

The enigmatic “*tekenu*”

An iconographical analysis of “*tekenu*” in
tombs from the Old Kingdom to the Late
Period

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TITLE: THE ENIGMATIC “*TEKENU*”. AN ICONOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS
OF “*TEKENU*” IN TOMBS FROM THE OLD KINGDOM TO THE LATE
PERIOD

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Introduction

In Egyptian tombs the decoration played the most important role. It was a kind of art, which served one basic aim, to create an ideal afterworld in order to be suitable for the deceased to inhabit there for eternity (Dodson and Ikram, 2008, 77). The images of tombs were most depictions of the underworld and religious texts but also depictions of rituals, of offerings or production of offerings and daily life scenes. Every image had its own meaning and nothing was placed there randomly. The images in tombs follow some rules in order to attribute meaning in a certain way and every representation has its own vocabulary according to its function. Some scenes are metaphors or allegories or they consist implications about how the afterworld was look like. However, reading these monuments is a very difficult work because everything has to do with a combination of things such as the hieroglyphs, the images, the architecture and of course the messages that they carried for both literate and illiterate viewers of the past (Dodson and Ikram, 2008, 78-79).

There is a series of aspects and elements at present, whose meaning still remains a mystery. One example of these elements is the “*tekenu*”, a representation that appears in several tombs in Theban region. It is a fact that *tekenu* is not fully understood due to the lack of ancient written sources about it. Additionally, the absence of a monographic study in order to investigate further the existence of this enigmatic depiction impedes the complete understanding of it. The representation of *tekenu* has many aspects and there is no primary material in which the maximum of data be available. The previous articles are based on hypotheses and also they are dealing with a couple of representations of *tekenu* and not to an extensive survey of all data concerning the known representations of it in certain tombs.

In these articles several scholars tried to give answers concerning the origin, the nature and the religious significance of the *tekenu* based only in assumptions due to the lack of elements and information. According to Griffiths (Griffiths, 1958, 106-120), *tekenu* is related with the burials of kings

of Lower Egypt and is connected with an animal's sacrifice, namely a bull's, because in some tombs it is represented as part of a ritual context, which comprises sacrificed bovid. According to Kees (Kees, 1983, 250-251), *tekenu* is a kind of representation of the deceased. It plays a purifying role in the ritual because it derives towards himself all the negative forces in order to allow the deceased a peaceful transition to the afterworld. Another scholar, Hornung (Hornung, 2002, 168-170; Delgado, 2011, 152), believes that the *tekenu* is a kind of sack or container, where people put in the remains of the embalming process that could not be stored neither inside the mummified body nor into the canopic jars. These remains had to be preserved and probably could be placed in the tomb.

One of the major problems concerning the research about the mysterious depiction is the fact that the quality of primary material is of a low standard and subsequently the absence of methodology of the available sources. As regards the first, there are some articles as it is mentioned or small sections in books that include information about *tekenu*; but they refer to individual representations of it in some of the tombs giving thus deficient information, like the aforementioned examples that derived from different scholars. They based the results of their research examining either a part of the tombs in which the *tekenu* appears or only one of the tombs or even one type of the several *tekenu*'s representations or the participation of it in one ritual. They led to these considerations because there weren't and still not integral publications or studies about the interpretation of *tekenu* that coming from the research in the whole amount of tombs.

The importance of methodology is mentioned in the introduction of the book of Van Walsem that associated with the coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh. When he started the research he realized that he had to confront two problems: firstly the availability of reliable publications about coffins and secondly the small number of detailed monographs (Van Walsem, 1997, 6). So, the above deficiencies led him to a systematic approach exploiting the existing primary sources or the study of certain aspects of a catalogue or a combination of both creating through this way a determinate methodology (Van Walsem, 1997, 8). His methodology about the coffins was to list the

various aspects and to conventionalize the descriptive order of the component parts of them in order to avoid misconceptions. Subsequently, according to Van Walsem (Van Walsem, 1997, 8), this list should be integrated in publications of primary material in order to compose a beginning for the next research related with this field.

Apparently in the research about *tekenu* we are dealing with the same problems, as they are stated by Van Walsem. There are scattered information about the representation of *tekenu* while also some tombs are poorly documented, some are published with photos, some only with drawings. It is important to collect them all and create a formulation of a system in order to be more precise in the interpretation of it because, as it has proved, the absence of methodology about *tekenu* generated misleading estimates, such as those cited above.

Thus, the primary objective of this research is the establishment of a systematic approach in order to answer the basic questions, concerning the nature of *tekenu*, which are the following: How many times is it represented? In what kind of rituals? In which tombs? On which walls? How does it develop from the Old/Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom? How is it represented? Does it follow a certain type? In how many tombs does it accompanied by text? Following the above concerns, the result was the formation of a table in the first chapter which includes all the relevant information and more. The implementation of all the available information in a table maybe is the key of the beginning of a more coherent research. Also, the attempt to create a certain methodology with the depictions of *tekenu* inserts the reader straight to the point.

Afterwards it is deemed necessary to make an iconographical analysis, according to the rituals in which the *tekenu* takes part. In parallel there are analytical references to some tombs, as examples, in order the *tekenu* to be fully understood or at least to have a more spherical knowledge about it. So, the following chapters, deal with different issues concerning the role of *tekenu*. It is evident that previous publications were based only in a part of these tombs and not to the set of them; acquiring incomplete conclusions.

Chapter 1.

1.1 Analyzing the aspects of the table

The main purpose of this table is to present all the available sources about *tekenu*. It contains the basic data concerning its depiction in each tomb separately. In this way everyone can have a short introduction into the basic elements of this research and also an integrated image of the development of the *tekenu* along the Nile valley. This table is a valuable tool for the reader, who can have a detailed overview. It contains 11 columns and each of them includes different kind of information. The first two columns give the numbering of the tombs in which the depiction of the *tekenu* is present. The first one regards my inventory number of the tombs putting them in chronological order. As common in Egyptology I do not refer to absolute dating but to the dynasties during which they were constructed.

The second column includes the official numbers as known in egyptological lifetime. In the majority of them in front of their numbers there is the capital letter T twice, which mean Theban Tomb and these tombs were discovered in different places of the Theban necropolis (fig. 2). Two of the tombs have the capital letters EK, which they are the initial letters of the location el Kab, a place located on the eastern bank of the Nile at about 50 miles above Thebes (Breasted, 1897, 219) (fig. 3). Some of the tombs have in front of the numbers letters like C and A. These are the tombs, whose exact location is no longer known (Porter and Moss, 1960, 453). Also, the 12th Dynasty tomb of Sehotepabra doesn't have a number and it lies under the debris of Ramesseum (Quibell, 1898, 4). Additionally, tombs located in other necropolis, as Saqqara for instance, have different classification systems.

The third and fourth columns include the names of the tomb owners and the principal titles of them. The data in these columns, which are related to the Theban region and the location of el Kab, were derived from the

series of books of Porter B. and Moss R.L.B.¹. The columns of the dates and places were recorded according to the books of Friederike Kampp². It is important and should be mentioned that there isn't a convergence of views about the dates and places of the tombs. Thus, despite the fact that the tomb catalogues of Porter and Moss are a valuable tool for every researcher, the dates and places of the table are quoted according to Friederike Kampp, because it is the most recent source of the above³.

The last four columns contain information about the orientation of the *tekenu*, on which wall of the tomb it is depicted, in what kind of ritual scenes is represented inside the tomb and a brief description of it for each tomb. The last column contains the figures of the *tekenu* in the included illustration catalogue. Additionally, in some tombs of the table the above fields are not filled in for many different reasons. We miss information or the tombs were damaged during the years. Also, not all of the tombs are published with relative illustrations, some of them are described only in personal manuscripts of earlier discoverers but not published.

The collection of this amount of information for the table, especially for the last columns, was a difficult work because there isn't a monographic study for the *tekenu*. There are only some articles in archaeological journals and papers, which give some ideas about what this depiction might mean, giving as examples certain tombs and not the whole of them. Additionally, the writers of these articles give some explanations about how we can justify its presence in certain ritual scenes. But the problem is that are based only on assumptions because ancient Egyptian written evidence does not give interpretation concerning any precise identification.

¹ Porter B. & Moss R.L.B., (1960). *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings, I. The Theban necropolis, Part 1*, Oxford: Clarendon Press; Porter B. & Moss R.L.B., (1937). *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings, V. Upper Egypt: Sites*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

² Kampp F., (1996). *Die Thebanische Necropole zum Wandel des Grabgedankens vor der XVII bis XX Dynastie Teil 1*, Mainz am Rhein: Philip von Zabern; Kampp F., (1996). *Die Thebanische Necropole zum Wandel des Grabgedankens vor der XVII bis XX Dynastie Teil 2*, Mainz am Rhein: Philip von Zabern

³ Moreover, in some tombs the dates and places are the same in both writers but, when they differentiate, there are references in order to quote the other point of view.

Moreover, in the table some tombs are included like that of Idut in which the largest part of *tekenu* is destroyed and only its inscription is preserved. Also, according to Porter and Moss (Porter & Moss, 1960, 454 – 455) in the tomb A.26 there is a depiction of the *tekenu*, which was represented in one of the walls of the burial chamber but although this tomb is added in the table, it isn't known how the *tekenu* looked like or in which wall was depicted⁴. Also, the addition of the Theban tomb 178, where there is probably a depiction of the *tekenu* as anyone can see only from a drawing of the writer because it is unpublished. But still it isn't sure because the left part of the scene is not preserved and in the inscription there is no hint about it (Barthelmess, 1992, 57).

⁴ It should be mentioned that there are references about the representations that existed in the burial chamber of the tomb, including the depiction of the *tekenu*, that they are derived from Hay's manuscripts 29824, 21-2.

1.2 The decorative program and orientation

In tombs the combination of the decorative program and the orientation of the scenes serves a specific purpose for the Egyptians. Through the images of a tomb it is easy to get basic information about the deceased's identity, status, value and his or her influences to society (Dodson & Ikram, 2008, 82). Despite the fact that the tombs follow the same iconographic routes they aren't identical to each other. A number of factors such as the space, the wealth and the time could affect the choices of a decorative program of a tomb (Dodson & Ikram, 2008, 82).

Moreover, the orientation as it is mentioned plays a major role in the decorative program of a tomb because the scenes are arranged in certain axes. The tombs were oriented in accordance with an east-west axis, which symbolizes the transition from life and rising sun (east) into death and setting sun (west). Other tombs were oriented in the north-south axis and this means that they follow the arc of sun, which was moving towards the south on daily base from east to west (Ikram, 2008, 85). Usually, the scenes of burial were represented on the southern or western long wall and other rituals scenes such as the "Opening of the mouth" on the northern or eastern long wall (Hartwig, 2004, 18; Ikram, 2008, 123). Sometimes due to geographical or topographical reasons those axes cannot be abided and then in this case the burial scenes were portrayed on the wall that has been designed as the ritual west.

The decoration of the rooms closest to the exterior of a tomb was connected with daily life scenes of the tomb owner. The inward part of a tomb, where there wasn't so much light, was dedicated to the afterworld. In this part the decoration was associated with scenes of burial like the funerary procession and other rituals such as the 'Judgment of the Dead', the 'Pilgrimage to Abydos', the 'Opening of the Mouth' ceremony (Hartwig, 2004, 18). According to Hartwig (Hartwig, 2004, 117), all these rituals have been designated as funerary rites icon and they are depicted on the walls inside the tomb chapel.

As for the column of rituals, *tekenu* is appearing only in the scenes that belong in the funerary rites icon. The most common participation of the *tekenu* is in the funerary procession ritual, which includes scenes like the transfer of the deceased from the embalming place to the tomb, when the coffin or the mummy is on a bier placed on a sledge dragged by oxen. It is followed by offering scenes, people such as priests, friends and family of the deceased in the role of offering bearers (Dodson and Ikram, 2008, 123). Furthermore, the procession might include scenes of mourning and grief but also rites that were executed before the mummy.

Additionally, *tekenu* is represented in scenes related to the Buto burial and the trip to Sais. It was an implementation of some ritual acts that performed by rulers during the predynastic period in the sites of Buto and Sais. For this reason the aforementioned towns were converted into religious destinations not only of the kingship but of the elite people in general. These scenes include besides the existence of *tekenu* in some of them, purification rituals, the embodiment of the ancient kings of Buto, the dance of the puzzling *muu* dancers, censuring, offerings and the erection of two obelisks (Altenmüller, 1975, 887). The problem is that these scenes are difficult to be understood and one cannot be sure of their actual meaning, because they are originated from the 4th Dynasty and became more common in 6th Dynasty but they established in their most integrated form in the 18th Dynasty.

Another scene, where the *tekenu* appears, is the pilgrimage to Abydos. This scene is one of the most important because Abydos was the burial place of Osiris, who was the god of the underworld (Hartwig, 2004, 18). He endured death and fight with the evil powers but in the end he won. After these episodes Osiris tamed death and became judge of the dead (Budge, 1987, 41). For the above reasons this trip to Abydos symbolized the rebirth and resurrection for every individual Egyptian. The scene is depicted sometimes combined with the funeral procession of the tombs and contains a boat or a number of boats going to Abydos. In the period of the New Kingdom the coffin of the deceased was presented on board as they were

directed to Abydos, while on their return the boat was empty indicating that the dead has been accepted by Osiris in the underworld. Also, when the boats go to Abydos they face the inner part of the tomb but when they come from Abydos they face the outer part of the tomb, the land of the living symbolizing in that way the rebirth (Ikram, 2008, 124).

So, it is obvious that the depiction scenes of the *tekenu* varied but all of them belong to the funerary icon. The 'Transportation of the coffin', the 'Pilgrimage to Abydos' and the 'Butic burial' are scenes which represent this transition to the afterworld. The *tekenu* as part of the above scenes is related with this trip from the world of the living towards the world of the dead but its exact meaning is not clear yet. Apart from its participation in the funerary icon, it is known for sure until now and according to the table that it appears in a broader chronological range of high society tombs but is particularly common on 18th Dynasty tombs. Also, except for the mastaba of Idut and the two tombs from el Kab (EK 3, EK 7), it is present in several places in the Theban necropolis. As for the orientation of the scenes, where it is depicted, is not constant but the majority of them are displayed either on the south wall or on the east wall.

1.3 How is the *tekenu* depicted?

After the analysis of the aspects of the table, now it is possible to answer some questions which existed from the beginning of the survey concerning the nature of *tekenu*. How is the *tekenu* depicted? Does it follow a certain pattern?

In 14 tombs, as for instance the tomb of Sehotepabra, the Mastaba of Ihy (Idut), TT 104, TT 78, TT 55, TT A4, TT 127, TT 178, TT 53, TT 123, TT 82, TT 49, TT 36, TT 295 and EK 3 it is represented as a shapeless or pear shaped sack, which is positioned on a sledge that is being dragged by a number of people each time. Also, in 10 tombs, like in TT 276, TT 284, TT C4, TT 96, TT 125, TT 172, TT 100, TT 81, TT 41 and TT 66, it is represented as a figure wrapped in a hide or a shroud while it is crouching either on a couch or a sledge. The available sources do not supply us with enough information about the cover of the *tekenu*, namely, if it was a hide or a shroud and therefore both are used. Also, it should be noted that in 4 tombs the head, hands and feet of it are exposed giving the impression that there is a human being below the cover. Occasionally, in 10 tombs, such as in TT 15, TT 24, TT 60, TT12, TT 260, TT 39, TT 42, TT 17, TT 81 and EK 7, it is represented as a statuesque figure wrapped in a shroud or a hide while it is seated on a couch or a sledge.

However, there is one tomb, TT 20, in which the *tekenu* is part of the funerary procession and also it is represented as a human without being covered in a hide or a shroud. It is depicted twice in the same tomb as a man with arms and legs pressed against his body while crouching on a sledge being dragged either by three or by four individuals (Davies, 1913, 9). Nowhere, except for here, is there a representation of *tekenu* without the encumbrance and in human form. However, all discussions concerning any human sacrifice are based in assumptions because there is not enough evidence.

The question that raises after mentioning the TT 20 is: how many times is the *tekenu* represented amorphic and how many times with human characteristics? The TT 20 is the only one out of the total of 48 tombs that the *tekenu* is represented totally as a human. However, in 15 tombs it is represented with human characteristics. In 7 of them with uncovered face while in the remaining 7 the whole head is uncovered and in 4 of them also the limbs are uncovered. In 16 out of the total of 48 tombs the *tekenu* is represented amorphic, as a shapeless sack. As for the remaining 17 there are poorly documented and for this reason it isn't known how the *tekenu* was represented.

Moreover another question is: how many times is the *tekenu* represented with a hide or shroud? In 37 out of the total of 48 tombs the *tekenu* is represented wrapped in hide or shroud and only in one tomb is uncovered. As for the remaining 10 there are no information. This means that in all well documented tombs the *tekenu* is represented in a hide or shroud with one exception, the TT 20. It seems that the hide was one of its certain characteristics of its representations. Also, it is observed that it is represented either sitting or lying on a sledge or a couch. But how many times is it represented lying and how many times sitting? Additionally, how many times on a sledge and how many times on a couch? As regards the first question, in 20 out of the total of 48 tombs the *tekenu* is represented lying and in 13 tombs sitting. Also, in 27 out of the total of 48 tombs it is represented either lying or sitting on a sledge and only in 7 tombs it is represented lying on a couch. It seems that the use of a couch was more rare.

Apparently the table is a point of reference where we can find all the required information regarding the representation of *tekenu* in the published tombs. After the above remarks it is obvious that the *tekenu* doesn't follow only one type of representation. It is depicted with human characteristics or as a shapeless sack, either lying or sitting, crouching on a sledge or a couch. Also, in the majority of the tombs -37 in numbers- the *tekenu* is

depicted in a hide or shroud and probably means that it was mandatory to be wrapped up except for the TT 20, which constitutes a surprise.

1.4 The depiction of *tekenu*

in TT 11 and TT 20

As it is already noted in the above section there are some tombs in the catalogue in which the depiction of *tekenu* is not preserved or is completely destroyed. In this group of tombs belongs the tomb of Djehuti (TT 11)

Although in the TT 11 (fig. 3) the depiction is not preserved there is a column of text in front of a man's figure that referred with following words to the *tekenu*: *tknw m-rk niwt*, "the *tekenu* is in the city" (Serrano Delgado, 2011, 161). Additionally, further from this column there is a much longer inscription which is also referred to the *tekenu* and reads: *msk3 n-hr=f sfh sm=f n dt-f*, "(Once) the hide- *msk3* (that is) in front of him is removed, he leaves for his eternity" (Serrano Delgado, 2011, 161). According to Serrano Delgado, the selection of the word *msk3*, which means hide and the verb *sfh*, which means remove, is helpful enough. The same verb is used to describe the *sem*-priest's acting, during the 19th scene of the opening of the mouth ritual, which will be mentioned extensively below, while he is removing his clothes in order to take the panther skin. It is possible that the man, who is standing before the first inscription and holds a bundle, is the *tekenu* and like the *sem*-priest at a certain point he removes the hide which covers him and he throws it in a hole as an offering.

But apart from the inscriptions that indicate the presence of the *tekenu* in TT 11, it is possible to know how the *tekenu* was depicted in the missing scenes. This could happen if the missing scenes will be supplemented by the scenes of another tomb. In this case the TT 20 (Fig. 4) is the appropriate due to the following reasons. They are located in the same area, close to each other and are dated at the same period of time. It is possible that they are derived from the same artistic tradition or from the same artist or group of artists (Serrano Delgado, 2011, 160). In a way these two tombs complete the iconographical project of each other. The scene coming from the tomb of Djehuty that is described above is the same scene of that in tomb of

Menthirkhopshef in which the last part is missing. Also, in this part of the relief in the tomb of Menthirkhopshef, the *tekenu* is represented on a sledge dragged by 4 persons; as a crouching uncovered human. It is accompanied by the inscription that reads: *pr.(t) h3 in tknw*, "the *tekenu* comes out", is the part that missing in the tomb of Djehuty.

Through this combination of elements, some potential interpretations of the nature and role of the *tekenu* were developed. Thus, according to Serrano Delgado (Serrano Delgado, 2011, 162), the *tekenu* might be an officiant like the man in the tomb of Djehuty who sits or lies down bringing with him a hide, probably a bull's skin and at some point throws it together with its remaining parts in a hole as an offering. Moreover, this assumption could constitute a possible answer in the query why it is a common phenomenon to meet the *tekenu* in connection with scenes of sacrifice of the bovid. But how certain can be these effects for all the tombs in which the *tekenu* is represented? Can someone rely on only two graves to achieve certain conclusions?

The most important aspect that should be mentioned is the fact that the *tekenu* is depicted twice in TT 20 on the south wall of the inner room (Davies, 1913, 9). It appears in the funerary procession. First, it is crouching on a sledge dragged by three people while his palms facing down. It is followed by four men and a lector priest, who drag a naos that contains sacred oils (Davies, 1913, 10). Afterwards, it appears a second time right after Menthirkhopshef and his mother crouching again on sledge dragged by four men this time, while his palms facing upwards now. The next register shows a sacrifice of bovid and under it is another mysterious register which contains the torture or execution of Nubians, two figures wrapped all over their body except for their arms and head lying down and behind them a pit, which contains a sledge with poles. Furthermore, the tomb 20 is the only tomb where the *tekenu* appears as a human without being wrapped in a hide or shroud. His body is thoroughly impressed and anyone can easily distinguish its arms, feet and head. If the assumption about the combination of the missing scene with that scene of tomb 11 is valid then the *tekenu* is

depicted three times. This is a unique phenomenon for all the representations of the *tekenu*.

The tomb was discovered by Maspero⁵, who with the help of his photographer, Insinger, took four photographs of the south wall. Two of these photographs are destroyed but prints of them are found in the archives of Berlin museum, which Dr Schaefer entrusted to Davies (Davies, 1913, 1). After some years Maspero reopened the tomb and copied the scenes. But the difficulty was that the illustrations represented many mistakes and only some of them were verified by the text⁶. One of these scenes was that with the man that leads the procession of four men hauling the *tekenu*. According to Davies (Davies, 1913, 14-15), Maspero's artist has made major omissions in his drawing and for this reason there were many gaps about this scene. But in his drawing there was a man holding a hide, an element which can be confirmed by the preserved Berlin print that definitely indicates a hanging tail.

The similarity of this scene between the two tombs is evident from the first moment. Moreover, they are located in the same area and not far from each other as well as all the reports and the drawings of the aforementioned people advocate that probably they follow the same decoration patterns. For these reasons the tomb 11 is one of the tombs in the table despite the fact that the *tekenu* itself isn't depicted.

⁵ Sir Gaston Maspero was the first one, who found the tomb during the course of his excavations in the Theban Necropolis in 1882 (Davies, 1913, 1). He went into the tomb through the nearby tomb of Nebamun and took notes and photographs with the help of his photographer, Insinger. In 1886 he reopened the tomb in order to copy the scenes.

⁶ This occurred because the exact location of the tomb was lost and for this reason it was impossible to review the illustrations, which included several mistakes as indicated by the accompanying texts of the tomb (Davies, 1913, 1).

Inventory number	Number or sort of tombs	Name of the tomb owner	Principal title or titles	Date	Dynasty	Place	Orientation	Ritual	Features of the depiction	Figures
1.	Mastaba	Idut (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, 34)	Daughter of Teti	Teti	Early 6 TH	Saqqara (Unis cemetery)	East wall (room III)	Funerary procession	It is destroyed. Only the upper part and the inscription above it saved. Probably was on sledge dragged by 5 people.	Fig. 5, 6, 54, 55, 56, 57
2.	TT 60	Antefoker	Governor of the town and vizier	Sesostris I	12 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna	South wall	Funerary procession	Tekenu is wrapped in a hide and kneeling on a sledge dragged by two people.	Fig. 30
3.	There is no number	Sehotepabra (Quibell, 1896, 4, 14-15)			12 TH	Under the debris of Ramesseum, the mortuary temple of Ramesses II (19 TH)	South wall	Funerary procession	Tekenu is wrapped probably in a shapeless ox-hide and dragged on a sledge by a man.	Fig. 7

4.	TT 12	Hray	Overseer of the granary of the royal wife and royal mother Ah-hotp	End of 17 TH - Beginning of 18 TH ⁷	17 TH - 18 TH	Dra' Abu el-Naga	South wall	Funerary procession	A figure wrapped in a kind of cloak, except for its face. It is kneeling on a sledge, dragged by 2 people. (Menendez, 2005)	Fig.8
5.	TT 15	Tetiky	Son of the king; Mayor in the southern city (Thebes)	Ahmose I- Amenophis I ⁸	18 TH	Dra' Abu el-Naga	South wall	Funerary procession	Tekenu as a squatted figure probably on a sledge, covered by a shroud or a hide except for its face.	Fig. 31

⁷ According to Bertha Porter and Rosalind L.B. Moss, in: *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, I. The Theban Necropolis*, Oxford 1927, p.59, the tomb was built probably during the reigns of Ahmose I-Amenophis II.

⁸ According to PM I, Oxford 1927, p.59, the tomb was built during the reign of Ahmose I.

6.	EK7	Renni	Mayor; Overseer of prophets	Amenophis I	18 TH	El-Kab			A squatting upright figure dragged on a sledge by 1 person. It is enclosed in a hide or a shroud, except for its face, with arms and legs clearly marked under it.	Fig.9
7.	TT 81	Ineni	Overseer of the granary of Amun	Amenophis I/ Tuthmosis III	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el- Qurna	South wall	Funerary procession	A wrapped figure on a sledge. A large part of it is destroyed.	Fig. 10, 44
8.	TT 21	User	Scribe; Steward of Tuthmosis I	Tuthmosis I /Hatshepsut/ Tuthmosis III ⁹	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el- Qurna	South wall	Funerary procession	It is sits on a bed, wrapped in a shroud, except for the head, with arms and shoulders clearly marked under it.	Fig. 51, 52

⁹ See n. 2, p. 62, the tomb was built during the reign of Tuthmosis I.

9.	TT 24	Nebamun	Steward of the royal wife Nebtu.	TuthmosisII /Hatshepsut /Tuthmosis III ¹⁰	18 TH	Dra' Abu el-Naga		Funerary procession	Tekenu is kneeling on a sledge dragged by one person. It is swathed in a shroud or a hide except for its face.	Fig. 15
10.	TT 125	Dowenheh	First herald; Overseer of the estate of Amun	Hatshepsut	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna		Funerary procession	A figure lying down on a couch, fully wrapped in a hide or shroud except for the head and the hands	Fig. 27
11.	TT 179	Nebamun	Scribe; Counter of grain in the granary of divine offerings of Amun	Hatshepsut	18 TH	El-Khokha				

¹⁰ See n. 2, p. 65, the tomb was built during the reign of Tuthmosis III.

12.	TT 11	Dhout	Overseer of the treasury; Overseer of the works	Hatshepsut/ Tuthmosis III	18 TH	Dra' Abu el-Naga		Funerary procession	The depiction of Tekenu is not preserved. Only the scene, which probably takes part, outlasted. This scene is similar in style to that of the TT 20.	Fig. 3
13.	TT 39	Puimre	Second prophet of Amun	Hatshepsut/ Tuthmosis III ¹¹	18 TH	El Assasif ¹²	East wall(of the north chapel)	Pilgrimage to Abydos	Tekenu is squatted on a sledge dragged by 3 people. It is enveloped in a hide or shroud except for its face.	Fig. 32

¹¹ See n. 2, p. 72, the tomb was built during the reign of Tuthmosis III.

¹² See n. 2, p. 72, the tomb was built at the location of El-Khokhah.

14.	TT 53	Amenemhet	Agent of Amun	Hatshepsut/ Tuthmosis III ¹³	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el- Qurna	South wall (of the second chamber)	Funerary procession	A pear-shaped sack, fully covered, on a sledge dragged by 4 people.	Fig. 26
15.	TT 82	Amenemhet	Scribe, Counter of the grain of Amun; Steward of the Vizier	Hatshepsut/ Tuthmosis III ¹⁴	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el- Qurna	South wall	Pilgrimage to Abydos	A pear-shaped sack, fully covered, on a sledge dragged by 4 people.	Fig. 33
16.	TT 104	Dhutnufer	Royal scribe	Hatshepsut/ Tuthmosis III ¹⁵	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el- Qurna	South wall	Funerary procession	A pear-shaped sack, fully covered, on a sledge dragged by 2 people.	Fig. 11, 45
17.	TT 127	Senemioh	Royal scribe; Overseer of all that grows	Hatshepsut/ Tuthmosis III ¹⁶	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el- Qurna		Funerary procession	A pear-shaped sack, fully covered, on a sledge dragged by 3 people.	Fig. 18

¹³ See n. 2, p. 85, the tomb was built during the reign of Tuthmosis III.

¹⁴ See n. 2, p. 111, the tomb was built during the reign of Tuthmosis III.

¹⁵ See n. 2, p. 133, the tomb was built probably during the reigns of Amenophis II-Tuthmosis IV.

¹⁶ See n. 2, p. 140, the tomb was built during the reign of Tuthmosis III.

18.	TT 224	Ahmosi	Overseer of the estate of the divine wife; Overseer of the granary of the divine wife Ahmose Nefertere	Hatshepsut/ Tuthmosis III ¹⁷	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el- Qurna				
19.	TT 84	Amunezeh (partly usurped by Mery TT 95)	First royal herald; Overseer of the judgment hall (?)	Tuthmosis III	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el- Qurna				
20.	TT 122	Neferhotep (with a chapel of Amenemhet)	Overseer of the magazine of Amun	Tuthmosis III	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el- Qurna				
21.	TT 123	Amenemhet	Scribe; Overseer of the granary; Counter of bread	Tuthmosis III	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el- Qurna		Funerary procession	Tekenu is represented as a pear shaped sack; lying on a sledge dragged by 3 people.	Fig. 30

¹⁷ See n. 2, p. 158, the tomb was built during the reign of Tuthmosis I.

22.	TT 260	User	Weigher of Amun; Overseer of the ploughed lands of Amun	Tuthmosis III	18 TH	Dra' Abu el-Naga		Funerary procession	Tekenu is wrapped in hide or shroud. It sits on a sledge dragged by 2 people.	Fig. 29
23.	TT 17	Nebamun	Scribe and physician of the king	Tuthmosis III/Amenophis II ¹⁸	18 TH	Dra' Abu el-Naga	South wall	Funerary procession	The image of Tekenu is destroyed. Only a part of the sledge is preserved, dragged by two people.	Fig. 59, 60
24.	TT 20	Menthirkhop shef	Fan bearer; Mayor of Aphroditopolis	Tuthmosis III/Amenophis II ¹⁹	18 TH	Dra' Abu el-Naga	South wall	Funerary procession	It appears twice as a crouching man fully shaped dragged by a number of men on a sledge.	Fig. 34, 35

¹⁸ See n. 2, the tomb was built during the reign of Amenophis II.

¹⁹ See n. 2, p. 62, the tomb was built probably during the reign of Tuthmosis III.

25.	TT 42	Amenmose	Captain of troops; Eyes of the king in the two lands of the Retenu	Tuthmosis III/ Amenophis II	18 TH	El-Khokha ²⁰	West wall (passage)	Funerary procession	It is sits on a sledge, wrapped in a hide or shroud. The upper part is destroyed.	Fig. 36, 37
26.	TT 92	Suemnut	Royal butler clean of hands	Tuthmosis III/ Amenophis II ²¹	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna				
27.	TT 96	Sennufer	Mayor of the Southern city (Thebes)	Tuthmosis III/ Amenophis II ²²	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna		Butic burial	A figure lying down on a couch, fully wrapped in a hide or shroud except for the head and the hands.	Fig. 25

²⁰ See n. 2, p. 78, the tomb was built at the location of Sheikh Abd El-Qurna.

²¹ See n. 2, p. 122, the tomb was built during the reign of Amenophis II.

²² See n. 2, p. 125, the tomb was built during the reign of Amenophis II.

28.	TT 100	Rekhmire	Governor of the town and Vizier	Tuthmosis III- Amenophis II	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el- Qurna	South wall	Butic burial	Lying down on a couch, fully wrapped in a hide or shroud except for the head and the hands.	Fig. 38, 39, 40, 61, 62
29.	TT 112	Menkheper asonb (usurped by Asemwaset)	First prophet of Amun	Tuthmosis III/ Amenophis II ²³	18 TH	El- Khokha ²⁴				
30.	TT 172	Mentiywey	Royal butler; Child of the nursery (?)	Tuthmosis III/ Amenophis II	18 TH	El-Khokha		Funerary procession	Tekenu wrapped in hide or shroud except for its face. It sits on a sledge dragged by 4 people.	Fig. 28

²³ See n. 2, p. 137, the tomb was built during the reign of Tuthmosis III.

²⁴ See n. 2, p. 137, the tomb was built at the location of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.

31.	TT 276	Amene-mopet	Pasha; Overseer of the treasury of gold and silver Judge; Overseer of the cabinet	Tuthmosis III/ Amenophis II ²⁵	18 TH	Qurnet Mura`l		Funerary procession	A figure lying down on a couch, fully wrapped in a hide or shroud except for the head, the hands and the feet.	Fig. 14
32.	TT 78	Haremhab	Royal scribe; Scribe of recruits	Amenophis II/ Amenophis III ²⁶	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna	South wall	Funerary procession	A shapeless sack, fully covered, on a sledge dragged by 4 people.	Fig.12, 13, 46
33.	TT 66	Hepu	Vizier	Tuthmosis IV	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna	Left-hand wall ²⁷	Funerary procession	Part of the depiction is destroyed. A shapeless sack, wrapped in a hide or shroud, crouches on a couch.	Fig. 41

²⁵ See n. 2, p. 163, the tomb was built during the reign of Tuthmosis IV.

²⁶ See n. 2, p. 105, the tomb was built during the reigns of Tuthmosis III-Amenophis III.

²⁷ According to Nina De Garis Davies, in: *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, Oxford 1963, p. 12, the wall on which the *tekenu* is depicted is mentioned as 'left -hand wall' of the inner chamber but without specifying the exact orientation of it.

34.	TT 295	Dhutmosi	Pasha; Keeper of the secrets of the chest of Anubis; <i>Sem</i> -priest in the good house	Tuthmosis IV ²⁸	18 TH	El-Khokha	East wall	Opening of the mouth	It is depicted as a pear shaped sack; fully wrapped in a hide or shroud, while it is lying on a bed.	Fig. 22, 23, 53
35.	TT 69	Menna	Scribe of the fields of the Lord of the Two Lands of Upper and Lower Egypt	Tuthmosis IV/ Amenophis III ²⁹	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna	North wall	Opening of the mouth	It is displayed twice, sitting and lying on a couch. It is wrapped in a shroud or a hide except for the head, with arms and shoulders clearly marked under it.	Fig. 24
36.	TT 120	Anen	Second prophet of Amun	Amenophis III	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna				

²⁸ See n. 2, p. 166, the tomb was built probably during the reign of Tuthmosis IV-Amenophis III.

²⁹ See n. 2, p. 97, the tomb was built probably during the reign of Tuthmosis IV.

37.	TT 55	Ramose	Governor of the town and Vizier	Amenophis III/ Amenophis IV ³⁰	18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna	South wall (upper half)	Funerary procession	A pear-shaped sack, fully covered, on a sledge dragged by 4 people.	Fig. 16, 47, 48, 49
38.	TT 49	Neferhotep	Chief scribe of Amun	Tutankhamun/ Ay/ Horemheb ³¹	End of the 18 TH	El-Khokha	East wall (south side of the outer chamber)	Funerary procession	Tekenu is represented fully covered with a hide or shroud on a sledge, dragged by 3 people.	Fig. 41
39.	TT A. 4	Siuser	Scribe, Counter of the grain, Mayor of the Southern city, Overseer of the granary		18 TH	Dra' Abu el-Naga	Left wall	Funerary procession	A shapeless sack, fully covered, on a sledge dragged by 3 people.	Fig. 17

³⁰ See n. 2, p. 86, the tomb was built during the reign of Amenophis IV.

³¹ See n. 2, p. 79, the tomb was built in the early 19th Dynasty.

40.	TT C. 4	Meryma 'et	Wab-priest of Ma'et		18 TH	Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna	Left wall	Funerary procession	A sitting figure on a sledge dragged by 3 men. It is fully covered except for its head.	Fig. 21
41.	EK 3	Paheri	Mayor of Nekheb and of Inyt		18 TH	El-Kab		Funerary procession	A wrapped in a hide or a shroud pear-shaped sack, dragged on a sledge by 3 people.	Fig. 58
42.	TT 41	Amene mopet or Ipy	Chief steward of Amun of the southern city	Horemheb-Sethos I ³²	19 TH	El-Khokha ³³	East wall	Butic burial	A pear-shaped figure, wrapped in a hide or shroud except for its face and its hands. It lies down on a couch, which is located onto a box.	Fig. 50

³² See n. 2, p. 77, the tomb was built probably during the reign of Ramesses I-Sethos I.

³³ See n. 2, p. 77, the tomb was built at the location of Sheikh el Qurna.

43.	TT 284	Pahemnetjer	Scribe of offerings of all gods	18 TH Dynasty- Beginning of 19 TH Dynasty	18 TH - 19 TH	Dra' Abu el-Naga	East wall	Funeral procession	A crouching bunch on a sledge dragged by 2 people. It is wrapped in a hide or a shroud and only its head is protruded.	Fig. 19
44.	TT 157	Nebunenef	First prophet of Amun	Ramesses II	19 TH	Dra' Abu el-Naga				
45.	TT 178	Neferronpet	Scribe of the Treasury in the Estate of Amen-re; King of the Gods	Ramesses II	26 TH	El-Khokha			The left part of the depiction is destroyed. A shapeless sack wrapped in strips of fabric or a shroud on a sledge, dragged by 4 people.	Fig. 20
46.	TT A. 26	Name unknown			20 TH	Dra' Abu el-Naga		Funerary procession		

47.	TT 36	Aba	Chief steward of the "Adorer of the God"	Psammetichus I	26 TH	El-Assasif	North wall	Funerary procession	A pear-shaped figure, wrapped in a hide or shroud, dragged on a sledge by 3 people.	Fig. 43
48.	TT 279	Pabasa	Pasha; Chief Steward of the divine wife	Late period ³⁴	26 TH	El-Assasif				

Figure 63

³⁴ See n. 2, p. 165, the tomb was built during the reign of Psammetichus I.

Chapter 2

2.1 The participation of the *tekenu* in the 'Funerary procession'

TT 78, TT 49

Before making any in depth analysis about the *tekenu* and its presence in the tombs, it is preferable to start from things that are not so complicated. After just one look in the table (fig. 63), it is evident that the *tekenu* takes part to the 'Funerary procession' scene in 30 tombs from the total of 48. So, it is necessary to say a few things about the procession and the participation of the *tekenu* in it.

The funerary ceremonies are depicted in the chapels of the tombs because it was the last place, where the relatives and friends could see the deceased and bid farewell before he started the journey to the afterworld (Dodson & Ikram, 2008, 20). In the earlier periods only the last scenes of the funerary procession are depicted but during the 18th dynasty the cycle of the funerary icon takes its final form and it is converted to an integral part of the decoration of the tomb (Dodson & Ikram, 2008, 123). The funerary procession starts from the embalming house, when the embalmers have prepared the mummy and encoffined it. Afterwards, the coffin or the mummy of the deceased is represented on a bier that is placed on a sledge, being dragged by cattle, either by men or by mourners and it is directed to the tomb (Dodson & Ikram, 2008, 123; el-Shahawy, 2005, 32).

In some tombs the coffin was under a canopy and in some others it was transported under an open canopy with the roof in the shape of a naos which was placed on a boat-shaped sledge (el-Shahawy, 2005, 28). In turn, the sledge was a means of transport of the coffin or other funerary objects during the funerary procession. There were two types of sledges: the plain one and the boat-shaped. The second type was demountable and was

buried with the deceased but not always. Sometimes people stored it in order to use it again in the funerals of other family members (el-Shahawy, 2005, 33). Moreover, it is observed that family members are depicted only in scenes where there is the boat-shaped sledge unlike in scenes in which there is the plain one. They are illustrated as they are leaning on it and touching it (el-Shahawy, 2005, 33).

It is obvious that part of the procession is a parade, which basically includes the mourning family and the friends of the deceased. Also, there were offering bearers, who were carrying goods for the tomb, priests and sometimes, if the owner of the tomb was quite wealthy, a number of professional mourners (Dodson & Ikram, 2008, 20). In many funerary depictions, especially specimens coming from the 18th dynasty, the offering bearers seem to be carrying furniture and equipment for the burial. It was believed that these objects were necessary for the life of the deceased in the hereafter (el-Shahawy, 2005, 49). They are represented while they are walking in a row carrying different pieces of furniture, statues, jewels, vases, perfumes, blossoms and two papyrus stems (el-Shahawy, 2005, 49). Moreover, they are carrying boxes on their heads or across the shoulders or by yokes with chains which could be hung in the shoulders (el-Shahawy, 2005, 49). The boxes were used for storing the personal belongings of the deceased. In this light it was easy to have a range of this type of representations during the procession in order not to be prosaic.

Furthermore, the enigmatic *tekenu*, as part of the funerary procession, was also the subject of this research. The representations of it date back from the Old Kingdom until the Late period (Serrano Delgado, 2011, 150). In the majority of the tombs which are presented in the table, the *tekenu* takes part to the 'funerary procession' scene. It was represented either in front of the coffin or behind it but there was no set rule about its exact location (el-Shahawy, 2005, 55). Also, the bearing coffin was accompanied by a smaller procession with a shrine containing the canopic jars and additionally by the *tekenu*, composing all together a threefold procession. The origins of the *tekenu* are not known and for this reason the scholars believe in different

theories regarding its interpretation that are primarily based on its appearance (Assmann, 2005, 308).

One of the most characteristic representations of the funerary procession to which the *tekenu* taking part, is in the TT 78 (fig. 13, 46). The coffin was inside a big naos decorated with bouquets, which laid on a boat-shaped sledge dragged by four oxen and seven men (el-Shahawy, 2005, 29). Moreover, two of the relatives of the deceased put their hands on the naos while Isis and Nephthys are depicted on board touching also the naos in an indication of protection (el-Shahawy, 2005, 29). In front of the cattle there were a number of men holding different objects, probably offerings. Alongside them there is the representation of the *tekenu* (fig. 12). It is depicted totally wrapped as an amorphous bundle lying on a sledge, which is being dragged by four people. Afterwards, there are the depictions of a group of grieving women and also a group of men who are carrying offerings in yokes.

Additionally, another tomb in which the *tekenu* taking part to the funerary procession and it should be mentioned, is TT 49 (fig. 42). In this tomb there is the representation of the threefold procession. The coffin was inside a naos, which was located on a boat-shaped sledge being dragged by four cows (Davies, 1933, 42). In front of them, there is the representation of a man, who is sprinkling the way with milk, and a lector priest. Then, there is the depiction of the *tekenu* totally wrapped as a pear-shaped sack on a sledge being dragged by three people and in front of it there are two men who are carrying offerings to the tomb. Moreover, behind the sledge with the coffin there is the representation of a smaller but similar naos, in which there are the canopic jars (Davies, 1933, 42). It is located on a plain sledge being dragged by four people. Thereby, the three sledges with the canopic jars, the coffin and the *tekenu* compose the threefold procession.

To sum up, the funerary procession constitutes one of the most common but also important scenes in the decorative program of a tomb. It mainly includes the transportation of the coffin from the embalming house to the tomb. The coffin was placed under a canopy or a naos, which was

carried on a plain or a boat-shaped sledge. Also, the family, mourners and offering bearers are represented as part of the scene. Additionally, the canopic jars are depicted escorting the coffin sledge while also the mysterious *tekenu* participates in the scene. In this section there are only the examples of the representations in TT 49 and TT 78, but according to the table, in 30 out of a total of 48 tombs the *tekenu* is part of the funerary procession scene . Following the above remarks, the *tekenu* seems to be an integral part of the funerary procession but it is too early in order to be able to reach such conclusions.

Chapter 3

3.1 Participation of the *tekenu* in the 'Opening of the mouth' ritual or a misinterpretation?

TT21, TT295, TT 100, TT 42, TT 69

The *tekenu* is observed in scenes of different rituals. For instance it is represented in 2 tombs in the 'Pilgrimage to Abydos', in 3 tombs in the 'Butic burial' and in 30 out of the total of 18 tombs in the 'Dragging of the coffin' as it has already been mentioned. These rituals are connected with the funerary icon but there is a number of tombs in the table (fig. 63) where the *tekenu* appears in a different and unusual way. It is considered that some of its depictions have similarities with scenes 9 and 10 of the 'opening of the mouth' ritual. These tombs are TT 21, TT 295, TT 69, TT 42, TT 100 and they are worthy of mention because they leave a lot of room for discussion. The inclusion of the tombs in the table (fig. 63) should be justified and also it is a good opportunity for several questions to be answered about this connection between the *tekenu* and the 'opening of the mouth' ritual because it isn't a common phenomenon.

Firstly, it is necessary to say a few words about the ceremony of the 'opening of the mouth'. It was a ritual performed on the mummy or coffin or on a statue of the deceased at the burial place and it was composed by 75 scenes in its full form (Dodson & Ikram, 2008, 123). Some of the ritual scenes were the purification, censuring, butchery and offerings. These scenes were followed by the reading of specific funerary texts using special equipment so as to animate the deceased in order to regain the five senses while opening the way for its rebirth and resurrection (Hartwig, 2004, 117). The rites were executed by the *sem*-priest, who was usually the eldest son or of the heir of the deceased and a main characteristic of him was that he

wore a leopard skin (Dodson & Ikram, 2008, 123). This part of the ritual was very common during the 18th Dynasty and in a way constituted the highlight of the whole procedure (Hartwig, 2004, 117). The representation of this rite within the tomb was usually portrayed on the northern long wall of the interior, which was related with the hereafter (Hartwig, 2004, 18).

The scenes that are of particular interest in this case are scenes 9 and 10 of the 'opening of the mouth' ritual (Budge, 1909, 26-46). The *sem*-priest is represented twice, first lying down and then sitting on a couch in front of the mummy or the coffin of the deceased. He is wrapped in a cloak or hide, his hands are put together on his breast while shoulders and feet are clearly marked under it (Budge, 1909, 28). Afterwards, under the incitement of the assistants, who participate in the rite, he accomplishes a dormition or otherwise a shamanic trance (Helck, 1984, 103). When the *sem*-priest awakes the lector priest, who takes part to the scene, tries to decode the words of the *sem*-priest in order to define the shape of the effigy of the deceased (Fischer-Elfert, 1998, 64).

Likewise, there are depictions of the *tekenu*, which is represented lying on a couch and being covered in a hide apart from its face and sometimes its head, arms and feet. Moreover, in some tombs it is accompanied with a short text confirming that it is asleep. For example in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100) where the text reads in a translation: "Bringing to (?) the city of (?) the skin as a *tekenu* one who lies under it (the skin?) in the pool of Khepera" (Davies, 1913, 10). Another example is the text in the tomb of Dowerheh (TT 125), which reads: "Causing to come to the city a hide as a sleeping *tekenu*, causing silence in the receptacle of transformation" (Settgast, 1963, 92,119). It is obvious that there are similarities, between these particular parts of the 'opening of the mouth' ritual and some representations of the *tekenu*, which need to be investigated further.

3.2 The depiction of *tekenu* in TT 21

According to Serrano Delgado (Serrano Delgado, 2011, 156) the tomb of User (TT 21) is one of the tombs, where the *tekenu* is sleeping and presents common points with the sleeping *sem*-priest. The similarities between the depictions and the fact that in the tomb of User, next to the *tekenu* there was a priest performing a libation on the mummy, leads Davies (Davies, 1913, 25) to believe that it is the figure of a *sem*-priest and not a representation of the *tekenu*. Furthermore, he thought that these scenes were related to the 'opening of the mouth' ritual, (Davies, 1913, 25) which was represented on the north wall of the tomb as usual and act as part of it.

Nevertheless, the scene of the officiant pouring water over the mummy is already represented in the 'opening of the mouth' ritual of the TT 21 (fig. 52). Additionally, it is unusual to distribute the scenes of the opening of the mouth in the two opposite walls and to associate it with other rituals of the tomb (Assmann, 2003, 53). However, according to Morales (Morales, 2002, 123), the repetition of the officiant purifying over the mummy or the effigy of the deceased should instead be considered a common phenomenon in the depictions of the funerary procession and not only connected with the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony. There were different kinds of officials performing a variety of rituals in all stages of the procession in order to prepare the deceased for the afterlife. Some of the most important priests were the embalmer (*wt*), the lector priest (*hry-hb*) and the funerary priest (*sm*) (Morales, 2002, 123). However, over time these roles were weakened and the majority of responsibilities were undertaken by the *sem* priest from the Middle Kingdom onwards (Morales, 2002, 123).

For instance, in the tomb of Tetaky (TT 15) the burial ceremony is depicted on the south wall, where there is a man censing a coffin (fig. 31). He is represented between a group of three *muu* dancers and the house of the two *muu* dancers (Davies, 1925, 17). The coffin is situated on a sand mound, as is the norm in the depictions of the 'opening of the mouth' (Fischer-Elfert, 1998, 74) and parallel under a canopy. In addition, the

depiction of the house of the two *muu* dancers is accompanied by two obelisks, two sycamores, a palm garden, three gods and three goddesses, the three sacred pools of purification, the four guardians of the entrance to paradise and Osiris, the god of the dead. Osiris is depicted in a great shrine while the gods, goddesses, the guardians and the pools are depicted in smaller shrines but all the shrines together constitute the divine ennead (Davies, 1925, 17).

Afterwards, there is a representation of the *tekenu*, which is rather dragged by three individuals without being sure because this part of the wall is ramshackle (Davies, 1925, 17). It is depicted seated on a sledge, fully covered with a shroud except for his face. It has similarities with the depictions of the other tombs but it looks like a statue in this representation. However, it is definitely a *tekenu* because there is an inscription that attests to its identity which reads: “Dragging the *Tekenu* to the necropolis....” (Davies, 1925, 17).

Instead in TT 21 there is no inscription close to the depiction of the *tekenu* in order to guarantee its identity. Additionally, the way in which it is depicted is very unusual (fig. 51). It is customary to be located on a couch but neither seated nor in such a schematic representation. The lying *tekenu* is depicted in 4 tombs (TT 41, TT 100, TT 96, TT 125) as a shapeless sack with the head and the hands uncovered. As well as in one tomb (TT 276) except for the head and the hands also the feet are uncovered in relation with the main body, which is wrapped in a hide or shroud. So, in the tomb of User, there are serious doubts about whether it is or not a depiction of the *tekenu*. However, owing to the vicinity of the depiction to the ‘sacred precinct’, which is the scene that is described above in the tomb of Tetaky (Davies, 1925, 17), it is most probably the *tekenu*.

To sum up, if the assumption is correct and the depiction in TT 21 is the *tekenu*, it is obvious that it is not participating in the ‘opening of the mouth ritual’, because there is already a representation of the ritual in the opposite wall and additionally, it is unusual for these kind of scenes to be separated (Serrano Delgado, 2011, 157). Furthermore, it is too risky to say

that the *tekenu* in this tomb is another representation of the *sem*-priest, who takes part to the funerary procession, or that the *tekenu* is an initial representation of the *sem*-priest. Up to now, there isn't enough convincing evidence that could confirm any of the above potential cases. However, it is apparent that there are some basic similarities between these two representations such as the shape, the fact that both of them are covered in a hide or shroud and are seated in a couch and the most important of all that they are under a ritual dormition.

3.3 The depiction of *tekenu* in TT 295

In the TT 295 the *tekenu* is represented neither in the funerary procession nor in other rituals, which usually include its depiction. Instead there is a representation of it in the 'opening of the mouth' ritual on the east wall but not depicted as usual (fig. 22). Although the left part of the wall is destroyed because of the opening of a doorway during the Ramesside period (Hegazy and Tosi, 1983, 19), scenes 9 and 10 of the ritual, the content of which is already mentioned in TT 21, are preserved.

In the upper and lower registers, there are four representations of the mummy and additionally two depictions of the *sem*-priest, who performs the ordinary rites (fig. 23). He is depicted fully wrapped in a horizontally striped garment, except for his head. The cloth is probably a bedgown, according to Davies, which he wears because he is going to sleep (Davies, 1943, 76). Moreover, his shoulders, arms and his kneeling legs are clearly marked under the garment. It is the dormition ritual and for this reason the *sem*-priest is depicted first seated and then lying down on a bed in order to sleep (Serrano Delgado, 2011, 158). In the text of the ritual it is written the word "sleep" twice (Hegazy and Tosi, 1983, 19).

However, a matter that derives special consideration is that above the depiction of the sleeping *sem*-priest in TT 295 there is the infallible representation of the *tekenu* within the text (fig. 53) (Serrano Delgado, 2011, 158). It is depicted as a pear shaped sack; fully wrapped in a hide or shroud, while it is lying on a bed. According to Serrano Delgado (Serrano Delgado, 2011, 158), in the tomb of Djehutmose, the ritual action of dormition of the *sem*-priest was affected by the representation of the *tekenu* in the above text and also by the use of the word "sleep", which may represent the state of the *tekenu*. He claims that these observations cannot be considered a coincidence. This fact is derived from the resemblance of the actions between the *sem*-priest and the *tekenu* even though they are diversified representations while advocating different rituals (Serrano Delgado, 2011,

158). But are these elements sufficient in order to say that there is a mutual interaction between them according to the way that they are illustrated?

One common element that undoubtedly brings together these two characters is the ritual action of the dormition. The *tekenu* is sleeping when it is depicted lying on a bed and the same is occurring to the *sem*-priest in scenes 9 and 10 of the 'opening of the mouth' ritual. Due to this similarity, reasonable questions arise about the dormition of the *tekenu* as: what is happening during the ritual action of its dormition? Is it a situation of dream and trance or just sleep? Are there valuable elements that could reveal the purpose of this trance? Are there any statements made by the *tekenu* after its awakening?

For instance, the 10th scene of the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony is dealing with the awakening of the *sem*-priest (Budge, 1909, 37-46) after his dormition in the 9th scene of the same ritual. In this scene the *sem*-priest rises up from the bed and he is located among three individuals, who are sculptors or artists and along with him they represent the four son of Horus (Budge, 1909, 37). During the scene, the *sem*-priest commands the sculptors to make a statue of his father, Osiris, and thereafter he is depicted smiting it. It was a symbolic action in order to commemorate the death of Osiris, who was smitten by Set and his companions. The smiting of the statue was represented as for the smiting of the god. Simultaneously that meant the smiting of the deceased while both were transformed into divine victims. The act of smiting either of a man, or an animal or a lifeless offering was equivalent to ordination and this person or thing was owned by god (Budge, 1909, 39-40).

There are some new theories that may help us find answers in the above questions. According to Szpakowska (Szpakowska, 2003, 16), the word '*qd*' signify the state of dreaming and it is declared with an open eye painted with makeup (Sethe, 1926, 72). This means that the state of dreaming is synonymous with the awakening including the ability of vision. In some tombs there are representations of two individuals, who are escorting the *tekenu* while they are performing purification rituals with

incense and they are also applying make up to the eyes as for example the TT 127 (fig. 18). This kind of performance, combined with the appearance of the sleeping *tekenu*, which is represented with wide open and decorated eyes, could lead to the conclusion that, indeed, the *tekenu* is under a dream-trance (Szpakowska, 2003, 16). However, this approach of the sleeping *tekenu* with the wide open eyes might be quite risky because it isn't based on concrete arguments but only on associative assumptions.

Furthermore, there are representations of the sleeping *tekenu*, where the hands are not hidden under the hide or shroud as for example in the TT 100 (fig. 38), the TT 96 (fig. 25), the TT 276 (fig. 14) and the TT 125 (fig. 27). Instead, they are located in front of the face and particularly the mouth of the *tekenu*. In 2 tombs (TT 100, TT 96), the hands are depicted with the palms facing upwards and in other 2 tombs (TT 125, TT 276) downwards. This practice is unfamiliar for the Egyptian cult but more common among the representations of daily life scenes in Theban tombs (Serrano Delgado, 2011, 159). The different way of the depictions of the hands may clarify an action like speaking or commanding of an order. But even in this case the elements are not based on reliable archaeological evidence.

As regards the *tekenu* in comparison with the sleeping *sem*-priest there are no sufficient sources, which could clarify the situation. No one knows if the *tekenu* is under a trance during its sleep or if it states something when it awakes. This happens because in the majority of the scenes in which it is represented there are no texts that could provide further information. Additionally, in some tombs there are accompanying texts for the *tekenu* but unfortunately they are very short and revealing no new information. Most of the times, the texts consist of a brief description of the scene or they are incomplete due to corruption. It is evident from the above remarks that there are only assumptions about the character and the role of the sleeping *tekenu* because the information are not clear.

Also, the presence of the *tekenu* in the text above the depiction of the *sem*-priest in TT 295 during the 'opening of the mouth' ritual is an unusual depiction and it cannot be considered a clear participation in the ritual.

Certainly, the combination of the sleeping *tekenu* and the sleeping *sem*-priest in the same scene is inexplicable and cannot be seen as a coincidence. But for once there are no available sources in order to verify the relevance of the arguments. Instead, only assumptions can be made.

3.4 The depiction of *tekenu* in TT 100

The TT 100 or tomb of Rekmire is a different example in comparison with the above tombs and it might be the key in this case because, both the sleeping *tekenu* and the *sem*-priest, are depicted. Perhaps, it is an answer to the question of whether the *tekenu* could participate in the 'opening of the mouth' ritual or if it is an issue that is based only on assumptions.

On the west half of the south wall, there is a representation of the sleeping *tekenu* in one of the scenes of the burial ceremony (fig. 38) (Davies, 1943, 70, 72). Before the depiction of the *tekenu*, there is an illustration of a woman, who performs purification in front of a gate with four pillars and three altars for burnt offerings behind (Hodel-Hoenes, 2000, 168). After the *tekenu* there are illustrated scenes such as the purification of the crown sanctuaries with water, the digging of a foundation, the erection of two obelisks (Davies, 1943, 71-72), a lector priest behind an altar, a woman making sacrifices and a series of men holding oars in their hands (fig. 39) (Hodel-Hoenes, 2000, 168). The *tekenu* is depicted lying on the bed and fully wrapped with a hide or shroud. The head is not covered and the hands are facing upwards in front of the mouth.

Moreover, the depiction of the *tekenu* is accompanied by a text that reads: "Bringing to (?) the city of (?) the skin (*mska*) as a *tekenu* one who lies under it (the skin?) in the pool of Khepera" (Davies, 1913, 10). If it is considered, according to Budge (Budge, 1909, 31), that the city of the skin is referred to the other world, then the 'pool of khepera' would be a 'pool of transformation' (Reeder, 1994, 58). The second part of the above assumption derives from the fact that Khepera or Khepri was a god, who represented one of the three aspects of the sun god Re, the basic creator of all the gods (Griffiths, 2002, 256). Therefore, Khepri represented the sunrise, Re the noon and Atum the sunset. The name of Khepri was equal with the coming of the dawn alluding the process of coming into existence. Also, Khepri was depicted as a scarab beetle or as man with a scarab face and it was a self-procreated being (Griffiths, 2002, 256; Armour, 1986, 193).

This divine hypostasis symbolizes the division of ages (child, man, old man) or the phases of life (birth, maturity and death) or the perpetual motion of the universe (Tobin, 2002, 243; Griffiths, 2002, 256). Khepri, who represented the birth of the sun, was the first part of the motive power of the life-cycle. Thus, because of the connection of Khepri with the rising sun, he incorporated the powers of transformation and regeneration (Armour, 1986, 193). Then, it could be assumed, according to the text, that the 'pool of Khepera' was a state of transformation or of rebirth. Following the above considerations, the skin of an animal, in which the *tekenu* was wrapped up, symbolizes probably the mean that leads the *tekenu* in the 'pool of Khepera' and otherwise in the pool of the spiritual transformation (Reeder, 1994, 58).

On the west half of the north wall there is the depiction of the 'opening of the mouth' ritual (fig. 40) (Davies, 1943, 74). The *sem*-priest is depicted twice but not as usual. Regularly, he is represented first lying and then seated but in Rekhmire's tomb both times he is represented as seated (fig. 61, 62). It is probably an alternative way of illustrating the sleep-trance during which he is dreaming how he will free his father –by extension to the deceased- from his enemy (Davies, 1943, 76). He is depicted in a kneeling position on a bed while he is fully wrapped with a yellow striped garment known as bedgown, as in TT 295 (Davies, 1943, 76). His shoulders, his arms and his legs are clearly marked under the cloth and his head is the only uncovered part of his body.

According to Griffiths (Griffiths, 1958, 116), the *tekenu* and the *sem*-priest are the same being. He believed that the similarity between the wrapped sleeping *sem*-priest and the crouching, shrouded *tekenu* is not a coincidence. They have the same pose, they are represented with a cover and also, both are sleeping. Additionally, the sleeping *sem*-priest is depicted after the purification of the statue, which is the primary scene of the ritual. This happens because the *sem*-priest plays a leading role throughout the duration of the 'opening of the mouth' and he has to be present almost from the beginning of the ceremony (Baly, 1930, 176). By the point at which the *sem*-priest makes his first appearance he is depicted while he is sleeping.

This means, according to Griffiths (Griffiths, 1958, 116) , that immediately after the arrival of the procession the *tekenu* is converted to *sem*-priest and also it is conveyed from sledge to bed either sleeping or not.

Moreover, Reeder shares the same opinion with Griffiths and he claims that the *tekenu* was the originative exposure of the *sem*-priest (Reeder, 1994, 58-59). If it is assumed that the *sem*-priest was a shamanistic-magician according to another scholar (Wolfgang, 1984, 103), it would be easier to justify the *tekenu*'s presence in the tomb. Thus, the representation of the *tekenu*, wrapped in a hide or shroud and totally covered (or not) in a contracted position, led the *tekenu* under a dream-trance in an inexplicable way (Reeder, 1994, 59). During this situation the *tekenu-sem* visited the spirit world, where he recognized the deceased and in parallel he acquired outstanding powers in order to be able to participate actively in the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony (Reeder, 1994, 59). Under these circumstances the *tekenu* no longer existed because it had already transformed into a *sem*-priest.

It is obvious that in TT 100 the *tekenu* and the *sem*-priest are depicted separately. Also, they take part to different rituals on opposite walls without being connected to each other in any way. Following the above remarks, the scholars tried to give some interpretations through the equation of the *tekenu* with the *sem*-priest and their special bond that might exist. Unfortunately these aspects are based only on assumptions. Though there are some undeniable similarities between them like their similar posture, the fact that they are depicted wrapped and their spiritual connection during the sleep but not enough in order to support this kind of theory. So far, the participation of the *tekenu* to the 'opening of the mouth' ritual relies on conjectures.

3.5 The depiction of *tekenu* in TT 42

In TT 42 there are both the representations of the *tekenu* and the *sem*-priest like in the TT 100. But there are some basic differences from the other tombs that should be mentioned in order to clarify if the *tekenu* is part of the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony.

On the west wall of the inner passage the *tekenu* is represented in one of the scenes of the burial rite (fig. 36) (Davies, 1933, 33). Before the depiction of the *tekenu* there are the portrayals of the statue of the deceased, of royal statues and of a priest, who is anointing a statue of the deceased (Porter & Moss, 1960, 83). After the *tekenu* there are the illustrations of two dancers and a man, who is holding two paddles in front of a building. In relation with the previous tombs, where the *tekenu* was laid on a bed, in Amenmose's tomb it is represented seated on a sledge, which is dragged by three individuals. The upper part of the *tekenu* is corrupt and in the lower part, only the hide or shroud in which it was covered, is visible.

The odd thing in TT 42 is that on the same wall, after the end of the burial scenes, we can observe the representation of priests, who are performing rituals on the mummies before the 'Western goddess', including butchers (Porter & Moss, 1960, 83; Davies, 1933, 33). The 'Western goddess' was the goddess Hathor, who was called in this way in Thebes because of the fact that the burial area was located on the west bank of the Nile (Vischak, 2001, 82). According to the myth, Hathor as the night sky took care and protected with her body the sun god Re in order to be able to be born every morning. For this reason, she was interpreted as a goddess of rebirth and resurrection (Vischak, 2001, 82). Additionally, there are the two representations of the 'sleeping' and the 'awakening' *sem*-priest like in the previous tombs (fig. 37). He is depicted first lying and then in a kneeling pose on a bed, while he is totally covered with a striped garment³⁵, like the TT 295 (fig. 23) and the TT 100, except for his head. The shoulders, the

³⁵ As it already mentioned, according to Davies (Davies, 1943, 76) this garment was known as bedgown and they wore it during their sleep.

arms and the legs are clearly marked under the garment. Also, these two figures are not represented together but in different registers -4 and 5- and they are not connected as in the other cases³⁶ (Griffiths, 1958, 117).

So far, in the above tombs the scenes of the burial ritual and the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony are depicted in the opposite walls while in TT 42 they are represented in the same wall. According to Griffiths (Griffiths, 1958, 116) as already mentioned in TT 100, this means that the *tekenu* is identified as the *sem*-priest. In TT 42 when the procession is over, the *tekenu* is transferred from sledge to bed and automatically it is transformed into the *sem*-priest participating in the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony (Griffiths, 1958, 116). This is more likely to happen in the TT 42 because these two rituals are already on the same wall. But there are not enough available sources in order to base these arguments and for this reason they are still assumptions. Also, in TT 42 another issue that arises is that, the rituals performed on the mummies by priests are not mentioned in the available sources as scenes that derived from the 'opening of the mouth' ritual. Perhaps these scenes belong to a ritual similar to the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony.

³⁶ These two figures are preserved as pencil tracings made by Davies and they belonged in his manuscripts with the number MSS. 10.15.8.

3.6 The depiction of *tekenu* in TT 69

The last tomb for this unity is TT 69 in which there are two representations of the 'sleeping' and the 'awakening' *sem*-priest, like in the previous tombs. According to some scholars (Moret, 1922, 52-53; Campbell, 1910, 101), these representations of the *sem*-priest play the role of the *tekenu* and the *tekenu* plays their role respectively. These opinions were based on the interpretation of the scenes in which the figures take part and not in their identity.

On the north wall of the TT 69, there are eleven selected scenes of the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony (Hodel-Hoenes, 2000, 109). Among these scenes, as it is already mentioned, there is a depiction of the *sem*-priest first lying and then seated on a bed in front of the mummy of the deceased (fig. 24). He is totally wrapped except for his head while the arms, the shoulders and the legs are clearly marked under the hide. It belongs to the 10th scene of the 'opening of the mouth' ritual (Budge, 1909, 37).

However, apart from the known contribution of the depiction of the *sem*-priest in these particular scenes of the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony, they also fulfill another purpose. According to Budge (Budge, 1909, 31), during the ritual the *sem*-priest acts as if he is the deceased. In this light, he wraps himself with a hide, which is the skin of a bull or a cow, before he sleeps in order to be born again. The hide is referred with the word '*meska*', as well as with some variations, in religious texts and it meant the skin that was used in rites of rebirth of the deceased (Thomas, 1923, 46). It was considered that if someone passed through the skin of a bull, he would be born again as himself or as someone else. Additionally, the skin was a characteristic feature of the sacrifice and when someone passed through it, he used to own the life and strength of the victim, while it made him a substitute of the killed animal (Budge, 1909, 31-32). So, the bull was a symbol of Osiris because he was himself the "Bull of Amenti" and it also meant that the person who wore the skin was in turn a representative of Osiris (Budge, 1909, 32). The Osiris passes from death to life, from mortality

to immortality and in the same way everyone should go through this procedure (Campbell, 1910, 102).

Nevertheless, according to Campbell (Campbell, 1910, 101-102), the skin ritual was represented in the tomb of Sennofer giving also an illustration of the scene without stating if the *sem*-priest or the *tekenu* was depicted on it (fig. 25). But the representation of the figure as a shapeless sack covered with the hide except for the head and the hands, lying on a couch; testifies without doubt that we are dealing with the *tekenu*. A further reason, which advocates that the figure with the hide in the tomb of Sennofer is definitely the *tekenu*, is due to its participation to the Butic burial (Porter & Moss, 1960, 201; Hodel-Hoenes, 2000, 122). In this light he emphasizes the importance of the skin ritual instead of the identity of the depictions. Does it mean that both representations can be part of the skin ritual? Or could this ritual be represented in different scenes inside the tombs? In TT 69 the skin ritual was performed during the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony symbolizing the rebirth of the deceased while in the tomb of Sennofer belonged to another scene. So, does this mean that the ritual change its meaning according to which scene is represented?

In addition, Campbell mentions the tomb of Rekhmire as one of the tombs where skin ritual is represented (Campbell, 1910, 101). However, in the TT 100 both the *tekenu* (fig. 38) and the *sem*-priest (fig. 40) are depicted on opposite walls. So, which of the above representations in TT 100 takes part in the skin ritual? In this case the answer is the *tekenu* because there is an inscription above it. However, if someone considers the statements about the meaning of the skin ritual during the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony, it is easy to assume that only the *sem*-priest may be able to take part to it. Although the above consideration is reasonable, it seems to have other aspects. It is possible that the skin ritual is represented twice having different or the same meaning each time that it is practiced. But it isn't clear if it is a transition of the practice of this ritual between the representations of the *tekenu* and the *sem*-priest or if it is a different performance of the ritual but with the same meaning.

3.7 Conclusions of the 3rd chapter

After the presentation of the above tombs, the participation or any role played by the *tekenu* in the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony seems questionable. It is more than obvious that there are similarities between the depictions of the *tekenu* and the *sem*-priest in their pose, the use of a hide or shroud to cover their body, the ritual action of dormition and probably their participation in the skin ritual. But there is not enough information in order to be sure of this connection between these two representations.

In TT 21 there are serious doubts about whether or not the represented figure is a depiction of the *tekenu*. This figure is depicted more as a *sem*-priest during the 10th scene of the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony than as a depiction of the *tekenu*. However, although it is a fact that the scene is represented as part of the 'opening of the mouth' ritual, it actually doesn't belong to it. The ceremony is represented on the north wall and it already encompasses a scene of a corresponding substance. Also, it wasn't a common practice for the above scenes to be represented on opposite walls and after that to act as an indivisible entity.

Nevertheless, the most important fact of all is that the appearance of the figure in TT 21 doesn't match the known representations of the *tekenu* in the other tombs. The figure in this tomb is depicted seated on a bed, totally wrapped up in a hide or shroud except for the head; with the arms, the shoulders and the legs clearly marked under it. Instead, when the *tekenu* is represented on the bed, it is always lying down and is never seated. Also, even though it is wrapped up in a hide or shroud, it isn't depicted in such a schematic way but as a shapeless sack with the head, the hands and sometimes the feet uncovered. Additionally, even when the *tekenu* is represented on a sledge in the other tombs, it is never wrapped in this manner. Sometimes, it acquires another shape, for example that of a pear, but it is not depicted like the figure in TT 21, anywhere.

As for the fact that the *tekenu* is close to the representation of the 'sacred precinct' ritual, as it is the case in the decorative program of the tomb of Tetaky, it does not constitute a reliable measure in order to be sure that the figure in TT 21 is the *tekenu*. It is an assumption that doesn't lead anywhere because it is based only on the similarities between two identical parts of the decorative program of the tombs. However, it is more likely that the figure is a representation of an officiant, who performs a libation on the mummy of the deceased or even the *sem*-priest but in a different ritual and not as part of the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony.

In the TT 295 the *tekenu* is represented in the text, which is located above the lying *sem*-priest during the 9th scene of the 'opening of the mouth' ritual. The *tekenu* is depicted as a pear shaped sack, fully wrapped while lying on a bed. The ritual action of dormition of the *sem*-priest was affected by the representation of the *tekenu*, which seems to define the word sleep through its double presence in the text. Also, it was assumed that when the *tekenu* was depicted lying on a bed, it was under dormition too. This is a consideration that derived from the similarities that exist in the actions of both representations. But there is not enough evidence in order to be sure that there is a mutual interaction between them, according to the way of their representation.

For example, when the *sem*-priest awakes, he speaks and he reveals the purpose of his sleep to the lector priest. This occurs during the 10th scene of the 'opening of the mouth' ritual, where he is represented seated on the bed. With regard to the *tekenu*, what is happening during its dormition is not known. Also, it is not clear if the *tekenu* is under a dream-trance or it is just asleep. This difficulty derives from the fact that there aren't available texture about the *tekenu*. In the majority of the scenes in which it is represented there are no accompanying texts that could be useful. But, when there are texts that accompany the *tekenu*, they are either too short or they do not contain valuable information. Usually, the preserved texts consist only of a description of the scene and in some other cases they are totally corrupt.

Thus, in TT 295 the depiction of the *tekenu* in the text above the *sem*-priest is not exactly a participation of it to the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony. However, the fact that both representations are asleep cannot be considered fortuitous. It is obvious that they take part to similar ritual actions of dormition but this does not mean that these two characters must be equated due to this resemblance. Also, the lack of evidence is a great disadvantage and does not help in the verification of the arguments. Instead, they still remain assumptions.

As regards the TT 100, it is considered that the *tekenu* could be a primary depiction of the *sem*-priest, who plays a prominent role during the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony where he is present from the first scenes. It is possible that the *tekenu* is converted to a sleeping *sem*-priest after the arrival of the cortege and also it is conveyed from sledge to bed but not in the TT 100 because it is already lying on a bed. Therefore the *tekenu* doesn't appear further in the scenes of the respective tomb because it is transformed to a *sem*-priest. These assumptions arise from the fact that there are similarities between them like their pose, the fact that both are wrapped in a hide or shroud and their spiritual connection during their sleep.

However, the above arguments are not strong enough in order to support such a consideration. These two depictions belong to different rituals, which are represented on opposite walls without being connected to each other in any way. Also, the accompanying text above the *tekenu* is not so helpful. Instead it raises more questions. After the above remarks, there is, definitely, no participation to the *tekenu* in the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony. Though there are some similarities between the depiction of the *tekenu* and that of the *sem*-priest, it is quite risky to equate them. It is necessary to obtain more evidence in order to claim an indirect participation of the *tekenu* to the 'opening of the mouth' ritual through its transformation to a *sem*-priest.

The case of the TT 42 is close to the TT 100 regarding the representation of the *tekenu* but there are some basic differences, which should be investigated further. In the TT 42 there are both the

representations of the *tekenu* and that of the *sem*-priest. The *tekenu* is depicted on a sledge, dragged by three people while participating in one of the scenes of the burial rites. Unfortunately, the upper part of the depiction is corrupted and in the lower part, only the hide or shroud in which was covered, is preserved. Additionally, on the same wall, after the end of the burial rites scenes, some priests are represented while performing rituals on mummies. Also, both the sleeping and the awakening *sem*-priest are depicted in these scenes, exactly as they are represented in the previous tombs.

In the TT 42, it is more possible that the *tekenu* is transformed to a *sem*-priest. This assumption is based first on the fact that both depictions are represented on the same wall. In the case of the TT 100 these two figures are represented on different walls while also, as will be discussed below, the *tekenu* takes part to another ritual, known as 'Butic burial'. Secondly, the *tekenu* is conveyed from sledge to couch, an element that could support the following classification: '*tekenu* on the sledge', 'sleeping *sem*-priest' and the 'awakening *sem*-priest'. Once again, there is not enough evidence in order to verify the above arguments and for this reason they still remain assumptions.

Another important matter is that the rituals, performed by priests on the mummies, are not mentioned in the available sources as scenes coming from the 'opening of the mouth' ritual. Probably, these scenes belong to a different ritual, which is similar to the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony. However, without enough information and also with serious concerns, even for the existence of the 'opening of the mouth' ritual in the tomb, they raised additional doubts concerning the transformation of the *tekenu* to a *sem*-priest and its further participation to this ceremony.

The TT 69 is an odd case of a tomb because there is no depiction of the *tekenu* but there are some theories about it. Both the 'sleeping' and the 'awakening' *sem*-priest are represented, during the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony, like in the above tombs. It is considered that the *tekenu* plays the role of the *sem*-priest and respectively the *sem*-priest plays the role of the

tekenu. Particularly, these two figures take part in a ritual, which is related to the skin that they are wrapped up. However, it is not clear whether there were more than one skin rituals or whether it was a common phenomenon to be represented more than once in a tomb or whether it could be performed by different characters, who participate in the scenes.

To sum up, the participation of the *tekenu* in the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony is more likely to be a misinterpretation. Apparently there were some logical arguments in the above tombs that could support the idea of the participation of the *tekenu* to the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony. But as it is proved, the *tekenu* either belongs in other rituals or there is not enough evidence to rely on such. Nevertheless, as it has already been mentioned, there are some similarities between the depictions of the *tekenu* and the *sem*-priest that are not so controversial like their pose, the use of a hide or shroud in order to be wrapped up, the ritual action of dormition and probably their participation in the skin ritual. However, there is not enough information on the actual meaning of the *tekenu*. Instead, there are only assumptions due to the absence of written sources. Additionally, these 5 tombs from the total of 48 are too few in order to substantiate such an assumption while also all researchers base their arguments on different concerns. After the above remarks, although these two representations play important roles as officiants during the funerary rite, they must not be equated in any way.

Chapter 4

4.1 The first representation of the *tekenu* and its participation in the Butic burial

An archaism that fades out?

One important element that should be discussed under the purpose of the present study is the first representation of the *tekenu* and the subsequent iconographical evolution of it. But firstly, it is necessary to search for the roots of the *tekenu* in order to find useful information about its origin and its identity. Also, there seems to be a good opportunity to learn about the relations that link the *tekenu* with the owners of the tombs, who are listed in the table. Through this way, the presence of the *tekenu* could become more comprehensible for the burials of this study. As well as, it reinforces the notion of a spherical overview about the *tekenu* before someone draws his conclusions.

Through the table (fig. 63) it is known that the vast majority of the tombs derives from the Theban necropolis except for the tomb of Rennu (EK7) and the tomb of Paheri (EK3), which are located at el-Kab, a place at about 50 miles above Thebes (Breasted, 1897, 219). But, there is one more exception in the catalogue of the tombs which ranks the first place in the table and is located in a different site. This is the Mastaba of princess Idut at Saqqara, where the *tekenu* is represented for the first time. The tomb is dated at the early 6th Dynasty of the Old Kingdom, during the reign of king Teti I (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, 37).

However, the original tomb owner of the mastaba was the vizier Ihy, who according to Strudwick (Strudwick, 1985, 56-57, 63), lived late at the reign of the king Unis. The tomb was, thus, reused by Idut, who was daughter of Teti and she died young (Kanawati, 1999, 292-293) before Teti started the construction of his cemetery (Kanawati, 2003, 30-31, 150-151).

Probably for this reason he bestowed to her the tomb of an attained vizier, in other words the tomb of Ihy (Kanawati, 2003, 150-151). In order to implement this transition the name of Ihy and all the references about his family were removed (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, 33). Though the name of Ihy was chiseled out, there were some inscriptions particularly derived from the burial chamber in which it is preserved. The reason for this is probably that the burial chamber was not easily accessible (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, 33-34).

In the mastaba of Idut the *tekenu* is represented on the East wall of room III (fig. 5). The scenes are divided in five registers and three sub registers. They have to be read from bottom to top (fig. 6). A major part of the wall is corrupt but it is clear enough that this is a pilgrimage scene probably to holy sites in the Delta (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, 48). Although it is obvious that the figures of the scene were not damaged, the inscriptions above them were chiseled out on purpose (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, 48). This occurred because the inscriptions referred to Ihy, a fact that is evident by traces of the erased inscriptions. This issue concerning the identification of the scenes with one of the two tomb owners will be discussed later on the chapter.

In the first register, starting from the bottom, offering bearers are depicted with different kind of food items in their hands or in trays that they carried on their heads (fig. 54). In the second register there is a prow of papyri-form boat, in which is usually transferred the coffin of the deceased but here is missing due to the corruption of the wall (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, 48). The papyrus form boat is towed by two wooden boats crewed with rowers and by other men from the shore, who are located on the third register (fig. 55) (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, 48). Also, in the same register there are piles of food offerings. In the fourth register, the haulers are represented again while they have arrived to the final destination, probably in a place somewhere in the Delta, which is represented here through shrines and palm trees (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq,

2003, 49). They are illustrated in front of a lector priest, two other officiants and three *mww*-ritual dancers (fig. 56) (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, 49).

In the fifth register the coffin is represented on a sledge with canopy, which is dragged by five men while an officiant or a priest –the greater part of him is damaged- leads them (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, 49). Behind the sledge with the coffin one more sledge is represented dragged by five men, in which the *tekenu* is transferred (fig. 57). Although a major part of the representation of the *tekenu* is corrupt there is an inscription above it that reads: “dragging the *tekenu*” and through this way it is confirmed its identity (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, 49). According to the upper part of the depiction of the *tekenu*, the only preserved one, it was probably represented as a shapeless sack. But there are not enough evidence in order to be sure regarding its appearance, this is only an assumption.

In the tomb of Idut, as already mentioned, the *tekenu* is occurred for the very first time in the iconographical program of a tomb. Also, it is the only tomb that is owned by a woman and it seems to include a representation of the *tekenu*. Idut is borne to be one of the daughters of Teti I and for this reason it is considered that she is a member of the royal family (Kanawati, 2003, 150). Though an element that relates her with the king Unis was the fact that she was buried in his cemetery (Kanawati, 2003, 150). Idut died young as indicated by the way she is represented with a pigtail and disc hairstyle (Kanawati, 1999, 292), which is a characteristic of young age, and also because she is depicted on boat accompanied by her nurse (Macramallah, 1935, pl. VII). Following the above remark, it is considered that when Idut died she was in a young age and Teti’s cemetery wasn’t finished. Thus, she was buried in the Unis cemetery in someone else’s tomb because she hadn’t started building her own tomb (Kanawati, 2003, 150).

It isn’t known yet why the tomb of the vizier Ihy, the original tomb owner, was redistributed to Idut, especially since his tomb was fully constructed and decorated (Kanawati, 2003, 31). It is considered that it was an act of punishment to a crime that he committed and except for his tomb, perhaps he lost his life (Kanawati, 2003, 150). Another assumption about

the disgrace of the vizier combined with the death of Idut at a very young age is that a violent transition of power may have occurred during the sequence of the new dynasty (Kanawati, 2003, 151).

In the pilgrimage scene where the *tekenu* is involved, there are serious doubts about to which tomb owner the representations belong. It is obvious through scenes that the decorative program of the new tomb owner, Idut, was adapted very rough and probably in a great haste upon Ihy's. For this reason, the outcome on the representations and in the inscriptions seems to be moderate and definitely not reflect the royal lineage of Idut. As well, it contrasts with the decorative program of Ihy, which was distinguished for its high quality, according with the remains of it (Kanawati, 2003, 150). Following the above remarks, it is unclear where the *tekenu* or the other figures are included, in the tomb of Ihy or in the later tomb owner, princess Idut.

Under these circumstances, it isn't known if the first representation of the *tekenu* is ultimately addressed in a woman or not because there is the above entanglement due to the reuse of the tomb. But what could the above elements teach concerning the *tekenu*? In this sense, it is depicted for first time in this particular mastaba that located in the Unis cemetery at Saqqara, regardless the tomb owner. Additionally, either in the late reign of Unis or in the early reign of Tety I, the *tekenu* is dated during the Old Kingdom period. Furthermore, the two individuals alleged to be associated with the tomb are of aristocratic or even members of the royal family (vizier, princess), which instantly means that the *tekenu* is linked with high rank figures of Egyptian aristocracy. As it is already evident through the table, the *tekenu* is present only in tombs of nobles from now on. In a few words the first known representation of the *tekenu* is located at Saqqara at the beginning of the Upper Egypt, is dated in the Old Kingdom period and is attributed to nobles.

4.2 The *tekenu* and the Butic burial in the Middle Kingdom

TT 60 and the tomb of Sehotepabra

After the first representation of the *tekenu* in the mastaba of Ihy (Idut) during the Old Kingdom period, it reappears in two tombs of the 12th dynasty during the Middle Kingdom period³⁷. Both tombs are located at Thebes, the first one is TT 60 and the second one is the tomb of Sehotepabra. The TT 60 is located on the riverward slope of the burial hill of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh at Thebes and it is attributed to the vizier Antefoker despite the fact that his wife, Senet, plays a primary role in this burial (Davies, 1920, 1). However, this matter will not be mentioned further because it is out of the scope of this research³⁸. The tomb of Sehotepabra, like other Middle Kingdom tombs, was found under the ruins of the Ramesseum, built by Ramses II, (Quibell, 1896, 3-4).

The *tekenu* is represented in both the above Middle Kingdom tombs in the 'Dragging of the coffin' procession. But it should be noted that there is the presence of another ritual, which continues to be encountered in some of the subsequent burials and it seems to be combined with the coffin procession. This ritual is known as the 'Butic burial' and is related to the journey of the procession with the coffin to the ancient cult centers of Lower Egypt: Sais-Buto (Seyfried, 2003, 64). The departure of the deceased from his home and the transportation of the coffin to the place of the embalmment was followed by the 'Butic burial'. This ritual started with the journey of the procession of the coffin dragged by sledge to Sais and was followed by a trip from Sais to Buto. Then the procession was received by the '*mww*' dancers, a theme that will be discussed later extensively, at Buto and

³⁷ See the table of the first chapter.

³⁸ For further information upon this matter you can refer to Davies, N. de G. (1920), *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostri I, his wife Senet (No. 60)*, London:George Allen & Unwin, LTD, pp. 1-8.

afterwards the procession with the coffin continued the journey towards Heliopolitan places (Seyfried, 2003, 63).

The succession of the above sites is represented in tombs through some architectural elements that are defined as sacred structures. They are depicted such as kiosks, shrines or with the rise of obelisks in the so called 'sacred precincts' (Seyfried, 2003, 64; Settgast, 1963, 52). Through the element of the procession there is a kind of mobility between the tombs that also connects one another. Moreover, it should be mentioned that the element of water plays an important role as part of the ritual took place as a representation of a watery channel or as a pond or lake or even through the form of libations during the transportation of the coffin on the sledge (Seyfried, 2003, 64).

Another funerary scene, which is connected to the Butic burial ceremony, is the representation of the dance of the '*mww*' (Griffiths, 1958, 119). According to Junker (Junker, 1940, 28), the *mww* were the dead kings of Buto, the ancestors of the ruler, justifying in this way the presence of them in the entrance of the tomb while they mark the arrival at Buto for the final ceremonies after the journey to the ancient cult places. They are depicted wearing a peculiar perforated crown on their heads while they perform a funeral dance by leaping in order to honor the advent of the goddess Hathor (Meeks, 2001, 357). They are linked with her because they were undertaken to guide the deceased in the underworld (McDermott, 2006, 192). Hathor was the most important funerary goddess in Theban necropolis and she was called 'Mistress of the West' (Vischak, 2001, 82). It was believed that she received '*Re*' (=sun) every night in the Western horizon and she protected him with her body in order he to be able to reborn the next day. For this reason she was connected with the acts of rebirth and regeneration of all the deceased (Vischak, 2001, 82).

Moreover, it should be mentioned that according to Seyfried (Seyfried, 2003, 61), there are the depictions of a double burial system in 92 tombs during the 18th dynasty and the Ramesside period. This dual form of structural system derived from some finds in burials during the Early

Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom, where there were the dead body on one side while also a statue of the deceased person on the other (Altenmüller, 1975, 1128). In the Old Kingdom complexes, as for instance in the pyramid of Djoser, the place of the burial of the mummy was separated from that of the statue (Altenmüller, 1975, 1129). Additionally, it is possible that this twofold burial was equivalent with the rituals for the dead body while also the introduction of the journey to Abydos was equivalent for the transference of the *Ka*. The *Ka* was the life force of humans and it was created together with the body of the individual (Dodson and Ikram, 2008, 16). Probably this journey was the beginning for the development of the institution of the Abydos cenotaphs during the Middle Kingdom (Altenmüller, 1975, 1129).

However, there are no evidence for statue burials in the Theban tombs of the New Kingdom (Eigner, 1984, 181). For this reason, it is believed that there should have been an alternative way in order to have a double burial system including a *Ka* tomb (Kampp, 1996, 91). Also, it is considered that maybe an ancestral cult place was connected with the implementation of the *Ka* transference (Seyfried, 1995, 226). So, according to the above idea it is possible that the reminiscence of the 'Butic burial' in Theban tombs of the New Kingdom could be a substitute in the connection with the underworld and also the transference of the *Ka*.

In the New Kingdom, this system of the double burial with the reminiscence of the 'Butic burial' was identified through the existence in one tomb both of a sloping passage and a vertical shaft. The sloping passage is connected to the 'Abydene underworld' while the vertical shaft is connected to the 'Butic place of the dead' (Seyfried, 2003, 62). In the former, there was the mummy of Osiris in the sarcophagus chamber. The latter was equated with the vertical shaft, which was empty and symbolized the passage to the underworld (Seyfried, 2003, 63). This was the place of contact with the ancestors of the deceased and the transference of the *Ka* (Seyfried, 1995, 228). It was the home in the afterlife, where all the ancestors of the deceased were gathered (Seyfried, 1995, 228). The role of the *mww*

ritualists, who were at the entrance of the tomb during this ceremony, was the welcoming of the deceased in the other world (Altenmüller, 1975, 30).

According to Griffiths (Griffiths, 1958, 119-120), the *tekenu* procession is part of the Butic burial ceremony. It was performed when the voyagers had returned to Buto after their journey in order to take part in the final stages of the ceremony and the transition to the underworld. Following the above remarks, there are texts such as in TT 82 (Davies and Gardiner, 1915, 51), TT 224 (Davies and Gardiner, 1915, 51), TT 39 (Griffiths, 1958, 118), TT 55 (Davies, 1941, 23), TT 17 (Söderbergh, 1957, 31) and TT 24 (Bouriant, 1887, 97), which referred to places like Pe and Dep (Buto) from where the haulers of the *tekenu* come. Additionally, another element that identifies the participation of the *tekenu* procession in the Butic burial is the proximity to scenes that certainly belong to the depiction of the ceremony like the *mww* dancers or the scene with the raising of the obelisks (Griffiths, 1958, 119).

However, it is obvious that the *tekenu* is represented as part of the 'Dragging of the coffin' scene in the above tombs. Though, it seems that these two rituals are connected and there is a sequence between them. Probably Griffiths misinterpreted the proximity of the scenes in these rituals and in a combination with the inscriptions of the 6 aforementioned tombs led to mistaken conclusions. In the inscriptions, the haulers, who dragged the sledge with the *tekenu*, derived from places in the North that constitute the ancient cult centers and where the journey of the procession took place. But he was not completely wrong because there are 3 tombs where the *tekenu* is taking part in the 'Butic burial' and they will be mentioned extensively below. Nevertheless, the number of the tombs, where this occurs, is too small in order to support so serious arguments as those of Griffiths earlier. In this case these tombs constitute the exception and not the rule.

In TT 60, the *tekenu* is depicted wrapped in a hide or shroud except for its head on which the face is corrupted (fig. 30). It is kneeling on a sledge dragged by two people and it is represented in front of the procession of the dragging of the coffin as part of one of the two supplementary interments. In

the second interment above the *tekenu*, a box is represented dragged on a sledge by two people, in which the jars with the viscera are enclosed (Davies, 1920, 21). The following scene comprises the transportation of the coffin, four men carrying statuettes, probably as offerings, the presence of the twin goddesses, who attend the ceremony and four officiants standing next to four *mww* dancers (Davies, 1920, 21). They are represented wearing the curious perforated crowns and they move forward with a peculiar gait (Davies, 1920, 21).

In the tomb of Sehotepabra, the *tekenu* takes part in the 'Dragging of the coffin' scene. It is placed in front of the procession, which is comprised of the sarcophagus on a sledge dragged by men and oxen (Quibell, 1898, 14). Afterwards, the *tekenu* is depicted totally wrapped up in an ox-skin and looks like an upright shapeless sack (Quibell, 1898, 14). Also, it is positioned on a sledge dragged by a man (fig. 7). In the following scene there is the representation of four *mww* dancers wearing curious crowns, while they are moving forwards making a peculiar gesture with their fingers. In front of them a lector priest is represented and also there is an inscription that reads: '...to the western upland, in peace, in peace, to Osiris to the places of the lords of eternity' (Griffiths, 1958, 119). It is possible that the lector priest is calling them with these words, as in TT 60 (Davies, 1920, 21).

To sum up, it is obvious that there is a likeness between the representations of the *tekenu* and the *mww* dancers in both the above tombs of the Middle Kingdom. Under these circumstances, when the depictions of the 'Dragging of the coffin' scene with the accompanying *tekenu* procession approached the entrance of the tomb, they were followed by the representation of the *mww* dancers and as it is observed there is a sequence between the scenes. After the end of the procession, it is considered that the *mww* dancers were the guardians of the tomb, who welcomed the deceased to the underworld. This means that there is an undeniable link between both scenes because of the fact that one comes after the other and also according to the role they play in the decorative program of the tomb.

4.3 The *tekenu* and the Butic burial in the New Kingdom and the Late period

TT 17, TT 81, TT 100, TT 96, TT 41, TT 36

After the representation of the *tekenu* in the above tombs of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes, it was also detected in some tombs of the New Kingdom and in the Late period. Both the *tekenu* procession and the Butic burial are represented in the following tombs: TT 12, TT 100, TT 15, TT 81, TT 39, TT 17, TT 96, TT 82, TT 24, TT 55, TT 224, TT 66, TT 260, TT 276, TT 172, TT 125, TT A4, TT 41, TT 36, EK 3, EK 7. TT 17 and TT 81 dating to the New Kingdom and also TT 36 dating in the Late period are worth mentioning because they constitute remarkable examples of this connection between the rituals. But there are tombs in which the *tekenu* seems to be part of the 'Butic burial' and not simply connected with it, like TT 100, TT 96 and TT 41. All these tombs are listed below in detail.

In TT 17 of the New Kingdom, in the bottom register of the south wall there is the figure of the *tekenu*, which is corrupted and only partly preserved (fig. 59). It seems to have been placed on a sledge dragged by two people, who are called 'people of Pe' and according to the inscription they 'are dragging the *tekenu* to the necropolis' (Säve-Söderbergh, 1957, 31). Behind the *tekenu* there are the 'people of Dep' who are dragging a small coffin under a canopy and two more men, who are dragging the coffin on a sledge (fig. 60). The *tekenu* itself is represented directly in front of two *mww* dancers, who are depicted in their usual pose wearing the tall perforated crowns. They are probably welcoming the deceased in the tomb while behind them we can see the Western goddess, Hathor (Säve-Söderbergh, 1957, 30). It is more than obvious that when the *tekenu* procession ends, the dance of the *mww* starts. This closeness between the scenes is the transitional phase before the descent to the underworld.

In TT 81, the *tekenu* belongs to one of the two supplementary interments. It is represented wrapped on a sledge, being dragged by two people (fig. 10) while most of the upper part of it is corrupt. Above the

tekenu, there is the second supplementary interment in which there is the depiction of a box which is being dragged on a sledge by two people. Probably, it contained the jars with the viscera. After these two supplementary interments there was the depiction of a man standing in front of three *mww* dancers. They were represented in their usual attitude, as in the above tombs, wearing their peculiar crowns. Once again the connection between these two scenes is undoubted as one follows the other. Additionally, this particular scene is identical with a scene of similar content in TT 60 (fig. 30), for which there was extensive mention in the previous section of this chapter.

Although, as can be seen in the table (fig. 63), it is obvious that the depiction of the *tekenu* is more prevalent during the period of the New Kingdom, it is also shown in some tombs of the Late period as in TT 36. In this particular burial the *tekenu* procession is part of the 'Dragging of the coffin' scene and it is depicted behind the procession of the canopic jars (Kuhkman and Schenkel, 1983, 193). It is represented fully wrapped as a pear-shaped sack and it is lying on a sledge, which is being dragged by three people (fig. 43). Part of the next register is corrupt but the upper parts of the characteristic crowns of two *mww* dancers, who are probably inside an edifice, are preserved, while there are also the representations of a garden, other buildings and the three sacred pools of lustration like in TT 15 (Davies, 1925, 17).

However, there are tombs, as it has already been mentioned, where the depiction of the *tekenu* constitutes part of the 'Butic burial' scenes. For instance, in TT 96, the *tekenu* is represented lying on a bed and it is totally wrapped up in a hide or shroud, except for the head and its hands, which are facing upwards (fig. 25). According to Hodel-Hoenes (Hodel-Hoenes, 2000, 122), the scenes of the bottom register are interpreted as the 'Butic burial' ritual. They include the *mww* dancers without any crowns, incense burning, the presence of the *tekenu* and the erection of the two obelisks. The *tekenu* is represented between the raising of the obelisks scene by two figures and the incense burning scene by one figure. In this case it is

obvious, because of their proximity, that the representation of the *tekenu* constitutes part of the 'Butic burial' and not just a simple connection between the scenes.

Additionally, in TT 100, the *tekenu* is represented lying on a bed, totally wrapped up in a hide or shroud, except for the head and its hands, which are facing upwards (fig. 38). It is depicted between the purification of a mansion with incense following a fumigation scene and the purification of two chapels with water next to the scene of the erection of two obelisks (Davies, 1943, 72). Moreover, in one of the above registers there is the depiction of two '*mww*' dancers inside a building and several divisions above them, probably indicating the rooms that exist behind the edifice as in TT 15 (Davies, 1925, 17). Also, another element, that indicates the representation of the *tekenu* as part of the Butic burial, was its proximity to the raising of the obelisks scene.

Furthermore, in TT 41 the *tekenu* is represented on the east wall lying on a couch, totally wrapped up as a pear-shaped sack except for its face and its hands. The couch is positioned on a box which in turn is located on a sledge. In front of the *tekenu* there are two *mww* dancers, which are depicted in their ordinary attitude and also wearing their peculiar crowns (fig. 50). Additionally, in the above register there is the scene of the erection of two obelisks, which represents the transportation from one place to another during the journey of the deceased to ancient cult centers (Seyfried, 2003, 64). Both scenes are an integral part of the 'Butic burial'. So, the *tekenu* participates in the 'Butic burial' ritual due to its closeness with the above scenes.

4.4 Conclusions of the 4th chapter

Following the above descriptions, it is time to bring the fundamental question to the fore: Is the representation of the *tekenu* an archaism that fades out? Firstly, it is necessary to elaborate on what an archaism is. Thus, an archaism is the attempt to reproduce a style of an earlier period in different kinds of aspects such as in painting, sculpture, architecture, language etc (Josephson, 2001, 109). Also, it is considered that an archaism is the survival or presence of a style, in the above aspects, that belongs to the past (Josephson, 2001, 109). Moreover, it is an occurrence that is encountered frequently in ancient Egyptian culture because the elements of that civilization are inspired from the past and at the same time they follow some basic traditions (Josephson, 2001, 109). In short, it is the return to the past in order to be inspired and create the future achievements in the aspects that constitute the Egyptian civilization.

In this light, it is proven that the *tekenu* was depicted for the first time and once only during the Old Kingdom in the mastaba of Ihy (Idut). Afterwards, it resurfaced in two tombs, after 6 or 7 centuries, during the Middle Kingdom. Then, there is a series of representations of the *tekenu* in several tombs during the New Kingdom while it appeared quite often in that period in relation to previous depictions. Thereafter, it vanishes again and reappears for a couple of times in the Late period.

It is clear enough that the *tekenu* appears and disappears during a period of around twenty centuries and for this reason it exhibits the right attributes of an archaism. The frequency, in which it occurs, by the hitherto known sources, is not great. It starts with only one representation in the 6th dynasty and then it increases in frequency. The period of the New Kingdom, especially, is the heyday of its depictions because it is represented in 42 tombs, which is the largest number compared to any other time. Afterwards, it reappears for only a couple of times in the Late period. Thus, it is depicted occasionally in the first few times, then it shows a rapid growth in depiction frequency during the New Kingdom and finally it resurfaces twice in a

completely different era after five centuries. As it is evident according to the number of its representations and the periods that it appears, the *tekenu* is an archaism that definitely fades out. Moreover, it doesn't reappear anywhere after its last representation during the Late period.

Furthermore, in one tomb of the Old Kingdom, in 2 tombs of the Middle Kingdom, in 18 tombs of the New Kingdom, in one tomb of the Late period, namely in 22 tombs in total, the *tekenu* procession is depicted as part of the 'Dragging of the coffin' scene, while scenes that belong to the 'Butic burial' are present in adjacent or even in the same register. These two rituals seem to be connected to each other due to their closeness in the decorative program of the above tombs. Though there are 3 tombs (TT 100, TT 96, TT 41), where the *tekenu* is depicted as part of the 'Butic burial'. Additionally, the *tekenu* is accompanied with an inscription, which is mentioned in previous chapter in detail, only in TT 100. But the most important is that in all 3 tombs the *tekenu* is displayed anthropomorphic. It is represented lying on a bed, totally wrapped up as a shapeless sack except for its head and hands that are facing upwards. However, it should be noted that in TT 41 there are some differentiations. For instance, the bed where the *tekenu* is lying, it is placed on a box while also it doesn't appear with his head free. The only uncovered part is its face and its hands.

To sum up, in 30 tombs the *tekenu* takes part in the funerary procession while in 22 of them it is linked with the 'Butic burial' ritual due to their proximity. However, there are 3 tombs where the *tekenu* indeed is represented as part of the 'Butic burial'. In these tombs it is represented with the head and the hands of a human while the rest of its body was like a sack. It might be a coiled human body below the cover, but how could this assumption be confirmed? There is only one inscription in TT 100, which could be helpful and reads in a translation: "Bringing to (?) the city of (?) the skin (*mska*) as a *tekenu* one who lies under it (the skin?) in the pool of Khepera" (Davies, 1913, 10). The pool of Khepera and the skin have been said in another chapter but the use of the words 'who lies under it' means

that probably there was a human under it. However, only one inscription is not enough for such conclusions but is likely to not be avoided.

Conclusions

The research came to an end and it would be useful to start with a brief review of the previous discussions. The aim was to decipher the nature and role of the *tekenu*. Initially, it was deemed necessary the establishment of a certain methodology by collecting all the scattered data in order to carry out the research easily and answer basic questions like: How many times is it represented? In which rituals? In which tombs? On which walls? How does it develop from the Old/Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom? How is it represented? Does it follow a certain type? In how many tombs does it accompanied by text? Then follows an iconographical analysis of the *tekenu* according to the type of ritual in which it participates by using some tombs as examples in each chapter.

In the first chapter is formed the methodology of this study in a table, which contains the whole amount of tombs where the *tekenu* is represented, while all the useful information of each tomb are placed in vertical columns. The tombs are arranged in a chronological order beginning with the first known appearance of *tekenu* during the Old Kingdom to the last representation in the Late period. It should be mentioned once more that the collection of all the available information, especially for the last four columns, was a difficult work due to the absence of a monographic study about *tekenu*. Additionally, there are some tombs that included in the table but they lack of information in certain columns because they are poorly documented or they constitute part of personal archives of earlier discoverers.

Despite the difficulties in gathering the available information for all the tombs, the table succeeds to put the reader straight to the point by giving specific data about *tekenu* in short. Also, it was a valuable tool for the present research each time that it was necessary to refresh the memory concerning the number of a tomb or the chronology or orientation etc. Moreover, it could compose a beginning for the future scholars in order to organize easier their research about *tekenu*. But the most important of all

was the fact that this systematic approach of the *tekenu* gave me the opportunity to observe some things, which resulted in the following chapters that I could not discern before.

According to the table, 45 out of the total of 48 tombs belong in the Theban necropolis except for the Mastaba of Ihy (Idut), which is located at Saqqara and two more that are located at el-Kab, a place near Thebes. This means that the Theban necropolis is the centre where the presence of *tekenu* is unfolded and developed. Another element is that the *tekenu* is part of the decorative program of tombs, which belong in members of high society, as it is obvious from all the titles in the 4th column. Also, as regards the orientation, in 25 of the tombs is not known while the next option is the South wall on which the *tekenu* appears in 14 of the tombs. Afterwards, it is represented on the East wall in 6 of the tombs, on the North wall in 2 of the tombs and on the West wall in 1 tomb.

These data cannot be interpreted further because the majority of tombs' orientation in which the *tekenu* is depicted, is unknown. However the majority of depictions of the known tombs' orientation are depicted on the South wall, which is connected to the north-south axis. Although the most prevalent direction was the east-west axis, there have been cases that follow this direction. Generally, the tombs follow certain rules regarding the orientation because they wanted to emphasize the transition from the world of the living to the world of the dead. But there are cases where this series could not be kept due to geographical or topographical reasons. Then the burial scenes are depicted on the wall that was defined as the ritual west. The same rules seem also to apply in these particular tombs but it would be easier if it was known the orientation of all tombs.

Following the same line of argument, according to the table, the *tekenu* is participated in different ritual scenes. In 30 tombs of the total of 48, the *tekenu* takes part to the funerary procession scene, 3 in the Butic burial, 2 in the Opening of the mouth and also 2 in the Pilgrimage to Abydos. In the rest of the tombs -11 in numbers- , where the *tekenu* takes part, the rituals are unknown. After the above remarks, it is more than obvious that the *tekenu*

appears only in scenes that belong in the funerary icon and nowhere else. This means that the *tekenu* is a purely funerary depiction and it was considered necessary to pay attention in this point and investigate further the rituals in which the *tekenu* takes part.

Additionally, in 16 (Mastaba of Ihy (Idut), TT 60, TT 20, TT15, TT 17, TT 53, TT 100, TT 125, TT 82, TT 224, TT39, TT 55, TT 24, EK 7, EK 3 and tomb of Sehotepabra) out of the total of 48 tombs there are inscriptions which refer to the *tekenu* while aslo there are references to some of them scattered in the text. Firstly, it should be mentioned that there aren't ancient written sources concerning the *tekenu*. Also the accompanying texts cannot contribute substantially to the research. This occurs because most of the times these texts don't reveal new information about the nature of the *tekenu* or its role. Instead they are either too brief stating only that this figure is the *tekenu* or in other cases they are difficult to be understandable because they lack of information due to corruption, leaving thereby a lot of room for discussion. Thus, the absence of ancient written sources in combination with the lack or the corruption of the accompanying texts cannot provide further information in our present knowledge about *tekenu* but only assumptions.

Through the information provided by the table, it is known that the majority of the tombs in which the *tekenu* is depicted, is located in the Theban necropolis, the owners of them belong in high society, the orientation of the walls, on which it is represented, is unknown for the majority of the tombs while the South follows, but the most important of all is that the *tekenu* is represented only on the funerary icon. Also, there are 15 tombs that include inscriptions, which are referred to *tekenu* without revealing many things about its role. So far, all these elements introduce the reader to the topic and provide general information about the nature of the *tekenu*. However, in parallel leading the way for further research in order to know about the role of the *tekenu*. It seemed a good idea to begin with the rituals in order to give some answers to the questions of concern.

As it is already known in the majority of the tombs the *tekenu* participated in the 'funerary procession' scene, which was considered an integral part of the decorative program of a tomb. This ritual included the transportation of the coffin from the embalming house to the tomb and a parade with the mourning family, friends and the offering bearers. Moreover, the *tekenu* appears as part of the scene and is depicted either in front or behind the coffin without following a certain rule about that. Also, it is depicted accompanied by another procession which includes the canopic jars. The combination of the canopic jars with the coffin and the *tekenu* procession constitute a threefold procession. Although it seems to be an integral part of this ritual because of the frequency with which it occurs, it is a fact that the *tekenu* takes part also to other rituals. However, the main question is: how is the *tekenu* represented? Does it follow a certain type of representation?

In 15 out of the total of 48 tombs the *tekenu* is depicted as a shapeless sack on a sledge dragged by a number of people. In 10 tombs it is represented wrapped in a hide or shroud and in other 10 tombs it is represented as statuesque figure. Moreover, in 20 out of the total of 48 tombs the *tekenu* is represented lying and in 13 tombs sitting. In 27 tombs it is represented either lying or sitting on a sledge and only in 7 tombs it is represented lying on a couch. In 16 out of the total of 48 tombs the *tekenu* is represented amorphic, as a shapeless sack. But in 15 tombs it is represented with human characteristics. In 7 of them with uncovered face while in the remaining 7 the whole head is uncovered. Indeed, in 4 of the last 7 tombs the head, the hands and the feet of *tekenu* are exposed. Though, it is clear that in the way, which the features are formed in the head and also the limbs, resembles like a swaddled human but it is not enough in order to equate the *tekenu* with a human being. However, in this light it is obvious that the *tekenu* doesn't follow only a certain type but a combination of the above elements.

In 37 out of the total of 48 tombs the *tekenu* is represented wrapped in a hide or shroud but there is one tomb, the TT 20, in which the *tekenu*

appears without encumbrance while it is shaped totally as a lying human. Additionally, it is the only tomb where the *tekenu* is depicted in this way and indeed twice. For this reason the above assumptions seem most likely but without other evidence plus the absence of written sources it is risky to accept that under the cover there is a man. Of course, such a case cannot be dismissed but not yet confirmed somehow leaving this question unanswered. Furthermore, there are some scholars who claimed that the *tekenu* in this tomb symbolizes a human sacrifice. But this is another theme that remained unresolved due to lack of evidence.

Another issue was, if the *tekenu* participated or not of in the 'Opening of the mouth' ceremony. The reason for this matter was a number of tombs where the depiction of the *tekenu* presented, as indicated, similarities with the *sem*-priest in 9th and 10th scene of the ritual. During these scenes the *sem*-priest is represented first lying and then sitting on a couch in front of the mummy or the coffin of the deceased. He was depicted totally wrapped up in a cloak or hide except for his head. Probably he was under a dormition when he was lying on the couch while after his awakening a lector priest tried to decode his words in order to define the effigy of the deceased.

In the TT 21, after a careful examination it was considered that the depiction of *tekenu* doesn't participate in the 'Opening of the mouth' ceremony because initially it was already represented on the opposite wall. It was too risky either to say that the *tekenu* was an initial representation of the *sem*-priest or that was another representation of the *sem*-priest, who participates in the funerary procession. Though, it is obvious that there are similarities between the representation of the *tekenu* and the *sem*-priest such as the shape, the coverage underneath a hide or a shroud, the fact that both are seated on a couch while also they are under a dormition. However, it was assumed that the *tekenu* might be an officiant who performs a libation on the mummy or even the *sem*-priest but as part in a different ritual.

In the TT 295, the *tekenu* is appeared in the text above the lying *sem*-priest during the 9th scene of the 'Opening of the mouth' ceremony. It is

depicted as a pear-shaped sack, totally wrapped up while lying on a bed. The double presence of it in the text it seemed to define the word sleep. Additionally, it was assumed that the *tekenu* was under a dormition, which in parallel affected the ritual action of dormition of the *sem*-priest. Though there are similarities in the actions of both representations, it isn't sure that there is a mutual interaction between them. This happens because it isn't clear if the *tekenu* was under a dream-trance or it was just asleep unlike the sleep of the *sem*-priest, which had a purpose. However, the presence of *tekenu* in the text is not exactly a clear participation of it in the 'Opening of the mouth' ritual.

As regards the TT 100, the *tekenu* doesn't belong in the 'Opening of the mouth' ceremony because there are represented on opposite walls. But due to an inscription, which probably meant that the *tekenu* was into the world of spiritual transformation, it is considered that it could be a primary representation of the *sem*-priest. This assumption was based on the fact that it seems possible that the *tekenu* is converted into a sleeping *sem*-priest after the arrival of the cortege while it is conveyed from sledge to bed, except for the TT 100 where it is already lying on a bed. For this reason, the *tekenu* doesn't appear in the next scenes because it is transformed to a *sem*-priest.

Additionally, the next tomb, TT 42 is close to TT 100 regarding the representation of the *tekenu*, though there is a basic difference. In this case both the *tekenu* and the *sem*-priest are depicted on the same wall while also the *tekenu* is represented on a sledge and for this reason it is possible to convey from sledge to couch and to be transformed to the *sem*-priest. But there are not enough information in order to verify the above arguments. As for the TT 69, it is believed a totally different theory, which claims that the *tekenu* plays the role of the *sem*-priest and also the *sem*-priest plays the role of the *tekenu*. This belief derived from the fact that it is necessary to interpret the scenes where these figures participate and not only their identity. So, it is considered that probably both representations participate in a ritual that is related with the skin in which they were wrapped up. But still

some things are not clear enough concerning this ritual and under these circumstances the TT 69 raises more questions than answers.

After the examination of the above tombs, the answer was given. Finally the participation of the *tekenu* in the 'Opening of the mouth' ceremony was a misinterpretation. In a way it could be considered that the *tekenu* is taking part in this ritual in TT 295 by its appearance in the text above the *sem*-priest and also in TT 69, though there are serious doubts about this participation. It's true that there were some arguments that could support the idea of participation in this particular ritual but as it was confirmed there are not enough evidence to rely on. Additionally, the similarities between the depictions of the *tekenu* and the *sem*-priest such as their pose, the fact that they are represented wrapped up in a hide or a shroud, the ritual action of dormition and probably their participation in the skin ritual, constitute a surprise. However, despite the similarities it is too risky to equate the two figures because these five tombs are not a sufficient number in order to demonstrate such an assumption. They are individual cases that may not be the norm but the exception upon this matter.

In the last chapter it is presented the starting point of the depiction of the *tekenu*, its development and its end in order to find useful information from the route of it within the time. Subsequently, it is raised the question if the *tekenu* is an archaism that faded out. The first known appearance of the *tekenu* was in the Mastaba of Ihy at Saqqara during the Old Kingdom but it was reused by princess Idut. Also, both the tomb owners are of aristocratic origin. Meantime it is represented in 2 tombs in the Middle Kingdom, thereafter it reached its peak during the New Kingdom by appearing in 42 tombs and finally it reappears in only 3 tombs during the Late period. It seems that the presence of the *tekenu* was continuous through time but with long breaks after each reappearance. It lacks of consistency over time and perhaps for this reason it couldn't be established as integral part of the decorative program in the rest of the tombs in the Theban necropolis. Under these circumstances, the *tekenu* is an archaism that fades out over time.

Additionally, in the same chapter it is examined further the relationship between the *tekenu* and this particular ritual, known as 'Butic burial'. This ritual is related to the journey of the procession with the coffin to the ancient cult centers of Lower Egypt. According to Griffiths (Griffiths, 1958, 119), the *tekenu* was part of the 'Butic burial'. He based his opinion on the fact that on 22 tombs the *tekenu* is represented close to scenes that are related with the 'Butic burial'. Also, there are inscriptions in 6 of them that identify the haulers of the *tekenu* as people coming from the ancient cult centers where the journey of the 'Butic burial' is held.

These elements led Griffiths to incorrect results because it is clear enough that in these tombs the *tekenu* is taken part in the 'Dragging of the coffin' scene while the 'Butic burial' follows. It seems that in 30 tombs the depiction of the *tekenu* takes part to the 'Dragging of the coffin' scene, which in turn is linked with the 'Butic burial' ritual in 22 tombs of the aforementioned because of their closeness. Nevertheless, there are 3 tombs in which the depiction of the *tekenu* belongs to the 'Butic burial'. However, they are too few and for this reason they constitute the exception of the rule in the whole range of the tombs.

At the beginning the main problem about the research for *tekenu* was the absence of a monographic study and the fact that the available sources were limited and scattered. The necessity towards a more systematic approach was a primary concern. The establishment of the above table (fig. 63) led the research to a more spherical knowledge, as regards the nature of the *tekenu*, starting from scratch. The acquisition of all the relevant information about *tekenu* was a difficult work. Nonetheless, the key questions as drafted in the introduction have answered. Also, it should be mentioned that though the *tekenu* appeared in different chronological periods, it doesn't follow a corresponding iconographical evolution. Instead, as it was observed, it returns in the same motifs that it was depicted in the past. It is an archaism that fades out.

The iconographical analysis led to interesting results but it doesn't clear the role of the *tekenu* in the decorative program of the listed tombs. In

30 out of the total of 48 tombs the *tekenu* takes part to the 'funerary procession' while also in 9 of these tombs it was an integrated part of the threefold procession. Afterwards, the similarities between the *sem*-priest and the *tekenu* concerning the 'Opening of the mouth' ceremony were obvious but it is risky to equate them. The 5 relevant tombs, which represented before, were few in order to base this argument. Additionally, as regards the 'Butic burial', the *tekenu* is represented in only 3 tombs but it is observed close to it in 22 tombs. Though it takes part to other rituals, it is connected with it due to their proximity. To sum up, all the rituals in which it is represented belong in the funerary icon and this means that definitely the *tekenu* constitutes part of it. Moreover, the combination of some elements like the fact that it is represented with human characteristics in 15 tombs and the participation of it in the funerary icon might imply a religious role, maybe a kind of officiant. But these considerations cannot be confirmed due to lack of sources and the role of *tekenu* still remains a mystery.

Abstract

There is a series of aspects and elements at present, whose meaning still remains a mystery. One example of these elements is the “*tekenu*”, a representation that appears in several tombs in Theban region. It is a fact that *tekenu* is not fully understood due to the lack of ancient written sources about it. Additionally, the absence of a monographic study in order to investigate further the existence of this enigmatic depiction impedes the complete understanding of it. The representation of *tekenu* has many aspects and there is no primary material in which the maximum of data be available. The previous articles are based on hypotheses and also they are dealing with a couple of representations of *tekenu* and not to an extensive survey of all data concerning the known representations of it in certain tombs.

Thus, the primary objective of this research is the establishment of a systematic approach in order to answer the basic questions, concerning the nature of *tekenu*, which are the following: How many times is it represented? In what kind of rituals? In which tombs? On which walls? How does it develop from the Old/Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom? How is it represented? Does it follow a certain type? In how many tombs does it accompanied by text? Following the above concerns, the result was the formation of a table in the first chapter which includes all the relevant information and more. The implementation of all the available information in a table maybe is the key of the beginning of a more coherent research. Also, the attempt to create a certain methodology with the depictions of *tekenu* inserts the reader straight to the point.

Afterwards it is deemed necessary to make an iconographical analysis, according to the rituals in which the *tekenu* takes part. In parallel there are analytical references to some tombs, as examples, in order the *tekenu* to be fully understood or at least to have a more spherical knowledge about it. So, the following chapters, deal with different issues concerning the role of *tekenu*.

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ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 2: The Theban Necropolis (Ikram, 2008, Map 5)

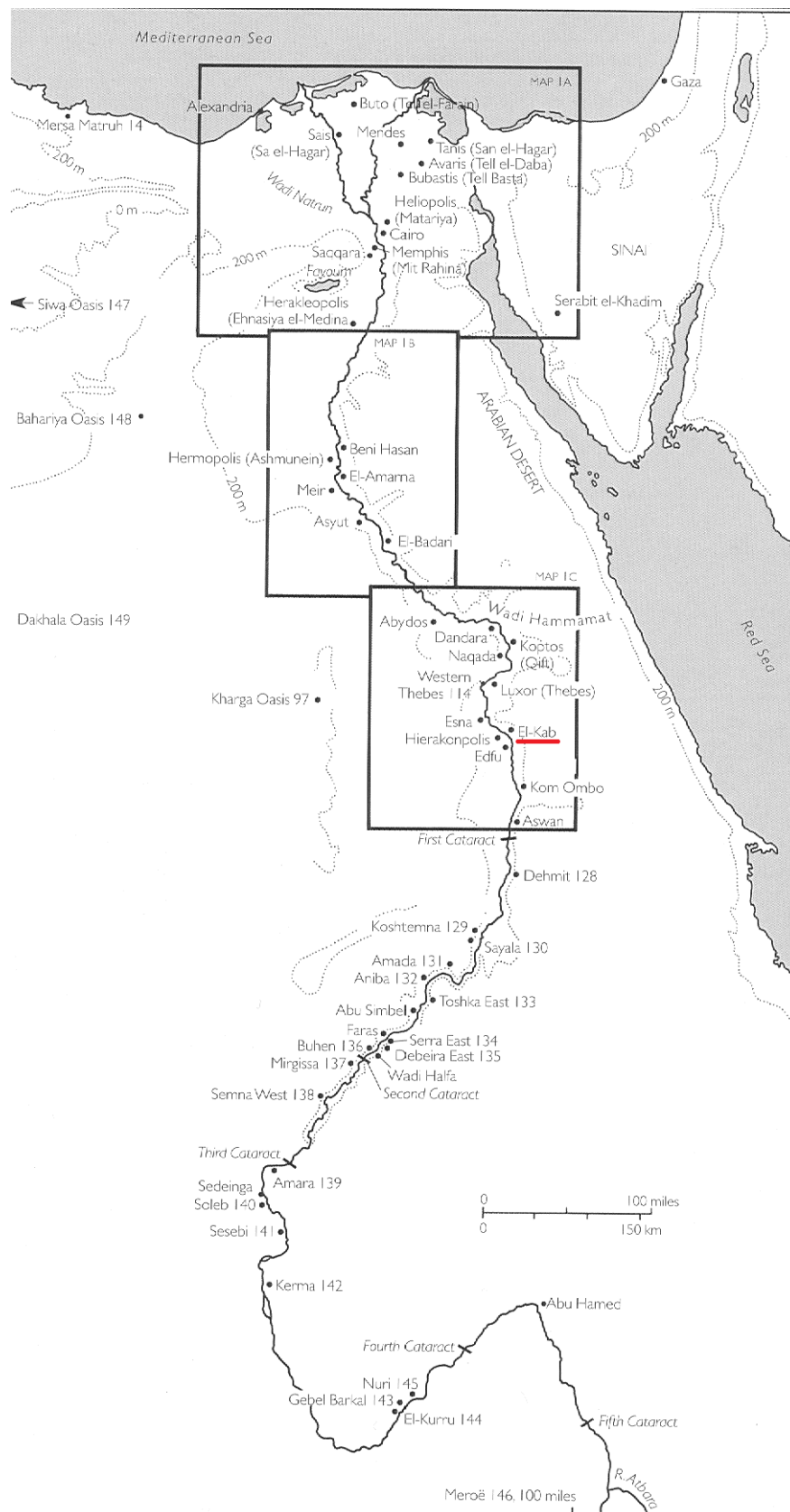


Fig. 3: The cemeteries of Egypt and the location of El-Kab (Ikram, 2008, Map1)

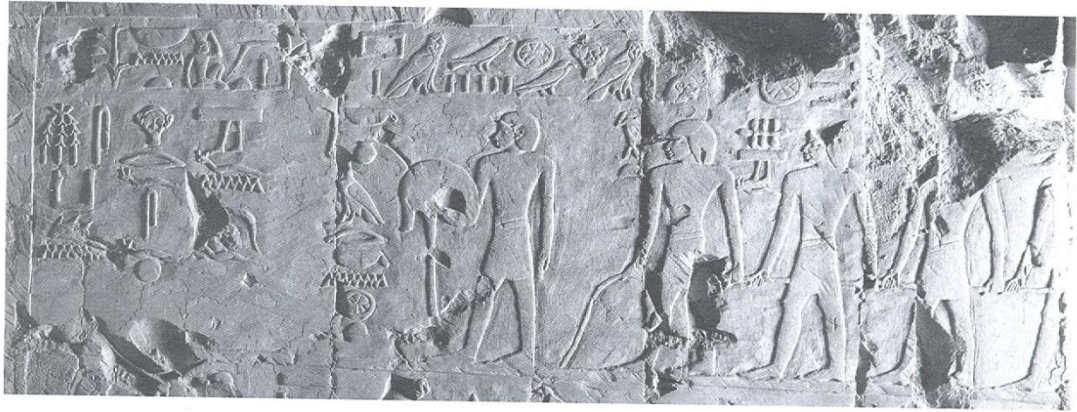


Fig. 3: The *tekenu* in TT 11 (Serrano Delgado, 2011, Tafel VIII, fig. 9)

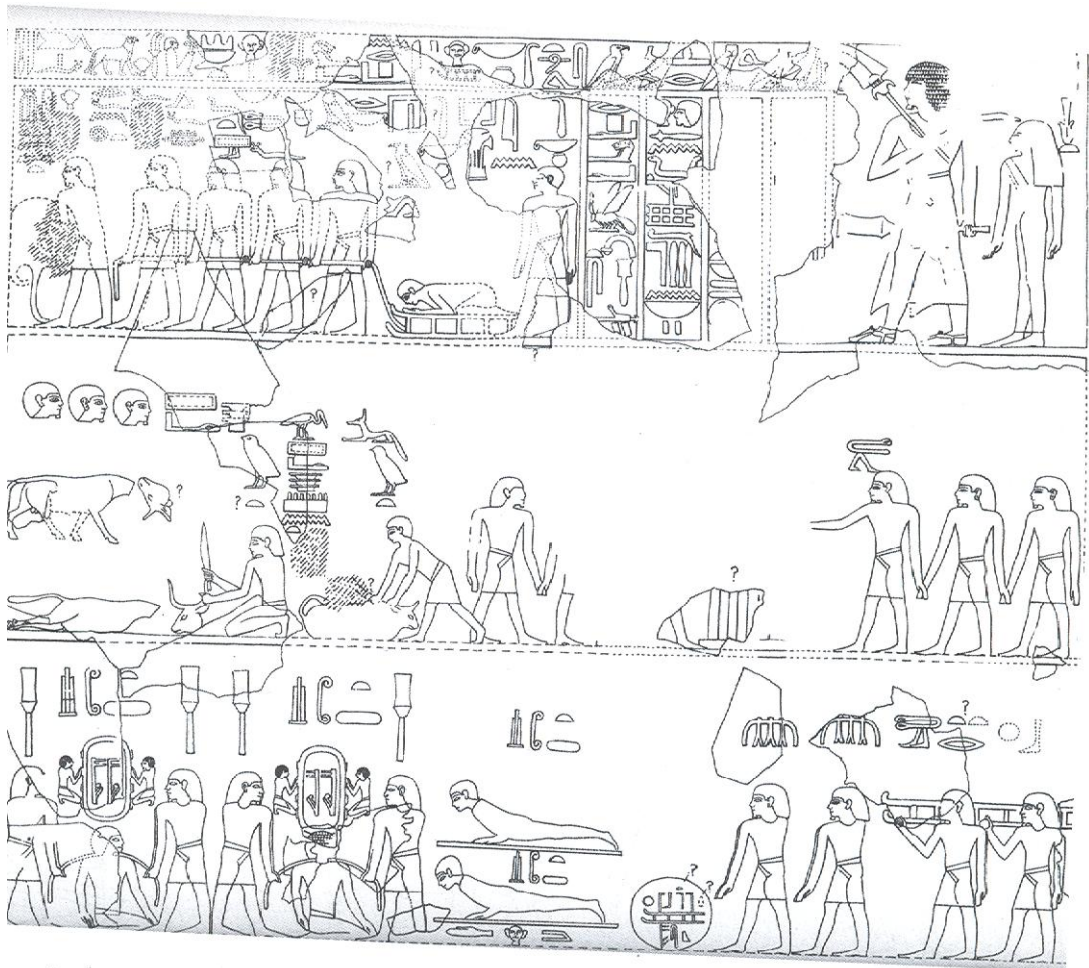


Fig. 4: The *tekenu* in TT 20 (Davies, 1913, Pl. VIII)

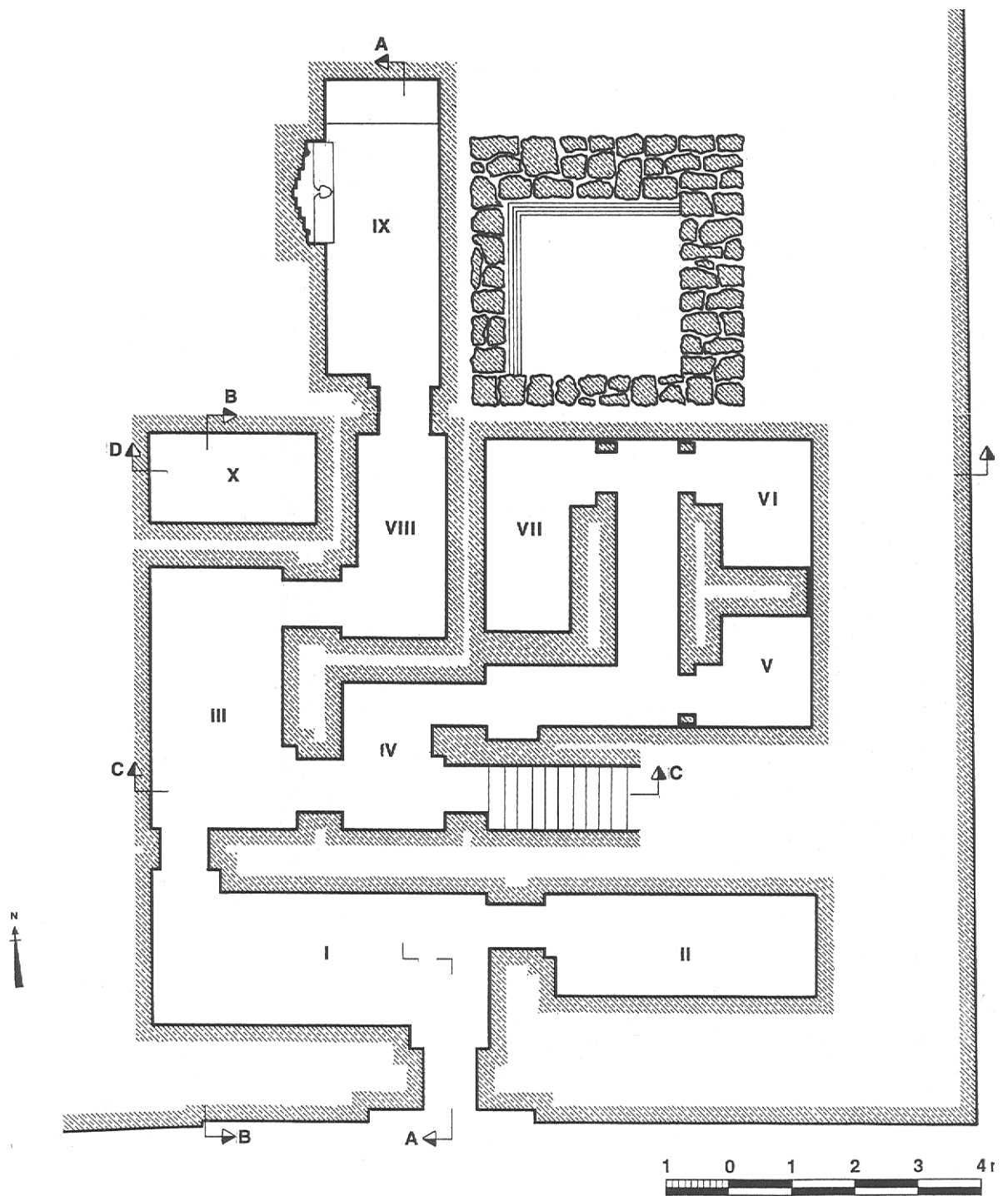


Fig. 5: The architectural plan of the Mastaba of Ihy (Idut) (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, Pl. 49)

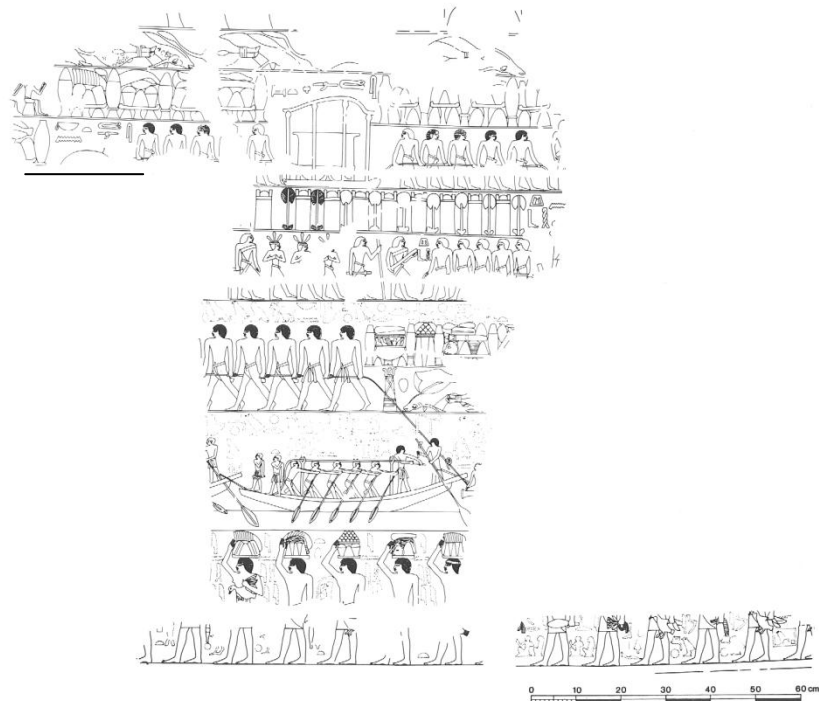


Fig. 6: The *tekenu* in Mastaba of Ihy (Idut) (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, Pl. 56)

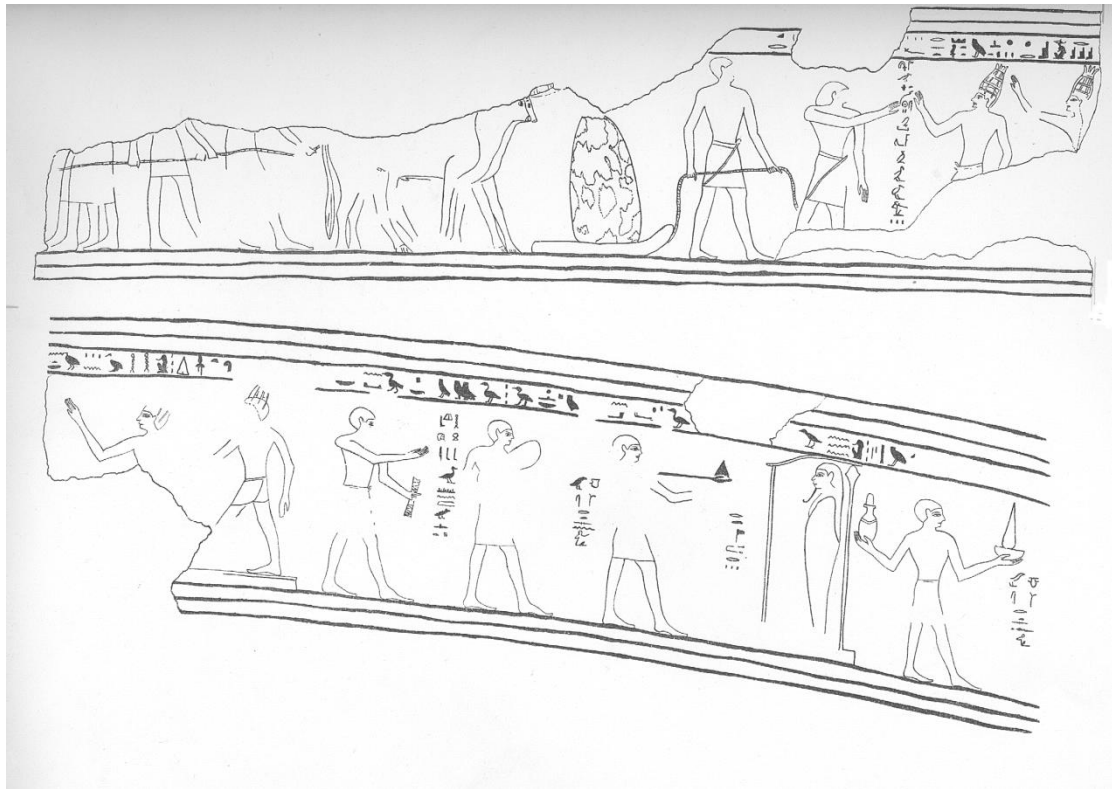


Fig. 7: The tekenu at the tomb of Sehotepabra (Quibell, 1896, pl. IX)



Fig. 8: The *tekenu* at the TT 12 (Menendez, 2005,

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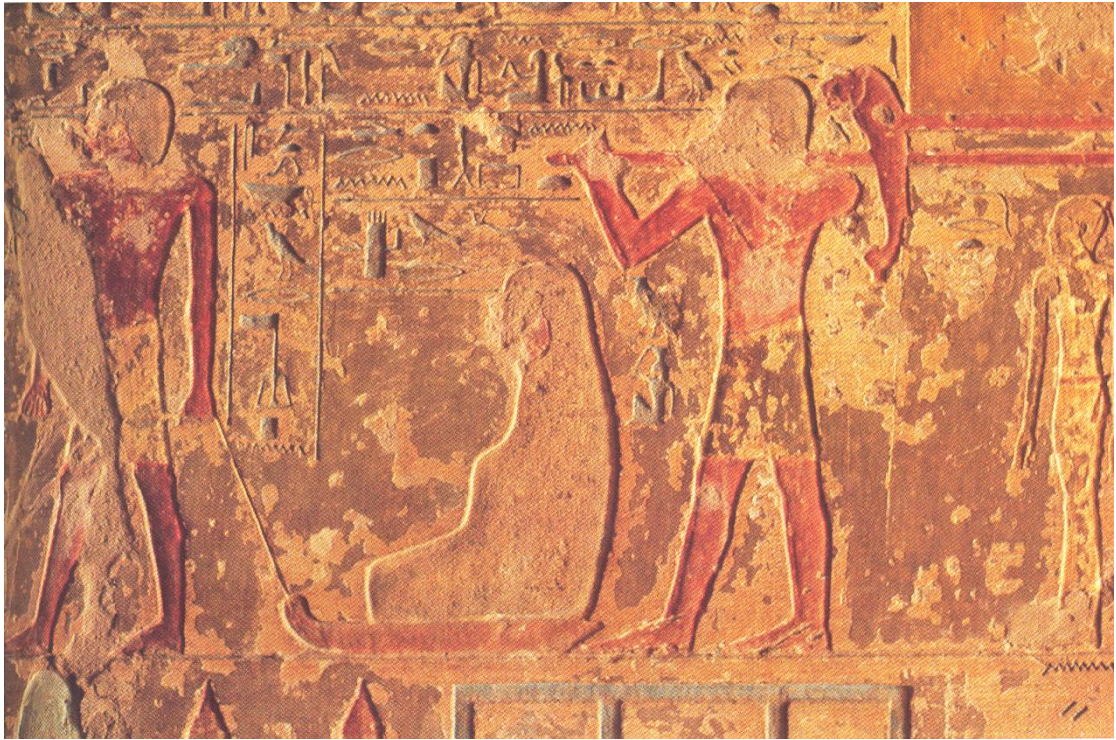


Fig. 9: Relief in tomb of Renni (EK 7) showing the *tekenu* (Reeder, 1994, 57)



Fig. 10: The tekenu in the TT 81 (Dziobek, 1992, b Scene 18)



Fig. 11: The *tekenu* in TT 104 (Shedid, 1988, a, b Linke wand)

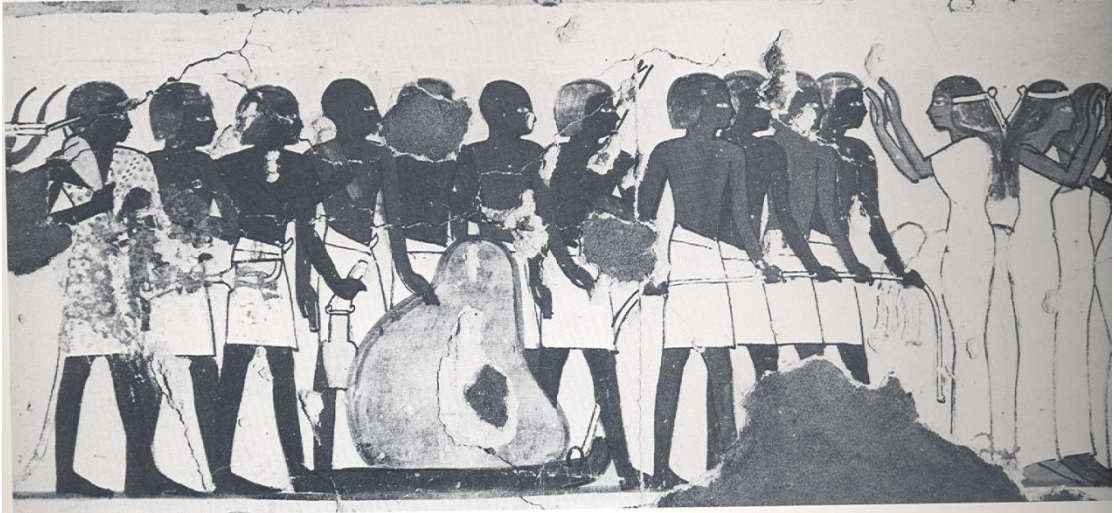


Fig. 12: The appearance of *tekenu* in the funerary procession in TT 78
(Brack, 1980, Tafel 63 a I.register)

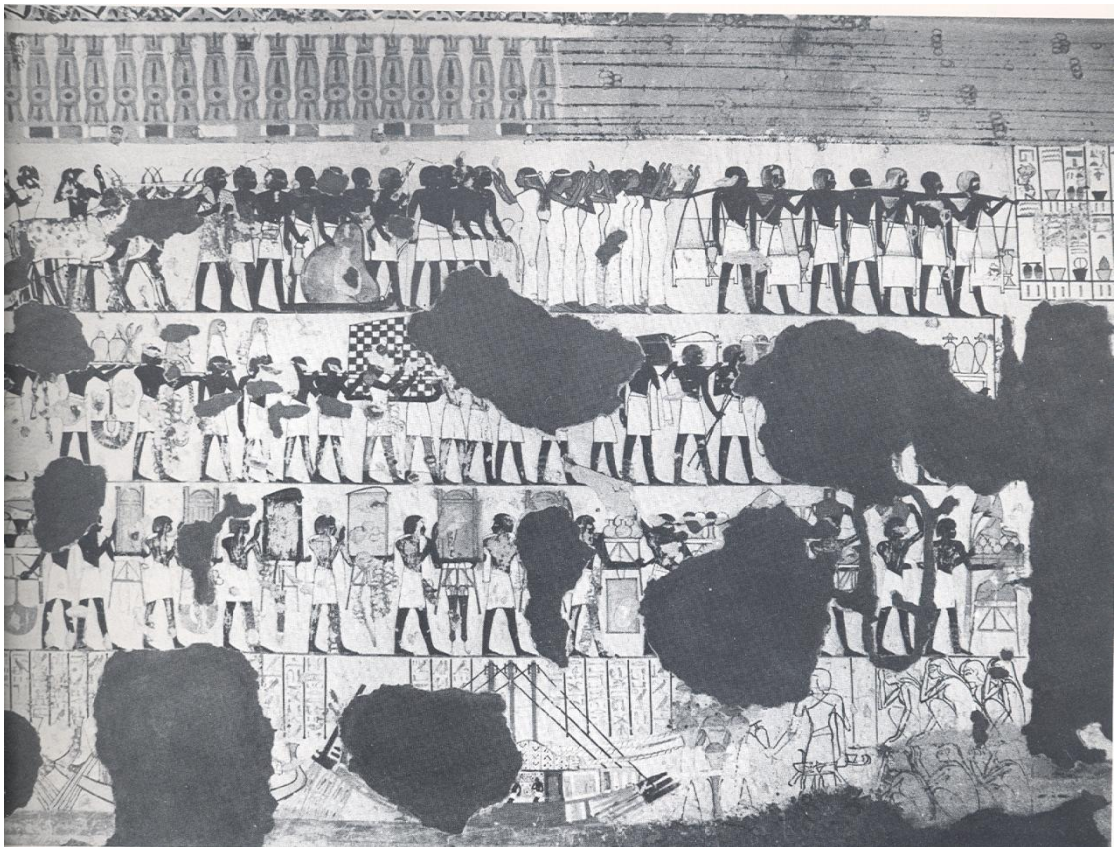


Fig. 13: The *tekenu* during the funerary procession and the pilgrimage to Abydos in TT 78 (Brack, 1980, scenes 11.1 and 11.2)



Fig. 14: The *tekenu* in TT 276 (El-Shahawy, 2005, fig. 42)



Fig. 15: The *tekenu* in TT 24 (El-Shahawy, 2005, fig. 43)



Fig. 16: The *tekenu* in TT 55 (detail) (El-Shahawy, 2005, Fig. 41)

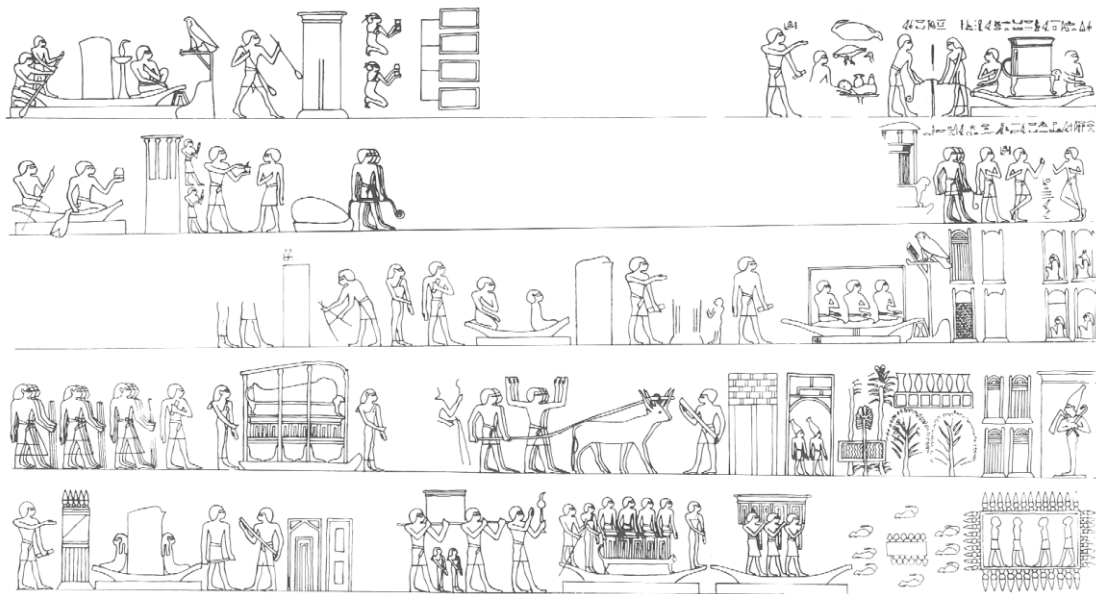


Fig. 17: The *tekenu* in the funerary procession in TT A4 (Manniche, 1988, Pl. 17)

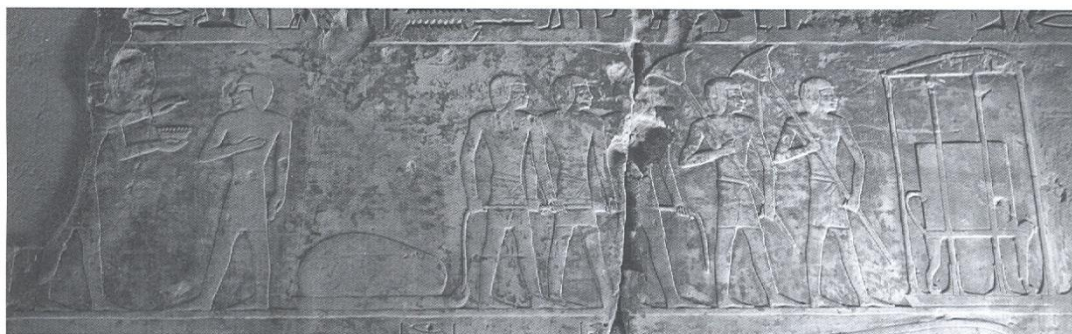


Fig. 18: The *tekenu* in the funerary procession of TT 127 (Serrano Delgado, 2011, Tafel V, Fig. 4)

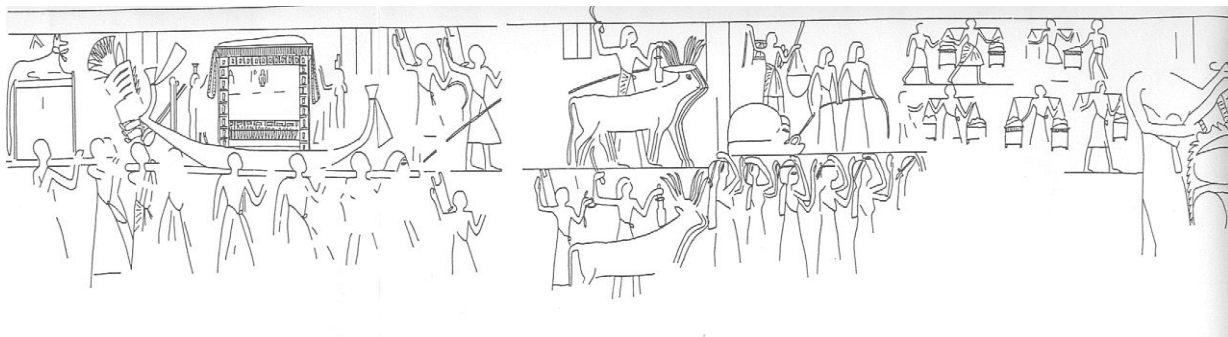


Fig. 19: The *tekenu* in TT 284 (Barthelmeß, 1992, Tafel IV)

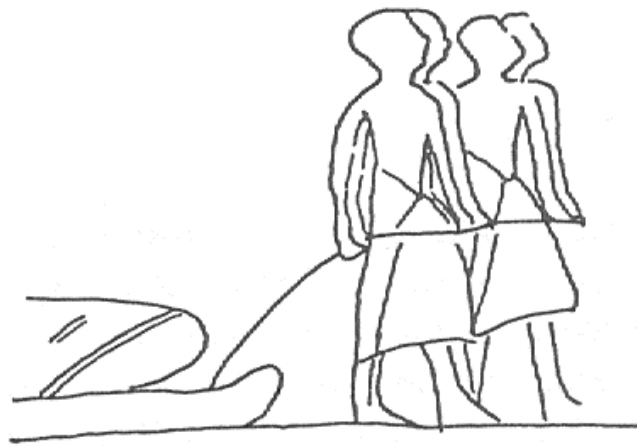


Fig. 20: The *tekenu* in TT 178 (Barthelmess, 1992, p. 57)

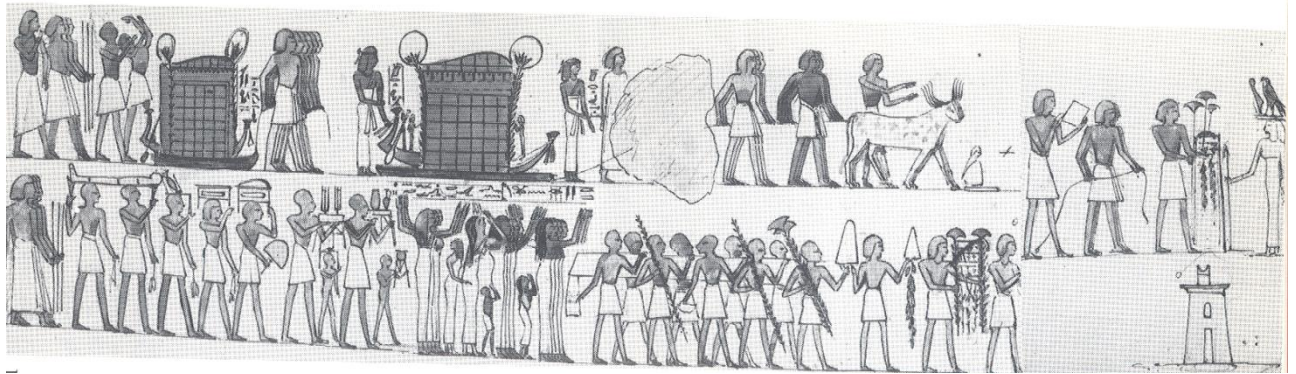


Fig. 21: The *tekenu* in the funerary procession in TT C4 (Manniche, 1988, Pl. 31, fig.49)



Fig. 22: The *sem*-priest in the 'Opening of the Mouth' ritual in TT 295 (Aly Hegazy and Tosi, 1983)

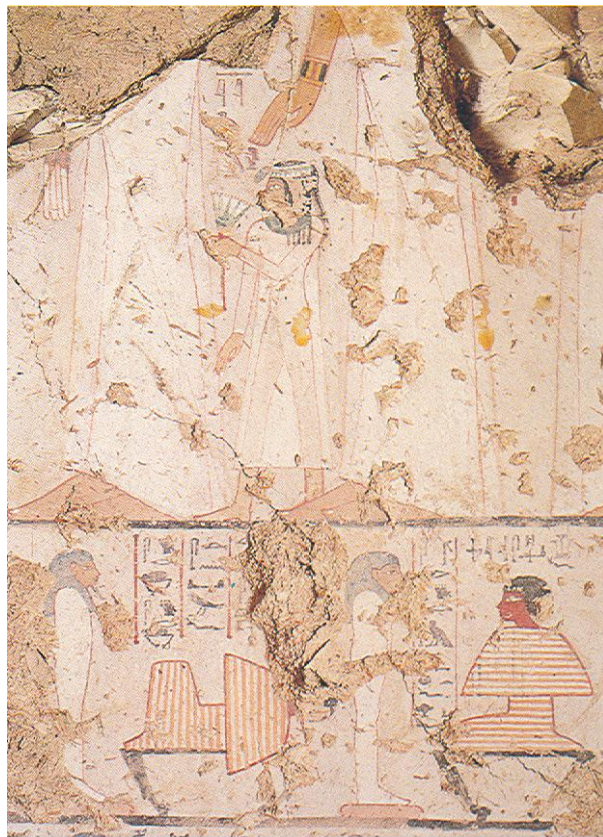


Fig. 23: Detail of figure 22 (Aly Hegazy and Tosi, 1983)

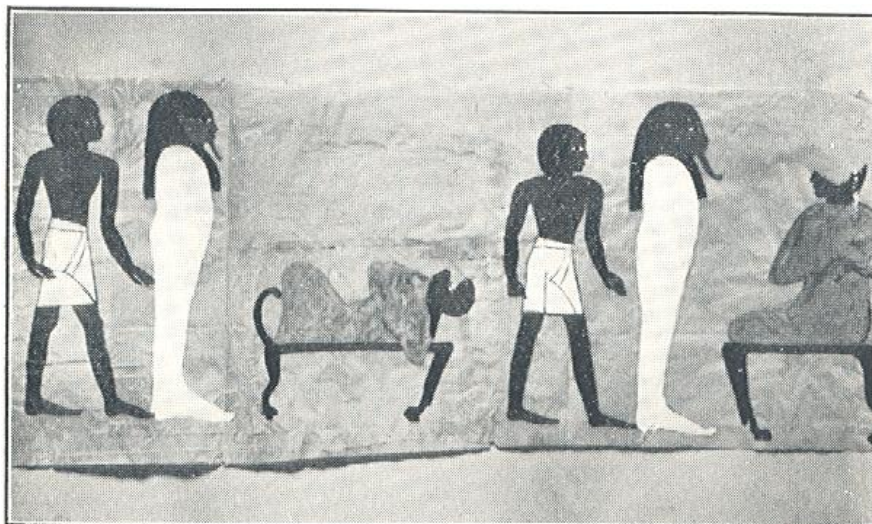


Fig. 24: The *tekenu* in TT 69 (Campbell, 1910, p. 102)

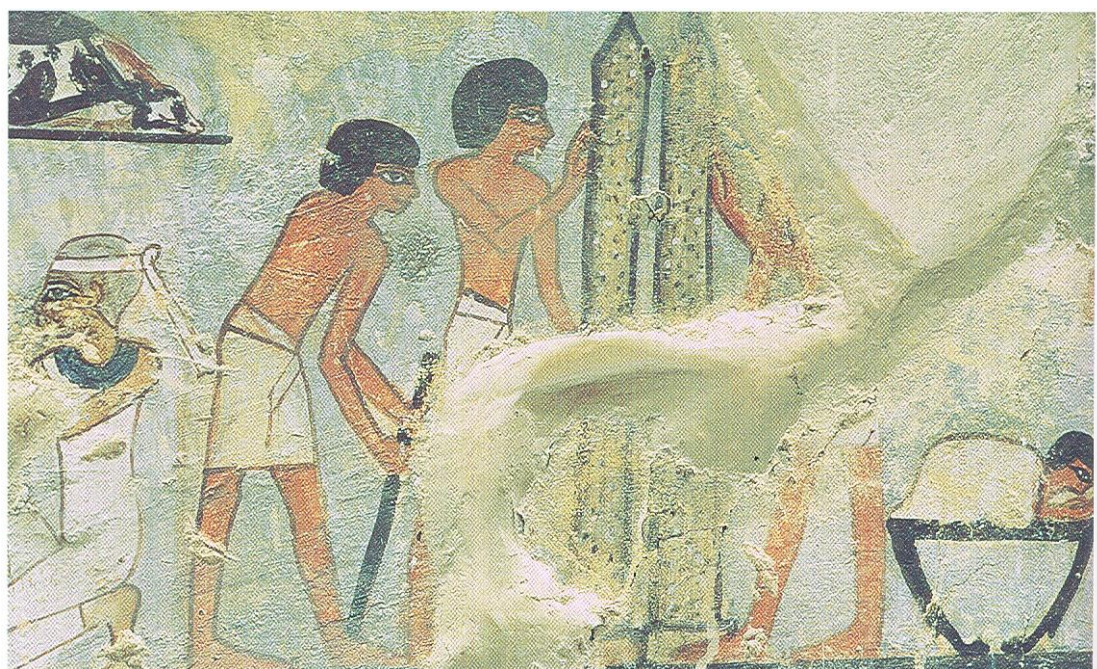


Fig. 25: The *tekenu* in TT 96 (Hodel-Hoenes, 2000, p. 122)

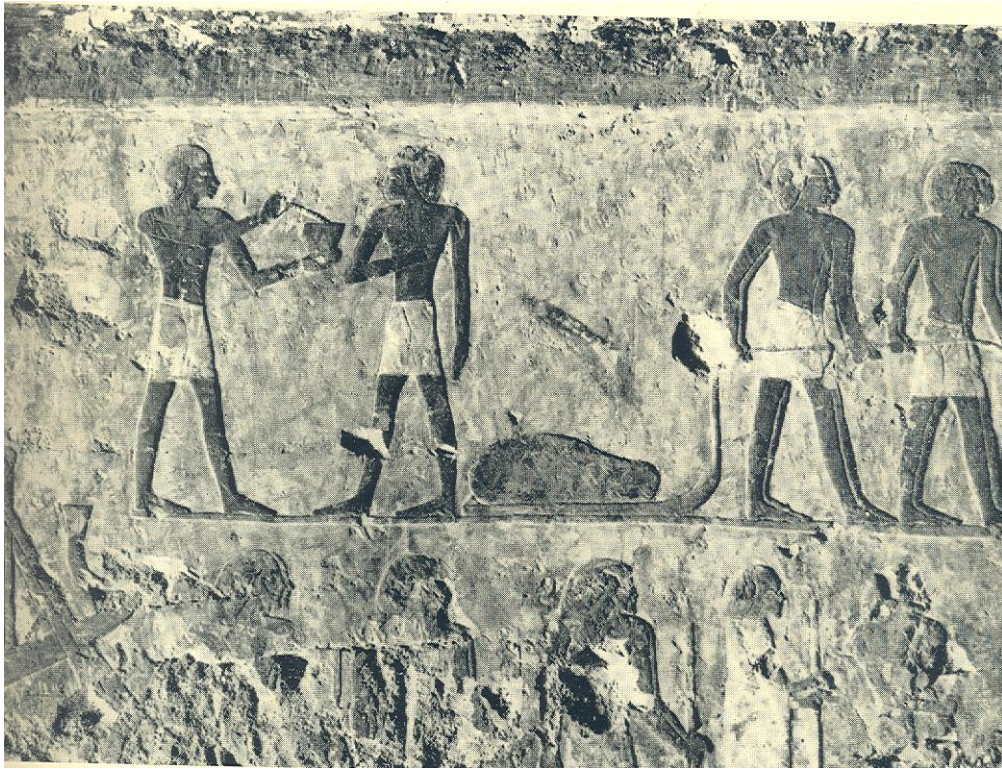


Fig. 26: The *tekenu* in TT 53 (Griffiths, 1958, Pl. XXXII)

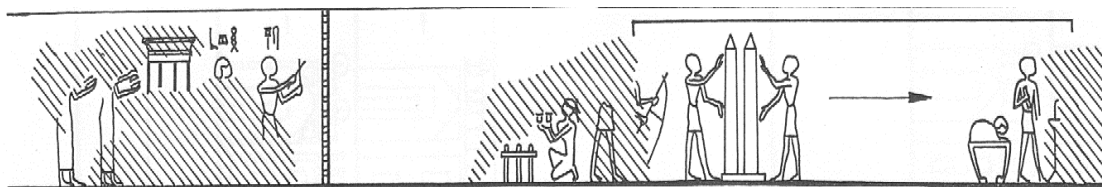


Fig. 27: The *tekenu* in TT 125 (Settgast, 1963, Tafel 10)



Fig. 28: The *tekenu* in TT 172 (Settgast, 1963, Tafel 4)



Fig. 29: The *tekenu* in TT 260 (Settgast, 1963, Tafel 4)

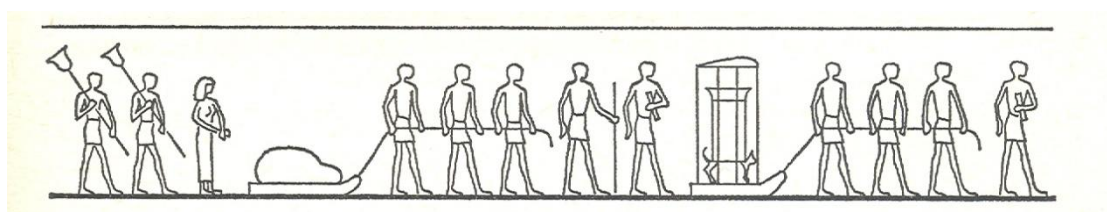


Fig. 30: The *tekenu* in TT 123 (Settgast, 1963, 39)

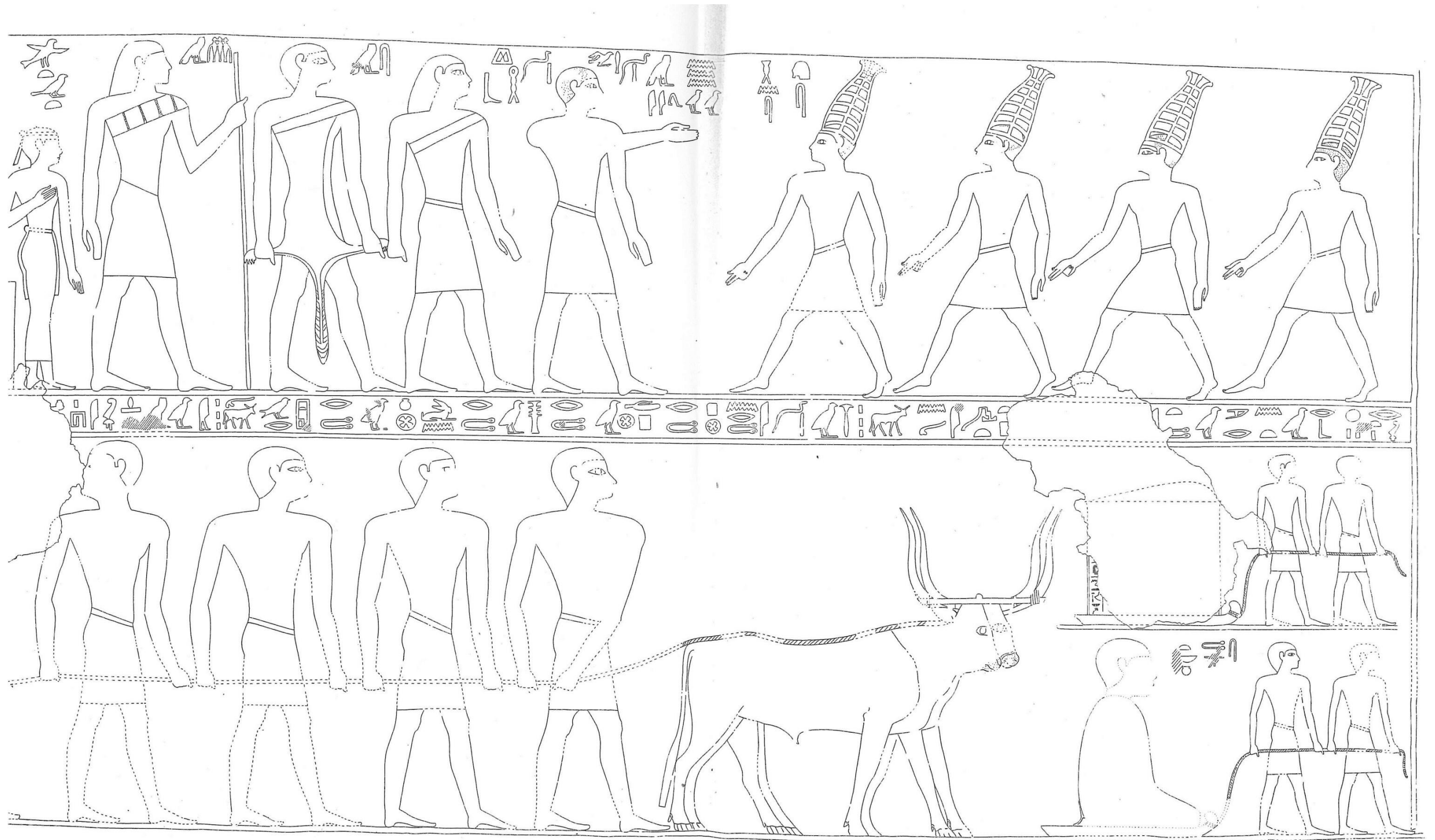


Fig. 31: The *tekenu* in TT 60 (Davies, 1920, Pl. XXII)

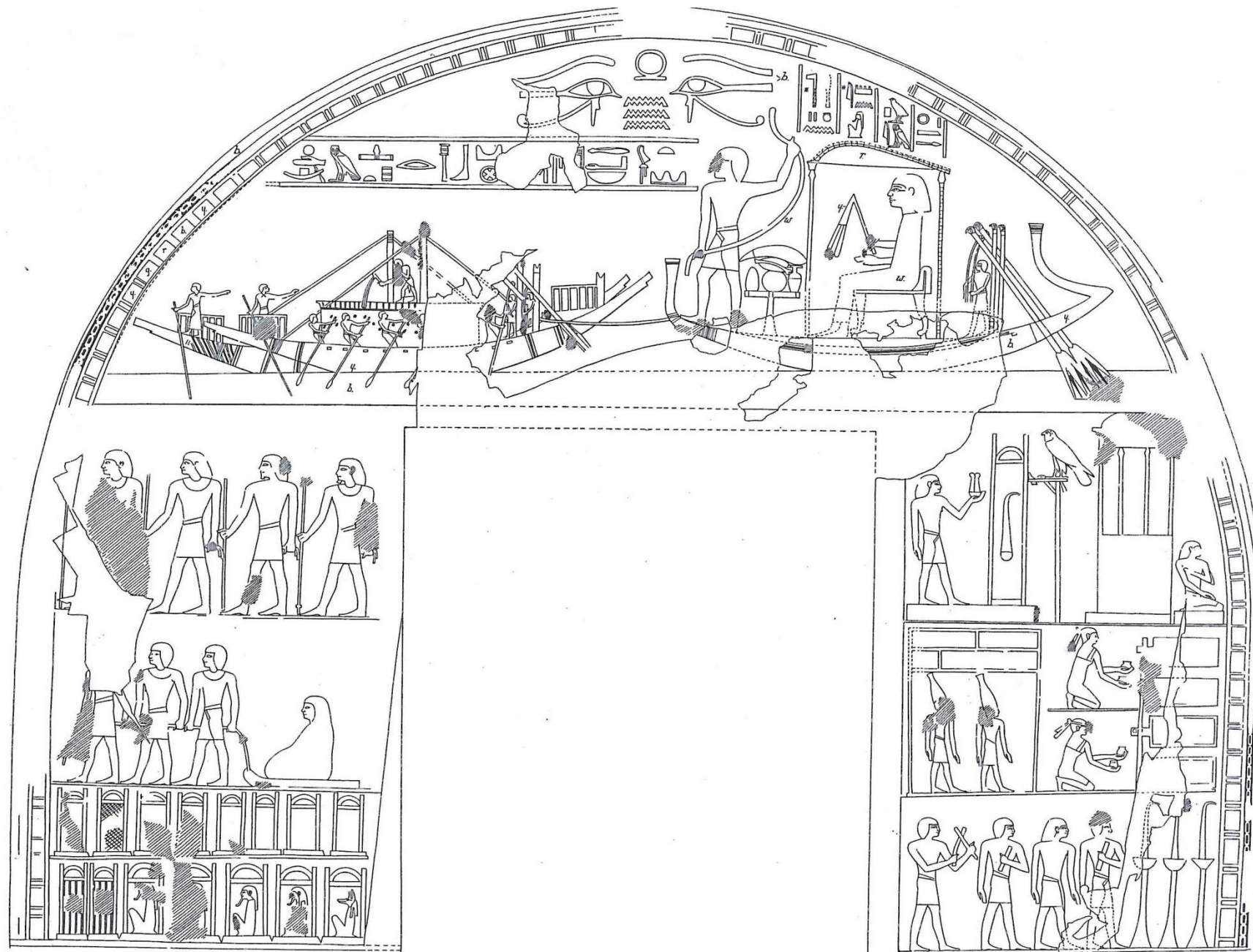


Fig. 32: The *tekenu* on the East wall of the North chapel of the TT 39 (Davies, 1923, Pl. XLVI)

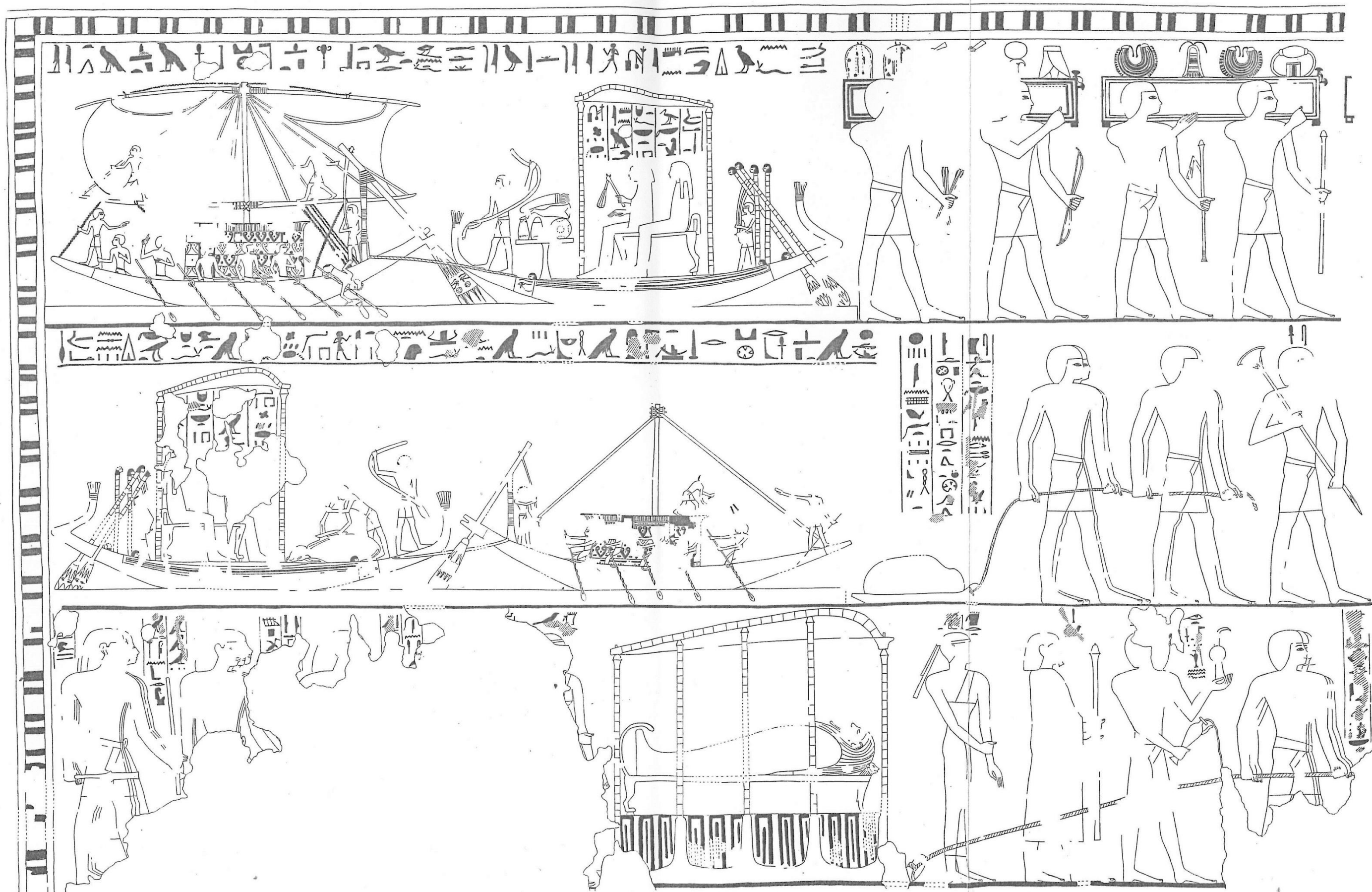


Fig. 33: *Tekenu* on the South wall of the TT 82 (Davies, 1915, Pl. XII)

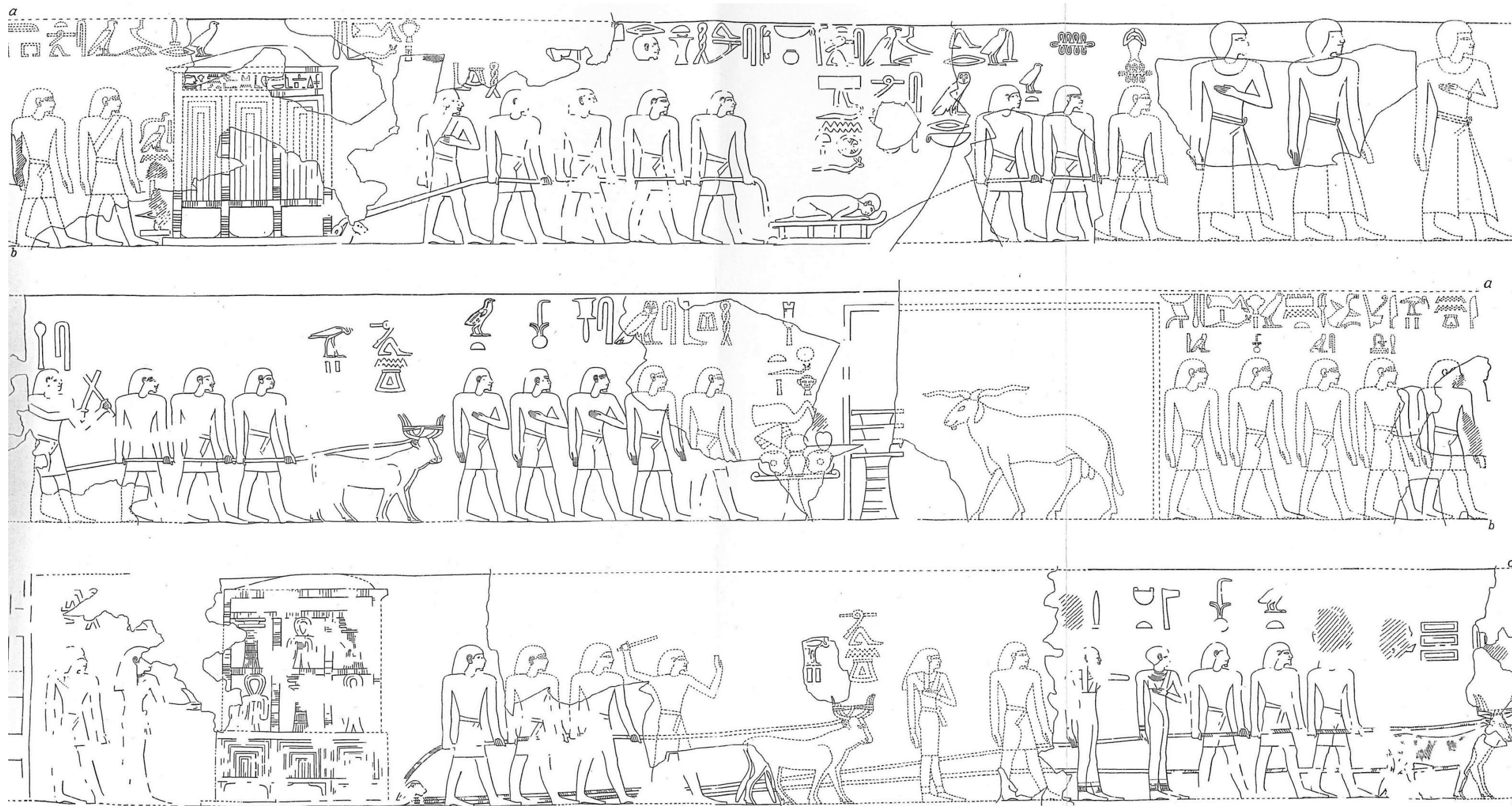


Fig. 34: *Tekenu* on the South wall of the TT 20 (Davies, 1913, Pl. II)



Fig. 35: *Tekenu* in TT 20 (Davies, 1913, Pl. VIII)

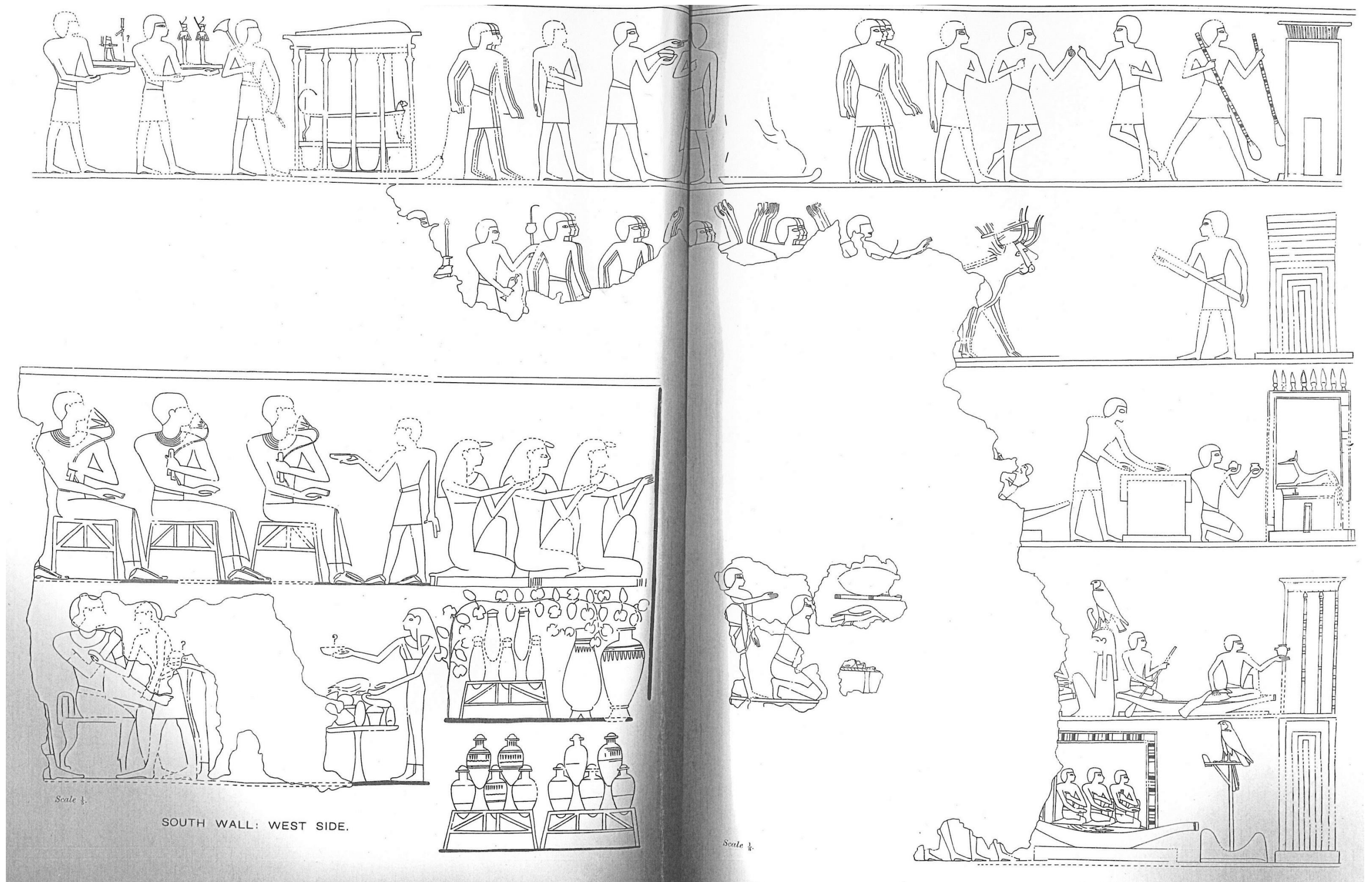


Fig. 36: Tekenu in TT 42 (Davies, 1933, Pl. XXXVIII)

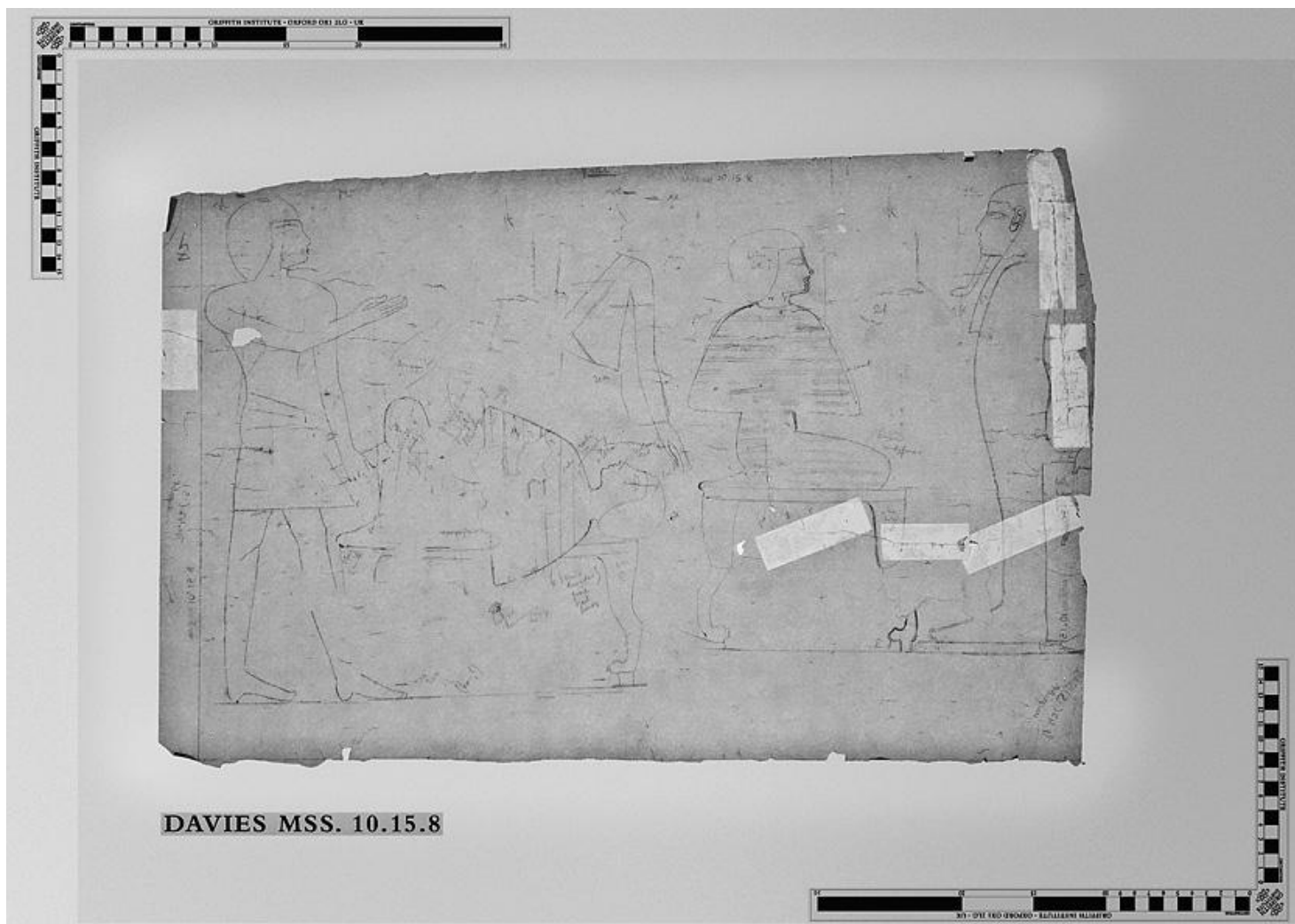


Fig. 37: The lying and kneeling sem-priest in TT 42 (Male, 2012, http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/gif-files/Davies_10_15_08.jpg)

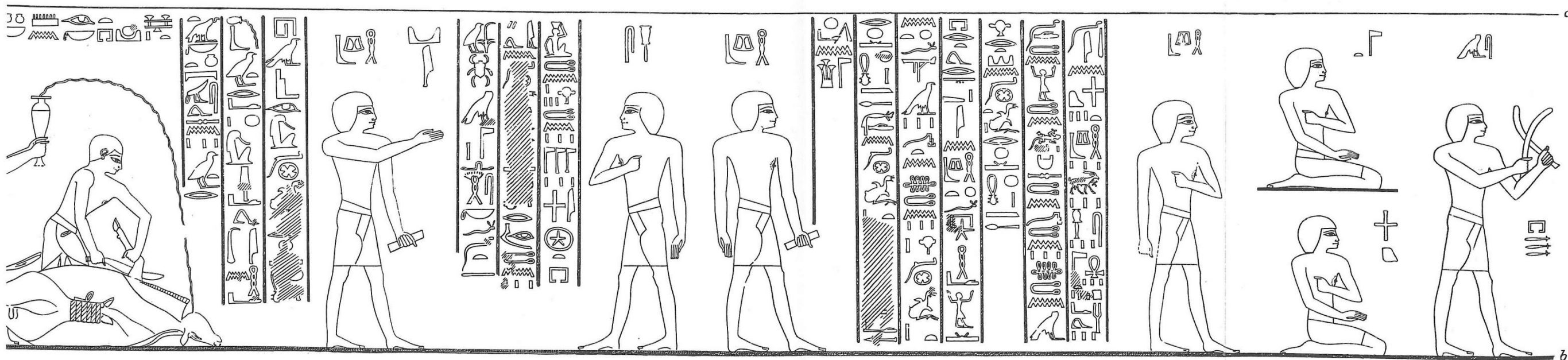
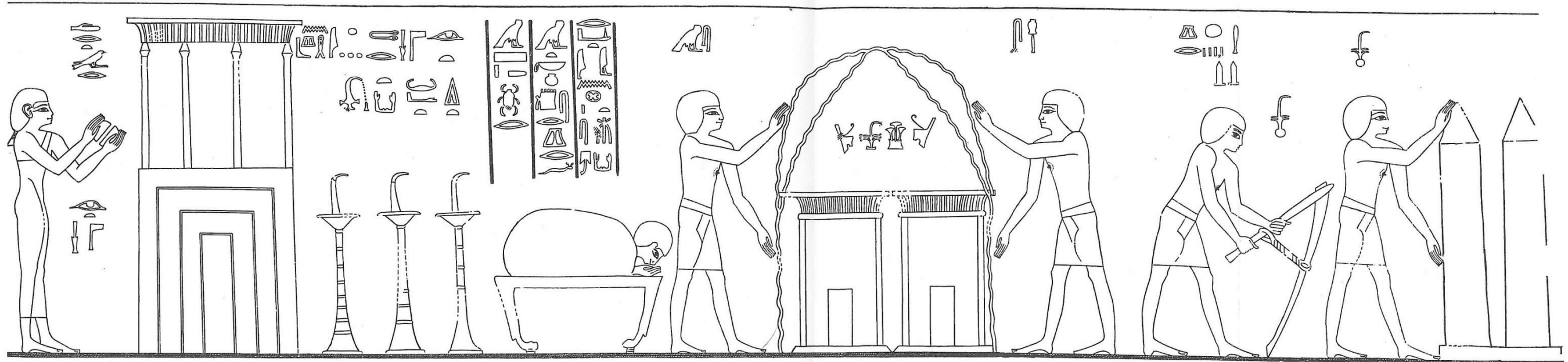


Fig. 38: *Tekenu* on the South wall of the TT 100 (Davies, 1943, Pl. LXXXIII)

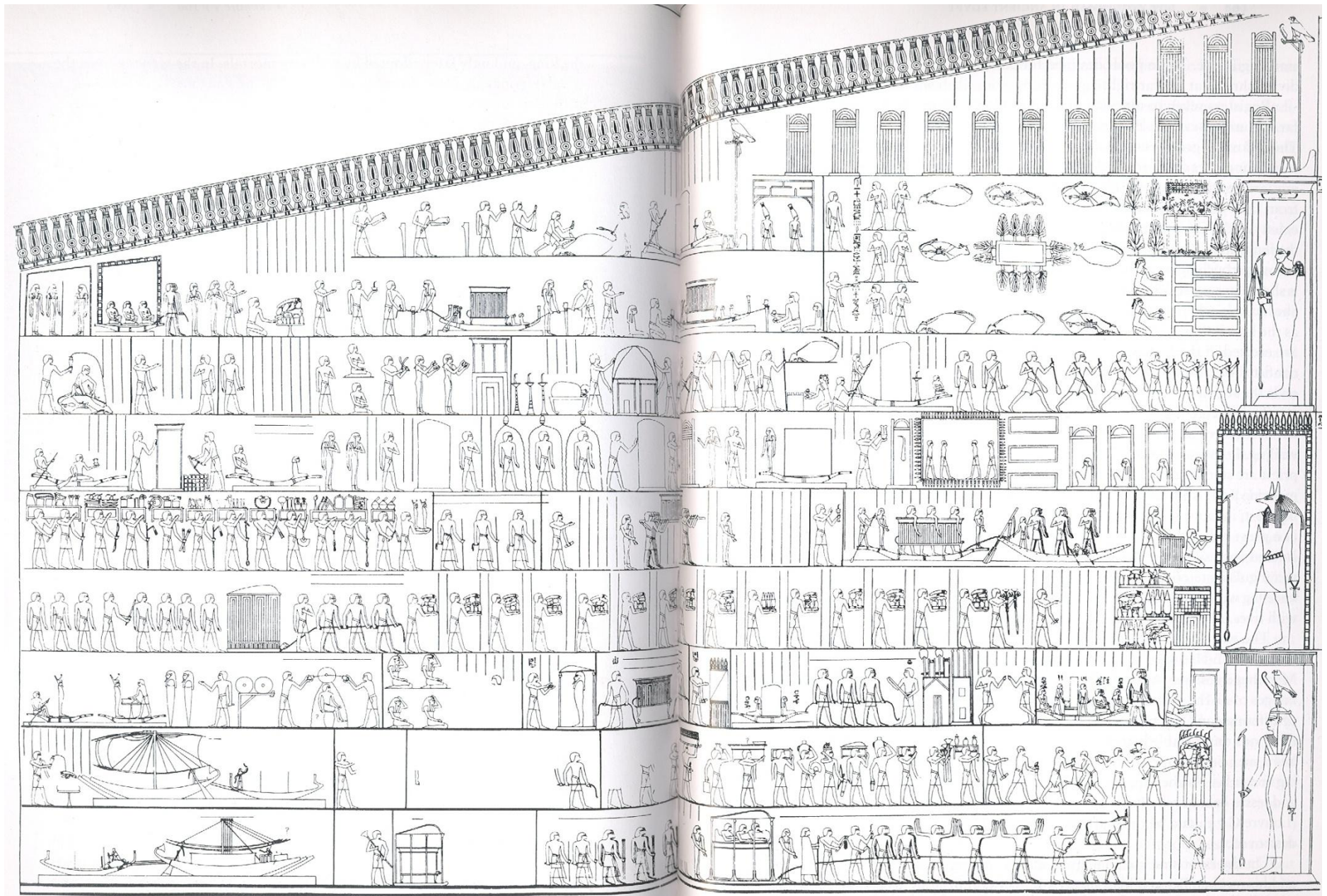


Fig. 39: Series of scenes from the funeral rites, which are represented on the south wall of the TT 100 (Hodel-Hoenes, 2000, Fig. 121)

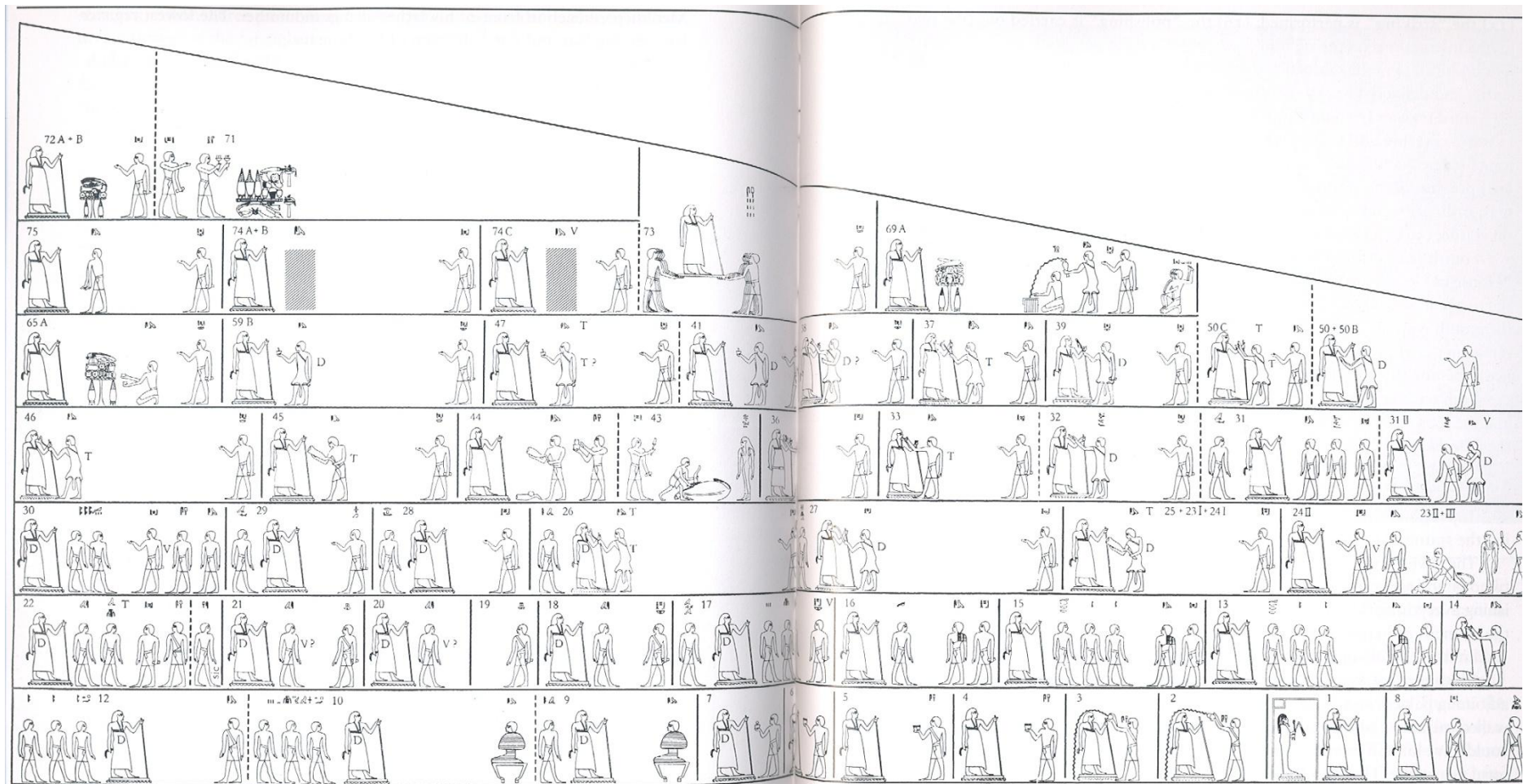


Fig. 40: The 'Opening of the mouth' ritual in TT 100 (Hodel-Hoenes, 2000, Fig. 122)

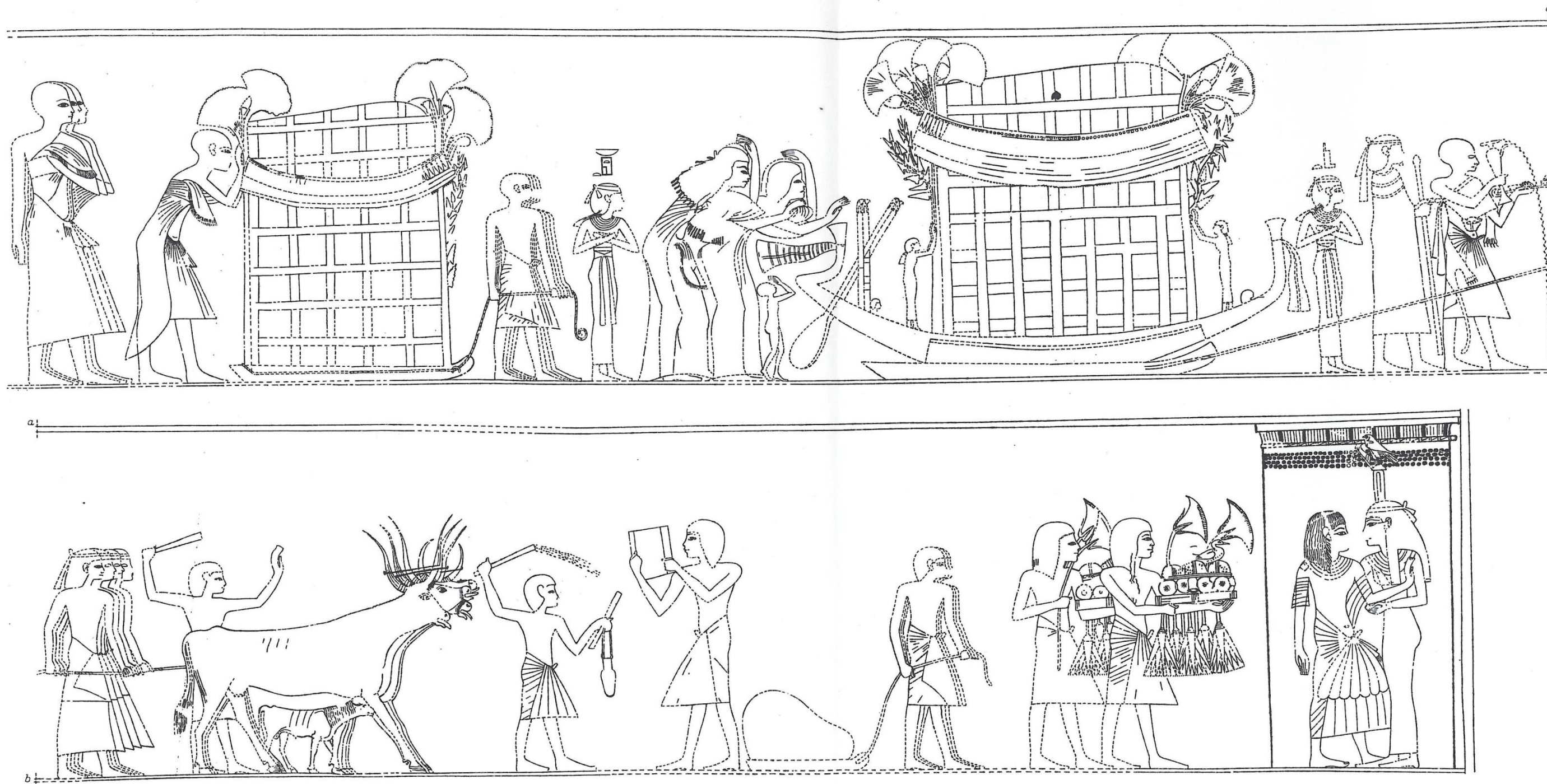


Fig. 41: The *tekenu* in the 'Dragging of the coffin scene' on the East wall of the TT 49 (Davies, 1933, Pl. XX)



Fig. 43: The *tekenu* on the north wall of the TT 36 (Kuhlmann & Schenkel, 1983, Plate 65)

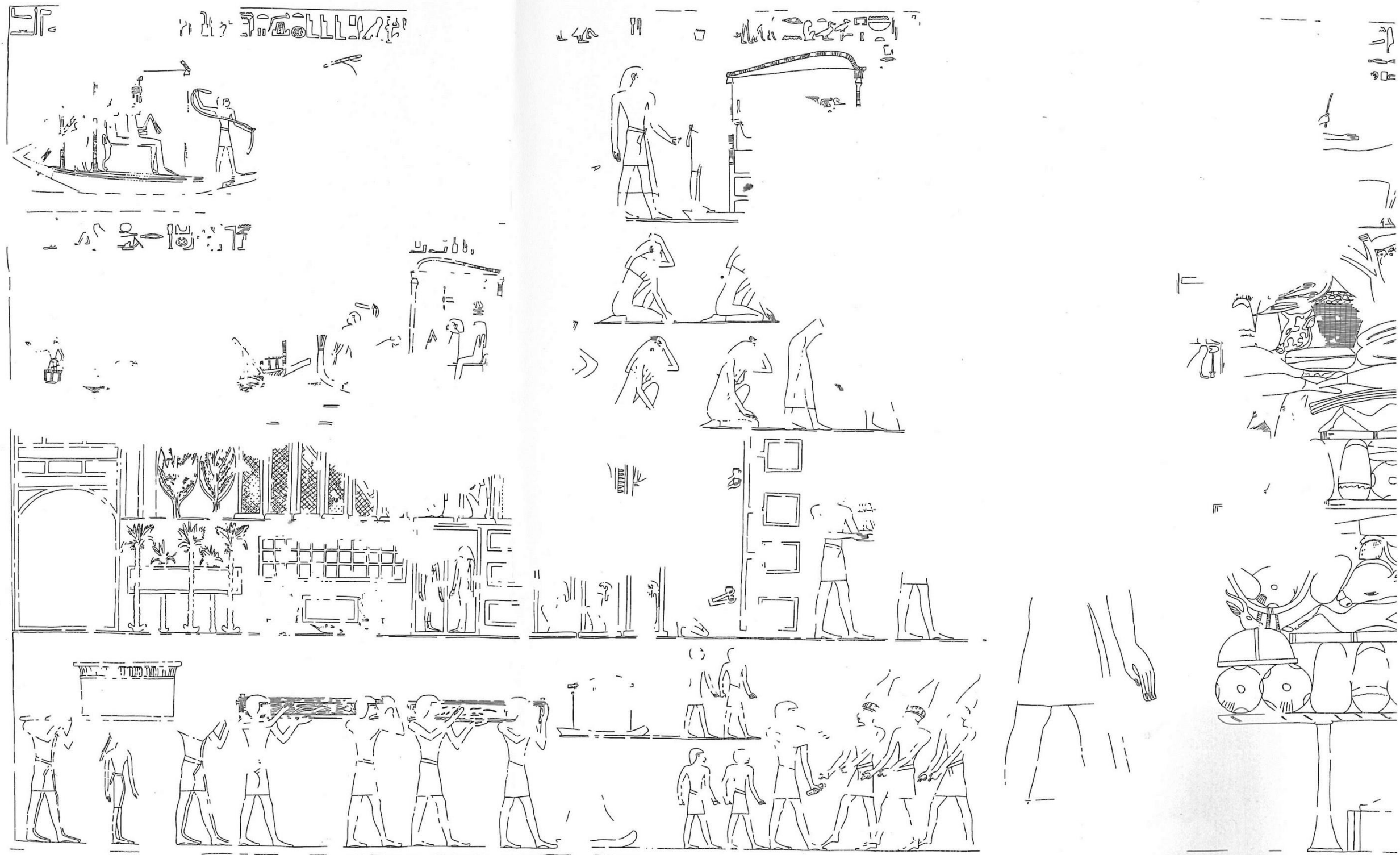
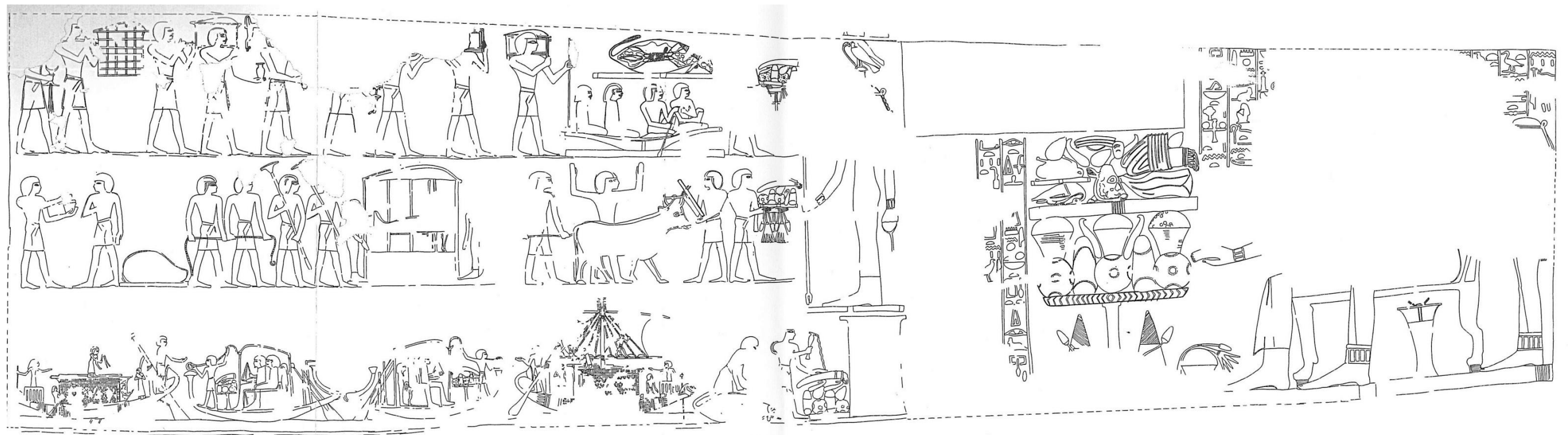


Fig. 44: The *tekenu* on the south wall of the TT 81. A part of it is corrupted (Davies, 1963, Plate 65)



a Durchzeichnung Längsraum, linke Wand (104/2.2)

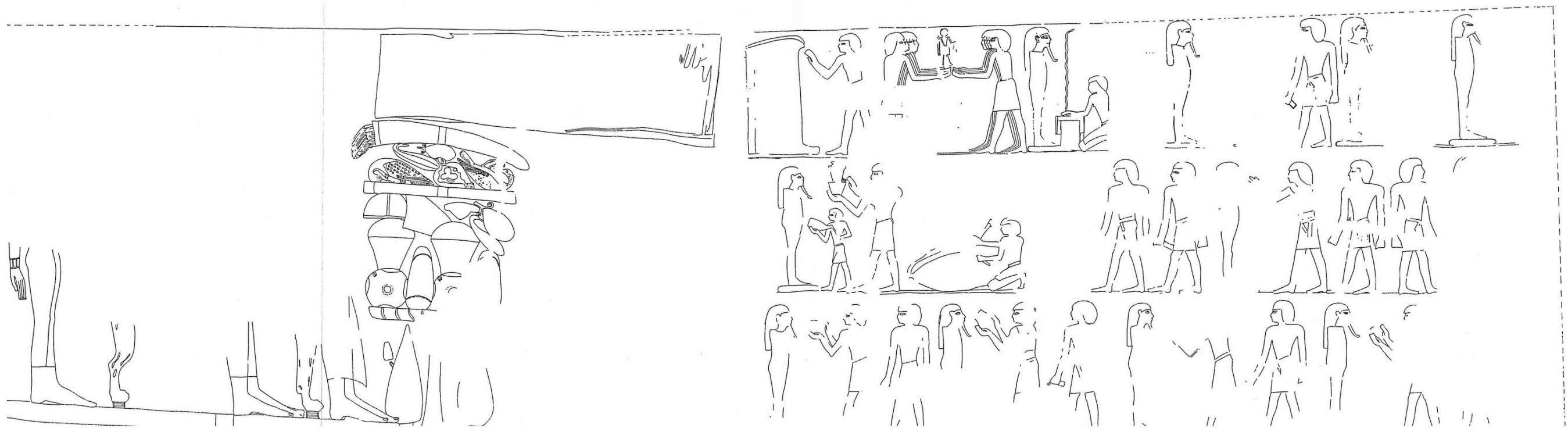


Fig. 45: The *tekenu* on the South wall of TT 104 (Shedid, 1988, Pl. 28)

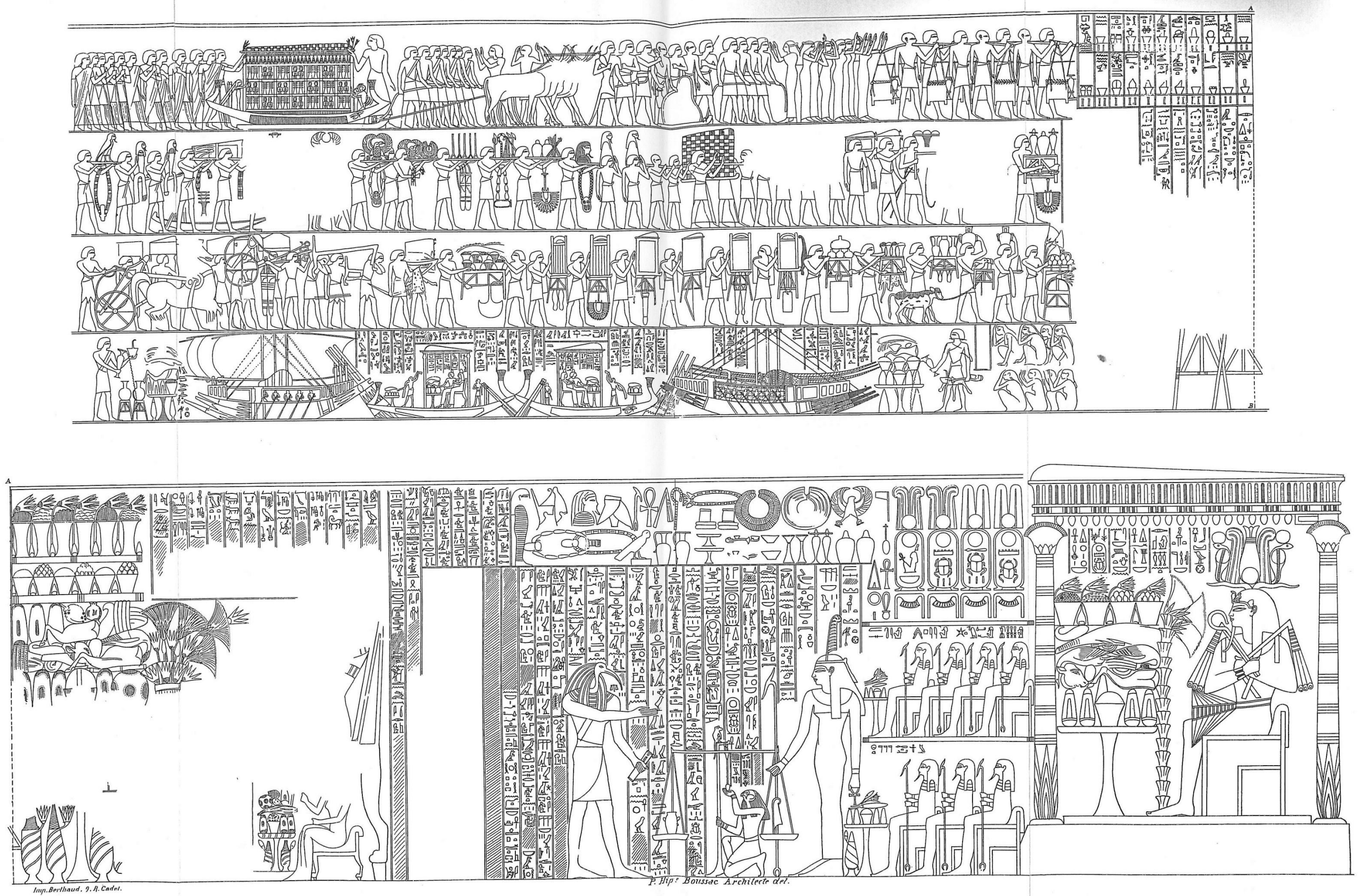


Fig. 46: The *tekenu* on the South wall of the TT 78 (Brack, 1980, Pl. 88)



Scale 1 : 5

Fig. 47: The *tekenu* on the South wall of the TT 55 (Davies, 1941, Pl. XXV)

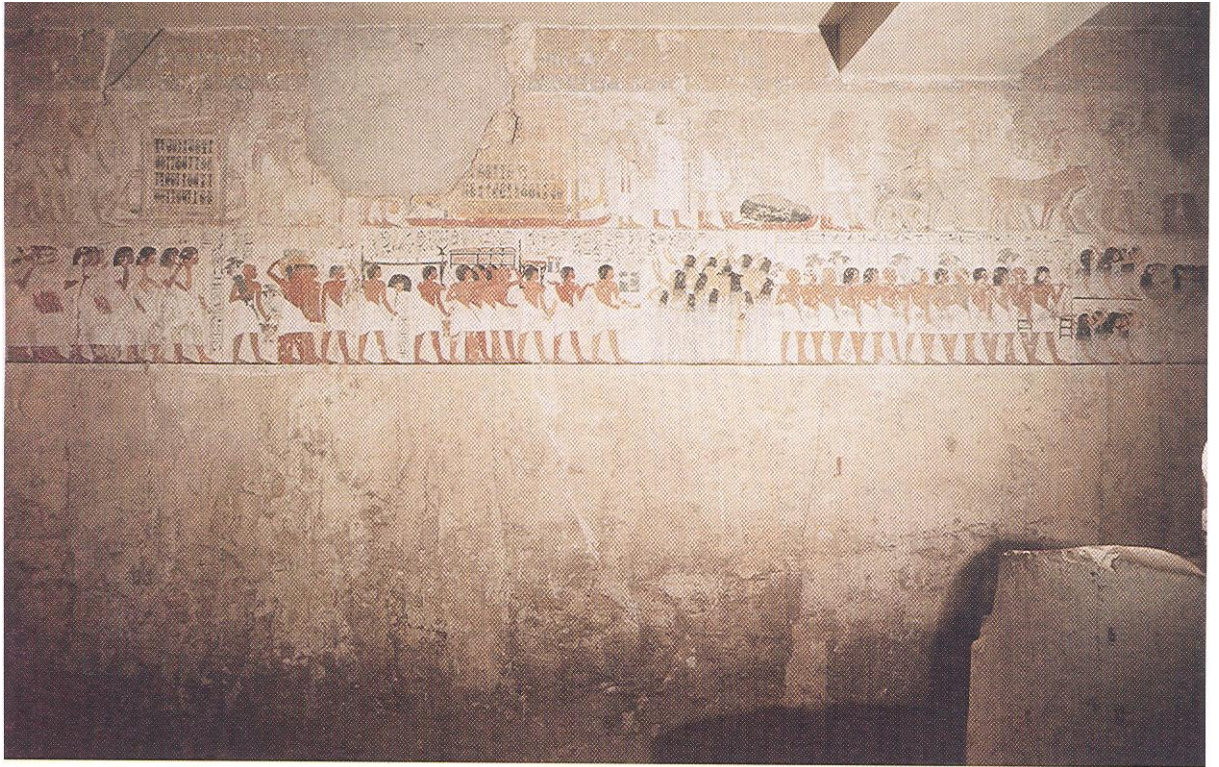


Fig. 48: The *tekenu* in the funerary procession of TT 55 (Hodel-Hoenes, 2000, p.52)

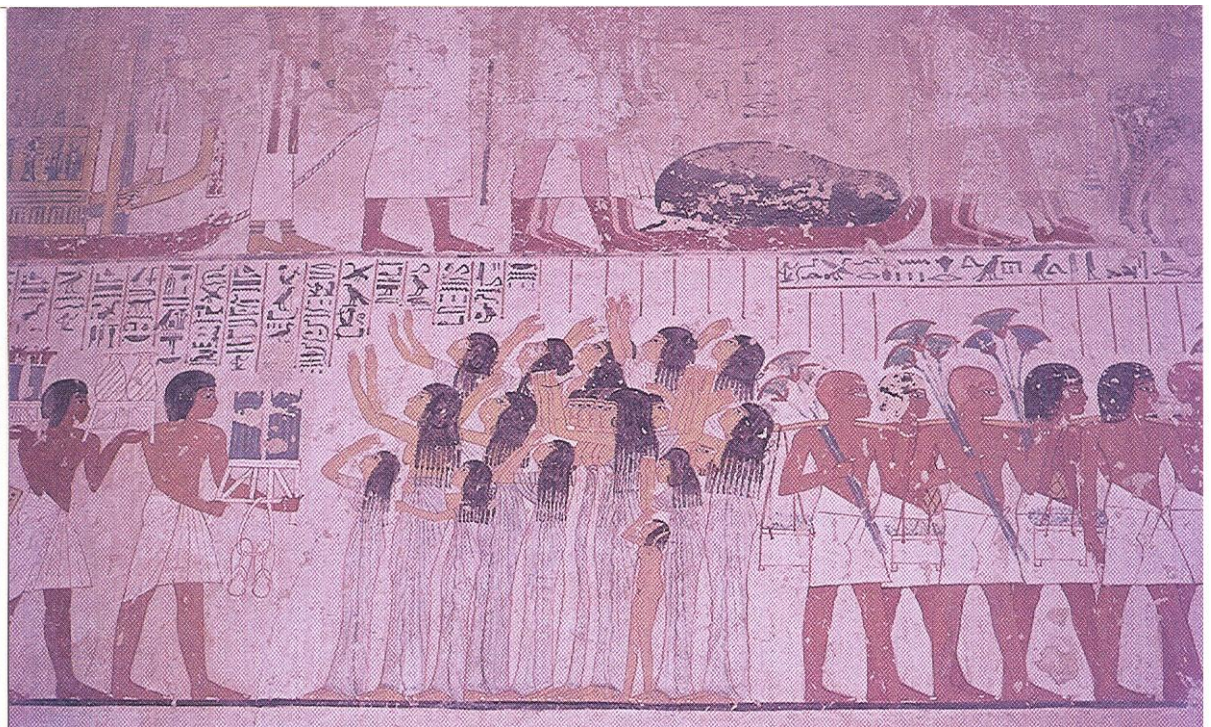


Fig. 49: The *tekenu* in the funerary procession of TT 55 (Hodel-Hoenes, 2000, p. 54)

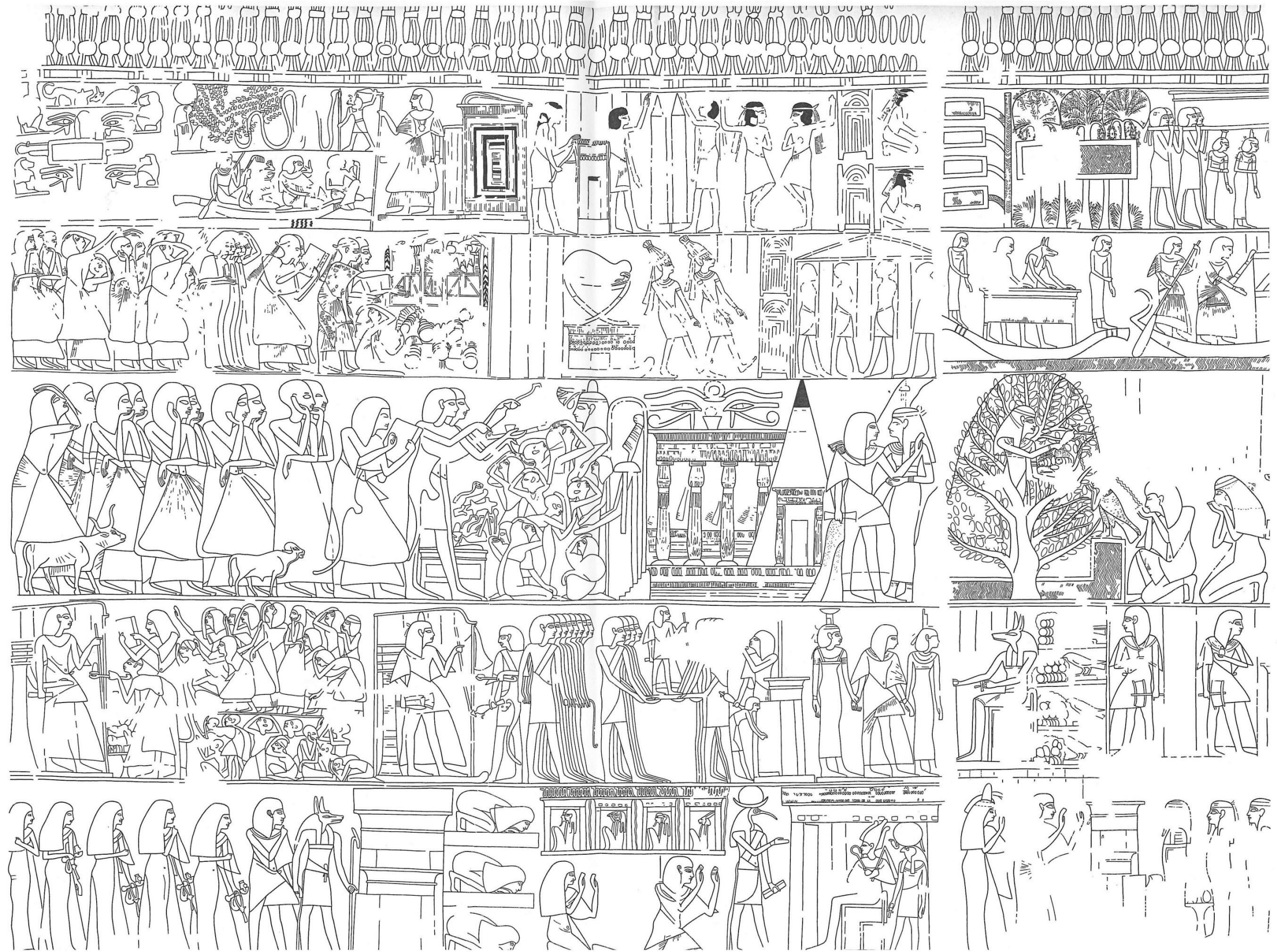


Fig. 50: The *tekenu* in the funerary procession of TT 41 (Assmann, 1991, Pl. 40)

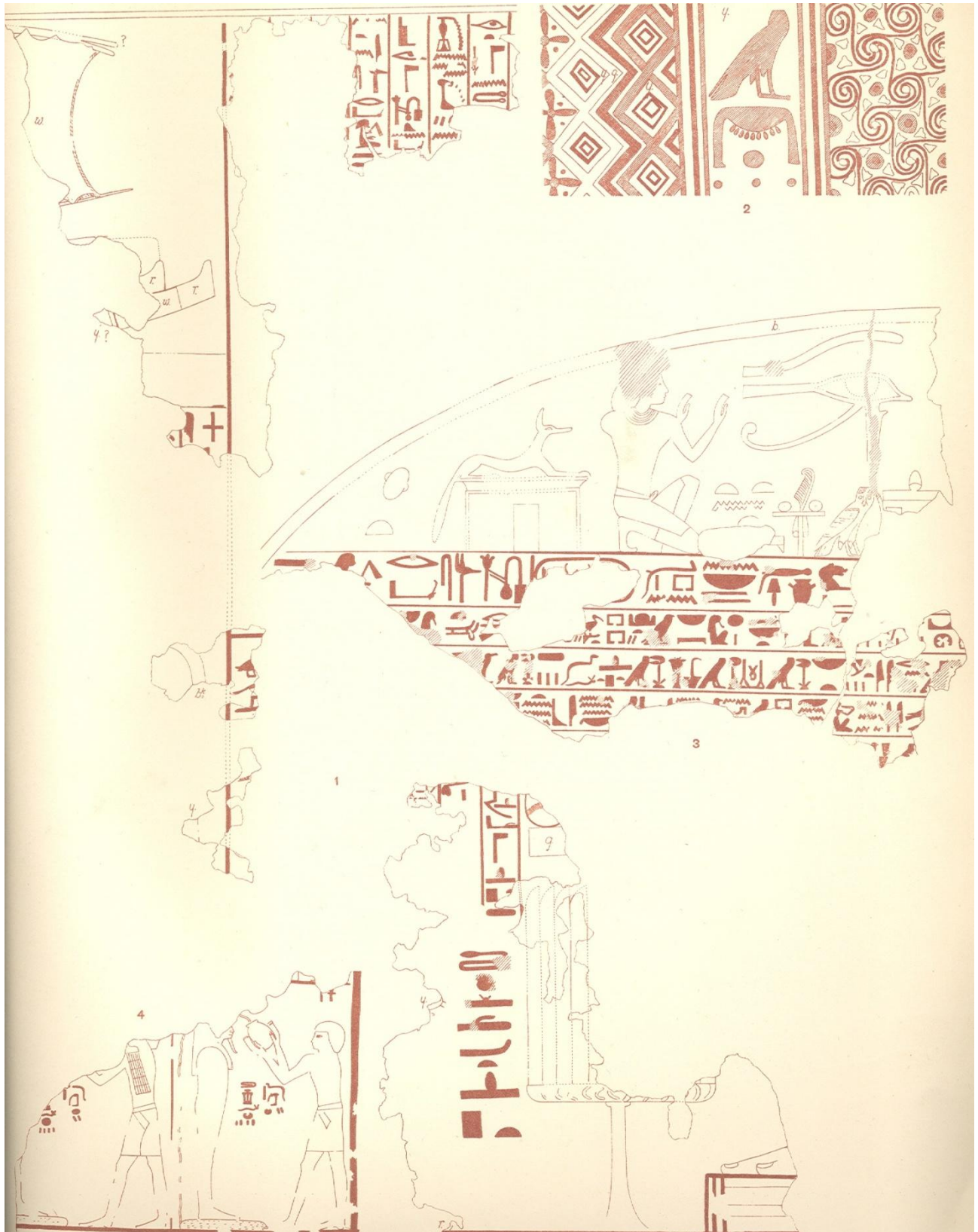


Fig. 52: A part of a scene of the 'opening of the mouth' ritual in TT 21
(Davies, 1913, Pl. XX)



Fig. 53: The sleeping sem-priest in TT 295 with the accompanied text above him (Serrano Delgado, 2011, Pl. VII)



Fig. 54: The offering bearers from the east wall of room III in the mastaba of Ihy (Idut) (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, Pl. 20)



Fig. 55: A papyri-form boat towed by men from ashore on the east wall of room III in the mastaba of Ihy (Idut) (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, Pl. 20)



Fig. 56: The *mww* ritual dancers from the east wall of room III in the mastaba of Ihy (Idut) (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, Pl. 21)



Fig. 57: The *tekenu* from the east wall of room III in the mastaba of Ihy (Idut) (Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2003, Pl. 21)



Fig. 58: The *tekenu* in the tomb of Paheri (EK 3) (Tylor & Griffith, 1895, Pl. VIII)

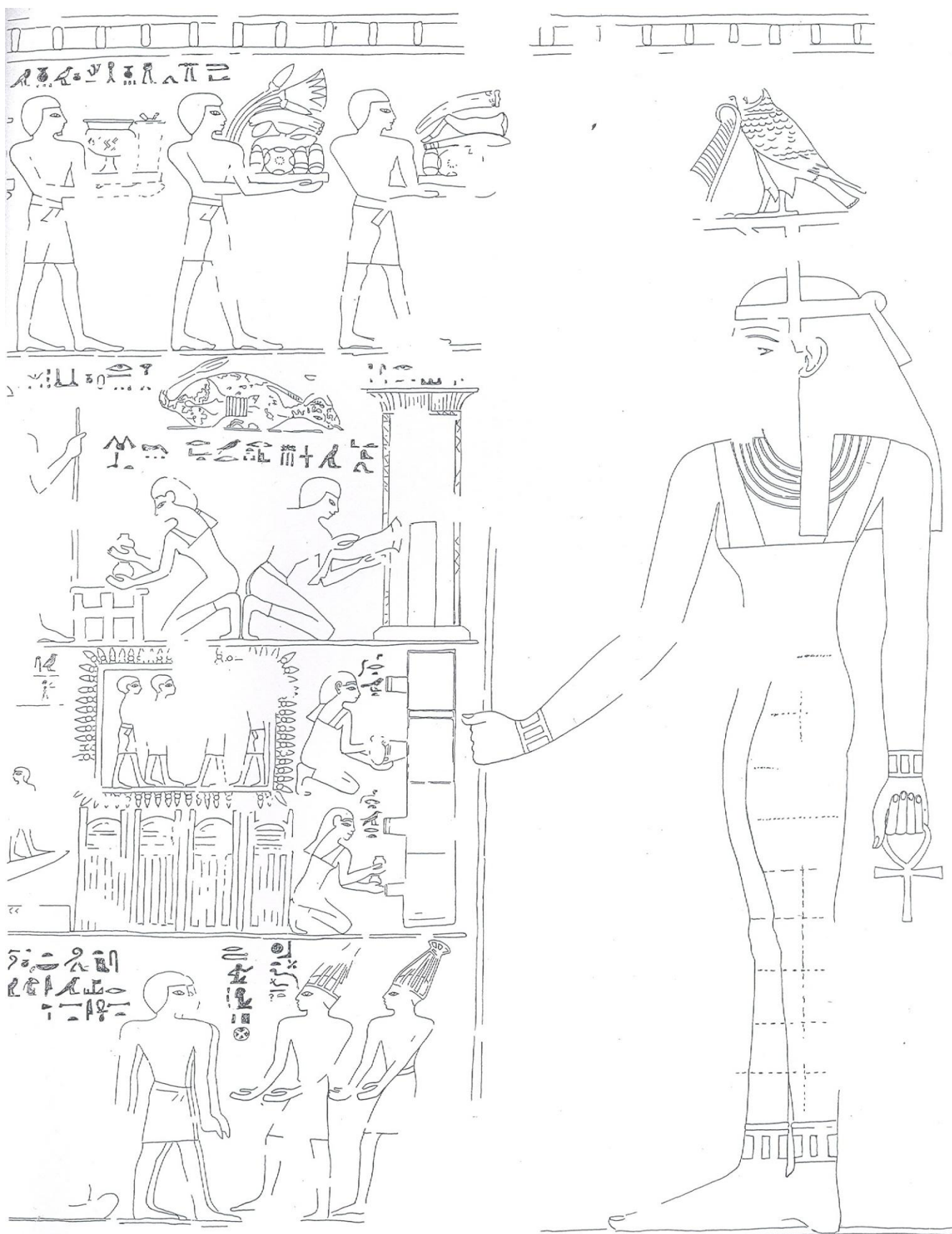


Fig. 59: The *tekenu* in TT 17 (Säve-Söderbergh, 1957, Pl. XXV)

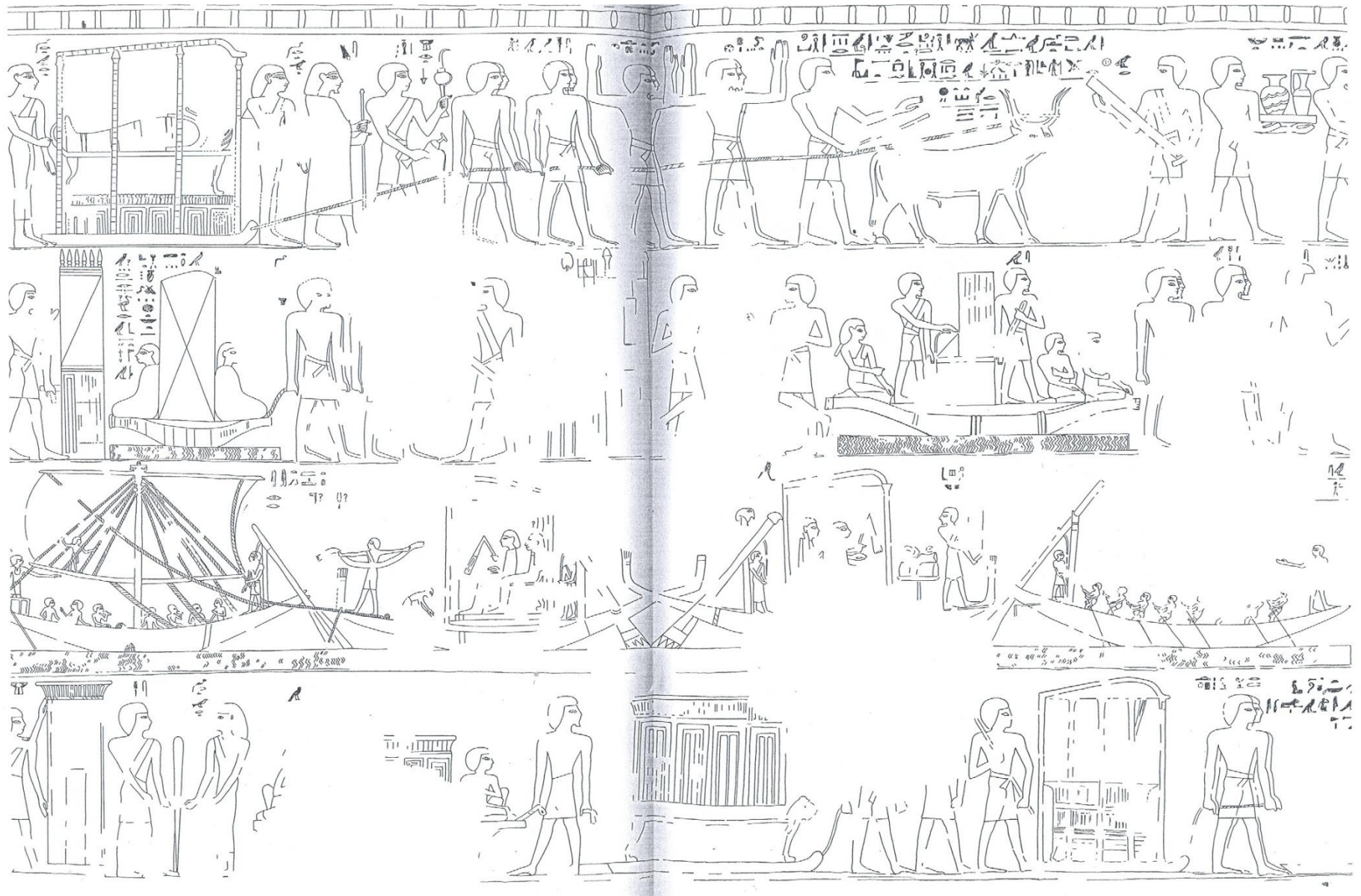


Fig. 60: This is the previous part of figure 59 from the TT 17. In the bottom register prior to the representation of the *tekenu* there are depicted the 'people of Dep', who drag a smaller coffin under a canopy and behind them two men, who drag a bier on a sledge (Säve-Söderbergh, 1957, Pl. XXIV)

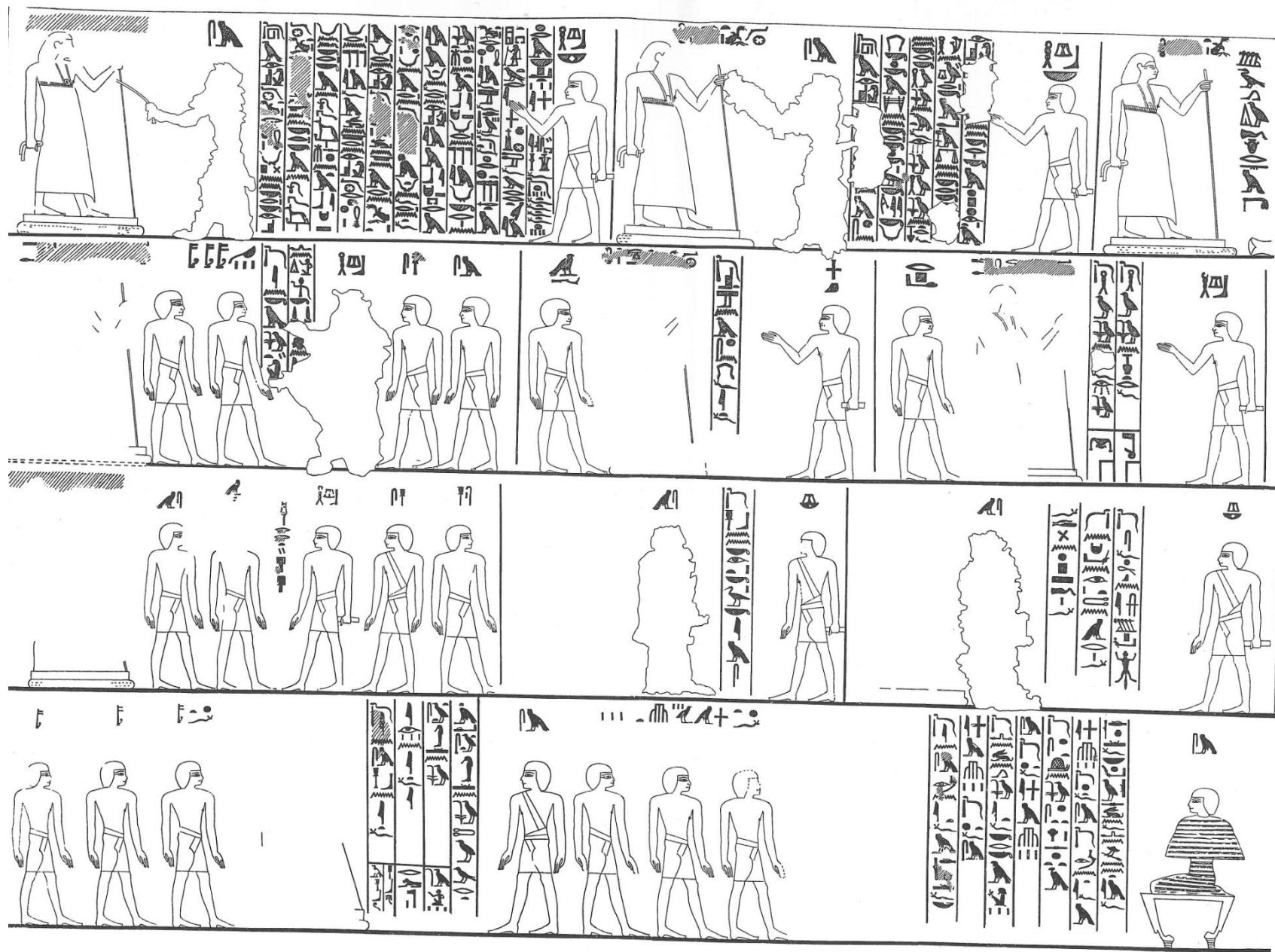


Fig. 61: The *sem*-priest in TT 100 (Davies, 1943, Pl. CV)

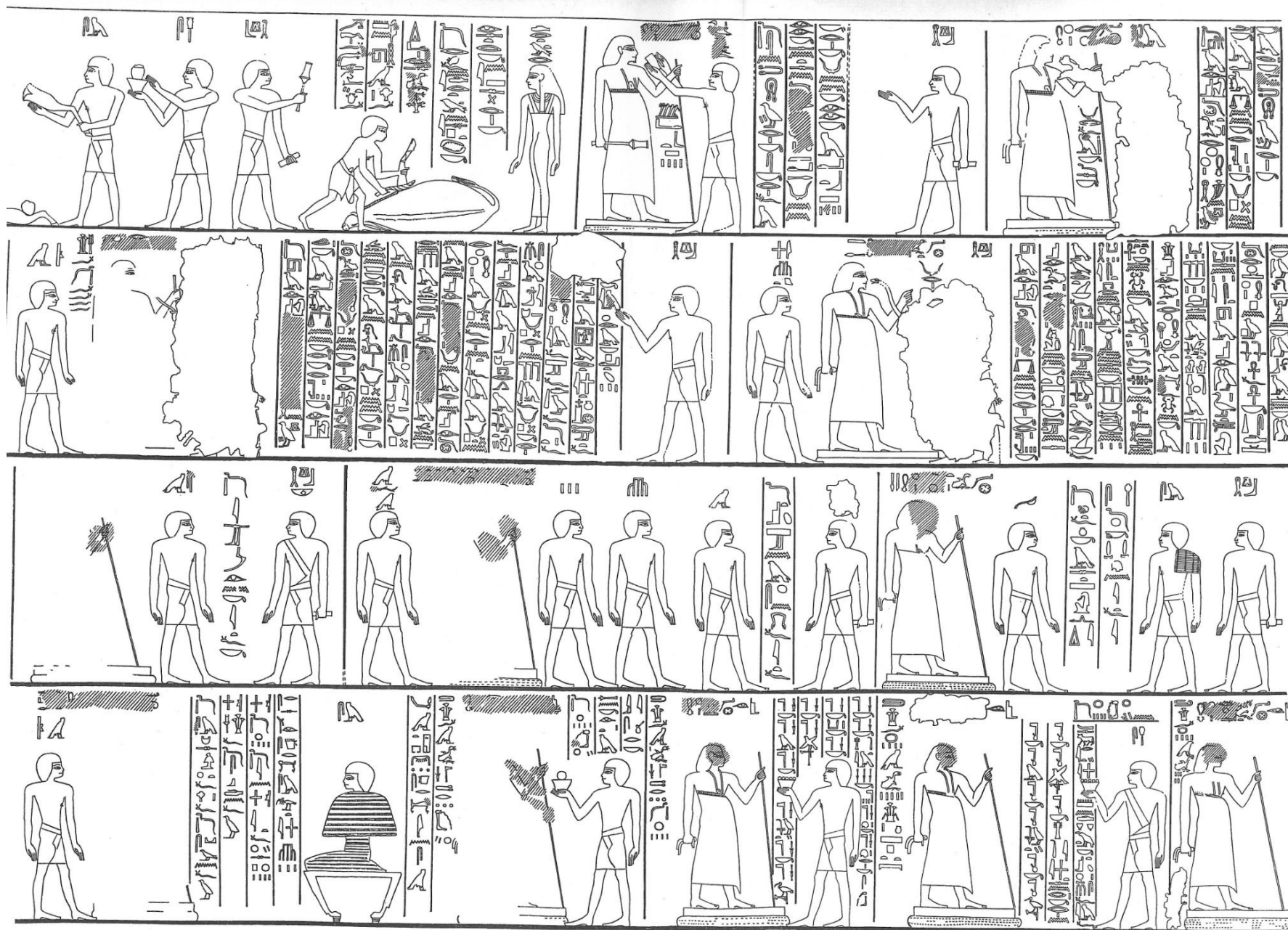


Fig. 62: The sem-priest in TT 100 (Davies, 1943, Pl. CVI)