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ANUBIS IN THE “ISIAC FAMILY” IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN WORLD

Summary: The aim of this paper is to investigate the role of Anubis as a member of the “Isiac Family” (Isis–Osiris/Sarapis–Horus/Harpokrates–Anubis) during the Hellenistic and Roman age. A new religious-historical analysis allows us to detect more or less profound changes of Anubis’ ancient religious meaning due to the transfer from Egypt to Greece and Rome. The spread of this cult from its motherland to the Hellenistic world and subsequently to the Roman Empire caused, as well, the creation of its new religious identity.

Key words: Anubis, “Isiac Family”, Hellenistic and Roman age, Egypt, Greece, Rome

“To Anubis guide (*hegemon*), to Sarapis saviour,
to Isis saviour, Apollonios son of Charmides,
a *syndonophoros*, by order of the god”.¹

This inscription is unique in some important aspects. It was placed in Sarapieion C in Delos in an indeterminable year before the Athenian domination on the island (166 BC) by a worshipper of the Egyptian gods that another Apollonios, priest of Memphis, had brought with him from his country at the end of the previous century.² It can probably be designed purposely as a symbolic document of a special dimension of the

¹ BRICAULT, L.: *Recueil des Inscriptions Concernant les Cultes Isiaques (RICIS)* [Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 31, voll. 1–3]. Paris 2005, 202/0170: marble slab from Sarapieion C in Delos.

² We have the famous inscription of the priest Apollonios, grandson of the priest from Memphis, engraved on a column of the Serapeum A, which tells the story of the foundation of the cult, accompanied by the aretology of Sarapis by Maiistas. See *RICIS* 202/0101 with the main bibliography, to which we add now MOYER, I. S.: *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism*. Cambridge 2011, 2012², 142–207.

Egyptian cult, whose roots and training were based in Ptolemaic Egypt, and its expansion in the regions of the Mediterranean *oikoumene* dates from the Hellenistic era. The inscription mentions a ritual function otherwise unknown, namely that of the bearer of a *syndone* in which we can probably identify a cloth with divine images, as it is clear from the comparison with an inscription from Pergamon, probably of the 1st century AD, which mentions the *hieraphoroi*, “bearers of sacred objects”, which offered, by order of Isis, a “linen cloth” (*syndone*) with images of the goddess and other deities of her circle such as Sarapis, Anubis, Harpocrates, Osiris, and Apis, as well as Helios, Ares and the Dioscuri.³

Apollonius is a worshipper of a divine “triad” that is well known in Delos, and largely known also in the documentation of the whole Mediterranean area, especially in the eastern regions, from the 2nd century BC to the imperial period, and in the western provinces as well. An important element is the first rank attributed to Anubis with respect to the divine “couple” that is usually placed in the foreground, and the title of “guide” assigned to the god. This attribute of Anubis is probably confirmed by an Attic dedication by Teithras in the 1st century AD, that mentions a “bearer of *Hegemon*”, i.e. a priest or layman, who was appointed to bear the image of the god in procession, a title which is known from numerous sources and sometimes named with the specific designation of *anubophoros*.⁴

The special devotion of our Apollonius to Anubis is confirmed by a second dedication, which was a “sign of gratitude” (*charisteria*) to the divine triad in which this god ranks first again,⁵ while a third dedication, offered by the same Apollonius, reflects, instead, the most frequent pattern of Anubis following Sarapis and Isis.⁶ Beyond this “variation”, however, the formula of a divine “triad” is what is catching the attention of an interpreter more, who notices its importance in Delos, where it has an absolute priority in respect to another “triad” where Harpocrates appears along with Sarapis and Isis and alternates with the “tetrad” that includes the four characters, when usually Anubis has precedence over Harpocrates. This importance is confirmed by the presence, in the Sarapieion C, of an *Anoubidos naos* or *Anoubideion* beside an *Isidos naos* or *Isideion*,⁷ and a place of worship common to the three deities, with

³ RICIS 301/1202. The date is uncertain.

⁴ RICIS 101/0402. See BRICAULT, L.: Les Anubophores. *BSEG* 24 (2001) 29–42.

⁵ RICIS 202/0172: the inscription is mutilated but the integration of the name of Anubis in the first position with respect to Sarapis and Isis is quite safe, as is evident from the comparison with the previous one.

⁶ RICIS 202/0171. In Delos, only in one case is the order of precedence in the triad attributed to Isis (RICIS 202/0320, Pl. LXI from Sarapieion C). We have other witnesses from Megalopolis, where, in the 2nd century BC, a “*hieron hagon* of Isis, Sarapis and Anubis” was built (RICIS 102/1701), from Halkida (RICIS 104/0205), from Demetrias (RICIS 112/0706), from Thessaloniki (RICIS 113/0510: 2nd–1st century BC; 113/0535 of the 1st century AD), and Priene (RICIS 3047/0801: altar of 3rd century BC “Isis, Sarapis, Anubis”). Unclear is the mention of Anubis on a 3rd century BC altar from Bargylia (RICIS 305/1501). Furthermore, in a few cases Isis appears in the foreground in the sequence in which Harpocrates is added to the triad, by configuring the “tetradic” pattern, which was popular indeed; see RICIS 101/0206: Athens, between 116/115 and 95 / 94 BC (devotes following a divine order received in dreams); 204/1009–1010: Cos; 205/0202: Chios, Imperial Age.

⁷ RICIS 202/ 0424, 0428, 0433 (*Anubideion*), 202/0426, 0428–0429 and 0433 (*Anoubieion*).

their statues.⁸ Even the *donaria* of the three Sarapieia in Delos bear witness to the veneration of Anubis.⁹

Outside the Island, whose epigraphic and monumental documentation is unique as a reflection of a peculiar historical, cultural, political and economic situation between 3rd and 1st century BC, the phenomenon also exists elsewhere – as I have said before – in the entire span of these centuries, especially in Greece and in the Eastern Mediterranean regions. A coin from Perinthus, Thrace, dating back to the late 3rd century BC, offers a good exemplification, showing the juxtaposed heads of Sarapis and Isis on the front, according to an iconographic scheme that began in Alexandria under Ptolemy IV Philopator,¹⁰ and Anubis with a human body and the head of canid, wearing a short tunic, holding a large palm tree, and walking, on the reverse.¹¹

Between the 3rd and the 1st centuries BC, Anubis is present, although in different proportions, in various centers of Greece and Asia Minor¹² that are characterized,

⁸ Fragments of a statue of Anubis from the Sarapieion A: ROUSSEL, P.: *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du III^e au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.* Paris–Nancy 1915–1916, 32 = *RICIS* 202/0101.

⁹ *RICIS* 202/0423: side A, col. I, 1 *agalma* in stone of Sarapis, of Isis, of Anubis; 202/0424 side A col. II, 157–158 (bronze *agalma* “of the god [Sarapis], of Isis, of Anubis”) and 149: “two silver Anubis”; side B col. I, 12 (stone Anubis); 0425, 15–16: bronze *agalma* “of the god [Sarapis], of Isis, of Anubis”; 202/0433 side A, 4: stone “*agalma* of the god [Sarapis], of Isis, of Anubis”; 15: stone Anubis.

¹⁰ BRICAULT, L. (ed.): *Sylloge Nummorum Religionis Istiacae et Sarapiacae (SNRIS)* [Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 38]. Paris 2008, Alessandria 2: 217 BC; see the similar type, a few years later, from Catania (*SNRIS* Catania 2). For the testimonies of the Egyptian cults in Sicily, see SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: *I culti orientali in Sicilia* [ÉPRO 31]. Leiden 1973, 1–113; SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: *Iside Dikaioyne* in una serie monetale bronzea di Catania: un aspetto nuovo dell'iconografia isiaca. *SMSR* 52 (NS 10.2) (1986) 189–211; SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: La Sicilia tra l'Egitto e Roma: per la storia dei culti egiziani in Italia. In BONACASA, N. – NARO, M. C. – PORTALE, E. C. – TULLIO, A. (edd): *L'Egitto in Italia dall'antichità al Medioevo. Atti del III Congresso Internazionale Italo-Egiziano, Roma CNR–Pompei, 13–19 Novembre 1995*. CNR, Roma 1998, 653–672; SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: Les cultes isiaques en Sicile. In BRICAULT, L. (dir.): *De Memphis à Rome. Actes du Ier Colloque International sur les études isiaques, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* [RGRW 140]. Leiden 2000, 35–62; SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: I culti egiziani in Sicilia in età ellenistico-romana. In BASILE, C. – DI NATALE, A. (edd): *La Sicilia antica nei rapporti con l'Egitto. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Siracusa 17–18 settembre 1999* [Quaderni del Museo del Papiro 10]. Siracusa 2001, 125–167; SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: Per la definizione della *facies* religiosa del regno ieroniano: i rapporti con l'Oriente. In CACCAMO CALTABIANO, M. – CAMPAGNA, L. – PINZONE, A. (edd): *Nuove prospettive della ricerca sulla Sicilia del III sec. a.C. Archeologia, Numismatica, Storia. Atti dell'Incontro di Studio, Messina 4–5 luglio 2002* [Pelorias 11]. Messina 2004, 125–131; SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: Anubis a Messina: sulle tracce dei culti isiaki nella città. *Sicilia Antiqua. An International Journal of Archaeology* 15 (2008) [Studi in memoria di Nicola Bonacasa II] 379–386. In particular for the coinage, SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: Le attestazioni dei culti egiziani in Sicilia nei documenti monetali. In CACCAMO CALTABIANO, M. (ed.): *La Sicilia tra l'Egitto e Roma: la monetazione siracusana dell'età di Gerone II. Atti del Seminario di studi, Messina 2–4 dicembre 1993*. Messina 1995, 80–149, Tavv. 1–7.

¹¹ *SNRIS* Perinthus 1.1973.

¹² See, besides DUNAND, FR.: *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée* [ÉPRO 26]. Leiden 1973, and BRICAULT, L.: *Atlas de la diffusion des cultes isiaques (IV^e s. av. J.-C. – IV^e s. apr. J.-C.)* [Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 23]. Paris 2001; HENNEMEYER, A.: Das Heiligtum der Ägyptischen Götter in Priene. In HOFFMANN, A. (Hrsg.): *Ägyptische Kulte und ihre Heiligtümer im Osten des römischen Reiches* [Byzas 1]. Istanbul 2005, 139–153; SCHERRER, P.: Das sogenannte

like Delos, for their cultural, economic, and military relationships with Ptolemaic Egypt. This is the case of Thessaloniki,¹³ where the divine triad was worshipped early in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC in the *Sarapieion*,¹⁴ that in 3rd century AD housed an association of “*threskeutai* (worshippers) and *sekobates* (allowed to enter the sacred precinct) of the god Hermanoubis”.¹⁵ This is the new figure, of Alexandrian origin, of Anubis himself in an entirely human and young appearance, resulting from a kind of crasis with the Greek Hermes, with whom he shared the role of “guide” of the deceased.¹⁶ The devotees mentioned here are those who, for a ritual privilege of unclear origin, were allowed to penetrate into the *sekos*, a chapel reserved for the worship of the god in the temple.¹⁷ The particular location of Anubis in the sanctuary of Thessaloniki is confirmed by a marble stele of the 2nd century AD which bears his image and the dedication by the *hieraphoroi synklitai*, members of an association of “bearers of sacred objects”¹⁸ celebrating a banquet (*kline*) in honor of the god,¹⁹ according to a tradition also attested in Egypt²⁰ which was very popular in relation to Sarapis.²¹

Serapeion in Ephesos: ein Mouseion? In HOFFMANN 109–138; TAKÁCS, S. A.: Cult, Dedicators and Dedications of Isis and in Lydia and Mysia. In HOFFMANN 155–168; ÜNLÜOĞLU, B. B. M.: The Cult of Isis in Asia Minor. In HOFFMANN 95–108.

¹³ *RICIS* 113/0508–05011 (2nd–1st century BC): dedications to the triad, Sarapis, Isis, Anubis and “to the gods that share the same temple (*theois synnaois*)”. See *RICIS* 113/0525 and Pl. XXIII: dedication of a priest of Harpocrates “to Sarapis, Isis, Horos Apollo, Harpocrates, gods who share the same temple” (15/14 BC).

¹⁴ Among the most ancient inscriptions see *RICIS* 113/0501–0502 (3rd century BC) and 0503 (2nd century BC). On the mode of worship see VOUTIRAS, E.: Sanctuaire privé – culte publique. Le cas du Sarapieion de Thessalonique. In DASEN V. – PIÉART, M. (edd): « *Ιδία και δημόσια. Les cadres « privés » et « publics » de la religion grecque antique* [Kernos Suppl. 15]. Liège 2005, 273–288; NIGDELIS, P. M.: Voluntary Associations in Roman Thessalonike: In Search of Identity and Support in a Cosmopolitan Society. In NASRALLAH, L. – BAKIRTZIS, C. – FRIESEN, St. J. (eds): *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē: Studies in Religion and Archaeology* [Harvard Theological Studies 64]. Cambridge, MA 2010, 13–48.

¹⁵ *RICIS* 113/0576.

¹⁶ See the analysis by MALAISE, M.: Anubis et Hermanubis à l’époque gréco-romaine. Who’s who? In BRICAULT, L. – VEYMIERS, R. (edd): *Bibliotheca Isiaca* III. Bordeaux 2014, 73–93.

¹⁷ *RICIS* 113/ 0576. See STEIMLE, CHR.: Das Heiligtum der ägyptischen Götter in Thessaloniki und die vereine in seinem Umfeld. In BONNET, C. – RÜPKE, J. – SCARPI, P. (eds): *Religions Orientales – culti misterici: Neue Perspektiven – nouvelles perspectives – prospettive nuove* [Postdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 16]. Stuttgart 2006, 31–32; NIGDELIS (n. 14) 17 and 38 n. 10. See *RICIS* 113/0574: a *hieraphoros* and *sekobates* (early 3rd century AD). The *heraphoroi synklitai* of the inscription *RICIS* 113/0530 are worshippers of Anubis, whose image is carved on the stele. In confirmation to the continuity of the cult see also the 1st century AD dedication, “following a dream”, to the divine triad (*RICIS* 113/0534).

¹⁸ This sacred function is even mentioned in a mutilated inscription of the 2nd century AD in the same sanctuary: *RICIS* 113/0557. In Athens, in the same period (120 AD), an *hagiaophoros* connected to the cult of Isis is evoked (*RICIS* 101/0221).

¹⁹ *RICIS* 113/ 0530 and Pl. XXIV.

²⁰ Papyrus Oxyrhynchus of the 3rd century AD, edited by MONTERRAT, D.: The *Kline* of Anubis. *JEJ* 78 (1992) 301–307.

²¹ Attested in the same sanctuary of Thessaloniki (*RICIS* 113/0575: 3rd century AD) the “banquet” of Sarapis is known by various documents. See BRICAULT, L.: *Les cultes isiaques dans le monde gréco-romain. Documents réunis, traduits et commentés*. Paris 2013, n. 97, 306–308 with related bibliography and, for Roman Egypt, *ibid.* n. 130, 394–397.

There is evidence of the divine triad in Dion,²² Cozani²³ and Amphipolis in Macedonia,²⁴ Eretria²⁵ and Chalcis²⁶ in Euboea, in many cities of Boeotia,²⁷ in Phocis, in Ambryssos,²⁸ Hyampolis²⁹ and Thithorea,³⁰ in Naupactos in the western Lokris, in Thessaly,³¹ in Thrace,³² in Arsos (Cyprus),³³ in Thera,³⁴ and in Ephesus,³⁵

²² *RICIS* 113/0219, 0211–0212, 0217: marble plaque depicting two ears, a sign of benevolent listening skills of the god. See CHRISTODOULOU, P.: Les reliefs votifs du sanctuaire d'Isis à Dion. In BRICAULT, L. – VEYMIERS, R. (eds): *Bibliotheca Isiaca*. Vol. II. Bordeaux 2011, n. 2, fig. 6, and *RICIS* 113/0206, where there is a slab of imperial times with two foot-marks (a sign of divine epiphany or the visit to the temple of the faithful?) dedicated by Ignatia Herennia to Hermanubis "following a command of the god". See also CHRISTODOULOU 11–22, n. 6 and fig. 17).

²³ *RICIS* 113/0101.

²⁴ Two dedications to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis of the 1st century BC (*RICIS* 113/0907 = VEYMIERS, R.: Les cultes isiaques à Amphipolis. *Membra disjecta* (III^e s. av. J.-C. – III^e s. apr. J.-C.). *BCH* 133 (2009) 489, and 515–516 App., n. 6, fig. 9–10; 492 and 516–517 App. n. 7, fig. 13; *RICIS Suppl.* III, 113/0909 = VEYMIERS 514–515 n. 4). A third inscription was dedicated as "a sign of gratitude" to Anubis from Laevia Tertia in the 2nd or 3rd century AD (VEYMIERS 519, App. n. 10, fig. 18–19; *RICIS Suppl.* III 113/0912). A particular aspect of the local *facies* of the Isis cults is their association to Herakles in the dedication of a stele of the 2nd century BC (*RICIS* 113/0906 = VEYMIERS 481–484, 513–514, n. 3 fig. 6–7). For an analysis of the Isis cult in the city, see VEYMIERS.

²⁵ GRENIER, J.-C.: *Anubis alexandrin et romain* [ÉPRO 57]. Leiden 1977, no. 74 = *RICIS* 104/0105 and 104/0106: "two marble slabs bearing the same text"; *RICIS* 104/0114. The stele *RICIS* 104/0111 is dedicated "to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis and Harpocrates" from "Septimia Antiochis having been a navarch": 1st century BC. On the Iseion of Eretria see BRUNEAU, PH.: *Le sanctuaire et le culte des divinités égyptiennes à Érétrie* [ÉPRO 45]. Leiden 1975.

²⁶ *RICIS* 104/0201 with Apis; 104/0202; 104/0203; 104/0205.

²⁷ *RICIS* 105/0301 (Thebes); 105/0401 (Thespis); 105/0710 and 0711 (Orchomenos); 105/0847, 105/0875, 105/0878 (Chaironeia). According to ROESCH, P.: Les cultes égyptiens en Béotie. In CRISCUOLO, L. – GERACI, G. (edd): *Egitto e storia antica: dall'ellenismo all'eta araba: bilancio di un confronto. Atti del Colloquio internazionale, Bologna, 31 agosto-2 settembre 1987*. Bologna 1989, 621–629 the influence of the Ptolemaic power would have been a decisive factor in the introduction of the Egyptian cults in Boiotia. Contra: SCHACHTER, A.: Egyptian Cults and Local Elites in Boiotia. In BRICAULT, L. – VERSLUYS, M. J. – MEYBOOM, P. G. P. (eds): *Nile into Tiber, Egypt in the Roman World. Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of Isis Studies, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, May 11–14 2005* [RGRW 159]. Leiden–Boston 2007, 364–391.

²⁸ *RICIS* 106/0101.

²⁹ *RICIS* 106/0301–0303.

³⁰ *RICIS* 106/0401 and 0409.

³¹ Eight attestations of Anubis, always associated with Isis and Sarapis and also, in two cases, with Horus-Harpocrates: *RICIS* 112/0101 (Hypata, 3rd–2nd century BC), 212/0501–0502 (Larissa, 2nd century BC) and 212/0506 (Larissa, in latin, 3rd century AD), 212/0706 (Démétrias, 2nd–1st century BC), 212/0802 (Gonnoi) and 212/1001 (Meliboia, 2nd century BC). See DECOURT, J. C. – TZIAFALIAS, A.: Cultes et divinités isiaques en Thessalie. In BRICAULT–VERSLUYS–MEYBOOM (n. 27) 329–363.

³² Beside the coin of Perinthus, already mentioned, the character is attested in Maroneia in the Hellenistic period (*RICIS Suppl.* 114/0208: 2nd century BC and 114/0205: 1st century BC or AD), an important center of worship of Isis, where the presence of the tetrad is still reflected in a post dedicated in the 3rd century AD "by divine order" "to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis and Harpocrates" (*RICIS* 114/0204). See GRANDJEAN, Y.: *Une nouvelle aréologie d'Isis à Maronée* [ÉPRO 49]. Leiden 1975.

³³ *RICIS* 401/0301–0303: three dedications "to Sarapis, to Isis (and) to Anubis", of the beginning of the Roman era from a sanctuary of Isis. See MASSON, O.: Notes sur un sanctuaire d'Arsos. *BCH* 104 (1980) 273–275.

³⁴ GRENIER (n. 25) no. 75–77 = *RICIS* 202/1202 and 202/1204–1205.

³⁵ GRENIER (n. 25) no. 78 = *RICIS* 304/0602 (c. 262 BC).

Priene,³⁶ Smyrne,³⁷ Heraclea ad Latmum³⁸ and Didyma³⁹ in Asia Minor. A significant documentation, especially from monuments and literary sources, including a few epigraphic attestations⁴⁰ – of which we will discuss a few examples – confirms the presence of the divine triad also in Italy and in the western regions, early in the 1st century BC and in the Imperial Age.

Therefore it is necessary to assess the historical and religious significance of Anubis' presence and role within what is customary to call the "Isiac family", after the happy definition by M. Malaise,⁴¹ i.e., that group of gods who appears in the Mediterranean *oikoumene* from the late 4th – early 3rd century BC onwards. These gods, in fact, constitute a special "unity", standing apart from the varied and complex picture, with a local dimension, of the Egyptian tradition to form a theological and ritual structure. This structure for many reasons is new and original, although rooted in the age-old story of their homeland. If Isis appears in some ways to be the central character of this new structure, no less important is the function of the "new god" Sarapis who, in continuity with the Osor-Apis of Memphis, takes on a face and an identity that are separate from his earlier form in its specific iconographic features and in the amount of religious values that he expresses,⁴² while the ancient Osiris

³⁶ GRENIER (n. 25) no. 79 = *RICIS* 304/0801 (3rd century BC); *RICIS* 304/0803 (2nd century BC). See STAVRIANOPOLOU, E.: Norms of public behaviour towards Greek priests: Some insights from the *leges sacrae*. In BRULÉ, P. (ed.): *La norme en matière religieuse en Grèce ancienne* [Kernos Supplément 21]. Liège 2009, 216–220.

³⁷ GRENIER (n. 25) no. 51 = *RICIS* 304/0201: dedication of *Synanubiastai*. See TAKÁCS (n. 12).

³⁸ *RICIS* 304/1001: hellenistic (?).

³⁹ *RICIS* 304/1102: 2nd century BC.

⁴⁰ A Latin dedication to the triad, parallel to a Greek one, comes from Dion, on the statue of Antheia Maxima daughter of Publius, of the Severian age (*RICIS* 113/0211–0212). From Larissa comes the latin dedication, mutilated, maybe from the 3rd century AD. mentioned above (*RICIS* 212/0506).

⁴¹ MALAISE, M.: *Pour une terminologie et une analyse des cultes isiaques* [Mémoires de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie royale de Belgique. Collection in 8°, 3^e série 35]. Bruxelles 2005.

⁴² On the problem of the "training" of Sarapis I only mention the analysis by BORGEAUD, PH. – VOLOKINE, Y.: La formation de la légende de Sarapis: une approche transculturelle. *ARG* 2 (2000) 37–76. Cf. also PFEIFFER, ST.: The God Sarapis, his Cult and the Beginnings of the Ruler Cult in Ptolemaic Egypt. In MCKECHNIE, P. – GUILLAUME, PH. (eds): *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and His World* [Mnemosyne Suppl. 300]. Boston 2008, 387–408; SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: *Problemi di religione greca ed ellenistica. Dèi, demoni, uomini: tra antiche e nuove identità religiose* [Hierá 12]. Cosenza 2009, 203–236; BELAYCHE, N.: Le possible « corps » des dieux : retour sur Sarapis. In PRESCENDI, F. – VOLOKINE, Y.: Dans le laboratoire de l'historien des religions. Mélanges offerts à Philippe Borgeaud [Religions en Perspective 24]. Geneva 2011, Dossier: laborfides 314928_3b2 Document: Labo_Histo_314928 Date: 29/3/2011 16h36, 227–250; BERGMANN, M.: Sarapis im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. In WEBER, G. (Hrsg.): *Alexandria und das ptolemäische Ägypten- Kulturbegegnungen in Hellenistischer Zeit*. Berlin 2010, 109–135. I disagree with L. Bricault who, in a contribution full of original ideas, deems late and constructed artificially the tradition of the "foundation" of the Alexandrian cult to Sarapis, as it is reported by Tacitus, Plutarch and Clement of Alexandria. Sarapis would be "born" in the 5th century BC at Memphis, as the local Osor-Apis, and the only "creation" would be that of his Hellenized image in the time of Ptolemy I or II (BRICAULT, L.: Sêrapis. Histoire et mythe de la création d'un dieu. In *D'Osiris à 1905, et au-delà: Éléments pour enseigner le fait religieux*. Poitiers 2005, 29–41). In fact, his iconographic reshaping was the phenomenon that brought into being the new figure, despite its ancient roots, of a "Hellenistic" deity such as the Alexandrian Sarapis, which also includes traits of Zeus, Hades, and Asclepius and begins a career – both theological and ritual – that will transform him into a cosmic supreme deity with complex values.

remains present, especially in ritual practices, along with his son Horus in the juvenile form of Harpocrates. In close connection with them, Anubis receives a new emphasis, and his peculiar iconography conjugates the theriomorphic, canine head and the humanized body. In Egypt, however, he kept also his complete theriomorphic character, and this does not seem to have been an obstacle to his acceptance outside of Egypt as a full-rights member of that "family".

It is hard to recognize with certainty where and when this "family" was conceived as a kind of "theological" reality that was compact enough, and was singled out from the complex net of relationships among these divine characters in the ancient Egyptian tradition. In this tradition, in fact, common and shared characteristics were rooted in the whole country,⁴³ even if with strong local features and different myths and rituals. The most likely crossroad where a fresh reshaping of the divine personalities took place, however, appears to have been precisely in Alexandria, where Anubis was the owner of a place of worship within the *Sarapieion* built by Ptolemy III,⁴⁴ and from which a significant documentation was issued and lasted long, until the late Imperial Age. In this environment the two aspects of the god are known, namely Anubis and Hermanubis.⁴⁵ In this latter new form, the god was invoked as the "great god who hears and answers" in a dedication of the end of the Ptolemaic period or the beginning of the Roman Empire, placed on a slab bearing the imprint of a foot, perhaps a memory of his epiphany.⁴⁶ In Canopus, a temple founded during the reign of Ptolemy II associates Isis with Anubis,⁴⁷ a significant evidence of that connection of the characters within a "family" that will be typical of their life abroad. This "family" is shaped with the typical structure of a "triad" in region of Montaza-Taposiris Parva⁴⁸ and in Hadra⁴⁹ in the Ptolemaic age, where dedications are placed, respectively, "to Osiris who is also Sarapis, to Isis, to Anubis, and to all the gods and goddesses",

⁴³ As it is well known, this pan-Egyptian cult of Osiris and Isis, with associated deities, has been noticed in the 5th century BC by as keen an observer as Herodotus. This Greek historian, in fact, points out that "the Egyptians do not all worship the same gods, excepting Isis and Osiris, the latter of whom they say is Dionysus; these all worship them in the same way" (*Hist.* II 42. 2). See COULON, L.: Osiris chez Hérodote. In *Hérodote et l'Égypte. Regards croisés sur le Livre II de l'Enquête d'Hérodote. Actes de la journée d'étude organisée à la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée – Lyon, le 10 mai 2010*. Lyon 2013, 167–190.

⁴⁴ See FRASER, P. M.: *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Oxford 1972, vol. I, 28 and 262.

⁴⁵ A dedication to Anubis "for king Ptolemy and queen Arsinoe, the Philopatores" was placed by the guild of the millers (*OGIS* 729; BERNARD, É.: *Inscriptions grecques d'Alexandrie ptolémaïque*. Le Caire 2001, n. 24; KAYSER, F.: *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (I^{er}–III^e s. apr. J.-C.)* Le Caire 1994, n° 124). KAYSER n. 65: dedication of the *Apolloniaké syndos* to Anubis see Fraser (n. 44) vol. II, 412–413 and nn. 572–573: dedication to Anubis from a group of carpenters; KAYSER n. 66: dedication to Hermanubis. See GRENIER (n. 25) 23–28.

⁴⁶ FRASER (n. 44) vol. I, 262 and vol. II, 413–414, n. 576.

⁴⁷ BERNARD, É.: *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs. 1. Les confins libyques*. Le Caire 1970, vol. I, 232 n. 2; FRASER (n. 44) vol. I, 271–272, II, 412, n. 572. See MALAISE, M.: Le culte d'Isis à Canope au III^e siècle avant notre ère. In JENTEL, M.-O. – DESCHENES-WAGNER, G. (edd): *Tranquillitas. Mélanges en l'honneur de Tran tam Tinh*. Quebec 1994, 353–356.

⁴⁸ FRASER (n. 44) vol. I, 252–253 and vol. II, 401, nn. 487–488 = *OGIS* 97: reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes.

⁴⁹ FRASER (n. 44) vol. II, 412 and n. 572.

and an altar is labeled “of Isis, Sarapis and Anubis”. In Medinet Madi, in the 1st century BC, the association of Anubis with Isis is confirmed⁵⁰ and the Anubieion of Memphis, in the Serapeum,⁵¹ bears witness to the popularity of the god, whose benevolence towards the humans in their earthly existence now joins his funerary vocation.⁵² It may be added that, in particular environments and historical times, the figure of Anubis was subject – like those of Isis and Sarapis, albeit in minor proportions – also to a cosmic and philosophical reinterpretation, according to a peculiar trend of the late antique religiosity and thought. Plutarch gives some indication of religious and philosophical reinterpretations of Anubis in his function of “mediator” between the cosmic levels, according to the particular Platonic exegesis of Isis’ myth and cult by Plutarch himself.⁵³ If such theological speculations can be ascribed to well-educated and refined milieus, interested in philosophical thoughts, it is hardly possible to attribute them to the level of the worship’s practice. The philosopher of Chaeronea, in fact, identifies Nephthys with “that which is beneath the Earth and invisible” while Isis is “that which is above the earth, and visible”, and continues:

⁵⁰ On the walls of the vestibule of the Ptolemaic temple at Medinet Madi, that the four Greek Hymns by Isidorus (1st century BC.) mention as a place of worship to Hermuthis, now identified with Isis in her capacity as a goddess of universal power, Pythiades dedicates a statue to “Hermuthis great goddess (*megiste*) and great god Anubis (*megalos*)”: VOGLIANO, A.: *Primo rapporto degli scavi condotti dalla Missione archeologica d’Egitto della R. Università di Milano nella zona di Medinet Madi*. Milano 1936, 44 n.7; DUNAND (n. 12) vol. I, 100–104; GRENIER (n. 25) 27–28. Documentation and religious-historical assessment of Isidorus Hymns (see BERNARD, É.: *Inscriptions métriques de l’Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte*. Paris 1969, 631–652, n. 175) as witnesses to the “Hellenistic face of Isis” in SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: The Hellenistic Face of Isis: Cosmic and Saviour Goddess. In BRICAULT–VERSLUYS–MEYBOOM (n. 27) 40–72, here 48–54; and in SFAMENI GASPARRO: *Problemi* (n. 42) 237–270. See also MOYER, I.: Isidorus at the Gates of the Temple. In RUTHERFORD, I. (ed.): *Greco-Egyptian Interactions: Literature, Translation, and Culture 500 BCE–300 CE*. Oxford – New York 2016, 209–244.

⁵¹ In Memphis, home of the ancestral cult of Osor-Apis, the *Anoubieion* was located at the *Sarapieion*, along with temples dedicated to Bubastis (*Bubasteion*) and Imouthes-Asclepius (*Asklepieion*). See WILKEN, U.: *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (Ältere Funde)* (UPZ). Bd. I: *Papyri aus Unterägypten*. Berlin–Leipzig 1927, 14–18, 122, 8 and 577; GUILMOT, M.: Le Sarapieion de Memphis. Étude topographique. *Chronique d’Égypte* 37 (1962) 359, n. 73; DE GENIVAL, F.: *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d’après les documents démotiques*. Le Caire 1972, 60; GRENIER (n. 25) 26–27; JEFFREYS, D. J. – SMITH, H., S.: *The Anubieion at Saqqara*. London 1988; MALAISE (n. 41) 156; CANNATA, M.: Social Identity at the Anubieion: A Reanalysis. *AJA* 111 (2007) 1–18 with broad literary and archaeological documentation and bibliography.

⁵² For this evolution of the god’s personality see GRENIER (n. 25) 29–40, who rightly points out (p. 29) “ce dieu redoutable préposé aux choses de l’au-delà jusqu’alors, est sollicité désormais pour contribuer au bonheur des vivants”.

⁵³ Within a very extensive bibliography, we report only RIES, J.: Plutarque historien et théologien des doctrines dualistes. In RIES, J. (ed.): *Gnosticisme et monde hellénistique. Actes du Colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve, 11–14 mars 1980*. Louvain-la-Neuve 1982, 146–163; BIANCHI, U.: Plutarch und der Dualismus. In *ANRW* II.36.1 (1987) 350–365; BRENK, F. E.: In the Image, Reflection and Reason of Osiris. Plutarch and the Egyptian Cults. In PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ, A. – CASADESÚS BORDOY, F. (edd): *Estudios sobre Plutarco. Misticismo y Religiones Místicas en la Obra de Plutarco. Actas del VII Simposio Español sobre Plutarco. Palma de Mallorca, 2–4 noviembre 2000*. Madrid–Málaga 2001, 83–98; SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: *Tra δεισιδαιμονία e ἀθεότης: I percorsi della ‘religione filosofica’ di Plutarco*. In PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ, A. – TITCHENER, FR. (edd): *Valori letterari delle Opere di Plutarco. Studi offerti al Professore Italo Gallo dall’International Plutarch Society*. Málaga–Utah 2005, 163–184.

"The circle which touches these, called the horizon, being common to both, has received the name of Anubis, and is represented in form like a dog ... And among the Egyptians Anubis is thought to possess this faculty, which is similar to that which Hecate is thought to possess among the Hellenes, for Anubis is a deity of the lover world as well as a god of Olympus. Some are of the opinion that Anubis is Cronus. For this reason, inasmuch he generates all things out of himself and conceives (*kyon*) all things within himself, he has gained the appellation of 'Dog'".⁵⁴ The conclusion of this cosmological and "sophic" interpretation seems to reach an aspect of the current cultic practice, although it is difficult to decide whether it represents the Plutarch's sapiential exegesis: "For those who revere him (*tois sebomenois*) Anubis, however, is something unspeakable (*ton Anubim aporrheton ti*)".⁵⁵ It will not be forgotten, however, that this cosmic dimension of the character had to be quite widespread, for he is invoked in a Magical Papyrus as "Anubis, subterranean, terrestrial and celestial".⁵⁶

A larger perspective appears in a poem in honor of Anubis reported in an inscription of the 1st century AD from Kios (Bithynia) that, according to the aretalogical model, extols the god as the "King of all the inhabitants of heaven ... Anubis the incorruptible", the son of the highly venerable Osiris (identified with Zeus and Sarapis), and of the great cosmic goddess Isis.⁵⁷

This is not the place to analyze in detail the personality of Anubis, one of the oldest and most popular deities of the Egyptian pantheon; as a protector of tombs, he himself the "lord of the necropolis", actor and inventor of the complex ritual of embalming that only ensures the survival of the deceased after death; according to the Osirian myth he first made this operation, reassembling – after the search and discovery – the dismembered body of the god.⁵⁸ This role, the most important for the

⁵⁴ Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 44 368 e–f. Cf. *Plutarch's Moralia in fifteen volumes* [LCL]. Trans. F. C. BABBIT, London–Cambridge 1962, vol. V, 106–107.

⁵⁵ Here I have changed Babbitt's translation that reads: "There is, therefore, a certain mystery observed by those who revere Anubis". The translation proposed by FROIDEFOND, CHR.: *Plutarque. Œuvres morales. Tome V, 2^e partie : Traité 23 – Isis et Osiris* [CUF Série grecque 317]. Paris 1988, 217 is: "Ce qui est sur, c'est que cette appellation est proscrite par les adorateurs d'Anubis".

⁵⁶ PGM XVII of the 4th century AD in PREISENDANZ, K.: *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*. Berlin 1928–1931, Bde 1–2. Hrsg. von A. HENRICHS. Stuttgart 1973², Bd. I, 138–139; trans. BETZ, H. D., (ed.): *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation. Including the Demotic Spells*. Chicago–London 1992², 253. Other magical sources in GRENIER (n. 25) 30–33. Another important documentary field to measure Anubis' popularity is also that of the so-called "magical gems" that offers an exemplification of its rich iconographic schemes. Here I only refer to the recent edition of the Cabinet des Médailles collections, by MASTROCINQUE, A.: *Les intailles magiques du département des Monnaies Médailles et Antiques*. Paris 2014, 51–54.

⁵⁷ "Roi de tous les habitants du ciel, salut, ô impérissable Anubis. Ton père à la couronne d'or, le très vénérable Osiris, qui est lui-même Zeus, fils de Kronos, lui-même le grand et puissant Ammôn, souverain des immortels, t'honore par-dessus tous, lui. Ta mère est la bienheureuse déesse Isis aux nombreux noms qu'engendra Ouranos, fils de la Nuit, auprès des flots étincelants de la mer, et qu'Èrèbos nourrit pour être la lumière de tous les mortels, elle, la première des bienheureux, qui dans l'Olympe détient le sceptre, et de la terre entière et de la mer est la divine reine à qui rien n'échappe. De grands bienfaits elle est l'auteur pour les mortels." Trans. by GRENIER (n. 25), 92 no. 56; *RICIS* 308/0302. See PEEK, W.: *Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte Texte*. Berlin 1930, 137–142; DUNAND (n. 12) III, 109–111.

⁵⁸ A vivid description of this episode is provided by a section of the Coffin Texts (CT VII, p. 112 hm = Spell 908; ROEDER, G.: *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten*. Jena 1915, 222) quoted by

existential and religious life of the Egyptians, is expressed in one of its most frequent and typical attributes, namely that of “the one who is in the place of mummification”.⁵⁹ This is therefore the essential element from which we can assess the place of the god within the “Isiac family” and understand the reason for his presence in the religious phenomenon by which this “family” was proposed for the veneration by many peoples of the Mediterranean world, constituting a “product” that was particularly appreciated in what North, which was called, provocatively, the “marketplace of religions”.⁶⁰ To this purpose, however, other aspects of his divine personality will not be neglected, including – using Grenier’s words – “un rôle combatif qui procède à la fois du sacrificateur et du défenseur guerrier”.⁶¹

All these divine powers are expressed primarily in relation to the role played by Anubis in the dramatic story of the Osiris–Isis couple. According to Plutarch, who offers the most complete and organic version of the Osiris’ myth, Anubis, born from the union of Osiris and Nephthys, is brought up by Isis “and becomes her guardian and attendant”. A clear reference to his theriomorphic aspect is alluded to in the statement “he is said to protect the gods just as dogs protect men”.⁶² All the literary and

GRENIER (n. 25), 9: “Anubis, celui qui preside au Pavillon divine, le maître de la Douat (les Enfers), celui à qui les occidentaux (les défunts) adressent toute prière, le maître de SEPA, celui qui preside à la Terre sacrée (the nécropole), celui qui Reside au cœur du ciel médian, le quatrième des enfants de Rê, il descendit du ciel pour reconstituer (the cadavre d’) Osiris, tant il (Osiris) était cher au cœur de Rê et des dieux.”

⁵⁹ GRENIER (n. 25) 8. Literature on Greek-Roman Anubis, even if valuable, is not very rich in comparison to the one concerning Isis and Sarapis. Suffice it to note that in the overview offered by BRICAULT, L. – VEYMIERS, R.: *Quinze ans après. Les études isiaques (1997-2012): un premier bilan*. In BRICAULT, L. – VERSLUYS, M. J. (eds): *Egyptian Gods in the Hellenistic and Roman Mediterranean: Image and Reality between Local and Global* [Suppl. Mythos 3, N. S.] 2012, 1–23, only one mention of Anubis occurs, concerning the iconography of oil lamps (see below). Grenier’s monograph highlights the features of the Hellenistic and Roman god, following his previous Egyptian history, and offers a collection, still very useful, of literary, iconographic and epigraphic documents. Cf. also GRENIER, J.-CL.: *L’autel funéraire isiaque de Fabia Stratonice* [ÉPRO 71]. Leiden 1978; LECLANT, J.: s.v. “Anubis” in *LIMC*. Zürich–München 1981, I.1, 862–873 and I.2, 688–695; BAKHOUM, S.: *Dieux égyptiens à Alexandrie sous les Antonins. Recherches numismatiques et historiques*. Paris 1999, 155–166. “Anubis and Hermanubis”: MALAISE: Pour une terminologie (n. 41) 155–157 and *passim*. Now see the new, updated oversight of the theme by MALAISE: Anubis (n. 16), quoted above, which, however, does not focus enough on the religious-historical dimension of the large documentation.

⁶⁰ NORTH, J.: The Development of Religious Pluralism. In LIEU, J. – NORTH, J. – RAJAK, T. (eds): *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*. London – New York 1992, 174–193. See SFAMENI GASPARRO: Problemi (n. 42) 141–163 and Il culto di Iside nel mondo ellenistico-romano: tra “diffusione” e “creazione” continua. Per un nuovo modello interpretativo. *Mare Internum. Archeologia e culture del Mediterraneo* 8 (2016) [2017] 13–20.

⁶¹ GRENIER (n. 25) 10–11. This is certainly not the place to propose a budget of Egyptological research on Anubis. For example only it can highlight the contributions, to varying degrees useful to illustrate this divine figure in his original historical environment, by QUAEGBEUR, J.: Anubis, fils d’Osiris, le vacher. In KAKOSY, L. – GAÁL, E. (edd): *Studia Aegyptiaca* III. Budapest 1977, 119–130 and DUQUESNE, T.: *Anubis. Upwawet, and Other Deities: Personal Worship and Official Religion in Ancient Egypt*. The Egyptian Museum Cairo 2007; for the Hellenistic period, CLARYSSE, W.: A Demotic Self-dedication to Anubis. *Enchoria* 16 (1988) 7–10, and MONTSERRAT (n. 20)

⁶² Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 14, 356e–f trans. BABBIT (n. 54) 38–39. See *De Is. et Os.* 44, 368e: “When Nephthys gave birth to Anubis, Isis treated the child as if it were her own.” Diodorus (I 87) qualifies Anubis as a “bodyguard” (*somatophylax*) of Osiris and Isis.

monumental Egyptian documents, with their vibrant iconography, show us, up to the Imperial time,⁶³ Anubis by the funeral bed on which Osiris lies or attends a deceased person who aspires to "Osirification", or who is conducted by Anubis, as the psychopomp god,⁶⁴ in the presence of Thoth and of the underworld court, where they proceed to the "weighing of the heart", which gives access to immortality. It is from the New Kingdom, under the XIX Dynasty, however, that, in addition to the iconography of mummification, Anubis is depicted with increasing frequency as the "guide", who leads by the hand the deceased and introduces him to the world of the afterlife and its related gods. The decoration of the tombs in the necropolis of Deir el-Medineh, "the city of the craftsmen", offers us some significant examples of this iconographic scheme,⁶⁵ which subsequently had a great fortune, and spread until the Imperial Roman Age, as is shown by a rich documentation in many papyri⁶⁶ and monuments, the latter represented by stelae⁶⁷ and funerary objects such as masks,⁶⁸ coffins,⁶⁹ and above all shrouds, the latter coming, in particular, from Saqqara and dating back to the middle of the 1st century AD.⁷⁰ These documents reflect with lively immediacy the perception of an intimate familiarity between the divine guide and the deceased, led by him in the afterlife before king Osiris himself, with whom at times both are placed in close contiguity, constituting a sort of "triad". Therefore, Anubis, as *Hegemon* of Delos and Athens, reflects the vital relationship with the Egyptian horizon of the complex phenomenon that led to the "birth" of Sarapis⁷¹ and to the birth of a homogeneous group, a sort of "pantheon" of Isiac gods linked by a network of "family" relationships between each other. The worship of this divine "family" spreads, with variations in time and space, but in substantial continuity through different environments of the Mediterranean world in a centuries-long process, persisting until the decline – in the period of late antiquity – of the polytheistic religious forms of traditional cultures. At the same time, also in relation to the figure of Anubis,

⁶³ RIGGS, CHR.: *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt. Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion*. Oxford – New York 2005. See also DUNAND, F.: Du séjour osirien des morts à l'au-delà chrétien. Pratiques funéraires en Égypte tardive. *Ktema* 11 (1986) 29–37 and DUNAND, F. – LICHTENBERG, R.: Pratiques et croyances funéraires en Égypte romaine. *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3216–3315.

⁶⁴ Among the many examples of this role, here is a statement in a late version of the Book of the Dead: "Je suis celui qui indique le chemin devant quiconque vient vers *Hbs-B3g* (toponyme désignant un lieu mythique de l'au-delà), je le rends praticable pour quiconque marche vers la Salle des Deux Maât (nom de l'endroit où siège le tribunal d'Osiris)" (version of GRENIER [n. 25] 15).

⁶⁵ GRENIER (n. 25) 15 and Pl. IV–V.

⁶⁶ It is sufficient to mention the Rhind Papyrus, written in hieratic and demotic, examined in the valuable work by RIGGS (n. 63) 45–48 and figs 11–12. They come from Thebes and can be dated back to 9 BC.

⁶⁷ RIGGS (n. 63) 167 fig. 79: from Abidos, 1st century AD. For a number of examples of such production of carved stelae see ABDELLA, A.: *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt*. Liverpool 1992.

⁶⁸ RIGGS (n. 63) 126–129: mask from the town of Meir, figs 53–54 (middle or late 1st century AD).

⁶⁹ RIGGS (n. 63) 142–147, figs 64–66: sarcophagus of a woman, possibly from Thebes, probably dating from between 150 and 180 AD.

⁷⁰ RIGGS (n. 63) 168–173, figs 80–82, Pl. 7–9; Catalogue nn. 68–73, 276–278.

⁷¹ Above n. 42.

a process of mutation is clearly recognizable – which also covers other deities of the “Isiac family” – in the religious significance of Anubis within the scenario of the Hellenistic-Roman world, which sees him – according to Apuleius and many other sources – to guide the faithful in worship-ceremonies. This ritual role, which certainly derived from his ancient funerary and eschatological significance, is strongly emphasized by a peculiar feature of his worship i.e., the “impersonation” of Anubis by a member of the sacred staff, i.e., a priest or a devotee, probably someone among the members of an “association” such as that of the *anubophoroi*, “the bearers of Anubis”, which could wear his cultic image, i.e. the mask, making it vividly present among the humans, in the *hic et nunc* of a ritual experience. This aspect is perceived and documented in a special way in late Republican Rome, and it is widely reported, often in controversial contexts, throughout the course of the story of the cult of Egyptian deities in the West. In fact, as it is clear from the testimony of Varro reported by Tertullian, the Senate's intervention against the Egyptian cults – probably in the 59 BC – provoked the ruin of the altars of Sarapis, Isis, Harpocrates and Anubis.⁷² Without going into the complex and controversial events of the introduction of Egyptian deities in Rome,⁷³ it is interesting to note that this phenomenon concerns the entire “family”,⁷⁴ with all its heritage of history and transformations issued during the Hellenistic period. At a very early stage, the partially theriomorphic figure of Anubis was perceived as the one that more clearly conveyed the Egyptian “identity” of this compact religious structure, in its “theological”, mythical and ritual consistency. Virgil, in evoking the *latrator Anubis*, points to the barbaric and monstrous connotation of Egypt in revolt against Rome,⁷⁵ Propertius mocks the *meretrix regina Canopi*, who dared to oppose *Ioui nostro latrantem ... Anubim*,⁷⁶ and Juvenal deplores the decadence

⁷² *Ad nat.* I 10. 17–18: *Ceterum Serapem, et Isidem et Arpocraten et Anubim prohibitos Capitolio Varro commemorat eorumque <aras> a senatu deiectas nonnisi per vim popularium restructas.* See *Apol.* 6. 8: *Serapidem et Isidem et Arpocratem cum suo Cynocephalo Capitolio prohibitos, id est curia deorum pulsos, Piso et Gabinios consules, non utique christiani, eversis etiam aris eorum abdicaverunt, turpium et otiosiarum superstitionum vitia cohibentes.*

⁷³ A documented summary of the problem and the different interpretative thesis in MALAISE, M.: *Octavian et les cultes isiaques à Rome en 28.* In BRICAULT-VEYMIERS: *Bibliotheca Isiaca* (n. 22) 185–199.

⁷⁴ In this regard it may invoke, confirming the presence of Anubis in the circle since the introduction of the Isis cult in Rome and his peculiar “visibility”, the testimony of the famous funerary monument of Haterii, which represents on the *Arcus to Isis*, namely the entrance arch to the sanctuary of the Egyptian gods at Campus Martius, the image of Minerva and the figures of Isis and Anubis. See GRENIER (n. 25) 150–151 no. 234. For a discussion on the still open question of the location of the Campus Martius sanctuary (*Iseum Campense*) see ENSOLI, S.: *L’Iseo e Serapeo del Campo Marzio con Domiziano, Adriano e i Severi: l’assetto monumentale e il culto legato con l’ideologia e la politica imperiali.* In BONACASA, N. – NARO, M. C. – TULLIO, A. (eds): *L’Egitto in Italia dall’Antichità al Medioevo. Atti del III Congresso Internazionale Italo-Egiziano Roma, CNR – Pompei, 13-19 Novembre 1995.* Roma 1998, 407–438 (in particular, 412 fig. 8: monument of the Haterii). The literature on the problem, very rich, cannot be hereby evoked.

⁷⁵ Verg. *Aen.* VIII 698: *Omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis / contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Mineruam / tela tenent.* GRENIER (n. 25) 59 no. 18.

⁷⁶ Prop. *Eleg.* III 9. 39–42: *Scilicet incesti meretrix regina Canopi, una Philippeo sanguine adusta nota, ausa Ioui nostro latrantem opponere Anubim et Tiberim Nili cogere ferre minas.* GRENIER (n. 25) 60 n. 19. The formula is used in a non-polemical context by Ovid in the description of an epiphany of Isis

and corruption of Rome's moral life, confirmed by the *honor* conferred to the *derisor Anubis*.⁷⁷ In all these documents, the character is perceived as the most immediate and specific expression of the Egyptian religious identity within the Roman scene. In the early 1st century BC, a "masking" episode of a protagonist of political life, in order to escape the attack from political opponents, confirms the visibility – in this scenario – of the figure of *anubophoros*, the "actor" of the Egyptian cult "impersonating" the god in public ceremonies.⁷⁸ According to Appian, the plebeian aedilis Marcus Volusius, condemned by proscription in 43 BC, "had a friend that participated in the sacred rites (*orgiastés*) of Isis, which required long linen robes down to the feet. He put it on, and also he put the head of a dog onto his head; it was precisely in this ritual costume (*outôs orghiazon*) that he went through Rome to reach (Sextus) Pompeius".⁷⁹

The ferocious satire of Juvenal evokes the context of the festival of November, the search for and the discovery of Osiris, a ritual which gathered many people, with expressions of sorrow and joy, led by an *actor* who was a worshipper or a priest

with his Egyptian followers (*Met.* IX 687–694; GRENIER [n. 25] 61 no. 20). See ROSATI, G.: *Latrator Anubis*. Alien Divinities in Augustan Rome, and How to Tame Monsters through Aetiology. In HARDIE, PH.: *Paradox and the marvellous in Augustan literature and culture*. Oxford – New York – Auckland 2009, 268–287.

⁷⁷ Juv. *Epig.* VI 532–534: *Ergo hic praecipuum summumque meretur honorem, qui grege linigero circumdatus et grege caluo plangentis populi currit derisor Anubis* ("Now, therefore, the one who deserves the highest honors, is this character who, escorted by priests with the linen garment and the shaven head, runs through the city under the Anubis mask, making fun of the people of compunction." See GRENIER (n. 25) 72 n. 34). See also Mart. *Epigr.* XII 28. 19.

⁷⁸ On the function of Anubophoros, after BRICAULT: *Les Anubophores* (n. 4), see also BRICAULT: *Les cultes isiaques* (n. 21) 333–337 n. 107 a–g.

⁷⁹ App. *Bell. Civ.* IV 47; GRENIER (n. 25) 74 no. 37. See also Val. Max. VII 3. 8, GRENIER (n. 25) 74 n. 36, which shows the character who, *adsumpto Isis abitu for itinera viasque publicas stipem petens*, reached the camp of Marcus Brutus. This source adds the particular of the "sacred begging". Also in the context of the Vitellian attack on December 19th, 69 CE, Domitian escaped their opponents *Isis celatus habitu interque sacrificulos variae superstitionis*, and reached the region at the Tiber (Suetonius, *Vit. Caes. Dom.* I 2). In the words of Tacitus the linen garment he wore to escape his enemies is not labeled "Isiac". However, even in the historical narrative we find a clear reference to a rather peculiar environment of "cultic actors" who could move freely through the city streets, who were "identified" thanks to their own clothing (... *Lineo amictu Turbae sacrificialum immixtus ignoratusque* ... *Hist.* III 74). The episode can be dated to December 19th, 69 AD. Now it is impossible to examine in detail Josephus' report of the "scandalous" well-known nocturnal meeting of Decius Mundus with the noble Paulina in a Roman *Iseum*, under the reign of Tiberius (Flav. Jos. *Ant. Iud.* XVII 65–80). It suffices to note that, even assuming that it is a literary "construct", it confirms the role of the worship to Anubis, who could be called upon for an "epiphany". For an evaluation of this source, cf. MOHRING, H. R.: *The Persecution of the Jews and the Adherents of the Isis Cult at Rome AD 19. Novum Testamentum* 3 (1959) 293–304 and more recently KLOTZ, D.: *The Lecherous Pseudo-Anubis of Josephus and the 'Tomb of 1897' at Akhmim*. In GASSE, A. – SERVAJEAN, F. – THIERS, CHR. (eds): *Et in Ægypto et ad Ægyptum. Recueil d'études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier* [Cahiers de l'ENiM 5/II]. Montpellier 2012, II 383–396, whose interpretation of certain images on monuments is also highly questionable. See a sharp criticism in GASPARINI, V.: *Negotiating the Body: between Religious Investment and Narratological Strategies. Paulina, Decius Mundus and the priests of Anubis*. In PETRIDOU, G. – GORDON, R. – RÜPKE, J. (eds): *Beyond Priesthood. Religious Entrepreneurs and Innovators in the Roman Empire* [RGVV LXVI]. Berlin – New York 2017, 383–414.

dressed like Anubis and performing the role of the guide.⁸⁰ This ritual later became a favorite target in the arguments of Christian authors against the pagan cults. Starting with Minucius Felix, who mentions *Isis [quae] perditum filium cum Cynocephalo suo et caluis sacerdotibus luget plangit inquit*, and then the *Cynocephalus inuentor gloriatur*,⁸¹ up to Lactantius,⁸² the theme of the search for and the *inventio* of Osiris – whose ritual *mimesis* is the most characteristic episode of the Isiac religion⁸³ – focuses on the roles of Isis and Anubis. The anonymous Christian *presbyter*, known by the name of Ambrosiaster, even in the Christian Rome of Pope Damasus questions the absurd loyalty of pagan aristocracy to these practices condemned as ignoble.⁸⁴

Beyond the literary *topoi*, these sources bear witness to the wide-spread knowledge of the active role of Anubis and of his human *actor* that allowed the god himself to attend the autumnal festivals, centered on the dramatic story of Osiris and Isis. It is therefore not a coincidence if the month of November is represented in the “Calendar of Philocalus” (354 AD) by the figure of an Isis priest shaking a sistrum and standing by a mask of Anubis.⁸⁵ A mosaic from Thysdrus (El-Djem, Tunisia) associates the inscription “NOVEMBER” with three ministers of Isis, one of them bearing the mask of Anubis and holding the sistrum, thus confirming the relationship between the month, the Isiac ritual, and his most representative actor.⁸⁶ The same role was carried out by the god and by his human representative in the parade of the *Navigium Isidis*

⁸⁰ The derisive description by the author of the *Historia Augusta* of the public religious behavior of Commodus also includes his “*anubophoros*” function, which was, in addition, “desecrated” by the violence of this emperor. In fact, he *cum Anubim portaret, capita Isiacorum graviter obtundebat* (*Hist. Aug. Com.* 9, on which cf. TURCAN, R.: Les dieux de l’Orient dans l’histoire Auguste. *Journal des Savants* [1993] 46–47). As it is known, the vexed question of the authorship of the *Historia Augusta* is still open, and it will be sufficient to quote the different positions of CAMERON, A.: *The Last Pagans of Rome*. Oxford – New York 2011, 742–782 and RATT, ST.: *Polémiques entre païens et chrétiens*. Paris 2012, 103–178.

⁸¹ Min. Fel. Octav. XXII: *Considera denique sacra ipsa et ipsa mysteria: inuenies exitus tristes, fata et funera et luctus atque planctus miserorum deorum. Isis perditum filium cum Cynocephalo suo et caluis sacerdotibus luget plangit inquit, et Isiaci miseri caedunt pectora et dolorem infelicissimae matris imitantur; mox inuento paruulo gaudet Isis, exultant sacerdotes, Cynocephalus inuentor gloriatur, nec desinunt annis omnibus uel perdere quod inueniunt uel inuenire quod perdunt. Nonne ridiculum est uel lugere quod colas uel colere quod luceas?* See TAISNE, A.-M.: Le culte isiaque dans l’Octavius de Minucius Felix. *Vita Latina* 150 (1998) 29–37.

⁸² Lact. *Epit.* XVIII 6: *sacerdotes ac ministri derasis omnibus membris tunsique pectoribus plangunt dolent quaerunt adfectum matris imitantes, postmodum puer per Cynocephalum inuenitur*. In Lactantius, as in Minucius Felix, there is confusion between Osiris, the object of the research, and the son of Isis.

⁸³ See also Firm. Mat. *De err. prof. rel.* II 3: *Et cum haec certis diebus fecerint, tunc fingunt se lacerati corporis reliquias <quaerere>, et cum inuenerint quasi sopitis luctibus gaudent*.

⁸⁴ Ambrosiaster, *Quaest.* CXIV 11: *Et Cynocephalus ille, qui nutabundus per omnia se circumfert loca quaerens membra adulteri Osiris, uiri Isidis*. See CUMONT, FR.: La polemique de l’Ambrosiaster contre les païens. *RHLR* 8 (1903) 421–422.

⁸⁵ GRENIER (n. 25) 165–166 no. 274. See KOEMOTH, P. P.: Autour du prêtre isiaque figuré dans le calendrier romain de 354. *Latomus* 67 (2008) 1000–1009 and BRICAULT: Les cultes isiaques (n. 21) 92–93 n. 129 f.

⁸⁶ STERN, H.: L’image du mois d’octobre sur une mosaïque d’El-Djem. *JS* (1965) 117–131 and STERN, H.: La date de la fête d’Isis du mois de Novembre à Rome. *CRAI* 112.1 (1968) 43–50; GRENIER (n. 25) 157 n. 250. See DESCHAMPS, L.: Quelques hypothèses sur le ‘calendrier’ de Thysdrus. *REA* 107.1 (2005) 103–130.

when, as reported by Apuleius, "there was no delay when the gods then came forward, deigning to tread with human feet. First came that dread messenger of both celestial and infernal beings, Anubis, of lofty stature and with a face now black, now golden, holding high his dog's neck; in his left hand he bore a herald's staff and with his right hand he shook a green palm-branch".⁸⁷

Some Christian sources of the 4th century confirm his description of Egyptian worship, marked by the close relationship of all members of the old divine family⁸⁸ involved in the myth upon which the ritual is based, and which also controls the destiny of the worshippers. The Christian authors emphasize the persistence of ancient traditions in a Rome whose centers of political power had already become Christian. We obtain from these descriptions a picture of a large sector of the higher Roman society tenaciously faithful to traditional observances and appointed to their highest religious offices. At the same time, these late pagans were taking part in the so-called "oriental" cults which, over centuries, had been integrated into the national and religious background of the Roman Empire, particularly those of the *Magna Mater*, of Mithras, and precisely those of the "Isiac family".⁸⁹ Without being able to carry out an analysis of these documents, which, despite their polemical emphasis, reveal the strong roots of the religious horizon associated with this "family",⁹⁰ let us only underline the ritual behaviour of a recently dead person which is criticized by the author of the *Carmen contra paganos*: during the night he went to the temple of Sarapis and expressed devotion to "Anubis latrator".⁹¹ Such a picture describes a senator, as in the title *Carmen ad quendam senatorem*, who, formerly being a Christian, went back to

⁸⁷ Apul. *Met.* XI 11: *Nec mora, cum dei dignati pedibus humanis incedere prodeunt, hic horrendus ille superum comperator et inferum, nunc atra, nunc aurea facie sublimis, attollens canis ceruices arduas, Anubis, laeua caduceum gerens, dextera palmam uirentem quatiens.* Trans. by GRIFFITHS, I. G.: *Apuleius of Madauros The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI)* [ÉPRO 39]. Leiden 1975, 83.

⁸⁸ Note that the "new" god Sarapis does not perform any role in the rituals of November, rooted in the ancient Egyptian tradition, while he is present in the ceremonies of the *Navigium Isidis*, the new creation of the Hellenistic period. Cf. Apul. *Met.* XI 9: *ibant et dicati magno Sarapi tibicines.* Even if, in some places, the name of the November festivals was *Sarapieia* or *Kikellia*, this does not imply the presence of the Hellenistic Sarapis but may confirm the full "translatability" of the two divine figures. In fact, the "new god" Sarapis does not intervene – in its Hellenized form – in the "Egyptian" ritual in November.

⁸⁹ On very peculiar ties subsisting between these religious cults in the very practice of the "last pagans" see SFAMENI, C.: *Isis, Cybele and other Oriental Gods in Rome in Late Antiquity: Private Context and the Role of Senatorial Aristocracy.* In MASTROCINQUE, A. – GIUFFRÉ SCIBONA, C. (eds): *Demeter, Isis, Vesta, and Cybele. Studies in Greek and Roman Religion in Honour of Giulia Sfameni Gasparro* [Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 36]. Stuttgart 2012, 119–118 and SFAMENI, C.: *Residenze e culti in età tardoantica.* Roma 2014.

⁹⁰ BRICAULT, L.: *Gens isiaca et identité polythéiste à Rome à la fin du IV^e s. apr. J.-C.* In BRICAULT, L. – VERSLUYS, M. J. (eds): *Power, Politics and the Cults of Isis. Proceedings of the V International Conference of Isis Studies. Boulogne-sur-Mer, October 13-15, 2011* [RGRW 180]. Leiden 2014, 326–359. See also SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: *Identités religieuses isiaques: pour la définition d'une catégorie historico-religieuse.* In GASPARINI, V. – VEYMIERS, R. (eds): *Individual and Materials in the Graeco-Roman Cults of Isis. Agents, Images, and Practices: Proceedings of the VIth International Conference of Isis Studies (Erfurt, May 6-8, 2013 – Liège, September 23-24, 2013)* [RGRW 187]. Leiden–Boston 2018, vol. I, 74–107.

⁹¹ *Carmen contra paganos* IV 98–102.

pagan practices and along the streets of Rome wielded a sistrum and wore “the dog mask”.⁹²

The frequency and the variety of iconographic schemes related to Anubis such as it appears in the late antique Roman coinage of the *publica vota*, where he was associated with the figures of Isis and Sarapis,⁹³ confirms – at the end of a centuries-long religious history – the importance, not to say the centrality, of the ancient divine personality of Anubis. Although participating in the general process of transformation to which the entire group of gods was subjected, he did not dismiss the strong brand of his Egyptian identity expressed by a partially theriomorphic appearance, whose religious significance appears to have been structurally linked to the identity of his own and of his entire “family”, in all the chronological and geographical span of his career out of Egypt. In fact, although the epigraphic documentation of his presence in the Isiac family in Italy⁹⁴ and in other western regions, from Gallia Narbonensis⁹⁵ to the African provinces (Cyrenaica⁹⁶), to Moesia Inferior (Tomis⁹⁷) is rather limited, the archaeological documents, from the marble statues with obvious religious function,⁹⁸ to the reliefs,⁹⁹

⁹² *Carmen ad quendam senatorem* 21–32: *Nunc etiam didici quod te non fecerit aetas, / sed tua religio, caluum, caligaeque remota / gallica sit pedibus molli redimita papyro. / Res miranda satis deiectaque culmine summo! / Si quis ab Isiac consul procedat in urbem, / risus orbis erit; quis te non rideat autem, / qui fueris consul, nunc Isidis esse ministrum? / Quodque pudet primo te non pudet esse secundo! / Ingeniumque tuum turpes damnare per hymnos, / respondente tibi uulgo et lacerante senatu, / teque domo propria pictum cum fascibus ante / nunc quoque cum sistro faciem portare caninam.* See CORSANO, M. – PALLA, R.: PS.-CIPRIANO, *Ad un senatore convertitosi dalla religione cristiana alla schiavitù degli idoli* [Poeti Cristiani 7]. Pisa 2006, 94–95.

⁹³ SNRIS (n. 11) 199–201 and *Roma* VI–V194. Cfr. the anthology by BRICAULT: *Les cultes isiaques* (n. 21) 126–127 n. 30, See also ALFÖLDI, A.: *Die alexandrinischen Götter und die Vota publica am Jahresbeginn*. JAC 8–9 (1965–1966) 53–87.

⁹⁴ MALAISE, M.: *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie* [ÉPRO 22]. Leiden 1972, 208–211 reports four dedications, one *Anubis Augusto* from Aquileia (MALAISE, M.: *Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie* [ÉPRO 21] Leiden 1972, Aquilée 2 = RICIS 515/0101), another from Rome with the statue offered (MALAISE: *Inventaire*, Rome 59 = RICIS 501/0102) while at Ostia two inscriptions recall the *Anubiacy* (MALAISE: *Inventaire*, Ostia 5 et 10 = RICIS 503/115, 503/118). RICIS 505/0502 adds a fragmentary dedication coming from Bari but whose true archaeological provenience is not yet ascertained.

⁹⁵ There are mentions of *Anubiacy* (GRENIER [n. 25] 100 no. 69 = RICIS 605/0107 from Nîmes) and of an *Anubophoros* (GRENIER [n. 25] 100–101 no. 70 = RICIS 605/1001: Vienna).

⁹⁶ RICIS 701/0201: Ptolemais, perhaps a dedication of a statue, 1st–2nd century AD.

⁹⁷ RICIS 618/1002: dedication to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis from the 1st century BC.

⁹⁸ In Italy MALAISE: *Les conditions* (n. 94) 208–211 enumerates twenty documents, including four statues (Sarsina 2 = GRENIER [n. 25] 142 no. 217; Antium 2 et Pl. I = GRENIER [n. 25] 141 no. 213; Puteoli 24 = GRENIER [n. 25] 141 no. 214; Beneventum 16 = GRENIER [n. 25] 143–144 no. 220).

⁹⁹ I hereby mention only a relief from Rome with the Isiac procession led by a character with the head of Anubis (MALAISE: *Inventaire* [n. 94] Rome 442 a and Pl. 26; GRENIER [n. 25] 150 no. 232 Pl. XXII), the bas-relief from the Iseum of Savaria (GRENIER [n. 25] 150 no. 233, Pl. XXIII) and a relief from Thugga, in Tunisia, depicting the figures of Harpokrates and Anubis (GRENIER [n. 25] 144; GAVINI, A.: *I culti orientali in Zeugitana: «étude préliminaire»*. In GONZÁLES, J. – RUGGERI, P. – VISMARA, C. – ZUCCA, R.: *L'Africa romana. Le ricchezze dell'Africa. Risorse, produzioni, scambi. Atti del XVII convegno di studio Sevilla, 14-17 dicembre 2006*. Roma 2008, 2222–2223 fig. 7–8). From Antium, besides the beautiful statue mentioned above (cf. n. 98) comes a mutilated relief with the figure of Anubis (MALAISE: *Inventaire* [n. 94] Antium I; RICIS 503/0101 and Pl. XCIII). For the Isis cult in this town see CACCIOTTI, B.: *Testimonianze dei culti orientali ad Antium*. In PALMA VENETUCCI, B. (ed.): *Culti orien-*

sometimes on altars¹⁰⁰ and funerary monuments,¹⁰¹ to the bronzes,¹⁰² and especially the rich production of clay oil lamps, bear witness to a widespread knowledge of this god. The numerous studies on the production of oil lamps (which are often considered “minor” materials even though they are important to evaluate the popularity of the different divine figures and their effective presence in the daily life of the common people) let us recognize different iconographic types, significant from both an historical and a religious points of view. Important, even though not very common, is the iconography of Anubis alone,¹⁰³ to which are added the specimens showing him next to Isis in a “couple”¹⁰⁴ and – more numerous – in a “triadic” pattern, with the addition of Harpocrates.¹⁰⁵ Without being able to enter into an analysis of the specific research on the subject or to enumerate the numerous examples, I think it is useful to remember that modern research has proved some historical and religiously meaningful data, such as the probable origin of these types from Campania and Africa. However, in proconsular Africa, in Italy, France, and Spain the couple Isis-Anubis and the triad Isis-Anubis-Harpocrates are recurring, whereas they are unknown in Egypt.¹⁰⁶ Their presence in Britannia, although limited, is nevertheless significant because, as in other noteworthy cases, it is connected to funerary contexts,¹⁰⁷ a likely indication of the eschatological involvement of the religious environment of Isis and of the peculiar connection of these monuments with Anubis. In this framework, a special place must be reserved for the testimony from Pompeii, given the exceptional documentary conditions of the building which is “fixed” forever in the *hic et nunc* of the 79 AD eruption of Vesuvius. Moreover, in Pompeii, Anubis appears along with the entire “family” in the painting of the lararium of the beautiful house of Poppeus Habitus

tali tra sacro e collezionismo. Roma 2008, 220–234, where this author explains the presence of Anubis because of relationships with Delos. His statue had probably a cultic character, and was perhaps placed in a private *sacrum*.

¹⁰⁰ Two Roman altars, the one with the image of Anubis and Harpocrates (MALAISE: *Inventaire* [n. 94] Roma 3; GRENIER [n. 25] 145 no. 222 = *RICIS* 501/0121), the other with those of Isis and Anubis (MALAISE: *Inventaire* [n. 94] Roma 8; GRENIER [n. 25] 145–146 no. 223 = *RICIS* 501/0149).

¹⁰¹ Funerary altar from Rome: MALAISE: *Inventaire* (n. 94) Roma 47; GRENIER (n. 25) 144–145 no. 221 = *RICIS* 501/0163. For the tomb of Fabia Stratonice see GRENIER: *L'autel funéraire* (n. 59).

¹⁰² A rich exemplification in the literature concerning Anubis. See above n. 59.

¹⁰³ PODVIN, J.-L.: Les lampes d'Anubis seul. In *Actes du 1er Congrès international sur le luminaire antique, Nyon-Genève 2003* [Monographies Instrumentum 31]. Montagnac 2005, 263–269, Pl. 123–124.

¹⁰⁴ PODVIN, J.-L.: Anubis et Isis sur les lampes à huile romaines. À propos d'une terre cuite du Musée des Antiquités nationales à Saint-Germain-en-Laye. *Revue du Louvre* 4 (2001) 33–36.

¹⁰⁵ PODVIN, J.-L.: Nouvelles lampes de la triade Isis-Harpocrates-Anubis. In BRICAULT, L. (ed.): *Bibliotheca Isiaca I*. Bordeaux 2008, 59–61.

¹⁰⁶ See PODVIN, J.-L.: Les lampes isiaques hors d'Égypte. In BRICAULT, L. (ed.): *Isis en Occident. Actes du I^{er} Colloque international sur les études isiaques, Lyon III, 16-17 mai 2002* [RGRW 151]. Leiden–Boston 2004, 364–368. For the presence of Anubis in clay appliques see PODVIN, J.-L.: Médailles d'applique et moules de terre cuite à décor isiaque. In BRICAULT–VEYMIERS: *Bibliotheca Isiaca III* (n. 16) 121–137: Anubis only (123 no. 12), Isis-Harpocrates Anubis-triad (125, no. 32), Sarapis-Isis-Anubis (125–126, no. 33–34), Isiac processions (126–127, no. 35 and 39). PODVIN: Les lampes (n. 103) 265, no. 15–17.

¹⁰⁷ PODVIN: Les lampes (n. 103) 265, no. 15–17. From burials also come two lamps with figure of only Anubis from Tipasa (Algeria): PODVIN: Les lampes (n. 103) 264, no. 8–9, and one from Les Clavelles, Lurs (France): PODVIN: Les lampes (n. 103) 265, no. 11.

– the so-called house of the “*Amorini dorati*”¹⁰⁸ – and next to Isis in the *sacellum* of the house of *Praedia Juliae Felicis*,¹⁰⁹ while a bronze statue of his was housed in the lararium of Memmius Auctus,¹¹⁰ and three lamps show him together with Isis and Harpokrates.¹¹¹ In the sequence of the priests and officials of the cult, depicted in *peribolus* of the Pompeian Iseum, there is “the priest with Anubis mask”,¹¹² a vivid illustration of the many literary sources examined above.

CONCLUSION

The perspective of a transformation and hellenization of the figure of the Egyptian Anubis run parallel to that of the entire scenario of the Isis cult, with the assumption of new prerogatives. It is clear that this process, also based on the close relationship with Isis and Sarapis, can likely be described in terms of a new form of salvation (*soteria*) guaranteed in view of the risks of existence in general and of diseases in particular. In this perspective, in fact, many dedications presented Anubis along with the other members of the divine “family”, and entrusted these gods with the concern of protecting benevolently the devotees, as the epithetes *epekooi* and *soteres* make evident, and the “thanksgiving” formula (*kata prostagma*) as well, which often motivates the votive dedications.¹¹³ The specific healing power of the Egyptian triad is extolled in a dedication in the Sarapieion A in Delos (2nd century BC), that remembers “the price for the treatment” (*iatreia*) offered to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis.¹¹⁴ The large spectrum of soteriological connotations of the whole family is finally emphasized in the exegesis of the experience of the dreams proposed by Artemidorus of Daldis. The author indeed declares that “Sarapis, Isis, Anubis, and Harpocrates, either in person or by means of their statues, their mysteries, and every myth related to them, and the gods who are worshipped in the same temples and on the same altars, predicted troubles, dangers, threats, and difficulties, from which they offer salvation beyond every oddity and expectation: these gods are always thought of as the saviours of those

¹⁰⁸ TRAN TAM TINH, V.: *Essai sur le culte d'Isis à Pompéi*. Paris 1964, 48–49 and Cat. no. 17, Pl. XV.1.

¹⁰⁹ TRAN TAM TINH (n.108) 87 and Cat. no. 6. The presence of Sarapis near the two characters is not sure.

¹¹⁰ TRAN TAM TINH (n. 108) 87 and Cat. no. 113.

¹¹¹ TRAN TAM TINH (n. 108) 87 and Cat. no. 132–133–133b, Pl. XXI.1 and XXII.2.

¹¹² TRAN TAM TINH (n. 108) 35, Cat. no. 31, Pl. V.3.

¹¹³ See, for example, *RICIS* 202/0363; 202/0170; 202/0366.

¹¹⁴ *RICIS* 202/0197: “Xenotimos, son of Xenotimos, and Nikaso, daughter of Hippocrates, of Delos for (recovery of) their son Xenophon, (consecrated) the price of care (*iatreia*), which come up to the gods the *epekooi* Sarapis, Isis, Anubis.” For medical issues, often related to those oracular, in the cult of Sarapis see SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: *Oracoli Profeti Sibille. Rivelazione e salvezza nel mondo antico*. Roma 2002, 203–253 and BRICAULT, L.: Serapide, dio guaritore. In DAL COVOLO, E. – SFAMENI GASPARRO, G. (eds): *Cristo e Asclepio. Culti terapeutici e taumaturgici nel mondo mediterraneo antico fra cristiani e pagani. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Accademia di Studi Mediterranei, Agrigento 20-21 novembre 2006* [Nuova Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose]. Roma 2008, 55–71. Isis also, moreover, widely participates in such prerogatives. See SFAMENI GASPARRO: *Oracoli* 327–342.

who have reached the bottom and ended up in an extremely dangerous situation, and immediately save those who are already in a situation of this kind."¹¹⁵

In this regard we can suspect with some likelihood that the "warlike" aspect of Anubis, which came to the fore in the ancient Egyptian tradition, was perceived in Hellenistic-Roman age as an expression of its protective efficacy to worshippers. The iconographic type of Anubis as a warrior in Roman military dress seems to testify to this important role, because we have many images in the Imperial period, especially in bronze statuettes.¹¹⁶ The epithet of *nikephoros*, "bearer of victory" which qualifies him in an inscription from Delos, in association with Sarapis and Isis,¹¹⁷ reflects the acknowledgement of that aspect, which describes the successful interventions in favour of human beings.

Beside the phenomenon, limited and restricted to particular areas, especially in Alexandria, of the anthropization in the "new" personality of Hermanubis,¹¹⁸ the persistence of the theriomorphic figure of Anubis recurs everywhere, with his funerary connections, which, in some cases – along with the function of embalmer, previewed also that of "judge in the underworld court".¹¹⁹ This persistence seems to give information about the eschatological value of the Isiac scenario, which would therefore be much larger and more popular than we would have recognized if they were connected in a privileged or exclusive manner only with the mystery dimension such as in the well-known testimony of Apuleius and other literary sources, which we cannot discuss in detail now.¹²⁰ This dimension, however, is attested only in episodic even if

¹¹⁵ Artemidorus, *Onirom. II* 39. And he concludes: "Especially their mysteries signify mourning, because even if their physical meaning is something different, that relative to their myth and their history shows that." Discuss this source BARRIGÓN FUENTES, C.: Les dieux égyptiens dans l'*Oniromanticon* d'Artémidore. *Kernos* 7 (1994) 29–45. Cf. BARRIGÓN FUENTES, C.: La utilización del mito en la obra de Artemidoro. In MA NIETO IBÁÑEZ, J. (ed.): *Estudios de religion y mito en Grecia y Roma* [X Jornadas de Filología clásica de Castilla y León]. León 1995, 89–101.

¹¹⁶ See BUDISCHOVSKY, M.-C.: Anubiaca. In L. Bricault: *Bibliotheca Isiaca I* (n. 105) 23–30. The type of deity in warrior dress is widespread in the Roman Imperial period and is open to different interpretations (WILL, E.: *Le reliefs cultuel gréco-romain*. Paris 1955, 255–271; KANTOROWICZ, E. H.: Gods in Uniform. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 105 [1961] 368–393). In the case of Anubis, although we cannot rule out the possibility of a connection with the sphere of the Imperial power, the explanation of a "new semantics" of an ancient role of Anubis as a protector of his devotees seems to be likely. See also GRENIER, J.-CL.: L'Anubis cavalier du Musée du Louvre. In DE BOER, M. B. – EDWARDS, T. A. (eds): *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* [ÉPRO 68]. Leiden 1978, I 405–408, Pl. LXXX. and BRICAULT: Les cultes isiaques (n. 21) 489–491.

¹¹⁷ *RICIS* 202/0122.

¹¹⁸ In the above-mentioned essay by Malaise of 2014 the matter of the continuity vs. transformation between the two figures is discussed in a perspicuous manner. See also – in particular for the personal names – BENAÏSSA, A.: The Onomastic Evidence for the God Hermanubis. In *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor 2007* [American Studies in Papyrology]. Ann Arbor 2010, 67–76. See also BRICAULT, L.: Une statuette d'Hermanubis pour Arès. In BRICAULT–VEYMIERS: *Bibliotheca Isiaca II* (n. 22) 131–135.

¹¹⁹ On this prerogative see the documentation and interpretation offered by WILLEMS, H.: Anubis as a Judge. In CLARYSSE, W. – WILLEMS, H. (eds): *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*. Vol. I [Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta 84]. Leuven 1998, 719–743.

¹²⁰ I quote, for an approach to the topic, SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: The Hellenistic Face of Isis: Cosmic and Saviour Goddess. In BRICAULT–VERSLUYS–MEYBOOM (n. 27) 40–72; also in SFAMENI

significant manner. If the interpretation of the role of Anubis within the Isiac scenario is correct – considering the complexity of its components and values – we should recognize that this scenario included an eschatological feature that was much more relevant than it has been recognized so far by the modern interpreters, a component that was able to attract, along with the sum of other religious values, those people from different ethnic, cultural, and religious origin, who chose to join it.

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GASPARRO: Problemi (n. 42) 237–270 and SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: Après Lux perpetua de Franz Cumont: quelle eschatologie dans les “cultes orientaux” à mystères? In BRICAULT, L. – BONNET, C. (eds): *Panthée. Religious Transformations in the Graeco-Roman Empire* [RGRW 177]. Leiden 2013, 145–167.