pravilno ga tipološki odrediti kao lopatičastu lutku, svrstati u pravilan geografski i vremenski kontekst, ukazati na pojedine osobitosti kojima odstupa od većega dijela komparativnih primjera te ukratko naglasiti njegovu važnost unutar okvira zbirke u kojoj se nalazi.

## OPIS PREDMETA

Lopatičasta lutka, čuvana pod inventarnim brojem 188 u staroegipatskoj zbirci Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu (sl. 1–2), visoka je 16 cm, široka 5,5 cm i debela 1,1 cm (Monnet Saleh 1970: 53; Uranić 2007: 207). Izrađena je od jednoga tankog komada drveta u obliku stilizirana ljudskog (ženskog) tijela kojem nedostaju glava i donji dijelovi udova. Preciznije, na vratu lutke ne postoje ostaci gline, tkanine, uzica ili perla kojima su možda izvorno bili izvedeni glava i/ili kosa, na način kao što je to vidljivo na pojedinim, dobro sačuvanim komparativnim primjerima (sl. 3–4). Na vrat se nastavljaju kvadratna ramena i rudimentarne ruke koje se ispod prsnoga koša počinju blago odvajati od tijela. Niti jednoj od njih nisu izvedene podlaktice, a desna je ruka zbog oštećenja nešto kraća od lijeve. Također, krnja lutka nema noge, odnosno njezin donji dio polukružno je zaključen ispod kukova.

<sup>1</sup> Fotografije prednje i stražnje strane lutke, u sklopu šire obrade staroegipatske zbirke Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu, reproducirao je i Mladen Tomorad (Tomorad 2017: 58). Jedini autor koji je predmet pravilno prepoznao kao lopatičastu lutku, navodeći prikaz kornjače s njezine stražnje strane kao jedan od primjera različitih životinjskih vrsti koje se na tome mjestu mogu naći, je Juan Carlos Moreno García (Moreno García 2017: 179, bilj. 64).

## INTRODUCTION

The rich collection of ancient Egyptian antiquities of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb includes a rare and well-preserved specimen of an ancient Egyptian paddle doll (inv. no. 188). This object has been examined only twice in shorter catalog units, where it was simply listed as a “doll” (Monnet Saleh 1970: 53, no. 38) or a “wooden doll” (Uranić 2007: 207, no. 458).<sup>1</sup> Even though these descriptions are entirely accurate, they are incomplete because a more detailed analysis of the doll and its valorization within the corpus of related objects are not possible without a more precise typological classification. Therefore, the main goal of this paper is to describe this artifact, provide basic information about paddle dolls in general, and pay closer attention to the analysis of the Zagreb specimen, i.e. define the object typologically as a paddle doll, place it in the correct geographical and temporal context, point out its particular features which differentiate it from the majority of the similar examples, and briefly emphasize its importance within the Zagreb collection in which it is housed.

## OBJECT DESCRIPTION

The paddle doll kept under inventory number 188 in the ancient Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Fig. 1–2) is 16 cm high, 5.5 cm wide, and 1.1 cm thick (Monnet Saleh 1970: 53; Uranić 2007: 207). It is made of a thin piece of wood in the shape of a stylized human (female) body that lacks the head and the lower parts of the limbs. The doll’s neck has no remains of clay, cloth, strings or beads, which may have originally been used to make the head and/or hair, as can be seen on some other examples that are better preserved (Fig. 3–4). The square shoulders and rudimentary arms, slightly projecting from the body below the chest, begin under the neck. Neither has forearm; the right arm is slightly shorter than the left because of damage to it. Furthermore, the truncated doll has no legs: its lower part has a semicircular edge below the hips.

<sup>1</sup> Photographs of the front and back sides of the doll were also reproduced by Mladen Tomorad within a wider chapter dealing with the ancient Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Tomorad 2017: 58). Juan Carlos Moreno García is the only author who correctly recognized the object as a paddle doll, mentioning the depiction of a turtle on its back as an example of the various animal species that can be found there (Moreno García 2017: 179, n. 64).



Sl. 1 — Prednja strana staroegipatske lopatičaste lutke iz Arheološkoga Muzeja u Zagrebu (snimio: F. Beusan)  
Fig. 1 — Front of the ancient Egyptian paddle doll from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (photo by: F. Beusan)

Na prednjoj strani lutke (sl. 1) crnom je bojom izvedena jednostavna ogrlica s privjeskom koji je prekinut manjim oštećenjem na njegovome dnu. Gornji dio privjeska uži je od donjega i njegov točan oblik nije jasan. Ogrlicu uokviruju široke naramenice koje čine gornji dio haljine u obliku slova V i sežu do jednostavnoga horizontalnog pojasa naznačenoga ispod mjesta na kojem bi se trebale nalaziti grudi. Neobično je da grudi nisu naznačene iznad haljine, no moguće je da crna točka u središtu donjega dijela naramenice predstavlja lijevu bradavicu. Nadalje, odjevni predmet ukrašava devet redova motiva koji izgledom podsjećaju na ljuske ili pera, a njihova veličina značajno varira – oni se isprva blago povećavaju odozgo prema dolje i potom završavaju još jednim manjim redom. Njihove obrisne linije izvedene su crnom bojom te je prostor između njih ispunjen crvenom bojom, kao što je to slučaj i s već spomenutim



Sl. 2 — Stražnja strana staroegipatske lopatičaste lutke iz Arheološkoga Muzeja u Zagrebu (snimio: F. Beusan)  
Fig. 2 — Back of the ancient Egyptian paddle doll from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (photo by: F. Beusan)

A simple necklace with a pendant, disconnected by damage to its lower part, was painted in black on the front of the doll (Fig. 1). The top of the pendant is narrower than the bottom, but its exact form is unclear. The wide straps on either side of the necklace form the v-shaped top of the dress and reach to a simple horizontal belt indicated below the place where the breasts should be. It is unusual for the breasts not to be indicated above the dress, but the black dot in the centre of the lower part of the strap could represent the left nipple. Furthermore, the garment is decorated with nine rows of motifs reminiscent of scales or feathers; their size varies considerably, first increasing slightly from top to bottom and then ending in another smaller row. The outlines of the motifs are black and the surface between them is painted red, just like the straps. The short dress ends with a horizontal girdle, where five circles flank the central oval with an "imprecise design



naramenicama. Kratka haljina završava horizontalnim pojasom na kojemu pet krugova flankira središnji oval s „nepreciznim dizajnom koji podsjeća na oko ili ribu“ (Monnet Saleh 1970: 53) i prikazuje okrugle perle s obje strane kauri puža. Na donjem je dijelu prednje strane lutke jednakostraničnim trokutom, podijeljenim vertikalnom linijom na dva jednaka dijela i ispunjenim mnoštvom crtica, jasno naglašeno stidno područje. U suprotnosti s time, stražnja strana (sl. 2) jednostavnije je ukrašena: dvije dugačke dijagonalne naramenice križaju se na sredini leđa i iznad kukova spajaju s pojasom koji je identičan onome s prednje strane lutke. Prostor ispod njega u ovome je slučaju ostavljen prazan, dok je iznad njega nacrtana kornjača. Ova životinja prikazana je kombiniranjem različitih perspektiva kako bi, kao što je to običaj u staroegipatskoj umjetnosti, svi njezini bitni dijelovi bili jasno vidljivi. U skladu s time, oklop je prikazan odozgo, glava iz profila, a sve četiri noge izvučene su i vidljive u cijelosti.

Stanje očuvanosti zagrebačkoga primjerka lopatičaste lutke je vrlo dobro. Manja mehanička oštećenja vidljiva su ispod vrata prednje i po sredini tijela stražnje strane predmeta te na donjem dijelu desne ruke, čiji vrh nedostaje. Crna boja blago je izbledjela, no sve linije koje su njome izvedene moguće je jasno razaznati. S druge strane, tragovi crvene boje, korištene za ispunu dijelova haljine, u pravilu su slabije vidljivi.

## LOPATIČASTE LUTKE

Lopatičaste lutke malobrojna su grupa specifičnih grobnih priloga koji se prvenstveno mogu datirati u kratak vremenski period Srednjega kraljevstva (2055. – 1650. g. pr. Kr.),<sup>2</sup> iako su rijetki primjeri pronađeni i u grobnicama kasnoga Starog kraljevstva (2686. – 2125. g. pr. Kr.) te Prvoga međurazdoblja (2160. – 2055. g. pr. Kr.).<sup>3</sup> Do sada je obrađen tek nezamjetan udio korpusa ovoga tipa predmeta, a jedan od glavnih razloga za to svakako su očekivanja i prirodna interesa istraživača 19. i velikoga dijela 20. stoljeća čija je pažnja u većoj mjeri bila usredotočena na monumentalne grobnice, hramove, skulpture i ostala remek-djela staroegipatske umjetnosti nauštrb, u usporedbi s njima, ma-

reminiscent of an eye or a fish“ (Monnet Saleh 1970: 53) and represent ball beads on either side of a cowrie shell. On the lower part of the front of the doll, the pubic area is clearly emphasized by an equilateral triangle, divided by a vertical line into two equal parts and filled with a multitude of dashes. In contrast, the back (Fig. 2) is more simply decorated: two long diagonal straps intersect in the middle and are connected above the hips with a girdle, identical to the one on the front of the doll. In this case, there is empty space below it and a drawn motif of a turtle above it. The animal is depicted by combining different perspectives so that all its essential parts are clearly visible, as is the custom in ancient Egyptian art. Accordingly, the shell is shown from above, the head in profile, and all four legs are extended and entirely visible.

The condition of the Zagreb specimen of the paddle doll is very good. Minor mechanical damage is visible under the neck on the front and the torso on the back side of the object, and on the lower part of the right arm, where the tip is missing. The black colour has faded slightly, but all the lines drawn with it can be clearly distinguished. On the other hand, the traces of red used to fill in certain parts of the dress are generally less visible.

## PADDLE DOLLS

Paddle dolls are a small group of specific grave goods primarily dating from a short period of the Middle Kingdom (2055–1650 BC),<sup>2</sup> although rare examples have also been found in tombs of the late Old Kingdom (2686–2125 BC) and the First Intermediate Period (2160–2055 BC).<sup>3</sup> Only a small part of the corpus of this object type has been examined, one of the main reasons certainly being the expectations and interests of the researchers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Their attention was largely focused on monumental tombs, temples, sculptures and other masterpieces of ancient Egyptian art to the detriment of smaller and, at a first glance, visually less impressive artifacts. The latter category includes paddle dolls, which Herbert Winlock harshly describes in 1942 as “barbarous looking things” (Winlock 1942: 207), emphasizing the fact that they differ in appearance from the ancient Egyptian aesthetics to

<sup>2</sup> Kronologija korištena u ovome radu preuzeta je iz Shaw 2000: 479–483.

<sup>3</sup> Preciznije, najranije datirana grobnica u kojoj je pronađena lopatičasta lutka je grobnica Unis-ankha (TT 413) iz VI. dinastije (Morris 2011: 76).

<sup>2</sup> The chronology used in this paper is from Shaw 2000: 479–483.

<sup>3</sup> The Sixth Dynasty tomb of Unis-ankh (TT 413) is the earliest dated sepulchre in which a paddle doll was found (Morris 2011: 76).

njih i mnogima na prvi pogled vizualno manje dojmljivih artefakata. U potonju kategoriju mogu se ubrojati i lopatičaste lutke koje je Herbert Winlock 1942. godine grubo opisao kao „predmete barbarskog izgleda“ (Winlock 1942: 207) naglašavajući time činjenicu da se one izgledom razlikuju od staroegipatske estetike na koju su egiptolozi i arheolozi do tada bili navikli. Naime, sve lopatičaste lutke izrađene su poprilično jednostavno od plošnoga, tankoga komada drveta, modeliranoga tako da poprimi stilizirani oblik ženskoga tijela kojemu nedostaju donji dijelovi ruku i cijele noge (sl. 1–4). Konkretnije, zbog uskoga struka i širokih bokova ispod kojih su lutke polukružno zaključene, one oblikom podsjećaju na lopaticu, odakle i proizlazi njihov današnji naziv. U suprotnosti s time, vrat je izveden u obliku manjega, uskoga pravokutnika na kojemu je smolom, nepečenom glinom ili tkaninom (Tooley 1989: 307–308) oblikovana disproporcionalno malena glava. Oči su im ponekad izvedene perlama (Tooley 1989: 397; 2020a: 171–172), a bujna kosa kombinacijom lanenih uzica i perli, najčešće izrađenih od sušene crne gline (Winlock 1942: 207; Tooley 1989: 308; 2020a: 172; Díaz Hernández 2017: 125; Müller 2018: 393; Clark 2020: 12).

Tijelo najvećega broja lutaka ukrašeno je različitim kombinacijama nekolicine dekorativnih motiva i uzoraka među kojima dominiraju prikazi jasno naglašenoga stidnog područja (sl. 1; 3) (Morris 2011: 86). Na prednjoj strani trupa u najviše su slučajeva izvedene kratke haljine ili tunike s geometrijskim dekorativnim uzorcima raznobojnih kvadrata, horizontalnih pruga, uzorka riblje kosti (sl. 3) i slično (Tooley 1989: 308; 2020a: 171; Clark 2020: 14). Važno je napomenuti da one uvijek završavaju iznad hipertrofiranoga stidnog područja te da su iznad njih često naznačene bradavice (Tooley 1989: 307; Díaz Hernández 2017: 125), s obzirom na to da ni grudi nisu pokrivena odjećom. Uz to, brojne lopatičaste lutke na prednjoj strani imaju dodatno naslikane ogrlice te romboidne i, rjeđe, točkaste uzorke na ramenima (sl. 3) i natkoljenicama (Tooley 1989: 308; 2020a: 171; Tassie 2003: 94; Morris 2011: 71–83; Clark 2020: 14). Na sredini leđa stražnje strane najčešće se križaju naramenice odjevnoga predmeta i nalazi oslik njegova pojasa, a ostatak je ostavljen neukrašen. Jedina su iznimka prikazi na donjim dijelovima lutaka. Riječ je mahom o likovima u narodu popularnoga zaštitničkog božanstva Ipi-Taweret (prikazivana kao nilski konj s lavljim nogama i repom krokodila) i brojnih ži-

which Egyptologists and archaeologists had been accustomed. In fact, all the paddle dolls are made quite simply, from a flat, thin piece of wood, modeled so that the object takes on a stylized shape of a woman's body, lacking lower parts of the arms and whole legs (Fig. 1–4). The narrow waist and wide hips ending in a semicircular edge resemble a paddle, which is where their current name comes from. In contrast, the neck has the form of a smaller, narrow rectangle topped by a disproportionately small head formed from resin, clay or cloth (Tooley 1989: 307–308). Their eyes are sometimes made of beads (Tooley 1989: 397; 2020a: 171–172), and their lush hair is a combination of linen strings and beads, most often made of dried black mud (Winlock 1942: 207; Tooley 1989: 308; 2020a: 172; Díaz Hernández 2017: 125; Müller 2018: 393; Clark 2020: 12).

The bodies of the dolls are most often decorated with various combinations of several decorative motifs and patterns, with prevalent depictions of a clearly emphasized pubic area (Fig. 1; 3) (Morris 2011: 86). In most cases, short dresses or tunics with geometric decorative patterns such as multicolored squares, horizontal stripes, herringbone patterns (Fig. 3) and others are painted on the front of the torso (Tooley 1989: 308; 2020a: 171; Clark 2020: 14). It should be noted that they always end above the hypertrophied pubic area and that nipples are often shown above them (Tooley 1989: 307; Díaz Hernández 2017: 125), given that the breasts are not clothed either. In addition, many paddle dolls have painted necklaces on the front as well as lozenges and, less frequently, dotted patterns on the shoulders (Fig. 3) and thighs (Tooley 1989: 308; 2020a: 171; Tassie 2003: 94; Morris 2011: 71–83; Clark 2020: 14). In the middle of the back on the reverse side, the straps of the garment usually cross each other with a girdle painted underneath while the rest is left undecorated. The only exceptions are the depictions on the lower parts of the dolls. These mostly include illustrations of Ipi-Taweret, a popular protective deity depicted as a hippopotamus with lion legs and a crocodile tail, and numerous animal species (crocodiles, gazelles, dogs, monkeys, dung beetles, giraffes etc.) (Tooley 1989: 311; Manniche 2006: 103; García Fernández, Tooley 2022).<sup>4</sup> There may also be painted dots on that side (Fig. 4).

4 I would like to thank Gudelia García Fernández and Angela M. J. Tooley for sharing with me their paper before its publication.



Sl. 3 — Prednja strana staroegipatske lopatičaste lutke, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. br. 31.3.35)

Fig. 3 — Front of an ancient Egyptian paddle doll, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 31.3.35)

votinjskih vrsta (krokodili, gazele, psi, majmuni, balegari, žirafe itd.) (Tooley 1989: 311; Manniche 2006: 103; García Fernández, Tooley 2022).<sup>4</sup> Također, ponekad su i na toj strani naslikane točke (sl. 4).

Premda veći broj ukrašenih lopatičastih lutaka ima neku od navedenih kombinacija motiva, varijacije na temu su česte i ovise o čimbenicima koji još uvijek nisu posve razjašnjeni. Neupitno je da skupovi lutaka pronađenih u grobnicama različitih lokaliteta i regija dijele različite zajedničke karakteristike (Tooley 1989: 311–313; Clark 2020: 16), a Megan Clark navodi i da su krajnji stil i dekoracija možda mogli biti personalizirani ovisno o željama pojedinaca koji su ih izrađivali i/ili njihovih krajnjih vlasnika (Clark 2020: 13).

<sup>4</sup> Želio bih zahvaliti Gudelijji Garciji Fernández i Angeli M. J. Tooley na tome što su mi ustupile članak prije njegove objave.



Sl. 4 — Stražnja strana staroegipatske lopatičaste lutke, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. br. 31.3.35)

Fig. 4 — Back of an ancient Egyptian paddle doll, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 31.3.35)

Although many paddle dolls have a combination of these motifs, variations on the theme are common and determined by factors that have not yet been fully elucidated. There is no doubt that each group of dolls found in different sites and regions exhibits varying common characteristics (Tooley 1989: 311–313; Clark 2020: 16); furthermore, Megan Clark states that the ultimate style and decoration may have been personalized depending on the wishes of individuals who made them and/or the final owners (Clark 2020: 13).

Most of the paddle dolls with a known archaeological context were discovered in Asasif and its immediate surroundings, while a smaller number originate from other sites in Upper and Middle Egypt, particularly Akhmim, Beni Hasan, Rifeh, Naga el-Deir, Sheik Farag, and other sites on the west bank of Thebes (Tool-



Većina lopatičastih lutaka za koje je poznat kontekst pronalaska otkriveno je u Asasi-fu i njegovoj neposrednoj okolini, a manji broj predmeta potječe i s ostalih lokaliteta Gornjega i Srednjega Egipta. Od njih je ponajprije potrebno izdvojiti Akhmim, Beni Hasan, Rifeh, Nagu el-Deir, Sheik Farag i dodatne lokalitete zapadne obale Tebe (Tooley 1989: 311–313; Morris 2011: 72). Zanimljivo je da su lutke pronađene u grobnicama u kojima su često bile prilagane i krnje ženske figurice (sl. 5),<sup>5</sup> s kojima lopatičaste lutke dijele brojne karakteristike poput nedostatka nogu, karakterističnih dekorativnih elemenata te naglaska na primarnim i sekundarnim spolnim karakteristikama, iz čega proizlazi zaključak da oba tipa predmeta vjerojatno prikazuju istu skupinu osoba. Uz njih su nerijetko pronađena ogledala, papirusi s religiozno-magijskim tekstovima te bjelokosne udaraljke i palice apotropejskih svojstava (Morris 2017). Uzmu li se u obzir potonji predmeti, čija je apotropaička narav za cilj imala potpomognuti rođenje i ponovno rođenje, u kombinaciji s otkrivenim genitalijama i čestim prikazima Ipi-Taweret (isto tako najčešće povezivane s rođenjem), nije teško dokučiti zašto neki autori u posljednjim desetljećima lopatičaste lutke tumače kao ritualne figure plodnosti (Bourriau 1988: 126–127; Pinch 1993: 217; Díaz Hernández 2017). Unatoč tome, među egiptolozima još uvijek ne postoji konsenzus oko točne uloge ovoga tipa predmeta, a tumačenja lopatičastih lutaka variraju od samoga početka njihovoga pronalaženja. Još početkom 20. stoljeća John Garstang (Garstang 1907: 152) ih je smatrao dječjim igračkama, a tome mišljenju priklonio se i Herbert Winlock koji ih je, isprva, usporedbom s njemu suvremenim lutkama iz Sudana, protumačio na isti način, no ne mogavši zanimariti istaknute spolne karakteristike dodao je i da neke od lutaka nedvojbeno predstavljaju plesačice (Winlock 1942: 207). Ubrzo nakon toga, autor je ipak promijenio mišljenje i naveo da je igračkama moguće smatrati tek loše očuvane lopatičaste lutke, dok su one boljega stanja očuvanosti prema njemu ustvari trebale služiti kao konkubine umrlima (Winlock 1947: 47). Obje su teorije u međuvremenu odbačene

ey 1989: 311–313; Morris 2011: 72). Interestingly, the tombs in which the dolls were found often contained a very similar type of figurine – a truncated (Fig. 5)<sup>5</sup> female doll with similar decorative elements and an emphasis on the primary and secondary sexual characteristics. This eventually led to the conclusion that both types of objects probably depict the same group of people. Mirrors, papyri with religious-magical texts, and ivory clappers and wands with apotropaic properties were often found next to them (Morris 2017). Taking into consideration these objects, with apotropaic properties intended to aid both birth and rebirth, and their combination with exposed genitals and frequent depictions of Ipi-Taweret (likewise most commonly associated with birth), it is not difficult to see why some authors have interpreted paddle dolls as ritual figures of fertility in recent decades (Bourriau 1988: 126–127; Pinch 1993: 217; Díaz Hernández 2017). Nevertheless, there is still no consensus among Egyptologists about the exact function of this type of object, as interpretations of paddle dolls have varied from the very beginning of their excavation. As early as the beginning of the 20th century, John Garstang (Garstang 1907: 152) considered them children's toys and Herbert Winlock, comparing them at first to modern puppets from Sudan, interpreted them in the same way but, unable to ignore their prominent sexual characteristics, added that some of the dolls undoubtedly represent dancers (Winlock 1942: 207). Shortly afterwards, however, the author changed his mind and stated that only poorly preserved paddle dolls could be considered toys while those in a better state of preservation were, according to him, actually supposed to serve as concubines to the dead (Winlock 1947: 47). Both theories have meanwhile been rejected due to a lack of evidence to substantiate them, although, of course, any object can become a toy at some time, regardless of its original purpose.

The academic community is beginning to pay more attention to ancient Egyptian paddle dolls.<sup>6</sup> One of the most extensive recent

5 One odgovaraju predmetima koje Geraldine Pinch (Pinch 1993: 198–199) naziva Tipom 1 figurica plodnosti. Napuštajući Tip III (Tooley 1989: 319–321), Angela Tooley kasnije je skovala termin Tip 1 krnjih figurica kako bi uzela u obzir prihvaćenu terminologiju Pinch te pritom i dalje naglasila vlastite tipološke razlike (Tooley 2017: 421–425; također: Tooley 2020a; 2020b).

5 They correspond to the objects that Geraldine Pinch (Pinch 1993: 198–199) calls Type 1 fertility figurines. Abandoning a Type III (Tooley 1989: 319–321), Angela Tooley later coined the term Type 1 truncated figurine to take into account the accepted terminology of Pinch while still accentuating her typological distinctions (Tooley 2017: 421–425; see also: Tooley 2020a; 2020b).

6 See: Díaz Hernández 2017; Moreno García 2017; Beha, Donnat 2020; Clark 2020; García Fernández, Tooley 2022.

na osnovi nedostatka dokaza koji bi ih potvrdili, iako, naravno, igračkom na trenutak može postati bilo koji predmet, neovisno o njegovoj izvornoj namjeni.

U novije vrijeme akademska zajednica počinje posvećivati nešto veću pažnju staroegipatskim lopatičastim lutkama,<sup>6</sup> a jedan od najopsežnijih recentnih radova je onaj autorice Ellen F. Morris koja smatra da ovaj tip predmeta treba interpretirati kao prikaze *khener* plesačica (Morris 2011).<sup>7</sup> Ona svoj rad vrlo uvjerljivo temelji na korpusu lutka pronađenih u okolici kompleksa posmrtnoga hrama Montuhotepa II. u Deir el-Bahariju te navodi osam različitih vrsta dokaza koji potvrđuju njezinu tezu, a, između ostaloga, uključuju usporedbu dekorativnih uzoraka lopatičastih lutaka s onima na prikazima *khener* skupina i povezivanje naslikanih motiva s tetovažama pronađenima na mumijama žena koje su nosile titule svećenica božice Hathor i nakon smrti bile sahranjene u grobnicama spomenutoga lokaliteta (Morris 2011: 79–81, 87–90). Na poveznici lopatičastih lutaka s Hathor, čiji je kult na početku Srednjega kraljevstva snažno integriran s onime Montuhotepa II., dodatno ukazuju glazbeni instrumenti (udaraljke i harfe) i ogledala koji su često pronađeni u istim kontekstima, a *khener* trupe su ih koristile pri svojim izvedbama te oblikovne sličnosti između samih lutaka i *menat* ogrlica,<sup>8</sup> također korištenih u sklopu rituala posvećenih navedenoj božici (Morris 2011: 94–101). Dodatno, Morris naglašavanje stidnoga područja objašnjava ulogom plesačica da ožive mrtvog kralja evocirajući na taj način događaj iz mitološke priče o sporu Horusa i Seta u kojem je Hathor oraspoložila svoga oca Ra (Morris 2011: 83–87) time što mu je pokazala genitalije te mu tako omogućila daljnje sudjelovanje u razrješavanju spora između dvaju božanskih pretendenata na prijestolje.<sup>9</sup> Na osnovi svih navedenih dokaza lopatičaste lutke pronađene u Asasifu precizno su i uvjerljivo određene kao *khener* plesačice, no, kao što je to Megan Clark već naglasila (Clark 2020: 16), ipak treba pozvati na oprez pri primjenjivanju ove interpretacije na cjelokupni korpus ovoga tipa predmeta s obzirom na to da se primjeri s ostalih lokaliteta u mnogo-

papers is that of Ellen F. Morris, who believes objects of this type should be interpreted as depictions of *khener* dancers (Morris 2011).<sup>7</sup> She very convincingly based her paper on a corpus of dolls found in the vicinity of the Montuhotep II mortuary temple complex, by listing eight different types of evidence that support her thesis and include a comparison of the decorative patterns on the paddle dolls with the ones on the depictions of *khener* troupes, and linking the painted motifs with the tattoos found on the mummies of women who held the title of priestess of the goddess Hathor and were buried in tombs at the mentioned site (Morris 2011: 79–81, 87–90). The connection of the paddle dolls with Hathor, whose cult was strongly integrated with that of Montuhotep II at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, is further indicated by the musical instruments (clappers and harps) and mirrors often found in the same context, which were used by *khener* troupes in their performances, and by the resemblance between the shape of the dolls and *menat* necklaces,<sup>8</sup> also used in rituals dedicated to the goddess (Morris 2011: 94–101). Furthermore, Morris explains the accentuated pubic area as a sign of the dancers' role in reviving the dead king, thus evoking an event from *The Conflict of Horus and Seth*, a mythological story where Hathor cheers up her father Ra (Morris 2011: 83–87) by showing him her genitals, which makes him resolve the dispute between the two divine pretenders to the throne.<sup>9</sup> Based on all this evidence, the paddle dolls found in Asasif have been precisely and convincingly identified as *khener* dancers, but, as Megan Clark already pointed out (Clark 2020: 16), caution should still be exercised in applying this interpretation to the entire corpus of objects of this type, given that examples from other sites differ in many ways from those on which Morris bases her work. It is therefore clear that new research is needed to better understand the broader corpus of paddle dolls and their characteristics.

6 Vidjeti: Díaz Hernández 2017; Moreno García 2017; Beha, Donnat 2020; Clark 2020; García Fernández, Tooley 2022.

7 *Khener* su bile trupe profesionalnih izvođača koji su plesali i pjevali u sklopu rituala, festivala i pogreba. Bili su povezani s kultovima različitih božanstava, uključujući Hathor, a pojavljivali su se od Staroga do Novoga kraljevstva (Nord 1981).

8 Oblikovne sličnosti *menat* ogrlice i lopatičastih lutaka bile su već ranije istaknute (Barguet 1953: 103–104; Pinch 1993: 279; Manniche 2006: 103).

9 Za prijevod navedenoga dijela teksta, zapisanoga na Chester Beatty I papirusu vidjeti: Matje 1990: 149; Wente 2003: 94.

7 *Khener* were the troupes of professional performers which danced and sang at rituals, festivals and funerals. They were associated with cults of various deities, including Hathor, and appeared from the Old to the New Kingdom (Nord 1981).

8 Similar shapes of *menat* necklaces and paddle dolls were highlighted before (Barguet 1953: 103–104; Pinch 1993: 279; Manniche 2006: 103).

9 For a translation of this part of the text, written on Papyrus Chester Beatty I see: Matje 1990: 149.; Wente 2003: 94.

čemu razlikuju od onih na kojima Morris temelji svoj rad. Jasno je stoga da su za bolje razumijevanje širega korpusa lopatičastih lutaka i njihovih karakteristika potrebna nova istraživanja.

### Zagrebačka lopatičasta lutka

Jasno je, dakle, da se drvena lutka čuvana pod inventarnim brojem 188 u staroegipatskoj zbirci Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu prema svim morfološkim i ikonografskim parametrima uklapa u specifičan tip predmeta staroegipatskih lopatičastih lutaka. S najvećim dijelom korpusa ovoga tipa predmeta zagrebački primjer dijeli nekoliko uobičajenih zajedničkih karakteristika, od kojih su najvažniji sam oblik lutke, hipertrofirano stidno područje, prikaz životinje iznad kukova, kratka haljina koja započinje ispod grudi te njezine naramenice koje se križaju na sredini leđa stražnje strane predmeta.

Iako su haljine s naramenicama i gornjim rubom koji se nalazi ispod grudi čest odjevni predmet zastupljen na lopatičastim lutkama te brojnim ostalim dvodimenzionalnim i trodimenzionalnim prikazima žena i ženskih božanstava kroz gotovo cijelu staroegipatsku povijest,<sup>10</sup> motiv ljusaka ili pera kojim je ukrašena haljina s lutke iz Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu (sl. 1) neuobičajen je. Naime, taj motiv odstupa od uobičajenoga repertoara ukrasa odjeće na lopatičastim lutkama koji, kao što je već napomenuto, prvenstveno uključuju geometrijske motive raznobojnih kvadrata, rombova i pruga, linija koje se križaju itd. (Tooley 1989: 308; 2020a: 171; Clark 2020: 14). Uzmu li se u obzir dekorativni motivi zastupljeni na odjeći lopatičastih lutaka, motiv koji izgledom podsjeća na ljuske ili pera vizualno su najbliži rijetko prisutni redovi obojenih trokuta, no najbližu izravnu paralelu moguće je naći unutar korpusa krnjih ženskih figurica.<sup>11</sup> Preciznije, u grobnici djevojčice Hepi, pokopane u Lištu za vladavine Senusreta I. (Lansing, Hayes 1934: 28–41; Tooley 2017: 426–427, bilj. 19–20, Fig. 1), pronađene su četiri takve figurice (sl. 5), a haljine čak dviju od njih ukrašene su motivima koji izgledom podsjećaju na ljuske ili pera (Lansing, Hayes 1934: 35, Fig. 29). Time je dodatno potvrđena najuža veza ovih dvaju tipova predmeta, no pitanje značenja iza spomenutoga motiva još je

### Zagreb paddle doll

It is clear, therefore, that the wooden doll in the ancient Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, kept under inventory number 188, fits into a specific type of ancient Egyptian paddle dolls according to all morphological and iconographic parameters. The Zagreb example shares several common features with the largest part of the corpus of this type of objects, most importantly the shape of the doll, the hypertrophied pubic area, the animal painted above the hips, the short dress that starts below the chest, and the shoulder straps, which intersect in the middle of the back.

Although dresses with straps and a belt below the chest are a clothing item commonly seen on paddle dolls and numerous other two-dimensional and three-dimensional depictions of women and female deities throughout most of ancient Egyptian history,<sup>10</sup> the motif of scales or feathers adorning the dress of the doll from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Fig. 1) is unusual. This motif deviates from the usual clothing ornaments on paddle dolls, which, as previously mentioned, primarily include geometric motifs of multicolored squares, lozenges and stripes, intersecting lines etc. (Tooley 1989: 308; 2020a: 171; Clark 2020: 14). When considering the motifs on the clothing of the paddle dolls, the one resembling scales or feathers is visually most reminiscent of the rare rows of colored triangles, but the closest direct parallel can be found on the body of truncated female figurines.<sup>11</sup> Specifically, two of the four figurines (Fig. 5) found in the tomb of a girl named Hepy, buried in the Lisht during the reign of Senusret I (Lansing, Hayes 1934: 28–41; Tooley 2017: 426–427, n. 19–20, Fig. 1), have dresses decorated with motifs resembling scales or feathers (Lansing, Hayes 1934: 35, Fig. 29). This again confirms the closest connection between these two types of objects, but the question of the meaning behind this motif is still open. An interpretation has been offered by Maya Müller, who believes that it should be explained as a feather pattern modeled after the feathers of falcons or vultures (Müller 2018: 394). Given that the animals in

<sup>10</sup> Zanimljivo je da naramenice takvih haljina na prikazima žena u punoj skulpturi u pravilu prekrivaju grudi za razliku od reljefa i zidnih slika gdje su one najčešće otkrivene.

<sup>11</sup> Vidjeti bilj. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Interestingly, the straps of such dresses in the depictions of women in full sculpture generally cover the breasts as opposed to reliefs and murals, where they are most commonly exposed.

<sup>11</sup> See n. 5.





Sl. 5 — Četiri krnje ženske figurice iz grobnice djevojčice Hepi (prema: Lansing, Hayes 1934: 35, Fig. 29)  
 Fig. 5 — Four truncated female figurines from the tomb of a girl named Hepy (after: Lansing, Hayes 1934: 35, Fig. 29)

uvijek otvoreno. Njegovu interpretaciju za sada je ponudila Maya Müller koja smatra da ga treba tumačiti kao pernati uzorak osmišljen po uzoru na pera sokola ili strvinara (Müller 2018: 394). S obzirom na to da su navedene životinje smatrane svetima i imale kraljevske konotacije te da je takav uzorak u ostalim kontekstima usko povezivan s bogovima, božicama, faraonom i kraljicama, autorica tvrdi da je on snažan vizualni pokazatelj božanskog (Müller 2018: 394).

Sljedeće odstupanje od komparativnih primjera je prikaz kornjače sa stražnje strane lutke iz Zagreba (sl. 2). U prethodnim je redovima već ukazano na to da su na lutkama najčešće prikazivani likovi apotropejskoga božanstva Ipi-Taweret i, rjeđe, nekolicine ostalih životinjskih vrsta. One su na više načina bile povezivane s konceptima zaštite i plodnosti te, posljedično, bile u mogućnosti potpomognuti rođenje i ponovno rođenje. U sličan simbolički okvir uklapaju se i kornjače. Ove životinje za stare su Egipćane imale dvojake asocijacije – s jedne strane smatrane su simbolima kaosa i neprijateljima boga Ra u Tekstovima sarkofaga i Knjizi mrtvih, a s druge su strane te negativne asocijacije mogle biti iskorištene u svrhu zaštite, zbog čega su izrađivani amuleti u obliku kornjača ili su se one prikazivale na ostalim predmetima apotropejskih svojstava (Fischer 1966; 1968; 1984). Iz zadnje spomenutoga razloga

question were considered sacred and had royal connotations, and that such a pattern is closely associated with gods, goddesses, pharaoh and queens in other contexts, the author claims it is a strong visual indicator of the divine (Müller 2018: 394).

Another deviation from similar examples is the depiction of a turtle on the back of the Zagreb doll (Fig. 2). It has already been pointed out that the apotropaic deity Ipi-Taweret and, less frequently, several other animal species are the most common depictions on the dolls. They were linked to the concepts of protection and fertility in several ways and, consequently, were able to aid both birth and rebirth. Turtles fit into a similar symbolic framework. These animals had dual associations for the ancient Egyptians – on the one hand, they were considered as symbols of chaos and enemies of the god Re in the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead, and on the other hand, these negative associations could have been used for protection, which is why there were amulets in the shape of turtles and why the animal is shown on other objects with apotropaic properties (Fischer 1966; 1968; 1984). For the latter reason, a turtle is also depicted on the paddle doll kept in Zagreb, which clearly fits with the various creatures with defined apotropaic functions that might decorate such objects.

kornjača je izvedena i na lopatičastoj lutki čuvanoj u Zagrebu, uklapajući se u repertoar ostalih bića koja se pojavljuju na ovom tipu predmeta, a imaju jasno istaknutu apotropijsku funkciju. Nadalje, važno je napomenuti da kornjače nisu često prikazivane u starome Egiptu, iako su već u preddinastijskome razdoblju (o. 5300. – 3000. g. pr. Kr.) u njihovome obliku izrađivane kozmetičke palete i posude (Craig Patch 2011: 25–30).<sup>12</sup> Već je tada, kao i u svim kasnijim razdobljima, najčešće bila prikazivana vrsta afričke meko oklopne kornjače (*Trionyx triunguis*) koja živi u Nilu (Fischer 1966: 193; 1968: 5–12; Craig Patch 2011: 26). Nju je najlakše prepoznati po specifičnome, dugome nosu, kakav je izveden i na kornjači sa stražnje strane lopatičaste lutke iz Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu na osnovi kojega je omogućena njezina sigurna identifikacija.

Unatoč tome što lopatičaste lutke nemaju standardizirane dimenzije, visina lutke iz fundusa Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu od samo 16 cm ne uklapa se u prosječne dimenzije ovoga tipa predmeta čija se visina najčešće kreće u rasponu od 18 do 23 cm.<sup>13</sup> Nije bilo neuobičajeno prilaganje više lopatičastih lutaka u jednu grobnicu (García Fernández, Tooley 2022), a u nekoliko slučajeva jedna od njih, svojim manjim dimenzijama, značajno odstupa od ostalih (Morris 2011: 91). Ellen Morris smatra da je takva, manja lutka predstavljala djevojčicu koja je nastupala s ostatkom skupine i učila od njih (Morris 2011: 91–92), ali malo je vjerojatno da se navedeno objašnjenje može primijeniti na zagrebačku lopatičastu lutku s obzirom na to da su lutke djevojčica znatno manje od nje. Veća je vjerojatnost da su spomenute dimenzije (kao i dekoracija haljine) još jedan rezultat slobode koju su umjetnici i/ili krajnji korisnici imali pri koncepciji i izradi ovih predmeta.

Kratak vremenski period u koji su lopatičaste lutke datirane omogućuje potvrdu dosadašnje datacije (Monnet Saleh 1970: 53; Uranić 2007: 207) lutke iz Zagreba u Srednje kraljevstvo, odnosno razdoblje između kraja XI. i XIII. dinastije (2055. – 1650. g. pr. Kr.). Najviše primjera ovog tipa predmeta potječe s kraja XI. i XII. dinastije (2055. – 1773. g. pr. Kr.), ka-

Furthermore, we should note that turtles were not often depicted in ancient Egypt, although cosmetic palettes and vessels were being made in their form as early as the pre-Dynastic Period (c. 5300–3000 BC) (Craig Patch 2011: 25–30).<sup>12</sup> Even then, as in all later periods, the species of African softshell turtle (*Trionyx triunguis*), living in the Nile, was most often depicted (Fischer 1966: 193; 1968: 5–12; Craig Patch 2011: 26). It is most easily recognized by its specific, elongated nose, also depicted on the turtle on the back of the paddle doll from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, which was the basis for its secure identification.

Despite the fact that paddle dolls do not have standardized dimensions, the doll from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb is only 16 cm in height, which does not correspond to the average dimensions of similar examples with a height usually ranging from 18 to 23 cm.<sup>13</sup> It was not uncommon to place multiple dolls in one tomb; in several cases one of them (García Fernández, Tooley 2022), with smaller dimensions, deviates significantly from the others (Morris 2011: 91). Ellen Morris believes that the smaller doll represented a young girl who performed with the rest of the group and learned from them (Morris 2011: 91–92), but it is unlikely that this explanation can be applied to the Zagreb paddle doll given that dolls which represent young girls are much smaller. The dimensions (as well as the decoration of the dress) are more likely to be another result of the freedom of artists and/or end users in the conception and production of these objects.

The short timeframe to which the paddle dolls are dated confirms the previous dating (Monnet Saleh 1970: 53; Uranić 2007: 207) of the Zagreb doll to the Middle Kingdom, i.e. the period between the end of the Eleventh and the Thirteenth Dynasty (2055–1650 BC). Most examples of this type of objects date from the end of the Eleventh Dynasty and the Twelfth Dynasty (2055–1773 BC), when their popularity reached its peak; therefore, taking into account other characteristics of the Zagreb doll and comparing them with similar examples, it is very likely it was made in

12 Isto tako, vrlo je vjerojatno da je u ovome razdoblju kornjačin oklop korišten pri izradi štitova (Keimer 1950: 89–92, Fig. 20).

13 Navedeni raspon temeljen je na dimenzijama lopatičastih lutaka objavljenih u dostupnoj literaturi i internetskim stranicama muzeja u kojima su čuvane. Preciznije vrijednosti moći će biti određene tek nakon što se obrade sve lutke i objave sve njihove dimenzije.

12 It is also very likely that turtle shells were used to make shields in this period (Keimer 1950: 89–92, Fig. 20).

13 The stated range is based on the dimensions of the paddle dolls published in the available literature and the websites of the museums in which they are kept. More precise values will be determined only after all the dolls have been analysed and all their dimensions published.



da je njihova popularnost dosegla vrhunac, pa je stoga, uzevši u obzir i ostale karakteristike zagrebačke lutke te ih usporedivši s komparativnim primjerima, vrlo vjerojatno da je i ona izrađena u tom, ponešto preciznijem vremenskom okviru, iako se to ne može sa sigurnošću potvrditi zbog nepoznavanja konteksta i točne lokacije pronalaska predmeta. Usprkos tomu, jasno je da lutka dolazi iz Gornjega ili Srednjega Egipta gdje su pronađeni svi ostali predmeti ovoga tipa. Ovdje treba napomenuti da su primjeri iz Srednjega Egipta vrlo često neukrašeni i drugačijih oblikovnih kvaliteta (Tooley 1989: 313; Clark 2020: 16) od onih s južnijih lokaliteta – primjerice, imaju duže ruke (Tooley 1989: 313). Kada se uz morfologiju i dekorativni program uzmu i ostali parametri poput datacije i raspoređenosti srodnih nalaza, otvara se daljnja mogućnost prema kojoj bi zagrebački primjer mogao izvorno biti iz neke od tebanskih ili grobnica okolnih lokaliteta. Takav navod, dakako, za sada ostaje samo na razini pretpostavke, no uklopio bi se u dosadašnje teze o mogućnosti podrijetla Kollerove zbirke te ih, s druge strane, dodatno potvrdio. Naime, lopatičasta lutka jedan je od gotovo 2100 predmeta iz zbirke baruna Franza Kollera koja čini središnji dio fundusa Egipatskoga odjela Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu.<sup>14</sup> Rijetki su podaci o mjestu njihova pronalaska, no vjerojatno je da ih veći dio potječe iz Tebe ili njezine okolice zbog toga što se na njima često pojavljuju teoforna imena koja sadržavaju ime boga Khonsua – jednoga od triju božanstava tebanske trijade (Amon, Mut i Khonsu) štovane na spomenutom području (Uranić 2005: 6; 2007: 12). Tezu dalje učvršćuju pogrebne stele Ipuija (Monnet Saleh 1970: 31, br. 15; Uranić 2007: 65, br. 87) i Pa-heri-peđeta (Monnet Saleh 1970: 34–35, br. 17; Uranić 2007: 77–79, br. 103) iz iste zbirke za koje je poznato da potječu iz grobnica TT 217 u Deir el-Medini i TT 183 u Tebi te, vrlo vjerojatno, u ovome radu obrađivana lopatičasta lutka. Njezin daljnji značaj za zagrebačku zbirku svakako je i u tome što je to jedini (koliko je autoru u ovome trenutku poznato) predmet toga tipa u muzejskim i galerijskim institucijama ovoga dijela Europe, odnosno jedan od ranijih staroegipatskih predmeta fundusa Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu.

that more precise time frame, but this cannot be confirmed with certainty because the context and exact location of the discovery are unknown. Nevertheless, it is clear that the doll comes from Upper or Middle Egypt, where all other objects of this type were found. It should be noted here that examples from Middle Egypt are very often undecorated and of different shape (Tooley 1989: 313; Clark 2020: 16) than those from southern sites – for example, they have longer arms (Tooley 1989: 313). When we take into account not only the morphology and decorative program, but also other parameters such as dating and distribution of related finds, a further possibility opens up: that the Zagreb specimen originated from one of the Theban tombs or from a tomb at nearby sites. This remains merely an assumption for the time being, but it aligns with and further supports the previous theses in regards to the origins of Koller's collection. In fact, the paddle doll is one of almost 2100 objects from the collection of Baron Franz Koller, which is the central part of the holdings of the Egyptian Department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.<sup>14</sup> Information about the places of their discovery is sparse, but it is probable that the majority come from Thebes or the nearby sites since they often bear theophoric names containing the name of the god Khonsu – one of the three deities of the Theban triad (Amon, Mut and Khonsu) revered in the area (Uranić 2005: 6; 2007: 12). This thesis is further backed by the funerary stelae of Ipuy (Monnet Saleh 1970: 31, no. 15; Uranić 2007: 65, no. 87) and Pa-hery-pedjet (Monnet Saleh 1970: 34–35, no. 17; Uranić 2007: 77–79, no. 103) from the same collection, which are known to have originated from the tombs TT 217 in Deir el-Medina and TT 183 in Thebes, and most likely the paddle doll examined in this paper. Another aspect that underlines its significance within the Zagreb collection is the fact that, to the best of the author's knowledge, this doll is the only object of this type in museums and galleries in this part of Europe, as well as one of the earlier ancient Egyptian objects in the possession of the Archeological Museum in Zagreb.

14 Za više o Kollerovoj i široj zbirci staroegipatskih starina Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu vidjeti: Monnet Saleh 1970; Rendić-Miočević 1986; Uranić 1996; 2005; 2007; Mirnik, Uranić 1999; Tomorad 2003: 19–27; 31–48; 2017: 52–65; 2020: 82–83; Šćukanec Rezniček 2015.

14 For more about Koller and the collection of ancient Egyptian antiquities at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb see: Monnet Saleh 1970; Rendić-Miočević 1986; Uranić 1996; 2005; 2007; Mirnik, Uranić 1999; Tomorad 2003: 19–27; 31–48; 2017: 52–65; 2020: 82–83; Šćukanec Rezniček 2015.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Nakon opisa lopatičaste lutke iz Arheloškoga muzeja u Zagrebu i kraćega pregleda osobitosti širega korpusa ovoga tipa predmeta moguće je zaključiti kako je zagrebački primjerak od osobite važnosti za bolje razumijevanje fundusa u kojem se nalazi te njegovu daljnju valorizaciju. Potvrđeno je to i jedinstvenošću ovoga predmeta u muzejskim i galerijskim institucijama ovoga dijela Europe, kao i nekolicinom ikonografskih osobitosti kojima on odstupa od većega dijela komparativnih primjera. Upravo su one važno svjedočanstvo o slobodi koju su stari Egipćani imali pri koncepciji i izradi lopatičastih lutaka. Zbog svega navedenoga, zagrebački primjerak zaslužuje imati važno mjesto u budućim, detaljnijim obradama cjelokupnoga korpusa staroegipatskih lopatičastih lutaka i barem u manjoj mjeri pomoći pri razrješavanju nedoumica koje još uvijek postoje u vezi njihova značenja i funkcije.

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## CONCLUSION

Following the description of the paddle doll from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and a brief overview of the characteristics of the wider corpus to which this item belongs, it can be concluded that the Zagreb specimen is of particular importance for a better understanding of the collection and its further valuation. This argument is bolstered by the uniqueness of this object in the museums and galleries in this part of Europe, but also by several iconographic features by which it deviates from most of the similar examples. They are an important testimony to the freedom that the ancient Egyptians had when conceiving and making paddle dolls. The presented arguments make it evident that the Zagreb specimen deserves an important place in more detailed future treatments of the entire corpus of ancient Egyptian paddle dolls and, at least to a lesser extent, might be of aid in resolving the current doubts regarding their meaning and functions.

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