

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

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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 Cagian de Azevedo (1969), by Brunner-Traut (1977), and by Wilkinson (1994), which include discussion of symbolic aspects. The essay by Kees, *Farbensymbolik 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, Billerica; 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; MDimitri Meeks, Carnoules; Professor Edmund S Meltzer, Wisconsin Rapids; Dr Alessandra Nibbi, Oxford; Dr Andrzej Niwiński, 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 poetry¹ but contributed a book on the theory of colours.² He was fighting a rear-guard 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.³ 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'.⁴

§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."⁵ In other words, he is accepting that colours have an ontological status which is not wholly dependent on the findings of modern physics.

¹*H Pongs* Die Lichtsymbolik in der Dichtung seit der Renaissance (II), *Studium Generale* 13 (1960) 682-706. On the strong background in Iamblichus and other Neoplatonists: *B Nasemann* *Theurgie und Philosophie in Iamblichus de Mysteriis* (Leipzig 1991) 269-273. Cf now *JF Finamore* Iamblichus on light and the transparent, in *The divine Iamblichus: man of gods*, ed *HJ Blumenthal & EG Clark* (London 1993) 55-64.

²*JW von Goethe* Zur Farbentheorie (1810), in his *Sämtliche Werke XV* (Stuttgart 1881). Cf *W Malsch* *Farbenlehre*, in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, ed *J Ritter* (Darmstadt 1972) 910-911; *M Brusatin* *Histoire des couleurs* (Paris 1986) 71-76.

³Ib §725. On colour and allegory, cf §§668-715, §§915-920.

⁴*L 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]; *J Gage* *Colour and culture* (London 1993) 7/1, 233/1, 205/1-2, 268/2, 302n166.

⁵*M Merleau-Ponty* *Phénoménologie de la perception*² (Paris 1945) 352, tr (London 1962) 305; cf now *J Assmann* *Die Macht der Bilder, Visible Religion* 7 (1990) 1-20.

§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 Yeşirah*.⁶ 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?⁷ The qabalistic tree also, according to some traditions, includes a complementary sphere called *Da'at* ('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.¹⁰ However, *Wittgenstein* did wonder whether there was a natural history of colours and asked "wieweit ist sie analog einer Naturgeschichte der Pflanzen? Ist diese nicht zeitlich, jene unzeitlich?"¹¹ 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.¹⁴ *John Searle* has recently reminded us of the potential usefulness of seeing colours as *Gestalten*.¹⁵

⁶*H Zafrani* Kabbale: vie mystique et magie (Paris 1986) 249-252; *G Scholem* Alchemie und Kabbala (Frankfurt 1994) 74-88 and passim; *R Wang* Qabalistic Tarot (York Beach ME 1983) 39f; *A Bain* Keys to Kabbalah (Bristol 1989) 2f; *A Crowley* 777 and other qabalistic writings, repr (York Beach ME 1977) 67-77 with tables XV-XVIII; useful discussion by *E Zolla* Lo stupore infantile (Milano 1994) 51-64. *Rimbaud* may perhaps have been aware of qabalistic symbolism in his ascription of particular colours to vowels (A for black etc), as in his sonnet 'Les voyelles' and his prose-poem 'Délires II: L'alchimie du verbe': *Arthur Rimbaud* Une saison en enfer, ed *ER Peschel* (New York 1973) 76.

⁷Cf *M Idel* Kabbalah: new perspectives (New Haven 1988) 186, 303 n34.

⁸*G Scholem* Kabbalah (Jerusalem 1974) 107.

⁹*T DuQuesne* Anubis e il ponte dell'arcobaleno, in *Religione della terra: in onore di Elémire Zolla*, ed *G Marchianò* (Como 1991) 115-135.

¹⁰*CL Hardin* Color for philosophers (Indianapolis 1988) 59-112 for an excellent account of colour ontology.

¹¹*L Wittgenstein* Bemerkungen über die Farben (Oxford 1977) 17 §8, cf cf 37 §156, where the difference between black and violet is 'one of noise rather than tone'. The philosopher's ideas are discussed by *M Brusatin* *oc* (1976) 93-96.

¹²*Wittgenstein oc* 8 §44; on perception of grey and black see *J Westphal* Colour: some problems in Wittgenstein (Oxford¹1987²1992) 57-65, 104-117. Relativity in colour perception is addressed by *H Frieling* Psychologie der Farbe, *StG* 13 (1960) 443 (435-446); also by *K Nassau* Colour, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.¹⁵ *Macropaedia XVI* (Chicago 1991) 603f (595-604). Philosophical issues of cultural relativity are considered with acuity by *R Wollheim* The instability of colour, *Times Literary Supplement* (8 April 1994) 7-8.

¹³*J André* Étude sur les termes de couleur dans la poésie latine (Paris 1949) 53-62.

¹⁴*Goethe oc* 24 §58.

¹⁵*JR Searle* Rediscovery of the mind (Cambridge MA 1992) 245, cf 42f, 76, 132f. A frankly and refreshingly symbolist account of black is provided by *R-L Rousseau* Les couleurs (Paris 1959) 52f, 83f, 114f, 149-160, 168f. The problem is also addressed by *LS Vygotsky* Thought and language, tr (Cambridge MA 1962) 71-81. The author has a pleasantly unbiassed attitude to words and associations and the separation of word and language (1-8, 119-153).

§5 Few Western philosophers have had any knowledge or of interest in the thinking of other cultures, ancient or modern,¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ *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."¹⁸ 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",¹⁹ and some would go much further.²⁰

§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'.²¹ 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.²² *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.²³ 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).

¹⁷*Plotinus* 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.

¹⁸*Plotinus* V 8.6. I have slightly adapted the syntax of the original.

¹⁹*W Trimpi* *Muses of one mind* (Princeton 1983) 184f.

²⁰On this passage: *IP Culianu (Couliano)* *Éros et magie* (Paris 1984) 58-65; *E de Keyser* *Signification de l'art dans les Ennéades de Plotin* (Louvain 1955) 60-62; cf *T DuQuesne* *A Coptic initiatory invocation* (Thame 1991) 17 §13; *J Pépin* *Mythe et allégorie* (Paris 1958) 266-272. On the spiritual background, cf now *K Rudolph* *Das frühe Christentum in Ägypten*, *Riggisberger Berichte* 1 (1993) 40 [21-31]. Some observations on art and magical cosmology: *T DuQuesne* *Magic and the art of seeing* (Oxford 1987) 6-12.

²¹*E Cassirer* *Philosophy of symbolic forms II tr* (New Haven 1955) 60-70 and passim. On the symbolism of colour names: *G Ovio* *Scienza dei colori* (Milano 1927) 125-129; *J Davidoff* *Cognition through colour* (Cambridge MA 1991) 103-119, 147-172.

²²*EM Rosch* *Natural categories*, *Cognitive Psychology* 4 (1973) 328-350; *EM Rosch* *Linguistic relativity*, in *Thinking*, ed *PN Johnson-Laird & PC Wason* (Cambridge 1977) 501-519. On this subject, the taxonomy of scholarship proposed by *Ranganathan* may be helpful: *SR Ranganathan* *Colon classification*⁶ (Bombay 1960) (this is not a manual of proctology). Cf too *G Lakoff* *Women, fire, and dangerous things* (Chicago 1987) 24-30, 40-42, 310f, 330-334 (specifically as applied to colour); *H Varley* (ed) *Colour* (London 1980) 50f; *WH Whiteley* *Colour-words and colour-values*, in *Modes of thought*, ed *R Horton & R Finnegan* (London 1973) 146-161. On colours and the notion of the exotic: *J Gage* *Colour and culture* (London 1993) 26/1.

²³*B Berlin & P Kay* *Basic color terms* (Berkeley 1969) 23-25 and passim; useful discussion in *Hardin* *oc* (1988) 155-186; on colour terms in anthropology: *R Layton* *Anthropology of art*² (Cambridge 1991) 112, 118f, 122f, 152-156.

More recent linguistic studies suggest that such colour terms are not as absolute as all that,²⁴ and in any case this methodology does not work for boundaries between colours, where there is certainly no universality.²⁵ 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.²⁶ An elaborate vocabulary of 'universal' colour terms has been devised for commercial purposes in the West, but its more general application is unclear.²⁷

§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.²⁸ Recently developed computer models and theories are proving of some value in linking physiological to cognitive processes.²⁹

§9 The psychology of colours³⁰ 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.³¹ The unity of the senses is insisted on by *Merleau-Ponty*,³² and a taxonomy of alterations in visual perception due to psychedelic drugs has

²⁴*P Kay & C McDaniel* Linguistic significance of the meanings of basic colour terms, *Language* 54 (1978) 610-646. In a perceptive book, *RA Shweder* Thinking across cultures (Cambridge MA 1991) 115-117 observes, in discussing the 'data attenuation rule', that "95 per cent of the world's expressions for color and most of the world's color categories were dropped from the investigation" by *Berlin and Kay*.

²⁵*P Kay & W Kempton* What is the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis? *American Anthropologist* 86 (1984) 65-79; *Lakoff* oc 29. Non-universality of colour terms: Hanunóo of Philippines distinguish light, dark, wet, and dry: *H Conklin* Hanunóo color categories, in *Language in culture and society*, ed *D Hymes* (New York 1964) 189-192.

²⁶*RE MacLaury* Color terms in Mesoamerica I (diss. Berkeley 1986) 63-81 and passim.

²⁷*KL Kelly* A universal color language, *Color Engineering* (Washington) 111 (1965) 16CE-21CE. Useful terms in modern applications of colours are hue (relation to red, yellow, green, blue, and purple), value (lightness), and chroma (strength): *Munsell book of color II* (Baltimore 1957) disjunct instruction booklet.

²⁸*Davidoff* oc 121-138 and passim; *Varley* oc 12-15, 30-35; *Ovio* oc is still useful: cf generally 3-17, 195-212, 165-293, 460-517; on black bodies 192f; on black and white contrast 221-229, 404-409, 419-420. Possible differences in actual perception, as well as categorization, of colours across cultures, explained by pigmentation differences: *MH Bornstein* The influence of visual perception on culture, *American Anthropologist* 77 (1975) 774-798.

²⁹*JA Feldman* A functional model of vision and space, in *Vision, brain, and cooperative computation*, ed *MA Arbib & AR Hanson* (Cambridge MA 1991) 531-562; cf also *A Hurlbert* Deciphering the colour code, *Nature* 349 (1991) 191-193; *MA Webster & JD Mollon* Changes in colour appearance following post-receptoral adaptation, *Nature* 349 (1991) 235-238; *M LaBrecque* Retinex: physics and the theory of color vision, *Computers in Physics* (Nov/Dec 1988) 16-21.

³⁰*GJ von Allesch* Die ästhetische Erscheinungsweise der Farben, *Psychologische Forschung* 6 (1925) 272-281 [1-91 & 215-281]; *Frieling* oc; *Varley* oc 44f, 46f; *R Heiss* Über psychische Farbenwirkungen, *StG* 13 (1960) 381f [379-391]; *Ovio* oc 475-478; *B Elliott* A spectrum of colour theories, *The Garden* (for 1993) 573-575.

³¹*Y Duplessis* Paranormal perception of color (New York 1975) 1-26 and passim; *Les couleurs visibles et invisibles*, ed *Y Duplessis* (Monaco 1984) 163-302; *M Wolpin & C Weinstein* Visual imagery and olfactory stimulation, *Journal of Mental Images* 7 (1983) 63-74. Cf *L Geiger* Ueber den Farbensinn der Urzeit, in his *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Menschheit*, ed 2 (Stuttgart 1878) 56f. See *RE Cytowic* Synaesthesia (New York 1989) 163-165, 240, 254-259, 277-279 for instances involving colour; *Y Duplessis* Une synthèse colorée, in *Les couleurs visibles et invisibles*, ed *Y Duplessis* (Monaco 1984) 96-101; cf *FA von Hayek* The sensory order (London 1952) 22 §1.64.

³²*Merleau-Ponty* oc (1945) 241-266, 351-366 cf 37f, 87f, 204f, 223f; cf 387-397 on spontaneous 'hallucinations'.

been attempted.³³ Artists have always understood the importance of synaesthesia in the creative process,³⁴ and *Paul Klee's* use of colours as symbolic markers is particularly noteworthy.³⁵

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.

³³*H Klüver* Mescal, the 'divine' plant (London 1928) 41f, 61-63; *T DuQuesne* Handbook of psychoactive medicines (London 1982) 326f; *M Déribéré* Les hallucinations colorées, in *Les couleurs visibles et invisibles*, ed *Y Duplessis* (Monaco 1984) 94; cf *J Dierkens* Apparitions et théories psychologiques contemporaines, in *Apparitions et miracles*, ed *A Dierkens* (Bruxelles 1991) 7-46. On phosphenes and hallucinogen-induced states: *M Ripinsky-Naxon* The nature of shamanism (Albany 1993) 148-150.

³⁴*EH Gombrich* Art and illusion⁵ (Oxford 1977) 310, 317, 359(n) ad 310; cf 46f, 189f, 250f, 260f, 246-278. Cf *SRösch* Der Regenbogen in der Malerei, *Studium Generale* G 13 (1960) 418-426; *J Gage* Colour and culture (London 1993) 93-115. On the rainbow see also *G Scholem* Farben und ihre Symbolik in der jüdischen Überlieferung und Mystik, in his *Judaica III* (Frankfurt 1973) 104f, 141f [98-151]; *M Idel* Abraham Abulafia und die mystische Erfahrung, tr (Frankfurt 1994) 121, for the interesting blood-and-ink *imago dei*; *Varley* oc 18f; *C Ginzburg* Myths, emblems, clues (London 1990) 17-59. Andean peoples have a most interesting myth of the black rainbow as representing a world reversed: *M López-Baralt* The Yana K'uychi or black rainbow in Atawallpa's elegy, in *Myth and the imaginary in the New World*, ed *E Magaña & P Mason* (Dordrecht 1986) 261-303.

³⁵*R Wankmüller* Zur Farbe bei Paul Klee, *Studium Generale* 13 (1960) 427-435; *W Kambartel* Farbe, in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, ed *J Ritter* (Darmstadt 1972) 908-910.

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 νόμος and φύσις.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

³⁶*O Paz* 'Salamandra': Configurations (New York 1971) 76-78.

³⁷*F Anders* Pantheon der Maya (Graz 1963) 199-202, 282f. On the ambivalence of gold: *M Bussagli* Colors, in Encyclopedia of Religion, ed *M Eliade* III (New York 1987) 562-565.

³⁸*M Eliade* Myth of the eternal return (New York 1954) 6-27; the quotation is from *J Ruska* Tabula smaragdina (Heidelberg 1926) 112.

³⁹On Egypt, see particularly *RB Finnestad* Image of the world and symbol of the creator (Wiesbaden 1985). Further citations in *DuQuesne* Coptic invocation (1991) §§129-130, 159, 162.

⁴⁰For example the system of *gêmatria*: *L Blau* Das altjüdische Zauberwesen (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.

⁴¹*H Corbin* Les sciences de la balance et les correspondances entre les mondes, in Correspondences in man and world (Eranos papers) (Leiden 1975) 79-162; *SH Nasr* Introduction to Islamic cosmological doctrines² (London 1978) 151-165.

⁴²*H Streich* Musikalische und psychologische Entsprechungen in der Atalanta fugiens von Michael Maier, in Correspondences (Leiden 1975) 361-426; *A Faivre* Mystische Alchemie und geistige Hermeneutik, Ib (1975) 323-360.

⁴³*Pyr* 33a.

⁴⁴Cf *H Kees* Farbensymbolik in ägyptischen religiösen Texten (Göttingen 1943) 423; *DuQuesne* Coptic invocation (1991) §§129-137; *J Assmann* Die Unschuld des Kindes, in *Hermes Aegyptiacus*: Fs *BH Stricker*, ed *T DuQuesne* (Oxford 1995) 19-25.

⁴⁵*É-M Colin* Le symbolisme luni-solaire...de Dendéra, in VI Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia. Atti I (Torino 1992) 113-118. On colour symbolism and the Moon: *K Tallqvist* Månen i myt och dikt, folketro och kult (Helsingfors 1947) 145-159. Cf the Mandaean crown of gold and silver: *ES Drower* The secret Adam (Oxford 1960) 6.

⁴⁶*Mu-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.⁴⁷ In Egyptian the word for 'colour' (*iwn*) also means 'character'.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹

§12 Some valuable work has been done on Egyptian colour terminology and use in iconography,⁵⁰ including hieroglyphic signs,⁵¹ and in texts,⁵² although the surface - and in Egyptian art virtually every surface was painted⁵³ - 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.⁵⁴ He also indicates that one of these fundamental terms was *s3b* 'dappled'⁵⁵ - 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.⁵⁶

⁴⁷*A Nibbi* 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 DuQuesne* Raising the serpent power: some parallels between Egyptian religion and Indian Tantra, in *Hermes Aegyptiacus. Fs BH Stricker* (Oxford 1995) 53-68; *A Ansélin* 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].

⁴⁸*Kees* oc (1943) 414f; *E Brunner-Traut* Farbe, LÄ II (1977) 118 [117-127].

⁴⁹Cf *A Hermann & M Cagiano de Azevedo* Farbe, RAC VII (1969) 362 [358-448, and on Egypt specifically 361-373]; *W Wolf* Über die Gegenstandsbezogenheit des ägyptischen Denkens, Fs *H Grapow* (1955) 404f [403-410].

⁵⁰*P Reuterswärd* Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik I: Ägypten (Stockholm 1958); *W Forman & H Kischkewitz* Die altägyptische Zeichnung (Hanau 1971) 22-24; *C Ransom Williams* Decoration of the tomb of Per-neb (New York 1932) 38-74 (colour conventions in OK); *S Hodel-Hoernes* Leben und Tod im Alten Ägypten (Darmstadt 1991) 24-27 (colours in Theban tombs); *E Hornung* Zum Grab Sethos' I, in *After Tut' ankhmun*, ed *CN Reeves* (London 1992) 96 [91-98] (colour use in TTs); *JR Baines* Fecundity figures: the iconology of a genre (Warminster 1985) 139-142, 357-390 (colour of 'fecundity figures', mainly in the range blue-green). An indication of how Greek sculpture looked may be found in classicizing sculpture of the 19th and 20th centuries. *K Türri* Farbe und Naturalismus in der Skulptur (Mainz 1994) gives some interesting examples, such as 'Minerva' by *Pierre Charles Simart* (20, 23 fig 4, 277f) and *Jean-Léon Gérôme's* 'Bellona' (36f, 45 fig 18, 243-245). The cement sculpture by *Hermann Haller* (159 fig 60, 164, 251) entitled 'Aegypterin', which suggests the famous head of Nefertiti in the Berlin Museum, harks back to Egypt in terms of its application of colour, but not at all in its texture. *Türri* discusses the 18th and 19th century European prejudice against the use of colour, for instance on marble, among some art critics and philosophers: oc 7-12, 95-124.

⁵¹*E Staehelin* Zu den Farben der Hieroglyphen, in *E Hornung* Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber (Mainz 1990) 101-119; *E Hornung* Idea into image (New York 1992) 26-28 (choice of colour for hieroglyphs); *W Schenkel* Die Farben in ägyptischer Kunst und Sprache, ZÄS 88 (1963) 131-147.

⁵²*Kees* oc (1943); *Hermann & Cagiano de Azevedo* oc (1969) 362-373.

⁵³*S Morenz* The rôle of colour in ancient Egypt, Palette 11 (1962) 6 [3-10]; *Staehelin* oc (1990) 101. Cf *M Cagiano de Azevedo* Il colore nella antichità, Aevum (for 1954) 152f (151-167), 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 *BDoshi* Oriente-Occidente: i due cardini del nostro futuro, in *Estetica* 1993, ed *S Zecchi* (Bologna 1993) 57f [53-79].

⁵⁴*JR Baines* Color terminology and color classification: ancient Egyptian color terminology and polychromy, *American Anthropologist* 87 (1985) 282-297. ⁵⁵*Baines* lc 284, 286.

⁵⁶*Kees* oc (1943) 467-470; *J Assmann* Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott (München 1969) 171f, 328. Cf *Strabo* XVII 1 (818) = *Hopfner* Fontes 165/26; cf *BH Stricker* De geboorte van Horus I (Leiden 1963) 20f. One of the nobles interred during the OK close to the dog necropolis of Kôm al-Akhmar (Sharuna) is, interestingly, called *S3by*: *F Gomaà* Bemerkungen zur Nekropole von el-Kôm el-Akhmar Sawaris, *WdO* 14 (1985) 137 [135-146].

§13 It seems that, for the Egyptian, most colours were laden with ambivalent symbolism, depending partly on the context of their use. Gold and yellow⁵⁷ have obvious solar associations: *nbw* and related terms⁵⁸ refer to the soft parts of the corpse⁵⁹ and to gold as a metal.⁶⁰ *nbw* is a designation of grain, as contrasted with *km*,⁶⁰¹ and especially of sunlight.⁶² The sky-cow is *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

⁵⁷For useful observations on Horus of Gold and related questions, see *ES Meltzer* Who knows the color of God? *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 11 (1996) in press; *F Daumas* La valeur de l’or dans la pensée égyptienne, *RHR* 149 (1956) 1-17; *Reuterswärd* oc (1958) 18-24; *J Ragai* Colour: its significance and production in ancient Egypt, *Endeavour* NS 10 (1986) 76 [74-81]; *SAufrère* Caractères principaux et origine divine des minéraux, *RdÉ* 34 (1982/3) 3-21; *J Vercoutter* Or et politique dans l’Égypte des origines, *Fs J Leclant* III (Le Caire 1994) 403-410. Cf *Ransom Williams* (1932) 66; *Brunner-Traut* oc (1977) 125; *D Kurth* review of *SAufrère* L’univers minéral II (Le Caire 1991), *BiOr* 51 (1994) 322-327. On gold as symbolizing incorruptibility etc: *L Luzzato & R Pompas* Il significato dei colori delle civiltà antiche (Milano 1988) 177-205.

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

⁵⁹Tb 236/13. On gold and transformation: *L Troy* Creating a god. The mummification ritual, *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 4 (1993) 67f [55-81].

⁶⁰Tb 238/5.

⁶⁰¹Tb 240/4.

⁶²Tb 239/8.

⁶³Tb 240/11.

⁶⁴Tb 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.

⁶⁶*Kees* oc (1943) 431-436. Red is also naturally a solar colour: *E Hermsen* Die zwei Wege des Jenseits (Freiburg/Schweiz 1991) 108. On the red Sun in Theban tombs: *RH Wilkinson* The paths of Re, *KMT* (fall 1993) 48 [43-51]; *E Brunner-Traut* Die grüne Sonne, *Fs E Edel* (Bamberg 1979) 54-59. Professor *E Hornung* offers the following observation: “On the coffin lids of Dynasty XXI it seems just the intention not to paint every sun red, but to alternate with green, of course using the symbolism of this colour” (personal communication, December 1993). But see also **Annex 1**, below. On uses of green and blue: *GD Hornblower* Blue and green in ancient Egypt, *Ancient Egypt* (for 1932) 47-53; *W Groff* Sur l’emploi des couleurs verte et bleue chez les anciens Égyptiens, *BIÉ* III.5 (1894) 179-181; *W Groff* Note sur le rôle joué par les couleurs chez les anciens Égyptiens, *BIÉ* III.5 (1894) 221-223. The painting of the Eye of Horus green receives attention by *L Troy* Painting the Eye of Horus, *Fs J Leclant* I (Le Caire 1994) 351-360. On ambivalent meanings of green: *E Bresciani* Verde minerale e verde vegetale, *Fs J Leclant* II (Le Caire 1994) 69-71; *O Goldwasser* From icon to metaphor (Freiburg 1995) 69f.

colours, according to *Wainwright*,⁶⁷ and there is much ambivalence in the use of the term *dšr*.⁶⁸ The cobra-goddess is red in her angry aspect and unites not merely the red and the white⁶⁹ but also red, green, and black.⁷⁰ Isis at Dendera is born black and flaming red.⁷¹ An association between red and blood, as in the knot of Isis, is inescapable,⁷² and the doors to Ro-Setawe are red and black.⁷³ 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.⁷⁴

⁶⁷*GA Wainwright* *The sky-religion in Egypt* (Cambridge 1938) 42-44, 102; *S Aufrère* *The Egyptian temple, substitute for the mineral world*, lecture at British Museum (July 1996); cf *RK Ritner* *Mechanics of ancient Egyptian magical practice* (Chicago 1993) 148f. Depiction of skin colours: *E Staehelin* *Hautfarbe*, *LÄ II* (1977) 1069-1071; *E Strouhal* *Life in ancient Egypt* (Cambridge 1992) 77; *L Manniche* *The complexion of Queen Ahmose Nefertari*, *Acta Orientalia* (København) 40 (1979) 11-19; *L Manniche* *Body colours of men and gods*, *Acta Orientalia* (København) 43 (1982) 5-13; *U Verhoeven* *Das saitische Totenbuch* (Bonn 1993) I 44.

⁶⁸*O Goldwasser* *The Narmer palette and the 'triumph of metaphor'*, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 75 [67-85]; *W Schenkel* *Die Farben in ägyptischer Kunst und Sprache*, *ZÄS* 88 (1963) 140f, 143f [131-147]; *G Lefebvre* *Rouge et nuances voisines*, *JEA* 35 (1949) 72-76; *G Roquet*, *Migrateur et flamant rose dans l'Égypte dynastique...*, in *L'animal, l'homme, le dieu dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (Leuven 1989) 111-130; cf *Kees* oc (1943) 446-464. For the use of red in rubrics of papyri to denote Seth/Apopis: *G Posener* *Les signes noirs dans les rubriques*, *JEA* 35 (1949) 77-81, *Verhoeven* oc (1993) I 33, and cf *BL Goff* *Symbols of Ancient Egypt* ('s-Gravenhage 1979) 151. Solar and other associations of red: *G Foucart* *Περὶ χρωμάτων*, *Mélanges Maspero I* (Le Caire 1935/38) 585-601. Further on solar colours: *W Groff* *Le soleil levant. Les couleurs du soleil d'après les anciens Égyptiens*, *BIÉ III.6* (1895) 242-262; *W Groff* *Les lois régissant l'emploi des couleurs chez les anciens Égyptiens*, *BIÉ III.7* (1896) 279-301; *W Groff* *Les lois régissant l'emploi des couleurs chez les anciens Égyptiens, au point de vue décoratif*, *BIÉ III.8* (1897) 187-188. On *dšr*: *KR Weeks* *Art, word, and the Egyptian world view, in Egyptology and the social sciences*, ed *KR Weeks* (Le Caire 1979) 66-68 [59-81].

⁶⁹On the symbolism of the Egyptian double crown: *T DuQuesne* *A Coptic initiatory invocation* (1991) §§20, 85, 130, 149. Osiris is 'one for whom the white crown is united': *A Mariette* *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos* (Paris 1880) 413f #1122. He is very frequently 'lord of the white crown' ie of semen: for instance *RA Caminos* *A prayer to Osiris*, *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 20-24 (line 8 of text: pBM 10229). In an interesting recent paper, *J-P Lauer* discusses the use of colours, particularly red and white, in the pyramid complex of Djoser: *Sur l'emploi et le rôle de la couleur aux monuments du complexe funéraire du roi Djoser*, *RdÉ* 44 (1993) 75-80 + pl 3.

⁷⁰*A Erman* *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen* (Berlin 1911) 25/10, 26/20, 41/3, 42/1-2. On interesting uses of black, blue, and red on the 'ear stelae': *W Guglielmi* *Zur Bedeutung von Symbolen der persönlichen Frömmigkeit*, *ZÄS* 118 (1991) 119f [116-127].

⁷¹*F Daumas* *L'expression du sacré dans la religion égyptienne*, in *L'expression du sacré*, ed *J Ries* II (Louvain 1983) 295 [287-304].

⁷²*W Westendorf* *Blut*, *LÄ I* (1975) 840-842; *JG Griffiths* *The symbolism of red in Egyptian religion*, *Fs Widengren* (Leiden 1972) 81-90. The blood of Osiris is magically important also: *PGM CI 20*, *CXXII 16*. More generally on the feminine aspects of red: *P Grison* *Rouge*, in *Dictionnaire des symboles*, ed *J Chevalier & A Gheerbrant* (Paris 1969) 663-665.

⁷³*E Hermsen* *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits* (Freiburg/Schweiz 1991) 138, 187 cf 193 ad CT 103 & 1092; *E Hornung* *Schwarze Löcher von Innen betrachtet: die altägyptische Hölle*, in *Strukturen des Chaos*, ed *E Hornung & T Schabert* (München 1994) 246.

⁷⁴*J Mellaart* *Çatal Hüyük* (London 1967) 79, 208. Cf *C Feest* *Obsidian*, in *Neues Wörterbuch der Völkerkunde*, ed *W Hirschberg* (Berlin 1988) 346. The use of this black volcanic stone in divination is attested in a number of civilizations: see, for instance, *HB Nicholson* *Religion in pre-Hispanic Central Mexico*, in *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, ed *R Wauchope* X (Austin 1971) 440/2 [395-446]. On Anubis and obsidian, cf below, note 212.

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...”⁷⁵

§15 Use of colours in any culture will depend on the availability of raw materials such as dyestuffs⁷⁶ 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.⁷⁷ In Egyptian, the word *km*⁷⁸ apparently refers non-specifically to very dark colours, much in the way that कृष्ण *kr̥ṣṇa* in Sanskrit⁷⁹ and μέλας in Greek⁸⁰ 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 spelt),⁸¹ to the black earth of Egypt (*kmt*)⁸² and the dark waters of the *km-wr*.⁸³ It also designates animals⁸⁴ and hair and eye colour in humans.⁸⁵

§16 *Km* in reference to skin colour is an interesting subject.⁸⁶ In Egyptian art, it is conventional for men to be depicted as darker than women, and similarly for deities.⁸⁷ 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.⁸⁸ One exception which proves the rule is the representation of Queen Iohmose Nefertari as black.⁸⁹ Whether this reflects her status as an incarnation of the black Hathor cow⁹⁰ or whether it suggests a stage in transformation before rebirth⁹¹ may be debated. What it does not mean is that the ancient Egyptians were phenotypically Negroid, as some have attempted to propose.⁹²

⁷⁵CL Hardin oc (1988) 25.

⁷⁶R Germer Die Textilfärberei...im alten Ägypten (Wiesbaden 1992) 137f.

⁷⁷A Leroi-Gourhan Prehistoric religion, Roman & European mythology, ed Y Bonnefoy (Chicago 1991) 12/1. On black ores in Egypt: JR Harris Lexicographical studies in ancient Egyptian minerals (Berlin 1961) 57f. More generally: M Déribéré La couleur³ (Paris 1975) 15-17.

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 **ΚΑΚΑ** (drumming).

⁷⁹M Monier-Williams Sanskrit dictionary (Oxford 1899) 306/2; terms such as दास *dāsa*, तमस *tamas*, and असिक्नी *asiknī* (post-Vedic अस्ति *asita*) 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 Hoppál Studies on shamanism (Helsinki 1992) 5.

⁸³Ib V 126/4.

⁸³Ib V 123/12.

⁸⁴Ib V 123/13 & 21.

⁸⁵Brunner-Traut oc (1977) 121.

⁸⁶H Grapow Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen (Leipzig 1924) 106f; cf 43f, 45. See also note 67, above.

⁸⁷E Staehelin Hautfarbe, LÄ II (1977) 1069-1071; RH Wilkinson Symbol and magic in Egyptian art (London 1994) 10, 115. ⁸⁸Staehelin oc (1977) 1070 n6.

⁸⁹Eg N de G Davies The tomb of two sculptors (New York 1925) 33 and note, pl X. Other examples: *Manniche* oc (1979) 11f [11-19]. Cf *Hermann* oc (1969) 365.

⁹⁰Staehelin oc (1977) 1069f; cf *Kees* oc (1943) 422.

⁹¹*Manniche* oc (1982) 10 [5-13].

⁹²CA 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.⁹³ It is very clear that, by the XIXth Dynasty at least, enlightenment was available (so to speak) for Jew and Greek, bond and free.⁹⁴ 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,⁹⁵ and for representations of objects, such as houses, which might otherwise have been painted in grey.⁹⁶ She notes the interesting alternation of black and blue⁹⁷ which continues well into the New Kingdom.⁹⁸ Black dyes are, however, rarely employed in textiles⁹⁹ except for the black dress of women mourners.¹⁰⁰ In Ramesside times, black-painted coffins may have reflected the status of their occupant and/or have symbolic significance.¹⁰¹ Black stone was favoured for much sculpture.¹⁰²

⁹³*J Vercoutter* *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil I* (Paris 1992) 37-39. Cf the excellent work by *FJ Davis* *Who is black?* (University Park PA 1991) 81, 163.

⁹⁴*K Sethe* *Kosmopolitische Gedanken der Ägypter des NR in Bezug auf das Totenbuch*, *Fs FLI Griffith* (Oxford 1932) 432f; *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.

⁹⁵*S Schiegl* *Altägyptische Pigmente und Glasuren* (diss. Heidelberg 1991) 15; *Ransom Williams* *oc* (1932) 40f; *AM Moussa & H Altenmüller* *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz 1977) 173. On analysis of pigments: *Y Marzoni Fecia di Cossato* *L'applicazione della diffrattometria di polveri...*, in VI Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia. *Atti I* (Torino 1992) 441-451. On the pigments themselves and their degradation products, see **Annex 1**.

⁹⁶*Ib* 46f: "We may suppose therefore that the Egyptian's color concept for these objects was often of blackness rather than of grayness."

⁹⁷*Ib* 53-62; *Schenkel* *oc* (1963) 132; *J Ragai* *Colour: its significance and production in ancient Egypt*, *Endeavour* NS 10 (1986) 76 [74-79]. A similar phenomenon occurs in early Greek art: *C Doumas* *The wall-paintings of Thera* (Athens 1992) 19.

⁹⁸See below, III.4.

⁹⁹*R Germer* *Die Textilfärberei...im alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden 1992) 55 (?black textiles of Tutankhamun), 97f (black spots on the leopard-skin of a 'Hundeführer').

¹⁰⁰*Ib* 100, 112-115, 132. On blue/grey as a colour of mourning: *AH Gardiner* *The colour of mourning*, *ZÄS* 47 (1910) 162-163. On colours and funerary associations: *BH Stricker* *De geboorte van Horus IV* (Leiden 1982) 464-475.

¹⁰¹*BH Stricker* *Camephis* (Amsterdam 1975) 6*-7*; *D Polz* in *J Assmann* *Das Grab des Amenemope* (Mainz 1991) 1267 of 279-282; *A Niwiński* *Ritual protection of the dead... Fs L Kákósy* (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) 258-271, 281-283 [251-299]. At Philae, Osiris is *imy-r imyw-r nbyw* 'principal overseer of the golden ones': *LV Zabkar* *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 *J Chevalier & 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: *C Graindorge-Hérel* *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes* (Wiesbaden 1994) I 268f.

¹⁰²*MJ Raven* *Magic and symbolic aspects of certain materials in ancient Egypt*, *VA* 4 (1988) 237f [237-242]; *Reuterswärd* *oc* (1958) 53-58: black colouring for gods (26-29) and black and gilding in sculpture (39-42).

§18 The use of black in religious iconography¹⁰³ may be illustrated by a few examples. Re travels the sky in the day- and the night-barque,¹⁰⁴ and black in the Netherworld Books¹⁰⁵ carries the ambiguities inherent in a situation of risk and potentiality for rebirth.¹⁰⁶

§19 The Book of the Two Ways contains similar symbolism, with black borders to spells,¹⁰⁷ the colour of the road,¹⁰⁸ and a black pedestal to the boat¹⁰⁹ 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,¹¹⁰ and there too, as *Kees* reminds us, for its completion (*s + km*)¹¹¹ the feathers of the red crown must be made black: *šwt.(i) rwd.ti kmt ip.syr sy.i hr-ip-ipt* "My feather flourishes, becomes black and is counted. I am delighted with the counting of that which is for counting."¹¹²

§20 Ambivalence is present in the connotations of the shadow, which is naturally depicted as black.¹¹³ While the shadow is an aspect of vital energy,¹¹⁴ it may also be a potent source of threat in the netherworld.¹¹⁵ The idea, recorded by *Aristotle* and others,¹¹⁶ 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*.¹¹⁷ In the Pyramid Texts, the crocodile Sobk is 'green of feather'¹¹⁸ and also 'the great black one'.¹¹⁹ 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* Il significato dei colori nella civiltà antiche (Milano 1988) 41-92.

¹⁰⁴*GT Reibold* Die Nacht im Mythos, Kultus und Volksglauben (Köln 1970) 93, 104-112, 138-142, with comparative material; cf also *F Portal* Des couleurs symboliques (Paris 1857) 167-180.

¹⁰⁵*Forman & Kischkewitz* (1971) pl 12, where the heads of demons are blacked out; pl 21, where the Sun is black.

¹⁰⁶*E Hornung* Nacht und Finsternis im Weltbild der alten Ägypter (unpublished diss. Tübingen 1956) 101, a penetrating summary; *E Hornung* Die Nachtfahrt der Sonne (Zürich 1991) 15-33; *G Schoeller* Isis: auf der Suche nach dem göttlichen Geheimnis (München 1991) 131-214; *E Hermsen* Regressus ad uterum: Die embryonale Jenseitssymbolik Altägyptens und die prä- und perinatale Psychologie, *International Journal of Prenatal and Perinatal Psychology* 5 (1993) 361-382.

¹⁰⁷*E Hermsen* Die zwei Wege des Jenseits (Freiburg/Schweiz 1991) 122f ad CT 1132-1134.

¹⁰⁸Ib 168 ad CT 1065.

¹⁰⁹Ib 236 ad CT 1115-1130.

¹¹⁰*Kees* oc (1943) 423; *BH Stricker* De praehelleense ascese (vervolg), *OMRO* 57 (1976) 299 n1724 [299-333].

¹¹¹*RO Faulkner* Concise dictionary of Middle Egyptian (Oxford 1962) 251.

¹¹²*Kees* lc on BD 114 (*Budge* text (1898) 235/16). Are *skm* and *ip* synonymous?.

¹¹³*Reuterswärd* oc (1958) 29-38.

¹¹⁴*B George* Die Schatten als Seele (Bonn 1970); further literature in *T DuQuesne* Coptic initiatory invocation (1991) §51. Cf *W Helck* Osiris, *RE* suppl IX (1962) 503 [469-513] ad *Hippolyt* ref V 27.

¹¹⁵*W Schenkel* Schatten, *LÄ* V (1984) 535f.

¹¹⁶*Aristotle* fr 369 Rose; *PW van der Horst* Der Schatten im hellenistischen Volksglauben, in *Studies in Hellenistic religions*, ed *MJ Vermaseren* (1979) 27-36.

¹¹⁷*H Kees* Der Götterglaube in alten Ägypten² (Berlin 1956) 48; *Brunner-Traut* oc (1977) 123; *Hermann & Cagiano de Azevedo* oc (1969) 368.

¹¹⁸*Pyr* 507; cf *E Brovarski* Sobek, *LÄ* V (1984) 996f [995-1031].

¹¹⁹*Pyr* 1350, 1390. Cf below on Osiris as *km-wr*.

as nurses of the Spirits of Heliopolis,¹²⁰ and such animals were certainly regarded as particularly sacred.¹²¹ The cult of the black bulls Apis¹²² and Mnevis¹²³ persisted well into the Roman period.¹²⁴

§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.¹²⁵ We know that in the New Kingdom mourning women, who certainly impersonated Isis as she bewept the death of Osiris, wore black.¹²⁶ By Roman times the *palla nigerrima* worn by devotees of Isis was well recognized,¹²⁷ and one of the sacerdotal titles of her cult was *μελανηφόρος*.¹²⁸

§23 In a ritual text from the Ramesseum, the Negro from Oponé hails the ithyphallic god Min as being 'of true lapis lazuli'¹²⁹ and his face is depicted as either blue or black, the earliest representation of the latter type dating from Dynasty XII.¹³⁰ Whether this supports an often-cited view that Min is originally a deity from Nubia¹³¹ or whether his blackness signifies the fertility of the earth¹³² is debated. His priesthood certainly included people described as 'keepers of the black cow of Min'.¹³³ This suggests a close association with Isis, who is occasionally referred to as his mother or wife,¹³⁴ with Amun as *k3-mwt.f*,¹³⁵ and with Osiris *km-wr*, the great black bull of Atrihis.¹³⁶

¹²⁰Pyr 531.

¹²¹Wb V (1931) 125/4; Kees oc (1943) 419f; Hermann & Cagiano de Azevedo oc (1969) 367.

¹²²E Otto Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Aegypten (Leipzig 1938) 11; cf ST Hollis The Egyptian tale of the Two Brothers (Norman 1990) 148.

¹²³T Hopfner Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter (Wien 1913) 86-89; F Zimmermann Die ägyptische Religion (Paderborn 1912) 99 ad Euseb praep ev III 13.

¹²⁴E 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.

¹²⁶Above, n100. On the 'black Madonna': A Baring & J Cashford The myth of the goddess (New York 1991) 585-588, 643-647.

¹²⁷Plutarch de Iside 52; JG Griffiths Apuleius: the Isis Book (Leiden 1975) 128f ad Apuleius met XI.3; M Malaise À propos de l'iconographie «canonique» d'Isis, Kernos 5 (1992) 339f [329-361].

¹²⁸F Sbordone Iside maga, Aegyptus 26 (1946) 131-133 [130-148]; SK Heyob The cult of Isis among women (Leiden 1975) 106, 107, 130; S Fodor Traces of the Isis cult, Fs L Kákósy (Budapest 1992) 176f [171-186]; M Tardieu The Naassene's use of pagan mythologies, Roman & European mythology, ed Y Bonnefoy (Chicago 1991) 186/1 (185-186).

¹²⁹H Gauthier Les fêtes du dieu Min (Le Caire 1931) 200-202. In Hittite hymns, the Sun is given as having a beard of lapis lazuli: R Lebrun Hymnes et prières hittites (Louvain 1980) 101/10. The god Amûn is also a blue deity, though earlier representations show him as red: M Dolinska Red and blue figures of Amun, VA 6:1-2 (1990) 3-7.

¹³⁰WMF Petrie Koptos (London 1896) pl 12. Excellent example of black Min on an Amarna-period repainted relief: EAO Luxor Museum Guidebook (Cairo 1978) 36 #70. On the blackness of Min cf, but use with extreme caution, Drake oc (1987) 261-263. On the eyes of Horus and lapis-lazuli: D Meeks & C Favard-Meeks La vie quotidienne des dieux égyptiens (Paris 1993) 89f.

¹³¹Gauthier Fêtes (1931) 202.

¹³²CJ Bleeker Die Geburt eines Gottes (Leiden 1956) 49f; I Munro Das Zelt-Heiligtum des Min (München 1983) 1f; A Niwiński Ritual protection of the dead... Fs L Kákósy (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 Iohmose 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-complected (μελάγχρους), 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 (μέλας). 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 C 15, 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-lks* ‘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 über Isis und Osiris I* (Prag 1940) 24f; *Griffiths* oc (1970) 375f.

¹³⁸*Otto* oc (1938) 9-11.

¹³⁹Wb V (1931) 125/1, 126/1 *km, km-wr*; cf 124/8 for black-haired Osiris; 130/8-9 Osiris *kmy* (attested from Dyn XIX); cf *W Helck* *Stiergott*, LÄ 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*, LÄ I (1975) 520 [519-524]; cf *H Bonnet* *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin 1952) 374.

¹⁴²*Kees* oc (1943) 418.

¹⁴³*J Spiegel* *Die Götter von Abydos* (Wiesbaden 1973) 148f.

¹⁴⁴PyT 1630, repeated 1658; cf 628. The text must refer to the Bitter Lakes as well as to the taurine deity.

¹⁴⁵The *prt* of Upwawet, involving the *neshmet*, occupies a central role in the Osiris Mysteries at Abydos: *H Schäfer* *Die Mysterien 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.

¹⁴⁶pJumilhac XVI.2; cf *U Köhler* *Das Imiut* (Wiesbaden 1975) II 414.

¹⁴⁷*DuQuesne* *Coptic initiatory invocation* (1991) §§152-156.

¹⁴⁸DMP XX.5.

¹⁴⁹Ib IX.33; *HJ Thissen* *Nubien in demotischen magischen Texten*, in *GsP Behrens* (Köln 1991) 371f [369-376].

¹⁵⁰DMP 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.

§26 The depiction of Osiris with a black face is attested but does not seem to occur earlier than the XVIIIth Dynasty.¹⁵² In the Book of the Dead,¹⁵³ in Amduat-type papyri,¹⁵⁴ and in Theban royal¹⁵⁵ and private tombs,¹⁵⁶ 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.¹⁵⁷ 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 Khentyamtiu. His face is coloured darkish green (Nefertari), light green (Sennedjem), grey-green (Sennedjem; Inherkha), greyish or slate green (Tutankhamun, where an adjacent painting shows his face as flesh-coloured; Khaemwêse, where fading is apparent), very dark blackish green and mid-green (both Inherkha, 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,¹⁵⁸ where the king's flesh is definitely painted black, perhaps as an allusion to Osiris *km*.¹⁵⁹

§27 Modern scholars have not commented in detail on the significance of these dark-complected forms of Osiris: the black has been held to be 'probably chthonic',¹⁶⁰ to indicate the night sky,¹⁶¹ to denote his fructifying power,¹⁶² or as an allusion to decay (green), or to sexual potency and to the netherworld (black).¹⁶³ An association with black grain seems clear,¹⁶⁴ 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.¹⁶⁵ For the Greek alchemist *Olympiodorus*, Osiris is the principle of moisture and identified with lead,¹⁶⁶ 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*.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵²É Naville *Das ägyptische Totenbuch* (Berlin 1886) I pl 133 (Pe) ad sp 125; *K Lange & M Hirmer Ägypten* (München 1967) 135f pl 228; *G Posener Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne* (Paris 1959) 201. Cf also the representations of Tutankhamun with a black face: *Wilkinson Symbol and magic* (1994) 115.

¹⁵³*EAW Budge The papyrus of Ani: facsimiles* (London 1915) pls 4, 20, 30, 32; *EAW Budge The Book of the Dead: facsimiles...Hunefer* (London 1899) pl 5; *AM Calverley The temple of King Sethos I* (Chicago 1938) III pl 1.

¹⁵⁴*A Piankoff & N Rambova Mythological papyri* (New York 1959) pls 2, 10, 24; cf *Staehelein oc* (1977) 1069f. *Piankoff & Rambova oc* pl 2 (Hor-Weben B; pCairo JE 95645) shows an oblique figure of Osiris/Geb whose face, arms, and phallus are painted black.

¹⁵⁵*E Hornung Tal der Könige* (Zürich 1990) pls 8, 64, 69, 150, 155; also pls 6, 65, but it should be noted that the latter are reproduced from watercolours; *DM Noack Tut Ench Amun* (Köln 1966) pl 2.

¹⁵⁶*SHodel-Hoernes Leben und Tod im alten Ägypten* (Darmstadt 1991) pls 87, 98, 117; *MJRaven Corn-mummies*, OMRO 63 (1982) 21 [7-38].

¹⁵⁷*A Siliotti Il risveglio di Nefertari, Archeologia Viva* 10 no 18 (April 1991) 32-51, with superb photographs. On green, cf *J Ragai oc* (1986) 77.

¹⁵⁸*British Museum Treasures of Tutankhamun* (London 1972) col pl 1. Obelisks were certainly gilded: cf *EAO Luxor Museum Guidebook* (Cairo 1978) 31 #55 cf 97 #242.

¹⁵⁹*Manniche oc* (1979) 14 on black resins and gilding.

¹⁶⁰*Griffiths oc* (1970) 375 n6.

¹⁶¹*Wilkinson oc* (1994) 109f.

¹⁶²*Brunner-Traut oc* (1977) 123.

¹⁶³*Ripinsky-Naxon oc* (1993) 38; *Reuterswärd oc* (1958) 26-29.

¹⁶⁴*W Westendorf Symbol, Symbolik, LÄ VI* (1986) 125 (122-128); on red and black grains, important in Egypt, and their symbolism in the Fezzan: *V Pâques L'arbre cosmique dans la pensée populaire... du nord-ouest africain* (Paris 1964) 26.

¹⁶⁵*Otto oc* (1938) 8.

¹⁶⁶*Olympiodorus ap M Berthelot Collection des alchimistes grecs II* (Paris 1888) iv 42.

¹⁶⁷*CG Jung Mysterium conjunctionis, tr* (London 1963) 509f.

III A DARKER SHADE OF BLACK: COLOUR ASSOCIATIONS OF ANUBIS

III.1 *Kenningar*

“Too black for heav’n, and yet too white for hell.”¹⁶⁸

§28 Anubis is far more than a funerary deity.¹⁶⁹ 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.¹⁷⁰ *Hermann* refers to the role of Anubis as ‘Herr des Lichts’ (ie life), since he revivifies Osiris and the deceased,¹⁷¹ and *Westendorf* similarly translates *nb-shd* as ‘Lichtbringer’.¹⁷² There are some problems, however, since the writing of *shd* in this connexion could easily be mistaken for *t3-hd*,¹⁷³ which relates to another aspect of Anubis, whereas *shd* is more usually written with aspirated *s* than with *s* (*z*).¹⁷⁴ On the other hand, connotations of the word certainly do include ‘illumination’, literal and metaphorical, rather like *sehali* in Hittite.¹⁷⁵

§29 The town of *Inrty*, alternatively called *t3-hd*, occupied the area of al-Jabalīya (Gebelein) in Upper Egypt, and was early a cult-centre of Hathor and later of Anubis and Sobk.¹⁷⁷ Anubis first receives the *kenning* **nb-t3-hd** ‘lord of the dawning land’ on a stela from the time of Sesostris I,¹⁷⁸ and the designation occurs occasionally until Ptolemaic times.¹⁷⁹

¹⁶⁸ *John Dryden* The Hind and the panther I 343.

¹⁶⁹ *T DuQuesne* Anubis e il ponte dell’arcobaleno, in *La religione della terra* (Fs *E Zolla*) (Como 1991) 115-135.

¹⁷⁰ *W Spiegelberg & B Pörtner* Aegyptische Grabsteine I (Straßburg 1902) pl 3(6) (MK, provenance unknown); *M-P Foissy-Aufrère* Égypte en Provence (Avignon 1985) fig 41 d (‘naos’, Dyn XIII, ?Thebes); *P Lacau* Stèles I (Le Caire 1909) 135 #34086 (NK, Abydos).

¹⁷¹ *A Hermann* Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie (Glückstadt 1940) 59.

¹⁷² *W Westendorf* Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes (Berlin 1966) 77.

¹⁷³ *E Feucht* Pektorale nichtköniglicher Personen (Wiesbaden 1971) 25 n19; cf *A Radwan* Six Ramesside stelae in the popular pyramidion-form, *ASAE* 71 (1987) 228n [223-228].

¹⁷⁴ *RO Faulkner* Concise dictionary of Middle Egyptian (Oxford 1962) 193.

¹⁷⁵ *R Lebrun* Le sacré dans le monde hurrite, in *L’expression du sacré*, ed *J Ries* II (Louvain 1983) 149f, 162-164 [143-164].

¹⁷⁶ *Bonnet* Reallexikon (1952) 203f sv.

¹⁷⁷ *H Kees* Kulttopographische und mythologische Beiträge 6: Anubis, Herr des weißen Landes, *ZÄS* 71 (1935) 150-155; more generally on cult-centres of Anubis: *H Kees* Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten² (Berlin 1956) 28f. The epithet *nb-iw-m-itrw* also refers to the area of Gebelein: cf *R Hölzl* Die Giebelfelddekoration von Stelen des Mittleren Reichs (Wien 1990) 86.

¹⁷⁸ Cairo 20151 (Abydos); cf *Spiegel* oc (1973) 48, 170.

¹⁷⁹ *L Habachi* Amenwahsu attached to the cult of Anubis ‘Lord of the Dawning Land’ *MDAIK* 14 (1956) 52-62; *P Barguet* Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak (Le Caire 1962) 49 (Sheshonq I); *RO Faulkner* Book of hours (Oxford 1958) 23/10; pJum VI 20-21 cf *J Vandier* Le papyrus Jumilhac (Paris 1961) n153; *RV Lanzzone* Dizionario di mitologia egizia I (Torino 1881) 67.

§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 Spirits¹⁸³ 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 **ΧΟΘΧ’ΕΡΕ** ‘spirit of darkness’,¹⁸⁸ recalling the formula **βαλενχουχ** (= *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: **(ΔΗΚ ΔΝΘΥΠ) ΕΥΒΙ ΚΛΩΜ ΝΩΘΥ ΠΠΡΗ** ‘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 **ὀλόχρυσος** ‘all-golden’, probably in reference to gilded images.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁰CT VII 50 (spell 846).

¹⁸¹CT I 196 (spell 45), I 256f (spell 61). This is a large subject which the author intends to treat at length elsewhere.

¹⁸²CT 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.

¹⁸³CT IV 269.

¹⁸⁴*T DuQuesne* At the court of Osiris (London 1994) §§99, 106, 109, 110.

¹⁸⁵And 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 Pleyte* Chapitres supplémentaires 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*JH Johnson* Louvre E3229: a Demotic magical text, *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 65 vs 14 [55-102] = PDM suppl 198 (330 *Betz*). Cf *Festus* de sig verb sv catulariae, 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 lxi 13 (286 *Betz*).

¹⁸⁹*C Bonner* Studies in magical amulets (Ann Arbor 1950) 26, 146; *DuQuesne* Coptic initiatory invocation (1991) §§19, 22.

¹⁹⁰PGM IV 126-127; cf *py qlm n-nb nt n zz 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* Iup trag 8/9 = FRA 312. Cf PGM III 133, where Seth is χρυσοπρόσωπος, 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',¹⁹⁵ which commentators have correctly taken to mean¹⁹⁶ 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 Αἰγυπτίον θεόν**,¹⁹⁹ which has been properly construed²⁰⁰ as a reference to Anubis as judge and master of the balance in the Hall of Ma'et.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 Hatshepsut²⁰² and *hry-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 XVIIa 1; cf *Plutarch* de Iside 31; *Diodorus Siculus* I 11, 13; *P Raingeard* Hermès psychagogue (Paris 1935) 571-576.

¹⁹⁵*Apuleius* met XI 11 = FRA 322/27; cf *Apul* met XI 23. A wonderfully vivid evocation, with colours stated, in *M Josserand* L'ombre d'Anubis (Monaco 1992) 145.

¹⁹⁶*J Berreth* Studien zum Isisbuch (diss. Tübingen 1931) 75f; *JG Griffiths* Apuleius: the Isis-Book (Leiden 1975) 216f; *W Wittmann* Das Isisbuch (Stuttgart 1938) 58f.

¹⁹⁷Surviving terracotta mask of Anubis: *W Kayser* Die ägyptischen Altertümer in Roemer-Pelizäus-Museum zu Hildesheim (Hildesheim 1951) 103 pl 74; further *J-C Grenier* Anubis alexandrin et romain (Leiden 1977) 27, 177f.

¹⁹⁸*Lucian* vitarum auctio 16 = FRA 310.

¹⁹⁹*Plato* Crat 411b, Gorg 482b etc.

²⁰⁰*RG Hoerber* The Socratic oath 'by the dog', *Classical Journal* (Ohio) 58 (1962/63) 268-269.

²⁰¹*DuQuesne* At the court of Osiris (London 1994) §§115-118.

²⁰²*É 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.

²⁰³*Piankoff & 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.”²⁰⁴

§36 And again:

“In antiquity, people used to call the heaven ‘holy’ and the netherworld ‘priestly’ (τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τὰ τ’ ὀσία, 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 (κροκίαν) cockerel to him, in the belief that (heaven) is pure and clear and (earth) is mottled and variegated (μικτὰ καὶ ποικίλα).”²⁰⁵

§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.²⁰⁶

§38 Truly the ἄγνωστος θεός 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.”²⁰⁷ One of the dogs of King Antef I (Dyn XI) was called ‘the black one’.²⁰⁸

§39 When figured as jackals, Anubis and Upwawet are almost invariably, and consistently, represented as black in colour.²⁰⁹ Whether or not one takes the view that jackal-headed anthropomorphic figures are intended to represent masked priests rather than Anubis himself,²¹⁰ the iconography is again remarkably durable, with the animal’s head coloured black.²¹¹ As *Reuterswärd* states, when the deity is shown on statuary carved from black stone,

²⁰⁴ *Plutarch de Iside* 19.

²⁰⁵ Ib 61.

²⁰⁶ Y Vernière Initiation et eschatologie chez Plutarque, in *Les rites d’initiation*, ed J Ries & H Limet (Louvain 1986) 335-352; JG Griffiths *Plutarch*, LÄ IV (1982) 1065-1067; J-M André *Les Romains et l’Égypte*, *Les Études Philosophiques* (Paris; vol for 1987) 189-206.

²⁰⁷ CT VI 299.

²⁰⁸ Cairo 20512: JMA Janssen Über Hundenamen im pharaonischen Ägypten, MDAIK 16 (1958) 180 #21 [176-182]; D Brewer Domestication. The Egyptian origins (Warminster 1995) 118.

²⁰⁹ B Altenmüller Anubis, LÄ I (1975) 327 [327-333]; E Graefe Upuaut, LÄ VI (1986) 863 [862-864]. On the lids of Canopic jars, the head of Duamutef is practically always painted black: GA Reisner *Canopics* (Le Caire 1967) 168, 217, 369.

²¹⁰ W Klingbeil Kopf-, Masken- und Maskierungszuber (Berlin 1935) 93-103; MA Murray Ritual masking, *Mélanges Maspero* I (Le Caire 1934) 251-255; A Wolinski Ancient Egyptian ceremonial masks, DE 6 (1986) 44-53, a view which is gainsaid (for example) by J Settgast *Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (Glückstadt 1963) pl 11, right.

²¹¹ *Reuterswärd* oc I (1958) 27.

“natürlich wurde das Haupt in der schwarzen Farbe des Steines gelassen.”²¹² 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.²¹³ The original colours are impossible to determine, and this is also the case for the Mycerinus triad which figures Anupet, the female form of Anubis²¹⁴ who presided over the Cynopolitan nome and who wears the jackal standard on her head.²¹⁵ 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.²¹⁶ 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.²¹⁷ The jackal ‘demons’ of the Amduat-type papyri, who appear to be hypostases of Anupet, appear as all-black.²¹⁸

§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.²¹⁹ *Kees* perceptively suggests that he is shown black “um das ‘ganz andere’ ihrer Heiligkeit zu betonen,”²²⁰ and notes that all the jackal deities are thus represented, to distinguish them from all other deities.²²¹ He notes the connexion between Anubis and the white Hezat-cow of Atfih who gave birth to the black Mnevis bull²²² and who is given as Anubis’s mother as early as the Pyramid Texts²²³ and as late as the pJumilhac.²²⁴ As *Otto* observes,²²⁵ in Ptolemaic texts Apis has the epithets *nb-qrst* (lord of funerary rite), which is frequently used of Osiris and suits Anubis equally well,²²⁶ and *hnty-imntyw*, the Abydene jackal deity who is undoubtedly the *Urform* of Anubis and probably of Osiris,²²⁷ the *kenning* being

²¹²Ib 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’Égypte* (Paris 1812-1820) II pl 52.

²¹³*L Borchardt* Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re (Leipzig 1907) 16 = *GA Wainwright* The sky-religion in Egypt (Cambridge 1938) pl 1.

²¹⁴*H Kees* Der Gau von Kynopolis und seine Gottheit, *MIO* 6 (1958) 157-175; *J Vandier* L’Anubis femelle et le nome cynopolite, *Fs K Michalowski* (Warszawa 1966) 196-204.

²¹⁵*GA Reisner* Mycerinus (Cambridge Mass 1931) 109 pl 38c.

²¹⁶*E Staehelin oc* (1990) 107, 112.

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

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

²¹⁹*J Černý* Le culte d’Aménophis Ier, *BIFAO* 27 (1927) 162 [159-203]; *N de G Davies* Tomb of two sculptors at Thebes (New York 1925) 33 & n1; *FJ Dölger* Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze (Münster 1918) 66f; *Brunner-Traut oc* (1977) 127.

²²⁰*Kees oc* (1943) 420.

²²¹*H Kees* Der Götterglaube² (1956) 27.

²²²Ib 136; *Kees oc* (1943) 419.

²²³*Pyr* 2080 cf 1537 and CT VI 142.

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

²²⁵*Otto 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 Osiris² (Leiden 1980) 135-137.

applied to both.²²⁸ *Ransom Williams*, followed by others, has remarked on the rarity of black jackals,²²⁹ 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.²³⁰

§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.²³¹

III.3 Le bel horizontal

Anubis est la personnification 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 messenger des dieux; il conduit les ombres dans les enfers; une chaîne d'or sort de sa bouche 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 claire 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.^{232a}

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

Sandro Penna^{232b}

²²⁸Eg Pyr 57, 220 (Anubis); Pyr 1666 (Osiris), and very commonly of him subsequently.

²²⁹*Ransom Williams* oc (1932) 47f.

²³⁰*van der Horst* oc (1979) 28f ad *Aristotle* fr 369 *Rose*.

²³¹*RM Rilke*, poem of 1913: *A Hermann Rilkes ägyptische Gesichte*, Symposium: *Jhb f Philosophie* 4 (1955) 400-402 [367-461] (separate repr Darmstadt 1966); cf *SMorenz* *Religion und Geschichte* (Köln 1975) 234f. *EHornung* 'In Karnak war's...', *Eranos Jhb* 53 (1984) 388 [371-409].

^{232a}*F Portal* *Des couleurs symboliques* (Paris 1857) 75-77.

^{232b}*Sandro Penna* *Tutte le poesie*² (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 important²³⁴ 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-dw* 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

²³³R *Lepsius* Denkmäler aus Aegypten III (Berlin 1855) pl 194/10.

²³⁴T *DuQuesne* Jackal at the Shaman's Gate (Thame 1991) 20f.

²³⁵J *Bergman* Ich bin Isis (Uppsala 1968) 119.

²³⁶J *Assmann* Das Grab des Amenemope (Mainz 1991) I 191-196 II pls 63, 66, 74.

²³⁷A *Piankoff* Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon (New York 1955) 43 post. *L Luzzato & R Pompas* Il significato dei colori nella civiltà antiche (Milano 1988) pl 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.

²³⁸WJR *Rübsam* Götter und Kulte im Faijum (Bonn 1974) 74.

²³⁹P *Perdrizet* Les représentations d'Anubis, *Revue Égyptologique* 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.

²⁴²Above, n193; cf PGM V 267, with *Morton Smith* in *Betz* (1986) 105 n31 and *T Hopfner* Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber I² (Amsterdam 1974) 495 §789.

²⁴³AA *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 n125; cf too *DuQuesne* Anubis e il ponte (1991) 129f [105-135].
²⁴⁵Cf above, n190.

²⁴⁶G *Möller* Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind (Leipzig 1913) pl 14 etc; cf *DuQuesne* Coptic invocation §20.

²⁴⁷S *Hinds* The metamorphosis of Persephone (Cambridge 1987) 76-78, 154 n13. 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.

²⁴⁹É *Lefébure*, 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,²⁵⁰ with blue apparently alternating for black in representations of heraldic jackals in Theban tombs,²⁵¹ of the Anubidian *sekhem* on cartonnage mummy foot-pieces,²⁵² and for the head of Duamutef on Canopics.²⁵³ Blue, with its celestial connotations,²⁵⁴ suits Anubis as well as the black of fertility and night. One is reminded of the blue jackal in the Sanskrit *Hitopadeça*²⁵⁵ and of Renart teinturier in the *Roman de Renart*,²⁵⁶ while being well aware of the differences too.

§45 It is strange, and perhaps not accidental, that the Egyptian word for jackal (*z3b*)²⁵⁷ is also a colour term.²⁵⁸ The adjective is generally translated by ‘bunt’²⁵⁹ or similarly and appears to correspond to the Greek *χαροπός*.²⁶⁰ In any case, jackals tend to be tawny or variegated in colour.²⁶¹

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 onder het mes* (exhibition brochure, Rijksmuseum, Leiden, 1993) and was first described by *C Leemans* *Description raisonnée* (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.”

²⁵¹*Hodel-Hoenes* oc (1991) 214; cf *Wilkinson* oc (1994) 111, 112, 120, who observes (122) that in one papyrus of the Book of the Dead both 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*I Vozil* A cartonnage foot-piece, *Fs L Kákosy* (Budapest 1992) 612 [611-613].

²⁵³*Reisner* oc (1967) 216 #4318 (Dyn XX).

²⁵⁴The sky is (*I*)*ttfrrt* ‘the blue’ in CT II 208; cf *Wb* V (1932) 300/1-4 and more generally *BH Stricker* *De praehelleense ascense (vervolg)* (II), *OMRO suppl* 67 (1987) 34 [1-60]; *F 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* *Altägyptische Pigmente und Glasuren* (diss. Heidelberg 1991) 27-30 and *passim*: see also **Annex I**, below. On crown symbolism: *EL Ertman* *The search for the significance and origin of Nefertiti’s tall blue crown*, VI *Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia. Atti I* (Torino 1992) 189-193. Professor *E Hornung* notes: “It is a significant detail that in the royal tombs the peruque of goddesses is sometimes painted black instead of blue” (personal communication, December 1993). In Ptolemaic ritual texts, the intoxicant offered to Hathor is called *irtyw-pt* ‘sky-blue’: *H Sternberg el-Hotabi* *Ein Hymnus an Hathor* (Bruxelles 1992) 48.

²⁵⁵*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].

²⁵⁶*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 symboles*, ed *J Chevalier & A Gheerbrant* (Paris 1969) 111/2 [111-112].

²⁵⁷*Faulkner* *Concise dictionary* (1962) 210.

²⁵⁸*Baines* *American Anthropologist* 87 (1985) 284, 286.

²⁵⁹*Kees* oc (1943) 467.

²⁶⁰*PG Maxwell-Stuart* *Studies in Greek colour terminology II: χαροπός* (Leiden 1981).

²⁶¹*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 Þykke mér Freyja
 æ mon annat tveggja:
 OÞenn grey eða Freyja.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. pJumilhac illustrates this in many striking ways. There the deities shift shape in an extraordinary mythological dance. One bizarre and baffling passage²⁶³ concerns the *hzt*-animal²⁶⁴ 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:

<u>animal</u>	<u>deity hypostasized</u>	<u>colouring</u>
jackal ²⁶⁵	Anubis/Upwawet	<i>qd-irtyw</i> , all-black body, ²⁶⁶ pale face, ²⁶⁷ white backside, ²⁶⁸ no <i>inm</i> ²⁶⁹
dog l ²⁷⁰	Horus	white face, red flanks and backside, otherwise black, ²⁷¹ no <i>inm</i> ²⁷²

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).

²⁶³pJum XV.9-XVI.8. The passage has been discussed by *J Vandier Le papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris 1961) 80-96 and by *Köhler oc* (1975) II 407-422.

²⁶⁴Cf the *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.

²⁶⁵*wns* 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 (*wns*) and a dog (*whr*). Egyptian terms for canids are imprecise but not fully interchangeable. The first attribute given is *qd-irtyw*, perhaps ‘ringed with black’ (*Vandier* 191 n473), but if so why is the animal then described as being *km-pw r3w.f*?

²⁶⁶*km* with hair determinative, ie with black fur.

²⁶⁷*w3d-hr*. As *Vandier* observes, ‘il est difficile d’imaginer un loup avec une tête «verte»’: oc 191 n474. He proposes ‘red’ because of the Typhonian aspects.

²⁶⁸*hd-pht*.

²⁶⁹*Vandier* 84f suggests that this is a reference to the subsequent flaying of the animal. In pJumilhac *inm* should perhaps be read as *iwn* ‘colour’: ib 279 sv *inm*. Maybe *inm* here means ‘with very short hair’.

²⁷⁰*tzm*, usually translated ‘hound’.

²⁷¹*hd-hh.f km-drww<.f>*, *dšr-pht<.f>*, *km-sny-pw*: cf *Vandier* 90f and 192 n490.

²⁷²*nn-wn inm-nb-im.f*. Cf above, n269.

- dog 2 **Anubis/Upwawet**
 qd-irtyw,²⁷³ black face, red backside, white
 paws and front,²⁷⁴ no *inm*²⁶⁹
- dog 3 **Osiris**
 black body²⁷⁵
- dog 4 **Harsiêsis**²⁷⁶
 black, white from neck to belly, tip of tail
 bright²⁷⁷
- dog 5 **Seth**
 red²⁷⁸
- dog 6 **Thoth-Shu**²⁷⁹
 white²⁸⁰
- dog 7 **Osiris/Re**
 white, flecked with black²⁸¹
- dog 8 **Geb**²⁸²
 dappled²⁸³
- dog 9 **Baba (Seth)**²⁸⁴ flecked red, black face, eyebrows yellow.²⁸⁵

²⁷³Cf above, n265.

²⁷⁴*km-hr.f dšr-3t hđ-rdwy pht-qd-irtyw r-dr.f.*

²⁷⁵*km-dt.f.*

²⁷⁶Cf Upwawet as *ndty-it.f*: Schäfer *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.

²⁷⁷*km hđt-nhbt iw-ht.f iw (= r) tp-n-sd.f wbhw.* Cf *Vandier* 194 n512.

²⁷⁸*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.

²⁷⁹J *Vandier* Le dieu Shou dans le papyrus Jumilhac, MDAIK 15 (1957) 268-274.

²⁸⁰*hđt.*

²⁸¹*hđt nty-bndw-n-km.* *Vandier* 93, 95, 194 n518.

²⁸²Cf the jackal-headed *wsrt-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.

²⁸³*s3b.* See above, n55.

²⁸⁴Baba is closely linked with both Seth and Anubis: *P Derchain* L' auteur du papyrus Jumilhac, RdÉ 41 (1990) 23-25 [9-30]; cf *P Derchain* Bébon, le dieu et ses mythes, RdÉ 9 (1952) 23-47; *P Derchain* Nouveaux documents relatifs à Bébon (B3b3wy), ZÄS 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* (Göttingen 1994) 103-117.

²⁸⁵*dšr-hr.f km-⟨?⟩ iw-hrw-n-irt.f mdw-zp-sn r-hnw n p3 qd-n-irty.fy(?)*. 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 pJumilhac links together, in the above passage and elsewhere, many deities whose interrelations are corroborated from other sources.²⁸⁶ 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.²⁸⁷ To give one example, *wṣ* can hardly mean ‘wolf’ (thus *Vandier*) in distinction to Anubis the jackal (*s3b*), if only because in depictions they are manifestly the same animal.²⁸⁸ 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.²⁸⁹ 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.”²⁹⁰

III.5 *Stirbt der Fuchs...*

Löschen wollt ich, patschte zu,
Doch es brennt beständig;
Statt zu sterben, ward der Fuchs
Recht bei mir lebendig.²⁹¹

§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 *ms*-hieroglyph, which is generally held to represent three of these.²⁹² This sign, and the *imyut*-fetish, return us to the subject of Anubis as guardian of birth and rebirth.²⁹³

§50 The *imyut* consists of an animal’s hide attached to a pole which is based in a kind of bucket.²⁹⁴ It is associated with Anubis from very early times, and his epithet *imy-wt* ‘he who is in the place

²⁸⁶On the possible provenance and authorship, cf *U Rößler-Köhler* Papyrus Jumilhac, LÄ IV (1982) 708-712; *Derchain* oc (1990) 9-11.

²⁸⁷Terms used for canids in pJum are: *iw*, *iwiw*, *wṣ*, *s3b*, and *tzm*, but not *wḥr*: see *Vandier’s* index ssvv.

²⁸⁸Cf, despite a number of inaccuracies, *H Mahler* The jackal-gods on ancient Egyptian monuments, PSBA 36 (1914) 43-64, falsified by (for example) *R Hölzl* Die Giebelfeld-dekoration von Stelen des Mittleren Reichs (Wien 1990) 97-123.

²⁸⁹*Vandier* 84f.

²⁹⁰*B Meißner* Magische Hunde, ZDMG 73 (1919) 180 [176-183]; similarly a series of inscribed clay dogs: *B Meißner* Apotropäische Hunde, OLZ 25 (1922) 202; *H-J Loth* Hund, RAC Lfg 125/126 (1992/1993) 775 [773-828]; *CA Faraone* Hephaestus the magician, Greek Roman & Byzantine Studies 28 (1987) 257-280; *MO Howey* The cults of the dog (Rochford 1972) 69f. For even closer parallels, see below, section IV.2.

²⁹¹*JW von Goethe* ‘Stirbt der Fuchs, so gilt der Balg’ (poem of c1771): cf *RD Gray* Poems of Goethe (Cambridge 1966) 77n.

²⁹²*AH Gardiner* Egyptian grammar³ (Oxford 1957) 465 F31; discussed by *G Daressy* Le signe *mes* aux trois chacals, BIFAO 19 (1920) 176; *G Jéquier* Les frises d’objets des sarcophages (Le Caire 1921) 93.

²⁹³*DuQuesne* Anubis e il ponte (1990) 117-124.

²⁹⁴Summary in *U Rößler-Köhler*, Imiut, LÄ III (1980) 149f.

of embalmment' occurs at least from the IVth Dynasty.²⁹⁵ The emblem itself is first seen on the famous Abydos label²⁹⁶ 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.²⁹⁷ 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'.²⁹⁸ 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.²⁹⁹ The earliest representations with remaining colour date from the XVIIIth Dynasty, with the *Tierbalg* shown as white-green to red-brown.³⁰⁰ Examples from New Kingdom tombs show considerable variation: sometimes the pelt is monochrome, sometimes spotted.³⁰¹

§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.³⁰² *Köhler* pronounces this an open question,³⁰³ and perhaps the pelt was originally that of a canid, for which, in the New Kingdom, a cow's hide could provide an alternative.³⁰⁴ 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,³⁰⁵ while *Westendorf* reminds us of the widespread African custom of burial in animal skins.³⁰⁶ 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.³⁰⁷ *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*.³⁰⁸ 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'.³⁰⁹ 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.³¹⁰ In another papyrus, the justified soul is identified with "the threads of Geb which are bundled in the skin of a dog".³¹¹

²⁹⁵ *Begelsbacher-Fischer* oc (1981) 29.

²⁹⁶ *WMF Petrie* Royal tombs II (London 1901) pl 10, incidentally showing the *imyut* next to the *ms*-glyph; cf *M Clagett* Ancient Egyptian science I (Philadelphia 1989) 115-117.

²⁹⁷ *AM Lythgoe* Excavations at the South Pyramid at Lisht in 1914, *Ancient Egypt* (for 1915) 145-153; illustrated *H Bonnet* Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte: Ägyptische Religion (Leipzig 1924) fig 145.

²⁹⁸ *Köhler* (1975) I225.

²⁹⁹ *IES Edwards* Treasures of Tutankhamun (London 1972) no 24 with plate.

³⁰⁰ *Köhler* oc (1975) II 338.

³⁰¹ *Tb* 146-52, 82-85, 112-115, 136 n1, 168; *A Niwiński* Studies in the illustrated Theban funerary papyri (Freiburg 1989) pls 3b-5b, 6b etc.

³⁰² *Vandier* oc (1961) 84f for instance.

³⁰³ *U Köhler* *Imiut*, LÄ III (1980) 149f.

³⁰⁴ *ST Hollis* The ancient Egyptian Tale of Two Brothers (Norman 1990) 74f.

³⁰⁵ *D Wildung* Zur Formgeschichte der Landeskrone, *Fs W Westendorf* II (Göttingen 1984) 972-975 [967-980].

³⁰⁶ *W Westendorf* Das Aufkommen der Gottesvorstellung im Alten Ägypten (Göttingen 1985) 8-10. On the royal aspects, cf *TJ Logan* The origins of the *jmy-wt* fetish, *JARCE* 27 (1990) 61-69.

³⁰⁷ *W Westendorf* Symbol, Symbolik, LÄ VI (1986) 125 [122-128]; cf *Köhler* oc (1975) 399-401.

³⁰⁸ *Pyr* 2080.

³⁰⁹ *H Balcz* Die Haarflechte des Pfahles des Anubis, *Archiv für ägyptische Archäologie* 1 (1938) 117-119.

³¹⁰ *T Andrzejewski* Le papyrus mythologique de Te-Hem-en-Mout (Warszawa 1959) 16-19.

³¹¹ *A Klasens* An amuletic papyrus of the 25th Dynasty, *OMRO* 56 (1973) 25/4 [20-28]; cf *pChester Beatty V* vs V10.

§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 *dissecta 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.

³¹³pJum XII 26-XIII 1; cf Vandier oc (1961) 63-67; discussion in DuQuesne Anubis e il ponte (1990) 122-124. Gold is the colour of the *s3h*: Wilkinson oc (1994) 98.

³¹⁴pJum XIII 10-14.

³¹⁵Ib pl V.

³¹⁶One of Anubis's ubiquitous epithets is *hnty-zh-ntr*. On connexions between Anubis and Thoth: DuQuesne Coptic invocation (1991) §§152-156.

³¹⁷Ib pl I.

³¹⁸This and related epithets are discussed by DuQuesne At the court of Osiris (1994) §118.

³¹⁹T DuQuesne Aspects of the goddess Sakhmit, 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.

³²¹A Calvetti Tracce di riti di iniziazione nelle fiabe di Cappuccetto Rosso, Lares 46 (1980) 487-496.

³²²E Doutté Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du nord (Alger 1908) 77f.

³²³BH Lopez Of wolves and men (New York 1978) 133.

³²⁴EC Visuvalingam Bhairava's royal Brahmanicide, in Criminal gods and demon devotees, ed A Hildebeitel (New York 1989) 170 (157-229).

³²⁵SW Jamison The ravenous hyenas and the wounded sun (Ithaca 1991) 68, 128, 200 and *passim*.

³²⁶A Olrik Ragnarök (Berlin 1922) 291-319.

³²⁷H Lommel Wiedergeburt aus embryonalem Zustand, in C Hentze Tod, Auferstehung, Weltordnung (Zürich 1955) 107-130.

III.6 Spirits of the West

अति द्रव सारमेयौ श्वानौ
यौ ते श्वानौ यम रक्षितारौ
ताभ्यामेनश्च परि देहि राजन्
ati drava sārameyau çuānau
yau te çuānau Yama rakṣitārau
tābhiām enaṃ pari dehi rājan

चतुरक्षौ शबलौ साधुना पथा
चतुरक्षौ पथिरक्षी नृचक्षसौ
स्वस्ति चास्मा अनमीवं च धेहि
caturakṣau çabalau sādhunā pathā...
caturakṣau pathirakṣī ṅrcaṣasau
svastī cāsmā anamīvaṃ ca dhehi.

Run by the dogs the two sons of Saramâ
The four-eyed dappled ones on a clear course...
To those two who are your dogs O Yama
The guardians four-eyed watchers of the path
Observers of men (to them) give him up O king
Grant him wellbeing and freedom from sickness.³²⁸

§55 In the Indian Rig Veda, the dappled dogs of Yama³²⁹ exercise a psychopompic function similar to that of the Egyptian Spirits of the West (*b3w-Imntt*).³³⁰ From the XVIIIth Dynasty there appear in funerary papyri, and occasionally on tomb walls, jackals who tow the solar barque across the night sky.³³¹ They occur intermittently on later stelae and coffins and form a regular motif on Ptolemaic situlae.³³² As so often, the original colours - where present - cannot always be determined with certainty, either because they have not 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.

§56 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.³³³ 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.³³⁴ Similarly, in pTorino 1781, there are two black and two white animals towing the boat.³³⁵ pCairo SR VII 10267 has three jackals, two of whom are black and one white.³³⁶ But the most interesting variant is pCairo SR VII 10257, where we find three towing jackals: one is black, one red, and one yellow.³³⁷ Perhaps the artist wished to represent three aspects of Anubis, as Master of Secrets in the sky, on earth, and in the netherworld: *ḥry-sst3 m-pt-t3-dw3t*.³³⁸

³²⁸Rig Veda X 14.10-11 (author's translation). Saramâ is Indra's magical bitch: Rig Veda X 108. On the whole question of dogs, see *T DuQuesne* Watchers of the paths, *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 10 (1995) 41-53.

³²⁹Most fully treated by *E Arbman* Rudra (Uppsala 1922) 254-279.

³³⁰*M Heerma van Voss* The jackals of the sun-boat, *JEA* 41 (1955) 127; *T DuQuesne* Anubis and the Spirits of the West (Thame 1990) *passim*.

³³¹*T DuQuesne* Spirits of the Hidden Land, in preparation (1996).

³³²*CI Green* Egyptian temple furniture (London 1987) 66-90.

³³³*B Bruyère* Deir el-Médineh 1930 (Le Caire 1933) 53 pl XV (TT 359(12)), Dyn XX.

³³⁴*S Schott* Das blutrünstige Keltergerät, *ZÄS* 74 (1938) pl 6a [88-93].

³³⁵*RV Lanzone* Dizionario di mitologia egizia III (Torino 1882) pl 256 = *A Piankoff & N Rambova* Mythological papyri (New York 1957) II pl 21.

³³⁶*Piankoff & Rambova* oc (1957) II pl 19 = *BL Goff* Symbols (den Haag 1979) 53 fig 96.

³³⁷*Piankoff & Rambova* oc (1957) II pl 6.

³³⁸Ib II pl 10.

§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 Nekhen³³⁹ 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.³⁴⁰

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.³⁴¹

§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 $\kappa\alpha\tau' \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\chi\acute{\eta}\nu$?³⁴² The connotations of the colour black in Greco-Egyptian magic³⁴³ 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.³⁴⁴ Since Anubis is the deity most frequently invoked for lecanomantic procedures, and since Anubidian threads are specifically

³³⁹The relationship between the *b3w-Imntt* and the jackal-headed *b3w-Nhn* is close but complex.

³⁴⁰*G Botti* Il libro per entrare nel mondo sotteraneo... (pParma 107), *Atti della Società fiorentina Colombaria* (for 1938/39) pl2. (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.

³⁴²Cf the initiatory sting of Anubis by Isis (DMP XX 1-16): *DuQuesne* Aspects of the goddess Sakhmit (1993) 9.

³⁴³*Hermann & Cagiano de Azevedo* *oc* (1969) 405-408.

³⁴⁴DMP III 33-34; cf *A Abt* Die Apologie des Apuleius und die antike Zauberei (Gießen 1908) 75f. On magical figures of dogs: *MJ Raven* Wax in Egyptian magic and symbolism, *OMRO* 64 (1983) 17 [7-47]. The choice of colours and types of stone for classical gems, particularly those used for magic, is briefly discussed by *J Boardman* Colour questions, *Jewellery Studies* 5 (1992) 29-31.

mentioned in the magical papyri,³⁴⁵ we may assume that black ones were in evidence too. Anubis the healer also prevents haemorrhage by providing a sacred tampon.³⁴⁶

§59 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 canids³⁴⁷ of Hecate: *domna Artemix ka(ve)ne aureas solve catena(s) tuas en canes tuo(s) agre(s)tes si(l) baticos s(i)be albos sibe quenque colores*.³⁴⁸ 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 a number of symbolic values: for instance, as in *Philo*, it could code for air (as opposed to earth).³⁴⁹

§60 References in these papyri to dogs represent various levels of goëtic or theurgic activity. One spell for love-magic prescribes the placing of the tick of a black dog in the right ear.³⁵⁰ An address to Hecate as the black bitch suits the Typhonian character of many of these invocations.³⁵¹ In a fragmentary papyrus of uncertain purpose, the enquirer is to wrap a *lamella* in something having to do with a black wolf.³⁵² Elsewhere, the aspirant to divinatory excellence declares: "I will pour the blood of the black cynocephalus into new jar and burn it."³⁵³ 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 *ΚΥΝΟΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ*,³⁵⁴ the reference may be to a plant of the same name whose sap is poetically described.³⁵⁵ It seems probable that this is the plant called *ʿnp* (Anubis) in the Demotic magical papyrus.³⁵⁶

§61 Coptic texts, influenced by Christianity, generally cite black in negative contexts³⁵⁷ although in magic the black Isis keeps her multi-layered symbolism.³⁵⁸ One extremely powerful Coptic spell provides a magical remedy, apparently for dog-bite, but seems overstated for the purpose.³⁵⁹ It makes no specific reference to the animal's colour, but another papyrus requires material from a black bitch for binding a lover.³⁶⁰

³⁴⁵PGMIV 1083, XXXVI 237. Cf the title *wt-Inpw*: Pyr 574, CT VII 26. Generally on the subject of magical knots and threads: *P Wolters* Faden und Knoten als Amulett, ARW 8 Beiheft (1908) 1-22.

³⁴⁶*H Grapow* Grundriß der Medizin der alten Ägypter V (Berlin 1958) 482. Cf above, n309.

³⁴⁷On dogs in classical magic, see below, IV.5.

³⁴⁸*R Wünsch* Antikes Zaubegerät aus Pergamon (Berlin 1905) 43.

³⁴⁹Eg *Philo Alex* qEx II 85, 117, 123.

³⁵⁰*Bell, Nock & Thompson* oc (1933) 9/14 = PDM lxi 131 *Betz*.

³⁵¹PGMIV 1432; cf *H Rahner* Die seelenheilende Blume, *Eranos Jhb* 12 (1945) 188f [117-239]. See also below, III.6.

³⁵²PGM CXXIX *Betz*.

³⁵³PGM V 267.

³⁵⁴*M Smith* in *Betz* 105 n31.

³⁵⁵*Pliny* HN XXX 18 = FRA 171/16; cf *Dioscorides* III 121; *Hopfner* Offenbarungszauber I¹ (1923) §494 & II¹ (1924) §259 cf §289.

³⁵⁶DMP XIV 21.

³⁵⁷Cf *W Till* Die Farbenbezeichnungen im Koptischen, *Studia Biblica et Orientalia* (Roma 1959) 335f [331-342].

³⁵⁸*J van der Vliet* Varia magica coptica, *Aegyptus* 71 (1991) 228-231 [217-242]; *W Foerster* et al *Gnosis I* (Oxford 1972) 346 (Acts of Thomas I 8).

³⁵⁹*A Erman* Zauberspruch für einen Hund, *ZÄS* 33 (1895) 132-135; cf *WE Crum* New magical texts in Coptic II, *JEA* 20 (1934) 195/12 [195-200].

³⁶⁰BKUI (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.*³⁶¹

§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,³⁶² but from the evidence of skeletons it may be inferred that almost any canid could be regarded as a hypostasis of the deity.³⁶³ 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.³⁶⁴ Gaillard states that the Egyptian *chien errant* (*C familiaris*) is usually reddish, with rare individuals black.³⁶⁵ Evidently there is no naturally-occurring melanism in any jackal spp,³⁶⁶ and indeed is rare in dogs generally.³⁶⁷ Hybrids of wolves and other canids may, however, be black,³⁶⁸ as may crosses between jackals and pointers³⁶⁹ and Simien jackals (*C simensis*) and pariah dogs.³⁷⁰ The endangered Ethiopian Simien

³⁶¹Vergil ecl II 16.

³⁶²He is usually considered to be a jackal, but *DJ Osborn* Mammals of ancient Egypt (Warminster 1995) 9f believes the red fox to be more a likely candidate (personal communication, October 1991).

³⁶³*C Gaillard* Les animaux consacrés à la divinité de l'ancien Lycopolis, ASAE 27 (1927) 33-42; *J Boessneck* Die Tierwelt der alten Ägypter (München 1988) 83-85.

³⁶⁴*M Hilzheimer* Beiträge zur Kenntnis der nordafrikanischen Schakale (Stuttgart 1908) 3-6; *J Kingdon* East African mammals IIIA: Carnivores (New York 1977) 19; *DJ Osborn* oc 9.

³⁶⁵*Gaillard* oc (1927) 41.

³⁶⁶*J Serpell* personal communication (May 1993). However, black jackals (*dib jneyz*) are known in Tunisia: *V Pâques* L'arbre cosmique (Paris 1964) 415. Generally, on the aposematic role of black coloration and the nature of melanophores: *FA Brown Jr* et al. Biological coloration, Encyclopaedia Britannica.¹⁶ Macropaedia XVI (Chicago 1991) 588/1-2, 592/1, 593/1 (585-594).

³⁶⁷*WK Hirschfeld* Genetische Untersuchungen über die Haarfarbe beim Hunde (diss. Gießen 1937) 51. *CC Little* The inheritance of coat color in dogs (Ithaca 1957) does not refer to *Hirschfeld* and deals only with domestic breeds. He discusses the B gene, which produces black in coat colour, on 21-28 and 40-42. He reports at 98-100 that four black x black matings of Cocker spaniels produced five red dogs with black spots. Generally on pelage colour in wild canids: *RF Ewer* The carnivores (London 1973) 76, 87, and in domestic dogs: *M Burns & MN Fraser* Genetics of the dog² (Edinburgh 1966) 4-12, 38-51, 66. The most recent systematic treatise on coats in both wild and domestic dogs: *A Brunsch* Vergleichende Untersuchungen am Haarkleid von Wildcaniden und Haushunden, Zeitschrift für Tierzucht und Züchtungsbiologie 67 (1956) 205-240. Coat colour in canids: *FAI-Baghdadi*, The integument, in Miller's Anatomy of the dog³ by *HE Evans* (Philadelphia 1993) 109 [98-121]; *Ö Winge* Inheritance in dogs (Ithaca 1950) 24-38, 45, 51-68. According to *JP Scott & JL Fuller* Genetics and social behavior of the dog (Chicago 1965) 338f, 389, the selection of coat colour in dogs, which has no obvious correlation with behaviour, is a 'relatively easy business'.

³⁶⁸*L Boitani* Dalla parte del lupo (Milano 1987) 84, 130f.

³⁶⁹*LJ Fitzinger* Untersuchungen über die Abstammung des Hundes, SBAW Wien 54.1 (1866) 439 [396-457].

³⁷⁰*J Clutton-Brock* personal communication (March 1992).

jackal is mainly red with white underparts.³⁷¹ *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.³⁷²

§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*,³⁷³ 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.³⁷⁴

§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.³⁷⁵ Add to this problems arising from breeding - *L Boitani*, for instance, feels sure that the Anubis dog was specifically bred³⁷⁶ - and for the present the question of exact identification must remain open.

§66 *H 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."³⁷⁷

§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 Niankhkhnun and Khnumhotpe at Saqqâra, 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!*³⁷⁸

³⁷¹*D Gottelli & C Sillero-Zubiri* The Simien jackal (New York 1990) 7.

³⁷²*JR Ginsberg* personal communication (December 1989). In *C aureus*, occasional melanistic individuals have been reported: *J 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.

³⁷³*PD Moehlman* Social organization in jackals, *American Scientist* 75 (1987) 366-377.

³⁷⁴*PD Moehlman* personal communication (1991). On *C mesomelas*: *LE Bueler* Wild dogs of the world (London 1974) 89-97. *R Hoath* personal communication (1993) says that the Anubis animal resembles the Arabian wolf *C lupus arabs*: *DL Harrison & PJJ Bates* The mammals of Arabia² (Sevenoaks 1991) 114/1.

³⁷⁵I 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. ³⁷⁶*L Boitani*, personal communication (1991).

³⁷⁷*H Carter* The tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen III (London 1933) 44.

³⁷⁸*AM Moussa & H Altenmüller* Das Grab des Nianchchnun und Chnumhotep (Mainz 1977) 111 + pl40. *H Haas* 'Rückschau', *Ein Korb Fallobst* (Leipzig 1927), quoted by *K Rudolph* *Gesch der Religionswissenschaft* (1992) 331.

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
abraaq (lightning-coloured) jackal-wolf
ağbar (sandy) jackal-wolf
ağlas (muddy-coloured) jackal-wolf
ağdaʿ (lopped, cut) dog
ağdaf (lop-eared) dog
agrad (short-haired) jackal

³⁷⁹*M Griaule & G Dieterlen* *Le renard pâle I* (Paris 1965) 278f; translation by *RD Pelton* *The trickster in West Africa* (Berkeley 1980) 199.

³⁸⁰*B Frank* *Die Rolle des Hundes in den afrikanischen Kulturen* (Wiesbaden 1965).

³⁸¹*C Bonnet, L Chaix, P Lenoble, J Reinold & D Valbelle* *Sépultures à chiens sacrifiés dans la vallée du Nil*, *CRIPÉL* 11 (1989) 25-39.

³⁸²*W-D Fischer* *Farb- und Formenbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung* (Wiesbaden 1965) 233-243, 273-304.

amlas (smooth) jackal-wolf
adlam (black) jackal-wolf
aḥamm (black-flecked) jackal-wolf
auraq (light grey/sandy) jackal-wolf
aṭhal (blue-grey) jackal-wolf
aḡbas (grey) jackal-wolf
akhab (muddy-grey) jackal-wolf.³⁸³

§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.³⁸⁴ For the Bantu, black robes indicate festivity,³⁸⁵ while among the Berber they are *tabu*.³⁸⁶ Black, white, and red are the principal colours in Moroccan Islamic rituals.³⁸⁷ Among many African peoples, black signifies fertility, rain, and purity,³⁸⁸ and this is certainly true of the Dogon.³⁸⁹ Black dogs are *tabu* for the Bambara, Sudanese neighbours of the Dogon of Mali, who are particularly fond of these animals.³⁹⁰

§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*³⁹¹ but who has also been described as a jackal.³⁹² Ogo-Yurugu is the trickster, the deity of cryptic language.³⁹³ Analogies between

³⁸³Jb 52f, 72, 76, 82, 90, 118, 120f, 122, 126, 130n4, 282, 286, 319, 324, 327, 332 respectively. On some linguistically related colour terms in Egyptian, Arabic, and other languages: *C Ehret* Reconstructing Proto-Afroasiatic (Berkeley 1995) §§368, 529, 555, 556 & 558.

³⁸⁴*V Pâques* Che cos'è la terra per gli Gnawa? in *La religione della terra*. In onore di *Elémire Zolla* (Como 1991) 109f [105-113].

³⁸⁵*T Sundermeier* Nur gemeinsam können wir leben (Gütersloh 1988) 58-61; *T Sundermeier* Religion und Fest: Afrikanische Perspektiven, in *Das Fest und das Heilige*, ed *J Assmann & T Sundermeier* (Gütersloh 1991) 43 [37-53]. Among the Maradi of Niger, chthonic animals are known as 'viandes noires' to indicate shape-shifting and other magical powers: *A Luxereau* Animaux des hommes, animaux des dieux, animaux-dieux, in *L'animal dans les pratiques religieuses*, ed *P Méniel* (Paris 1989) 151 [149-156].

³⁸⁶*W Vycichl* Die Mythologie der Berber, in *HW Haussig* ed, *WdM* II.2.1 (Stuttgart 1973) 673f [553-704].

³⁸⁷*ME Combs-Schilling* Sacred performances: Islam, sexuality, and sacrifice (New York 1989) 39-41, 302f; also *ME Combs-Schilling* Etching patriarchal rule: ritual dye, erotic potency, and the Moroccan monarchy, *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1 (1989/90) 658-681. The triad of red, white, and black is, among the Ndembu, intimately connected with initiation rituals and with sexuality, although individual interpretation of the colours is not easy: *VW Turner* Colour classification in Ndembu ritual, in *Anthropological approaches to the study of religion*, ed *M Banton* (London 1966) 47-84; cf also *D Zahan* Sociétés d'initiation bambara (Paris 1960) 76, 77, 316, 334 for associations of black. *Turner* mentions (oc 72) an interesting association between red and the menses of the Earth Mother who copulated with her first-born - a jackal.

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.

³⁸⁹*G Calame-Griaule* Ethnologie et langage: la parole chez les Dogon (Paris 1965) 249.

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 Oriṣa et de Vodun (Dakar 1957) 37, 40.

³⁹¹*Calame-Griaule* oc (1965) 94n2.

³⁹²*D Paulme* La divination par les chacals chez les Dogon de Sanga, *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 7 (1937) 1-13.

³⁹³*Pelton* oc (1980) 164-222.

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.³⁹⁴ Ogo descended from the sky on a placenta, recalling the ascent of the Egyptian king on the *šdšd*-standard with placenta - of Upwawet.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.³⁹⁶ There circumcision, despite its equivocal significance for the Egyptians, certainly had a place.³⁹⁷ Lest anyone should see this is 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.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*’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.’⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁴Above, n249.

³⁹⁵*H Frankfort Kingship and the gods* (Chicago 1948) 92f, 364 n49, 366 n1.

³⁹⁶*DuQuesne* Coptic invocation (1991) §107; *H Brunner* Die Geburt des Gottkönigs² (Wiesbaden 1986) 164, 229f.

³⁹⁷*W Westendorf* Beschneidung, LÄ I (1975) 727-729.

³⁹⁸Cf *HH Adams* African observers of the universe: the Sirius question, *Journal of African Civilizations* 1(2) (1979) 27-49.

³⁹⁹*Asakku* are malevolent demons particularly associated with sickness: *DO Edzard* Dämonen/Mesopotamien, *WdMI* (Stuttgart 1965) 48.

⁴⁰⁰*E 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.⁴⁰¹ 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.⁴⁰² Black dogs are frequently mentioned in omina,⁴⁰³ although it should be remembered that the dog is also associated with Gula, goddess of healing.⁴⁰⁴

§74 In the Old Testament, Yahveh 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 (בלי לילה *blyly'*) and comes out perfect”, which according to rabbinical tradition means that he was born without a prepuce.⁴⁰⁵ Hempel notes⁴⁰⁶ that the covenant of circumcision was instituted by Yahveh at night.⁴⁰⁷ On the other hand, black in Semitic cultures tends to be associated with shame or guilt, as in the case of the black crown worn by an errant Mandaean priest⁴⁰⁸ or a mendicant Sufi, although for these Islamic mystics the expression of inner states by one's mode of dress was permissible.⁴⁰⁹

§75 In Hebrew mysticism, עין סוף אור *'eiyn-sof-aur* is the negative, limitless light of the third veil of the Tree of Life,⁴¹⁰ and black or blue light symbolizes the sacred *shekhinah*, or earthly habitation of the deity.⁴¹¹ At Dura-Europos, each planet has a symbolic colour, Saturn being black.⁴¹²

⁴⁰¹CA Faraone Talismans and Trojan horses (New York 1992) 22-25. Cf above, n290.

⁴⁰²W von Soden Licht und Finsternis in der sumerischen und babylonisch-assyrischen Religion, StG 13 (1960) 651 [647-653]; F Bruschweiler Inanna: la déesse triomphante et vaincue dans la cosmologie sumérienne (Leuven 1987) 157-159; cf A Bertholet Wörterbuch der Religionen' (Stuttgart 1985) 353f (sv Licht und Finsternis), 596f (sv Tag und Nacht). On the golden robes of deities, see now E Matsushima Quelques textes relatifs à l'*elippu ša kušiti* (bateau du vêtement), in Cult & ritual in the ancient Near East, ed Prince Takahito Mikasa (Wiesbaden 1992) 7-21.

⁴⁰³J Hempel Hund (A), in Reallexikon der Assyriologie IV (Berlin 1972) 494 [494-497]; F Kretschmar Hundestammvater und Kerberos II (Stuttgart 1938) 61f.

⁴⁰⁴DO Edzard Heilgottheiten/Mesopotamien, WdM I (Stuttgart 1965) 78.

⁴⁰⁵4Q534 = RH Eisenman & M Wise The Dead Sea scrolls uncovered (Shaftesbury 1992) 35/2, and note preceding line. Cf “Ye shall have a song, as in the night when a holy solemnity is kept:” Isaiah XXX 29. It is the case that mammals most closely related to humans (eg apes) appear to have been circumcised.

⁴⁰⁶J Hempel Die Lichtsymbolik im Alten Testament, StG 13 (1960) 358 [352-368]; L Van Norden The black feet of the peacock (Lanham MD 1985) 45-66. Cf A Guillaumont La désignation de la couleur en hébreu et araméen, in Problèmes de la couleur, ed I Myerson (Paris 1957) 339-346.

⁴⁰⁷Genesis XV 17-18; Van Norden oc 50. However, in a number of African societies, it is white which is associated with circumcision: A Gheerbrant Blanc, in Dictionnaire des symboles, ed J Chevalier & A Gheerbrant (Paris 1969) 108/2 [107-109]. On white and initiation: L Luzzato & R Pompas Il significato dei colori nella civiltà antiche (Milano 1988) 110-117.

⁴⁰⁸ES Drower The Thousand and twelve questions (Berlin 1960) 157 §196 cf 218 n10, 225, 264. Cf above, n45. For the Mandaean, black dogs are associated with Purgatory: ES Drower Diwan Abathur (Città del Vaticano 1950) 27 + pl = K Rudolph Mandaeanism (Leiden 1978) pl 8.

⁴⁰⁹F Meier Transformation of man in mystical Islam, in Man and transformation (Eranos papers) (Chicago 1964) 61 [37-68]; A Gheerbrant, H Pfeiffer, E Meyerovich & unsigned, Couleur, in Dictionnaire des symboles, ed J Chevalier & A Gheerbrant (Paris 1969) 245/1 [241-246]. Despite a strong association with mourning, black clothes are not prohibited in esoteric Judaism: G Scholem Farben..., in his Judaica III (Frankfurt 1973) 114 [98-151]. On night and theophanies in Sufism: L Shamash The people of the night, in Prayer and contemplation, ed S Hirtenstein (Oxford 1993) 42-52. On associations of black with evil in Semitic and some other cultures: L Luzzato & R Pompas Il significato dei colori nella civiltà antiche (Milano 1988) 66-73.

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

⁴¹¹H Zafrani Kabbale: vie mystique (Paris 1986) 56 ad Zohar I 77b & I 51a. Black is associated with the pinpoint of the letter yod: A Gheerbrant, P Grison & J de la Rocheterie Noir, in Dictionnaire des symboles, ed J Chevalier & A Gheerbrant (Paris 1969) 538/2 [536-539]. The mystical correspondences of colours and the four cardinal points in Judaism are referred to by BH Stricker De oorsprong van het Romeinse circus (Amsterdam 1970) 4f.

⁴¹²Hermann & Cagianò de Azevedo oc (1969) 376.

§76 Dogs in the Old Testament are not highly regarded, as the use of the term כלב *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 dog⁴¹⁴ suggests, like much else in this theurgic text, the influence of the Greco-Egyptian magical papyri.⁴¹⁵

IV.3 Ancient Orient: India and Persia

अन्तरिक्षेण पतति विश्वा भूताऽवचाकशत्
ये त्रयः कलकाञ्जा दिवि देवा इव श्रिताः
अप्सु ते जन्म दिवि ते सधस्थं समुद्रे अन्तर्महिमा ते पृथिव्याम् शुनो दिव्यस्य यन्महस्तेना ते हविषा विधेम

शुनो दिव्यस्य यन्महस्तेना ते हविषा विधेम
तान्सर्वनाह उतयेऽस्मा अरिष्टतातये
शुनो दिव्यस्य यन्महस्तेना ते हविषा विधेम

antarikṣeṇa patati viçvā bhūtā'vacākaçat:
çuno divyasya yan mahas tenā te haviṣā vidhema
ye trayah kālakāñjā divi devā iva çritāḥ
tān sarvān āhva ūtaye'smā ariṣṭatāye
apsu te janma divi te sadhastham samudre antar mahimā te pṛthivyām:
*çuno divyasya yan mahas tenā te haviṣā vidhema.*⁴¹⁶

You fly through the middle atmosphere
gazing down on all creation
We would make our oblation to you
who are the majesty of the celestial dog
The three Kālakāñjas⁴¹⁷
who are set in the sky like gods
All these I have invoked for refreshment
and to make me proof from injury
In the waters is your origin
In the sky is your habitation
Deep in the sea and on the earth
Is your glory
We would make our oblation to you
who are the majesty of the celestial dog.⁴¹⁸

§77 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, सारमा Saramā, the bitch of Indra,⁴¹⁹ has a name which means 'messenger', and शिव Çiva signifies 'the gentle one'.⁴²⁰

⁴¹³DW Thomas Kelebh (dog), its origin and some usages of it in the Old Testament, Vetus Testamentum 10 (1960) 410-427.

⁴¹⁴MA Morgan Sefer ha-razim (Chico 1983) 49.

⁴¹⁵Several of these magical papyri themselves show Semitic influences: cf L Blau Das altjüdische Zauberwesen (Straßburg 1898) 96-117.

⁴¹⁶Atharva Veda VI 80.

⁴¹⁷Kālakāñjas are spirits (*asuras*) the first element in whose name must mean 'black' (*kāla-*). *Kāñja* might indicate 'born from the waters' or '- from the head' or 'lotus-born': cf M Monier-Williams Sanskrit dictionary (Oxford 1899) 243/2 sv.

⁴¹⁸The translation is mine. In the first *pāda*, the verb is in the 3rd p.s. but the sense is clearly vocative. On this text: M Bloomfield The two dogs of Yama in a new role, JAOS 15 (1893) 163-172. ⁴¹⁹See above, nn 328, 329.

⁴²⁰Çiva is often as gentle as the equally aptly-termed Eumenides.

§78 Colour terms are, as ever, value-laden: काली Kâlî, the destroying and regenerating goddess, and कृष्ण Kṛṣṇa are both translatable as 'black'.⁴²¹ 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: Kâlî is among them.⁴²² According to the Hevajra Tantra, the first visualization of the initiate should be of black.⁴²³ The consort of Mahâmâyâ ('Great Illusion') or Heruka⁴²⁴ is Ratnadâkinî, who is quite recognizable as a hypostasis of Kâlî: both are attended by such potent archetypal figures as jackals and severed heads.⁴²⁵ 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.⁴²⁶

§79 I have already referred to the Indian story of the jackal⁴²⁷ who, having been dipped in blue dye, regards himself as a celestial peacock and is eaten by the lion to reward his *hubris*.⁴²⁸ These fables represent a considerable dilution of the trickster archetype, but there is nothing frivolous about the dogs of Yama⁴²⁹ 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 शबल *çabala*, or 'brindled',⁴³⁰ which has led *Bloomfield* to associate them with the name and function of Cerberus.⁴³¹ Whether or not his etymology is correct, which is at least debatable,⁴³² his is an important insight because it is obvious that Cerberus is an etiolated version of the dog-psychopomp archetype.⁴³³

⁴²¹H Güntert *Kalypso* (Halle 1919) 140f cf 191-195; *PB Courtright Ganesa* (New York 1985) 66; *A Mookerjee Kali* (London 1988) 62. Colour symbolism in India, especially red & white: *G Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi* The self-milking cow and the bleeding lingam (Wiesbaden 1987) 134-147; *J Filliozat* Classement des couleurs et des lumières en sanskrit, in *Problèmes de la couleur*, ed *IMyerson* (Paris 1957) 303-308. Red and white are the colours of *kuṇḍalinî*: *GS Arundale Kundalini* (Madras 1938) 95-100.

⁴²²*DL Snellgrove* The Hevajra Tantra (London 1959) I sloka I viii 16.22f (p 74f).

⁴²³*A Herrmann-Pfandt* Dâkinîs (Bonn 1990) 240 (*dâkinî* of black invoked first). Cf *I Astley-Kristensen* Images and permutations of Vajrasattva in the vajradhātu maṇḍala, in *The Buddhist Forum I*, ed *T Skorupski* (London 1990) 119 [111-121]; *KV Zvelebil* Die Mythen der Tamilen, *WdMI.5* (1985) 896f, 900.

⁴²⁴*Snellgrove* *oc* (1959) I iii 5-7.

⁴²⁵*G Grönbold* Die Mythologie des indischen Buddhismus, in *WdM I.5* (Stuttgart 1984) 404f.

⁴²⁶*M Biarreau* Symbols of the earth in Indian religion, in *Asian mythologies*, ed *Y Bonnefoy* (Chicago 1991) 100/1 [99-101]; cf *AN Afanasev* Poeticheskiya vozzreniya slavyan na prirody I (Moskva 1865) 194f. The earth (*mulâdhâra*) *cakra* is regarded as gold in colour: *A Gheerbrant* Jaune, in *Dictionnaire des symboles*, ed *J Chevalier & A Gheerbrant* (Paris 1969) 432/1 [431-433]. Gold is also the colour of immortality: *P Grison & A Gheerbrant* Or, in *Dictionnaire des symboles*, ed *J Chevalier & A Gheerbrant* (Paris 1969) 564/2 [564-566].

⁴²⁷Above, nn255, 256.

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

⁴²⁹*MZ Afshar* The immortal hound (diss. Harvard 1988) 28-32; *Arbman* *oc* (1922) 254-279; *G Nagy* Patroklos, concepts of afterlife, *Arethusa* 13 (1980) 184f [161-195].

⁴³⁰*Rig Veda* X 14; on *çabala*, *Monier-Williams* *oc* (1899) 1052/2 sv. See particularly *T DuQuesne* Canid psychopomps in ancient Egypt and India, *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 10 (1995) 41-53.

⁴³¹*M Bloomfield* Cerberus, the dog of Hades (Chicago 1905) *passim*.

⁴³²*B Lincoln* The hellhound, *J Indo-European Studies* 7 (1979) 273-285.

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 human⁴³⁴ in order to keep demons from harming the soul.⁴³⁵ The colours are of great consequence: the four eyes may refer to patches of white above the actual eyes.⁴³⁶ 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 *omômi*⁴³⁷ and invoke Hades and Darkness.⁴³⁸ 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...”⁴³⁹

§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*.⁴⁴⁰ As *Duchesne-Guillemain* observes,⁴⁴¹ 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.⁴⁴² Again the psychopompic function of Anubis and related deities turns up:⁴⁴³ and it is precisely this *limen* which the Egyptian jackal god protects.⁴⁴⁴

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 boeuf 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.”⁴⁴⁵

⁴³⁴J *Duchesne-Guillemain* Symbolik des Parsismus (Stuttgart 1961) 46f.

⁴³⁵A *Khodadadian* in *C Colpe*, Altiranische und zoroastrische Mythologie, WdM I.4 (Stuttgart 1986) 313f; *W Koppers* Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen, in *Die Indogermanen- und Germanenfrage*, Wiener Beiträge 4 (Salzburg 1936) 341, 360 [279-411].

⁴³⁶Dogs of different colours in Persian magic: *Afshar* oc (1988) 97; *A Kammenhuber* Hundevorschriften und ‘Hunde-Magie’ im Vidêvdât, *ZDMG* 108 (1958) 299-307.

⁴³⁷I 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 Neferrenpet (1991) 48 n9 [47-50]. It is, anyhow, difficult not to associate *omômi* 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.

⁴³⁸Τὸν σκότον. I assume this to be a personification.

⁴³⁹*Plutarch* de Iside 46.

⁴⁴⁰É *Benveniste* Un rite zervanite chez Plutarch, *Journal Asiatique* 215 (1929) 287-296.

⁴⁴¹J *Duchesne-Guillemain* La religion de l’Iran ancien (Paris 1962) 111f.

⁴⁴²Vidêvdât 13.9.

⁴⁴³Cf *B Schlerath* Der Hund bei den Indogermanen, *Paideuma* 6 (1954) 25-40.

⁴⁴⁴*DuQuesne* Jackal at the Shaman’s Gate (1991) 9-12.

⁴⁴⁵*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.⁴⁴⁶ In the ancient Chinese account just quoted, the dog concerned is a shape-shifter too, as befits a shamanic animal.⁴⁴⁷ Usually the Chinese dog-ancestor is called Panhu: the fact that he is of five different colours⁴⁴⁸ suggests that he spans the spectrum of human activities and is, like Adam Qadmon, a microcosm.⁴⁴⁹

§83 In Siberian shamanism, the dog-spirit may be black⁴⁵⁰ or dark with golden ears.⁴⁵¹ The Tungus too believe that humans originated from a bitch and a human male.⁴⁵² *Koppers* convincingly associates the occasional Mayan figures which show a dog and a woman copulating with a corresponding belief in a canine ancestor,⁴⁵³ although at least one such representation is apparently of the sky-goddess with a dog⁴⁵⁴ who might well be Xólotl, the canid psychopomp and deity of lightning.⁴⁵⁵ As a *Horizontier*, Xólotl is generally regarded as being yellow,⁴⁵⁶ and is perhaps associated with the red Aztec dog who accompanies the hero⁴⁵⁷ or the red coyote Hunahpü, one of the primeval twins.⁴⁵⁸ In ancient Mexico, figures of blue - presumably celestial - dogs formed part of the accoutrements of dead warriors.⁴⁵⁹

§84 For Amerindian peoples red and black are in some cases seen as chthonic colours,⁴⁶⁰ and in the Mayan codices the divine dogs are often black.⁴⁶¹ In Haitian Vodun, the dog who sits at the *axis mundi* is coloured black and white,⁴⁶² while in South American magic and folklore the psychopompic dog is black as night,⁴⁶³ though white dogs are also known in the role of ghostly heralds.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁴⁶W *Koppers* Der Hund in der Mythologie der zirkumpazifischen Völker, Wiener Beiträge 1 (1930) 359-399. Cf *P Métais* Vocabulaire et symbolisme des couleurs en Nouvelle-Calédonie, in *Problèmes de la couleur*, ed *I Myerson* (Paris 1957) 349-356.

⁴⁴⁷*M Eliade* Shamanism (New York 1964) 466f.

⁴⁴⁸*M Kaltenmark* Myths and legends about the barbarians..., in *Asian mythologies*, ed *Y Bonnefoy* (Chicago 1991) 252/2 [252-254]. Cf *J Gernet* L'expression de la couleur en chinois, in *Problèmes de la couleur*, ed *I Myerson* (Paris 1957) 295-298.

⁴⁴⁹Cf *J Singer* Androgyny: the opposites within (Boston 1976) 107-120.

⁴⁵⁰*Kretschmar* oc II (1938) 112.

⁴⁵¹Ib II (1938) 11.

⁴⁵²*Koppers* oc (1930) 387.

⁴⁵³Ib 372 n51a.

⁴⁵⁴*Kretschmar* oc I (1938) 122 figs 22-24.

⁴⁵⁵*F Anders* Das Pantheon der Maya (Graz 1963) 202.

⁴⁵⁶*R Girard* El Popol-Vuh, fuente histórica I (Guatemala 1952) 182.

⁴⁵⁷*J Campbell* The hero with a thousand faces (Princeton 1949) 368.

⁴⁵⁸*Girard* oc (1952) 316.

⁴⁵⁹*H Beyer* The symbolic meaning of the dog in ancient Mexico, *American Anthropologist* 10 (1908) 419 [419-422].

⁴⁶⁰*G Mallery* Picture-writing of the American Indians (Washington 1893) 629-631. On colour perceptions in Central America: *RE MacLaury* Color in Mesoamerica I (diss. Berkeley 1986) 66f, 71f, 80f.

⁴⁶¹*P Schellhas* Representation of deities of the Maya codices (Cambridge MA 1904) 34-37.

⁴⁶²*M Rigaud* Secrets of voodoo (San Francisco 1969) 86f.

⁴⁶³*R Jijena Sánchez* El perro negro en el folklore (Buenos Aires 1952) 121-129, 135-138.

⁴⁶⁴*HMCG Taylor* The little white dog, in *Puro Mexicano*, ed *JF Dobie* (Austin 1935) 201-210. Sacrifice of white dogs among the Iroquois: *EC Ash* Dogs: their origin and development II (London 1927) 667f.

§85 Black is the predominant colour of the wolf-masks worn by the Nootka (Northwest American coast) for various rites of initiation.⁴⁶⁵ Colours have very specific values for the Cheyenne, who in their symbolism clearly distinguish red, white, and black wolves.⁴⁶⁶ There the wolf-ancestor is closely associated with the black earth spirit, and in ritual may be painted black or blue-black.⁴⁶⁷

IV.5 Prehistoric and classical Greece and Rome

ἦν τ' ἶριον καλέουσι, νέφος καὶ τοῦτο πέφυκε,
πορφύρεον καὶ φοινίκεον καὶ χλωρὸν ἰδέσθαι.⁴⁶⁸
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 Bridge⁴⁶⁹ 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.'⁴⁷⁰ 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.*⁴⁷¹

§87 It is a commonplace of Greek philosophy, since *Democritus*,⁴⁷² that all colours are composed of a blend of black and white.⁴⁷³ 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.'⁴⁷⁴ *Plutarch's* comments on *Democritus* and the Epicureans⁴⁷⁵ 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.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁶⁵*AH Ernst* The wolf ritual of the Northwest coast (Eugene 1952) 15, 30.

⁴⁶⁶*KH Schlesier* The wolves of heaven (Norman 1987) 80-83, 97; cf *MO Howey* The cults of the dog (Rochford 1972) 528f.

⁴⁶⁷Ib 84, 98.

⁴⁶⁸*Xenophanes* fr 32 DK; cf *GS Kirk, JE Raven & M Schofield* The Presocratic philosophers² (Cambridge 1983) 173f.

⁴⁶⁹*H Bächtold-Stäubli* Brücke, *HWDA* I (1927) 1659-1666; *DuQuesne* Coptic invocation (1991) §162, with literature.

⁴⁷⁰Orphica fr A2; reconstruction by *G Zuntz* Persephone (Oxford 1971) 302-327; cf *ML West* The Orphic poems (Oxford 1983) 22f.

⁴⁷¹*Claudian* de raptu I 254f; *C Gruzelier* *Claudian: de raptu Proserpinae* (Oxford 1993) 145 ad loc; cf 189 ad II 128-130.

⁴⁷²*Democritos* de sens 79; cf *Plato* Tim 68, Thaet 153d.

⁴⁷³*W Schultz* Die Farbenempfindungssystem der Hellenen (Leipzig 1904) 73-80, 120; *H Stulz* Die Farbe Purpur im frühen Griechentum (Leipzig 1990) 33, 61; cf *J Gage* Colour and culture (London 1993) 11-27, specifically on black: 12f, 29-31, 271n23, 272n4. Cf *L Gernet* Dénomination et perception des couleurs chez les Grecs, in *Problèmes de la couleur*, ed *I Myerson* (Paris 1957) 313-326.

⁴⁷⁴*ps-Aristotle* De color 791a-b. Cf *Dérivée* oc (1975) 17-20. ⁴⁷⁵*Plutarch* c Col 1110 c-d.

⁴⁷⁶*D Furley* Democritus and Epicurus on sensible qualities, in *Passions & perceptions*, ed *J Brunschwig & M Nussbaum* (Cambridge 1993) 88-90 [72-94]. Subjectivity in colour perception is considered by *D Chambers & D Reisberg* What an image depicts depends on what an image means, *Cognitive Psychology* 24 (1992) 145-174.

§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 terms⁴⁷⁷ and *Schultz's* bizarre notion - in a well-researched monograph - that the Greeks were colourblind.⁴⁷⁸ 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.⁴⁷⁹ In the same way, Russian *cherniy* may be purely descriptive (ie dark-complected) but means also sad, fatal, unlucky, dirty, especially where the subject is abstract.⁴⁸⁰ Greek μέλας and Egyptian *km* are like this too. Classical terms for black as applied to skin colour may indicate sexiness.⁴⁸¹ *Poeticus color* is an expression used by *Lactantius*⁴⁸² to mean something like painting the lily, in the context of embellishing history.⁴⁸³ 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.⁴⁸⁴ Red is multivalent: for the Greeks it has funerary connotations,⁴⁸⁵ but it must also be associated with the magic of menstruation and fertility.⁴⁸⁶ 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).⁴⁸⁷ Whether or not one accepts the view that Greeks regarded black as an absolute colour,⁴⁸⁸ μέλας is certainly opposed to γλαυκός for describing eye-colour.⁴⁸⁹ Tartarus is black because unseen (ἄ-φιδης),⁴⁹⁰ while Demeter μέλαινα or κελαινός may be seen partly in the same light.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁷⁷ *WE Gladstone* Studies on Homer and the Homeric age III (Oxford 1858) 457-499.

⁴⁷⁸ *Schultz* oc (1904) 185-189.

⁴⁷⁹ *J André* Étude sur les termes de couleur dans la poésie latine (Paris 1949) 43-63. On Latin colour terms, see also *J André* Source et évolution du vocabulaire des couleurs en Latin, in *Problèmes de la couleur*, ed *I Myerson* (Paris 1957) 327-338.

⁴⁸⁰ *Lawrence & Wishart's* Russian-English dictionary (London 1943) 772f sv.

⁴⁸¹ *Verg* ecl 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.

⁴⁸³ *W Trimpf* Muses of one mind (Princeton 1983) 316-320.

⁴⁸⁴ *André* oc (1949) 15f, cf 109f; *A Leroi-Gourhan* Prehistoric religion, Roman and European mythology, ed *Y Bonnefoy* (Chicago 1991) 12. On symbolic colours in prehistoric art: *E Wasiliewska* Archaeology of religion: colors as symbolic markers dividing sacred from profane, *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* 5 (1991) 36-41. Colours of Minoan-Mycenaean seals and beads are discussed by *H Hughes-Brock* Seals and beads; their shapes and materials compared, in *Corpus der minoisch-mykenischen Siegel*, Beiheft 5 (Berlin, in press 1995).

⁴⁸⁵ *J Wackernagel* Dies ater, *ARW* 22 (1923) 215f; *A Chaniotis* Gedenktage der Griechen, in *Das Fest und das Heilige*, ed *J Assmann & T Sundermeier* (Gütersloh 1991) 132 [123-145].

⁴⁸⁶ Cf above, n74.

⁴⁸⁷ *L Geiger* Über den Farbensinn der Urzeit und seine Entwicklung, in his *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Menschheit*² (Stuttgart 1878) (45-60).

⁴⁸⁸ *M Platnauer* 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* met 15.2; *Philostratus* gymnasticus 25; cf *Ib* II (1981) 3 ad *Adamantius* physiognomica.

⁴⁹⁰ *Vergil* Aen VI 134f. Cf *H Güntert* Kalypso (Halle 1919) 150 n1; *G Radke* Die Bedeutung der weißen und der schwarzen Farbe in Kult und Brauch der Griechen und Römer (diss. Jena 1936) 20-23, 33-35, 69-73; *Cagianò de Azevedo* in *Aevum* (for 1954) 156-159 [151-167].

⁴⁹¹ *Pausanias* VIII 42.1; *C Ramnoux* 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* Anodoi (Roma 1974) 26f, 153-160.

§91 For the Greeks, black expresses the notion of sanctity,⁴⁹² and certain forms of sacred observance were strictly nocturnal.⁴⁹³ The colour purple suits Persephone⁴⁹⁴ and also Cerberus,⁴⁹⁵ with considerable slippage in Homer and other authors between μέλας and other words expressing darkness and depth, such as κύνειος or οἶνοψ.⁴⁹⁶ Hermes bears a golden wand⁴⁹⁷ and has a particular epithet νύχιος,⁴⁹⁸ which is appropriate for a deity who travels between the worlds.⁴⁹⁹ Significantly, the plant of immortality brought to Odysseus by Hermes has a black root and a white flower⁵⁰⁰ to suggest the conjunction of the opposites of earth and sky.⁵⁰¹ Black plants and sacrificial animals tend to have magical and funerary associations.⁵⁰² The painting of statuary in classical times is a complex matter, and we cannot be sure whether or to what extent black-painting and gilding,⁵⁰³ which were certainly widespread in Roman times,⁵⁰⁴ were intended to be symbolic or decorative or both.

§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 ξουθός,⁵⁰⁵ elsewhere using the adjective to signify blood-red.⁵⁰⁶ Dogs⁵⁰⁷ and canid sea-monsters⁵⁰⁸ are described as γλαυκός (yellow to grey) and much more commonly as χαροπός (brindled or tawny),⁵⁰⁹ which can also suggest the red of wild blood.⁵¹⁰

⁴⁹²Cf above, n405. Initiates of Demeter wore black: *NJ Richardson* Homeric Hymn to Demeter (Oxford 1974) 164.

⁴⁹³*M Bile* L'initiation dans les inscriptions crétoises, in L'initiation, ed *A Moreau* (Montpellier 1992) I 17 [11-17]; *P Brulé* Fêtes grecques: périodicité et initiations. Hyacinthies et Panathénées, in L'initiation, ed *A Moreau* (Montpellier 1992) 28f [19-38]; *Ramnoux* oc (1959) 5-30.

⁴⁹⁴*E Wunderlich* Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer (Gießen 1925) 48f, 80; *Stulz* oc (1990) 145f, 174f. Cf purple in Candomblé initiation: *P Verger* Orixas da Bahia, in *Carybé* Iconografia dos deuses africanos no Candomblé da Bahia (São Paulo 1980) 17*.

⁴⁹⁵Ib 89f; cf *A Gheerbrant* Violet, in Dictionnaire des symboles, ed *J Chevalier & A Gheerbrant* (Paris 1969) 808.

⁴⁹⁶*Hesychius* οἶνοψ· πορφύρεον, μέλας. Uses in Homer: *Gladstone* oc (1858) 458, 462f, 469, 481, 486f. Cf particularly *K Müller-Boré* Stilistische Untersuchungen zum Farbwort (Berlin 1922) 12-20, 48, 73-79 for applications of μέλας and related terms in early Greek poetry. A similar range is covered by the Hebrew *tesheleth*: *G Scholem*, Farben und ihre Symbolik..., in his *Judaica III* (Frankfurt 1973) 105-107, 111 [98-151].

⁴⁹⁷*Homer* Od XXIV 2f; *P Reuterswärd* Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik II (Stockholm 1960) 103f.

⁴⁹⁸*Ramnoux* oc (1959) 155-193.

⁴⁹⁹*Ramnoux* oc (1959) 163 distinguishes Hermes Nychios from Hermes Chthonios.

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

⁵⁰¹*H Rahner* Die seelenheilende Blume, *Eranos-Jhb* 12 (1945) 117-239; *Radke* oc (1936) 51-57; cf *Reimbold* oc (1970) 115-132, 155-157; *J Hillman* The dream and the Underworld, *Eranos Jhb* 42 (1973) 258-272.

⁵⁰²*Radke* oc (1936) 27-30; *Hermann & Cagiano de Azevedo* oc (1969) 404f; *R Padel* In and out of the mind. Greek images of the tragic self (Princeton 1992) 68-77.

⁵⁰³*Reuterswärd* oc (1960) 35, 45 cf 92, 99, 125, 143-168; *MJH van der Weiden* The dithyrambs of Pindar (Amsterdam 1992) 101 ad *Pindar* fr 346.

⁵⁰⁴*Reuterswärd* oc (1960) 236-242. The use of burnt grape husks to generate the colour black is interesting: *K Schefold* The choice of colour in ancient art, *Palette* 13 (1963) 5 [3-19].

⁵⁰⁵*Oppian* cyn III 297.

⁵⁰⁶*Oppian* hal II 452.

⁵⁰⁷*Maxwell-Stuart* oc I (1981) 46, 216 n217 ad *Cyranides* 2.10.19.

⁵⁰⁸Ib 91f, 133 ad *Lycoph* Alexandra 471; cf *S Lilja* Dogs in ancient Greek poetry (Helsinki 1976) 97.

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

⁵¹⁰Ib 10 dogs with *ravus* eyes: *Varro* de re rust 2.9.3; 10, 83 n42 *rava* she-wolf: *Horace* od 3.27.3.

... αἰνοτάτου βλέμμ' ὑπέμεινε κυνὸς
 ἐν πυρὶ μὲν φωνὴν τεθωμένου, ἐν πυρὶ δ' ὄμμα,
 σκληρὸν τριστοίχοις δεῖμα φέρων κεφαλαῖς.⁵¹¹

§93 Thus *Lycophron* describes Orpheus' 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,⁵¹² but on one vase twin Cerberi are represented with one white and the other black.⁵¹³ It is no accident that the last labour of Heracles, the Eleusinian initiate, concerned the stealing of Cerberus,⁵¹⁴ and Hecate, queen of the netherworld, is attended by black dogs.⁵¹⁵ When a Greco-Egyptian magical papyrus addresses her as the one who has Κέρβερον ἐν δεσμοῖσιν,⁵¹⁶ 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 triplicities of the goddess.⁵¹⁷ The sacrifice of dogs, including black ones, is well attested in classical antiquity,⁵¹⁸ but red dogs were also used for this purpose⁵¹⁹ particularly at the *Robigalia*, a festival intended to protect against the scorching of the Dog Days.⁵²⁰

§94 *Antoninus Liberalis*⁵²¹ 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.⁵²² *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,⁵²³ and that these fit into a whole *genre* of protective or apotropaic animal statues which were common in the Near East.⁵²⁴

⁵¹¹*Lycophron* el 2.10-12 Diehl.

⁵¹²Useful collection of sources in *C Mainoldi* L' image du loup et du chien dans la Grèce antique (Paris 1984) 37-51.

⁵¹³*N Loraux* Heracles, in *Greek and Egyptian mythologies*, ed *Y Bonnefoy* (Chicago 1991) 179 fig.

⁵¹⁴*RJ Clark* Catabasis (Amsterdam 1979) 79-94; *W Burkert* Structure and history in Greek myth and ritual (Berkeley 1979) 94-98.

⁵¹⁵*SI Johnston* Hekate soteira (Atlanta 1990) 134-142.

⁵¹⁶PGMIV 2861.

⁵¹⁷*Orphica Argonautica* 959; *F Vian* Argonautiques orphiques (Paris 1987) 144n ad loc.

⁵¹⁸*WH Roscher* Das von der Kynanthropie handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side (Leipzig 1896) 26-30; cf *H Scholz* Der Hund in der griechisch-römischen Magie und Religion (Berlin 1937) 40-43.

⁵¹⁹*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.

⁵²⁰*NJ Zaganaris* Sacrifices de chiens dans l' antiquité classique, *Platon* 28 (1975) 322-329.

⁵²¹*Antoninus Liberalis* met 36.1; cf *Mainoldi* oc (1984) 69f.

⁵²²*LD Barnett* Der goldne Hund des Zeus, *Hermes* 33 (1898) 638-640 [638-643]; *AB Cook* Zeus I (Cambridge 1915) 729, III(2) (1940) 1110; *M Silver* Taking ancient mythology economically (Leiden 1992) 69-73.

⁵²³*Homer* Od VII 91-94.

⁵²⁴*CA Faraone* Talismans and Trojan horses (New York 1992) 18-22, 42-46, 57, 83, 101.

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 lazure,
obene was ein mixture
gemischt also schone in ein,
daz sich ir aller dekein
uz vür daz andere da bot:
dan waz grüene noch rot
noch wiz noch swarz noch gel noch bla
und doch ein teil 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 irribaere,
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 *Schlangenkuß* 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

⁵²⁵*Gottfried von Straßburg* *Tristan* 15824-15844.

⁵²⁶*GJ Lewis* *Das Tier und seine dichterische Funktion in Erec, Parsifal und Tristan* (Bern 1974) 57, 91f, 138, 161-167; *L Gnädinger* *Hiudan und Petitcreiu* (Zürich 1971) 18-48. I am reminded of the seven colours of the hunter god *Ogun* in West African *Candomblé*: *Verges* *oc* (1957) 145.

⁵²⁷*E Frank* *Der Schlangenkuß* (diss. Kiel/Leipzig 1928) 83f, 117, 134; *BA Woods* *The devil in dog form* (Berkeley 1959) 22-62 cf 123-144.

⁵²⁸*A Aarne & 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.

⁵²⁹Above, n321; *A Dundes* (ed) *Red Riding Hood: a casebook* (Madison 1989).

§96 In European folklore, the relationship of colour to function in animals is complex.⁵³⁰ Black dogs are, in Sweden,⁵³¹ Germany⁵³² and England,⁵³³ generally regarded as harbingers of death and they are often associated with lightning.⁵³⁴ 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.⁵³⁵ On the other hand, elsewhere in Europe black animals may connote healing, fertility, and general good luck.⁵³⁶ In Hungarian folklore, the parturient woman sings: "The black dog cries with the cry of my earth,"⁵³⁷ and there is a long-standing tradition in Europe⁵³⁸ and the Near East⁵³⁹ 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,⁵⁴⁰ colours which in Celtic myth have definitely chthonic associations as far as dogs are concerned.⁵⁴¹

§97 In alchemy, dogs beget a puppy of celestial hue,⁵⁴² perhaps to indicate the black of the *nigredo*,⁵⁴³ symbolizing fermentation and decay, combined with the anabolic glory of gold.⁵⁴⁴ The black and gold of Anubis, appropriately, surface again in the Great Work.

⁵³⁰*M Paul* Wolf, Fuchs und Hund bei den Germanen (diss. Wien 1981) 230f; *B Schlerath* Der Hund bei den Indogermanen, *Paideuma* 6 (1954) 36f [25-40]. There is an English tradition that, like one of my best friends, the Devil drives a yellow Rolls Royce, and one thinks of the diabolic dog of Western folklore: *BA Woods* The devil in dog form (Berkeley 1959). For the yellow dog as indicating cowardice: *H Rawson* A dictionary of invective (London 1989) 123.

⁵³¹*CM Bergstrand* Den onde i dalsländsk folktradition, Hembygden (Vänersborg) (for 1941) 49-72.

⁵³²*Janssens C ss R* De hondeslager van de kerk, *Volkskunde. Dreimaandelijks Tijdschrift* NS 10 (1951) 164-171; *O Höfler* Verwandlungskulte, Volkssagen und Mythen (Wien 1973) 289f.

⁵³³*EH Rudkin* The black dog, *Folklore* 49 (1938) 111-131; *T Brown* The black dog, *Folklore* 69 (1958) 175-192; *T Brown* The black dog in English folklore, in *Animals in folklore*, ed *JR Porter & WMS Russell* (London 1978) 45-58; *MO Howey* Cults of the dog (Rochford, Essex 1972) 195-212; *EC Ash* Dogs: their history and development II (London 1927) 668f.

⁵³⁴*GJ McEwan* Mystery animals of Britain and Ireland (London 1986) 119-149, 152-174. On dogs and wolves and the 'black god', cf *A Golan* Myth and symbol (Jerusalem 1991) 274-276.

⁵³⁵*A Olrik* Ragnarök (Berlin 1922) 36-43. In the Thrymskvitha §3 (Verse Edda), the king of the giants, having stolen Thor's magic hammer, plaited golden leads for his hounds.

⁵³⁶*CMengis* Schwarz, *HWDA* V (1935/6) 1434, 1445 cf 1438-1441 [1431-1456].

⁵³⁷*Kretschmar* oc II (1938) 7.

⁵³⁸Cf *JC Schmitt* Le saint lévrier (Paris 1979).

⁵³⁹*PB Adamson* The association of the dog with deities of healing in the ancient Near East, *Medicina nei Secoli* 1 (1978) 53-68.

⁵⁴⁰*JE Cirlot* A dictionary of symbols (tr. London 1962) 57.

⁵⁴¹*M Green* Animals in Celtic life and myth (London 1992) 164-167.

⁵⁴²*CG Jung* *Mysterium conjunctionis* (London 1964) 147f cf 574 n283; *L Van Norden* The black feet of the peacock (Lanham MD 1985) 215-217. *Cornelius Agrippa* associates black not with Mercury but Saturn: *De occulta philosophia*, ed *V Perrone Compagni* (Leiden 1992) 179.

⁵⁴³*J Lindsay* The clashing rocks (London 1965) 47-60. On gold in alchemy, cf the interesting contribution by *JC Schroeder* A chemical interpretation of alchemy, *Journal of Chemical Education* 64 (1987) 994-995; *G Scholem* *Alchemie und Kabbala* (Frankfurt 1994) 23-25, 31-38, 64f; *Gage* Colour and culture (1993) 139-152; on black in particular: 149/2. The Renaissance art theorist *Leon Battista Alberti* regarded the use of gold as *tabu* in painting because the artist was unable to control it: *M Barasch* Light and color in the Italian Renaissance theory of art (1978) 15.

⁵⁴⁴*H Varley* (ed) Colour (London 1980) 78f. In heraldry, black (sable) indicates sadness, wisdom, scholarship, and honesty: *Déribéré* oc (1975) 93-96; cf *Gage* Colour and culture (1993) 70/1, 83/1, 84/1, 89/1. *Gage* also discusses black in dress 155f, 287n30, in Christian symbolism 60/2, 281nn72, 74 and in Renaissance art theory 118/1-2. The subject is also treated by *Gillian Clark* Women in late antiquity (Oxford 1993) 111-118. The use of the three specific colours red, green, and blue for the Castle of Love in *Grosseteste's* allegorical poem, in which the Virgin Mary is seen as the *shekhinah*, is particularly interesting: *Le Chateau d'Amour* de Robert Grosseteste, ed *J Murray* (Paris 1918) 106-108 = lines 606-620 & 666-700 of text.

V THE GOD THAT SUCCEEDED: VERSUCH EINER DEUTUNG

...*tal mi fece la bestia senza pace,
che, venendomi 'ncontro, a poco a poco
mi ripigneva là dove 'l sol tace.*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.”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.”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.”⁵⁴⁸ This basis could be expressed as the horizon, the gateway between the worlds which the black and gold jackal god inhabits. *Sedlmayr*’s words 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.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*’s motets, which the composer never fully scored.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.

⁵⁴⁵*Dante* Inferno I 58-60.

⁵⁴⁶Qur’ân, sûra 16.13.

⁵⁴⁷*F Portal* Des couleurs symboliques (Paris 1857) 1.

⁵⁴⁸*H Sedlmayr* La legame fra visibile e invisibile nell’opera d’arte, in *Eternità e storia*, ed Istituto Accademico di Roma (Firenze 1970) 247 [243-248].

⁵⁴⁹*Plutarch* de Iside 46; quoted above, n204.

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*,⁵⁵¹ 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

⁵⁵¹*Dante* Inferno I 2.

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 Schwarze (Münster 1918) 49-83, 124-129.

⁵⁵⁷*JB Friedman* Monstrous races in medieval art and thought (Cambridge MA 1981) 12, 27, 29, 47, 51, 170.

⁵⁵⁸*DG White* Myths of the dog-man (Chicago 1991) 47-86. The case of St Christopher Cynocephalus, considered on 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.⁵⁶⁰ They were certainly very dark-complexed 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.⁵⁶¹

§104 Anubis was particularly venerated in the Nubian civilization of Meroe,⁵⁶² whose inhabitants often represented him together with the goddess Nephthys.⁵⁶³ 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.⁵⁶⁴ 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'.⁵⁶⁵ A profound Coptic invocation addresses Osiris as lord of the netherworld, in which role Anubis readily alternates for him.⁵⁶⁶ Immediately before Anubis also is conjured, Osiris is described as $\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\sigma\omega\bar{\nu}\epsilon\beta\omega\tau\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\rho\phi\alpha\pi\eta\sigma\theta\beta\epsilon\bar{\nu}\mu\epsilon\rho\theta\epsilon$, 'who receives oracles in Abydos and who sits under the shade of a golden tree in Meroe'.⁵⁶⁷ It is appropriate that Anubis, black himself, symbolizes not only the Black Land of Egypt (*Kmt*) but also the Golden Land (*Nbw*) from which the name Nubia is derived.

§105 The jackals of Anubis carry the boat of Re safely on his journey through night and death.⁵⁶⁸ 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.⁵⁶⁹ 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.⁵⁷⁰

§106 The Egyptian jackal, *Canis aureus*, who must be closely descended from the Anubis animal, is indeed a golden colour,⁵⁷¹ 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.⁵⁷² 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*).⁵⁷³

⁵⁶⁰ *H Belçaguy* Some remarks on the documents concerning the Blemmyes..., *Meroitica* 6 (1982) 228-231; *J Wytzes* Der letzte Kampf des Heidentums in Rom (Leiden 1977) 14. On the role of Nubians at the temple of Isis in Aswan: *E Bresciani* et al. Assuan (Pisa 1978) 141-143 no 43.

⁵⁶¹ *L Kákósy* 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.

⁵⁶⁵ *DuQuesne* At the court of Osiris (London 1994) §§53-58.

⁵⁶⁶ In particular, as *Khentyamentiu*: above, §40.

⁵⁶⁷ PGM IV 7: *DuQuesne* Coptic invocation (1991) §§43-61. Cf above, §23. On this text see now *H Satzinger* An Old Coptic text reconsidered, in *Fs R Kasser* (Leuven 1994) 215 [213-224].

⁵⁶⁸ Above, §§55-57.

⁵⁶⁹ *F Anfray* Les anciens Éthiopiens (Paris 1990) 246-257.

⁵⁷⁰ Above, §72.

⁵⁷¹ Above, §§62-67.

⁵⁷² Above, §53.

⁵⁷³ Above, §40. The black of bitumen is cited by *G Racht* *Dict 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.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.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.⁵⁷⁶ The Anubis animal is clearly a canid, and dogs cannot ordinarily fly, but representations of winged jackals⁵⁷⁷ and jackal-headed *ba*-birds⁵⁷⁸ do not look by any means absurd, because they help to convey the justified soul aloft.⁵⁷⁹ Jackals will, if necessary, scavenge over corpses, though they prefer fresher fare.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.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,⁵⁸² while in the Third Intermediate Period the covering of decorated coffins with a black surface probably reflected the social status of the deceased.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.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* that someone who gained sight, having been blind from birth, and became deeply disturbed at the sight of a Negro.⁵⁸⁵ Excesses and absurdities are inevitable in such new political struggles as the Black Movement,

⁵⁷⁴Cf *T DuQuesne* review of *J Assmann* *Maat* [München 1990], DE 22 (1992) 79-90.

⁵⁷⁵*R Bulmer* Why is the cassowary not a bird? *Man* NS 2 (1967) 5-25. On colours and taxa in folk biology: *B Berlin*, *DE Breedlove* & *PH Raven* General principles of classification in folk biology, *American Anthropologist* 75 (1973) 214-242

⁵⁷⁶Above, §35.

⁵⁷⁷Eg *A Piankoff* & *N Rambova* *Mythological papyri* (New York 1957) I 173, II no 22.

⁵⁷⁸Eg *M de Rochemonteix* & *É Chassinat* *Le temple d'Edfou III* (Le Caire 1928) pl 69; above, §55.

⁵⁷⁹Above, §71.

⁵⁸⁰It has been proposed by more than one author (eg *JG Griffiths* *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.

⁵⁸¹Above, §35.

⁵⁸²Below, Annex I (*A El Goresy* & *S Schiegl*).

⁵⁸³Below, Annex II (*A Niwiński*).

⁵⁸⁴*A El Goresy* *Ancient pigments...* (Heidelberg 1986) 19-23; also Annex II, below.

⁵⁸⁵*E Burke* *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas*, briefly discussed in *P Gilroy* *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'.⁵⁸⁶ 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.⁵⁸⁷ 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 régimes 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.⁵⁸⁸ Any attempt to establish universal colour terminology must rest on secure definitions, and these have been signally absent.⁵⁸⁹ 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.⁵⁹⁰ 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.⁵⁹¹

§111 According to Hindu-Buddhist tradition, the Âkâshic Record is the universal repository of knowledge.⁵⁹² Therefore meditation on particular colours will generate certain resonances which enhance awareness.⁵⁹³ 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 Sefirot on the Tree of Life and of the paths joining them,⁵⁹⁴ 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.⁵⁹⁵ This is simply to underscore the point that colour use in art is an effective *vade mecum* to the divine.

⁵⁸⁶Helpful discussions in *SL Gilman* Difference and pathology: stereotypes of sexuality, race, and madness (Ithaca 1985) and *FJ Davis* Who is black? (Philadelphia 1991).

⁵⁸⁷Above, §16.

⁵⁸⁸Cf *T DuQuesne* The raw and the half-baked: approaches to Egyptian religion, DE 30 (1994) 29-35.

⁵⁸⁹Above, §§7-9.

⁵⁹⁰*M Räsänen* Regenbogen - Himmelsbrücke (Helsinki 1947); *DuQuesne* Coptic invocation (1991) §162 n120, with literature.

⁵⁹¹Above, §15.

⁵⁹²*M Monier-Williams* Sanskrit dictionary (Oxford 1899) 127/1 sv defines *ākāṣa* as 'the subtle and ethereal fluid supposed to fill and pervade the universe and to be the particular vehicle of life and of sound'.

⁵⁹³*G Grönbold* Indischer Buddhismus, in *WdM* I.5 (Stuttgart 1984) 345f [285-507].

⁵⁹⁴Cf above, §§3, 75.

⁵⁹⁵*M Idel* Golem (Albany 1990) 122-124; *M Idel* Kabbalistic prayer and colors, in *Approaches to Judaism in medieval times*, ed *D Blumenthal*, vol III (London 1988) 17-27; *R Patai* The Jewish alchemists (Princeton 1994) 152-169.

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

⁵⁹⁶ *RM Rilke 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 faïences *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 befell the Egyptian Faïences 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 Faïences'. With this discovery it became evident that there is no green Egyptian Faïence 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_2S_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 Faïences is in preparation.

A El Goresy Ancient pigments in wall-paintings... An archaeometric project (Heidelberg 1986).

S Schiegl, KL Weiner & A El Goresy Discovery of copper chloride cancer in ancient Egyptian polychromic wall paintings and faience: a developing archaeological disaster, *Naturwissenschaften* 76 (1989) 393-400.

S Schiegl, KL Weiner & A El Goresy Zusammensetzung und Provenienz von Blau- und Grünpigmenten in altägyptischen Wandmalereien. Ein Beitrag zur exakten Chronologie der Bronzetechnologie in Ägypten, *Erzmetall* 43 (1990) 265-272.

S Schiegl, KL Weiner & A El Goresy Das Mosaik eines archäologischen Desasters. Verfallsmuster und Ursachen der Zerstückung altägyptischer Wandmalereien. Teil I, *Geowissenschaften* 9 (1991) 199-209.

S Schiegl, KL Weiner & A El Goresy Das Mosaik eines archäologischen Desasters. Verfallsmuster und Ursachen der Zerstückung altägyptischer Wandmalereien. Teil II, *Geowissenschaften* 9 (1991) 241-246

S Schiegl Altägyptische Pigmente und Glasuren. Phasenbestand, chronologische Evolution, Zersetzungsmuster und deren Ursachen (diss. Heidelberg 1991) 162-167.

S Schiegl, KL Weiner & A El Goresy The diversity of newly discovered deterioration patterns in ancient Egyptian pigments: consequences to entirely new restoration strategies and to the Egyptological colour symbols (Heidelberg 1992) 28f and passim.

S Schiegl, KL Weiner & A El Goresy A chronological table for polychromic decorations on ancient Egyptian monuments in three millennia, *JEA* (in preparation, 1996).

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

Annex 2

COLOURS OF XXIst DYNASTY COFFINS

Andrzej Niwiński

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.^a 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.^b '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.^c 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.

^aA *Niwiński* XXIst Dynasty coffins from Thebes (Mainz 1988) 11f.

^bA *Niwiński* Ritual protection of the dead...? Fs *L. Kákosy* (Budapest 1992) 457-471.

^cA *Niwiński* Sarg NR-SpZt, LÄ V (1984) 434-468, particularly 437f, 442, 448.

Abbreviations

- ÄA
Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
- ADAIK
Abhandlungen des deutschen archäologischen
Instituts zu Kairo
- ÄF
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
- BE
Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien (Le Caire), later
Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte
- BIFAO
Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale
- BiOr
Bibliotheca Orientalis
- BKU
Berliner koptische Urkunden
- CGC
Catalogue général des Antiquités, Musée du Caire
- CQ
Classical Quarterly
- CRIPÉL
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
- ÉPHÉ
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
Lexikon der Ägyptologie, ed *W Helck & E Otto*
(Wiesbaden 1975-1992)
- MÄS
Münchener Ägyptologische Studien

- MDAIK
Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen
Instituts zu Kairo
- MIFAO
Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie
Orientale, Le Caire
- MIO
Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
- MVEOL
Mededelingen en Verhandelingen «Ex Oriente Lux»
- NAWG
Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu
Göttingen
- NINO
Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten
- OBO
Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
- OCE
Oxfordshire Communications in Egyptology
- OLZ
Orientalische Literatur-Zeitung
- OMRO
Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het
Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden
- PDM
Demotic Magical Papyrus (Greek magical papyri, ed
HD Betz. Chicago 1987)
- PGM
Papyri magicae graecae, ed *K Preisendanz* (Leipzig
1927-1941)
- pJum
Papyrus Jumilhac, ed *J Vandier* (Paris 1961)
- PSBA
Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology
- Pyr
Pyramid Texts
- RAC
Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
- RdÉ
Revue d'Égyptologie
- RE
Pauly-Wissowa, Realenzyklopädie der klassischen
Altertumswissenschaft
- RGVV
Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
- RHR
Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
- SAOC
Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
- SBAW
Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der
Wissenschaften zu Wien
- SBÖAW
Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie
der Wissenschaften
- StG
Studium Generale
- UGAA
Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und
Altertumskunde Aegyptens
- VA
Varia Aegyptiaca
- Wb
Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, ed *A Erman*
& *H Grapow* (Leipzig 1927-1953)
- WdM
Wörterbuch der Mythologie, ed *HW Haussig*
(Stuttgart 1964-)
- WdO
Welt des Orients
- ZÄS
Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und
Altertumskunde
- ZDMG
Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen
Gesellschaft

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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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