The Identity of Amun-Re in Luxor temple
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Abstract

Amun-Re has two forms worshipped in Karnak and Luxor temple. The two forms of Amun are represented in Luxor temple and connected in the Opet festival. Amun of Karnak appears with special titles related to his worship; he is titled nsw ntrw hnty Ipt-swi, nb nswt t3wy, and other titles. Amun of Luxor temple appears as creator ithyphallic god with titles like; Imn-Rc n ipt-rsyt, Imn-Rc k3 mwt.f hnty ipt.f, and other titles. The study of the scenes of Luxor temple shows the double identity of Amun-Re. The two forms of Amun are encountered and they are represented in all parts of the temple. The study will shed light upon the real function of Luxor temple and the myth of Amun in the New kingdom period in Thebes. Luxor temple is the southern sanctuary of Amun, where a primitive form of Amun was worshiped as creator god. In the Opet festival the god Amun of Karnak visits Amun of Luxor temple to be regenerated for coming year. In this context, the two forms of Amun and the two temples are connected in the Opet festival and form the most important landmark in the religion of new kingdom Thebes.

1-Introduction

Luxor temple is a very important landmark in the religion of ancient Thebes, a place which is connected to Karnak temple in religious practices and important activities in the Opet festival. The two temples and the Opet festival are the basis of the religion in ancient Thebes. Through the relation of the two temples and the two gods worshipped in Karnak and Luxor temple, the religion in the new kingdom Thebes could be clearly illustrated.

2-Luxor temple; the southern sanctuary
A-The name

There are many names refer to the different parts of the Luxor temple in the texts of the temple. The name of the part added by Ramesses II in the temple is hwt-Rc-ms-sw-mry-Imn-hmnt-hhm-pr-Imn "The temple of Ramesses Beloved of Amun united with eternity in the estate of Amun". Compared to this name; the name Ipt-rsyt was the name of another part of the temple. A text of Ramesses II on the architrave of the triple shrine states that "He made mn kb špps an august bark station in the temple of Ramesses Mry-Amun united with eternity in the estate of Amun, m lft hr front of Ipt-rsyt (Legrain 1917: 60). This text makes it clear
that Ipt rsyt is another part different from the outer part of Ramesses II.

The name of the temple in inner room texts is simply ipt (Graveleit 2007: 42). The most common name refers to Luxor temple is ipt rsyt (Wb, I, 68). The word ipt in the name of Luxor temple was translated as “Harem” (Wb I, 67). Gardiner translated the word as “Secret or privy chambers” (Gardiner 1925,4). Nims and O’Connor translated it as “Sanctuary” (Nims 1965, 127; O’Connor 1998,156).

The determinative of the word ipt is a domed building (Gardiner O45), a sign refers to the word sanctuary, so the name ipt better be translated as “southern sanctuary” (Brunner 1977, 10-11; O’Connor 1998, 159; Murnane 2005, 541). This sanctuary may be the ipt rsyt the upper Egyptian counterpart of the ipt sanctuary of Heliopolis, here the southern sanctuary relates Luxor temple to a northern ipt in Heliopolis and not to Karnak (Darnell 2010, 1; Postel and Régen 2005: 267 - 268). The name Ipt rsyt refers to the southern rear part of the temple south of the barque shrine of Amenhotep III, a separate temple oriented east-west, different from the outer parts of the temple (Murnane 2001, 309-310). This is the Ipt rsyt the sanctuary of Amun of Luxor, Amunemopet, the Ipt rsyt is built over the primeval mound referred to in the texts as st wr.t (Bell 1998, 156).

The discussion of the names of the different parts of the temple make it clear that there are two temples in the area of Luxor temple, a notion will lead to the identification of the two forms of Amun worshipped in the temple.

C-Two forms of Amun

The form of Amun who was worshiped in Luxor temple; “Amun of the southern sanctuary” represents the generation of Amun as creator god, Amun-Re of Karnak nsw ntrw was the solar aspect of the god and ruler of the world (O’Connor 1998, 159).

In the texts of the Graeco-Roman period Amun has many forms. Three generations of Amun are encountered in the texts; The first is Amun Km 3t.f at Medinet Habu who was considered the father of the Ogdoad. The second is Amun Imn m.ipt.f in Luxor temple. This refers to Luxor temple as the ipt of the god. The third and last is Amun Ir t3 in Karnak (Klotz 2012, 81-82). According to these texts; Amun was father of the Ogdoad and another form of him was their son and heir (Klotz 2012, 182).

Amun of Luxor crossed the Nile to Medinet Habu to be united with his past generations and made funerary services for his ancestors; the Ogdoad (Bell 1998, 177, 178). The Graeco-Roman texts tell that this god ḥt iḥt “deposit offerings” for the Ogdoad” (Klotz 2012, 78). Amun of Karnak as “king of Gods” refers to the role of this last generation of Amun in creation of the world. Amun of Karnak is embodying the solar god who began existence, and his Luxor counterpart is Amun the primeval god (Klotz 2012, 171-172).
D-The Function of Luxor temple:
The function of Luxor temple is better illustrated by the relationship between Amun-Re of Karnak and another form or past generation of Amun who resides in Luxor temple “Amun in/of his sanctuary of the south”. The two gods are linked in the Opet festival, which can be understood as “the festival of the sanctuary”. In the Opet festival Amun-Re the god of Karnak could be reborn and Amun of Luxor could be regenerated, and the whole cosmos could be recreated (Bell 1998: 157). Amun-Re of Karnak in the Opet festival also makes the regeneration of Egyptian kingship represented in the current ruler, the reigning pharaoh, so the Opet festival was important for the king to reaffirm his kingship (O’Connor 1998, 159; Bell 1985, 290). Luxor temple was two temples for the two forms of Amun; Amenemopet the god of Luxor temple in the ipt rsyt, and Amun of Karnak in the other northern parts of the temple (Bell 1998, 179). To which extent the scenes and texts of Luxor temple could support this theory which was mentioned in details in Graeco-Roman texts?

3-References to the two forms of Amun in Luxor temple:
The two gods are represented in Luxor temple, references to the two forms of Amun could be gathered all over the temple scenes. The texts of the temple refer to the myth of the two gods; their relation to each other, and their unification in Opet festival and Luxor temple.

A-False door in the triple shrine:
The false door on the northern (rear) wall in the middle of the three shrines, in the first court (Fig 1) (PM II, 310 no. PL. XXVIII no. 43) is the place where the two forms of Amun are gathered. There are two representations of Amun here; two ram-headed standards of Amun flank the two sides of the false door (Murnane 1985, 136). The two gods are described as hnty ipt.f. On the east side above the portal Ramesses is offering to this god as  Imm-Rṣ nswnr nb pt this is of course Amun of Karnak. The position of this god to the East of the false door may refer to the notion that this god resides in the east bank, another reference to Amun-Re of Karnak.

The text describes the west side Amun as (KRI II, 614 11-14, Abd El-Razik 1974, 158) Imm-Rṣ nb pt. The west side representation of Amun is described as Imm-Rṣ nb nsw tḫwy and on the west side above the portal the god is described also as Imm-Rṣ nb nswt tḫwy. This refers to the second form of Amun worshiped here, Amun-Re of Luxor temple.

B-The Colonnade
The scenes and texts of the 14column colonnade in Luxor temple is the most important representation of the Opet festival, an event where the two forms of Amun met. On southern part of the west wall when Amun-Re of Karnak arrived to Luxor temple offerings are presented to him and the text reads (Fig 2):
“Offering every good and pure thing …… To Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the two lands foremost of Karnak, in your beautiful festival of the Opet” (Epigraphic Survey 1994, 17; Pl. 36). This is of course a reference to Amun-Re of Karnak temple visiting Luxor temple. The end of scenes on the western part of the south wall of the colonnade represent the Opet festival reaching Luxor temple, the king is represented offering to this god in Luxor temple (Fig 3). According to the arrangement of events this is Amun of Karnak in his shrine in Luxor temple. The text describes the god as (Epigraphic Survey 1994, 21; Pl.52):  

Imn ḫnty ipt.f “Amun foremost of his shrine” note that the name of Amun is oriented towards the west, but the word for ipt is oriented toward the east. It is suggested that the orientation of the words is intended here, as Amun is oriented towards the west as one of the ancestors in Medinet Habu, while his Opet is Luxor temple and oriented towards the east where the sanctuary exist.

On the eastern wall of the colonnade, in the southern section within the scene of the king departing Luxor temple with the barks of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, to the left of the scene in the lower register (Fig 4) a priest says:  
bg3 smn b3g3g “How weary is the great cackler” (Epigraphic Survey 1994, 26; Pl. 66, 67). This is a direct reference to the weariness of the creator (here Amun of Luxor) after the act of creation (Epigraphic Survey 1994, 26 note c). This cackler is referred to as Amun-Kamutef in the texts of the edifice of Taharqa at Karnak in a text about his procession back to Karnak (Parker, Leclant, and Goyon 1979, 59, pl. 24).

At the northern end of the colonnade, eastern side the king is represented in Karnak in the presence of Amun of Karnak (Fig 5) with titles:  

Imn-Rē nsw ntrw ḫnty Ipt-swt ḫnty ipt.f ntr “Amun-Re king of gods, foremost of Karnak foremost of his noble shrine, great god, lord of the sky” (Epigraphic Survey 1994, 42; Pl. 119).

C-The Hypostyle

The scenes of the hypostyle represent Amenhotep III offers to both forms of Amun. On the east wall, the second scene of the third register (Fig 6) Amenhotep III offers to Amun of Karnak (PM II, 318 scene no. 102; Gayet 1894, pl. IX, fig. 58, p. 43). The god is titled  

Imn-Rē nsw ntrw ḫnty Ipt-swt ḫnty ipt.f ntr “Amun-Re king of gods, lord of the sky, ruler of Thebes”. The next scene on the east wall (the third scene of the third register) Amenhotep III is shown erecting shmn pillar front of ithyphallic Amun of Luxor (Fig 7) (PM II, 318 scene no. 102; Gayet 1894, pl. X, fig. 59, p. 44). The titles of Amun of Luxor temple are:  

Imn-Rē nb
nswt t3wy nb pt h3k Wlst “Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the two lands, lord of the sky, ruler of Thebes”.

The text between the king and the god gives very important information about the god reads: m b3h lmn-Rc n ipt-rsyt stn r itr n dtryw sgr1 h3w “Front of Amun-Re of Luxor temple be eminent to pacify the two lands for the ancestors”. Amun of Luxor here is lmn n Ipt rsyt “Amun of Luxor temple “ and the text tells that he pacify the two lands for the ancestors; those ancestors are the Ogdoad in a direct reference to the myth of Amunemopet (Bell 1998, 178; Klotz 2012, 255).

The text continues Imn-Rc ..s? h3wy-ib n km3 nfrw.f m Ipt-swt “Amon-Re ..? be happy for creating his beauty in Karnak”, in another reference to the myth of Amun of Luxor and his return to Karnak.

In the hypostyle hall of Karnak temple, on the western wall, southern end, the bottom register, the first two scenes from the south (Fig 8), the two forms of Amun appear with the same titles like those in Luxor temple texts. Ramesses II offers to Amun-Re in his two forms of Karnak and Luxor temple. The first scene represents the king offers to Amun of Karnak as lmn-Rc hnty ipt.f. “Amun-Re foremost of his sanctuary” Mut behind him is titled Mwt nbt pt hnrw t3wy hry.(t)-ib ipt rsyt “Mut lady of the heaven, mistress of the two lands, residing in the southern sanctuary”. The title hry.(t) ib means that the goddess is a goddess of Karnak temple and visiting Luxor temple, in a reference to the worship of Amun and Mut as visitors to Luxor temple (Nelson 1981, pl. 39; Brand 2018, 84). The second form of Amun in the next scene to whom the king offers is ithyphallic Amun of Luxor (Fig 9) titled lmn-Rc hnty ipt.f ntr 3 [hr] st.f wrt “Amun-Re preeminent in his sanctuary, the great god who is upon his seat” (Nelson 1981, pl. 40; Brand 2018, 85). st.f wrt “his seat” here is a reference to Luxor temple.

D-The sanctuary of Alexander

The standards of the two forms of Amun appear again on both sides of the door in the south wall of the shrine of Alexander. The two forms of the god are placed in the same position like those of the false door in the triple shrine. The god to the east is described in the line of text flanking the door as lmn-Rc nb nswt t3wy hnty Ipt-swt. “Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost one of Karnak”, this title links the god directly to Karnak temple. On the west side, the god is described in line of text as lmn-Rc k3 mwt.f hnty ipt.f. “Amun-Re The bull of his mother the foremost one of his sanctuary” This is again the form of Amun of Luxor temple (Murnane 1985, 137). The title k3 mwt.f “bull of his mother” is the title for Amun of Luxor as creator god; this title is related to this form of the god in Graeco-Roman texts (Klotz 2012, 75).
On the outer face of the eastern wall of the sanctuary of Alexander, he is represented led by Montu toward both forms of Amun (PM II, 325, no. 143). The first (Fig 10) is:

\[\text{Imn-R}^\circ \text{ nb nswt t\^wy hnty Ipt-swt nb pt nsw ntrw “Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost of Karnak, lord of the sky, king of gods”, this is Amun of Karnak. The second ithyphallic god (Fig 11) is:}\]

\[\text{Imn-R}^\circ \text{ k3 mwt.f hr st.f wrt nb ipt “Amun-Re the bull of his mother in his great place, lord of the Opet”. This is Amun of Luxor designated as nb ipt . This ipt is the ipt rsyt in Luxor temple. The word st.f wrt here refers to Luxor temple as the place of creation. The texts of the colonnade describe Luxor temple as st.f n sp tpy “His place of the first time” (Epigraphic Survey 1998, 49, pl. 196; Bell 1985, 290 note 217a). In this part of the temple it is clear the different forms of Amun, Amun nsw ntrw of Karnak, and Amun m ipt of Luxor.}\]

E-The southern rear parts, the ipt rsyt

The southern parts of the temple behind the barque shrine of Amenhotep III are the Ip t rsyt. This is the shrine of Amun of Luxor temple. Amenhotep III is represented with the two forms of Amun in the majority of the scenes of the rear southern part of the temple. Amun of Karnak is represented with his usual figure and titles relate to Karnak

\[\text{Imn-R}^\circ \text{ nb nswt t\^wy hnty ipt swt “Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost one of Karnak” (fig 12) (Brunner 1977, Pl. XII/24; XVIII/159), also as: Imn-R}^\circ \text{ nsw ntrw “Amun-Re king of gods” (Brunner 1977, Pl. XVI/20; XVIII/157; XX/90), Imn-R}^\circ \text{ nb nswt t\^wy hnty ipt swt “Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost of Karnak” (Br}\]

Amun of Luxor is represented with ithyphallic form as

\[\text{Imn-R}^\circ \text{ k3 mwt.f hr st.f wrt “Amun-Re bull of his mother, in his great place” (fig.13) (Brunner 1977, Pl. XIX/129), Imn-R}^\circ \text{ nb pt “Amun-Re, lord of the sky”(Brunner 1977, Pl. XIX/131; XVIII/156), Imn-R}^\circ \text{ nb pt hkJ wist “Amun-Re, lord of the sky, ruler of Thebes” (Brunner 1977, Pl. XVIII/144), as a visitor hr ib to Karnak he is represented as Imn-R}^\circ \text{ hr ib ipt swt “Amun-Re, in Karnak” (Brunner 1977, Pl. XVIII/141).}\]

4-Conclusion

The scenes and texts studied in this paper show that there is a differentiation between two forms of Amun in Luxor temple. The first is Amun of Karnak visits Luxor temple in the Opet festival. Through the titles of this god it clear that he is Imn-R}^\circ \text{ nb nswt t\^wy hnty ipt swt “Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost one of Karnak” and he is represented as a man with two tall feathers above his head, which is the most important feature of this god. The second form Amun in the scenes of the temple is Amun of Luxor temple referred to directly in the hypostyle scenes as Imn-R}^\circ \text{ n ipt-rsyt “Amun-Re of Luxor temple”. The main title of this god is: Imn-R}^\circ \text{ k3}
Amun-Re bull of his mother, in his great place”. st.f wrt “his great place” here is Luxor temple as a place of creation. This form of Amun of Luxor temple is represented as ithyphallic god in a reference to his myth as creator god, a myth which is mentioned in details in the texts of the Graeco-roman temple in Thebes.

The identity of Amun-Re in Luxor temple is a double identity as two forms of Amun. One of Karnak visits a second of Luxor temple. In the texts of the Graeco-Roman period the texts show the relation between the two gods, when the creator god Amun of Luxor temple is linked to Amun of Karnak in the Opet festival. In the Opet festival Amun-Re the god of Karnak could be reborn and Amun of Luxor could be regenerated, and the whole cosmos could be recreated. In this context Luxor temple, the southern sanctuary of Amun, is a place of creation from the sp tpy “first time” where the cosmos is recreated in the Opet festival

Figures

Fig.1. False door on the northern (rear) wall in the middle of the triple shrines (photo by the researcher)
Fig. 2. Amun-Re of Karnak arrived at Luxor temple, southern part of the west wall of the colonnade (Epigraphic Survey 1994, 17; Pl. 36)

Fig. 3. The king offering to Amun in Luxor temple, western part of the south wall of the colonnade (Epigraphic Survey 1994, 21; Pl. 52)
Fig. 4. Eastern wall of the colonnade, the southern section, lower register (Epigraphic Survey 1994, 26; Pl. 66, 67)

Fig. 5. Northern end of the colonnade, eastern side the king is represented in Karnak (Epigraphic Survey 1994, 42; Pl. 119)
Fig. 6. Amenhotep III offers to Amun of Karnak, The hypostyle, East wall, the second scene of the third register (Gayet 1894, pl. IX, fig. 58, p. 43)

Fig. 7. Amenhotep III erecting shnt pillar front of ithyphallic Amun of Luxor, hypostyle east wall, the third scene of the third register (Gayet 1894, pl. X, fig. 59, p. 44)
Fig. 8. Karnak hypostyle, western wall, southern end, bottom register (Nelson 1981, pl. 39)

Fig. 9. Karnak hypostyle, western wall, southern end, bottom register (Nelson 1981, pl. 40)
**Fig. 10.** Outer face of the eastern wall of the sanctuary of Alexander, Alexander is led by Montu toward Amun of Karnak (photo by the researcher)

**Fig. 11.** Outer face of the eastern wall of the sanctuary of Alexander, Alexander front of Amun of Luxor temple (photo by the researcher)
Fig. 12. Amenhotep III offers to Amun of Karnak in the southern rear parts of Luxor temple (Brunner 1977, Pl. XII/24; XVIII/159)

Fig. 13. Amenhotep III offers to Amun of Luxor temple in the southern rear parts of Luxor temple (Brunner 1977, Pl. XIX/129)
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