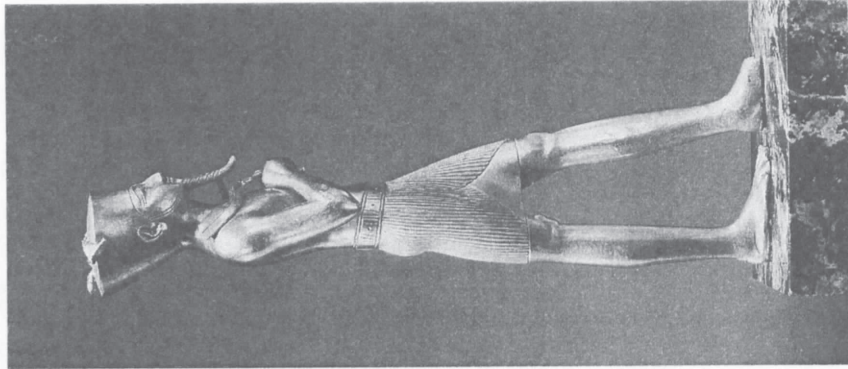


thy that amulets of the god of the dead continued to be extremely few in number. Earlier, Osiris was depicted only as a pectoral element in the company of family deities. Most of the tiny bronzes of Late period date that characteristically depict him in mummiform not only have suspension loops but also show tangs below the feet and were not intended to be worn as a personal ornament.

Carol A. R. Andrews

AMUN AND AMUN-RE. The god Amun, who later became Amun-Re, was the focus of the most complex theological system of ancient Egypt. In his developed form, Amun-Re combined within himself the two opposite realities of divinity—the hidden and the revealed. The name Amun (Eg., *Imn*) indicated his essential being, for its meaning was “the hidden one” or “the secret one.” According to myth, his true name was unknown, thus indicating his unknowable essence. This imperceptibility owed to the absolute otherness or holiness of the deity, and it attested that he was totally different from all other beings and transcendent of the created universe. The second element in his name, *Re*, was the common Egyptian term for “the sun.” In this *Re* element, which was also the name of the sun god of Heliopolis, Amun was revealed—thus, Amun-Re.

Amun was known at an early date, since a few references in the Pyramid Texts (from the Old Kingdom) attest to his antiquity. Although those references are scanty, they show him as a primeval deity, a symbol of the creative force. Amun was also known as one of the eight Heb gods of the Ogdoad of Hermopolis, where he was paired with his original spouse, Amaunet, as a symbol of hiddenness and mystery. Since he was an element in the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, that might indicate Hermopolis as his



The Gold Amun, twenty-second dynasty. This solid gold statue of the solar god Amun is an extremely rare example of Ancient Egyptian precious statuary. Found in Karnak, it many have been a part of the royal offerings to the temple. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1926 [26.7.1412])

place of origin, although another possibility makes him an ancient deity of the area around Thebes. It was at Thebes that Amun's power developed, although he was, at first, less important than

Montu, the war deity and the original chief god of the city. As the power of Thebes grew during the latter decades of the First Intermediate Period, Amun grew along with it. Even at that early date, Amun's nature tended toward syncretism, and the name Amun-Re appeared on a stela erected by the governor Intef of Thebes before 2000 BCE. Amun's growth was accelerated when Amenemhet I seized power in Thebes and founded the twelfth dynasty in 1991 BCE.

The hidden aspect of Amun enabled him to be easily syncretized and associated with other deities. Amun was identified with Montu and he soon replaced Montu as protector of Thebes. As the power of Thebes increased, Amun's identification with Re became more pronounced. That identification was probably encouraged by the moving of Egypt's capital from Thebes to Ijtawy, at the apex of the Nile Delta, under Amenemhet I (c.1991–1962 BCE). Amun and Re were thereby placed in closer contact, and a syncretism of the two would have been very astute, both theologically and politically. The syncretism did not imply the absorption of one deity by the other; nor did it imply the creation of yet another god. Amun and Re still remained as separate hypostatic deities, but their syncretism was an expression of the unity of divine power. Associations with other deities were also found, and Amun soon came to bear such designations as Amun-Re-Atum, Amun-Re-Montu, Amun-Re-Horakhty, and Min-Amun.

In the middle of the sixteenth century BCE, the expulsion of the Hyksos as rulers provided an impetus to Amun's growth, for that event was a vindication of both Egyptian power and Amun-Re. Temples to him were erected throughout Egypt, the two most significant being that in the heart of ancient Thebes, present-day Luxor, and the Great Tem-

ple at Karnak, the major shrine of Amun-Re, on the outskirts of the present city. The importance of those shrines is evident in the extravagant manner in which they were enlarged and enriched over the centuries by rulers of Egypt who were eager to express their devotion to Amun-Re, who had become the state god. At Thebes, the annual Opet festival was celebrated in his honor. During the Opet festival, the statue of Amun was conveyed by boat from the Karnak temple to that at Luxor. The festival was a celebration of Amun's marriage to Mut in his aspect of *Ka-mutef* (*K3 mut.f*, “bull of his mother”)—a recognition of his procreative function—but it was also the festival of the Egyptian state, for Amun-Re had become the protecting deity of Egypt and the monarchy. During the New Kingdom, Amun-Re received the title of “king of the gods,” and the growth of the empire transformed him into a universal deity. By the twenty-fifth (Nubian) dynasty, Amun-Re was even chief god of the Nubian kingdom of Napata.

The might of Amun-Re and the strength of the royal throne were not seen as competing powers. Essentially, they were two sides of the same coin: the monarchy supporting Amun-Re, and the god being the mainstay of royal power. Such interdependence of state and religion was underscored by the official mythology that made Amun-Re the physical father of the pharaoh. According to myth, Amun-Re could take the form of the ruling monarch to impregnate the chief royal wife with his successor—a tradition first recorded in New Kingdom times, under Hatshepsut, but most probably was more ancient. Furthermore, according to official state theology, Egypt was ruled by Amun-Re through the pharaoh, with the god revealing his will through ora-

cles. Amun-Re was concerned with the maintenance of *maat* (*m3t*; "truth," "justice," "goodness"), not only on the wider scale but even at the level of the individual. He became the champion of the poor and a focus of personal piety. The magnitude of Amun-Re's spiritual and political power helped transform ancient Egypt into a theocracy, and his priesthood became one of the largest and most influential. That situation was beneficial both to the political powers and to the spiritual power for as long as each supported the other. At times, however, conflict arose, as happened during the eighteenth dynasty reign of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten). The most obvious proof of the political power of Amun-Re and his temple was the emergence of the Theban priest-kings during the twenty-first dynasty.

Amun-Re was the Egyptian creator deity *par excellence*. His association with the air as an invisible force facilitated his development as supreme creator. According to Egyptian myth and theology, he was self-created, thus without mother or father. His creative role, stressed during the Middle Kingdom (and even as early as the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom), developed fully during the New Kingdom, when he became the greatest expression of a transcendent creator ever known in Egyptian theology. He was not immanent within creation, and creation was not an extension of himself. He remained apart from his creation, totally different from it, and fully independent of it. As with the creator deity of the Hebrew scriptures, Amun-Re carried out his creative action in virtue of his supreme power; he did not physically engender the universe, as had happened in the creation myth of Re-Atum at Heliopolis.

During the New Kingdom, the theology of Amun-Re at Thebes became

very complex. His position as king of the gods increased to a point that approached monotheism. In Amun-Re's most advanced theological expressions, the other gods became symbols of his power or manifestations of him—he himself being the one and only supreme divine power. This absolute supremacy of Amun-Re was eloquently expressed in the sun hymns found in the eighteenth dynasty tombs at Thebes. As Amun, he was secret, hidden, and mysterious; but as Re, he was visible and revealed. Although for centuries Egyptian religion had been flexible and open to contradictory mythological expressions, the Theban theology of Amun-Re came close to establishing a standard of orthodoxy in doctrine.

Although the daily ritual in the temple of Amun-Re was essential for the maintenance of political and universal order, elaborate public rituals occurred only at the great festivals, when the focus was on the revelation of the god in the cult statue. His temple was not the gathering place for common worship but, rather, the abode of the god and the point of contact between the divine realm and this world. The daily cult was celebrated as a mystery, within the temple, although this did not imply that its rituals were totally unknown. The performance of the daily ritual was a necessity, for by means of it the deity was imbued with new life, purified, anointed, clothed, and presented with the figure of the goddess Maat as a symbol of universal order; the performance of those rituals constituted an assurance that the cosmic and political orders would endure. An essential component of the ritual was the chanting of hymns to Amun-Re, for not only did they express the theology of the deity but their articulation was also an actualization of their content. Theoretically, it was the phar-

aoh who conducted the rituals, but for practical reasons their performance was delegated to the priesthood.

Like many gods, Amun was frequently expressed in association with a triad. The triad at Thebes was Amun, his spouse Mut, and their son Khonsu, a moon god. (Mut was originally a vulture goddess of Thebes, who replaced Amun's first spouse, Amaunet, after Amun came to power.) The sacred animal of Amun had originally been the goose and, like Geb, he was sometimes known as the "Great Cackler." The ram, as a symbol of fertility, later became the major theriomorphic symbol of Amun, and the goose symbol was suppressed. Yet Amun was always portrayed in anthropomorphic form, never as a ram or as a man with a ram's head. His association with fertility was symbolized by statues of him with an erect penis. When depicted as king of the gods, Amun-Re was usually shown as wearing a crown of two plumes, a symbol borrowed from Min of Coptos.

With the possible exception of Osiris, Amun-Re is the most widely documented of all Egyptian deities. His textual materials and iconography are too numerous to list, and the wide variety of sun hymns and theological texts have provided ample material for the exposition of his nature and function.

Vincent Arieh Tobin

ANUBIS. The most important of Egypt's canine gods, Anubis (*Imw*) was the patron of embalmers and protector of the necropolis, who guided the deceased and participated in the divine judgment. During the embalming and Opening of the Mouth rituals, priests wore masks representing Anubis.

Anubis's role as god of the cemetery probably originated from the observation of animals scavenging among burials. Al-



Anubis, god of the dead, leaning over Sennutem's mummy. A religious painting in the vaulted tomb of Sennutem, a necropolis official of the early Ramessid Period (18th Dynasty, 16th–14th BCE) in the cemetery of Deir el-Medina. (Art Resource/© Photograph by Erich Lessing)

though he has features of a wild dog, he was probably intended to be a jackal, as indicated by his long, drooping, club-shaped tail. He is usually shown lying on his stomach on a shrine-shaped chest, sometimes wearing a collar, with a flail upright on his back. From the New Kingdom on, he is depicted as a jackal-headed human, rarely appearing in fully human form. Like Wepwawet and Khentyamentiu, the other canine gods of the necropolis, Anubis is black, a color symbolic of the afterlife and fertility. Anubis is represented by the *imy-wt* fetish, a headless animal skin hanging from a pole.

The etymology of the name *Imw* is unclear. Kurt Sethe (1930, sec. 17) and others derive it from the Egyptian word for "puppy," although previous scholars have suggested a derivation from the terms for "to putrefy" or "prince." Anubis's most common epithets relate to his funerary role, including "He Who Is upon His Mountain"; "Lord of the Sacred Land"; "He Who Is before the Di-

vine Booth"; "He Who Is in the Mummy Wrappings"; and "Under-taker."

Anubis originated as Egypt's principal funerary god. Old Kingdom offering prayers invoke primarily him. The Pyramid Texts portray him as the judge of the dead, and the deceased king is said to have the body of Atum and the face of Anubis. When Osiris supplanted him in the Middle Kingdom, Anubis was credited with aiding Isis and embalming Osiris, while remaining a guide, protector, and judge of the dead. He appears in the vignettes accompanying chapter 125 of the *Book of Going Forth by Day* (*Book of the Dead*), where he weighs the heart of the deceased against *maat*. Tombs of the New Kingdom and later show him attending the mummy and holding it upright during the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. In the Ptolemaic period, Anubis was transformed into a cosmic deity, and in his funerary role was identified with that of Hermes Psychopompos. In Roman times, he gained popularity as Isis's companion and protector.

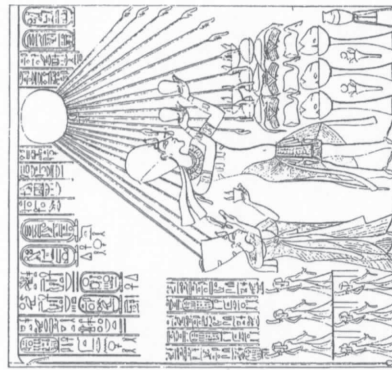
Originally the local god of the seventeenth Upper Egyptian nome, the Greek Cynopolis, Anubis was eventually worshipped throughout Egypt. As Anubis-Horus, he had a sanctuary at the site of Hut-nesut, probably Sharuna, in the eighteenth nome. At Memphis, he presided over the cemeteries with Sokar, and he had a sanctuary at Tura. At Herakleopolis, where extensive dog cemeteries of the Late and Ptolemaic periods have been excavated, he was identified with Horus. The predominance of Anubis in the embalmers' area at Saqqara has given it the name "the Anubeion."

Anubis's parentage is uncertain. The Pyramid Texts call both the cow-goddess Hesat and the cat-goddess Bastet his

mother. Later sources call him the son of Nephthys by Re, Osiris, or Seth. According to Plutarch, his birth resulted from an extramarital liaison between Nephthys and Osiris, but Isis then raised him as her own son. A Demotic magical papyrus calls Osiris and Isis-Sekhmet his parents. The Pyramid Texts identify Anubis as the father of the serpent goddess Kebehut, who assisted him in the purification of the dead.

Denise M. Doxey

ATEN. The word *Aten*, which signifies the disk of the sun, is a term that first appears in the Middle Kingdom. In texts of the New Kingdom's eighteenth dynasty, *Aten* is frequently used to mean "throne" or "place" of the sun god. Because the Egyptians tended to personify certain expressions, the word *Aten* was written with the hieroglyphic sign for "god." Through metonymy, *Aten* was



Akhenaten, accompanied by his wife Nefertiti and his six daughters, making offerings to the Aten. In the Amarna period, the god is typically represented by an image of the sun's disk, from which extend life-giving rays ending in human hands.

eventually conceived as a direct manifestation of the sun god, as Jan Assmann (1975) has pointed out.

Aten was particularly favored during the New Kingdom reigns of Thutmose IV (1419–1410 BCE) and Amenhotep III (1410–1382 BCE). Nevertheless, for the actual origin of the deity Aten, sole credit must be given to Amenhotep IV (later Akhenaten, 1382–1365 BCE), who initiated the first historic appearance of that god by formulating a didactic name for him. In the early years of Amenhotep IV's reign, the sun god Re-Horakhty, traditionally pictured with a hawk's head, was identical with Aten and was worshipped as a deity. The ruler's pronounced affinity with the newly created god revealed itself in the construction of an enormous temple east of the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak in the third year of his reign. The structure was adorned in a novel "expressionistic" style that broke with previous tradition and soon influenced the representation of all figures. This new style of art introduced by Amenhotep IV reflected a concomitant religious upheaval. First he replaced the state god Amun with the god Aten, who was newly interpreted in iconography and nomenclature. The hawk-headed figure of Re-Horakhty-Aten was abandoned in favor of the solar disk, now pictured as an orb emitting rays that ended in human hands giving "life" to the nose of both the king and the great royal wife, Nefertiti. Now interpreted as a sole ruler, the Aten received a royal titulary, inscribed like royal names in two oval cartouches. The Aten's didactic name meant "the living One, Re-Horakhty who rejoices on the horizon, in his name (identity) which is Illumination ('Shu, god of the space between earth and sky and of the light that fills that space') which is from the solar

orb." This designation reflects radically new theological positions. Contrary to the traditional concept of a god, these names meant that Re and the sun gods Khepri, Horakhty, and Atum should no longer be accepted as manifestations of the sun. The perception of the new deity was not so much the sun disk, but rather the light radiating from the sun; to make this distinction, his name should be more correctly pronounced "Yati(n)."

In addition to possessing royal names, the Aten now celebrated his own royal jubilees, as described by Jocelyn Gohary in *Akhenaten's Sed-Festival*, London, 1990. Thus, the ideology of kingship and the realm of religious cult were blurred, as noted by Silverman (1995). Aten was the king of kings: he needed no goddess as a companion like other Egyptian deities; no enemy existed that could be of danger to him; he was the light that permeated the world, giving life everywhere.

Although it was customary for gods to commune verbally with the pharaoh, Aten remained silent. He had Amenhotep IV to function as his herald and his prophet. Even though Aten had ascended to the top of the pantheon, most of the old gods retained their positions at first. This situation soon changed, however, and the gods of the dead, like Osiris and Sokar, were the first to vanish from religious life.

Step by step, the king pursued his reformation. At the beginning of the sixth year of his reign, Amenhotep IV founded a new capital city in the desert valley of Tell el-Amarna in Middle Egypt. Fourteen unique stelae cut out of rocks in the manner of holy shrines marked the boundaries of the new residence he called Akhetaten ("horizon of Aten"). On these stelae the king explained why he chose this site: on this

virgin ground to which no one could lay claim, the new city of Aten was to be erected. Here Aten could be worshiped without consideration of other deities.

Two major temples were built for Aten at Akhetaten. The great temple was an open, unroofed structure covering an area of about 800 by 300 meters (2500 by 950 feet) at the northern end of the city. The other temple was a smaller building of similar design. Both were strewn with offering tables. The first court of the small temple contained a massive mud-brick altar; these monuments may have been the first structures erected in the new city. Around the time of the founding of Akhetaten, Amenhotep IV changed his royal titulary to reflect the Aten's reign. More remarkably, he altered his birth name from Amenhotep, which may be translated "Amun is content," to Akhenaten, meaning "he who is beneficial to the Aten" or "illuminated manifestation of Aten." The king then proceeded to emphasize Aten's singular status above all other gods through excessively preferential treatment. In a continuing attempt to redefine and consolidate his doctrine of Aten, he ultimately suppressed all other deities. The new creed could indeed be summed up by the formula "There is no god but Aten, and Akhenaten is his prophet," as Erik Hornung has stated in *Conception of God: The One and the Many*, London, 1982, p. 248. Even though this belief was not born of the people, the king forced it on his subjects. Formerly polytheistic Egypt had always tolerated foreign gods and religions, but now the king would allow no rivals to Aten.

A hymn, the "Sun Hymn of Akhenaten," offers some theological insight into the newly evolved image of the god. This literary masterpiece, perhaps composed by the king himself, is in-

scribed in thirteen long lines on the walls of the tomb of the courtier Ay, who later succeeded King Tutankhamun on the throne. The essential part of the poem is a hymn of praise for Aten as the creator and preserver of the world. Parts of the text recur in *Psalms* 104 of Hebrew scriptures. Since the names of other gods are not mentioned, there are no allusions to mythical concepts. The themes of night and death, elaborated with allusions to godlike beings in all other religious texts of Egypt, are cited only briefly in this hymn, as signifying the absence of Aten. The great hymn to Aten abounds with descriptions of nature. It indicates the position of the king in the new religion. It is to him alone that the god has revealed itself: "There is no other who knows you." Only the ruler knew the demands and commandments of his god. In this setting, he became the sole intermediary between the people and Aten, a deity who remained distant and incomprehensible to the populace.

The king's family shared this exclusive privilege. The dearth of myths in the new religion was filled with the ruler's family history. The great royal wife Nefertiti, almost an equal to the king, claimed her position in cult and state. It is therefore not surprising that the faithful of the Amarna period prayed in front of private cult stelae that contained a representation of the royal "holy" family. Surely no home in Akhetaten would be without such a monument as an official place of worship.

In about the regnal Year 9, the name of the god Aten was changed once more. All mention of Horakhty and Shu disappeared. The divine name Horakhty was replaced by the more neutral one "Ruler of the Horizon." With this change, the ancient and venerable manifestation of the sun god, the hawk form, was replaced definitively, and a purer

form of monotheism was introduced. The god was henceforth named "the Living One, Sun, Ruler of the Horizon, who rejoices on the horizon in his name, which is Sunlight, which comes from the disk."

The essence of the Amarna religion, which inaugurated theocracy and systematic monotheism, revolves around two central themes: the light and the king. Probably after the final alteration of Aten's name, the ruler ordered that all the other god's temples in the country be closed. To extinguish the memory of them completely, a veritable persecution commenced. Armies of stonemasons swarmed all over the land as far as Nubia, above all to hack away the image and name of the despised Amun.

Other gods were persecuted as well; even the plural "gods" was avoided. When this persecution started, the Amarna period was already at the beginning of its end, and just before or soon after the king's death, the worship of the old gods was restored. Akhetaten was abandoned as a capital, and Aten disappeared from the Egyptian pantheon. In the aftermath of the Amarna period, there was an attempt to expunge the memory of the king, his queen Nefertiti, and all those associated with this heresy—by erasing references to them and destroying their monuments.

Hermann A. Schlögl

ATUM is one of the main creator and sun gods, with Re, Horakhty, and Khepri. His name, derived from the verb *tem*, has either a positive meaning, "the accomplished one"—or a negative one, "the one who did not come to being yet." He is known from numerous textual and iconographic sources. Aten is considered to be the primeval, self-made god of the Heliopolitan cosmogony; he then created, by masturbating, the first

couplet of gods, Shu and Tefnut. This act associates Atum's hand with various goddesses responsible for sexual pleasure and fertility, such as Hathor and Nebet-Hetepet.

Memphite theology (as recorded on the stela of Shabaka of the twenty-fifth dynasty) holds that the creation occurred differently: the gods came out of Atum's mouth, and humans from his eyes. In another cosmogony, the Heliopolitan theology, Atum appears to have been created by the Eight Gods (Ogdoad). The *Book of Going Forth by Day* (*Book of the Dead*) presents Atum as the god who would continue to exist after the destruction of the world.

Atum's most frequent epithets are "Lord of Heliopolis" and "Lord of the Two Lands." The first refers to the main center of his cult, and the second stresses the king's association with him. In the Pyramid Texts, the body of Atum is literally identified with that of the ruler, an association that Egyptian artists also made when they represented Atum, in two dimensions, as a male wearing the royal double crown of Lower and Upper Egypt. The only iconographic detail that distinguishes god from king is the shape of his beard. Representations of Atum in the round are far less numerous than those of any other god of similar importance, and we may speculate that statues showing a king as "Lord of the Two Lands" may also have been viewed as incarnations of Atum. The largest of the rare statues to show Atum himself is a group depicting King Horemheb of the eighteenth dynasty kneeling in front of the seated god; it was found in the "cache" of the Luxor temple in 1989.

Atum's solar associations are with the sunset and the nightly journey of the sun, when he appears with a ram's head or, sometimes, as a tired old man walking with a stick. His solar aspect also has

royal associations as "Lord of Heliopolis." From the New Kingdom onward, he is often depicted on temple walls as the god inscribing royal names on the leaves of the sacred tree (*ished*). In some reliefs, mostly of Lower Egyptian origin—for example, on the shrine of Ramesses II from Pithom—Atum is the god crowning the king. Another episode of the mythicized "coronation cycle" portrays Atum as a representative of Lower Egypt and a counterpart of an Upper Egyptian god, leading the king toward the main deity. The importance of Atum in the new year feast confirming the king's rule is described in the Brooklyn Papyrus, which dates from the Late period.

Atum has anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and composite forms. In the first, he most frequently wears the royal double crown; other attributes, either alone or in combination, include the solar disk and a long tripartite wig. Various animals are associated with Atum, and some of them also functioned as hieroglyphic signs used in the notation of his name. For example, the beetle (or scarab) appears in the god's name from the late New Kingdom until the Roman period, and the ape hieroglyph functions simi-

larly in inscriptions of the Greco-Roman period. In these periods, particularly in the region of Heliopolis, Atum as a solar god was identified with an ape-bowman shooting at his enemies. The ichneumon, devourer of snakes, was associated with Atum in a similar way; benign snakes were, however, another holy animal of the solar god. Numerous small bronze coffins containing mummified eels, bearing a figure of the fish on the top of the box and an inscription incised on it, attest to yet another zoomorphic incarnation of Atum.

Although the cult of Atum existed throughout Egypt, its principal centers were in the Nile Delta. Atum was the god of Heliopolis, where he had a special sanctuary, and he was the main deity of Per-Tem ("house of Atum"), the biblical Pithom in the eastern Delta. He was associated with a number of other gods, especially other forms of the solar deity. Various syncretistic versions that combine the names, epithets, functions, and iconography of Re, Horakhty, Khepri, and Atum (and sometimes other solar and nonsolar gods) became popular after the Amarna period, particularly during the Third Intermediate Period.

Karol Mysliwiec