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PHENOMENOLOGY OF BLACK DOGS FROM ANUBIS AND CERBERUS TO THE CHRISTIAN REPRESENTATION OF THE DAMNED¹²³

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Abstract:

The “black dog syndrome” is a psychological aversion to black dogs that seems to affect the adoption of pet dogs uniquely on the colour of their fur. Statistically, it appears that dark dogs tend to be perceived as more aggressive, ill-tempered and, in general, more dangerous than light-coloured dogs. The paper aims to analyse where and when this diffused mistrust towards black dogs might come from. Gathering and collecting Egyptian, Greek, Roman and Christian images and texts can shed light on our ancestors’ relationship with black dogs, and blackness on a wider scale.

A symbol of the syndrome can be the natural threat posed by the wolf in the wilderness lurking outside human settlements from the dawn of civilisation, representing the death of humans and livestock alike. The archaeological and literary evidence suggests that the archetypal fear of the unknown and darkness could also be the reason behind the unconscious dread towards everything (and everyone) that has been described as ‘black’. The aforementioned cultures, although their audience had changed over time, have maintained alive this prejudice since it has been purposely used to depict the foreigner, the enemy, the ‘infidel’, the inhabitant of far lands and/or the ‘uncivilised’.

The socio-political implications of the fear for the stranger, or xenophobia, have been an extremely powerful weapon to concentrate people’s frustrations towards outsiders and it still affects languages, literature, and visual culture. Comprehending its origin may encourage the development of a healthier society that challenges obscure stereotypes and dogmas.

¹²³ Editors’ note: Working papers from the V CHAM International Conference are preliminary research drafts intended to stimulate discussion and critical comment. They are not peer-reviewed. Authors are responsible for the accuracy of the contents and for any errors. Conclusions should also be considered provisional. Comments and suggestions are welcome and should be directed to the authors.

Keywords

Anubis – Cerberus – Devil – Black Dog – Cynocephali

Introduction

As part of my PhD dissertation, I am working on the crucial role Anubis has had in the development of the long-lasting relationship between humans and canids. My research aims to point out how different canids (mainly wolves, dogs, and jackals) have been used by humans across the Mediterranean Sea to represent the complex feelings they had regarding the unknown, the other, the foreigner, and the wild.

In this paper, I would like to focus on how the so-called “Black dog syndrome” can be a consequence of the attitude towards canids that frequently appears in the imagery and textual evidence belonging to the Egyptian, Greek, Latin, and Christian traditions. Black dogs have been the embodiment of anything dangerous, evil, scary, and wild. The stories and travellers’ reports have also transferred some of those features to monsters allegedly living in far lands beyond civilisation (Abdelwahed 2017, 1-22).

The Cynocephali, i.e. dog-headed humans, are among the most represented and reported monsters encountered by traders and explorers during their journeys. Cynocephali stories seem to follow the extent of the exploration of humans being moved by these always further away with the expansion of people’s knowledge of the planet. The peculiar success of Cynocephali might reveal a pattern that has been successful in conveying the idea of creatures neither human nor animal ‘enough’ to be accepted and approached safely by people (White 1991, 1-21).

Labelling a territory as inhabited by Cynocephali, as well as mentioning that a certain population looks like Cynocephali, has represented a very powerful concept in Mediterraneans’ minds that has progressively mutated into including all sorts of ‘other’ of which people should be concerned, if not scared (Duquesne 1995, 41-53; Serpell 2017, 300-316). In the following paragraphs, there will be examples of how the notion of Cynocephali has touched territories every time further away from the Mediterranean Sea as the explorations went on into Asia, Africa, and Central/North Europe.

The reason for these enlarging horizons having the Mediterranean Sea as the centre is due to the influence Greek authors had in historiography and geography between the 8th century BCE and the 4th AD. Also, Latin authors and Christian missionaries reinforced and expanded the Greeks’ stories well into the Middle Ages giving them new relevance

and credibility, although the stories sometimes served different purposes and were used to transmit religious ideas with eschatological messages that were probably not the main interest of the Greek authors (Friedman 2000, 145-148; Van Duzer 2013, 391-396; Ford 2016, 8-72).

The reflex the Black Dog Syndrome and the Cynocephali have on humans' decisions and imagery might have eased the equation black=evil that has affected anything black and, unfortunately, has given theoretical tools to racism justifying ideas of superiority/inferiority of people based on the colour of their skin. Hopefully, bringing to light the dynamics concerning the connection between black/evil can help to develop a proficuous debate in the society based on scientific knowledge, instead of myths and prejudices.

The wolf inside us: The Jungian archetype of the wolf

To understand how deep and rooted the Black Dog Syndrome is in humans' minds, it might be interesting to refer to the work of Carl Gustav Jung. Jung, during his career as a psychoanalyst and psychiatrist, has realised that the human mind tends to create images and stories to cope with the feelings it cannot process thoroughly. Those images and stories have shown to follow patterns that can be traced back to characters according to the roles or associations people have assigned to them (Jung 1983, vol. 9 part 1, 3-41).

Jung called those characters "archetypes" because they represent reminiscences of atavistic images passed down from our ancestors influencing collective unconscious behaviours and reactions (Jacobi 2007, 31-73). They are mostly triggered by intense emotions and concrete actions that may seem ordinary, but that carry hidden and common meanings that can be induced by stories and folklore widespread among the population (Jung 1983, vol. 13, 210).

Jung also stated that archetypes are so widespread and atavic that can sometimes be found spontaneously in autochthonous societies that do not share any cultural connection with any other one (Jacobi 2007, 36). In other words: "Archetypes are universal organising themes or patterns that appear regardless of space, time, or person. Appearing in all existential realms and at all levels of systematic recursion, they are organized as themes in the *unus mundus*[...]" (O'Brien 2017, 207-214).

The archetype of the wolf consists in the symbolism attached to wolves since the first encounters that humans had with them during Prehistory. Even though Jung has rarely talked about the wolf as an archetype *per se*, the wolf seems to overlap several Jungian

archetypes showing the relevance recognised to wolves in myths and folklore in many cultures (Jung 1983, vol. 4, 210). The observations made on canids had an impact in several ways, for instance:

- The she-wolf has become the ideal of the caring mother (cf. Romulus and Remus) (Virgil 1916, 280-283, I:257-296);
- The liminality of canids either make them guardians and protectors (dogs) or primary enemies of human settlements (wolves, jackals) (Jacobi 2007, 155);
- The nocturnal howling and the attacks on livestock represent metaphorically the fear of the dark and the danger of the unknown, easing the connection between darkness and evil (cf. the devil) (Jacobi 2007, 181-185);
- The savageness of foreigners (real or imagined) has been sometimes visually represented with wolf' s features (cynocephali, werewolves), with the intent of desensitising people from having piety for the enemy (Schmidt 2019, 103-105).

The “black dog syndrome” and the Big Bad Wolf

Effects of the Jungian archetype of the wolf can be traced even in our daily life. For instance, the Black dog syndrome is the tendency of prospective dog owners to pick their pets looking at their colour. Black dogs are less likely to be adopted from shelters because deemed more aggressive and more difficult to train. The Black Dog Syndrome is not, however, present in the same way worldwide, but in some cases, it has been seen as not having any effect at all (Murphy 2020, n.p.).

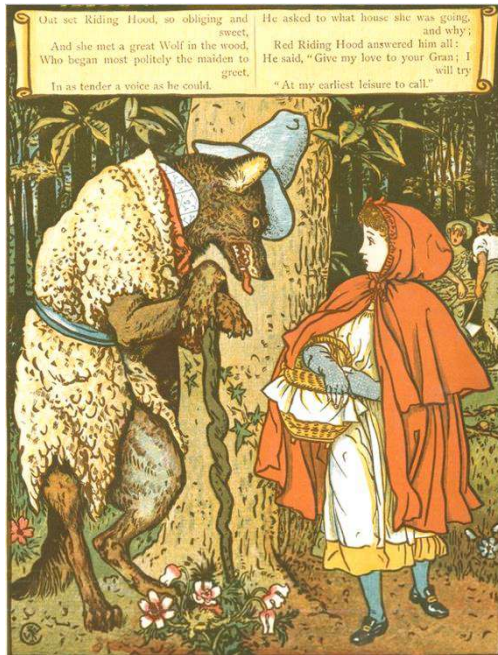
To explain the possible origins of the Black Dog Syndrome, it is crucial to understand the relevance that Cynocephali had in the persistence and reinforcement of the distrust towards black canids. The hybrid human-canid, as well as humans being able to turn into wolves and back, either voluntarily or due to a curse, i.e. werewolves, have emphasised the threat posed by wolves in the wild adding the human/conscious component that can involve potentially anybody (**fig. 1**).



1 The Black Dog of Newgate, from the book “The Discovery of a London Monster Called the Black Dog of Newgate” (1638). Url: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:The_Black_Dog_of_Newgate.jpg. Source: Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

The Big Bad Wolf, a common character in fairy tales all over the world, usually is described as black, cunning, smart, hungry, and/or greedy (Grimm et al. 2014, 23-25, 85-88, 158-159, 340-343). He is more than just a wild creature since he can speak and use his human-like abilities to trick and kill his naive victims.

In the next pages, several prominent myths and reports about Cynocephali will be analysed since they might have contributed to the spreading, continuous development, and modification of this kind of storytelling. It aimed to teach or suggest to the audience that there is something outside the safety of the settlement that it has to be feared and to be avoided at any cost because it represents the unknown and the evil. It does not respect any rule or moral precept that the community has given to itself (Djurslev and Ogden 2018, 11-21; Ogden 2013, 366, 375; Delia 2020, 196) (**fig. 2**).



2 Illustration from the toy book “Little Red Riding Hood”. London: George Routledge and Sons, 1875. Url: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:RRH_Walter_Crane_1875.jpg. Source: Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

Cynocephali and Anubis

Anubis was probably the best-known and most worshipped Cynocephalus god across the Mediterranean Sea, from Predynastic Egypt on (Brixhe 2018, 43-57), involving the Greek and Roman religion and leaving traces even in Christian practices (Ikram et al. 2013, 48-66; Plas 2011, 1-30; Stefanović 2013, 506-514).

It is traditionally identified as a black-headed jackal, probably in relation to the “romantic” image of the animal living in the desert and occasionally scavenging for the dead bodies buried in the surroundings (Pastoureau 2009, 30). The Greeks thought of him like a dog, so his town was called Cynopolis (i.e. city of the dog), or as a wolf, confusing Anubis with Wepwawet whose town was Lycopolis (i.e. city of the wolf) (Rouvière 2017, 109-128; Durisch Gauthier 2002, 26-129) (**fig. 3**).



3 Anubis performing the “Weighing of the Heart ceremony”. Plate 3 of the Book of the Dead (Papyrus of Ani). New Kingdom, 19th Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II, c. 1250 BC.
 Url: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bookdead.jpg>. Source: Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

DNA studies have shown that the so-called Golden Jackal (*Canis Aureus*) is actually a sub-species of the Grey Wolf, called African wolf (*Canis Lupus Lupaster*) (Ikram 2005, 45-71; Rueness et al., 2011; Kitagawa 2014, 343-356; Koepfli et al. 2015, 2158-2165).

Plutarch (1st-2nd c. CE) (1936, 107-108, §365f) describes Anubis’ birth and role in the Egyptian legends, highlighting especially how he is the messenger, helper, and protector of Osiris and Isis (Plutarch 1936, 106-107, §368E; Sfameni Gasparro 2019, 957-978). Anubis’ patronages over the embalming, mummification, judgment, and guide of the dead have given him the function of intermediary between humans and gods, and invoked to seek for favours and salvation (Grenier 1977, 47-51; Betz 1986, 66, §1463-1468; Evans 2008, 17-24).

Libyan and Ethiopian Cynocephali

One of the earliest pieces of evidence of Cynocephali, in the Greeks travelling area, can be found in the Messak Mellet and Settafet (Libya) (Friedman 2000, 29; Van Duzer 2013, 396-402). Among the carvings (12,000-10,000 BCE) there is one with a warrior/hunter Cynocephalus (a.k.a. the Lycaon) (Van Albada and Van Albada 2000, 87-89; Gauthier and Gauthier 1996, 78-80, 82-83) (**fig. 4**).

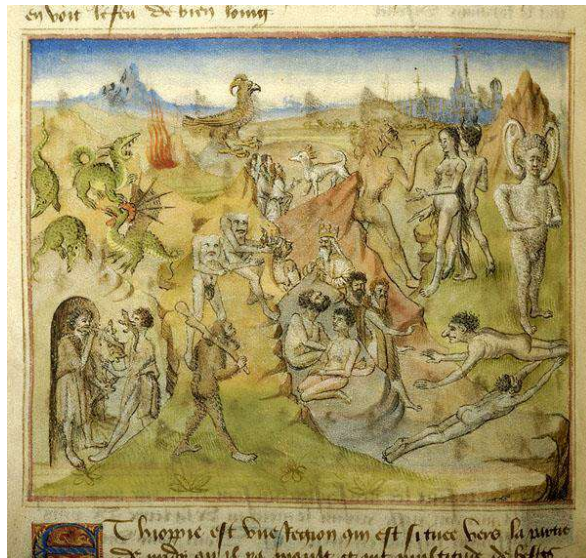


4 Wādi Ti-n-Sharūma. Dog-headed therianthrope armed with a dagger and an axe. Messak Mellet and Settafet, Libya, c. 12,000-10,000 BCE. Photo courtesy of Yves Gauthier.

Both Hesiod (8th-7th c. BCE) (2018, 184-185) and Herodotus (5th c. BCE) (1921, 392-395, IV:191-192) record the presence of Cynocephali in Western Libya, interpreted as baboons (White 1991, 42-46; Vespa 2019, 331-339).

After the Roman conquest of North Africa, the Cynocephali started to be recorded in Ethiopia (i.e. Saharian/sub-Saharan Africa) as in Strabo (1st BCE- 1st CE) (1929, 332-333, XVI: 4.14) who places them in the Horn of Africa, in Plinius the Elder (1st c. CE) (1942, 517-519, VII: 2.20) and Aelian (1st-2nd c. CE) (1959, X: 25-30, 318-319) they live in the land of the Ethiopians, i.e. any “people with burnt skin”.

The idea of monsters living in Ethiopia was so strongly accepted, that it influenced Medieval authors like Isidore of Seville (1911, XI: 3.15) who reported that: “Ethiopia was (the place) where people with different faces and monsters of horrible and perverse nature lived, as far as the borders of Egypt” (**fig. 5**).



5 “Ethiopia”, from *Livre des merveilles du monde* [Book of the Marvels of the World] by the Master of the Geneva Boccaccio France, possibly Angers, c. 1460. Morgan Library M.461, fol. 26vc.
 Url: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pierpont_Morgan_Library-M461-026v-Ethiopia.jpg.
 Source: Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

Greek-Latin dog-related myths

The Cynocephali, being partially canids, and due to the connection with Anubis, joined naturally the liminality of canids (i.e. belonging to the threshold) whose reflection can be traced in Greek and Roman mythology (Grenier 1977, 52).

Cerberus is the guardian dog of Hades (both the god and the Underworld) (Gamba 2017, 6-19; Lincoln 1979, 273-285). He was depicted with multiple heads, usually three, and snakes on his body to symbolise his chthonic nature (Tutrone 2019, 73-88; Pastoureau 2009, 32-33; DuQuesne 1996, 53, § 93).

Hekate is the goddess of magic and nocturnal activities, sometimes depicted with three heads (one of a dog) (Betz 1986, 75, §2119-2124; 92, §2880-2890) or with female black dogs, interpreted as lost souls (Betz 1986, 64-65, §1434ff; Burnett 1994, 151-164) (**fig. 6**).



6 Volute-krater depicting the journey of Orpheus to the Underworld. Hermes, Heracles and Cerberus Canosa, Apulia. Munich, State Antique Collection.

Url: <http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=7541>. (cc) 2012. Photo: Egisto Sani (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0). Exhibition “Die Unsterblichen Götter Griechenlands” (Munich).

Lycaon and the wolf ritual

The myth of Lycaon, king of Arcadia who was cursed by Zeus due to Lycaon’s attempt to fool the gods offering them human flesh as food. He was turned into a wolf and forced to join a wolf pack (Ovid 1916, I, 216-243, 16-19; Eliade 1975, 14-20; Burkert 1983, 84-92; Marcinkowski 2001, 1-26) (**fig. 7**).



7 Zeus turning Lycaon into a wolf. Engraving by Hendrik Goltzius (1589). Url: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lycaon_Transformed_into_a_Wolf_LACMA_M.71.76.9.jpg. Source: Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

In Italy, the Sannitic tribe of the Lucani (Heraclides Ponticus, *Fram. Hist. Gr.*, III, in Müller & Langlois 2010, vol. 2, 218; Franklin 1921, 29-48) and the Hirpini (Servius 2011, *Aen. XI* §785, 564; Rissanen 2012, 115-135) had similar traditions and there are etymologically connected with words for “wolves”. The Hirpi Sorani were instead forced

to live as wolves “*lupos imitarentur; i.e. rapto viverent*” (Servius 2011, *ibidem*), due to an oracle’s response.

The concept of the outcast, thus, became frequently associated with Cynocephali. This attitude could be traced back to periodical coming-to-age rituals performed in the above-mentioned areas. It was a way to train boys in becoming functional members of society after being sent in the wild living of pillaging and theft (Eliade 1975, 14-20; Ivančik and Ivančik 1993, 311-314).

Scythia, barbarians, and Amazons

Scythians, as well as Geti, Goths, Dacians, Sarmatians are all ethnonyms used by Greek and Roman authors to loosely identify ‘barbaric’ populations living in a vast area between the Balkans and India (Eliade 1975, 10-25; Chekin 1991, 289-339; Van Duzer 2010, 221-231).

They were all assimilated for their ability in fighting on horseback and in performing totemic-magical rituals involving wearing wolves pelt to absorb their hunting skills in battle, similarly to Berserkir and Úlfheðnar, i.e bear and wolf warriors (White 1991, 47-51; Ustinova 2002, 102-123; Samson 2016, 7-14, 69-104). Their fury and fierceness in battle suggested to their enemies that they would even eat human flesh, making them cannibals (Przyluski 1940, 128-145; Tattersall 1988, 240-253).

Herodotus (1921, IV, §105-107, 306-309) and Pomponius Mela (& Romer 1998, 72, II:14) called them Neuri (i.e. ‘Ναύαροι’): “The Sarmatian Navari are the same as the Neuri” and recorded that they will change into wolves every year (Ptolemy et al. 1991, 80, 3.5.25).

Adam of Bremen in the 11th c. CE, states that Cynocephali were the male offspring of Amazons and passing merchants, while the daughters would become beautiful women and Amazons (White 1991, 58-67; Rehn 2016, 122) (**fig. 8**).



8 Depiction of a Cynocephalus in Central Asia. *Carta marina navigatoria Portvgallen navigation...*, Strasbourg, France?, publisher not identified, 1516. Source: Library of Congress, Jay I. Kislak Collection. Url: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3200m.gct00046/?sp=4&r=0.15,0.258,0.527,0.325,0>. Public domain.

The god Hermanubis and his relationships to Graeco-Egyptian magic

The Ptolemaic syncretism that merged Hermes and Anubis gave them such wide patronage and importance that Hermanubis became a sort of middle-man between mortals and gods (Grenier 1977, 168-186; Modonesi 2010, 2).

To reinforce Anubis' position among the gods worshipped in Graeco-Roman Egypt he became the fourth member of the Alexandrian Triad (Isis, Serapis, Harpokrate) (Lafaye 1884, 261-262; White 1991, 36-42). He was represented using Greek and Roman stylistic features such as the snake tail, like the Agathodaimon (the good snake that became the founding god of Alexandria thanks to Alexander the Great) (Ogden 2014, 137), or the Roman armour (in this case reprising the style of Polikleitos' *Doriphoros*) (Helck and Otto 1975, vol. 1, 328; Stefanović 2004, 87-92; Delia 2020, 201) (**fig. 9**).



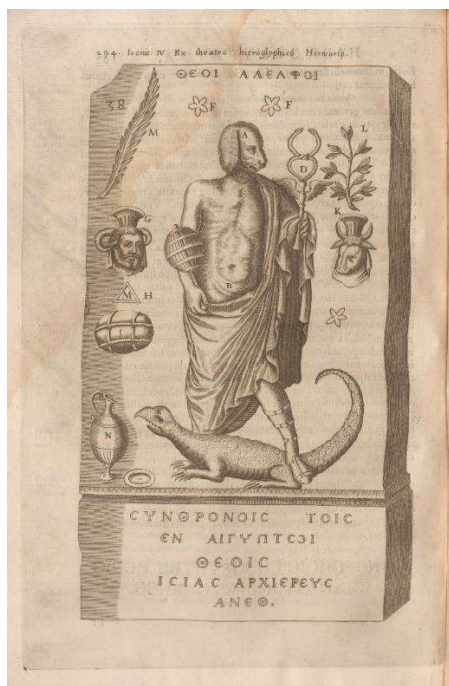
9 Hermanubis Agathodaimon-Doriphoros Kom el-Choqafa (1st-4th c. AD.) Alexandria, Egypt.
© the author.

Hermanubis, i.e. Anubis the Wizard

His religious centre was Alexandria, where tunnels have been discovered known as “Hermanubis’s galleries” near Pompey’s (or Diocletian’s) Pillar and decorated tombs in the necropolis of Kom el-Choqafa (1st /2nd to 4th centuries CE) (Modonesi 2010, 10–11). At both sites, the intention was to merge the two psychopomps (=guides of souls) gods, while trying to adapt both gods to please Greeks and the Egyptians alike, in order

to facilitate their coexistence in Ptolemaic Egypt (**fig. 10**). Here are a few examples of Greek-Egyptian spells (Delia 2020, 200-203):

- “I entrust this binding spell to you, chthonic gods, [series of names], infernal Hermes Thoouth [series of names] and to mighty Anubis PSIRINTH, who holds the keys to Hades, to infernal gods and *daimons*, to men and women who have died untimely deaths, to youths and maidens...” (Betz 1986, 44, PGM IV § 335-341).
- “Thou Key-holder, guardian, Anubis. Send up to me the phantoms of the dead forthwith for service in this very hour.” (Betz 1986, 66, PGM IV § 1465-1469).
- **Binding love spell of Astrapsoukos:* “These are the [names] in the 4 quarters of heaven. I also know what your forms are: ' in the East you have the form of an ibis, in the West you have the form of a dog-faced baboon, in the North you have the form of a serpent, and in the South you have the form of a wolf. ” (Betz 1986, 145, PGM VIII. 1-63; Jung 1983, vol 13, 278-279).



10 Hermanubis. In Kircher, Athanasius. 1650. *Obeliscus Pamphilius*, p. 294. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, ID Number: RMC2007 1247. Url: <https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:550203>. Presumed to be in the public domain.

From Anubis latrans to werewolves

(Herm-)Anubis caught the attention of Latin authors like Virgil (1918, 108-109), that made fun of the god for his savageness and called him *latrans* Anubis (i.e. barking Anubis). This might have inspired the belief that Cynocephali could not speak, but rather bark like dogs (Omont 1913, 507-515; Burriss 1935, 32-42).

Since (Herm-)Anubis became the trusted companion and helper of Isis while in the Isiac cult spread in the Roman Empire, Cynocephali could have been seen in every town that accepted Egyptian gods. Hermanubis can be found in statues, bas-reliefs, gems, and coins, whereas Anubis used to open the processions for Isis, as Apuleius reported in the *Golden Ass* (1989, 256-259, XI:11) (**fig. 11**).



11 Mask of Anubis, 19th, 12th-13th c. BCE Dynasty. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Inventory number N 4096. Source: <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010007896>. Credits: Musée du Louvre.

In the *Satyricon* (Petronius 1913, 114-117, I: 62), there is a story of a soldier that turned himself into a wolf under the moonlight, fled in the forest, attacked livestock, and turned back into a human the morning after. This is one of the first attestations of werewolves in the modern sense and it tightens the link between the Cynocephali and the wild (Noëll 2006, 27-78).

Alexander the Great and the “Wonders of the East” (Indian Cynocephali)

Cynocephali in the East (usually defined ‘India’ by Greek and Latin authors in absence of a more accurate term) date back to Ctesias (5°- 4° c. BCE), who describes them in his

Indica (excerpted by Photius, 37 in Bigwood 1989 302-316) as savages but able to trade with Indians. Plinius the Elder (1942, 520-521, VII:2,23) and Aelian (1958, 266-269, IV:46,2) report the same information. They all agree that they were hunters, farmers and couldn't speak, only bark, growl or use hand gestures (Friedman 2000, 15; Van Duzer 2013, 402-412).

The collection of legend called *Alexander Romance* has mixed up travellers' stories with fascinating anecdotes about faraway lands following the adventures and conquest of Alexander the Great, who had to fight not only men but all sorts of beasts, including Cynocephali (Wolohojian 1969, 146, §258; Boeschoten 2012, 118-124; Selden 2018, 98). Medieval illustrators let their imagination run free and kept alive the legend of the Cynocephali in their manuscripts (Benoît in Burgess and Kelly 2017, 206) (**fig. 12**).



12 Alexander fighting the dog-headed Cynocephali (Disticha Catonis, Peniarth 481D, f. 92).
 Url: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alexander_fighting_the_dog-headed_Cynocephali.jpg.
 Source: Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

Anubis as the Devil

The *Septuagint* (i.e. the Greek translation of the Bible made in Alexandria between the 3rd c. BCE-2nd c. CE) was the tool with which the Christian clergy shaped the imagery of Christians regarding evil (Pastoureau, 2009, 30-32). The assimilation of Satan (i. e. the Adversary) and Lucifer (*Phosphoros* for the Greeks, another name for Sirius, the Dog star and the Morning star, known as Sothis by Egyptians) (Ovid 1931, 258-259, IV: 941 ff., in Burris 1928, 117-118) created the Devil. The Devil being the Lord of the demons (the evil *daimons*) and connected with St John's Book of Revelation (12: 7-22) when he

described “the Great Dragon” (i.e. snake), easily cast a much darker light on the Agathodaimon and his powers (Pastoureau 2009, 47-54).

The Agathodaimon, and consequently Hermanubis/Ermete Trismegistus (both as the master magician and magicians’ agent), soon became attached to all the evil in the world. All the snakes and all the dog-headed creatures, therefore, became demons and representations of the Devil (Jung 1983, Vol. 5, 438, note 87).

Lucifer, the fallen angel who was the brightest of all the angels and then was cast out of Heaven to rule over the damned in Hell had the same faith as the Agathodaimon and Hermanubis. To substitute Lucifer in Heaven, God chose St Michael who became the protector of God’s people (Daniel 12:1) and the defeater of Lucifer/Satan/Devil on the Day of Reckoning.

Anubis vs Anubis. The Archangel Michael

St Michael, as prince of angels and general of God’s armies in Heaven, will fight the final battle between angels and the Devil. After defeating the devil St Michael will judge the souls of all humanity on the Day of Reckoning using a scale, exactly how Anubis did (Revelation 12: 3-9).

So St Michael embraces the positive features of Anubis while slaying the negative ones embodied by the Devil that is, as we have previously analysed, no other than the demonisation of Anubis himself. Looking in the *Papyri Demotici Magici* (PDM), it is possible to see that Anubis and St Michael have been perceived as equal if not the same in Greek-Egyptian magic, as this example shows: “Hail, MICHAEL, SABAEL! Hail, Anubis in the nome of the dog-faces [...]” (Betz 1986, 229, PDM XIV: 627-35).

As the warrior saint *par excellence*, St Michael’s attire follows the trend of the ruling elite, in the same way as (Herm-)Anubis did: he may be spotted wearing a full Roman armour, then byzantine clothes, as well as medieval and renaissance suits of armour according to the artistic taste in which the artists lived in (**fig. 13**).



13 St. Michael and the Dragon by Antonio del Pollaiuolo, c. 1460-1470. Museum Bardini, Florence, Italy. Url: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Pollaiuolo,_Antonio_-_Saint_Michael_-_Museo_Bardini,_Florence.jpeg. Source: Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

Anubis the redeemed: St Christopher Cynocephalus

Encounters with a Cynocephalus are recorded in the apocryphal acts of St Andrew and St Bartholomew during their preaching in the city of Barbaras. God sent them this dog-headed and cannibal savage who gain humanity, and the ability to speak rather than bark, by becoming Christian (Wright 1871, 93-115). He also changes his name from ‘Bewitched’/Abominable to Christianus (James 1924, 471; Friedman 2000, 69-71). He can still summon his wild nature at will (Lewis 1904, 19-22; Reinach 1904, 1-16; White 1991, 22-36).

St Mercurius is known to have to Cynocephali as ‘bodyguards’ who were forcefully Christianised after killing St Mercurius’ grandfather and enslaved by the saint’s father (Friedman 2000, 71-72; Chàcon 2019, 31-50).

St Christopher in the Greek Orthodox Church (Schwartz 1954, 1-6) has been depicted with a dog head and his conversion is similar to Christianus’ one (Saintyves 1924, 376-383; Saintyves 1936, 1-55; Ameisenowa 1949, 21-45; Ritner 1985, 149-155; Millard 1987, 237-238). He was from a tribe of Cynocephali and cannibals called ‘Marmarites’ living in the Libyan desert and enrolled in the Roman army (Woods 1994, 170-186; Friedrich 2017, 189-211) (**fig. 14**).



14 *Saint Christopher*, unknown artist, 17th-18th century. The Sinai Icon Collection, Princeton Work Number 984; Michigan Inventory Number 1650.
 Url: <https://www.sinaiarchive.org/s/mpa/item/15334#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-1933%2C-201%2C6325%2C4000>. Courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai.

*The known world in a picture: Dawn of cartography and monsters in travellers' reports
 (Marco Polo's cynocephali)*

European Medieval maps were more focused on displaying biblical places and events than accurate geographical features (Van Duzer 2013, 390-391). Therefore, the Psalter (Flint 1988, 19-44) or the Hereford map look like a circle of land surrounded by the Ocean with Jerusalem in the centre (Friedman 2000, 79-86) (**fig. 15**).



15 Cynocephalus eating a human leg. First among the monsters at the Southern edge of the map. “The Map Psalter” (detail), unknown author, 13th century, British Library MS Add. 28681, fol. 9, f. 9r.

Url: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Psalter_World_Map,_c.1265.jpg.

Source: Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

East and Asia are on top, Europe is in the left-bottom quarter and Africa is on the right-bottom quarter. The Mediterranean Sea divide the three continents taking the shape of a T (these maps are called T-O maps) (Friedman 2000, 38-39). The Nile on the right side and the Tanais (i.e. the Don) on the left side work as natural dividers between the human world the monsters’ one (Van Duzer 2013, 396-402).

Even modern travellers report of Cynocephali, like Marco Polo (1254-1324) did in his *Description of the World* (aka *Book of the World’s Marvels*), where he describes them as cruel and cannibals beings living in “the Indies” (Friedman 2000, 75-76).

John Mandeville in *The travels* (1357-1371) reports of Cynocephali living on the island of Nacumeran (possibly the Nicobar Islands in the Indian ocean) who were civilised, worshipped an ox and whose king legitimate his power wearing a huge ruby around his neck (Van Duzer 2013, 402-412; Weinreich 2019, 183-193) (**fig. 16**).



16 Society of Cynocephali of Nicobar. *Itinerarium de Odoric de Pordenone*, 1410-1412. Manuscript Français 2810, fol. 106.
 Url: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Peuple_des_cynoc%C3%A9phales_de_Nicobar.jpeg.
 Source: Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

At the end of the world and beyond

Keeping in mind the stories and images of Cynocephali from the past, expeditions to discover new lands or new trade routes were not spared by the expectation of finding all sorts of people, animals, and monsters (Cohen 1992, 100-107). Even though cartography moved away from the religious-oriented treatment of the landscape, it is still possible to observe a taste for exotic and fantastic additions to maps (Rehn 2016, 111-150).

The Piri Reis map (1513), allegedly based on a lost Christopher Columbus map, there are several monsters along a moderately accurate outline of the coast of South America. Cynocephali are represented fighting in Brazil. They were expected to live there since Columbus believed he had reached the Far East sailing West across the Atlantic Ocean (Van Duzer 2013, 412-417; Masseti & Veracini 2016, 41-54). He met the Cariba (or Caniba) who gave the name to the Caribbean Sea and were allegedly men-eater (i.e. cannibals) (**fig. 17**).



17 Cynocephali on the South America coast. Map of the world by Ottoman admiral Piri Reis (detail), 1513. Library of Topkapi Palace Museum, No. H 1824.
 Url: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Piri_reis_world_map_01.jpg. Source: Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

David Gordon White argues that the Gran Khan, Columbus expected to meet thinking he landed near Cathay, may have been perceived as Gran Can (i.e. Big dog) by Spanish people, leading to think that dog-people should have been discovered in the New World (White 1994, 1-17). Unfortunately, as Columbus wrote in his letters to Luis de St. Angel in 1493, he couldn't any traces of the monsters during his explorations (National Humanities Center 2006, 1-5; Van Duzer 2013, 423-429).

In Pierre Desceliers' map (1550) there are not just names of places, but also images of buildings and specific groups of people. As space-fillers and to show an antiquarian taste of the owner or the artist, monsters and animals are scattered around the lands and carefully captioned. Cynocephali ended up depicted in Russia and Australia (Van Duzer 2010, 221-231; Van Duzer 2013, 421-422) (**fig. 18**).



18 Cynocephali in Australia. Map of the world (detail), Pierre Desceliers, 1550. British Library, Add MS 24065. Url: https://it.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_the_world_-_Pierre_Desceliers,_1550_-_BL_Add_MS_24065.jpg. Source: Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

Conclusions

Jung identified as part of the archetype of the wolf a creature who brings up the fear of darkness and the unknown in people's minds. The unconscious reflection of this prejudice might be found in the Black dog syndrome and the folklore around the Big Bad Wolf of fairy tales.

Anubis has been one of the most powerful and successful god of Antiquity. From the god of the dead, he became the one in charge of the funerary rituals as well as the judge of the Underworld. Living between worlds, Anubis had both chthonic and cosmic features who made him crucial for all sorts of relationships between gods and humans.

Greek authors paved the way for the creation of the idea that Cynocephali could inhabit exotic lands, like Libya, Egypt, Ethiopia, and India. The influence of their stories and reports have influenced Hellenistic, Roman and Christian authors that reused and amplified the agency of Cynocephali while the knowledge of the world grew with explorations and trade into far lands.

The Greeks and the Romans joined Anubis with Hermes/Mercurius and Thoth creating Hermanubis, and later Ermete Trismegistus, who became the referent of magical spells during the transition from paganism to Christianity. Mythological creatures like Cerberus and Lycaon and the goddess Hekate might have helped the assimilation process between Greek/Roman and Egyptian magic and religion.

In Alexandria, where Hermanubis had his cult centre and where the Bible was translated into Greek, Christians chose this peculiar god to embody the evil in order to attack and destroy paganism, putting him together with Satan, Lucifer, and the Devil. The salvation from the evil could then only come from the Archangel Michael or warrior saints like St Christopher.

The shadow cast on Anubis and the other evil beings still influences primordial fears in the common imagery and imagination. It is recognisable in the depictions of Cynocephali in the Medieval and Modern cartography, going to represent the expectation of explorers, such as Christopher Columbus, Marco Polo, and Mandeville to find savage people and monsters in the new lands they were going to go.

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