



**The role of the *'Iwn-mwt.f* in the New Kingdom  
monuments of Thebes**

*Steven R. W. Gregory*

**British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan 20 (2013): 25–46**

# The role of the *Iwn-mwt.f* in the New Kingdom monuments of Thebes

Steven R. W. Gregory

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The status of the *Iwn-mwt.f*, a recurring entity in the decorative programme of the New Kingdom royal monuments usually depicted as an anthropomorphic figure wearing a leopard-skin robe and having the side lock of youth, has been variously interpreted in modern historiographical sources as a form of the god, Horus; as heir to the king or a royal son; and, most frequently, as a member of the priesthood. Commentaries relating to well-known scenes exemplify the latter interpretation, for example, in relation to the image in the hypostyle hall of the Amun temple at Karnak (Fig. 1; see also Nelson 1981, pl. 52; PM<sup>2</sup> 2, 47 §158) Kitchen remarks: ‘the *Iwn-mwt.f* priest is officiant, as Amun and the great Conclave of Gods in Karnak agree victories and jubilees for Ramesses II’ (1999, 394).<sup>2</sup> Similarly, with reference to the scene in the vestibule before the barque sanctuary at Luxor Temple (PM<sup>2</sup> 2, 323 §131) Bell describes the ‘*Iunmutef*-priest’ as one who ‘mediates before the souls of Pe and Nekhen’ (1985, 276–78). Other remarks indicate the uncertainty in the modern interpretation of the figure.

With reference to images of the *Iwn-mwt.f* at the bases of the statues of Ramesses II in the peristyle court at Luxor Temple, before the entrance to the colonnade, Bell suggests that, in this context, the ‘*Iunmutef*-priest’ should be seen as ‘a form of sem-priest ... a mortuary priest responsible for the cult of the royal *k3*; symbolizing the eldest son and successor of the king’ (1985, 260; 1997, 168, fig. 72).<sup>3</sup> Wilkinson reached similar conclusions when describing the motif, as it occurs in the Abydos temple of Seti I, as the ‘*Iunmutef* (“pillar of his mother”) priest—who symbolised the eldest son of the divine or royal family and who cared for the deceased king’ (1992, 25). With reference to scenes in the Temple of Seti I at Gurna (PM<sup>2</sup> 2, 412 §48, §49), and in the Amun barque sanctuary of Seti II in the first court of the Amun temple at Karnak (PM<sup>2</sup> 2, 26 §34, §38), Haeny considered the role of the king and that of the ‘*Iunmutef*-priest’ to be interchangeable in iconographic depiction (1997, 107, 120). The range of possibilities suggested for the role of the *Iwn-mwt.f* is perhaps most clearly highlighted by Velde who himself draws attention to the diversity of interpretations (1978, 212–13). Velde concludes that the *Iwn-mwt.f* was a ‘son-god’ whose familial relationships were indeterminate. As Horus *Iwn-mwt.f* the figure represented ‘the abstraction of the eldest son of the royal cult’ who took part in kingship rituals; a god who was the ‘divine model of a sem-priest.’ Similarly, other scholars place some emphasis on the divine nature of the *Iwn-mwt.f*.

<sup>1</sup> The present study has been developed from a paper given under the same title at the *Current Research in Egyptology* XIII conference which took place at the University of Birmingham, 27th–30th March 2012.

<sup>2</sup> The currency of the notion of priestliness is demonstrated in the commentary on this scene by Brand and Murnane in which the figure in question is again described as ‘the *Iunmutef*-priest’ (forthcoming, 100).

<sup>3</sup> For some further discussion on the *s(t)m* priest as an office held by the king’s eldest son and heir see also Wilkinson (1999, 273).

In the early days of modern Egyptological study both Breasted and Blackman recognised the *Iwn-mwt.f* as a manifestation of Horus, as will be discussed further below. More recently, in a comprehensive study of *Iwn-mwt.f* throughout the pharaonic period, Rummel came to similar conclusions to those of Velde in interpreting the *Iwn-mwt.f* as a form of Horus which should be seen as the ‘loving son’ and a ‘divine equivalent to the *sem*-priest’ who, with his familiarity of the rituals relating to kingship, was on hand as an ‘opener of the ways’ to assist the king through critical phases of transition or ritual transformation, thereby ensuring the ritual rebirth of the king (2010, 297, 391–92). In many ways, therefore, Rummel’s interpretation resembles that of Bell in that the *Iwn-mwt.f* was a functionary in the performance of kingship ritual, albeit with the emphasis on his divine, rather than human, character.

While it seems possible, within the often layered symbolism of ancient Egyptian mythology and ideology that the *Iwn-mwt.f* could be all of these things, my initial inquiries indicate that while there is ample evidence to support the identification of the *Iwn-mwt.f* as a form of Horus and that, in certain contexts, there is some relationship between the *Iwn-mwt.f* and a royal son or heir, the suggestion that it occupied some position in the putative ranks of the ancient Egyptian priesthood, seemingly the most widely accepted role in recent scholarship, is entirely unsupported within the context of the extant texts and images. Additionally, I have thus far been unable to find any inscription which identifies a mortal as having held the office of *Iwn-mwt.f* priest. It seems, therefore, that the only certainty which may be drawn from the somewhat confusing array of interpretations available in respect of the *Iwn-mwt.f* is that further research may be necessary to identify the precise nature and function of this entity.

In this preliminary study, I will firstly consider the circumstances which, I suspect, have lead to the identification of the *Iwn-mwt.f* as one having a priestly function before evaluating the role as presented by the primary sources. Here I will concentrate on evidence from the Theban ritual landscape which, as the centre of kingship ritual during much of the pharaonic period—particularly during the New Kingdom, the main temporal focus of the present study—and the location of the highest concentration of extant remains, offers a range of suitable material. In conclusion I will suggest that the title ‘priest,’ whether human or divine in nature, may be inappropriate as a descriptor of the *Iwn-mwt.f*. Further, rather than being seen as a functionary in the rituals of kingship, an agent assisting the king through the process of royal rebirth, the *Iwn-mwt.f* appears to be the anthropomorphisation of the abstract concept of kingship itself.

### **Past interpretation of the *Iwn-mwt.f* in royal texts and imagery**

When considering the vocabulary used to define the figure of the *Iwn-mwt.f* as it occurs in Theban royal iconography it is tempting to suggest that the use of sacerdotal terminology appears to stem from the categorisation of the less human characters of the decorative programme—those classified in the ancient Egyptian language as being of the *ntrw*—under the general heading, ‘gods.’ Logically, it follows that the architectural structures in which those entities appear have been variously designated as ‘temple,’ ‘chapel,’ ‘shrine,’ ‘altar’ or afforded similar religious connotation. Thus there has been apparent consistency in that the

monuments, being associated with gods, are temples and the officiants operating therein were priests; albeit priests likely quite different in nature from those acting as officiants in any modern religious order (Sauneron 2000, 2–3; Assmann 2008, 74–75). However, themes decorating the buildings in question in fact reflect the political ideology of the pharaonic state, particularly as it relates to the office of kingship, rather than a religious doctrine (Gregory 2012, 13–14). Nonetheless, despite evidence indicating the political and economic functions of the buildings and officials in question, religious terminology has become entrenched in present discussion of imagery decorating the ritual landscape (Gregory forthcoming).

Accepting that religious terminology has become embedded in modern Egyptological discourse, and allowing that ‘priest’ is a very broad term which may describe a range of human functionaries performing a variety of tasks in widely differing cultural environments, the inclusion of the *ṯwn-mwt.f* in the hierarchy of the ancient Egyptian priesthood remains anomalous. Texts relating to the figure often identify it as Horus *ṯwn-mwt.f*, thus clearly indicating the depiction of a member of the *ntrw* rather than a human agent. Some indication as to how such inconsistencies arose and came to be established in modern scholarship is apparent in the work of early practitioners within the discipline. Here examples will be drawn from the work of two eminent scholars, Breasted and Blackman, who have each contributed to the identification of the *ṯwn-mwt.f* as a class of priest.

Discussing an autobiographical text of Thutmose III from Karnak (PM<sup>2</sup> 2, 106 §328; Sethe 1906, 157), Breasted noted that the term *ṯwn-mwt.f* was ‘a title of the god Horus and then of a priest’ (1906/2001, 56–57, 60 §138, note c), a remark perhaps indicative of some perceived change in the role over time. Breasted interpreted a passage presenting Thutmose in the roles of *ḥm-ntr* and *ṯwn-mwt.f* (Fig. 2) as representing a sequence of events describing Thutmose’s promotion through ranks of the priesthood from ‘prophet’ to ‘the priestly office of “Pillar of his Mother.”’ However, the text can be read, ‘since my majesty was crown prince, while I was a youth in his temple, before my installation as god’s servant occurred ... my majesty, I was in the role of Pillar-of-his-Mother like the child Horus in Khemmis.’ Due to the lacuna in the text any direct sequence is lost, and therefore any reference to a promotion through the ranks of the priesthood becomes speculative. However, Thutmose appears to be emphasizing that, before becoming *ḥm-ntr*, he was already *ṯwn-mwt.f*, that is, he was a form of Horus from his youth; the sense is that Thutmose was fated to become king. There is a similar claim for Thutmose IV in the Sphinx Stela passage, ‘while his majesty was a youth, like the young Horus in Khemmis, his beauty was his protection’ (Helck 1957, 1541). Seemingly, such claims were a topos of the period used to present the idea that the king was one destined to rule from an early age, thereby emphasizing the legitimacy of his kingship.<sup>4</sup> Thus, in the inscription of Thutmose III, the connection is not between *ṯwn-mwt.f* and priesthood but, as will be discussed further below, between *ṯwn-mwt.f* and kingship.

<sup>4</sup> The perceived efficacy of this literary device is attested to some extent by its use over time. A further example can be dated to the reign of the Napatan king, Senkamanisken, who ruled during the second half of the 7th century BC. The text appears on a fragment of a granite obelisk found in Temple B 700/702 at Gebel Barkal—the obelisk itself being an architectural form symbolic of legitimate kingship (Gregory 2012, 13–16)—and declares that Amun knew the king ‘when he was in the womb, before he was born’ (Eide et al. 1994, 213–14; Museum of Fine Arts, field number 16-4-33).



Blackman recognized the *Iwn-mwt.f* to be a manifestation of Horus which both officiated at the king's coronation and jubilee, and acted as intermediary between the king and the gods, yet insists that 'most of the representations of the *Iwn-mwt.f*, however, depict not the god, but a priest impersonating him' (1908/2003, 295).<sup>5</sup> Again, as with Breasted, a shift in status from *ntr* to mortal priest is indicated. Many later commentators drop the reference to Horus completely such that the figure is no longer a priest playing the role of the *Iwn-mwt.f*, but the image is that of an *Iwn-mwt.f* priest (for example: Kitchen 1999, 394; Bell 1985, 260; Wilkinson 1992, 25; Haeny 1997, 107, 120). As such, any interpretation of scenes involving the *Iwn-mwt.f* becomes distorted in that a significant element has been shifted from the cosmic pantheon to an unspecified position in a supposed hierarchy of priestly officials; a circumstance which is both arbitrary and erroneous.

This supposed shift from cosmic to earthly reality is present elsewhere in iconographic interpretation. For example, Jones describes the portable barque of Amun-Re being carried in procession by priests 'often shown wearing Horus- and Anubis-masks as representatives of the "Souls" of the ancient cult centres of Pe and Nekhen' (1995, 21). One such image is located on the south wall of the hypostyle hall of the Amun temple at Karnak (PM<sup>2</sup> 2, 47 §158 III 2; Nelson 1981, pl. 53) which has recently been described as a scene in which 'Ranks of priests bearing Amun's bark are masked, as falcons (the "souls of Pe," in front) and jackals (the "souls of Nekhen," in back)' (Brand and Murnane forthcoming, 104, 111). However, the accompanying hieroglyphic text makes it clear that the figures depicted were in fact representations of the Souls of Pe and Nekhen themselves; there is no mention of priests acting out such roles.

The idea that the scenes in which the *Iwn-mwt.f* occurs depict either priests acting as the *Iwn-mwt.f* or '*Iwn-mwt.f*-priests' suggests that the imagery was meant to reflect earthly activity: visual representations of past events conducted in corporeal reality. Yet study of the nature of the images offers the possibility that they rather served to inform earthly activity in that they reified aspects of state philosophy. They depicted that which their elite authors desired to make valid.<sup>6</sup> The texts and the artistic material in question expressed the ideology of kingship; and here ideology may be defined as the construction of knowledge to validate differentials of power in social hierarchies (Rose 2001, 70). The rituals informed by this knowledge served to substantiate a metaphysical ideal thereby validating a concept: the notion that the king was the mortal embodiment of cosmic forces upon whom the continued existence of the universe relied. Thus, within this schema, the decorative themes do not report the story of divine kingship, rather they create the reality of that narrative (Wobst 2000, 47–48). It may be argued that the story had been around for centuries and its occurrence in the scenes here discussed was merely a repetition of traditional themes yet, as pointed out by Cowgill (2000, 57), an apparent absence of change indicates repeated re-creation over many generations—which may amount to evidence of perceived efficacy inherent in the phenomena in question.

<sup>5</sup> Blackman made similar assertions in a subsequent article stating: 'Now the god Iunmutef, frequently impersonated by a human officiant, was a form of Horus and closely connected to kingship from remote times' (1921, 17).

<sup>6</sup> For further discussion relating to the use of logonomic systems by elite groups to represent the world in a manner reflecting their own interests within a society see Hodge and Kress (1988, 1–5).

Here it is also worthy of note that late Dynasty 18 and early Dynasty 19 were particularly dynamic with regard to decorative art in ritual settings with the addition of new motifs to reinforce long established beliefs and practices (Gregory 2006, 83–115).

The decorative themes discussed, as representations of the cosmological ideal, do not require priests to play any role; although, in the earthly realm, the ritual performance of culturally embedded narratives may have involved persons, including royal sons and heirs, playing various characters. The somewhat esoteric artistic repertoire of the Theban monuments illustrated the metaphysical ideals which established the living king as a mortal who, having been transformed during the rituals marking their accession to the throne, became the embodiment of the regenerative aspect of the demiurge and was thus recognised as a son of the creator, the son of any one of a number of *ntrw*, and living manifestation of a *ntr*, Horus (Gregory forthcoming). It was as an agent within this abstract reality that the *Iwn-mwt.f* was thought to exist; and it is in this context of ancient Egyptian metaphysics that the meaning of the *Iwn-mwt.f* may be interpreted.

### **The *Iwn-mwt.f* motif: Linguistic and symbolic interpretations**

The *Iwn-mwt.f* is portrayed as an anthropomorphic figure whose prominent attributes consist of a beard, the side lock of youth and a leopard-skin robe. This group of symbols, each of which offers some meaning within the canon of ancient Egyptian art, is often complemented by a textual inscription. The texts generally describe activities taking place within other areas of a particular scene, often expressing benefactions granted to the king by the ennead of gods or the royal ancestors and, as such, offer little information regarding the nature of the *Iwn-mwt.f*. However, the pertinent aspect seems to be in the name itself therefore this will be examined before giving further consideration to the symbolism of the motif.

The texts accompanying many depictions of the figure, such as that in the hypostyle hall of the Amun temple at Karnak (Fig. 1) begin with the simple statement ‘words spoken by *Iwn-mwt.f*,’ although occasionally the identity is more firmly established by ‘words spoken by Horus *Iwn-mwt.f*,’ as in the scene in the Chapel of Seti I at his Abydos temple (Calverly and Broome 1935, pl. 36). Infrequently, a more significant statement appears such as that in the tomb of Seti I, KV 17 in the Valley of the Kings (Theban Mapping Project, 16793). Here, in an address to the Osiris Seti, the inscription begins: ‘words spoken by Horus *Iwn-mwt.f*: I am your beloved Horus ...’ In this instance the use of the first person singular independent pronoun in the phrase *ink hr* tends to give rather more emphasis to the claim ‘I am Horus.’

The original texts, therefore, classify the *Iwn-mwt.f* positively, and sometimes emphatically, as a *ntr* and, consequently, it seems worthwhile to consider the nature of the *ntrw* in ancient Egypt where ‘gods’ were not a function of belief but of experience. The *ntrw* were the non-corporeal aspects of the created universe which might otherwise be described as the forces of nature; both physical and more abstract phenomena populated their ranks (cf., Goedicke 1986, 59–61; Baines 1991, 39–44), each given recognizable form and individual attributes which could be expressed in art and literature (Gregory 2012, 13). The question in relation to the *Iwn-mwt.f* is, therefore, one of interpretation; a matter of identifying the concept

represented and, in view of the appellation, Horus, there is a clear association with notions of kingship. This correlation is supported by examination of the meanings implicit within the linguistic elements of the name *Iwn-mwt.f* from the ancient mythological perspective.

The New Kingdom mythology relating to the process by which a mortal was transformed into the divine embodiment of kingship is perhaps most completely expressed in the iconography of the hypostyle hall of the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak and its southern annex, Luxor Temple, where the demiurge is portrayed in its self-regenerative form, *Imn-r<sup>c</sup> k3-mwt.f*: ‘Amun-Re, Bull of his Mother.’ In this form the demiurge recreated himself, by union with his own mother, in the form of the royal Horus *k3* which was subsumed by the king during the Festival of Opet (Bell 1985, 258–59); the *Iwn-mwt.f*, the ‘Pillar of his Mother’ is, I believe, the iconographic motif giving form to that regenerated and, temporarily, disembodied *k3* during the periods of transmission. In this respect the significance of the term ‘pillar’ as an epithet for an aspect of Horus may be explored further.

In the ancient Egyptian lexicon *iwn* (pillar) expresses stability or support and, consequently, a certain order and permanence may be inferred. As an architectural form pillars support the structures of ordered creation and, as symbolic of permanence and order, it is perhaps significant that *Iwnw* appears in the name of several centres of pharaonic society: Hermonthis, Dendera and, perhaps most significantly, Heliopolis and Thebes—the southern *Iwnw*—both, at various times, believed to be loci associated with universal creation (Gardiner 1927/1999, 552; Caminos 1958, 53; Faulkner 1962, 13). The significance of the pillar as a symbol associated with kingship is also apparent in that it occurs in the titulary of a number of New Kingdom pharaohs as an element of either the nomen or prenomen; for example, those of Tutankhamun, Seti I, Ramesses II, III, VI, VII and XI (Beckerath 1984, 232–51). The pillar, as an aspect of kingship, also appears in artistic themes used to decorate both royal tombs and monuments of the ritual landscape; as evident in representations of the Book of the Heavenly Cow and in the *tw3-pt* motif.

The Book of the Heavenly Cow, a royal funerary theme which appears from the time of Tutankhamun and was subsequently used in the tombs of Seti I, Ramesses II and Ramesses III (Hornung 1999, 148), presents the notion that once time began the sky was supported above the earth by *Shu* and the *Heb* gods, personifications of infinity. Associated vignettes depict both anthropomorphised notions of eternity, in the form of *Nehebe* and *Djet*, and the king standing on the ground and holding staffs or pillars which support the sky (Maystre 1941, 113–15; Hornung 1999, 151, figs 94, 95). Such depictions express the idea of the king’s role as a pillar supporting the created order of the universe.

The *tw3-pt* motif, which appears from late Dynasty 18 in scenes depicting the principal festivals relating to kingship—the Festival of the Valley and the Opet Festival—shows multiple images of the king himself as the pillar supporting the sky (Kurth 1975, 2, 96–98; Gregory 2006, 123–29). In this motif the king stands between the two poles of earth and sky thereby preventing them from crashing together, an event which would return the created universe to the chaos of the *Num* as expressed in passages of Coffin Text 1130 (Parkinson 1991, 31–33, n. 5) and Spell 175 of the Book of the Dead (Allen 1974, 184; Assmann 2005, 136). The described artistic devices therefore appear to express the ideal of *ma’at*, the concept that the continuing existence of the universe was reliant on the maintenance of the balanced perfection

of the moment of creation; a circumstance sustained by the king. From this perspective, the king was the pillar supporting creation, or rather the embodiment of that pillar, the ‘Pillar of his Mother,’<sup>7</sup> i.e., the Horus aspect of kingship itself which passed from king to king.<sup>8</sup>

When viewed as the symbol of the transitional and regenerated aspect of kingship, the meaning of other attributes of the *’Iwn-mwt.f* become apparent. The beard, sometimes short and straight as may be worn by a king or curved as that of a *ntr*, presents a variance which acknowledged both earthly and metaphysical aspects of the motif. The side lock represents the perpetually regenerated aspect of the creator; an aspect reflected in the youthfulness inherent in kingship. And the leopard-skin robe also appears to have kingly connotation; although it is often held to have been a priestly adornment (e.g., Velde 1978, 212; Wentz 1979, xv; Thijs 2007, 61), and such is implicit in the remarks of Bell who likened the role of the *’Iwn-mwt.f* to that of the ‘mortuary *Sem*-priest’ who bore ‘[c]lose similarities in garb and function’ (1997, 170, n. 143). However, the argument, which appears to have evolved out of the collective of scholarship, is somewhat circular in nature in that the costume worn by those arbitrarily designated ‘priest’ itself becomes a signifier of ‘priestliness.’ While such argument does have the advantage of being self-supportive, there is little else to validate it. In fact, there appears to be no evidence in the extant texts or images to suggest that the leopard-skin robe was a priestly vestment.

In recent discussion of the role of the *’Iwn-mwt.f*, Rummel has suggested that the leopard-skin robe signifies the regenerative aspect of the *’Iwn-mwt.f* (2010, 397). However, this interpretation does not appear to be in complete accord with the iconographic or textual evidence. The leopard-skin robe was not restricted to the *’Iwn-mwt.f* but was worn by the king, and occasionally—as apparent in scenes in the second court of the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey 1940, pl. 231)—by other human officials, the *sm* and *hm-ntr*. Thus the robe itself is unlikely to have symbolised regeneration. It was rather the *’Iwn-mwt.f* motif which signified the regenerative aspect of kingship. Nonetheless, that the robe was worn by a variety of characters populating the scenes of the ritual landscape suggests that the significance of the garment may be established by reference to the ideology of kingship informing that artistic context. It is here remarkable that the leopard-skin robe was also worn by the goddess, Seshat.

Some commentators refer to Seshat as the goddess who wears the robes of a *sm*, or priest (e.g., Monaghan 2010, 36). However, I believe it more appropriate, bearing in mind the

<sup>7</sup> Some allusion to the *’Iwn-mwt.f* as a pillar supporting the ordered universe is made by Blackman in an interpretation of an element of Chapter 172 of the Book of the Dead, suggesting that the *’Iwn-mwt.f* was, ‘as his name implies, one of the supports of his mother, the celestial cow-goddess, across whose belly sailed the sun in his ship’ (1921, 17). In similar manner, Velde refers to the interpretation of the *’Iwn-mwt.f* as ‘a personification of the sky’s support, holding up his “mother” personified as a woman’ (1978, 212).

<sup>8</sup> The use of architectural symbolism to express the concept of kingship is known in ancient Egypt with the king being referred to, from at least the New Kingdom onwards, as *pr ʿ3*, the ‘Great House.’ Similarly, in present times, the source of authoritative comment or decree is often given, for example, as being the Palace, the Kremlin or the Whitehouse rather than being directly attributed to the present human incumbent in each case. This use of metaphor suggests that rather than refer to an individual human personality such references place emphasis upon the more abstract, or ethereal and enduring notions of cosmic power and authority which thereby enhance the legitimacy of the living ruler.



decorum of hierarchy which is generally found in ancient Egyptian texts and iconography, to suggest that some high ranking officials wore the robe of a female *ntr*, or goddess. It follows that the robe signifies some aspect of the goddess, or rather the notions she represents, and in the artistic repertoire of the Theban monuments she is primarily associated with the king's destiny. Seshat is depicted in ritual scenes which establish the legitimacy and duration of the king's reign. She records the king's name onto a leaf of the *ished* tree, records the length of his reign on the notched palm branch symbolic of recorded time (Fig. 3), and she grants the king *sed*-festivals (Wainwright 1940, 30–35; Wilkinson 2003, 166–67). Thus the principal wearer of the robe is one who established both the identity of the holder of absolute earthly power and the duration of their rule. It is also worn by the *Iwn-mwt.f*, the instrument by which such power is transferred through the continuum of kingship and also by the king himself, as the present mortal embodiment of that power. I would therefore suggest that the primary iconographic significance of the leopard-skin robe was to symbolise royal authority: the supreme power of the state initiated as a natural force of creation and embodied by a living ruler. Thus, in the context of the iconography of the Theban ritual landscape at least, rather than having 'priestly' connotation, the leopard-skin robe seems to identify kingship and, in the earthly sphere, is worn by the king himself and by those officials exercising power on his behalf. It seems possible that this conclusion is apposite in respect of all scenes in which a figure wears the leopard-skin, including those in non-royal contexts and those from periods other than the New Kingdom; however, such matters are beyond the scope of the present study and, it seems, may properly be left as the topics of further research.

### **The transition of the *Iwn-mwt.f***

In addition to the beard, side lock and leopard-skin robe the *Iwn-mwt.f* is also generally depicted wearing a short wig, tunic, wrist bands and broad collar; this kingly attire is appropriate to a manifestation of the young Horus, the reborn aspect of kingship. However, the progeny of the *k3-mwt.f*, not yet embodied in mortal form, lacks some of the regalia of the living king: there is no crown or uraeus, nor are there personal names. With the addition of these elements the *Iwn-mwt.f* is once more part of the living king, as seems clear from an image on the east side of the south wall in the hypostyle hall at Karnak (Nelson 1981, pl. 72). This scene has been described as showing Ramesses II appearing as the *Iwn-mwt.f* while presenting offerings to a statue of Seti I (Nelson 1981, pl. 72; Kitchen 1996, 377)<sup>9</sup> however, the nuance of such interpretation may be shifted when consideration is given to the overall theme of the scenes decorating the south and south-west walls of the hall.

The images in question relate to Ramesses' accession as successor to Seti I and thus depict a period of royal transition. It is in this context that the imagery mentioned in my introductory remarks appears (Nelson 1981, pl. 52). As described by Kitchen, the *Iwn-mwt.f* officiates while Amun and the ennead of gods agree victories and jubilees for Ramesses (1999, 394). To the right of this scene, Ramesses is portrayed in a booth in the company of the Theban Triad.

<sup>9</sup> In perhaps the most recent commentary the scene is said to depict 'Ramesses II, dressed as the Iunmutef-priest' (Brand and Murnane forthcoming, 145).

Ramesses kneels before the enthroned Amun-Re who hands the symbols for *sed*-festivals to the king. Mut, likewise, holds out *sed*-festival symbols, suspended from the notched palm branch, while placing one hand upon the king's blue crown headdress. Outside the booth, as shown in the section reproduced in Fig. 1, Thoth, male counterpart to Seshat, continues the theme of the establishment of the king's reign by writing his titulary, which is suspended from the notched palm, while the *Twn-mwt.f* addresses the ennead. Here it seems that the *Twn-mwt.f* may be more than just an 'officiant.' It may be interpreted that, in a scene in which Ramesses is in the process of becoming king, the *Twn-mwt.f* is presenting his new host to the ennead for their recognition.<sup>10</sup> Having been subsumed into his new earthly manifestation, one of the first acts of the *Twn-mwt.f*—now wearing the uraeus symbolizing his embodied state as the living king and identified as Ramesses II by the inscribed titulary—is portrayed in the aforementioned scene presenting offerings to sustain the afterlife existence of his previous host who is depicted as a statue. Thus rather than Ramesses being garbed as the *Twn-mwt.f*, the scene may be interpreted as depicting the *Twn-mwt.f* becoming Ramesses and, thereby, establishing Ramesses as the legitimate manifestation of regenerated kingship and successor to his mortal father, Seti I.

The role of the *Twn-mwt.f* as provider for his former host in the afterlife is foremost in scenes depicted in the King's Chamber (Epigraphic Survey 2009, pls 87 and 89), Room VI (PM<sup>2</sup> 2, 472 §72, §73), of the small Dynasty 18 temple at Medinet Habu where, on both the north and south walls, the *Twn-mwt.f* is shown presenting funerary offerings to the Osiris Thutmose III. The nature of the *Twn-mwt.f* in these scenes can be in little doubt, being described in accompanying hieroglyphic texts as *Twn-mwt.f ntr ʿ3 nb pt*: 'Pillar-of-his-Mother, the great god, lord of the sky.' The theme of the provision of offerings for the deceased king is again evident in the temple of Seti I at Gurna where, in scenes depicted in both rooms III and V, the *Twn-mwt.f* offers provisions to the Osiris King Seti (Nelson 1942, 131–32; PM<sup>2</sup> 2, 411 §42, 412 §48). A similar image was inscribed for Ramesses III in Room 20 at his temple at Medinet Habu (Nelson 1942, 129–30; PM<sup>2</sup> 2, §510, 148f; Epigraphic Survey 1963, pl. 447). The appearance of the *Twn-mwt.f* in this scene led Nelson to posit its 'mortuary character,' a remark suggesting that the role of the *Twn-mwt.f* was itself primarily related to death (1942, 130). However, on the opposite side of the temple axis the *Twn-mwt.f* purifies the living king before the gods of the earth and sky who establish the king's titulary (PM<sup>2</sup> 2, 509 §140b; Epigraphic Survey 1963, pl. 414). Thus rather than having a 'mortuary character,' the scenes to the north and south of the temple axis present a balanced vision of the roles of the *Twn-mwt.f* in the transitional phases of the continuing cycle of life, death and rebirth of kingship.

An alternative explanation may also be offered in respect of the scene in the vestibule before the barque sanctuary at Luxor Temple (PM<sup>2</sup> 2, 323 §131) described by Bell as showing the '*Iunmtef*-priest' as one who 'mediates before the souls of Pe and Nekhen' (1985, 276–78). The scene shows Amenhotep III, accompanied by Horus, kneeling before the enthroned Amun; both Amun and Horus place a hand on the king's blue crown (Fig. 4). Behind this group the *Twn-mwt.f* addresses the souls of Pe and Nekhen who, as described by Bell, 'jubilate

<sup>10</sup> This interpretation is supported by the text relating to the scene in which the *Twn-mwt.f* informs the ennead of Karnak that Amun has chosen Ramesses as king. In response, the ennead accept this appointment and grant Ramesses 'myriads of jubilees' (Brand and Murnane forthcoming, 102).

at his [the king] having arisen as “Foremost of All the Living Kas” (1985, 276–78; see also Fig. 5). Again it seems that as the mortal Amenhotep is becoming king the *Iwn-mwt.f*, the disembodied essence of kingship, sought, or perhaps demanded, of his former hosts their acceptance of his imminent mortal manifestation. That such themes remained significant in the decoration of the ritual landscape until the end of the New Kingdom is evident from a scene inscribed for Herihor in the first court of the Temple of Khonsu. Here the king stands in a booth with the enthroned Atum who gives life and dominion to the king while the *Iwn-mwt.f* presents Herihor to the ennead of Karnak (Epigraphic Survey 1979, pl. 71).

An example of the appearance of the *Iwn-mwt.f* in a scene depicting the moment of transition occasioned by the death of a king can be seen in the tomb of Ramesses I where, on the back wall, Horus, Atum and Neith lead the deceased king into the presence of Osiris and the *Iwn-mwt.f*. Osiris grants the king eternity in the afterlife whereupon, in an adjoining scene, the king takes his place among the ancestors and is depicted kneeling between representatives of the souls of Pe and of Nekhen (Piankhoff 1957, 194–98, pls VII B, IX A). Thus, as the mortal king makes the transition to the afterlife, the *Iwn-mwt.f* is once again visible in its disembodied state.

It is here worthy of note that a variant of the *Iwn-mwt.f* occurs in the form of *dw3-mwt.f*. This appellation is normally associated with one of the four sons of Horus, the jackal-headed protector of the stomach (Allen 2000, 94); however, this is unlikely in the present case since the anthropomorphic figure described, wearing the side lock of hair and leopard-skin robe, is redolent of the standard depiction of the *Iwn-mwt.f*. The image appears on a limestone ostrakon found in the Valley of the Kings by Theodore Davis in 1913 and was probably a sketch made preparatory to the decoration of a royal tomb. The cartouches included in the texts were left blank, however the location of the find and the artistic and orthographic styles employed are broadly indicative of a New Kingdom date for the piece. The scene shows an image of the mummiform Osiris and, in the lower register, the *dw3-mwt.f*. Hayes describes the figure as a ‘*setem*-priest’ (1959, 391–92); however, the text before the figure reads *dd mdw in dw3-mwt.f ink s3.k Hr mri.k*: ‘Words spoken by *dw3-mwt.f*: I am your beloved son, Horus.’<sup>11</sup> Thus both graphic and textual contexts suggest a variant of the *Iwn-mwt.f*, and the inscription behind the figure explains that he brings to the Osiris King his heart, an act again indicative of the provision of requirements for the existence of his former host in the afterlife.

Another comprehensive extant collection of transitional scenes are those inscribed for Seti I in his temple at Abydos. Here, in the chapel of Seti, the *Iwn-mwt.f* presents the king to either the royal ancestors, in the form of the souls of Pe and Nekhen, or the ennead of gods in a series of rituals relating to the accession of the king (Calverly and Broome 1935, pls 30–36). Of these scenes, that on the eastern section of the north wall is particularly

<sup>11</sup> The meaning conveyed by the use of *dw3*, from this single example found to date, is uncertain. The Gardiner sign N14 appears without any supporting phonetic complements or determinative signs, and thus could relate to notions of praise, time or the underworld (Gardiner 1927/1999, 487; Faulkner 1962, 310). It also seems possible that *dw3*, in this context, could signify a doorway, perhaps implying the notion of transition or a pylon (Lesko 2004, 242) which, as with *iwn*, might suggest an architectural metaphor implying ‘support.’

informative in relation to the significance of the leopard-skin robe. The king, supported by the tutelary goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet, is seated upon a dais as Horus and Thoth tie heraldic lotus and papyrus plants around the *sm*, the symbol of unity, while Seshat establishes the duration of the king's reign and the *'Iwn-mwt.f* presents his new host to the ennead of gods. Here Seshat and the *'Iwn-mwt.f*, standing back to back and given equal prominence in the scene (Fig. 6), appear central to the events surrounding them and both are garbed in the leopard-skin, symbolism which goes some way to establishing the common purpose of those characters in matters of kingship and placing the significance of the leopard-skin within that sphere of activity.

While many scenes of the type here discussed demonstrate the appearance of the *'Iwn-mwt.f* in circumstances expressing the transmission of kingship the figure does appear elsewhere, as in the aforementioned example of the Luxor temple statue bases. Here the inscription names the statue of the deified Ramesses II as 'the royal *k3* "Re of the Rulers,"' and Bell identifies the figures to the right and left of the texts as 'officiating *Iunmutef*-priests' (Bell 1997, 168). However, I interpret the images as representing the disembodied royal *k3* itself. Another reference to the *'Iwn-mwt.f* occurs in Seti's chapel at Abydos in relation to a scene in which Thoth presents an offering list to Seti (Calverly and Broome 1935, pl. 35). The offering list contains the names of many mortal rulers and is qualified by an opening address which does not appear to relate to any figure depicted, anthropomorphically, within the scene itself. The address begins: 'Words spoken by the *sm*, the Horus *'Iwn-mwt.f*, making an offering meal for his beloved son, Lord of the Two Lands, Seti,'<sup>12</sup> and this likely refers to offerings being made by the *'Iwn-mwt.f* in the form of, or on behalf of, the many former earthly manifestations of Horus kingship as set out in the list.

Behind Seti, in the aforementioned scene, a small figure carries a staff surmounted by the hieroglyphic inscription 'king's *k3*' and wears a headdress consisting of the *k3* hieroglyph holding a serekh containing the king's Horus name above which sits the Horus falcon. The figure does not wear the leopard-skin robe, but does have the curved beard associated with the *ntrw*; the symbolism of this motif suggests that it represents the metaphysical Horus element of the king. The embodied *'Iwn-mwt.f* has here taken the persona of the living ruler, the only distinct reference to the *ntrw* being the curved beard. Often this *k3* motif looses all such references and is presented in the form of a miniature version of the king himself; as in the example depicted in the second hypostyle hall of his temple at Abydos in which the *k3* of Seti, wearing the blue crown and identified by the king's Horus name, is suckled by the goddess, Mut (Calverly and Broome 1958, pl. 23). Such scenes make it clear that it is the Horus *k3*, the embodied and perpetually youthful essence of kingship, that is being sustained by the *ntrw*.

After the New Kingdom, a further circumstance pertinent to the present study may be found in the 'oracle' section of the *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, a text of the 8th century BC inscribed on the Bubastite portal in the first court of the Amun temple at Karnak. This text is somewhat unusual in that it appears to be the autobiography of a high priest of Amun

<sup>12</sup> This text suggests that rather than a human agent taking on the role of the *'Iwn-mwt.f* during a period of transition, the latter may be afforded the title of a high ranking official within the royal court (Gregory forthcoming).



decorating a space which one might expect to be reserved for themes relating to the royal cult. The section in question includes the passage:

appearance of this august god, lord of all gods, Amun-re, king of the gods, the god before time. Lo, the first servant [*hm-ntr tpy*] of Amun Osorkon was in his form of Pillar-of-his-Mother [*Iwn-mwt.f*] carrying [?] . . . (Epigraphic Survey 1954, pl. 16 col. 28).

Here again, the assumption that *Iwn-mwt.f* was a class of priest has led to difficulties in interpretation as Caminos found this passage somewhat anomalous because Osorkon presented himself before Amun as *Iwn-mwt.f*, a role he sees as a lower order of the priesthood than his previously established position of *hm-ntr tpy*; an office he translates as ‘first prophet.’ To explain away the difficulty Caminos argues that, while little is known of the function of the *Iwn-mwt.f*, there must have been ‘some peculiar relation of that priestly office to the god on that special occasion’ (1958, 38). However, such special pleading becomes unnecessary when allowing that the *Iwn-mwt.f* is not a priest but rather the transitional aspect of kingship.

The likelihood that Prince Osorkon eventually became King Osorkon III is now widely recognized (e.g., Aston 1989, 150; Leahy 1990, 192; Naunton 2010, 123–24), and in that circumstance the passage may be seen as a text akin to those mentioned earlier from the reigns of Thutmose III and IV, one in which a narrative is presented which establishes the protagonist, here Osorkon, as being of the stuff of kings before his accession. The *Chronicle* describes a period of conflict between rival factions vying for control of the Thebaid and, in the ‘oracle,’ the victorious Prince Osorkon enters Karnak at the head of his armies and the officers of his court to appear before Amun. In subsequent passages the people proclaim Osorkon to be one whom Amun appointed as ‘the eldest son of your progenitor,’ and the ‘true image of Osiris’ sent into the land to restore order (Caminos 1958, 154–55); the accompanying images show Prince Osorkon presenting *ma’at* to Amun. It is in these circumstances that Osorkon appears as *Iwn-mwt.f*. Such an appearance would, in my interpretation, be a significant statement in a contest for kingship, one which presented Osorkon as the essence of the Horus kingship itself. This interpretation may also, to some extent, justify the presence of the inscription in a space reserved for the royal cult.

## Conclusions

In summary, the *Iwn-mwt.f* was not a corporeal being but rather the personification of an idea. The notion, that the balanced perfection of the universe which existed at the moment of creation was maintained by a transitional and perpetually youthful regenerative aspect of the creator, was visualized in the form of the Horus *Iwn-mwt.f*. This permanently youthful progeny of Amun-Re, sustained by the *ntrw* in the metaphysical realm of existence, passed from king to king giving each mortal ruler legitimate authority as the embodiment of supernatural forces. Once embodied the Horus *Iwn-mwt.f* became the king’s *k3*, its identity being subsumed into the persona of the living being. Yet, as the vehicle of the regenerative and transitional aspect of kingship, the *Iwn-mwt.f* is prominent in scenes depicting two

defining moments of transition: death, where it appears to provide for the wellbeing of its former host who becomes one of the royal ancestors and in the rituals surrounding the accession of the new king, including those in which the *'Iwn-mwt.f* presented his new host to the royal ancestors and to the ennead of gods.

I believe that it is as the transitional aspect of kingship that the *'Iwn-mwt.f* appears in the artistic repertoire decorating the New Kingdom monuments of Thebes, the iconographic and textual inscriptions which gave expression to concepts pertaining to royal ideology. In its disembodied state, the Horus *'Iwn-mwt.f*, devoid of all graphic reference to past or future hosts, retained only the symbolic markers of its own essence: a beard denoting kingship or a male member of the *ntrw*; the side lock of hair signifying perpetual youthfulness; and the leopard-skin robe symbolizing royal authority. In the context of this ritual landscape therefore, the *'Iwn-mwt.f* was not a son or heir *per se*—although it could become one with a royal son or heir upon their succession—but rather this figure, often relegated to the putative ranks of the priesthood, was a visualization of a principal tenet of ancient Egyptian ideology: the continuity of kingship itself as the sustaining aspect of the created and ordered universe.

## Bibliography

- Allen, J. P. 2000. *Middle Egyptian: An introduction to the language and culture of hieroglyphs*. Cambridge.
- Allen, T. G. 1974. *The book of the dead or going forth by day: Ideas of the ancient Egyptians concerning the hereafter as expressed in their own terms*. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 37. Chicago.
- Assmann, J. 2005. *Death and salvation in ancient Egypt*. Translated by D. Lorton. Ithaca, NY.
- . 2008. *Of God and gods: Egypt, Israel, and the rise of monotheism*. Madison, WI.
- Aston, D. A. 1989. 'Takeloth II—a king of the 'Theban Twenty-third Dynasty'? *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75: 139–53.
- Baines, J. 1991. On the symbolic context of the principle hieroglyph for 'god.' In *Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem Geburtstag am 24 Juli 1991*, U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe (eds), 29–46. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 39. Leuven.
- Beckerath, J. von. 1984. *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 20. München.
- Bell, L. 1985. Luxor Temple and the cult of the royal ka. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44: 251–94.
- . 1997. The New Kingdom 'divine' temple: The example of Luxor. In *Temples of ancient Egypt*, B. E. Schafer (ed.), 127–84. London; New York.
- Blackman, A. M. 1908/2003. Priest, priesthood (Egyptian). In *Encyclopaedia of religion and ethics*, part 19, J. Hastings (ed.), 293–302. Reprint, Whitefish, MT.
- . 1921. On the position of women in the ancient Egyptian hierarchy. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 7: 8–30.
- Brand, P. J. and W. J. Murnane. Forthcoming. *The Karnak hypostyle hall project 1.2: The wall reliefs: Translations and epigraphic commentary*. <http://www.memphis.edu/hypostyle/pdfs/commentary.pdf> (accessed November 2012).

- Breasted, J. H. 1906/2001. *Ancient records of Egypt 2: The Eighteenth Dynasty*. 2nd ed. Chicago.
- Calverly, M. and M. F. Broome. 1935. *The temple of King Sethos I at Abydos 2: The chapels of Amen-Re, Re-Harakhte, Ptah, and King Sethos*. London; Chicago.
- . 1958. *The temple of King Sethos I at Abydos 4: The second hypostyle hall*. London; Chicago.
- Caminos, R. A. 1958. *The chronicle of Prince Osorkon*. *Analecta Orientalia* 37. Rome.
- Cowgill, G. L. 2000. 'Rationality' and contexts in agency theory. In *Agency in archaeology*, M-A. Dobres and J. Robb (eds), 51–60. London; New York.
- Eide, T., T. Hägg and L. Török. 1994. *Fontes historiae Nubiorum. Textual sources for the history of the middle Nile region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD 1: From the Eighth to the mid-Fifth Century BC*. Bergen.
- Epigraphic Survey. 1940. *Medinet Habu 4: Festival scenes of Ramesses III*. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 51. Chicago.
- . 1954. *Reliefs and inscriptions at Karnak 3: The Bubastite portal*. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 74. Chicago.
- . 1963. *Medinet Habu 5: The temple proper 2: The Re chapel, the royal mortuary complex, and adjacent rooms with miscellaneous material from the pylons, the forecourts, and the first hypostyle hall*. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 84. Chicago.
- . 1979. *The temple of Khonsu 1: Scenes of King Herihor in the court*. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 100. Chicago.
- . 2009. *Medinet Habu 9: The Eighteenth Dynasty temple part 1: The inner sanctuaries*. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 136. Chicago.
- Faulkner, R. O. 1962. *A concise dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1927/1999. *Egyptian grammar*. 3rd ed. Oxford.
- Goedicke, H. 1986. 'God.' *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 16: 57–62.
- Gregory, S. R. W. 2006. *High priest or king: A study of elements of Theban temple iconography to determine the role of Herihor*. Unpublished thesis, University of Birmingham.
- . 2012. The obelisks of Augustus: The significance of a symbolic element of the architectural landscape in the transmission of ideology from Egypt to Rome. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 4.1: 9–30. <http://jaie.library.arizona.edu> (accessed November 2012).
- . Forthcoming. Pharaoh or prelate: Considerations regarding context-specific terminology describing an Egyptian king.
- Haeny, G. 1997. New Kingdom 'mortuary temples' and 'mansions of millions of years.' In *Temples of ancient Egypt*, B. E. Schafer (ed.), 86–126. London; New York.
- Hayes, W. C. 1959. *The scepter of Egypt: A background for the study of the Egyptian antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 2: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675–1080 B. C.)*. New York.
- Helck, W. 1957. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Berlin.
- Hodge, R. and G. Kress. 1988. *Social semiotics*. Cambridge.
- Hornung, E. 1999. *The ancient Egyptian books of the afterlife*. London.
- Jones, D. 1995. *Boats*. London.
- Kitchen, K. A. 1996. *Ramesside inscriptions, translated and annotated. Translations 2: Ramesses II, royal inscriptions*. Oxford.

- . 1999. *Ramesside inscriptions, translated and annotated. Notes and comments 2: Rameses II, royal inscriptions*. Oxford.
- Kurth, D. 1975. *Den Himmel stützen: Die 'tw3 pt' Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoch*. Bruxelles.
- Leahy, A. 1990. Abydos in the Libyan Period. In *Libya and Egypt c1300–750 BC*, A. Leahy (ed.), 155–95. London.
- Lesko, L. H. (ed.). 2004. *A dictionary of Late Egyptian 2*. 2nd ed. Providence, RI.
- Maystre, C. 1941. Le livre de la vache du ciel dans les tombeaux de la Vallée des Rois. *Le Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 40: 53–115.
- Monaghan, P. 2010. *Encyclopedia of goddesses and heroines 1: Africa, Eastern Mediterranean, Asia*. Santa Barbara; Denver; Oxford.
- Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 2012. *Obelisk of Senkamanisken*. Harvard University, Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition. <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/obelisk-of-senkamanisken-480386> (accessed November 2012).
- Naunton, C. 2010. Libyans and Nubians. In *A companion to ancient Egypt 1*, A. B. Lloyd (ed.), 120–39. Chichester.
- Nelson, H. H. 1942. The identity of Amon-Re of united-with-eternity. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 1: 127–55.
- . 1981. *The great hypostyle hall at Karnak 1: The wall reliefs*. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 106. Chicago.
- Parkinson, R. B. 1991. *Voices from ancient Egypt: An anthology of Middle Kingdom writings*. London.
- Piankhoff, A. 1957. La tombe de Ramsès 1er. *Bulletin de L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 56: 189–200.
- Rose, G. 2001. *Visual methodologies: An introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*. London.
- Rummel, U. 2010. *Iunmutef: Konzeption und Wirkungsbereich eines Altägyptischen Gottes*. Berlin; New York.
- Sauneron, S. 2000. *The priests of ancient Egypt*. Translated by D. Lorton. Ithaca, NY.
- Sethe, K. 1906. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie 4*. Leipzig.
- Theban Mapping Project (1997–2010) online at: <http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/database/image.asp?ID=16793> (accessed May 2012).
- Thijs, A. 2007. The scenes of the high priest Pinuzem in the Temple of Khonsu. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 134: 50–63.
- Velde, H. te. 1978. Iunmutef. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 3, W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds), 212–13. Wiesbaden.
- Wainwright, G. A. 1940. Seshat and the Pharaoh. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 26: 30–40.
- Wente, E. F. 1979. Preface. In *The temple of Khonsu 1: Scenes of King Heribor in the court*, The Epigraphic Survey, ix–xvii. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 100. Chicago.
- Wilkinson, R. H. 1992. *Reading Egyptian art: A hieroglyphic guide to ancient Egyptian painting and sculpture*. London.
- . 2003. *The complete gods and goddesses of ancient Egypt*. London.
- Wilkinson, T. A. H. 1999. *Early Dynastic Egypt*. London.



Wobst, H. M. 2000. Agency (in spite of) material culture. In *Agency in archaeology*, M.-A. Dobres and J. Robb (eds), 40–50. London; New York.

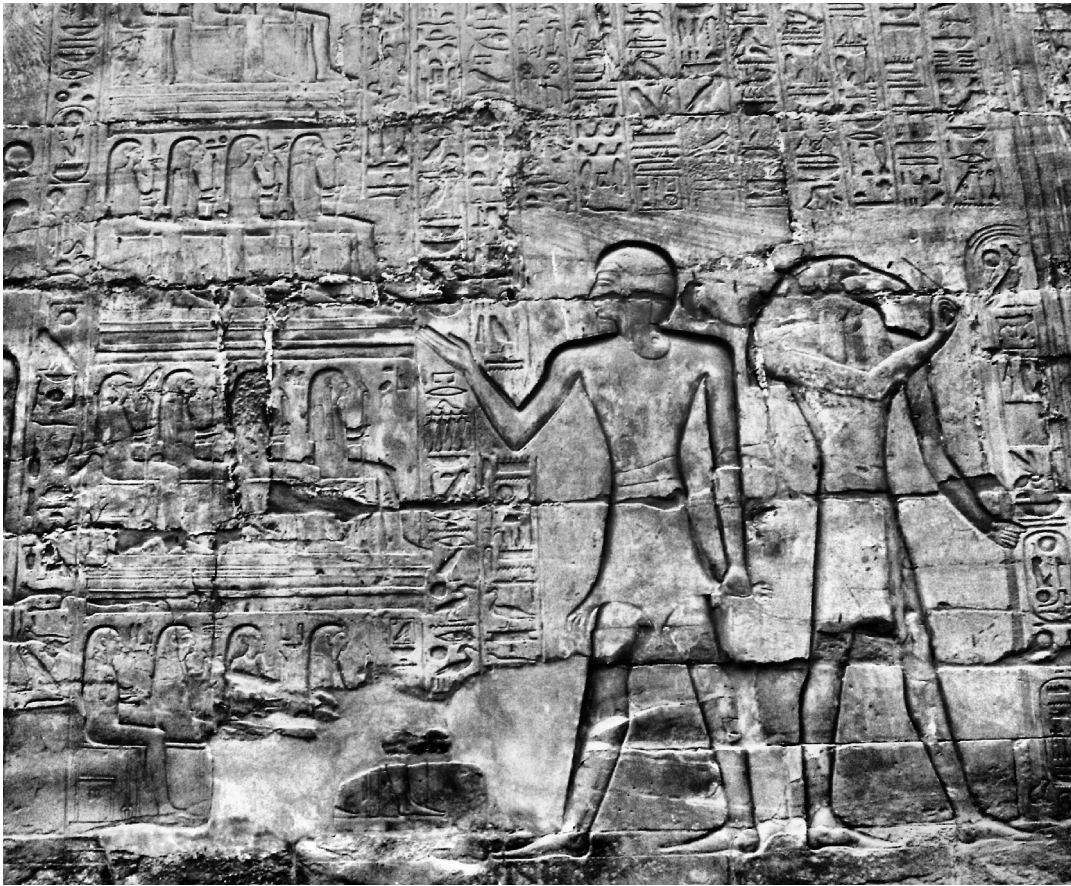


Fig. 1: The *Iwn-mwt.f* addresses the ennead of gods, Hypostyle hall, Temple of Amun-re, Karnak (Author's photograph).

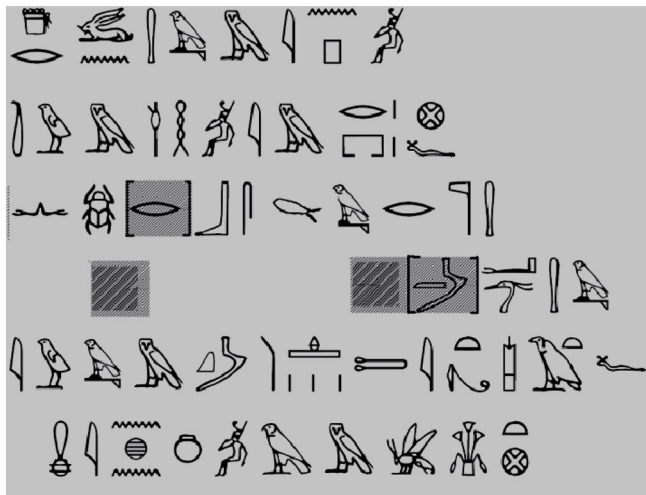


Fig. 2: Reproduction of an extract from an autobiographical text inscribed for Thutmose III on the southern exterior wall of the buildings of Hatshepsut to the south side of the central barque shrine. Temple of Amun-re, Karnak (after Sethe 1906, 157).





Fig. 3: Seshat, wearing a leopard-skin robe, recording years of life and dominion for Ramesses IV on a notched palm branch, Temple of Khonsu, Karnak (Photograph courtesy of Spencer Dean).





Fig. 4: Amenhotep III, accompanied by Horus, kneeling before the enthroned Amun. To the right the *Twn-mwt.f* faces the souls of Pe and Nekhen, Luxor Temple (Photograph courtesy of Spencer Dean).





Fig. 5: The *Twn-mwt.f* addresses the souls of Pe and Nekhen, Luxor Temple (Photograph courtesy of Spencer Dean).



Fig. 6: Seshat and the *Iwn-mwt.f*, both dressed in leopard-skin robes, as depicted in a scene in the chapel of Seti, Temple of Seti I, Abydos (Photograph courtesy of Gill Woods).