BLACK AND GOLD GOD

colour symbolism of the god Anubis
with observations on the phenomenology of colour
in Egyptian and comparative religion

Terence DuQuesne
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Terence DuQuesne
Erik Hornung
in Dankbarkeit und Freundschaft
gewidmet
Er ist einer der bleibenden Boten,
der noch weit in die Türen der Toten
Schalen mit rühmlichen Früchten hält.
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INTRODUCTORY

In one of his most touching poems, addressed to a beloved dog, Rilke asked ‘Wer zeigt mit Fingern auf einen Geruch?’ Aromas are difficult to describe intelligently, and so too are colours. Even apparently basic physical properties of colour do not lend themselves to easy discussion, and with a very few notable exceptions philosophers have left the subject safely alone. When one attempts to deal with the symbolism of colours, the problems are compounded. Yet the field is so rich that, however inadequate one’s consideration of it, interesting findings will emerge.

The present work focusses on certain aspects of colour use and symbolism in ancient Egypt, concentrating on black and gold, the hues particularly associated with the god Anubis. A good deal of comparative material - philosophical, anthropological, archaeological, psychological, and biological - is cited in the hope of illuminating the significance of these and other colours, both in the Egyptian context and for ourselves. As a poet, I make no apology for the inclusion of a number of poetic quotations, which I hope will inform and engage the reader. This book is part of my ongoing research into the jackal gods of Egypt, to whom I am devoting a substantial volume which is now in active preparation.

Colour symbolism in ancient Egypt has received the attention of very few scholars. Some useful work on usage of colours has been done, and there are valuable, if very brief, accounts by Hermann and Cagiano de Azevedo (1969), by Brunner-Traut (1977), and by Wilkinson (1994), which include discussion of symbolic aspects. The essay by Kees, *Farbensembolik in ägyptischen religiösen Texten* (1943), has remained the only extended treatment and is indispensable, but it is confined strictly to the matter indicated by the title. There is, of course, a fascinating large-scale book to be written on Egyptian colour symbolism. Here I have been obliged to concentrate on the colours of Anubis. It would have been desirable to amplify this work in many places, as a number of colleagues have suggested, but such projects can easily get out of hand, and the constraints of time, space, and printing costs have had to be considered.

One of the problems the author has encountered in researching this book is the absolute unavailability in the UK of many important references. He has been very fortunate in enlisting the help of a number of scholars internationally, both in tracking down such references and in providing equally crucial peer review.

*Rilke Sonette an Orpheus I 16.

°In particular, by Ransom Williams (1932), Reuterswärd (1958), Schenkel (1963), Baines (1985), El Goresy (1986), Schiegl (1991), and Germer (1992). For full citations, see Bibliography.
Thanks are especially due to Dr Ian Astley, Marburg; Dr Sydney Aufrère, Montpellier; Professor John Baines, Oxford; Mark Angelo de Brito, London; Salmaan Dalvi, London; Dr Eckhard Eichler, Heidelberg; Professor Ahmed El Goresy, Heidelberg; Peter Harrington, Billericay; Dr Leo de Hartog, Apeldoorn; Professor Matthieu Heerma van Voss, Amsterdam; Dr Edmund Hermsen, Marburg; Professor Erik Hornung, Basel, to whom I have the honour to dedicate this book; Professor Jean Leclant, Paris; Professor Geoffrey T Martin, Cambridge; M Dimitri Meeks, Carnoules; Professor Edmund S Meltzer, Wisconsin Rapids; Dr Alessandra Nibbi, Oxford; Dr Andrzej Niwirski, Warsaw; Professor Mohamed Nur el-Din, Cairo; David Pennell, London; Dr Maarten J Raven, Leiden; Dr Mohamed Saleh, Cairo; Liesbeth Sewalt, Ryswyk; Dr BH Stricker, Leiden; Professor Theo Sundermeier, Heidelberg; and Professor Elémire Zolla, Rome. The author acknowledges with gratitude the assistance of the Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini.

By the grace of the gods, so may it be.

TDuQ
Samhain 1996
I PHILOSOPHICAL, PHYSICAL & PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF COLOUR

Was einmal war in allem Glanz und Schein,
Es regt sich dort; denn es will ewig sein.
Und ihr verteilt es, allgewaltige Mächte,
Zum Zelt des Tages, zum Gewölb der Nächte.
Die einen faßt des Lebens holder Lauf,
Die andern sucht der kühne Magier auf.

Goethe Faust 6431-6436.

§1 It seems appropriate to begin this study with a quotation from Goethe, who not only employed colour symbolism with great sophistication in his poetry but contributed a book on the theory of colours. He was fighting a rearguard action to refute Newton's finding that colour was a property of light rather than a blend of brightness and darkness, and in effect modified Aristotle's definitions. Goethe claimed, with apparent arrogance, that the philosophy of colours should be considered independently of optics. According to this non-mechanistic view, which Newton himself shared, colour is a sensation rather than an objective phenomenon, and modern physicists have not succeeded in removing subjectivities such as 'chromatic contrast'.

§2 Perhaps what Goethe meant was not so much a denial of scientific principles as an affirmation that science must be predicated on philosophy. In our own time, Maurice Merleau-Ponty has come to the conclusion that "la couleur réelle demeure sous les apparences comme le fond continue sous la figure, c'est-à-dire non pas à titre de qualité vue ou pensée, mais dans une présence non sensorielle." In other words, he is accepting that colours have an ontological status which is not wholly dependent on the findings of modern physics.

4J Van Norden The black feet of the peacock (Lanham MD 1985) 1-17; O Flanagan Consciousness reconsidered (Cambridge MA 1992) 87-89, cf 71f; DB Judd Introduction, Goethe's Theory of Colours (Cambridge MA 1970) ix-x, xvi; D Grady The vision thing: mainly in the brain, Discover (New York) 14 no 6 (June 1993) 66 [56-66]; JGage Colour and culture (London 1993) 7/1, 233/1, 205/1-2, 268/2, 302n166.
§3 Part of the purpose of this essay is to discover whether the ancients have anything still to teach us on this subject. In particular, I shall briefly examine a few of the uses and symbolic penumbras of colours in a number of cultures, concentrating on black and yellow, the emblematic colours of the jackal-god Anubis, in ancient Egypt. In the course of preparing the current study I am constantly reminded of the Hebrew Qabalah, with its elaborate scales of colours corresponding to the four letters of the Tetragrammaton and the four worlds described by the Sefer Yesirah. Does this intricate and self-consistent symbolic system, one wonders, reflect only the phenomena of physical light rather than the forms of light disclosed by the three veils of the Tree? The qabalistic tree also, according to some traditions, includes a complementary sphere called דא'ת ('knowledge'), 8 which is the mystical equivalent of a black hole and which represents the gateway between the worlds - a limen of which Anubis, black and gold god, is the guardian. 9

§4 Contemporary philosophers have had little to add on the nature of colour, tending to rely on evidence from the physical sciences. However, Wittgenstein did wonder whether there was a natural history of colours and asked "wiewweit ist sieanalog einer Naturgeschichte der Pflanzen? Ist diese nicht zeitlich, jene unzeitlich?"! In his posthumous notes on the subject he also observed that black mirrors appeared to him as tief (deep) rather than schmutzig (dirty), 12 recalling the interesting difference in the Latin use of ater and niger, 13 and suggested that there might be a more fundamental colour concept than that of surface hue. John Searle has recently reminded us of the potential usefulness of seeing colours as Gestalten. 15
§5 Few Western philosophers have had any knowledge or of interest in the thinking of other cultures, ancient or modern, but it seems evident that such sources provide promising lines of enquiry on the nature and symbolism of colours.

§6 Art offers excellent opportunities for us to examine the distinctions between appearance and reality. Plotinus took a holistic view of perception: according to him, vision depends on affinities between the percipient and what is perceived, but this opinion is based on a philosophy radically different from any which obtain today in the West. For him, it is the divine logos which gives objects a particular colour. Plotinus, an Egyptian, provides a pithy account of the transition from sounds to hieroglyphic characters. “By drawing images and carving in their temples one specific image to represent one particular thing, the wise men of Egypt showed the absence of discursiveness in the intellectual world, so that each image is a sort of knowledge and wisdom.” As Wesley Trimpi rightly says, “this passage lays down in the barest possible terms the presuppositions of all subsequent symbolist theories of the literary and visual arts”, and some would go much further.

§7 A way forward in the understanding of colour nature and symbolism might well be an adaptation of the approach of Cassirer to ‘mythical thought’. In a sense, some recent studies of category theory should also be helpful, and colour terms provide a paradigm example of the criteria for such terms. Berlin and Kay, in an influential book, have studied colour terms in many contemporary languages, and propose a basis for assessing the ‘development’ of a civilization according to the number of such terms found in their respective vocabularies. They regard colour categories as a product of neurophysiology and cognitively real operations that can be partially described by ‘fuzzy’ set theory.

16An exception is G Fano Teosofia orientale e filosofia greca (Firenze 1949), an astute and humane study. Cf also R Shweder Thinking between cultures (Cambridge MA 1991).
17Plotinus II 6.1. This and related passages are usefully discussed by EK Emilsson Plotinus on sense-perception (Cambridge 1988) 47-62 cf 36-46, 88-91.
18Plotinus V 8.6. I have slightly adapted the syntax of the original.
More recent linguistic studies suggest that such colour terms are not as absolute as all that, and in any case this methodology does not work for boundaries between colours, where there is certainly no universality. In a finely-researched dissertation, MacLaury offers some modifications to the Berlin-Kay hypothesis and pays more careful attention to the mapping of different colours and of the 'vantages' from which colour categories should be seen. He provides interesting evidence that colour cognition is not uniform across cultures. An elaborate vocabulary of 'universal' colour terms has been devised for commercial purposes in the West, but its more general application is unclear.

§8 According to modern accounts, colour perception is explicable in purely physiological terms as a response to light by the rod and cone cells of the retina, which react to different wavelengths. Recently developed computer models and theories are proving of some value in linking physiological to cognitive processes.

§9 The psychology of colours shows different associations across cultures. However, most of the interesting philosophical issues remain unanswered. A potentially useful subject of enquiry is the phenomenon of synaesthesia, which has hardly been dealt with in the scientific literature because such perceptions do not fit into the mechanistic schema of most contemporary scientists. The phenomenon is, nevertheless, demonstrably there. The unity of the senses is insisted on by Merleau-Ponty, and a taxonomy of alterations in visual perception due to psychedelic drugs has
been attempted. Artists have always understood the importance of synaesthesia in the creative process, and Paul Klee's use of colours as symbolic markers is particularly noteworthy.

The above is merely an impressionistic sketch designed to summarize some of the general issues, the most important of which are still outstanding, regarding colour perception.
II COLOURS IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN LIFE AND SYMBOLISM

II.1 Colours in a para-logical society

Xólotl el perro guía del infierno...
El que encendió la lumbre de los años...
La otra cara del Señor de la Aurora.36

§10 In writing of the Mayan sacred dog who travels between the worlds, Octavio Paz recognized the importance of polarities in indigenous religions. Like Anubis, Xólotl is black and gold for darkness and dawn.37 In Egypt, we are entering a world of correspondences: *quod est inferius, est sicut quod est superius*.38 Every number, every colour has sacred associations and reflects a cosmology in which all is interconnected.39 This is recognized in many traditions from qabalistic Judaism40 to mystical Islam41 to alchemy.42

§11 In a brief spell in the Egyptian Pyramid Texts, doubtless addressed to the king, he is exhorted to "take the two Eyes of Horus, the black and the white. Raise them to your forehead so that they may illuminate your face."43 The sense is clearly that the sovereign incarnates Horus in order to preside over Sun and Moon, day and night, and νήπιος and φως.44 In the Ptolemaic temples, the solar-lunar conjunction is represented also by the diadem of electrum (an alloy of gold and silver)45 and by the offering of gold and silver mirrors to Hathor.46 It is a commonplace that in

36O Paz ‘Salamandra’: Configurations (New York 1971) 76-78.
38M Eliade Myth of the eternal return (New York 1954) 6-27; the quotation is from J Ruska Tabula smaragdina (Heidelberg 1926) 112.
40For example the system of γεματια: L Blau Das altjüdische Zauberverwesen (Straßburg 1898) 123-146. The Italian Renaissance theory of colour scales may have been, to some extent, derived from Qabalah as well as from classical symbolism: cf M Barasch Light and color in the Italian Renaissance theory of art (New York 1978) 159-189.
43Pyr 33a.
46Mu-chou Poo Liturgies of the offering of mirrors, IAE paper (Turin 1991) 3; M Smith The ritual of opening the mouth for breathing (Oxford 1993) 45.
Egypt polarities are expressed by the Red and the Black of the Two Lands, even if opinions differ on their topographical characteristics.\footnote{A Nöbbi The Two Lands: the black and the red, DE 22 (1992) 9-23. On the symbolism: G Khane Signification symbolique de la double royauté pharaonique, Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (Dakar), série B, 45 (1983) 277-301; T DuQuesse Raising the serpent power: some parallels between Egyptian religion and Indian Tantra, in Hermes Egyptianus. Fs BH Stricker (Oxford 1995) 53-68, A Ansêlin La rouge et la noire. Le paradigme du pouvoir, Carbet (Martinique) 8 (1989) 119-147. It has recently been pointed out that, on carvings in certain predynastic tombs from Hierakonpolis, some figures are coloured black and some red: J Cervelló Autuori Azaiwo, Afyewo, Asoiwo. Reflexiones sobre la realeza divina africana..., Aula Orientalis 11 (1993) 37f [5:72].} In Egyptian the word for 'colour' (iwn) also means 'character'.\footnote{Kees oc (1943) 414f; E Brunner-Traut Farbe, LA II (1977) 118 [117-127].} This suggests a belief that colours are intrinsic, and indeed that there is a whole philosophy of colour correspondences to be explicated from pharaonic sources.\footnote{Cf Hermann & M Cagiano de Azevedo Farbe, RAC VII (1969) 362 [358-448, and on Egypt specifically 361-373]; Wolf/Über die Gegenstandsbezogenheit des ägyptischen Denkens, Fs H Grapow (1955) 404f[403-410].}§12 Some valuable work has been done on Egyptian colour terminology and use in iconography,\footnote{Cf Hermann & Cagiano de Azevedo oc (1969) 362-373.} including hieroglyphic signs,\footnote{Cf A Hailer Zu den Farben der Hieroglyphen, in E Horning Zwei räumatische Königsgräber (Mainz 1990) 101-119; E Horning Idea into image (New York 1992) 26-28 (choice of colour for hieroglyphs); W Schenkel Die Farben in ägyptischer Kunst und Sprache, ZAS 88 (1963) 131-147.} although the surface- and in Egyptian art virtually every surface was painted\footnote{Kees oc (1943); Hermann & Cagiano de Azevedo oc (1969) 362-373.} - has hardly been scratched. In an interesting recent contribution, Baines has shown that colours were used before names were assigned to them, apparently confirming the Berlin-Kay hypothesis of basic colour terms.\footnote{S Morenz En l'art de l'Egypte ancienne, Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Études Égyptiennes 7 (1954) 152f[151-157], who writes of classical temples: "La bellezza di quelle costruzioni non è nelle proporzioni, nella disposizione, negli ordini architettonici, ma proprio nella policromia dei marmi." Similar points are made for Indian architecture by Asoiwo. Reflexiones sobre la realeza divina africana..., Aula Orientalis 11 (1993) 37f [5:72].} He also indicates that one of these fundamental terms was s3b 'dappled'\footnote{Staeelin Zu den Farben der Hieroglyphen, in E Horning Zwei räumatische Königsgräber (Mainz 1990) 101-119; E Horning Idea into image (New York 1992) 26-28 (choice of colour for hieroglyphs); W Schenkel Die Farben in ägyptischer Kunst und Sprache, ZAS 88 (1963) 131-147.} - a term which may not be unconnected with the Anubis jackals (z3b) to which this paper is particularly devoted (see below), and which is used to denote the brightness and variegation of the Horus-falcon's plumage.\footnote{J Baines Color terminology and color classification: ancient Egyptian color terminology and polychromy, American Anthropologist 87 (1985) 282-297.}
§13 It seems that, for the Egyptian, most colours were laden with ambivalent symbolism, depending partly on the context of their use. Gold and yellow\(^{57}\) have obvious solar associations: \textit{nbw} and related terms\(^{58}\) refer to the soft parts of the corpse\(^{59}\) and to gold as a metal.\(^{60}\) \textit{nbw} is a designation of grain, as contrasted with \textit{km},\(^{61}\) and especially of sunlight.\(^{62}\) The sky-cow is \textit{nb(t)},\(^{63}\) and Hathor is frequently described as the Golden Goddess.\(^{64}\) Significantly, the beloved woman is designated as ‘golden’ since she is regarded as a hypostasis of Hathor.\(^{65}\)

§14 While Re is usually described as golden, both green and the red of dawn and dusk may also be his colours.\(^{66}\) Red has a particular ambivalence. Light (‘yellow’) skin and red hair are Typhonian


\(^{58}\) A Erman & H Grapow Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache II (1928) 237-240 Belegstellen II (1940) 340-345.


\(^{60}\) Tb 238/5.

\(^{61}\) Tb 240/4.

\(^{62}\) Tb 239/8.

\(^{63}\) Tb 240/11.

\(^{64}\) Tb 239/3. Hathor is also the black goddess, associated with Libya. One of her many connexions with Anubis is shown in a text from a Roman-period mummy board (BM 35464/26-29), where Anubis ‘will say your praise before Hathor the Libyan, to whom the netherworld is entrusted’: the text is cited by M Smith Liturgy (1993) 62. Gold and Hathor are considered by G Scandone Matthiae L’oro e la dorata. Un’ipotesi su un epiteto di Afrodite e Hathor, Fs J Leclant III (Le Caire 1994) 435-440.

\(^{65}\) A Hermann Altägyptische Liebesdichtung (Wiesbaden 1959) 24f, 108f; P Reuterswärd Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik II (Stockholm 1960) 165f, 196f.

colours, according to Wainwright, and there is much ambivalence in the use of the term āšr. The cobra-goddess is red in her angry aspect and unites not merely the red and the white but also red, green, and black. Isis at Dendera is born black and flaming red. An association between red and blood, as in the knot of Isis, is inescapable, and the doors to Ro-Setawe are red and black. One is reminded of the fact that ochre burials occur in various ancient cultures, notably Hallstatt C, and are attested in the neolithic settlement at Çatal Hüyük in Anatolia, together with interments of obsidian mirrors.


II.2 The colour black

“It is perceptually just as absurd to say that black is the absence of color as it is to say that white is the presence of all colors. When people talk this way, it is because their speech has been contaminated by science teachers...”

§15 Use of colours in any culture will depend on the availability of raw materials such as dyestuffs as well as on the practical constraints of art and on the symbolic connotations of particular hues. In prehistoric Europe, the usage of black in cave-paintings must be related to the discovery of manganese dioxide. In Egyptian, the word km apparently refers non-specifically to very dark colours, much in the way that in Sanskrit and in Greek are employed. This is shown by the spread of its usages: km may refer to minerals such as granite and to dark-coloured grain (corn and spel), to the black earth of Egypt (kmt) and the dark waters of the km-wr. It also designates animals and hair and eye colour in humans.

§16 Km in reference to skin colour is an interesting subject. In Egyptian art, it is conventional for men to be depicted as darker than women, and similarly for deities. This is true from about Dynasty V; that it is an artistic convention is strongly indicated by the fact that in the Amarna Period males and females are shown as being of similar colour. One exception which proves the rule is the representation of Queen Iohmose Nefertari as black. Whether this reflects her status as an incarnation of the black Hathor cow or whether it suggests a stage in transformation before rebirth may be debated. What it does not mean is that the ancient Egyptians were phenotypically Negroid, as some have attempted to propose.

76RG Germer Die Textilfarberei im alten Agypten (Wiesbaden 1992) 137f.
78Schenkel oc 142f, 143f; on forms G Fecht Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur (Glückstadt 1960) 14; W Till Die Farbenbezeichnungen im Koptischen, Studia Biblica et Orientalia (Roma 1959) 315f[331-342], where he cites the onomatopoeic term K'»'K'»' (drumming).
79MMonier-Williams Sanskrit dictionary (Oxford 1899) 306/2; terms such as dās dāsa, tamas, and asikni (post-Vedic असिक्न) have different associations.
80W Schultz Die Farbenempfindungssystem der Hellenen (Leipzig 1904) 73-80; M Platnauer Greek colour-perception, Classical Quarterly 15 (1921) 153f[153-162].
81Wb V (1931) 123/2-6; Brunner-Traut oc (1977) 118f.
82Wb V 126-128. In other cultures the earth is regarded as black and the sky white, as in Northern shamanism: A-L Siikala & M Hoppäl Studies on shamanism (Helsinki 1992) 5.
83Ib V 126/4.
84Ib V 123/12.
85Ib V 123/13 & 21.
86Brunner-Traut oc (1977) 121.
87HGrapow Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Agyptischen (Leipzig 1924) 106f; cf 43f, 45. See also note 67, above.
91E Staehelin oc (1977) 1069f; cf Kees oc (1943) 422.
93CA Diop Civilization or barbarism, tr (New York 1990) 105; on the ‘black’ Osiris cf also the ill-digested work by StC Drake Black folk here and there (Los Angeles 1987) 171f, 265, 362f n100.
The most that can be said, and has been said by no less an authority than Vercoutter, is that the ancient Egyptians were racially sui generis and that a darker skin colour prevailed, then as now, the further south one went. It is very clear that, by the XIXth Dynasty at least, enlightenment was available (so to speak) for Jew and Greek, bond and free. Modern connotations of race should not anachronistically be written into the Egyptian record.

§17 For the Egyptians, artistic conventions are inextricably linked with religious symbolism, but how each connects with the other is often difficult to determine. In her valuable study of Old Kingdom art, Ransom Williams observes the widespread use of black for outlines, with soot (carbon) as an appropriate pigment, and for representations of objects, such as houses, which might otherwise have been painted in grey. She notes the interesting alternation of black and blue which continues well into the New Kingdom. Black dyes are, however, rarely employed in textiles except for the black dress of women mourners. In Ramesside times, black-painted coffins may have reflected the status of their occupant and/or have symbolic significance. Black stone was favoured for much sculpture.

94 KSethé Kosmopolitische Gedanken der Ägypter des NR in Bezug auf das Totenbuch, Fs FLI Griffith (Oxford 1932) 42f; T DuQuesne At the court of Osiris (London 1994) §§127-128 and notes. Dr A Niwiński observes that Negroes are sometimes represented on XXVth Dynasty coffins (personal communication, November 1993). Herr C Loeben is understood to be working on this iconography.
96 §ib46f: "We may suppose therefore that the Egyptian’s color concept for these objects was often of blackness rather than of grayness."
98 See below, III.4.
99 RGermer Die Textilfärberei... im alten Ägypten (Wiesbaden 1992) 55 (black textiles of Tutankhamun), 97f (black spots on the leopard-skin of a ‘Hundeführer”).
101 BHStricker Campéfis (Amsterdam 1975) 6*-7*; DPolz in JAssmann Das Grab des Amenemope (Mainz 1991) 126f of 279-282; A Niwiński Ritual protection of the dead... Fs I. Kákosy (Budapest 1992) 457-471; A Niwiński 21st Dynasty coffins (Mainz 1988) 11-12, 19. The statuettes of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris are often varnished black and/or gilded, with the deity sometimes having a green face: MJ Raven Papyrus-sheaths and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues, OMRO 59/60 (1978/79) 258-281, 281-283 [251-299]. At Philae, Osiris is imy-ry-mw-ry-nbyw ‘principal overseer of the golden ones’: LVZabkar Hymns to Isis from her temple at Philae (Hanover NH 1988) 32. The green appearance may be artefactual: see Annex 1, below. On the colours of XXIst Dynasty coffins, see also Annex 2, below. On the symbolism of green: A Gheerbrant Vert, in Dictionnaire des symboles, ed JChevalier & A Gheerbrant (Paris 1969) 795-798. Green is one of the colours (the others are white, blue, and red) of the coffers transported in the NK during the Sokar festival: CGrandorge-Héréil Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes (Wiesbaden 1994) 1268f.
§18 The use of black in religious iconography may be illustrated by a few examples. Re travels the sky in the day- and the night-barque, and black in the Netherworld Books carries the ambiguities inherent in a situation of risk and potentiality for rebirth.

§19 The Book of the Two Ways contains similar symbolism, with black borders to spells, the colour of the road, and a black pedestal to the boat indicating the latent fertility of Osiris and the hazards of the nocturnal netherworldly journey. In the Book of the Dead, the eyes of Horus, as Sun and Moon, are given as black and white respectively, and there too, as Kees reminds us, for its completion the feathers of the red crown must be made black.

§20 Ambivalence is present in the connotations of the shadow, which is naturally depicted as black. While the shadow is an aspect of vital energy, it may also be a potent source of threat in the netherworld. The idea, recorded by Aristotle and others, that hyenas throw their shadows at dogs is an interesting example of chthonic symbolism, which will be discussed further under the rubric of Anubis.

§21 Apart from the black and gold jackal god, a number of deities and their non-human hypostases are distinguished by colour. The Egyptians distinguished the black and white ibis of Thoth from the entirely black ‘dirty’ ibis called gmt. In the Pyramid Texts, the crocodile Sobk is ‘green of feather’ and also ‘the great black one’. Also in the Pyramid Texts, two black cows are given.

103 Kees oc (1943) 416-425; Brunner-Traut oc (1977) 123. Some associations of black in Egyptian art are now considered by L Luzzato & R Pompas II significato dei colori nella civiltà antiche (Milano 1988) 41-92.
105 Forman & Kischkewitz (1971) pl 12, where the heads of demons are blacked out; pl 21, where the Sun is black.
107 E Hermsen Die zwei Wege des Jenseits (Freiburg/Schweiz 1991) 122f ad CT 1132-1134.
108 ib 168 ad CT 1065.
109 ib 236 ad CT 1115-1130.
110 Kees oc (1943) 423; BH Stricker De prachelleense ascese (vervolg), OMRO 57 (1976) 299 n1724 [299-333].
111 RO Faulkner Concise dictionary of Middle Egyptian (Oxford 1962) 251.
112 Kees ic on BD 114 (Budge text (1898) 235/16). Are skm and ip synonymous?
113 Reuterswärd oc (1958) 29-38.
119 Pyr 1350, 1390. Cf below on Osiris as km-wr.
as nurses of the Spirits of Heliopolis, and such animals were certainly regarded as particularly sacred. The cult of the black bulls Apis and Mnevis persisted well into the Roman period.

§22 A number of deities are designated in terms of colour. Isis is called st-kmt and st-kmt-gmt ‘black (-red) woman’ in texts from the Dendera temple. We know that in the New Kingdom mourning women, who certainly impersonated Isis as she bewept the death of Osiris, wore black. By Roman times the palla nigerrima worn by devotees of Isis was well recognized, and one of the sacerdotal titles of her cult was μελανηφρόος.

§23 In a ritual text from the Ramesseum, the Negro from Oponé hails the ithyphallic god Min as being “of true lapis lazuli” and his face is depicted as either blue or black, the earliest representation of the latter type dating from Dynasty XII. Whether this supports an often-cited view that Min is originally a deity from Nubia or whether his blackness signifies the fertility of the earth is debated. His priesthood certainly included people described as ‘keepers of the black cow of Min’. This suggests a close association with Isis, who is occasionally referred to as his mother or wife, with Amun as k3-mwt.f, and with Osiris km-wr, the great black bull of Athribis.

120Pyr 531.
122E Otto Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sterkulte in Aegypten (Leipzig 1938) 11; cf ST Hollis The Egyptian tale of the Two Brothers (Norman 1990) 148.
124W Winter Der Apiskult im Alten Ägypten (Mainz 1978) 34f; D Kessler Die heiligen Tiere und der König I (Wiesbaden 1989) 57-90, with copious documentation.
125Wb V (1931) 123/19-20. The symbolism of red should also be noted in connexion with offerings of wine to Hathor: M C Poo Wine and wine offering in the religion of ancient Egypt (London 1995) 156f.
131H Gauthier Fêtes (1931) 202.
132CJ Bleeker Die Geburt eines Gottes (Leiden 1956) 49f; I Munro Das Zelt-Heiligtum des Min (München 1983) 1f; A Niwinski Ritual protection of the dead... Fs L Kákosy (Budapest 1992) 468 [457-471].
133H Gauthier Le personnel du dieu Min (Le Caire 1931) 55-57.
134M Münster Untersuchungen zu die Göttin Isis (Berlin 1968) 129-134.
135Kees oc (1943) 422; CE Sander-Hansen Das Gottesweib des Amun (København 1940) 18n6; cf also above, n89 on lohmose Nefertari as “black”.
136Wb V (1931) 126/1-2; Kees oc (1943) 418; cf JG Griffiths Plutarch on Isis and Osiris (Cardiff 1970) 376.
II.3 Osiris $km(y)$

§24 "[The Egyptians] report in their mythologies that Osiris was dark-completed ($\mu\varepsilon\lambda\alpha\gamma\chi\rho\omicron\omega\varsigma$), since water blackens anything that is mixed with it, whether earth or clothing or clouds. And the sap which young people have in them turns the hair dark ($\mu\varepsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma$). The bull which is raised in Heliopolis and called Mnevis is sacred to Osiris, but according to other opinions he is the father of the Apis-bull. He is black and comes second only to Apis in the veneration in which he is held. And since Egypt is principally black in colour, they call it Kêmi, like the black part of the eye."137

§25 Plutarch was certainly correct in associating $km.t$ with the colour of the soil, and black bulls are indeed attributes of Osiris.138 The bull of Athribis, $km-wr$,139 is generally understood to be one of his hypostases140 who was assimilated to Horus Khenty-Khety.141 On the Dynasty XI stela Louvre C15, the celebrant is one "who is in his retinue, who praises $Kmy$, hails the god, and venerates the $neshmet$-barque",142 and Spiegel143 compares an interesting hymn from the Pyramid Texts: "Your sister Isis has taken hold of you. She has found you complete ($km$) and great ($wr$) in your name of $km-wr$."144 He also associates this blackness with the cult of Upwawet at Abydos.145

Much later, one of the ten dogs in pJumilhac is given as standing for Osiris,146 but connexions between Osiris and the dog-deities are numerous, complex, and long-standing.147 Among many other sources, Demotic magical texts have Osiris as the father of Anubis148 and give the former as $p3$-$\lambda ks$ 'the Ethiopian',149 with Khons as his son, the black bull.150 According to Xenophanes, Ethiopian deities are black in common with the people.151

137 Plutarch de Iside 33; cf also 22; T Hopfner Plutarch übers Isis und Osiris I (Prag 1940) 24f; Griffiths oc (1970) 375f.
139 Wb V (1931) 125/1, 126/1 $km$, $km-wr$; cf 124/8 for black-haired Osiris; 130/8-9 Osiris $km$y (attested from Dyn XIX); cf W Helck Stiergott, LA VI (1986) 14-16.
140 H Kees oc (1943) 421; H Kees Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter (Berlin 1956) 148.
141 Otto oc (1938) 32; P Vernus Athribis, LA I (1975) 520 (519-524); cf H Bonnet Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte (Berlin 1952) 374.
142 Kees oc (1943) 418.
144 Pyr 1630, repeated 1658, cf 628. The text must refer to the Bitter Lakes as well as to the taurein deity.
145 The $prt$ of Upwawet, involving the $neshmet$, occupies a central role in the Osiris Mysteries at Abydos: H Schäfer Die Mystereien des Osiris (Leipzig 1913) 17 (line 14). Yet in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, the heads of Upwawet, which one would expect to be black, appear to have been left unpainted. The apparent rarity of black colouring in the painted areas of this temple has been noted: cf J Baines Colour use and distribution of relief and painting in the temple of Sety I at Abydos, Lecture at British Museum, London, July 1996, forthcoming.
147 DuQuesne Coptische initiatory invocation (1991) §§152-156.
148 DMP XX.5.
149 Ib IX 33; HJ Thissen Nubien in demotischen magischen Texten, in Gs P Behrens (Köln 1991) 371f [369-376].
150 DMP IX.2.
151 Xenophanes fr 14; PG Maxwell-Stuart Studies in Greek colour terminology I (Leiden 1981) 106. The later symbolism of Ethiopian blackness is well discussed by L Van Norden The black feet of the peacock (Lanham MD 1985) 67-134, 219-224.
The depiction of Osiris with a black face is attested but does not seem to occur earlier than the XVIIIth Dynasty. In the Book of the Dead, in Amduat-type papyri, and in Theban royal and private tombs, it is more usual for him to be depicted as green. The shade varies considerably, but at least in the tomb of Nefertari the green is extremely dark. Having recently examined representations of Osiris in various Theban tombs, I give the following as examples. In each case the depictions of the god are characteristic of the period in his aspect as Khentyamentiu. His face is coloured darkish green (Nefertari), light green (Sennedjem), grey-green (Sennedjem; Inherka), greyish or slate green (Tutankhamun, where an adjacent painting shows his face as flesh-coloured; Khaemwese, where fading is apparent), very dark blackish green and mid-green (both Inherka, where the colours in each case are intended to be quite different), and black (Ramesses VI). To what extent the surviving colour is artefactual - a function of exposure and/or of restoration - is sometimes difficult to determine. There can be no such question about the gilded wooden statues from the tomb of Tutankhamun, where the king’s flesh is definitely painted black, perhaps as an allusion to Osiris km.

Modern scholars have not commented in detail on the significance of these dark-complexed forms of Osiris: the black has been held to be ‘probably chthonic’, to indicate the night sky, to denote his fructifying power, or as an allusion to decay (green), or to sexual potency and to the netherworld (black). An association with black grain seems clear, and black suggests the lunar aspect of Osiris, representing the left or the two reintegrated wedjat-eyes and also the night-barque of the Sun. For the Greek alchemist Olympiodorus, Osiris is the principle of moisture and identified with lead, on the basis of which Jung equates Osiris with the alchemical Mercurius, representing the conjunction of Sun and Moon, who is androgynous and who therefore stands for the nigredo.
III A DARKER SHADE OF BLACK: COLOUR ASSOCIATIONS OF ANUBIS

III.1 Kenningar

"Too black for heav'n, and yet too white for hell." 

§28 Anubis is far more than a funerary deity. He is as much solar as lunar, and consequently his emblematic colours are gold and black. Some of his epithets illustrate the point effectively:

**nb-shd.** Perhaps the sense is ‘bringer of illumination’. This kenning is occasionally found on funerary stelae and is attested from the Middle Kingdom. **Hermann** refers to the role of Anubis as ‘Herr des Lichts’ (ie life), since he revivifies Osiris and the deceased, **Westendorf** similarly translates **nb-shd** as ‘Lichtbringer’. **There are some problems, however, since the writing of **shd** in this connexion could easily be mistaken for **t3-hd**, which relates to another aspect of Anubis, whereas **shd** is more usually written with aspirated **s** than with **s/z**. On the other hand, connotations of the word certainly do include ‘illumination’, literal and metaphorical, rather like **sehali** in Hittite.

§29 The town of **Inrty**, alternatively called **t3-hd**, occupied the area of al-Jabaliya (Gebelein) in Upper Egypt, and was early a cult-centre of Hathor and later of Anubis and Sobk. Anubis first receives the kenning **nb-t3-hd** ‘lord of the dawning land’ on a stela from the time of Sesostris I, and the designation occurs occasionally until Ptolemaic times.

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1691. Westendorf **Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes** (Berlin 1966) 77.
180. Cairo 20151 (Abydos); cf. Spiegelloc (1973) 48, 170.
§30 To my knowledge there are no epithets of Anubis attested before the Roman period which specifically refer to the colour black. On the other hand, a number of dark entities are cited in funerary texts. An example is \(Km-h3t\), ‘black-fronted one skilled in perfume’,\(^{180}\) apparently a hypostasis of Anubis, who has strong associations with incenses.\(^{181}\) Also in the Coffin Texts, \(Km-hr\) ‘Blackface’ is given as ‘skilled in aromas’,\(^{182}\) and the same entity is one of the Seven Spirits\(^{183}\) who provide the divine tribunal over which the jackal god presides.\(^{184}\) In the vignette to the version of this spell which occurs in Theban funerary papyri, one of the Seven Spirits is called Anubis.\(^{185}\) A deity by the name of \(Km-mi-r3\) ‘black as the entrance (to the netherworld)’ is invoked to open the mouth in a late spell from the Book of the Dead.\(^{186}\)

§31 Canids of different colours feature in pJumilhac and are discussed separately below (section III.4). In a Demotic divinatory text, a red dog \(-p3-whr-trs\) \(p3-whr-mrs\) - is invoked among references to Anubis, though possibly with Typhonian connotations.\(^{187}\) A bilingual magical papyrus of about the third century CE contains fragmentary invocations to ‘Anubis of the horizon’ and refers to the deity as \(\chi \nu \sigma \tau \chi \epsilon \rho \epsilon\) ‘spirit of darkness’,\(^{188}\) recalling the formula \(\beta \alpha \epsilon \nu \chi \omega \chi \rho \chi\) (=\(b3\-n\-kkw\) ) common in magical papyri of the period.\(^{189}\)

§32 A number of other useful references can be gleaned from the magical papyri and from classical authors. For purposes of erotic magic, a celebrant identifies himself as follows: \(\chi \alpha \nu \kappa \alpha \theta \nu \kappa \eta \tau\) \(\kappa \alpha \nu \theta\) \(\tau\) \(\pi \nu \tau\) \(\tau\) \(\mu\) \(\rho\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\pi\) ‘I am Anubis, wearer of the glorious crown of Re’.\(^{190}\) As I have pointed out elsewhere, Anubis has important solar as well as lunar aspects,\(^{191}\) and it is interesting that a golden crown is listed in the inventory of one of his temples on Delos.\(^{192}\) Lucian refers to gods, including Anubis, who are \(\delta \lambda \delta \chi \rho \mu \rho \vs\) ‘all-golden’, probably in reference to gilded images.\(^{193}\)

\(^{180}\)CT VII 50 (spell 846).
\(^{181}\)CT I 196 (spell 45), I 256f (spell 61). This is a large subject which the author intends to treat at length elsewhere.
\(^{182}\)CT VI 293 (sp 666); cf CT sp 586 where \(Km-hr\) is a messenger of Seth: \(JF\) Borghouts The magical texts of the papyrus Leiden I 348 (Leiden 1971) 126.
\(^{183}\)CT IV 269.
\(^{184}\)T DuQuesne At the court of Osiris (London 1994) §§99, 106, 109, 110.
\(^{185}\)And has a jackal’s head: \(EAW\) Budge Book of the Dead, trans (London 1899) 100; \(H\) Milde The vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet (Leiden 1991) 36f.
\(^{186}\)W Pleyle Chapitres supplementaires du Livre des Morts 162 à 174 (Leiden 1881) spell 166/1; cf \(TG\) Allen The Book of the Dead (Chicago 1974) 215 n337.
\(^{187}\)H Johnson Louvre E3229: a Demotic magical text, \(E n c h o r a t h\) (1977) 65 vs 14 [55-102] = PDM suppl 198 (330 Betz). Cf \(F e s t u s\) de sig verb sv catarialia, rutiliae, who refers to the sacrifice of red dogs to Sirius, star of Isis. There are two unpublished Late-Period wooden jackal figures in the Museu Egipci, Barcelona. One is painted red with black spots, and the other is in ochre with black markings.
\(^{188}\)Hi Bell, \(AD\) Nock & \(H\) Thompson Magical texts from a bilingual papyrus (Oxford 1933) 7 rt II 4 = PDM lx i 13 (286 Betz).
\(^{190}\)PGM IV 126-127, cf \(p y q t m\) \(n-bt\) \(n\) \(n\) \(z\) \(f\) with a golden crown on his head DMP XVIII 14 = PDM xiv 537 (225 Betz).
\(^{191}\)DuQuesne Coptic initiatory invocation (1991) §155.
\(^{192}\)P Roussel Les cultes égyptiens à Délos (Nancy 1915/16) Cultes 230-238 (2nd century BCE). A gilded marble statuette with a dog’s head and a draped body has also been found in the Serapeum A on Delos: \(J\) Marcadé Statuettes hellénistiques en aragonite du Musée de Délos, BCH 76 (1952) 122-123 + fig 22; \(M-F\) Baslez Recherches sur les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des religions orientales à Délos (Paris 1977) 53.
\(^{193}\)Lucian lup trag 8/9 = FRA 312. Cf PGM III 133, where Seth is \(\chi \rho \mu \sigma \mu \rho \sigma \rho \sigma\) \(\omega \nu \pi\) \(\rho \sigma\). Cf R-L Rousseau Les couleurs (Paris 1959) 130.
Anubis was, during the Roman period, certainly regarded as spanning the worlds, as is shown by the ascription in another papyrus: θεὸς ἐπιγείος ὑπογείος οὐράνιος ‘earthly infernal and celestial god’. 194

§33 The Isis-Book of Apuleius contains a wonderfully graphic description of a procession in honour of the goddess. This is led by a priest described as having nunc atra, nunc aurea facie ‘a visage now black and now golden’, 197 which commentators have correctly taken to mean 196 that he was wearing a jackal mask of black with gilding. 197

III.2 The Ancient of Nights

“What are you saying? Don’t you regard the dog as a god? Don’t you see that that is what Anubis is in Egypt? Or that in the sky he is Sirius and in the netherworld he is Cerberus?” 198

§34 Many a true word is spoken in jest, and in the passage quoted Lucian, with typical astringency, satirizes Socrates, into whose mouth he puts these words. Lucian makes the philosopher swear by the dog, aware that Socrates on occasion did use the oath μὰ τὸν κύνα τὸν Ἀλυπτίον θεὸν, 199 which has been properly construed 200 as a reference to Anubis as judge and master of the balance in the Hall of Ma’at. 201

But Lucian hits on the crucial fact that the jackal god spans the boundaries of earth, sky, and netherworld—and, lest anyone should believe that this is merely an interpretatio graeca, Anubis is called nb-pt ‘lord of the sky’ at least as early as the time of Hatshepsut 202 and ḫry-sst3 m-pt-t3-dw3t ‘Master of Secrets in sky, earth, and netherworld’ not much later. 203 So black and gold are fitting colours for him.

194PGM XVII 1; cf Plutarch de Iside 31; Diodorus Siculus I 11, 13; P Raingeard Hermès psychagogue (Paris 1935) 571-576.
197Surviving terracotta mask of Anubis: W Kayser Die ägyptischen Altertümere in Roemer-Pelizáus-Museum zu Hildesheim (Hildesheim 1951) 103 pl 74; further J-C Grenier Anubis alexandrin et romain (Leiden 1977) 27, 177f.
198Lucian vitarum auctio 16 = FRA 310.
199Plato Crat 411 b, Gorg 482 b etc.
200RG Hoerber The Socratic oath ‘by the dog’, Classical Journal (Ohio) 58 (1962/63) 268-269.
201Duquesne At the court of Osiris (London 1994) §§115-118.
202É Naville Deir el-Bahari II (London 1896) pl 37; also É Naville The festival hall of Osorkon II (London 1892) pl 4 bis; F Abitz König und Gott (Wiesbaden 1984) 131. The above are just examples, there being plenty more solar epithets of Anubis and of Upwawet.
203Piankoff & Rambova oc (1957) II pl X. Cf CT VII 2: “I open all the paths in the sky...on earth...in the netherworld.” Cf the alchemical forms of the dog for the three worlds in J Ruska Tabula smaragdina (Heidelberg 1926) 17f.
§35 The matter is usefully amplified by Plutarch, whose account is worth quoting in full:

“When Nephthys bore Anubis, Isis appropriated him. For Nephthys is that which is invisible and beneath the earth, while Isis is that which is visible and above the earth. And the circle which is common to both and which subtends them is called the horizon. This is called Anubis and he is shown in the likeness of a dog, because the dog has nocturnal and diurnal vision of equal acuity. And this is the attribute which the Egyptians believe Anubis to have, just as Hecate does among the Greeks, namely that he belongs to the netherworld and to the sky jointly.”

§36 And again:

“In antiquity, people used to call the heaven ‘holy’ and the netherworld ‘priestly’ (τὰ μεν ἱερὰ τὰ τῶν ὅσια, one of which = t3-dsr). But the logos which reveals the heavenly and that which tends upwards (from the netherworld) is called either Anubis or Hermanubis, since it concerns both that which is above and that which is below. So they sacrifice sometimes a white and sometimes a reddish (κροκάρευ) cockerel to him, in the belief that (heaven) is pure and clear and (earth) is mottled and variegated (μικτὰ καὶ πολυκλα).”

§37 I do not, of course, suggest that Plutarch failed to inject a degree of Greek philosophizing into his description, but much of what he writes makes perfect sense in the Egyptian context.

§38 Truly the θυεός of Egypt, Anubis appears everywhere, and this has made him hard to recognize. Only rarely are specifically black canids mentioned in Egyptian texts. In a Coffin Text, “N is a black jackal, a kite of the jackal-post (who) will open you up, O western horizon.” One of the dogs of King Antef I (Dyn XI) was called ‘the black one’.

§39 When figured as jackals, Anubis and Upwawet are almost invariable, and consistently, represented as black in colour. Whether or not one takes the view that jackal-headed anthropomorphic figures are intended to represent masked priests rather than Anubis himself, the iconography is again remarkably durable, with the animal’s head coloured black. As Reutersward states, when the deity is shown on statuary carved from black stone,
"naturlich wurde das Haupt in der schwarzen Farbe des Steines gelassen." However, as probable as it is that the jackal’s head was shown in black from early times, it is impossible to be completely certain on the basis of statuary or reliefs whose pigments have disappeared with time. The earliest relief known to me which represents Anubis as a *Mischgestalt* is the beautiful block from the tomb of Neuserre which shows him giving the king seven lives. The original colours are impossible to determine, and this is also the case for the Mycerinus triad which figures Anupet, the female form of Anubis who presided over the Cynopolitan nome and who wears the jackal standard on her head. However, it would be surprising if the colour of her animal were anything but black, which is certainly the usual colour for jackals in painted hieroglyphs. On the Roman mummy-shrouds, the jackal-headed deity tends to be shown with all exposed parts of the body, including the head, in black. The jackal ‘demons’ of the Amduat-type papyri, who appear to be hypostases of Anupet, appear as all-black.

§40 Existing interpretations of the negritude of Anubis, often occupying no more than a sentence or two, tend to emphasize the chthonic aspects of black. Kees perceptively suggests that he is shown black “um das ‘ganz andere’ ihrer Heiligkeit zu betonen,” and notes that all the jackal deities are thus represented, to distinguish them from all other deities. He notes the connexion between Anubis and the white Hezat-cow of Atfih who gave birth to the black Mnevis bull and who is given as Anubis’ mother as early as the Pyramid Texts and as late as the *plumihac*. As Otto observes, in Ptolemaic texts Apis has the epithets *nb-qrst* (lord of funerary rite), which is frequently used of Osiris and suits Anubis equally well, and *hpyt-imntyw*, the Abydene jackal deity who is undoubtedly the *Urform* of Anubis and probably of Osiris, the *kenning* being

212Hb 40, cf Hopfner Plutarch I (1940) 48 on the black mask with gilding. In the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, there are obsidian amulets in the shape of jackals (two complete and a third with head only): P43 case V [SR 8743 = Maspero 4090]. Cf above, note 74. Anubis amulets are - I think - invariably black, as compared with blue-green for Heket, dark blue for Isis and so on. Colour use in amulets is beautifully illustrated in *Wilkinson oc* (1994) 116f. The gilding of a jackal mummy from Thebes is illustrated in *Description d’Egypte* (Paris 1812-1820) II pl 52.


217K P Kasparek Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler (Wiesbaden 1966) pls 12, 13, 34, 35, 52, 58, 59, 60, 61.

218Piankoff & Rambova *oc* (1957) p 6 of pl 23, where a similar figure is not coloured in.


220Kees *oc* (1943) 420.

221H Kees Der Göttergläube* (1956) 27.

222Hb 136; *Kees occ* (1943) 419.

223Py 2080 cf 1537 and CT VI 142.

224U Köhler Das imit (Wiesbaden 1975) II 410, 437-443.

225Otto *oc* (1938) 28, 29f.

226*EG CT VII 137, BL Begelsbacher-Fischer Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des Alten Reiches* (Göttingen 1981) 21, 28 (Dyn V).

227*JG Griffiths* The origins of Osiris* (Leiden 1980) 135-137.
applied to both. Ransom Williams, followed by others, has remarked on the rarity of black jackals, a subject which is considered below (section III.8). Aristotle records a myth, of which there are variants, in which the hyena tramples over the shadow of the dog or steals the dog’s shadow at the full Moon.

§41 Rilke, in a brief and moving poem, connected the dark hue of Anubis with his role at the last judgment:

Tränen, Tränen, die aus mir brechen.
Mein Tod, Mohr, Träger
meines Herzens, halte mich schräger,
daß sie abfließen. Ich will sprechen.

Schwarzer riesiger Herzhalter.
Wenn ich auch spräche,
glaubst du denn, daß das Schweigen bräche?
Wiege mich, Alter.

III.3 Le bel horizontal

Anubis est la personification de l’initiateur égyptien; le chien lui fut consacré parce que ce dieu était le gardien de la sainte doctrine enfermée dans ses sanctuaires... Mercure Hermanubis est l’interprète et le messager des dieux; il conduit les ombres dans les enfers, une chaîne d’or sort de sa bouchette et s’attache aux oreilles de ceux qu’il veut conduire, il tient à la main une verge d’or; on le représentait la moitié du visage clair et l’autre moitié sombre, emblèmes de l’initiation et de la mort, où se reproduisait la lutte des deux principes ennemis, la lumière et ses ténèbres.

Oh nella notte il cane
che abbaia di lontano.
Di giorno è solo il cane
che ti lecca la mano.

Sandro Penna

228 Eg Pyr 57, 220 (Anubis); Pyr 1666 (Osiris), and very commonly of him subsequently.
229 Ransom Williams oc (1932) 47f.
232a F Portal Des couleurs symboliques (Paris 1857) 75-77.
232b Sandro Penna Tutte le poesie² (Milano 1972) 220.
§42 For Penna, the same animal has very different attributes by day and by night. Similarly, Anubis changes his aspect. The renewal of the body is symbolized particularly by gold: as Ptah’s decree for Ramesses II has it, “I have fashioned your body from fine gold.”233 The jackal god is important in the ceremonial rebirth of the divine king in the pr-nbw.235 In the hkr-frieze of the Ramesside tomb of Amenemope, there are alternating figures of jackals couchant on shrines and Hathor-heads, the concave base of the shrines alluding to the nbw-emblem of the goddess.236 Tutankhamun’s fourth shrine shows jackals seated at right angles to, and facing, a representation of Nôwet flanked by two falcon-headed deities, all of whom stand on gold-signs.237

§43 Apuleius’s eloquent account of an Isiac procession has already been quoted. His reference to the black and gold of the Anubis mask is corroborated: from the Roman period we know of gilding for his shrines238 and on his statues.239 In connexion with the Mysteries, Clement of Alexandria refers to golden images of dogs,240 and Hephaestion regarded the gold colour of the rising Sirius as a good omen for fertility.241 In the magical papyri, a deity who is almost certainly Seth is addressed as χρυσοπρόσωπος,242 recalling the blurring of his identity with that of Anubis on the iconography of the period.243 Like Seth, Anubis is associated with the desert, as his frequent epithet tpy-gw indicates;244 but unlike the lord of misrule, Anubis encapsulates both the black and the red, the opposites conjoined in the Uniting of the Two Lands (zm3-t3wy).245 In Roman times, Anubis is often seen wearing the Double Crown.246 The white and the red together have a symbolism which is clear, as in the myth of Persephone,247 and Pliny reports the liking of the Egyptian for silver vessels ut in vasis Anubim suum spectat,248 a reference to the invocation of Anubis for lecanomancy.249

233 RLepsius Denkmaler aus Aegypten III (Berlin 1855) pl 194/10.
234 J Duquesne Jackal at the Shaman’s Gate (Thame 1991) 20f.
235 J Bergman Ich bin Isis (Upsalla 1968) 119.
237 A Piankoff Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon (New York 1955) 43 post. L Luzzato & R Pompos Il significato dei colori nella civiltà antiche (Milano 1988) p1 opp p 45 reproduce in colour, without source, a splendid, presumably late, figure of Anubis carrying the Sun-disk. He is depicted with a black body and clothing of gold. The amulet in question is stated as being in the Cairo Museum.
238 WRubsam Götter und Kulte im Faijum (Bonn 1974) 74.
239 P Perdrizet Les représentations d’Anoubis, Revue Egyptologique NS 1 (1919) 188 [184-190].
240 Clement Al strom V 7.42 = FRA 371/29.
241 Hephaestion ap Salmaize exerc Plin II p 303; cf P Saintyves Saint Christophe, successeur d’Anubis (Paris 1936) 41.
243 AA Barb Seth or Anubis? Journal of the Warburg Institute 22 (1959) 367-371; JG Griffiths Ib 367. I suggest elsewhere that this lack of iconographic precision is deliberate: Coptic invocation §151.
244 DuQuesne A Coptic initiatory invocation (1991) §§105, 163, 163 n 125; cf too DuQuesne Anubis e il ponte (1991) 129f [105-135].
245 Cf above, n 190.
246 GMöller Die beiden Totenpapyri Rhind (Leipzig 1913) pl 14 etc; cf DuQuesne Coptic invocation §20.
247 S Hinds The metamorphosis of Persephone (Cambridge 1987) 76-78, 154 n 13. On red and white in mystical Judaism: G Scholem Farben..., in his Judaica III (Frankfurt 1973) 129f, 144 cf 146f [98-151]. For the Yoruba, red and white intersected by black represent earth and heaven and, respectively, the interface between them: RF Thompson Face of the gods (New York 1993) 47-54. Red and white were the colours of the Knights Templars: L Valli Il linguaggio segreto di Dante e dei ‘fedeli d’amore’ (Roma 1928) 424.
248 Pliny HN XXXIII 9 (131) = FRA 196/38.
249 LEfèbure, Le vase divinatoire, Sphinx 6 (1902) 61-85; DuQuesne Coptic invocation §132.
§44 A few further observations on colours relating to Anubis should be made. In tomb-paintings
he is occasionally pictured with a green face, with blue apparently alternating for black in
representations of heraldic jackals in Theban tombs, of the Anubidian sekhem on cartonnage
mummy foot-pieces, and for the head of Duamutef on Canopics. Blue, with its celestial
connotations, suits Anubis as well as the black of fertility and night. One is reminded of the blue
jackal in the Sanskrit Hitopadeça and of Renart teinturier in the Roman de Renart, while
being well aware of the differences too.

§45 It is strange, and perhaps not accidental, that the Egyptian word for jackal (z3b) is also a
colour term. The adjective is generally translated by ‘bunt’ or similarly and appears to
correspond to the Greek χαρπόκες. In any case, jackals tend to be tawny or variegated in
colour.

250 Reuterswärd oc (1958) 34. A Theban coffin (Dyn XXII) shows Anubis with a green visage. This object is
illustrated on the front of Mummies under het mes (exhibition brochure, Rijksmuseum, Leiden, 1993) and was
first described by C Leemans Description raisonnee (Leiden 1840) 170. On the colour, MJ Raven (personal
communication May 1994) writes: “The head of Anubis is indeed painted green, a colour which is distinctly
contrasted with the dark-blue used elsewhere on the same coffin. Therefore, I do not believe this distinction
is merely based on the degradation of pigments concerned. Moreover, the same green colour is used for the
features and fists of Osiris, and the skin of Isis and Nephthys on the same object. I think it is quite certain that
the ancient artist indeed wanted these details to be green.”

of the Book of the Dead the mummy and the Anubis-priest who embraces it have a dark blue wig. In Greek
plastic art, black could serve to indicate blue: K Schefold Die Farbe als Bedeutungsträger in der griechischen
Vasenmalerei, Palette 22 (1966) 3-12.

252 J Reisner oc (1967) 216 #4318 (Dyn XX).

253 The sky is (j)ffrt ‘the blue’ in CT II 208; cf Wb V (1932) 300/1-4 and more generally BH Stricker De
praehelleense ascese (vervolg) (II), OMRO suppl 67 (1987) 34 [1-60]; P Lavenex Vergès Bleus égyptiens
(Louvain 1992) 15-20 for a general account, the rest of the work considering technical aspects, on which see
S Schiegl Altagyptische Pigmente und Glasuren (diss. Heidelberg 1991) 27-30 and passim: see also Annex 1,
below. On crown symbolism: EL Ertman The search for the significance and origin of Nefertiti’s tall blue crown,
significant detail that in the royal tombs the perruque of goddesses is sometimes painted black instead of blue”
(personal communication, December 1993). In Ptolemaic ritual texts, the intoxicant offered to Hathor is called

254 Hitopadeça III story 7 = Pañcatantra I story 10; discussion in T DuQuesne The raw and the half-baked:
approaches to Egyptian religion, DE 30 (1994) 31 [29-35].

255 Roman de Renart, ed M Roques I (Paris 1971) 2261-2377. We might also note the blue wolf of Genghis Khan:
U Onon History and life of Chinggis Khan (Leiden 1990) 1; A Gheerbrant & P Grison Bleu in Dictionnaire des


258 Kees oc (1943) 467.


260 JR Ginsberg & DW Macdonald Foxes, wolves, jackals, and dogs (Gland 1990) 11-16, referring to Canis
aureus, C mesomelas, and other sub-Saharan spp. See also below, III.8.
III.4 ...and other mythical beasts

Sparek eige goð geyja
grey bykke mér Freyja
œ mon annat tveggja:
Openn grey eða Freyja.\textsuperscript{262}

§46 “I do not let you shame the gods. Freyja appears to me as a dog. Yet it will be one of two: Othin or Freyja is a dog.” This quotation from Njal’s Saga shows that, because one deity may have particular attributes, it does not mean that another may not have them too. \textsuperscript{263}Jumilhac illustrates this in many striking ways. There the deities shift shape in an extraordinary mythological dance. One bizarre and baffling passage\textsuperscript{263} concerns the jizž-animal\textsuperscript{264} and a series of nine dogs who appear to be hypostases of different gods, including naturally Anubis and Upwawet.

§47 The following table summarizes their characteristics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>animal</th>
<th>deity hypostasized</th>
<th>colouring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jackal\textsuperscript{265}</td>
<td>Anubis/Upwawet</td>
<td>\textit{qd-irtyw}, all-black body,\textsuperscript{266} pale face,\textsuperscript{267} white backside,\textsuperscript{268} no \textit{inm}\textsuperscript{269}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog \textsuperscript{1\textsuperscript{270}}</td>
<td>Horus</td>
<td>white face, red flanks and backside, otherwise black,\textsuperscript{271} no \textit{inm}\textsuperscript{272}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{262}Njala (Hjalti Skeggason), 102/16 Jónsson. The title of this section alludes to the ground-breaking work of mythological taxonomy by W Doniger (O’Flaherty) Women, androgynes, and other mythical beasts (Chicago 1980).

\textsuperscript{263}Jum XV, 9.-XVI, 8. The passage has been discussed by \textsuperscript{264}J Vandier Le papyrus Jumilhac (Paris 1961) 80-96 and by Köhler oc (1975) II 407-422.

\textsuperscript{264}Cf the \textit{hstyw} at Edfu and elsewhere: M de Rochemonteix et al Le temple d’Edfou III (Le Caire 1928) 50/4 pl 53 etc; cf T DuQuesne Anubis and the Spirits of the West (Thame 1990) 3-5; Vandier oc (1961) 80. There is much more to be said on this subject.

\textsuperscript{265}\textit{wn} is translated by Vandier as ‘loup’, while Faulkner Dictionary (1962) gives ‘jackal’. In DMP XIV 28 Anubis is given as ‘the son of a jackal (\textit{wn}) and a dog (\textit{whr}).’ Egyptian terms for canids are imprecise but not fully interchangeable. The first attribute given is \textit{qd-irtyw}, perhaps ‘ringed with black’ (Vandier 191 n473), but if so why is the animal then described as being \textit{km-pw r3w f}?\textsuperscript{266}

\textsuperscript{266}\textit{km} with hair determinant, ie with black fur.

\textsuperscript{267}As Vandier observes, ‘il est difficile d’imaginer un loup avec une tete « verte »’ : oc 191 n474. He proposes ‘red’ because of the Typhonian aspects.

\textsuperscript{268}\textit{h3d-hr}. As Vandier observes, ‘il est difficile d’imaginer un loup avec une tete « vertee »’: oc 191 n474. He proposes ‘red’ because of the Typhonian aspects.

\textsuperscript{269}\textit{km}-\textit{pht}.

\textsuperscript{265}Vandier 84f suggests that this is a reference to the subsequent flaying of the animal. In pJumilhac \textit{inm} should perhaps be read as \textit{inm} ‘colour’: ib 279 \textit{sv inm}. Maybe \textit{inm} here means ‘with very short hair’.

\textsuperscript{270}\textit{kn}, usually translated ‘hound’.

\textsuperscript{271}\textit{h3d-hr}\textit{f km-drw-\textit{f}: d\textit{sr}-\textit{pht}\textit{-f: km-sny-pw}: cf Vandier 90f and 192 n490.

\textsuperscript{272}\textit{wn} \textit{inm}-\textit{nb-im} \textit{f}. Cf above, n269.
Anubis/Upwawet

qd-irtyw; black face, red backside, white paws and front, no inm

Osiris

black body

Harsîêsis

black, white from neck to belly, tip of tail bright

Seth

red

Thoth-Shu

white

Osiris/Re

white, flecked with black

Geb
dappled

Baba (Seth) flecked red, black face, eyebrows yellow.

Cf above, n265.

km-brj dšr-3t hd-rdw j pht-qd-irtyw r-drf.

Cf Upwawet as ndty-it f: Schafer Mysterien (1904) 21/17. The attribute is also given to Anubis: Piankoff & Rambova Mythological papyri (1959) II pl 18. Some of the threads linking Anubis, Upwawet, and Horus are usefully dissected out by Köhler oc (1975) 409-418.

km hdt-nhtb intf j intf (= r) tp-n-sd f wbyw. Cf Vandier 194 n512.

dšr. On Seth and red, cf above nn67, 68. On Seth as a red dog, cf pJumilhac XVII 6-14, where such an animal is sacrificed annually on Thoth’s festal day.

Vandier Le dieu Shou dans le papyrus Jumilhac, MDAIK 15 (1957) 268-274.

hdt.

hdt nty-bndw-n-km. Vandier 93, 95, 194 n518.

Cf the jackal-headed wsr-Gb: E Hornung Die Nachtfahrt der Sonne (Zürich 1991) 128f. This is not mentioned by Köhler, who does, however, cite other associations between Anubis and Geb: oc (1975) 420f.

3.3b. See above, n55.

Baba is closely linked with both Seth and Anubis: P Derchain L’auteur du papyrus Jumilhac, RdE 41 (1990) 23-25; 30-37; cf P Derchain Bébon, le dieu et ses mythes, RdE 9 (1952) 23-47; P Derchain Nouveaux documents relatifs à Bébon (B3b3wy), ZAS 90 (1963) 22-23; H Milde The vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet (Leiden 1991) 39f. Interesting insights on Baba as a sacrificial red dog by C Leitz Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Baba und Thoth, in Fs W Westendorf (Gottingen 1994) 103-117.

Ir. hr. fr kmt ywi-hrw-n-irt f mdw-zp-sn r-hrw n p3 qd-n-irty f (?). The sense is not very clear: Vandier 194 nn 520-522. On qd-irtyw, cf above, n266.
§48 Was the learned author of this papyrus attempting a Unified Field Theory of Egyptian religion? Certainly p.Jumilhac links together, in the above passage and elsewhere, many deities whose interrelations are corroborated from other sources. Unfortunately the legend of the dogs is not made easier to comprehend: not only is the significance of some of the colour terms obscure, but the names given to the various canids have no clear and obvious correlation with modern zoological terms. To give one example, *wns* can hardly mean ‘wolf’ (thus Vandier) in distinction to Anubis the jackal (*s3b*), if only because in depictions they are manifestly the same animal. The text certainly deals with a number of dogs who are regarded as hypostases of certain deities and who are sacrificed because they have particular colour characteristics, whether or not one accepts the view that their pelts were then made into *imyut*-fetishes. Specific divinatory properties may have been accorded to these animals, and I am reminded of an Assyrian text which lists different coloured dogs and their effects, eg ‘If a white dog pisses on someone, they will be poor; if a black dog pisses on someone, they will become ill.’

III.5 Stirbt der Fuchs...

Löschens wollt ich, patschte zu,
Doch es brennt beständig;
Statt zu sterben, ward der Fuchs
Recht bei mir lebendig.

§49 Every cloud has a silver lining, so to paraphrase the German proverb ‘Stirbt der Fuchs, so gilt der Balg.’ The Egyptians would certainly have found a use for a fox’s pelt, as we might note from the *ns*-hieroglyph, which is generally held to represent three of these. This sign, and the *imyut*-fetish, return us to the subject of Anubis as guardian of birth and rebirth.

§50 The *imyut* consists of an animal’s hide attached to a pole which is based in a kind of bucket. It is associated with Anubis from very early times, and his epithet *imy-wt* ‘he who is in the place
of embalment' occurs at least from the IVth Dynasty. The emblem itself is first seen on the famous Abydos label and is ubiquitous on funerary monuments, papyri and so forth until the Roman period. Only one actual imyut survives. This dates from the time of Sesostris I. It is not possible to determine the species of animal whose pelt is attached to it: Köhler, in her admirably thorough monograph, describes it as 'ein helles Fellstück mit feinen, kurzen Haaren'. The object was wrapped like a mummy, and the pot contains traces of a bluish unguent. Two large beautiful wooden sculptures from the tomb of Tutankhamun depict the imyut and are constructed of wood overlaid with gesso and gilded, the pots being made of alabaster. The earliest representations with remaining colour date from the XVIIIth Dynasty, with the Tierbalg shown as white-green to red-brown. Examples from New Kingdom tombs show considerable variation: sometimes the pelt is monochrome, sometimes spotted.

§51 So what kind of animal was sacrificed to make the Anubis emblem? Most Egyptologists have not committed themselves on this point, but the consensus seems to be that it was a dog of some description. Köhler pronounces this an open question, and perhaps the pelt was originally that of a canid, for which, in the New Kingdom, a cow’s hide could provide an alternative. The colours shown on the iconography do not settle the issue.

§52 Attempts to interpret the imyut have been interesting as far as they go. Wildung connects the emblem with the form of the White Crown, while Westendorf reminds us of the widespread African custom of burial in animal skins. Elsewhere, in discussing the symbolism of red in Egypt, the latter associates the imyut with Anubis-Seth, with Seth seen in his positive aspect as renewer of Osiris. Westendorf is certainly correct in ascribing connotations of ascension: in the Pyramid Texts, the rungs of the celestial ladder are fashioned of leather from the imyut. If Balcz is right, a passage from Book of the Dead spell 99 identifies the mast of the ship with the pole of the emblem, the work of Anubis m-kt-wt 'in the craft of the embalmer'. Solar connexions are reinforced by the interpolation, in at least one Ramesside papyrus, of the imywt glyph between elements in the name of the solar deity. In another papyrus, the justified soul is identified with "the threads of Geb which are bundled in the skin of a dog".
§53 Anubis is early stated to be the son of Hezat, the goddess of milk,312 and her task in pJumilhac is to squirt milk over the imyut in order to separate the gold (solid) and silver (soft) parts of the dead Osiris prior to his revivification.313 The jackal god, responsible for ensuring Osiris’s rebirth, uses a Typhonian panther-pelt for the purpose,314 and the papyrus actually shows the *disjecta membra* within the imyut.315 An ibis-headed deity called *imy-zh-ntr*316 stands to its right, and an adjacent vignette317 figures a lion-headed god named as Inpw *ip-ibw* ‘Anubis reckoner of hearts’. 318

§54 If Anubis, the grand master of shape-changers, can manifest himself as an ibis or a lion,319 why should his emblem not use the skin of a dog or of a cow? Perhaps the imyut was made of any animal considered appropriate for the symbolism of ascent and rebirth. It would be possible to write at length about relevant aspects of *Tierverkleidungen* in different societies. Suffice it to mention briefly versions of the Red Riding Hood myth in which the young woman is recovered from the belly of the wolf,320 the animal being a quintessential initiatory figure.321 References to magical uses of dog’s hides in Berber magic and folklore322 may hark back to this function of Anubis. Pawnee shamans wrap their medicine bundles in wolf-pelts.323 In Indian Tantra, dog-skins, normally *tabu* for Hindus, may be worn.324 Much earlier, the Rig Veda describes the swallowing of the Sun by ravening animals (jackals or hyenas),325 which must be the prototype of the Northern myth involving two wolves.326 More familiarly, Brahmanic initiation includes the passing of the candidate through an animal-skin, usually that of an antelope.327

312PyR 2080 cf 1537 and CT VI 142; Köhler oc (1975) 410 n4, 437-443.
314Gold is the colour of the s3h. Wilkinson oc (1994) 98.
316Ib pl V.
317One of Anubis’s ubiquitous epithets is *htny-zh-ntr*. On connexions between Anubis and Thoth: DuQuesne Coptic invocation (1991) §§152-156.
318This and related epithets are discussed by DuQuesne At the court of Osiris (1994) §118.
319DuQuesne Aspects of the goddess Sakhrnit, Dragon’s Brew (Cardiff) 11 (1993) 4-10.
320A Aarne & S Thompson The types of the folk-tale! (Helsinki 1961) no 68; B Bettelheim The uses of enchantment (New York 1976) 177-183.
322E Douté Magie et religion dans l’Afrique du nord (Alger 1908) 77f.
325SW Jamison The ravenous hyenas and the wounded sun (Ithaca 1991) 68, 128, 200 and passim.
326A Olof Ragnarok (Berlin 1922) 291-319.
In the Indian Rig Veda, the dappled dogs of Yama exercise a psychopompic function similar to that of the Egyptian Spirits of the West (b3w-mntt). From the XVIIIth Dynasty there appear in funerary papyri, and occasionally on tomb walls, jackals who tow the solar barque across the night sky. They occur intermittently on later stelae and coffins and form a regular motif on Ptolemaic situae. As so often, the original colours - where present - cannot always be determined with certainty, either because they have nor survived or because they may not be ascertained from half-tone or line-art reproductions. The number of these animals varies between one and four, three being most commonly depicted.

However, these jackals are normally shown as black, as in a spectacular painting from the tomb of Inherkha at Deir el-Medineh. Their neckbands are red. I know of four Amduat-type papyri, all of Late Dynasty XXI, which figure jackals of more than one colour. Of four jackals shown in pBerlin 3148, two are black and two are a light colour, probably white. Similarly, in pTorino 1781, there are two black and two white animals towing the boat. pCairo SR VII 10267 has three jackals, two of whom are black and one white. But the most interesting variant is pCairo SR VII 10257, where we find three towing jackals: one is black, one red, and one yellow. Perhaps the artist wished to represent three aspects of Anubis, as Master of Secrets in the sky, on earth, and in the netherworld: hry-sst3 m-pt-t3-dw3t.


B Bruyère Deir el-Médineh 1930 (Le Caire 1933) 53 pl XV (TT 359(12)), Dyn XX.

S Schott Das blutrünstige Keltergerät, ZAS 74 (1938) pl 6a [88-93].


A Piankoff & Rambova occ (1957) II pl 19 = BL Goff Symbols (den Haag 1979) 53 fig 96.

§57 The significance of the motif is clearly and delightfully expressed in an unusual Roman-period papyrus at Parma:
The gates of the western horizon are opened for you
You enter the eastern mountain in joy
Their jackals of Nekhen run in front of you
In order to clear your route
Upwawet opens all the ways of the Sacred Land
The pilgrim’s wand is in your hand
And it leads you to the presence of Wenennofre the justified one. 

III.7 Greco-Egyptian magic

I have come forth from Alqah (in Abydos)
Since my mouth is full of blood from a black dog
I have spat out the redness of the dog
O you dog who are among the ten dogs who belong to Anubis
O son of his body
Extract your poison
Draw your saliva from me too
If you do not extract your poison
And draw your saliva
I shall take you up to the forecourt of Osiris
To my watchtower
I shall treat you according to the command of Isis
The magician the lady of magic
Who exerts her magic on everything
But who is impervious to (others’) magic
In her name of Isis the magician.

§58 The above spell for dog-bite is taken from the Demotic Magical papyrus. What better remedy could one find than the magic of the black dog $\kappa \alpha \tau \varepsilon \epsilon \omega \chi \eta \nu$? The connotations of the colour black in Greco-Egyptian magic deserve a paper to themselves. Colours are important to the theurgist of the time: elsewhere in the Demotic papyrus, preparations for lecanomancy include the tying of linen threads of white, green, blue, and red to the boy medium. Since Anubis is the deity most frequently invoked for lecanomantic procedures, and since Anubidian threads are specifically

339 The relationship between the $b\beta \omega \text{-} \text{Imntt}$ and the jackal-headed $b\beta \omega \text{-} \text{Nhn}$ is close but complex.
340 G Botti Il libro per entrare nel mondo sotterraneo ... (p Parma 107), Atti della Società fiorentina Colombaria (for 1938/39) pl.2. (lines 9-12 of text) [231-240].
341 FLI Griffith & H Thompson Demotic magical papyrus (London 1904) 122-124 (XIX 3-8); cf JH Johnson in HD Betz Greek magical papyri (Chicago 1986) 226. The general sense is clear, although some phrases are obscure. Cf also the similar spell at DMP XIX 32-40.
343 Hermann & Cagiano de Azevedo oo (1969) 405-408.
The importance of colour in dogs, as in other areas of magic, is powerfully demonstrated in a Latin incantamentum which Wünsch relates to the ghostly canids of Hecate: *domna Artemix ka(ve)ne aureas solve catena(s) tuas in canes tuo(s) agre(s) tes si(1) baticos s(i) be albos sibe quenquecolores*.

The magical papyri, of course, display not merely Egyptian but classical, Mesopotamian and other influences. For the Greco-Egyptian mage, no doubt black could have anumber of symbolic values: for instance, as in *Philo*, it could code for air (as opposed to earth).

References in these papyri to dogs represent various levels of goetic or theurgic activity. One spell for love-magic prescribes the placing of the tick of a black dog in the right ear. An address to Hecate as the black bitch suits the Typhonian character of many of these invocations. In a fragmentary papyrus of uncertain purpose, the enquirer is to wrap a *lamella* in something having to do with a black wolf. Elsewhere, the aspirant to divinatory excellence declares: "I will pour the blood of the black cynocephalus into new jar and burn it." The context makes it plain that this is a tabu-breaking activity. While Morton Smith, whose opinions are always to be respected, regards Anubis rather than Thoth as the *KU vOK XA AO c*: , thereference maybe to a plant of the same name whose sap is poetically described.

Coptic texts, influenced by Christianity, generally cite black in negative contexts although in magic the black Isis keeps her multi-layered symbolism. One extremely powerful Coptic spell provides a magical remedy, apparently for dog-bite, but seems overstated for the purpose. It makes no specific reference to the animal’s colour, but another papyrus requires material from a black bitch for binding a lover.

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346 HGrapow *Grundriß der Medizin der alten Ägypter* V (Berlin 1958) 482. Cf above, n309.
347 On dogs in classical magic, see below, IV.5.
348 R Wünsch *Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon* (Berlin 1905) 43.
349 Eg *Philos Alex qEx* II 85, 117, 123.
350 J Bell, Nock & Thompson *oc* (1933) 9/14 = PDM Ixi 131 *Betz*.
352 PGM CXXIX *Betz*.
353 PGM V 267.
354 M Smith in *Betz* 105 n31.
355 *Pliny* HN XXX 18 = FRA 171/16, cf *Dioscorides* III 121; *Hopfner* Offenbarungszuber I (1923) § 494 & II (1924) § 259 cf § 289.
356 DMP XIV 21.
357 Cf WTill *Die Farbenbezeichnungen im Koptischen*, Studia Biblica et Orientalia (Roma 1959) 335f[331-342].
360 BKU 1 (1904) 4; cf A Kropp Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte (Bruxelles 1930-31) II 21 (VIII 9) cf I (1930) 14(B36).
III.8 Zoology: colouring in jackals

**alba ligustra cadunt: vaccinia nigra leguntur.**

§62 The Egyptians, for the purposes of depicting Anubis, certainly preferred the darker shades. But what relation, if any, do their art and symbolism have to the actual colours of wild canids? An exact identification of the Anubis animal is difficult, but from the evidence of skeletons it may be inferred that almost any canid could be regarded as a hypostasis of the deity. There is no living animal which is on all fours with Anubis as represented, but, regardless of species, are or were any of the African wild dogs naturally black?

§63 The Egyptian jackal *Canis aureus lupaster* is normally 'ein schönes Goldgelb' with black at the tip of the tail (in males) and patches of red to brown. Gaillard states that the Egyptian *chien errant* (*C. familiaris*) is usually reddish, with rare individuals black. Evidently there is no naturally-occurring melanism in any jackal spp, and indeed is rare in dogs generally. Hybrids of wolves and other canids may, however, be black, as may crosses between jackals and pointers and Simien jackals (*C. simensis*) and pariah dogs. The endangered Ethiopian Simien
jackal is mainly red with white underparts. JR Ginsberg, who knows African canids well, confirms that no jackal is normally black but accepts that melanistic forms may be possible, adding that several spp are nocturnal.

§64 In the dark, no doubt all canids look grey, and the author has long been aware of the risks of setting too much store by written accounts or by photographs. Take the silverback jackal C mesomelas, who in terms of gross morphology most closely resembles the Anubis animal. According to PD Moehlman, who is conducting long-term studies of the silverback in Tanzania, how the colouring appears will depend on the light and on whether the jackal is in movement: she reports that in some conditions C mesomelas may look black, with its characteristic silver ‘saddle’ sometimes obscured.

§65 The author’s impression that works on canid taxonomy look arbitrary has been corroborated by the authorities with whom he has discussed the matter. Add to this problems arising from breeding - L Boitani, for instance, feels sure that the Anubis dog was specifically bred - and for the present the question of exact identification must remain open.

§66 HC Carter gives an eloquent description of the splendid wooden sculpture of Anubis couchant from Tutankhamun’s tomb. A careful observer, he describes two personal sightings. Of one member of a jackal pair, he states: "It was much larger [than its mate], of lanky build, and black! Its characteristics were those of the Anubis-animal, save for one point - the tail was short, like the ordinary jackal. In fact, with the exception of its tail, it appeared to be the very counterpart of the figure found [in the tomb]... The second example that I saw was in October, 1928, during early morn in the Valley of the Kings. It had precisely the same characteristics as the former animal described."

§67 The present author has seen jackals in Luxor on several occasions (November 1993, February 1994). One particular animal was similar to Anubis in the shape of its head and ears and had long monochrome sandy-coloured fur and a long, fox-like brush. On one occasion, at night, two animals were in evidence, one appreciably smaller than the other but of similar colour and build. These animals were certainly not pariah hounds and, except for the tail, were quite different in appearance from the fox. It is interesting that, in the Old Kingdom tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotpe at Saqqara, the hunting scene shows two copulating ‘wild dogs’ (who have bushy tails) as yellow with dark brown ears, while the ‘hounds’ with pig-like tails are represented in white. Ein Hund nur! aber - was ein Tier!

373 In C aureus, occasional melanistic individuals have been reported: JG Kingdon East African mammals IIIA (London 1977) 19; JW Sheldon Wild dogs (New York 1992) 27. Dingoes are reported to be occasionally black: Dingoes in Queensland = Pestfact A009 (Brisbane 1995) 2.
375 I have benefited particularly from dialogue with L Boitani, Rome; J Clutton-Brock, London; F Dalvin, London; JR Ginsberg, Oxford/London; R Hoath, Cairo; PD Moehlman, New York/Tanzania; and J Serpell, London.
377 HC Carter The tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen III (London 1933) 44.
IV COLOUR SYMBOLISM AND CANIDS IN COMPARATIVE RELIGION

IV.1 Africa

O Yurugu praise for your coming-and-going
Because of your gentle foot we follow
[Your going-and-coming] morning and night
Thank you for your gentle foot
Show us who will die and who will be healed...
O Yurugu those who consult you
Praise you for your going-and-coming.379
(Dogon divinatory prayer to the Pale Fox)

§68 In no sense will the author attempt here a comprehensive treatment of the subject of dogs in comparative religion. Africa is a vast and heterogeneous continent, and B Frank has contributed a valuable monograph specifically on the role of canids in many African systems.380 Here I will focus on colour in connexion with dogs, adding an occasional observation on more general valencies of symbolic colours, animal cults, and related issues. Recent excavations at Kerma and other Sudanese sites show that dog-burials go back to Neolithic times.381

§69 The complexities of the subject are well illustrated by colour terms in Old Arabic.382 I quote here only those expressions which apply to the appearance or colour of dogs, with versions based on those of W-D Fischer, and paying attention to difficulties in finding equivalents in modern languages. I also pass for the time being over the thorny problems of designation of animals in cultures unaccustomed to Linnaean nomenclature:

- **azraq** (flashing-[eyed]) dog
- **ağyad** (lean-looking) jackal
- **afwah** (large-mouthed) jackal
- **abraq** (lightning-coloured) jackal-wolf
- **âgbar** (sandy) jackal-wolf
- **atlas** (muddy-coloured) jackal-wolf
- **âgdât** (lopped, cut) dog
- **âgdaf** (lop-eared) dog
- **âgrad** (short-haired) jackal

380 B Frank, Die Rolle des Hundes in den afrikanischen Kulturen (Wiesbaden 1965).
§ 70 Black has different associations in African religions. Among the Gnawa of Morocco, the first world, which is regarded as being that of the beyond, is represented as black. For the Bantu, black robes indicate festivity, while among the Berber they are tabu. Black, white, and red are the principal colours in Moroccan Islamic rituals. Among many African peoples, black signifies fertility, rain, and purity, and this is certainly true of the Dogon. Black dogs are tabu for the Bambara, Sudanese neighbours of the Dogon of Mali, who are particularly fond of these animals.

§ 71 For the Dogon, it is the Pale Fox, Ogo-Yurugu, who plays a central role in cosmogony and divination. The epigraph above refers to mantic procedures using the footprints of this animal, who is commonly held to be the pale fox Vulpes pallidus but who has also been described as a jackal. Ogo-Yurugu is the trickster, the deity of cryptic language. Analogies between

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388 H. Straube Gedanken zur Farbensymbolik in afrikanischen Eingeborenen-Kulturen, StG 13 (1960) 405-409, 415 [392-418]. An interesting angle in a Yoruba incantation for the rebirth of a dead child: ‘You my child... Return from the red soil of heaven, Come and eat the black soil of this world’. Poems of Black Africa, ed W. Soyinka (London 1985) 162f. The Yoruba trickster-god Eshu has a cap which is half black and half white, perhaps symbolizing his mastery over day and night, W. Bascom Ifa divination (Bloomington 1969) 310f.
390 B. Frank oc (1965) 189, 195. In West African Candomblé, the black dog is - according to early Western reports - associated with the devil: P. Verger Notes sur les cultes des Orisha et de Vodun (Dakar 1957) 37, 40.
391 Calame-Griaule oc (1965) 94n2.
his myths and attributes and those of the Egyptian jackal-gods are uncanny: one may cite the very close connexion of Anubis, in Greco-Roman times, with divination.\textsuperscript{394} Ogo descended from the sky on a placenta, recalling the ascent of the Egyptian king on the šdsd- standard with placenta - of Upwawet.\textsuperscript{395}

§72 Further, Ogo presides over rites of passage, and circumcision in particular, which reminds one of the role of Anubis the disk-bearer at the mammisi ceremonies.\textsuperscript{396} There circumcision, despite its equivocal significance for the Egyptians, certainly had a place.\textsuperscript{397} Lest anyone should see this as a diffusionist argument, it should be emphasized that the Dogon have one of the most intricate and profound mythical philosophies ever devised, and they do not require to be legitimized by reference to anterior civilizations.\textsuperscript{398} However, similarities should still be noted, particularly when they occur in neighbouring cultures.

IV.2 Ancient Orient: Semitic cultures

You shall write their names on their shoulder-blade

The name of the first white dog:
‘do not reconsider, speak up’

The name of the second:
‘do not reconsider, bite’

The name of the first black dog:
‘destroy his life’

The name of the second:
‘his bark is strong’

The name of the first red dog:
‘who drives away the asakku’\textsuperscript{399}

The name of the second:
‘who overcomes the enemy’

The name of the first blue dog:
‘who repels the chest of evil’

The name of the second:
‘biter of his enemy’

The name of the first multi-coloured dog:
‘who lets the good enter’

The name of the second dog:
‘who makes the evil go out.’\textsuperscript{400}

\textsuperscript{294}Above, n249.
\textsuperscript{395}H Frankfort Kingship and the gods (Chicago 1948) 92f, 364 n49, 366 n1.
\textsuperscript{397}W Westendorf Beschneidung, LA I (1975) 727-729.
\textsuperscript{399}Asakku are malevolent demons particularly associated with sickness: DO Edzard Dämonen/Mesopotamien, WdM I (Stuttgart 1965) 48.
\textsuperscript{400}Ebeling Keilschrifturkunden aus Assur religiösen Inhalts (Leipzig 1915-1923) 298 rev 17-22; FAM Wiggerman Babylonian prophylactic figures: the ritual texts (Amsterdam 1986) 33.
§73 The above lines, inscribed in Akkadian on a tablet of the time of Assurbanipal, order the inscribing of terracotta dogs for apotropaic purposes. Colour is obviously important, and its symbolism in Mesopotamian cultures reflects the conjunction of light and darkness which is fundamental to Babylonian modes of thought. Black dogs are frequently mentioned in omen, although it should be remembered that the dog is also associated with Gula, goddess of healing.

§74 In the Old Testament, Yahweh as a solar deity takes precedence, and although black often has negative connotations night has a peculiar sanctity. In one of the recently edited Qumran texts, Noah is "born in the night (אֲנָשָׁי) and comes out perfect", which according to rabbinical tradition means that he was born without a prepuce. Priest or mendicant Sufi, although for these Islamic mystics the expression of inner states by mammals most closely related to humans (eg apes) appear to have been circumcised. 403

§75 In Hebrew mysticism, אֵין-סוף-אור 'einy-sof-a'ur is the negative, limitless light of the third veil of the Tree of Life, and black or blue light symbolizes the sacred shekhinah, or earthly habitation of the deity. At Dura-Europos, each planet has a symbolic colour, Saturn being black. 412


405 Es Drower The thousand and twelve questions (Berlin 1960) 157 § 196 cf 218 n 10, 225, 264. Cf above, n45. For the Mandaeans, black dogs are associated with purgatory: Es Drower Diwan Abathur (Città del Vaticano 1950) 27 + pl = K Rudolph Mandaeism (Leiden 1978) pl 8.


408 Es Drower The thousand and twelve questions (Berlin 1960) 157 § 196 cf 218 n 10, 225, 264. Cf above, n45. For the Mandaeans, black dogs are associated with purgatory: Es Drower Diwan Abathur (Città del Vaticano 1950) 27 + pl = K Rudolph Mandaeism (Leiden 1978) pl 8.


410 G Scholem op (1973) 124-126. SLM Mathers The Kabbalah unveiled (London 1927) 16, 20 with pl II.


§76 Dogs in the Old Testament are not highly regarded, as the use of the term בָּדֵד klb shows plainly, 413 and do not figure prominently in Jewish magic. An isolated reference in the Sefer ha-
Razim to the head of a black dog 414 suggests, like much else in this theurgic text, the influence of
the Greco-Egyptian magical papyri. 415

IV.3 Ancient Orient: India and Persia

As in many other cultures, most if not all the deities in the Hindu pantheon have names which
describe their functions or attributes and which are in effect kenningar. For instance, सर्मा Saramā,
the bitch of Indra, 419 has a name which means ‘messenger’, and शिव Civa signifies ‘the gentle

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§78 Colour terms are, as ever, value-laden. Kāli, the destroying and regenerating goddess, and Kṛṣṇa are both translatable as 'black'. In the one case, chthonic aspects predominate, and in the other the main associations are probably of fertility. Tibetan Tantra uses invocations of the most terrifying entities: Kāli is among them. According to the Hevajra Tantra, the first visualization of the initiate should be of black. The consort of Mahāmāyā (‘Great Illusion’) or Heruka is Ratnadākini, who is quite recognizable as a hypostasis of Kāli: both are attended by such potent archetypal figures as jackals and severed heads. It is important to recognize that the gold or red of fire and the black of night are equally significant colours in the iconography and symbolism of the Indian goddess.

§79 I have already referred to the Indian story of the jackal who, having been dipped in blue dye, regards himself as a celestial peacock and is eaten by the lion to reward his hubris. These fables represent a considerable dilution of the trickster archetype, but there is nothing frivolous about the dogs of Yama who are addressed in the spell from the Atharva Veda quoted above. These animals are protectors of the threshold, psychopompic figures who, like the Egyptian Opener of the Ways, guard the path to the beyond. Yama’s dogs are described as “brindled”, which has led Bloomfield to associate them with the name and function of Cerberus. Whether or not his etymology is correct, which is at least debatable, his is an important insight because it is obvious that Cerberus is an etiolated version of the dog-psychopomp archetype.

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427 Above, nn255, 256.

428 A de Gubernatis Zoological mythology (London 1872) II 126.


431 MBloomfield Cerberus, the dog of Hades (Chicago 1905) passim.


433 J Bernolles À la poursuite du Chien de la Mort, RHR 173 (1968) 55-57 [43-84].
§80 This brings us to the Avestan burial rite known as *sagdid* 'dog-sight', which involves the sacrifice of a 'four-eyed' yellow dog and its interment with the deceased human in order to keep demons from harming the soul. The colours are of great consequence: the four eyes may refer to patches of white above the actual eyes. As an aside to his discussion of the conjunction of opposites, Plutarch provides this account of Persian religious practices:

"They grind in a mortar a particular herb called *omomi* and invoke Hades and Darkness. Then, having mixed it with the blood of a wolf who has been sacrificed, they take it to a sunless place and discard it. They believe that some plants are sacred to the good deity and others to the mischievous spirit, and that certain animals, such as dogs and birds and terrestrial hedgehogs, are sacred to the good deity...."

§81 Even if the account is garbled, Plutarch is clearly referring to the Avestan dog-sacrifice and perhaps intermingles evidence about the use of the sacred plant *haoma* or *soma*. As Duchesne-Guillemin observes, it is impossible to separate the practice of *sagdid* from the belief that two dogs guard the Cinvat bridge which links this world and the next. Again the psychopompic function of Anubis and related deities turns up and it is precisely this *limen* which the Egyptian jackal god protects.

IV.4 Asian and Amerindian cultures

"Il y eut par la suite un chef appelé Nai-ho (Chien). Ce chef n’était qu’un simple crâne, recouvert d’un tapis à l’intérieur d’une tente de feutre en forme de coupole. Il y restait invisible pour tout le monde. Ce n’était qu’à l’occasion d’une grande affaire d’état, quand on avait tué un cheval blanc et un bouef gris pour le sacrifice, qu’il prenait forme humaine et sortait pour voir. L’affaire réglée, il rentrait dans la tente et redevenait crâne. Comme un homme du pays était allé l’épier, il avait disparu."

431 Duchesne-Guillemin Symbolik des Parsismus (Stuttgart 1961) 46f.
434 I strongly suspect this plant to be the hallucinogen *Peganum harmala*: cf T DuQuesne review-article of H Milde The vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Nefrerinpet (1991) 48 n9 [47-50]. It is, anyhow, difficult not to associate *omomi* with *haoma* (=*soma*): DS Flattery & M Schwartz Haoma and harmaline (Berkeley 1989) §269. There would seem to me to be some connexion also with the plant (*amomo*) used by the phoenix in Dante Inferno XXIV 106-111.
435 ὁ τόν οὐκέτοι. I assume this to be a personification.
436 Plutarch de Iside 46.
439 Vidévdät 13.9.
441 DuQuesne Jackal at the Shaman’s Gate (1991) 9-12.
442 RA Stein Leao-Tche, T’oung Pao 35 (1940) 11f [1-154].
§82 The motif of the dog (or other wild canid) as ancestor of the human race occurs in a variety of cultures. In the ancient Chinese account just quoted, the dog concerned is a shape-shifter too, as befits a shamanic animal. Usually the Chinese dog-ancestor is called Panhu: the fact that he is of five different colours suggests that he spans the spectrum of human activities and is, like Adam Qadmon, a microcosm.

§83 In Siberian shamanism, the dog-spirit may be black or dark with golden ears. The Tungus too believe that humans originated from a bitch and a human male. Koppers convincingly associates the occasional Mayan figures which show a dog and a woman copulating with a corresponding belief in a canine ancestor, although at least one such representation is apparently of the sky-goddess with a dog who might well be Xólotl, the canid psychopomp and deity of lightning. As a Horizonttier, Xólotl is generally regarded as being yellow, and is perhaps associated with the red Aztec dog who accompanies the hero or the red coyote Hunahpú, one of the primeval twins. In ancient Mexico, figures of blue - presumably celestial - dogs formed part of the accoutrements of dead warriors.

§84 For Amerindian peoples red and black are in some cases seen as chthonic colours, and in the Mayan codices the divine dogs are often black. In Haitian Vodun, the dog who sits at the axis mundi is coloured black and white, while in South American magic and folklore the psychopompic dog is black as night, though white dogs are also known in the role of ghostly heralds.

447MEliade Shamanism (New York 1964) 466f.
449Cf JSinger Androgyny: the opposites within (Boston 1976) 107-120.
450Kretschmar oc II (1938) 112.
451Lb II (1938) 11.
452Koppers oc (1930) 387.
453Lb 372 n51 a.
455FAnders Das Pantheon der Maya (Graz 1963) 202.
456RGirard El Popol-Vuh, fuente histórica I (Guatemala 1952) 182.
457JCampbell The hero with a thousand faces (Princeton 1949) 368.
458Girardoc (1952) 316.
459HBeyer The symbolic meaning of the dog in ancient Mexico, American Anthropologist 10 (1908) 419 [419-422]
461PSchellhas Representation of deities of the Maya codices (Cambridge MA 1904) 34-37.
462RMigaud Secrets of voodoo (San Francisco 1969) 86f.
§85 Black is the predominant colour of the wolf-masks worn by the Nootka (Northwest American coast) for various rites of initiation. Colours have very specific values for the Cheyenne, who in their symbolism clearly distinguish red, white, and black wolves. There the wolf-ancestor is closely associated with the black earth spirit, and in ritual may be painted black or blue-black.

IV.5 Prehistoric and classical Greece and Rome

What they call the rainbow is also a cloud-mass and is visible as purple crimson and green-yellow.

§86 Perhaps what Xenophanes meant was that all colours are subsumed in the rainbow, and the symbolism of the Rainbow Bridge which joins heaven and earth suggests a reintegration which is effected when the initiate becomes, in the words of the Orphic tablet, 'a son of earth and starry sky.' The weaving of Proserpina, in the elegant verse of Claudian, expresses exactly the same idea:

nec color unus erat: stellas accendit in auro,
ostro fundit aquas.

§87 It is a commonplace of Greek philosophy, since Democritus, that all colours are composed of a blend of black and white. This view was modified by ps-Aristotle, who seems to prefigure modern physics in his view that 'darkness is not a colour at all, but an absence of light.' Plutarch's comments on Democritus and the Epicureans show that some fundamental problems needed still to be tackled: his conclusion, so far as we can tell from a difficult text, is that colour perception is subjective, not to say value-laden.
§88 Greek colour terms have been studied in some detail, although some otherwise useful work is vitiated by overt racism: one may cite Gladstone’s view that the Greeks had a deficient colour sense because Homer used few relevant terms and Schultz’s bizarre notion in a well-researched monograph that the Greeks were colour-blind. Of course much depends on the sense which one seeks to express: tone, lustre, and mythological correlates, to name only a few instances.

§89 So far as black is concerned, we may note that dies ater has entirely different associations from, say, puella atra—although the term nigra would be more usual. In the same way, Russian cherny may be purely descriptive (ie dark-completed) but means also sad, fatal, unlucky, dirty, especially where the subject is abstract. Greek μέλας and Egyptian km are like this too. Classical terms for black as applied to skin colour may indicate sexiness. Poeticus color is an expression used by Lactantius to mean something like painting the lily, in the context of embellishing history. The underlying point is that color is a relative matter.

§90 In prehistoric times, the near-exclusive usage of black and red by the cave painters has been remarked upon. Red is multivalent: for the Greeks it has funerary connotations, but it must also be associated with the magic of menstruation and fertility. The point was made many years ago by L Geiger that the Greeks did not necessarily see the sky as blue but rather as black (on the conventional translation of μέλας). Whether or not one accepts the view that Greeks regarded black as an absolute colour, μέλας is certainly opposed to γαλάκτως for describing eye-colour. Tartarus is black because unseen (ο-τόθεν), while Demeter μελάνων or κελάνως may be seen partly in the same light.

478 Schultz (1904) 185-189.
480 Lawrence & Wishart’s Russian-English dictionary (London 1943) 772f sv.
481 Verg ii 16 (quoted above, n361); Lucretius IV 1160; cf “Nella bionda egli ha l’usanza...” L Da Ponte/WA Mozart Don Giovanni #4.
482 Lactantius inst div i 11.19.
486 Cf above, n74.
487 I. Geiger Über den Farbbann der Urzeit und seine Entwicklung, in his Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Menschheit (Stuttgart 1878) 45-60.
488 M Platonauer Greek colour-perception, CQ 15 (1921) 153f [153-162].
489 PG Maxwell-Stuart Studies in Greek colour terminology I: glaukos (Leiden 1981) 24, 68 ad Antoninus Liberalis 15.2; Philostratus gymnasticus 25; cf Ib II (1981) 3 ad Adamantius physiognomica.
491 Pausanias VIII 42.1; C Rannoux La nuit et les enfants de la nuit (Paris 1959) 30-34; Radke oc (1936) 16-20. On night/sexuality: M Hirschfeld & R Linsert Liebesmittel (Berlin 1930) 9. On the related figure of black Aphrodite, see C Bérard Anodori (Roma 1974) 26f, 153-160.
§91 For the Greeks, black expresses the notion of sanctity, and certain forms of sacred observance were strictly nocturnal. The colour purple suits Persephone and also Cerberus, with considerable slippage in Homer and other authors between μέλας and other words expressing darkness and depth, such as κύδνος or οὖνος. Hermes bears a golden wand and has a particular epithet υφίλος which is appropriate for a deity who travels between the worlds. Significantly, the plant of immortality brought to Odysseus by Hermes has a black root and a white flower to suggest the conjunction of the opposites of earth and sky. Black plants and sacrificial animals tend to have magical and funerary associations.

§92 Some of the colour terms applied by classical authors to canids are of great interest. On the descriptive front, Oppian refers to the jackal as λύκος ξιόθος elsewhere using the adjective to signify blood-red. Dogs and canid sea-monsters are described as γαλακτός (yellow to grey) and much more commonly as χαρπότος (brindled or tawny), which can also suggest the red of wild blood.


497 Homer Od XXIV 2f, P Reutersward Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik II (Stockholm 1960) 103f.


499 Ramnouoc (1959) 163 distinguishes Hermes Nyctios from Hermes Cthonios.

500 Homer Od X 304; Ovid met XIV 291f.


504 Reutersward oc (1960) 236-242. The use of burnt grape husks to generate the colour black is interesting: X Schefeld The choice of colour in ancient art, Palate 13 (1963) 5 [3-19].

505 Oppian cyn III 297.


509 Maxwell-Stuart oc II (1981) 6f dogs as χαρπότος: Arrian cyn 4.5 & 5.1; 11 dogs with χαρπότος: eyes: Fronte ap Geoponica 19.2.1; 24 Ib: Pollux onom 5.10(62); 26 Ib: Xenophon cyn 3.2-3; 27 Heaub as χαρπότος κυρά Anon ap Dio Chris 33.59; 48 dog as χαρπότος: HH Merc 194; 50 dog with χαρπότος: jaws: Nonnos D 40.307; 52 dog as χαρπότος: Oppian cyn 1.421.

510 Ib 10 dogs with ravus eyes: Varro de rust 2.9.3; 10, 83 n42 rave she-wolf. Horace od 3.27.3.
Thus Lycophron describes Orpheus’s unflicking regard of Cerberus, who is not in a friendly mood. Classical sources do not usually refer to the colour of the hound of Hades, but on one vase twin Cerberi are represented with one white and the other black. It is no accident that the last labour of Heracles, the Eleusinian initiate, concerned the stealing of Cerberus, and Hecate, queen of the netherworld, is attended by black dogs. When a Greco-Egyptian magical papyrus addresses her as the one who has Κέρβερον ἐν δεσμοῖς, we may assume that this denotes her power over the forces of death. In a beautiful but textually corrupt passage in the Orphic Argonautica, Medea sacrifices three all-black puppies to Artemis-Hecate, no doubt for each of the triplexities of the goddess. The sacrifice of dogs, including black ones, is well attested in classical antiquity, but red dogs were also used for this purpose, particularly at the Robigalia, a festival intended to protect against the scorching of the Dog Days.

Antoninus Liberalis is the principal source for a myth whereby Rhea hid the infant Zeus in a cave, guarded by a golden dog and a goat, to protect him from the cannibalistic propensities of Cronos. With the latter’s overthrow, the dog was set to guard the Cretan temple of Zeus but was stolen by Pandareos, who was punished by being turned to stone. In one version of the story the dog was found by Hermes. Faraone, in a penetrating recent study, has shown that there are other references to golden dogs, such as the creation of gold and silver watchdogs by Hephaistos for Alcinoos, and that these fit into a whole genre of protective or apotropaic animal statues which were common in the Near East.

References:

1. Lycophron el 2.10-12 Diehl.
4. RJ Clark Catabasis (Amsterdam 1979) 79-94; W Burkert Structure and history in Greek myth and ritual (Berkeley 1979) 94-98.
5. SJ Johnston Hekate soteira (Atlanta 1990) 134-142.
6. PGM IV 2861.
7. Orphica Argonautica 959; F Vian Argonautiques orphiques (Paris 1987) 144n ad loc.
9. EE Burriss The place of the dog in superstition, Classical Philology 30 (1935) 34 (32-42); E Wunderlich Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe (1925) 4, 68.
IV.6 European folklore, magic, and alchemy

als man ez gegen der bruste an sach,
daz nieman anders niht enjach,
ezn waere wizer danne sne,
zen lanken grüener danne cle,
ein site roter danne gran,
diu ander gelwer dan safran;
unden gelich lazurz,
obene was ein mixture
gemischet also schon in ein,
daz sich ir aller dekein
uz vir diz andere da bot:
danz waz grüene noch rot
noch wiz noch swarz noch gel noch bla
und doch ein teig ir aller da,
ich meine rehte purperbrun.
daz vremede werc von Avalun
sach man ez widerhaeres an,
son wart nie kein so wise man,
der sine varwe erkande:
si was so maneger hande
und so gar irrebaere,
als da kein varwe waere.525

§95 Petitcreiu must be the coloured dog par excellence. It is interesting how elaborately Gottfried describes this magical, rainbow-clad hound, ‘the foreign work of Avalon’, the unsurpassable gift of Tristan to Isolde.526 In the tale of the Snake-Maiden, a similar dog - only this time black - guards the treasure,527 a story in which the princess turns from black to white.528 The Schlangenküß is transformative, a rite of passage in which the shape-shifting maiden plays a role which is perfectly complementary to that of the wolf in Red Riding Hood.529

525Gottfried von Straßburg Tristan 15824-15844.
528AAarne & S Thompson The types of the folktale (Helsinki 1964) 159 #463B. Cf John Keats Lamia I 47-67. On Nazi adaptation of the symbolism of red, black, and white, an interesting account by K Theweleit Male fantasies, tr II (Minneapolis 1989) 283-289.
§96 In European folklore, the relationship of colour to function in animals is complex. Black dogs are, in Sweden, Germany and England, generally regarded as harbingers of death and they are often associated with lightning. This makes one think of the role of Fenriswolf and his hypostases in the Northern legend of Ragnarök: the dog or the wolf will have his day. On the other hand, elsewhere in Europe black animals may connote healing, fertility, and general good luck. In Hungarian folklore, the parturient woman sings: “The black dog cries with the cry of my earth,” and there is a long-standing tradition in Europe and the Near East that dogs have peculiar healing properties. St Bernard’s mother is alleged while pregnant to have dreamt of a white dog with a red back, colours which in Celtic myth have definitely chthonic associations as far as dogs are concerned.

§97 In alchemy, dogs beget a puppy of celestial hue, perhaps to indicate the black of the nigredo, symbolizing fermentation and decay, combined with the anabolic glory of gold. The black and gold of Anubis, appropriately, surface again in the Great Work.
V THE GOD THAT SUCCEEDED: VERSUCH EINER DEUTUNG

...tal mi fece la bestia sanza pace,
che, venendomi 'ncontro, a poco a poco
mi ripigneva là dove 'l sol tace.\footnote{545}

"That which he has created for you on the earth which is of different colours - indeed therein is a sign for people who reflect."\footnote{546}

"L'histoire des couleurs symboliques, encore ignorée, et dont je n'offre que quelques fragments, servira peut-être à déchiffrer les hiéroglyphes de l'Égypte, et à dévoiler une partie des mystères de l'antiquité. Je ne me flatte pas d'avoir atteint le but dans ces recherches; ma seule ambition a été de fixer l'attention des savans sur le point le plus négligé et l'un des plus curieux de l'archéologie."\footnote{547}

§98 If there is a conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing study, perhaps it is that the phenomenology of colour and its place in religious life are far more complicated than many believe. In an interesting study, H Sedlmayr has pointed up the interface between the visible and the invisible in art. He asserts that knowing a work of art involves "la comprensione di quella base portante in cui concordano e figura visibile e significato invisibile formanti il «contenuto» dell'opera d'arte."\footnote{548} This basis could be expressed as the horizon, the gateway between the worlds which the black and gold jackal god inhabits. Sedlmayr's word are oddly reminiscent of a passage in Plutarch's de Iside where Anubis and Nephthys are located at the place where the Sun rises and sets.\footnote{549} Such a limen may be accessible to Western logic, but not, I think, completely. As a poet, I would adopt a more elliptical approach, but one which retains intellectual rigour without being constrained by a single kind of dialectic. We could use deconstructive techniques and hermeneutics without the persiflage. Assmann has explained superbly how, for the Egyptians, the framework of an icon was prescribed, and how much was necessarily left to the artist's imagination, to a Grammatik zweiter Stufe: he cites the helpful analogy of Monteverdi motets, which the composer never fully scored.\footnote{550} Of course it would be tiresome to write in all the appoggiature. We are talking not of an attitude to art, but of direct engagement.

\footnote{545}{Dante Inferno I 58-60.}
\footnote{546}{Qur'an, sūra 16.13.}
\footnote{547}{F Portal Des couleurs symboliques (Paris 1857) 1.}
\footnote{548}{H Sedlmayr La legame fra visibile e invisibile nell'opera d'arte, in Eternità e storia, ed Instituto Accademico di Roma (Firenze 1970) 247 [243-248].}
\footnote{549}{Plutarch de Iside 46; quoted above, n204.}
\footnote{550}{J Assmann Die Macht der Bilder, Visible Religion 7 (1990) 1-20.}
§99 Although Dante's she-wolf is couched in negative terms, her forcing of the poet back to where the Sun is silent immediately precedes Dante's meeting with Vergil, his psychopomp: and that can only be a tremendous rite of passage. So the wild canid, unjustly despised in our time, takes us to ground zero, to the selva oscura, to the horizon, where rebirth is attainable. Goethe understood the paradox of the animal nurturer and guide when he wrote:

Die Zwillinge tränket
Eine Wölfin, und Rom nennt sich die Fürstin der Welt. 552

§100 Whether or not one agrees with the ideas of Whorf, cultural relativity is an issue to be faced. 553 But, as Bitterli has shown with great eloquence, there is also a terrible ethnocentrism to be confronted. 554 These are, for some, grave obstacles to the understanding of foreign cultures and religions. It is easy for us to acquire an intellectual parallax error in these matters - to assume that, because we have been brought up in a nominally monotheistic society, there must only be one deity, with Darwin having apparently supplanted the demiurge some time ago, and the equations of modern science replacing holy writ.

§101 This is what I call the Mercator syndrome. If one devises a two-dimensional projection of the earth with Timbuktu, rather than London or Amsterdam, at its centre, it will look very different. And Timbuktu or Abydos has just as valid a claim. GL Bruns has expressed the problem effectively: "The difference between the objective and the allegorical is social rather than mental: it is a conflict between two traditions of understanding, one modern and one ancient. It is not a conflict between the logical and the illogical, or between knowledge and edification, but between two customary ways of talking about what is written, one familiar to us and one strange—but both equally rational, because norms of rationality are social: they are rooted in ways of life rather than in processes of knowledge." 555

§102 As Dölger has shown, 556 early in the thinking of the early Christian Fathers the word black came to symbolize the paganism of Egypt. Among the strange races depicted and described by Medieval Europeans were the Blemmyae, who clearly represent the blackness of the Other, 557 and the mythical Cynocephali, who were also regarded as black. 558

§103 It is an irony that, with so much excellent if inaccessible material which could be brought into the struggle, some who are concerned about racial equality today are distorting Egyptian religion and writing in a naive, diffusionist way about the primacy of Egypt in world civilization. 559 Such individuals might be helped by some real information. The Blemmyes were actual people who lived

552 Goethe Römische Elegien 3.17f.
553 M van Overbeke La relativité linguistique et les universaux symboles, in Le symbolisme dans le culte des grands religions, ed J Ries (Louvain 1985) 41-52.
554 U Bitterli Cultures in conflict, tr (Cambridge 1989) passim.
555 GL Bruns Inventions (New Haven 1982) xii; cf G Fano Teosofia orientale e filosofia greca (Firenze 1948).
556 FJ Dölger Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarz (Münster 1918) 49-83, 124-129.
558 DG White Myths of the dog-man (Chicago 1991) 47-86. The case of St Christopher Cynocephalus, considered oc 23-46, is complex: the Anubis archetype is certainly present.
559 Arthur Ashe has described this syndrome with balance and eloquence: A Ashe & A Rampersad Days of grace (New York 1993) 133-178.
in the Sudan during the Roman occupation. They were certainly very dark-complected Nubian types. It was they who held the line and showed conspicuous bravery against the Emperor Justinian's army of Christian imperialists, keeping the flame alive in the temple of Isis until 543 CE, when the rest of Egypt had long capitulated.

§104 Anubis was particularly venerated in the Nubian civilization of Meroe, whose inhabitants often represented him together with the goddess Nephthys. These people must have achieved a profound understanding of the deities, for Nephthys is occasionally given as the mother of Anubis, and the two deities may be said to guard the limen between light and darkness. In the rare judgment text of Book of the Dead spell 194, Anubis the psychopomp and assessor distinguishes candidates for enlightenment by their natural aroma and their magical virtuosity: the foreigner is accepted ‘because he knows our roads and settlements’. A profound Coptic invocation addresses Osiris as lord of the netherworld, in which role Anubis readily alternates for him. Immediately before Anubis also is conjured, Osiris is described as ‘who receives oracles in Abydos and who sits under the shade of a golden tree in Meroe’.

§105 The jackals of Anubis carry the boat of Re safely on his journey through night and death. In the darkness fecundity lies immanent: this is demonstrated vividly in many cultures, and the phallic monoliths of Sidamo in Ethiopia, associated with funeral customs, provide a striking example. Certainly in later times, Anubis is clearly associated with sexual capacity and he opens the ways to birth, as his presence with the matrix on Greco-Egyptian magical gems testifies.

§106 The Egyptian jackal, Canis aureus, who must be closely descended from the Anubis animal, is indeed a golden colour, while the god himself is virtually always shown as black, with gold decoration. Gold in ancient Egypt symbolizes, among other things, the bones of the body awaiting rebirth. We do not know whether jackals in ancient times were black, but probably not. Black animals would certainly have been seen as magically potent, and part of the symbolism would undoubtedly have been to represent the unfamiliar (das ganz Andere).

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561 L Kakosy Das Ende des Heidentums in Ägypten, in Graeco-Coptica, ed P Nagel (Halle/W 1984) 61-76.
562 JW Yellin The role and iconography of Anubis in Meroitic religion (diss. Brandeis 1978).
563 JW Yellin The role of Anubis in Meroitic religion, in Nubian studies, ed JM Plumley (Warminster 1982) 227-231.
564 Above, §36.
566 In particular, as Khentyamentiu: above, §40.
568 Above, §§55-57.
570 Above, §72.
572 Above, §53.
573 Above, §40. The black of bitumen is cited by G Rachet Diet de la civilisation égyptienne (Paris 1992) 37.
Magical symbols often work by apparent paradox. This is readily illustrated. In Egypt, the ostrich feather is the pre-eminent symbol of balance, Ma'et.\textsuperscript{574} If the attribution is correct, one cannot overlook the fact that the ostrich is flightless. In exactly the same way, the people of New Guinea do not consider the cassowary to be a bird, and indeed do not see the dog as a mammal.\textsuperscript{575} The ostrich is manifestly a bird, since it has feathers and lays eggs, but like humans it does not literally fly.

§107 The sense would appear to be that humans also are earthbound, yet they are capable of flight to and within the regions of heaven.\textsuperscript{576} The Anubis animal is clearly a canid, and dogs cannot ordinarily fly, but representations of winged jackals\textsuperscript{577} and jackal-headed \textit{ba}-birds\textsuperscript{578} do not look by any means absurd, because they help to convey the justified soul aloft.\textsuperscript{579} Jackals will, if necessary, scavenge over corpses, though they prefer fresher fare.\textsuperscript{580} Even if they are not black, they have a tendency to be nocturnal: dogs, as Plutarch put it, see equally well by day and at night, and travel with equal facility through the bright and the dark sky.\textsuperscript{581}

§108 Other aspects of colour use and symbolism need to be considered, even if they are difficult to evaluate. It appears that, at certain times, the use of orpiment in Egypt was a royal prerogative,\textsuperscript{582} while in the Third Intermediate Period the covering of decorated coffins with a black surface probably reflected the social status of the deceased.\textsuperscript{583} Undoubtedly specific religious factors, such as associations with particular divinities, would also have been important. One element which has only recently received consideration is the finding that green - as it appears now - in Egyptian tomb-paintings is artefactual and due to chemical degradation.\textsuperscript{584}

§109 In recent centuries, 'black' of skin colour has been regarded as having pejorative connotations. This is exemplified by the story reported by Edmund Burke\textsuperscript{585} that someone who gained sight, having been blind from birth, and became deeply disturbed at the sight of a Negro. Excesses and absurdities are inevitable in such new political struggles as the Black Movement,

\textsuperscript{576} Above, §35.
\textsuperscript{577} Eg A Piankoff \& N Rambova \textit{Mythological papyri} (New York 1957) I 173, II no 22.
\textsuperscript{578} Eg M de Rochemonteix \& E Chassinat \textit{Le temple d'Edfou III} (Le Caire 1928) pl 69; above, §55.
\textsuperscript{579} Above, §71.
\textsuperscript{580} It has been proposed by more than one author (eg JG Griffiths \textit{The origins of Osiris} [Leiden 1980] 27) that the Egyptians placated Anubis because they were terrified of the possibility of the integrity of the body being impaired through its consumption by jackals. It should be remembered, however, that Osiris is alive and well after his dismemberment. I suggest that a profound respect for the natural world, and particularly for the elegant grace of the jackal, is a more probable partial explanation.
\textsuperscript{581} Above, §35.
\textsuperscript{582} Below, Annex I \textit{(A El Goresy \& S Schiegl)}.
\textsuperscript{583} Below, Annex II \textit{(A Niwiński)}.
\textsuperscript{584} El Goresy \textit{Ancient pigments...} (Heidelberg 1986) 19-23; also Annex II, below.
\textsuperscript{585} Burke \textit{A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas, briefly discussed in P Gilroy \textit{The black Atlantic} (London 1993) 9f, a curious attempt to validate Negritude in terms of White modernism.}
and one thinks particularly of the bizarre notion of 'pigmentocracy'. The attempt by some to claim negritude for the ancient Egyptians, who were racially heterogeneous, will not wash. So far as we can determine, skin tone did not have the same associations for the Egyptians as for later peoples. It is sad how so many zealous campaigners for equality stubbornly misidentify the problem: the real issue is not race but oppression, and it is characteristic of oppressive regimes that they foster the setting of one group against another, on the long-established divide et impera principle. We can acknowledge crucial lessons from the ancient Egyptians without having to decide how much melanin they had in their skin. The fact remains that Egypt sits firmly in Africa and that pharaonic civilization can teach us much about spiritual experience potentiated by art.

§ 110  Ethnocentrism, sometimes unwitting and sometimes quite deliberate, has vitiated a great deal of work on colour terms in non-Western cultures. It is part of a still-widespread syndrome to devalue the contribution of non-Europeans to human civilization. Any attempt to establish universal colour terminology must rest on secure definitions, and these have been signally absent. We have been on a whistle-stop tour of colour symbolism in a variety of societies, and, while there are important differences and ambiguities, there does appear to be a substrate of symbolic Gestalten which transcends cultures. Perhaps the Rainbow Bridge which is said to span earth and heaven is not universal, but the motif is certainly very widespread. We have to understand the context of colour terms in order to determine their uses and to discover whether they are translatable. Expressions in Egyptian, Greek, Sanskrit, and other languages which we render—for instance—specifically as 'black' clearly have a wider semantic and well as symbolic spread.

§ 111  According to Hindu-Buddhist tradition, the Ākāshic Record is the universal repository of knowledge. Therefore meditation on particular colours will generate certain resonances which enhance awareness. It cannot be incontrovertibly proved, but it is overwhelmingly likely that the Egyptians, with their elaborate religious colour-codes, possessed some analogous system. In esoteric Judaism, all students of the Qabalah know the respective colours of the Sefiroth on the Tree of Life and of the paths joining them, and R. Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi and other medieval exponents charted complex systems of correspondences between letters, numbers, and colours as a focus for prayer. This is simply to underscore the point that colour use in art is an effective vade mecum to the divine.

87 Above, §16.
88 Cf T DuQuesne The raw and the half-baked: approaches to Egyptian religion, DE 30 (1994) 29-35.
89 Above, §§7-9.
90 M Rästinen Regenbogen - Himmelsbrücke (Helsinki 1947); DuQuesne Coptic invocation (1991) §162ff 20, with literature.
91 Above, §15.
92 MM Monier-Williams Sanskrit dictionary (Oxford 1899) 127/1 sv defines अकास as 'the subtle and ethereal fluid supposed to fill and pervade the universe and to be the particular vehicle of life and of sound'.
94 Cf above, §§3, 75.
So far as Egypt is concerned, many colour associations remain baffling, but study of them should help to revalorize its religious tradition. Rilke, whose visceral love of things Egyptian matched his questing intelligence and poetic talent, expressed the idea clearly when he warned that none of the ancient deities should be forgotten, that each of their images had some value in the contemporary world:

Keiner der Götter vergeh. Wir brauchen sie alle und jeden,
jedes gelte uns noch, jedes gestaltete Bild. ⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹⁶Rilke Sämtliche Werke II (Frankfurt 1955) 468.
Annex 1

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN PIGMENTS AND FAIENCES
Ahmed El Goresy & Solveig Schiegl

Ancient pigments in wall decoration of ancient Egyptian monuments store a wealth of information as to the technological evolution of natural and synthetic materials, chronology of the different pigments over the entire history of Ancient Egypt, hierarchy of colours and royal privileges of distinct pigments, and causes of pigment deterioration and colour changes over the centuries since the original pigment application. The last aspect is crucial and has a direct bearing to the validity of the colour symbolism in Ancient Egypt and to conservation and restoration strategies.

In an unprecedented systematic study of about 1500 pigment samples and Egyptian faiences A El Goresy and his colleagues [see publication list below] have conducted detailed studies of samples covering a great deal of Egyptian history from the Vth Dynasty till the reign of Caesar Tiberius. These studies do not only delineate the chronological evolution of the various pigment types over three millennia, but also reveal far-reaching implications as to the colour symbolism in Ancient Egypt and to future conservation and restoration strategies.

In the following, the highlights of these studies are briefly presented. Contrary to previous information, the results of this group present unequivocal evidence that the Ancient Egyptians never used any natural green or blue copper pigments like malachite, azurite chrysocolla, or atacamite. Before the XVIIIth Dynasty the Ancient Egyptian artists did not have a green pigment on his palette. The artists used two synthetic materials: Egyptian Blue and a blue copper silicate glass pigment. In the New Kingdom an entire new synthetic copper pigment, Wollastonite, was invented. From here on objects were correctly decorated in blue or green as required. Before the XVIIIth Dynasty the artist was confined to Egyptian Blue and the blue glass pigment to reproduce both blue and green objects. The blue silicate glass pigment turned out to be sensitive to weathering processes, thus leading to its decomposition to green basic copper chloride and changing its original blue colour to green. Consequently, all paintings in the periods before the New Kingdom appearing in green were originally blue in colour. The glassy constituents of Egyptian Blue and Wollastonite were also subjected to the same phase transition thus leading to various shifts of the hues including deep blue, pale blue, and pale green. The same deterioration process also befall the Egyptian Faiences and turned their shiny deep blue appearance to dull pale green. The breakdown process is complete in some objects which are then incorrectly termed ‘Green Egyptian Faiences’. With this discovery it became evident that there is no green Egyptian Faience manufactured before the Late Period. The famous glaze tiles of King Zoser in his Pyramid and South Tomb in Saqqara were originally deep blue in colour at the time of their production. Many of them have changed to dull green with rough surface due to the breakdown process and the formation of green basic copper chloride. Green compounds like copper chloride, malachite, copper phosphate, or arsenate or brown materials like the iron-potassium sulfate jarosite previously considered as primary pigments turned out to be all together weathering products of blue silicate glass, Egyptian Blue, Wollastonite, and pale green iron glass pigments [see Schiegl et al 1991, 1992].
For the manufacture of Egyptian Blue and Wollastonite the Ancient Egyptians used bronze scrap as starting material. The composition of bronze in Ancient Egypt changed over the millennia from arsenic copper (Old Kingdom to the end of the Second Intermediate Period) to tin bronze (XVIIIth Dynasty to XIXth Dynasty) to tin-lead bronze (XIXth Dynasty till the Roman Period). Residues of arsenic, tin, and lead are abundantly encountered in the individual pigments in the decoration of the monuments of these periods respectively and allow an accurate dating of the monument decoration depending on which residue is found [see Schiegl et al 1990].

Pigment analyses also revealed that the use of pure orpiment (As$_2$S$_3$) was a royal sacral privilege. The pigment was found in purest form only in decoration of the sarcophagi of the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty (Thutmosis III till Horemheb) and in the sarcophagus of Ramses I. The sarcophagi of the successors of Ramses I in the XIXth Dynasty are all decorated with Egyptian Blue. In the XXth Dynasty only the sarcophagus of Ramses IV is decorated with orpiment, thus underlining that this sacral privilege was not forgotten during the former periods.

The investigations indicate that the present appearance of green in pigments of wall decorations and Faience objects bear little relation, in terms of blues and greens, to that of the original colour, and hence the work of Kees, Schenkel and others on colour terms, uses, and symbolism requires considerable revision.

A paper on the chronological evolution of Ancient Egyptian pigments and Egyptian Faience is in preparation.

*Note* An unpublished dissertation by H Jaksch Farbpigmente aus Wandmalereien altägyptischer Gräber (diss. Heidelberg 1985) has been superseded by the work of Schiegl referred to here.
Annex 2

COLOURS OF XXIst DYNASTY COFFINS

Andrzej Niwinski

The black-painted coffins are characteristic for the XVIIIth Dynasty. They appear under Thutmose I and disappear towards the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty: the coffins of this type we find mentioned for the last time in the tomb of Tutankhamun. In Ramesside times the black coffins are completely absent, as also in the XXIst Dynasty. The black covered cartonnages and black painted coffins appear and reappear in the Libyan times, the XXIInd Dynasty. Black coffins of various kinds appear sometimes in the Late Period: what is interesting for your theme, such coffins are usually decorated in yellow/gold on the black ground. I have also remarked that dark green was used, when blue or black would normally have applied in the conventional colouring of the coffins of the XXIst Dynasty coffins (light green, dark green, red on the yellow ground). The black colour, however, returns in the inner decoration of the ‘yellow-type’ coffins of the early XXIInd Dynasty, among others in the figure of Anubis.

\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{a} A Niwiński XXIst Dynasty coffins from Thebes (Mainz 1988) 11f.} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{b} A Niwiński Ritual protection of the dead...? Fs L Kakozy (Budapest 1992) 457-471.} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{c} A Niwiński Sarg NR-SpZt, LA V (1984) 434-468, particularly 437f, 442, 448.} \]
Abbreviations

AA
Ägyptologische Abhandlungen

ADAIK
Abhandlungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts zu Kairo

AF
Ägyptologische Forschungen

APAW
Abhandlungen der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

ARW
Archiv für Religionswissenschaft

ASAE
Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte

BCH
Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique

BÉ
Bulletin de l’Institut Égyptien (Le Caire), later Bulletin de l’Institut d’Égypte

BIFAO
Bulletin de l’Institut français d’Archéologie orientale

Bir
Bibliotheca Orientalis

BKU
Berliner koptische Urkunden

COC
Catalogue général des Antiquités, Musée du Caire

CQ
Classical Quarterly

CRIPEL
Comptes Rendus de l’Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie, Université de Lille III

CT
Coffin Texts

DE
Discussions in Egyptology

DWAW
Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien

EEF
Egypt Exploration Fund

ÉPHE
École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sorbonne, Paris

ÉPRO
Études préliminaires des Religions orientales dans l’Empire romain [now renamed Religions in the Graeco-Roman World]

FÉRÉ
Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles

FIFAO
Fouilles de l’Institut français d’Archéologie orientale

FRA
*T Hopfner* Fontes historiae religionis Aegyptiacae (Bonn 1922-1925)

Fs
Festschrift/Studies in honour of

GOF
Göttinger Orientforschungen

Gs
Gedenkschrift/Studies in memory of

HWDA
Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, ed *H Bächtold-Stäubli* (Berlin 1927-1942)

IAE
International Association of Egyptologists

IFAO
Institut français d’Archéologie orientale, Le Caire

JARCE
Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt

JEA
Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

JWCI
Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes

LÄ

MÅS
Münchener Ägyptologische Studien
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>MDAIK</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts zu Kairo</td>
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<td>MIFAO</td>
<td>Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire</td>
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<td>MIO</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</td>
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<td>MVEOL</td>
<td>Mededelingen en Verhandelingen «Ex Oriente Lux»</td>
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Oxfordshire Communications in Egyptology V

BLACK AND GOLD GOD

colour symbolism of the god Anubis
with observations on the phenomenology of colour
in Egyptian and comparative religion

Terence DuQuesne

The subject of colour symbolism and usage in ancient Egypt has received little attention from scholars. By way of introduction, the author examines some of the philosophical postulates which underlie modern understanding of visual perception. He then gives a general consideration of colour terms and symbolism in the Egyptian context, with particular reference to the colour black and to Osiris km(y). Colours associated with the god Anubis are discussed, with details of relevant epithets, the symbolism of the imywt-emblem, the Spirits of the West, the canids in the Jumilhac Papyrus, and colours in the Greco-Egyptian magical papyri. The author includes a comparative chapter on colour symbolism in various ancient and modern cultures. His concluding chapter offers some explanations of Egyptian symbolic colours and illustrates modern misconceptions about Egyptian attitudes to race and colour.

This study contains a contribution by Ahmed El Goresy and Solveig Schiegl on the physical properties of Egyptian pigments and their relevance to the ecological disaster which is affecting Theban tombs. It also includes an Annex by Andrzej Niwiński on black-painted coffins of the XXIst Dynasty. The work is thoroughly indexed and has a comprehensive bibliography.

DuQuesne uses the psychopompic figure of Anubis to 'open the path' into a significant problem of ancient Egyptian religion and its comparative exploration. In the pursuit of this investigation, he brings to bear an erudition which is truly impressive, not only in Egyptology but in the texts, languages and scholarship of many religious traditions, ancient and modern, as well as in philosophy and poetry. His intellectual stance is one of respect for all religions and of keen cross-cultural sensitivity; his writing style is forthright, vivid and literate. His presentation is informed by his deep engagement with the material he discusses and by his conviction that such studies are not a detached scholarly exercise but an urgent priority in the quest for ethical life and for mutual and self-understanding.

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