



**UNIVERSITY OF THE AEGEAN**

**Postgraduate Program of the University of the Aegean**

**“Archeology of the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistoric to Late  
Antiquity: Greece, Egypt, Near East”**



**POSTGRADUATE DISSERTATION**

**Anubis: The God’s Manifestation in the Iconographical and Literary Sources  
of the Pharaonic Period**

**Antoniadou Christina**

**N.R.: msmarch15004**

**Rhodes, 2018**



**UNIVERSITY OF THE AEGEAN**

**Postgraduate Program of the University of the Aegean**

**“Archeology of the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistoric to Late  
Antiquity: Greece, Egypt, Near East”**

**POSTGRADUATE DISSERTATION**

**Antoniadou Christina**

**N.R.: msmarch15004**

**Supervisor: Panagiotis Kousoulis, Associate Professor of University of  
Aegean**

**Advisory Committee:**

**Stefanakis Emmanouil, Associate Professor**

**Syropoylos Spyridon, Associate Professor**

**Rhodes, 2018**





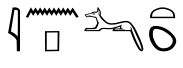




**[To become] Christina. I am the daughter of the builder, he who watches over the door, Dimit(ris), lord of the house in Drama, the lord of Pontus, (and) the daughter of the housemistress, Agathi, she who is beside the night bier, she who cooks the divine meals, foremost of Asia. [...] the sister of the scribe (and) the immortal-eagle (and) the wife of chief worker of the ancestors.**

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

Writing this thesis, as it is logical, was time-consuming and stressful. With its completion, the second stage of my university life ends with all the necessary equipment for a new start ... a new pursuit.

All this would not be feasible, without the support of my parents, Demetris and Agathi, and my life-partner, Thomas, whom I neglected to complete this cycle of my life. I would like to thank Dr. Panayiotis Kousoulis, who supported my project, my two professors, Dr Stefanakis Emmanouil and Dr Syropoulos Spyridon, as well as my friends Christos, Angeliki for their valuable corrections. I owe a big thank you to Dreven, who provided me with bibliographic materials, Ms Kapantzoglou Dimitra Soutana for her help with the editing and Haris for his psychological support.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</b> .....	4
<b>TABLE OF FIGURES</b> .....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
<b>CANID-HEADED HIEROGLYPHICS</b> .....	13
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	15
<b>1. CANIDS AND THE CANID-HEADED DIVINITIES</b> .....	18
1.1 Canids and Canids' Cult .....	18
1.2 Canid-headed Divinities .....	20
1.2.1. Wepwawet  .....	20
1.2.2. Khentamentiu  .....	21
1.2.3. Duamutef  .....	21
1.2.4. Seth  .....	22
1.2.5. Anupet  .....	22
1.2.6. Wepiu  .....	23
1.2.7. Sed  .....	23
1.2.8. The Souls of Pe and Nekhnen  .....	23
1.2.9. Anubis  .....	24
<b>FIGURES</b> .....	30
<b>2. THE MANIFESTATIONS OF ANUBIS THROUGH HIS ICONOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATIONS</b> .....	32
<b>2.1 Art in General</b> .....	32
2.1.1. The two-dimensional art .....	32
2.1.2 The three-dimensional art .....	35
<b>2.2 From the Canines to Anubis's Iconography</b> .....	37
2.2.1 Funerary manifestations.....	42
2.2.2. Rebirth manifestations: Anubis with the lunar disk .....	45
2.2.3. Anubis's alternative manifestations .....	46
2.2.4. General manifestations: Anubis in different postures and gestures .....	48
<b>2.3 The feature variation</b> .....	54
<b>FIGURES</b> .....	57
<b>3. THE MANIFESTATIONS OF ANUBIS IN THE LITERARY SOURCES</b> ....	68
<b>3.1 Divine Epithets of Anubis in the Literary Sources</b> .....	68

3.1.1. Natural epithets.....	68
3.1.2. Situational epithets.....	72
<b>3.2 Anubis in the Literary Sources .....</b>	<b>74</b>
3.2.1. Old Kingdom: Anubis in Pyramid Texts.....	74
3.2.2. First Intermediate Period to Middle Kingdom: Anubis in Coffin Texts	80
3.2.3. Middle Kingdom: The Book of Two Ways.....	83
3.2.4. Second Intermediate Period (17 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty) to Late Period: Anubis in Book of the Dead.....	84
3.2.5. New Kingdom: Anubis in other Afterlife books .....	86
3.2.6. New Kingdom: The Tale of the Two Brothers (Papyrus d' Orbinaey)...	88
3.2.7. Ptolemaic Period: Jumilhac Papyrus.....	90
<b>FIGURES .....</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>4. PRIESTS, RITUALS-FESTIVALS AND RITUAL OBJECTS .....</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>4.1. Priests.....</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>4.2. Rituals-Festivals associated with Anubis .....</b>	<b>100</b>
4.2.1. Anubis and the weighing of the hearts ritual.....	100
4.2.2. Anubis and mummification ritual.....	101
4.2.3. Anubis and the “Opening of the Mouth” ritual.....	104
4.2.4. Festivals associated with Anubis.....	106
<b>4.3. Ritual objects .....</b>	<b>106</b>
<b>FIGURES .....</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>5. DIVINE DWELLINGS AND CEMETRIES .....</b>	<b>116</b>
5.1. Divine dwellings .....	116
5.2. Cemeteries .....	117
<b>FIGURES.....</b>	<b>1129</b>
<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>126</b>

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AEA</i>	Les Amis de l'Égypte Ancienne
<i>AIA</i>	Archaeological Institute of America
<i>AMICA</i>	Art Museum Images from Cartography Asswociate
<i>BAAM</i>	The Bibliotheca Alexandrina Antiquities Museum
<i>BC</i>	Book of Caverns
<i>BD</i>	Book of the Dead
<i>BG</i>	Book of Gates
<i>BI</i>	Bridgeman Images
<i>BM</i>	The British Museum
<i>CMA</i>	The Cleveland Museum of Art
<i>CN</i>	360o Cities Net
<i>CT</i>	Coffin Texts
<i>DC</i>	Describing Egypt
<i>EC</i>	Egypt Centre - Canolfan Eifftaidd
<i>GEM</i>	The Global Egyptian Museum
<i>HMA</i>	Harrogate Museum and Arts
<i>JARCE</i>	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
<i>JEA</i>	The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
<i>KTU</i>	Keilalphabetische Texte aus Ugarit
<i>MAA</i>	Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry
<i>MAM</i>	Milwaukee Art Museum
<i>MET</i>	The Metropolitan Museum of Art
<i>MAF</i>	Museum of Fine Arts Boston
<i>PT</i>	Pyramid Texts
<i>TMP</i>	Thebean Mapping Project
<i>TTB</i>	The Tale of the Two Brothers
<i>UEE</i>	UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology
<i>WMA</i>	The Walters Art Museum

## TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Wepwawet on standard .....	30
Figure 2. Den's seal .....	30
Figure 3. Duamutef and Imsety on canopic box.....	30
Figure 4. Thutmose III taught by Set the archery .....	31
Figure 5. Statue of Hathor, Menkaure and Anupet (4th Dynasty) .....	31
Figure 6. Inherkhau in front of Souls of Nekkhen .....	31
Figure 7. Gebelein. White Cross-lined bowl.....	57
Figure 8. Gebel Tarif knife .....	57
Figure 9 Detail. Hunting scene with canids (?) from tomb 100 in Hierakonpoli	57
Figure 10. Detail. Lion and canid (?) from tomb 100 in Hierakonpolis .....	57
Figure 11. Canid and bird (falcon?). Tomb Uj at Abydos .....	57
Figure 12. Seal from Tomb U-j at Abydos.....	58
Figure 13. Seal from the mortuary temple of Senwosret III .....	58
Figure 14. Canines in henu gesture (?). Naqqada I .....	58
Figure 15. Souls of Nekhen .....	58
Figure 16. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Dynasty's bowl fragment with representation of Anubis (?).....	58
Figure 17. The judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates.....	58
Figure 18. The coffin of Tanakhtnettahat.....	59
Figure 19. Detail. The coffin of Tanakhtnettahat .....	59
Figure 20. The Greenfield Papyrus .....	59
Figure 21. Mummy Coffin of Pedusiri, Late Dynastic (712–323 BC) .....	59
Figure 22. Detail. Mummy Coffin of Pedusiri, Late Dynastic (712–323 BC).....	60
Figure 23. Fragment of coffin.....	60
Figure 24. Cartonnage with the embalming scene.....	60
Figure 25. Tomb of Roy. The “ <i>Opening of the Mouth</i> ” ritual.....	60
Figure 26. Detail. Tomb of Roy. The “ <i>Opening of the Mouth</i> ” ritual .....	61
Figure 27. Hunefer's “ <i>Opening of the Mouth</i> ” ritual .....	61
Figure 28. “ <i>Opening of the mouth</i> “ ritual from the tomb of Maya .....	61
Figure 29. Anubis rolling the Lunar disk from Dendera .....	61
Figure 30. Anubis rolling the lunar disk from the Deir el-Bahari mamissi .....	62
Figure 31. Anubis from the mammisi of Edfu .....	62
Figure 32. Bes from the New Kingdom's chair of Satamon .....	62
Figure 33. Anubis carrying the lunar (?) disk for Mir.....	62
Figure 34. Hermanubis .....	62



Figure 35. Pantheistic posture .....	63
Figure 36. Ram-headed representation.....	63
Figure 37. Anubis as a Falcon-head bird.....	63
Figure 38. Donkey-headed Anubis .....	63
Figure 39. Human representation in offerings gesture, from Seti's I temple at Abydos.....	63
Figure 40. Human representation, from Ramesses II temple at Abydos. ....	63
Figure 41. Recumbent posture. Tomb of Nefertari.....	64
Figure 42. Recumbent posture of Anubis .....	64
Figure 43. Standing posture.....	64
Figure 44. Standing posture.....	64
Figure 45. Enthroned posture from Nefertari's tomb.....	64
Figure 46. Enthroned posture.....	64
Figure 47. Squatting posture cartonnage's fragment .....	65
Figure 48. Winged posture .....	65
Figure 49. Detail. Winged posture .....	65
Figure 50. Anubis with knives .....	65
Figure 51. Embracing gesture of the Angeriautef's tomb statue.....	66
Figure 52. Anubis in purification gesture. ....	66
Figure 53. Detail. Anubis in purification gesture.....	66
Figure 54. Supportive gesture from Horemhed's tomb.....	66
Figure 55. Protective gesture of Ramesses' I tomb.....	66
Figure 56. Procession and Summoning gesture of Anubis from the Tatiasset's stela .....	67
Figure 57. The "breath of life" gesture from Neusera's relief.....	67
Figure 58. Greeting gesture.....	67
Figure 59. Greeting gesture.....	67
Figure 60. Tutankhamen's magical brick .....	93
Figure 61. Anubis of Thebes, the 3rd division.....	93
Figure 62. Book of Amduat, the 5th division.....	93
Figure 63. Book of Gates, the 5th hour.....	93
Figure 64. Book of Caverns, the 4th cavern .....	94
Figure 65. Book of Caverns, the 5th cavern .....	94
Figure 66. Book of Caverns, the 6th cavern .....	94
Figure 67. Book of Caverns, the 6th cavern .....	94

Figure 68. Lector-priest, sem-priest and the mourners .....	112
Figure 69. The festival of the Navigation of Anubis .....	112
Figure 70. The festival of Clothing Anubis .....	112
Figure 71. Priest with Anubis's mask on Osiris temple at Dendera.....	113
Figure 72. Priest wearing the mask of Anubis .....	113
Figure 73. Anubis's mask of 19th Dynasty .....	113
Figure 74 - New Kingdom Anubis's mask.....	113
Figure 75. Late to Ptolemaic Period Anubis's mask .....	114
Figure 76. Late Period Anubis's mask .....	114
Figure 77. Ebony label from Hor-Aha reign, with jmjw.t.....	114
Figure 78. Jmjw.t standard .....	114
Figure 79. Late Period was-scepter made from faience.....	114
Figure 80. Priest holding the 17th nome' scepter .....	115
Figure 81. 7th hour of the BG. Enemies on stakes.....	115
Figure 82. Aslab, which held the sacred oils .....	115
Figure 83. Model of equipment for Opening of Mouth ritual.....	115
Figure 84. The "Treasury" .....	119
Figure 85. Anubis on the "Treasury's" threshold.....	119
Figure 86. The entrance to the Upper Shrine of Anubis at Deir el-Bahari .....	119
Figure 87. Reconstruction of Anubeion by Mariette.....	119
Figure 88. Reconstruction of Anubeion by Quibel .....	119
Figure 89. Map of animal's mummification in Egypt .....	120
Figure 90. The well and the dog's hypogeum at Abydos .....	121
Figure 91. Plan of dog's hypogeum at Abydos .....	121
Figure 92. Bones of dogs at Abydos's hypogeum.....	121










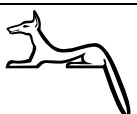









<b>TIMELINE<sup>1</sup></b>	
<b>Predynastic Period</b>	<b>5500-3000 BCE</b>
<b>Early Dynastic Period</b>	<b>3000-2686 BCE</b>
Dynasty 1	3000-2890 BCE
Dynasty 2	2890-2686 BCE
<b>Old Kingdom</b>	<b>2686-2181 BCE</b>
Dynasty 3	2686-2613 BCE
Dynasty 4	2613-2494 BCE
Dynasty 5	2494-2345 BCE
Dynasty 6	2345-2181 BCE
<b>First Intermediate Period</b>	<b>2181-2055 BCE</b>
Dynasty 7-8	2181-2160 BCE
Dynasty 9-10	2160-2025 BCE
Dynasty 11	2125-2055 BCE
<b>Middle Kingdom</b>	<b>2055-1795 BCE</b>
Dynasty 11	2055-1985 BCE
Dynasty 12	1985-1795 BCE
<b>Second Intermediate Period</b>	<b>1795-1550 BCE</b>
Dynasty 13	1795-1650 BCE
Dynasty 14	1760-1650
Dynasty 15	1650-1550 BCE
Dynasty 16	1650-1550 BCE
Dynasty 17	1650-1550 BCE
<b>New Kingdom</b>	<b>1550-1069 BCE</b>
Dynasty 18	1550-1295 BCE
Dynasty 19	1295-1186 BCE
Dynasty 20	1186-1069 BCE
<b>Third Intermediate Period</b>	<b>1069-664 BCE</b>
Dynasty 21	1069-945 BCE
Dynasty 22	945-735 BCE

<sup>1</sup> Bard, 1999

Dynasty 23	735-730 BCE
Dynasty 24	727-715 BCE
Dynasty 25	760-65 BCE
<b>Late Period</b>	<b>664-332 BCE</b>
Dynasty 26	664-525 BCE
Dynasty 27	525-404 BCE
Dynasty 28	404-399 BCE
Dynasty 29	399-380 BCE
Dynasty 30	380-343 BCE
Dynasty 31	343-332 BCE
<b>Ptolemaic Period</b>	<b>332-30 BCE</b>
<b>Roman Period</b>	<b>30 BCE-395 CE</b>


## CANID-HEADED HIEROGLYPHICS

**Table 1: Variations of canid-headed hieroglyphics<sup>2</sup>**

Hieroglyph	Transliteration	Meaning
	jnpw	Ideogram for the gods Anubis and Wepwawet
	stX/stS	Ideogram for the god Seth
    full form    full form	jw  Tsm	Greyhound  Determinative for the dog  Determinative for the hound
    full form	jnpw	Recumbent canid  Ideogram for the god Anubis
 <sup>3</sup>	jnpw	Recumbent canid with feather. Emblem of 17 <sup>th</sup> nome. Anubis' nome Cynopolis,  frequently with the sign 
    full form	jnpw	Recumbent canid  Ideogram for the god Anubis
Hieroglyph	Transliteration	Meaning

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, 1957, pp. 449, 459, 460, 462, 517 and Allen, 2014, pp. 428, 431, 446

<sup>3</sup> Willockx, 2007, p. 37

	jnpw	Recumbent dog Ideogram for the god Anubis
	sAb	Jackal
	wꜥ wꜥwt	Canid on standard. Ideogram for the god Wepwawet
	wꜥ-wꜥwt	Canid on standard. Ideogram for the god Wepwawet
	stX/stS	Seth-animal
	stX/stS	Seth-animal
	wsr	Staff with canid head
	-	Sledge with canid head

<sup>4</sup> Vygus, 2015, p. 392

## ABSTRACT

The subject of this work is the manifestations of the god Anubis through the iconography and literary of the pharaonic period (3000 - 31 BCE). The reason I chose this topic is that the canid-headed god always fascinated me and drove my imagination, and as a postgraduate student, I wanted to know and explore his story.

Although there are many gaps in the origin of the god, the only certainty is that it comes from the long-term observation of the nocturnal/carnivorous animals, a subject that we will discuss in Chapter 1. In this chapter, we will mention, the other canid-headed gods of the Egyptian pantheon, like Wepwawet, Duamutef etc. In addition, we will introduce Anubis and his history from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period.

Thereupon, through the iconography, we will state the human relations with the canidae family during the Predynastic Period and how this relationship was a precursor to the Anubis's cult. Furthermore, we will report the variety of Anubis manifestations associated with the funerary and rebirth contexts (the judgement of the dead, mummification etc), as also his postures and gestures (recumbent, standing, enthroned etc.), and make an attempt to interpret them.

Subsequently, we will try to decipher the roles of Anubis from the literary (PT, CT, BD etc.). From the many epithets that are attached to Anubis, we will choose the most characteristic for their interpretation, which is part of god's role in the Egyptian world (like "*he who in the place of embalming*", "*lord of the sacerd land*").

Afterwards, we will mention the priesthood and we will cite verses from the Egyptian literary that include them in the religious context of Anubis. In the process the temples and shrines dedicated to the god will be mentioned, as well as the cemeteries associated with the canidae family. At the same time, before drawing conclusions, we will present the various instruments used in rituals, such as the "*Opening of the Mouth*", as well as the festivals in honor of the god.

The bibliography on Anubis is not great, but many books generally refer to him, but do not specialize in the study of the god, except maybe the research of Terence Duquesne. Many of them mention the same details or little more about the god. We tried not to concentrate on the general facts that are known, apart from a small reference to them, and we emphasized in the categorization and interpretation of his iconography giving examples through the findings of

Pharaonic art. We avoided talking about those subjects that we did not have an elementary bibliography. The publication that was used for the PT was that of Allen and for CT was that of Faulkner. The photographs of this thesis are from books, archaeological magazines, museums and distinct sites, such as Osirisnet.

## ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Το θέμα της παρούσας διπλωματικής είναι οι υλοποιήσεις του θεού Άνουβη μέσα από την εικονογραφία και τη κειμενογραφία της Φαραωνικής Περιόδου (3000 – 31 π.Χ.). Ο λόγος που διάλεξα αυτό το θέμα είναι ότι πάντα ο κυνόμορφος θεός με ενθουσίαζε και διοχέτευε τη φαντασία μου, με αποτέλεσμα, πλέον ως μεταπτυχιακή φοιτήτρια να θέλω να μάθω και να ερευνήσω την ιστορία του.

Παρόλο που υπάρχουν πολλά κενά σχετικά με την προέλευση του, το πιο σίγουρό είναι ότι η καταγωγή του θεού εντοπίζεται στη μακροχρόνια παρατήρηση των νυχτόβιων/σαρκοφάγων ζώων, ένα θέμα το οποίο θα μελετήσουμε στο Κεφάλαιο 1. Σε αυτό το κεφάλαιο θα αναφερθούμε στους κυνόμορφους θεούς από το Αιγυπτιακό πάνθεον, όπως ο Werwawet, ο Duamutef κτλ. Επιπλέον θα παρουσιάσουμε το Άνουβη και την ιστορία του από το Παλαιό Βασίλειο έως την Πτολεμαϊκή Περίοδο.

Έπειτα, μέσα από την εικονογραφία του, θα κάνουμε λόγο για τη σχέση μεταξύ των ανθρώπων και της οικογένειας των κυνίδων κατά τη διάρκεια της Προδυναστικής Περιόδου, και πώς αυτή η σχέση συντέλεσε προπομπός της λατρείας του Άνουβη. Επιπλέον θα κατηγοριοποιήσουμε της διάφορες υλοποιήσεις του θεού σε ταφικό και αναγενιασιακό πλαίσιο (κρίση των νεκρών, μουμιοποίηση), καθώς και τις στάσεις και τις χειρονομίες (ανακεκλιμένη, όρθια, ένθρονη κτλ) και θα προσπαθήσουμε να τις ερμηνεύσουμε.

Στη συνέχεια θα προσπαθήσουμε να αποκρυπτογραφήσουμε τους ρόλους του Άνουβη μέσα από τις γραπτές πηγές (ΠΚ, ΚΣ, ΒΝ κτλ). Από τα πολλά επίθετα που προσκωλλούνται στον Άνουβη θα επιλέξουμε τα πιο χαρακτηριστικά με σκοπό την ερμηνεία τους, η οποία εντάσσεται στο ρόλο που είχε ο θεός στον Αιγυπτιακό κόσμο (*«αυτός που είναι στη μουμιοποίηση», «ο άρχοντας της ιερής περιοχής»*).

Κατόπιν, θα παρουσιάσουμε τους ιερείς της αρχαίας Αιγύπτου και θα αναφέρουμε στοίχους της αιγυπτιακής κειμενογραφίας που τους εντάσσουν στο θρησκευτικό πλαίσιο του Άνουβη. Στην πορεία θα γίνει μνεία για τους ναούς και τα ιερά που ήταν αφιερωμένα στο θεό, καθώς και τα νεκροταφεία που



συσχετίζονταν με την οικογένεια των κυνίδων. Συγχρόνως, πριν προβούμε σε συμπεράσματα, θα παρουσιάσουμε τα διάφορα εργαλεία που χρησιμοποιούνταν στις τελετουργίες, όπως η τελετή «*Ανοίγματος του Στόματος*», καθώς και τα φεστιβαλ προς τιμήν του θεού.

Η βιβλιογραφία σχετικά με τον Άνουβη δεν είναι μεγάλη, αλλά πολλά βιβλία τον αναφέρουν σε ευρύτερο πλαίσιο, αλλά δεν εμβαθύνουν στη μελέτη του θεού, εκτός ίσως από την έρευνα του Terence Duquesne. Πολλά από αυτά αναφέρουν τα ίδια, ενώ άλλα προσθέτουν κάποια στοιχεία παραπάνω. Στην παρούσα διπλωματική προσπαθήσαμε να μην επικεντρωθούμε στα γενικά στοιχεία που είναι γνωστά, πέρα από μια μικρή αναφορά, αλλά να δώσουμε έμφαση στην κατηγοροποίηση και ερμηνεία της εικονογραφίας του, με παραδείγματα από τη Φαραωνική τέχνη. Αποφύγαμε να ασχοληθούμε με θέματα για τα οποία δεν είχαμε μια στοιχειώδη βιβλιογραφία. Η έκδοση που χρησιμοποιήθηκε για τα ΠΚ είναι του Allen και για τα ΚΣ του Faulkner. Οι φωτογραφίες της διπλωματικής προέρχονται, από βιβλία, αρχαιολογικά περιοδικά, διπλωματικές, καθώς και από εκκεκριμένα sites, όπως το Osirisnet.

## 1. CANIDS AND THE CANID-HEADED DIVINITIES

### 1.1 Canids and Canids' Cult

Searching and studying separately the Egyptian gods and goddesses, among the many manifestations, we can track animal's behavior into the same animal in which each god is portrayed. This is one of many disaggregations between the variety of ancient religions. In the Mediterranean and Near East world most of the deities had been humanized, but Egyptians gave to their gods animal's hypostasis or a combination of animal and human forms, and only in some cases they portrayed them in fully human form. Consequently, the importance of the animal's divine aspect can be tracked in many mummified animals as in burial sites across the land of Egypt. Likewise, the P.T. mention that animals could accuse the king if he mistreated them<sup>5</sup>, giving in animals the power over the king and treating them as equal to him.

We are not sure when the connection between human and animal happened, but it might have had occurred in the early stage of domestication when the animals were pure and untouched by the human's control. However, the domestication of animals started thousands of years before, using each one of them for a different purpose, bovines in aquiculture, sheep for food etc. dogs for several purposes: companion, guardians, herders<sup>6</sup>. It is generally considered that the dog<sup>7</sup> was the first domesticated animal<sup>8</sup>. His domestication occurred in the Late Upper Palaeolithic (ca. 16.000 BCE)<sup>9</sup>. Other research suggests even earlier dates as 24.000<sup>10</sup> or 33.500 BCE in Russia<sup>11</sup>. In the early stage of domestication it is difficult to distinguish the different canid species, because they shared the same morphological characteristics, therefore it is hard to understand if they were tamed or not<sup>12</sup>. However, after few generations the establishment of species became more secured, because of the rapid morphological changes. In tamed animals, the evolution happened sooner than in the those which were not<sup>13</sup>.

From Merimbe Bani Salame in Egypt comes one of the earliest evidence of a fully domesticated dog, dated in 4800 BCE<sup>14</sup>. The Canidae family<sup>15</sup>, briefly, had a

---

<sup>5</sup> Rice, 2006, p. 14

<sup>6</sup> Rice, 2006, p. 2

<sup>7</sup> Gray wolf (*Canis Lupus*) perhaps is the ancestor of the dog Larson, Karlsson, & Perri, 2012, p. 8878

<sup>8</sup> Larson, Karlsson, & Perri, 2012, p. 8878

<sup>9</sup> Perri, 2016, p. 1

<sup>10</sup> Rice, 2006, p.

<sup>11</sup> Perri, 2016, p. 1

<sup>12</sup> Larson, Karlsson, & Perri, 2012, p. 8871

<sup>13</sup> Rice, 2006, p. 3

<sup>14</sup> Rice, 2006, p. 11

close association with the Egyptians and their importance can be verified from various depictions in art or from the tombs dedicated to them.

The dog as a companion, in contrast to other animals, carries names, and some of names are delivered to us: “*Brave One*”, “*Reliable One*”, “*Good Watcher*”<sup>16</sup>, etc., and most of the time are represented as a tame animal in hunting scenes or frequently under the chairs, as a guardian and protector. Herodotus wrote that “...where a dog has died, the head and the whole body are shaven” (Herodotus 2.67) proving the importance of dog in the Egyptian society<sup>17</sup>. In Predynastic Period tamed dogs are showed being suckled by wild ones<sup>18</sup>, maybe as the new-political thought of the establishment and unity that will occur in the following years, passing through the wild life and validation to harmony.

Animal’s cult was diminished in the vast length of the Egyptian history, but was increased again during the Late Period, maybe as a restoration to the old religion or as an atonement for the detachment of the previous years, gaining the appeasement of the gods<sup>19</sup>. In the early years the importance of the animals can be tracked down from one primal example: the Cities Palette (or Libyan Palette) at Abydos dated from Predynastic Period (5500-3000 BCE)<sup>20</sup>. The one side of the palette shows, oxes, donkeys, rams, on the opposite side seven fortified cities are carved, and above them is their patron animal. This palette is important because it depicts the divided Egypt with its local rulers, in the form of lion, scorpion, falcon, each one holding a hoe, a symbol of foundation or destruction of the city-enemies. In addition, this palette, we can say with caution, outlines the connection’s dawn between animals and gods. The Cities Palette holds another major historical moment; it is considered as one of the first writing documentation, since the fortified cities are a group of hieroglyphics, which bears the names of the cities.

Animals’ mummification existed from the Predynastic Period and can be distinguished in four categories<sup>21</sup>:

---

<sup>15</sup> Throughout the Egyptian iconography, it is difficult to identify, if Anubis is portrayed as a jackal or as a dog so here we will affiliate the god with the general Canidae family and we refer to him as canid-headed god. However, even the ancient Egyptians did not always distinguish the Canidae species, as they did with other animals.

<sup>16</sup> Houlihan, 2001, p. 229

<sup>17</sup> Herodotus, 1920

<sup>18</sup> Baines, 1993, p. 66

<sup>19</sup> Nicholson, 2005, p. 49

<sup>20</sup> El-Shahawy & Atiya, 2005, p. 20

<sup>21</sup> Ikram, 2015, pp. 1-15

- Pet mummy: a pet usually buried with its master in the tomb, in order to be with him/her in the Afterlife; it was carefully mummified, buried in separate coffin, or sometimes shared the same coffin with its master.
- Food/victual mummy: was a mummified animal offering as an eternal food supply of the deceased to the Afterlife.
- Sacred mummy: was a chosen animal, which was considered as the manifestation of a god; when the animal died, it had a rooyal burial and ceremony.
- Votive mummy: was a prayers' donation to the gods, it was stored by a priest and when a year passed a festival took place in which all the donations were buried and sealed until the forthcoming festival.

Furthermore, mummified animals can be located throughout Egypt; individual burials were excavated at Badari, Deir Tasa such as goats and sheep dated to the Badarian Culture<sup>22</sup>. Dog cemeteries can be found at Asyut, Abydos, Saqqara, etc. devoted to Anubis, Werwawet and Khentamentiu (see Chapter 5).

Ancient Egyptians were acquainted with canid animals, and this familiarization led to the creation of different canid gods with funerary aspects.

## 1.2 Canid-headed Divinities

### 1.2.1. Wepwawet

Wepwawet (Figure 1) was a funerary deity like Anubis, featured as canid with white or gray head. Beyond his funerary role, Wepwawet carries also a warlike concept. This thought comes from his frequent depictions atop a standard (the shd-shd emblem)<sup>23</sup> accompanied with uraeus, which is in front of the king<sup>24</sup>. This emblem might also be connected to the ascension of a monarch to the sky or the royal placenta<sup>25</sup>. His name, means “*Opener of the Ways*”, referring to his terrestrial victories and to his funerary role in the Underworld<sup>26</sup>.

From the inscription, dated back to Old Kingdom, Wepwawet was born in the shrine (pr-nw) of Wadjet<sup>27</sup>. One of the first representations of Wepwawet comes from the Narmer Palette. Wepwawet is on a standard, which is held by a bearer. The other three bearers hold falcons and an animal skin (the placenta). These bearers represent the areas ruled by Narmer. Wepwawet is often depicted with a

<sup>22</sup> Daine, 1999, p. 9

<sup>23</sup> Wilkinson, 2003, p. 192

<sup>24</sup> Houser-Wegner, 2001, p. 497

<sup>25</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 162

<sup>26</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 162

<sup>27</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 162

grey<sup>28</sup> or white head<sup>29</sup>, perhaps with this color ancient Egyptians wanted to verify his species. He is the lord of Assuyt (Lycopolis by the Greeks) the 13<sup>th</sup> nome of Egypt and other centers of his cult can be found at Quban, el-Hagarsa Memphis and Sais<sup>30</sup>.

In the PT Wepwawet is called “Ra”, who arose from the horizon to bring the light of dawn<sup>31</sup>. In the later years, he is considered as a companion of the deceased to the underworld with his assistance in the “*Opening of the Mouth*” ritual<sup>32</sup>. On Shabaqo Stone (25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty), which is a copy from the Pyramid Era, Wepwawet is identified with the pharaoh, through his connection with Horus<sup>33</sup>.

### 1.2.2. Khentamentiu

His name means “*Foremost of the Westerners*”, in which the last is referring to the dead. The earliest entitled example of the god comes from the necropolis’ seals of Den (Figure 2) and Qaa at Abydos, in which the first temple for the god was built. Wilkinson suggests that was already an epithet for Osiris, but DuQuesne says that Khentamentiu was first the epithet Anubis<sup>34</sup>. The opinion of DuQuesne is most likely correct, if we consider that for both gods, the determinative hieroglyphic is the recumbent canid, a determinative that fully characterizes Anubis.

Khentamentiu was the funerary god of Abydos, and as a single god is attested from the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>35</sup>. In the Middle Kingdom (2055-1795 BCE) we can see the name of Khentamentiu used both as a single god, as an epithet to Osiris, and only few examples of offering formulas report separately the two gods<sup>36</sup>. After the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Khentamentiu, as a god, is fully connected with Osiris, but as epithet is also still used for Anubis in all Dynastic Period to the Roman Age<sup>37</sup>.

### 1.2.3. Duamutef

His name means “*He who praise his mother*”<sup>38</sup> (Figure 3) and is one of the four sons of Horus (the other sons are Imsety, Hapy, Qebhsenuf), which are worshiped from the Old Kingdom to Roman Era. He and his brothers were

---

<sup>28</sup> Wilkinson, 2003, p. 191

<sup>29</sup> Houser-Wegner, 2001, pp. 496-497

<sup>30</sup> Houser-Wegner, 2001, p. 497

<sup>31</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 163

<sup>32</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 163

<sup>33</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 162 and Wilkinson, 1999, p. 257

<sup>34</sup> DuQuesne, 2005, p. 28

<sup>35</sup> Hays, 2011, p. 8

<sup>36</sup> Smith, 2017, p. 241

<sup>37</sup> Smith, 2017, p. 243

<sup>38</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 151

portrayed on the the canopic jars, where the organs of a mummy were placed; in Duamutef's jar the lungs<sup>39</sup> or stomach<sup>40</sup> were placed.

From the Spell 151a of the Book of the Dead we learn the role of Duamutef, as also of his brothers:

*“Words spoken by Duamutef. I am your son, Osiris, I am your son Horus, your beloved I have come to rescue my father Osiris from his assailant. I place him under your legs, eternally”*<sup>41</sup>

#### 1.2.4. Seth

Seth<sup>42</sup> (Figure 4) is the god of chaos and the god of foreigners<sup>43</sup>. Having these aspects in mind it is scrutable why ancient Egyptians chose him as the main villain in their religions. Chaotic forces and mostly foreigners are considered as the enemies of the Egypt, those that bring disorder and unbalance. This maleficent aspect of Seth can be seen from his very first breath, where he tore apart his mother Nut to come to life<sup>44</sup> at Ombos-Nagada region (Upper Egypt).

Therefore, Seth killed Osiris and fought with Horus, for the domination of the world. While fighting each other, Seth and Horus, the first lost the semen of his testicles and the other the light of his eyes<sup>45</sup>. At the end, Horus won over the battle, and became lord of Egypt. Leaving back the conflict, Seth lived with Ra, as his son, and became the god of thunder and storms<sup>46</sup>. Accompanied by Ra he fought against Apophis. Finally, we see Seth as the strength that lives in pharaoh, and called *“Seth of Nubet”*<sup>47</sup>.

#### 1.2.5. Anupet

Her name means *“Opener of the Ways”* and in early dynastic years Anupet was the title of goddess Neith<sup>48</sup>. She was the female counterpart of Anubis<sup>49</sup> and she was with Wepwawet, the protector goddess of Lycopolis<sup>50</sup>.

In iconography from the Ptolemaic Period, Anupet (Figure 5) carried knives for the protection of Osiris and generally the deceased<sup>51</sup> and in her head had the

<sup>39</sup> Dodson, 2001, p. 562

<sup>40</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 150

<sup>41</sup> Dd mdw jn dwA mwt.f jnk sA.k wsjr ink sA.k Hr mry.kjj.n.j nD.j jt.j wsjr m a jr nk.f dj.j sw Xr rdwy.ky Dt. (UCL, 2002), Renouf & Naville, 1904, p. 311

<sup>42</sup> It is a debate about his animal form. It might be a jackal, pig, donkey, hippopotamus etc. Hart, 2005, p. 145

<sup>43</sup> te Velde, 2001, p. 269

<sup>44</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 144

<sup>45</sup> te Velde, 2001, p. 269

<sup>46</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 144

<sup>47</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 143

<sup>48</sup> Budge, 1904, p. 454

<sup>49</sup> Rice, 2006, p. 152 and Pinch, 2002, p. 104

<sup>50</sup> Müller, 1918, p. 131, Rice, 2006, p. 152

symbol of Anubis<sup>52</sup>. A fine representation of Anupet comes from the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, alongside king Menkaure and the Goddess Hathor. She is in human form having a standard with a feather on her head. The standard depicts a recumbent jackal<sup>53</sup>. The feather may be used to distinguish Anupet's image from that of Anubis.

### 1.2.6. Wepiu

He might be a solar god associated with Ra. The name Wepiu means “*Opener*”, “*Diviner*” or “*Judge*”<sup>54</sup>. In the PT translation of Allen<sup>55</sup>, Wepiu carried the name Parter (wꜣꜣꜣ) and thought to be an alternative aspect of Wepwawet. Wepiu is associated with Abydos and Heliopolis<sup>56</sup> and some times is identified with the dead king<sup>57</sup>. He is attested in few Afterlife Books, like the Book of Gates, Amduat and Book of Day<sup>58</sup>.

### 1.2.7. Sed

Sed's early evidence track back to Palermo Stone (5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty), where he is attested as the theophoric name of the king, a characteristic that lasted until Middle Kingdom. After that he was replaced by Wepwawet<sup>59</sup>. He was associated with the kingship and the Sed festival might be named after the god's name<sup>60</sup>. His epithet xnty-wsrt.f “*He who is foremost of his court*” suggests his duty as judge<sup>61</sup>.

### 1.2.8. The Souls of Pe and Nekkhen

The Souls of Pe and Nekkhen symbolized the old rulers of Buto and Heliopolis. In representation, the Souls of Pe was depicted with the head of falcon, and the Souls of Nekkhen (Figure 6) with the head of canid. The most known illustration of them is in the henu (=praise) posture greeting the newborn sun in the sky or celebrating the animated soul of the king during the “Recitation of the Glorifications” ritual. This posture combines the jubilation and rejoicing

<sup>51</sup> DuQuesne, 2007, p. 20

<sup>52</sup> Rice, 2006, p. 152

<sup>53</sup> Rice, 2006, p. 152

<sup>54</sup> DuQuesne, 2007, p. 398

<sup>55</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 439

<sup>56</sup> DuQuesne, 2007, p. 398 and Allen, 2005, p. 439

<sup>57</sup> Simpson, 2003, p. 274

<sup>58</sup> DuQuesne, 2007, p. 399

<sup>59</sup> Wilkinson, 2003, p. 190

<sup>60</sup> DuQuesne, 2007, p. 401 and Wilkinson, 2003, p. 190


<sup>61</sup> DuQuesne, 2007, pp. 401,402

gesture<sup>62</sup>. These ancestral kings supported the living king and served the deceased king by helping him to ladder in the sky<sup>63</sup>.

### 1.2.9. Anubis

“*Lord of the sacred place*”, “*he who is in the place of embalming*”, “*he who is upon his mountain*”, are some of the many different epithets of the god Anubis.

The origin of the canid-headed god is possible to be found in all canid animals, which were caught searching the tombs to eat. Consequently, for the protection of the decomposing bodies of the beloved ones<sup>64</sup>, Egyptians started to build their earliest tombs. Due to the fact that the ancient Egyptians observed the behavior of these animals, it might be possible to think them as devourers of the dead’s soul. We do not know exactly when, but already in the Predynastic Period the Egyptians had embraced their unique philosophy of the preservation of the deceased’s body. Therefore, it is unknown whether in the early stages of their worship they actually feared Anubis<sup>65</sup>, as some colleagues believe, or not. The only thing that is certain is that if they ever feared Anubis, this fear was never delivered to us. However, Anubis, or the idea of his worship, might had started during the Early Dynastic Period (3000-2686 BCE) and then arosed and established steadily in the years that came.

It is remarkable that his name might come from the verb  (= jnp), which means “*to decay*”<sup>66</sup>. This origin of his name is not entirely accepted, and colleagues have provided different meanings, like, “*child*”, “*young prince*”, or even to “*lie down (on the stomach)*”<sup>67</sup>. Examples of the vocal pronunciation of the god’s name was attested in the beginning of 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>68</sup>, but one thing is certain, if the origin of his name (“*to decay*”, or “*to lie down (on the stomach)*”) is correct, it will fully correlate with his manifestations and roles. In addition, from Jumilhac Papyrus<sup>69</sup>, Anubis was named by Isis after the words wind for j, water for n and Gebel for p. Regarding to Isis’ relationship with the name of Anubis, as also to the connection of Anubis and Horus, the papyrus mentioned

---

<sup>62</sup> Wilkinson., 1992, p. 17

<sup>63</sup> Wilkinson, 2003, p. 89

<sup>64</sup> The protection of the dead became one of their daily life activities and, during a time when other reces, as Greeks, Romans and Mesopotamian races, feared death, Egyptians embraced this concept to their upcoming religion. Faith in the afterlife, as also the power of the universe were equally important to their worship, which was associated with the natural environment and its elements.

<sup>65</sup> Evans, 2008, p. 19

<sup>66</sup> Doxey, 2001, p. 97

<sup>67</sup> Willockx, 2007, p. 40

<sup>68</sup> DuQuesne, 2005, p. 75, Dawood, 1998, p. 34 and El-Khadragy, 2001, p. 191

<sup>69</sup> Vandier, 1962, pp. 102-103, 117



that when the goddess found Horus in the swamps of Akhmim she asked “*Is it he?*” (=jn pw); These words constructed the name of Anubis meaning “*royal child*”. Ra also claims Anubis naming: “*As for this one, it is I who created his name of Anubis*”; further it is mentioned that Anubis was named by Seth. Furthermore, the black color of a decomposing body became a symbol of the Afterlife, with roots back to the Niles’ fertility silt<sup>70</sup>, and connected with the circle and animation of environment.

A problem that scientists come across is about the nature of Anubis’ animal, that even, the ancients knew his form was some kind of mystery: “*Pepi Neferkare, whose form is secret as Anubis on his belly, for you have received your face of a jackal!*”<sup>71</sup> (N 412). The form of Anubis is problematic due to the fact that the researchers could identify more than one species from the Canidae family<sup>72</sup>. Head, muzzle, sometimes even tail are correspondingly from foxes, jackals and domestic dogs<sup>73</sup>. Additionally, the ears resemble to foxes’ or jackals’ and his body shape with domestic dogs’. These characteristics from various species makes it difficult to recognize which is the one prevailing species of Anubis’ animal. This hybrid form<sup>74</sup> of Anubis maybe was created to establish his gruesome activities and to amplify his image as the god of the underworld, since all these species have something in common, they are scavengers.

During the Ptolemaic Period the ancient Greeks considered Anubis a dog and named the god’s nome Cynopolis, meanwhile thought Wepwawet as a wolf, therefore his nome was named Lycopolis. Diodorus Sicilus wrote about those gods naming Anubis as the one who wears the dog’s skin, and Macedon (Wepwawet) wears the wolf’s skin: “*τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἄνουβιν περιθέσθαι κυνῆν, τὸν δὲ Μακεδόνα λύκου προτομήν: ἀφ’ ἧς αἰτίας καὶ τὰ ζῷα ταῦτα τιμηθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις*” (Diod. 1.18.1)<sup>75</sup>. As mentioned above, the real nature of the god is not yet established, but the Greeks with their identification of the god as a dog formed the god Hermanubis (Hermes and Anubis), during the cultural interaction between the two civilizations.

Anubis is identified in many passages with the king’s face and with other of his body parts and through that he is established as an important god. Regarding the

---

<sup>70</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 25

<sup>71</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 277

<sup>72</sup> There are seven different species for canidae family that lives in Egypt: the golden jackal, the African wild dog, the wolf, the Blanford's fox, the fennec fox, the red fox, the Ruppell's sand fox Hoath, 2009, pp. 69-81 and Evans, 2008, p. 22

<sup>73</sup> Evans, 2008, p. 18

<sup>74</sup> Evans, 2008, p. 22

<sup>75</sup> Bekker, Ludwig, & Vogel, n.d.

face, this might be referring to the moment of death, before the resurrection took place and the deceased became a manifestation of Anubis, or, in other passages Horus<sup>76</sup>, Wepwawet<sup>77</sup>, etc. From the passages of Jumilhac papyrus Thoth, Horus, Osiris and other gods are the manifestation of Anubis; this might have happened due to the storytelling and not actually because of the existed notion of that time.

From other Pepi I's passage (P 520)<sup>78</sup>, the king is identified as Osiris, Anubis and Milk Goddess (Hesat?) "*Osiris Pepi, you should not go away in those eastern lands, but you should go away into those western lands, in the path of the Sun's followers [...]. Since you are the one who prevents them from slipping from within your arms, you should take hold of them, in your identity of the north wind; they will take account of you, in your identity of Anubis; and the gods will not go down against you, in your identity of the Milk-Goddess*". It is very intriguing the point that both Hesat and Osiris were regarded as the parents of Anubis.

Whereas in CT, Spell 185 is Anubis: "*What I doubly detest, I will not eat. Faeces is my detestation, and I will not eat; I will not consume filth, because I am Anubis, Bull of his Side (sic)*"<sup>79</sup>.

Having established the general notion of the creation of the god, another problem we face\_ is his parenting. It is claimed that Anubis was the son of different gods and goddesses, Osiris, Seth or Ra, for the fatherhood, Hesat<sup>80</sup>, Bastet, Nephthys<sup>81</sup>, for the motherhood. Anubis is mostly considered the son of Osiris and Nephthys, information coming from 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty stela<sup>82</sup>. Plutarch wrote about Anubis's birth and life: "*Γεννώσης τῆς Νέφθουος τὸν Ἄνουβιν Ἴσις ὑποβάλλεται· Νέφθουος γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ ἀφανές, Ἴσις δὲ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν καὶ φανερόν, ὁ δὲ τούτων ὑποσαύων καὶ καλούμενος ὀρίζων κύκλος ἐπίκοινος ὦν ἀμφοῖν Ἄνουβις κέκληται καὶ κυνὶ τὸ εἶδος ἀπεικάζεται· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κύων χρῆται τῇ ὄψει νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ὁμοίως. καὶ τοιαύτην ἔχειν δοκεῖ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Ἄνουβις, οἷαν ἢ Ἐκάτη παρ' Ἑλλησι, χθόνιος ὦν ὁμοῦ καὶ Ὀλύμπιος. ἐνίοις δὲ δοκεῖ Κρόνος ὁ Ἄνουβις εἶναι· διὸ πάντα τίκτων ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κύων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχεν. ἔστι δ' οὖν τοῖς σεβομένοις τὸν Ἄνουβιν*

---

<sup>76</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 45

<sup>77</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 102

<sup>78</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 184

<sup>79</sup> Faulkner, 1973, p. 155

<sup>80</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 24

<sup>81</sup> Budge, 1904, p. 261, Doxey, 2001, p. 98 and Hart, 2005, p. 28

<sup>82</sup> Willockx, 2007, p. 54

ἀπόρρητόν τι, καὶ πάλαι μὲν τὰς μεγίστας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τιμὰς ὁ κύων ἔσχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Καμβύσου τὸν Ἄπιν ἀνελόνητος καὶ ῥίψαντος οὐδὲν προσῆλθεν οὐδ' ἐγεύσατο τοῦ σώματος ἀλλ' ἢ μόνος ὁ κύων, ἀπόλεσε τὸ πρῶτος εἶναι καὶ μάλιστα τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ἐτέρων ζώων”<sup>83</sup>. These verses cite the downfall of Anubis; he is connected, apart from Hermes, with Hecate and Cronos. Hecate and Hermes as psychopompos, are considered cthonic deities, therefore the connection of Anubis with these deities is a fair analogy. The connection of Anubis with Cronus might have happened for two reasons: A. Cronus was the rebellion son of Uranus, who won his father and became the ruler of cosmos. B. Seth, the god of chaos, transformed as Anubis in many passages of Jumilhac Papyrus and in other passages Anubis had a Sethian<sup>84</sup> aspect. Although the Jumilhac Papyrus was composed in the Ptolemaic Period, it might be a synthesis of ancient Egyptian myths, traditions and legends.

Another known Anubis's relative is his daughter, Qebehut<sup>85</sup>, the one who liberated the deceased's soul with water.

As already mentioned above, other canid divinities had the same aspect with Anubis and many colleagues consider them as the early manifestation or epithets of the god. Whether it is true or not, Anubis prevailed over them and during the Old Kingdom became the lord of the Underworld equal to Osiris. The Htp-dj-nswt (Chart 1)<sup>86</sup> formula attested both for Anubis and Osiris, but the ancients started to focus more to Osiris's cult and in the end Anubis joined the Osirian myth<sup>87</sup> and became the first embalmer, mummified Osiris, who was killed by his own brother, Seth: “Anubis [came] from Busiris. He has embalmed Osiris in the Place of Purification”<sup>88</sup>. The reason of this change might be found in the need for a divine origin of the pharaoh. Therefore, the slaughtered Osiris, the dead who came back to life, and Horus his mighty offspring gave a strong background

---

<sup>83</sup> Πλούταρχος, 2003, σσ. 221-223. Translation by the author: “When Nephthys gave birth to Anubis; Isis treated him, as he was her own. Nephthys is that which is beneath the earth and invisible, Isis that which is above the earth and visible and that which touches these, the circle horizon, is common to both, called Anubis, and represented in the form of dog; because the dog can see both in the night and in the day alike. And for this reason, Anubis is thought, among Egyptians, has such power as Hecate for the Greeks, since at the same time he is cthonic and Olympic (deity). Some are thought that Anubis is Cronus; And because the dog gestation (κύων) everything of himself, took the name of “dog” (κυνός). Those who venerated Anubis, was a mystery and in the ancient times in Egypt, the dog was highly honoured. But, when Cambyses had kill Apis and scattered him away, nothing came near the body or taste from the body only the dog, thereby he lost his supremacy and his honours among the other animals”.

<sup>84</sup> Vandier, 1962, p. 96

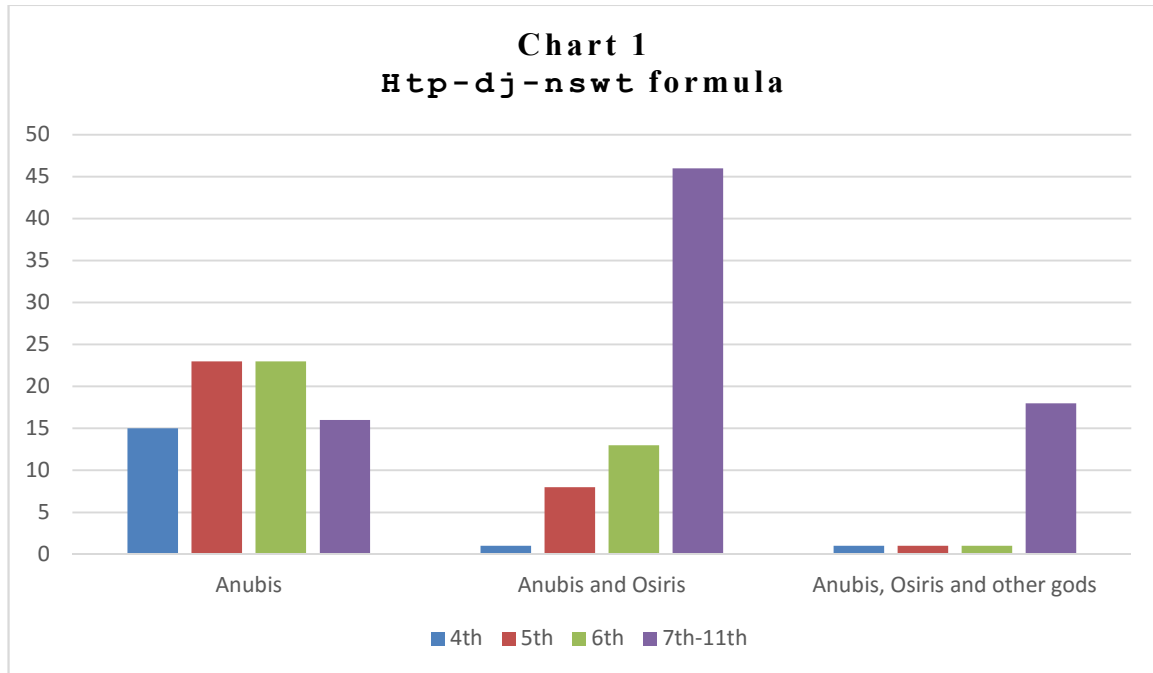
<sup>85</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 158

<sup>86</sup> Murray, Milne, & Crum, 1904, p. 34 and Dawood, 1998

<sup>87</sup> (Pinch, 2002, p. 104)

<sup>88</sup> Brooklyn Papyrus, Column X, O'Rourke, 2002, p. 188

to Osiris, a history with a beginning and an end, necessary for their worship and its anthropocentric aspect.



However, in the vast history of Egypt, Anubis gained a place in people’s mind, having an active role in the ritual of the “*Opening of the Mouth*”, in which the deceased could “*breathe*” again, as also in the “*Weighing of the hearts*” (see Chapter 4). The latter was the final “*gate*” between the deceased and the welfare of the Afterlife and occurred from Old Kingdom to Roman Period.

Having mysterious life and form, Anubis during the New Kingdom (1550-1069 BCE), also took part in the sequence of the king’s reborn spirit (see Chapter 2) in the *mammisi* (birth temples). In a political stage, as some colleagues think, Anubis had a rival, Bata, for the ownership of 17<sup>th</sup> nome<sup>89</sup> and the “*Tale of the Two Brothers*”, could be narrating this rivalry, ending in a concept of equality between the two gods/brothers (see Chapter 3). Source for his military aspect could be found in the Jumilhac Papyrus (Ptolemaic Period, 332-30 BCE), in which Anubis is portrayed as a warring god alongside Horus (see Chapter 3).

The Palermo Stone (5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty) mentioned the so-called “*Birth of Anubis*” that were statues which specified a ceremonial year<sup>90</sup>; temples, chapels and sanctuaries devoted to Anubis found at Saqqara, Kahun, Deir el-Bahari etc. and 17<sup>th</sup> nome<sup>91</sup> (vicinity of Samalut, Cynopolis by the Greeks)<sup>92</sup> of Upper Egypt was dedicated to him.

<sup>89</sup> Simpson, 2003, p. 92 and Willockx, 2007, p. 43

<sup>90</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 25

<sup>91</sup> Khentamentiou’s town was the 8<sup>th</sup> (Abydos) and Wepwawet’s was the 13<sup>th</sup> nome (Asyut), Hart, 2005, p. 106.

Lastly, the name of Anubis is attested as part of personal names (theophorous names) and was connecting the individual with the deity<sup>93</sup>. It also gives us information on the prevailing cult of the period<sup>94</sup> and examples regarding Anubis can be found from Old Kingdom, Anubisemanekh<sup>95</sup>, Anubishotep<sup>96</sup>, Padinpu<sup>97</sup> etc.

---

<sup>92</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 107

<sup>93</sup> Pinch, 2002, p. 9

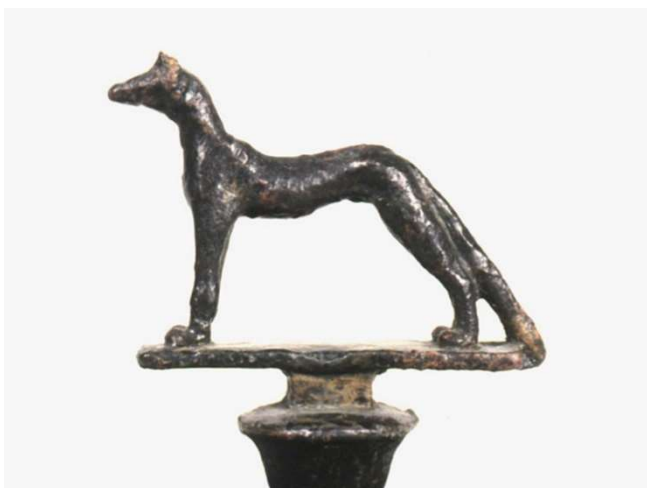
<sup>94</sup> Wilkinson, 1999, p. 226

<sup>95</sup> Clagett, 1989, p. 152

<sup>96</sup> Clagett, 1989, p. 173

<sup>97</sup> Labudek, 2010, p. 109

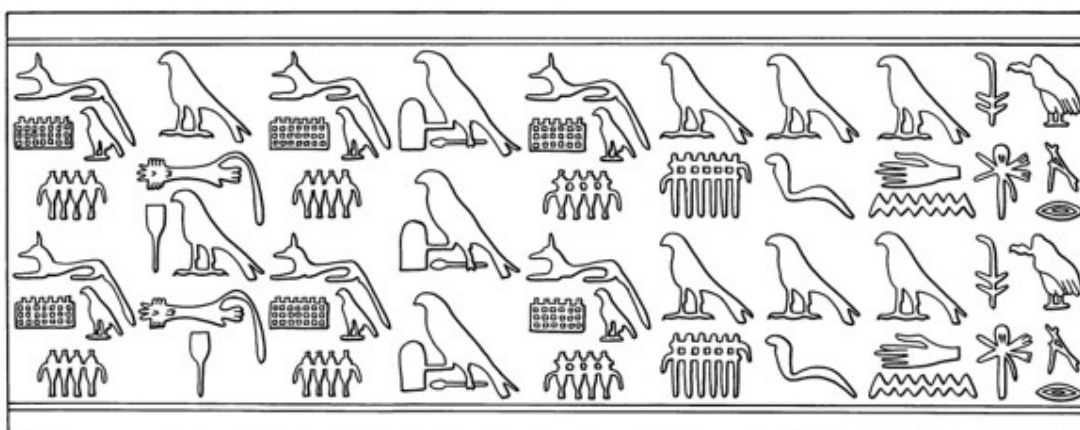
## FIGURES



**Figure 1. Wepwawet on standard**

© Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Hispania.

Inventory number: 16062

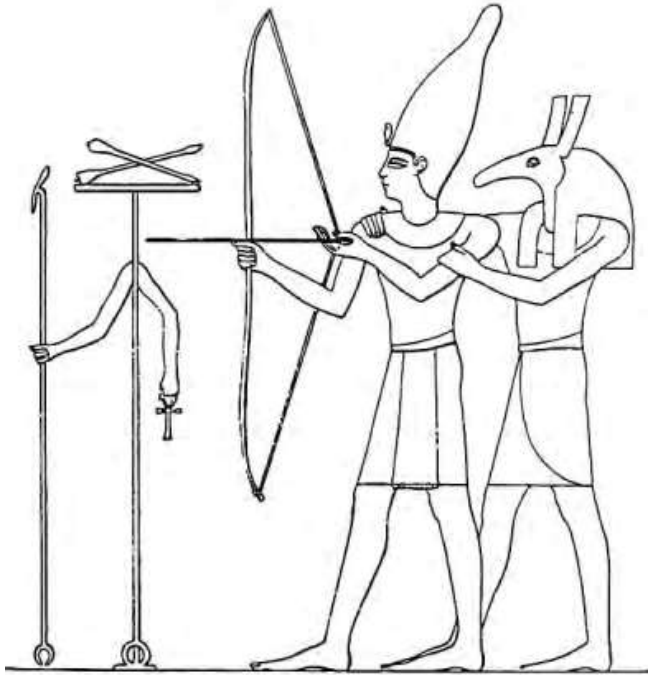


**Figure 2. Den's seal** © Wengrow, 2006, p. 132



**Figure 3. Duamutef and Imsety on canopic box**

© from (TGEM, n.d.) Museo Archaeologico Nazionale/Museo Egizio Museum. Inventory number: 2184



**Figure 4. Thutmose III taught by Set the archery**  
© te Velde, 2001, p. 270



**Figure 5. Statue of Hathor, Menkaure and Anupet (4th Dynasty)**  
© Cairo Museum. Inventory number: JE 46499



**Figure 6. Inherkhau in front of Souls of Nekkhen**  
© OsirisNet



## 2. THE MANIFESTATIONS OF ANUBIS THROUGH HIS ICONOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATIONS

### 2.1 Art in General

The Egyptian style in architecture, sculpture and painting was based on a series of strict laws. These laws resulted in a sense of balance and strict harmony. The Egyptian art did not change much through the years, giving us a tone of stability and a view of the conservative nature of the ancient society. All figures were constructed with the same characteristics, however the identity of each one figure can be understood by the size, color, emblems and generally by the thematic concept of the scene. For example, the pharaoh and the divinities always were depicted larger than common people were<sup>98</sup>, and the women, even if they were goddesses, were always a step behind from the male god or pharaoh.

The ancient Egyptian art can be divided into two categories:

- The two-dimensional and
- The three-dimensional

#### 2.1.1. The two-dimensional art

The two-dimensional art mainly depicted the ideal elements of an object or a figure. It was about their quintessence of things and not a faithful representation. This selection classifies the two-dimensional Egyptian art in the context of modern day's abstract art, since external physical reality is not there<sup>99</sup>. In the two-dimensional art are included both relief sculpturing and wall painting.

The Two-dimensional representation had two techniques, painting (coloring and drawing)<sup>100</sup> and the relief sculpturing (bas or raised and sunk relief)<sup>101</sup>. During the Old Kingdom (2705-2180 BCE) the artist to create a work of art, whether it was a wall painting or a relief, painted horizontal and vertical guides<sup>102</sup> to shape the scene. From the Middle Kingdom and afterwards the use of the grid technique was practiced, which was being used on the wall paintings<sup>103</sup>. In the end of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the figures were done by hand<sup>104</sup>. The use of guides or grid aimed at creating symmetry and grouping the figures. The human figure was

---

<sup>98</sup> Watts, 1998, p. 44

<sup>99</sup> Chilvers, 2009, p. 2 and Manley, 1996, p. 83

<sup>100</sup> Bryan, 2014, p. 994

<sup>101</sup> Hartwing, 2001, p. 2

<sup>102</sup> Watts, 1998, p. 38

<sup>103</sup> Hartwing, 2001, p. 2, Robins, 1997, p. 27

<sup>104</sup> Robins, 2001, p. 61, Κεκέζ, 2015, p. 21



separated in 18 squares, for the standing, as also for seating figures<sup>105</sup>, from the legs up to the head<sup>106</sup>, providing stability of body analogy. The forehead was not part of the square because there were plenty of crowns and hair accessories. In the painting, lines were used to separate the colors and to create the desirable form<sup>107</sup>. For this reason, while observing the Egyptian paintings, the intense use of the contour and the coloring is being perceived.

The relief sculpturing, most of the time, before painted was carved and smoothed with a layer of plaster<sup>108</sup>. Otherwise, if the surface was not carved before painted, the artist applied several layers of mud plaster to create a flat plane. The ancient artist was interested more in what was vital and not in what was objective<sup>109</sup> and he painted everything from their characteristic side<sup>110</sup>. Legs, arms depicted from the inner side, the head was in profile, but the torso and the eye were painted frontal. This was the typical canon and the ideal form. The figures and the scenes were placed in horizontal zones<sup>111</sup> in order to have balance, an element that stems from their own religion. Besides, we should remember that the funerary art was made in order to be seen by the gods and the deceased and not by the living.

In both bas and sunk relief the depth of engraving, was mainly 2.50 cm<sup>112</sup>, and the characteristics were always created using the bas-relief technique. Examples of the first technique have been found in the early Dynasties and already in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty the relief sculpturing was covering the temples and the tombs<sup>113</sup>. On the contrary, with the painting technique the relief sculpturing was a teamwork. One artist made the sketch, using brush and ink, another made the sculpture and someone else painted it<sup>114</sup>.

The colors were placed to give life and to contribute to the story of the scene. Through the hue of colors, one can distinguish the deity, Pharaoh and the foreigners too. Colors can also show the knowledge gained through long-term observation, as it happened in the case of the black color, which symbolizes fertility and regeneration. This symbolism derives from the deposition of the

---

<sup>105</sup> Bunson, 2002, p. 49

<sup>106</sup> Manley, 1996, pp. 82-83

<sup>107</sup> Bryan, 2014, p. 994

<sup>108</sup> Hartwing, 2001, p. 2 and James, 1985, p. 19

<sup>109</sup> Gombrich, 1952, p. 34

<sup>110</sup> Gombrich, 1952, p. 36

<sup>111</sup> Watts, 1998, p. 38

<sup>112</sup> Watts, 1998, p. 45

<sup>113</sup> Muller, 2001, p. 133

<sup>114</sup> Muller, 2001, p. 134

black fertile of Nile sludge during the flood season. Color can also indicate age and gender. Red color implies vigor, youth<sup>115</sup> and man, while the yellow or pale pink<sup>116</sup> implies the woman<sup>117</sup>.

Although the drawings seem to us as primitive artistic depictions<sup>118</sup>, it is wrong to believe that this was actually the case. It is remarkable that through the sketches of ancient Egyptians, today's scientists can identify species of animals and plants. This identification strengthens the view that they painted only what was considered important and worthwhile to give in detail.

The portraits were rigid and lacking in plasticity (especially during the Old Kingdom, 2686-2181 BCE). The power and the meaning of the scene were imprinted by the static iconography. An additional feature that helped illustrate a scene was the gesture and the posture in which each figure was depicted. The gestures in Egyptian art were standard and today we are able to understand their meaning. Thus, we can see a figure make a gesture of worshiping, summoning, praising, presenting and receiving offerings, rejoicing<sup>119</sup> and protecting.

All Pharaohs looked like each other, expressing in this way, their genealogical continuity with the divine substance, since they were the incarnation of god Horus, Ra or Atun. An exception to this rule, which did not last long, was the art developed at the Amarna Era, during the reign of Akhenaten<sup>120</sup> (18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, New Kingdom). The sense of movement and naturalism can be recognized from the art of Amarna Period. Akhenaten and his wife, Nefertiti, were portrayed very realistically and with unique characteristics. Some figures were painted frontal, others having their heads raised, overlapping, crowded and busy, giving an active role to the scene and that are far from the traditional art of the previous years.

The “rules”, which were applied in this period, were:

- Akhenaten and his wife Nefertiti portrayed with realistic and unique features.
- Figures painted in frontal or with heads raised.
- Overlapping, crowded and busy figures.

---

<sup>115</sup> Watts, 1998, p. 45

<sup>116</sup> Bryan, 2014, p. 994

<sup>117</sup> Manley, 1996, p. 83

<sup>118</sup> Gombrich, 1952, p. 42

<sup>119</sup> Watts, 1998, p. 37

<sup>120</sup> Munro, 1964, p. 21

- Women painted with dark colors<sup>121</sup>.
- The grid system was 20 squares<sup>122</sup>.

All of the above were concepts that deviated from the traditional rule of previous centuries. However, already at the time of Tutankhamen, traditional depiction returned, only to change again, in the Greek-Roman Period.

### 2.1.2 The three-dimensional art

The three-dimensional art had to do with the real world; it meant things in their true form. The three-dimensional artwork involves statues, figurines, and models.

A statue for the ancient Egyptian was the home in which the spirit of the deceased lived and was made to last forever. Therefore, it is not odd that the Egyptian word for the sculptor – one of the many – was “*he who keeps alive*”<sup>123</sup> or “*life giver*”<sup>124</sup>. The cult statues and temple decorations were the main priorities of the pharaoh<sup>125</sup> and were a massive industry that required the work of painters, metalworkers, scribes, miners<sup>126</sup> etc. In Predynastic Period, clay and mud brick were used for sculpture. After that period, they were using materials such as metals, woods, faience, and ivory<sup>127</sup>, but mostly granite and limestone<sup>128</sup>.

In general, a statue made with the grid system was destined to be seen from the side, especially if it was an animal statue. This happened for one reason: for the imitation of the hieroglyphic<sup>129</sup> sign. The figures’ back was mostly supported by pillars or slabs to be more stable and timeless<sup>130</sup>. Arms attached firmly to the body, as also the legs to the chair<sup>131</sup>.

By watching the Egyptian statues, the difference between sculpture and painting is understandable. The first was realistic and we actually see different features in the pharaoh’s portraits. The latter used standardized forms and had a narrative aspect<sup>132</sup> and the different registers provided a chronological continuum

---

<sup>121</sup> Eaverly, 2004, p. 53, Κεκές, 2015, p. 23

<sup>122</sup> Robins, 2001, p. 151, Κεκές, 2015, p. 22

<sup>123</sup> Gombrich, 1952, p. 34

<sup>124</sup> Vygus, 2015, p. 1882

<sup>125</sup> Kozloff, 2001, p. 218

<sup>126</sup> Minerals and wood had a symbolic aspect; gold was the skin of the gods and for that reason considered a divine metal. Hathor’s sacred ore was turquoise. A solar substance can be identified in red granite. Black was associated with fertility and underworld. Wood was sacred for Isis, Nun and Hathor, Kozloff, 2001, p. 219

<sup>127</sup> Kozloff, 2001, p. 219

<sup>128</sup> Bunson, 2002, p. 48

<sup>129</sup> Kozloff, 2001, p. 220

<sup>130</sup> Bunson, 2002, p. 875

<sup>131</sup> Kozloff, 2001, p. 219

<sup>132</sup> Bakir, 1967, p. 160

to the story, a beginning and an end. However, even statues had the same principals for balance and symmetry.

There were many statue categories, those of humans and human's world (royal, private statues) and those of the divine (cult, votive, guardian statues). The older example of a royal statue was the sphinx, a combination of human and animal elements<sup>133</sup>, emphasizing the importance of the king and his divine lineage. Other forms were the mummiform king<sup>134</sup>, his coronation, the offering/adoring king before the gods<sup>135</sup> and the one with a magical engraved formula<sup>136</sup>.

Many artists and different workshops can be identified by the statue's facial differences. Upper Egypt followed the traditional style and was less open to artistic innovation than Lower Egypt. However, different styles were introduced during the ruling of each pharaoh, from a pessimistic (e.g. Senwosret III, Amenemhet III) and exaggerated style (e.g. Akhenaten) to Negroid and finally, to the Greek style<sup>137</sup>.

The non-royal statues related to those of the nobles as well as to the mass production of figurines of everyday life, which did not relate to any particular person. These figurines were perhaps created either for an individual use or for a votive one. The noble's statuary had various representations but never depicted with regalia or sphinx; these two were fully associated with the king<sup>138</sup>.

The divine representation is more complex than that of the royal; deities can be depicted in fully human or animal form, half-human and half-animal. In some cases, when they are in fully human form they can be identified only by their hieroglyphic name. This difficulty also exists during the New Kingdom and afterwards, when many gods manifested themselves in the form of other gods, or manifested themselves at an older age.

The cult statues were placed in the sanctuary of the temple, and were only seen by the high priests<sup>139</sup>. The votive statues were the most common statue that archaeologists come across<sup>140</sup>, due to the fact that humanity always needs something to pray to and always has the need to be heard.

---

<sup>133</sup> Mysliwec, 2001, p. 229

<sup>134</sup> Mysliwec, 2001, p. 230

<sup>135</sup> Mysliwec, 2001, p. 234

<sup>136</sup> Mysliwec, 2001, p. 232

<sup>137</sup> Mysliwec, 2001, p. 235

<sup>138</sup> Tefnin, 2001, p. 236

<sup>139</sup> Kozloff, 2001, p. 242

<sup>140</sup> Kozloff, 2001, p. 243

During the reign of a king, the facial features of the gods were changed according to his own characteristics, but sometimes, when the reign was short-termed, the king replaced his name on his predecessor's statue<sup>141</sup>.

The guardian statues were animal or hydride (half-human, half-animal), with the most famous being the sphinx of Giza<sup>142</sup> and the most omnipresent being the figurines of the four sons of Horus<sup>143</sup>.

## 2.2 From the Canines to Anubis's Iconography

Throughout the Predynastic Period there were many hunting scenes. Some of them, like the ones with hippopotamus which are closely related to protection, and some others, like the canines that symbolize the power or maybe reflect the manifestation of the hunter and the economic status of the period<sup>144</sup>.

In art, Baines<sup>145</sup> separates canid's representations in three categories:

- Jackals: the head of the jackal is that of a domesticated dog, with erect pointed ears; its muzzle and legs are small and slender; its tail is short and bushy and has shaggy coat<sup>146</sup>.
- African wild dog: It has a large but light-built somatotype; its legs are long and slim and has characteristic round ears. The coat of African wild dog is also characteristic, because of the combination of different colors (black, yellow-brown, white); for this reason its Latin name is *Lycaon pictus*, meaning painted dog<sup>147</sup>.
- Domesticated dogs: In representations domesticated dogs are always depicted with a collar, curled or screw-liked tail and with loose ears<sup>148</sup>. Scientists can recognize various species like Basenji, Greyhound, Ibizan, Pharaoh, Saluki, Whippet, Molossian.

A petroglyphic example of Wadi Barramiya<sup>149</sup> depicts schematically a pack of hounds hunting an antelope with their owners holding leashes; whereas the Gebelein's white cross bowl shows a hunting scene with dogs (Figure 7). In the red surface of the bowl, the artist painted only the silhouette of the animals and the inside of them is filled with triangle patterns. The prey could be antelopes and the hunting by canines seems to be indirectly including a man, although his

---

<sup>141</sup> Kozloff, 2001, p. 244

<sup>142</sup> Kozloff, 2001, p. 245

<sup>143</sup> Kozloff, 2001, p. 246

<sup>144</sup> Bryan, 2014, p. 828

<sup>145</sup> Baines, 1993, p. 58

<sup>146</sup> Hoarth, P. 70

<sup>147</sup> Woodroffe & McNutt, 2004, p. 174

<sup>148</sup> Baines, 1993, p. 58

<sup>149</sup> Rice, 2006, p. 26

presence does not occur in the scene; the hunter is indirectly mentioned by the semi spiral leashes, which are around the dogs' neck. The rest of the empty space is filled with floral pattern and with what seems to be two mountains.

In White Cross-lined, the absence of man in dogs' hunting scenes could be linked to the elites<sup>150</sup> and the important role of these animals, both in the economic and in the social modelling. Maybe, in these paintings, the early breed farms could also be identified, which had become a massive breed production in the later dynastic years. There are only two illustrations depicting a man holding strips of dogs<sup>151</sup>.

Hunting scenes are not the only piece of information that we have on the illustration of canines. Canines appeared to be on vessels row with no beginning or end, symbolized the eternal being, to accompany other animals in the end of each row<sup>152</sup>. Both depictions could be associated with the canine funerary role and the rebirth.

In Naqqada IIC, the Decorative Pottery dominated as the characteristic style, in which the funerary concepts are affiliated. The absence of canids during that period turn away the link between the animal and the afterlife and the reason why this happened is unknown. However, with further research indications could be found on the connection between the animals' row, the Decorative Pottery and the Decorative ivories<sup>153</sup>. The Gebel Tarif ivory knife handle illustrates four rows of animals, in which a canid can be recognized (Figure 8). It is understandable that the canine has an important status, because the other three animals are the panther, the lion and a mythical one<sup>154</sup>. These animals were connected with the king's power over the animals<sup>155</sup>.

Evidence for the continuity of the canid's association with power and the afterlife<sup>156</sup>, as also military, can be seen on the mural painting from Tomb 100 in Hierakonpolis<sup>157</sup>, (3500 BCE) (Figure 9). The painting shows individual scenes with animals (dogs or canids?), people and ships. Although there is no space arrangement and the scenes seem to be isolated from each other, the elements

---

<sup>150</sup> Hendrickx, 2009, p. 246

<sup>151</sup> Hendrickx, 2006, p. 723

<sup>152</sup> Hendrickx, 2006, p. 724. The end of the row has a fish, a rosette, a bird, or catfish Hendrickx, 2006, p. 736 and Cialowicz, 1991, p. 249.

<sup>153</sup> Hendrickx, 2006, p. 728

<sup>154</sup> Hendrickx, 2006, p. 728

<sup>155</sup> Baines, 1993, p. 65

<sup>156</sup> Hendrickx, 2006, p. 728

<sup>157</sup> Bryan, 2014, p. 992. Further reading: Case, H. and Crowfoot, J. Payne. 1962. "Tomb 100: The Decorated Tomb at Hierakonpolis". JEA. Vol. 48. pp. 5-18.

that later characterized the Egyptian art can be identified. These elements are the figures in profile, the smiting of the king-leader towards his enemies, as well as the scenes of submission, power and protection (lion and dog (?) surround a human figure, Figure 10).

What seems to be appearing as one of the first examples of hieroglyphics is the seals that were found on Tomb U-j at Abydos, ca 3300 BCE<sup>158</sup>. The seals have a canid depiction with a plant above their head or beside them, as also the sun and the moon. In another seal a bird (Figure 11), which we assume it is a falcon, accompanies the canid. These seals' labels are phonetic signs<sup>159</sup> and have arrangement as it happened with the hieroglyphics in the latter years. From one label, a canid and a falcon (?) can be identified and although it is extremely early, the connection of Horus-Anubis comes in mind.

A Predynastic evidence of Anubis-animal image (Figure 12) comes from the tomb U-j in Abydos, alongside other seals of canids, which are mentioned above. Dreyer, in his research for the origin of the Abydos's toponyms, supports that this seal, as well as a few others from the same tomb, depicts the Predynastic ruler of Abydos, king Elephant (Ab-Dw=Elephant mountain),<sup>160</sup>. Kahl underlines that some forms look like an early depiction of Seth-animal<sup>161</sup>. Other colleagues suggest that this form belonged to Khentamentiu. However, comparing the seal from the tomb U-j with the seal of Anubis (Figure 13) from the mortuary temple of Senwosret III (north Abydos), the resemblance is obvious<sup>162</sup>. Knowing that Khentamentiu was the protective deity of the necropolis of Umm el-Gaab (Abydos), and that the determinative of his name was the recumbent canid (as in the case of Anubis), it is possible that this seal depicts him or Anubis's epithet "*Khentamentiu*"<sup>163</sup>. Moreover, the recumbent canid also represents other epithets of Anubis, which are "*he who is upon his mountain*" and "*he who is upon the secrets*". However, a sincere thought is that Anubis has inherited this image over the years, just like the epithet "*Khentamentiu*". The manifestation of the god did not occur in the early periods and he has a strong and continuous link with the primary concept.

---

<sup>158</sup> Rice, 2006, p. 35

<sup>159</sup> Rice, 2006, p. 36

<sup>160</sup> Wegner, 2007, p. 482

<sup>161</sup> Wegner, 2007, p. 483

<sup>162</sup> Wegner, 2007, p. 486

<sup>163</sup> DuQuesne, 2005, p. 28

The importance of canids can be identified on the Two Dogs Palette. Two large canids (the round ears suggest that it is the African wild dog) facing each other with combined paws surrounding a hunting scene. This evidence might be an example of the canids' close association with the order of cosmos<sup>164</sup> and chaos<sup>165</sup>, a concept that occurs in the Late Presynaptic Period. From the Libyan Palette (3100 B.C.E.) comes the first evidence of the animals' connection with the cities. Each one of the seven fortified cities has an animal depiction with hoe, suggesting the cities' foundation<sup>166</sup>. Continuing to the Early Dynastic Period with the Palette of Narmer (3000 B.C.E.), the canid god Wepwawet takes part in the scene alongside other animals. The symbolism of animals in the cities' names continues, but this time they are attached on a staff held by the human figure. It might be an echo of the previous aspect of animals but also it could be the manifestation of the human nature. From here on, the scenes have a more anthropocentric angle than the previous zoomorphic one.

The continuation of Egyptian religions and links between the Predynastic and the Dynastic Period is remarkable. Rice suggests that from the Golenishchef dish (Figure 14) might have come an early example of the "*Souls of Nekhen*"<sup>167</sup> (Figure 15). In the oval dish, the back feet of the four leashed canines are held down, while the torso is looking upwards. Again, the space arrangement does not exist. Their front feet are sketched to the side in the offering or praising gesture. The human figure has its hands raised holding the leashes with one hand and a bow with the other. The scene is surrounded by mountains. The "*Souls of Nekhen*" were the old kings of Egypt (Hierakonpolis by the Greeks)<sup>168</sup> and had canid heads.

In the Early Dynastic Period, the gods Wepwawet and Khentamentiu are introduced in iconography as the "*Opener of the Ways*" the first and "*Foremost of the Westerners*" the latter, two characteristics that Anubis absorbed into his own hypostasis the years that came, especially that of Khentamentiu.

Anubis is depicted in art in amulets and pectorals as also in stelae and wall paintings. It is worth mentioning that Anubis's figure with a canid head and a body of a human was the first of the gods, which was depicted in amulet<sup>169</sup> (Old Kingdom). Searching the earlier evidence of him, someone can come across from

---

<sup>164</sup> Baines, 1993, p. 57

<sup>165</sup> Hendrickx, 2006, p. 723

<sup>166</sup> El-Shahawy & al-Miṣrī, 2005, p. 20

<sup>167</sup> Rice, 2006, p. 29

<sup>168</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 153

<sup>169</sup> Andrews, 2001, p. 78



a simple unformed and clumsy illustration of Anubis to a bright and esthetic one.

An early evidence of Anubis, although it is not certain, is from a 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty's bowl fragment (Figure 16), from an unknown provenience, showing a canid in the standing posture with a was-scepter and the ankh<sup>170</sup> (see below Chapter 2.2.4).

Another example, but this time confirmed, comes from the wall painting of Khabausoker (3rd Dynasty) at his tomb in Saqqara. Khabausoker wears a collar, which might be depicting a protective canid aspect, referring on the well known recumbent posture of Anubis. The belief that that is the god Anubis, the one who is portrayed on the collar, derives from the fact that the owner, Khabausoker, was a high priest of Anubis<sup>171</sup>. Furthermore, this collar might be the source of the Anubis' epithet “ [...] *a jackal upon his shoulders* [...]”<sup>172</sup>.

Many passages of PT refer that the king's faces are that of a jackal. This reference shows a close association of the canid with the kingship and king's power, an echo of the Predynastic Period. This connection becomes stronger in Teti's PT (T 144)<sup>173</sup> “*Your face is that of a jackal, your tail is that of a wild lion. You will sit on that chair of yours and govern the akhs*”. The king is the embodiment of canid and lion, two species which, in the Predynastic Period, were associated with royal power. In addition, the face features show the manifestation of a human as a canid and the identity of the king as a mortuary canid.

There are many early representations with the characteristic recumbent posture of Anubis and it is difficult to identify whether it is actually his image or that of other deities related with canid form and funerary connection. The reason lies in the fact that the name of Anubis is being pronounced vocally from Pepi II's reign (6th Dynasty) and after<sup>174</sup>.

However, Anubis' iconography could be distinguished in four themes:

- Funerary manifestations: Anubis and the weighing of the hearts, Anubis and the mummification, Anubis and the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth
- Rebirth manifestation: Anubis and the sun disk
- Alternative manifestations: Pantheistic representation, Other animal-headed representation, Human representation

---

<sup>170</sup> DuQuesne, 2005, p. 84

<sup>171</sup> Rice, 2006, p. 149, Rice, 2002, p. 92 and Murray & Sethe, 1937, pp. 2, 5

<sup>172</sup> Faulkner, 1973, p. 64

<sup>173</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 72

<sup>174</sup> DuQuesne, 2005, p. 75, Dawood, 1998, p. 34 and El-Khadragy, 2001, p. 191

- General manifestations: Anubis in different postures and gestures

### 2.2.1 Funerary manifestations

- **Anubis and the judgment hall of Osiris**

The weighting of the hearts aimed at judging the life of the deceased. If they succeeded in passing the trial, then their soul would live forever alongside the gods (see Chapter 4).

A judgment representation comes from the alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I (Figure 17) which depicts the 6<sup>th</sup> Hour of the Book of Gate (19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, 1295-1186 BCE). In the upright corner, the god Anubis is in the Judgment Hall of Osiris; in the middle Osiris with his regalia is enthroned. In front of Osiris is the scale of Truth in the form of Thoth (?). The heart (?), is represented by a rectangular box and is against the symbol of evil (bird). A ladder leads to the scale and in every step is a deity<sup>175</sup>. Above the ladder is a ship with a pig smitten by an ape, a hypostasis of Thoth<sup>176</sup>.

The coffin of Tanakhtnettahat, a Chantress of Amun at Karnak<sup>177</sup> (21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, 1069-945 BCE) depicts the Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead (Figure 18-19). The material of the coffin is wood, which was varnished<sup>178</sup> and painted with brown-red, blue and green pigments.

Tanakhtnettahat (she is not shown in detail) is on the left of the goddess Bastet, who is holding a scepter. In front of the latter is the scale with Anubis in the middle, adjusting the scales' chain with his one hand and with the other testing the tongue of balance; he is wearing the ceremonial kilt with belt and usekh collar<sup>179</sup>. He is fully green with a blue nemes and the crown of Lower and Upper Egypt. His figure seems painted by force to fit in the scene, something that does not happen with the other figures. The goddess Maat is on the left side and on the right side is the heart of Tanakhtnettahat in the vessel. Thoth is in front of the scale writing the positive outcome, before Horus, Ammit, Osiris and Isis.

Another example of the Book of the Dead's spell comes from the papyrus of Nestanebetisheru<sup>180</sup> (Figure 20), known as the Greenfield Papyrus. It is dated in the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty (945-735 BCE) and found at Deir el-Bahari, at Thebes. It is a black and red vignette of the high Priestess of Amun, daughter of Painetchem II.

---

<sup>175</sup> Budge, 1908, p. 72

<sup>176</sup> Manassa, 2006, p. 122

<sup>177</sup> Emory, n.d.

<sup>178</sup> Emory, n.d.

<sup>179</sup> According to Vygus, 2015, p. 1719 means "*breath*".

<sup>180</sup> BM, n.d.

The illustration shows the god Anubis, who is holding the jar of Nestanebetisheru's heart, which is hung up from a chain on the top of the scale; in the latter is a baboon which symbolized Thoth. On the scale from the right is Maat against the jar of Nestanebetisheru's heart, on the left and behind is Anubis, Isis and Nephthys are holding a scepter and ankh<sup>181</sup>. Nestanebetisheru is seating on the top of the ladder, in a greeting pose, and behind her is Ammit. Above Ammit and Nestanebetisheru is the "*Lake of Fire*"<sup>182</sup>, which is surrounded by four apes<sup>183</sup> or baboons. In this scene Anubis is transparent, so it is unknown if he stands in front or behind the scale. His face is black and the rest of his body is in the color of papyrus. He is wearing the ceremonial kilt with the belt, a strap in his chest and the usekh collar.

- **Anubis and the mummification**

The concept of mummification had already been established in the minds of Egyptians in the Predynastic Period. It was the solution for the decomposing body to gain a timeless aspect in order for the soul live (see Chapter 4).

An embalming scene from Pedusiri's coffin (Late Dynasty, 664-332 BCE, Figures 21-22) depicts Anubis (or a priest with Anubis's mask) in front of the mummy table. He is fully black skinned and his clothes are a yellow and greenish ceremonial kilt with belt and a gold usekh collar. He has the one hand raised with a vessel, maybe a purification jar to clean the body and the other hand attends the body. The rest of the scene depicts the goddess Isis on one side of the register and the goddess Nephthys on the other, two priests with tail on the right, wearing a tunic below the kilt and one priest on the left, maybe the high priest, who is approaching with two pieces of linen to wrap the dead body.

Another scene comes from the 5th century BCE (Figure 23), from a coffin fragment, which shows in the second layer a priest who is wearing the mask of the god Anubis<sup>184</sup>. He is removing the brain of a body using a long metal hook. This hook is inserted from the sinus cavity directly into the skull. In the scene, Anubis wears only the long kilt, with fully black skin and has a white nemes; the deceased is upon the lion bier and the canopic jars are underneath. The scene is filled with the figures of Isis and Nephthys on both sides. The register is separated from the other scenes by two decorative horizontal lines. The coffin

---

<sup>181</sup> Budge, 1912, p. 73

<sup>182</sup> This lake acts like a judge, which cauterizes the evil and maintains the good Quirke, 2001, p. 214

<sup>183</sup> Budge, 1912, p. 74

<sup>184</sup> MFA, n.d.

colors are brown-red, blue, white and black. Although the fragment belongs to the Late Period (ca. 5<sup>th</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> BCE), the figures are clumsy. Anubis seems squeezed and is put in the register, in contrast to the other illustrations of the coffin, especially the one with the depiction of Isis.

If we consider the whole fragment, we can find a continuation in the scenes starting from the bottom to the top. The two servants take the coffin with the dead at the mummification workshop, where the rituals take place. After that, the weighing of the heart occurs and the soul, as the image of scarab is reborn again.

A same theme comes from a cartonnage<sup>185</sup> of the Ptolemaic Period<sup>186</sup> (332-30 BCE, Figure 24). The colors of the theme are white, blue, black and red-brown. The main theme is the embalming rites during the mummification by Anubis, who wears a long kilt, with fully black skin. The two goddesses, Isis and Nephthys in adoration gesture, fill the register, which is separated from the others by decorative lines. Down the main theme are the Four Sons of Horus, and the rest of the register is filled by the winged scarab and the goddess Nut. This textile was laid over the body of the deceased.

- **Anubis and the “*Opening of the Mouth*” ritual**

The purpose of the “*Opening of the Mouth*” ritual was for the deceased “*breathe*” again. In order to achieve that, the priest used specific objects and oils (see Chapter 4).

The tomb of Roy (19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, 1295-1186 BCE. Figure 25-26) has a wall painting of the ritual of the “*Opening of the Mouth*”. Anubis holds the sarcophagus of the deceased, wearing the usekh collar with yellow, light and dark blue beads, white and yellow ceremonial kilt with belt in yellow and dark blue color, as also a corselet. Before the elaborate sarcophagus is a female mourner with her breasts outside, hauling her hair. Behind her are two priests, one of them is a sem priest holding with one hand the Meskhetyu implement and with the other one a ritual vessel.

Another ritual scene is from Hunefer’s Book of the Dead (19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Figure 27). The mummy of the king’s scribe, Hunefer, is held by Anubis or Anubis’s priest who is wearing the usekh collar, a yellow (gold) and white ceremonial kilt and a green corselet. In front of the sarcophagus are two mourners hauling their

---

<sup>185</sup> Layers of plastered, painted and varnished linen wrapped around the deceased’s body.

<sup>186</sup> EC, n.d.

hairs with their breasts outside. Hunefer's wife, Nesha<sup>187</sup>, is the one kneeling. Behind them are two smer priests<sup>188</sup>, holding the rituals implements and purification vessels and the sem priest is at the end of the scene. The elaborate illustration of this papyrus derives from the impression of a pale pink skin under the dress<sup>189</sup>.

The last scene comes from the tomb of Maya at Saqqara<sup>190</sup> (19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Figure 28). The bas-relief depicts the god Anubis holding the mummy of Maya<sup>191</sup>, the vet nurse of Tutankhamen. Before the mummy of Maya is a priest holding the Meskhetyu implement; at the bottom of the mummy are prayers giving her offerings. At the top is another priest holding a vessel for purification purposes and alongside him is another one in a summoning gesture.

### 2.2.2. Rebirth manifestations: Anubis with the lunar disk

The scene of Anubis rolling the lunar disk confused many Egyptologists about its real nature. As Naville underlines, this scene of Anubis can be found in all mammisi (birth-temples). In addition, he points out that it is the depiction of the moon<sup>192</sup>. Rolling the disk, Anubis rejuvenates the moon, meaning the arrangement of the gods' time<sup>193</sup> and cyclical rebirth<sup>194</sup>. Moreover, the moon has a close association with Osiris and a stela of Ramesses IV states that "*is the body of Osiris*". The association of the moon with the dead occurs also in PT, CT<sup>195</sup> and BD<sup>196</sup>, but this thought is not fully accepted. However, no one can deny the fact that Anubis was the one who attended Osiris, mummified and resurrected him, therefore, an Osiris-moon connection could be the case. A close parallel of this scene is answered in the Book of the Earth from the sun-god Ra<sup>197</sup>.

From the temple of Dendera (Figure 29) and Deir el-Bahari (Figure 30) comes an image of Anubis rolling the lunar disk. In the latter, Anubis takes part in

---

<sup>187</sup> James, 1985, p. 54

<sup>188</sup> Smith, n.d.

<sup>189</sup> James, 1985, p. 54

<sup>190</sup> Mortimer, 2015

<sup>191</sup> Alain Zivie, suggests that Maya is the sister of the king Tutankhamen. This conclusion derives from their facial characteristics. Specifically, he said, "*The extraordinary thing is that they are very similar. They have the same chin, the eyes, the family traits*" Mortimer, 2015.

<sup>192</sup> The moon is considered the manifestation of the god Thoth that appears in the early evening Richter, 2012, p. 89. Also it was thought to be the god Khonsu, a moon god, whose manifestation was a baboon Hart, 2005, p. 86. Moreover, in a cosmic aspect, Horus's left eye is the moon and his right is the sun Hart, 2005, p. 74. This links to the rejuvenation of royal power after the battle with Seth, in which he gained his eyes back Kaper, 2001, p. 481.

<sup>193</sup> Naville, 1897, p. 18

<sup>194</sup> Ritner, 1985, p. 151

<sup>195</sup> Ritner, 1985, p. 153, Kaper, 2001, p. 481, "*I know the souls of the New moon: they are Osiris, Anubis and Isdes (Thoth)*" Faulkner, 1973, p. 134

<sup>196</sup> "*I have made my way to the light of Osiris*". Naville suggests that the word *ssp*, Vygus, 2015, p. 1615, usually used for the moon, Renouf & Naville, 1904, p. 299.

<sup>197</sup> Roberson, 2014, p. 228 and Roberson, 2007, p. 250

Hatshepsut's divine birth<sup>198</sup>. In another depiction from Edfu, which is thought to be the lunar disk, Anubis (Figure 31) is in front of Osiris and Isis is holding<sup>199</sup> a small disk<sup>200</sup>. In this scene, most likely as Daumas believed, Anubis is holding a tambourine and not actually the lunar disk, for the pleasure of Isis's son. This belief comes from his posture's difference with the other two scenes, in which Anubis is rolling the disk. In the first two, Anubis is bending over the disk, as he usually does during the embalming on the deceased bier<sup>201</sup>. Apart from these, if we compare the image of the god Bes<sup>202</sup> from the New Kingdom's chair of Satamon (Figure 32), to Edfu's scene, we can easily see the similarities between the two gods. Bes was thought as the protector of childbirth<sup>203</sup> and here, on a series of musical scenes, he is holding a tambourine. Therefore, in the Edfu case, Anubis is depicted as part of a musical theme to comfort the young son of Isis. Speaking about posture differences, a cartonnage scene<sup>204</sup> from Mir (Late Period) depicts Anubis carrying the lunar (solar?) disk (Figure 33), in what seems to be the echo of the rejoice gesture. Here, Anubis is in a different posture from all the previous ones. It is like he is giving or bringing the light (life?) to the dead one.

### 2.2.3. Anubis's alternative manifestations

- **Pantheistic manifestations**

The most known representation of his pantheistic form is Hermanubis<sup>205</sup>, a combination of Anubis and the Hellenic god Hermes. Although Hermes is considered the Egyptian god Thoth, his divine role as psychopompos related him to Anubis. An example of this union is a marble statue (Figure 34), 125 cm high, dated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E., with Hellenic style features and tunic. In his head has a vessel named “*κάλαθος*”, which was a Hellenic crater type vessel and he holds a palm fan. In Hermanubis's feet a dog is looking towards him. Its feet touch gently his foot, in a jubilation gesture (?)<sup>206</sup>.

---

<sup>198</sup> Ritner, 1985, p. 149

<sup>199</sup> Similar scene occurs on north wall of the Room 3, at the temple in Deir el-Medina, Wilson & Allen, 1940 Pl. 228D.

<sup>200</sup> Blackman suggests that is a sieve used in labor by women, Morenz said that is a solar disk Ritner, 1985, p. 151

<sup>201</sup> Ritner, 1985, p. 149

<sup>202</sup> Davis, Maspero, Newberry, 1907, p. 39

<sup>203</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 49

<sup>204</sup> GEM, n.d. and Eternal, n.d.

<sup>205</sup> Budge suggests that this name was first referenced by Plutarch, comes from *Hrw-m-inpw* (Horus as Anubis), Budge, 1904, p. 265 and Budge, 2014, p. 221

<sup>206</sup> Jubilation (or henu) gesture: This gesture was perhaps used during the ritual of “*Recitation of the Glorifications*”, Wilkinson, 1999, p. 193. One arm was bent parallel to the torso and the palm closed to a punch, while the other was raised and closed to a punch, was bent parallel to the shoulders and the head was at the side. This gesture might be for welcoming or to applause, Reidy,

A unique piece of statue showing Anubis in pantheistic representation (Figure 35) comes from the Ptolemaic period. The bronze statue. The figure, 18.4 cm high, wears the atef crown<sup>207</sup> of Osiris, with the naked body of Bes<sup>208</sup>. It has two heads, one of a jackal (Anubis) and one of a ram (Re) and a falcon's tail (Horus), which can be seen at the back of the figure, as also the remains of an attribute in its right hand. The figure stands on two crocodiles, on a corroded rectangular base<sup>209</sup>.

- **Other animal-headed manifestations**

An unusual representation of what it seems to be Anubis comes from the tomb of Ramesses I (KV16). In the niche beneath the 4<sup>th</sup> Hour of the Book of Gates, behind Rammeses-Osiris, is a ram-headed deity (Figure 36) in the protective gesture. In front of Ramesses-Osiris is a uraeus, named Mereret. The thought that this deity is the god Anubis comes from the epithet "*he who is in the divine booth*", an epithet associated with Anubis and his embalming roles<sup>210</sup>.

From Osiris's chapel at Dendera, Anubis (Horus-Anubis of This) is depicted falcon-headed alongside Anubis of Cynopolis and Anubis of el-Hiba<sup>211</sup>. The chapel's frieze depicts the first spirits being sent by Osiris to protect the resurrection from the Typhonian one. These spirits are represented in the form of birds and they are the first nomes of Egypt<sup>212</sup> (Figure 37).

Lastly, a representation of Anubis with a donkey-like (?) head is shown on the door pilaster of Ntemkher's pyramid in the necropolis of Kush (3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E.). The donkey-head Anubis (Figure 38) is wearing a long kilt with his legs slightly bent; in his hands he holds a purification jar, with its liquid fallen to the ground<sup>213</sup>.

- **Human manifestations**

The depictions of Anubis in fully human form are very rare. An example comes from Seti's hypostyle hall at his temple at Abydos, dated in 1290-1279 B.C.E. (19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, New Kingdom). In the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> hypostyle hall in the bottom register are the 42 nomes of the ancient Egypt, represented by their patron

---

2010, p. 216 the pharaoh or the sun god Hodel-Hoernes, 2000, p. 136. The gesture means "*praise*", Wilkinson, 1999, p. 193 and it was mostly performed by the "*Souls of Pe and Nekhnen*".

<sup>207</sup> During the ceremonies was used the white crown with ostrich feathers in either side.

<sup>208</sup> A similar image is dated at 250-100 B.C.E. and depicted Bes, Amun's crown, Horus and Anubis. WMA, n.d.

<sup>209</sup> Christies, 2016, p. 58

<sup>210</sup> Benderitter, n.d.

<sup>211</sup> Kaper, 2008-2009, pp. 35-36

<sup>212</sup> Mariette, 1875, p. 276

<sup>213</sup> di Luigi, 2016, p. 24

deity<sup>214</sup>, and each one is kneeling in a fully human form (Figure 39). Each god is in the offering gesture, giving gifts to the king, as a propagandistic evidence of unity and of the king's power. The upper registers depict Seti and his son, Ramesses II. Anubis in his human form is in the 2<sup>nd</sup> hypostyle hall of Seti's I temple, bringing a lotus gift (?) to the king. On his head he has the sign of the 17<sup>th</sup> nome-symbol of Upper Egypt (Cynopolis)<sup>215</sup>, a recumbent canid attached on the nome's hieroglyphic (the sign N24)<sup>216</sup>.

Another example of Anubis's human form (Figure 40) comes from Ramesses II cenotaph temple at Abydos (2<sup>nd</sup> Octostyle Court)<sup>217</sup>. It is dated in 1279-1213 B.C.E. (19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, New Kingdom), made from a yellow-white glazed limestone<sup>218</sup>, using the bas-relief technique. Anubis is enthroned in a block throne holding the ankh and the was-scepter. It is a splendid example, in which, even now, we can feel the warm color, as if it was painted today. The colors are so real that we can understand even the material that is being depicted, e.g. the turquoise was-scepter is like mimics the faience. The figures, more than ever, have plasticity and stand imposing in the area.

#### **2.2.4. General manifestations: Anubis in different postures and gestures**

- **Recumbent posture**

The most recognized posture of Anubis is the recumbent one, especially that of Tutankhamen, and he usually wore a collar and had frail attached to his back<sup>219</sup>. This depiction was also used as a seal in order to protect the tombs from the looting. In the tomb of Nefertari (Figure 41) in the corridor to Chamber C Anubis is seated on a shrine with gold magical collar<sup>220</sup>, red sash and gold frail on his back and is represented on both walls of the corridor (west and east) to ensure her a duplex protection to the Afterlife<sup>221</sup>. This posture is associated with the rituals of mummification and was considered sacred and secret<sup>222</sup>.

Another depiction comes from the Middle Kingdom amulet (Figure 42) of Anubis on a shrine. It is dated approximately in the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty or the early 13<sup>th</sup> and found at Abydos (Cemetery V, Tomb V21). The sketchy amulet is made

---

<sup>214</sup> A similar example is attested in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, located in the 1<sup>st</sup> Octostyle court Ossian, 2008, p. 44.

<sup>215</sup> Visit360o, n.d.

<sup>216</sup> Gardiner, 1957, p. 448

<sup>217</sup> Ossian, 2008, p. 46

<sup>218</sup> Ossian, 2008, p. 39

<sup>219</sup> Doxey, 2001, p. 97

<sup>220</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 25

<sup>221</sup> McDonald, 1996, p. 87

<sup>222</sup> Pinch, 2002, p. 104



from silver and its height is 6.8. The ears are addressed semicircular and the thin body ends to a bushy tail. Up to his right feet has a small rectangular hole, for the strap. The shrine is made only schematically with two horizontal bases and two vertical surbases forming a square. The interior of the square has two opposite openwork spiral.

- **Standing posture**

The standing posture is used from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty and onwards and maybe was thought to give hope and wellbeing, considering the depiction of the ankh which generally the god holds.

A bronze statuette of Anubis, 20.8 x 14.4 x 5.3 cm (H x W x D) depicts the god in standing posture. It is dated in 747-525 BCE (25<sup>th</sup> - 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Third Intermediate Period-Late Period) and found at Karnak. Anubis stands in front of prayer (Figure 43) making a step forward with his left feet. In this standing posture he usually holds an ankh and the was-scepter, both of them now lost. He stands on two structures. The one ends in two cobras, which are wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt and the White Crown of Upper Egypt. The other structure ends to the kneeling prayer, who stands upon a rectangular base. Anubis's eyes were inlaid with gold as were some other parts of his body. He wears the shendyt kilt and has bracelets in his arms. This statue is a dedication to Wdja-Horresnet, who is hoping Anubis to give him a good long life<sup>223</sup>. In a same scene from the Horemhed' wall painting, Anubis stands before the latter ready to receive his offerings<sup>224</sup>.

Another type of standing posture (Figure 44) comes from a limestone pyramidal stela, 27.5 x 34.5 (H x W), dated in 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (New Kingdom)<sup>225</sup>. Osiris and Anubis are standing on a base, with their backs turned to each other. Between them is the djer pillar with the ankh on the top. The two gods are holding a scepter and are looking at the two worshipers who are masking in the adoration gesture. The inscription says "*Adore Osiris, by the goldsmith's foreman. (Adore) Anubis, by the goldsmith's foreman*".

- **Enthroned posture**

The significance of the king, royal members and deities are also depicted in the enthroned posture, in which only they could ever sit; commoners were sitting on

---

<sup>223</sup> WMA, n.d.

<sup>224</sup> TMP, n.d.

<sup>225</sup> GEM, n.d.

the ground<sup>226</sup> or in standing posture, etc... The throne's illustration is categorized in four different representations<sup>227</sup>:

- The block throne with the enclosure hieroglyphic.
- The throne with knotted-plant motif
- The lion throne and
- The nine bows throne

From the tomb QV 66, of Nefertari, c. 1295-1255 B.C.E. (18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, New Kingdom), Anubis seats on a block throne (Figure 45) and Nefertari seats between Anubis and Osiris<sup>228</sup>. The figure of Anubis is in front of the other two, having his one hand around Nefertari's shoulders and with the other holds the ankh. Although, it is an enthroned representation, it also combines the protective and supporting gesture (see below).

Another enthroned posture, which deserves to be mentioned, is the one from Bakenmut's coffin (Figure 46), dated in 1000-900 B.C.E. (21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty – Third Intermediate Period)<sup>229</sup>. The wooden coffin is painted with green, brown-red, red, white, black and yellow gesso. The inner side of the coffin has an enthroned depiction of Anubis, with a combination of different gestures and postures (enthroned mummiform and receiving offering gesture). Anubis seats on a block throne (the throne seems to mimic the false door's pattern) holding the crook and flail, as a mummiform Osiris. In front of him is Bakenmut making the offering and adoration gesture.

These two representations show the importance of Anubis. In the first one, he is sitting alongside the queen and the ultimate god of the Underworld. In the second the green flesh is par excellence the color of Osiris, therefore it could be interpreted as an echo of his old glory, identification with Osiris or to emphasize that they are relatives (father and son).

- **Mummiform seating posture**

This posture is the hieroglyphic sign (C6)<sup>230</sup> and it is like it mimics the mummy when wrapped with the linen and has a close association with the god Osiris. This posture was used for representing the 42 deities, who watched the deceased's outcome in the Judgment's Hall of Osiris<sup>231</sup>; sometimes the deities held a knife playing the role of the guardian. Depiction on this posture might

---

<sup>226</sup> Graham, 2001, p. 163 and Κεκές, 2015, p. 35

<sup>227</sup> Graham, 2001, pp. 163-164

<sup>228</sup> McDonald, 1996, p. 100

<sup>229</sup> AMICA, n.d. and CMA, n.d.

<sup>230</sup> Gardiner, 1957, p. 449


<sup>231</sup> Wilkinson, 1992, p. 31

also suggest the secured soul after being mummified. From the Third Intermediate Period comes a cartonnage's fragment of Anubis in this posture. The cartonnage is painted with brown-red, white, yellow, black and blue gesso (Figure 47).

- **Winged posture**

Anubis in a winged posture (Figures 48-49) comes from a mummy bandage on black, white, red brown, ochre and green color (Ptolemaic Period). Looking the scene from right to left, the continuation of the scene is obvious. Firstly, in the middle is Anubis attending, as a priest, the mummy of Osiris in front of a bluff pyramid. Behind him are Isis and Nephthys mourning on their knees. If we consider this, the semicircular strokes of the brush are water and the scene might be associated with the Opening of the Mouth ritual, although the rituals' implements are not included. The rest of the gods are in line rear to the two mourning deities, holding a staff<sup>232</sup>.

The scene after the pyramid depicts a winged Anubis in rejoice posture holding the ankh and the was-scepter surrounded by two trees. These trees might suggest

the epithet of Anubis  "*He who belongs to the wrappings*". The association with the trees occur in their product, which is resin used in the mummification process<sup>233</sup>. In front of him are other deities in line<sup>234</sup>. This second scene, as a continuation of the first, might be an echo of the ritual's aftermath, the rebirth of the dead one, and Anubis depicted as the representation of the living *bA* of the deceased<sup>235</sup> with his hands in a rejoicing gesture.

- **Warrior posture**

From the terrasse chamber of Osiris's chapel at Dendera, Anubis is depicted with knives (Figure 50). This representation is connected with the mystery of Osiris resurrection, which is represented by a grain of wheat. Anubis is a part of vengeful divinities of Upper Egypt nomes that the king brings to help Osiris and prevent evil to enter his tomb (the image in Anubis's feet). Each depiction announced Genies, which are sent by the nomes and they are responsible of Osiris's protection<sup>236</sup>.

---

<sup>232</sup> GEM, n.d.

<sup>233</sup> Willockx, 2007, p. 52

<sup>234</sup> GEM, n.d.

<sup>235</sup> Two winged postures comes from Osiris's chapel at Dendera, in which Anubis has a canid and falcon head and body of bird, symbolizing the first nomes of Egypt, Mariette, 1873, pp. 43, 44, Pl. 40.08 and Pl. 41.18.

<sup>236</sup> Mariette, 1875, pp. 284-285

Another representation that depicts Anubis as warrior comes from the walls of Alexandria's catacombs. Anubis is the armored guardian of Osiris with his lower body being that of a snake<sup>237</sup>.

- **Embraced gesture**

An unusual representation comes from the statue of Angeriautef, a royal scribe of Ramesses II (Figure 51), at Saqqara's necropolis, dated in 24th Dynasty. The limestone statue, 129 x 43 cm (H x W), represents a seated Angeriautef holding a block, which depicts the enthroned Anubis and Hathor, embracing each other. This statue seems to be an artistic rebel, with the two embracing gods, declaring a unity and equality. With a quick survey of ancient Egyptian art, it is conceivable that the female figures, even if they were goddesses or queens, were always a step behind the king or god.

- **Purification gesture**

The purification of the deceased was a stage in both mummification and rituals. An elaborate statue of Anubis depicts him, with raised hands and the palms looking down making the purification and transfiguration gesture<sup>238</sup> (Figure 52). The statue, 42.3 x 0.1 x 20.7 cm (H x W x D), from unknown provenance, dated in 304-30 B.C.E. (Ptolemaic Period). It is made of wood painted and plastered, with intense colors like blue, red, gold and black. He has a colorful corselet and a ceremonial multicolor kilt painted with geometric motifs. He wears golden brassards and blue long nemes. Anubis stands upon a rectangular base decorated with a symbolic "*false door*" pattern. However, this gesture might be the adoration gesture (or a combination of purification and adoration gesture), which usually is encountered in false door's pilaster, as also in stelae and chapels<sup>239</sup>. It was used from the late Old Kingdom and was always referring to a god's name mainly to Osiris or Anubis and the offering formula<sup>240</sup>. Anubis is making this gesture in front of Osiris or some other god, who is pictured larger in scale, meaning that they are more important than he is<sup>241</sup>.

Another purification gesture comes from the Tentosorkon' Book of the Dead (Figure 53), dated in Third Intermediate Period, maybe from Thebes. The papyrus is painted with black, blue, yellow, white and red pigments. Anubis is at the top of the papyrus with blue nemes, black face, his naked parts red-brown,

---

<sup>237</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 28

<sup>238</sup> Arnold, 1995, p. 15

<sup>239</sup> El-Khadragy, 2001, p. 287

<sup>240</sup> El-Khadragy, 2001, p. 201

<sup>241</sup> Wilkinson, 1992, p. 29

wearing a yellow and white kilt and corselet. He holds a purification vessel and the liquid is surrounding Tentosorkon, purifying her.

- **Protective and Supportive gesture**

These gestures can be found in different depictions. The supportive figure has the one hand raised with the palms upwards<sup>242</sup>, or the one or both hands outstretched vertically, and touching or not, the figure who needs support or protection<sup>243</sup>. This gesture is also used by Nephthys, Horus or Isis to support the mummiform god.

A supportive gesture of Anubis comes from the tomb K57, of Horemhed (Figure 54). Most of the wall paintings of the tomb have a grey-blue background with beautiful and intense colors<sup>244</sup>. Here, Anubis stands behind an enthroned Osiris<sup>245</sup> and has his one hand raised touching Osiris (the supportive gesture). He wears a blue nemes and colorful ceremonial clothing and jewelries. It is a strong and powerful depiction, which derives from his steady look, the intense color and his muscular body, giving a sense of dignity and a proper encouragement.

A similar gesture, but perhaps with a different meaning, comes from the Ramesses' I tomb (Figure 55), in which Horus and Anubis have one hand raised and one touching Ramesses' wrists respectively<sup>246</sup> (protective gesture).

- **Escord and Summoning gesture**

The escord gesture is associated with the deceased's path to the scale of truth, led by Anubis. Anubis is in front of the deceased, holding their hand and looking directly at them or straight ahead. The summoning (or invocation) gesture<sup>247</sup> is depicted with the arm extended and the palm open facing directly at the figure (god or pharaoh) whose soul wants to be summoned to accept the offers<sup>248</sup>.

In the stela of Tatiasset, Mistress of the House and the Chantress of Amun, Anubis leads the deceased to a seated Horus (Figure 56). It dates in 825–712 B.C.E. (22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty - Third Intermediate Period). This stela, 23.4 cm high, made by painted wood with green, red, yellow and black colors on a white gesso (Deir el-Bahri, Tomb MMA 801). Anubis wears the ceremonial kilt with corselet and golden bracelets in his muscular arms touching gently Tatiasset, who carries an offering to Horus; his other hand summoning the god to accept the offer of

---

<sup>242</sup> Wilkinson, 1999, p. 207

<sup>243</sup> Wilkinson, 1999, p. 197

<sup>244</sup> Adams, 2015 and TMP, n.d.

<sup>245</sup> Wilkinson, 2001, p. 23

<sup>246</sup> TMP, n.d.

<sup>247</sup> Watts, 1998, p. 37

<sup>248</sup> Wilkinson, 1999, p. 195

Tatiaset. The image of Anubis, seems to be materializing. Comparing his image to one of Horus and Tatiaset, the image of Anubis has bulk and intensity. A similar depiction comes also from the tomb of Ramesses II.

- **“Breath of life”<sup>249</sup> gesture**

This gesture (Figure 57) is one of the most known representations, not only of Anubis, but also of many deities, showing the king’s acceptance/acceptance by the gods<sup>250</sup>; it could also indicate the moment of breath, during the Opening of the Mouth ritual. A limestone relief, dated in 2455-2420 B.C.E. (5th Dynasty, Old Kingdom), shows Anubis (or even another canid deity) in front of the enthroned king Neusera. He holds in one of his hands ankhs, aiming to give life to the Pharaoh<sup>251</sup>. In the one outstretched hand he holds three ankhs, which he gives to Neusera, who is in a receiving gesture; his other hand holds an ankh, raised in Neusera’s face.

The importance of this gesture is recognized by the fact that in the vast illustrations of the ancient Egypt, this depiction served as a promise of the afterlife, which was the main purpose of the ancient Egyptians.

- **Greeting gesture**

An example of this gesture comes from the tomb QV 44, of prince Khaemwaset, the son of Ramesses III (Figure 58). In this wall painting Ramesses is face to face with the god Anubis. Both have the one hand raised and the other hand straight down touching each other’s palms. This gesture is a variation of the embrace one, meaning the close connection between the king and the god<sup>252</sup>. In this representation, Anubis, apart from the short kilt and the jewelry, also has a tail. Although the scene is elaborate, the figures are motionless and the natural muscular bulk is not attested.

From a statue comes a gesture similar with the above. The statue is well preserved (Figure 59), although the legs and one arm are missing. Anubis is fully green with black head, wearing yellow kilt and red nemes. His outstretched arm with the palm looking up welcomes the deceased to the underworld<sup>253</sup>.

### **2.3 The feature variation**

As already mentioned in the Chapter 1, the form of Anubis is hybrid, which means he borrows features from jackals, foxes and dogs. Over the centuries, the face of Anubis lost his wild appearance and became doggier, especially during

---

<sup>249</sup> Wilkinson, 1992, p. 177

<sup>250</sup> Robins, 1997, p. 18

<sup>251</sup> James, 1985, p. 42

<sup>252</sup> Wilkinson, 1992, p. 51

<sup>253</sup> Scalf, 2017, p. 345

the Ptolemaic Period. Quertinmont suggested a dating method based on the articulation between the muzzle and the forehead, named the “stop”<sup>254</sup>. In Table 2 we can see the progress of the “stop” from flat to sharp.

Anubis’s feature variation occurred in his ears and tail. From the Late to Ptolemaic Period, the ears were also depicted in more semi-round shape. Evidence of the semi-round shape can also be found in earlier years, but it is rarer. Regarding to his tail, a few examples are attested. Mostly the shape of his tail was narrow as the jackals<sup>255</sup> with a few examples of bushy as the foxes or curved<sup>256</sup> like some species of dogs (Table 3).

Although these variations, especially the features of the face, are evidence of a stylistic process, it is not the canon. Most of the time the variety of the features can occur in the same period and the old style co-exists with the new one. More complex is in painting, where different artists improvised, depending also on the material on which they drew.

<b>Table 2. The “stop” variation</b>	
	<b>Old Kingdom 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Meresankh III</b> © OsirisNet
	<b>Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty</b> <b>1952 B.C.</b> © The Metropolitan Museum of Art Inventoty Number: 08.200.5
	<b>New Kingdom</b> © Liverpool Museum Inventoty Number: 1973.2.10
	<b>Late Period</b> © Liverpool Museum Inventoty Number: 1973.2.13
	<b>Late to Ptolemaic Period 6<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> B.C.</b> © Pelizaeus Inventoty Number: 2124

**Table 3. The tail variation**

<sup>254</sup> Quertinmont, 2008, p. 115

<sup>255</sup> Evans, 2008, p. 18

<sup>256</sup> Ischlondsky, 1966, p. 17



**Bushy tail**

© Demas & Agnew, 2012, p. 51



**Curved tail**

© Ischlonsky, 1966, p. 27



**Narrow tail**

© The Fitzwilliam Museum.  
Inventory number: E.GA.4315.1943



FIGURES



Figure 7. Gebelein. White Cross-lined bowl ©  
Hendrickx, 2009, p. 238

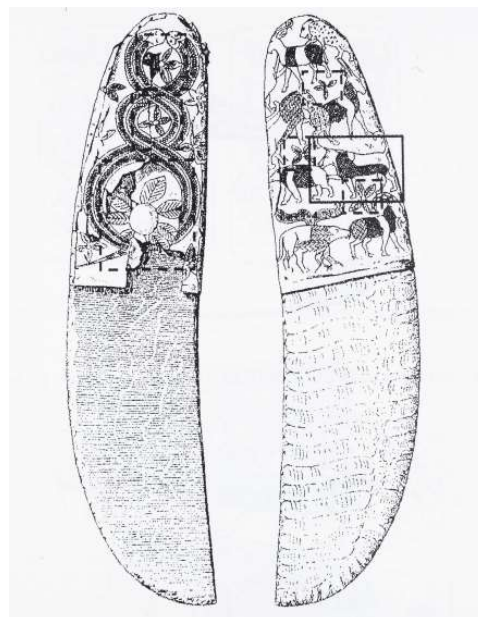


Figure 8. Gebel Tarif knife  
© Hendrickx, 2006, p. 732



Figure 9 Detail. Hunting scene with canids (?) from tomb 100 in Hierakonpolis © Case  
& Crowfoot, 1962, p. 6 (modified by the author)



Figure 10. Detail. Lion and canid (?)  
from tomb 100 in Hierakonpolis © Case  
& Crowfoot, 1962, p. 6, (modified by the  
author)



Figure 11. Canid and bird (falcon?). Tomb  
Uj at Abydos © Rice, 2006, p. 35



Figure 12. Seal from Tomb U-j at Abydos © Wegner, 2007, p. 482



Figure 13. Seal from the mortuary temple of Senwosret III © Wegner, 2007, p. 486



Figure 14. Canines in henu gesture (?). Naqqada I © Rice, 2006, p. 29

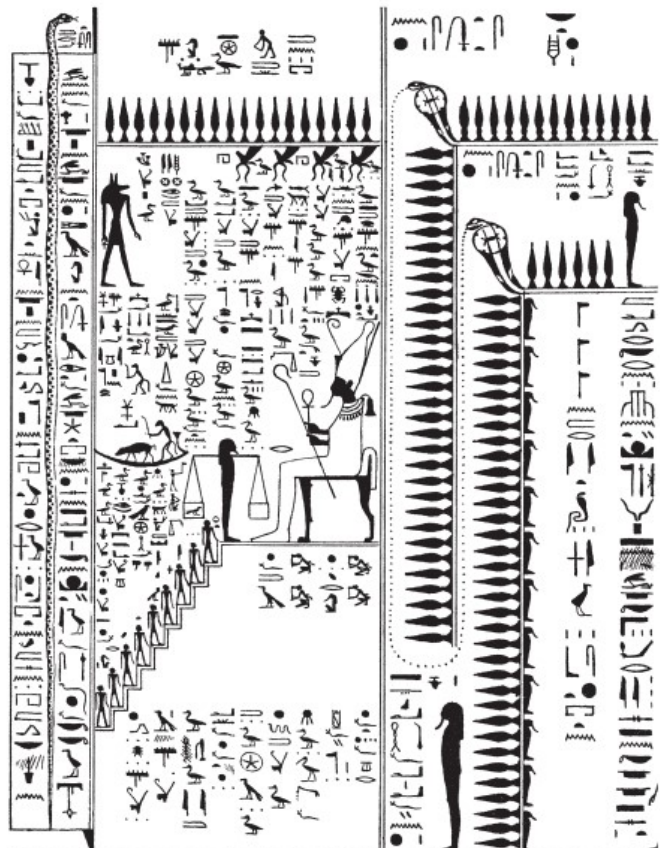


Figure 15. Souls of Nekhen © Hart, 2005, p. 153



Figure 16. 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty's bowl fragment with representation of Anubis (?) © DuQuesne, 2005, p. 94

Figure 17. The judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates © Budge E. A., 1908, p. 72





**Figure 18. The coffin of Tanakhtnethat** © Michael C. Carlos Museum. Inventory Number: 1999.001.017C



**Figure 19. Detail. The coffin of Tanakhtnethat** © Michael C. Carlos Museum. Inventory Number: 1999.001.017C



**Figure 20. The Greenfield Papyrus** © The Trustees of the British Museum. Inventory number: EA10554.80



**Figure 21. Mummy Coffin of Pedusiri, Late Dynastic (712–323 BC)** © Milwaukee Art Museum. Inventory number: M1967.20. Photo credit: Michael Tropea





**Figure 22. Detail. Mummy Coffin of Pedusiri, Late Dynastic (712–323 BC) © Milwaukee Art Museum. Inventory number: M1967.20. Photo credit: Michael Tropea**



**Figure 23. Fragment of coffin © Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest. Inventory number: M1967.20. Photo credit: Michael Tropea**



**Figure 24. Cartonnage with the embalmment scene © Egypt Centre - Canolfan Eifftaid. Inventory number: W894**

**Figure 25. Tomb of Roy. The “Opening of the Mouth” ritual © Mick Palarczyk and Paul Smit**

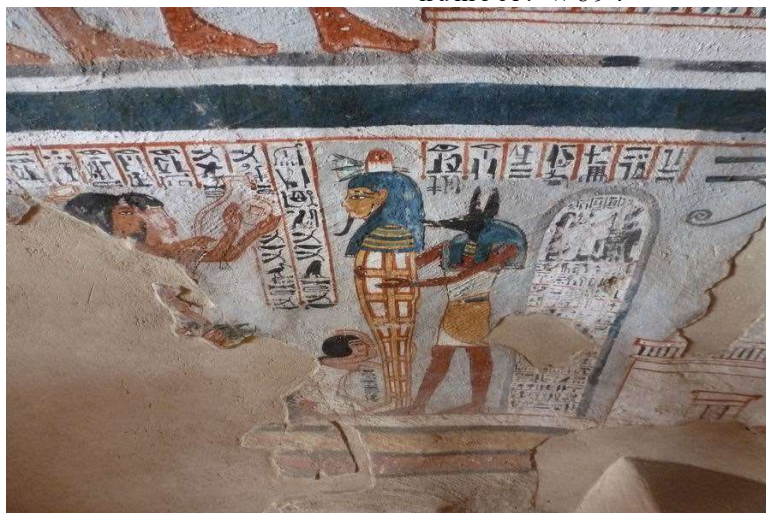




Figure 26. Detail. Tomb of Roy. The “Opening of the Mouth” ritual. © Mick Palarczyk and Paul Smit

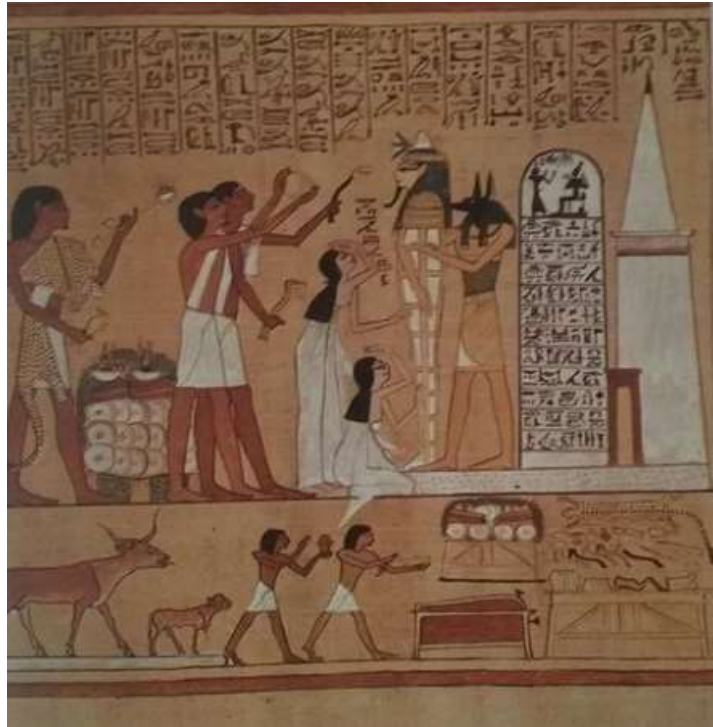


Figure 27. Hunefer’s “Opening of the Mouth” ritual © James, 1985, p. 55

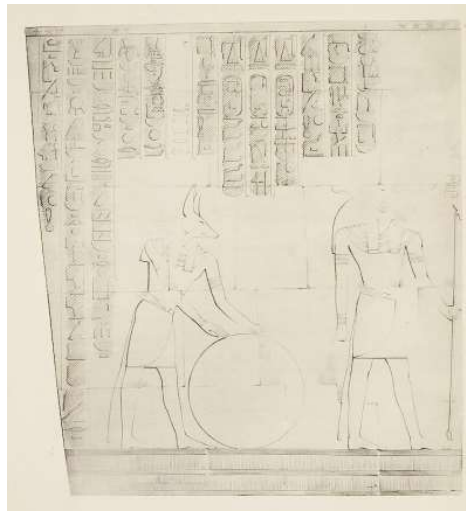


Figure 28. “Opening of the mouth“ ritual from the tomb of Maya © Mortimer, 2015

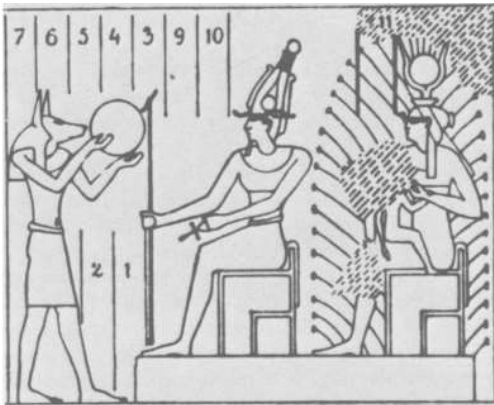


Figure 29. Anubis rolling the Lunar disk from Dendera © Ritner, 1985, p. 150

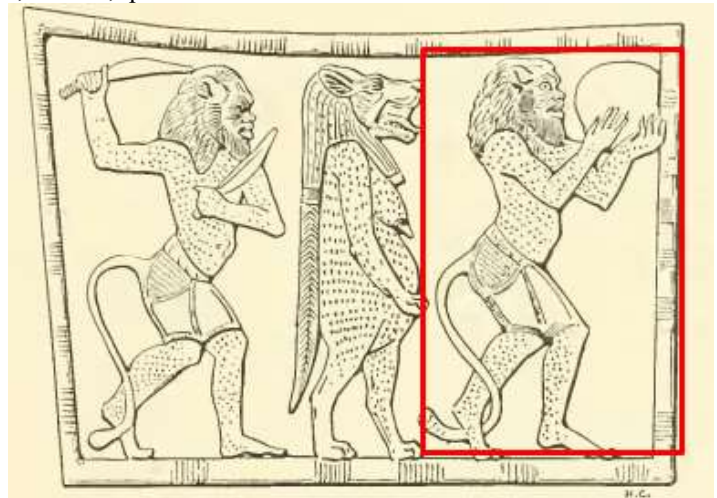




**Figure 30. Anubis rolling the lunar disk from the Deir el-Bahari mamissi**  
© Naville, 1897, p. 18



**Figure 31. Anubis from the mammisi of Edfu** © Ritner, 1985, p. 150



**Figure 32. Bes from the New Kingdom's chair of Satamon**  
© Davis, Maspero, Newberry, 1907, p. 39 (modified by the author)



**Figure 33. Anubis carrying the lunar (?) disk for Mir**  
© Kunsthistorisches Museum.  
Inventory number: 3855



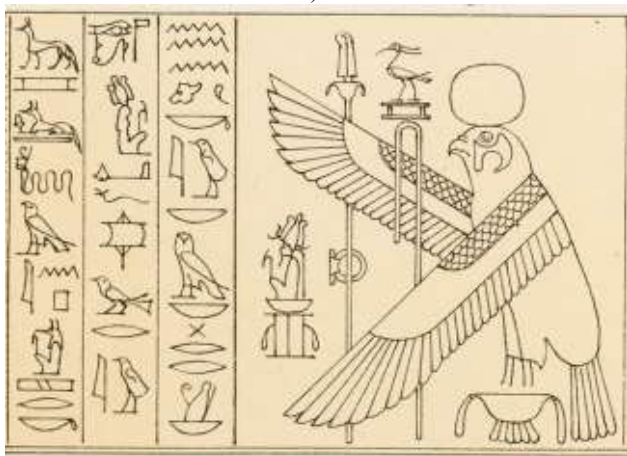
**Figure 34. Hermanubis** © The Bibliotheca Alexandrina Antiquities Museum. Inventory number: T0019



**Figure 35. Pantheistic posture**  
 © Christies, 2016, p. 58 (modified by the author)



**Figure 36. Ram-headed representation**  
 © Unidia-Bruno Sandkühler



**Figure 37. Anubis as a Falcon-head bird**  
 © Mariette, 1873, Pl. 40.8



**Figure 38. Donkey-headed Anubis**  
 © di Luigi, 2016, p. 24



**Figure 39. Human representation in offerings gesture, from Seti's I temple at Abydos** © Visit 360o



**Figure 40. Human representation, from Ramesses II temple at Abydos.** © (Dunn & Rome, n.d.)





**Figure 41. Recumbent posture. Tomb of Nefertari.** © 3d representation (Hirst, n.d.) for OsirisNet



**Figure 42. Recumbent posture of Anubis.** © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Inventory Number: 04.18.9



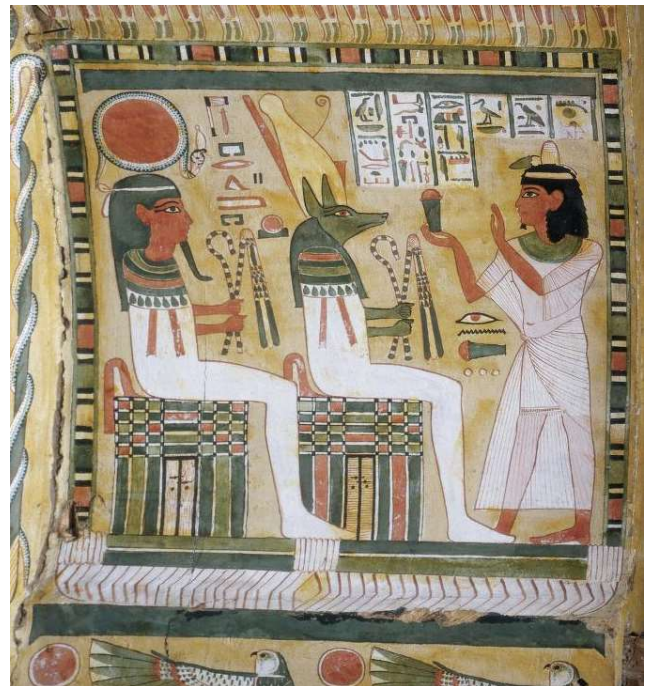
**Figure 43. Standing posture** © The Walters Museum of Art. Inventory number: 54.400



**Figure 44. Standing posture** © from TGEM, n.d. Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Inventory Number: 2570



**Figure 45. Enthroned posture from Nefertari's tomb** © The J. Paul Getty Trust



**Figure 46. Enthroned posture** © AMICA, n.d. Inventory Number: 1914.561.a/b





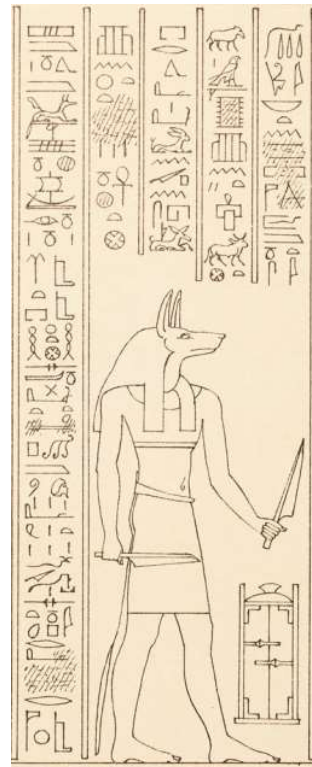
**Figure 47. Squatting posture cartonnage's fragment** © The Trustees of the British Museum. Inventory number EA66641



**Figure 48. Winged posture** © from TGEM, n.d. Kunsthistorisches Museum. Inventory number: 3855



**Figure 49. Detail. Winged posture** © from TGEM, n.d. Kunsthistorisches Museum. Inventory number: 3855



**Figure 50. Anubis with knives** © Mariette, 1873, p. 64. Pl. 61a, (modified by the author)



**Figure 51. Embracing gesture of the Angeriautef's tomb statue © di Luigi, 2016**



**Figure 52. Anubis in purification gesture. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Inventory Number: 38.5**



**Figure 53. Detail. Anubis in purification gesture. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Inventory Number: EA 9919.2, (modified by the author)**



**Figure 54. Supportive gesture from Horemhed's tomb © Bernard M. Adams**



**Figure 55. Protective gesture of Ramesses' I tomb © Unidia-Bruno Sandkühler**





**Figure 56. Escort and Summoning gesture of Anubis from Tatiaset's stela © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Inventory Number: 22.3.33**



**Figure 57. The "breath of life" gesture from Neusera's relief © Robins, The Art of Ancient Egypt, 1997, p. 18**



**Figure 58. Greeting gesture © Scalf, 2017, p. 346**



**Figure 59. Greeting gesture © Demas & Agnew, 2012, p. 70**

### 3. THE MANIFESTATIONS OF ANUBIS IN THE LITERARY SOURCES

#### 3.1 Divine Epithets of Anubis in the Literary Sources

The role of the epithets is to frame the manifestation, the appearance, genealogy and the cult of the deity and often multiple deities could share the same epithet. The epithets (Table 4) were distinguished by Kurth in two categories, the personal epithets (the deity's aspect and appearance) and the situational epithets (epithets associated with the activities of the deity)<sup>257</sup>.

##### 3.1.1. Natural epithets

**Natural and functional epithets**<sup>258</sup>: these epithets connected with the meaning of the deity's name, inner divine and human aspect associated with the deity, as the deity's role. Epithets for the inner aspect dedicated to Anubis are "*Anubis is satisfied*", "*Anubis is strong*", "*Anubis is mighty*"<sup>259</sup>, and "*Anubis is glad*"<sup>260</sup>. Osiris was the first mummified entity, and this act occurred by Anubis. With the mummification, Osiris never fell into the eternal death, since, according to the Egyptian concept, the preservation of the body was considered to be necessary because the deceased continued to live and move perpetually in Duat. Therefore, epithets for Anubis' role are "*he who is upon his mountain*", regarded again as the guardian who overlooks the necropolis from the desert cliffs<sup>261</sup>. Senwosret's III tomb is named "*Mountain of Anubis*", referring to both in the tomb's enclosure and the epithet "*he who is upon his mountain*", thus meaning the protector of the tombs<sup>262</sup>. Another reference to this epithet comes from Late Demotic literature, depicting a healing role: "*Anubis who is upon his mountain will come to you and renew every limb of yours*"<sup>263</sup>.

In this category it is justified to be the mummification epithet of Anubis *jnpw wt*, which can be found on CT IV, 375 (Spell 345)<sup>264</sup> "*Ho N! Anubis the embalmer has mummified you with his best embalming*". In addition to that, an epithet referring the guardian role of Anubis during the mummification is *jmj wt* "*he who is in the place of embalming*"<sup>265</sup> or "*Anubis in the pure place*"<sup>266</sup>. The "*pure*

---

<sup>257</sup> Budde, 2011, pp. 2-4

<sup>258</sup> Budde, 2011, p. 1

<sup>259</sup> Willockx, 2007, p. 46

<sup>260</sup> Faulkner, 1973, p. 50

<sup>261</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 26



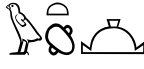
<sup>262</sup> Wegner, 2006, p. 18

<sup>263</sup> Love, 2016, p. 130

<sup>264</sup> Faulkner, 1973, p. 281

<sup>265</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 26

<sup>266</sup> Faulkner, 1973, p. 50

*place*” is the place where the mummification took place,  wabt<sup>267</sup>. Although this epithet is a complex one, because it has many functions, it can be referring to mummy-wrappings or to the high priest (*wt*) of the embalming. However, looking at the oldest form of the word , the word’s determinative is the town-sign. This might also be referring to the area where the ritual took place<sup>268</sup>. The necropolis is a highly potential area for this activity, the source of which is the Ptolemaic word  (*wt*) indicating the necropolis of Anubis’ 17th nome. The Jumilhac Papyrus mentioned that Anubis gained this epithet when he hid and guarded the young Horus in a thick of papyrus in the swamps of Akhmim (aka Chemmis)<sup>269</sup>.

Considering the mummification procedure sacred, Anubis, as a chief of this occupation, took the epithet Hry sStA “*he who is upon the secrets*” (or “*Master of secrets*”)<sup>270</sup>. The epithet may have inherited the sign of recumbent canid to seal and protect the nature of mummification, as this is the role of Anubis. Therefore, this epithet is a latter addition to Anubis’s epithets<sup>271</sup>. The recumbent canid onto the shrine could also be referring to the canopic chest, in which the canopic jars with the deceased’s internal organs were stored. The function of this epithet can be understood from the following passage “*he who is upon the secrets enters to the sanctuary and these is nothing which the god shuts away from him*”<sup>272</sup>. This passage shows the connection of the priests (is also a priestly title) with the gods, as also the sacred role of Anubis as Hry sStA.

An epithet with close association with his duty in the Judgement Hall (BG) is the jp jbw<sup>273</sup> “*Assessors of hearts*”<sup>274</sup>, which is similar to the “*Anubis who allots of hearts*” (P 519)<sup>275</sup> and jrj mxAt “*he who belongs to the scales*”<sup>276</sup>.

“*Anubis foremost of the west, great god who swallows his father Osiris*”<sup>277</sup>. This verse comes from Ramesses VI’s tomb pillar. The shallow acts as an apotropaic

<sup>267</sup> David, 2001, p. 441 and Vygus, 2015, p. 2385

<sup>268</sup> Murray & Sethe, 1937, p. 6 and DuQuesne, 2005, p. 157

<sup>269</sup> Vandier, 1962, p. 102

<sup>270</sup> Orlin, 2015, p. 61

<sup>271</sup> DuQuesne, 2005, p. 255

<sup>272</sup> Beatty, 1999-2000, p. 70

<sup>273</sup> Manassa, 2007, p. 112

<sup>274</sup> Manassa, 2006, p. 121

<sup>275</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 183

<sup>276</sup> Janák, 2003, p. 201

<sup>277</sup> Manassa, 2006, p. 121

force meant to hide Osiris from his enemy, therefore it is an epithet of Anubis declaring his role as the protector.

**Origin and toponymical (cult) epithets**<sup>278</sup>: these epithets depict nomes and other lands related to the funerary territory, which belong to Anubis and can also be priestly titles, with the opening words “*Lord/Mistress*”, “*Foremost*” etc. Epithets depicting Anubis’s ownership/patron god are “*Anubis of Lower Egypt*”<sup>279</sup>, “*Anubis from Gebelein*”<sup>280</sup>, “*Lord of Sepa*”, “*Lord of Thinite nome*”<sup>281</sup>, “*Lord of Roqereret*” etc.

Anubis, a leading figure among those who are buried in the necropolis, (the West) can be seen in the epithets Hnty jmntyw<sup>282</sup> “*Foremost of the Westerners*”<sup>283</sup> and wp-wAwT “*Opener of the Ways*”. Regarding the Hnty jmntyw epithet, an important distinguish between life and death comes from Unis (W 135)<sup>284</sup> “*as Anubis at the fore of the westerners, as Andjeti at the fore of the eastern nomes*”. Anubis is identified as the first of those who live (the dead) in the west (necropolis) and Andjeti as the first of those who are in the living lands (eastern nomes). The tombs of the Egyptians are located in the west side of the Nile, are regarded as the twilight of the life on earth, in contrast to the east which was considered as the new life and rise of the god Ra to the sky. For that reason, Anubis, also took the epithets “*Lord of the Sacred Land*” and “*Lord of the Desert*”, refering to the cemeteries, as the later year epithet “*Lord of Rosetau*”. A source of the latter is a statue’s inscription that mentioned “*The revered before Ptah-Sokar, the prophet-priest of Anubis of Rosetau, the leader of the houses (of Neith of Sais), the great one of the Two Lands, his beloved son, the priest of Neith...Hor-wedja*”<sup>285</sup>. Another source where Rosetau is related with Anubis comes from CT III, 326 (Spell 241)<sup>286</sup> “*I have come to Rosetau in order to know the secret of the Netherworld into which Anubis is initiated*”. Although at first Rosetau was associated with Sokar, it later became an epithet of Anubis and the word “*Rosetau*” means the opening of the passage to the Underworld<sup>287</sup>.

---

<sup>278</sup> Budde, 2011, p. 3

<sup>279</sup> Leitz, 2002, p. 396

<sup>280</sup> Leitz, 2002, p. 395

<sup>281</sup> DuQuesne, 2005, p. 371

<sup>282</sup> DuQuesne, 2005, p. 168

<sup>283</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 25

<sup>284</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 28


<sup>285</sup> WMA, n.d. and Leitz, 2002, p. 396

<sup>286</sup> Faulkner, 1973, p. 190

<sup>287</sup> Willockx, 2007, p. 56

Another locality epithet that has indirect connection to Anubis is given by the epithet “*Nile-valley’s jackal*”. Nile-valley is the Upper Egypt<sup>288</sup>, in which the nomes of Anubis, Wepwawet and Khentamentiu are located. Additionally, this epithet might be showing the influence of the canid gods. The identity of the Nile-Valley jackal as Anubis might come from Pepi I (P 480)<sup>289</sup> “*They will prevent [you] from decomposing, with respect to your identity of Anubis. They will prevent your decay from oozing to the ground, with respect to your identity of the Nile-Valley jackal*”. From the Ptolemaic Period, the epithet “*Master of hawk’s nome with wigs spread*” gives a close association between Anubis and Horus, and his influence over the 18<sup>th</sup> nome<sup>290</sup>.

A well-known cult epithet (priestly title) is  $xnty \ sH \ nTr$ <sup>291</sup> “*Foremost of the Divine Booth*”<sup>292</sup>. The Divine Booth was either the area in which mummification took place or the burial chamber of the deceased<sup>293</sup> and can also be translated as “*divine hall*”, “*god’s booth*”<sup>294</sup>, “*divine pavilion*”, “*god’s tent*”<sup>295</sup> and all these

titles are combined with the variety of hieroglyphic sign .

**Genealogical epithets**<sup>296</sup>: the genealogy roots of the deity with words as “*father/mother/son of*”. Epithets for the genealogy of Anubis comes from a papyrus (Louvre N 3176) where he is the son of Osiris and Bastet, from Edfu’s mammisi comes the passage “*Your (the king’s) purification is the purification of Anubis, born of Hesat*”<sup>297</sup> and from Middle Kingdom coffin of Henui: “*Anubis... him who was in the middle of the mid-heaven, fourth of the sons of Ra...*”<sup>298</sup> From Pepi I (P 463) his daughter’s name is confirmed, “*This Pepi will find Qebehut, Anubis’s daughter, meeting him with those four water-jars of hers*”<sup>299</sup>.

The following passage from CT (I, 228-229)<sup>300</sup>, apart from the reference to Anubis’s father, who might be Osiris, as the lord of the gods, is also using other epithets of Anubis as function and ownership epithets: “*Thus has Atum said: Awake, Anubis, Lord of Rokeret, because of this god, son of the Lord of the*

<sup>288</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 438

<sup>289</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 165

<sup>290</sup> Vandier, 1962, p. 33

<sup>291</sup> DuQuesne, 2005, p. 248

<sup>292</sup> Orlin, 2015, p. 41

<sup>293</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 26

<sup>294</sup> Willockx, 2007, p. 51

<sup>295</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 116

<sup>296</sup> Budde, 2011, p. 4

<sup>297</sup> Willockx, 2007, p. 41

<sup>298</sup> Ensminger, 2015

<sup>299</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 158

<sup>300</sup> Faulkner, 1973, p. 47

*gods! Isis has put her arms around you as she did for the Lord of All. Awake, you paths! Arise early, you gates! The god appears that he may see the nobles who give praise in the Sacred Booth, who look on the god who drives out the rebel I and who imprisons for himself those who spoke of frightening him”.*

From the Book of Gates comes the passage “*Anubis foremost of the west, great god (sam jt=f)*<sup>301</sup> *who swallows his father Osiris*”<sup>302</sup>. The analysis of the verse gives the different epithets. “*Anubis foremost of the west*” is ownership/patron god epithet, “*great god*” is a status epithet, “*who swallows*” function epithet (see above) and “*his father Osiris*” a genealogy one.

### 3.1.2. Situational epithets

**Status and age epithets**<sup>303</sup>: a proclamation of the deity’s hierarchy, containing words as “*great*”, “*small*” “*first*” etc. An example from Pepi I’s PT (P 553) is “[...] *as Anubis first of his shrine [...]*”<sup>304</sup> which points out Anubis’s primary in the secrets of mummification. Teti’s PT (T 144)<sup>305</sup> an epithet “*Anubis-wrapper*”, which refers to the priest involved in the mummification.

Another status epithet as also a function one is “*Foremost of the West*” and another one, which may come from the priestly title, “*director of troops (?) of Anubis, he of the divine booth*”<sup>306</sup>. This echoed a military aspect of Anubis, who needs to protect the divine booth and its sacred procedures.

**Iconographical epithets**<sup>307</sup>: these epithets is correlated to the outer features and the variety of deity’s postures. From PT of Unis (W 146) the deceased king has the body of Atum but the face of Anubis<sup>308</sup> and from Pepi I’s PT (P 31) Anubis is depicted in his famous posture: “*Raise yourself as Osiris, as the akh who is Geb’s first son, and take up your position as Anubis on the shrine*”<sup>309</sup>. A same one is the epithet “*Anubis on his belly*”<sup>310</sup>. Other iconographic epithets derive from the moment the new spirit travels to sky as “*Anubis is seizing your arm*”<sup>311</sup> (N 593) and the “*foremoste of grip*” referring to the canid’s teeth<sup>312</sup>.

---

<sup>301</sup> Manassa, 2007, p. 112

<sup>302</sup> Manassa, 2006, p. 121

<sup>303</sup> Budde, 2011, p. 4

<sup>304</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 194

<sup>305</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 72

<sup>306</sup> Fischer, 1996, p. 49

<sup>307</sup> Budde, 2011, p. 3

<sup>308</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 31

<sup>309</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 105

<sup>310</sup> However, these two epithets also could be functional epithets, as the Hry sStA epithet (see above).

<sup>311</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 301

<sup>312</sup> DuQuesne, 2005, p. 370



**Mythical and cosmogonical epithets**<sup>313</sup>: the context of these epithets is to show the god’s splendiddness. A mythological epithet as also a cult one is the epithet “*Anubis ruler of the Bows*”<sup>314</sup>. This epithet echoed the nine enemies of Egypt (Haw nHw, Sat, tA Smaw, sxt jAm, tA mHw, pDtjw Sw, THnw, jwntyw stj and mntyw stt<sup>315</sup>) and his victory upon the wicked forces of Duat<sup>316</sup>. Anubis is depicted over nine bows in a seal, which underlines his control over the intruders of the tomb<sup>317</sup>.

The PT of Pepi I (P 31) mentioned that Anubis has the power to enlighten the deceased’s spirit (akhify) by command: “*The horizons’ door has been opened to you. Geb’s door has been pulled open to you. You shall emerge at Anubis’s voice, and he will akhify you as Thoth, that you may part the gods and set the borders of the (sky’s) arcs between the two Controlling Powers, by virtue of this akhification that Anubis has commanded*”<sup>318</sup>. In this passage, we also see Anubis acting like Thoth, or a correlation of the two gods, to ensure the ankification.

The words “*horizon*”, “*akhify*”, which we sometimes see in the epithets, outline resurrection abilities, sacred for and secret from the common people, knowledge only for the gods and the priests. To establish his role, he carries epithets which are associated with the deceased’s final places “*desert*”, “wt”, “*west*”, etc. The face of Anubis, which a king has, might suggest the protective aspect of Anubis during the animation of the soul. The commands of Anubis might be the divine words full of magic to create a new life or an offering to feed the eternal soul. All these epithets of Anubis prove his important role in the funerary rituals, as also in rebirth and in the contexts of the Osirian circle.

**Table 4. List of Anubis’s epithets**

<b>Transliteration</b>	<b>Translation</b>	<b>Category</b>
<i>jnpw wt</i>	<i>Anubis the embalmer</i>	Functional
<i>jmj wt</i>	<i>He who is in the place of embalming</i>	
<i>Hry sStA</i>	<i>He who is upon the secrets</i>	
<i>jnpw tA wab</i>	<i>Anubis in the pure place</i>	
<i>jnpw Hr</i> <i>Xt=f</i>	<i>Anubis on his belly</i>	Functional/ Iconographical
<i>jrj-mxAt</i>	<i>He who belongs to the scales</i>	
<i>Tpy qw=f</i>	<i>He who is upon his mountain</i>	Functional/ Iconographical

<sup>313</sup> Budde, 2011, p. 4

<sup>314</sup> Orlin, 2015, p. 61

<sup>315</sup> Anthony, 2016, p. 39

<sup>316</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 26

<sup>317</sup> Wilkinson, 2003, p. 187

<sup>318</sup> Allen, 2005, pp. 46,105

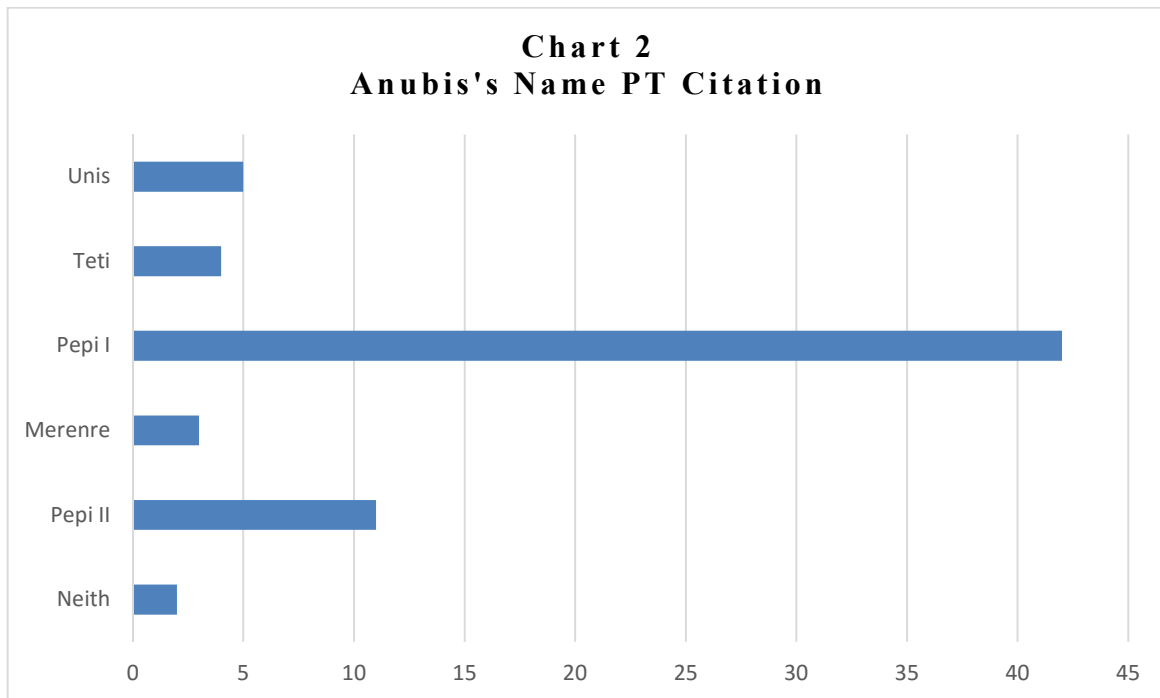
<b>Transliteration</b>	<b>Translation</b>	<b>Category</b>
<i>jp jb=w</i>	<i>Assessors of hearts</i>	
<i>jnpw jp jbw</i>	<i>Anubis who allots hearts</i>	
<i>sam jt=f</i>	<i>He who shallows</i>	
<i>Hnty jmntyw</i>	<i>Foremost of the Westerners</i>	Topographical
<i>Xnty sH nTr</i>	<i>Foremost of the Divine Booth</i>	
<i>nb qrs</i>	<i>Lord of burial</i>	
<i>nb Xrt nTr</i>	<i>Lord of the necropolis</i>	
<i>wp wAwT</i>	<i>Opener of the Ways</i>	
<i>nb tA</i>	<i>Lord of the Sacred Land</i>	
<i>Dsrt</i>		
<i>nb smjt</i>	<i>Lord of the Desert</i>	
<i>nb rA sTA.w</i>	<i>Lord of Rosetau</i>	
<i>nb spA</i>	<i>Lord of Sepa</i>	
<i>nd tA wr</i>	<i>Lord of Thinite nome</i>	
<i>nb rA qrrt</i>	<i>Lord of Roqeret</i>	
<i>nTr aA</i>	<i>Great god</i>	Status
<i>jnpw hny</i>	<i>Anubis on the shrine</i>	Iconographical
<i>HqA pDt</i>	<i>Ruler of the Bows</i>	Mythical
<i>psDt</i>		

### 3.2 Anubis in the Literary Sources

#### 3.2.1. Old Kingdom: Anubis in Pyramid Texts

The Pyramid Texts was a group of spells (or utterances) for the deceased pharaoh's soul assentation to the Afterlife.

Anubis is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts 67 times (Chart 2) and has a few roles and powers and his role, as it happens in the Pyramid Texts, is epic, illustrated with mythical ingredients.



As it has already been mentioned in the Chapter 3.1, Anubis can akhify the deceased's spirit by command. This is an important role during the resurrection

and addressed to Anubis, and might mean that Anubis can use magic<sup>319</sup> to transform the spirit. Other passages with Anubis's magic come again from Pepi I, where Anubis's magic is stronger through repetition. Moreover, they state that he can make the deceased a star and a morning god, achieving, for the deceased's soul, life in both day and night.

Pepi I (P 334)<sup>320</sup> *“A speech (about you) has come before Anubis and your privilege has come from the mouth of Anubis: (your privilege of) Horus Thighs-Forward, the one of the hobbles, lord of Rebellion-town; and the Nile-Valley's Jackal, administrator of the Elder Ennead”.*

Pepi I (P 484)<sup>321</sup> *“Anubis, foremost of the god's booth, has commanded that you descend as a star, as the morning god”.*

Pepi I (P 526)<sup>322</sup> *“Anubis at the fore of the god's booth will command your akh (to be) about you and your control within you, as you remain at the fore of the controlling powers”.*

A connection of Anubis with the sun's course in the sky comes from Pepi I's Pyramid Texts (P 484)<sup>323</sup> *“Anubis, foremost of the god's booth, has commanded that you descend as a star, as the morning god. You shall wander southern Horus's mounds, you shall wander northern Horus's mounds, and those of estimation will lay down their arms for the stairway to your seat”.*

A passage from Pepi I's PT (P 14)<sup>324</sup> depicts the fate of Osiris's enemies, but also the role of Anubis in the judgement: *“Horus has been untied from his breastband for you, that he might catch those in Seth's following. Seize them, remove their heads, sever their forelegs, and gut them, take their hearts, and slurp their blood. Allot their hearts in this your identity of Anubis who allots hearts”.* The meaning of this might be the identification (allocation) of the hearts (the center of all thoughts and sentiments<sup>325</sup>) by the king (as Anubis), of those who are the enemies. A same one comes from Unis (W 150)<sup>326</sup> *“This Unis has come, an imperishable akh, arrayed on the neck as Anubis at the head of the western height, that he may claim (the king as Anubis) minds and control hearts. The one he wants to live, he will live; the one he wants to die, he will die”*, in

---

<sup>319</sup> PT inherited the concept of HKA, which is a form of magic that will be presented in the later years.

<sup>320</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 131

<sup>321</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 168

<sup>322</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 187

<sup>323</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 168

<sup>324</sup> Allen, 2005, pp. 102-103

<sup>325</sup> Κουσούλης, 2004, σ. 48

<sup>326</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 33

which Unis is considered a good spirit. Here the controlling aspect of Anubis over the minds and hearts passed to the king's possession and might mean the state of Anubis's knowledge on the deceased life.

The importance of the following passages might rely on the thought which underlines Anubis's warfare and protection.

*Pepi I (P 322)*<sup>327</sup> “Horus's followers, Anubis's throwstick and bow, shall clean this Pepi”.

*Merenre (M 342)*<sup>328</sup> “Horus's followers, Anubis's throwstick and bow, shall clean you and make for you the spell of emerging and make for you the spell of proceeding”.

Throw-stick and bow are identified as Anubis's implements, or weapons. Furthermore, throw-stick hieroglyphic<sup>329</sup> refers to foreigners that were considered enemies of Egypt. These two implements are used in this passage for the deceased's liberation, to be a pure spirit and any noxious elements (as enemies) will be set aside with the help of the divine followers and implements. In addition, with that the Pepi I's passage (P 489)<sup>330</sup> clarifies that those who are malevolent and come to Anubis's territories (necropolis, underworld) shall die for the king as Osiris continues his journey to rebirth “*You who are dangerous for him when the king journeys over Anubis's places!*”—*anyone who hears this will not live*”. Enemies of the resurrecting spirit can also be found in Neith's Pyramid Texts (Nt 240)<sup>331</sup> in which again Anubis seems to give the means to impugned: “*Stand at the fore of the Dual Shrines, at the fore of the jackal gods, and strike your arm against your opponents that Anubis at the fore of the god's booth gave you when he put you, Neith, at the fore of the westerners*”. Moreover, the passage from Pepi I (P 361)<sup>332</sup> outlines Anubis as a guardian who cautions against the evil forces penetrating the Underworld. For this reason, since this particular recitation is done during the morning ritual, bread is offered to pacify him and, in fact, to be invoked to acknowledge the soul that is good. Anubis as a warrior of the evil can be calm down with offerings: “*My father, become sound; defend those therein as one whose character is hidden, and you will be defended to perfection. Become calm, Anubis, with the bread. Induct the owner of the bDA-bread so that he is perfect, sweet of tooth and pleasant of love. The sound*

---

<sup>327</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 126

<sup>328</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 228

<sup>329</sup> Gardiner, 1957, p. 513 and Allen, 2014, p. 497

<sup>330</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 172

<sup>331</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 321

<sup>332</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 141

owner with heart made pleasant, he is one in your knowledge, as ka at rest". Furthermore, the same idea continued in CT VI, 316 (Spell 686)<sup>333</sup> "[...] throw-sticks have been presented to me by the great West, and the' hearts of the gods are glad when they see me on that day of smashing the heads of the mottled snakes with these throw-sticks which belong to me". Finally, a hieroglyphic attested on Ptolemaic Period (creation of new hieroglyphic signs) depicts this



figure of canid <sup>334</sup> holding what seems to be a throwstick and bow.

Other implements addressed to Anubis come from the passage of Pepi II (N 100)<sup>335</sup> used during the Opening of the Mouth ritual (see Chapter 4): “[How sweet is your mouth, for your mouth has been adjusted for you to your bones. Your mouth has been parted for you, your eyes have been parted for you. Ho, Pepi Neferkare]! Your mouth has been parted with Anubis’s adze, the metal Striker that parted the mouth of the gods”.

Anubis’s role as embalmer can be found on the following passages, which clarify that Anubis is the one who attends the body, a knowledge gained when he performed it for Osiris.

Pepi I (P 31)<sup>336</sup> “[...] as the Jackal, administrator of the (sky’s) arcs; as Anubis at the fore of the clean land—that he might put you as the morning god in the midst of the Marsh of Reeds, seated on your chair, your disassembled parts having been elevated by the Dual Crown of the lord of the (sky’s) arcs”.

Pepi I (P. 462)<sup>337</sup> “His entrails have been washed by Anubis, and Horus’s service in Abydos—Osiris’s purification—has been performed”.

Pepi II (N 466)<sup>338</sup> “Ho, Pepi Neferkare! Raise yourself to those older than you. You shall eat figs and drink wine, with your face that of a jackal, as Anubis who is banded [with it]”.

In the above passages, Anubis is the main leader of the mummification but Teti and Pepi II PT state the involvement of a priest in the procedure, citing the human presence in the divine work and mystery:

---

<sup>333</sup> Faulkner, 1977, p. 251

<sup>334</sup> Mariette, 1873, PL 69. Modified by the author.

<sup>335</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 252

<sup>336</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 105

<sup>337</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 158

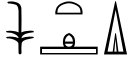


<sup>338</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 285

Teti (T 144)<sup>339</sup> “*To me should you come, to me should you come; you should indeed come to me, who am Horus who tends his father, oh Teti, and your Anubis-wrapper*”.

Pepi II (N 411)<sup>340</sup> “*Raise yourself, Pepi Neferkare, and sit on your metal chair, for Anubis at the fore of the god’s booth has commanded that you be cleaned with those eight water-jars of yours, the eight washing-jars that came forth from the god’s palace, and so, you will be washed with natron*”.

During the Old Kingdom the offering formula was addressed mostly on Anubis. The Htp-dj-nswt formula is found on chapels, false doors, stelae, etc<sup>341</sup> and was in fact a prayer which asked the gods to provide offerings to the deceased. The formula always started with Htp-dj-nswt phrase to be followed up by the addressed god (Osiris or Anubis). After the name of the god, the list of goods for the ka was given and finally ended with the deceased’s name<sup>342</sup>. The list of goods was given by the living keens of the deceased. In the case of royalty, the living Pharaoh<sup>343</sup> read the goods outloud so that the deceased would be provided with magical power<sup>344</sup>. The communities, such as beer, bread, oxen, fowl, oil and clothing<sup>345</sup> were the needful things required for the deceased to live in Duat with decency<sup>346</sup>.

The formula was used from Early Dynastic Period to Roman Period and the usual structure was<sup>347</sup>:

-  Htp-dj-nswt “*an offering which the king gives*”<sup>348</sup>
-  prt-xrw “*an invocation offering... (list of goods)*”
-  n kA n jmAxy “*for the ka of the honored... (Citation of the deceased name and titles)*”<sup>349</sup>.

In the case of Anubis, we can find the formula in these forms<sup>350</sup>:

- Htp-dj-nswt n jnpw “*a royal offering of Anubis*”

<sup>339</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 72

<sup>340</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 276

<sup>341</sup> Κουσούλης, 2015, σ. 90

<sup>342</sup> Allen, 2014, pp. 365-367

<sup>343</sup> Gardiner, 1957, p. 171

<sup>344</sup> Leprohon, 2001, p. 572

<sup>345</sup> Gardiner, 1957, p. 171

<sup>346</sup> Κουσούλης, 2015, σ. 90

<sup>347</sup> Allen, 2014, p. 367 and Gardiner, 1957, p. 172

<sup>348</sup> It is the same with “*A boon which the king gives*”, or “*A king-given offering*”.

<sup>349</sup> Κουσούλης, 2015, σ. 92

<sup>350</sup> Allen, 2014, p. 366

- Htp-dj-jnpw “*an offering that Anubis gives*”
- Htp-dj-nswt Htp-dj-jnpw “*an offering that the king gives and an offering that Anubis gives*”

In the Pyramid Texts the offering formula is found in Teti (T 225)<sup>351</sup> “*The offering that Anubis, foremost of westerners, will give is your thousands of bread, your thousands of beer, your thousands of ointment, your thousands of linen, your thousands of clothing, your thousands of cattle*”; and on Pepi I (P 31)<sup>352</sup> “*A king-given offering, an Anubis-given offering: your thousand of raised oryxes from the deserts coming to you in obeisance. A king-given offering, an Anubis-given offering: your thousand of bread, your thousand of beer, your thousand of great-bread that comes from the broadhall, your thousand of everything sweet, your thousand of cattle, your thousand of everything you might eat or set your heart on*”.

Examples of offering formulas from other sources:

From granite sarcophagus of the 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (2520–2472 B.C.E.), located at Giza, Eastern Cemetery (Mastaba G7760):

Htp Dj nswt jnp.w xnt.j-sH-nTr qrs m s(my).t jmn.t(j).t m nb jmAx xr nTr aA jr.j-pa.t xtm(.tj)-bj.tj mnj.w-nxn sA nswt Mnw-Dd=f

“*Offering which the king gives (and) Anubis (presiding) over the divine booth, (and) burial in the western desert as a possessor of reverence before the great god, (to) the sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, the guardian of Nekhen (Hierakonpolis), the king's son, Mendjedef*”<sup>353</sup>.

From tomb-stela dated in 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (ca. 2323–2100 B.C.E.) from Dendera<sup>354</sup>:

Htp dj nswt jnp.w pr.t-xrw n Xkr.t-nswt wa.tjt Hm(.t)-nTr Hw.t-Hr nb.t-jwn.t jmAx.wt xr nTr aA nb-p.t Htp-sj

“*Offering which the king gives (and) Anubis, invocation offering, for the Sole Royal Ornament, Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of Dendera, the one who is revered before the great god, lord of heaven, Hetepsi*”.

From lintel of Kameni<sup>355</sup>, dated in 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (ca. 2500–2350 B.C.E.), located at Giza (Tomb 7142 A):

---

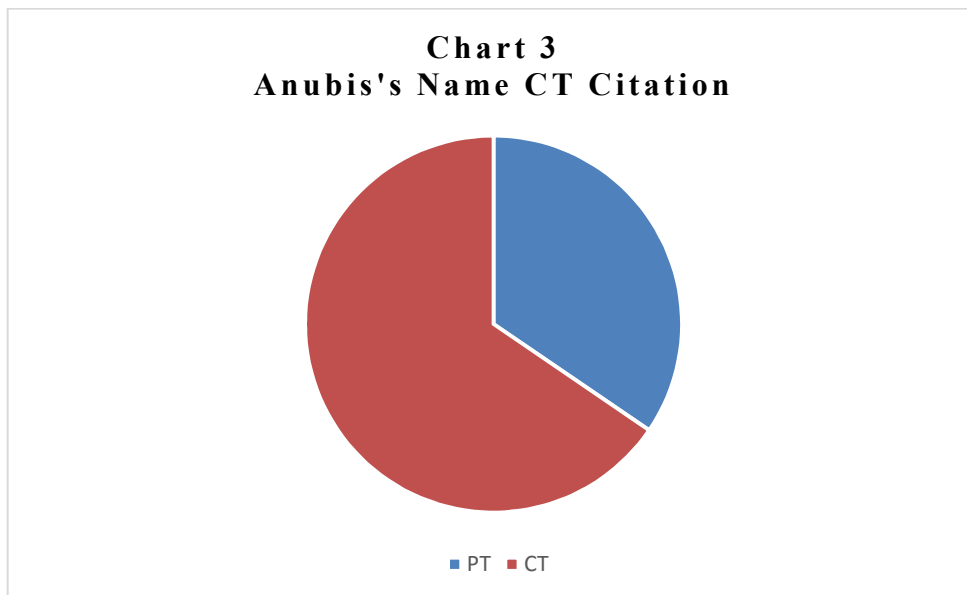
<sup>351</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 86  
<sup>352</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 106  
<sup>353</sup> MET, n.d.  
<sup>354</sup> MET, n.d.  
<sup>355</sup> MFA, n.d.

*“An offering which the king gives to Anubis<sup>356</sup>, Lord of the Sacred Land and burial for the ka of the king’s acquaintance, (to) remain in the western desert, an invocation offering for sun goddess (for) every day to eternity<sup>357</sup>”.*

### 3.2.2. First Intermediate Period to Middle Kingdom: Anubis in Coffin Texts

The Coffin Texts are a group of spells written mostly on coffins, they were a guide for the deceased's journey as well as a guide to prepare him for the threats that would occur in the Underworld; the CT democratized the Underworld for both royal and common people.

Anubis’s name in the Coffin Texts is being mentioned 127 times (Chart 3), although, in many passages, the name of Anubis is mentioned with no particular reason only to serve an epithet<sup>358</sup>, his role is well established. Perhaps this happens because of the development of the hieroglyphic system, in which the sentence and the storytelling structure became stronger than in the previous period. Moreover, the Coffin Texts have many parallels to the PT, but the Coffin Texts spells seem to be deepening and becoming more powerful with many gruesome references. Here Anubis, can be said that has a more anthropocentric and natural approach than in the Pyramid Texts. Even if he has the same role (guardian, embalmer, etc), the following passages define him more clearly as entity.



Anubis’s ability to transform the deceased’s soul to akh can be found in: CT I, 238 (Spell 51)<sup>359</sup> “[...] *you shall have life from Anubis [...]*”

<sup>356</sup> Htp-dj-nswt jnpw.t nb tA Dsrt qrst.f rx-nsw kA n mn.f m smyt.t Hr.t jAw ntr wrt prt-xrw n.f ray t ran b Dt. Transliteration and translation by the author.

<sup>357</sup> What is repeated in perpetuity (linear time).

<sup>358</sup> Willockx, 2007, p. 59

<sup>359</sup> Faulkner, 1973, p. 50



CT IV, 380 (Spell 347)<sup>360</sup> “*Thoth performing the role of Re according to the command which Anubis made*”.

CT Spell 785<sup>361</sup> “*O N, Anubis indeed forms you, so that you may be on earth through him, you being alive so that you may travel about daily; your vision is restored so that you may see the sun; be a spirit*”.

These three examples are powerful not only because they underline Anubis’s magic, but also because Anubis has the ability to make Thoth act as Ra. The Spell 785 clarifies that after the formation by Anubis the deceased, who is now an akh, is capable of seeing the sun, meaning the restoration of certain senses useful in the Afterlife.

The warfare aspect of Anubis, which is found on PT continues to the Coffin Texts.

CT VI, 47 (Spell 481)<sup>362</sup> “*O Anubis, Lord of Asyut(?), who spears and traps in the place of the wounded one, I have escaped from it*”.

CT VI, 369 (Spell 741)<sup>363</sup> “*See, Re has imposed an obstacle [...] he speaks to the gods who are about his shrine, and they have smitten [...] mysterious [words(?)] which are in the mouth of Anubis. The terror of you is in front of my shape, [and I see(?)] what has been done to you because of your evil affair*”.

These two passages are filled with violence “*spears*”, “*traps*”, “*wounded*”, “*smitten*” and “*evil affair*”. Both passages seem to depict the damnation of the enemy and of evil souls, an act made by Anubis or by the words spoken by him. They give a more direct role to Anubis and in the case of the first spell a more active role with the verbs “*spears and traps*”.

The role of Anubis in mummification in the CT is sanctioned and strengthened. In many passages, Anubis is portrayed as the embalmer or as the source from which the deceased gained his knowledge of mummification. However, if we compare the references to the Old Kingdom, the process of mummification is more humanized and its narrative becomes darker.

CT II, 300-304 (Spell 155)<sup>364</sup> “*I know what is lacking from the corpse in the hand of Anubis on that night of covering his testicles (?), and on that day of bandaging what is in his mouth. It is something which was not out of Osiris, the front of which was joined to its back in woodwork of planking*”.

---

<sup>360</sup> Faulkner, 1973, p. 282

<sup>361</sup> Faulkner, 1977, p. 307

<sup>362</sup> Faulkner, 1977, p. 12

<sup>363</sup> Faulkner, 1977, p. 281

<sup>364</sup> Faulkner, 1973, p. 13

CT III, 304-305 (Spell 236)<sup>365</sup> “*O you terrible ones, you messengers of Osiris who close the mouths of the spirits because of what is in them, I you are powerless to close my mouth, you cannot take away the movement of my legs, for I am one who will go in and out, the mover of the Pure Place, who kindles a flame for Anubis on the day of treating him who is in his putridity*”.

In addition to that in CT VI, 385 (755)<sup>366</sup> “[...] *do not decay in this your name of Anubis; do not drip on the ground in this your name of 'Jackal'*”, the name of Anubis is used as invocation and emphasis on the prevention of disintegration.

The association of the priest with the mummification is new evidence of the embalming procedure. What seems to be a reference to the masks wearing by the priest is in the following spell:

CT VI, 103 (Spell 516)<sup>367</sup> “*Ho N! Raise yourself for those who are greater than you! You shall eat figs and drink wine, for your face is (that of) the jackal of Anubis; be covered with it*”.



Anubis’s role in the judgment comes from the following spells:

CT VI, 412 (Spell 781)<sup>368</sup> “*O N, Anubis stands up, having stocked himself with milk which he will give, and he allots its jars to you; he cuts off what those who are over the watchers may do against you*”.

CT III, 88 (Spell 187)<sup>369</sup> “*What I doubly detest, I will not eat. Faeces is my detestation, and I will not eat; I will not consume filth, for to me belongs this white bright crown of Anubis*”.

These three spells give straightness in the storytelling and the Spell 187 once again depicts vividly the fate of the damned.

Regarding to the Htp-dj-nswt formula, during the Middle Kingdom it is further developed:

- list of commodities and deceased’s epithets
- more emphasis on god’s offer with the verb  or , dj.f prt xrw “*that he may give an invocation offering*”<sup>370</sup>
- emphasis of deceased’s ka
- already from First Intermediate Period the phrase “*he who honored by (name of the god)*”<sup>371</sup> emphasis the divine acceptance of the deceased.

<sup>365</sup> Faulkner, 1973, p. 185

<sup>366</sup> Faulkner, 1977, p. 28)

<sup>367</sup> Faulkner, 1977, pp. 146-147

<sup>368</sup> Faulkner, 1977, p. 305

<sup>369</sup> Faulkner, 1973, p. 156

<sup>370</sup> Gardiner, 1957, p. 172 and Κουσούλης, 2015, σ. 95

These are two examples of the CT:

CT V, 165 (Spell 399)<sup>372</sup> “*A boon which the king grants (to) Anubis who is on his mountain, who is in the place of embalming, Lord of the Sacred Land, in all his pure and fair places, (namely) invocation offerings for one who is honoured with the great god, Lord of the sky, for N, the worthy and vindicated; a thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of cattle, poultry, wild game, alabaster, clothing, the funeral meal, and a thousand of all pure and good things of which the spirits wish to eat, for N [...]*”.

CT VII, 112 (Spell 908)<sup>373</sup> “*A boon which the king grants (and also) Anubis who presides over the god's booth, Lord of the Netherworld, to whom the Westerners give worship; Lord of Sepa, pre-eminent in the Sacred Land; [...] who dwells in the middle sky, the fourth of the Children of Re, who was caused to descend from the sky to put Osiris in order, because he was so highly regarded 'by Re and the gods. May he grant that N's tomb will benefit*”.

### **3.2.3. Middle Kingdom: The Book of Two Ways**

The book of the Two Ways is attested on the coffin from Deir el Barsha during the Middle Kingdom, containing a “map” to Underworld realm<sup>374</sup> and is the non-royal Coffin Text composition<sup>375</sup> (CT 1029-1185). The role of Anubis is not important and in the few passages which he is attested, he is dealing with rituals and the akhification.

CT 513, VI 98 is also attested on Book of the Two Ways, in which Anubis is addressed again with the power of *akhification*. This passage deals with the deceased state before the animation and the aftermath of the akhification by Anubis.

*“My dissolution was caused yesterday, I have returned today, a path has been prepared for me, and I will go up and take possession of the shape of Anubis. I am one who is tousled (?), I who went up into his horizon; I am one who is dishevelled, who went up with his scepter; I am Lord of my wrt-crown; I am the third of the magicians, I being one whom Maret protects; I am the Red One, the protector of his Eye. I died yesterday, I raised myself today, I returned today,*

---

<sup>371</sup> Dawood, 1998

<sup>372</sup> Faulkner, 1977, p. 41

<sup>373</sup> Faulkner, 1978, p. 59

<sup>374</sup> Sherbiny, 2017, p. 1

<sup>375</sup> Lesko, 1977, p. 2

*and a path has been prepared for me, (even me) the door-keeper of the great warship*”<sup>376</sup>.

CT 1047, VII 300: “*What Anubis bewails is the offerings in the day of straw! among those who make xnmt-cakes*<sup>377</sup> *for Osiris. I am he who is at the hand of Thoth, I am he who cooks a bnmt-cake for Osiris among those who make offerings; what Anubis bewails is the offerings on the day of straw*<sup>378</sup>”. In this passage, Anubis is “mourning the offerings” of the deceased suggesting the preparation of the funeral meals from the deceased in the name of Osiris. The passage is placed on the context of the offering formula<sup>379</sup> and Anubis seems to be waiting for the meal to be received.

#### **3.2.4. Second Intermediate Period (17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty) to Late Period: Anubis in Book of the Dead**

In the Book of the Dead, the face and the parts of the deceased’s body are still addressing to Anubis and his divine epithets of the previous years continue to be carried by the god. Despite the fact that in the New Kingdom the representation of Anubis is rich, many examples exist in literature of his name not being mentioned but his representation is being used as a supplement to the text.

What seems to be a reference to Anubis’s magic is in the BD 147: “*I have come today, I have come today. Make way for me, (that I may proceed), (O you) whom (I) Anubis created I am lord of the Coil, one who has planned magic, saved truth, and saved his eye. I have brought Osiris' eye to him. Make way for me, that I may pass*”<sup>380</sup>.

The fate of the damned comes from BD 144: “*Anubis ordered to the bearers of offerings, that there should be offerings to N. of his own, and that they should not be taken from him by those who are in captivity*”<sup>381</sup>. As already seen in PT and CT, those who were unfaithful were sentenced to a series of punishments. Here the offerings, which are needed for the soul’s nourishment never reach them.

Once again the protective aspect of Anubis is revealed from the BD 17: “*And as for those 7 blessed ones, (they are) Imset, Hapi, Duamutef, Qebehsenuf, He whom his father sees, He who is under his Moringa Tree, and Horus with No*

---

<sup>376</sup> Faulkner, 1977, p. 145

<sup>377</sup> Leskso translated it as fragrant-cook Lesko, 1977, p. 52

<sup>378</sup> Faulkner, 1978, p. 136

<sup>379</sup> Sherbiny, 2017, p. 213

<sup>380</sup> Allen, 1960, p. 251 and Renouf & Naville, 1904, p. 298

<sup>381</sup> Renouf & Naville, 1904, p. 288

*Eyes in his forehead. Anubis made them the magical protection of the burial of Osiris*<sup>382</sup>. In addition, the passage refers to his magical abilities.

A passage of Anubis affirming him as the protector is from BD 151: *“Said by Anubis in his divine hall, the lord of the Sacred Land. I keep watch over thy head. Awake, thou on the mountain. Thy wrath is averted. I have averted thy furious wrath. I am thy protector”*<sup>383</sup>. This passage is filled with rage and serves as an invocation for the enemies to be prepared for his deeds as the protector.

The BD 125<sup>384</sup> is an artistic flourishment that represents the deceased's judgment (see Chapter 2 and Chapter 4). In this chapter Anubis leads the deceased in front of the gods to make his Negative Confession. Already BD 30 mentioned that Anubis is one of those who takes part in the judgment: *“Speech of one who is in the place of embalming: Pay good heed, O righteous Judge to the Balance to support [the testimony]* <sup>385</sup>”. Even though, his name is not cited the epithet *“who is in the place of embalming”* is referring to him.

In addition to this, before entering the Hall of Truth, as Anubis leads the deceased there he requires the secret words from the deceased so as to open the door to the hall of justice.

*“And the Majesty of Anubis shall say unto me: “Do you know the name of this door and can you say it?” And the Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, in peace, whose word is truth, shall say, “Khersek-Shu” is the name of this door. And the Majesty of the god Anubis shall say unto me: “Do you know the name of the upper leaf and the name of the lower leaf?” [And the Osiris the scribe Ani] shall say: “Neb-Maat-heri-retiu-f” is the name of the upper leaf and “Neb-pehti-thesu-menment” [is the name of the lower leaf. And the Majesty of the god Anubis shall say]: “Pass on, because you have the knowledge, O Osiris the scribe, the assessor of the holy offerings of all the gods of Thebes. Ani, whose word is truth, the lord of loyal service [to Osiris]”*<sup>386</sup>.

The involvement of Anubis during the mummification continues in the Book of the Dead, but, other than in the Coffin Texts, the Egyptians avoided giving lurid details about what happened during the procedure. Any references that we come across are very simple and highlighted with his epithets.

---

<sup>382</sup> Allen, 1960, p. 90, Budge, 1898, p. 53 and Budge, 1913, p. 388

<sup>383</sup> Renouf & Naville, 1904, p. 310

<sup>384</sup> It is distinguished in three chapters: The chapter entering in the Hall of Maat, the chapter of Negative Confession, and the chapter entering to the gods who are in the Duat.

<sup>385</sup> Budge, 1913, p. 373

<sup>386</sup>(Budge, 1913, p. 57)

BD 26 illustrates Anubis giving back the deceased's heart. In the Anubis's shrine at Tutankhamen's tomb the god addressed to the deceased "*I bring you your heart and give it to in its place in your body*"<sup>387</sup>.

BD 145: "*I have washed myself in the water wherein the god Anubis washed when he had performed the office of embalmer and bandager [...]*"<sup>388</sup>

BD 151: "*The god Anubis, who dwelles in the [city of] embalment, the governor of the divine house, places his two hands upon the lord of life of Nebseni, the scribe and draughtsman of the Temple of Ptah, the lord of piety, the son of the scribe and designer Thena, triumphant, born of the lady of the house Mut-resth, triumphant, and he furnishes him with the things which belong to him*"<sup>389</sup>.

The BD 151 was carved on clay bricks, placed on the four sides (north, south, east and west) of the burial chambers as an apotropaic amulet, and were being used from the New Kingdom to the 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>390</sup> (Figure 60).

Finally, a Htp-dj-nswt formula is attested in a very simply form:

*"A royal offering to Anubis the embalmer, that he may give goodly burial in the god's domain to Osiris N"*<sup>391</sup>.

### **3.2.5. New Kingdom: Anubis in other Afterlife books**

The representation and references to Anubis can be found almost in all Afterlife books, but his role is centered in his protective aspect. The most known books, besides the Book of the Dead, are the Book of Amduat and the Book of Gates, which are very similar to each other. Both depict the journey of the sun-god Ra to Duat during the night hours. The Book of Amduat is divided into 12 divisions and the Book of Gates in 12 hours. The god, with the help of other divinities and entities, defeats the demon Apep who threatens the world and these actions take place in the 7<sup>th</sup> division in the Book of Amduat, but in the Book of Gates the battle against Apep is through the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> hour<sup>392</sup>. Finally, in the end of Ra's travel/journey the god is resurrected as the new sun.

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> division (Figure 61) on the first register of Amduat, Anubis of Thebes (Ramesses VI's tomb) is one of the gods that with their voice and praise to the god Ra will help Nu to be born, Nile to flow and Ra to avenge his

---

<sup>387</sup> Assmann, 2001, p. 102

<sup>388</sup> Budge, 1898, p. 247

<sup>389</sup> Renouf & Naville, 1904 and Budge, 1898, p. 275

<sup>390</sup> Scalf, 2017, p. 311

<sup>391</sup> Allen, 1960, p. 287

<sup>392</sup> Κουσούλης, 2015, σ. 78

enemies<sup>393</sup>. Furthermore, Anubis and the other gods will help the good soul to pass the division with safety. In the 4<sup>th</sup> division, Anubis is depicted as a hauler of the solar boat of Ra<sup>394</sup>; canid entities are frequently depicted as haulers<sup>395</sup>: “*they who guard Anubis in his form of hauler when he pass by them in their sacred land*”. He is also portrayed in the 5<sup>th</sup> division (Figure 62) in the middle of the scene of the 1<sup>st</sup> register before the mountain of darkness from which Khepri will debouch<sup>396</sup>, carrying the epithet “*Anubis of the chest*”. At the end of both sides of the register are Nephthys and Isis taking part in the celestial scene.

Anubis is depicted in the 3<sup>rd</sup> hour of the Book of Gates from the decorated alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I, declares himself as “*he who in the place of embalming*” and “*foremost of the divine booth*”. He praises Osiris and his true words shield him from those who work against him<sup>397</sup>. In the 5<sup>th</sup> hour (Figure 63) the judgment hall of Osiris (see Chapter 2) and his damned enemies in the form of a pig are portrayed<sup>398</sup> (Ramesses VI’s tomb). Anubis stands up right and he invokes Thoth to judge the deceased’s words and he, himself, protects his father by eating him, an action very similar to swallowing<sup>399</sup>.

Another afterlife book is the Book of the Caverns, in which the Underworld is divided in 6 caverns. The concept is the same with the previous books but its difference lies on the fate of the cursed ones. The last register of this book underlines the torture of the damned, delivered with ghoulish detailed representations<sup>400</sup>.

Regarding to Anubis (Ramesses VI’s tomb), the sun-god Ra advises and instructs Anubis on how to cease a dead body from the decomposition<sup>401</sup>. Moreover, he is portrayed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> cavern inside the coffin before Osiris’s shrine<sup>402</sup>, as also in the 4<sup>th</sup> cavern (Figure 64) with the company of Horus both attending to the body of Osiris<sup>403</sup>. In the 5<sup>th</sup> cavern (Figure 65) Anubis is in front of a shrine containing the scepter of Atum<sup>404</sup> and behind of four mummified hawk-headed figures<sup>405</sup>. These mummified figures reinforce his role as guardian.

---

<sup>393</sup> Budge, 1905, p. 51

<sup>394</sup> Budge, 1905, p. 69

<sup>395</sup> Manassa, 2007, p. 119

<sup>396</sup> Darnell, 2004, p. 74, Roberson, 2014, p. 282 and Manassa, 2007, p. 123

<sup>397</sup> Budge, 1906, pp. 50,52

<sup>398</sup> Hornung, 1999, p. 62

<sup>399</sup> Budge, 1906, p. 163

<sup>400</sup> Κουσούλης, 2015, σ. 82

<sup>401</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 26

<sup>402</sup> Roberson, 2014, p. 282

<sup>403</sup> Roberson, 2007, p. 147, Manassa, 2007, p. 42 and Hornung, 1999, p. 94

<sup>404</sup> Hornung, 1999, p. 89

<sup>405</sup> Billing, 2006, p. 66

Another illustration of Anubis attending/hiding<sup>406</sup> the corpse of Osiris comes from a sequence of depictions from the 6<sup>th</sup> cavern (Figure 66-67). In the first one, Anubis is between the two corpses of Osiris<sup>407</sup>, which are in a sarcophagus, with his ba over them and in the second one he is standing behind the sarcophagus. In the last cavern, Anubis is identified as the one who hid the corpse of Osiris: “*My corpse and my head are in her cavern, Anubis hides that which he has gathered together*”<sup>408</sup>.

In Scenes from the Litany of Ra and the Book of Earth, Anubis is depicted watching over a chest, as also attested above, which might be a reference to the canopic chest, and his epithet HRY SStA<sup>409</sup>. This correlation emanates from the word SStA, which follows the text and means “conceals”, or “hide”. The hidden action is attested, as mentioned before, for the protection of Osiris’s corpse from his enemies. Finally, in the Book of Night, Anubis’s role is not significant and a passage is addressed to his role during the judgement “*May your bas protect you, when Anubis reckons your hearts*”<sup>410</sup>.

### 3.2.6. New Kingdom: The Tale of the Two Brothers (Papyrus d’ Orbinaey)

The papyrus is dated at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and recounts the story of two brothers, Anpu, the elder and Bata, the younger brother. There is a controversy over the story on whether it is a myth or a folklore. Dundes states<sup>411</sup> that the story is a folklore one and underlines the difference between myth and folklore, in which the first speaks about the creation of the world and the latter about a hero’s wonder, in which gods can take part in. He also emphasizes on the idea that the attempt of Bata’s seduction by his brother’s wife is a projective inversion of Bata’s own desires<sup>412</sup>. Parts of the Tale of the two Brothers are similar to the Ugarit text (KTU)<sup>413</sup> and the later tales of “*Joseph and Potiphsar’s Wife*”, “*The Faithless Wife*” and “*The Treacherous Wife*”<sup>414</sup>.

The story goes as follows<sup>415</sup>:

*Bata lived with Anpu and his wife, but one day she tried to seduce Bata. After her rejection from the latter the unnamed wife ran to Anpu and said that Bata tried to seduce her. Anpu furious tried to kill his brother. Bata, after being*

<sup>406</sup> Manassa, 2007, p. 385, D.E., n.d. and C.N., n.d.

<sup>407</sup> Hornung, 1999, p. 87

<sup>408</sup> Manassa, 2007, p. 380

<sup>409</sup> Darnell, 2004, p. 74 and Roberson, 2014, p. 282

<sup>410</sup> Manassa, 2007, p. 162

<sup>411</sup> Dundes, 2002, p. 381

<sup>412</sup> Dundes, 2002, p. 386

<sup>413</sup> Schneider, 2008, p. 316

<sup>414</sup> Dundes, 2002, p. 386

<sup>415</sup> Abstract from Moldenke, 1900



*informed by the cow about the intentions of his brother, prayed to Ra-Horakhti, for his salvation and the god created a crocodile infested river for Bata between the two brothers. Then Bata had the time to tell the truth. To ensure of his words' truth he cut off his genitalia and threw them in the water, where a catfish ate them.*

*Bata informed his brother that he will go to the Valley of the Pine and he will place his heart upon a blossom of acacia tree. If the tree was ever cut down, Anpu would be able to bring Bata back to life. In addition, if Anpu was ever given a jar with foam beer, he would know that Bata is dead.*

*With this plan, Bata left and was finally established in the Valley of Cedar, with a wife, who was created by Khnum. Anpu, after the true confession of his younger brother, went to his home, killed his wife and her body was eaten by dogs.*

*When the pharaoh learned of Bata's wife divine origin, he took her for his own pleasure. The wife told the pharaoh to cut down the tree, leading Bata to death.*

*Far from the Valley of Cedar, Anpu received the foretelling beer and understood that his brother was dead. He immediately flew to the Valley of Cedar and when he finally found his brother's heart, he put it in a bowl of cold water. Bata was resurrected as a bull and went to his wife, who immediately asked the pharaoh to sacrifice him. Bata died again but two drops of his blood fell and two Persea trees grew. Again, he tried to speak with his wife, but once more Bata died when the pharaoh cut the trees. The pharaoh made a furniture of the trees' woods. However, a splinter fell in his wife's mouth and impregnated her. When the son, who was Bata resurrected, was born, the pharaoh made him a prince and when the pharaoh died, Bata became king and appointed Anpu as a hereditary prince. Bata ruled in peace for many years and when he died, Anpu ascended to the throne.*

There are many opinions on the story of two brothers and we will look at each one separately.

Assmann's opinion is about "*the reverberation of conflict between sedentary farmers and nomads*"<sup>416</sup>. Anpu was the master of the house, he had fields, livestock and a wife, meanwhile Bata was at his brother's work and home. Bata was associated with agricultural and animal husbandry, and as the story goes, in

---

<sup>416</sup> Schneider, 2008, p. 315

his adventures he is regarded as the nomad and Anpu as the sedentary farmer who was challenged by him.

In this political theme we could also add Schneider's opinion that the tale is told to legitimize the succession to the throne for first or other blood relatives<sup>417</sup>. Furthermore, it could be a political conflict between the priesthood for the prevalence of Bata or Anubis as patron god of the 17<sup>th</sup> nome<sup>418</sup>.

Baines speaks about it "*as a kind of Osirian myth*"<sup>419</sup>. According to this, the aspect of Anpu as the mortuary deity is attested to the text, in order to bring his brother back, as Anubis had done before for Osiris. However, in the text, we can identify neither the model of Isis, nor the Anubis and Bata's brotherhood were never before attested in literature.

Furthermore, considering the succession to the throne first by Bata, who is resurrected and then by Anpu, these two kings show the divine origin of the Pharaoh (in the case of Bata) and might be a contribution to the god Anubis as the legitimate son of Osiris.

Katary states that it is "*expressing male hatred of women*"<sup>420</sup>. In this context, the adulterous wives of Anpu and Bata are convicted for their weak hearts. However, in the case of Anpu's wife he left her body get eaten by the dogs. This act not only shows the revengeful fury of the husband but also the condemnation of the woman to be tortured in the Afterlife since the rules in the Egyptian religion about the deceased body were not followed. This originates from the Egyptian notion (and the notion of many ancient civilizations) that women are degraded. The Pharaoh, who was synonymous to power and divinity, was able to have concubines in his authority. In addition to this, in the historical frame of the text, Rammesses II had over 50 sons and a hundred grandsons<sup>421</sup>, which shows the excessive amount of concubines in his court. Moreover, with the "eaten by the dogs" act the tale shows the power of the pharaoh/husband over the woman's soul.

### **3.2.7. Ptolemaic Period: Jumilhac Papyrus<sup>422</sup>**

The Jumilhac Papyrus is a voluminous source of the adventures of god Anubis in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> nome<sup>423</sup> of Upper Egypt. He is portrayed as the hero of the

---

<sup>417</sup> Schneider, 2008, p. 320

<sup>418</sup> Simpson, 2003, p. 92

<sup>419</sup> Schneider, 2008, p. 315

<sup>420</sup> Schneider, 2008, p. 315

<sup>421</sup> Schneider, 2008, p. 319

<sup>422</sup> Another papyrus named "The Book of Hours" (Ptolemaic Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E.) refers to Anubis and other gods, but his role is inactive, and functions as the accompanying presence of Osiris, Sokar and Ptah Faulkner, 1954, p. 34.

story alongside the god Horus, the patron god of the 18<sup>th</sup> nome; Anubis at various times is confused with Horus and sometimes he bears the name of Horus-Anubis<sup>424</sup>.

Many legends and stories are attested on this papyrus; one of the most known is the story of the panther's skin. When Anubis kills the usurper god Seth his blood fell on the panther and changed its skin<sup>425</sup>. For this reason, the sem-priests wore that skin as a cloth in attribution to the victorious act against the evil and was used as an explanation for the origin of sem-priest clothing.

In the legend of Horus' boxes, Anubis tries to take the boxes, which contain the two eyes of Horus. Seth had them stolen by his men, transformed into a crocodile and was established at a mountain. Anubis turned into a winged serpent armed with knives, accompanied by six serpents which were throwing flames. When he took back the boxes, he buried them; since then, Anubis has been called "*The Fugitive*". With the help of Thoth and his magical spell "*The wind that comes out of the house of Anubis takes you away*", Anubis beat Seth and put on the mountain the two boxes of Horus. As the story ends, the identification of Horus-Anubis is being mentioned again by Isis, when she went to the castle of the divine adorer<sup>426</sup>.

Other stories of the papyrus mention that Horus turned into Anubis and gathered the members of Osiris in a bag, inside the house of the bandages<sup>427</sup>; the gathering of Osiris parts is attested in other passages of the papyrus with the accompany of Thoth<sup>428</sup>. From the legend of the beast, the heroes of the story are a wolf and nine dogs, a "hypostases" of several great gods of the Egyptian pantheon; two of them are identified as Anubis<sup>429</sup>. In other stories, the Sethian aspect of Anubis<sup>430</sup> or the disguise of the former as Anubis is materialized<sup>431</sup>; an interesting one is about the disguise of Seth as Anubis, in which Seth took the name Bata, echoing the "*Tale of the Two Brothers*". In contrast to the New Kingdom story, here Bata is portrayed as a villain, since he is the embodiment of the god Seth<sup>432</sup>.

---

<sup>423</sup> Wilson, 2010, p. 801

<sup>424</sup> From the Ethiopian geographical list the compound Anubis-Horus is attested and is the only finding that the name of Anubis is preceding that of Horus Vandier, 1962, p. 32

<sup>425</sup> Vandier, 1962, p. 13

<sup>426</sup> Vandier, 1962, pp. 74-79

<sup>427</sup> Vandier, 1962, p. 39

<sup>428</sup> Vandier, 1962, p. 110

<sup>429</sup> Vandier, 1962, p. 86

<sup>430</sup> Vandier, 1962, p. 96

<sup>431</sup> Vandier, 1962, p. 104

<sup>432</sup> Vandier, 1962, p. 105

The connection of Anubis and Horus (or even the form of Anubis as a falcon) is confirmed in many parts of the papyrus. As already seen in Chapter 2, an alternative animal head of Anubis was that of a falcon, although extremely rarer. In addition, the embalming aspect of Anubis that is attested on the papyrus, as also the story of the sem-priest's cloth origin is interesting if these legends are the witnesses of ancient myths coming to life from a more elaborate and complex viewpoint.

## FIGURES



Figure 60. Tutankhamen's magical brick © Scalf, 2017, p. 101, Figure 8.4



Figure 61. Anubis of Thebes, the 3rd division © C.N., n.d.



Figure 62. Book of Amduat, the 5th division © C.N., n.d.

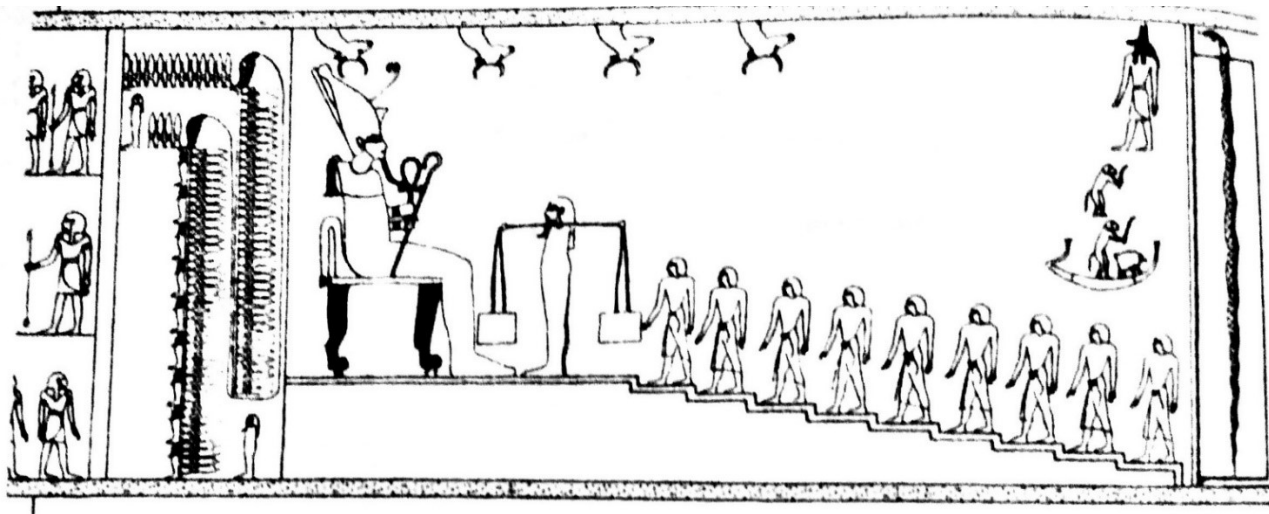


Figure 63. Book of Gates, the 5th hour © Hornung, 1999, p. 70



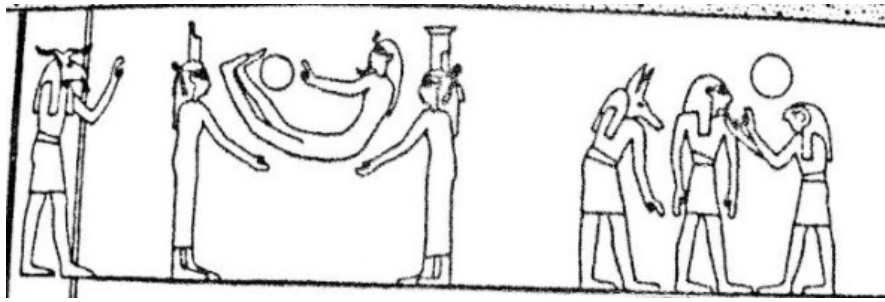


Figure 64. Book of Caverns, the 4th cavern © Hornung, 1999, p. 94



Figure 65. Book of Caverns, the 5th cavern © D.E., n.d.



Figure 66. Book of Caverns, the 6th cavern  
© D.E., n.d.



Figure 67. Book of Caverns, the 6th cavern © D.E., n.d.

## 4. PRIESTS, RITUALS-FESTIVALS AND RITUAL OBJECTS


### 4.1. Priests

The priesthood (Figure 68) as a full time job started in the New Kingdom<sup>433</sup>, in the previous years it was a part time job in which every man was considered an active priest and through time became inherited<sup>434</sup>. The priest, apart from their daily duties, worked as state officials, land's managements, farmers<sup>435</sup> etc; they could ascend from a low title to a senior and the king was considered as the high priest<sup>436</sup>. The priest was a high rank position since he was the link between the humans and the gods and they had to be the offsprings of a priestly family, circumcised and able to read Hieratic<sup>437</sup>. The priesthood can be categorized in the<sup>438</sup>:

- Temple priesthood for daily rituals and festivals in the temple. Close association to the temple had the Hwt nbw (*House of Gold*), which was the place of the artist finishing a cult statue; pr mDAat (*House of Books*), which was the storage of spells, litanies, and ritual objects and pr anX (*House of Life*), which was storage for the mummification and crowning texts and acted as faculty for the new priests.

- Mortuary priesthood related to the rituals and activities in the tombs.
- Domestic and magic priesthood for home protection through apotropaic and medical spells.

The most recognized priests of ancient Egypt were:

- Lector-priests (Xry-Hbt) : In illustration, these priests wore a sash in their chests<sup>439</sup> and the hieroglyphic name means “*he who carries the book-roll*” verified their duties especially in the funerary liturgies and the embalming procedures as they read from a roll of papyrus<sup>440</sup>. A passage from several inscriptions of the Old Kingdom depicts the moment that the deceased passes the gate of the Afterlife (in the real time) with the help of a lector-priest and Anubis (Table 5); this also verifies the magical powers of the priests<sup>441</sup>. An example of the above is “*Going down into his house of eternity in very great peace that he might be provisioned by Anubis and Khentamentiu after a mortuary*

---

<sup>433</sup> Doxey, 2001, p. 68

<sup>434</sup> Doxey, 2001, p. 68 and Shafer, 2005, p. 9

<sup>435</sup> Warburton, 2007, p. 188

<sup>436</sup> Shafer, 2005, p. 9

<sup>437</sup> Jansen-Winkel, 1993, p. 224


<sup>438</sup> Doxey, 2001, p. 71

<sup>439</sup> Sauneron, 1960, p. 40

<sup>440</sup> Assmann, 2001, p. 33 and Shafer, 2005, p. 12

<sup>441</sup> Doxey, 2001, p. 69

offering is brought for him at the opening of the shaft, after crossing the lake after he is transfigured by the lector priests. Setting out to the western mountain, after crossing the lake while he was transfigured by the lector priest and the rites were carried out for him by the embalmer in the presence of Anubis. May the crossing of the lake be carried out for him, may he be transfigured through the carrying out of the rites by the lector priest”<sup>442</sup>. The lector-priests had a deep knowledge in medicine, and they knew how to cure venomous diseases, to treat an animal<sup>443</sup> or how to make a loce charms<sup>444</sup>. Their association to the magical and medical practices<sup>445</sup> categorized them both as temple and mortuary priests.

- Hem-priests (Hmw-nTr) : they wore panther cloths as the sem-priests and sah-necklace depicting a canid with human hands<sup>446</sup>. The hieroglyphic name means “god’s servant” or “prophets” it is related to men who had access in whole temple including the cult image. In the case of women it is “god’s wife” (Xmt-nTr) and they were mostly connected with temple rituals. Their roles, beyond rituals, were the preparation of offerings, the contribution to the temples’s economic system<sup>447</sup>, controlling the temple’s entrance<sup>448</sup>. This priestly title was very important and limited; could be viziers, sons and son-in-laws of the king<sup>449</sup>, as also of the local governor. A lot of women held the “god’s wife” title and the queen Ahmose-Nefertari (New Kingdom)<sup>450</sup> served as Amun’s prophet.

The funerary stela of Mentuhotep depicted him as a the prophet of Anubis and thus giving historical information about the period: “...I am a companion beloved of his lord, doing that which pleases his god daily, prince, count, sem priest, master of every wardrobe of Horus, prophet of Anubis of [...], the Hry ydb, Mentuhotep, prince in the seats of “Splendor”' at whose voice they (are permitted to) speak in the king's-house, in charge of the silencing of the

---

<sup>442</sup> Assmann, 2001, p. 32

<sup>443</sup> Sauneron, 1960, p. 161

<sup>444</sup> Sauneron, 1960, p. 166

<sup>445</sup> Doxey, 2001, p. 69

<sup>446</sup> Shafer, 2005, p. 11

<sup>447</sup> Doxey, 2001, p. 69


<sup>448</sup> Shafer, 2005, p. 10


<sup>449</sup> Shafer, 2005, p. 10

<sup>450</sup> Doxey, 2001, p. 70 and Shafer, 2005, p. 14



*courtiers, unique one of the king, without his like, who sends up the truth to the palace, great herald of good things, alone great, sustaining alive the people*"<sup>451</sup>.

• Sem-priests (smw or sm) : their most recognised role was during the *Opening of the mouth* ritual, in which they acted as Horus and the dead as Osiris<sup>452</sup>. Their identification emanates from the characteristic panther clothing; unlike the other priests, the Jumilhac Papyrus mentioned that their cloth had been made by Seth's blood (see Chapter 3)

• Wab-priests (wab) : indications show that this category gained its title when the priests were young<sup>453</sup>. These priests were lower ranked and associated with the temple rituals. They were assistants of the Hem-priests and took part in the embalming process. From an inscription dated in the Middle Kingdom, two women<sup>454</sup> carried the title of wab-priestess<sup>455</sup>, as also Neshons, daughter of Smendes II<sup>456</sup>. The reason for the association of the priests with Anubis is understood, since Anubis was the first embalmer. Teti's PT (T 144)<sup>457</sup> cited: *[...] To me should you come, to me should you come; you should indeed come to me, who am Horus who tends his father, oh Teti, and your Anubis-wrapper [...]*.

From the Middle Kingdom the Contract VII of Hepzefi is a source about the transaction between the priest and, in this case, the official. Moreover, it shows the custom's traces during the New Year and wag-festival associated with Anubis: *"Contract which the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefi, true of voice, made with the great wab-priest of Anubis, for three wicks which are to be due to him, with which the lamp (torch ?) is to be lighted in the temple of Anubis, one on the fifth intercalary day, on the eve of the New Year, another on New Year's day, another on the 17<sup>th</sup> of the first month of the first season, on the eve of the wag-festival. That which he gave to him in return was 1000 (measures) of agricultural land in Sema-resi of the land of his father, as compensation for these three wicks which he shall give to my ka-priest in order to light for the lamp (torch?) therewith. And he was satisfied therewith"*<sup>458</sup>.

---

<sup>451</sup> Breasted, 1906, p. 256

<sup>452</sup> Doxey, 2001, p. 69

<sup>453</sup> Jansen-Winkel, 1993, p. 223


<sup>454</sup> Most of the time women served as singers and musicians carrying the Hnr title (musician troupe) Doxey, 2001, p. 70.


<sup>455</sup> Doxey, 2001, p. 69


<sup>456</sup> Warburton, 2007, p. 183

<sup>457</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 72

<sup>458</sup> Breasted, 1906, p. 267 and Reisner, 1918, p. 86

- Servants of the ka/ka-priests (Hmw kA)  : they gave to the deceased the eternal life, accompanying the lector and wab-priests. They were responsible for the funerary meals<sup>459</sup> and the offering formula was recited by them<sup>460</sup> and usually they were depicted on false doors<sup>461</sup>. In early years, women served as Hmw kA, but later they served as mourners (Dꜣꜣ), the manifestations of Isis and Nephthys<sup>462</sup>.

- Magicians (Hꜣꜣaw)  : they knew magical and medicine spells practiced in apotropaic magic; specialized in dream interpretation<sup>463</sup> and the production of amulets<sup>464</sup>. The following passages are from the New Kingdom papyrus, showing an example of dreams' interpretations: *“If a man sees himself in his dream drinking wine - good - [it is] that he will open his mouth to speak; sitting in a tree - good - [it is] the destruction of all his woes; killing a goose - good - [it is] to kill his enemies [...]*”<sup>465</sup>.

- Astronomer and hour priests (wnwt)  : they had a deep knowledge in astronomy (positions of the stars, moon's phases etc.) and they were able to keep solar and lunar calendars: *“When the arm of Orion was above the middle it was 6 o'clock. When the star Orion was above the left eye, it was 7 o'clock. When the star which follows Sothis was above the left eye, it was 8 o'clock”*<sup>466</sup>. The Ikhernofret's inscription cited that kings and high officials were advised by wnwt to indicate the beginning of the season as also the daily and festival rituals<sup>467</sup>.

From Hepzefi's Contract VIII, the association of the hour-priest may come in order to define the specific day of plowing and planting the seeds for a good harvest. The desired outcome is given after a series of statue-rituals in the name of Anubis. *“Contract which the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefi, true of voice, made with the hour-priests of the temple of Anubis, for the gift to him of one roll of white bread by each one of them for his statue, on the 17th day of the first month of the first season, on the eve of the wag-festival; and for their*

<sup>459</sup> Reisner, 1934, p. 4

<sup>460</sup> Reisner, 1934, p. 11

<sup>461</sup> Reisner, 1934, p. 10

<sup>462</sup> Doxey, 2001, p. 71

<sup>463</sup> Sauneron, 1960, p. 165

<sup>464</sup> Doxey, 2001, p. 71

<sup>465</sup> Sauneron, 1960, p. 165

<sup>466</sup> Sauneron, 1960, pp. 152-156

<sup>467</sup> Beatty, 1999-2000, p. 66

going forth after his ka-priest when the lamp (torch?) is lighted for him at his glorification, until they reach the 'lower stairway' (valley-chapel?) of his tomb, just as they glorify their (own) honoured dead on the day of the lighting of the lamp (torch?); and for the gift by the monthly wab-priest of a dish(?) of bread and a dwiw-jar of beer for his statue which is in the 'lower stairway' (valley-chapel ?) of his tomb, when he goes forth to perform the ceremonies in the temple every day. That which he gave to them in return was the northern barley, from the first-fruits of the harvest of every field of the nomarch's estate just as (or, "in the measure which") every common man of Siut gives of the first-fruits of his harvest. Now, however, he was the first to cause every one of his peasants to give it from the first-fruits of his field to the temple of Anubis"<sup>468</sup>.

**TABLE 5. Priestly titles associated with Anubis<sup>469</sup>**

<b>Transliteration</b>	<b>Translation</b>
jmy-rA wab(w) n.wjA jnpw	Overseer of the wab-priests of the barque of Anubis
jmy-rA Hm(w) nTr n jnpw nb rA qqr	Overseer of prophets of Anubis, lord of Roqerret
jmy (xt) Hmw nTr jnpw jmy wt	Assistant supervisor of god's servant of Anubis, he who is in the place of embalment
wty jnpw	Embalmer of Anubis
mDH jnpw xnty tA Dsr	Craftsman(?) of Anubis, foremost of the Secluded land
Hm nTr Hr jnpw xnty pr Smswt	Servants of Horus-Anubis (or Horus and Anubis), foremost of the house of the acclaimers
Xnryt nt jnpw	Singer-dancer of Anubis
Xry Hbt jnpw	Lector-priest of Anubis
s(t)m jnpw	Ritualistic of Anubis
smA jnpw	Anointer (stolist <sup>470</sup> ) of Anubis

<sup>468</sup> Breasted, 1906, p. 577 and Reisner, 1918, p. 86

<sup>469</sup> DuQuesne, 2005, pp. 205-261

<sup>470</sup> Vygus, 2015, p. 921

## 4.2. Rituals-Festivals associated with Anubis

### 4.2.1. Anubis and the weighing of the hearts ritual

While studying the ancient's beliefs and religions across the world, we can trace back our own beliefs, even if thousands of years separate us from the ancient people. As it happens nowadays, the Egyptians also believed that when someone died their life and behavior had to be judged. The weighing of the hearts ceremony was materialized in the afterlife world and first encountered in tomb-chapel of the Old Kingdom and later in CT from the Middle Kingdom, in which the judgment comes after a denouncement and an unnamed god declares the truth<sup>471</sup>. The nature of the judgement is showed by the following passage:

*“There is no distinction there between poor and rich, what matters is being found without fault. Scale and weight stand before the lord of Eternity, no one is free of the need to settle accounts”<sup>472</sup>.*

In the Book of Gates, the judgment of the dead starts in the 6<sup>th</sup> Hour, with the final destination the union of ba with the sun god<sup>473</sup>. Here Anubis shallows his father<sup>474</sup> to protect him from the Typhonian pig (Seth's animal<sup>475</sup>), an act that sustains the cosmos as it is<sup>476</sup>.

The alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I depicts the god Anubis in the Hall of Judgment in the upright corner. In the middle Osiris is enthroned with his regalia. In front of Osiris is the scale of Truth in the form of Thoth (?). The heart (?) represented by a rectangular box against the symbol of evil (bird). A ladder leads to the scale and in every step is a deity<sup>477</sup>. Above the ladder is a bark with a pig smitten by an ape, a hypostasis of Thoth<sup>478</sup>.

In the Book of the Dead (Spell 125), Anubis leads the deceased at the Hall of Two Truth<sup>479</sup> where the judgement takes place before Osiris, accompanied by another 43 deities. The heart of the deceased weighs against a feather (the symbol of the goddess Maat and cosmic order). The deceased has to declare their innocence in 42 negatives confessions<sup>480</sup>. The scale bends on one or on the other side and Thoth writes the answers. If the heart of the deceased is balanced with

---

<sup>471</sup> Quirke G. J., 2001, p. 211

<sup>472</sup> Assmann, 2001, p. 76

<sup>473</sup> Κουσούλης, 2004, σ. 78

<sup>474</sup> *jnpw xnty jmnt. nTr aA sam jt=f wsjr* (Anubis, foremost of the west, great god who shallows his father Osiris) Manassa, 2006, p. 121.

<sup>475</sup> Manassa, 2006, p. 121

<sup>476</sup> Manassa, 2006, p. 126

<sup>477</sup> Budge, 1908, p. 72

<sup>478</sup> Manassa, 2006, p. 122

<sup>479</sup> Quirke G. J., 2001, p. 212

<sup>480</sup> Κουσούλης, 2004, σ. 32

the feather (the true of voice) he would gain a place in the afterlife and his spirit would become an ank (ank= blessed spirit)<sup>481</sup>. However, if the heart is heavier than the feather they would be devoured by the beast Ammit (crocodile head, body of lion and legs of hippopotamus). As a mut (mt)<sup>482</sup> spirit (damned) they would go to the place of no existence<sup>483</sup>, gain the eternal death and be considered an enemy of Osiris. The eternal death can also happen with the deliberate deletion (damnatio memoriae) of the deceased's name. Without his name, his soul cannot be recognized and therefore cannot be judged for his life<sup>484</sup>.

We have many scenes of the Judgement's positive outcome in the scale of truth, but none of the negative one. However, the "*Book of Two Ways*", "*Book of Amduat*", "*Book of Caverns*" and the "*Book of Earth*"<sup>485</sup> describe the land of annihilation and the outcome of the damned ones.

#### **4.2.2. Anubis and mummification ritual**

The burial practice and the royal architecture follow an evolutionary path, which began in the Predynastic Period. Then, the burial customs took place, like the concept of the body conservation. Because they believed that the human soul could only live if the body was "*alive*"<sup>486</sup> they tried to avoid decomposition and the damage caused by looting<sup>487</sup>.

So, the new age of customs (eternity, king's divine aspect and annual festivals)<sup>488</sup>, lead to an afterlife concept<sup>489</sup>. Already in the Predynastic Period, the pit-graves<sup>490</sup> have the first evidence of the natural mummification<sup>491</sup>, which occurred by the sand's natron. Observing this function, the Egyptians create an entire philosophy around the dead body. Having a body mummified, the ka is recognized<sup>492</sup> and the soul can walk backswing in Duat<sup>493</sup>.

In the Old Kingdom, the internal organs were removed, except for the brain since it was not important<sup>494</sup>. Then, they were wrapped with linen (ingrained with

---

<sup>481</sup> Quirke G. J., 2001, p. 211

<sup>482</sup> Quirke G. J., 2001, p. 211

<sup>483</sup> Κουσούλης, 2004, σ. 33

<sup>484</sup> Κουσούλης, 2004, σ. 50

<sup>485</sup> Funerary books about the afterlife.

<sup>486</sup> Badawy, 1966, p. 46

<sup>487</sup> For that reason, they build their enormous tombs.

<sup>488</sup> Lehner, 1997, p. 9

<sup>489</sup> Dunand & Lichtenberg, 2006, p. 8 and Budge, 1988, p. 67

<sup>490</sup> David, 2001, p. 439

<sup>491</sup> David, 1998, p. 20

<sup>492</sup> David, 2001, p. 439

<sup>493</sup> Κουσούλης, 2004, σ. 88

<sup>494</sup> Abdel-Maksoud & Abdel-Rahman, 2011, p. 131

gesso)<sup>495</sup>. The heart remained in the body, due to the fact that it was the center of life and intelligence of the owner<sup>496</sup>. During the 1<sup>st</sup> Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom new procedures came, like the technique of excerebration<sup>497</sup> and the external beautification of the mummified body. Actually, the body was wrapped with successive linens, as a cocoon, so the body to be looked as sX (ideal form) and the internal organs were placed in the canopic jars<sup>498</sup>. Continuing in the New Kingdom and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Intermediate Period, the deceased (king and nobles) wore elaborate masks and the internal organs were placed again in the body, wrapped with linen. Lastly, in the Ptolemaic Period the quality of the mummification was reduced, because of the excessive use of resin<sup>499</sup>.

#### Mummification's Stages<sup>500</sup>:

The earlier ancient sources for mummification are from the ancient Greek historians, Herodotus and Diodorus<sup>501</sup>, who mentioned three mummification methods, depending on the status and the wealth of the deceased<sup>502</sup>. The most expensive procedure is the following:

The deceased's body went to the place of purification<sup>503</sup>, where the embalming practice took place. The embalmers (wbt)<sup>504</sup> wore the mask of Anubis and washed the body with spiced palm wine<sup>505</sup>. They removed the internal organs and placed them in canopic jars<sup>506</sup>, each one decorated with the Four Sons of Horus (in the latter years the organs were dehydrated and returned wrapped with linen in the body). The entire body was covered with natron to dry out<sup>507</sup>. The mummification procedure needed several days to be completed and the number of days varies depending upon the wealth of the deceased<sup>508</sup>; the stela of the priest Psamtik (26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty) says: "*He was introduced into the Good House: and he spent 42 days under the hand of Anubis, lord of Tazoser. He was conducted in*

---

<sup>495</sup> Κουσούλης, 2004, σ. 90

<sup>496</sup> David, 2001, p. 440

<sup>497</sup> David, 2001, p. 441

<sup>498</sup> Κουσούλης, 2004, σ. 90

<sup>499</sup> Κουσούλης, 2004, σ. 91 and David, 2001, p. 441

<sup>500</sup> Κουσούλης, 2004, σ. 102

<sup>501</sup> Lucas, 1934, pp. 231, 258 and Κουσούλης, 2004, σ. 93

<sup>502</sup> Lucas, 1934, p. 231 and Abdel-Maksoud & Abdel-Rahman, 2011, p. 131

<sup>503</sup> David, 2001, p. 441

<sup>504</sup> David, 2001, p. 442

<sup>505</sup> Lucas, 1934, p. 231 and David, 2001, p. 440


<sup>506</sup> Abdel-Maksoud & Abdel-Rahman, 2011, p. 131

<sup>507</sup> Abdel-Maksoud & Abdel-Rahman, 2011, p. 132

<sup>508</sup> In a less expensive mummification procedures the embalmers: a) used only cedar oil inside the body to clean all internal organs and then the body filled with natron Κουσούλης, 2004, σ. 95 and Lucas, 1934, p. 231, or b) cleaned only the intestine and smoothed them with oils Lucas, 1934, p. 231 and Κουσούλης, 2004, σ. 95 and David, 2001, p. 441.

*peace to the Beautiful West, in the first month of the third season (ninth month), day [...] and his life in the necropolis is forever and ever*”<sup>509</sup>. The embalmers washed the body again with water and smoothed it with oils and aromatized the body<sup>510</sup>. The body was stuffed with materials, such as linen, sawdust mixed with resin etc<sup>511</sup>, to look alive. Then, oils were placed again in the body and it was covered with linen. The final stages were the body cosmetics with elaborate masks, jewelry and was painted and wrapped with linen<sup>512</sup>. Finally, the embalmers returned the body to the owner’s family for the funeral rites<sup>513</sup>.

#### 4.2.3. Anubis and the “Opening of the Mouth” ritual

With the ritual of the “*Opening of the Mouth*” (=wpt rA ) , the deceased could breathe, speak and eat<sup>514</sup>. In fact, the ritual was performed on a mummy, a sarcophagus or even a cult-statue of the deceased and it aided to his animation in a magically way. For this reason, the priest touched the deceased’s eyes, nose and mouth with sacred tools to reanimate these senses to the afterlife. Otto suggests that the ritual was a combination of different rituals not necessarily related to each other. Furthermore, he suggests that the first context was the preparation of the cult statue. In opposition to this, Roth believes that the statue preparation first occurred in the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>515</sup>. She also remarks that perhaps the ritual was associated with the birth ritual<sup>516</sup>.

The earliest evidence of the ritual comes from the Old Kingdom from a formula of Palermo Stone and the tomb of Metjen (4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty)<sup>517</sup>. The Palermo Stone’s formula says “the *fashioning and opening of the mouth of [a statue of] god*”, and the Metjen’s Opening of the Mouth occurs in conjunction with incensing and the transfiguration of the deceased into an AX (or sAXt) <sup>518</sup>. From PT of Unas is known that the priest threw in the mouth of the deceased, before and during the rite, seven purified liquids<sup>519</sup>, seth-heb, heknu, sefth, nem, tuaut, ha-ash, htet-ent-thehenu<sup>520</sup>. During the Middle Kingdom, the ritual appears in private tombs and new gods are involved in it. Horus alongside Ptah open the mouth of the

<sup>509</sup> Breasted, 1906, pp. 519-520

<sup>510</sup> David, 2001, p. 441

<sup>511</sup> Abdel-Maksoud & Abdel-Rahman, 2011, p. 132

<sup>512</sup> Abdel-Maksoud & Abdel-Rahman, 2011, p. 132

<sup>513</sup> David, 2001, p. 441

<sup>514</sup> Rzeuska, 2008, p. 576

<sup>515</sup> Roth, 2001, p. 606

<sup>516</sup> Roth, 1993, p. 74

<sup>517</sup> Roth, 2001, p. 606 and Rzeuska, 2008, p. 576

<sup>518</sup> Redford, 2001, p. 606

<sup>519</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 20

<sup>520</sup> Budge, 1925, p. 238

deceased and Thoth puts the heart in the body for them to remember what they had been forgotten. In addition, Thoth and Ptah make the transformation to an AX ritual. In the New Kingdom, two different kinds of the ritual exist. The first one is the traditional style that occurred in PT, with the seven oils (Figure 69), statue ritual, the useful implements etc. The second one developed with new elements and the involvement of the officials. Ptah (or the god Shu) and a local god opens the mouth of the deceased, who is identified with the goddess Sekhmet<sup>521</sup>. Finally, the Late Period continuous the tradition of the New Kingdom, but copy a few characteristics from the Book of Breathings<sup>522</sup>, which allowed the dead to breathe<sup>523</sup>.

Different phases of the ritual are suggested by Otto, 75 in number<sup>524</sup>, with various introductory rites, as statue incensing, purification<sup>525</sup>, as also the animation of the dead and the offerings<sup>526</sup>.

#### 4.2.4. Festivals associated with Anubis

The funerary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu reported 2 days of the temple calendar dedicated to Anubis<sup>527</sup>:

- The Festival of the Navigation of Anubis was held on II prt 1<sup>528</sup> (Figure 69): “*Second month of winter, first day: day of navigation of Anubis: offerings for Amon-Ra, with his Ennead, in this day of festival*”. The navigation festival, might be referring to the transportation of the deceased’s body at the mummification place; from illustrations we are informed that the deceased’s transportation sometimes was done by a funerary boat (see also Figures 23 and 72). The Navigation of Anubis might be the same with the Procession to the Embalming Place, in which the deceased is carried by the priests to the necropolis and to the mummification workshop, which is located in the necropolis<sup>529</sup>.

- The Festival of Clothing Anubis was held on I Smw 10<sup>530</sup>: “*First month of summer, tenth day; day of the festival of clothing Anubis, offerings for Amon-Ra,*

---

<sup>521</sup> Roth, 2001, p. 607

<sup>522</sup> A two-part book of Ptolemaic Period. The book makes clear of the importance of the name and the breath. There are the necessary elements that the deceased must have to pass the gates of the Elysian Fields Κουσουλής, 2004, σ. 67.

<sup>523</sup> Roth, 2001, p. 608

<sup>524</sup> Ayad, 2004, p. 113

<sup>525</sup> Budge, 1909, p. 15

<sup>526</sup> Budge, 1909, p. 95

<sup>527</sup> El-Sabban, 2000, pp. 122, 127

<sup>528</sup> Tetley, 2014, p. 128

<sup>529</sup> Hays, 2010, p. 5 and Assmann, 2001, p. 305

<sup>530</sup> Tetley, 2014, p. 128



with his *Ennead* in this day of festival, daily offerings every day”. The clothing festival might be referring to the fashioning of the cult-statue, during the “Opening of the Mouth” ritual, and the so-called “births of Anubis” written on the Palermo Stone might be referring to this day<sup>531</sup> (Figure 70).

In both days, the offerings were similar; the lists cited different kinds of bread, beer, flowers, biscuits, including vases and jars for the incenses that took place.

- From a papyrus dated in the Ptolemaic Period, Anubis takes part in the “*Night of Loneliness*” celebration, the night before the burial procession of Osiris (aka the deceased). Liberation and mournings were addressed to Osiris in order to bring him back to life. All gods are present before the arrival of Osiris and Anubis states the desirable moment “*The god is arriving at the great entrance to the nome of the realm of the dead*”<sup>532</sup> (correlation between the “Opening of the mouth” ritual and the “*Night of Loneliness*”).

- The Procession of Isis (Navigium Isidis) was held in the spring (2<sup>nd</sup> of January and 5<sup>th</sup> of March). For the first time this festival was celebrated in Canopus<sup>533</sup>. Apuleius’s *Metamorphoses* Book 11 (2<sup>nd</sup> CE) is mentioned that Anubis was the first of the gods which appeared and led the festival<sup>534</sup>: “*First was the dread messenger between the gods above and the Underworld, his dog’s head held high aloft, his face now black, now gold: Anubis, holding a caduceus in his right hand and brandishing a green palm-leaf in his left. Hard on his heels followed a cow standing upright, the fertile image of the All-Mother, proudly borne on the shoulders of one of her blessed priests*”<sup>535</sup>. Actually they were priests wearing cloths, the mask of Anubis and held the needed objects, which were necessary for the ritual. The theme of the festival is connected to the navigation’s new season and Isis’s protection over the welfare of the voyages was symbolized with the symbolic transfer of her ship<sup>536</sup> (5<sup>th</sup> of March). Also, in mythological level it was connected with the return of Isis from the search of Osiris at the shores of Byblos<sup>537</sup> (2<sup>nd</sup> of January)<sup>538</sup>.

- References to Anubis in other festivals cited on Cairo Calendar (19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty). On II AXt 4 was “*the day of the going forth of Anubis for the*

---

<sup>531</sup> Clagett, 1989, p. 100

<sup>532</sup> Assmann, 2001, p. 268

<sup>533</sup> Kleibl, 2015

<sup>534</sup> Corcoran, 2001, p. 346

<sup>535</sup> Apuleius, 1998, p. 175

<sup>536</sup> Giunio, 2012, p. 423

<sup>537</sup> Papantoniou, 2012, p. 198

<sup>538</sup> Beresford, 2012, p. 41

*inspection of this wabt for the protection of the body of the god*”, on III prt 6 “*Jubilation of Osiris in Busiris; going forth of Anubis, (his) adorers (or, adoration) following him; he has received everybody in the hall*”, on IV prt 2 “*the majesty of Geb proceeds to the throne of Busiris to see Anubis, who commands the council on the requirements (of the day)*” and on IV Smv 22 “*Feast of Anubis, who is on his mountain*”. These four days marked an astronomical event occurred on the repored dates e.g. the rise of Sirius, beta Leonis etc<sup>539</sup>.

- Temple festivals dedicated to Anubis occur on Berlin Lahun papyri dated to the Middle Kingdom. The “*Sailing of the Land*” is one of them, which might be related to the annual celebration of the king’s burial in the Sekhem-Senwosret<sup>540</sup>.

### 4.3. Ritual objects

- Masks

During the rituals associated with Anubis, the priests wore canid masks, becoming the earthly presence of Anubis. In many passages from from the Old Kingdom to Ptolemaic Period texts, kings have the face of Anubis; along with the knowledge of the existence of Anubis’s mask the passages can be transformed from a mythological into a realistic sequence. The spell that provides a view of Anubis’s mask is the “spell for the mysterious head” or “head of mystery”; it is attested from the Middle Kingdom<sup>541</sup> and onwards written inside a mummy, like the golden one of Tutankhamen. These verses are also part of the BD 151 which depicts the mummification procedure<sup>542</sup>: “*Anubis speaks, the embalmer, lord of the divine hall, when he has placed his hands on the coffin of N. and equipped him with what (he) needs: Hail, O beautiful of face, lord of vision, whom Ptah-Sokar has gathered together and whom Anubis has upraised, to whom Shu gave support (that is, impetus), O beautiful of face among the gods!*”

---

<sup>539</sup> Hardy, 2002-2003, p. 52 and Berio, 2014, pp. 36-37

<sup>540</sup> Quirke, 1997, pp. 30-31

<sup>541</sup> CT VI, 123-125 (Spell 531): *Hail to you, You who are kindly of countenance/owner of eyes which see, whom Anubis knit together, whom Ptah-Sokar exalted, to whom Shu gave the supports, kindly of countenance among the gods, whom Re gave to Osiris for the secret thing which was done against him in order to end the injury by Seth against him. Your White Crown is that of Thoth, your vertex is that of Wepwawet, your eyebrows are those of the two Enneads, your eyes are those of the Night-bark and the Day-bark, your tresses(?) are those of Isis and Nephthys, the back of your heads is that of Dwn-rnw, your braid is that of the scorpion, your linen is that HD-Htp; you are in front of N, and he will see by means of you. May you make him to be a spirit, may you subdue his foes for him, may you guide him to the fair places of the realm of the dead, may you smite the confederacy of Seth for him. The king has commanded that N be made triumphant over his foes before Horus, Lord of Patricians. That I be one who is enduring, enduring, is what has been commanded, (even) enduring like Rer for ever* Faulkner, 1977, p. 154.

<sup>542</sup> Assmann, 2001, pp. 107-108 and Taylor, 2010, p. 109

*Your right eye is the night barque, your left eye is the day barque, your eyebrows are the Ennead. The crown of your head is Anubis, the back of your head is Horus, your lock of hair Ptah-Sokar. The crown of your head is Anubis.*

*You (the mask) are in front of N., he sees by means of you. (You) lead him to the goodly ways, you repel Seth's band for him and cast his enemies under his feet for him in front of the Ennead in the great House of the Noble in Heliopolis. You take the goodly way to the presence of Horus, the lord of the nobles".*

This 3-structure spell provides us with details for the concept of mummification and the deceased's transformation. The first paragraph is associated with the definition of Anubis as the embalmer god and his work upon the dead body. The second paragraph speaks about the transformation of the deceased into a divine spirit. In the third paragraph, the deceased is wearing the mask that can cast away the enemies and Seth<sup>543</sup>.

References to Anubis's mask are found in:

CT VI, 103 (Spell 516)<sup>544</sup> *"Ho N! Raise yourself for those who are greater than you! You shall eat figs and drink wine, for your face is (that of) the jackal of Anubis; be covered with it"*.

CT VII, 26 (Spell 825)<sup>545</sup> *"I have come as an equipped [and worthy(?)] spirit, I heal my members, and my (priestly) service is in this house. I have come in order to do my duty and in order to enter into the gate, which is under the care of Anubis. I have not eaten what remains over of the stretched bull after the share-out, and I have not repeated what I heard in the Presence. I am the embalmers of Anubis, I have come that I may cover up what I found missing, for I am a warden who spent his day so that [...] was reckoned up before Ra daily, and I have not eaten the black ewes(?), I have not bathed in the waters of Nedit"*.

Illustration of a priest wearing Anubis's mask is identified on the north side chamber's entrance of Osiris at Dendera, which depicts priests of Lower Egypt holding the nomes's scepter celebrating the resurrection of Osiris and one priest is wearing Anubis's mask<sup>546</sup> and two others hold the scepter of the 17<sup>th</sup> nome (Figure 71). Another one comes from the temple of Amun at Karnak dated in the New Kingdom; the priests hold the hooks of the solar barque on their shoulders (Figure 72).

---

<sup>543</sup> Taylor, 2010, p. 109

<sup>544</sup> Faulkner, 1977, p. 146

<sup>545</sup> Faulkner, 1978, p. 15

<sup>546</sup> Mariette, 1875, p. 271, Mariette, 1873, p. 34, Plate 31

There are four masks of Anubis, all dated from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period.

The 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty mask is from wood painted black. Around the neck and on the ears it has holes for the straps to adjust on the head. The canid has the mouth open, revealing a series of teeth<sup>547</sup> (Figure 73). Another New Kingdom wooden mask is from Armant fully in black. The edge of the mask is missing, but parts of nemes, eyebrows and whiskers have traits of golden stripes and the eyes were inlaid made by glass<sup>548</sup> (Figure 74). From the Late to Early Ptolemaic Period is a unique mask made from cartonnage, papyrus and layers of linen. These layers are hardened with plaster and painted with black and white lines as nemes resemblance, and the face is black<sup>549</sup> (Figure 75). The last mask is from the Late Period<sup>550</sup>, from an unknown provenience, made from clay. The mask is fully preserved, is made from two parts, the muzzle and the rest of the body. These two parts are connected to each other with a tenon. The body of the mask has two semi-circular cuts to fit on the shoulders and two narrow holes on the mask's neck for the eyes. The muzzle of the canid is black, has engraved eyes and a painted nemes<sup>551</sup> (Figure 76).

- The *jmj-wt* Standard

The origin of *jmj wt*-scepter can be tracked back to the Predynastic Period related to the kingship and the palace<sup>552</sup> before it became a symbol of Anubis (Figure 77-78). Lucas suggests that the original meaning for *jmjw*t word was “*that shich is inside*”<sup>553</sup>. It was a headless animal (cow or ox) on a standard in a vase<sup>554</sup>.

From Pepi II's PT (N 522): “[...] *the rungs have been fastened in its sides with leather of him in the Wrappings (jmj wt), to whom Hezat gave birth [...]*”<sup>555</sup>

CT VI, 373 (Spell 743)<sup>556</sup> “*The staff is in good condition, the sceptre of Anubis is the backbone(?)*”

The Jumilhac Papyrus mentioned Hezat (mother of Anubis), made an ointment by her breast milk, then she separated Antis's<sup>557</sup> bones and organs and cleaned

---

<sup>547</sup> B.I., n.d.

<sup>548</sup> GEM, n.d.

<sup>549</sup> HMA, n.d.

<sup>550</sup> Corcoran, 2001, p. 346

<sup>551</sup> GEM, n.d.

<sup>552</sup> Logan, 1990, p. 68

<sup>553</sup> Logan, 1990, p. 69

<sup>554</sup> DuQuesne, 2012, p. 1

<sup>555</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 293

<sup>556</sup> Faulkner, 1977, p. 283


<sup>557</sup> A falcon-headed god Hart, 2005, p. 24

them with the ointment. Finally, the rest of his body was wrapped in bandages. Then the flesh of Anti was cured and restored to life<sup>558</sup> and he was tied upon a standart on vase<sup>559</sup>.

The *jmj-wt* emblem might be associated with the mummification procedures, in which the embalmers anoint the corpse and wrap it with linen, before the final transformation and animation of the deceased commences. The association with a king as a protective emblem<sup>560</sup> remained throughout the Egyptian history; the depiction of the *jmj-wt* emblem alongside the king can be indentified on many scenes.

- Scepters

Anubis is usually depicted holding the *was*-scepter (Figure 79) and the ankh (see Chapter 2.2.4.). The *was*-scepter is associated with Seth<sup>561</sup>, it is the sumbol of dominion<sup>562</sup> and, in the funerary context, symbolizes the well being and the prosperity of the deceased's soul<sup>563</sup>.

The recumbent canid is illustrated with the hieroglyphic symbol of the nome <sup>564</sup> as a definition of Anubis's 17th nome (Figure 80). It is depicted to be held by the nomarch of the nome or priests, as a result of political corporation between the nome and the king or as participation of the nome in the rituals context.

A scepter that might be associated with Anubis is the *wsrt*-“scepter”. In the BG at the 7<sup>th</sup> hour on the walls of Rammeses VI, the enemies of the solar barque are tied up on canid-head stakes, the stakes of Geb<sup>565</sup>. Here Geb's stakes act as a judge and guardian, two roles held by Anubis, making the damnation of the enemies certain and unbreakable (Figure 81).

- Mummification tool and oils

As mentioned above, different kinds of oil were used during the mummification process. All these oils (Figure 82) and resin were used during the procedure. The embalmers, depending on the period, used different kinds of material and oil to strengthen the body and prevent its humidity:

---

<sup>558</sup> Vandier, 1962, pp. 65-66, 124, DuQuesne, 2012, p. 2 and Hart, 2005, p. 24

<sup>559</sup> Hart, 2005, p. 24 and DuQuesne, 2012, p. 2

<sup>560</sup> Logan, 1990, p. 69

<sup>561</sup> Gardiner, 1957, p. 509

<sup>562</sup> Graham, 2001, p. 166

<sup>563</sup> Vygus, 2015, p. 1954 and GEM, n.d.

<sup>564</sup> Gardiner, 1957, p. 488

<sup>565</sup> Hornung, 1999, p. 63

- cedar oil was used into the anus preventing the body liquids to escape<sup>566</sup>.
- beeswax<sup>567</sup> was used to the ears, eyes, nose and mouth<sup>568</sup>,
- cinnamon and cassia were perhaps used for insense<sup>569</sup>,
- onions were used in the eyes, pelvis, throrax and on external ears<sup>570</sup>,
- lichen used to fill body concavity<sup>571</sup>, and henna for perfume cosmetic purposes<sup>572</sup>,
- gum was used to cement the bandages of the mummy<sup>573</sup>
- other materials are natron, salt, resin, palm wine, pine, juniper, mastic, myrrh and bitumen.

The embalmers used knives to open the body, but the most important was the tool for the excerebration. The bronge tool was approximately 40 cm long and its edge was hooked, spiral, or needle-like<sup>574</sup>. The brain removal was done from the ethmoid bone, left/right nostril or with complete or partly nasal septum removal<sup>575</sup>. In this way, the damage of the skull was a hole approximately 8.9 cm<sup>576</sup>.

- Opening of the mouth tools

As mentioned above, the Opening of the Mouth ritual was performed for the animation of the deceased's soul. Therefore, for the execution of the ritual, several tools were needed. These tools were considered to belong to Anubis throughout all periods. On the Hatshepsut's Opening of the Mouth ritual, Thuthomes III said:

*"I have opened your mouth. I have opened your two eyes. I have opened your mouth with the instrument of Anubis<sup>577</sup>"*

This connection occurs also in Pepi II's PT (N 100) adze blades are connected with Anubis: *"Ho, Pepi Neferkare]! Your mouth has been parted with Anubis's adze, the metal Striker that parted the mouth of the gods."<sup>578</sup>*

The CT VII, 15 (Spell 816)<sup>579</sup> clarifies that Anubis was the one who made the implement: *"The iron is broken by Anubis in the sky. Ho, iron which opened up*

---

<sup>566</sup> Abdel-Maksoud & Abdel-Rahman, 2011, p. 132

<sup>567</sup> Abdel-Maksoud & Abdel-Rahman, 2011, p. 138

<sup>568</sup> Lucas, 1934, p. 234

<sup>569</sup> Lucas, 1934, p. 240

<sup>570</sup> Lucas, 1934, p. 257

<sup>571</sup> Abdel-Maksoud & Abdel-Rahman, 2011, p. 241

<sup>572</sup> Abdel-Maksoud & Abdel-Rahman, 2011, p. 142 and Lucas, 1934, p. 243

<sup>573</sup> Lucas, 1934, p. 242

<sup>574</sup> Mendoza, 2017, p. 63

<sup>575</sup> Abdel-Maksoud & Abdel-Rahman, 2011, p. 131

<sup>576</sup> Brier, 2001, p. 47

<sup>577</sup> Hogan, 2016, p. 107

<sup>578</sup> Allen, 2005, pp. 252, 254

*the West! This is the iron which is on my mouth, which Sokar spiritualized in On, which makes the water of my mouth to rise; the iron is washed, and it is sharp and strong”.*

From BD *“Your mouth was ever closed, but I have restored thy mouth, also your teeth, O statue of the Osiris N. I have separated your lips, O statue of the Osiris N. I have opened your mouth with the adze of Anubis, the thigh of iron, which opens the mouth of the gods”*<sup>580</sup>.

The set of implements that were used for the ritual were known as the *psSkf*<sup>581</sup> set (Figure 83) and were usually a storage slab made by wood or limestone<sup>582</sup>. The implements of this set are (for more ritual objects see Chapter 4.3.):

- Kef-pesesh or peh-en-kef (*psSkAf*) tool<sup>583</sup> with which the mouth of the statue was touched<sup>584</sup>.
- Neterti (*nTrwy*) or *sbAj* (“*the two stars*”)<sup>585</sup> two axes, which symbolized Horus and Seth<sup>586</sup>, also thought to be the primal blades for the ritual<sup>587</sup>.
- Four vessels (*hnwt*) and two bottles (*hATs*)<sup>588</sup>: From the first group, two were made from a dark stone and the other two from white or crystal<sup>589</sup>. Both groups were for purification purposes.
- Meskhetyu or Meskha<sup>590</sup> (*msxtyw*) and *nwA*<sup>591</sup>: adze-shaped blades<sup>592</sup>
- Metchetfet<sup>593</sup> (*mDtf*): a chisel
- Ur-hekau (*wrHkAw*: wooden staff with a body of serpent and a head of a ram<sup>594</sup>, surrounded by uraeus.
- *Mnw*<sup>595</sup>: unknown implement and *Tun-anu*: tool for the opening of the mouth<sup>596</sup>.

---

<sup>579</sup> Faulkner, 1978, p. 7

<sup>580</sup> Tirard, 1910, p. 26

<sup>581</sup> Budge, 1909, pp. 1, 83

<sup>582</sup> Rzeuska, 2008, p. 576

<sup>583</sup> Van Walsen suggest that the *psS-kf* used during the rite, to hold the jaw of the deceased closed Roth, 1992, p. 114.

<sup>584</sup> It is unknown if *psSkf* was a set of tools or a single one. In the PT the deceased took the *psSkf* before the rite Roth, 1992, p. 113, implying that was a box of tools. The *psSkf* tool also used to cut the umbilical cord of the newborn child Rzeuska, 2008, p. 576 and Roth, 1992, p. 145 and it might be the emblem of the goddess of birth, Meskhenet Roth, 1992, p. 145.

<sup>585</sup> It might be made by meteoric iron *baJ* Roth, 1992, p. 116

<sup>586</sup> Budge, 1909, p. 67

<sup>587</sup> This concept derives from the little fingers (fingers of Horus), which used to clean the mucus of a newborn child Roth, 1993, p. 63, as Horus did for his father (Roth, 1993, p. 64).

<sup>588</sup> Roth, 1992, p. 116

<sup>589</sup> Roth, 1992, p. 115

<sup>590</sup> Budge, 1909, p. 68

<sup>591</sup> Allen, 2005, p. 425

<sup>592</sup> These blades are associated with the constellation of Ursus Major Roth, 1993, p. 70.

<sup>593</sup> Budge, 1909, p. 78

<sup>594</sup> Budge, 1909, p. 70



FIGURES



Figure 68. Lector-priest, sem-priest and the mourners © Osiris net



Figure 69. The festival of the Navigation of Anubis  
© Breasted & Allen, 1934, Pl. 165

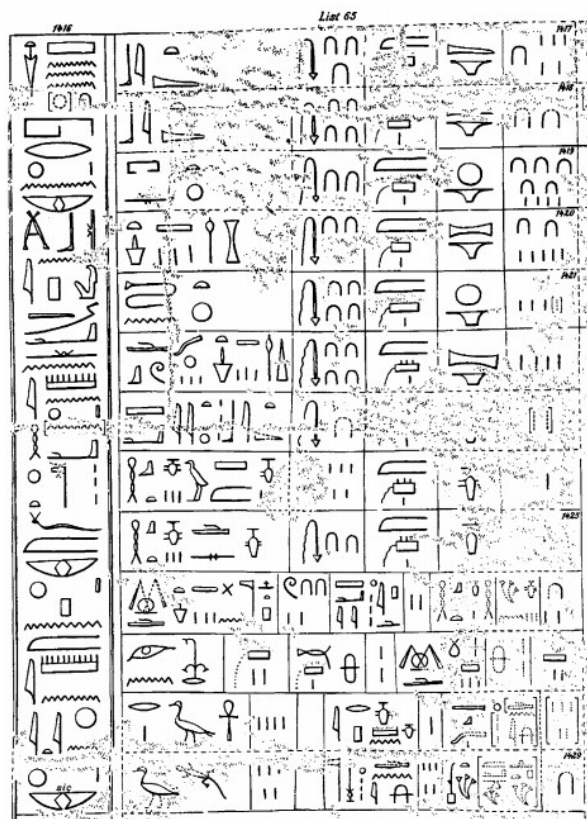
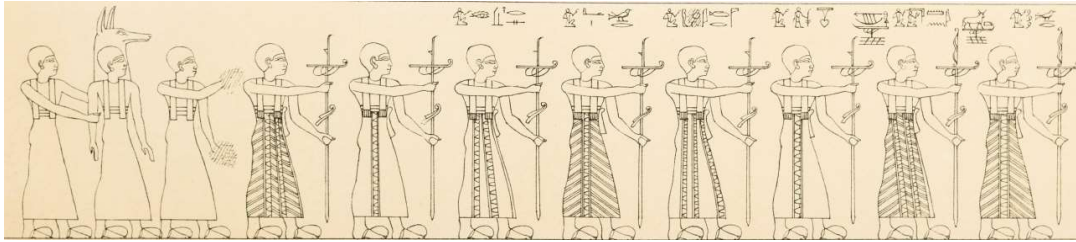


Figure 70. The festival of Clothing Anubis  
© Breasted & Allen, 1934, Pl. 167

<sup>595</sup> (Roth, 1992, p. 16)

<sup>596</sup> (Budge, 1909, p. 186)





**Figure 71. Priest with Anubis's mask on Osiris temple at Dendera** © Mariette, 1873, Plate 31



**Figure 72. Priest wearing the mask of Anubis** © The Bridgeman Art Library. Image number: DGA535000



**Figure 73. Anubis's mask of 19th Dynasty** © The Bridgeman Art Library. Image number: GCL3150006



**Figure 74 - New Kingdom Anubis's mask**  
© The Egyptian Museum of Cairo. Inventory Number: JE 55620



**Figure 75. Late to Ptolemaic Period Anubis's mask** © Harrogate Museums and Arts. Inventory Number: 10686



**Figure 76. Late Period Anubis's mask** © from (TGEM, n.d.) Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum. Inventory Number: 1585



**Figure 77. Ebony label from Hor-Aha reign, with jmjw** © Logan, 1990, p. 63

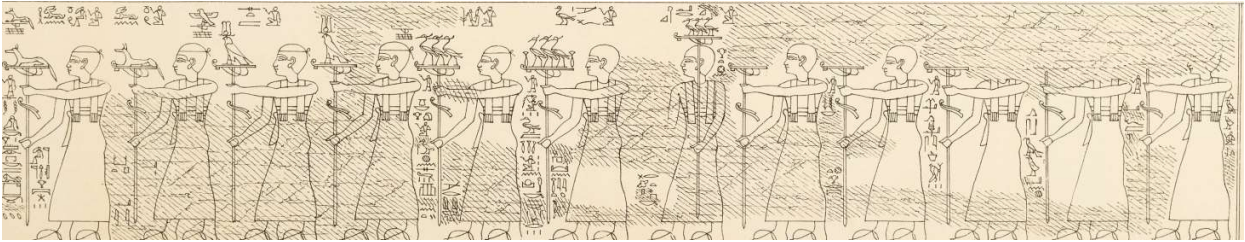


**Figure 78. Jmjw standard** © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accession Number: 14.3.19-20



**Figure 79. Late Period was-sceptre made from faience** © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accession Number: 26.4.4.6.a,b and Joan Lansberry

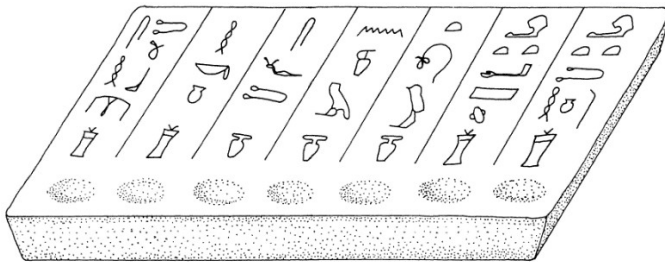




**Figure 80. Priest holding the 17th nome' scepter** © Mariette, 1873, Plate 34



**Figure 81. 7th hour of the BG. Enemies on stakes** © D.E., n.d.



**Figure 82. A slab, which held the sacred oils** © Roth, 1992, p. 123



**Figure 83. Model of equipment for Opening of Mouth ritual** © The Trustees of the British Museum. Museum number: EA5526

## 5. DIVINE DWELLINGS AND CEMETRIES

### 5.1. Divine dwellings

Buildings of Anubis's cult are located on several sites. Sanctuaries of Anubis-Horus existed at Tuna and at Hut-nesut, the 18<sup>th</sup> nome, in which Anubis and Horus had their adventures written in the Jumilhac Papyrus<sup>597</sup>; Anubis's temple existed at Asyut, although, until today, the specific location of that temple is not verified<sup>598</sup>. The temple of Siut was near the necropolis, at the foot of the cliff and erected by Hepzefi, the nomarch of 13<sup>th</sup> nome, under Seworset I. A temple of Anubis was located at Lahun (Sekhem-Senwosret) close to the Senwosret II pyramid, with many priests in service<sup>599</sup>; it had an overseer of the temple, a lector-priest and nine priests, who changed every month, six door-keepers and two servants<sup>600</sup>. Quirke suggested that the cult of Anubis was attested on the same temple complex with that of Senwosret and identified his pyramid complex and his pyramid town as Sekhem-Senwosret and Hetep-Senwosret correspondingly<sup>601</sup>.

Near the burial chamber of Tutankhamen is the "*Treasury*" (Figure 84), a small chamber with marvelous findings, such as a canopic chest, jmwt emblems, boats-models etc. Alongside these treasures was a moveable shrine-chest standing at the threshold with the recumbent Anubis on its top<sup>602</sup> covered with linen; a life-size representation of the iconographic epithet "*he who is upon the shrine*", acting as a guardian of the treasury. The shrine had caring poles and inside it one large and four smaller pots are found<sup>603</sup> (Figure 85).

Hatshepsut's temple, at Deir el-Bahari, has two shrines that were dedicated to Anubis, the Upper and Lower shrines, located in the Upper (in the sun-cult-complex) and in the Middle terrace<sup>604</sup>.

The access to the Upper Shrine (Figure 86) was done by a courtyard's door and constructed partially on the rock. Most of the fine illustrations were destroyed in Akhenaten's reign beyond any restoration; and were connected with the sun cult religion. Representation of Anubis and mostly his jmwt emblem decorated

---

<sup>597</sup> Doxey, 2001, p. 98

<sup>598</sup> Breasted, 1912, pp. 259-260

<sup>599</sup> Sauneron, 1960, p. 56 and Bunson, 2002, p. 191

<sup>600</sup> Breasted, 2016, p. 171

<sup>601</sup> Quirke, 1997, p. 33

<sup>602</sup> Reeves, 1995, pp. 55, 133 and Bard, 1999, p. 1046

<sup>603</sup> Willems, 1996, p. 144

<sup>604</sup> Szafranski, 2010, p. 187

parts of the shrine, accompanied with his epithets as “*Lord of the sacred land*” or “*Lord of Sepa*”<sup>605</sup>.

An enthroned Anubis illustrates the Hypostyle Hall before the Lower shrine with the epithet “*he who is in the place of embalming*”. The shrine has a hall of 12 protodoric columns and inner rooms<sup>606</sup> and into its sanctuary it has a depiction of the deity alone or with Hathor and Hatshepsut with a series of his epithets carved on the walls. In the walls of this shrine, Anubis took part in Hatshepsut’s divine birth (see Chapter 2.2.2)<sup>607</sup>.

The best known temple of Anubis is the Anubeion constructed in the Late Period at Saqqara and was used until 641 AD, with few structures remaining, like the enclosure wall, causeway and the gate. Mariette and Quibell proposed two different reconstructions for the temple<sup>608</sup> (Figure 87-88). Moreover, the Anubeion temple town had an embalming workshop, administrative center, and police quarter<sup>609</sup>.

## 5.2. Cemeteries

No cemetery is dedicated to Anubis or other canid-headed god, but as mentioned in Chapter 1, Egyptians buried or mummified the animals to serve certain reasons. Regarding to the religions and the sacred canid mummies, they might be representing the manifestation of the canid-head gods (Figure 89).

In the Badarian Period, skulls of dogs (or jackals) were buried alongside the deceased<sup>610</sup> and sometimes were buried with matting, linen and with amulets<sup>611</sup>. During the Naqada Period, in Upper Egypt 10 canid/dog burials were identified and seven in Lower Egypt/Heliopolis buried with humans and other animals<sup>612</sup>; in Heliopolis one dog was wrapped with mat<sup>613</sup>. Other burials applied at Matmar, Abadiyeh, Naga-ed-Dêr, Mahasna, and in Nagada dog in human burials have been documented<sup>614</sup>. Dogs were mostly thought as a companion, so it was logical to be mummified and buried with their owners<sup>615</sup>. In Adaima at Naqada I and II pits containing the skeleton of four dogs and one pig<sup>616</sup> wrapped in mat were found.

---

<sup>605</sup> An alternative name of the shrine is the “Chapel of the Parents of the Queen” due to the fact Hatshepsut and Thuthomis depicted with the company of their mothers Szafranski, 2010, p. 192

<sup>606</sup> Bard, 1999, p. 278 and Wilkinson, 2000, p. 177

<sup>607</sup> Szafranski, 2010, pp. 187-192

<sup>608</sup> Jeffreys & Smith, 1988, pp. 50-60

<sup>609</sup> Jeffreys & Smith, 1988, p. 26

<sup>610</sup> Rice, 2006, p. 32

<sup>611</sup> Brunton & Caton-Thompson, 1928, pp. 7, 42 and 91

<sup>612</sup> Wendorf & Schild, 2013, p. 486

<sup>613</sup> Bard, 1999, p. 439

<sup>614</sup> Flores, 1999, p. 14

<sup>615</sup> Houlihan, 2001, p. 229

<sup>616</sup> Bard, 1999, p. 128 and Flores, 1999, p. 15

In the Predynastic sites of Ma'adi and Wadi Digla dog burial was found on in separate grave with a pot<sup>617</sup>.

On the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasties in these auxiliary chambers, burial of dogs and servants were located <sup>618</sup> and accompanied those of kings Djer, Djet, Den and other kings of this era. A royal dog burial comes from Yaseen's mastaba at Giza dated to 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. In this large mastaba, one scene depicts the owner with his dog, where the latter wears collar attached to a strap, held by the unknown owner. The accompanying inscription says:

*"The dog which was the guard of His Majesty. Abuwtiyuw is his name. His Majesty ordered that he be buried (ceremonially) that he be given a coffin from the royal treasury, fine linen in great quantity, (and) incense. His Majesty (also) gave perfumed ointment, and (ordered) that a tomb be built for him by the gangs of masons. His Majesty did this for him in order that he (the dog) might be honored (before the great god, Anubis)"<sup>619</sup>.*

Another enormous example comes from North Saqqara. During the last decades, a century after the first documentation from Jacques de Morgan, dogs' catacombs<sup>620</sup> dated from 747 to 30 BCE were excavated by Paul Nicholson. The catacombs measure 173 to 140 meters<sup>621</sup> built from Lower Eocene stone and carry approximately 8 million dog mummies, some of which are jackals, foxes, falcons, cats and mongoose. In the same area ibis, hawk, baboon, and apis catacombs are located.

Another catacomb with dogs' bones was found in Abydos dated from 1<sup>st</sup> BCE to 4<sup>th</sup> CE. In the sacred well's enclosure the entrance of a hypogeum which leads to series of rock-cut chambers<sup>622</sup> is located (Figure 90-92).

Remains of dogs are found in Abydos at the Ibis cemetery (Late to Roman Period). Some dogs were inside a small brick enclosure near or between the jars, some of which contained a dog's skeleton or dog's mummy and some were tied up with linen<sup>623</sup>. The cemetery of el-Kurru dated in the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty contains skeletons of dogs<sup>624</sup> inside a circular grave.

---

<sup>617</sup> Bard, 1999, p. 548

<sup>618</sup> Bard, 1999, p. 124

<sup>619</sup> In hieroglyphics: "Tsm wnn stp-sA r jpn-f 'bwtjw rn-f wD jpn-f qrs(w)-f rdy n-f qrs-t m prwy-HD jdmy aA wrt snTr rdy Hm-f sft xws n-f js jn jswt nt jqdw jr-n n-f Hm-f nw r (j)mAx-f." Reisner, 1936, p. 97

<sup>620</sup> Nicholson, 2005, p. 57 and Bard, 1999, p. 869

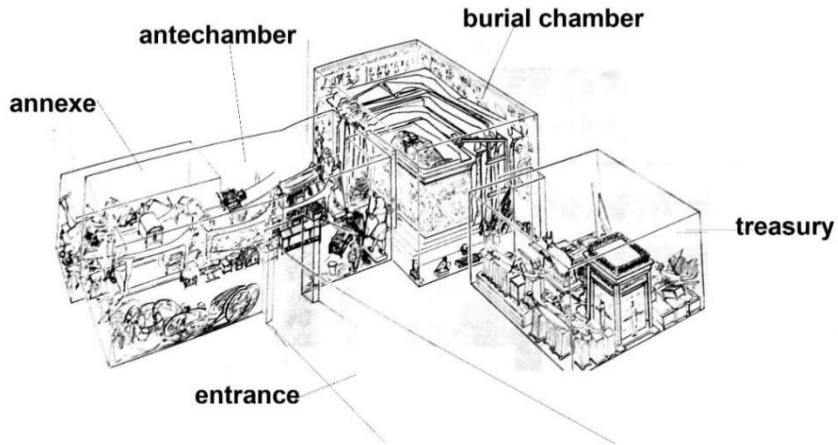
<sup>621</sup> Geggel, 2015

<sup>622</sup> Peet, 1914, pp. 99-101

<sup>623</sup> Peet & Loat, 1913, pp. 41-46

<sup>624</sup> Bard, 1999, p. 509

**FIGURES**



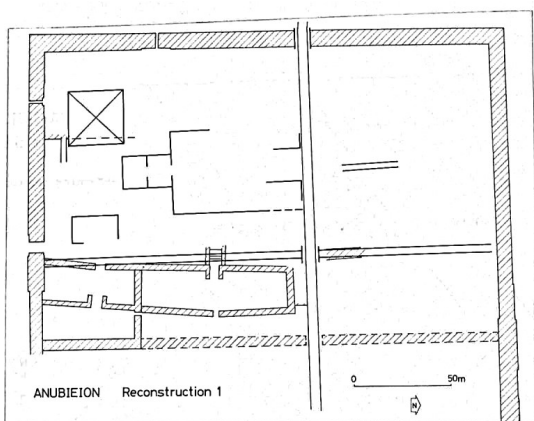
**Figure 84. The "Treasury"** © Reeves & Wilkinson, 1996, p. 122



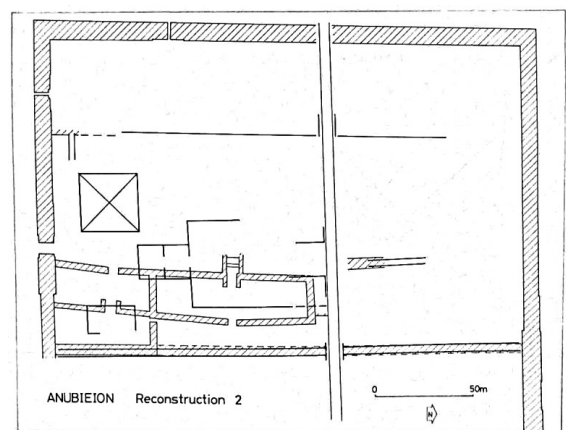
**Figure 85. Anubis on the "Treasury's" threshold**  
© Reeves, 1995, p. 87



**Figure 86. The entrance to the Upper Shrine of Anubis at Deir el-Bahari**  
© Szafranski, 2010, p. 194, Figure 4



**Figure 87. Reconstruction of Anubeion by Mariette**  
© Jeffreys & S., 1988, p. 26, Figure 60



**Figure 88. Reconstruction of Anubeion by Quibel** © Jeffreys & S., 1988, p. 26, Figure 61



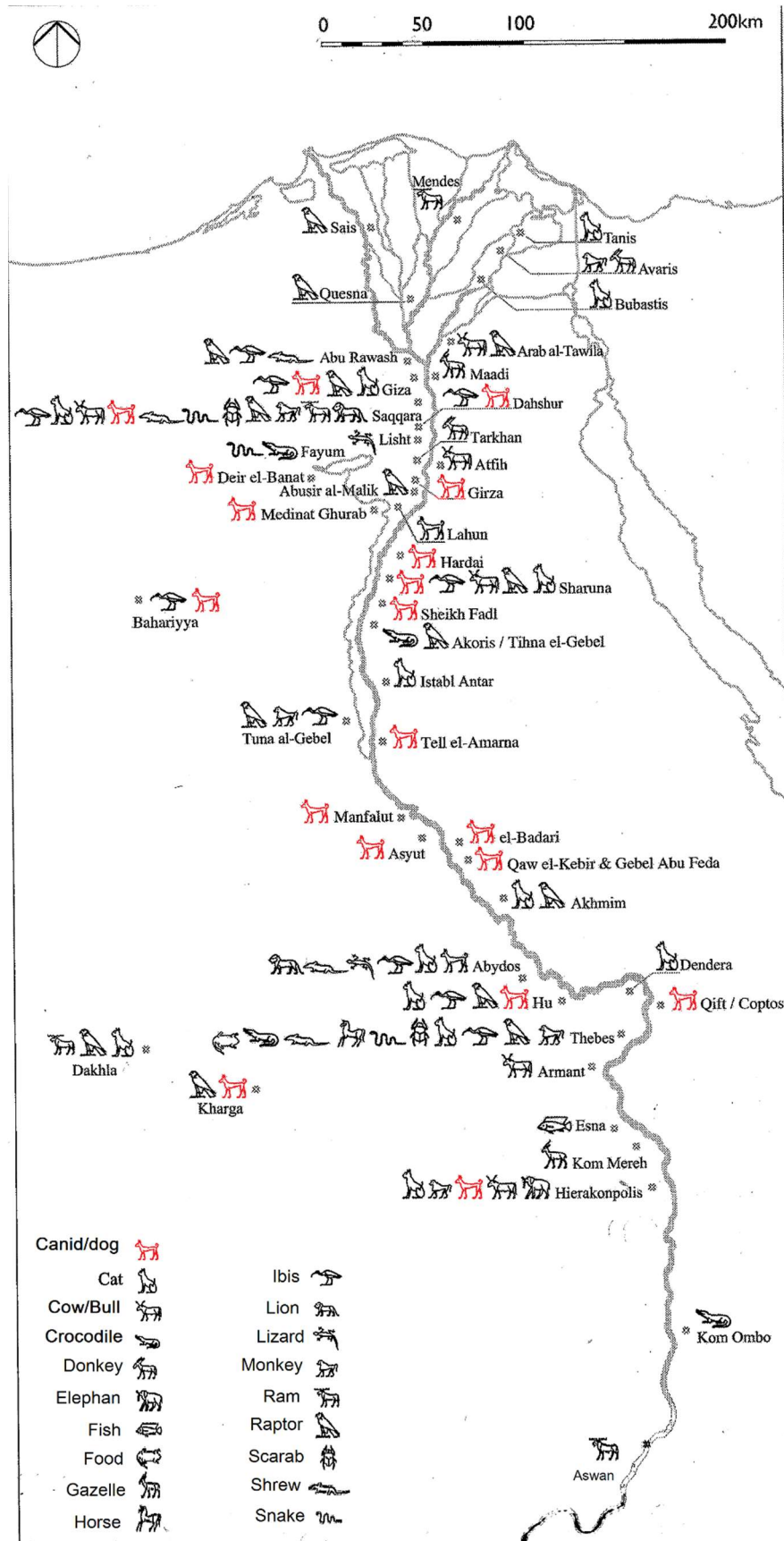
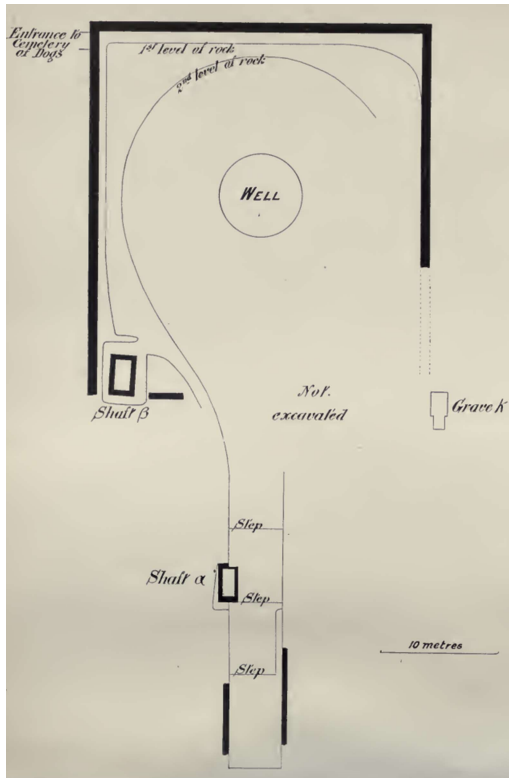
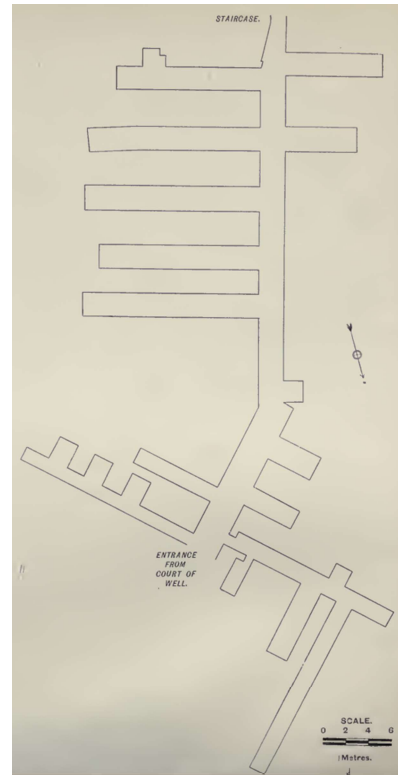


Figure 89. Map of animal's mummification in Egypt  
© Ikram, 2015, p. xvii





**Figure 90. The well and the dog's hypogeum at Abydos**  
 © Peet, 1914, PLXVIII



**Figure 91. Plan of dog's hypogeum at Abydos**  
 © Peet, 1914, PLXVIII



**Figure 92. Bones of dogs at Abydos's hypogeum**  
 © Peet, 1914, PL XVII f. 6

## CONCLUSION

Thinking generally of the Ancient Egyptian culture, we believe the following statement by Paton is suitable: *“Death is the “king of terrors,” yet it is the greatest teacher of our race. Without it men could never have learned the deference between body and spirit; and without the idea of spirit, god could not have been conceived, and religion would have been impossible”*<sup>625</sup>.

The concept of canids in relation to the mortuary context started during the Predynastic Period. During that time, the canids represented the human manifestation and the human figure is mentioned indirectly through the canid lashes. Evidence of the importance of the canids is attested in palettes, like the Two Dog Palette. Therefore, Anubis’s cult had already had a valid ground and all the needful ingredients to be established. The mortuary god was born and became the god of the Underworld equal to Osiris. Nevertheless, with the upcoming religion of the latter, the canid-headed god was left a few steps behind.

The ancients, as the evidence show, wanted an anthropocentric god as the ruler of the Afterlife, away from the Predynastic animal influence, but they never erased the divine animal hypostasis from the divine manifestations, perhaps as a reminder of their diversity with their gods. Likewise, Anubis was never supplanted, but, on the contrary, he joined the Osirian myth as Osiris’s embalmer and son. Anubis, being an illegitimate son, didn’t have the power to be a rival of Horus; therefore, the latter became the living pharaoh through his legitimate bloodline. Furthermore, Osiris represented a humanized Underworld and also established a unique origin story.

During the New Kingdom and afterwards, Anubis acquires his former glory to some extent, particularly as regards iconography both in the temples and the tombs<sup>626</sup>. It is very intriguing that the function of Anubis is established during the Old Kingdom, but his illustration flourished during the New Kingdom and onwards. The answer to that might rely on the fact that during the Second Intermediate Period, Egypt was ruled by foreigner pharaohs. Foreigners were always thought as the enemies of Egypt, the unbalance of the world, the bearers of chaos and the occupation of their ancient land was thought as a result of the deviation from their manners and customs. When that time passed, the Egyptians

---

<sup>625</sup> Paton, 1921, p. 1

<sup>626</sup> During the Old Kingdom, the tombs were not illustrated because the ancient Egyptians feared the power of the image Pinch, 2002, p. 10.

had to be closer to their ancient traditions and “*make peace*” with their gods. Canid’s mummifications were doubled and were addressed especially to Anubis, because he was the guide to Osiris’s Hall, he was the god of the embalming; therefore, if they appeased him, he would give them the opportunity to gain a place in the afterlife.

Through his rich iconography, Anubis’s most known representation is the recumbent one; attested on seals, amulets, walls, statues etc., concealing the secret and sacred aspect of the embalming and the deceased's burial place. It is notable that in the recumbent posture Anubis always wears a collar and in some cases also wears a lash. As we have seen, lashes were used in the Predynastic Period to define the intelligible appearance of the human. Therefore, the collar of Anubis is echoing the Predynastic influence and, with caution, we can say that it is evidence of the god’s appeasement (domestication).

The manifestation of mummification is part of the ritual and the embalming procedures, and, most of the time, is included as part of the storytelling scene with a beginning and an end. The same applies to other funerary manifestations. The rebirth scenes might be an alternative mummification depiction, an indirect outcome of the procedure.

The “*breath of life*” gesture is equal to the afterlife passages regarding the akhification of the dead and is part of the embalming and the opening of the mouth sequence, while the enthroned posture illustrates his status on the pantheon, since, most of the time, he is receiving offerings from the deceased. The standing posture and the protective gesture are two representations that the god is frequently depicted in, especially during the New Kingdom.

The alternative representations give us an insight to the variation of myths and the complexity that existed in Egypt. Anubis pantheistic manifestation and Hermanubis were the products of the cultural interaction between Greece and Egypt. During the Ptolemaic Period, the pantheistic deities were popular (e.g. Serapes, Hathor-Aphrodite, etc.). The ancients believed that the combination of different divine elements would protect them. In addition, this combination was efficient for people to accept the differences between the two civilizations, providing a common ground. The other general manifestations, such as the embraced gesture and winged posture, are attested, as far as we know, once and the human-headed depictions are very rare. It is clear that depending on the material on which the image is drawn, the strict rules of the Egyptians become

more elastic, with the result of the figures often being flattened or resembling caricatures, with large hands, heads or eyes. Furthermore, we can find different combinations of posture and gesture of Anubis with various accessories, e.g. in some cases he wears the double crown, while in others the artist chose another one. This, apart from the religious and political orientation, is also proof of the artistic freedom.

Anubis's epithets are interrelated with his roles and his iconography; their nature are interdependent and reinforce one another, thus the functional, the status and the iconographical epithets can be found in his representations. Therefore, the recumbent posture, which is also the determinate for Anubis' name and part of his epithet HRY SṢṬA "*he who is upon the secrets*", gives double protection and is used as a warning to the tomb's intruders.

The role of Anubis is found throughout all of the Afterlife Books and is established from the Old Kingdom. His roles could be summarized in six categories:

- Embalming the corpse of Osiris and general all dead bodies
- Magical power for the deceased's akhification
- Leading the deceased to the Hall of Truth
- Judgement of the deceased
- Guardian/protection of Osiris and general of the deceased/tomb
- Warfare aspect against the evil spirits and Osiris's enemies

From the above we understand that mostly he was considered as a servant/a companion of the dead and not as their supreme leader. All of his powers are linked to his servant status. With his words (magical action), the deceased is akhified. This action serves to reinforce his obligation first to Osiris and then to the deceased. Akhification is the first step of the deceased to the Afterlife; the embalming is anteceded of akhification and is related to the living world.

Except for PT, which cites all of his roles equally, by reading the ancient texts we might be able say that CT illustrates his entire role but his function as the god of mummification. BD gives more value in his role during the judgment of the dead. The other books of Afterlife (Ambuat, BG, BC etc.) represent more his guardian and protective aspect; the latter might have happened as a result of the restoration of tradition.

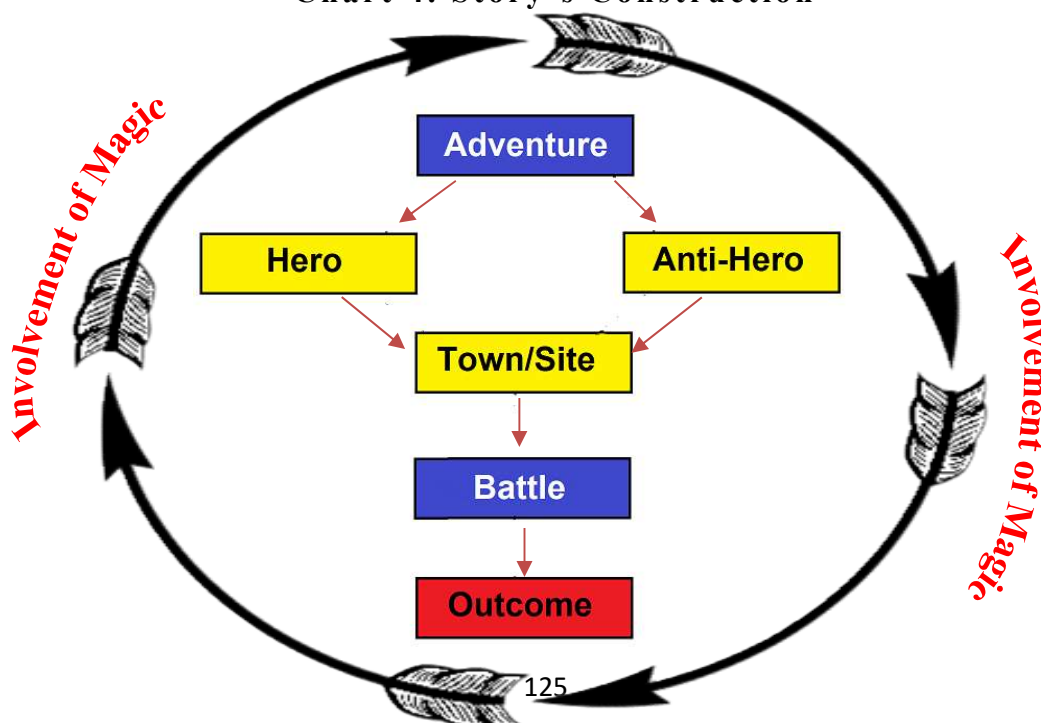
The TTB must be considered as an entirely separated literary form. It is difficult to identify with one kind of interpretation; it most likely combines

more than one: a political, traditional/religious and social/psychological. It is very interesting that all adventures of Bata, regarding the human involvement, happened at the daily hours and during the night hours Bata is reborn and the gods intervene into the tale.

The same applies to the Jumilhac Papyrus too, since it is comprised of different adventures of the gods, Anubis and Horus, with innvocations and new story lines. In both cases, we are not sure if they are ancient myths and legends or are placed in the general spirit of the time. Furthermore, regarding the Jumilhac Papyrus, we must never forget that it was written during the Ptolemaic Period, in which new myths or a combination of older ones and new hieroglyphics appeared. This may have happened either because the Greeks wanted to import their own cultural elements or because they did not correctly understand the Egyptian cosmogonies. The Jumilhac Papyrus' stories of a single god-hero (contests) could be considered ethnographic parallel to the adventures' series that can be found in ancient Greek hero' myths, such as Hercules, Theseus or Odysseus (Chart 4). In addition, these stories shows the influence of the Hellenic civilization on the Egyptian world.

It is logical for Anubis, with his Predynastic roots, to have feasts and divine buildings to be worshiped. Few temples and shrines are known and preserved; others are mentioned in texts but none of their sites is identified yet, as it happens in the case of Lahun's temple. With further research and excavation, we will come across new evidence to fill in the gaps of his origin and generally of his story.

**Chart 4. Story's Construction**



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books and Articles

- Abdel-Maksoud, G., & Abdel-Rahman, e.-A. 2011. "A Review on the Materials used During the Mummification Processes in Ancient Egypt". *MAA*, 11(2), 129-150.
- Allen, P. J. 1960. *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*. Illinois: The University of Chicago Press.
- Allen, P. J. 2005. *Writings from the Ancient World: The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Allen, P. J. 2014. *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (3rd ed.). UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Andrews, A. R. 2001. "Amulets". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford, Vol. 1, pp. 75-82. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Anthony, F. B. 2016. *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt: Theban Tomb Paintings from the Early Eighteenth Dynasty*. London, New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Apuleius. 1998. *The Golden Ass of Metamorphoses*. translated by E. Kenney. USA: Penguin Books.
- Arnold, D. 1995. *An Egyptian Bestiary*. NY: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Assmann, J. 2001. *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Ayad, F. M. 2004. "The Selection and the Layout of the Opening of the Mouth Scenes in the Chapel of Amenirdis Iat Nedinet Habu". *JARCE*, XL1, 113-133.
- Badawy, A. 1966. *Architecture in Ancient Egypt and the Near East*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Baines, J. 1993. "Symbolic Roles of Canine Figures on Early Monuments". *Archeo-Nil*(3), 57-74.
- Baines, J. 1993. "Symbolic Roles of Canine Figures on Early Monuments". *Archéo-Nil: Société pour l'étude des cultures prépharaoniques de la vallée du Nil*, 57-74.
- Bakir, Abd-el-Mohsen. 1967. "Remarks on Some Aspects of Egyptian Art". *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 53, 159-161.
- Bard, K. A. (1999). *Encyclopedia of Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Bard, K. A. (2007). *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*. UK, USA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Beatty, M. 1999-2000. The Title hry sst3 "Master of Secret": Functional or Honorific? *ANKH: Revue d'Égyptologie et des Civilisations africaines*(8/9), 58-71.
- Beresford, J. 2012. *The Ancient Sailing Season*. Leiden: Brill.
- Berio, A. 2014, December. *The Celestial River: Identifying the Ancient Egyptian Constellations*. *Sino-Platonic Papers*.

- Betz, H. D. 1986. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation: Including the Demotic Spells*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Billing, N. 2006. "The Secret One. An Analysis of a Core Motif in the Books of the Netherworld". *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, 34, 51-71.
- Breasted, H. J. 1906. *Ancient Records of Egypt: The Twentieth through the Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (Vol. IV). USA, London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Breasted, H. J., & Allen, G. T. 1934. *Medinet Habu III: The Calendar, the "Slaughter House" and Minor Records of Ramses III* (Vol. 3). New York and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Breasted, J. H. 1906. *Ancient Egyptian Records: The First to the Seventeenth Dynasty*. Vol. 1. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Breasted, J. H. 1912. *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Breasted, J. H. (2016). *A History of Egypt: From the Earliest Time to the Persian Conquest*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brier, B. 2001. A thoroughly modern mummy; Experimental Archaeology: step by gruesome step, the Egyptian way. *AIA*, 44-50.
- Brunton, C. O., & Caton-Thompson. 1928. *The Badarian Civilization and Predynastic Remains near Badari*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, University College and Bernard Quaritch.
- Bryan, M. B. 2014. Pharaonic Painting through the New Kingdom. In K. M. Hartwig, *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Vol. 2). U.K.: John Wiley & Sons.
- Budde, D. 2011. "Divine Epithets". *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1-10.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1988. *From Fetush to God in Ancient Egypt*. NY: Dover Publication Inc.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1908. *An Account of the Sarcophagus of Seti I, King of Egypt, B.C. 1370*. London: the Museum.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1911. *A Hieroglyphic Vocabulary to the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & C) LTD.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1912. *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum*. London: Printed by Order of the Trustees, sold at the British Museum.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1898. *The Book of the Dead: The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1904. *The Gods of the Egyptians, or, Studies in Egyptian Mythology* (Vol. 1). London: Methuem & Co.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1904. *The Gods of the Egyptians, or, Studies in Egyptian Mythology*. Vol. 2. London: Metheum & Co.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1905. *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*. Vol. 1. London: E.A.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1906. *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell* (Vol. 2). London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & co., ltd.

- Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1909. *The Book of Opening the Mouth, the Egyptian Texts with English Translations* (Vol. 1). London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & co., ltd.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1909. *The Book of the Opening of the Mouth* (Vol. 2). London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & co., ltd.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1913. *The Book of the Dead: Papyrus of Ani* (Vol. 2). London: The Medici Society LTD.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1914. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Limited.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1925. *The Mummy: A Handbook of Egyptian Funerary Archaeology*. New York: Dover Publications Inc.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis 2014. *From Fetish To God Ancient Egypt*. London and NY: Routledge.
- Bunson, B. M. 2002. *Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Fact On Files, Inc.
- Case, H., & Crowfoot, J. P. 1962. "Tomb 100: The Decorated Tomb at Hierakonpolis". *JEA*, 48, 5-18.
- Chilvers, I. 2009. *The Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists*. NY, USA: Oxford University Press.
- Christian, L., & Budde, D. 2003. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. Leuven: Peeters Publishers.
- Christies's. 2016. *The Resandro Collection*. Auction catalogue. London: Christies.
- Cialowicz, M. K. 1991. *Les palettes égyptiennes aux motifs zoomorphes et sans decoration.. Etudes de l'art predynastique*. Krakow: SAAC 3.
- Clagett, M. 1989. *Ancient Egyptian Science: A Source Book/Knowledge and Order*. Vol. 1. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- Clagett, M. 1995. *Ancient Egyptian Science: A Source Book*. Vols. 3: Ancient Egyptian Mathematics. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- Clagett, M. 1995. *Ancient Egyptian Science: A Source Book*. Vols. 2: Calendars, Clocks, and Astronomy. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- Cooney, J. D. 1967. "Gods Bearing Gifts for the King". *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 54(9), 279-.
- Corcoran, L. H. 2001. "Masks". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* B., edited by D. Redford. Vol. 2, pp. 345-348. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Daine, V. F. 1999. *The Funerary Sacrifice of Animals During the Predynastic Period (PHD)*. USA: University of Toronto.
- Darnell, J. C. 2004. *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX*. Germany: Academic Press Fribourg, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen.



- David, A. R. 1998. *The Ancient Egyptians: Beliefs and Practices*. USA: Sussex Academic Press.
- David, R. A. 2001. "Mummification". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by D. Redford. Vol. 2, pp. 439-444. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Davis Theodore, Maspero Gaston, Newberry Percy E., Carter Howard. 1907. A. Constable and Co.: London
- Dawood, A. K. 1998. *The Incrined Stelae of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite Necropolis: Volume I. Text*. UK: Phd thesis.
- Dawood, K. A. 1998. *The Inscribed Stelae of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite Necropolis (Vol. 1)*. UK: University of Liverpool: Phd thesis.
- Demas, M., & Agnew, N. 2012. *Valley of the Queens Assessment Report: Conservation and Management Planning*. Volume 1. The Getty Conservation Institute. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Trust.
- di Luigi, T. 2016. "Il Dio Anubis: iconografia ed epiteti, II parte". *Hellenismo, XXII*, 44-64.
- Di Teodoro, M. 2014. "The Organisation of Seasonal Labour During the Middle Kingdom". *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Symposium University of Cambridge 2013*. pp. 64-80. UK: Oxbow Books.
- DiLisio, R. 2014. *Archaeology - In Brief: Ancient Egypt*. IUviverse.
- Dodson, A. (2001). "Four Sons of Horus". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 1, pp. 561-563. USA: The Oxford University Press.
- Doxey, D. M. (2001). "Anubis". In D. B. Redford, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (pp. 97-98). USA: Oxford University Press.
- Doxey, D. M. (2001). "Priesthood". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 3, pp. 68-13. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dunand, F., & Lichtenberg, R. 2006. *Mummies and Death in Egypt*. USA: Cornell University Press.
- Dundes, A. 2002. "Projective Inversion in the Ancient Egyptian "Tale of Two Brothers". *The Journal of American Folklore*, 115(457/458), 378-394.
- DuQuesne, T. 2005. *The Jackal Divinities of Egypt: From the Archaic period to Dynasty X*. UK: Darengo Publications.
- DuQuesne, T. 2007. *Anubis, Upwawet, and Other Deities: Personal Worship and Official Religion in Ancient Egypt*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- DuQuesne, T. 2012. "Jmjwt". *UEE*, 1-3.
- Eaverly, M. 2004. "Colours of Power" In *Colour in the Ancient Mediterranean World* by L. Cleland, G. Davies, & K. Stears, pp. 53-55. Oxford: John and Erica Hedges.
- El-Khadragy, M. 2001. "The Adoration Gesture in Private Tombs up to the Early Middle Kingdom". *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* (29), 187-201.

- El-Sabban, S. 2000. *Temple Festival Calendars of Ancient Egypt*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- El-Shahawy, A., & al-Miṣrī, M. 2005. *The Egyptian Museum in Cairo*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- El-Shahawy, A., & Atiya, F. S. 2005. *The Egyptian Museum in Cairo: A Walk Through the Alleys of Ancient Egypt*. Cairo: Farid Atiya Press.
- Ensminger, J. 2015 "Children of Anubis". *PetsNews*, (32), 8-11; (33), 22-24
- Evans, L. 2008. "The Anubis animal: a behavioural solution?" *Goettinger Miszellen*, 17-24.
- Faulkner, R. O. 1954. "An Ancient Egyptian 'Book of Hours'". *JEA*, 40, 34-39.
- Faulkner, R. O. 1977. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts: Spells 355-787*. Vol. 2. England: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- Faulkner, R. O. 1973. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts: Spells 1-354*. Vol. 1. England: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- Faulkner, R. O. 1978. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts: Spells 788-1185*. Vol. 3. England: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- Fischer, H. G. (1996). *Egyptian Studies III: Varia Nova*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Flores, D. V. 1999. *The Funerary Sacrifice of Animals During the Predynastic Period*. Ottawa: National Library of Canada/Bibliothèque nationale du Canada: Phd thesis.
- Gardiner, A. S. 1957. *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Giunio, K. A. 2012. "Isis: The Sea Star and the Ceremony of Navigium Isidis". *Diadora: Glasilo Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru*, 26-27, 421-440.
- Godley, A. D. 1920. *Herodotus with an English translation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Gombrich, H. E. 1952. *The Story of Art*. New York, USA: Phaidon Press.
- Graham, G. 2001. "Insignias". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 2, pp. 163-167. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Grimm, A. 1994. *Die Altägyptischen Festkalender in den Tempeln der Griechisch-Römischen Epoche*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hardy, P. A. 2002-2003. "The Cairo Calendar as a Stellar Almanac". *Archaeoastronomy*, XVIII, 48-63.
- Hart, G. 2005. *The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddess* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Taylor & Francis Ltd.
- Hartwing, K. M. 2001. "Painting". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 3, pp. 1-13. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Hays, H. 2010. "Funerary Rituals (Pharaonic Period)". *UEE*, 1-14.
- Hays, H. M. 2011. "The Death of the Democratisation of the Afterlife. *Old Kingdom: New Perspectives. Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750–2150 BC* (pp. 115-130). Oxbow Books.

- Hendrickx, S. (2006). The Dog, the Lycaon Pictus and Order Over Chaos in Predynastic Egypt. *Studies in African Archaeology*(9), 723-749.
- Hendrickx, S. (2009). Hunting and Social Complexity in Predynastic Egypt". *Bulletin des séances - Mededelingen der zittingen*, 57(2-4), 237-263.
- Hoath, R. 2009. *A Field Guide to the Mammals of Egypt*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- Hodel-Hoenes, S. 2000. *Life and Death in Ancient Egypt: Scenes from Private Tombs in New Kingdom Thebes*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Hogan, L. T. 2016. *Pharaoh: A One-Woman play - The life and times of Ancient Egypt's female king*. (3rd, Ed.) The House of Life Society.
- Hornung, E. 1999. *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*. Ithaca and London: Corneal University Press.
- Houlihan, P. F. 2001. "Canines". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 1, pp. 229-231. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Houser-Wegner, J. 2001. "Wepwawet". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 3, pp. 496-497. USA: The Oxford University Press.
- Shaw, Ian, & Nicholson,, P. T. 1995. *Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*. London: The British Museum Press.
- Ikram, S. 2015. "Divine Creatues: Animal Mummies". In *Divine Creatues: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, by S. Ikram, (2nd ed., pp. 1-15). Cairo, New York: ACU Press.
- Ischlondsky, D. N. 1966. "A Peculiar Representation of the Jackal-God Anubis". *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 25(1), 17-26.
- James, T. G. 1985. *Egyptian Painting*. London: British Museum.
- Janák, J. 2003. "Journey to the Resurrection. Chapter 105 of the Book of the Dead in the New Kingdom". *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*(31), 193-210.
- Jansen-Winkel, K. 1993. "The Career of the Egyptian High Priest Bakenkhons". *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 52(3), 221-225.
- Jeffreys, D. G., & S., S. H. 1988. *The Anubeion at Saqqara: The Settlement and the Temple Precinct - Jeffreys and Smith*. Vol. 1. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Kaper, E. O. 2001. "Myths: Lunar Circle". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 2, pp. 480-482. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Kaper, O. E. 2008-2009. "A Fragment from the Osiris Chapels at Dendera in Bristol". *Jaarbericht "Ex Oriente Lux"*, 41, 29-47.
- Kleibl, K. 2015. "Greco-Egyptian Religion". In *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion*, edited by E. Eidinow, & J. Kindt. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kozloff, P. A. 2001. "Sculpture: An Overview". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 3, pp. 218-228. NY: Oxford University Press.

- Kozloff, P. A. 2001. "Sculpture: Divine Sculpture". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 3, pp. 242-246. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Kozma, C. 2006. "Historical Review: Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt". *American Journal of Medical Genetics*, 303-311.
- Labudek, J. 2010. *Late period stelae from Saqqara. A socio-cultural and religious investigation*. UK: University of Birmingham.
- Larson, G., Karlsson, E. K., & Perri, A. 2012. "Rethinking dog domestication by integrating genetics, archeology, and biogeography". *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 109(28), 8878-8883.
- Lehner, M. 1997. *The Complete Pyramids: Solving the Ancient Mysteries*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Leitz, C. 2002. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (Vol. 1). Leuven: Peeters Publishers.
- Leprohon, R. J. (2001). "Offerings: Offering Formulas and Lists". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 2, pp. 569-72. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Lesko, L. H. 1977. *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Lichtheim, M. 1976. *Ancient Egyptian Literature: The New Kingdom* (Vol. 2). Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Logan, T. J. 1990. "The Origins of the Jmy-wt Fetish". *JARCE*, 27, 61-69.
- Love, E. O. 2016. *Code-switching with the Gods: The Bilingual (Old Coptic-Greek) Spells of PGM IV (P. Bibliothèque Nationale Supplément Grec. 574) and their Linguistic, Religious, and Socio-Cultural Context in Late Roman Egypt*. Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG.
- Lucas, A. 1934. *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (2nd ed.). London: Edward Arnold & Co.
- Manassa, C. 2006. "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates". *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 57, 109-150.
- Manassa, C. 2007. *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Manley, B. 1996. *The Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Egypt*. London: Penguin.
- Mariette, A. 1873. *Dendérah: Description Générale du Grand Temple de Cette Ville*. Vol. 4. Paris: Librairie A. Frank.
- Mariette, A. 1875. *Dendérah: Description Générale du Grand Temple de Cette Ville*. Vol. 6. Paris and Caire: Librairie A. Frank.
- McDonald, J. K. 1996. *House of Eternity: The Tomb of Nefertari*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Trust.
- Mendoza, B. 2017. *Artifacts from Ancient Egypt*. California: ABC-CLIO LLC.
- Moldenke, C. E. (1900). *Papyrus d'Orbiney: (British Museum): The Hieroglyphic Transcription*. Watchung, NJ: Eslinore.

- Muller, M. 2001. "Relief Sculpture". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 3, pp. 132-139. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Müller, M. W. 1918. *The Mythology of all Races: Egyptian*. Vol. 12. Boston: Marshall Jones Company.
- Munro, C. E. 1964. *Παγκόσμια Εγκυκλοπαίδεια της Τέχνης*. Ελλάδα: Φυλτρακής.
- Murnan, W. J. 1995. *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*. Vol. 5. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press.
- Murray, M. A., & Sethe, K. 1937. *Saqqara Mastabas*. Vol. 2. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt and B. Quaritch.
- Murray, M. A., Milne, G. J., & Crum, W. E. 1904. *The Osireion at Abydos*. London: Bernard Quaritch.
- Mysliwicz, K. 2001. "Sculpture: Royal Sculpture". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 3, pp. 229-235. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Naville, E. 1897. *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*. Vol. 2. London: The Order of the Committee.
- Nicholson, P. T. (2005). "The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara: The Cults and their Catacombs". In *Divine Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, by S. Ikram, pp. 44-70. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- Orlin, E. 2015. *Routledge Encyclopedia of Ancient Mediterranean Religions*. New York: Routledge.
- O'Rourke, P. F. 2002. *An Egyptian Royal Book of Protection of the Late Period (P. Brooklyn 47.218.49)*. New York: UMI Dissertation Services.
- Ossian, C. 2008. "A Limestone Jewel in the Desert: The Cenotaph of Rameses II at Abydos". *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt*, 19(1), 39-51.
- Papantoniou, G. 2012. *Religion and Social Transformations in Cyprus: From the Cypriot Basileis to the Hellenistic Strategos*. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Parker, R. A. 1950. *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Paton, L. B. 1921. *Spiritism and the Cult of the Dead in Antiquity*. New York: Macmillan Co.
- Peet, E. T. 1914. *The Cemeteries of Abydos*. Vol. 2. London: The Egypt Exploration Fund (Order of Committee).
- Peet, E. T., & Loat, W. 1913. *The Cemeteries of Abydos*. Vol. 3. London: The Offices of the Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Perri, A. 2016. "A wolf in dog's clothing: Initial dog domestication and Pleistocene wolf variation". *Journal of Archaeological Science*(68), 1-4.
- Petrie, F. W. 1902. *Abydos*. Vol. 1. London: Gilbert & Rivington, Ltd.
- Pinch, G. 2002. *A Handbook of Egyptian Mythology*. Oxford: ABC-CLIO.

- Quertinmont, A. 2008. "A Stylistic Dating for Statues of Anubis and other Canine Divinities". *Current Research in Egyptology 2008: Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Symposium* (pp. 109-118). Manchester: David Brown Book Co.
- Quirke, G. J. 2001. "Judgment of the Dead". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 2, pp. 211-214. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Quirke, S. 1997. "Gods in the Temple of the King: Anubis at Lahun". In *The Temple in Ancient Egypt: New Discoveries and Recent Research*, edited by S. Quirke, pp. 24-48. London: Trustees of the British Museum.
- Reeves, N. 1995. *Complete Tutankhamun: The King, The Tomb, the Royal Treasure*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd.
- Reeves, N., & Wilkinson, R. H. 1996. *The Complete Valley of the Kings: Tombs and Treasures of Egypt's Greatest Pharaohs*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Reidy, J. R. 2010. *Eternal Egypt: Ancient Rituals for the Modern World*. USA: iUniverse.
- Reisner, G. A. 1918. "The Tomb of Hepzefa, Nomarch of Siût". *JEA*, 5, 79-89.
- Reisner, G. A. 1934. "The Servants of the Ka". *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, 32(189), 1-12.
- Reisner, G. A. 1936. "The Dog which was Honored by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt". *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, XXXIV(206), 96-99.
- Renouf, P. L., & Naville, E. 1904. *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: Translation and Commentary*. London: Society of Biblical Archaeology.
- Rice, M. 2002. *Who's Who in Ancient Egypt*. London: Routledge.
- Rice, M. 2006. *Swifter than the Arrow: The Golden Hunting Hounds of the Ancient Egypt*. London, N.Y.: I. B. Tauris.
- Richter, A. B. 2012. *The Theology of Hathor of Dendera: Aural and Visual Scribal Techniques in the Per-Wer Sanctuary*. Berkeley: A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
- Ritner, K. R. 1985. "Anubis and the Lunar Disc". *JEA*, 71, 149-155.
- Roberson, J. A. 2007. *The Book of the Earth: A study of ancient Egyptian symbol -systems and the evolution of New Kingdom cosmographic models*. USA: RroQuest LLC.
- Roberson, J. A. 2014. *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth*. Atlanta, Georgia: Lockwood Press.
- Robins, G. 1997. *The Art of Ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press.
- Robins, G. 2001. "The use of the squared grid as a technical aid for artists in Eighteenth Dynasty painted Theban tombs". In *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, edited by W. Davies, pp. 60-62. London: British Museum Press.
- Roth, A. M. 1993. "Fingers, Stars, and the 'Opening of the Mouth': The Nature and Function of the nṯrwj-Blades". *JEA*, 79, 57-79.

- Roth, A. M. 2001. "Opening of the Mouth". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 2, pp. 605-609. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Roth, M. A. 1992. "The psS-kf and the "Opening of the Mouth" Ceremony: A Ritual of Birth and Rebirth". *JEA*, 78, 113-147.
- Rzeuska, I. T. 2008. "Reflection on "rite de passage" in the Old Kingdom". *Polish Archaeology in Mediterranean*(20), 575-586.
- Sauneron, S. 1960. *The Priest of Ancient Egypt*. Ney York and London: Grove Press, INC.
- Scalf III, D. F. 2014. *Passports to Eternity: Formulaic Demotic Funerary Texts and the Final Phase of Egyptian Funerary Literature in Roman Egypt (PHD)*. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago.
- Scalf, F. 2017. *Book of the Dead: Becoming a God in Ancient Egypt*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Schneider, T. 2008. "Innovation in Literature on Behalf of Politics: The Tale of the Two Brothers, Ugarit, and 19th Dynasty History". *Austrian Academy of Sciences Press*, 18, 315-326.
- Schulz, R. 2006. "Dog missing his master: Reflections on an Old Kingdom tomb relief in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore". *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of a Conference, Prague 2004*, pp. 315-325. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.
- Shafer, B. E. 2005. "Temple, Priests, and Rituals". In *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, edited by D. Arnold, pp. 1-30. London and New York: I.B.Tauris.
- Sherbiny, W. 2017. *Through Hermopolitan Lenses: Studies on the so-called Book of Two Ways in Ancient Egypt*. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Simpson, W. K. 2003. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Smith, M. 1993. *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.
- Smith, M. 2017. *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millenia*. UK: Oxford University Press.
- Szafranski, Z. E. 2010. "Imiut in the "Chapel of the Parents" in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari". *Achte Ägyptologische Tempeltagung* (pp. 187-196). Germany: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Taylor, J. H. 2010. *Journey Through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*. Cambridge and USA: Harvard University Press.
- te Velde, H. 2001. "Seth". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 3, pp. 269-271. USA: The Oxford University Press.
- Tefnin, R. 2001. "Sculpture: Private Sculpture". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 3, pp. 235-242). USA: Oxford University Press.

- Tetley, C. M. 2014. *The Reconstructed Chronology of the Egyptian Kings* (Vol. 1). New Zealand: Barry W. Tetley.
- Tetley, C. M. 2014. *The Reconstructed Chronology of the Egyptian Kings* (Vol. 2). New Zealand: Barry W. Tetley.
- Tirard, H. 1910. *The Book of the Dead*. London: Society for promoting Christian knowledge.
- Van Neer, W., Linseele, V., Friedman, R., & De Cupere, B. 2014. "More Evidence for Cat Taming at the Predynastic Elite Cemetery". *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 45, 103-111.
- Vandier, J. 1962. *Le papyrus Jumilhac. Text and plates*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique .
- Warburton, D. A. 2007. "Work and Compensation in Ancient Egypt". *JEA*, 93, 175-194.
- Watts, W. E. 1998. *Art of Ancient Egypt: A Resource for Educators*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Wegner, J. 2007. "From Elephant-Mountain to Anubis-Mountain? A Theory on the Origins and Development of the Name Abdju". In *The Archeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David O' Connor*, edited by Z. A. Hawass, & J. Richards. Vol. 36, pp. 473-491. Cairo: ASAE .
- Wegner, J. 2007. "Beneath the Mountain-of-Anubis: Ancient Egypt's First Hidden Royal Tomb". *The Magazine of the University of Pennsylvania* (48) 2, 15-22
- Wendorf, F., & Schild, R. 2013. *Holocene Settlement of the Egyptian Sahara: The Archaeology of Nabta Playa*. Vol. 1. New York: Springer Science & Business Media.
- Wengrow, D. 2006. *The Archaeology of Early Egypt: Social Transformations in North-East Africa, C. 10,000 to 2,650 BC*. UK and New York: Cambridge University Press,.
- Wilkinson, H. R. 1999. *Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd.
- Wilkinson, H. R. 2001. "Gesture". In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by B. D. Redford. Vol. 2, pp. 20-24. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Wilkinson, R. 2000. *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd.
- Wilkinson, R. H. 1992. *Reading Egyptian Art: A hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Wilkinson, R. H. 2003. *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Thames and Hudson.
- Wilkinson, T. A. 1999. *Early Dynastic Egypt*. London and N.Y.: Routledge.
- Willems, H. 1996. *The Coffin of Heqata: (Cairo JdE 36418): a Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom*. Leuven: Peeters Publishers.



- Willems, H. 2008. *Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Egyptian Funerary Culture: Religious Ideas and Ritual Practice in Middle Kingdom Elite Cemeteries*. London: Brill.
- Willockx, S. 2007. *Magic and Religion in Ancient Egypt: Amentet, Andjeti and Anubis*. Zeeland, NL: self editor.
- Wilson, A. J., & Allen, G. T. 1940. *Medinet Habu IV: Festival of Ramses III*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Wilson, P. 2010. "Temple Architecture and Decorative Systems". In *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, by A. B. Lloyd. Vol. 2, pp. 781-803. A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
- Woodroffe, R., & McNutt, J. W. 2004. "African wild dog (*Lycaon pictus*)". In *Canids: Foxes, Wolves, Jackals and Dogs Status*, edited by C. Sillero-Zubiri, M. Hoffmann, & M. M. David, pp. 174-183. Switzerland and Cambridge, UK: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources.
- Κεκές, Χ. 2015. Σύγκριση της απόδοσης της ανθρώπινης μορφής μεταξύ αιγυπτιακών και αιγαιακών τοιχογραφιών με έμφαση στις στάσεις και τις κινήσεις του σώματος. Ρεθυμνο: MA thesis.
- Κουσούλης, Π. 2004. *Αναζητώντας την Αιώνια Ζωή: Θάνατος και Ταρίχευση στην Αρχαία Αίγυπτο*. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αρχέτυπο.
- Κουσούλης, Π. 2015. *Εισαγωγή στην Αρχαία Αιγυπτιακή Γλώσσα και Γραφή*. Κάλιππος.
- Πλούταρχος. 2003. *Ισις και Όσιρις*. Μετάφραση από τον Γ. Α. Ράπτης. Θεσσαλονίκη: Ζήτρος

### Sites

- Adams, M. B. (2015, 11th 5). "Horemheb Tomb KV57 – Kings Valley". *My Luxor*, Access: 12/11/2017: <http://egyptmyluxor.weebly.com/horemheb-tomb-kv57---kings-valley.html>
- AEA. (n.d.). "Tombe Roy". *Les Amis de l'Égypte Ancienne*, Access: 20/11/2017: [http://ancienegypte.fr/tombe\\_roy/page2.htm](http://ancienegypte.fr/tombe_roy/page2.htm)
- AMICA. (n.d.). "Coffin of Bakenmut". *Art Museum Images from Cartography Asswociate*, Access: 20/09/2017: <http://amica.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/AMICO~1~1~32797~213437:Coffin-of-Bakenmut>
- BAAM. (n.d.). "Statue of Hermanubis". *The Bibliotheca Alexandrina Antiquities Museum*, Access: 18/11/2017: <http://antiquities.bibalex.org/Collection/Detail.aspx?lang=en&a=1160>
- BI. (n.d.). "Ancient Egypt: Mask of Anubis, 19th Dynasty". *Bridgeman Images*, Access: 29/11/2017: <http://www.bridgemanimages.com/en-GB/asset/3150006//ancient-egypt-anubis-mask-of-anubis-19th-dynasty?context=%7B%22sourceUrl%22%3A%22http%3A%5C/%5C/www.bridgemanimages.com%5C/en-GB%5C/search%5C/assets%5C/%25start%25%5C/%25limit%25%5C/%257B%2522filter%2522>
- Bekker, I., Ludwig, D., & Vogel, F. (n.d.). "Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica, Books I-V". *Perseus*, Access: 3/10/2017: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0540%3Abook%3D1%3Achapter%3D18>

- Benderitter, T. (n.d.). "Queen Nefertari: Tomb QV 66". *OsirisNet*, Access: 29/11/2017: [https://osirisnet.net/tombes/pharaons/nefertari/e\\_nefertari\\_05.htm](https://osirisnet.net/tombes/pharaons/nefertari/e_nefertari_05.htm)
- Benderitter, T. (n.d.). "Ramesses I: Tomb KV 16". *OsirisNet*, Access: 29/11/2017: [https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/pharaons/ramses1/e\\_ramses1\\_02.htm](https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/pharaons/ramses1/e_ramses1_02.htm)
- BM. (n.d.). "Vessel/tool/implement/religious/ritualequipment/model". *The British Museum*, Access: 12/11/2017:  
[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=17463&partId=1&searchText=Opening+of+the+Mouth&images=true&place=42209&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=17463&partId=1&searchText=Opening+of+the+Mouth&images=true&place=42209&page=1)
- BM. (n.d.). "The Greenfield Papyrus". *The British Museum*, Access: 15/11/2017:  
[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=12592&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=12592&partId=1)
- C.N., 3. (n.d.). "Ramesses the Sixth Tomb "Book of the Caverns". *360cities.net*, Access: 19/11/2017: <https://www.360cities.net/image/ramesses-the-sixth-antechamber-book-of-the-dead-egypt>
- CMA. (n.d.). "Coffin of Bakenmut (lid), c. 1000-900 BC". *The Cleveland Museum of Art*, Access: 11/10/2017: <http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1914.561.b#art-object-detail-views>
- D.E. (n.d.). "Ramesses VI - (20th Dynasty)". *Describing Egypt*, Access: 22/11/2017:  
[https://describingegypt.com/tours/ramessesvi/kv9\\_pillared\\_chamber\\_f\\_chariot\\_hall/99/-13/48](https://describingegypt.com/tours/ramessesvi/kv9_pillared_chamber_f_chariot_hall/99/-13/48)
- Dunn, J., & Rome, P. (n.d.). "The Cenotaph Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos". *TourEgypt*, Access: 28/11/2017:  
<http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/ramessesiiabydos.htm>
- EC. (n.d.). "Coffin fragment, cartonnage, body piece". *Egypt Centre - Canolfan Eifftaidd*, Access: 11/10/2017:  
<http://www.egyptcentre.org.uk/index.asp?page=item&mwsquery={Identity%20number}={W894}>
- Emory, C. (n.d.). "Coffin of Tanakhtnettahat". *Michael C. Carlos Museum*, Access: 11/10/2017: <http://carlos.emory.edu/conservation/case-studies/egyptian-anc/coffin-of-tanakhtnettahat>
- Emory, C. (n.d.). "Coffin Lid of Tanakhtnettahat/ta-aset". *Michael C. Carlos Museum*, Access: 11/10/2017: <http://carlos.emory.edu/items/show/6976>
- Eternal, E. (n.d.). "Anubis Carrying the Moon Disk". *Eternal Egypt*, Access: 8/10/2017:  
[http://www.eternalegypt.org/EternalEgyptWebsiteWeb/HomeServlet?ee\\_website\\_action\\_key=action.display.element&story\\_id=&module\\_id=&language\\_id=1&element\\_id=1538&text=text](http://www.eternalegypt.org/EternalEgyptWebsiteWeb/HomeServlet?ee_website_action_key=action.display.element&story_id=&module_id=&language_id=1&element_id=1538&text=text)
- Geggel, L. 2015, June 158. "8 Million Dog Mummies Found in 'God of Death' Mass Grave". *Live Science*, Access: 01/11/2017: <http://www.livescience.com/51232-millions-of-dog-mummies-found.html>
- GEM. (n.d.). "Anubis mask". *The Global Egyptian Museum*, Access: 16/11/2017: <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/detail.aspx?id=10807>
- GEM. (n.d.). "Mask of Anubis". *The Global Egyptian Museum*, Access: 16/11/2017: <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/detail.aspx?id=15024>
- GEM. (n.d.). "Stele di Mery". *The Global Egyptian Museum*, Access: 16/11/2017: <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=9455&sel=true>

- GEM. (n.d.). "Mummy shroud". *The Global Egyptian Museum*, Access: 12/11/2017: <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=4896>
- GEM. (n.d.). "*Was-sceptre*". *The Global Egyptian Museum*, Access: 28/11/2017: <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/glossary.aspx?id=397>
- Getty. (n.d.). "Tomb of Nefertari (1986–1992)". *Getty Museum*, Access: 11/11/2017: [http://www.getty.edu/conservation/our\\_projects/field\\_projects/nefertari/nefertari12.html](http://www.getty.edu/conservation/our_projects/field_projects/nefertari/nefertari12.html)
- Herodotus. 1920. "Herodotus, The Histories (Godley, A.D. edition)". *Perseus*, Access: 19/11/2017: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126%3Abook%3D2&force=y>
- Hirst, J. J. (n.d.). "The tomb of Queen Nefertari, QV66". *OsirisNet*, Access: 12/09/2017: <https://www.osirisnet.net/3d-tours/qv66/index.php?en>
- HMA. (n.d.). "Anubis Mask". *Harrogate Museum and Arts*, Access: 16/11/2017: <http://www.investigateegypt.co.uk/main8ecf.html?page=1470>
- MAM. (n.d.). "Mummy Coffin of Pedusiri". *Milwaukee Art Museum*, Access: 12/11/2017: <http://collection.mam.org/details.php?id=25606>
- MET. (n.d.). "Sarcophagus of Mindjedef". *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Access: 10/09/2017: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/552235?sortBy=Relevance&when=8000-2000+B.C.&ft=anubis&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=3>
- MET. (n.d.). "Tomb Stela of Hetepsi". *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Access: 10/11/2017: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/552234?sortBy=Relevance&when=8000-2000+B.C.&ft=anubis&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=4>
- MET. (n.d.). "The Singer of Amun Nany's Funerary Papyrus". *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Access: 18/11/2017: <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548344>
- MFA. (n.d.). "Lintel of Kameni". *Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, Access: 06/11/2017: <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/linel-of-kameni-146269>
- MFA. (n.d.). "Fragment of a Coffin". *Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest*, Access: 06/11/2017: [http://www.szepmuveszeti.hu/adatlap\\_eng/fragment\\_of\\_coffin\\_13356](http://www.szepmuveszeti.hu/adatlap_eng/fragment_of_coffin_13356)
- Mortimer, C. 2015, December Monday 22nd. "Tutankhamun's half-sister Meritaten might have also been his wet nurse, archaeologists say". *Independent*, Access: 02/10/2017: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/science/archaeology/tutankhamuns-half-sister-meritaten-might-have-also-been-his-wet-nurse-archaeologists-say-a6781231.html>
- Smint, P., & Palarczyk, M. (n.d.). "Standing mummy in Roy's tomb at Luxor". *Paul Smit*, Access: 22/11/2017: <https://paulsmit.smugmug.com/Features/Africa/Egypt-Luxor-tombs/i-CTjXXFx>
- Smith, T. S. (n.d.). "176TS - Ancient Egyptian Religion - The Opening of the Mouth Ceremony". *University of California, Santa Barbara - Department of Anthropology*, Access: 15/11/2017: <http://www.anth.ucsb.edu/faculty/stsmith/courses/Opening%20of%20the%20Mouth.pdf>
- TMP. (n.d.). "KV 16 (Ramesses I)". *Theban Mapping Project*, Access: 20/11/2017: [http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/sites/browse\\_tombimages\\_830.html](http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/sites/browse_tombimages_830.html)

- TMP. (n.d.). "KV 57 (Horemheb)". *Theban Mapping Project*, Access: 20/11/2017: [http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/sites/browse\\_tombimages\\_871\\_140.html](http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/sites/browse_tombimages_871_140.html)
- UCL (n.d.). "Book of the Dead Chapter 151". *UCL: Digital Egypt for Universities*, Access: 29/11/2017: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/literature/religious/hpres151.html>
- Visit360o. (n.d.). "Temples of Abydos in 360° - The temple of Seti I". *Visit360o*, Access: 29/11/2017: [http://visit360.net/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=item&id=9:temples-of-abydos-in-360%C2%B0&Itemid=66&tmpl=component&print=1](http://visit360.net/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=9:temples-of-abydos-in-360%C2%B0&Itemid=66&tmpl=component&print=1)
- Vygus, M. 2015. *Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary*. Access: 12/09/2017: <https://mdw-ntn.com/resources/digital-library/dictionaries/vygus-egyptian-hieroglyphic-dictionary>
- WMA. (n.d.). "A Worshipper Kneeling Before the God Anubis". *The Walters Art Museum*, Access: 09/10/2017: <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/5710/a-worshipper-kneeling-before-the-god-anubis/>
- WMA. (n.d.). "Kneeling Figure of Hor-wedja". *The Walters Art Museum*, Access: 08/10/2017:: <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/8349/kneeling-figure-of-hor-wedja/>