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*Statuette of a Snake-legged Anubis
in the National Museum, Warsaw*

Among the images of Egyptian gods on display in the gallery of Ancient Egyptian Art at the National Museum in Warsaw there is an exceptional figurine of bronze with a jackal's head, torso of a man and serpentine coils instead of legs. It is undoubtedly a representation of Anubis, but sufficiently unique to merit a broader commentary than the brief notes published on its subject so far.¹ The iconographic and stylistic distinctness with regard to canonical representations of Anubis in Egyptian art indicate a background in the artistic production of an age in which a native tradition coexisted with Graeco-Roman culture.

The Anubis statuette from the Warsaw National Museum is of composite form.² It is made up of three independent elements: jackal's head, male upper body and serpentine coils (Figs 1–4). The relatively small head features a long narrow snout. Set in deep sockets, the large slanting eyes with marked pupils look attentively to the front. Curly wisps of fur encircle the snout and neck, joining the tripartite wig to form a hairdo that skillfully softens the animality of the head. Preserved between the fleshy ears of natural shape is the base of the broken crown. The harmoniously built male torso is characterized by ample pectoral muscles passing into a narrowed waist and softly modeled, slightly rounded abdominal muscles with a distinctly sunk navel. In profile, the torso is relatively flat. The left arm hangs loosely at the side, the hand gripping a cylindrical object (maybe the element of the sign *ankh*). The right arm is bent at the elbow and extended forward, the hand, now broken, once holding one of the god's insignia. A short skirt *shendyt* with wide pleats is wrapped around the hips. Details like the pleats of the skirt and the locks of the wig are uniform in size. Revealed under the skirt is the massive body of a serpent and a springy coiling tail forming a widespread figure-eight. Scales, precisely modeled from nature, formed one wider row on the abdomen and a finer herringbone pattern on the back and tail. The back of the figurine was neatly worked, especially the splayed coils forming the figurine's base. The relatively shallow modeling of the upper parts of the figurine contrasts with the deeper carving of the lower part. The underside does not have the dowel traditionally cast as one piece with the figurine to mount it on its base.³ The figurine, however, is balanced in a way that permits it to stand alone. This bronze statuette cast by lost wax process demonstrates the high artistic and technological quality compared to the mass bronze production which has developed in the Late Period and in the Ptolemaic and Roman age. The chiseling of the figure, so important for the final effect, was particularly precise.

Shaped according to traditional principles of Egyptian art, the Anubis figurine betrays traits testifying to Greek influence. A certain freedom of composition is observable, introducing elements of motion while preserving the rule of frontality. Pushed back by the

¹ K. MICHAŁOWSKI, *Sztuka Starożytna*, Warszawa 1955, p. 152, Il. 106; Id., *L'art de l'ancienne Égypte*, Paris 1968, p. 420, Fig. 621; J.-Cl. GRENIER, *Anubis Alexandrin et Romain*, Leiden 1977, p. 38, Pl. XIVa, quoting Michałowski; J. LECLANT, s.v. 'Anubis', *LIMC* I.1, 873; National Museum in Warsaw Guide – Galleries and Study Collections, Warszawa 2001, p. 45, Cat. 1.19; Galeria Sztuki Starożytnej. Przewodnik, Warszawa 2007, pp. 61–62, no. 1.57.

² Inv. no. 148140 MNW. Dimensions: 13.5 x 6.5 x 4.1 cm. Purchased in 1952 from Jarosław Sobieszkański. State of preservation: after conservation, broken crown and part of right hand above wrist.

³ The hole in this place was drilled in modern times in order to mount the statuette on a stone base. The three small hollows observed next to it were doubtless produced during the casting process.



1.-4. Statuette of Anubis. National Museum in Warsaw. Inv. nr 148140 MNW (Phot. Zbigniew Doliński).

strong massive serpent tail, the torso of the figurine leans back to keep the balance, thus taking on a more dignified attitude. A new approach to form, unlike the Egyptian static and geometrized one, is reflected in the natural serpent coils. The artist created a piece of the highest artistic value, combining in a harmonious way zoomorphic and anthropomorphic elements.

Determining where this unique snake-legged representation of Anubis stands in the religious iconography of the Roman period requires an examination of the issue from the point of view of the evolution of Egyptian funerary beliefs. Anubis is identified with a lying black dog or a man with the head of a dog or more strictly an animal from the *Canidae* family, referred to by the Egyptians as a 'jackal' or 'wolf'.⁴ The zoomorphic form of Anubis as well as divinities shaped like members of the *Canidae* family are commonly referred to as 'jackals'.⁵ The oldest surviving jackal-headed representation of Anubis comes from Neusserre's mortuary temple at Abu Gurob, which is dated to the Fifth Dynasty.⁶ Anubis was one of several Early Dynasty jackal-shaped gods, among whom Khentyamentiu and Upwawet also held positions of importance.⁷ Part of the royal mortuary ritual, Anubis appeared in the Pyramid Texts as the embalmer, the 'Accounter of Hearts' and a guardian and guide in the Other World, as well as 'Lord of the Necropolis'.⁸ With the evolution of mortuary beliefs, Anubis' duties toward the deceased king, present in solar and Osirian burial beliefs, became accessible to all Egyptians; in Graeco-Roman times they were even accepted by a considerable part of the migrant population settled on the banks of the Nile.

The syncretic theological conception developed during the New Kingdom, combining Osirian with solar eschatology,⁹ moved Anubis to a privileged position among the jackal-shaped deities. A process of evolutionary assimilation of the deities, which took place in the Third Intermediate Period, resulted in a rich and multivarious mortuary iconography in which Anubis figured in scenes of both the night journey of the Sun across the Underworld and in the scene of the Judgment of Osiris during the deceased's journey to the Field of Rushes. An epithet of New Kingdom date, *s3 Wsir*, referred to Anubis' role in presiding over the funerary rites of Osiris.¹⁰ It demonstrates that Anubis served not only as the

⁴ On the 'identity' of the animal representing Anubis, cf. M.G. WITKOWSKI, Quelques remarques sur le nom d'Anubis. Graphie et Etymologie, *EtudTrav* XII, 1983, pp. 38–40 and recently: E. KNISPEN RUESSEN, M.GULLBRAMSDSEN ASMYHR, CL. SILBERO-ZUBIRI, D.M. MACDONALD, A. BEKELE, A. ATICKEM, N. CHR. STENSETH, The Cryptic African Wolf: *Canis aureus lupaster* Is Not a Golden Jackal and Is Not Endemic to Egypt, *Plus One* 6.1, January 2011, pp. 1–5.

⁵ T. DUQUESNE, *The Jackal Divinities in Egypt*, London 2005 [= *Jackal Divinities*], pp. 367–368. DuQuesne believes the descriptor to be acceptable, because it most resembles the Egyptian *Canis aureus*, regardless of doubts as to a precise identification of the slender animal with small narrow snout, large ears and fluffy tail, appearing in reliefs, paintings, sculpture and amulets.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 91–93.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 384–397.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 369–372.

⁹ Cf. A. NIWIŃSKI, The Solar-Osirian Unity as the Principle of the Theology of the 'State of Amun' in Thebes in the 21 Dynasty, *JEOL* 30, 1987–1988, pp. 89–106.

¹⁰ GRENIER, *Anubis Alexandrin et Romain*, pp. 18–19. Grenier adds that following Egyptian custom imposing on the son the duty to assure proper burial, Anubis as *s3 Wsir* served as master of ceremonies at the burial of Osiris. This title gave Anubis a place in the Osirian cycle.

embalmer of Osiris, but also his defender against the latter's enemies in the Underworld.¹¹ This aspect of being a fighting defender, present in Anubis' divine personality, was taken up in the next stage of the evolution of Egyptian mortuary beliefs.

Even though the Warsaw figurine of Anubis bears the stamp of Ptolemaic and Roman religious and artistic syncretism, it is still firmly rooted in the religious iconography of the Third Intermediate period owing to the composite form which became common in coffin and papyrus representations of the Twenty-first Dynasty as a variant of the mixed form.¹² Demons of the Underworld most often took on this form, their heads being a composite image of elements from a number of different animals.¹³ Depictions of deities with serpentine body and head of a jackal can be equally complex. A huge serpent with the body ending in the head of a jackal decorates the bottom of a coffin of Chanefer in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.¹⁴ The tail of a winged serpent from a scene in the papyrus of the Priestess Henuttaui from the British Museum is also terminated in a jackal's head.¹⁵ These examples evince a trend toward creating images imbued with new characteristics, designed to express divine potency in the most optimal manner. Syncretic links between divinities, expressing the changeability of nature and divine imagine, were an important element of Egyptian beliefs encountered by the Greeks streaming into Egypt in growing numbers from the Late Period on. It was also a time of the most widespread cult of Osiris and deities from the Osirian circle, Anubis included.

In the Ptolemaic period, the ubiquitous cult of Osiris, Isis and the Horus-child encountered the gods of the Greek pantheon, becoming part of an evolving religion that changed in the face of the needs of the Hellenized Egyptians as much as the Greeks settled on the banks of the Nile. The process of adapting a native religion to the purposes of a dynastic policy fostered by the Ptolemies can best be observed from an Alexandrian perspective. Here, Isis and Serapis played the key roles, assisted by Harpocrates and Anubis,¹⁶ their functions adapted to religious concepts that were dear to the Greeks. A new figure in the Greek-Egyptian pantheon was Hermanubis, identified with Hermes *psychopompos*, who

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

¹² E. HORNUNG, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, Darmstadt 1979, in French: *Les dieux de l'Égypte : le Un et le Multiple*, Paris 1986, pp. 97–121.

¹³ For example, the figure of a demon from papyrus S. R. VII 11499 or the goddess Thokeris from papyrus J. 14.7.35.7 from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo – see: *op. cit.*, in Polish Id., *Jeden czy wielu. Koncepcja boga w starożytnym Egipcie* (*Der Eine und die Vielen*, transl. by A. Niwiński), Warszawa 1991, p. 103, Fig. 36; p. 110, Fig. 43.

¹⁴ The Scene from the coffin of Chanefer, son-in-law of Ptolemy II, from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, inv. no. J. 29736. Prof. A. Niwiński kindly brought this representation to my attention. I am grateful to him for his comments and advice at the different stages of preparation of this text.

¹⁵ Papyrus of the Priestess Henuttaui, British Museum, Inv. no. BM 10018, cf. A. NIWIŃSKI, *Mity i symbole starożytnego Egiptu*, Warszawa 1992, pp. 102–104. Prof. A. Niwiński is of the opinion that while Chanefer's coffin is unique, the scene in the papyrus of Henuttaui is a cosmogonic one – representing the primeval serpentine form of Atum.

¹⁶ P.M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria I*, Oxford 1972, pp. 28, 261. Fraser's analysis of Greek written documents produced information about a temple of Anubis connected with a necropolis of sacred animals existing in Alexandria in the second half of the Third century BC. It was said to have been located next to the precincts of Isis, Harpocrates and the Theoi Adelphoi in the Serapeum, erected to Serapis by Ptolemy III Euergetes I.

guided the souls to Hades, and with Anubis, guide of the dead in the land of *Duat*.¹⁷ The purely Greek imaging of Hermanubis as a naked youth with a dog at his feet¹⁸ existed independently of representations of Anubis from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, which were always arranged around the principal feature of a jackal's head derived from the tradition of Dynastic Egypt.

Only one parallel for the Warsaw figurine of Anubis exists among the small art forms. It is a bronze figurine from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo depicting a snake-legged Anubis.¹⁹ The overall composition of the figure is the same with variations observable only in selected details. The serpentine coils rise vertically instead of lying flat on the ground. Anubis wears a skirt *shendyt* and a necklace. His head is adorned with a tripartite wig. The ears and crown are missing. Details of the skirt and wig are marked as vertical lines. The right arm hangs loosely by the side, the hand holding an *ankh*. The left forearm bent at the elbow is broken. Similarities of approach, as well as features of style observed in the rendering of the upper body and particular elements, place both figurines within the sphere of Graeco-Roman art. Following Leclant's typology of representations of Anubis,²⁰ the both figurines fall into the group of images formed in the Egyptian style. Lacking a provenance, it should be assumed that the statuettes were made in all likelihood in a local workshop for the use of worshippers living in Egypt. The so-called Egyptian representations of Anubis constitute a considerably smaller group compared to the much more numerous Hellenized images of Anubis in a tunic, often with attributes like the caduceus of Hermes, the palm and other floral elements, and always with a jackal's head. This type of representation along with the cult of Isis, in which Anubis held an important role, was widespread not only in Greece and Italy, but also on the peripheries of the Roman Empire.²¹

Limitations placed on comparative research by the lack of analogous images shift attention to the old myths recorded in the Jumilhac papyrus from the late Ptolemaic–early Roman period. These throw light on the symbolic aspects of the snake-legged Anubis.²² One 'legend about the caskets of Horus' illustrates Anubis' role in the struggle between Horus and Seth.²³ The stories are set in the XVII Cynopolitan nome in Upper Egypt, where Anubis was worshipped from the time of the Old Kingdom. Anubis is the protagonist. Battling Seth he changes into a great serpent called Benen, which finally defeats Seth and recovers the caskets with the eyes of Horus.²⁴ In surviving fragments of myths from the Old Kingdom, Anubis was already represented defending Osiris' dead body from Seth's destructive attempts.²⁵

¹⁷ J.-CL. GRENIER, s.v. 'Hermanubis', LIMC V.1, 265–268.

¹⁸ A. ADRIANI, *Annuaire du Musée Greco-Romain* (1935-1939), Alexandrie 1940, Pl. LV, 2, published a completely preserved marble statue of Hermanubis found in the sanctuary of Isis on Ras el-Soda. Inv. No. P442.

¹⁹ M.C.C. EDGAR, *Greek Bronzes, CGC*, Le Caire 1904, p. 91, No. 32271; GRENIER, *Anubis Alexandrin et Romain*, pp. 38–39.

²⁰ LECLANT, s.v. 'Anubis', LIMC I.1, 883–884.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 863–864.

²² J. VANDIER, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac*, Paris 1961.

²³ *p. Jumilhac*, XIII.19/20, 2-3.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, 19/20, 2/3.

²⁵ DUQUESNE, *Jackal Divinities*, pp. 381–382.

Therefore, remembrance of the myth relating the story of the transformation of Anubis into the Benen serpent, described in the Jumilhac papyrus, endured among the worshippers of Anubis and could have inspired a new iconographic form bringing to the foreground the god's aspect as a victorious warrior and defender, guarding each and every Osirified deceased.

The theme received an exceptionally plastic rendering in the reliefs inside the Main Tomb of the catacombs of Kom el-Shouqafa necropolis in Alexandria, dated to the Second century AD.²⁶ The way in which Anubis was imaged there provides insight into the god's nature and function from the point of view of the multicultural society of Egypt in Roman times. The rich decoration of the Main Tomb in Egyptianizing style, illustrating Osirian mortuary beliefs, showed Anubis twice: leaning over the deceased in supervision of the mummification process²⁷ and guarding the entrance to the burial chamber.²⁸ On the inside walls of the burial chamber, on either side of the entrance, images were carved of Anubis as a jackal-headed god in the armor of a Roman centurion. The two figures differ in some respects: the Anubis to the right of the entrance is represented as a man with a jackal's head, the Anubis on the left side is a composite depiction consisting of a jackal's head, a male torso and serpentine coils instead of legs. Both figures, leaning on their spears, are represented in triumphant pose.

In his analysis of the reliefs depicting Anubis from Kom el-Shouqafa, J.-Cl. Grenier discusses the nature of Anubis as a warrior in two aspects,²⁹ from the perspective of Anubis' transformation into a serpent, related in the Jumilhac papyrus, and from the perspective of the iconography of the Roman emperor as represented by a type of statuary of Emperor guarantor of *Pax Romana*. Grenier believes that it is a representation of Anubis the victorious conqueror of Seth and chaos by the same, two major threats to the deceased. He even believes him to be a god that overcame death. M. Venit³⁰ on the other hand links the military form of Anubis to a tribute to Vespasian, whose proclamation as emperor in Alexandria by the legions stuck long in the memory of the city's inhabitants. To this researcher, the snake-legged figure of Anubis in legionary's dress echoes the Osirian myth about the transformation of Anubis into a serpent, but foremost the associations with Agathodaimon. The ties between a snake-legged Anubis and Agathodaimon refer to the guardian role filled by both gods in representations in the Main Tomb. Agathodaimon was pictured in serpentine form on either side of the entrance to the pronaos of the burial chamber.³¹

²⁶ M. VENIT, *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria*, Cambridge 2002 [= *Monumental Tombs*], pp. 133–145. Venit dates the Main Tomb to the Second century AD, while G. Grimm preferred to date it at the end of the First century AD, cf. G. GRIMM, D. JOHANNES, *Kunst der Ptolemäer und Römerzeit in Aegyptischen Museum Kairo*, Kairo-Mainz 1975. I am grateful to Assist. Prof. Barbara Tkaczow for commenting on the sepulchral architecture of Alexandria.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 137, Fig. 115.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 143–145.

²⁹ GRENIER, *Anubis Alexandrin et Romain*, pp. 38–40.

³⁰ VENIT, *Monumental Tombs*, pp. 144–145.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 149. The apothropaic character of the representations is emphasized also by two shields with the Gorgoneion placed above the serpents. The *kerikeion* and *thyrsos* in the serpentine coils underscore the chthonic aspect of Agathodaimon, bringing him closer to Hermes and Dionysos.

The convergent functions of Anubis and Agathodaimon as guardians of the deceased demonstrate the relations between Egyptian and Greek chthonic deities, whose snake-legged form was an expressive carrier of this idea. Closely related is a representation of Isis-Thermuthis³² and her consort Serapis.³³ One of many images of this pair depicted in serpentine form is a stele from Oxyrhynchus from the Second century AD, in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria.³⁴ The figure of Isis-Thermuthis with serpentine body and female head in a Hathor crown refers to images of the goddess Renetutet, represented as a cobra in Theban tombs of the New Kingdom. Adopting the functions of Renetutet, Isis-Thermutis, was also a guardian of bountiful harvests, a goddess ensuring the fertility of eternally regenerating nature. The image of Serapis opposite Isis, the head of a bearded man in a kalathos and the body of a serpent, expresses the chthonic aspect of his nature which associates him with Agathodaimon. Linked together by their serpentine coils, Isis-Thermuthis and Serapis-Agathodaimon support Osiris-Canopus in the center of the composition. The syncretic form of this composition, which symbolizes the linking of the chthonic element in Egyptian and Greek beliefs, is an expression of homage for the guardian deities guaranteeing continuous regeneration of nature. It is also a reference to the Osiriac idea of cyclic resurrection. A strong connection between Anubis and Isis-Thermuthis is emphasized, among others, by a votive inscription from Medinet Madi³⁵ dedicated to 'Lady of Happiness' Isis-Thermuthis and the 'Great God' Anubis. The intermingling of the cults of Anubis, Isis, Serapis and Harpokrates is confirmed by numerous joint representations in reliefs, statuary, terracotta figurines and lamps.³⁶ Chthonic deity worship derived from the belief in the exceptional magical powers. Anubis was important among the magic-related gods and was often represented on magic gems in his Hellenized form as embalmer and *psychopompos*, wielding enormous power.³⁷ On a few gems Anubis is shown together with the *Uroboros* eating its own tail,³⁸ the representation in this form being a reference to the concept of eternity. In this context Anubis' link

³² F. DUNAND, *Le culte d'Isis et les Ptolémées*, Leiden 1973 [= *Culte d'Isis*], pp. 89–93; EAD., *Religion populaire en Egypte romaine. Terres quites isiaque du Musée du Caire*, Leiden 1979, pp. 60–64, cat. 24–31, Pl. XVII; TRAN TAM TINH, s.v. 'Isis', LIMC V.1, 788–789, 791.

³³ G. CLERC, J. LECLANT, s.v., 'Sarapis', LIMC VII.1, 667–692, Pls. 504–518.

³⁴ F. GODDIO, M. CLAUSS (Eds), *Ägyptens versunkene Schätze, Ausstellung von 13. Mai bis 4. September 2006*, Berlin 2006, pp. 390–391, 408. The stele was cited by Z. Kiss, author of part of the catalogue notes for this publication, as comparative material for interpreting stela cat. no. 30 representing a cobra in a Hathor crown as an image of Isis Thermuthis. The stele was discovered in Canopus by F. Goddio's team.

³⁵ DUNAND, *Culte d'Isis*, pp. 100–104.

³⁶ LECLANT, s.v. 'Anubis', LIMC I.1, 865–866.

³⁷ D. FRANKFURTER, *Religion in Roman Egypt. Assimilation and Resistance*, Princeton 1998, p. 119 and A. DELATTE, Ph. DERCHAIN, *Les intailles magiques Greco-Egyptiennes*, Paris 1964, pp. 89–104.

³⁸ LECLANT, 'Anubis', 870, Nos 62–63. A gem from the Seyrig collection depicts Anubis with a caduceus and an *Uroboros* biting its tail. A gem from the National Museum in Belgrade represents Anubis standing in front of a serpent and leaning against a *krater* on a tripod. The scene may be interpreted as a lecanomancy procedure connected with initiation rites in which Anubis played an important role cf. T. DUQUESNE, *Coptic initiation invocation*, Darengo 1991, pp. 34, 40.

to the serpent as a symbol of the process of posthumous transformation and resurrection becomes evident.³⁹

The discussion can be extended to include the evidence of the religious iconography of Dynastic Egypt, which held the serpent as one of the oldest and most important images, personifying a variety of sometimes contradictory ideas. Concealed under the form of a serpent were both enemies and guardian gods, protecting from danger.⁴⁰ Images of serpents as guards and defenders appeared in the both royal and private tombs of the New Kingdom.⁴¹ A similar function was served by representations of Anubis in the form of a black jackal sitting or lying on a naos-shaped chest, decorating the walls of burial chambers.⁴² The evident protective function of gods embodied as serpents and jackals, present in the Pharaonic sepulchral tradition, was undoubtedly a point of reference for the new iconographic form represented by the snake-legged Anubis of Roman times. This form of the god was a meaningful example of the strong influence exerted by the mythology and religious iconography, as well as textual sources of Dynastic Egypt on current forms of cults. The serpentine element of Anubis should be treated therefore not merely as an illustration of the episode of the transformation of Anubis into a serpent, as described in the Jumilhac papyrus, but also as a personification of the chthonic powers of the god which could be drawn upon through magical practices to serve apothropaic purposes.

Further information on the nature and function of Anubis, essential to interpret the Warsaw figurine of the god, come from an analysis of emblems decorating the heads of the armored images of Anubis from The Main Tomb in Kom el-Shouqafa. The god in human form wears the traditional tripartite wig topped by a disc of considerable size.⁴³ The snake-legged form has no wig and wears an *atef* crown between the ears.⁴⁴ These attributes illustrate the complementary aspects of Anubis' dual nature. The disc is not the same solar disc with uraei that Anubis has in the mummification scene in relief appearing in above-mentioned the central niche of the burial chamber of the Main Tomb.⁴⁵ Could it be a lunar disc then? The issue of Anubis and the lunar disc was discussed by R.K. Ritner,⁴⁶ who

³⁹ DUQUESNE, *Jackal Divinities*, pp. 409–411, observes the existence of early connections between serpentine and jackal-shaped divinities; he also discusses the snake-legged form of the goddess Quehnut – appearing as ‘a daughter of Anubis’ in the Pyramid Texts – as a participant of the purification ceremonies.

⁴⁰ The latter included the serpent Mehen which guarded the naos of the god Re during the journey through the Underworld, *Uroboros* which symbolized time, and the goddess Wadjet in the guise of a cobra protecting the ruler.

⁴¹ E.g. tomb of Horemheb, cf. The Theban Mapping Project, site for KV 57 and PM I.2, pp. 567–569 or tomb of Rameses I, *ibid.*, site for KV 16 and PM I.2, p. 534, (2), (3), (4), (6), (7), (8). *The Book of the Gates* on the walls of sarcophagus chamber contains the gate to each hour with the leaf section decorated with the images of guardian serpent.

⁴² E.g. tomb of Paschedu, cf. The Theban Mapping Project, site for TT 3 and PM I.1, pp. 9–10 (2), (3), where Anubis sitting at the top of a naos is depicted twice as guardian of the entrance to the coffin chamber.

⁴³ VENIT, *Monumental Tombs*, p. 144, Fig. 123.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145, Fig. 125.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 137, Fig. 115.

⁴⁶ R.K. RITNER, *Anubis and the lunar disc*, *JEA* 71, 1985, pp. 145–155, based his remarks on the ties between Anubis and the lunar disc on an image of Anubis holding a disc in front of him in a scene of divine birth on the wall of the northern colonnade of the Middle Terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari and an

pointed out the relation between Anubis holding a lunar disk in the scene of divine birth and Osiris identified with a continuously resurrected moon. Ritner goes on to discuss the evolution of representations of Anubis with a disc, reaching in the end the form of disc on the god's head as seen in the images from the Main Tomb.⁴⁷ In the light of Ritner's argument, it may be assumed that images of Anubis with a disc on his head correspond to the lunar aspect of the god and refer to the divinity in its principal function as supervisor of the mummification process and therefore guarantor of cyclical resurrection of the deceased in the Osiris moon.

The royal *atef* crown on the head of the snake-legged Anubis places him among the ruler gods, the symbol referring to the divine aspect of regal power.⁴⁸ The royal crown worn by Anubis gives insight into a new aspect of the god's nature, which is also present in written sources from the Graeco-Roman period. Greek and Egyptian inscriptions on votive stelae and statue bases discussed by J.-Cl. Grenier⁴⁹ testify to the popularity of Anubis both as an individual god appealed to by worshippers and as a companion god of Isis, Serapis and Harpokrates. The analysis of the inscriptions leads to conclusions concerning the evolution of perceptions of the god's nature. Magical texts provide further proof.⁵⁰ Invocations addressed to Anubis refer to the god as, among others, 'Great God' and 'Lord of Two Lands', both epithets due a god identified with royal rule.

The works of ancient authors also reveal a picture of Anubis as a god ruling over the cosmos and interceding between the world of the living and the world of the dead. In his *De Iside et Osiride*, Plutarch referred to the cosmic nature of Anubis,⁵¹ describing the deity

analogous representation of this scene in the *mammisi* of Nektanebo I in Dendera, where Anubis offers the divine child a lunar disc symbolizing cyclical resurrection. In his article on the role and function of the Anubis Chapel in the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari, M.G. Witkowski stated that the dual nature of Anubis could have been one of the reasons for the existence of two almost identical chapels, the Lower Chapel distinguishing the god's lunar aspect and the Upper Chapel, naturally tied in with the Re-Horachte Complex, the solar one, cf. M.G. WITKOWSKI, *Le rôle et les fonctions des chapelles d'Anubis dans le complexe funéraire de la reine Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari*, [in:] *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985*, S. Schoske (Ed.), *BSAK* 3, Hamburg 1988, pp. 431–440 and T. DUQUESNE, *Black and Gold, colour symbolism of god Anubis with observations on the phenomenology of colour in Egyptian and comparative religion*, London 1996 [= *Black and Gold*], pp. 25–26.

⁴⁷ Anubis with a lunar disc on his head was depicted on a shroud from Saqqara, now in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow, Inv. no. I 1a 5749. cf. R. SCHULZ, M. SEIDEL *et al.*, *Ägypten. Die Welt der Pharaonen*, Könemann Vlg 1997, in Polish: *Egipt. Świat faraonów*, without ed. place 2004, p. 469, Fig. 87.

⁴⁸ K. GOEBS, *Some Cosmic Aspects of the Royal Crowns*, [in:] *Proceeding of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, Cambridge 3–9 September 1995, *OLA* 82, Leuven 1998, pp. 447–459.

⁴⁹ GRENIER, *Anubis Alexandrin et Romain*, pp. 23–33.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 27–31; DUQUESNE, *Black and Gold*, pp. 38–39; *Id.*, *Coptic Initiatory Invocation*, pp. 34–36, 48–50. A growing personalistic piety from the Third Intermediate Period reached a peak in Graeco-Roman times, receiving emphatic expression in the so-called 'folk religion', which largely appealed to magical rituals.

⁵¹ Plutarch, *De Is* I.191.44.E: *When Nephthys gave birth to Anubis, Isis treated the child as if it were her own; for Nephthys is that which is beneath the earth and invisible, Isis that which is above the earth and visible; and the circle which touches these, called the horizon, being common to both, has received the name Anubis, and is represented in form like a dog; for the dog can see with his eyes both by night and by day alike. And among Egyptians Anubis is thought to possess this faculty, which is similar to that which Hecatê is thought to*

as a chthonic and celestial one, as well as the horizon which is shared by everything above and under the ground. Referring to Plutarch, J.G. Griffiths⁵² remarked that Anubis was perceived as a god linking the world of the ‘living aboveground’ (*Superi*) and the world of the ‘dead underground’ (*Inferi*). It is justifiable thus to see Anubis as being worshipped as a protector of both the dead and the living, a universal god whose great might gave protection. The snake-legged Anubis from Kom el-Shouqafa in the *atef* crown is thus an illustration of these beliefs.

Comparison of the Warsaw figurine of Anubis with representations from Kom el-Shouqafa supplies grounds for reconstructing the missing crown. It could have been a solar disc symbolizing the god’s cosmic nature, emphasized in the magical texts with the phrase: “I am Anubis, who wears the crown of Re”.⁵³ Alternatively, it could have been the *atef* crown referring to the deity’s status as ruler.⁵⁴ Last but not least, it could have been a lunar disc which would indicate a link with Osiris moon and which could have been in the shape of a disc or a disc resting on a crescent moon.⁵⁵

The other element shared by the Warsaw bronze figurine and the reliefs of both Anubis and Agathodaimon from Kom el-Shouqafa,⁵⁶ as well as terracotta figurines of Isis-Thermuthis,⁵⁷ is the rendering of serpentine coils. In all cases, the massive body of the serpent was arranged in a horizontal loop and worked with considerable feeling for the natural shape and arrangement of scales. The modeling of details is deep and distinct, creating light and shadow effects. As if by contrast, the upper part of the Warsaw figurine is not realistic; it is rather a fusion of Egyptian and Roman styles with a strong emphasis on ties with a native tradition. Only the snout, very much individual in appearance, can be said to reflect the realism of a Roman style. The finishing of the wig and the skirt seems to have little to do with the typical Egyptian preference for ornamental details. The treatment of these elements is quite schematic overall. Elements that associate the figurine with the art of an earlier, Ptolemaic age include a frontal composition, traditional

possess among the Greeks, for Anubis is a deity of the lower world as well as a god of Olympus (transl. by F.C. Babbit, *Loeb Classical Library*, Harvard 1936, pp. 190–191).

⁵² Apuleius, *The Isis Book* (Metamorphoses), J.G. Griffiths (Ed.), *EPRO* 39, Leiden 1975, pp. 216–217. The concepts of *superi* and *inferi* were introduced by the Greeks for the purposes of a description of the world and had no connotations in terms of Egyptian topography, which placed the world of the dead either underground, in the heavens or in the *blessed West*.

⁵³ GRENIER, *Anubis Alexandrin et Romain*, p. 31; DUQUESNE, *Black and Gold*, p. 25.

⁵⁴ Anubis in an *atef* crown occurs also among figurines representing him as a warrior from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, cf. G. ROEDER, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*, *MÄSB* VI, 1956, Inv. no. 14418, p. 61, Pl. 10g, and the Museo Nazionale delle Terme in Rome, cf. E. KANTOROWICZ, *Gods in Uniform*, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 105, 1961, p. 372, Fig. 12. Images of Anubis in a Double Crown *pschent* also exist, e.g. EDGAR, *Greek Bronzes*, p. 16, Pl. IV, Inv. nos 27693 and 27694. The both crowns attribute royal power to Anubis. The *pschent* crown is also a reflection of the god’s epithet, ‘Lord of the Two Lands’, cf. *supra*, note 49.

⁵⁵ A lunar emblem of this kind is worn by Anubis in a monumental statue from the Vatican Museums, cf. GRENIER, *Anubis Alexandrin et Romain*, Cat. no. 75, Pl. XVI, and two figurines from Kassel, cf. A. FELGENHAUER (Ed.), *Ägyptische und ägyptisierende Kunstwerke*, Staatliche Museen Kassel, Kassel 1996, p. 121, Cat. 38, p. 122, Cat. 39.

⁵⁶ Cf. *supra*, note 31.

⁵⁷ Cf. *supra*, note 32.

hieratic pose, typical dress of Egyptian divine images and an attribute, lost but most likely the *was* scepter.

The above comparative analysis of material and formal elements, coupled with the dating of the decoration of the Main Tomb in Kom el-Shouqafa between the end of the First and the half of the Second century AD, leads to the conclusion that the bronze snake-legged figurine of Anubis from the National Museum in Warsaw, which reflects ideas of religious and artistic syncretism, was executed in more or less the same period. It represents Anubis as a god who was not only the embalmer, *psychopompos* accompanying the dead in the Underworld, but also an omnipotent deity interceding between the worlds of the living and the dead, and ruling over the cosmos. In this context, Anubis' association with a serpent as a symbol of posthumous transformation can be read as part of the tradition of Dynastic Egypt as much as of Graeco-Roman chthonic beliefs.

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