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EGYPTIAN DIVINITIES REPRESENTED IN THE FORM OF ROMAN EMPERORS IN MILITARY COSTUMES

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Abstract

The imperial cult was an inventory of Augustus followed by his successors. Simultaneously, the Roman emperors adopted the religious traditions and practices of the Egyptian pharaohs along with their names and scenes represented on the walls of the Egyptian temples. Roman soldiers believed in the powers of the *dii militares* or "military gods" that supported them in particularly in battles. In Graeco-roman Egypt, to frighten evil's powers, a number of Egyptian protective gods adopted military equipment like knives, swords, and shields such as Bes and Harpocrates. Aside from these Egyptian protective divinities, there is a number of statuettes mostly made of bronze represent Egyptian divinities as an emperor in the complete Roman military costume including the gods Apis, Horus, and Anubis. The research studies a number of statuettes of these Egyptian divinities to understand how they manifest the military character of the Roman emperor through the details of their position, attitude, military clothing, attributes and crown. The research ends with the results related to the true conception of these representations and usages, why these divinities in particular took this form, how they are similar and different in certain details, and thus their importance in Roman Egypt.

Keywords:- statuettes, Apis, Horus, Anubis, military divinity, military costumes.

آلهة مصرية ممثلة فى هيئة الأباطرة الرومان بالزى العسكرى

الملخص

ابتدع الامبراطور أغسطس فكرة عبادة الامبراطور وتبعه فى ذلك خلفاؤه من بعده. وفى نفس الوقت تبنى الأباطرة الرومان التقاليد والممارسات الدينية التى عرفها الملوك الفراعنة المصريين من قبل، واتخذوا ألقاب الملك الفرعونى وصوروا فى هيئته فى المناظر الممثلة على جدران المعابد المصرية. كان الجنود الرومان يؤمنون بقدرات الآلهة العسكرىة أو "dii militares" فى مساندتهم لهم خاصة فى المعارك الحربىة. وفى مصر اليونانىة الرومانىة تبنى عدد من الآلهة المصرىة الحامىة مجموعة من المعدات العسكرىة مثل السكاكين والسيوف والدرع لإخافة قوى الشر مثل بس وحربوقراط. وبجانب ذلك ظهر عدد من التماثيل الصغىرة المصنوعة فى أغلب الأحيان من البرونز تمثل الآلهة المصرىة فى هيئة الامبراطور الرومانى وهو يرتدى زيه العسكرى الكامل وعلى وجه الخصوص الإله أبىس وحورس وأنوبىس.

يهدف البحث إلى دراسة عددا من تلك التماثيل الصغىرة للآلهة المصرىة التى صورت فى هيئة الأباطرة الرومان فى الزى العسكرى وذلك لفهم كيف كانت هذه الآلهة تجسد الطبعه العسكرىة للامبراطور الرومانى من خلال دراسة التفاصيل الخاصة بشكل تلك التماثيل وموضوعها وطريقة تمثيلها وتفاصيل الملابس العسكرىة والتيجان والعلامات المختلفه بها. وينتهى البحث بمجموعة من النتائج المتعلقة بالمفهوم الحقيقى لهذه التماثيل واستخداماتها، وأسباب تمثيل تلك الآلهة على وجه الخصوص فى هذه الهيئه، وكيف تتشابه تلك التماثيل الصغىرة وكيف تختلف فى بعض التفاصيل، ومن ثم معرفة أهمية تلك التماثيل لهذه الآلهة وتصويرها فى هذا الشكل فى مصر الرومانىة.

الكلمات الداله: تماثيل صغىرة، أبىس، حورس، أنوبىس، آلهة عسكرىة، ملابس عسكرىة.

Introduction

Octavian entered Alexandria as a victorious on the first of August 30 BC., after the defeat of Mark Antony and Cleopatra VII in the battle of Actium 31 BC, and later took the epithet of "Augustus". On this day Octavian put an end to the Ptolemaic Kingdom after three centuries of rule, and started a new era of the Egyptian history, namely the Roman period, in which Egypt became a mere province in the Roman Empire and completely lost its independence as a kingdom¹.

The Imperial Cult in Egypt

Augustus invented the imperial cult for the living emperor², a tradition that was followed by his successors; hence, the imperial cult in Egypt was likely an official procedure instituted by the Roman policy rather than a public choice. Accordingly, it was organized in the capital as much as metropolises³. The *archiereus* or the high priest took all the responsibility related to the provincial imperial cult⁴; in this sense, all temples in Egypt either of Greek or Egyptian had to pay homage and daily offerings to the divine emperor⁵.

The Roman emperors were venerated in the sanctuary that dominated every legionary camp in Egypt along with military symbols like the eagle⁶. Therefore, the existence of emperors' statuettes on legions was vital⁷. The imperial cult was practiced in Greek civic temples by the elites. However, on the walls of the Egyptian temples, the Roman emperor played the same role of an Egyptian pharaoh in the scenes, attitudes, and even bearing the same titles and names of Egyptian sovereigns, like "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" and "Lord of the two Lands". The temples' priests continued to celebrate the emperor's birthday and accession⁸ with a procession and burning incense like they did to the pharaohs⁹. The Romans adopted the Egyptian religious traditions and practices; temples that had been started under the Ptolemaic rule were completed under the Romans; like the temple of Dendera, Philae and Kom Ombo, along the same traditional Egyptian style¹⁰.

The Greeks and later the Romans however were not accustomed to animal cult. This is well attested by Augustus' attitude in his famous speech to the Alexandrians; although he mentioned Serapis, he refused to visit Apis bull the Egyptian manifestation of the god, declaring that he was accustomed to worship gods and not cattle¹¹. Augustus re-titled the high priest of Ptah in Memphis as the "prophet of Caesar", and he himself adopted an epithet of *Zeus eleutherios sebastos*¹² to gain Egyptian

population. Moreover, the phrase "to the accompanying gods" was usually included in the invocation of the oracular Egyptian deities; the gods referred to here are to be understood as the Roman emperors whose statues were often placed in Egyptian temples¹³. Nevertheless, the temples where imperial cult was practiced were known as *Sebasteion*, plural *Sebasteia*, derived from the Greek translation of "*Sebastos*", meaning "Augustus". Thus, *Sebasteion* means the shrine of *Sebastos*¹⁴, and *Caesaria* or *Caesarium*, derived from the Latin title of "Caesar" which in turn derived from the name of Julius Caesar¹⁵. These shrines or temples were usually located in the metropolises, and there sacrifices were by the *strategos*¹⁶ on occasions¹⁷. A good and famous example of these temples is the *Caesareum* of Alexandria, which had been started at the end of the Ptolemaic period by Cleopatra VII, then finished and dedicated to Augustus, the first Roman emperor to rule Egypt at the beginning of the Roman period. It was known as *Caesaris templum* "temple of Caesar" and *Caesareum Magnum* or "great Caesareum (temple of Caesar)"¹⁸. It served the imperial cult for more than two centuries and was especially venerable to sailors and merchants of the fleet that used to carry grain from Egypt to Rome. The only known remaining imperial temple in Egypt is that of Augustus at the north of the island of Philae of which little remains still exist to witness the fact that the temple was built on purely Roman style¹⁹.

Soldier Divinities

According to the Roman tradition, soldiers were protected by the powers of the *dii militares* or "military gods" that supported them and gave them help in their tasks, particularly in battles. Jupiter was at the head of these divinities and held adjectives like *stator*, and *valens* "valiant"²⁰. Silvanus was a rural divinity who took on a military aspect in Africa²¹. The most distinguished of these deities is Mars the principal Roman god of war, who held the epithets of *Gradivus* "Warrior"²² to emphasize his warlike character. He was also "master of Arms", responsible for directing the military services, and *campester* "protector of training ground"²³.

In Egypt in the late period, particularly in the Roman times, a number of Egyptian protective gods appeared with military equipment bearing knives, swords, and shields in order to frighten evil's powers such as Bes and Harpocrates. The representations of Bes with the sword and shield appeared only in Ptolemaic period as a protector god who vanquished enemies; and there are many terracotta figurines portraying Bes as a warrior divinity carrying the shield, the knife and the sword²⁴. Horus is also recognized as a

warrior divinity due to the traditional motif of terracotta figurines that show Horus, most commonly in the form of Harpocrates, riding a horse while wearing a military costume²⁵.

Besides the statuettes of the Egyptian protective divinities, it is interesting to find a number of statuettes representing other Egyptian divinities in the Roman military costumes including the gods Apis, Horus, and Anubis.

Statuettes of Apis

Apis is a bull deity who was known in ancient Egyptian as  *hp*, the Greek Apis *Ἀπις*²⁶. His cult is dated as early as the beginning of the first Pharaonic Dynasty and continued until the Roman period. Throughout the ancient Egyptian history, Memphis was his cult center, where he was connected with the worship of the creator god Ptah and recognized as his son, his herald and living image. The bull of Apis had to have special marks in order to be chosen and be placed in the precinct of Ptah. According to Herodotus Apis' bull was black with a hump in form of a scarab under its tongue, tail's hair of two strands and a sign of an eagle on its shoulders²⁷. Herodotus also speaks of a great ceremony especially made for the bull of Apis when it reached the age of twenty-five where he was killed, mummified and buried in a sarcophagus placed in his subterranean galleries-cemetery of Serapeum at Saqqara²⁸.

In Pharaonic Egypt, the cult Apis was also strongly linked to Egyptian kingship; the king had to own the same physical powers of Apis bull, which was regularly proved by the rituals of the *Sed*-festival through which the Egyptian pharaoh could strengthen and rejuvenate his powers. After death, Apis was identified with Osiris and took the double-form of Osir-Apis²⁹. Apis was highly venerated by Alexander I who made offering to him in Ptah's temple of Memphis where he was crowned as an Egyptian pharaoh³⁰. He showed gratitude to Apis as a reaction to the story that the Persians had slain the bull of Apis. By making offerings to this important Egyptian divinity, he set precedent for his successors in this matter³¹. In Ptolemaic period, the veneration of Apis bull continued. This is indicated by a number of incidents such as Ptolemy I who donated fifty talents for the occasion of the ceremony of the funerals of Apis bulls. The decree of Canop of Ptolemy III is another indication of the Ptolemaic affiliation to Apis³². Apis' cult had a close link with the kingship during the Ptolemaic period. This is well indicated by the invention of the cult of Sarapis which had been originally the Egyptian Osiris-Apis. Later, Vespasian and Hadrian (117-38) had great

passion for the cult of Sarapis and consequently Apis³³. The latter had a Sarapeum in his house in Tivoli where statues of Serapis and Egyptian divinities were raised³⁴.

Concerning his main functions; he was considered one of the most famous oracular divinities in ancient Egypt³⁵. In the Roman times, he continued his oracular role. This is well attested by the visit of prince Germanicus to inspire the oracular power of Apis and the visit of Titus when he was an heir-apparent at its coronation³⁶. Apis is represented as a walking bull with a solar disk on its head between his two bull's horns and uraeus on the forehead. In the late period, he was commonly represented in votive bronzes as a standing man with a bull's head³⁷.

On the side walls of the main burial chamber of the tomb of Kom el-Shuqafa from the Roman period, Apis bull is figured with a solar disk between its horns standing before an altar being offered a collar by a man wearing the double crown, while Isis stands behind the god stretching her wings. The man represented may refer to an emperor represented as an Egyptian pharaoh (fig.1). Apis bull was also represented in Roman coins along with emperors like the bronze coin of Antoninus Pius from his fifth year of reign (141 AD) on which Apis bull is figured on the reverse standing before an altar³⁸ (fig.2). The idea of having bulls represented on Roman coins is well attested in different examples.³⁹ Tougher identifies the bull representations in this coinage as a manifestation of the emperor himself, as a leader of his subjects⁴⁰.

Thus the identification of Apis bull as a Roman emperor was already practiced and accepted to the Romans and the subjects as well. Therefore, there are many examples of bronze statuettes representing Apis bull as a Roman emperor. Among these is that of Apis as a bull-headed man represented as an emperor, in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin 41 of a height of 6, 98 cm, perhaps was a votive from a tomb or a temple⁴². It is dated to the second century AD. He is represented in front with a sun disk between two horns wearing a Roman military costume; the cuirass⁴³, and the tasseled *pteryges*⁴⁴ with one row of disks and a *paludamentum* fastened on the right shoulder and hangs on the left. The two legs are broken and the right arm is raised holding a missing tool in the hand that is possible to be a scepter or a spear⁴⁵ known in Latin as *pilum*⁴⁶ (fig.3).

Breccia ascribes to Osiris-Apis or Serapis another bronze statuette found in Alexandria and donated to the Graeco-roman Museum. The head and part of the head are missing. The god is represented in a proud attitude in a

frontal standing position; with the left leg slightly bent; the left arm is bent with the forearm raised forward at chest level; and in his opened left hand he holds a globe. The right arm is lifted up to the shoulder level, the forearm pushed vertically upwards, with the hand closed to hold a long missing scepter or *pilum*. The head is surmounted by remains of a solar disk. The clothing is that of a high-ranking Roman officer: a tunic that goes down to the knees overlapping a metal cuirass. Above the breastplate, around the chest, he wears a *paludamentum* fastened on the right shoulder with flaps thrown on the left forearm⁴⁷ (fig.4).

Bissing on the other hand describes a bronze statuette in his collection which now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens⁴⁸ with height of 0.155 m. The god is seated on a throne, with a human body and a bull's head surmounted by a solar disk between two bull's horns and uraeus, the typical crown of Apis at the center of the disk⁴⁹ (fig.5). Apis here is dressed in a cuirass, *paludamentum*⁵⁰ and high boots or *calceus mulleus*. Under the armor he wears a tunic. In his right hand, he holds an offering bowl, while the left is clenched to his fist and probably held a scepter or a spear or *pilum*. the figuration of the ruler with a sacrificial bowl and scepter or a *pilum* is most likely only Roman, even the Alexander and the Egyptian gods' bronze figurines which take this form are also inspired by Roman imagery⁵¹.

Bissing also adds that he found an important testimony to the conception of Apis as emperor through bronze statuette ; shows Apis represented as an emperor along the *adlocutio* ⁵² style as the right hand is raised in the *adlocutio* gesture. The head is surmounted by solar disk centered by uraeus between two bull's horns. The god is wearing the traditional Roman military costumes of high ranking including tasseled *pteryges* with one row of discs, *paludamentum* and *calceus mulleus*. The statuette stood originally among the antiquarians of the Demetrio's collection⁵³ (fig.6). A good example of an emperor represented in the same attitude to compare with is that of *Prima Porta* statue of Augustus in the Vatican Museums, as he wears the same military costume with the same cuirass and the right hand is also raised in the *adlocutio* style⁵⁴.

Statuettes of Horus

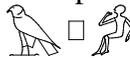
Horus is a falcon deity whose cult was the most popular throughout the ancient history of Egypt; his worship is traced back as early as Predynastic period. He was the son of Osiris and Isis, called in ancient Egyptian *hr*  or ⁵⁵ and the falcon was the main image of the god. Horus had

many aspects and titles, as he was connected with many other Egyptian divinities; thus was worshiped in many sites in ancient Egypt⁵⁶.

He had many functions related to his various universal aspects and forms. He was a sky god; the sun was his right eye and the moon was his left⁵⁷. He was also a solar god and took the titles and manifestations related to this

aspect; like Horakhty *hr 3hty*  "Horus of the two horizons", and

Horemakhet *hr m 3ht*  "Horus in the horizon"⁵⁸. Besides the falcon

form, he sometimes took the leonine aspect⁵⁹. An important aspect of Horus was also being Her-pa-Ghered *hr-p3-ḥrd*  "Horus the Child"⁶⁰, the Greek Harpocrates⁶¹.

Horus was the god mostly associated with the Egyptian kingship as the Egyptian sovereign throughout Pharaonic and Graeco-roman periods held a Horus name. From the early dynastic period, the Pharaoh's name was written inside the rectangular *Serekh* ⁶² on which Horus is figured as a perched falcon. The Egyptian king was regarded as the earthly image of Horus who in his turn had inherited the realm of his father Osiris and became a king, after defeating his father's murderer Seth in many battles that lasted for eighty years ⁶³. Horus also had various forms related to kingship

like Horus-sema-tawy *hr-sm3-t3wy*  "Horus unifier of the two lands"⁶⁴ indicating his role as a king who united Upper and Lower Egypt and ruled over the whole lands of Egypt; and the form of *hr-nb-t3wy* "Horus the Lord of the two lands", which is another reference to his role as the king of Egypt. Horus was mainly represented as a falcon or as a falcon-headed man wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. Moreover, as son of Isis he is represented as a child or an infant suckled by his mother Isis; and as Horus the child, he is represented as a child with a side hair lock and thumb at his mouth⁶⁵.

The glory of this god with all his forms remained till the Roman period. An indication of that is recognized through many terra-cotta and bronze figurines represented with the different forms of this divinity. Besides the statuettes, he was represented on Roman coinage like in the case of Apis; an example is a bronze coin dated from the fifth year of the reign of Vespasian shows on the reverse a representation of Horus as a falcon wearing the double crown⁶⁶ (fig.7).

Like Apis, Horus was figured as a Roman emperor in many bronze statuettes in the Roman period. There is an example of these in the British

Museum in London⁶⁷ with a height of 46 cm. He is represented as a standing falcon-headed man with the left arm raised, while the right is broken-off below the shoulder⁶⁸ (fig.8). It is dated to the beginning of the imperial period perhaps from the reign of Augustus or Claudius. He is represented in front wearing a *nemes* and a Roman military costume as he is dressed in cuirass with a plain chest and a row of *pteryges*, *calceus mulleus*⁶⁹ in his feet with straps made in interlaced manner and ended at the top with a lion's head⁷⁰.

There is another bronze statuette of Horus in Pushkin Museum in Moscow⁷¹ of a height of 4272 cm, shows Horus as a falcon-headed man wearing the Egyptian double crown with a coiled cobra. The object he holds in the right hand is missing, but it was most probably a spear which was an attribute of Horus that he used to defeat his enemy and evil⁷³ (fig.9). In addition, a limestone statuette of Horus in the British Museum ⁷⁴ shows him as a seated falcon-headed man with human eyes. The statuette's height is 54.5 cm and bears traces of colors⁷⁵. The god here is represented, seated on the throne wearing a Roman military costume with a chest shield of the type known as "scale armor" related to soldiers of low ranking, a mantle or more likely a *sagum*⁷⁶ fastened on the right shoulder and draped at the back, and a military sandal⁷⁷. The head is provided with a hole which indicates the possibility of the existence of a crown, perhaps the double crown. As the two arms are missing, it is possible that Horus once held a spear in his right hand and a scepter in the left⁷⁸ (fig.10).

The bronze statuette of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens⁷⁹ shows Horus as falcon-headed man wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt decorated by a coiled cobra. The two arms are missing. Like fig.9, the right leg is advanced, while the left one is slightly bent at the back. The god here like in the case of fig.9 wears a metal corselet of Roman high officers provided with strips on the shoulders and an ornamented belt and *Cingulum militare*⁸⁰. Below the corselet is a double pleated kilt and *calceus mulleus* (fig.11).

Statuettes of Anubis

Anubis was one of the most ancient and popular divinity throughout the ancient history of Egypt. His name in ancient Egyptian was *inpw* ⁸¹. There are many myths concerning his origins; especially that his cult was also connected with Osiris who was sometimes recognized as his father. He was also regarded as son of Seth or Re; his mother in some versions of his myth was Nephthys, or Bastet. Anubis was worshiped

throughout Egypt and had many chapels and shrines in all temples; but his important cult center was at the seventeenth nome of Upper Egypt which Cynopolis (city of dogs) was the capital⁸².

Anubis was primarily recognized in ancient Egypt as god of the dead and afterlife; perhaps this function is derived from his main form which is the jackal that is well known for his role to scavenge the desert graves in early periods. According to the ancient Egyptian belief, having the god in this form would protect the dead from harm. Most of his titles are related to his nature as god of the dead; such as *hnty-imntiw* "Foremost of the westerners", as the Egyptian cemeteries were located on the west side or the western bank of the Nile, and *tpy-dw.f* "He who is upon his sacred mountain" referring to the jackal god residing over the desert cliffs watching over the dead. Among his most important roles are the ones he played in the ritual of the "opening of the mouth" which he performed to the mummy or the statute of the deceased; and that of the trial of Osiris in which he weighed the heart of the deceased against the feather of Maat. He is represented as a canine animal more probably a jackal, or hybrid of a jackal and a dog lying on a shrine with ears erected, colored in black referring to his function as god of mummification. He is also can be represented as a man with jackal's head and tail⁸³.

In the Graeco-roman period, Anubis took over other roles. He became a cosmic divinity ruling over earth and sky as a bringer of light to humanity. Due to his original role as a funerary god, he was associated with the Greek divinity Hermes specially the form Hermes *Psychopomos* "conductor of souls" who played the role of the conductor of the dead to Hades in the other world⁸⁴. This motif of Anubis *Psychopomos* is very common in funeral stelae, as he is depicted presenting the deceased to Osiris the god of the underworld⁸⁵. He had great cult in Roman period where he took different forms like Hermanubis. He also played a role in protecting Isis during her delivery of Horus. This made him connected to the well-being of the king. In the Roman period, he adopted protective functions as well, proved by his two representations flanking the entrance of the main burial chamber in the Roman cemetery of Kom el-Shuqafa in Alexandria. In both cases, Anubis is represented wearing a Roman military costume to refer to his protective nature emphasized by the appearance of serpent tail in his lower part of the figure on the right side of the doorway of the chamber⁸⁶ (fig.12).

Among the statuettes representing Anubis as a Roman emperor, is a bronze statuette in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens⁸⁷

represented in front with a height of 0.155 m wearing a Roman military costume or a cuirass, unidentified crown, the half necked *mulleus* and a *cingulum militare*. The left knee is slightly bent (fig.13). There is another bronze statuette of Anubis in Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden 88 dated to early imperial period with a height of 7 cm wearing the *Atef* crown and military costume consisting of a chest, shield and a heroic mantle wrapped on the left shoulder; and holds a sword in his left hand and the right arm is raised with a missing tool in the right hand most probably a *pilum*. The left leg is broken and the right is missing⁸⁹ (fig.14).

Paribeni also describes a bronze statuette of Anubis, dated from the Roman imperial period, in the National Museum of Rome represented with a human body and jackal head, wearing a composite crown consisting of the *Atef* crown which was basically the crown of Osiris (white crown of Upper Egypt surmounted by a solar disk flanked by two feathers and two uraei). The god in this figurine wears the Roman military costume: short tunic, and on which he wears armor, on his right shoulder hangs a *paludamentum* or small cloak of the Roman superior officers. He stands in a theatrical act derived from Lysippus style of Alexander the Great with his fiercely standing, holding in his left hand a short legionary sword, while the right hand is raised to hold a missing *pilum* ⁹⁰ (fig.15).

There is another in the Staatlich Museen zu Berlin⁹¹ dated from the first-second century AD.; it shows Anubis clothed as a Roman officer. Originally, the broken off feet should have been wearing sandals. The head is surmounted by a crown of Anubis which is the sun disk between the jackal's ears. The right hand originally held a *pilum*. Anubis here is represented in the pose of a victorious Roman emperor⁹² (fig.16).

Aside from the above mentioned statuettes of Apis, Horus and Anubis, it is interesting to recognize another bronze statuette of a different divinity, perhaps Khnum the creator god, which Sieglin declares that it was among Bissing's collection. According to him, it was acquired in Luxor, and represents a ram-headed god in Roman armor (metal cuirass)⁹³ with an unidentified object that may be a sword *gladius*⁹⁴ in the left hand (fig.17). It is now in Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam⁹⁵ with a height of 16,9 cm, in which the god is represented in front with the left knee is slightly bent

wearing the *hmhm* ⁹⁶ crown (triple *Atef* crown)⁹⁷, a corselet with extra strips on the shoulder, *Cingulum militare*, a *cingulum militare*, a *pteryges* and an ornamented belt⁹⁸.

Conception of Representing Egyptian Divinities as Roman Emperors

To understand the significance of such representations of Egyptian gods, it is important to refer to the fact that the Egyptian divinities did not alone take this form, but deities of other nations were also represented wearing military costumes of the Roman emperors, like Baal who in the Roman period became *Juppiter Dolichenus*⁹⁹ depicted with the Roman military costume and armor, and Malekbel the god of Palmyra¹⁰⁰. However, Paribeni declares that these representations signify that the Roman mythology was ingénué and insufficient to conquer the world as the Roman domination did, especially the lands of ancient civilizations. Thus, dressing the foreign gods as Roman soldier emperors was a gimmick of empire to militarize the people of the other nations¹⁰¹. Furthermore, the living military emperor needed the support of gods for his subjects to intercede for him¹⁰². This conception is proved by the representation of the sacred animals on coins which bore in their turn political and religious aims (figs.2 and 7), particularly that the Emperors ruled from Rome and not from Egypt. Thus, they ordered the coining of Egyptian sacred animals on coins in order to avoid domestic disturbances in Egypt¹⁰³.

Breccia adds another reason behind the existence of this type of statuettes; it could belong to a Roman legionary, perhaps feeling nostalgia to the divinity of his country, which he had adored in the distant years of his childhood, preferred to attribute to him the appearance of the person mostly venerated by him in his new life, which is the emperor¹⁰⁴. However, Breccia sees that it is not necessary to think of a nostalgic Roman legionary, far from his country, to explain the foreign divinities so dressed in a military costume especially that most of the statuettes mentioned above were not found in Italy, but in Egypt¹⁰⁵.

Bissing prefers to refer to these divinities as "military divinities" worshipped mainly by soldiers, who showed faith through the military service. Like his worshipers, the military gods wore metal armors and urged their armies to advance just as the emperors did. According to him, the Egyptian gods adopted the appearance of Roman emperor, in order to accept the conception of the animal cult by soldiers in Roman Egypt¹⁰⁶.

Breccia adds that so great were the glory of ancient Rome and its power, that in distant provinces it was believed that to increase the dignity of old native gods is to be represented with the appearance of the Roman emperor. According to him, the emperor was made in the rank of the gods, so priests

or devotees, desired to increase the glory and the power of old gods, by being transposed in the image, attitude, and clothing of the living god, the emperor, whose power thus had practical and effective manifestations; particularly because exchanging attributes and symbols among gods and Egyptian kings was common; thus gods could be assigned with attributes of one another, or could receive the attitude, the clothing, or the insignia of the sovereign¹⁰⁷. This agrees with Naerebout, who adds that this statuettes belonged to civilians rather than soldiers as they desired to put their favorite gods in the image and outfit of the military emperor¹⁰⁸. This is well attested by many Egyptian gods who had taken on the crowns and the royal insignia of the pharaohs in ancient Egypt. Simultaneously, they can be an indication of a strong relation between these Egyptian divinities and Roman soldiery¹⁰⁹. However, in Pharaonic Egypt, it was not common to see gods portrayed in military armor. It was a novelty of the Greaco-roman period, particularly in the Roman times, when Egypt was more opened to the Roman world and adopted the imagery of their gods in military garb¹¹⁰.

Concerning the usage of these statuettes there are three suggestions; they were either used as votive offered to animal-headed divinities for their role as oracular deities that gave answers to questions asked by believers, who would express their gratitude by a burial of a mummified animal of the divinity or donation of a bronze votive statuette of the divinity himself in temples and shrines¹¹¹; or they were used as private figurines in the houses as a tradition known in Roman houses in Pompeii and Rome, where statuettes of god were placed in niches and special shrines in the houses. It is also possible that these statuettes were placed in tombs as a kind of blessings and protection for the dead, especially those of Anubis¹¹².

Similarities and Differences between the Statuettes

The majority of the statuettes is made of bronze, except one example of Horus made of limestone (fig.10); and they are all dated to the Roman period and represented in Roman military costume of an officer of high ranking¹¹³ or the emperor himself except Horus in fig.10 who is wears the costume of a legionary. However, it is important to comprehend the differences and similarities between the divine Egyptian statuettes including their attributes, crowns, their standing or seated attitudes, type, and form of the military costume they wear (table 1).

— Egyptian Divinities Represented in the Form of Roman Emperors in Military Costumes —

Divinity	Material	Position and attitude	Military Costumes	Hair-dress/Crown	Attributes	Foot-wear
Apis	Bronze	1.Standing 2. <i>Adlocutio</i> style 3.Seated on throne	1.Metal cuirass 2. <i>Pteryges</i> 3. <i>Paludamentum</i>	1.Solar disk between horns 2. <i>Uraeus</i>	1.Globe 2.Offering bowl 3. <i>pilum</i>	<i>calceus mulleus</i>
Horus	1.Bronze 2.Limestone	1.Standing 2.Seated on throne	1.Cuirass shield 2. <i>Pteryges</i> 3. <i>Sagum</i> 4.Metal corselet 5.Ornamented belt 6.double pleated kilt	1. <i>Nemes</i> 2.Double crown	Spear	1.Military sandals 2. <i>calceus mulleus</i>
Anubis	Bronze	Standing	1.Metal cuirass 2. <i>Paludamentum</i> 3. <i>Cingulum</i>	1.Solar disk 2.Atef crown 3.composite crown	1.Sword (<i>gladius</i>) 2.Scepter/ <i>pilum</i>	Military sandals
Khnum	Bronze	Standing	1.Metal Cuirass 2. <i>Pteryges</i> 3.Ornamented belt 4. <i>Cingulum</i>	<i>Hmhm</i> crown	1.Perhaps Sowrd (<i>gladius</i>) 2.Scepter/ <i>pilum</i>	Military sandals

Table 1 Comparison between the statuettes of the Egyptian divinities represented as Roman emperor

As for Apis in these statuettes, he is represented as a bull-headed man in a standing position with the left leg slightly bent (figs.4 and 6), or seated on the throne (fig.5). The crown that surmounts his head in all the cases is that of the solar disk between two horns, which is a typical crown of Apis; sometimes the solar disk can be marked with an uraeus at the center (figs.5 and 6). The costumes he wears in all the statuettes is that of the Roman emperor's military clothing including the metal cuirass, the *pteryges* or a tunic under the armor (fig.5), the *paludamentum* fastened on the right shoulder, and *calceus mulleus*. As for the attributes, the god is represented in all the examples with the right arm raised and holding a missing *pilum* in his right hand; except in the case of (fig.5) in which he holds it with the left hand instead; and the case of (fig.6) which is different in the attitude of the raised right arm that is represented in the *adlocutio* gesture rather than holding a scepter or a *pilum*. For other attributes he holds in the other hand, they vary between two: the globe (figs.4 and 6) and that of an offering bowl (fig.5). Unfortunately the left hand in the example (fig.3) is broken.

The examples of Horus show him as a falcon-headed man. It is interesting to find that the two examples (fig.9 and 11) are identical in most of the details, such as the crowns, the costumes, the standing attitude with the right leg advanced and the left is bent at the back. The only difference is

the footwear; that of fig.9 is military sandals, while that of fig.11 is of military boots *calceus mulleus*. All mentioned statuettes of Horus are made of bronze except one example (fig.10) which is made of colored limestone. In addition, the majority shows the god in a standing position except fig.10, in which the god is seated. However, only fig.8 shows the two legs of Horus standing at the same level; that of fig.10 shows the right foot is slight advance forward; and both figs.9 and 11 show the left leg advanced, while the right is slight bent at the back. Most of the examples show Horus wearing the double crown decorated with a cobra which is the principal crown and attribute of Horus (figs.9, 11 and perhaps fig.10), while in the example of fig.8, he wears a *nemes*. In fig.8, he wears a cuirass with plain chest and *pteryges*, while in fig.10 he wears a chest shield and a *sagum*. In figs.9 and 11, he wears a metal corselet provided with strips on the shoulders, an ornamented belt, and a double pleated kilt. The arms in all the examples (figs.8, 10, and 11) are broken; only the example of fig.9 shows Horus rising his right arm with the hand that once clenched a missing spear, while the left arm is slightly bent at the elbow with the hand closed.

The statuettes of Anubis are all made of bronze and all have the same representation of the god as a standing jackal-headed man with the right leg bent (figs.13, 14, and 15). In all the examples, he is dressed in military costumes including the metal cuirass, *paludamentum*, the half necked military sandals, or *mulleus*, except in the cases of figs.14 and 16 of which the legs are broken, but if they were complete they would have been represented with the same military footwear, and finally a *cingulum* in the example of fig.13. For the crowns two types are recognized; the sun disk (figs.13 and 16), and the Atef-crown (figs.14 and 15). All the statuettes show Anubis holding a small sword (*gladius*) in the left hand, while the right is raised and seems to have held a *pilum* or a spear in all the cases, except fig.13 in which the right hand is missing, but if it was complete, it would likely have held the same attribute as the others.

Conclusions

According to this comparison, (table.1) it appears that the statuettes are mixtures of Egyptian and Roman features. The Egyptian part is obvious as all the statuettes show Egyptian divinities in standing or sitting position with the heads of their sacred animals: the bull for Apis (or Osir-Apis) the Egyptian form of Serapis, the falcon for Horus, the jackal for Anubis, the ram for Khnum. All wear pure Egyptian headdresses and crowns: Apis has a crown of a solar disk between two bull's horns sometimes decorated with

uraeus which is an Egyptian royal symbol; Horus wears the Egyptian Nemes, and the double crown. Anubis wears Atef crown or a solar disk between his two ears, and Khnum wears *hmhm* crown. The Roman features can be observed in the standing position of the divinities as a victorious Roman emperor wearing military costumes. More interesting is to note that all the deities here hold a lost *pilum* or a scepter mostly in the right hand with raised arm. However, they hold different attributes in the other hand. In case of Apis, he holds a globe or an offering bowl; Anubis holds a short sword *gladius*; for Horus is a bit mystery since the hands of the examples are broken but most probably he holds a spear his usual Egyptian attribute; and Khnum holds a short sword or *gladius*.

There is no doubt that the attitudes of Apis in his statuettes reflect three characters of this divinity. Firstly, the great Roman god Jupiter, as he adopted two of his attributes which are the globe and the scepter; Jupiter's election of an emperor is symbolized by representing Jupiter handing him the globe as a symbol of sovereignty on coins and the emperor thus became a vice-regent on earth of the supreme god¹¹⁴, besides Apis in these statuettes bear the military character of Jupiter who was regarded as one of the military divinities. In addition, Jupiter as a soldier divinity took the titles of *Imperator* "supreme commander" and *Triumphator* "triumphant", and *Invictus* "invincible"¹¹⁵. Secondly, the Roman emperor himself, this appears clearly in his standing attitude and the military costume he wears. It seems that this was easily accepted due to the existence of a tradition of identifying the emperor with the bull attested by Roman coinage (fig.2) as a manifestation of his character as a leader subjugating his subjects. Thirdly, Serapis the god that was created and venerated by the Ptolemaic kings, but originally was the Egyptian Osiris-Apis, and which the Egyptians kept to worship in the form of the bull as an image of Serapis with the traditional crown of the solar disk between two bull's horns and uraeus.

Horus is a pure Egyptian divinity that manifested the Egyptian pharaoh, and in return the king, was regarded as the "living Horus" on the throne¹¹⁶. He is figured with his usual crown, the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, although in one example (fig.8) he wears the *nemes* headdress, which is also connected with the Egyptian kingship¹¹⁷. With the same connotation, in the Roman time with the same logics, Horus was associated with emperor being a manifestation of him. This is attested by the coin of Vespasian (fig.7), on which Horus is represented in the Egyptian form of a falcon wearing the Egyptian double crown. In addition, his military charter

can be understood, due to the role he played in the battles with Seth¹¹⁸ and became a protective divinity that defeats evil creatures of Seth with his spear¹¹⁹. The example of fig.9 is a clear evidence that Horus in these statuettes was portrayed holding a spear, as it is the only example with the two arms and hands still remain. Although the spear is missing, but the way the divinity stands, the movement of the arms, and the hands closed eliminates any doubts that the divinity was holding a spear. It is possible that Horus in the other examples held a spear as well. The fig.10 may not represent the emperor due to the military costume he wears which assimilates that of an ordinary legionary. However, the possibility that the head was once surmounted by a crown, particularly the double crown of Horus, gives the possibility that he is represented as a sovereign or Roman emperor.

The statuettes of Anubis certainly reflect his character as a protective divinity, or a soldier divinity, rather than god of mummification. This is proved by the sword he holds and the costumes he wears in all the examples shown. This function is confirmed by the representation of Anubis on the right side of the doorway of the in the tomb of Kom el-Shuqafa (fig.12), where the god wears the same military costumes and holds the same attributes particularly the sword in his left hand, just like in the statuettes. In addition, his Egyptian character is also apparent through being represented with the traditional crowns; namely the solar disk, and the Atef crown, which are the same crowns he wears on the sides of the tomb of Kom el-Shuqafa as well. Moreover, Anubis was connected with kingship throughout ancient Egypt, especially that he was recognized as son of Osiris and his embalmer. Thus, his protective and warrior character inasmuch as being connected with kingship made him a god choice to be an incarnation of the warrior character of the Roman emperor in the eyes of the Egyptians like Apis and Horus.

It is clear from the given examples that these types of statuettes that represent Egyptian divinities as Roman emperors in military costumes represent Apis, Horus and Anubis, who all are well linked to Egyptian kingship. However, having a statuette of Khnum represented in the same attitude as a Roman emperor (fig.17) is unjustified. It is interesting to notice that the three divinities are well represented in the main burial chamber of the Roman catacomb of Kom el-Shuqafa in Alexandria (figs.1, 12, and 19). Apis is represented as a bull with the same crown of the statuettes which is the solar disk between two bull's horns (fig.1). Anubis is

shown twice: one represented as god of mummification performing the rituals of embalming the body of the deceased (fig.18), and the other as a protective god standing on the two sides of the doorway of the chamber (fig.12), where he is portrayed wearing a military costume, and holds a scepter in one hand and a shield (on the left side of the doorway) and a *gladius* (on the right side of the doorway) in the other. As for the headdress, he wears in one representation the solar disk like he does in the two examples of figs. 13 and 16, and the Atef-crown in the other like in the statuettes of figs.14 and 15. Horus is also represented as a falcon-headed man at the side of the bed of the deceased wearing the double crown, exactly as he does in the bronze statuettes (fig.18). Consequently, the depictions of the tomb of Kom el-Shuqafa are unquestioned evidence that our statuettes date to the same period of the tomb.

All the above evidences declares the roles of the three divinities namely Apis, Horus and Anubis as warrior gods mostly connected with the Egyptian pharaoh and thus the most deserving deities to be an honorary manifestation of the military Roman emperor.

References

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- 4B. Longfellow, *Roman Imperialism and Civic Patronage: Form, Meaning, and Ideology in Monumental Fountain Complexes*, (New York, 2011), 80.
- 5G. S. Dundas, *Pharaoh, Basilieus, and Imprator: The Roman Imperial Cult in Egypt*, A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, University of California, (Los Angeles: 1994), 117; L. Capponi, *Roman Egypt*, 12.
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- 11P. Ripat, "The Language of Oracular Inquiry in Roman Egypt", *Phoenix* 60 No.3/4, (2006), 318; J. B. Rives, *Religion in the Roman Empire*, (Oxford, 2007), 68.
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- 13P. Ripat, "The Language of Oracular", 319.
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- 15S. Pfeiffer, "The Imperial Cult in Egypt", 86.
- 16 *Strategos* is originally one a Ptolemaic offices of which the function were modified during the Roman period. It became a civil position assisted by a royal scribe, and was in charge of the assessment and collection of land taxes in nomes, J. Rowlandsons and R. Bagnall (Eds.), *Women and Society in Greek and roman Egypt: A Source Book*, (Cambridge and New York, 1998), 13.
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- 38H. E. Aglan, *The Aspects of Animal Sanctification*, 45-46. However, the idea of having bulls represented on Roman coins is well attested in different examples. One example is a bronze coin dated from the fourth century precisely the reign of Julian (360-363 AD), represented with a bull facing towards right surmounted by two stars and accompanied by the inscription SECVRITAS REI PVB[LICAE] "the security of the State". The bull is identified as a symbol of the solar divinity Sol (Helios), due to the great devotion of Julian to this divinity, D. Woods, "Julian, Gallienus, and the Solar Bull", *American Journal of Numismatics* 12, (2000), 157-169, <http://hdl.handle.net/10468/829> , 2001 American Numismatic Society last access on 28/1/2018.
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80 *Cingulum* is a Roman sword girdle decorated with metal fittings worn as a badge of rank by soldiers and officials, A. Jamieson, *Anisworth's Latin Dictionary*, 227.

81 *Wb* I, 96, n.7.

82 R. H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 187, 189.

83 R. H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 187-189; H. Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 11.

84 R. H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 188; J. R. March, *Dictionary of Classical mythology*, 2nd ed., (Oxford, 2014), 245.

85 C. Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt: Arts, Identity, and Funerary Religion*, (Oxford, 2005), 166-167.

86 R. H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 189.

87 National Archaeological Museum of Athens inv. no. AIG. 2571. *LIMC*, I\ 1, (1981), 871, no.79. *LIMC*, I\ 2, (1981) 696., no.79.

88 Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Inv. F. 1950/3-7).

89 H. E. Aglan, *The Aspects of Animal Sanctification*, 110-112.

90 P. Paribeni, "Divinta' Straniere", 177.

91 Staatlich Museen (Nr. VÄGM 2002/120)

92 [http://www.smb-](http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1367076&viewType=detailView)

[digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1367076&viewType=detailView](http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1367076&viewType=detailView) (last accessed 1/4/2018). Other similar examples of Anubis are found in Rijksmuseum van Oudheden,

- Leiden F1950/7-3, Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg H 1493, F. Naerebout, "Cuius region, eius religio", 44.
- 93E. von Sieglin, *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin: Ausgrabungen in Alexandria*, Vol.1, *Die Nekropole von Kôm-esch-Schukâfa*, (Leipzig, 1908), 158, n.76.
- 94*Gladius* is a Latin word for sword. It is short double edged with a length varying from 26-59 cm, provided with a grip made of bone, G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army: of the First and Second Centuries A.D.*, 3rd ed, University of Oklahoma Press, (Normand, 1998), 128.
- 95Allard Pierson Museum (Inv. 51100).
- 96*Wb* II , 491, n.5
- 97*Hmhm* is developed form of Atef crown in the late period used in battles or wars, R. A. Labbon, *Historical Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Nubia*, (Oxford, 2004), 364.
- 98Some scholars believe that the statuette represents the god Apis, H. E. Aglan, *The Aspects of Animal Sanctification*, 112. But the two twisted horns is a strong indication that it is Khnum like Sieglin says.
- 99*Juppiter Dolichenus'* cult was widespread in the Roman army. He was a storm divinity standing on a bull holding a double axe and a thunderbolt wearing a Phrygian cap and sword and was originally a Syrian god acquired the form and name of Jupiter the supreme god *Juppiter optimus maximus*, and became a lord of major religion in the Roman empire, M. Speidel, *The Religion of Juppiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army*, (Leiden, 1978), 1.
- 100Seyrig believes that it is understood that the Arabs at that times were nomads who lived in an insecure world and needed to have their gods represented in the armed form for protection, H. Seyrig, "Les dieux armés et les Arabes in Syrie", *Syria* 47, (1970), 101-107.
- 101P. Paribeni, "Divinta' Straniere", 178-179, 180, 183.
- 102P. Parsons, *City of the Sharp Nosed Fish*, 61.
- 103H. E. Aglan, *The Aspects of Animal Sanctification*, 48. This assumption is well indicated by the fact that during the rule of the Ptolemaic kings, no sacred animals were represented on coins, H. E. Aglan, *The Aspects of Animal Sanctification*, 48.
- 104P. Paribeni, "Divinta' Straniere", 183.
- 105E. Breccia, "Osiris-Apis", 186-187.
- 106F. W. F. von Bissing, "Apis Imperator", 119-120.
- 107E. Breccia, "Osiris-Apis", 186-187.

- 108F. Naerebout, "Cuius region, eius religio", 54.
- 109H. E. Aglan, *The Aspects of Animal Sanctification*, 96, 116, 119.
- 110F. Naerebout, "Cuius region, eius religio", 61.
- 111P. Nicholson, S. Ikram, and S. Mills, "The Catcombs of Anubis at North of Saqqara", in *Antiquity* 89, (2014), 648.
- 112H. E. Aglan, *The Aspects of Animal Sanctification*, 96, 116, 119.
- 113High officers were distinguished by a corselet with extra strips on the shoulder and *Cingulum militare*. Below the corselet was a double pleated kilt like garment and metal greaves on the shins. From his left shoulder his fine material cloak hanged in folds, G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army*, 130.
-)) E. Manders, *Coining Images of Power: Patterns in the Representation of Roman Emperors on Imperial Coinage, A.D. 193-284*, (Leiden and Boston, 2012), 105; J. Ferguson, *The Religions of the Roman Empire*, (New York, 1970), 42. For an example, cf. the coin of Maximinus II from the fourth century in the British Museum 1995, 0605.250.
- 115A. Cotterell, *A Dictionary of World Mythology*, 2nd Ed., (New York, 1997).
- 116G. Hart, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods*, 89.
- 117A piece of linen cloth headdress gathered together at the back of the head worn only by kings and gods since at least the first dynasty and on, P. Lacovara, *The World of Ancient Egypt: A Daily Life Encyclopedia*, (Santa Barbra and Denver, 217), 184.
- 118There are different versions of the battles between Horus and Seth, but all show Horus as a warrior king who avenged his father and achieved victory over Seth, R. A. Armour, *Gods and Myths of Ancient Egypt*, 3rd Ed., (Cairo and New York, 2003), 77-85.
- 119The motive of Horus spearing wearing the double crown and spearing a hippopotamus or a crocodile as incarnation of Seth is a symbol of the triumph of Horus over Seth, A. E Weigall, *A Guide of the Antiquities of Upper Egypt: from Abydos to the Sudan Frontier*, (Cambridge, 2015), 344.



Fig.3 A bronze statuette of Apis, the Egyptian Museum of Berlin (Nr. ÄM 22396)
[http://www.smbdigital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.\\$TspTitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=1&sp=3&sp=Slightbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=0](http://www.smbdigital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.$TspTitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=1&sp=3&sp=Slightbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=0) (last access on 7/2/2018)



Fig.4 A bronze figurine of Apis donated by Bovier-La Pierre to the Greco-roman Museum of Alexandria
E. Breccia, "Osiris-Apis", p.184.



Fig.5 A bronze seated figurine of Apis in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, inv. no. AIG. 676

Photo taken by the National Archaeological Museum, Athens 2018, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture, & Sports /Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Fig.6 A bronze figurine of Apis from the collection of Bissing
F. W. F. von Bissing, "Apis Imperator", 119, fig.1.



Fig.7 A bronze coin from the time of Vespasian represented with Horus as a falcon wearing
the double crown
H. E. Aglan, *The Aspects of Animal Sanctification*, 47, fig.25.



Fig.8 A bronze statuette of Horus, British Museum (EA36062)
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=114425001&objectId=125570&partId=1Origins (last access on 12/2/2018)



Fig.9 A bronze statuette of Horus wearing the double crown, Pushkin Museum in Moscow (1,1a 2794)

H. E. Aglan, *The Aspects of Animal Sanctification* 109, fig.102.



Fig.10 A limestone seated statuette of Horus, British Museum, (EA51100) http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=1129578001&objectid=155883 (last access on 12/2/2018)



Fig.11 A bronze statuette of Horus in Roman military costumes, National Archaeological Museum of Athens, inv. no. AIG. 675
Photo taken by the National Archaeological Museum, Athens 2018, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture, & Sports /Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Fig.12 Two representations of Anubis in Roman military costume flanking the main burial chamber at Kom el-Shuqafa Cemetery

E. von Sieglin, *Ausgrabungen in Alexandria*, PL.XXV, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/sieglin1908bd1_2/0044/image (last accessed 30/3/2018).



Fig.13 A bronze statuette of Anubis, National Archaeological Museum of Athens (Inv. No. AIG. 2571)

Photo taken by the National Archaeological Museum, Athens 2018, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture, & Sports /Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Fig.14 A bronze statuette of Anubis, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden (Inv. F. 1950/3-7)

H. E. Aglan, *The Aspects of Animal Sanctification*, 111, fig.108.

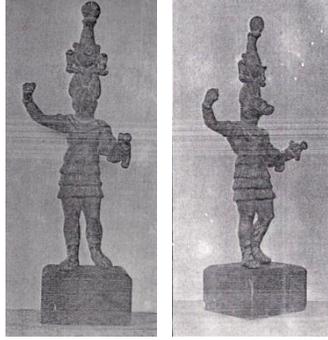


Fig.15 A bronze figurine of Anubis, Museo Nazionale Romano
P. Paribeni, "Divinta' Straniere", Pls.VI, VII.



Fig.16 A bronze statuette of Anubis in Staatlich Museen zu Berlin Nr. VÄGM
2002/120
<http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1367076&viewType=detailView> (last accessed 1/4/2018).



Fig.17 Bronze figurine of Khnum in the collection of Bissing, Allard Pierson Museum in
Amsterdam (Inv. 51100)

H. E. Aglan, *The Aspects of Animal Sanctification*, 112, fig.112; E. von Sieglin, *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin*, 148, Abb.92.



Fig.18 representation of Horus and Anubis as a god of mummification, Kom el-Shuqafa
E. von Sieglin, *Ausgraburnen in Alexandria*, PL.XXXVII
http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/sieglin1908bd1_2/0046/image (last accessed 3/4/2018).