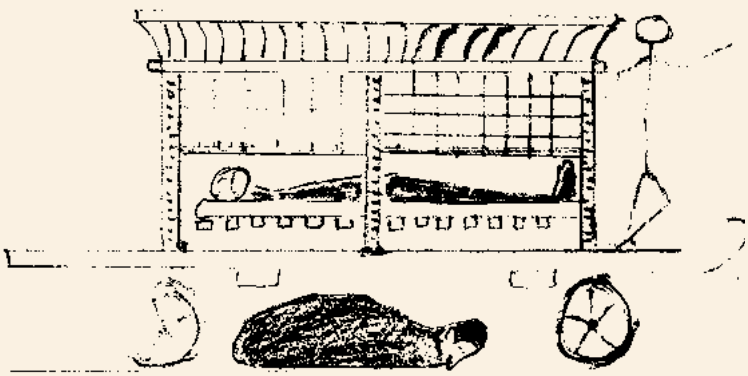

The *Tekenu* and Ancient Egyptian Funerary Ritual

Glennise West

Archaeopress Egyptology 23

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Cover: Diagrammatical interpretation of the journey of the *Tekenu* drawn by John West.

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For Valerie and Kevan and especially John

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Abbreviations

AcOr(C)	*Acta orientalia.* (Lund, Copenhague).
AE	*Ancient Egypt.*
Aegyptus	Antiquus *Centro de investigaciones egiptológicas (Buenos Aires).*
ARCE	*American Research Center in Egypt.*
Archéo-Nil	*Archéo-Nil. Bull. de la Soc. pour l'étude des cult. prépharaon. de la vallée du Nil.*
Bace	*Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology.*
BD	Faulkner, R. O., (translator), *Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (New York, 2005).
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis.*
CAJ	*College Art Journal.* College Art Association of America. (New York).
EA	*Egyptian Antiquities.*
Estrat Critic	*Estrat Crític Revista d'Arqueologia.*
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen.*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
KMT	*K.M.T. A Modern Journal of Ancient. Egypt*
Kush	*Kush. Journal of the Sudan Antiquities. Service.*
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (1975-1986), 6 vols, Weisbaden.
MAN	*Mémoires de l'Académie de Nîmes.*
MDIAK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.*
Memmonia	*Memmonia. Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum.*
MJBK	*Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst.*
MMAF	*Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire.*
Orientalia	*Orientalia. Pontificio Instituto Biblico.*
PIA	*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.*
PT	Faulkner, R. O., (translator), *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford, 1969)
RdE	*Revue d'Égyptologie.*
RevEg	*Revue Égyptologique.*
RT	*Recueil de Travaux.*
SAK	*Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur.*
Sphinx	*Sphinx. Revue. crit. embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie.*
Wb.	*Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache,* 7 volumes.
World Arch	*World Archaeology.*
ZAK	*Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte.*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.*

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Chronology code used throughout the work

5th Dynasty	5.09	Unis
12th Dynasty	12.01	Amenemhet I
	12.02	Senwosret I
	12.03	Amenemhet II
	12.04	Senwosret II
	12.05	Senwosret III
	12.06	Amenemhet III
	12.07	Amenemhet IV
	12.08	Sobeknofru
18th Dynasty	18.01	Ahmose
	18.02	Amenhotep
	18.03	Tuthmosis I
	18.04	Tuthmosis II
	18.05	Hatshepsut
	18.06	Tuthmosis III
	18.07	Amenhotep II
	18.08	Tuthmosis IV
	18.09	Amenhotep III
	18.10	Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten
	18.11	Semenkhkare
	18.12	Tutankhamun
	18.13	Ay
	18.14	Horemheb
19th Dynasty	19.01	Ramesses I
	19.02	Seti I
	19.03	Ramesses II
	19.04	Merenptah
	19.05	Amenmesse
	19.06	Seti II
	19.07	Siptah
	19.08	Tawosret
25th Dynasty	25.01	Alara
	25.02	Kashta
	25.03	Piyi
	25.04	Shabaqa
	25.05	Shebitqu
	25.06	Taharqa
	25.07	Tanutamun

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26th Dynasty	26.01	Psamtik (Psammetichus)
	26.02	Necho II
	26.03	Psamtik II (Psammetichus II)
	26.04	Apries
	26.05	Amasis
	26.06	Psamtik III (Psammetichus III)

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Part 1 Formulation of the corpus catalogue

Chapter 1

Introduction and literature review

1.1 Introduction

Make good your dwelling in the graveyard..
.....the house of death is for life[1]

The tombs of the ancient Egyptians might be seen as relics consisting of 'fossilised' expressions of man's relationship with, and attitude towards, the phenomenon of death.[2] The ancient Egyptian relished life and perceived the tomb as the environment in which it would continue and, in a sense, the tomb was perceived as a countermeasure to death.[3]

Ancient Egyptian eschatology encompassed the belief that the entire funerary ritual was to consummate the deceased's aggregation with the sacred world. Embalming, mummification and funerary rituals were the means by which a dead person was transformed into a transfigured spirit, an *akh,* enabling him to partake of the world of the gods. The process could be seen as 'a kind of ritual deification requiring a very special kind, and amount, of magical power or cosmogonic energy'.[4]

The function of the elite tomb in ancient Egypt was both commemorative and magical.[5] Commemoratively, the tomb provided a place for the celebration of the tomb owner by the living and the perpetuation of his memory. Magically, it was the vehicle for the deceased's revivification and his social integration into both the world of the gods and the netherworld.[6]

Symbolic objects and rituals were integral in establishing the connection between the 'here' and 'yonder', that is between 'visual and mythical reality'.[7] It was mandatory that the body was to be enabled to function exactly as it did before death. Hence, it was believed that the deceased had the same material needs as the living.[8] As Assmann succinctly states, 'the goal...is to cure the condition of death'.[9] This reinforces the opinion that the defining aspiration of the ancient Egyptian was to be *revivified* rather than *immortalised.*

Depicted most commonly within the funerary procession on the walls of the tombs of some of the elite of Egyptian society, one finds the enigmatic *Tekenu*. It is also found, albeit less frequently, amongst the ritualistic scenes of what Settgast describes as the 'Heilige Bezirk', or *holy district*.[10]

---

[1] 'The instruction of Prince Hardjedef', Fifth Dynasty, Lichtheim, M., *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (London, reprint 2006), vol. I, 58.
[2] Van Walsem, M., *Iconography of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs: Analysis & Interpretation, Theoretical and Methodological Aspects* (Leiden, 2005), 33.
[3] Assmann, J., *Death and Salvation, in Ancient Egypt* (translator Lorton D., New York, 2005), 18.
[4] Assmann, J., *From Akhenaton to Moses; Ancient Egypt and Religious Change* (Cairo,2014), 10.
[5] Hartwig, M. K., *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes 1419–1372 BCE* (Turnhout, 2004), 37.
[6] Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity,* 37.
[7] Assman, J., 'Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt', in*,* Allen, J. P., Assmann, J., Lloyd, A. B., Ritner, R. K., Silverman, D. P. (eds) *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1989),137. 'Mythical' is used in the sense f 'referring to the divine world'.
[8] Teeter, E., *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2011), 329.
[9] Assman, 'Death and Initiation',138.
[10] Settgast**,** J. V., *Untersuchungen zu Altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (Hamburg, 1963)*,* chapter VII.

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It has not been discovered in the wall decoration of any pharaonic tomb nor has any physical evidence of its existence been attested. One is forced to rely on artistic representations of the *Tekenu* and any accompanying text in funerary and ritualistic scenes to endeavour to ascertain its significance. This is in contrast to the canopic vessels and other funerary objects that have been archaeologically attested in numerous tombs. If one assumes that there is a purpose for the *Tekenu's* inclusion amongst the funerary ritual then, due to its positioning, one might suggest that it is likely to possess a magical function.

The ancient Egyptians believed humans were composed of both physical and non-physical elements. The deceased's attainment of the afterlife depended on the survival of these various constituent elements within the preserved mummified body and the protective magical structure of the tomb.[11] The tomb was the physical space where the deceased's body and all his different entities would be reunited and rest.[12] The exact number of these components is indeterminable. In the tomb of Amenemhēt, TT 82, for example, the accompanying text to part of the depiction of the offering scene is translated by Davies as being:

> *[bringing all manner of good things...]for his ka, for his stele...for his [ba?], for his illumination, for his corpse, for his shadow, and for all his modes of being (ḫprw).*[13]

However, many scholars recognise six primary components which, when united, aid in constituting an entire individual.[14] Each part was deemed integral for human existence:

- *ḥ̲ɜt* 'the body', was the physical shell within which a human exists.
- *ỉb* 'the heart', was the centre of physical activity and the seat of emotion, thought and intelligence.
- *šwt* 'the shadow', derives from the body and thus the Egyptians believed it had something of the body's owner in it. The shadow was also thought to be cast by the *soul*. The main attributes characterising the shadow were its ability to move with agility and speed and its ability to carry and transfer power.
- *rn* 'the name', was thought to be an essential component of its owner. A name provided the owner with an identity. Without a name an individual became a non-entity. In and through the name it is possible to harm, or worship, its owner.
- *bɜ* ' the *ba*', belonged to the physical sphere of the deceased, restored his movement and his ability to take form. It could be defined as the 'personality' as it contained everything that makes a person an individual except for the body.
- *kɜ* 'the *ka*', often translated as 'life force'. It was soul, protective spirit and doppelgänger. It was the *essence* of the *self*. The *ka* has also been identified as 'the force of conscious life, present in men, gods and *akhs*...(which is) transmitted by the creator to the world, by the king to the people and by fathers to their children; also present in food and drink.'[15] The *ka* makes the difference between a living person and a dead one as death occurs when it leaves the body.[16]

[11] Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 5.
[12] Kanawati, N., *Decorated Burial Chambers of the Old Kingdom* (Cairo, 2010), 1.
[13] Davies, Ni., *The tomb of Amenemhēt (No. 82)* (London, 1015), 99.
[14] For example, Allen, J. P., *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (second edition, Cambridge, 2010), 81–83; Assmann, *Death and Salvation,* chapters 1–4; Frankfort, H. *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* (6th Impression, Chicago, 1969), chapter 5; Hornung, E., *Idea into Image: Essays on Ancient Egyptian Thought* (translated by Bredeck, E., New York, 1992),175–177; Ikram, S., *Death and Burial in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 2015), 23–30; Taylor, J. H., *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001), 15–23.
[15] Der Manuelian, P. (ed.), *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (translator: Allen, J. A., Leiden, 2005), 434.
[16] It is beyond the scope of this work to examine these components in detail. The author has summarised the essential elements from the scholars noted in footnote 14.

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The *ḥɜt* was preserved by means of the embalming and burial processes. By mummification, the ancient Egyptian, endeavoured to maintain the 'shell' of the body. Most of the internal organs, which were known to deteriorate, were removed and placed in the canopic vessels. The canopic vessels were then preserved within the tomb.

The *ib* usually remained with the *ḥɜt*.[17] Further protection for the body of the deceased was provided by the coffin or a series of nested coffins.[18] The final protection was the sanctuary of the tomb.

As, with the aid of the sun, every body creates a *šwt* (shadow), the shadow becomes an essential adjunct of the body.[19] Thus, if the body survives, so too will the shadow. The solar association of the shadow is closely linked to revivification. When the sun disappeared, the shadow vanished, only to reappear when the sun rose the next day.[20] The shadow of the *soul* was invisible.

The ancient Egyptian went to extreme lengths to perpetuate his *rn*. Doorways, door jambs, walls and statues all bore the tomb owner's name so that it was preserved for eternity. Visitors to the tomb were encouraged to utter the deceased's name. The erasing of the name of someone was perceived as an act of annihilation. Thus Akhenaton endeavoured to eradicate the god Amun by destroying his name on all monuments.[21]

The *bɜ* is the freely moving part of the person. It is able to commute between different worlds such as heaven, earth, and the netherworld. It is not the person himself, but his representative.[22] In early sources the *ba* appears as a saddle-billed stork and reveals itself as an earthly manifestation of heavenly powers. Later images and texts depict the *ba* as a human-headed falcon. This change in depiction emphasises the dual nature of the *ba*. The human head represents the nature of the being it manifests, either human or divine, while the avian body points to the freedom of movement and transformation, and the possibility of its entering different cosmic realms.[23] The *ba* is often depicted hovering over the body or descending the tomb shaft to the burial chamber. It is shown especially in the reliefs and paintings of New kingdom tombs.[24]

Frankfort distinguishes between the *ka* of the king and the *ka* of the commoner.[25] While he identifies the *ka* of the king with the placenta or stillborn twin, he discusses whether this is also the case with the ordinary individual.[26] That there is no evidence of this he attributes to the fact that it would remain in the scope of unwritten folklore.[27] Despite this conundrum, one might assume that the *ka* of the non-royal is reunited with the body in the tomb as are the other non-physical components. As death occurs when the *ka* leaves the body, then presumably revivification could not occur until the *ka* is reunited with the body. Consequently it is conceivable that the non-royal might desire some reference to the *ka* within the repertoire of his tomb decoration.

Given the acknowledged functions of the tomb, its decoration is of vital importance. The chosen decorative compositions are likely to have been socially selected according to criteria that remain

[17] See Ikram, S. and Dodson, A., *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt: Equipping the Dead for Eternity* (London, 1998), chapter 3 for a detailed description of the mummification process.
[18] See Ikram and Dodson, *The Mummy,* chapter 7 for coffin development.
[19] Allen, *Middle Egyptian,* 81. Assmann contends that the shadow belonged with the *ba* but did not follow it into the sky: Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 112.
[20] Ikram, *Death and Burial*, 26.
[21] Ikram, *Death and Burial*, 25–26.
[22] Assmann, J., 'A Dialogue between Self and Soul': Papyrus Berlin 3024' in Baumgarten, A. I., Assmann, J., Stroumsa, G., *Self, Soul and Body in Religious Experience* (Leiden, 1998), 389.
[23] Janák, J., 'Ba', *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, May 2016, 4.
[24] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 63.
[25] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods,* chapter 5.
[26] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods,* 72.
[27] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods,* 365, n. 55.

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unknown today.[28] Accordingly, the fact that not all tombs contain a funerary scene is an observation for which a definitive explanation is elusive. The tomb owner, or a member of his family, made a choice of what to include on the wall scenes of the tomb.[29] However, it is possible that chronological factors and access to particular ateliers, whose repertory very likely varied, would have influenced this selection.[30] It must also be noted that the tomb was most commonly organised well before death, rendering the depictions of the rituals and funerary procession within it the *ideal* rather than the *reality*. Where a funerary scene occurs it is not showing the *actual* funeral of the tomb owner but rather an idealised depiction of it.

As literacy was thought to be uncommon in pharaonic Egypt,[31] the depth of any scene's interpretation was determined by the 'knowledge', or *rekh,* of the viewer'.[32] The scenes were dynamic and functioned on a multitude of levels and thus on which level they were interpreted, or *read,* was dependent on the beholder.[33] One must, therefore, be cautious not to oversimplify the analysis of scene components. Another element about which to be wary is the fact that, although burials and funerary structures are received by the archaeologist as static items uncovered in excavation, they are of course the result of various social processes.[34]

Compounding the problem of the interpretation of ancient Egyptian images is the fact that nothing can be analysed simplistically due to the multilayered nature of ancient Egyptian symbolism.[35] The example of the use of the ostrich feather aids in elucidating these difficulties. The ostrich feather in Egyptian iconography can be a symbol for:

- an abstract phenomenon like justice and divine power, or
- an actual circumstance such as the pattern of social life which presents itself in an intellectual, emotional or behavioural aspect, or
- the living goddess *Mꜣʿt*.[36]

Given that the aim of this work is to document the attestations of the *Tekenu* and reveal its possible underlying meanings and functions, the task would appear daunting. Inexorably this study must contain an interpretative component. Acknowledging the probable disjuncture between ancient and modern thought and *logic,* and the complexity of the iconography, one questions whether it is viable to search for a single, *correct* interpretation or even an absolute single core meaning.[37] Inevitably one is inclined to conclude that there is likely a multiplicity of answers. However, the complexity of the task does not render it unviable, idle or indeed worthless. The author's aim is to examine the component threads in the identity and function of the *Tekenu* and to proffer an interpretation or interpretations.

The record of known depictions of the *Tekenu* spans the period from the late Fifth Dynasty to the Saite Period. To date one example has been found in the late Fifth Dynasty and none in the First Intermediate Period. The *Tekenu* reappears in the Middle Kingdom but is absent in the Second

[28] Ucko P. J., 'Ethnography and Archaeological Interpretation of Funerary Remains', *World Archaeology* 1/2 (1969), 266.
[29] Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity,* 28; Van Walsem, *Iconography,* 51.
[30] Van Walsem, *Iconography,* 51.
[31] For a concise discussion on literacy levels, see Lesko, L. H., 'Literacy' in Redford, D. B. (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), vol. II, 297–299.
[32] Bryan, B. M., 'Memory and Knowledge in Egyptian Tomb Painting' in Cropper, E. (ed.) *Dialogues in Art History from Mesopotamian to Modern: Readings for a New Century* (New Haven, 2009), 19; Woods, A., 'Relief' in Hartwig, M. K. (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 236.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ucko, *World Archaeology 1/2* (1969), 276; Shanks, M. and Tilley, C., *Re-Constructing Archaeology, Theory and Practice* (second edition London, 1987) especially chapter 1 for a full discussion of the problems for the archaeologist.
[35] Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity,* 40.
[36] Verma, S., *Cultural Expression in the Old Kingdom Elite Tomb* (Oxford, 2014), 11.
[37] See Hornung, E., *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (translator Baines J., New York, 1982),'The problem of logic', 237–243.

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Intermediate Period. The greatest number of representations is attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The *Tekenu* appears in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, then is absent until the archaising examples of the Saite Period.

Given the wealth of material available to be studied from Egyptian wall paintings, it is not surprising that the topic of the *Tekenu* has often been referred to 'in passing'. It is frequently merely mentioned as part of the funerary procession in certain tombs but its iconography tends to be neglected. Scholars at times make the mistake of trying to attribute one meaning to the *Tekenu* when Egyptian religion allows for a multiplicity of purposes which may seem to us as contradictory and/or illogical. One must not make the error of interpretation by modern standards.[38]

One of the challenges of this present study is how to define a *Tekenu*. As there is no extant description of this object, not even a cryptic one, one is left with the task of determining what is and what is not a *Tekenu.* If there is no identifying text, this task can be troublesome as there is no common scholarly agreement regarding the physical attributes of the object. One Egyptologist's *Tekenu* is declared to be a priest by another. Some Egyptologists have propounded as a *Tekenu* the image of two figures appearing together. Yet still others have contended that images of quite disparate appearance and apparent function are also *Tekenu*. This problem is compounded by the complexity of the iconography, which can render it very difficult to read Egyptian images and to recognise what they represent.[39] It is therefor imperative to clarify the process for identification of the *Tekenu* and, if possible, establish criteria to enable one to state what it is, and what it is not. To achieve this goal, it is vital to examine the interaction of the pictorial and textual evidence together with the extended context of the object.

Not infrequently, scholars have concentrated on one form of the *Tekenu*, while neglecting disparate forms. For example, a *Tekenu* might resemble the shape of a frog or mushroom in one tomb, yet such a depiction is not frequent, let alone common. The depictions of the Type 1 *Tekenu* in TT 20 as a seemingly uncovered human being atop a towed sledge or the Type 4 *Tekenu* in TT 20 and TT 11, which is of an upright human being, could not be said to resemble mushrooms or be associated with a frog or the priest of Heket. Indeed the *Tekenu,* when found reclining or seated, on a table or stool, of which there are currently six undisputed occurrences, has different features from those displayed when it is towed on a sledge. One inevitably is led to the conclusion that the nature of the *Tekenu* is complex and that its state is not static. Could it be that it is part of a narrative and that the tomb owner chooses which part of the story is to be illustrated in his tomb?

To adequately research the *Tekenu*, the frame of the bulk of this study encloses the late Fifth Dynasty to, and including, the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. However, the chapter on origins necessitates delving into the Early Dynastic and Pre-Dynastic periods.

'Egyptian thought steers clear of monocausal simplification, convincing instead through refinement and association, through mastery of both word and image'.[40] It is the aim of this work to examine the complexity of the *Tekenu* within the funerary ritual. One would be presumptuous to aim for *the* answer or *the* explanation. However, the quest for an *interpretation* is a viable objective.[41] The author contends that the *Tekenu* performed a magical role ensuring the deceased's successful crossing of the *duat,* his integration into the netherworld, and his subsequent revivification.

[38] Ucko, *World Archaeology 1/2* (1969) discusses this problem in great detail. Also see Shanks and Tilley, *Re-Constructing Archaeology.*
[39] Müller, M., 'Iconography: basic problems of the classification of scenes' in *Sesto Congresso international di egittologia* (Turin, 1993), 337.
[40] Hornung, *Idea into Image*, 14.
[41] See Assmann, 'Solar Discourse Ancient Egyptian Ways of Worldreading' in *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 68 (1994),116-117.

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1.2 Literature review

A plethora of ideas has been propounded by scholars to explain the nature and function of the *Tekenu*. These ideas, some speculative though perhaps plausible, have added significantly to the analysis of the *Tekenu* by drawing attention to the multiplicity of valid approaches that may be adopted. Given the complex nature of Egyptian symbolism and the fluidity of Egyptian ideas that allows for contradictions,[1] some scholars have come to the conclusion that it is essential to examine the image and ritual of the *Tekenu* on more than one level. They conclude that it is perhaps foolish to search for the *one correct* answer to the question 'what is the *Tekenu* and what is its function'. Other scholars persist in the quest for the one definitive answer. However, despite the variant approaches, each contribution to the body of scholarship on the enigma of the *Tekenu* does provide avenues for exploring new aspects of interpretation aiding in the development of a broad-based integrative approach.

It is not the aim of this study to record and comment upon every reference made over time to the *Tekenu. S*ome references are in the form of brief remarks made in passing or purely descriptive without any analytical component. For example:

> *A curious object that forms part of the procession from the Middle Kingdom on is the Tekenu. In the Middle Kingdom it appears to be a wrapped figure that is either crouching or in the foetal position, with only the head showing. In the New Kingdom the Tekenu is shown as an entirely wrapped bundle, or with the head and sometimes an arm showing. Its role in the funerary ritual is enigmatic.* [2]

In this study, an endeavour is made to examine the salient arguments and key concepts of the major works on the topic. Comment is also made upon those articles that depart from the dominant views in current scholarship.

The relevant studies are presented according to the function attributed to the *Tekenu* and within each function in chronological order. Several scholars perceive the *Tekenu* as potentially performing more than one function and, therefore, they are discussed under more than one heading. However, where scholars have emphasised one function or association, while mentioning and acknowledging other possible components, this discussion focusses upon their major consideration.

1.2.1 The Tekenu *as a sacrificial object*

The preponderance of available scholarship suggests that the *Tekenu's* function is in some way associated with a real or symbolic sacrifice. However, confusion arises as often it is not stipulated whether the *Tekenu* is viewed as an object or a human being. There is also little consensus of opinion about the nature of this sacrifice. Commonly scholars have neglected to define what they mean when they adopt the word 'sacrifice'. The Oxford Dictionary defines 'sacrifice', among other definitions, as 'primarily the slaughter of an animal (often including the subsequent consumption of it by fire) as an offering to a god or deity' or 'the surrender to a god or a deity, for the purpose of propitiation or homage, of some object of possession'.[3] It is important, however, to note that in the ancient world the concept of 'sacrifice' most probably involved a different emphasis. It did not necessarily focus on the death of the victim or involve the surrendering of some valued possession, but rather it meant to make holy or sanctify.[4] Consequently the *Tekenu,* although determined by some scholars to partake in a ritual sacrifice, is not always perceived as dying or even being harmed.

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[1] Tassie, G. J., 'Bulls' hair and the Teknu: an enigmatic Egyptian revisited', *PIA* 11 (2000), 33; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting*, 40, 98. See also Hartwig, M. K., 'Style' in Hartwig, M. K., (ed.) *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art,* (Chichester, 2015), 47–54.

[2] Ikram, *Death and Burial*, 183–184. Note that the one attested occurrence of the *Tekenu* in the Old Kingdom is not mentioned.

[3] *Oxford English Dictionary* (second edition, Oxford, 1989), vol. IX, 17–18

[4] Harrison, J. H., *Ancient Art and Ritual* (London, 1948), 90.

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Rather, it might be seen as participating in a form of sanctifying ritual. It is also the significance of the sacrifice or sanctifying ritual that is frequently in dispute.

Lefébure (1900, 1904) argues that the *Tekenu* was a human being who was to be an actual or symbolic sacrifice and that the sacrifice was performed at 'the religious locality of Abydos'.[5] Primarily Lefébure refers to the tomb of *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš.f* (TT 20), discussing the positioning of the *Tekenu's* sledge in a pit adjacent to the depiction of two captured Nubians. Each Nubian he perceives as being flanked on either side by men who 'mime strangulation with a cord' (p. 148). He infers that although the sledge of the *Tekenu* is in a pit with parts of the bull, it might, like the Nubians, be undergoing a simulated, rather than actual, sacrifice.

While concentrating on TT 20, Lefébure also comments on the appearance of the *Tekenu* in the tombs of *Sn-nfr* (TT 96) and *Rḫ-mj-Rʿ* (TT 100). In these tombs he describes the *Tekenu* as on a bed, seemingly lying flat on its stomach under a skin in the pool of Kheper and being accompanied by torches (p. 157). This he interprets as another depiction of a real or symbolic sacrifice. Further, he suggests that this portrayal is also being enacted at Abydos as 'one of the names of Abydos is Nu-Kheper' (p. 158).

Unlike Lefébure, who perceives the ritual of the *Tekenu* as being performed on a real person at a real and specific place, **Maspero** (1909) states that the *Tekenu* was merely a sacrificial symbol and that the sacrifice:

> *was only a pretence practiced on a statue or on a special person, the tikanou who played his part in the funerals of the rich and was strangled several times a year without coming to much harm.*[6]

Maspero interprets the ritual of the *Tekenu* as being symbolic and theatrical.

Moret (1927) argues that in TT 20 one sees a seemingly nude figure, the *Tekenu*, brought on a sledge opposite a large skin of an animal. He suggests that the scene where the *Tekenu* is then draped in the skin would have occurred, but is not preserved. Later one sees the skin, thigh and heart of a bull and also the hair of the *Tekenu* all contained in a pit seemingly in preparation for sacrifice. Moret contends that the hair of the *Tekenu* replaced the *Tekenu* itself as sacrificing part of an object, and was seen by the ancient Egyptian as akin to sacrificing the whole.[7]

Davies (1941) speculates on the identity of what he deems is the person taking the role of the *Tekenu.* He states that the *Tekenu* was the 'servant sacrificed to give company to his master on the last of his adventures'.[8]

For **Kees (**1956), the *Tekenu* was not a person but rather an object. He regards the *Tekenu* as a 'simulacrum of the deceased' who was buried in the ground along with the sacrificial parts of the bull, which were burned to symbolise the defeat of the deceased's enemies. He perceives the *Tekenu as* acting as a scapegoat whose function was to attract the evil powers that won control over a person in death so that the transfigured body of the deceased would remain free of them. Kees postulates that the role of the *Tekenu* was to bear the sufferings of the deceased in death and absorb *ḏwt nbt* (every evil thing) that was removed during the embalming process.[9] Assmann interprets Kees' view as being that of the *Tekenu* as a symbol of distancing by removing the deceased from the

[5] Lefébure, E., 'Le sacrifice humain d'après les rites de Busiris et d'Abydos', *Sphinx 3* (1900), 161.
[6] Maspero, G., *New Light on Ancient Egypt* (London, 1909), 31.
[7] Moret, A., *Mystères Égyptiens* (Paris, 1927), 45.
[8] Davies, No. de Garis, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (London, 1941), 22.
[9] Kees, H. V., *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter: Grundlagen und Entwicklung bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches* (Berlin, 1956), 251.

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abhorrent aspects of death while simultaneously being associated with the concept of death as an enemy to be defeated.[10]

Griffiths (1958) proffers the suggestion that the *Tekenu* was 'probably a sacrificial symbol'.[11] However, he continues: 'whether there was previously a real or fictitious sacrifice of a human being is another matter' (p. 114). Griffiths' main point is the prominence of the association with Buto in the *Tekenu* ritual. He cites the reference to the *Tekenu* haulers, from Dep and Pe, cities of Buto, and a priest called 'the son of Selket' to support his argument. His conclusion is that 'the *Tekenu* ceremony belonged to the ancient Butic Burial and took place originally when the voyagers had returned to Buto' (p. 120).

Taylor (2000), in a similar approach to Kees, perceives the *Tekenu* as a 'scapegoat' who, as a ritual simulacrum for the deceased, absorbed all the deceased's evil deeds. Taylor perceived the *Tekenu* as being ritually 'killed' along with the animals that dragged it.[12] However, it would appear that Taylor has added elements that are not anchored in ancient Egyptian iconographic evidence as the *Tekenu* is never dragged by animals, only by men.

At an Egyptology conference in Spain, **Martin** (2005) suggested that the *Tekenu* could represent the symbolic sacrifice in archaic times of a human victim to save the power of the sovereign.[13] This conjecture would seem to be attributing a random motif to the ritual of the *Tekenu* which has no basis in the iconographic evidence.

1.2.2 The Tekenu *as an element of a 'skin ritual'*

Lefébure (1904) argues that the deceased must pass through the *mskꜣ* / *msḳt* (skin) in order to enter the next life.[14] He differentiates between *mskꜣ* and *msḳt,* arguing that *mskꜣ* originally meant a simple shroud or a canopy of hide and *msḳt* was a word for the netherworld, 'the country of the skin of the typhonian bull, where Gods and spirits were engulfed' (p.17). He posits that the *Tekenu* might be linked with the skin of this bull (p. 17). Just as Anubis passed under the skin for Osiris and the son for his deceased father, so too, he argues, the *Tekenu* might pass under the skin for the deceased (p. 17). Lefébure cites Book of the Dead 17 to support this suggestion without further comment or clarification (p. 17 n. 10).

Campbell (1912) proposes that there is a representation of the *Tekenu* on the northern wall of the birth room of the Temple of Luxor where the story of the 'Miraculous Birth' was recorded.[15] He contends that, here, there is the depiction of a figure entirely swathed in the skin of a slaughtered bull. The figure is recumbent on a sledge that is dragged by three men. This, he suggests, is a depiction of the *Tekenu*. He argues that this being would 'pass through the place of the skin', as 'to pass through the animal's skin was the means of having the deceased's soul restored to him' (p. 74). Campbell concedes that the inscription above this scene is totally destroyed and that ' the absence of clear outlines of part of the objects resting on the stands of the sledges' necessitates the use of conjecture' (p. 73). He refers to similar objects and sledges in the tombs of ***Pꜣhrj*** (EK 3), ***Rnnj*** (EK 7), ***Rḫ-mj-Rᶜ*** (TT 100), ***Mnnꜣ*** (TT 69) and ***Sn-nfr*** (TT 96) to support his conjecture (p. 74). Unfortunately, due to severe damage and the height of the wall in the birth room, verification of this is impossible.

[10] Assman, *Death and Salvation*, 464, n. 22.
[11] Griffiths, J. G., 'The Teknu, the Nubian and the Butic Burial', *Kush* VI (1958), 114.
[12] Taylor, R. P., *Death and the Afterlife —A Cultural Dictionary* (Santa Barbara, 2000), 114.
[13] Martin, M. R. V., 'La victima humana (*Tekenu*) y el sacrificio de cabellos' in Autori, J. C., Juan, M. D. de C. and Ribo, D. R. (eds), *Actas sel Segundo Congreso Ibérico de Egiptologia* (Barcelonia, 2005), 311.
[14] Lefébure, E., 'La Vertu du Sacrifice Funéraire', *Sphinx* 8 (1904), 8–9.
[15] Campbell, C., *The Miraculous Birth of King Amon-Hotep III and other Egyptian Studies* (Edinburgh, 1912), 73–74.

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The idea of the magical properties of skin is continued by **Thomas** (1923). He extends the earlier ideas of Lefébure by suggesting that, by the mere contact with the hide of the bull, the *Tekenu* becomes the sacrificial bull.[16] Moreover, Thomas argues, the *Tekenu* becomes the Bitau bull.[17] He believes that even when the bull is dead the potent *prana, '* life essence', of its skin can materialise a spirit bull, which can be incarnated temporarily, or when required for the purpose of the drama, in the *Tekenu*, who lives and moves and acts (p. 53). The absorption of the *prana* of any being, man or beast, enabled a person, by magic, to become that being not merely an imitation of it (pp. 1–8). Thomas suggests the scenario that the role of the *Tekenu* was to emerge from the skin, shedding the blood of the bull, which in turn provided nourishment for the growth of the sacred persea tree.[18] That this ritual activity conceals an Osirian myth, Thomas contends, 'is undoubted' as 'the Bitau. (Bata) bull is a form of Osiris, ' the bull ever born afresh ' (p. 49).

The idea that a bull's skin could be associated with the burial of the deceased is also found in **Moret** (1927). He suggests that burial in a sarcophagus in the skin (of a bull?), may be represented as early as the Fourth Dynasty in the tomb of Nebmahout at Gizeh (1.2.21).[19]

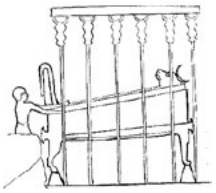

Figure 1.2.2.1. Possible burial in a sarcophagus covered by bull? head and skin. Tomb of Nebmahout at Gizeh. Source: Moret, *Mystères Égyptiens*, Figure 20.

For Moret, this image substantiates the idea that the 'mystery of the skin' and the 'rebirth by the skin' are an integral part of the early Egyptian religion (p. 64). He discusses at length the use of skin and the *Tekenu* (pp. 44–59). He examines the link between a sacrifice, either human, animal or simulacrum, and animal skin. He draws upon the image in TT 100 as an example where the *Tekenu* is covered by a skin (p. 50). He argues that under this skin, which he states is obviously reminiscent of a sacrificed animal, the *Tekenu* is in the 'place of fate of the transformations of renewed life' and that it will emerge from the skin in a fashion reminiscent of a child being born (pp. 50–51). Moret perceives a transformation in the rite of the *Tekenu* whereby it was no longer covered in a skin but rather in a long loin cloth, or shroud, which was sometimes mottled or spotted like a skin (p. 46).

Moret further argues that the *Tekenu* takes part in a journey, in a form of progressive funerary ritual (pp. 41–100). After death, the body of the deceased is transported, under a naos, in a small boat across the river. Moret suggests it may be assumed that the *Tekenu* is, at this stage, with the body (p. 46). Once ashore Isis drapes the *Tekenu* in a shroud (p. 47). At times, the face of the *Tekenu* is revealed so it may breathe. The *Tekenu* is then installed and dragged upon a sledge towards the tomb. On arrival at the tomb, the *Tekenu* lies on a low bed in a position reminiscent of a sacrificed animal. At this stage, Moret sees the *Tekenu* as being in the 'place of becoming, of transformations, of the life renewed' (p. 50). This state he equates to that where a man or a mannequin passed through the skin of a bull or a gazelle, ensuring the revivification of the deceased (p. 44). Moret perceives the *Tekenu,* here, as adopting the attitude of the human embryo which will come out of the skin like a child at birth (p. 51). He comments on the similarity of the shape of the *Tekenu* in some tombs and a foetus citing the depiction of the *Tekenu* in the tomb EK 3 as an example (pp. 81–84). In each episode of the journey of the *Tekenu,* Moret contends that a skin is depicted as integral for its progression.

[16] Thomas, E., 'The Magic Skin', *AE* 1.2 (1923), 53.

[17] In the Tale of Two Brothers Bata was changed into the Bitau bull. See Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature,* vol. II, 203– 211.

[18] Thomas, *AE* 1/2.1923, 53. Often pharaohs were depicted protected by this tree's foliage or seen emerging from it. Specimens of the *Egyptian persea mimusops* have been found in tombs from the twelfth Dynasty at Illahun and in the wreaths around the mummy of Ramses II as well as in the tomb of Tutankhamun. See Schroeder, C. A., 'The Persea Tree of Egypt', *California Avocado Society Year Book* 61: (1977), 59-63.

[19] Moret, *Mystères Égyptiens,* 59.

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Griffiths (1958), while ultimately concluding that the *Tekenu* ceremony belonged to the ancient Butic Burial, concedes that 'probably in the first place it is the prehistoric burial in a skin which is the basis of the rite'.[20]

Spieser (2006) is unsure whether the skin that is associated with the *Tekenu* is that of '*boeuf*' (bull) or '*vache*' (cow).[21] She does not make the relevance of this distinction apparent, although it might allude to reproductive energy. However, she asserts that the *Tekenu* arrives at the '*ville de la peau*' (city of the skin) where it passes through a '*bassin de transformation*' (pool of transformation) (p. 232). This enables its passage from the world of the living to that of the *'Au-delá'* (the netherworld). Spieser postulates that where a ritual object is associated with an animal skin it has a link to embryonic life, a prelude to rebirth.[22]

1.2.3 Archaic Funerary Practices and the Tekenu

Davies (1913) posits the idea that, as some representations of the *Tekenu* appear in the absence of any concept of sacrifice, a 'mild' interpretation might be sought.[23] He suggests that the *Tekenu* ritual might be a 'ceremonial survival of the ancient practice of burial in a crouching position which only gradually gave place to the full length burial' (p. 10, n. 3). Further, Davies argues that the only way the Egyptian artist could represent a contracted burial in which the knees are drawn up to the elbows and the hands held before the face was by a way which to us suggests a crouching position (p. 10, n. 3). He continues: 'burial beneath a skin is thoroughly characteristic of the ancient period and so foreign to the later that it would naturally be emphasised in the rite' (p. 10, n. 3). He later (1923) suggests that this ancient form of burial without a coffin is 'honoured in some dumb show and secondary place (by the inclusion in the scene of the *Tekenu*), lest its omission should be avenged by some unknown god'.[24]

The historian and philosopher of religion **Leeuw** (1938) discusses tribes, some ancient others not, in Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia, who used 'stool graves' to bury their dead.[25] He argues this practice also occurred in ancient Egypt. He contends that the rite of rebirth, as an embryo, from the animal skin is attested throughout pharaonic Egyptian history and that this rite provided a remarkable confirmation of the significance of the embryo. He perceives the *Tekenu* ritual as being a commemoration of both these ancient customs (pp. 166–167).

Griffiths (1958) argues that the prominence of the Lower Egyptian area of Buto in the *Tekenu* ceremony indicates that this ceremony was a part of the Butic Burial which originally took place after the voyagers had returned to Buto for the final funerary ceremonies.[26] To support this contention, he cites the fact that the cities in Buto of ***P*** and ***Dp*** are mentioned as places from where the *Tekenu* haulers come. Also mentioned is the city ***Ḥt-wrt-kɜw,*** which Griffiths cites as seemingly to be in the Western Delta (p. 119). Further, he argues, one of the priests associated with the goddess Serket is depicted pulling the *Tekenu*. Serket was a scorpion goddess associated with Lower Egypt and was paired with Neith of Sais as a protective goddess of the dead as a counterpart to Isis and Nephthys.[27] Griffith stresses that there are many instances where the *Tekenu* ceremony is illustrated near the dance of the *MWW,* who were an integral component of the Butic Burial

[20] Griffiths, *Kush* VI (1958), 120.
[21] Spieser, C., 'Vases et Peaux Animales Matriciels dans la Pensée Religieuse Égyptiennes', *BiOr* LXIII 3/4 (2006), 232.
[22] Spieser, *BiOr* LXIII 3/4, (2006), 234.
[23] Davies, No. de Garis, *Five Theban Tombs: being those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemawäy and Tati* (London, 1913), 10.
[24] Davies, No. de Garis, *The Tomb of Puymeré at Thebes* (New York, 1923), 7.
[25] Leeuw, G. van der, 'Das sog. hockerbergräbnis und der Ägyptische *Tjknw*', *Studie Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 14 (1938), 153–155.
[26] Griffiths, *Kush* VI (1958), 119.
[27] See Leitz, C., *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (Leuven, 2003), vol. VI, 437–440. See also the canopic shrine of Tutankhamun, fig. 5.2.2.1, 242.

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(p. 119). Ultimately, Griffiths somewhat spuriously states 'the fact that the *Tekenu* occurs only in private tombs confirms its Butic origin' (p. 119, n.80).

Ogdon (1982) has as his 'working hypothesis' that the *Tekenu* ritual evolved from the predynastic practice of burial covered by a skin.[28] However, he argues that this ritual also had its origins in the 'royal' Butic house (p. 16). He sees the *Tekenu* as a symbol of democratisation when it appears in the late Fifth Dynasty in the tomb of the noble ***Jḥj*** (p. 16). This perception is supported by his contention that the Macehead of king Narmer contains the first depiction of a *Tekenu* and that the *Tekenu* continued to be represented with the king throughout the Old Kingdom. At the end of the Fifth Dynasty, no longer just associated with the king, the *Tekenu* became the mediator between the noble and the gods (p. 16). No iconographic evidence is provided to support this assertion.

Tassie (2000) observes that, in scenes featuring the *Tekenu,* cattle handling features very prominently.[29] He argues that Egypt has a long history of cattle management and that pastoralist beliefs and changing burial practices were intrinsically linked (p. 33–37). Tassie suggests that the wrapping of the deceased in ox hide may have been seen as using the protective force and strength of the black bull against evil as well as possibly evoking primordial pastoralist beliefs (p. 36). He concludes that pastoralist beliefs, and influence, lasted throughout the history of ancient Egypt and that the rites involving the *Tekenu* seem to have evolved through these beliefs and appear to have been assimilated into the funerary ceremonies (p. 36–37).

1.2.4 The Tekenu *and remnants of the mummification process*

The process of mummification required the use of many strips of linen. These were used in procedures of evisceration and cleansing such as the removal of organs and their internment in the canopic jars, the application of embalming oils and natron salts and the packing of the body. Inevitably, bodily parts and fluids would remain on the used material. To ensure the integrity of the burial, it was believed that these could not be discarded but rather had to be preserved and ultimately buried with, or near, the deceased. The ancient Egyptians deemed that any remnants of the body could be used to work magical spells to the detriment of the deceased. This perception led Hornung to propose the 'left overs' theory to explain the function of the *Tekenu*.[30]

Hornung (1992) describes the *Tekenu* as a 'formless entity', which he believes contained the remnants of all that came in contact with the deceased's body that could not be mummified or be placed in the canopic containers. He dismisses the concept that it was a figure of human sacrifice or a form in a contracted position. Rather, he interprets the *Tekenu* as being 'both an image of the deceased and an independent being' (p. 169). Hornung erroneously records the *Tekenu* as being pulled by cattle and does not refer to the *Tekenu* depicted on a table (p. 169).

Ikram and Dodson (1998) postulate that it was possible that after the brain was removed during the mummification process it was ' wrapped in a bundle called the '*Tekenu*', together with other mummification detritus'.[31]

To an extent, **Assmann** (2005) concurs with the view of Hornung stating that the *Tekenu* 'probably contained remnants of the embalming process sewn into an animal skin'.[32]

Teeter (2011) suggests that, as the canopic jars were usually very small, they could only contain a 'symbolic sample' of the four vital organs. Thus the *Tekenu* was probably used to contain remnants

[28] Ogdon, J. G., 'Nuevas Observaciones sobre los entes Llamados *Tekenu*', *Aegyptus Antiquus* 3/2 (1982), 13.
[29] Tassie, *PIA* 11, (2000), 33.
[30] Hornung, *Idea into Image,* 169.
[31] Ikram and Dodson, *The Mummy,* 108–109.
[32] Assmann, *Death and Salvation,* 301.

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from the mummification process that could not otherwise be preserved.[33] Teeter erroneously infers that the *Tekenu* was drawn by 'cattle or oxen in the funerary procession' (p. 138). She makes no mention of the *Tekenu* depicted on a table.

1.2.5 The Tekenu *as an Officiant or Ritualist*

Campbell (1912) suggests that the *Tekenu* is either the king or the sem priest impersonating him.[34] This figure, Campbell conjectures, is swathed in the *mesekt* or *mesket* (skin) of a slaughtered bull. The ritual, he believes, symbolised the:

> *way Osiris had passed by death from the mortal to the immortal life and the king, even in life, being made like unto Osiris, also passes through the skin* (p. 74).

Moret (1927) notes the similarity in appearance of the sem priest sleeping under a skin in TT 69 with the *Tekenu.*[35] He suggests that from the Nineteenth Dynasty, as there are no further attestations of the *Tekenu,* it disappears and its role is taken by the sem priest (p. 51). This proposition neglects the appearance of the *Tekenu* on the Twentieth Dynasty sarcophagus of Djedmout and in the Saite Period.

Griffiths (1958), like Moret, notes the similarities between the *Tekenu* and the sem priest and argues that it is unlikely that this is a coincidence.[36] He cites the similarities as being that they are both connected to the bull, both sleep under a skin, and both are associated with Horus (p. 116). He suggests that these are reasons for believing that, in 'some cases', the person under a hide on a sledge is the sem priest and that 'perhaps the *Tekenu* is the name given to him to define a special rôle which he assumes in the ceremonies' (p. 116).

Settgast (1963) also classifies the *Tekenu* as a 'ritual figure'.[37] His argument is that as the *Tekenu* can never be 'archaeologically comprehensible', its role is impossible to determine unequivocally (p. 45). Rather he examines, in detail, the position of the *Tekenu* on a sledge and on a table in relation to its context. He does this with reference, in particular to the *mww*-dancers and the canopic jars. (p.45-47) By his own inference, his work, in this area, tends to be descriptive more than analytical.

Wildung (1976) commenting on fragment ÄS 5365 from the tomb of ***Mnt.w-m-hɜt*** (TT 34) in the Munich Museum, which depicts a recumbent *Tekenu* with head, face and hand protruding from a shrouded body suggests that the *Tekenu* in this representation is a priest. He believes the priest is tied up in an animal skin and is trying to break away from his wrappings in order to enact the beginning of life of the deceased in the netherworld. This enactment Wildung perceives as taking place in front of the tomb.[38]

Ogdon (1982) has as a 'working hypothesis'[39] that the *sem priest,* in the form of the *Tekenu,* partakes in scenes IX–X of the Opening of the Mouth and Eyes Ceremonies. Here the *Tekenu's* role, Ogdon believes, is to mediate between the dead father and his son to prevent the deceased's soul from fleeing before all the appropriate rituals have been performed to ensure the integrity of the burial (p.14–16).

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[33] Teeter, *Religion and Ritual*, 138.
[34] Campbell, *Miraculous Birth,* 74.
[35] Moret, *Mystère Égyptiens,* 50.
[36] Griffiths, *Kush* VI (1958), 116.
[37] Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, 44.
[38] Wildung, D. (ed.), *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* (Munich, 1976), 94.
[39] Ogden, *Aegyptus Antiquus* 3/2 (1982), 17.

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Reeder (1994) also views the *Tekenu* as possibly a sem priest who might have been like a shamanistic magician appearing as the *Tekenu* in his initial manifestation.[40] He envisages a process of transformation. In a foetal position and in a state of trance, it is the work of the *Tekenu* (shamanistic magician) to locate the deceased in the 'spirit world'. Once the deceased is located, the *Tekenu* is awakened from his trance by the *ỉmy-ỉs* priest who was one of the 'dramatis personae' of the Opening of the Mouth and other funeral rituals.[41] From this moment the *Tekenu* appears only in the form of the sem priest. He then participates in the Opening of the Mouth ceremony (p. 59). In TT 20, in one of its appearances, the *Tekenu* is followed by a shrine containing ointment or oils. Reeder contends that these could be the seven holy oils used in the Opening of the Mouth ceremony.(p. 55) Subsequently, he concludes that 'it would appear that the key to the *Tekenu's* identification lies with his relationship to the Opening of the Mouth rite' (p. 55). Ultimately, he speculates on the existence of the '*Tekenu-sem*' and that the two beings coexisted until the sem priest, by visiting the 'spirit world', was enabled to perform the Opening of the Mouth rite. Then 'the *Tekenu* was no more because he had been transformed into the sem' (p. 59). The inference is that the *Tekenu* was originally an officiant other than the sem priest. This argument appears complicated and circular and Reeder concedes that it is only a possible explanation of the nature and role of the *Tekenu* (p. 59).

Serrano Delgado (2011) incorporates newly released material from *Ḏḥwtj-msj* (TT 295) and *Ḏḥwtj* (TT 11) that he asserts confirms the human nature of the *Tekenu* and its identity as an 'officiant or ritualist'.[42] He observes that the *Tekenu* participates in several episodes of the funeral as a passive figure dragged on a sledge and then as an active ritualist adopting varied positions. He stresses that its fundamental actions revolved around an oneiric trance and dormation ritual and that it 'must undergo a series of initial purifications that include the use of cosmetics and incense' (p. 162). He discusses the iconographic similarities between the Opening of the Mouth ceremony and some representations of the *Tekenu* and of the roles of the *Tekenu* and the sem priest. He comes to the conclusion that the *Tekenu* and the sem priest have similarities but are not the same character in any part of the funerary ritual (p. 158).

1.2.6 The Tekenu *as a specific deity*

Bárta (1999) reflects on the possibility that the *Tekenu* might represent the priest of Heket.[43] His argument relies upon the defining nature of the goddess Heket who was worshipped in the form of a frog and was connected with the cycle of rebirth and regeneration (p. 111).[44] The goddess Heket is also closely associated with the lake, Heket, one of the three lakes (Khepri, Heket and Sokar) that appears in some scenes of funerary rituals and in the New Kingdom is depicted within the sacred compound (p. 112).[45] Bárta further argues that frogs were also known to increase in numbers before the rise of the Nile and were regarded as symbols of life, fertility and self-regeneration. Consequently he states:

> *the link between the funeral procession crossing the lake on the way to the cemetery and the self-creating creatures living in the lake (frogs) is plausible* (p. 113).

Bárta also suggests that the *Tekenu* was similar in form to a frog and perhaps somewhat spuriously states:

[40] Reeder, *KMT* 5/3 (1994), 59.
[41] See Assmann, *Death and Salvation,* 302–303 for a discussion of the individuals involved in the rituals.
[42] Serrano Delgado, J. M., 'A Contribution to the study of the *Tekenu* and its Role in Egyptian Funerary Ritual', *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 162.
[43] Bárta, M., 'The Title "Priest of Heket" in the Egyptian Old Kingdom', *JNES* 58/2 (1999), 116.
[44] See Leitz, *Götter und Götterbezeichnungen,* vol. V, 491–492.
[45] See Leitz, *Götter und Götterbezeichnungen,* vol. VIII, 567–568.

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> *that the shape of the Teknu strongly resembles the contours of a frog. Furthermore the Teknu has always been described as covered by a brown-painted skin, a most appropriate representation of the skin of a frog* (p. 116).

Berlant (2005) postulates that many Egyptian symbols were originally designed to represent entheogenic mushrooms.[46] These mushrooms, he contends, were ingested to produce a non-ordinary state of consciousness for religious or spiritual purposes. He argues that this information has so far largely been ignored as:

> *the theory that Egyptian religion and culture was built around the practice of ingesting entheogenic mushrooms, which we now condemn, can create a cognitive dissonance that some people may never be able to resolve* (p. 287).

Berlant believes that the red and white crowns of Egypt were determined by plants and he uses the enigmatic inscription in the tomb of Unas to support this statement (p. 276).

> *he has eaten the Red Crown, he has swallowed the Green One [and] delights to have their magic in his belly'* (PT 410–411).

Berlant further argues that Osiris, whose original nature was mycological, that is fungal, was a personified psilocybe. This, he contends, is supported by the fact that Osiris was typically portrayed with a fused leg or legs not unlike the stem of the mushroom and that mummies were similarly fashioned with bound legs (pp. 283–284). That Berlant perceives Osiris as a psilocybe is pertinent as the psilocybe is a genus of small mushroom known for psychedelic or hallucinogenic properties (pp. 283–284).

Berlant observes that, as Osiris was a personified psilocybe, the Egyptians constructed beds of straw shaped like Osiris to plant psilocybes (p. 283). He cites Otto's recording of a coffin-like vessel of granite containing the image of Osiris that is filled with earth and intermixed with sacred material to support his theory (p. 283).[47] This vessel contained seeds which was generally thought to be barley seeds. However, Berlant argues that, if that were so, there would have been no reason to construct a bed of precious materials (p. 284). He suggests that the *Tekenu* ceremony recapitulates the birth of Osiris and directly associates the *Tekenu* with an ancient hallucinogenic mushroom. (pp. 283–284).

Berlant believes the *Tekenu* to be a shamanic priest, possibly the sem priest. His argument is that, in the ritual of the *Tekenu*, the shamanic priest wrapped in a bull's hide assumes a foetal position and is then pulled on a sledge. The priest emerges later 'in the same distinctly mushroom-like form that Osiris typically manifests' (p. 285). The priest is reborn as the mushroom deity with the *amanita muscaria's* mottled red and white cap.[48] To Berlant, the cap was significant as it symbolised strength and as such was associated with the bull. In this empowered state, the priest was able to participate in the Opening of the Mouth ritual. Berlant refers to the figure of the sem priest in TT 100 to support this theory.[49]

1.2.7 The corn mummy and the Tekenu

Bunson (1991) states that the *Tekenu* was an effigy made of reeds and other vegetation which absorbed the guilt of the deceased. On being ceremoniously burnt, the *Tekenu*, ensured the purification of the tomb owner[50]

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[46] Berlant, S. R., 'The entheomycological origin of Egyptian crowns and the esoteric underpinnings of Egyptian religion', *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 102 (2005), 276.

[47] Otto, E., *Egyptian Art and the Cults of Osiris and Amon* (London, 1968), 58.

[48] Berlant at this point follows the suggestion of Mabry that Osiris personified the *amanita muscaria.* See Mabry, M., 'Osiris: Eine Reidentifikation' in Bauer, W., Klapp, E., Rosenbohm, A., (eds), *Der Fliegenpilz: Ein Kulturhistorisches Museum* (Wienand, 2000.

[49] Berlant, *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 102, (2005), 285. Berlant does not, however, equate the *Tekenu* and the sem priest.

[50] Bunson, M., *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1991), 258.

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Beinlich (2006) endeavours to examine the objects found in Tutankhamun's tomb to recreate the ritual of the royal burial.[51] As there is no preserved record of a royal burial ritual, he uses evidence from the private tombs, predominantly that of TT 100, to aid in his recreation. He justifies this method by explaining that representations of the funerary procession in private tombs imitated royal burial customs (p. 17). He reasons that important objects used in this ritual would be included in the inventory of Tutankhamun's tomb. He identifies three essential elements in the funeral procession: coffin transportation, transportation for the canopic jars and the *Tekenu* (p. 26). The *Tekenu* he determines is an 'amorphe Gestalt' (amorphous shape) which ' etwas mit der Wiederbelebung zu tun hat (it has something to do with revival) und daβ sie eine verhüllte Menschengestalt' (and it is meant to represent a veiled human form) (p. 26). He concludes it would be about the size of the mummy.

Beinlich identifies the grain Osiris in Tutankhamun's tomb as being 1.90m in length, about the size of the king's coffin (p. 28). A Grain Osiris was perceived to function as an icon of revival in the royal tomb and it was, like the mummy itself, covered with mummy bandages. From this revelation he concludes of the *Tekenu*: 'M.E. kann es sich dabei nur um den sogenannten Kornosiris handeln '(in my opinion, this can only be the so called corn Osiris) (p. 27).[52]

It is difficult to accept Beinlich's conclusion when one considers the description by Carter of the germinated figure of Osiris in Tutankhamun's tomb:

> *a wooden frame moulded in the form of that god, hollowed out, lined with linen, filled with silt from the Nile bed, and planted with corn.* (Figure 1.2.7.1) [53]

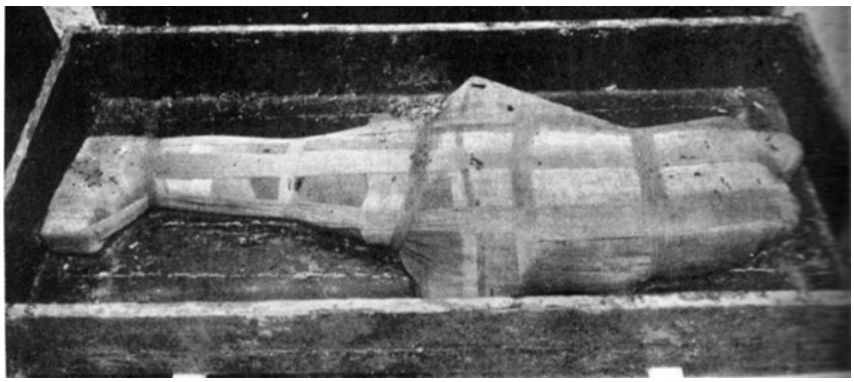

Figure 1.2.7.1. Germinated effigy of Osiris.
Source: Carter, *Tut.ankh. Amen: Annexe and Treasury*, pl. LXIV B.

1.2.8 The Tekenu *and its link with hair*

Tassie (2000) stresses that the Egyptians created images with 'many layers of meaning'.[54] Thus, he believes that it is inevitable that the *Tekenu* cannot be explained in simple terms. He perceives the *Tekenu* as a 'human totem' which was associated with the change in the form of burial (p. 27). This change, from the burial of the deceased in the foetal burial position to burial in the extended supine position, meant that the body might have been perceived to be in the incorrect position to guarantee the deceased revivification in the afterlife. Thus, Tassie suggests, the ancient burial practice was included in the form of spells and utterances in the Pyramid Texts and later mirrored in the nobles' tombs by the inclusion of the *Tekenu* in the iconography of the tomb decoration (p. 39).[55]

[51] Beinlich, H., 'Zwischen Tod und Grab: Tutanchamun und das Begräbnisritual', *SAK* 34 (2006), 17–31.
[52] See Ikram and Dodson, *The Mummy*, 120 for a concise explanation of corn mummies and Osiris beds including photos.
[53] Carter, H., *The Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen: The Annexe and Treasury* (reprint, Bath, 2000), 61.
[54] Tassie, *PIA* 11 (2000), 33.
[55] See Kanawati, N., *The Tomb and its Significance in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 1987), 44.

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Tassie contends that the 'full' ritual concerning the *Tekenu* is shown only in the tomb of TT 20, where it appears in three different scenes one of which shows the burial of black hairs with the *Tekenu* (p. 28). He suggests that this scene might be symbolic of the archaic custom of burying people in a tightly flexed position bound in an ox hide and interred with parts of a bull (p. 37). The inclusion of black hair in the inhumation, he contends, was crucial as it was symbolic of youth, strength and virility and hence important in magical religious rituals (p. 27). Alternatively, Tassie suggests, the inclusion of black hair is used to' personalise the *Tekenu,* making it a more potent effigy of the deceased' (p. 39).

Tassie further suggests that the incorporation of black hair acts to reinforce the *Tekenu's* 'free will' in the ritual and the deceased's desire to a successful afterlife (p. 39). He does, however, concede that the burial of black hairs and pieces of an ox could be a representation of a territorial rite 'as bulls were often sacrificed when entering new or marginal zones' (p. 33).

Despite there being different depictions of the *Tekenu*, Tassie feels that there is the unifying concept of emergence from a shroud (p. 38). This ox hide shroud he sees as probably symbolic of the placenta. Following this concept, the tomb is perceived as the womb whereby rebirth is possible (p. 40).

Tassie also argues that the *Tekenu* was part of the funerary rites whereby the deceased travelled from the 'World of the Living' (Kemet) to the 'Tomb' (Duat) and then to the 'World of the Dead' (Fields of Iaru) (pp. 40–41). This is evidenced by the fact that the scenes he discusses containing the *Tekenu* have a journey preceding them. From this Tassie reasons that 'this whole genre of iconography concerning the *Tekenu* seems to be one of safe passage and rebirth into the afterlife and symbolises the rebirth of the deceased as Osiris' (p. 39).

Ultimately, Tassie concludes that the *Tekenu* is part of a 'a very personal sympathetic magic' whereby the burial of black hairs is seemingly linked to the ancient Egyptians' pastoral ancestry, to Osiris, and to the belief of 'resurrection into the afterlife' (p. 41).

Martin (2005) considers that the *Tekenu* might initially have been the symbol of the human victim sacrificed in archaic times to ensure the power of the pharaoh. She feels that the *Tekenu*'s function changes in later times to being an aid in the regeneration of the deceased.[56] Her focus is upon the role played by the representations of hair in this ritual.

Martin discusses scenes where the pharaoh is depicted smiting the enemy while pulling a tuft of the enemy's hair in a display of this power. She contends that from the symbolic perspective the hair is a manifestation of life and a very personal element that identifies its owner. She further proposes that the pulling of tufts of hair by mourners, which is evidenced in the Egyptian funerary procession, is directly tied to the resurrection of the deceased.[57] Similarly, Martin argues, the ritual of the *Tekenu* centres around the necessity of the deceased to be revivificated. She cites the scene in TT 20 where the word *tknw* occurs in a pit next to a heart, bull's leg and hair, and suggests that the hair might belong to the *Tekenu* (p. 314). This suggestion is supported by the argument that hair was used to revitalise the deceased and also to eliminate evil, and that both of these elements were crucial to assure the afterlife of the deceased (p. 314).

Martin also stresses the integral relationship between the *Tekenu* and the bull. Seen as an embodiment of evil, the bull was slaughtered and its leg and heart were offered to the deceased (p. 314). Martin contends that the archaic human victim, the *Tekenu,* could have been a substitute for the animal victim in the form of the bull (p. 314).

[56] Martin, 'victima humana', 311.
[57] Martin also examines the symbol of the frontal tuft of hair in the sed festival and the revival of the pharaoh, 314.

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Ultimately Martin concludes that a human victim, the *Tekenu*, real or symbolic and the incarnation of evil, must be sacrificed. As a sign of its elimination and victory over it, the *Tekenu* suffers the removal of a frontal tuft of hair (p. 315).

Martin's interpretation is narrow and arbitrary. It is essential to note that the bull has very positive connotations for kingship. There is another possible positive interpretation of the presentation of parts of the bull to the deceased. They could be seen as symbols of strength and as an empowerment for revivification.

1.2.9 The Tekenu *and the ḤNS object*

Moret (1927) suggests that the origin of the *Tekenu* might be found in the depictions of the *shedshed* in the early dynastic period.[58] He comments on the similarity of the *Tekenu* 'under the skin' and the shape on one of the standards found on early dynastic mace heads and palettes, such as those of Narmer. He does not however, suggest this is the only, or complete, explanation of the derivation of the *Tekenu* (pp. 81–84).

Martin (2005), while not agreeing with Moret's identification of the role and nature of the *Tekenu*, concurs with his assessment of its origin.[59]

Metawi (2008) also focusses on the origin of the *Tekenu*, believing it 'developed from, or was at least related to, the so called *ḫns* object'.[60] This object she describes as being held on a standard and attested on both palette and mace-head of Narmer, and the relief panels under Djoser's step pyramid in the early dynastic period. The *ḫns* object continued to feature in temple reliefs, royal ceremonies and processions throughout the pharaonic period (p. 192). Metawi believes that this object represented the royal placenta which was, in fact, the stillborn twin of the pharaoh (p. 196). She reasons that the *Tekenu* was a container for the placenta, or stillborn twin, of the deceased. This identification, she suggests, would explain the association of the *Tekenu* with Horus. Horus fought Seth to recover Osiris's umbilical cord, which was thought to be a substitute for the placenta.[61]

Metawi believes that the identification of the *Tekenu* as a receptacle for the placenta would also explain the 'variant iconography' of the *Tekenu*. She postulates that the so-called 'pear-shaped' sack was similar to the object on the standard, the round spotted sack was similar to the placenta with its outer surface showing 'cotyledons', and the shrouded man represented the stillborn twin (p. 197). The container had to be buried with the deceased to ensure the integrity of the burial and 'facilitate his resurrection' (p. 196).

1.2.10 The word Tekenu*, a philological approach*

A number of scholars have addressed the question of whether the meaning of the word '*Tekenu*' itself provides a clue to the relevance of the enigmatic figure. However, even this endeavour's findings provide little consensus.

The *Altägyptisches Wörterbuch* is built upon the *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* which was begun in 1897. These volumes were not completed until circa 1940 and not fully published until 1961. It is not evident whether scholars commenting on the meaning of the word *tknw* before this time, or even after, consulted these works.

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[58] Moret, *Mystères Égyptiens* 78–82. Leeuw, *Studie Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 14 (1938), 165 agrees with Moret's assessment of origin.
[59] Martin, 'victima humana', 311.
[60] Metawi, R., 'The *Tknw* and the *2ns*-Emblem: Are they Related Objects?', *Memmonia* XIX (2008), 196.
[61] See Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature:* Volume II, 214–233.

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Lefébure (1900) suggests a non-Egyptian origin for the word *Tekenu.* He believes it is significant that no determinative is used in the hieroglyphs for the word *Tekenu* (*tknw*), unlike the word for 'approach' (*tkn*) which has the determinative D 54. Thus, he argues that it is as if the Egyptians wanted to hide the meaning of the word. He states that if a banal idea, such as 'approach', was intended then such a precaution would not be taken.[62] He suggests it is necessary to look at other possible sources. He cites the names 'Tekennu' and 'Tektana' of an oasis tribe recorded in the texts of the Israel stela and the duplicate text at Karnak as a probable source. His supposition is that, as the *Tekenu* involved some form of sacrifice, it was associated with foreigners and not part of the Egyptian language (p. 151–155). In his later work, Lefébure (1908) cites Petrie's description of a stela belonging to the pharaoh Antef to reinforce his argument. The major content of this stela depicts the pharaoh standing with four hounds that bear Libyan names. A servant who stands behind the pharaoh is accorded the Berber name 'Tekenru'.[63]

Davies (1913) concurs with the view of Lefébure that the meaning of the word *tknw* might have to be sought outside the Egyptian language.[64] He does not, however, proffer any possible sources.

Thomas (1923) concedes that the word *Tekenu* yields no 'radical illuminating meaning'.[65]

Leeuw (1938) feels that the word '*Tekenu*' might have been derived from *tkn,* meaning 'close, come near'. He extends this meaning to 'perhaps near, familiar'.[66]

Bonnet (1952) suggests that, while the meaning of the word *Tekenu* is uncertain, it could possibly signify 'oncoming'.[67] Other scholars, who are not philologists, express similar opinions. **Griffiths** (1958) concedes that the name *Tekenu* perhaps means 'he who approaches'.[68] **Hodel-Hoenes** (1991) agrees that '*Tekenu* may be derived from *tkn*, "to be near"'.[69] **El-Shahawy** (2005) concurs with the view of Hodel-Hoenes.[70]

The *Altägyptisches Wörterbuch* was published in the period from 1926 to 1961. **Erman and Grapow** in a reprint of the *Wörterbuch* (1971) record *tknw* as 'the (symbolic) human offering/sacrifice in the funerary cult. Particularly in the context: pulling the sacrifice/object on the sled.'[71] This is not a translation of the word *tknw* but rather a description of its perceived function.

Grimal (1994), in contrast, states that the word *Tekenu* is usually given the name 'neighbour', which he perceives indicates that it was possibly a 'protective force in the necropolis, helping the dead man to triumph over his enemies'.[72] He gives no attestations to support this statement. It is possible that Grimal adopted the translation of Faulkner which does not refer to the funerary object *tknw* as indicated by the inclusion of determinatives (Figure 1.2.10.1.)

[62] Lefébure, *Sphinx* 3 (1900), 151.
[63] Lefébure, *Sphinx* 8, (1904), 18. Petrie, W. M. F., *A History of Egypt from the 1st to the XVIth Dynasty* (eighth edition, London, 1916), 134.
[64] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 10.
[65] Thomas, *AE* 1/2 (1923), 48.
[66] Leeuw, *Studie Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 14 (1938), 164.
[67] Bonnet, H., *Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 776.
[68] Griffiths, *Kush* VI (1958), 120.
[69] Hodel-Hoenes, S., *Life and Death in Ancient Egypt* (translator Warburton D., London, 1991), 53.
[70] El-Shahawy, A., *The Funerary Art of Ancient Egypt: A Bridge to the Realm of the Hereafter* (Cairo, 2005), 54.
[71] Erman, A. and Grapow, H. (eds), *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (reprint: Berlin, 1971), V, 335, 14–15.
[72] Grimal, N., *A History of Ancient Egypt* (translator Shaw I., Oxford, 1994), 136.

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Figure 1.2.10.1. Dictionary entry for the word *tknw*.
Source: Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 302.

Tassie (2000) proposes yet another interpretation:

> *The ancient Egyptian word for an obelisk or pillar was tikhenou, and although it is written differently, it may have sounded very similar to teknu, and therefore there may have also been a play on words in this case as well. If this was the case, the teknu may also have been symbolic of the Djed pillar of Osiris, a powerful symbol of stability and rebirth.*[73]

This suggestion relies on equating the 'modern ear' with that of the ancient Egyptian, which is an unfounded assumption.

1.2.11 The diachronic perspective of the Tekenu

Thomas (1923) suggests that Egyptian religious practices over time possibly lost the 'glow of life', becoming purely 'sacerdotal ceremonies'. They were 'dramatic representations...the performances being regarded only as mysteries'.[74] Thus the original meaning and relevance of the *Tekenu* could be forever lost.

Reeder (1994), likewise, in his concluding remarks about the *Tekenu*, hypothesises that the Egyptians may, themselves, have had no idea what the object was.[75] This point concurs with the view of other scholars.[76] In fact, some scholars concede that it was possible that the portrayal was more important than the meaning.[77] A ceremony that originated in the late Fifth Dynasty (or earlier) might over time attract differing ideological accretions.[78] Reeder concedes that it might not be possible to reach beyond speculating about the nature and function of the *Tekenu.*[79]

These approaches suggest that, because the modern scholar has difficulty in interpreting the nature and function of the *Tekenu,* it is possible that the ancient Egyptians did not know either. This conclusion would seem highly presumptuous and impugns the religious integrity of the ancient Egyptians.

1.2.12 Summary and conclusions

- The *Tekenu* has never been discussed in more than a journal article or a chapter in a book. Rarely have scholars considered the entire corpus of attestations of the *Tekenu* but have more commonly focussed on specific aspects and from this formed a generalised conclusion. Particularly the *Tekenu* when depicted on a table is frequently neglected.

- The argument that the *Tekenu* is involved in a form of sacrifice relies heavily on the vignettes of TT 20: the torture and perhaps slaying of the Nubians; the word *tknw* in a pit plus other possible parts such as its sledge, and its association with the slaughter of a bull. Representations in other tombs provide little iconic or textual evidence supporting the theory of sacrifice.

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[73] Tassie, *PIA* 11 (2000), 33.
[74] Thomas, *A.E.* 1/2 (1923), 4.
[75] Reeder, *KMT* 5/3 (1994), 59.
[76] Thomas, *AE,* 1/2 (1923), 3 agrees suggesting that the meaning of religious practices was often completely lost long before the performance of the practice ceased. Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138, (2011), 162 suggests that the image might have been merely retained in the iconographic repertoire of tomb decorations in deference to religious traditions.
[77] Reeder, *KMT* 5/3 (1994), 59; Thomas, *AE* 1/2 (1923), 3; Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138, (2011), 162.
[78] Griffith, *Kush* VI (1958), 120.
[79] Reeder, *KMT* 5/3 (1994), 59.

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- There is some merit in the argument that the *Tekenu* is in some way involved in a skin rite. In all cases, except for two occurrences in TT 20, the *Tekenu* is concealed totally or partially in a wrapping. When depicted in human form standing upright, in TT 11 and TT 20, the *Tekenu* is seen carrying a skin. However, the nature of the covering is often indeterminable. The text refers to the covering by the generic term *msḳ3*.

- It is the nature of Egyptian funerary practice and ritual that it evolved. Sanctified by tradition, ancient cult drama was incorporated into 'new scenes' whereby some of its original significance disappeared.[80] Hence, it is plausible to assume that the *Tekenu* ritual derived from archaic funerary traditions and that there is perhaps a diachronic aspect. Griffiths' suggestion that the ritual of the *Tekenu* is part of the ancient Butic Burial is substantiated by the texts in TT 17, 20, 24, 55, 82, 112 and 224. These texts identify the people who drag the *Tekenu* as coming from, or associated with, cities of Buto.[81] Further, where the *Tekenu* is positioned upon a table, it is invariably surrounded by vignettes of the Holy District, a mystical area associated with Buto.

- It is unlikely that the role of the *Tekenu* is purely to contain mummification remnants. The canopic jars that contain internal organs are archaeologically attested, the *Tekenu* is not. One would expect some physical evidence of the *Tekenu* if it contained 'left overs' from the mummification process.[82] Moreover, this approach neglects the nuances contained in the textual references which suggest that the *Tekenu* is involved in some mysterious, magical aspect of transcendence.[83]

- It is difficult to deny the possibility that the *Tekenu* could be a 'ritual figure', as this is such a generic term. Such a label however, provides little to one's understanding of the *Tekenu*. If the *Tekenu* is in fact the sem priest, why give the sem priest another name? There are similarities in appearance of the *Tekenu* and sem priest in some representations but no evidence that they are one and the same. In many attestations the *Tekenu* bears no physical resemblance to the representation of the sem priest.

- The *Tekenu* is associated with the pool of Heket in TT 82 and 112 and the pool of becoming in TT 100 and 125. However, in the typology presented in chapters 3 and 4 below, its form could only be classified as vaguely indicative of a frog in Types 1A and 1B. The other identified types bear no such resemblance. Hence the *Tekenu* is unlikely to be solely a representation of the priest of Heket.

- To adopt Berlant's theory that the *Tekenu* is affiliated with an ancient hallucinogenic mushroom, one must accept the premise that many Egyptian symbols were originally designed to represent entheogenic mushrooms.[84] There is a paucity of evidence to support this proposition.

- There is no epistemological foundation to suggest that the *Tekenu* is made of vegetation. Moreover, it is difficult to see how this would explain its apparent human form in TT 11 and 20 where independent movement may be attributed to the *Tekenu*.

- For the ancient Egyptians corn, embodied the concept of renewal and resurrection and corn-mummies embodied a range of symbolic meanings that centred on Osiris.[85] However,

[80] Assmann, 'Death and Initiation', 299–230.
[81] The cities of Pe, Dep, Ked, Hutihut and the generic 'city of divinity'. The Serket ritualist is associated with Buto.
[82] Tassie, *PIA* 11 (2000), 39.
[83] See TT 82, TT 100, TT 112, TT 125.
[84] Berlant, *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 102 (2005), 276.
[85] Centrone, M. C., 'Behind the Corn-mummies' in Piquette K. and Love S., (eds), *Proceedings of the 4th Annual Symposium of the University College London 2003* (Oxford, 2005), 27.

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the range of corn-mummies catalogued by Centrone (2005) indicates they were usually ornate and highly coloured, with falcon heads, wax masks and other adornments.[86] These representations bear no resemblance to the depictions of the *Tekenu.* More importantly, the photograph taken by Carter of the effigy of the germinating Osiris in the tomb of Tutankhamun, upon which Beinlich bases his argument, shows an image unlike that of any *Tekenu*.

- There is a possible association of the *Tekenu* with hair but this only occurs in TT 20. The association of hair and sacrifice linked to the *Tekenu* is tentative at best.

- It could also be conceivable, to the 'modern' scholar, that the *Tekenu*, because of its shape on occasions, is associated with a foetus. However, it is likely that the Egyptians did not know the shape of a foetus as evidenced by the depiction of a child of Nut sitting up in her mother's womb (Figure 1.2.12.1).[87]

Figure 1.2.12.1. Nut with child sitting up in her womb.
Source: Haas, D. H., *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*, (Leipzig, 1924), fig VII.

- The *Tekenu's* being related to the *ḫns* object provides a possible explanation for its origin and also its variant iconography. Adopting this theory, the *Tekenu* becomes a container for the placenta, or stillborn twin, of the deceased. However, the theory, if solely adopted, neglects many nuances contained in the iconography of the *Tekenu*. For example, the variant covering, or lack of covering, of the *Tekenu;* the accompanying text; the context and the Butic references are unaccounted for if this conjecture is solely adopted.

- The quest for the meaning of the word '*Tekenu*' is an ongoing task. What scholars have suggested to this point is of little aid to identifying the nature or function of the *Tekenu.*

- No one tomb contains a depiction of the funerary procession and ritual in its entirety. Hence, inexorably one is forced to speculate on the variant role of the *Tekenu*. Given that the *Tekenu* is depicted on a sledge, on a table and as a standing, moving human being, one might suggest that it is a dynamic character changing action and form in different ritual sequences. [88]

- The contribution by scholars has produced a range of hypotheses on which the present study builds. The synergy resulting from examining both the hermeneutic and iconic elements associated with the *Tekenu* and its layers of symbolism is frequently neglected. Consequently, it is the aim of this present work to attempt to discover the multifaceted underlying meanings of the ritual of the *Tekenu* in an endeavour to more fully understand its role within the Egyptian funerary liturgy.

[86] Centrone,, 'Corn-mummies', 12–21.
[87] Griffiths, *Kush* VI (1958), 115.
[88] Serrano Delgado *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 152. Serrano Delgado especially refers to TT 295 and TT 11 to support this view.

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Chapter 2

Aims and method

2.1 Scope

The focus of this book spans the greater part of the pharaonic period. The first currently attested *Tekenu* is found in the late Fifth Dynasty. Further depictions appear in the Middle and New Kingdoms, then it is not attested again until the Saite Period. Most attestations occur in the New Kingdom.

The investigation of the origins of the *Tekenu* necessitates delving into the late Predynastic Period and the early Dynastic Period.

2.2 Aims

This study has three major objectives:

1. To establish criteria to enable one to decide what qualifies an image to be labelled as a *Tekenu*.
2. To document the depiction of all identified *Tekenu,* as currently possible, in context, thereby creating a catalogue and subsequent typology.
3. To evaluate these depictions and explore the questions:
   - What is the *Tekenu*?
   - What function, or functions, might it perform?
   - What is its possible origin?

2.3 Method

Data collection and compiling the corpus of primary sources:

- All references to the *Tekenu* in Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. The Theban Necropolis* Part I, *Private Tombs,* and Part II, *Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries,* and Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, Upper Egypt Sites,* vol. V were recorded.

- Relevant material was collected from museum collections. These include: Schott archives, Hay drawings, Horsfall photos, M.M.A. photos, Chicago University Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey photos, photos from the Papers of Howard Carter, photos from the Philadelphia University Egyptian Expedition and Spiegelberg squeezes.

- All current material by scholars pertaining to the *Tekenu*, and any new tomb reports, were examined to record any additional identified *Tekenu*.

Criteria by which a *Tekenu* may be identified was established (Chapter 3.4).

Forty-four tombs were identified as containing a depiction of a *Tekenu*. Two tombs, TT 20 and TT 36, contain more than one depiction.

Four tombs, TT 84, 122, 157 and 179, are recorded by Serrano Delgado as containing a *Tekenu*.[1] However, the author has been unable to verify this assertion.

[1] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 150.

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Basic information on every identified example was gathered. As this study does not argue for development of the *Tekenu* over time, in every instance examples are listed numerically according to Theban tomb number. This method of recording is adopted for convenience and ease of referral. Six attestations are not from the Theban area and are listed at the end of the documentation.

Four distinct prototypes of the *Tekenu* were identified (Figures 3.2.1–3.2.4) and thumbnail sketches of each attestation, recorded according to genre, are provided (Figures 3.5.1.1, 3.5.2.1, 3.5.3.1 and 3.5.4.1). These prototypes are further subdivided to create a typology: 1A, 1B, 1C; 2A, 2B, 2C: 3A, 3B: 4 (Figures 3.6.1.1, 3.6.2.1, 3.6.3.1 and 3.6.4.1).

Appendix A was created. This records the identification of the tomb, date, tomb owner, selected titles and *Tekenu* type.

Appendix B records *Tekenu* traits.

A corpus catalogue was then compiled. Each attestation of the *Tekenu* was recoded according to assigned type and within each type in Theban tomb numerical order. Those attestations without a Theban tomb number are listed at the end of each applicable type. The catalogue records:

- the location of the tomb
- the name of the tomb owner
- selected titles of the tomb owner
- identification of the tomb
- suggested date
- the assigned type of the *Tekenu*
- a plan of the tomb, where available, indicating the likely position of the *Tekenu*
- An image of the *Tekenu,* where available, within the context of the tomb
- the position of the *Tekenu* within the context of the tomb imagery

A pictorial representation of the *Tekenu* in its immediate context appears in Appendix D.

Other examples that some Egyptologists considered as *Tekenu*, but which do not meet the criteria adopted for this study,[2] are examined to justify their exclusion.

In Part 2 the primary sources are evaluated and interpretations explored.

2.4 Terms

It is necessary to assess the suitability of two common labels applied to the *Tekenu*. When lying covered on a sledge, the *Tekenu* is most commonly described by scholars as 'pear shaped'.[3] However, when in this form the *Tekenu* is predominantly of ovoid shape yet set with its long axis essentially in, or, approaching the horizontal plane with its conveyance causing its underside to appear flat. In some depictions the curvature of the upper surface shows variations in angle. This has little resemblance to that of a pear. For conciseness, although it is conceded that it is not perfect, the author has adopted the term 'amorphous shape'.

The other problem is the use of the term 'stool',[4] 'couch'[5] or 'bier'.[6] The Oxford Dictionary's definitions are pertinent to the context of this study.

[2] See Chapter 3.4.
[3] For example, Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 42; Assmann, J., *Das Grab des Basa (Nr 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole* (Mainz, 1973), 115.
[4] Leeuw, *Studie Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 14 (1938). As indicated in article title.
[5] Davies, No. de Garis, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē* (New York, 1944), 72.
[6] Davies, Ni. de Garis, *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs* (Oxford, 1963), 12.

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- STOOL: 'a seat either low or high without arms or a back'.[7]
- COUCH: 'a piece of furniture for reclining or sitting on (now associated with comfort)'.[8]
- BIER: 'a movable frame on which a corpse or the coffin containing it is placed before burial or cremation'.[9]

None of these terms are deemed generally suitable, except for the atypicalexample in TT 41, where the *Tekenu* is situated on a collapsible stool. In the remaining examples a more appropriate term would appear to be 'table'.

- TABLE; 'a piece of furniture consisting of a raised flat top of wood, stone or other solid material, supported usually on one or more legs'.[10]

Consequently the author has adopted the term 'table' for this book.

[7] *Oxford Dictionary,* vol. IX, 1018–1020.
[8] *Oxford Dictionary,* vol. II, 1046–1018.
[9] *Oxford Dictionary*, vol. I, 853.
[10] *Oxford Dictionary*, vol. XVII, 512–517.

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Chapter 3

Typology: criteria and creation

3.1 Identifying a *Tekenu*

Scholars have tended to avoid providing identifying criteria to determine what is a *Tekenu* but without determinative criteria confusion arises about whether a particular object may be, or may not be, classified as a *Tekenu*. In this work, an attempt has been made to establish these criteria.

The most obvious identifier is where the *Tekenu* is labelled as such by the script (Table 1). There are twelve such attestations. The first attestation of the word *Tekenu* occurs in the late Fifth Dynasty tomb of Ihy at Saqqara, seven later variations of the hieroglyphs for the word have been identified. There is no obvious reason for the differences, but it might be that the visual aesthetics or the available space dictated the form used.

Table 1. Hieroglyphic Variations for the word *Tekenu*.

HIEROGLYPHS	TOMB	REFERENCE
	Ihy, TT 82 ?	Kanawati, and Abder-Razig *Unis Cemetery* pl. XLIX; Davies, *Amenenhēt*, pl. XXII.
	TT 11, 20, 112	Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011) fig. IX; Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* pl. XI; Davies, *Amenenhēt*, 5 n. 2.
	TT 60, 100	Davies *Antefoker*, pl. XXII; Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē* pl. V.
	TT 15	Davies, *JEA* 11 (1925), pl. V.
	TT 17	Säve-Söderbergh, *Tombs*, pl. XXV.
	TT 224	Davies, *Amenemhēt*, 51 n. 2.
	TT 20, 389	Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* pl. VIII; Assmann, *Basa*, fig. XL.

3.2 Four prototypes

From observing the form of the object identified by the hieroglyphs as a *Tekenu,* one may extrapolate to identify a like form as also a *Tekenu*. This identification is aided by the context in which the object appears. Four prototypes of the *Tekenu* have been identified (Figures 3.2.1–3.2.4).

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TYPE 1

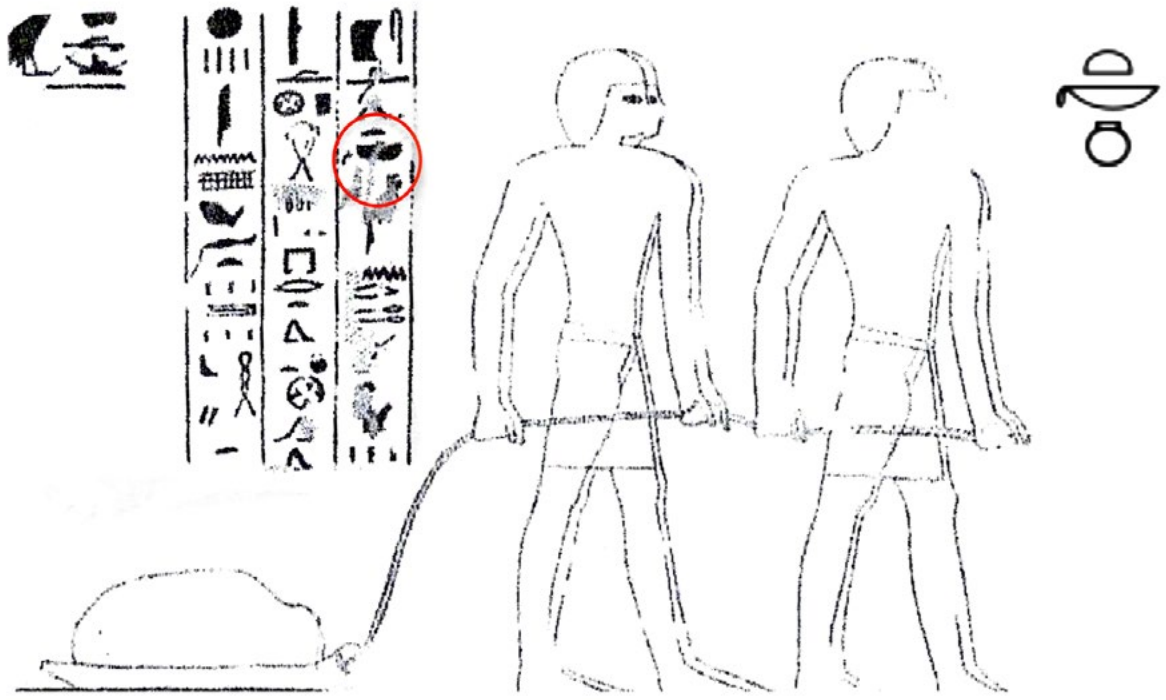

Figure 3.2.1. TT 82. Amorphous shape on a sledge, dragged by men and identified by the text caption as the *Tekenu* (circled). Source: Davies, *Amenemhēt*, pl. XII detail.

TYPE 2

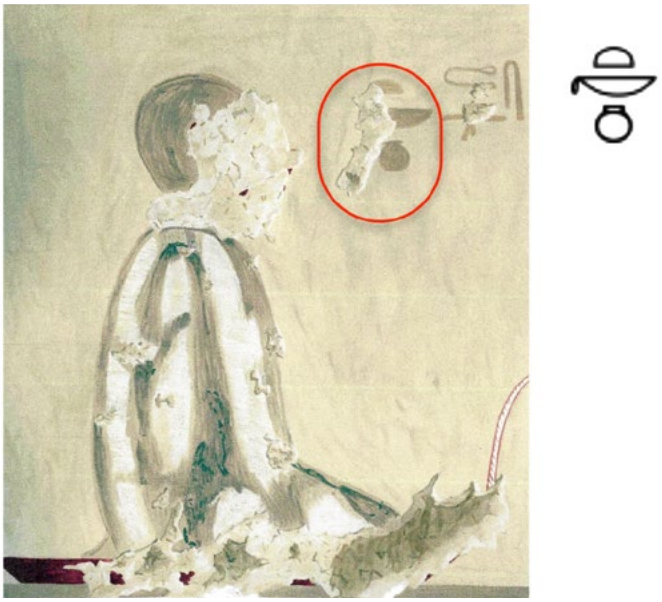

Figure 3.2.2. TT 60 Human figure kneeling /on haunches, dragged on sledge and identified by the text caption as the *Tekenu* (circled).
Source: Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. XXII A.

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TYPE 3

Figure 3.2.3. TT 100. Recumbent form on a table. Human head, hands and palms visible. Identified by the text caption as the *Tekenu* (circled).
Source: Hawass, *Life*, 19, detail.

TYPE 4

Figure 3.2.4. TT 11. Standing man holding a skin on a stick. Identified as the *Tekenu* by the preceding text caption (circled).
Source Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011) fig. IX.

3.3 Context

Analysis of the four prototypes of the *Tekenu* demonstrates that its form changes according to the manner of its conveyance and its context. When the *Tekenu* is depicted on a sledge, Types 1 and 2, it forms part of the funerary procession. It is most commonly depicted in close proximity to the canopic chest and/or the dragged sarcophagus (Figures 3.3.1–3.3.2). Whether the *Tekenu* appears before or after the sarcophagus seems of no relevance and might be dictated by space, visual appeal, or stylistic preference of the artist.

Where the *Tekenu* is depicted on a table, Type 3, it is in close proximity to what Settgast identifies as 'der heilige Bezirk', *holy district* (Figure 3.3.3). This is most commonly the rituals of the raising of obelisks, or the lighting of torches or candles. 'Der heilige Bezirk' contains representations of the delta district which Settgast classifies as contained in eight vignettes: the hall of the *Mww*-ancers; the women's tent; a pond garden with obelisks, pools of water, fields and sycamore trees; the gods of the great gates; shrines of the gods; three sacred ponds; slaughterhouse and four pools.

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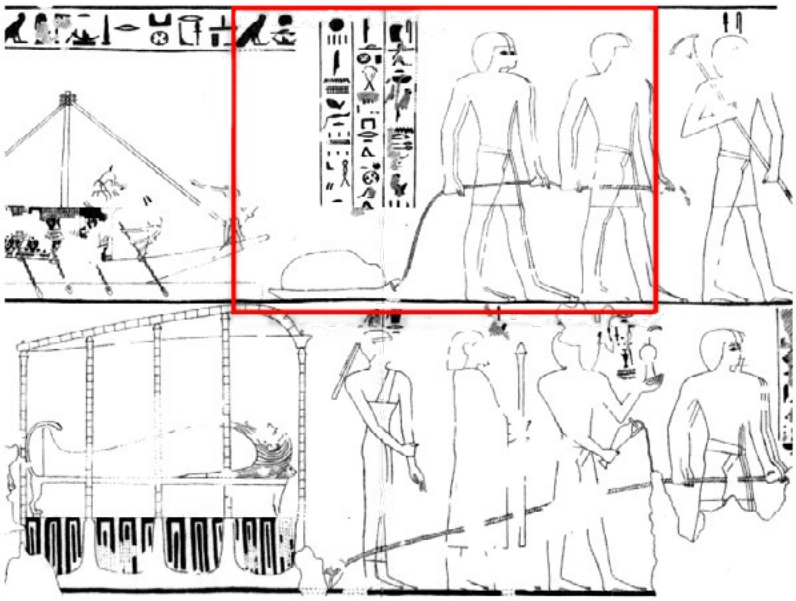

Figure 3.3.1. Type 1, TT 82. *Tekenu* in the funerary procession near sarcophagus, albeit in the next register.
Source: Davies, *Amenemhet*, pl. XII detail.

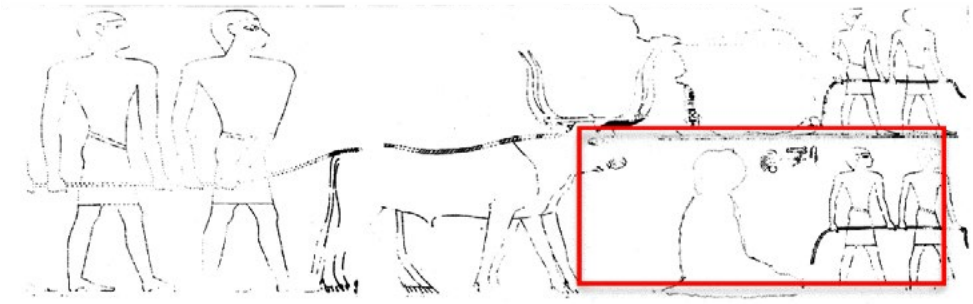

Figure 3.3.2. Type 2, TT 60. *Tekenu* in the funerary procession in subregister alongside the canopic chest and followed by the sarcophagus.
Source: Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. XXII detail

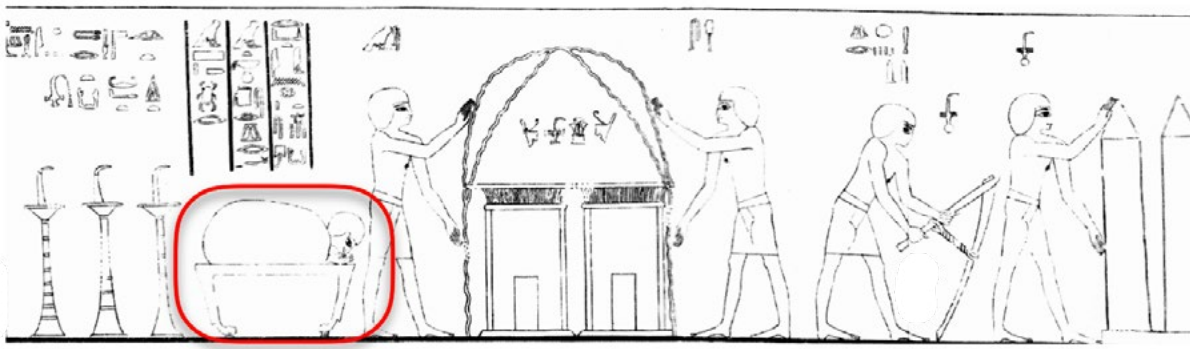

Figure 3.3.3. Type 3, TT 100. *Tekenu* amongst images of the *holy district*.
Source: Davies *Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. LXXXIII detail.

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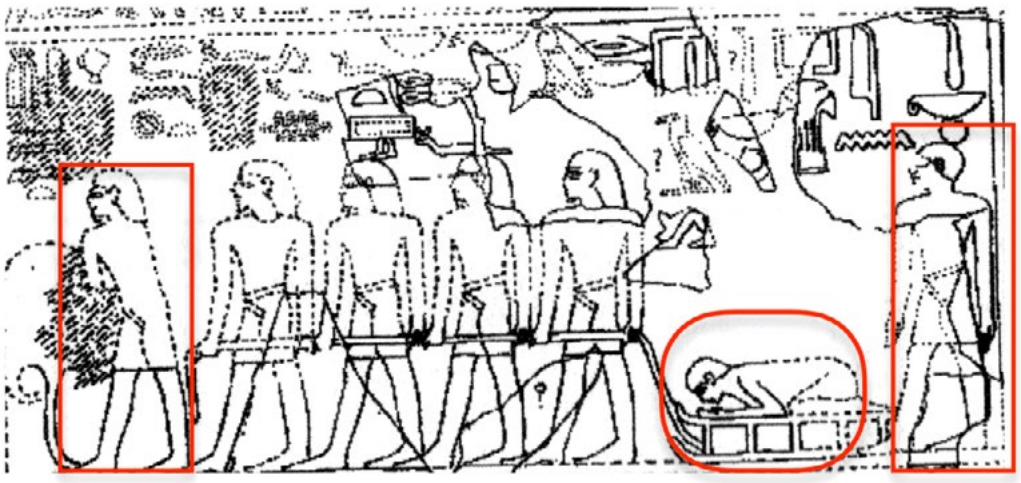

Figure 3.3.4. Type 4, TT 20. *Tekenu*, standing, then on a sledge, then standing.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII detail.

The Type 4 *Tekenu* in TT 20 appears to partake on its own journey (Figure 3.3.4). It is initially depicted standing near the sledge; then it is shown crouched on the sledge, and finally it is shown standing. The relevant depiction in TT 11 occurs on a damaged wall and shows only the last standing *Tekenu*.

3.4 Identification criteria

As there are only twelve attestations where the *Tekenu* is identified by text, it is necessary to apply other criteria. By studying the iconography and identifying the essential features, coupled with the context in which it occurs, the author contends that it is possible to deduce a set of criteria that can be applied to any depiction to determine whether or not it is a *Tekenu*. The author contends that in order to qualify as a *Tekenu,* the depicted icon must fall into one or more of the following categories:

- be identified by the accompanying text
- be either upright or recumbent on a sledge dragged by men as part of the funeral procession and in close proximity to the canopic vessels and/or the sarcophagus
- be crouched or recumbent on a table within a depiction of the Holy District

3.5 Classification by type

This study recognises forty-six attestations of the *Tekenu*. In both TT 112 and TT 224, the existence of the *Tekenu* is verified solely by the identifying text, as no image is available. Scholars record a depiction of a *Tekenu* in TT A 26, yet they are not agreed about the location of, or indeed the form in which this *Tekenu* is depicted.

3.5.1 TYPE 1

Twenty-one attestations of the *Tekenu* can be identified as Type 1 (Figure 3.5.1.1).

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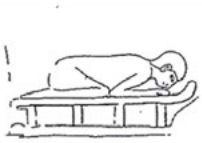
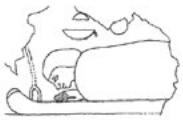
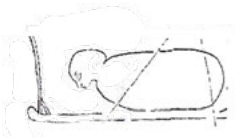


TT 20, human.

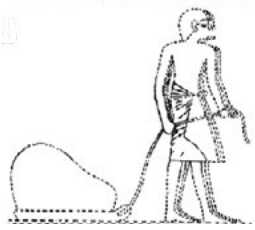


TT 34, amorphous shape, human features.



TT 36, amorphous shape, human features.

TT 36, No. 2., amorphous shape.



TT 49, amorphous shape.

TT 53, amorphous shape.

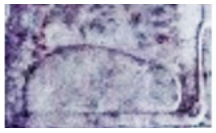
TT 55, amorphous shape.

TT 82, amorphous shape

TT 92, amorphous shape.

TT 104, amorphous shape.

TT 123, amorphous shape.

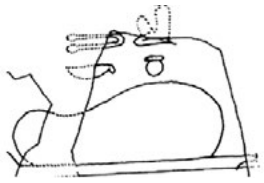


TT 127, amorphous shape, possible human features.

TT 147, amorphous shape, human features.

TT 279,. amorphous shape.

TT284, amorphous shape, human features.

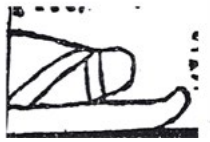


TT 389, amorphous shape.

TT A 4, bulbous, amorphous shape.

EK 3, amorphous shape.

Sarcophagus of Djedmout, amorphous shape, human features.



Unknown tomb. Bandaging. Type1 or Type 2.

Ihy, amorphous shape?

Figure 3.5.1.1. Attestations of Type 1 *Tekenu*

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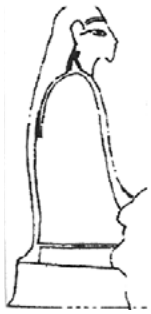
3.5.2 TYPE 2

Fourteen attestations of the *Tekenu* can by identified as Type 2 (Figure 3.5.2.1).

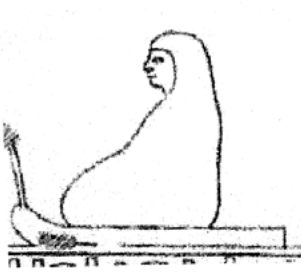
TT 12, kneeling human features.



TT 15, kneeling human features.

TT 172, kneeling, human features.

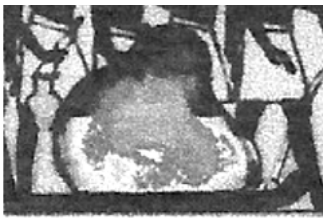
TT 24, kneeling human features.



TT 39, kneeling human features.

TT 42, kneeling, possible arm depicted.

TT 60, kneeling human features.



TT 78, kneeling.

TT 81, kneeling likely human.

TT 172, kneeling, human features

TT 260, kneeling likely human.

TT C4, kneeling human features.

EK 7, kneeling, human features.

Sehetepebre, kneeling or upright.

Figure 3.5.2.1 Attestations of Type 2 *Tekenu*

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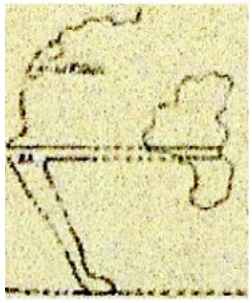
3.5.3 TYPE 3

Six attestations of the *Tekenu* can be identified as Type 3 (Figure 3.5.3.1).

TT 41, collapsible stool, human features.



TT 66, table, *Tekenu* unidentifiable.

T 96, table, human features

TT 100, table human features.

TT 125, table, human features.

TT 276, table, human features.

Figure 3.5.3.1 Attestations of Type 3 *Tekenu*

3.5.4 TYPE 4

Two attestations of the *Tekenu* can be identified as Type 4 (Figure 3.5.4.1).

TT 11, standing human figure.

TT 20, standing human figure.

Figure 3.5.4.1 Attestations of Type 4 *Tekenu*

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3.6 Subdivision of types

To aid in a detailed analysis of the types of *Tekenu*, it is useful to further subdivide the four prototypes. This is achieved by considering the shape of the *Tekenu*, whether any human attributes are depicted and, in Type 3, the nature of the conveyance. Type 4 does not lend itself to any subdivision.

3.6.1 TYPE 1: A–C

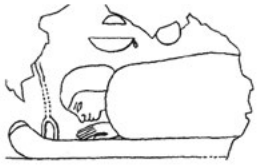
1A

Covered, amorphous, no human features. Recumbent on sledge.
EK 3

Other Examples: TT 36 (no. 1), TT 49, TT 55, TT 82, TT 92, TT 104, TT 123, TT 127, TT 279, TT 389, TT A4, JHj ?, unknown?

1B

Covered, some human features. Recumbent on sledge.
TT 34



Other Examples: TT 36 (no. 2), TT 53, TT 147, TT 284, sarcophagus of Djedmout.

1C

Uncovered, human form. Recumbent on sledge.
TT 20 (two examples)

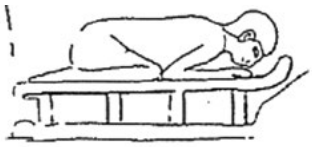
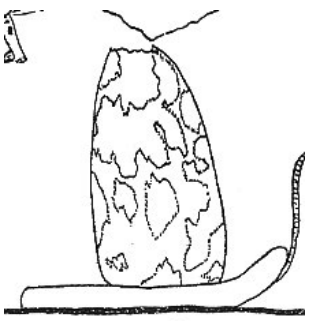


Figure 3.6.1.1 Examples of Type 1A–1C *Tekenu*

3.6.2 TYPE 2: A–C

2A

Covered, conical shape with serrated top. Upright on sledge.
Sḥtbr



2B

Partially covered, human features. Upright on sledge.
EK 7

Other Examples: TT 12, TT 15, TT 17, TT 24, TT 39, TT 42?, TT 60, TT 81, TT 260?, TT C4.

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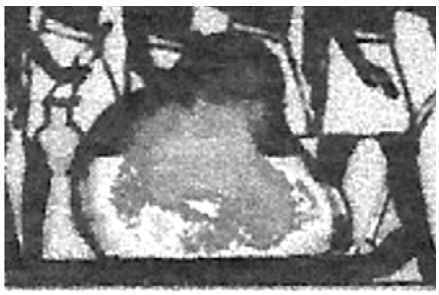
2C

Bulbous upright on sledge

No human features.
TT 78



Human features.
TT 172

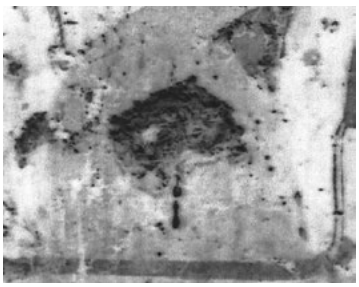
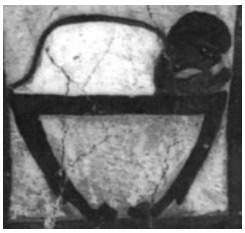


Figure 3.6.2.1 Examples of Type 2A–2C *Tekenu*

3.6.3 TYPE 3: A–B

3A

Human form recumbent on table.
T 96



3B

Human form recumbent on collapsible stool.
TT 41

Other Examples: TT 66, TT 100, TT 125, TT 276.

Figure 3.6.3.1 Examples of Type 3A–3B *Tekenu*

3.6.4 TYPE 4

Human.
TT 11

Figure 3.6.4.1 Example of Type 4 *Tekenu*

Other Examples: TT 20

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Chapter 4

Corpus catalogue

4.1 Preliminaries

Forty six attestations of the *Tekenu* have been identified. Attested *Tekenu* are recorded according to their assigned image classification number. Within the classification number they are ordered according to TT number. Where there is no TT number they are placed at the end of the list. This method was adopted for ease of reference as this study does not suggest any chronological development of the form of the *Tekenu.*

The corpus catalogue includes:

Name of the tomb owner with an identification number.

Location / Provenance of the tomb.

Identification, which includes reference to the tomb in *Porter and Moss.*

Dating. Generally the accepted dates proposed by *Porter and Moss* and *Kampp* have been followed. Where there is no dispute, only *Porter and Moss* is cited. Other sources are noted where applicable.

Form* of *Tekenu

Selected titles of the tomb owner. Due to space constraints, only the highest titles are listed.

A tomb plan is provided, where available and relevant, and the suggested position of the *Tekenu* within the funerary procession or ritual is indicated by a dot.

Where available, an image of the *Tekenu* within the larger context of the tomb wall is provided. The *Tekenu* is indicated by a marker shape. An image of the *Tekenu* in isolation is included.

The relevant registers pertaining to the *Tekenu* are discussed to provide context and any relevant text is recorded and a brief comment is made.[1]

Tombs TT 20 and TT 100 are treated in greater detail. In TT 20, the funerary record is complex and the *Tekenu* is represented in varied context. TT 100 attests to the most detailed pictorial account of the funerary procession and ritual extant.

Two tombs, TT 21 and TT 295, although not deemed to contain a *Tekenu* by the author, are included at the end of the corpus. Their inclusion is considered appropriate as they provide pertinent material pertaining to the nature of the *Tekenu.*

[1] In this section all transliteration and translation is by the author unless otherwise acknowledged.

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4.2 TYPE 1A

Location: Thebes, Al' Asasif.
Identification: PM I/1, 63–68, TT 36.
Date: 26.01, PM I/1, 63.
Form: no. 1, 1A
Form: no. 2, 1B (analysed in Type 1B).

Selected Title: Chief steward of the divine adoratress.

1A.1 *Jbj* (TT 36).

There are two depictions of funerary scenes in this tomb, each of which contains a depiction of the *Tekenu*. Both funerary scenes are found in the court of the tomb, with the version on the eastern wall being the more complex. The *Tekenu* in this section is classified as Type 1B. The other funerary scene appears on the northwestern wall of the court. Kuhlman and Schenkel interpret this scene as a shortened version of the funerary rituals.[2] Due to severe damage, it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of registers occupied by the bottom half of the scene. However, the *Tekenu* classified as Type 1A, appears in the second register from the top. (Figure 4.2.1)

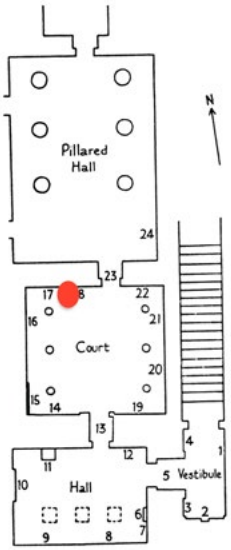

Figure 4.2.1 TT 36 Tomb plan: PM I/1, 64.

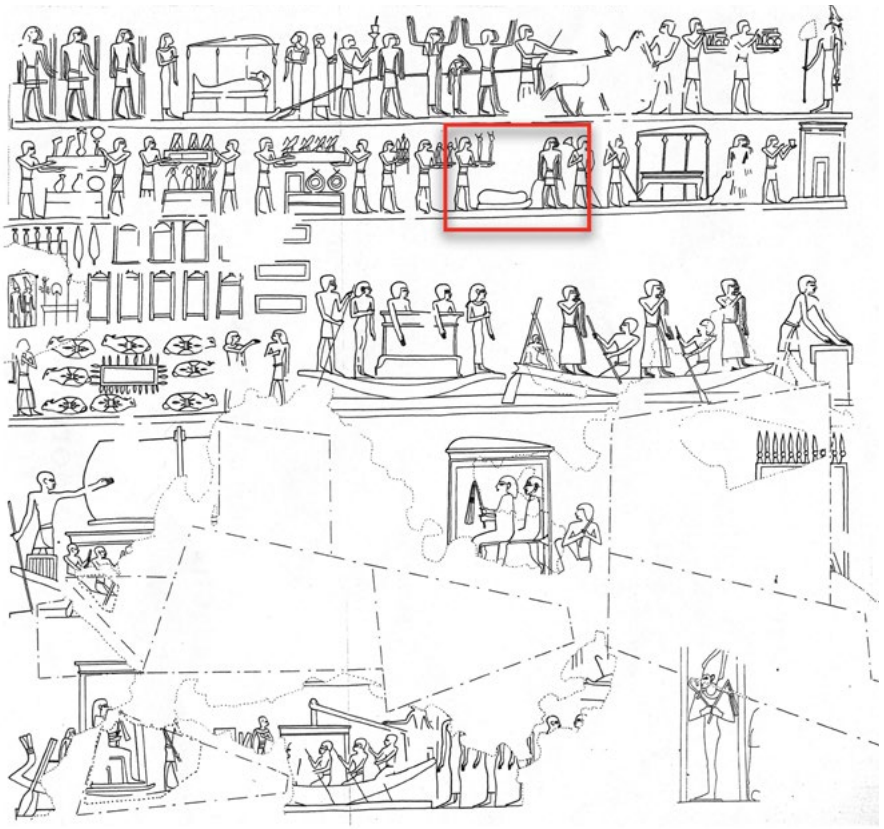

Figure 4.2.2. TT 36. Funerary procession, eastern wall
Source: Kuhlman and Schenkel, *Ibi,* pl. LXV.

[2] Kuhlman K. P. and Schenkel, W., *Das Grab des Ibi: Obergutsverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanishes Grab Nr 36)* (Mainz, 1983)193. 2

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In the top register, the funerary procession journeys towards the Goddess of the West (Figure 4.2.2). Two men bear food offerings, a lector priest reads from a scroll, two oxen drag the mummy bier, a cattleman, with whip, directs the oxen, three men and three women exult and in between them a small female mourns; two men drag on the rope attached to the bier and a *wr nṯr* follows. The canopied sarcophagus bier, which either displays the mummy or perhaps an anthropoid coffin, is positioned on a sledge and has the two kites either side. The *nine friends* bearing long staffs conclude this register.

The next register depicts a procession towards the tomb. A man proffers a bowl at the entrance. He is followed by three men dragging a sledge, upon which rests what appears to be a large dish or low-rimmed vessel, the nature of which is not apparent. This canopied sledge is of a similar form to that bearing the sarcophagus. Its position within the funerary procession is the same as that where the dragging of canopic vessels is sometimes, depicted.[3] Since there is no other representation of the canopic vessels, it is possible that this is what is being represented here. This canopied sledge is followed by men carrying long papyrus sticks, and then the *Tekenu* (Figure4.2.2).

The *Tekenu* itself is borne on a sledge and is entirely covered (Figure 4.2.3). It is of rudimentary form with only a slightly turned-up front shown. Men carrying statues on trays follow, together with yet more men carrying an assortment of funerary equipment, including flasks and ornate bottles, presumably containing oils and perfumes.

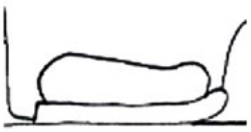

Figure 4.2.3. TT 36. Detail of the *Tekenu*, Source: Kuhlman and Schenkel, *Ibi*, pl.LXV.

The right-hand side of the next two registers illustrates the voyage to Abydos. The first boat contains the *nine friends* and the second boat the sarcophagus, ready to be lifted ashore. The left-hand side shows a bifurcated display of two registers, both of which depict vignettes of Buto and other rituals of the Holy District. The uppermost of these registers displays the *Mww*-dancers in a sanctuary, water pots, and trees, nine shrines and three ponds, possibly those of Sokar, Khepri and Heket.[4] The lower portion shows a priest with a scroll standing before the ritual slaughter of eight trussed oxen, which are arranged around a tree-lined pool.

The bottom of the wall, which is severely damaged, depicts the voyage to the sanctuary of Osiris at Abydos.

1A.2 ***Nfr-ḥtp*** **(TT 49).**

Location: Thebes, Khôkha.
Identification: PM I/1, 91–95, TT 49.
Date: 18.14, PM I/1, 91, 18.13–18.15, Kampp, 251.
Form: 1A.

Selected Title: Chief Scribe of Amūn.

The funerary procession, which occupies two registers, is depicted on the eastern wall of the outer chamber and spans the doorway which serves to divide it into a southern and northern section (Figure 4.2.4). The *Tekenu,* classified as Type 1A, is found in the top register of the east wall, southern side.

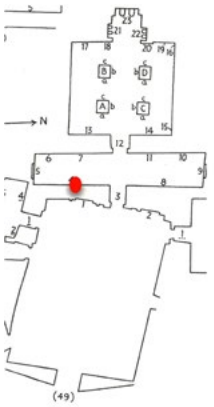

Figure 4.2.4. TT 49 Tomb plan: PM I/1, 90.

[3] See TT 39, TT 53, TT 82, TT 92, TT 147.
[4] Kuhlman and Schenkel, *Ibi*, 196.

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On the northern side of the doorway, the top register portrays the journey of the deceased and mourners from the east bank to the west bank of the Nile. It displays scenes of lamentation and mourning, as well as a procession of boats containing funerary furniture.[5]

On the southern side of the doorway, the funerary cortège has been transferred from the boats and proceeds on land. After the depiction of the tomb owner being greeted by the Goddess of the West, two men are shown with *ḏfꜣw* offerings. They are followed by three men who drag a sledge that bears the *Tekenu* (Figure 4.2.6). The *Tekenu* itself is amorphous (Figure 4.2.5), with Davies describing it as being 'enveloped in its skin'.[6] Since the only pictorial record of the *Tekenu* in this tomb is this black and white drawing there is no way of determining the presence of any colour or, indeed, markings. It is therefore unclear precisely what Davies means by his reference to the *Tekenu* as being 'enveloped in its skin'. The depiction does not suggest that the *Tekenu* is naked, nor that it has its skin exposed in any way. Rather it appears from the depiction to be enveloped by a shroud or covering of some sort. Perhaps it is to the appearance of being covered in this way that Davies is referring.

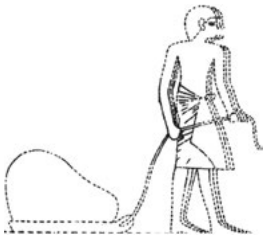

Figure 4.2.5. TT 49. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Davies, *Nefer-hotep* pl. XX, detail. 56

Figure 4.2.6. TT 49. The funerary procession. Source: Davies, compilation, *Neferhotep,* pl. XX, southern side of doorway.

A lector priest has his back to the *Tekenu* and recites to the following procession, which begins with a priest who censes and libates the way. Four cows then follow, accompanied by a sacrificial calf, which pull the ornate, papyrus-adorned mummy bier. The entourage accompanying this procession consists of numerous persons, namely, a man with a whip who guides the cattle; four men who drag the rope,[7] another priest who censes and libates the way, a *wr nṯr*; a kite, mourners, and the second kite. The end of the register shows the smaller, but equally ornate, canopic bier being dragged by four men and followed by a male mourner and three men in attitudes of reverence.

The bottom register of the eastern wall on the southern side depicts mourners and funerary goods before a cow in the form of Hathor.[8]

The bottom register of the eastern wall on the northern side illustrates the making and apparent consecration of the burial furniture (Figures 4.2.7–4.2.8). This process is being observed by two figures who might be the parents of Neferhotep.[9] The majority of the scene depicts the workshop of the carpenters, including the making of the coffin. Adjacent to the preparation area of the coffin there stands a three-legged, round container. Upon this container rests an unidentified object the form of which closely resembles the *Tekenu* as depicted in this tomb and in other Type 1A representations. It is an important observation that this structure is parallel to the coffin and it differs in form from any other of the depicted objects. It is conceded that Davies indicates that he has reconstructed the form of the object, however, Hay's record appears not to suffer from

[5] Davies, No. de Garis, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes* (New York, 1933), 39, pls XXII–XXIV.
[6] Davies, *Nefer-hotep,* 42.
[7] Davies, *Nefer-hotep,* 42 suggests that these are 'representatives of holy cities', possibly due to their ribboned head bands but there is no text to confirm this.
[8] Davies, *Nefer-hotep,* pl. XXI.
[9] Davies, *Nefer-hotep,* 45.

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reconstruction.[10] One might cautiously suggest that there is more than a superficial resemblance between this object and the Type 1A *Tekenu* and that what is being shown in this scene is the creation of the *Tekenu* along with other funerary furniture. The tombs of Thoy (TT 23) and Amenemope (TT 41) also contain scenes from the workshop of the carpenters fashioning the coffin.[11] However, they depict no object resembling a *Tekenu.*

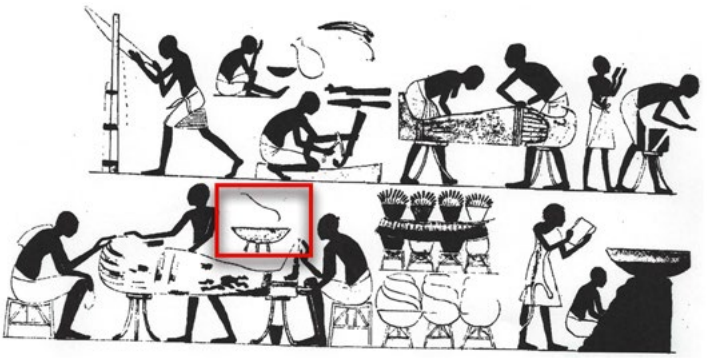

Figure 4.2.7. TT 49. Two stages in the preparation of the coffin.
Source: Hay MSS 29823. Courtesy of the British Library Board.

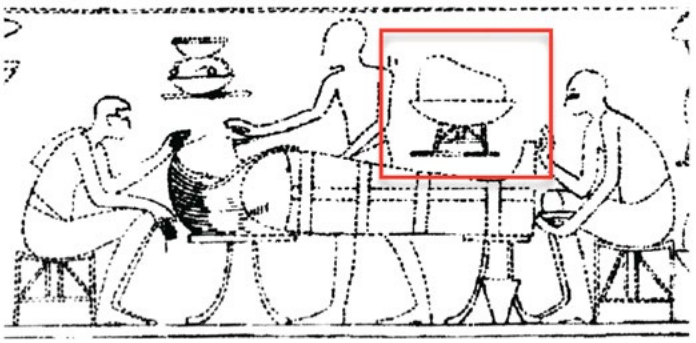

Figure 4.2.8. TT 49. Burial furniture with possible creation of Type 1A form of *Tekenu*.
Source: Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, pl. XXVII, detail.

1A.3 *Rˁ-ms* (TT 55)

Location: Thebes, Shaykh ʻAbd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 105–111, TT 55.
Date: 18.10, PM I/1, 105,18.09–18.10, Kampp, 262.
Form: 1A.

Selected Titles: Governor of the town, Vizier.

The funerary procession, contained in two registers, is located on the southern wall (Figure 4.2.9). The *Tekenu*, classified as Type 1A, is shown in the top register.

Figure 4.2.10. TT 55 The *Tekenu*.
Photo: G. West.

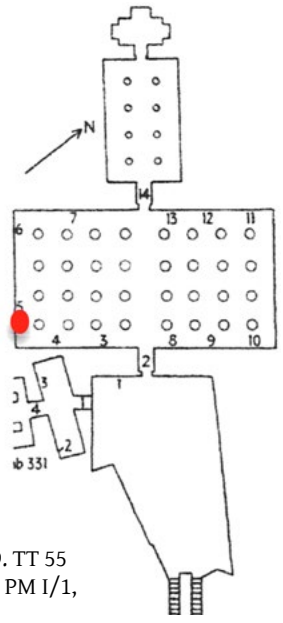

Figure 4.2.9. TT 55 Tomb plan: PM I/1, 106.

[10] See fig. 4.2.7.
[11] See http://egyptmyluxor.weebly.com/tjay-tomb-tt23,9 for TT 23; Dawson, W. R., 'Making a Mummy', *JEA* XIII (1927), fig 1 for TT 41.

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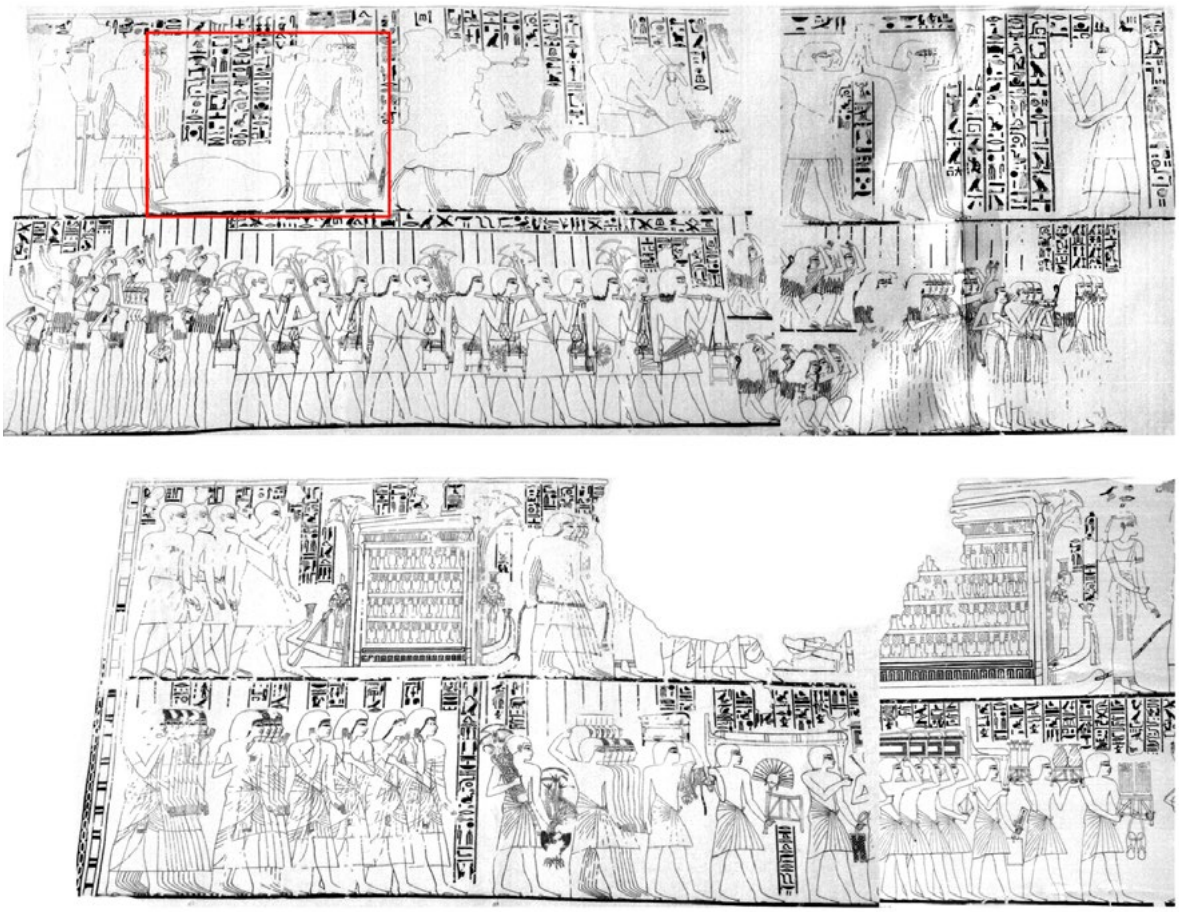

Figure 4.2.11. TT 55. Section of the funerary procession.
Source: Compiled from Davies, *Ramose,* pls XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII.

Both registers of the funerary scene proceed towards a large figure of the Goddess of the West. The top register depicts the funerary procession (Figure 4.2.11). Directly in front of the Goddess of the West appears a door to the tomb followed by an extremely damaged area showing bearers of offerings. The procession is met by a lector priest who recites from a scroll. Four *pʿt* (patricians) and four *rḫyt* (common folk) who *ḳɜ(i)* (rejoice) then follow (Figure 4.2.12).

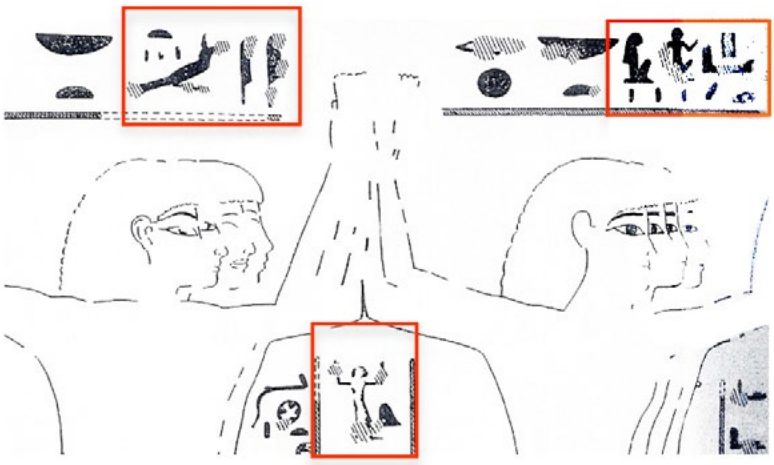

Figure 4.2.12. TT 55. Text identifying accompanying people.
Source: Davies, Ramose, pl. XXIV, detail.

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They are, in turn, followed by four bulls, then four cows which, seemingly, would pull the sarcophagus, however no rope is shown. Walking beside the animals are two officiants, who prepare the way for the procession. Next a vertical text identifies the approaching *Tekenu* (Figure 4.2.13):

Figure 4.2.13. TT 55 Text identifying those dragging the *Tekenu*.
Source: Davies, Ramose, pl. XXV, detail.

sṯꜣ tkn.w ỉn r(m)ṯ(.t) nṯr(.y)

'The dragging of the *Tekenu* by the people of Netjery (City of divinity)'.

The *Tekenu* is dragged by four men. It is in the form of a black bundle, which Davies suggests 'looks more like a slaughtered ox...the likeness might well have been intended'.[12] The object appears to have a covered head and, at its rear, a discoloured area. This might be an extended foot, part of the surface of the sledge or merely damage.

Above the men dragging the *Tekenu,* part of the text may be discerned as (Figure 4.2.14):

Figure 4.2.14. TT 55. Text above men.
Source: Davies, *Ramose*, pl. XXV, detail.

ꜥḳ-[prỉ.t] ỉ[n] [r](m)ṯ(.t)

The entry and exit by the people of...

Five columns of text appear behind the men dragging the *Tekenu* (Figure 4.2.15). This text is directly above the *Tekenu*.

reading from right to left

sṯꜣ ỉn

rḫ.wy-nswt ỉrỉ.t wꜣ.t nfr.t r tꜣ r

[ꜥꜣ.wy] ꜣḫ.t r s.t=f

ỉm[.yt] tꜣ ḏsr sꜥr ỉm.y-rꜣ nỉw.t ṯꜣ.ty (ỉ)r(.y)-Nḫn

...Rꜥ-msỉ.w [mꜣ]ꜥ-[ḫrw] r ḫr.t-nṯr ḥtp=f rwd ḫꜣ.t=f ḏ.t sp-Ḥ r nḥḥ

Figure 4.2.15. TT 55. Text above *Tekenu*.
Source: Davies, *Ramose*, pl. XXV, detail.

[12] Davies, *Ramose*, 23.

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'The dragging by
the two king's acquaintances; the making of a good path to the land at the doors of the horizon, to his place
which is in the sacred land; making the mayor, vizier and warden of Nekhen
....Ramose, justified, ascend to the necropolis, that he might rest, that
his corpse might endure always, always, for eternity.'

Four men, who are identified as coming from Pe and Dep (Figure 4.2.16), hold a rope of the same ornate type as the *Tekenu*'s. This rope is used to drag the following sarcophagus.

Figure 4.2.16. TT 55. Text identifying people as coming from Pe and Dep.
Source: Davies, *Ramose*, pl. XXV, detail.

Next follow a *wr nṯr* and a kite who is placed in front of the ornate mummy bier. After a lacuna four men drag a smaller version of the mummy bier, which holds the canopic jars. Four priests of Amūn follow, ending the procession.

1A.4 *Jmn-m-ḥɜ.t* (TT 82)

Location: Thebes, Shaykh 'Abd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 163–167, TT 82.
Date: 18.06, PM I/1, 163; 18.05–18.06 Kampp, 326.

Selected Titles: Counter of the grain of Amūn, Steward of the Vizier.

The funerary scene, which occupies five registers, is situated on the western wall of the passage (Figure 4.2.17). The funerary procession is contained in the three upper registers and a fragmented depiction of the Holy District remains in the lower registers. The *Tekenu,* classified as Type 1A, is found in the second register from the top (Figures 4.2.18, 4.2.19).

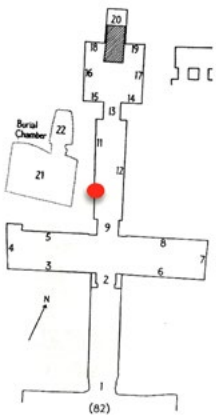

Figure 4.2.17. TT 82 Tomb plan.
PM I/1, 160.

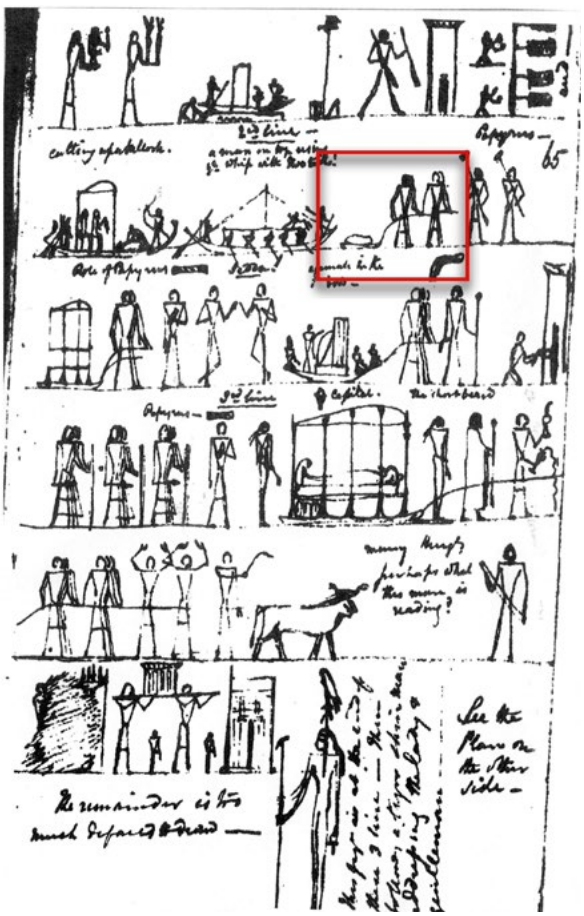

Figure 4.2.18. TT 82. The funerary procession.
Source: Hay, MSS 29824, 0069. Curtesy of The British Library Board.

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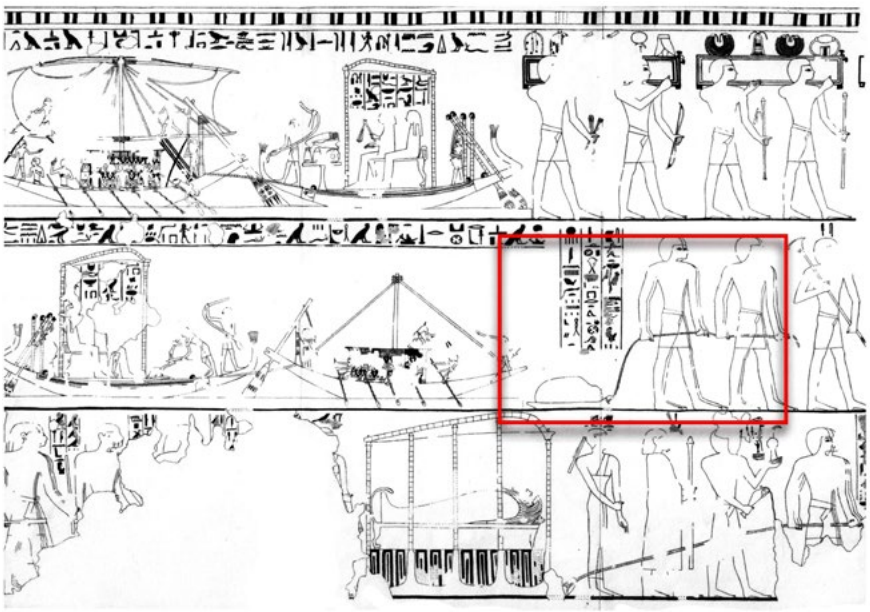

Figure 4.2.19. TT 82. Funerary procession. Source: Davies, *Amenemhēt*, pl. XII.

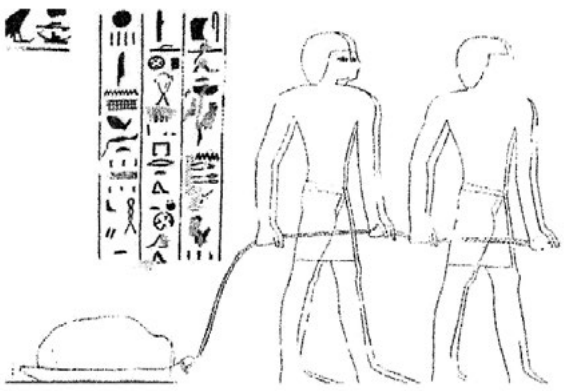

Figure 4.2.20. TT 82. The *Tekenu* and text. Source: Davies, *Amenemhēt*

Figure 4.2.21. TT 82. The *Tekenu.* Source: Hawass, *Life,* 29, detail.

The *Tekenu* is dragged, on a sledge by four men configured two by two (Figures 4.2.20, 4.2.21). They are identified as the people of Ked by the text above the *Tekenu* (Figures 4.2.19, 4.2.20. 4.2.22).

Figure 4.2.22. TT 82. Reproduction of text by Hayes. Source: Davies, *Amenemhēt* pl. XII, detail.

sṯɜ tkn.w ỉn r(m)ṯ(.t)

Ḳd{p} sɜ.w Srḳ.t prỉ.t nw.t ʿḳ-prỉ.t

sp-4 *ỉn spɜ.t ỉdn mḥ.t š.w Ḥḳ.t*

'The dragging of the *Tekenu* by the people of Ked and the Serket-ritualist; the city's procession; the entry and exit four times by the (whole) district; re-plenishing the fullness of the pools of Heket.

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The nature of the *Tekenu*, as portrayed here, has been variously described. While the photographic record of Hawass shows a light-coloured object this could be due to damage and it is possible that the *Tekenu* was originally a darker colour. Certainly the text above it, which has largely been destroyed and now appears as a light-coloured area, was originally of a darker colour as is witnessed in Davies' record (Figure 4.2.19). Davies records that the *Tekenu* is 'a black object of ill-defined shape'.[13] Hay records 'on the shore four men drag a sledge with the *Green Bag*' (Figure 4.2.23) [14]

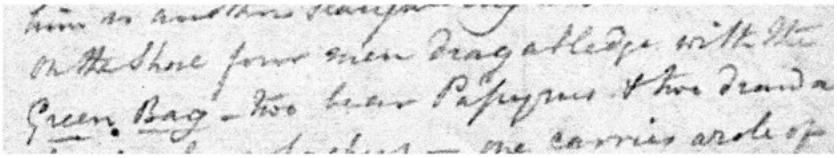

Figure 4.2.23. TT 82 Mention of 'Green Bag'
Source: Hay MSS 29824,62 verso. Courtesy of the British Library Board.

This is one of two references attesting to the *Tekenu* as being a 'Green Bag'. The other, also recorded by Hay, occurs in TT A4 where he cites the *Tekenu* as being 'a large green case...this may be the Green bag!' (Figure 4.2.52).[15]

The *Tekenu* appears in the context of the dragging of what is probably the canopic chest on a sledge,[16] towards two *Mww*-dancers (Figure 4.2.24), who are identified, by the text, with the delta people of Pe.[17] Two *smr* (companions), bearing long-stalked papyrus blossom immediately precede the *Tekenu* procession which is followed by a depiction of the voyage to Abydos.

Figure 4.2.24. TT 82. The *Tekenu* in procession towards the *Mww*-dancers.
Source: Hawass, *Life*, 29, detail.

1A.5 *Sw-m-nw.t* (TT 92).

Location: Thebes, Shaykh 'Abd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 187–189, TT 92.
Date: 18.07, PM I/1, 187. 18.06–18.07, Kampp, 350.
Form: 1A.

Selected Title: Royal Butler, clean of Hands.

The funerary procession, which is depicted in four registers, is represented on the western wall of the passageway (Figure 4.2.25). The *Tekenu*, classified as Type 1A, is situated in the second register from the top.

[13] Davies, *Amenemhēt,* 50. Only one other image of the *Tekenu* dragged on a sledge and possibly covered in a light coloured material is attested in TT 104.
[14] Hay MSS 29824,62 verso.
[15] Hay, MSS 29824, 18 verso.
[16] Davies, *Amenemhēt,* 50.
[17] Davies, *Amenemhēt,* pl. XI.

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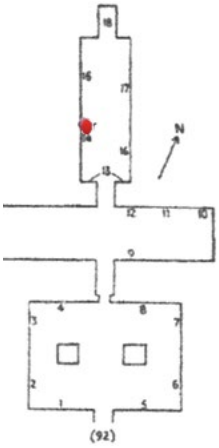

Figure 4.2.25. TT 92. Tomb plan: PM I/1, 186.

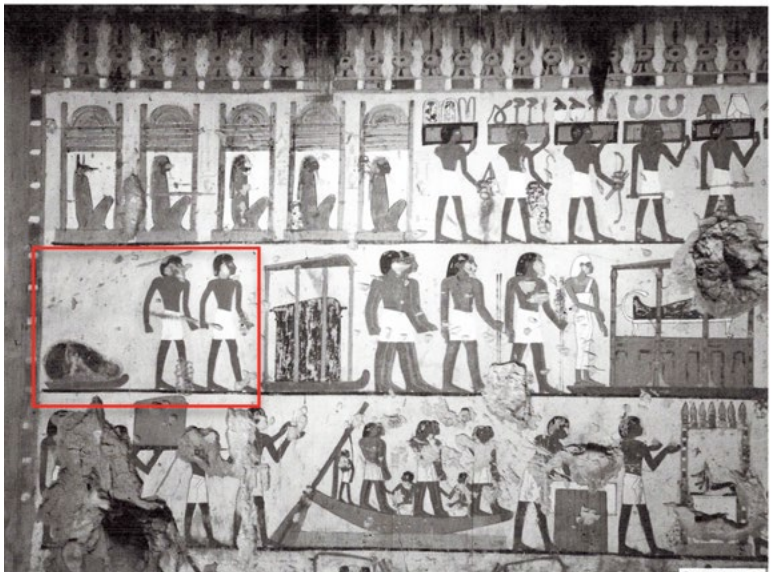

Figure 4.2.26. TT 92. Section of the funerary procession. Source: Chicago Oriental Institute photo 6133. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

There is neither a detailed tomb report nor a complete pictorial record of the funerary procession for TT 92. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, it is necessary to attempt analysis using Chicago Oriental Institute photo 6133 (Figure 4.2.26), Horsfall photo G 3 (Figure 4.2.28), Schott photos 6864, 3505—3506, 5158—5159, 5160—5161 (Figures 4.2.27,4.2.29, 4.2.30, 4.2.31).

Figure 4.2.27. TT 92. The *Tekenu*. Source: Schott photo 6864. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford and Schott-Archiv Ägyptologie der Universität Trier.

Figure 4.2 28. TT 92. Section of the funerary procession. Source: Horsfall photo G.3. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

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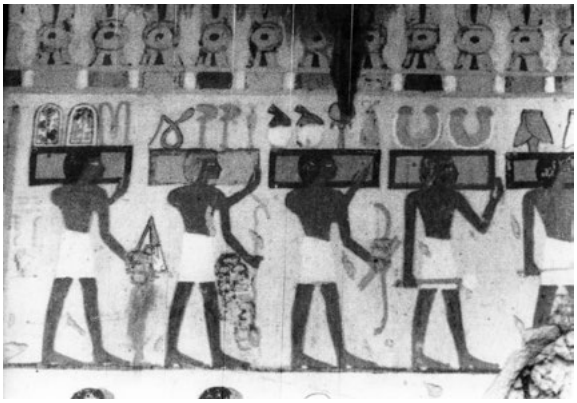

Figure 4.2.29. TT 92. Top Register. Bearing the funerary furniture.
Source: Schott photo 3505.Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford and Schott-Archiv Ägyptologie der Universität Trier.

Figure 4.2.30. TT 92. Top Register. Bearing the funerary furniture.
Source: Schott photo 3506. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford and Schott-Archiv Ägyptologie der Universität Trier.

The funerary procession, which is portrayed in four registers, proceeds towards Osiris and the Goddess of the West.[18] The first register from the top displays the funerary equipment as recorded in Horsfall photo. G. 3. and Schott photos 3505 and 3506. Chicago Oriental Institute photo, 6133 also shows five amorphous gods enclosed in separate chapels (Figures 4.2 26–4.2.30).

The second register has been analysed using Horsfall photo G. 3 and Chicago photo 6133. This register contains the funerary cortège. The right-hand side of the register is severely damaged. The first identifiable image is that of cattle, which would, presumably, drag the funerary bier. Then follow two groups of exalting men and two men pulling a rope that hauls the mummy bier. This is followed by a procession of officials including a libation priest, a *wr nṯr,* the two kites surrounding the mummy bier, four of the nine friends, three men dragging a naos containing what is most likely the canopic jars, and then two men dragging a sledge upon which is the *Tekenu*. The *Tekenu* is completely encased in a dark covering.

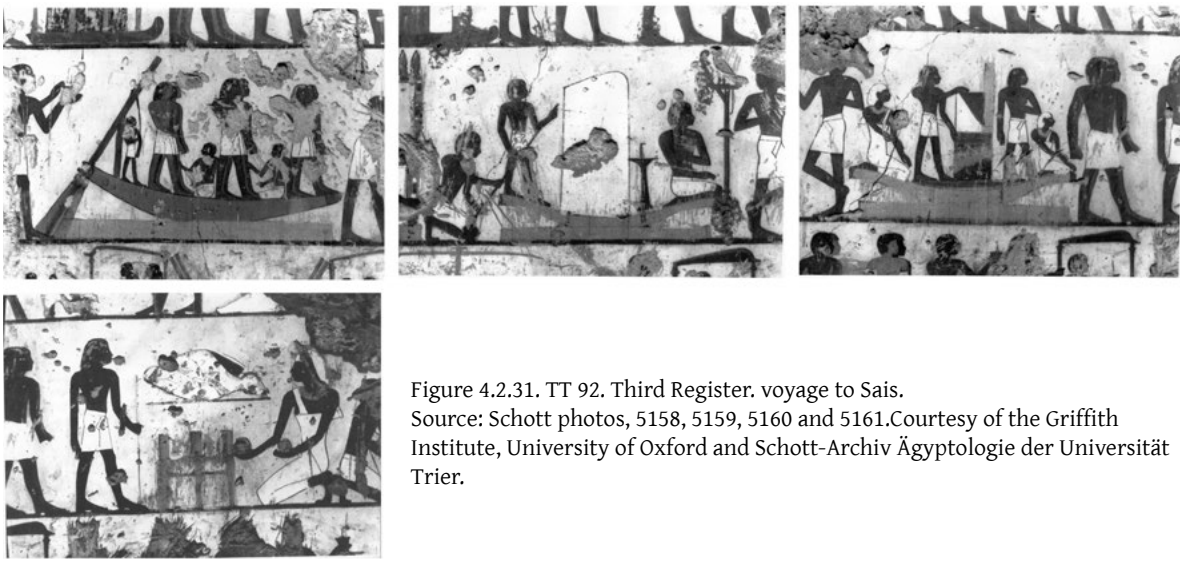

Figure 4.2.31. TT 92. Third Register. voyage to Sais.
Source: Schott photos, 5158, 5159, 5160 and 5161.Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford and Schott-Archiv Ägyptologie der Universität Trier.

The third register appears to be a truncated version of the voyage to Sais. (Figures 4.2.26, 4.2.31).

The bottom register depicts the deceased and his wife on the voyage to Abydos (Figure 4.2.28).

[18] PM I/1, 189.

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1A.6 *Ḏḥwtj-nfr* (TT 104)

Location: Thebes, Shaykh ʻAbd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 217–218, TT 104.
Date: 18.07 PM I/1, 217, 18.05 ?–18.06 Kampp, 378.
Form: 1A.

Selected Titles: Overseer of the Treasury, Royal Scribe.

The funerary procession which consists of three registers, is situated on the western wall of the inner room (Figure 4.2.32). The *Tekenu*, classified as Type 1A, appears in the middle register.

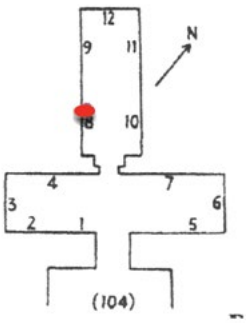


Figure 4.2.32. TT 104
Tomb plan: PM I/11, 208.

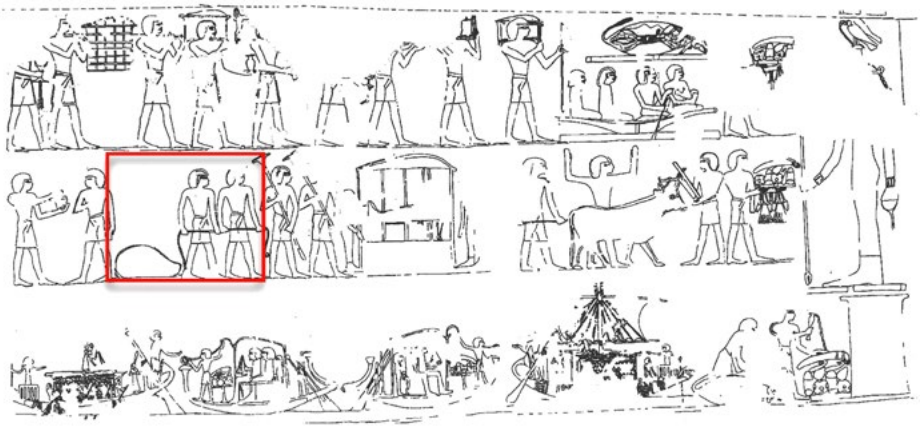


Figure 4.2.33. TT 104. The funerary procession.
Source: Shedid, *Grabmalereien*, pl. XXVIIIa.

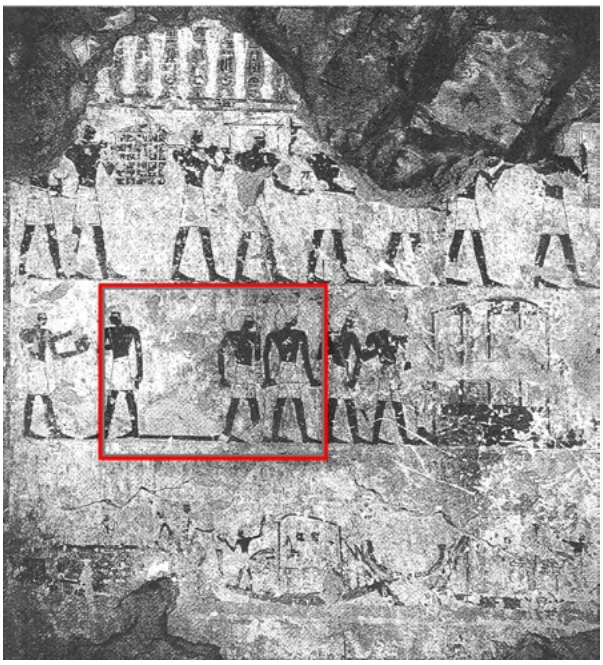
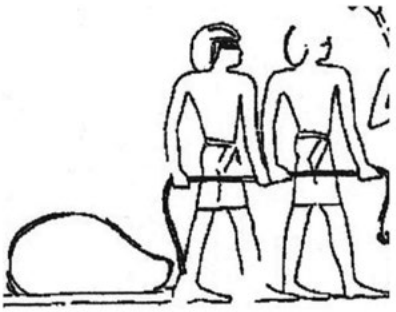


Figure 4.2.34. TT 104. The funerary procession.
Source: Shedid, *Grabmalereien,* pl. XXVIIa.

Figure 4.2.35. TT 104. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Shedid, Grabmalereien, pl. XXVIIIa, detail.



The funerary procession proceeds towards a large depiction of the Goddess of the West which spans the top, and middle registers. The goddess stands on a ‘green mat’[19] and bears her symbols of a falcon and sceptre (Figure 4.2.33).

[19] Shedid, A. G., *Stil der Grabmalereien in der Zeit Amenophis’ II. Untersucht an den Thematischen Gräbern Nr. 104 und Nr. 80.* (Mainz, 1988), 131.

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The top register displays offerings, a boat with four men, and a procession of men bearing the funerary furniture.

The middle register depicts a man presenting *ḏfȝ* offerings to the goddess. He is followed by a priest reading from a scroll, two mourners with arms raised in exultation, two oxen dragging the mummy bier, one(?) man holding the rope of the bier, the mummy bier itself guarded by the two kites, two men bearing long papyrus sticks on their right shoulders and two men who drag the *Tekenu.* The *Tekenu* is borne on 'a simple wooden sledge' [20] and is followed by two men, one of whom is offering incense to the other. The covering of the *Tekenu* would appear to be of a light colour. Further, this covering appears to be of similar hue to the skirts worn by the accompanying men. Without a coloured image, however, this assessment must be deemed speculative.

The bottom register depicts the journey to and from Abydos in mirror image form. The far right of the register records another offering segment including libations.

1 A.7 *Jmn-m-hȝ.t* (TT 123)

Location: Thebes Shaykh 'Abd al Qurnah
Identification: PM I/1, 236–237, TT 123.
Date: 18.06, PM I/1 236
Form 1A

Selected Titles: Scribe, Over-seer of the granary, Counter of bread.

The funerary scene, which occupies three registers, is situated on the southern wall of the passage (Figure 4.2.36). PM does not record a *Tekenu* in TT 123, however both Settgast and Serrano Delgado attest to its occurrence in this tomb.[21] By reference to Settgast's image (Figure. 4.2.37), the *Tekenu* is classified as Type 1A.

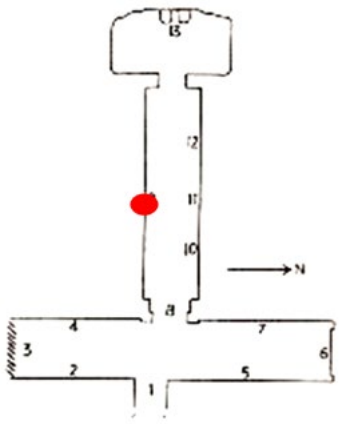

Figure 4.2.36. TT 123 Tomb plan: PM I/1, 232.

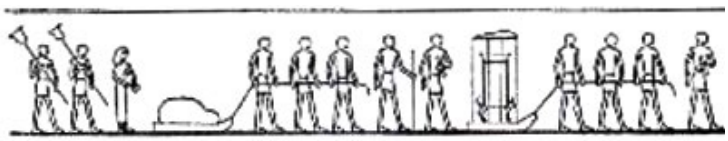

Figure 4.2.37. TT 123. Procession of the *Tekenu* and the canopic chest. Source: Settgast, Untersuchungen, 39, Figure V.

As there is no available detailed tomb report, one must rely on the record of PM and the image of Settgast for comment on the *Tekenu* and its context in TT 123. It is not possible to identify in which register the *Tekenu* appears. Nor is it possible to comment on its context other than to say there are depictions of the pilgrimage to Abydos[22] and that it forms part of the funerary procession with the canopic chest.[23]

[20] Shedid, *Grabmalereien,* 131.
[21] Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, 39; Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 150
[22] PM I/1, 236.
[23] Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, 39

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The *Tekenu* is dragged by three men and follows the canopic chest. It is fol-lowed by an official and two men bearing papyrus sticks (Figure 4.2.37).

1A.8 ***Sn-m-j'h*** **(TT 127)**

Location: Thebes Shaykh 'Abd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1 241–243, TT 127.
Date: 18.05-18.06 PM I/1 241.
Form: 1A.

Selected Titles: Royal scribe, Overseer of all that grows

The funerary scene, which occupies three registers,[24] is situated on the west wall of the longitudinal chamber (Figure 4.2.38). Due to the lack of a detailed publication of the tomb the exact position of the *Tekenu* within the funerary scene cannot be determined. By reference to the photographic record of Serrano Delgado (Figure 4.2.39) the *Tekenu* may be classified as Type 1 A.

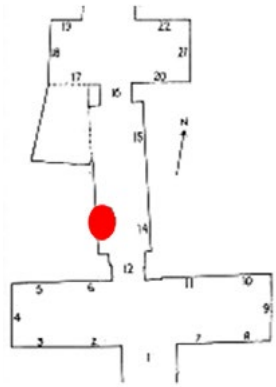

Figure 4.2.38. TT 127 Tomb plan: PM I/1, 238.

Figure 4.2.39. TT 127. Section of funerary procession. Source: Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), pl.VIII, Figure IX

As there is no detailed tomb report, one must rely on PM[25] and the photographic evidence of Serrano Delgado[26] for commentary on the *Tekenu* in TT 127. From Serrano Delgado's image one may say that the *Tekenu* forms part of the funerary procession. PM sites 'funeral procession including teknu, dancers, and mummers'.[27] The *Tekenu* is dragged by three men and follows the canopic chest and two men bearing papyrus sticks. The *Tekenu* proceeds two officials who face each other. The nature of the covering of the *Tekenu* cannot be determined due to the tomb's severe damage.

1A.9 ***Pꜣ-(n-)Bs.(j)*** **(TT 279)**

Location: Thebes, Al'Asasif.
Identification: PM I/1,357–359; TT 279.
Date: 26.01 PM I/1,357.
Form: 1A.

Selected Title: Chief steward of the god's wife

The funerary procession, occupying one register, traverses the western and southern walls of the vestibule (Figure 4.2.40). The walls are severely damaged.

The *Tekenu* is classified as Type 1A.

[24] PM I/1 242.
[25] PM I/1 241–243.
[26] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), pl. VIII, fig. IX.
[27] PM I/1, 242.

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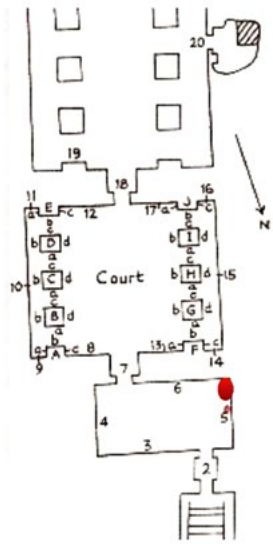

Figure 4.2.40. TT 279. Tomb plan: PM I/1, 356.

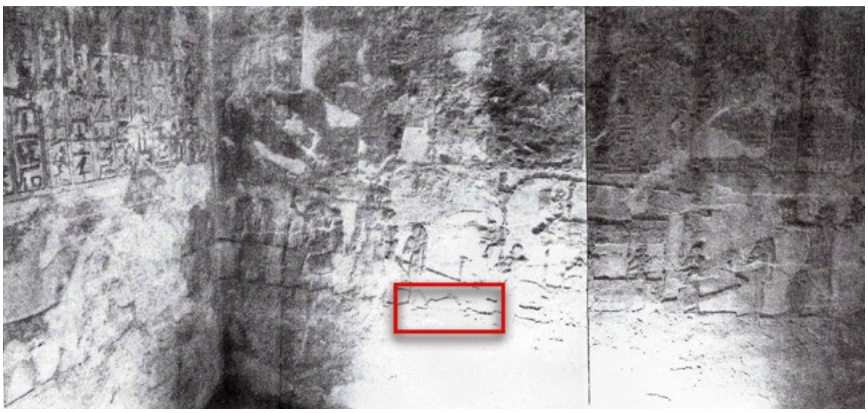

Figure 4.2.41. TT 279. Section of the funerary procession. Photo: G. West.

Figure 4.2.42. TT 279. Detail of the *Tekenu*. Photo: G. West.

Figure 4.2.43. TT 279. *Tekenu* showing the two ropes attaching the *Tekenu* and mummy bier. Photo G. West.

There is no detailed tomb report or pictorial evidence for TT 279. For analysis. this study relies on the author's own photographs (Figures 4.2.41–4.2.43), which are unfortunately of poor quality,

The register above the funeral procession is occupied by damaged hieroglyphs and a seated ***Pꜣ***-(*n*-) ***Bs***.(*j*) with a gazelle under his chair. His son presents him with a papyrus bouquet offering.

The funeral procession proceeds around a corner. Although damaged and very worn, it is possible to interpret the recording, with some confidence as: voyage to Abydos, three large figures in an attitude of exultation, kite?, the mummy bier with mourners, the *Tekenu* under the bow of the bier, kite?, large figure seemingly holding two ropes together (the join of the two ropes is damaged), corner, probably five men dragging mummy bier, damage, cow, procession of standard bearers, two mourners who face the procession, with arms raised in an attitude of exultation, and another mourner with hand upon the head.

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As the two ropes held by the large figure come from the *Tekenu* and the mummy bier, one may assume that they are being dragged together, possibly side by side, as the *Tekenu* is depicted under the bow of the bier (Figure 4.2.43).[28]

The *Tekenu* is of amorphous shape with a nodule at the front. It appears to have binding around its larger section at the back and possibly the nodule. It must, however, be conceded that this might be merely damage. This possible binding is reminiscent of the binding of the *Tekenu* in the 'Unknown Tomb'.[29]

Also in need of comment is that one of the standard bearers carries, what has been identified, by some, as a *Tekenu* (Figure 4.2.44).[30]

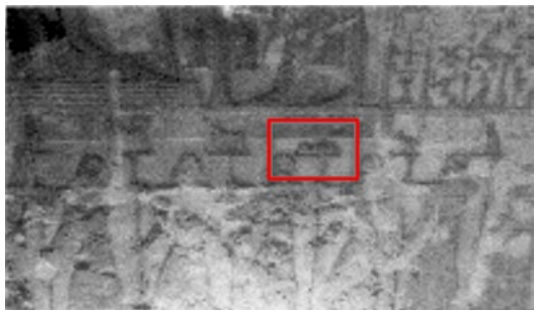


Figure 4.2.44. TT 279. Standard bearers. *Tekenu* shape indicated. Photo: G. West.

1A.10 *Bɜsɜ* (TT 389)

Location: Thebes Al' Asasif.
Identification: PM I/1, 389.
Date: Saite. PM I/1, 440.
Form: 1A.

Selected Titles: Chamberlain of Min, Mayor of the Southern City.

The funerary scene, which is extremely fragmented, is located on the western section of the northern wall (Figure 4.2.45). This scene has been partially reconstructed by Assmann using fragments located in situ, supplemented by localised fragments (Figure 4.2.47).[31] The *Tekenu*, which is classified as Type 1A, appears in the middle register.

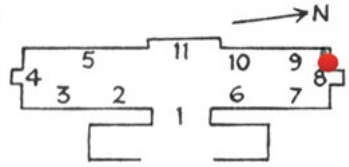
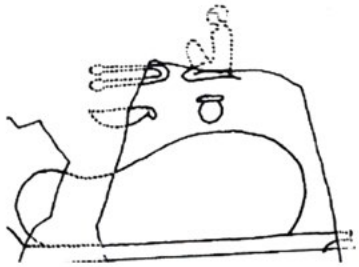


Figure 4.2.45. TT 389. Tomb plan PM I/1, 438.

Figure 4.2.46. TT 389 Reconstructed *Tekenu* with identifying text. Source: Assmann *Basa* detail Figure 40.



[28] See, Schäfer, H., *Principles of Egyptian Art* (translator Baines J., Oxford, 1974), Chapter 4., especially 4.3.7 and fig. 164.
[29] See Tomb 1A.14, fig. 4.2.60.
[30] Manniche, L., *Lost Ramessid and Post-Ramessid Private Tombs in the Theban Necropolis* (Copenhagen, 2011), 62.
[31] Assmann, *Basa*, pl. XXIX.

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The *Tekenu*, is identified by the text (Figure 4.2.46). It is positioned on a sledge. It is unclear whether the three figures positioned by Assmann before. the *Tekenu* are actually dragging it. The immediate context of the *Tekenu* cannot be determined.

In the register above that containing the *Tekenu*, appear figures with raised arms. Amongst these figures there is a rope. This rope is being dragged by men as evidenced by the fragments. This scene is illustrated in other tombs where what is being hauled is the sarcophagus.[32]

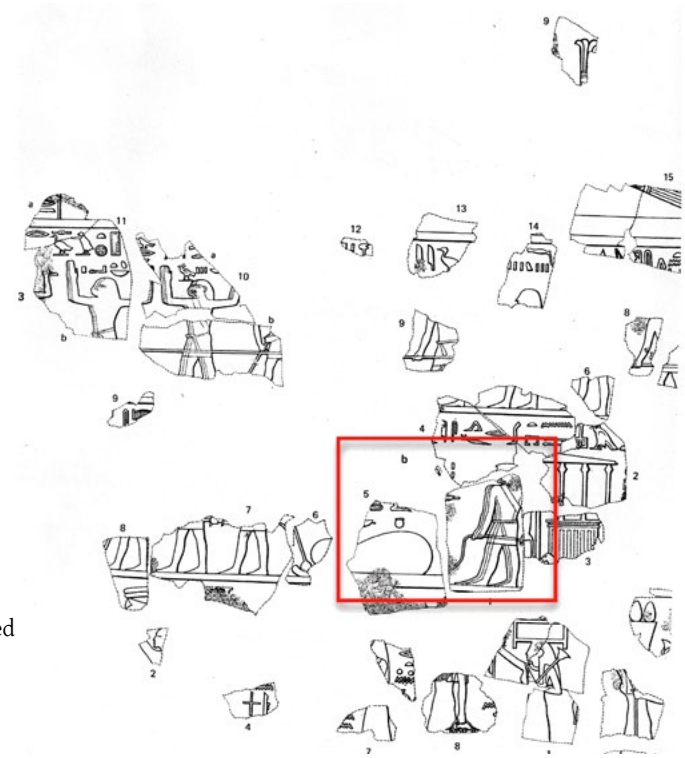

Figure 4.2.47. TT 389. Reconstructed section of the funerary scene. Source: Assmann *Basa,* pl. XXIX.

1A.11 *Sɜwsr* (PM) *Wn-sw* (Kampp, Manniche) (TT A4)

Location: Thebes, Dra Abu al Naga.
Identification: PM I/1, 447–448, TT A4.
Date: 18.05–18.06, Kampp, 615.
Form: 1A.

Selected Titles: Scribe, Counter of the grain, Mayor of the Southern City.

PM does not document the depiction of a *Tekenu* in this tomb but does record the funerary procession, on the left wall of the passageway (Figure 4.2.48).[33] Manniche describes this as being in the 'inner room'.[34] The original record of Hay places this procession on the 'left wall of the chamber'.[35] Hay's record of TT A4, which is difficult to decipher, is the only detailed tomb report extant and Manniche has used this to reconstruct the funerary procession (Figure 4.2.50). The funerary procession is contained in five registers.[36] The *Tekenu*, classified as type 1A, appears in the second register from the top.

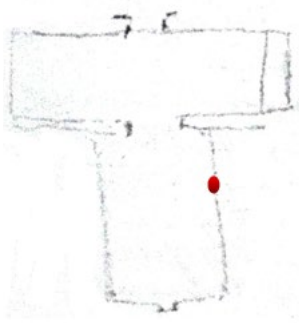

Figure 4.2.48. TT A4. Tomb plan. Source: Hay MSS 29824,19. Courtesy of the British Library Board.

[32] Cf. TT 36, TT 55, TT 82.
[33] PM I/1, 447.
[34] Manniche, L., *Lost Tombs* (London, 1988), 74.
[35] Hay MSS 29824, 17 verso.
[36] Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, 74–77.

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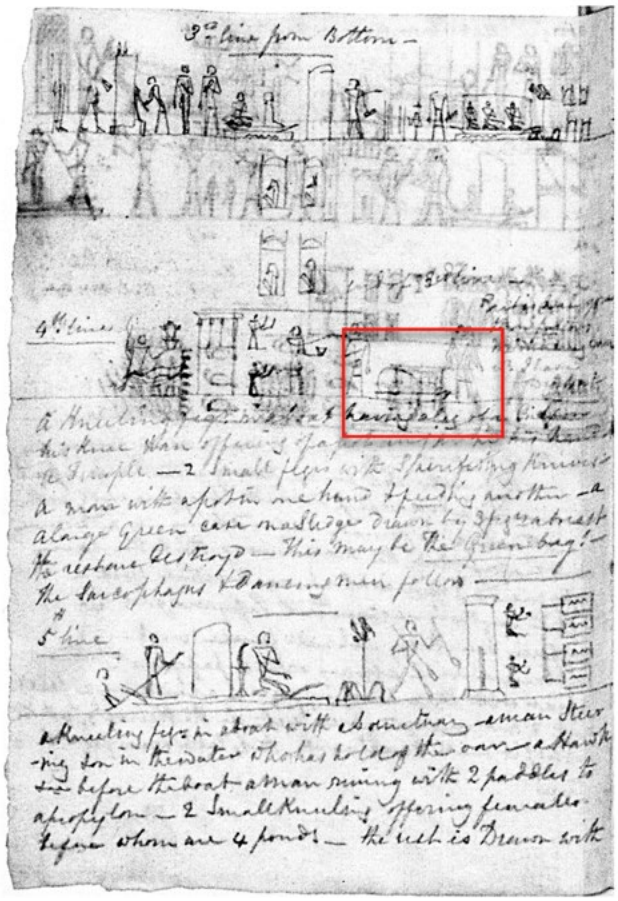

Figure 4.2.49. TT A4. Funerary Scene.
Source: Hay MSS 29824, 18 verso. Courtesy of the British Library Board.

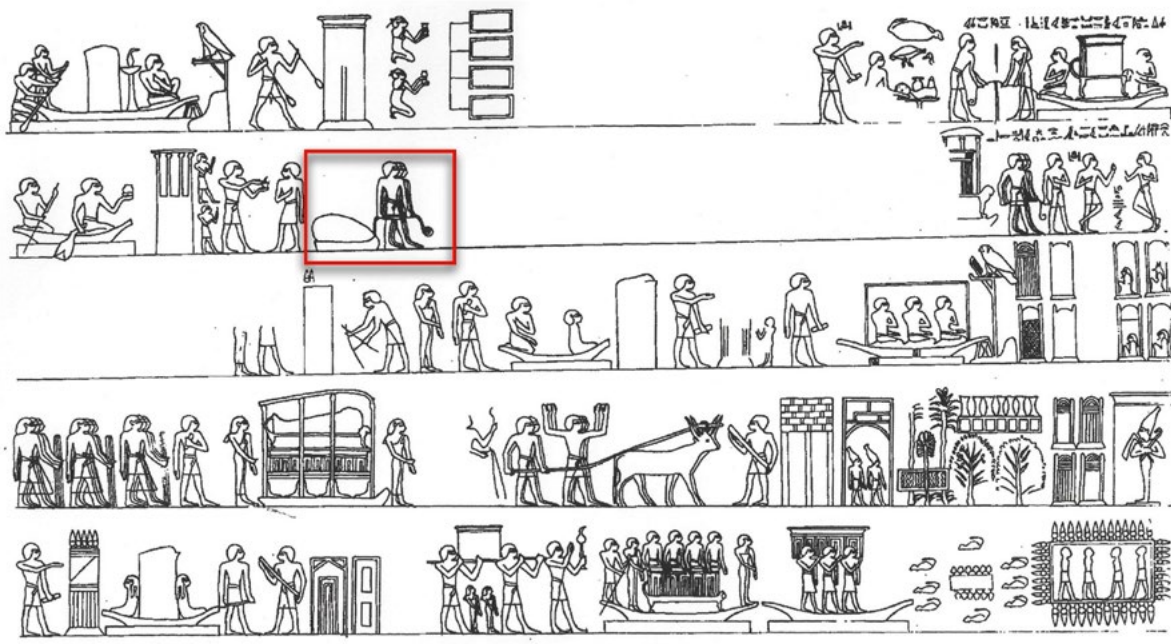

Figure 4.2.50. TT A4. Reconstructed funerary procession.
Source: Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, pl.XVII.

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Figure 4.2.51. TT A4. The *Tekenu.* Source: Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, pl. XVII, detail.

The reconstruction of this funerary procession is problematic due to damage and the fact that the upper three registers are incomplete.[37] Manniche has used scenes from the tombs of Paheri and Rekhmire to aid in her reconstruction.[38] This process inexorably involves a level of speculation. Accordingly, the registers will be dealt with in less detail in this discussion.

In the bottom register, the procession is shown as proceeding towards an enclosure containing four men, each of whom is without arms, arranged-two by-two and facing each other. This depiction also shows a pond surrounded by eight slaughtered cows. The armless men and slaughtered cows are a partial depiction of the Holy District, indicating that the procession has arrived at the Delta area. It is in this area where the coffin, which has travelled by boat, is unloaded. Following this procession are an incense-bearing official and a box borne by two men, under which are two small female kite figures. The register concludes with a priest reading from a scroll, a boat carrying a shrine and another official gesturing towards a chapel.

The next register shows the mummy bier being dragged, by men and oxen, towards partial representations of the Holy District in the form of the *Mww*-dancers and a pond surrounded by palm trees. The bier is accompanied by the *nine friends*.

The middle register shows the hacking of the ground before what appears to be a shrine, together with a depiction of a voyage to the hawk on a stand, symbolising the west. This is followed by eight shrines three of which contain bearded deities and one a jackal.

The fourth register depicts the *Tekenu* but, unfortunately, due to the severe damage of this register, reconstruction, as Manniche concedes, is difficult.[39] The coffin barque is dragged by three men preceded by 'two dancing men',[40] *ḫbt*-dancers. After a large area of damage, the *Tekenu* follows on a sledge that is dragged by three men. It is described by Hay as 'a large green case...This may be The Green bag!' (Figure 4.2.52).[41]

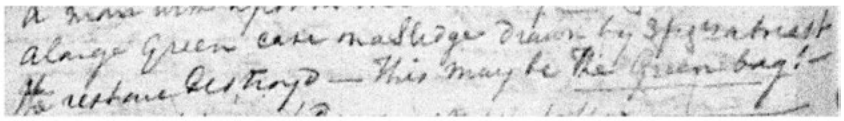

Figure 4.2.52. TT A4. Text 'the Green bag!' Source: Hay MSS 29824, verso, detail. Courtesy of the British Library Board.

Two men appear after the *Tekenu*, one of whom is censing, then two small men stand before a shrine, holding what Hay identifies as 'knives' but Manniche suggests are 'clappers'.[42] Lastly, there is a depiction of a boat with a kneeling man who holds a foreleg of beef and a pot.

The top register contains a lot of reconstructed work.[43] It depicts, possibly, the mooring of the boat containing the coffin, an offering table and lector priest, the two kites offering bowls before four pools, a man with two paddles running towards a shrine and a boat bearing a shrine and incense, voyaging towards the hawk on a standard.

[37] Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, 75.
[38] Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, 74–77.
[39] Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, 75.
[40] Hay, MSS 29824, 18.
[41] Hay, MSS 29824, 18 verso.
[42] Hay, MSS 29824, 18 verso; Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, 75.
[43] See Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, 76.

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Due to the damage, unfinished work and reconstruction in this tomb, it is impossible to place the *Tekenu* unequivocally in context. All that can be claimed with any confidence is that the *Tekenu* follows the sarcophagus as it journeys towards the two *ḫbt*-dancers. Of particular interest, however, is Hay's description. 'This may be The Green bag!'[44] Since there is only one other attested reference to 'a green bag',[45] it is impossible to determine to what he refers. Manniche is equally baffled, conceding that to what Hay refers 'is not obvious to me'.[46] The use of capitalisation and the definite article 'the' instead of the indefinite article 'a', together with the emphasis of an exclamation mark, might be interpreted as indicating the importance of the object.

Also salient is Hay's description of the *Tekenu* as 'a large green case'. It is impossible to corroborate the colour or to understand the use of the word 'case', as what has been drawn bears no resemblance to what would now be regarded as a 'case'. Perhaps Hay is referring to what now one would label a 'container'.

1A.12 *Pɜḥrj* (EK 3)

Location: El Kab
Identification: PM V, 177–181, EK 3.
Date: mid 18th Dynasty, Tylor, 1.
Form: 1A.

Selected Titles: Mayor of Nekheb and of Inyt.

The funerary procession, which consists of five registers, is depicted on the northern end of the west wall (4.2.53). The *Tekenu*, which is classified as Type 1A, is located in the third register from the top.

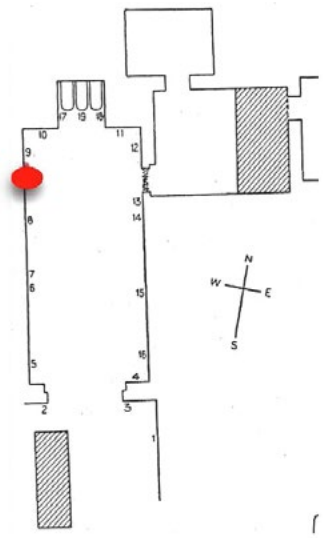

Figure 4.2.53. EK 3. Tomb plan: Source Tylor, *Paheri*, pl.XVII.

Tylor stresses that the artist of this tomb was severely restricted by the lack of space and consequently, of necessity, only certain ceremonies could be shown.[47] Given this impediment, the fact that the *Tekenu* is depicted might be interpreted as being indicative of its perceived importance.

In the top register, two oxen draw the funerary bier. They are guided by a herdsman with a whip of leaves and followed by two groups of two men hauling the rope attached to the bier. Intercepting the procession here are three men exalting[48] and one man bearing incense. There is then a lacuna, after which kites frame the ornate bier, which is dragged on a sledge. A lector priest and two men with long staves close this register.

The second register begins with a priest carrying a large censer, men bearing a chest on their shoulders, under which appear the kites; a vignette of the Holy District with *ḫbt*-dancers, *iteru*-chapels, shrines and palm trees, a lector priest reading from a scroll, and men dragging a barque. The barque contains a tall chest guarded by the two kites wearing tripartite wigs. The register concludes with a large structure adorned with a *kheker*-frieze to which a lector priest, with a scroll, gestures.

[44] Hay, MSS 29824, 18 verso.
[45] TT 82 Hay, MSS 29824, 62.
[46] Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, 75.
[47] Tylor, J. J. and Griffith, F. L. I., *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab* (London, 1894), 19.
[48] Tylor and Griffith, *Paheri*, 19. suggest the gesture could be that of chanting.

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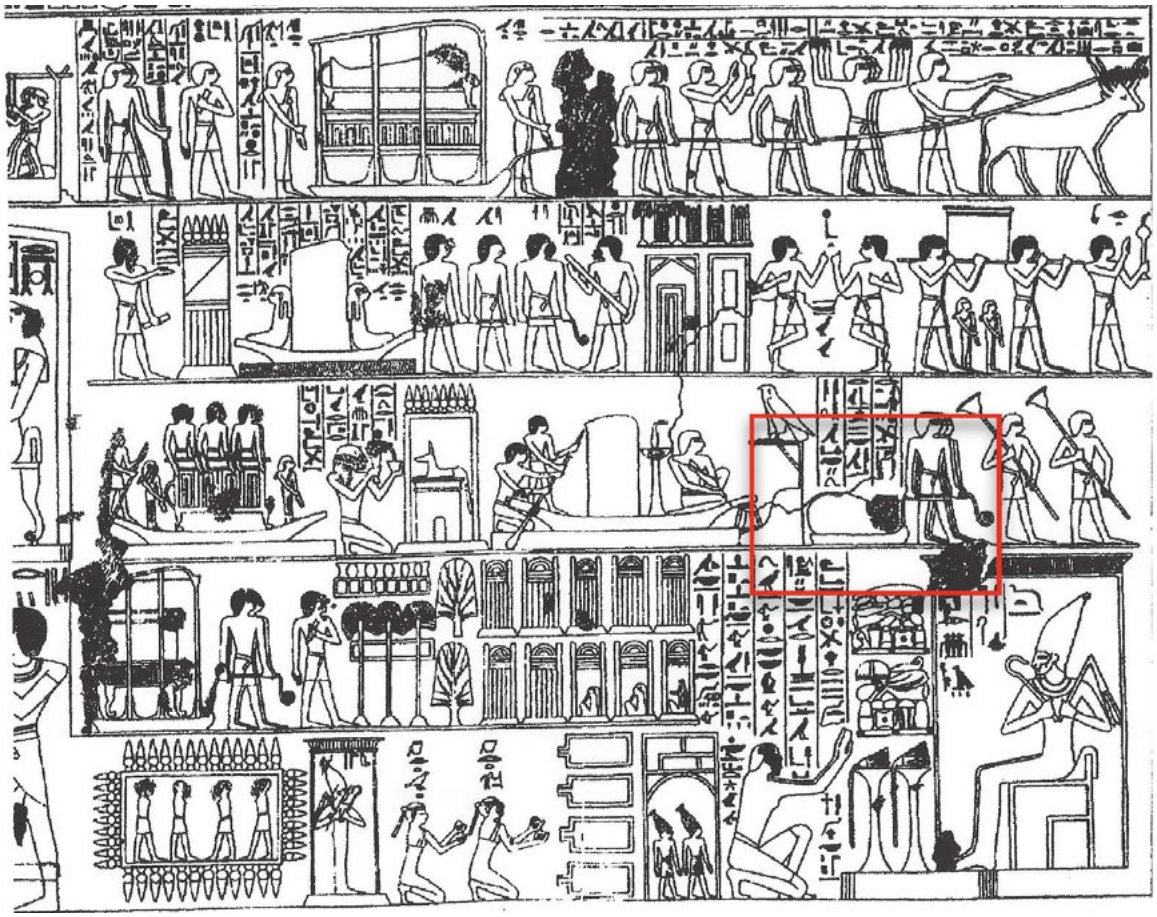

Figure 4.2.54. The funerary procession.
Source: Tyler, *Paheri*, pl. V.

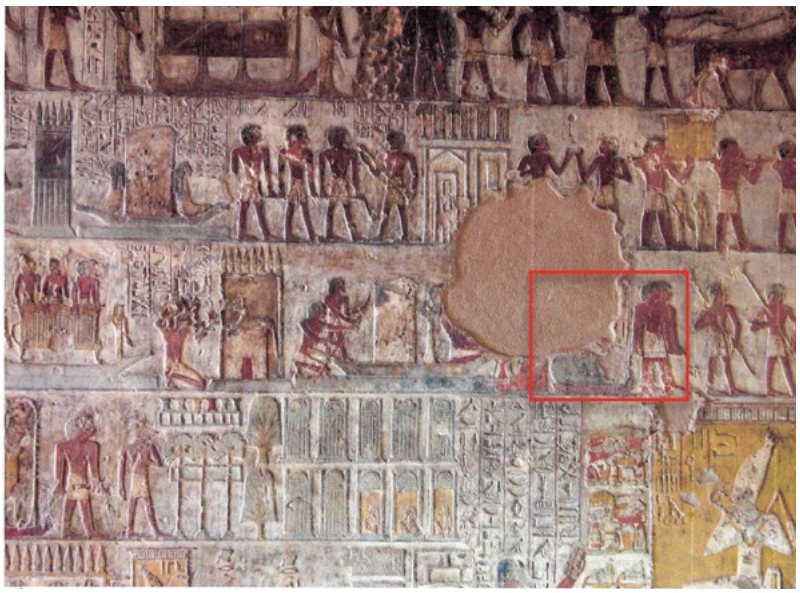

Figure 4.2.55. EK 3. Section of the funerary procession.
Photo: G. West.

Figure 4.2.56. EK 3. The *Tekenu* with accompanying text.
Source: Tyler, *Paheri*, pl. V. detail.

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The third register is introduced by two men holding long papyrus stalks. Three other men then follow dragging the *Tekenu* on a sledge. Above the *Tekenu,* the inscription would appear to describe its journey to the necropolis (Figure 4.2.57).

r ỉmn.t sp-2 pɜ tɜ nḏm ʿnḫ
r bw n(.ty) wnn=k ỉm=f
yḥ mi{k} <r=k>

Figure 4.2.57. EK 3. Reproduction of text, G. Hayes.
After : Tyler, *Paheri*, pl. V.

‘to the West, to the West, this land of sweet life;
to the place where you will be.
Hey! Come! ‘[49]

The *Tekenu* is amorphous and shrouded in a dark-coloured covering. Tylor states that ‘it seems to be the victim for a human sacrifice, enclosed in the skin of an ox’.[50] He further suggests that ‘the *Tekenu* may have been a victim to represent the owner of the tomb in some ceremony of consecrating the tomb *before* the final interment’.[51] However, neither the available iconic or textual evidence provide any support for this contention.

The *Tekenu* precedes the perched falcon, symbol of the west, a barque, and a shrine to Anubis to which a kneeling Paheri presents incense and libations. The register concludes with the sarcophagus bier landing at Abydos.

The last two registers depict more scenes from the Holy District. They flow into a large figure of Osiris that occupies both registers. Paheri kneels in worship in front of Osiris and offers food and papyrus.

1A.13 ***Jḥj***.

Location: Saqqara, Unis cemetery.
Identification: PM III, 617–719.
Date: Late 5th dynasty Kanawati, 36–7.
Form: Classified for this study 1A

Selected Titles: Support of knmwt, Overseer of all commissions of the king, Vizier.

The first recorded attestation of the *Tekenu* occurs within the funerary procession in the late Fifth Dynasty tomb of ***Jḥj*** at the Unis Cemetery at Saqqara. The funerary scene, contained in six registers, is situated on the eastern wall (Figure 4.2.58). The *Tekenu* is depicted in the second register from the top. As the *Tekenu* is being dragged and is most likely amorphous, for this study, it has been classified as Type 1A.

[49] The translation of line 3 is contentious and is discussed in Chapter 5.2.
[50] Tylor and Griffith, *Paheri,* 20.
[51] Tylor and Griffith, *Paheri,* 21.

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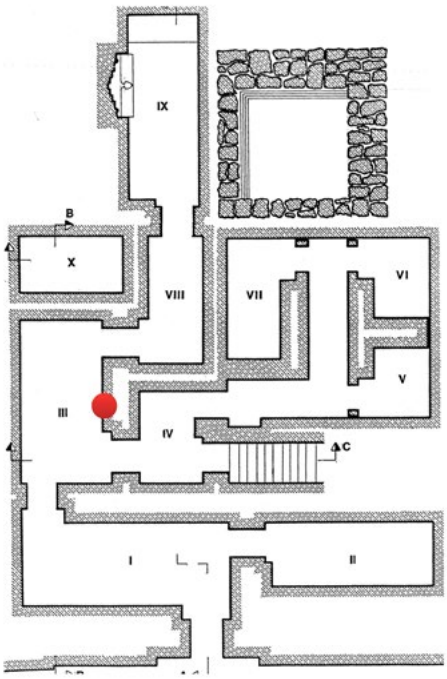

Figure 4.2.58. *Jḥj*. Tomb plan.
Source: Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, Unis Cemetery, pl. XLIX.

The registers are read from the bottom up.[52] The wall showing the funerary procession is severely damaged, accordingly, some interpretation must be tentative. It is obvious, however, that the bottom register depicts men bearing offerings in their arms and on trays supported on their heads.[53] Registers two and three illustrate a journey and should be read as side-by-side as indicated by the rope that stretches from register two to register three. In the upper register, five men (possibly six) drag something in the lower register. This object is attached by a rope and, although now predominantly destroyed, it appears to be to a boat that the men guide from the shore. Behind them are offerings. In the lower register, at least three boats partake in the journey. Apparently the journey is completed in the fourth register where five men drag something, as indicated by the rope in their hands. They are greeted by a lector priest and another official, possibly a wr nTr. Three *Mww*-dancers also greet the procession. The sub-register above the procession contains a frieze of shrines and palm trees, representing an area in the Delta where this pilgrimage ends.[54]

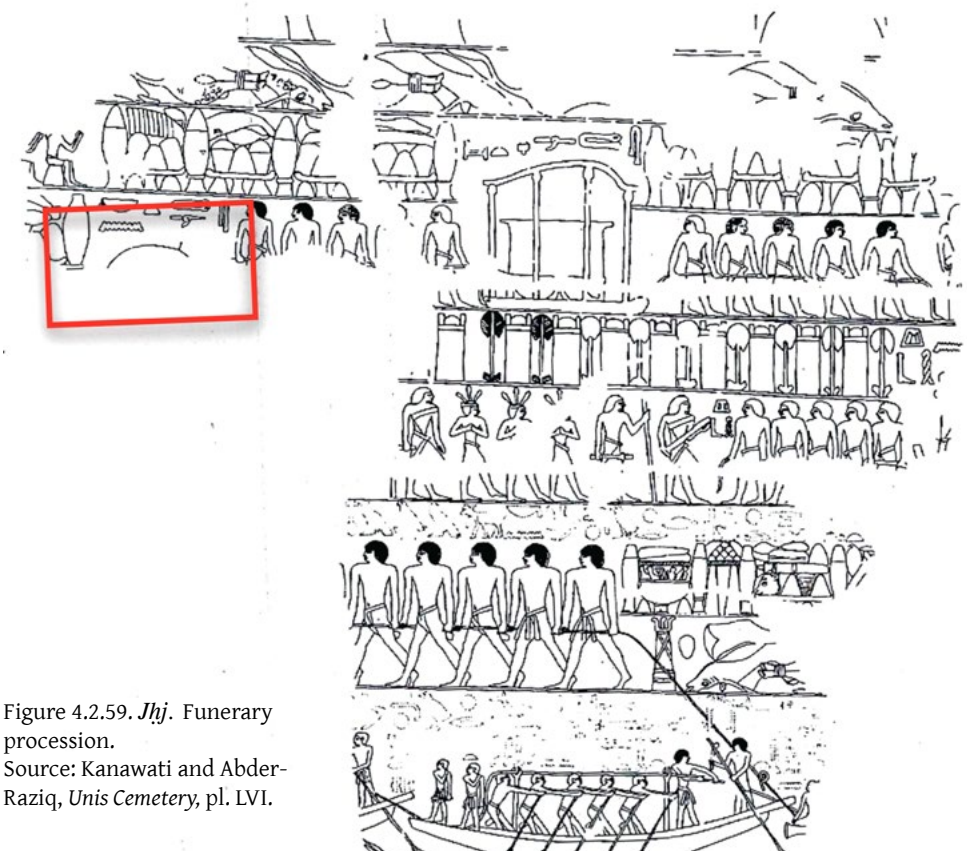

Figure 4.2.59. *Jḥj*. Funerary procession.
Source: Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery,* pl. LVI.

[52] 1 Kanawati, N. and Abder-Raziq, M., The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara volume II; T*he ombs of Iynefert and Ihy (reused by Idut),* (Oxford, 2003), 48.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery*, 49.

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Figure 4.2.60. *Jḥj*. Fragment depicting remnant of *Tekenu*.
Source: Lauer, ASAE, 54 (1956), pl. V, 1, detail.

In register five, five men drag the canopy-covered sarcophagus, which is identified by the hieroglyphs *sṯ3 sḏ3wt* 'dragging the precious one'. Then follow five men dragging the *Tekenu*. Not only is this, currently, the earliest pictorial attestation of the *Tekenu*, it is also the earliest textual reference. Above the image is the inscription *sṯ3 tkn* 'dragging the *Tekenu*'. As it is 'dragged', one may assume that the *Tekenu* is on a sledge, as recorded by Settgast (Figure 4.2.61)[55] The *Tekenu* would appear as only marginally smaller than the sarcophagus, whose visual size is enhanced by the bed on which it rests and the canopied structure that penetrates into the top register The scene in register five faces in the opposite direction from the lower registers so it is reasonable to assume that this procession is approaching the cemetery and the earlier procession depicts a pilgrimage.[56]

Tassie describes the *Tekenu* in this tomb as 'a tight pear-shaped bundle, wrapped up in a shroud'.[57] Settgast's sketched record would appear to support this view (Figure 4.2.61). However, no independent pictorial evidence has been found to corroborate either Settgast's drawing or Tassie's description.

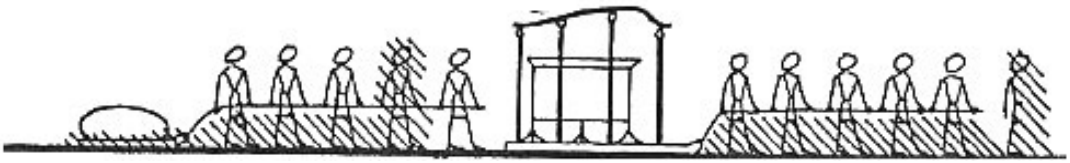

Figure 4.2.61. *Jḥj*. *Tekenu* shown as definite type 1A.
Source: Settgast Untersuchungen, pl. 1. Detail, depiction of the *Tekenu* in context.

Kanawati's record (Figure 4.2.54) and Lauer's photograph (Figure 4.2.55) reveal only remnants of the *Tekenu*. Merely a curved top identified by the text *sṯ3 tkn* (dragging the *Tekenu*) remains (Figure 4.2.62). Acknowledging the element of speculation, it could be argued that this lends support to the contentions of Settgast and Tassie.

The remnants of the sixth register are devoted to offerings and funeral furniture.

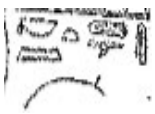

Figure 4.2.62. *Jḥj*. Remnants of the *Tekenu* and hieroglyphic caption.
Source: Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, Unis Cemetery, pl. LVI, detail.

[55] See Figure 4.2.57.
[56] Kanawati /Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery*, 49.
[57] Tassie, *PIA* 11 (2000), 31.

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1A. 14 Unknown tomb

Fragments from an unknown tomb are located in Brussels, Musées Royaux D'Art et D'Histoire, inventory number E 3.053. The tomb has been identified as New Kingdom, Dynasty XIX, and the fragments as depicting the funeral of a priest of Ptah.[58] Moret also records this depiction of this *Tekenu*.[59] Due to the fragment of the *Tekenu* seemingly having the same bandaging as TT 279 and that it is on a sledge, for this study, it has been classified as Type 1A.

Figure 4.2.63. Unknown Tomb The *Tekenu.* Source: Werbruck, *Pleureuses* pl. XXXII.

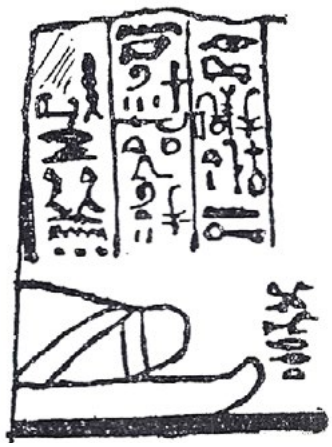

Figure 4.2.64. Unknown Tomb The *Tekenu* and text. Source: Moret, *Mystères Égyptiens*, fig. XIV.

The *Tekenu* is seemingly of amorphous shape, positioned on a sledge and dragged by four men. Whether the *Tekenu* is recumbent, kneeling, or seated on the sledge may only be conjectured. However, the length of the front of the figure positioned directly on the sledge suggests that it is more likely recumbent. Moret contends that it is like a foetus or sacrificed animal.[60] Of special interest is that it is securely covered, being fastened by wide strips of bandage or cloth.[61] The *Tekenu* is preceded by male and female mourners.[62]

[58] Werbrouck, M., *Les Pleureuses dans L'Égypte Ancienne; Figures de Pleureuses dans les Musées* (Brussels, 1938), 79.
[59] Moret, *Mystères, Égyptiens,* 47.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid. The only other known tomb with a similar representation of the *Tekenu* with bandaging occurs in TT 279 (1A.9).
[62] Werbrouck, *Pleureuses* 79.

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In front of the sledge and above it are texts (Figure 4.2.65):

The text in front of the sledge:

pꜣ wrr(?).t

'this great one'.

If the fourth sign is read as r then the noun becomes
feminine. It is difficult however, to suggest another transliteration.

The text above the sledge:

Wsir sš nsw Nfr-rnp.t mꜣʿ-ḫrw
n=k im.yw-ḫt sw.ty
ḥ(wi?) rd.wy=sn
'The Osiris, (ie, the late) the king's scribe
Nfr-rnp.t justified
To/for you the retinue of Seth
Strike(?) to their feet./ Their feet will be struck.'

Figure 4.2.65. Unknown Tomb.
Text Source: Moret, *Mystères Égyptiens*, fig. XIV, detail.

As the top of the text is damaged, transliteration and translation is difficult. It may also be that this text has no relevance to the *Tekenu.*

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4.3 TYPE 1B

1B.1 *Mnt.w-m-ḥ3t* (TT 34)

Location: Thebes, Al' Asasif.
Identification: PM 1/1, 56–61, TT 34.
Date: 25.06–26.01 PM 1/1, 56.
Form: 1B.

Selected Title: Fourth prophet of Amūn.

The funerary procession is depicted on the northern wall of the western portico (Figure 4.3.1). PM records this procession as consisting of four registers.[63] Müller, however, has reconstructed the same scene in eight registers.[64] PM does not record the presence of the *Tekenu*. The analysis of this tomb relies upon an image of a fragment,[65] the sketched reconstruction of Müller and the record of PM. Müller's reconstruction records the locality of the fragments found in various museums and private collections (Figures 4.3.2–4.3.4). He records the *Tekenu*, here classified as Type 1B, as being shown in the third register from the top.

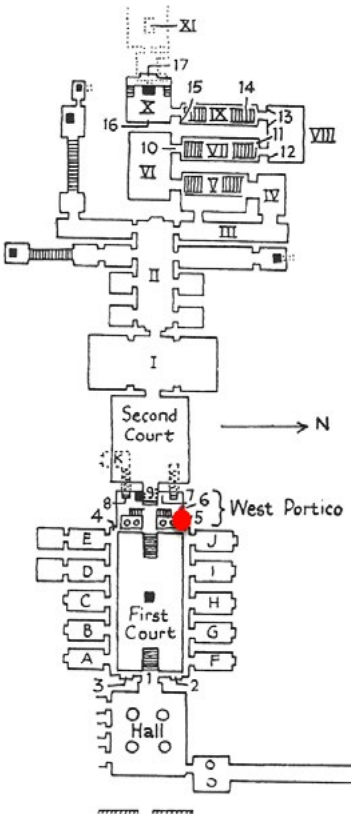

Figure 4.3.1. TT 34. Tomb plan: PM I/1, 52.

Figure 4.3.2. TT 34. The *Tekenu.*
Source: Wildung, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 5363.

The *Tekenu,* which is identified by the text, *tknw,* appears in the form of a covered mass with a human, wigged head protruding. A face with eye, nose, mouth and chin is clearly delineated. The head faces the deck, or upper surface, of the sledge and might rest upon a hand which emerges from the opening of the bundle and lies on the sledge. The palm of the hand faces downwards and the fingers are clearly visible. Wildung suggests that, here, the *Tekenu* is a priest tied up in a bag

[63] PM I/1, 58.
[64] Müller, H. W., 'Der Stadtfürst von Thebem Montemhet', *MJbK* 3. Folge, vol. 26 (1975), 18, 33.
[65] Wildung, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* ÄS 5363.

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made from animal skin who is trying to break away from his wrappings to enable him to enact the beginning of life for the deceased in the netherworld.[66]

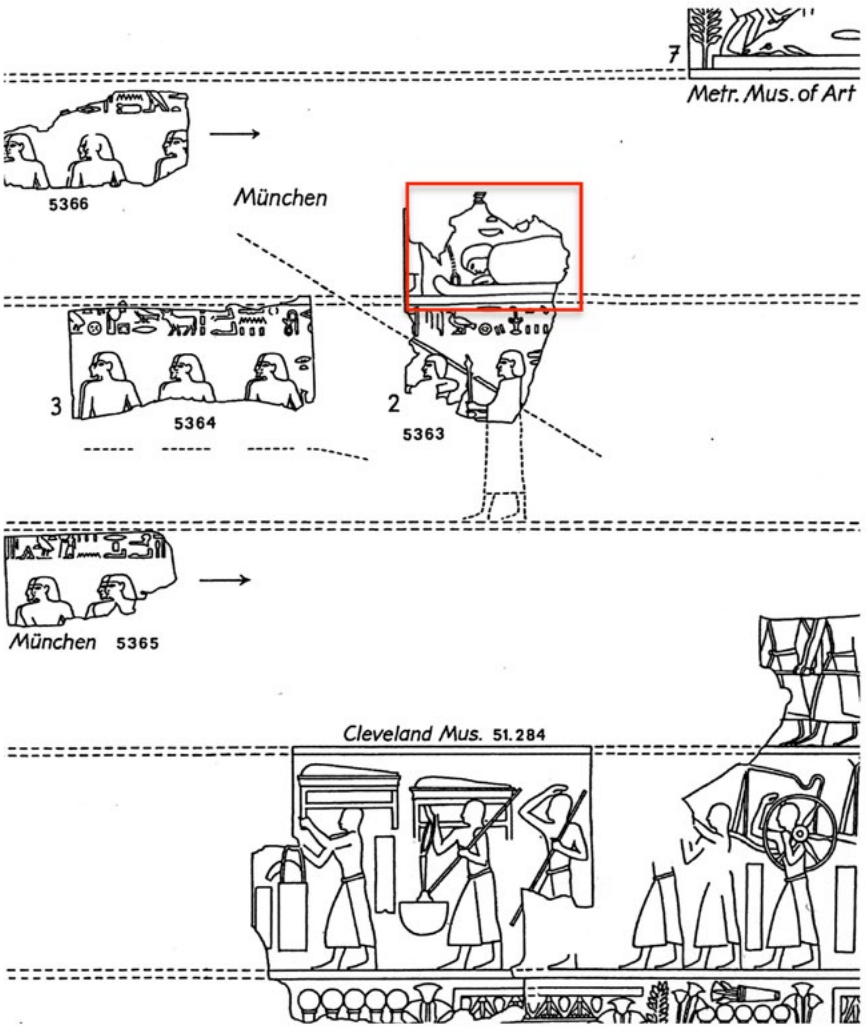

Figure 4.3.3. TT 34. Reconstruction of the funerary procession. Source: Müller, MJbK,26/3 (1975), 18, 33.

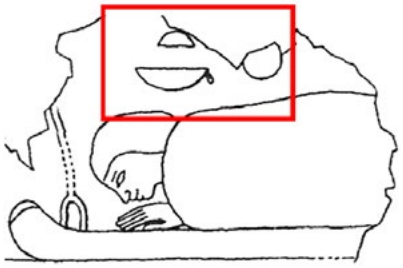

Figure 4.3.4. TT 34. Line drawing. The *Tekenu* and text. Source : Müller, *MJbK*, 26/3 (1975), 27.

The sledge is bent upward at the front and a loop to which the rope is seemingly attached is depicted. In front of the *Tekenu* are the remnants of a long-robed figure. Müller's reconstruction is extremely fragmented, making it impossible to analyse the *Tekenu* in immediate context.

The register below that of the *Tekenu* shows six men followed by a *wr nṯr*, suggesting that this is the likely positioning of the mummy bier (Figure 4.3.5) [67]

[66] Wildung, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 5363.*, 94.
[67] Wildung, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 5363.*, 152.

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It is possible that fragment 5365, in the register below, indicates the position of the canopic chest (Figure 4.3.6).

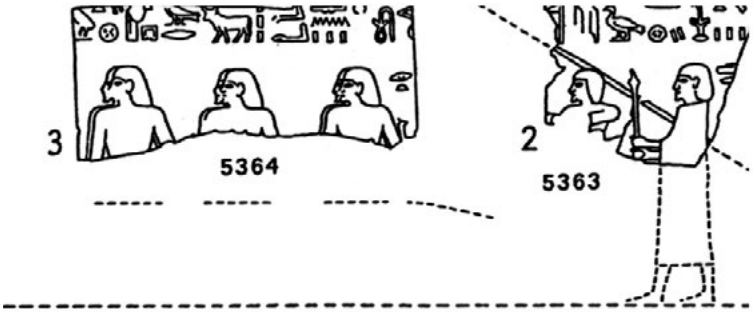

Figure 4.3.5. TT 34. Possible position of sarcophagus.
Source: Müller, *MJbK*, 26/3 (1975), 27, detail.

Figure 4.3.6. TT 34. Possible position of canopic chest.
Source: Müller, *MJbK*, 26/3 (1975), 27, detail.

The lower registers illustrate the bearing of funeral furniture, offerings and the voyage to Abydos.

1B.2 *Jbj* (TT 36)

Location: Thebes, Al' Asasif.
Identification: PM I/1, 63–68 TT 36.
Date: 26.01 PM I/1, 63.
Form: No. 1, 1A, examined previously.
Form: No 2, 1B

Selected Title: Chief steward of the divine adoratress.

There are two depictions of funerary scenes in this tomb, each of which contains a depiction of the *Tekenu*. Both funerary scenes are found in the court of the tomb. The version on the eastern wall (Figure 4.3.7), which is depicted in three registers, is the more complex. The *Tekenu,* which is shown in the top register in this section, is classified as Type 1B.

All registers of the funerary procession show travel towards the image of the tomb owner. Ibi's son is offering his father a bouquet of lotus flowers. The general direction of orientation is north and the procession proceeds from the entrance room towards the internal burial quarters.

The bottom register, as shown in plates LXII, LXIII of Kuhlmann and Schenkel, (Figures 4.3.8, 4.3.9) is occupied by numerous food offerings, funeral furniture, weapons and parts of a chariot.

The next register depicts grave equipment followed by men dragging a rectangular box with a domed lid and images of the sons of Horus portrayed on its side. Priests and more statues follow behind this box.

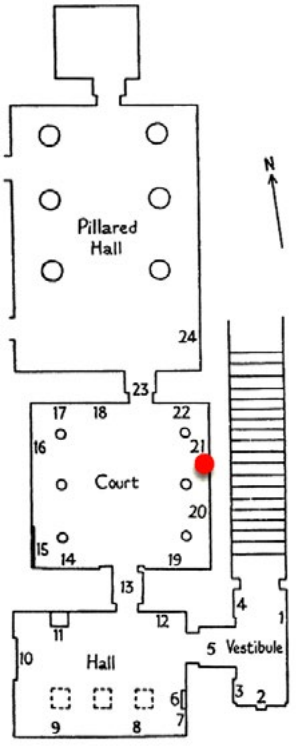

Figure 4.3.7. TT 36. Tomb plan: PM I/1, 64.

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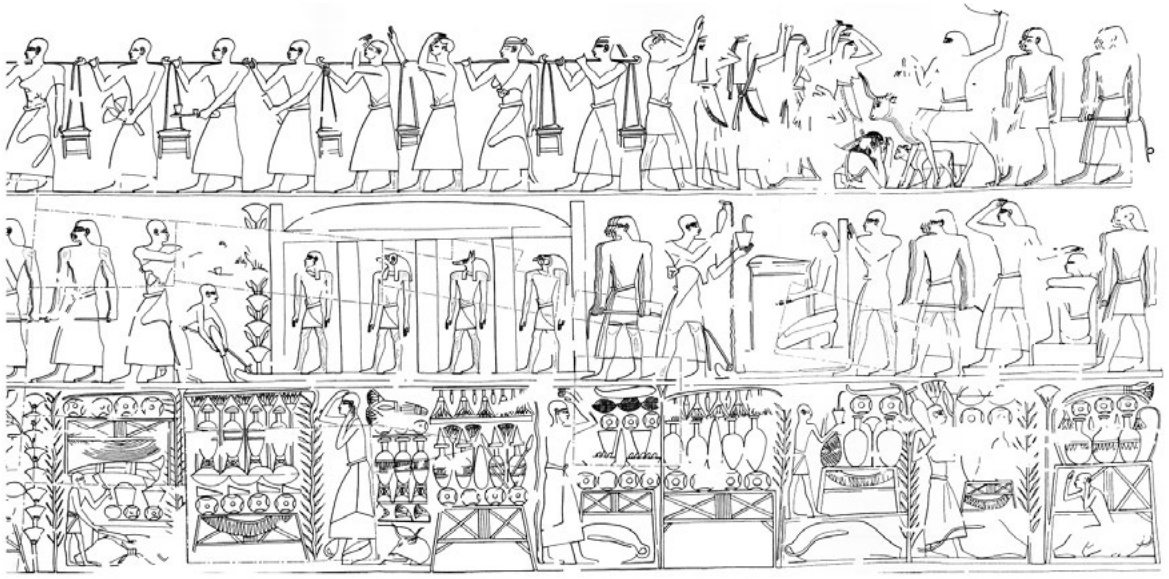

Figure 4.3.8. TT 36. Section of the funerary procession.
Source: Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi,* pl. LXII.

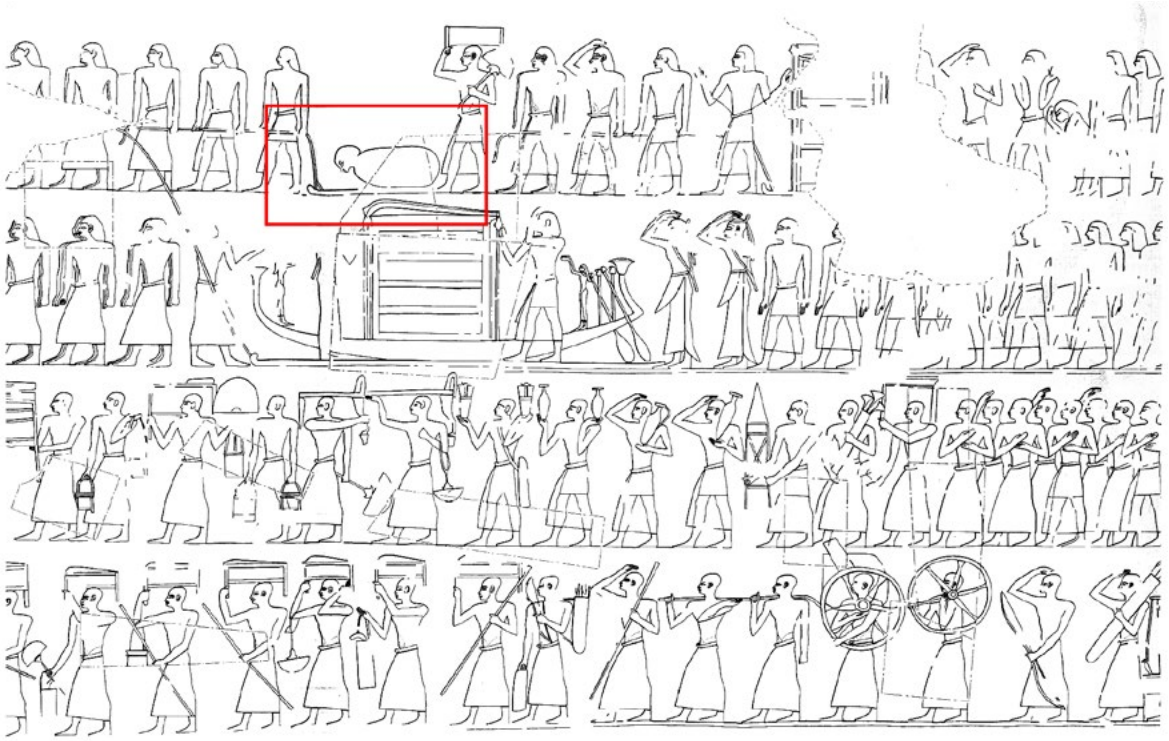

Figure 4.3.9. TT 36. Section of the funerary procession which follows pl. LXII.
Source: Kuhlmann and Schenkel, Ibi, pl. LXIII.

The top register contains more funeral furniture. Then five grieving figures are depicted. These figures face the oncoming entourage, which consists of a woman resting on her elbows, an ox with sacrificial calf, a herdsman with a reed whip and six men pulling a rope. The funerary scene then continues on plate LXIII of Kuhlmann and Schenkel (Figure 4.3.9). The bottom two registers follow on from the previous plates[68] but the top register splits into two registers of equal size, thus giving the impression that here one is presented with four registers. The top two registers, however, are to be read as being side by side (Figure 4.3.11). This interpretation is verified by the observation

[68] Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi,* pls LX, LXI, LXII.

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that the rope joined to the sledge bearing what is conceivably the sarcophagus, in the second of these registers, originates in the top register. This is the rope held by the men in the top register at the conclusion of plate LXII of Kuhlmann and Schenkel (Figure 4.3.8).

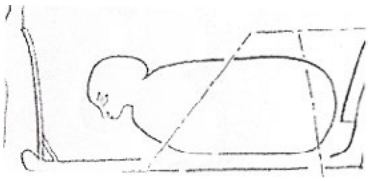

Figure 4.3.10. TT 36. Detail of position of the rope attached to sarcophagus.
Source: Kuhlmann and Schenkel, Ibi, pl. LXIII.

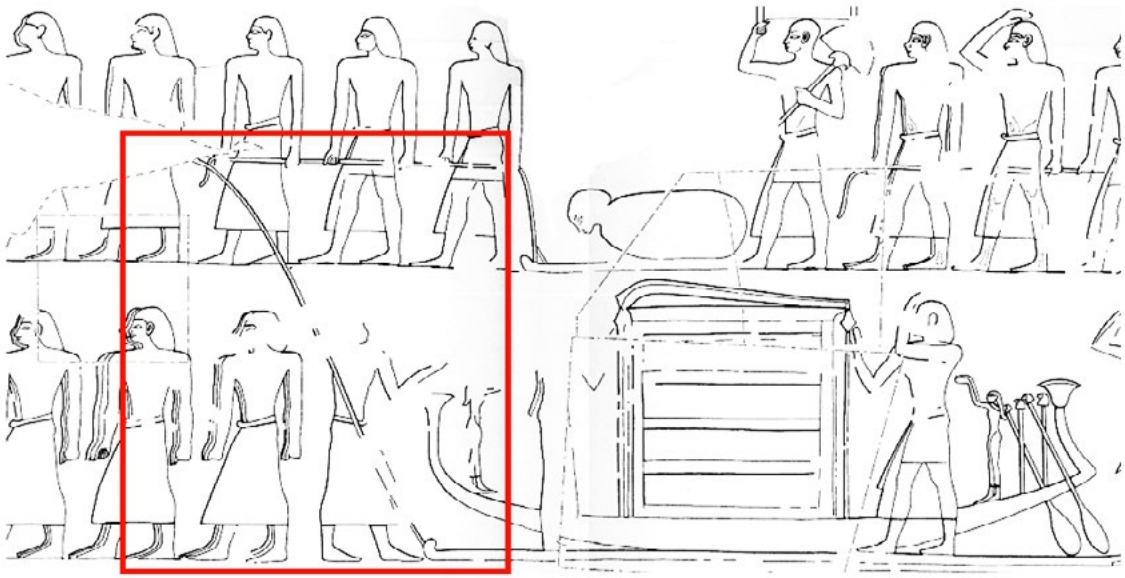

Figure 4.3.11. TT 36. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi,* pl. LXIII, detail.

The *nine friends* are depicted before the sarcophagus and behind it is shown a retinue of mourners. The *Tekenu,* here, is to be understood as being parallel to the sarcophagus. The *Tekenu* is hauled by three men and followed by a man carrying a box and fan, three men who drag the canopic chest, and more mourners. The *Tekenu* is positioned on the back of the sledge and is either enshrouded in an unidentifiable covering or completely uncovered. The illustration is rudimentary. There is no indication of where the shroud or covering, if indeed there is one, ends. The only detail is that of the head, which displays a face with an eye, nose and mouth.

1B.3 *Jmn-m-ḥɜ.t* (TT 53)

Location: Thebes, Shaykh ʻAbd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 102–104; TT 53
Date: 18.0.6 PM I/1, 102,18.05–18.06 Kampp, 258.
Form: 1B.

Selected Title: Agent of Amūn.

The funerary procession, which occupies four registers, appears on the western wall of the second chamber (Figure 4.3.12). The *Tekenu*, which is classified as Type 1B, is positioned in the third register from the top.[69]

[69] PM I/1, 103.

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Due to the lack of a detailed tomb report it is necessary to analyse the funerary procession in this tomb by reference to PM I/1, 103, Davies *Notebooks* 7, MSS 11.40, 19 and the available pictorial evidence, Griffith photo and Chicago Oriental Institute photos 6434, 6435 (Figures 4.3.13–4.3.17).

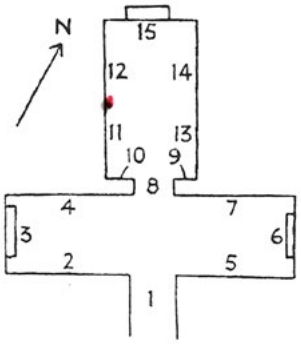

Figure 4.3.12 TT 53. Tomb plan: PM I/1, 90.

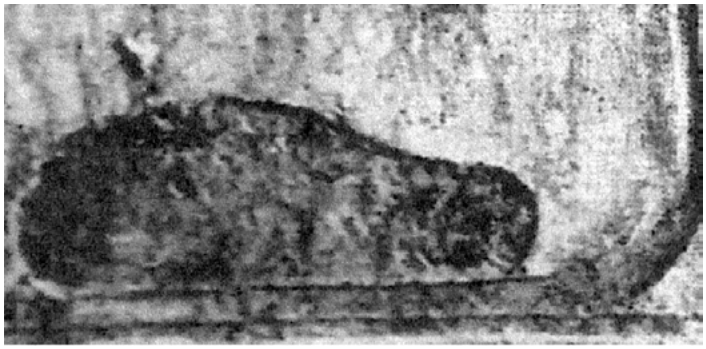

Figure 4.3.13. TT 53. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Griffiths, Kush VI (1958), plate XXXII detail.

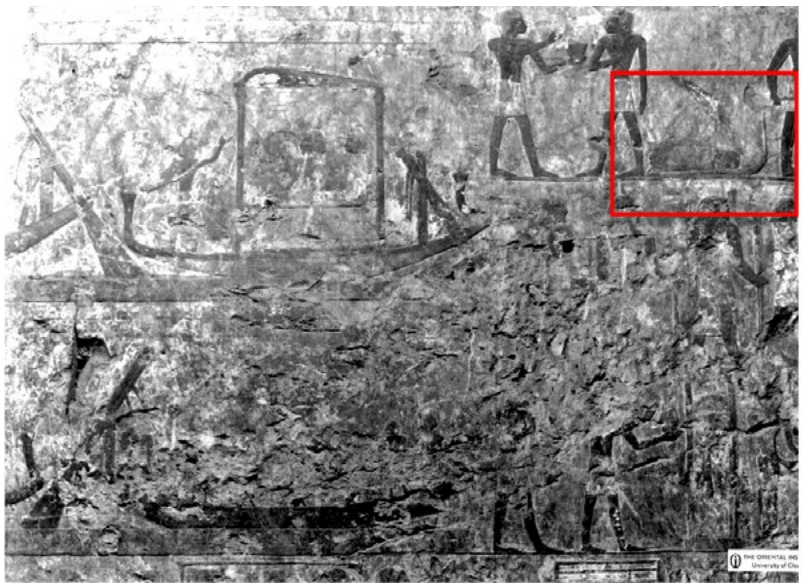

Figure 4.3.14. TT 53. Sections of the funerary procession.
Source: Chicago Oriental Institute photo 6434. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

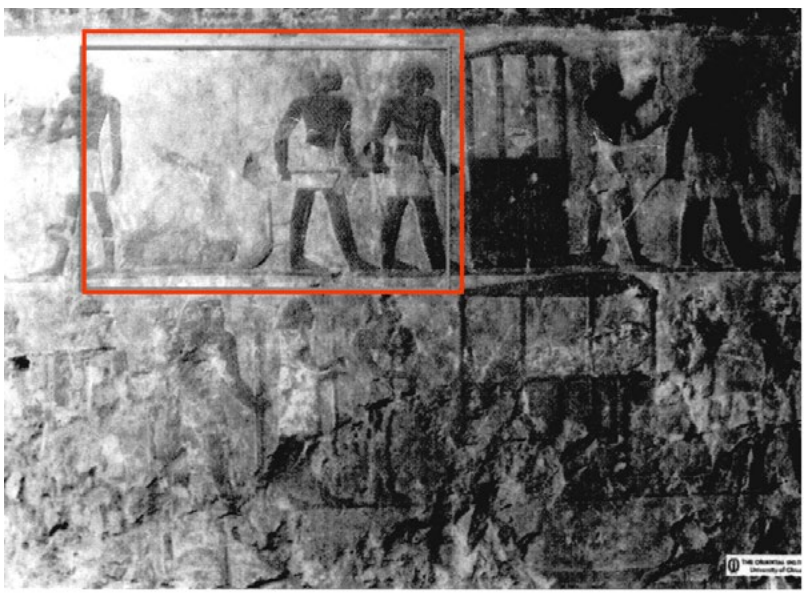

Figure 4.3.15. TT 53. Sections of the funerary procession.
Source: Chicago Oriental Institute photo 64345. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

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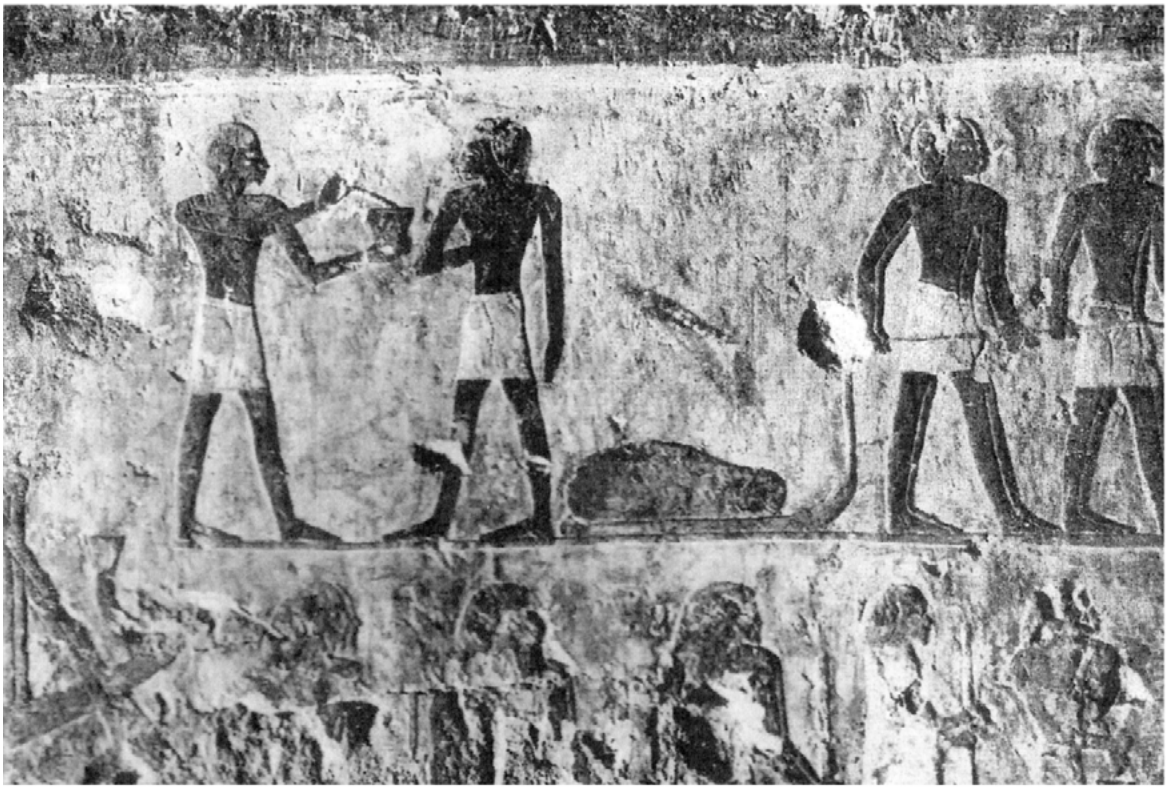

Figure 4.3.16. TT 53. *Tekenu* in the funerary procession.
Source: Griffiths, Kush VI (1958), plate XXXII.

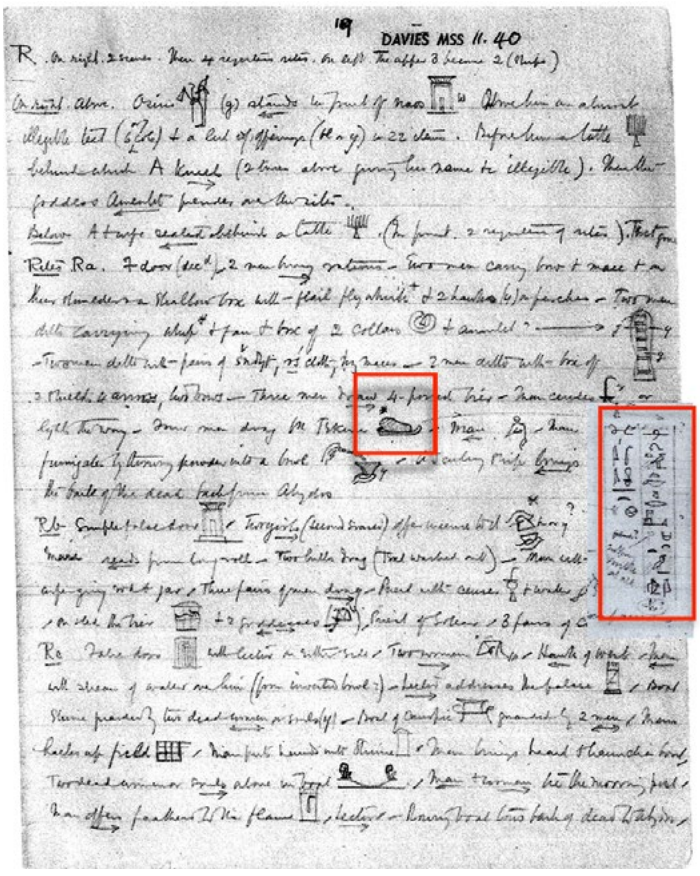

Figure 4.3.17. TT 53. Record of tomb.
Source: Davies, Notebooks, 7, MSS, 11.40 19. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

Figure 4.3.18. TT 53. Text.
Source: Davies, Notebooks, 7, MSS, 11.40 19., detail. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

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The text (Figure 4.3.18) is transcribed as:

Reading from right to left: *sṯ3 t3 tknw r ḫr(t)-nṯr ḥm.t-nṯr twi̯ / t3i̯*	'dragging the *Tekenu* to the ne-cropolis. Wife of god (or possibly priestess), *twi̯ / t3* (possibly a personal name. It would appear to be a feminine one). the Double Lion of Minet.

'Minet' was situated in the 'upper Egyptian region'.[70]

In the top two registers, the procession moves towards the upright figure of Osiris, who stands before a naos.[71]

The third register from the top depicts the bearing of funeral furniture including, amulets and two collars, men with quills and arrows, three men drawing a four posted bier, the contents of which are not obvious, a man censing or libating the way, four men dragging the *Tekenu,* and two men facing each other while one pours incense into a bowl. Here the register breaks to depict a large sailing ship bringing statues of the tomb owner and his wife (?) back from their journey to Abydos.[72]

The *Tekenu* appears, at first, to be completely enveloped in a dark covering. However, a close examination of the detail of the Griffith photo (Figure 4.3.13) reveals a darker section at the front of the figure, perhaps hair, and a possible face. Griffiths asserts that here the covering was lion skin and that:

> *It was the duty of 'a man from the city' to carry it. The idea being that in doing so he was impersonating Horus in his form as a lion.*[73]

Register four is severely damaged. Davies' recording includes, two girls offering incense before a false door, two bulls drag, three pairs of men drag, a priest with censer and water, and a bier on a sledge.[74] He later records 'man hacks up field'.[75] PM also includes in this register the Opening the Mouth ceremony, rites in garden, mummers, dancers, and setting up obelisks'.[76] From the record of PM, one may conclude that there is a partial representation of the Holy District.

1B.4 ***Nfr-n-pt*** **(TT 147)**

Location: Thebes, Dra Abu al Naga.
Identification: PM I/1, 258–259, TT 147.
Date: 18.09, Ockinga.
Form: 1B.
Selected Title: Counter of Cattle.

The funerary procession, which is contained in three registers, is depicted on the western wall of the long hall (Figure 4.3.19). The *Tekenu*, classified as Type 1B, appears in the top register.

The bottom register is severely damaged, nevertheless one is able to discern the tomb owner being borne by boat on his pilgrimage to Abydos.

[70] See Hannig, R., *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch* (Mainz 2009), 1147.
[71] Davies, *Notebooks*, 7, 19.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Griffiths, *Kush* VI (1958), 118.
[74] Davies, *Notebooks*, 7, 19.
[75] Ibid.
[76] PM I/1, 103.

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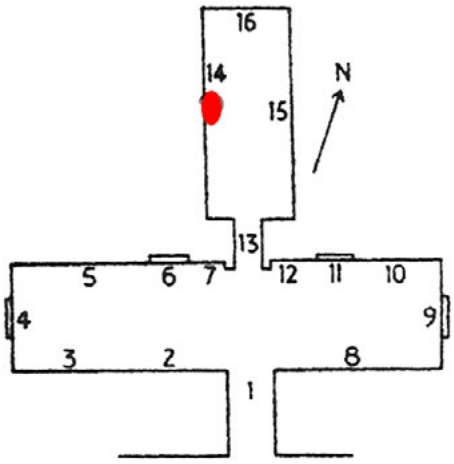

Figure. 4.3.19. TT 147. Tomb plan: PM I/1, 256.

Figure 4.3.20. TT 147. The *Tekenu*.
Photo: G. West.

Figure 4.3.21. TT 147. The funerary procession.
Photo: G. West.

Spanning the right-hand extremity of both the top and middle registers is a large image of the tomb owner's son proffering a lotus offering to the deceased and his wife.

The middle register depicts some of the *nine friends* carrying a statue and shows sections of the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony.

The funerary procession, in the top register, is led by five men carrying funeral furniture. They are followed by four cattle, which would presumably haul the mummy bier, although no hauling rope connecting them to the bier is evident. The cattle are being directed by a man with a reed whip. Then comes a sem priest preceding five men dragging the sledge upon which rests the mummy bier. The mummy is being attended by a priest impersonating Anubis. This bier is followed by a naos on a sledge, again being dragged by five men. This naos, due to its similarity in structure to that of the mummy bier and its position within the procession, likely contains the canopic vessels. Five women with arms raised in either exultation or mourning precede the *Tekenu.* Five men carrying long staffs conclude the register.

The *Tekenu* is shown recumbent on a sledge. A dark-coloured wrapping covers all but a face and hand. A dark eyebrow and eye are clearly discernible and the red outline of the face depicts a nose, mouth and chin. The hand, which is positioned beneath the chin, touches the sledge with the fingers, which are themselves demarcated by red lines. At the rear of the *Tekenu,* there is a

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suggestion of a covered foot yet, given that there is evidence of deterioration in the depiction of the wrapping of the *Tekenu*, this might also be merely a damaged area.

The sledge is a reddish-brown colour. It has a squared back and an upturned front to which a rope is attached. Unlike every other representation, however, where the *Tekenu* is depicted on a sledge either recumbent or upright (Types 1 and 2), here it is not being dragged by men. Its movement within the procession is provided by means of a rope connected to the preceding sledge (Figure 4.3.22). The size of the *Tekenu* sledge is diminutive in comparison to the preceding naos sledge and the mummy bier sledge. This is in contrast to other depictions of the *Tekenu* sledge, in Types 1 and 2, where it is of comparable size to those of both the mummy bier and canopic vessels. Further, despite the smaller size of the *Tekenu* sledge, no corresponding change has been made to the depicted size of the *Tekenu* compared to the depicted size of the mummy. Rather, they appear to be of approximately the same size allowing for the fact that the *Tekenu* is shown crouching.

Figure 4.3.22. TT 147. The *Tekenu* sledge attached to the naos. Photo: G. West.

These observations lead one to ask why the *Tekenu,* its sledge and its mode of movement are illustrated in this way. It could be due to the stratigraphy of the wall and the constraint of space. However, since the *Tekenu's* face and hand are outlined in red, this leads one to suggest that they are the remains of the original red guide lines. As these lines are not obvious in any other part of the scene, this could possibly indicate that the *Tekenu* and its sledge were completed last and that the remnant red lines were not covered. This could be due to either oversight or perhaps because of some time constraint. However, noting the perceived differences of the *Tekenu* in this tomb, one is tempted to suggest the possibility that the *Tekenu* was an afterthought. That is, the *Tekenu* was not part of the original funerary procession but rather was 'squeezed in' at some point after the adjacent depictions had been completed, thus limiting the available space. Whatever the reason for its depiction in this manner, the representation of the *Tekenu* and its method of movement in this tomb is unique.

1B.5 *Pꜣ-ḥm-nṯr* (TT 284)

Location: Thebes, Dra Abu al Naga
Identification: PM I/1: 366–367; TT 284
Date: Ramesside, PM, 366, XX Dynasty, Kampp, 555.
Form: 1B.

Selected Title: Scribe of the offerings of all the gods

The funerary procession is depicted in the hall. It begins on the eastern wall and continues on the southern one (Figure 4.3.23). The exact number of original registers in this procession cannot be determined. The *Tekenu* is classified as Type 1B.

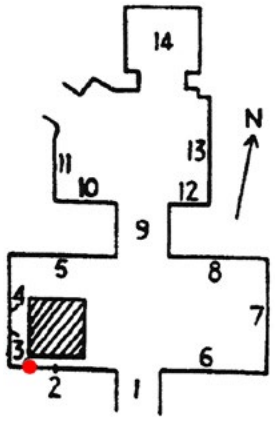

Figure 4.3.23. TT 284. Tomb plan: PM I/1, 356.

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Figure 4.3.24. TT 284. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Schott photo 6688. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford and Schott-Archiv Ägyptologie der Universität Trier

Figure 4.3.25. TT 284. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Abdul-Qader, *Funerary Beliefs*, pl. 55, detail.

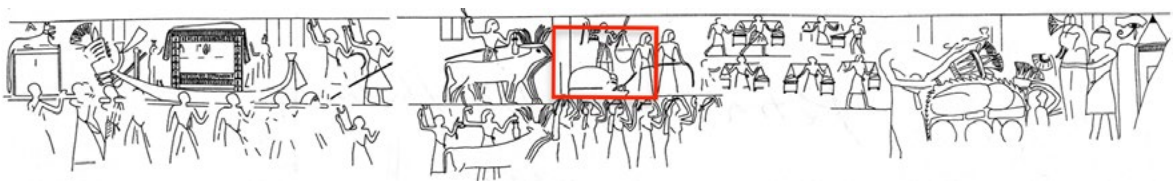

Figure 4.3.26. TT 284. Section of the funerary procession.
Source: Barthelmess *Der Übergang ins Jenseits* pl. IV. detail.

The area containing the funerary procession is severely damaged and any attempt at analysis relies on Davies' record,[77] PM,[78] Barthelmess,[79] Abdul-Qader pl.55, and Schott photo 6688 (Figures 4.3.24-4.3.26).

[77] Davies, No. and Ni. de Garis, 'Harvest Rites in a Theban Tomb', *JEA* 25 (1939), 154–156.
[78] PM I/1, 366.
[79] Barthelmess, P., *Der Übergang ins Jenseits in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern der Ramessidenzeit* (Heidelberg, 1992), 57, pl. IV.

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The procession begins with men bearing a chest that possibly contains the canopic jars.[80] Others carry the mummy bier, despite the presence of the two teams of cattle which precede them and are seemingly present for the very purpose of dragging the bier. Another enigma is the figure of the often-depicted man with one arm raised and a stick or whip of reeds, who usually directs the cattle.[81] Here he is positioned beside the *Tekenu* yet without any apparent purpose. The *Tekenu* is a covered, recumbent figure with head protruding and a now severely damaged face such that no definite features can be determined. It is dragged by two men. The register is then divided into two sub-registers. The top sub-register is of mourning men and women with caskets hung from their yokes.[82] The bottom sub-register is so damaged as to be indecipherable.

1B.6 The Yellow Sarcophagus of Djedmout

Location: Thebes, probably Deir el-Bahari.
Identification: Vatican Museum inventory MV25008.2.1–2.
Date: Twentieth Dynasty. Gasse, 13.
Form: 1B.

Selected Title: Musician of the house of Amūn.

This is an atypical representation of a *Tekenu*. Here the *Tekenu* is not depicted on a tomb wall but rather on a sarcophagus. It is depicted within a section of the funerary procession on the left-hand side of the sarcophagus. It is neither being dragged nor recumbent on a table but is situated beneath or adjacent to the mummy bier (Figures 4.3.27–4.3.28). There is sufficient similarity in shape to classify this *Tekenu* as Type 1B.

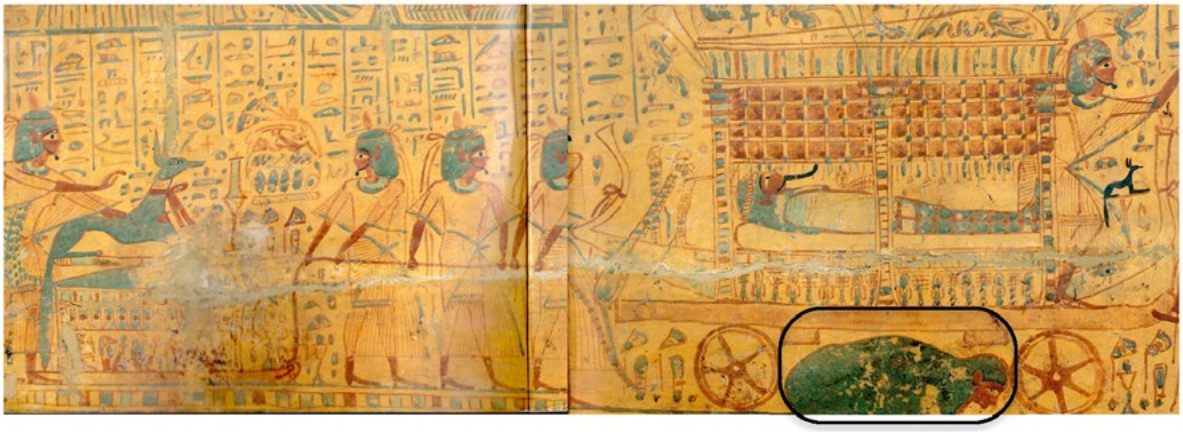

Figure 4.3.27. Djedmout. Anubis and mummy bier with *Tekenu* either positioned between the wheels of the funerary cart or next to it. Left-hand side of sarcophagus.
Source: Gasse, Les Sarcophages, compilation of book cover.

The mummy bier on a wheeled cart is depicted being dragged seemingly towards officials. Due to severe damage, no further detail before the bier may be ascertained. Positioned between the cart's wheels is a hunched *Tekenu*. It might be that the *Tekenu* is to be viewed as next to the cart but is depicted in this way due to the Ancient Egyptian use of perspective.[83] The *Tekenu* is completely covered, except for the head, in a black/green shroud. A distinctive ear, eye, nose and chin are discernible. Three men dragging a non-wheeled sledge follow the mummy bier. Upon this sledge is a naos bearing a statue of Anubis. Another official follows.

[80] Davies and Davies *JEA* 25 (1939), 156.
[81] Cf. TT 12, TT 34, TT 36, TT 42, TT 49 TT 147.
[82] Davies and Davies *JEA* 25 (1939), 156.
[83] See Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, ch. 4 especially 4.3.7, fig. 164.

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Figure 4.3.28. Djedmout. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Gasse, Les Sarcophages, cover, detail.

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4.4 TYPE 1C

1C.1 *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f* (TT 20)

Location: Thebes, Dra Abu al Naga.
Identification: PM I/1, 34–35, TT 20.
Date: 18.06, PM I/1, 34,
18.03 –18.06. Kampp, 103.
Form: 1C.
Form: 4

Selected Titles: Fan bearer, Mayor of Aphroditopolis.

The depiction of the *Tekenu* in the tomb of *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f*, is the most complex of all of the presently known depictions. The *Tekenu* appears three times in a physical form and there are numerous textual references, including those found in a circular pit. To fully appreciate the iconography it is essential to analyse the entire southern wall and not just those scenes where the *Tekenu* obviously appears or to which there is textual reference. This approach is necessary for it appears that the presentation is a quasi-narrative sequence, a continuum, and not a representation of isolated or unconnected vignettes.

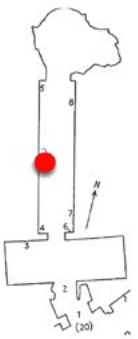

Figure 4.4.1. TT 20 Tomb plan PM I/1, 30.

It is not the intention of the author to attempt to translate all of the text, only that which is pertinent to this study. This has proven to be an arduous task, as often determinatives are absent rendering, at times, an ambiguous interpretation.[84] In fact, possible multiple interpretations occur so frequently, in both text and iconography, as to sug-gest that this was intentional. Consequently, scenes are capable of being construed on many levels. Where scenes are considered to be of minor relevance, only a cursory examination is made in an endeavour to follow the thread of the narrative.

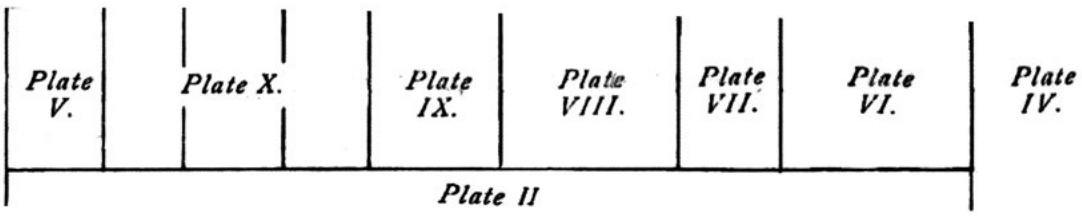

Figure 4.4.2. TT 20. Southern wall key plan. Source; Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XIV.

Davies South Wall key plan is adopted here to aid in the analysis of the funerary procession and the scenes of tomb preparation (Figure 4.4.2).

The scenes of tomb preparation, ceremonies of interment and the funerary scenes in this tomb occupy the southern wall (Figure 4.4.1). Due to extensive damage, interpretation relies on piecing together evidence from this and other tombs of a similar period and location. Maspero, 1891, published the results of his excavations, aided by the photographic material from Insigner.[85] Davies, 1913,[86] relies on scenes from TT 29, the tomb of *Jmn-m-jpꜣ.t*, the work of Maspero and the

[84] I am indebted to Grant Hayes for his advice on the translation of the text and his insightful suggestions.
[85] Maspero, G., *Le Tombeau de Montouhikhopshouf* (Paris,1891).
[86] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 1-19.

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unpublished photos of Insigner, now commonly called the 'Berlin prints'.[87] Serrano Delgado, 2011, emphasises parallels with TT 11, the tomb of *Ḏḥwtj*, in his analysis of funerary scenes in TT 20.[88] Other scholars have referred to this tomb and its representation of the *Tekenu* in a more succinct fashion and are cited where applicable.

The southern wall is framed at each end by a depiction of the tomb owner, *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f*, plates IV and V (Figures 4.4.3, 4.4.4).

The subscene, plate II, is that of the funerary cortège. It commences under plate V and proceeds from east to west ending at plate IV.

Plates VI, VII, VIII, IX, while still integral to the narrative, are all individually complete scenes, each being divided into three registers. In contrast to the subscene, plate II, all movement in these plates is from west to east away from *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f* and his mother, in plate IV, and towards the sole figure of *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f*, in plate V.

In the plate X the movement is from west to east. This plate is divided into three scenes, labelled 5, 6, 7 by Davies, and each scene is comprised of three registers.

PLATE ANALYSIS

Plates IV and V

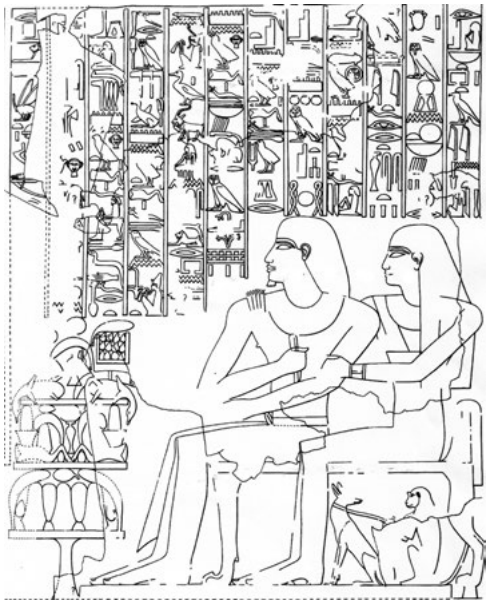

Figure 4.4.3. TT 20. Southern wall eastern end.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* pl. V

Figure 4.4.4. TT 20. Southern wall western end.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* pl. IV.

On the western end of the wall, plate IV, *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f* is depicted seated with his mother, *Tɜysnt* (Figure 4.4.3). This plate occupies the entire western end of the wall, and the funerary procession moves towards it. Above the figures are extensive, yet fragmentary and damaged text, and before them a selection of offerings. Beneath the chair of *Tɜysnt,* a monkey holds the lead of a dog who looks back towards him. On the eastern end of the wall, plate V, *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f* is standing watching the preparations for the ceremonies to be performed at the time of entombment (Figure 4.4.4). He

[87] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 1, n. 3. These prints, while apparently still with the Berlin Museum, are unavailable for viewing

[88] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 150–162.

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holds a staff and sekhem sceptre. Above him are severely damaged text and a djed pillar, and before him is an offering table. Davies has attempted to reconstruct the text. He supplies the translation without including the hieroglyphic version and concedes that the 'result is not very legible'.[89] His translation reads:

> 'The prince superintendent of priests, and guardian of the fan, M., coming to see(?)...the end (?) and the interment of the coffin (?)...'
>
> Accepting this translation, the text would seem to be a summary of the action in the other plates, now tantalisingly incomplete.

Subscene: Plate 1

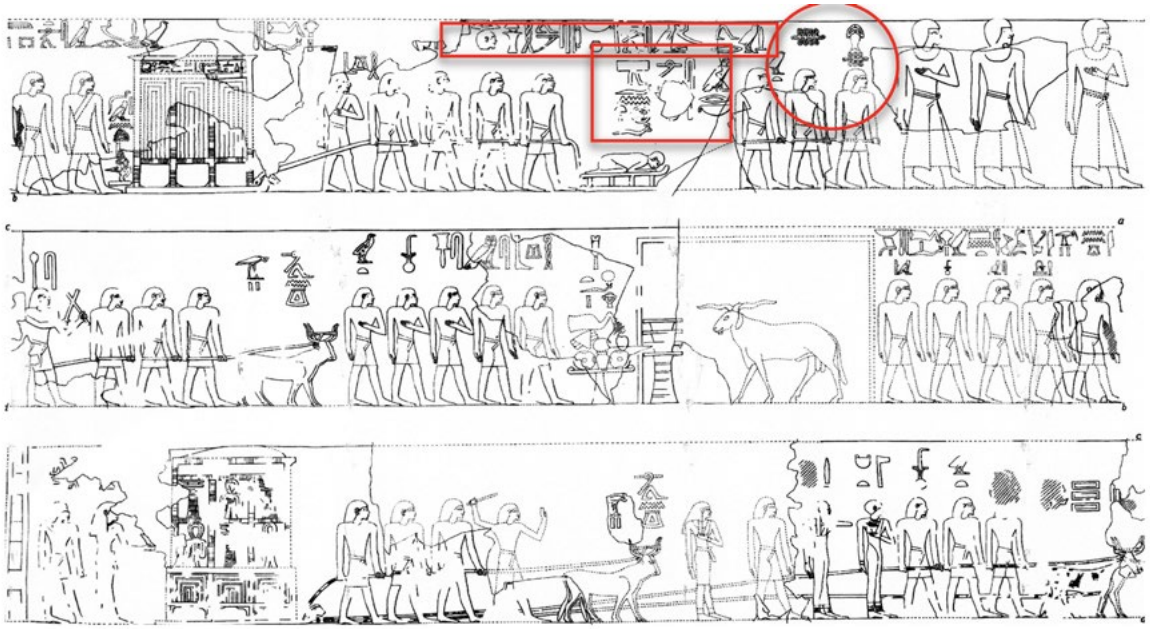

Figure 4.4.5. TT 20. Subscene Funerary procession. Text highlighted.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. II.

As can be determined from the tomb plan (Figure 4.4.2), this is one long register positioned beneath the scenes shown in the other plates. Three large figures, the size and position within the procession indicating that they are possibly relatives[90] although they might be priests, proceed towards *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḥpš=f* and *Tɜysnt*. They are followed by three smaller figures who drag, on a sledge, an apparently unrobed man who is free of any encumbrance. This individual is identified by the text as the *Tekenu*. The sledge on which the *Tekenu* travels and other sledges illustrated in this tomb differ from all other known depictions, as they are shown as if seen from above and from the side simultaneously. This is of similar form to the hieroglyph for the word 'sledge' U 15.

What is occurring in this scene is described by the line of text starting over the head of the third *Tekenu*-hauler (Figure 4.4.5):

Read from right to left.

[89] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 12.
[90] Reeder, *KMT* 5/3 (1994), 54.

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wḏȝ r mȝ(ȝ) sṯȝ tkn.w šms mrḥ.t r tp [*ḏw*]*/////////*[*Mnṯ.w*]*-ḥr-ḫpš=f mȝᶜ-ḫrw*

This is provisionally translated as:

> 'setting out to see the dragging of the *Tekenu;* following the oil to the top of the [hill] [Montu] hirkopshef, justified.'

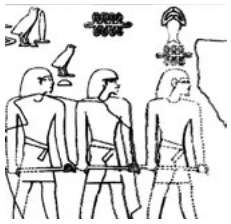
Another translation is also possible:

> 'setting out to see the dragging of the *Tekenu* and the following/
> accompaniment of the oil to the top of the [hill] [Montu]hirkopshef, justified.'

The last translation is preferable, as in the image the *Tekenu* is not seen to be following anything other than the large figures.

The figures who haul the *Tekenu* are identified as (Figure 4.4.5):

sȝ.w Srḳ.t	the Serket-ritualist,
sȝ.w	ritualist,
wt(*.y*)	embalmer.



Detail of Figure 4.4.5.

Three columns of text starting behind the third *Tekenu*-hauler read from right to left:

m rk	in the vicinity
sṯȝ [*tkn.w*]	of the dragging of the *Tekenu*
šm=f n niw.t=f	as it goes to its city

Detail of Figure 4.4.5.

This translation relies on translating *rk* as indicating spatial proximity.[91] However *rk* may also be translated as 'at the time'. Then the translation would then be:

> 'at the (same) time of the dragging of the *Tekenu* as it goes to its city'[92]

Four men, followed by a *ḫr.y-ḥȝb*(*.t*) (lector priest), then drag a naos possibly containing the canopic jars or the oils. Four men follow this procession before the scene breaks. It is separated from what follows by, what Maspero describes as,'une sorte d'édicule rectangulaire un coffre sans ornements'[93] (a sort of rectangular entrance safe without ornaments), in which are locked an unidentified large ram, and before it a large djed pillar. This rectangle is followed by an offering table and the oncoming procession of numerous officials, men or priests and bulls who drag the sarcophagus.

While there are thirty four recordings of the *Tekenu* as part of the funerary procession, that in TT 20 is the only example where the procession is depicted as seemingly passing a rectangle containing the image of a ram and djed pillar. In contrast to the rest of the scene, this image has no textual content and is noticeably devoid of clutter. This has the effect of rendering it visually more dominant, possibly to emphasise its importance.

[91] See Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 511.
[92] I am indebted to Professor Kanawati for this suggestion.
[93] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf*, 440.

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Plate VI, Scene 1

This plate will be dealt with in summary form and only to the extent that it is relevant in aiding the analysis of the entire wall with reference to the *Tekenu.*

As can be seen by comparing the record of this scene made by Maspero with that of Davies, there are subtle differences in both the textual record and the images. These differences are not all pertinent for this study and will be highlighted only where considered relevant.

Top Register

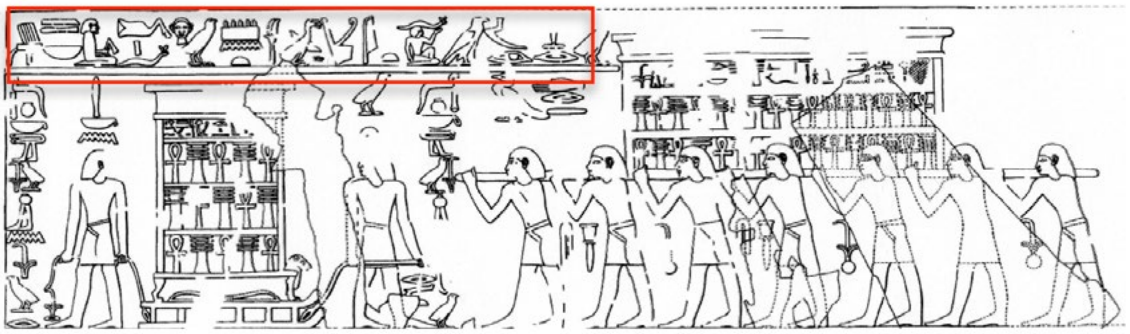

Figure 4.4.6. TT 20. Plate VI, Scene 1 Top register.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VI.

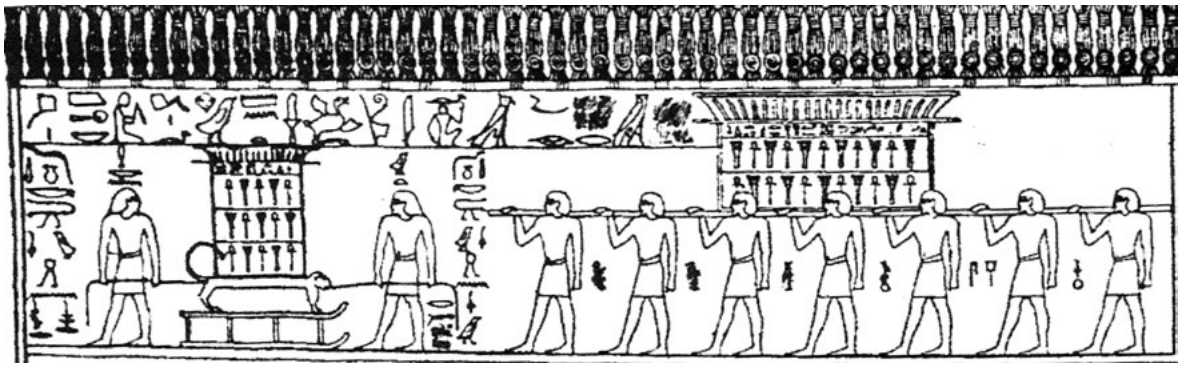

Figure 4.4.7. TT 20. Plate VI, Scene 1 Top register.
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig. V

The line of text over the catafalque in Davies' drawing reads, from right to left:

> *wḏȝ r mȝ(ȝ) fȝi.t ỉn ṯȝw-ḫw Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f mȝʿ-ḫrw nb ỉmȝḫ*
> setting out by the fan-bearer *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f,* justified, possessor of veneration to see the carrying.

Seven men carry the catafalque and are faced by an image of it being dragged towards them (Figures 4.4.6, 4.4.7). This appears to represent two different journeys. The intended destination to which the catafalque is being borne is not obvious. However, the catafalque on the sledge is identified by the text as being conducted to the south by the official on the left and to the north by the official on the right. Maspero suggests that, to ensure the integrity of the burial, the sarcophagus is depicted being carried to the north and then hauled to the south, as if traversing the world.[94]

[94] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf*, 447–448.

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Davies interprets the action as likely to be that of the pilgrimage to and from Abydos.[95] As there is no identifying text, the journeys might be to Busiris and Abydos.

Middle Register

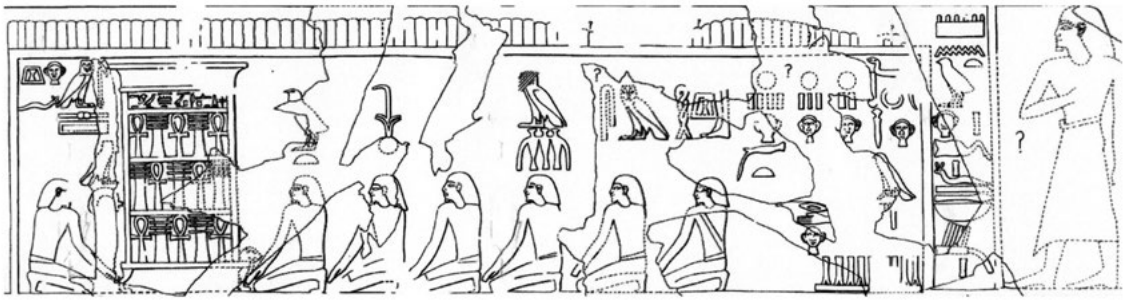

Figure 4.4.8. TT 20. Plate VI, Scene 1 Middle register.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VI.

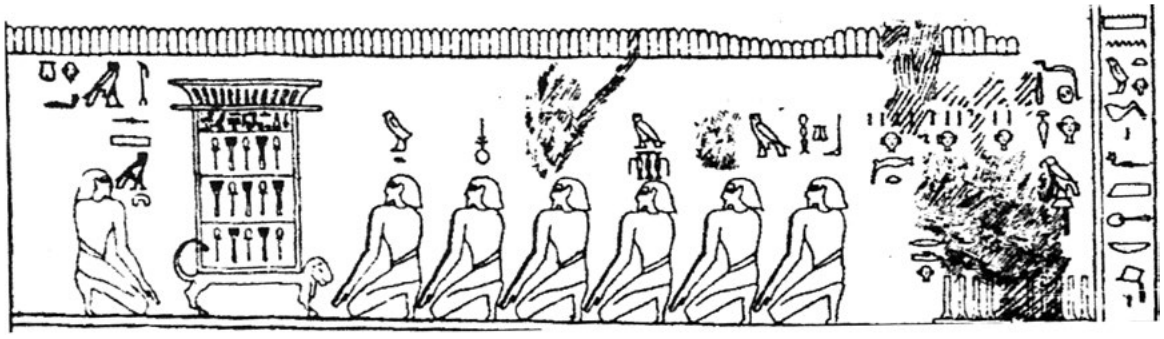

Figure 4.4.9. TT 20. Plate VI, Scene 1 Middle register.
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig. V.

Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f (the image of the tomb owner does not appear in Maspero's version) watches seven kneeling officials, six before and one after the catafalque, which is now removed from the sledge and lies on the funerary bed (Figures 4.4.8, 4.4.9).

Bottom Register

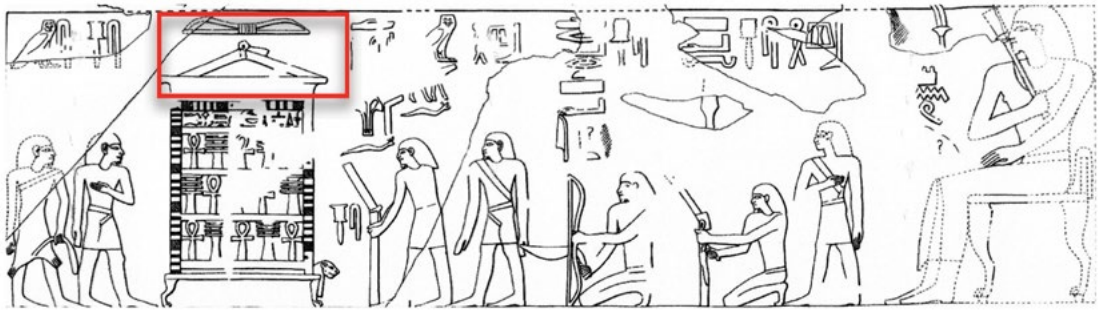

Figure 4.4.10. TT 20. Plate VI, Scene 1 Bottom register. Ped aha indicated.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VI.

[95] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 13.

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Figure 4.4.11. Plate VI, Scene 1 TT 20. Bottom register. Text indicated.
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig. V.

A seated *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f* watches seemingly the same seven officials as those represented in the middle register (Figures 4.4.10, 4.4.11). Their positions have now changed. Two are placed to the left of the catafalque and five to the right. It appears that they are performing a symbolic ceremony where a bow and, what Davies identifies as a *ped aha* (Figure 4.4.10),[96] are brought and placed on top of the catafalque. The bow and *ped aha* are absent from the catafalque in the middle register. Davies suggests that the action in this scene is of the infliction of death upon the bow and *ped aha* and thus 'enabling the weapons to accompany the dead man'.[97] Tassie suggests it is a representation of the subduing of the nine bows, the symbolic enemy.[98]

The two columns of text above the *smr* figure immediately to the right of the chest, which are clearly discernible in Maspero's version (4.4.11), are read from left to right and in a retrograde manner. This text would tend to support Tassie's interpretation of the action.

m-ḫn=f

d(*w*) *ỉwn*(.*t*)*-sty ḥ*ɜ*=f*

'Putting a Nubian bow behind him, within his reach.'
(columns translated in reverse order).

Plate VII, Scene 2
Top Register

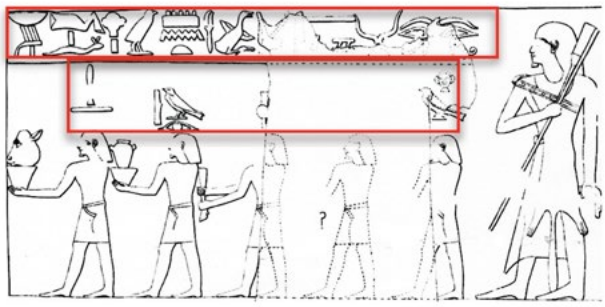

Figure 4.4.12. TT 20. Plate VII, Scene 2. Top register.
Text indicated.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VII.

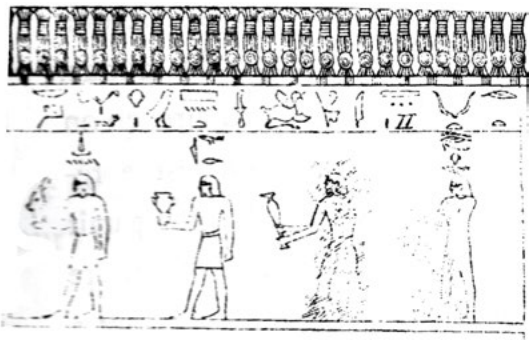

Figure 4.4.13. TT 20. Plate VII, Scene 2. Top register.
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig. VI.

[96] The *ped aha* was often laid in Middle Kingdom coffins. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 13.
[97] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 13.
[98] Tassie, *PIA 11* (2000), 29.

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The line of text above the five officiants (four officials in Maspero's record) reads from left to right:

> *ptr wpi.t tɜ in ṯɜw-ḫw Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f nb-imɜḫ*
>
> 'Watching the opening of the earth by the fan-bearer *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f*, possessor of veneration.' (Figures 4.4.12, 4.4.13).

Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f, carrying a sekhem scepter and wearing an animal skin, observes as five officiants, carrying parts of a sacrificial bovine, walk towards the east. These are partially identified as (Figure 4.4.12):

ḥm-tɜ, breaker of the earth, with a bovine head in a bowl,[99]
ḳd-wr-ir, chief grave digger, with a bovine heart in a bowl, [100]
sšmt, governor/ruler, with a bovine leg,[101]
ḥr(*.y*)*-wr,* great headman /main chief.[102]

Has been transliterated and translated above as *ḳd-wr-ir,* 'chief grave digger', however, another transliteration is possible. If the first sign in the title is read as P11, instead of Aa28, then the title could be read as *mnỉ*(*.w*) *wr ỉrỉ*(*.t*), 'the one who buries, great of action'. This reading would add more authority and significance to the particular official. Given that this title is of great significance, as it reappears on numerous occasions, perhaps the latter translation is more appropriate.

The differences between Maspero's and Davies' record of this register have no critical significance for this study.

Middle Register

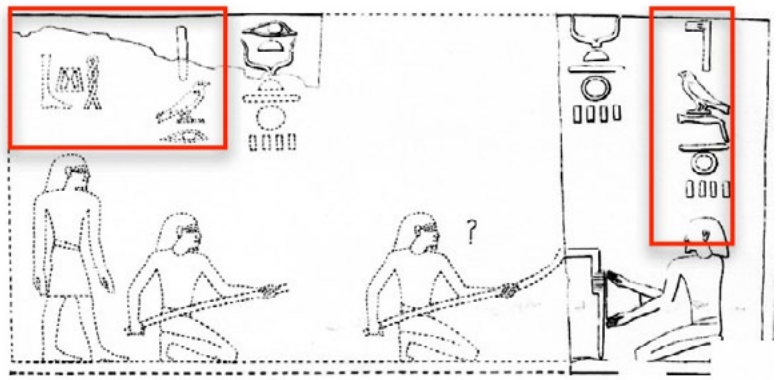

Figure 4.4.14. TT 20. Plate VII, Scene 2. Middle register. Text identified.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VII.

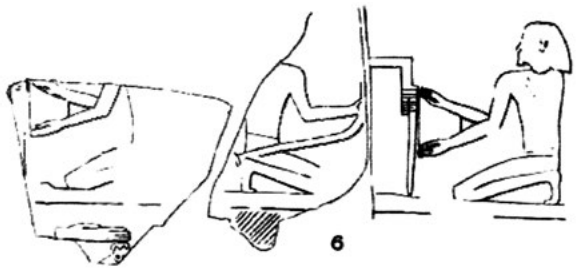

Figure 4.4.15. TT 20. Fragment.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XI. 1

[99] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 566 suggests the translation 'servant of the ground' and defines the figure as being identified with the ground-opening ceremony.
[100] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 938 defines this title as that of a priest from the opening of the mouth ceremony.
[101] Helck, *Untersuchungen*, 34 suggests this possible identification.
[102] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 589 defines the title as that of a priest at the funeral service.

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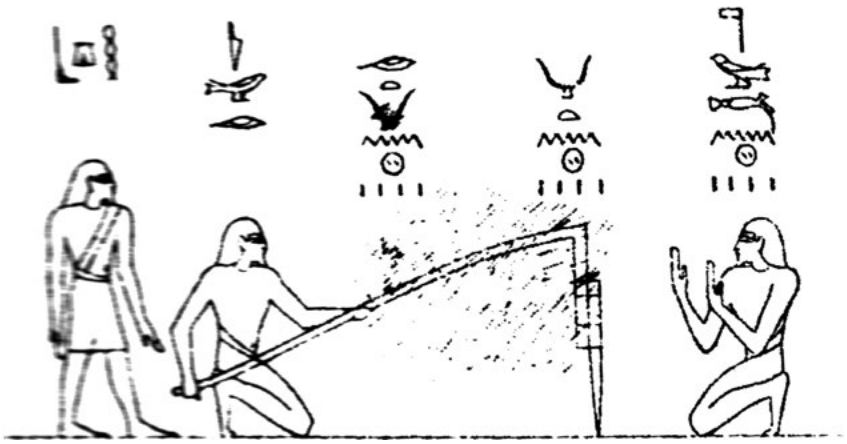

Figure 4.4.16. TT 20. Plate VII, Scene 2. Middle register. Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig. VI.

This scene suffers from severe damage, however, using the fragment, as Davies suggests,[103] and Maspero's record (Figures 4.4.14–4.4.16), one may cautiously suggest an interpretation. It is critical to attempt to construe this scene because the hole, which is depicted as being prepared, is of critical significance to the understanding of the *Tekenu*. It might be suggested that this scene shows, in some considerable detail, the preparation of the *Tekenu's* final destination.

The two figures on the far left, in both Davies' and Maspero's versions are identified by the text as: *ḫr*(.*y*)-*ḥ*(*ꜣ*)*b*(.*t*), and *ḳd-wr-ỉr*. Davies' version shows an extra yet unidentified individual, not recorded by Maspero.

On the far right hand side is the caption:

This could be transliterated as: *wr nṯr mḥ tꜣ sp*-4 'great is the god who fills the earth four times'. Other translations are, however, possible. As there is no determinative after *mḥ*, it could be translated as 'hold, grasp, seize'.[104] This leads to the possibility of the translation: 'great is the god who lays hold of the earth four times'. However, the kneeling figure, over which the caption appears, bears no resemblance to how one would expect a god to appear. This observation leads one to search for other possibilities.

Hannig defines the title *wr nṯr* as a priest from the burial ceremony.[105] Thus the caption could read: 'the priest who fills (lays hold of) the earth four times'.

All the possibilities discussed above rely on the interpretation of the third sign as V22, *mḥ* yet it could be F30, *šd*. If so, then another possible translation is:

'the priest who digs out (removes) the earth four times'.

The latter translation probably makes most sense but one must concede that the other translations are possibilities, which gives rise to the dilemma of which translation to adopt. There is also the possibility that this attendant uncertainty was intended.

There is further confusion flowing from the interpretation of the figure on the far right-hand side in Figures 4.4.14 and 4.4.16. Some scholars record this figure as holding a bowl out of which he tilts

[103] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 14 n. 4.
[104] Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 113.
[105] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 469.

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sand,[106] seed or soil.[107] However, neither representation shows a bowl and in Davies' version the man appears to be holding an adze.

Maspero suggests the importance of this squatting man is to be found in what he recites: [108]

'*wpì.t tɜ sp-4*, the opening of the earth four times'

Next appears a man picking over the ground with a large adze. This man, who faces the kneeling man, is identified by Maspero as: *ḳd-wr-ir*.[109]

Next appears a man picking over the ground with a large adze. This man, who faces the kneeling man, is identified by Maspero as: *ḳd-wr-ir*.[110]

The rest of the scene in Davies is fragmented and confusing. Maspero's fig. VI supports Davies speculation as to the inscription:

irì.t wpi[*.t tɜ sp*-4], conducting the opening of the earth four times.

Detail of Figure 4.4.16

Bottom Register

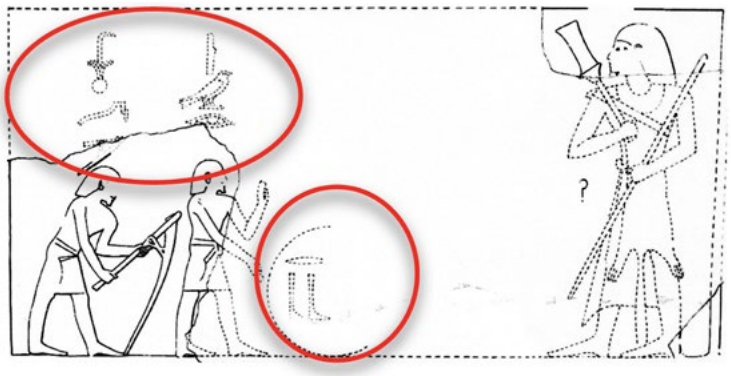

Figure 4.4.17. TT 20. Plate VII, Scene 2. Bottom register. Text. indicated
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VII.

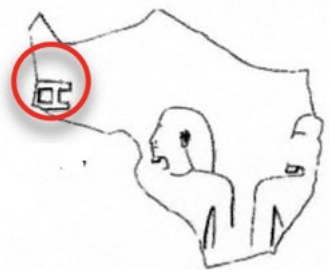

Figure 4.4.18. TT 20. Fragment sledge indicated.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XIV. fig. X.

[106] Helck, *Untersuchungen,* 34.
[107] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 14. n. 4 suggests possibly sand as a foundation.
[108] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 450.
[109] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* fig. VI.
[110] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* fig. VI.

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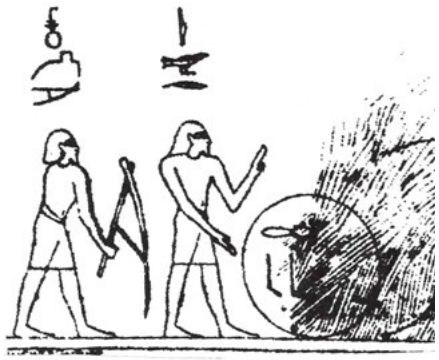

Figure 4.4.19. TT 20. Plate VII, Scene 2. Bottom register. Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig VI.

Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f on the right-hand side oversees the preparation of the hole which has been prepared and appears in the middle register. Two other men also appear in the scene:

ḳd-wr-ỉr who appears to be gesturing towards the hole.
rḫ-nswt stp, 'king's acquaintance' who cuts/ cultivates.

The translation 'who cuts/cultivates' is dependent on U19, the adze sign, being taken as a determinative. This reading is supported as the *rḫ-nswt* is holding a hoe.

In the partially shown hole the beginning of an inscription appears:

r bb.t, to/at the hole.

There follows a large damaged area in Davies's record (Figure 4.4.17)(none of this is depicted in the work of Maspero, fig. 4.4.19) to which he tentatively consigns fragment X on plate XIV (Figure 4.4.18).[111] This suggestion is appealing. In the upper section of the right- hand corner appears a fragment of a sledge. This placement would link the ritual of the digging of the hole with the consignment of a sledge to the pit.[112] Given that the bottom register of plate VIII depicts a sledge in a pit it would seem likely that ***Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f*** is witnessing the construction of that pit.

Maspero, however, shows no gap in his record. He shows a seated ***Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f*** (in Davies's version the tomb owner is standing) watching unidentifiable objects being consigned to what he determines is a hearth.[113]

111 Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 14 n. 6.
112 Ibid.
113 Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf*, 451.

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Plate VIII, Scene 3
Top Register

Figure 4.4.20. TT 20. Plate VIII, Scene 3. Top register. Text indicated.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII.

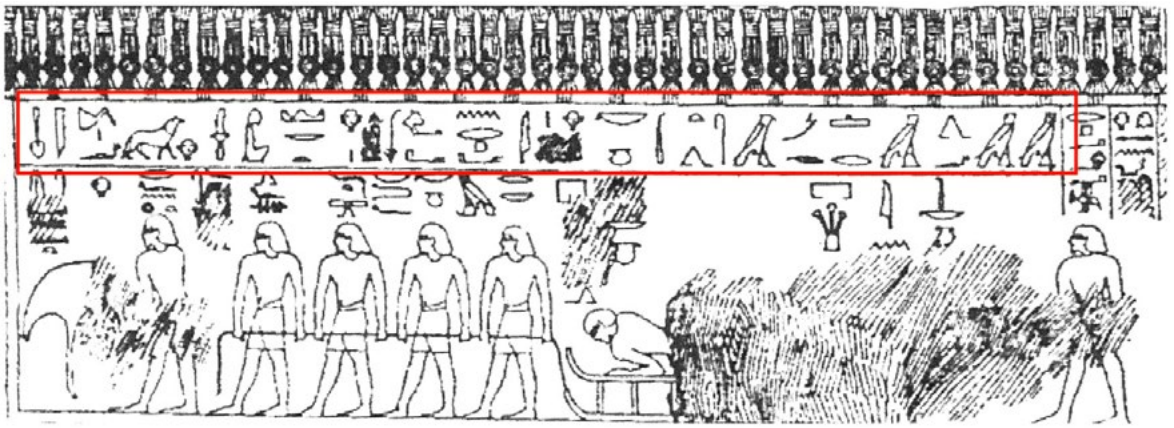

Figure 4.4.21. TT 20. Plate VIII, Scene 3. Top register. Text indicated.
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig. VII.

On the right-hand side, *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f* and *Tɜysnt*, in Maspero's depiction, but only *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f* in Davies', watch the procession of the *Tekenu* (Figures 4.4.20, 4.4.21).[114] Before him Davies records four columns of partially destroyed titles that he suggests stresses the importance of the rites he is witnessing.[115] The caption above the procession reads:

> [*iwi.t*] *m ḥtp r* [*mɜ(ɜ)*] *sṯɜ tkn.w ḥr* [*tm(.t)*] *in* (*i*)*r*(*.y*)-*pˁ*(*.t*) [*ḥɜ.t*(*y*)]-ˁ//// *nswt ḥr ḫɜs.t nb*[*.t*] [*ỉr.y ḫw Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f mɜˁ-ḫrw*]
>
> 'Coming in peace to see the dragging of the *Tekenu* on a sledge by a member of the elite[116] and king's //// in every foreign land, the keeper of the fan *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f,* justified.'

The emphasis in the text is on *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f* 'coming in peace to see' and not 'dragging the *Tekenu* on a sledge'.

[114] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,*14 n. 7. Davies acknowledges that the figures are now lost but he has recreated them from a Spiegelberg squeeze.
[115] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 14.
[116] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 95 translates *(i)r(.y)-pa(.t)* as ' highest court rank title'.

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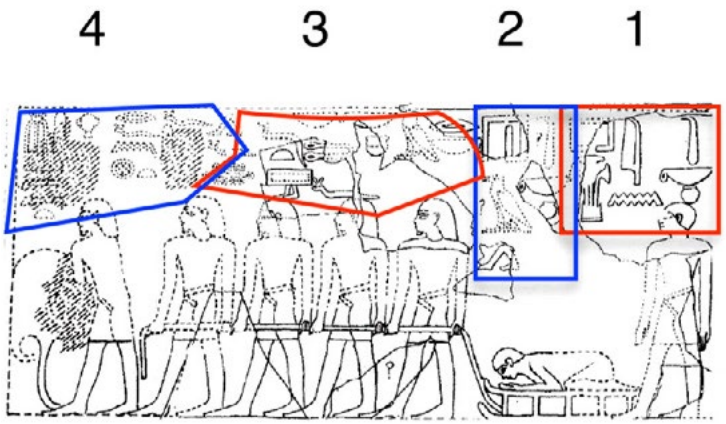
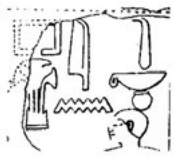


Figure 4.4.22. TT 20. Plate VIII, Scene 3. Four textual references to the *Tekenu* indicated.
Source: Davies *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII, scene 3 top register, detail.

There are four references to the *Tekenu* in this scene. Each reference will be dealt with separately reading from right to left (Figure 4.4.22).

After the column of titles, a man approaches a sledge upon which an unrobed man lies. The approaching figure wears a cap or short wig which does not cover the ear and a short kilt. The text above him reads: *pr*(*.t*) [117]

1 

pr(*.t*) (*r*-)*ḥꜣ ỉn tkn.w* The *Tekenu* goes forth = appears. / the coming out by the *Tekenu*

In Davies' record of this scene, the text appears directly above the figure of the man who approaches the sledge. Accordingly, the text could be said to identify the figure as the *Tekenu*. If this is accepted, then the *Tekenu* here is in the form of an upright human figure. In this study such a form of the *Tekenu* is classified as Type 4.

Maspero's version of this section of the register varies from that of Davies' in the positioning of both the textual record and the figure (Figure 4.4.21). Maspero records a large lacuna between the man approaching the *Tekenu* and the *Tekenu* sledge. The text *pr*(*.t*) *ḥꜣ ỉn tkn.w* appears above this space, not above the figure, as in Davies' version. This suggests that the figure is possibly not the *Tekenu*. If this version is accepted then to what is being referred by 'going forth by the *Tekenu*' might be the movement of the *Tekenu* on the sledge and bear no relationship to the figure.

It would seem, according to Davies' version, that the *Tekenu* sheds the kilt and crouches unencumbered upon the sledge with palms facing upwards towards the mouth. Davies interprets this depiction as emphasising that the *Tekenu* voluntarily partakes in the ritual.[118] Serrano Delgado agrees with Davies that the text does identify this person as the *Tekenu* and suggests that it portrays the *Tekenu* as 'an active figure in motion, captured in a dramatic ritual sequence'.[119] Both these interpretations are valid and not mutually exclusive. Serrano Delgado supports his reading of the scene by reference to a parallel scene in TT 11.[120]

[117] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 160 n. 77, cites this expression as often being used to refer to participants in rituals and processions (see *Wb* 1, 519,15).
[118] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 14.
[119] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 160.
[120] Ibid.

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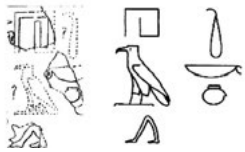
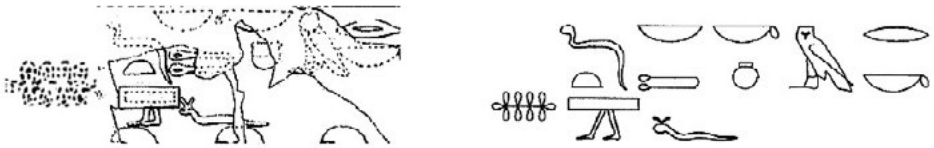
The text above the recumbent *Tekenu* and the four men who drag him has many lacunae. However, above the sledge the text can be discerned:

2 

hɜi(*.t*) *tkn.w*
'the going down of the*Tekenu*' [121]

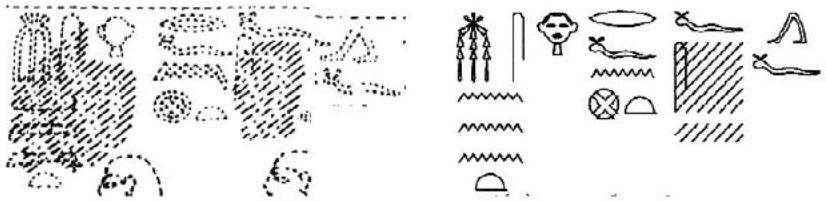
Above the four men who drag the *Tekenu* one is able to recreate, using both the record of Davies and Maspero, the text:

3 

sɜ ḏ.t nb tkn.w m rk šm=f
'protection of the body of the owner of the *Tekenu* at the time of his departure'

The use of the word *ḏ.t* indicates that what is being referred to is not just 'the body' but also its representation. *D.t* was a term 'that erased the distinction between representation and body'.[122]

In front of the four men, a figure appears to be carrying a hide with a tail. The text above him can, again with aid of both Davies' and Maspero's records, may be translated as:

4 

msi(*.t*) *n.t ḥr=f n niw.t=f s*[*?*]*=f*
'producing water over/on him for his city, when he [? passes away]'

The missing verb at the end of this text is one of motion, as indicated by the walking determinative. One may only conjecture as to its identity. However, two possibilities suggest themselves as determined by the available space and the remnant hieroglyphs. These are *sin=f* 'run' and *sḏɜ=f* 'travel/depart'. Both of these verbs may be translated as a euphemism for 'dying'.[123]

Contrary to this interpretation of the text is that suggested by Helck. He translates what he believes is a fragmented hymn:

> 'The fur is on [when] he [goes] out of his town...He [goes], protect the
> Lord of Eternity because the *Tekenu* comes...come and descend *Tekenu*.'

[121] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 161 n. 78 notes that the combination of two subsequent actions represented by the verbs *pr*(*i*) and *hɜ*(*i*) is a recurrent structure in funerary texts. See *Wb* 1, 251 and Goedicke, H., 'The Egyptian idea of passing from life to death; an interpretation', *Orientalia* 24 (1995), 225–239.
[122] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 106.
[123] See Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 213 and 258.

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Helck also interprets the inscription concerning this scene as 'come out around (*prj ḥɜ*) by the *tknw*.'[124]

Davies concedes[125] that he has reconstructed what the man is carrying from Maspero's work, in which he has little confidence, but contends that the Berlin print definitely shows a tail.[126]

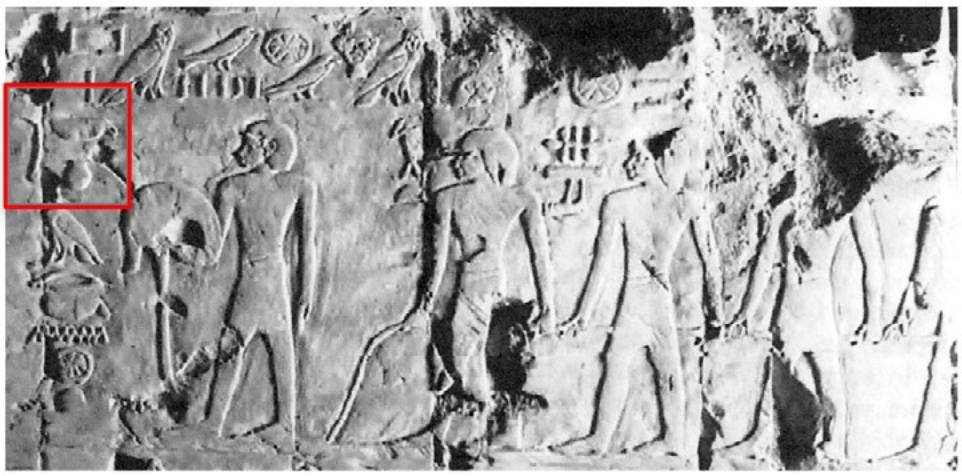

Figure 4.4.23. TT 11. Section of TT 11 analogous to left-hand side
Davies pl. VIII top register. Figure identified as the *Tekenu*. Text indicated.
Source: Serrano Delgado *ZÄS* 138 (2011), fig. IX.

Serrano Delgado, by reference to a parallel scene in TT 11 (Figure 4.4.23), concludes that the figure at the end of this scene in TT 20 is definitely carrying a hide and that it is in fact the *Tekenu*.[127]

The *Tekenu* has progressed through the register from his position on the far right-hand side where, standing upright, he approaches a sledge. He then lies down on the sledge and adopts a foetal position. At the conclusion of the register he has alighted from the sledge and stands upright, carrying a hide on a pole.[128]

Middle Register

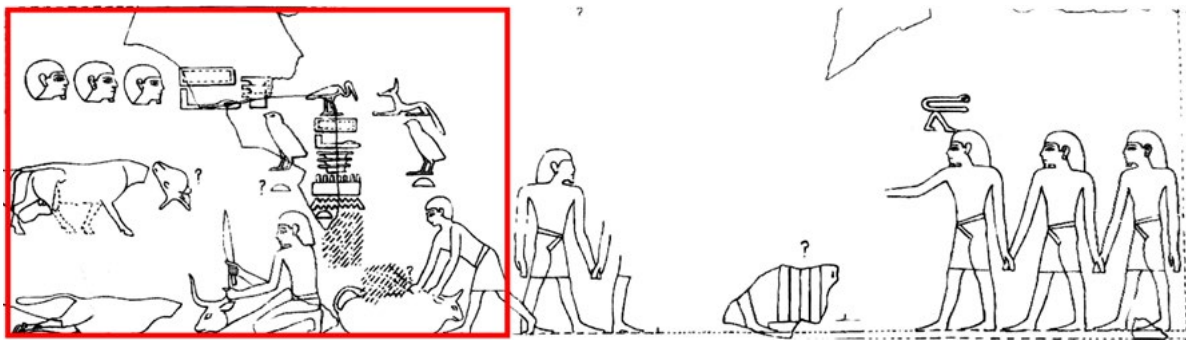

Figure 4.4.24. TT 20. Plate VIII, Scene 3. Middle register. Two scenes indicated.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII.

[124] Helck, W., *Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 34.
[125] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 15.
[126] Davies doesnot record this section of the Berlin print.
[127] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 161.
[128] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138,(2011), 160–161. Serrano Delgado contends that TT 11, being slightly older than TT 20, likely served as a model for TT 20.

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Figure 4.4.25. TT 20. Plate VIII, Scene 3. Middle register. Possible part of sledge indicated.
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig. VII.

There are two distinct scenes in this register (Figure 4.4.24). On the left, the scene comprises two slaughter scenes. Above the first slaughter scene the caption reads:

šˁ tp.w, 'cutting off heads'. (*šˁ* is written in retrograde).

The next hieroglyphic sign Davies reads as representing a joint of meat.[129] The kneeling man wielding a knife and holding the animal's horn is called:

wt(*.y*), 'embalmer'.

Then follows the second slaughter scene where the partial caption is identified as:

dšr(*.w*) *šˁ mn.t,* 'blood of cutting off the thigh'.

The person tethering the bull is titled:

wt(*.y*) *ʾInp.w,* 'embalmer of Anubis'.

The second scene, shown on the right, could well have displayed a pit but it is enigmatic and fragmentary. Two groups of men approach an object, which lies between them, from either side. The caption above the three men who comprise the group on the right-hand side reads:

iṯi(*.t*), 'taking/conducting/take away/carry off'

The first man of this group appears to be gesticulating towards and leading the way towards the object, which separates the groups. The precise nature of the object is impossible to determine. Davies concedes that, in Maspero's drawing of the object (Figure 4.4.25), it resembles the sledge of the *Tekenu,*[130] but he chooses instead to tentatively place an unidentified fragment in this position. If the fragment does belong here he sees it as resembling 'an altar of burnt-offering'. [131] Tassie speculates that they are 'possibly making a burnt sacrifice' [132] therefore concurring with Davies. Due to the damaged nature of the pictorial evidence, it is impossible to verify these speculative statements beyond agreeing that the Maspero drawing does show part of a sledge in the form seen in the funeral cortège. Maspero definitely identifies the object as the sledge of the *Tekenu*.[133] The

[129] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 15 n. 3.
[130] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 15.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Tassie, *PIA 11* (2000), 29.
[133] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 454.

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Tekenu is said to have alighted from the sledge in order to take part in a ceremony.[134] This latter interpretation concurs with that of Serrano Delgado.[135]

Bottom Register

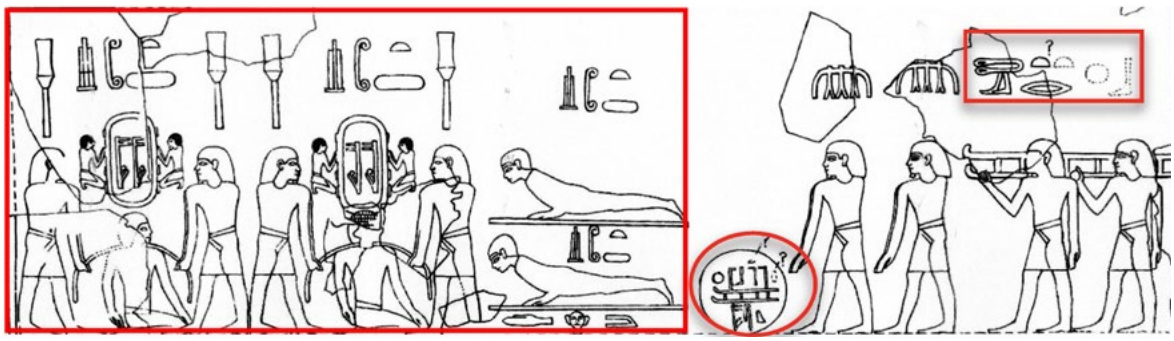

Figure 4.4.26. TT 20. Plate VIII, Scene 3. Bottom register. Two scenes and text indicated.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII.

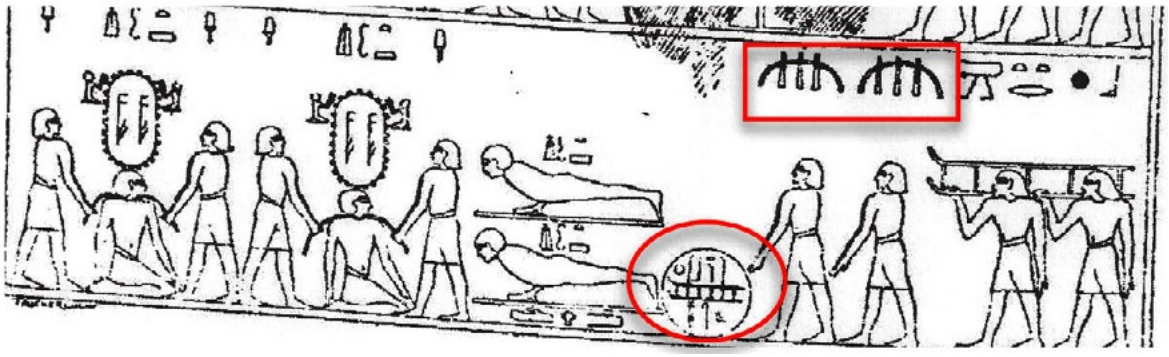

Figure 4.4.27. TT 20. Plate VIII, Scene 3. Bottom register. Text indicated.
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig. VII.

This register is divided into two separate scenes (Figure 4.4.26). On the far-right hand side of the register two men bear, on their shoulders, a sledge that was presumably part of the funeral cortège. The action of these unnamed men is identified as:

i̯ṯi.t r ḫb(*.t*) 'taking to the reduction/destruction/execution'[136]

Two men precede those carrying a sledge. Their identity is difficult to determine. Helck interprets the signs above the two men as *šsmt* which he translates as 'gets'.[137]

Davies asks whether the sign signifies 'gardener' or 'vine -dresser' and comments on the similarity of its shape to the action of the garroters.[138] Maspero, in contrast, reads the hieroglyphs as:

ḫnt meaning 'high official'.[139]

[134] Ibid.
[135] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 161.
[136] Without a determinative for *xb(.t),* precise translation is elusive.
[137] Helck, *Untersuchungen,* 35. He comments that the title is used in burial rituals only in his tomb but is later found as a priest's title in Abydos.
[138] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 15 n. 6.
[139] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 454.

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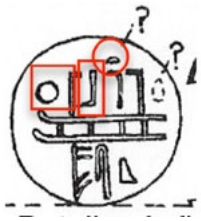
The procession leads to a pit containing part of a sledge and some text. One can only rely on Davies' comment that this pit, and others like it, 'are coloured to imitate the desert, and it is clear that they represent a piece of ground marked off in some way'.[140] No material is available to verify this statement. In the pit, the text above the sledge is difficult to decipher:



Possible signs are: *ḫ, b t* (which Davies marks '?'), a crook-like sign and an oval sign (which Davies marks '?'). This last sign does not appear in Maspero's version.

This lexeme could be related to *ḫb*(*.t*) which appears above the sledge bearers on the far right of the register. If so, a possible translation is:

ḫb(*y*).*t* / *ḫb*(*y*).*ty*, 'destruction / the destroyed one'.

If the translation 'destroyed one' is adopted then the action of the scene is of the sledge being borne to the pit where it is destroyed. Conclusive proof of this interpretation is, however, elusive.

Beneath the sledge in the pit the text is, again, elliptical. As Maspero suggests, one of the hieroglyphs, T19, is identical to that which appears in the toponymic sign above the kneeling men on the far left-hand side he concludes that the Nubians are buried in the hole.[141] Other possible interpretations of the text are:

ḳ(*r*)*s*, 'bury'. Adopting Maspero's suggestion, the text becomes 'burying the Nubian'. However, it could also be 'burying the sledge'.

In front of the pit are two Nubians lying side by side on the ground. They are identified by the accompanying text:

ỉwn(*.ty*)-*Sty*, 'Nubian bowman'.

Beside the Nubians is the caption: *d*(*w*) *ḥr gs*, 'putting on one's side'.

The Nubians are alternatively described as 'swathed like a mummified god',[142] or 'bound in a position of homage'.[143] Davies' interpretation coincides with that of Maspero, who notes that the Nubians' heads are free, as are the forearms.[144]

On the left-hand side of the register, two Nubians appear as though about to be strangled or garrotted by a *sḫm*.[145]

[140] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 15 n. 4.
[141] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 454.
[142] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 16.
[143] Tassie, *PIA* 11 (2000), 29.
[144] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 454. Maspero here also suggests they are on tiptoes but this is more likely a matter of perspective to indicate they are on their sides.
[145] Tassie, *PIA* 11 (2000), 29 adopts the later interpretation.

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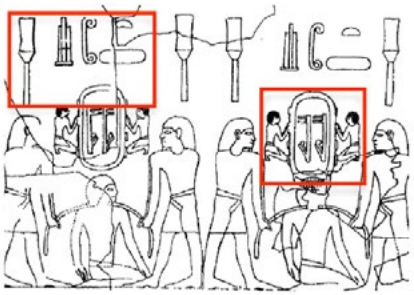

The figures in this scene are identified as:
sḫm iwn(.ty)-sty
'powerful one/ controller' 'Nubian bowman'

Symbol contained within toponymic sign/ fortress ring. T19.

Directly above the heads of the victims, two small kneeling men hold a toponymic sign or possibly a fortress ring containing, seemingly, the word *gnwty*, 'sculptor'. This word appears twice. However, if this is read as the containment of the dual T19 within a toponymic sign, Davies and Tassie suggest that they more likely form the name of either a Nubian fortress or district from where the Nubians were captured.[146] Interpreted symbolically, it could refer to a place, which the kneeling figure beneath embodies as a human representative.[147] Lefébure suggests that it might mean 'to bury or emaciate'.[148] A further interpretation comes from Reeder, who states that:

> *The word 'sculptors' within the 'fortified towns' may very well be a reference to the sculptors who strike a statue of the deceased during the 'Opening of the Mouth' ceremony.*[149]

Maspero's record identifies the small men as holding a 'crenellated cartridge' in which *ḳ(r)s*, 'bury' is repeated twice.[150] However, it could be that the text is *ḳs ḳs*, 'two bones' (harpoons' is another possible translation but is inappropriate in this context). The cryptic use of the symbol renders elucidation difficult and ambiguous.

Plate IX, Scene 4

Top Register

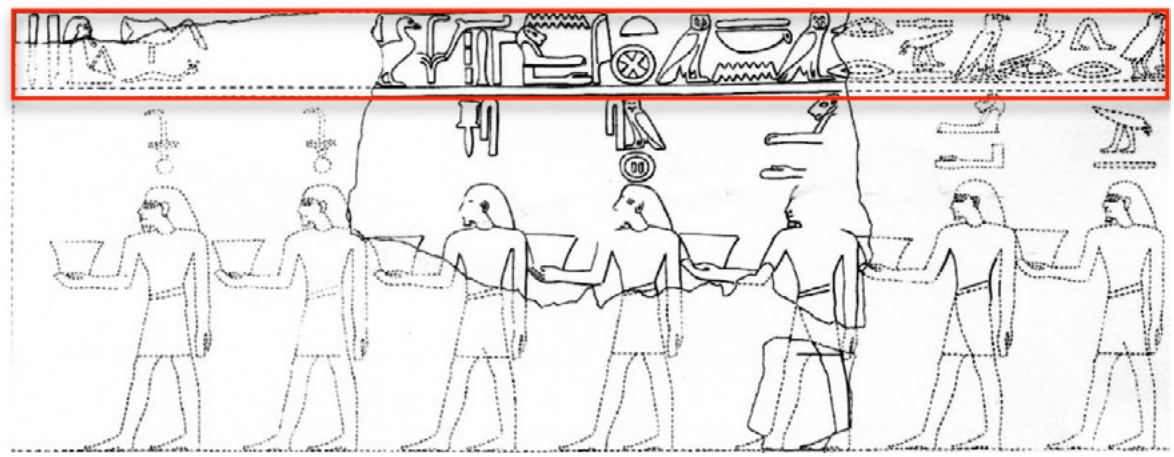

Figure 4.4.28. TT 20. Plate IX, Scene 4. Top register. Text indicated
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. IX.

146 Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 15-16. Tassie, *PIA* 11 (2000), 29.
147 I am indebted to Hayes for this interpretation.
148 Lefébure, *Sphinx 3* (1900), 148.
149 Reeder, *KMT* 5/3 (1994), 56.
150 Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 454.

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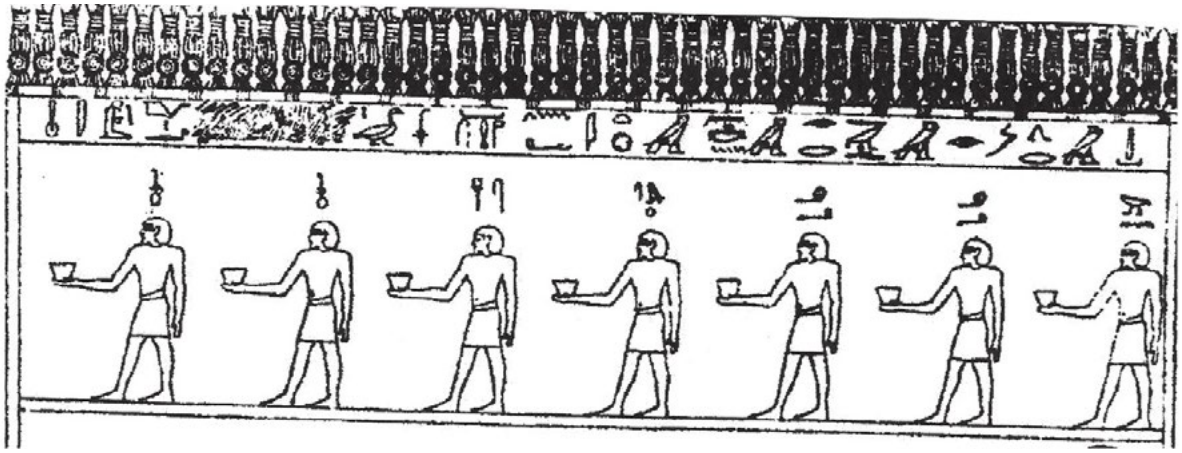

Figure 4.4.29. TT 20. Plate IX, Scene 4 Top register.
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig. VIII.

The text above the scene, running right to left:

> *wḏȝ r mȝ(ȝ) sšm irr(.w) m tȝ knm.t in ḥȝ.t(y)-ʿ im.y-rȝ ḥm.w-nṯr sȝ-nswt* [*ḥr ḫȝs.t nb.t*] *T* /////[*Mnṯ.w-ḥr-*]*ḫpš=f mȝʿ-ḫrw*
> Setting out by the nobleman, overseer of priests and king's son [over every foreign land]...[151]
> *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f,* justified, to see the procedure which is conducted in the land of Kenmut.

The syntax chosen, *wḏȝ r mȝ(ȝ) sšm,* emphasises that *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f's* objective is 'to see the procedure', not just to 'set out'. What this 'procedure' is is not identified. It could be real or something symbolically represented but which did not occur in real life. The derivation of *knm.t* might be of significance. Hannig cites a verb *knm,* 'wrap,' determined with the animal hide ideogram.[152] The toponym *knm.t* could be related by derivation to the substantive *knm.t,* 'that which wraps'. If so, this could serve as an allusion to the *mskȝ,* 'hide', which is seen wrapping the *Tekenu*.[153] Further, *knm,* 'wrap', is the verbal root of the substantive *knm.t*, 'darkness'.[154] This may have some resonance in the context of the *Tekenu*, namely that 'the land of *knm.t',* by allusion, is the place of wrapping and darkness.[155] This would be in keeping with the ambiguity and complexity displayed elsewhere in the tomb. It must, however, be conceded that proof for this argument is elusive.

Both Davies and Tassie locate Kenmut in the Oasis of Khargeh.[156] Maspero states that *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f* was the prince of the city Kenmut, and that it was in the vicinity of Aphroditopolis, if not actually Aphroditopolis.[157]

Beneath the text, what is illustrated might well be the beginning of the 'procedure'. Seven men parade holding bowls, the content of which is not identified. They are in succession, from right to left:

> *sšm-tȝ,* 'leader of the land'.
> two *ḥȝt*(.y)-ʿ, 'nobleman, member of the elite'.
> *sm-Nḫn,* 'priest of Nekhen'.
> *smr,* 'companion'.
> two *rḫ-nswt,* 'king's acquaintance'.

[151] Reconstructed using the long caption in pl. VIII southern wall scene 3, upper register.
[152] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 955.
[153] TT 100, TT 11 *mskA,* in identifying text.
[154] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 956.
[155] I am indebted to Hayes for the development of this argument.
[156] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 16; Tassie, *PIA* 11 (2000), 29.
[157] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 456–457.

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Middle Register

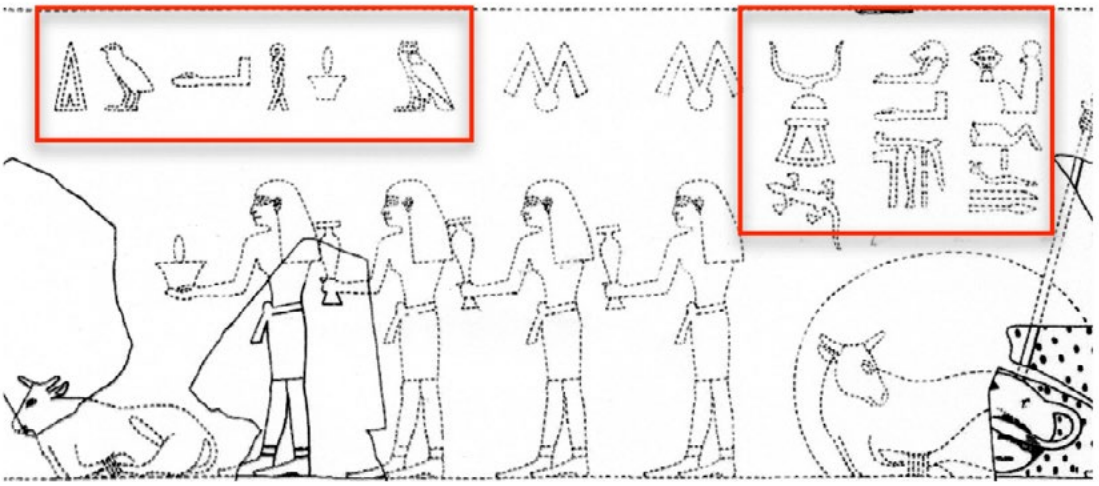


Figure 4.4.30. TT 20. Plate IX, Scene 4. Middle register. Text indicated.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. IX

Figure 4.4.31. TT 20. Plate IX, Scene 4. Middle register
Berlin print.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XIV

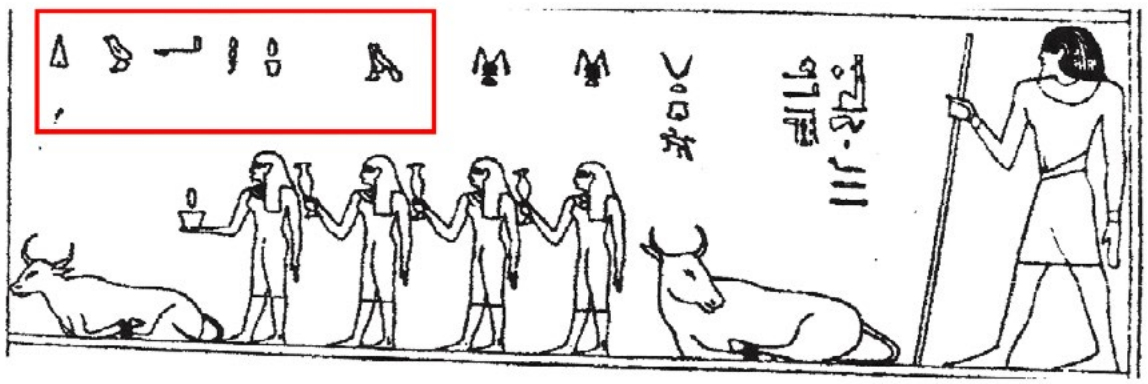
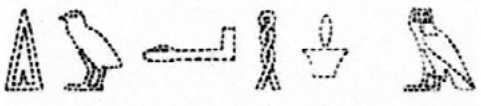


Figure 4.4.32. TT 20. Plate IX, Scene.4. Middle register. Text indicated.
Source: Maspero *Montouhikhopshouf* fig. VIII.

Above the procession of four women, who approach a trussed bull, is the cryptic text:



Detail of Figure 4.4.30.

This is provisionally translated as:

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dw ḥn.t m dmḏ, 'placing the cup together'.

Another possibility, which Davies partially adopts is:

(*r*)*ḏi*(.*t*) *wʿḥ m dmḏ,* 'giving carob-beans, together'.

Depending on one's interpretation of this text, either the last two women, or just the last woman, bear the label *dmḏ*(.*t*), 'assembler'/ 'uniter'. This title, Davies records, as being often used for female officials at burial rites.[158]

There is some difference between Maspero's record, Davies' record and the Berlin print (Figures 4.4.30–4.4.32). The nature of the objects held differs, as does the nature of the women's dress (long versus short). In the Berlin print, the last two women hold nothing, but merely lift a hand in adoration. In both Maspero's and Davies' depictions, the first woman holds a bowl, each of the others holds a *ḥs* jug.

Next there follows another trussed bull which, in Davies version, is in a circular enclosure, 'hole' or 'pit'. Maspero records no such structure. Both scholars show the tomb owner holding a staff, with which, in Davies' version, he prods the beast.[159]

The first part of text above the bull's head is cryptic and provides a problem with translation due to the lack of determinatives. The main problem is W 11 𓇋.

Detail of Figure 4.4.30

Possible readings are: *dšr*(.*t*) red pot'[160] or *gw* 'bulls'.[161]

Hence possible translations are:

wpi̯.t dšr(.*t*) *ʿšɜ*(.*t*),	'opening up many red pots'.
wpi̯.t gw ʿšɜ	'opening many wild bulls'.[162]
wp.t gw ʿšɜ,	'horns of many *gw* bulls'.

Given the nature of the scene, one of sacrifice, the second translation seems most apt.

The last section of text reads:

ḥɜ.t(*y*)-ʿ *i̯m.y-rɜ ḥm.w-nṯr Mnḫ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f mɜʿ-ḫrw*,
'member of the elite, overseer of priests *Mnḫ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f,* justified'.

[158] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 16. See Hannig *Handwörterbuch,* 1053.
[159] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 16. n. 7 Davies concedes that the bull and inscription are not in the Berlin print and that he has assumed that a circle is formed around the animal.
[160] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 1060.
[161] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 966.
[162] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 16 adopts close to this, translating the section as 'opening the ordinary ox(?)'.

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Bottom Register

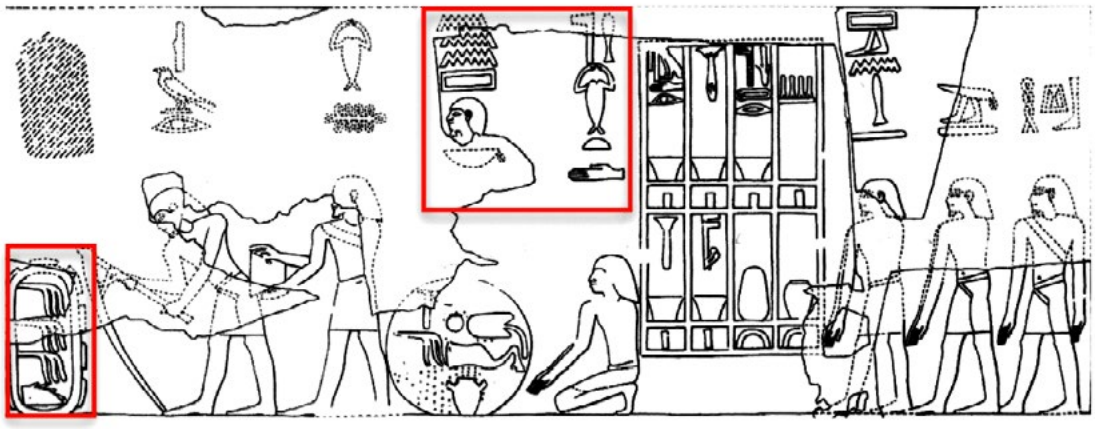

Figure 4.4.33. TT 20. Plate IX, Scene 4. Bottom register.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. IX.

This complex register is more readily interpreted if it is divided into four vignettes (Figure 4.4.34). The author has indicated the vignettes on Maspero's drawing.

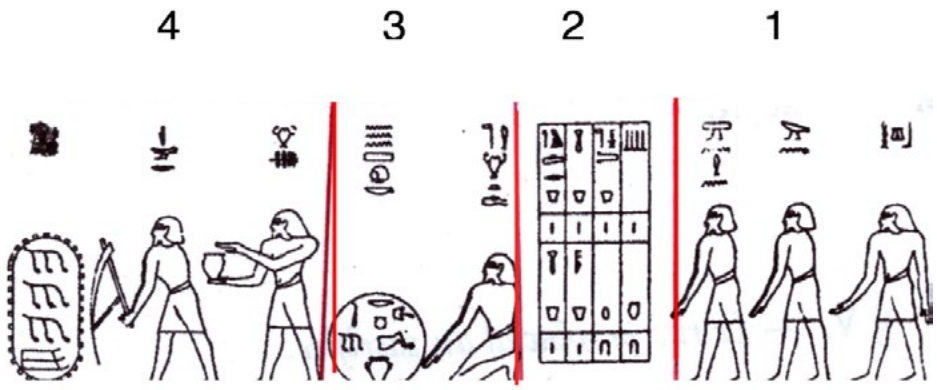

Figure 4.4.34. TT 20. Plate IX, Scene 4. Bottom register showing division of four vignettes
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig. VIII.

The first vignette at the far right contains a procession of three officials. Translated from left to right:

ḥm-tꜣ, 'breaker of the earth'.
sšm-tꜣ, 'leader of the land'.
ḫr(.*y*)-*ḥ*(*ꜣ*)*b*(.*t*), 'lector priest'.

Above the first official appears the hieroglyphs '*šm n*(.*y*)'. These hieroglyphs probably pertain to all three titles, thus rendering the translation of the caption:

'departure of the breaker of the earth, the leader of the land and the lector priest'.

These officials approach the next vignette (no. 2), which is a register of offerings, all of which, except the natron, are seen being buried in a pit in scenes five and seven.

The third vignette depicts a kneeling figure:

ḥm-nṯr Srḳt, 'priest of Serket'.

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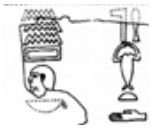
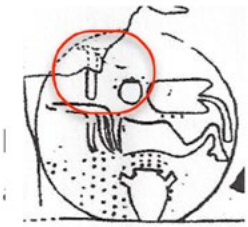
The priest seems to be adding something to a circular enclosure, or pit.[163] Maspero suggests that he is probably placing the contents recorded in the pit.[164]

Another interpretation of the vignette is possible if the columns above the figure and the pit are read in retrograde:[165]

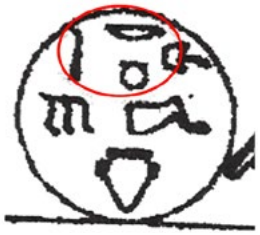


ḥm-nṯr Srḳ.t (w)di mw š tp=k,
the priest of Serket who puts the water of the pool upon you'.
Detail of Figure 4.4.33.

If this last reading is accepted then one may speculate as to the identity of the pool. Could it be 'the pool of becoming' associated with the *Tekenu* in TT100 and TT125?



Detail of Figure 4.4.33.
Phonetic signs in pit.



Detail of Figure 4.4.34.
Phonetic signs in pit.

The pit contains a variety of objects.

In the upper part of the pit one can see traces of the phonetic signs of the word *tkn.w*. Hair, a foreleg and the heart of a bull are also present in the pit and are readable as direct representations of body parts. The animal hide ideogram, F27, is also present. This could be read as a determinative for *tkn.w* or read genitivally:

tkn.w msḳ3, Tekenu hide.

It is also possible that the ideogram stands alone and is to be interpreted:

msḳ3, hide.

Davies concedes that his record of this scene may not be trustworthy. However, accepting this, he interprets the scene as showing 'that the human *Tekenu* has been replaced by an animal victim'.[166] It is possible that the hair in the pit is human as, according to Tassie, the triple braid determinative is the sign used to denote human hair.[167] Martin concurs with this assessment. She contends that hair is symbolically a manifestation of life and a very personal element that identifies its owner.[168] She suggests that the hair is that of the *Tekenu* and perceives the *Tekenu* as the incarnation of evil that must be sacrificed and the removal of a tuft of its hair is a sign of victory over evil, which was essential to ensure the resurrection of the deceased.[169]

Serrano Delgado interprets this scene by reference to TT 11 (Figure 4.4.35).

[163] Tassie, *PIA* 11 (2000), 29 translates '*d*' as 'puts' as does Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 16.
[164] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 458.
[165] This reading would not be out of keeping. See. pl. VIII Southern Wall scene 3, upper register, where, the columns are to be read in retrograde.
[166] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 16.
[167] Tassie, *PIA* 11 (2000), 31.
[168] Martin, 'victima humana', 312.
[169] Martin, 'victima humana', 315.

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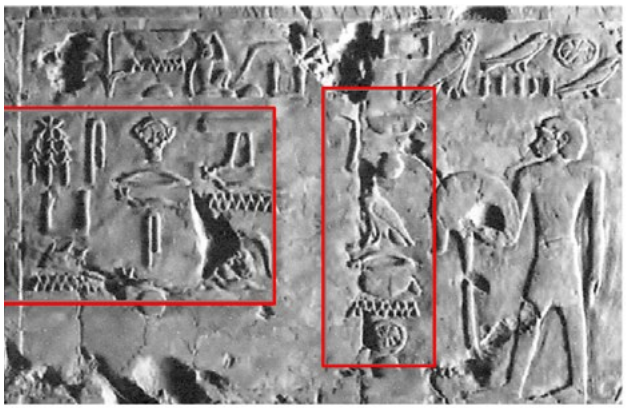

Figure 4.4.35. Scene from TT 11.
Source: Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), fig IX.

Figure 4.4.36. TT 20. Scene 3. Top register.
Source: Davies *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII, detail.

Preceding the *sꜣ.w Srḳ.t* and the men hauling the *Tekenu* sledge in TT 11, Serrano Delgado records a man holding a bundle with two protrusions. A similar figure holding a bundle is recorded in TT 20 in plate VIII scene 3, top register. A column text located directly left of the figure in TT 11 reads:

tkn.w m-rk niwt, 'the *Tekenu* [is] in the city, ie necropolis'.

Closing this register a second text reads:

mskꜣ n-ḥr=f sfḫ šm=f n ḏt=f,

'[once] the hide [that is] in front of him[170] is removed, he leaves for his eternity'.

Serrano Delgado suggests that these two texts are applicable to the actions in the parallel scene in TT 20. He emphasises that the use of the verb *sfḫ,* in the text of TT 11, is poignant as it has the sense of removing an article of clothing.[171] The *Tekenu* has removed his skin (clothing) and is ready to depart. This skin is the animal hide depicted in the pit in TT 20 in Davies' plate IX bottom register.

In the fourth vignette at the far left-hand side of this register, two men, *ḳd-wr-ir,* 'chief grave digger' and *Srḳ.t sꜣ.w,* 'Serket ritualist',[172] are positioned before a fortified oval pit[173] of similar form to the two depicted in plate VIII bottom register. The *ḳd-wr-ir* is holding an adze as if to dig the pit. As in the previous representation, the interpretation of the contained text is not straightforward. The simplest translation is:

šnw km(*.y*), 'the hair of the black one'. Detail of Figure 4.4.33.

However, *km* can be read as genitival to *šnw*:

šnw km(*.y*), 'the hair of the black one'.

[170] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 584 translates *n-Hr* as 'out before'.
[171] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 161. n. 82. *Wb* IV, 116, 10–11.
[172] The artist is seemingly making the distinction between *Srḳ.t sꜣ.w ʿnd ḥm-nṯr Srḳ.t* in this register.
[173] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,*17 labels it a 'buttressed enclosure' while Tassie *PIA* 11 (2000), 30 calls it a 'fortified oval.'

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If the last rendition is adopted, this might be seen as a reference to Osiris, as 'black one' is used as an epithet of Osiris.[174] There being no determinative, this is speculative.

It is also possible that the hieroglyphs are those designating a fort or fortified town in the Kharga Oasis and are not associated with the hair in the other pit.[175]

Maspero, in contrast, describes the image as a 'crénelé cartouche des pays étrangers, debout sur champ' (a crenellated cartouche of foreign countries standing on a field).[176] He also distinguishes part of the legend above as being *wdk,* which he translates as 'tu jettes' (you throw).[177] As the text is illegible this cannot be verified. Maspero further contends that the contents are those of offerings that require a special hole or cartouche, and suggests two possible interpretations. Either they are hairs torn from the forehead of a victim as the beginning of a sacrifice or they belong to mourners, especially women, who have cut off their braids. Of the two hypotheses, Maspero endorses the second.[178]

PLATE X

Here the scenes are enigmatic and fragmentary. Davies has used the Berlin print and the scene from TT 29 extensively in an attempt to partially recreate the images. Maspero has only a partial recording of this plate. As the Berlin print is unavailable for examination, one must rely on Davies' interpretation, thus the record here is necessarily speculative and an attempt will only be made to interpret sections deemed relevant to this study.

The plate is divided into three scenes; 5, 6 and 7. Each scene consists of three registers.

Scene 5: Top register

Figure 4.4.37. TT 20. Plate X Scene 5. Top register.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. X. detail

Figure 4.4.38. TT 20. fragment 1.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XIV.

174 See Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 954.
175 Tassie, *PIA* 11 (2000), 30–31.
176 Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 458.
177 Ibid.
178 Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 459.

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Figure 4.4.39. TT 20. Plate X scene 5 Top register Berlin print. Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XIV, detail

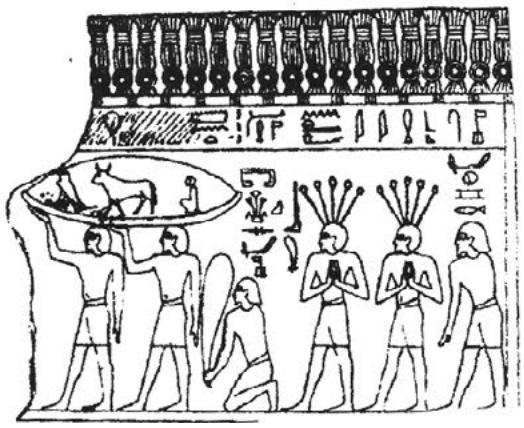


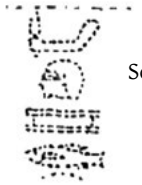
Figure 4.4.40. TT 20. Plate X scene 5. Top register. Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig IX.

The caption above the register varies in all three of the renditions. As this is not pertinent to this study, no attempt is made to translate the hieroglyphs in detail. Suffice it to acknowledge that ***Bꜣḳ*** (moringa tree), which is thought to refer to an olive tree,[179] appears in all texts. Davies translates the caption as 'the prince and superintendent of priests M. seeing the uplifting of the olive tree'.[180] The action beneath the text is of unusual form. Davies describes it as 'a performance of mimes or jugglers behind whose...exhibition a religious idea may well be hidden'.[181] Davies suggests its positioning, at the far left of the scene of pl. XIV. fragment 1, which he interprets as reading '...to the city of Dep (Buto), entering the residence of the great bull'.[182] Then, after a lacuna, follow two men bearing an ellipse on their heads. Davies contends the only content of the container that can be confirmed is a bull.[183] Maspero, in comparison, identifies a sparrow hawk, a walking cow and a squatting divinity of human form.[184] Next a kneeling man holds what is identified as *bꜣḳ*. The accompanying text appears to read:

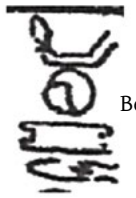
prỉ(*.t*) *ḥꜣ sḏsr ṯ*(*? wṯs*) *b*(*ꜣ*)*ḳ,* 'going out and consecrating (? the raising of) the moringa tree.'

Maspero differs entirely in his interpretation of this section, seeing the kneeling man as holding a half inflated bag containing stones or sand.[185]

Three men follow, two with floral adornments on their heads and the third, possibly identified as *ḏsr tp ꜥḏ-mr* 'one who consecrates the head of the administrator'. However, this text could alternatively be transliterated as: *ḏsr tp-mr bs*(*.w*), 'consecrating the fine cloth of the secret divine image' (*ḏsr* as infinitive in a caption) or 'one who consecrates the fine cloth of the secret divine image' (*ḏsr* as a participle).



Source: Davies, detail pl. X.



Source: Davies, Berlin print, detail pl. XIV.

Source: Maspero, detail

[179] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 17.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 17. Davies suggests the scene may be an oblique allusion to the 'Tale of the Two Brothers'.
[182] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 17, no. 1.
[183] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* correction of Maspero's work from the Berlin print (plate XIV) shows only a definite bull.
[184] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 459.
[185] Ibid.

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These translations rely on the identification of the fish symbol as K5 rather than K3. It is tempting to accept the last possibility, 'one who consecrates the fine cloth of the secret divine image'. The 'secret divine image' could be viewed as an allusion to the *Tekenu* and 'the fine cloth' as reference to its covering.

Scene 5: Middle register

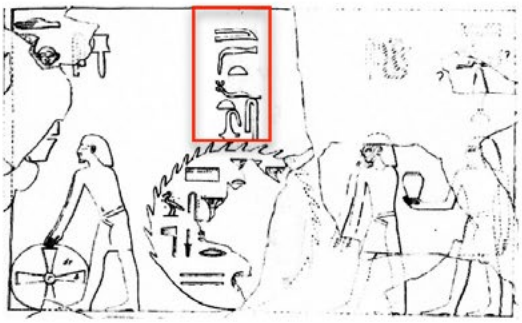

Figure 4.4.41. TT 20. Plate X scene 5. Middle register. Text indicated.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. X detail.

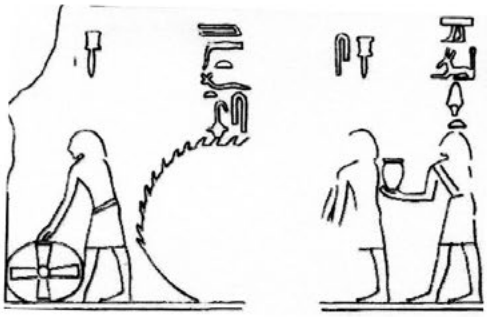

Figure 4.4.42. TT 20. TT 20. Plate X scene 5. Middle register.
Berlin print. Source: Davies, pl. XIV, detail.

Figure 4.4.43. TT 20. Plate X scene 5. Middle register.
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig. IX

At the right of the scene a figure, which Helck identifies as a *ḫts-inpw*,[186] holding a bowl and a *smr* (companion) walk towards a pit. The serrated edges around the mouth of the pit together with the text above it suggest this to be a fire pit.[187] The Berlin print shows nothing in the pit. Maspero records pigeons, birds and frankincense as burning in this pit.[188] Davies claims that 'within it are *cloth of festival*....ointment, incense and other offerings'.[189]

The text above the pit is difficult to interpret. Two possible suggestions are:

mḥ.t fsi.t, 'completion of the cooking'
mḥi.t fsi.t, 'dousing the burning'

Detail of Figure 4.4.41.

Only minimal text is decipherable within the pit:

[186] Helck, *Untersuchungen,* 36 identifies this title as a high ranking honorary title from the Old Kingdom. This relies on the acceptance of the animal figure as Anubis but here it appears more like Seth.
[187] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 460; Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 17.
[188] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 460.
[189] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 17.

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bꜣs unguent jar
snṯr incense
These are the only words that are legible.

Detail of Figure 4.4.41.

In front of the pit, a *smr* (companion) rolls a round object which is described as being red with blue bands.[190] The identifying text is absent in the Berlin print and is destroyed in Maspero's record. Davies originally showed a text fragment possibly containing *d*(*w*), 'putting/placing', but later regarded this as 'misplaced'.[191] Maspero suggests that it looks like round bread or the sign for city.[192]

Scene 5: Bottom register

Figure 4.4.44. TT 20. Plate X scene 5. Bottom register: Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. X, detail.

Figure 4.4.45. TT 20. Plate X scene 5. Bottom register. Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig IX.

In this scene the *it nṯr* (father of god), *smr* (companion) and *ḫr.y-ḥꜣb*(*.t*) (lector priest) come to observe the preparation of the bovine sacrifice by the *swꜣ* (cutter).

The caption alongside and above the offering table describes the scene:

(*r*)*ḏi*(*.t*) ꜥ *r stp,*	'placing the arm in order to cut'
stp ḥpš=f šdi(*.t*) *ḥꜣ.t*(*y*)*=f,*	'cutting his foreleg removing his heart'

In the front, an offering table bears the foreleg and, in Maspero's depiction, additional offerings of cuts of meat, perhaps a heart and a piece of flesh.

Scene 6: All registers

The record of this scene, which might have contained some more specific information, is extremely fragmentary. Consequently, this scene is dealt with as a whole and not in individual registers.

Elements of the iconography that are discernible confirm clearly that this is a scene of sacrifice. Above the depictions of a donkey and bull, in the second register, is the sign U32, which is typically found as a determinative in the verbs *rtḥ* and *ḫnr*, both meaning 'to restrain, confine'. In the upper left-hand corner of the same register, the phrase *kꜣ dšr / kꜣ dšr*(*.w*) 'red bull/ bloodied bull' appears. In the bottom register, there are remnants of the same phrase.

[190] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 17; Helck, *Untersuchungen,* 36.
[191] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 17 n.3.
[192] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 460.

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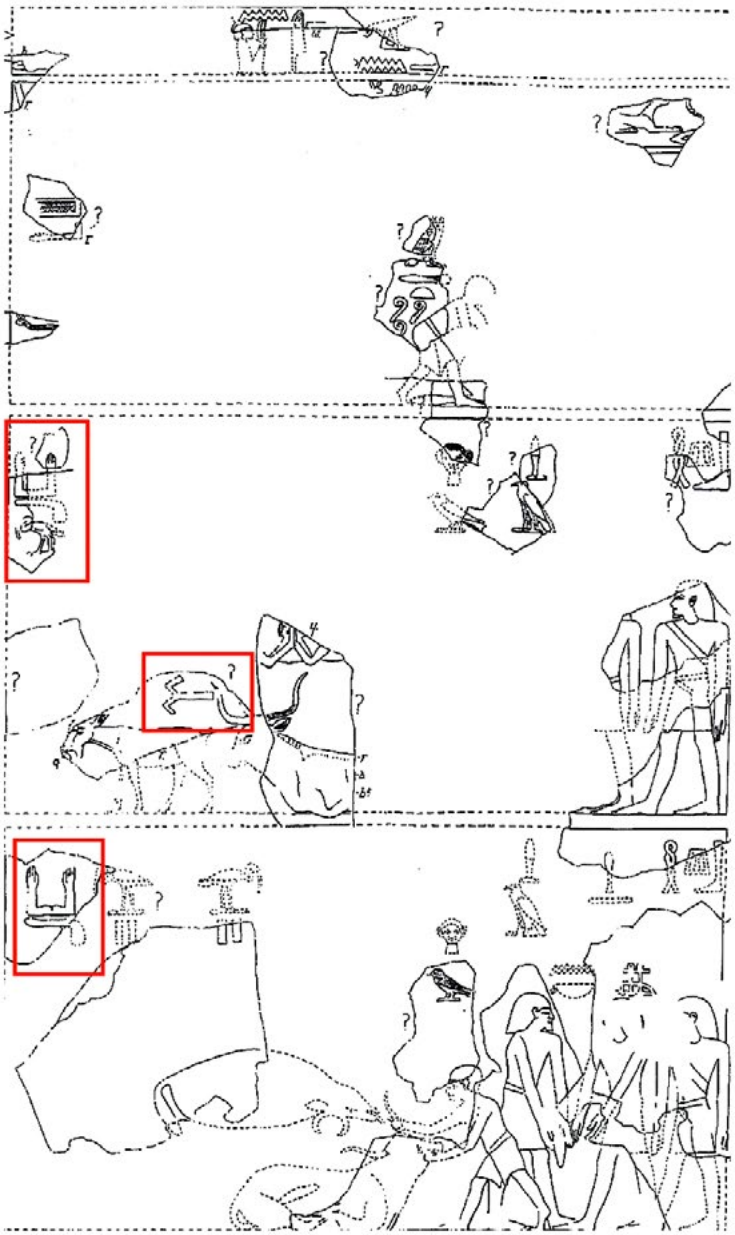

Figure 4.4.46. TT 20. Plate X scene 6. Text indicated.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, detail pl. X.

In this register, Maspero depicts two gazelles (not goats as Davies cites), two birds, a bull with its throat cut, and beef in preparation for sacrifice (Figure 4.4.47).

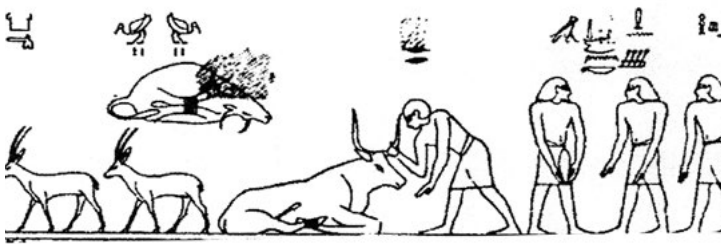

Figure 4.4.47. TT 20. Plate X scene 6, bottom register.
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig X.

Davies has almost entirely recreated the bottom register and regards Maspero's version as defective.[193]

[193] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 18 n. 3.

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Scene 7: Top and Middle Registers

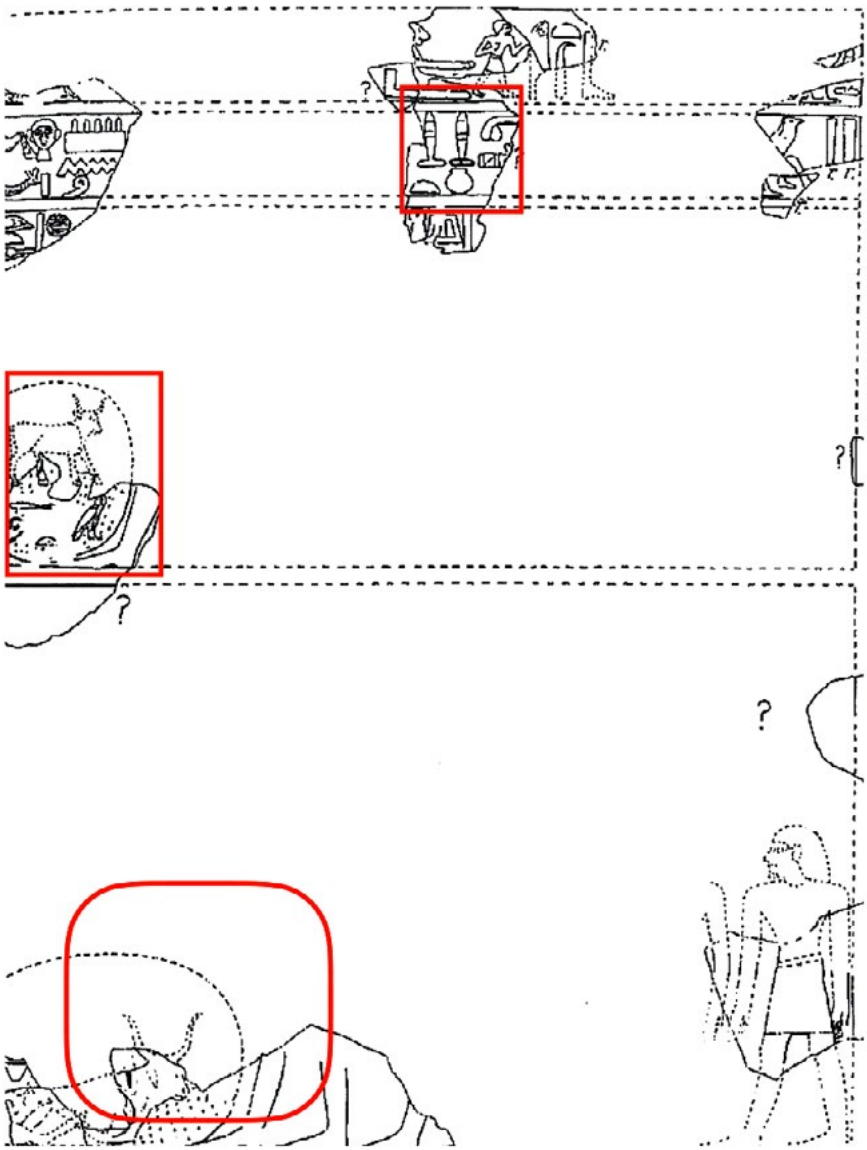
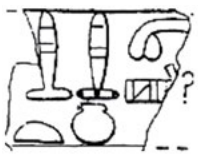


Figure 4.4.48. TT 20. Plate X scene 7. Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl.X.

As in scene 6, elements of the iconography that are discernible confirm clearly that this is a scene of sacrifice. Maspero has no record of these two registers. Davies, using a parallel scene from TT 29, provides a translation, but not the hieroglyphs, for the caption of the top register: 'putting the viscera in the pit of burning and performing the rite in front of ...' He also translates the hieroglyphs under the ox in the circle in the left hand corner as 'viscera'. He comments that the middle register 'shows another circle with a bound ox and some offerings placed within it'.[194]

From the remnants of the hieroglyphs in the top register it is possible to identify a phrase upon which Davies provides no comment.



Detail of Figure 4.4.48.

[*m*]-*bꜣḥ* *ḏꜣḏꜣ.t*, 'in the presence of the magistrates/tribunal'. Unfortunately, there is no remaining context so it is impossible to categorically determine what is being judged or watched.

[194] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 19.

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Scene 7: Bottom Register

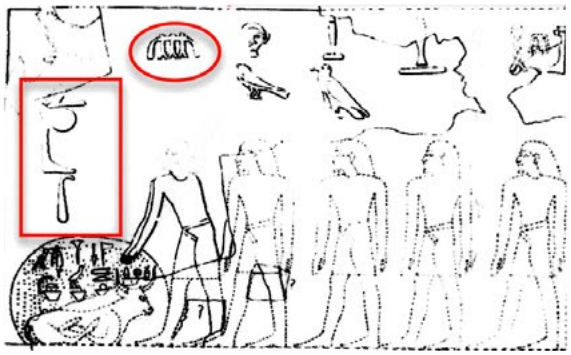


Figure 4.4.49. TT 20. Plate X scene 7. Bottom register. Text indicated.
Source: Davies *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. X.

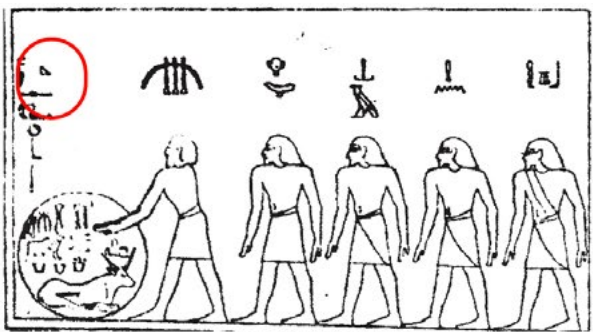
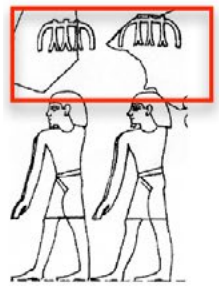


Figure 4.4.50. TT 20. Plate X scene 7Bottom register. Text indicated.
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig.XI.

Four officials proceed towards a pit. Reading from left to right:

ḥr(.*y*)-*wr*, 'main chief/ great headman'
*ḏ*ȝ, as there is no determinative this title is difficult to interpret. It might be a derivative of *ḏ*ȝ*i* thus translated as 'one who reaches out'.
*ḥm-t*ȝ, 'breaker of the earth'
ḫr(.*y*)-*ḥ*(ȝ)*b*(.*t*), 'lector priest'

A fifth person either places something in the circular hole or consecrates it in a manner of worship. This person has the same title as that of the two officials observed in Plate VIII Southern Wall Scene 3, bottom register. As discussed there, it is impossible to be certain of a translation.



Officials' title. Source: Davies pl. VIII, sc. 3, bottom register. Detail of Figure 4.4.26

Official's title. Detail of Figure. 4.4.49.

ḳs. Detail Figure 4.4.50.

A trussed (its feet are tied) but alive ox, *snṯr* 'incense' and other offerings, including *wȝḏw*, 'green eye paint' and *msd*(*m*).*t*, 'black eye paint', are in the pit. The text above the pit is largely illegible, but Davies suggests that it might read: 'the funeral(?)reaches the pit'.[195] Maspero prefers the translation 'the victim reaches the place of sacrifice'.[196] Neither scholar provides a transliteration of the text. It is doubtful whether either of these translations is correct and any attempt at restoration of the text is deemed too speculative. However, in the Maspero version of the scene it is possible to identify *ḳs* 'bone', which could also be *ḳ*(*r*) *s*(.*t*) 'burial'.

[195] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 19. Helck, *Untersuchungen,* 38 concurs with this interpretation.
[196] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 462.

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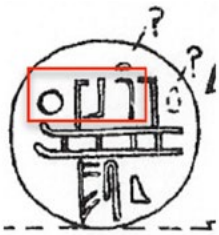
The lower section of the text is clear. It is the same term as that which appears on top of the sledge, inside a circle, Plate VIII South Wall Scene 3, bottom register (Figure 4.4.26). The word could be *ḫb*(*.y*)*ty,* 'the destroyed one' or *ḫb*(*.y*)*t,* 'carnage, destruction'.



Amongst part of the sledge, *ḫ b t*. Source: Davies, pl. VIII, sc. 3, bottom register. Figure 4.4.26.

ḫpr b t above pit. Detail Figure 4.4.49.

Due to the ambiguity of many of the scenes in this tomb and also often their fragmentary nature, one must be cautious in drawing conclusions. However, there can be no doubt that here the *Tekenu* is of human form. It is also apparent that the *Tekenu* partakes in a process of destruction and sacrifice as witnessed by its association with the bull and the pit. This does not necessarily mean that the *Tekenu* itself is destroyed. The actions may be perceived as symbolic and not real. There are many speculative and hypothetical scenarios one can put forward to explain the nature and purpose of the *Tekenu* in TT 20.[197]

[197] See Part 2, Evaluating the Primary Sources.

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4.5 Type 2A

2A. 1 *Sḥtbr*

Location: Thebes, Qurnet Mura'I Ramesseum.
Identification: PM I/2, 679.
Date: 12th Dynasty, PM I/2, 679.
Form: 2A

Selected Titles: None attested.

The funerary procession, which is now extremely fragmented, is depicted on the southern side of the hall (Figure 4.5.1). The image of the *Tekenu* appears in the upper register of the two funerary registers recorded (Figure 4.5.3). The *Tekenu* is classified as Type 2A.

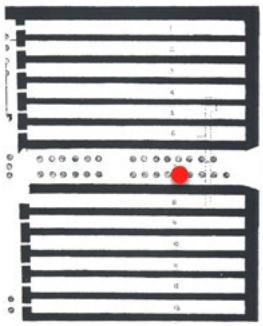

Figure 4.5.1. ***Sḥtbr*** Location of tomb within the Ramesseum. Source: Quibel, E., The *Ramesseum* (London, 1898) pl. 1

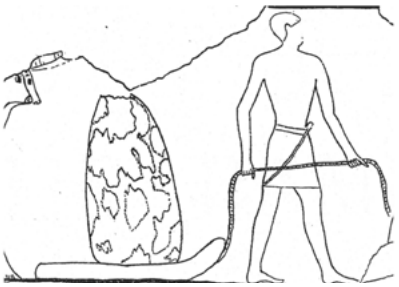

Figure 4.5.2. ***Sḥtbr*** The *Tekenu*. Source: Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. IX, detail.

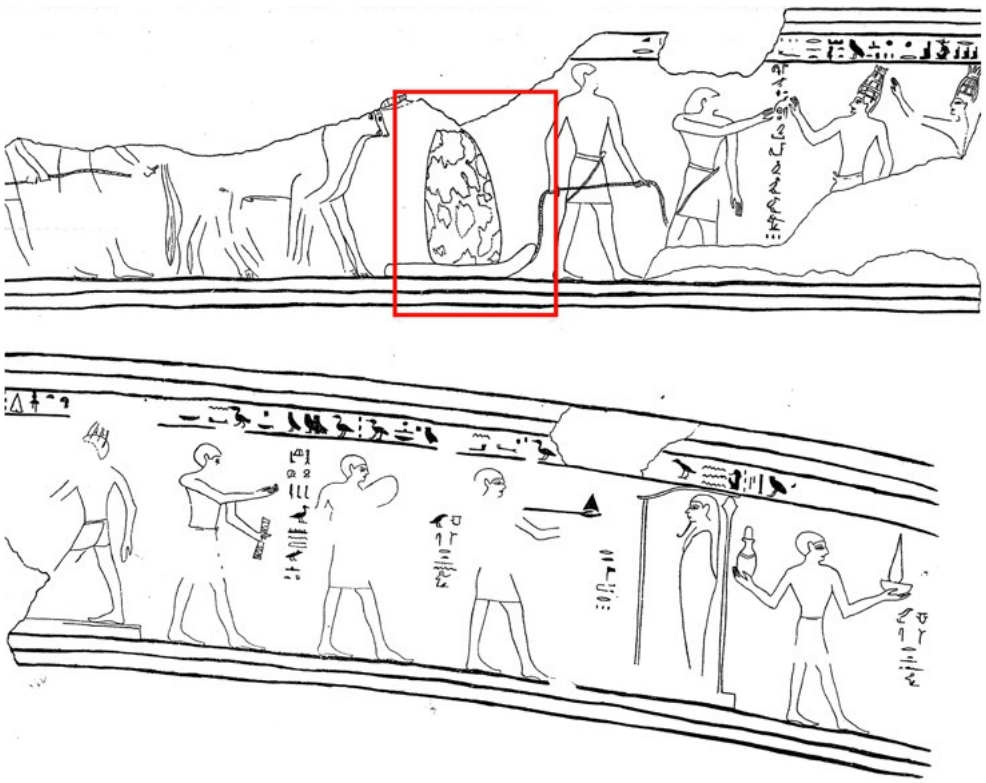

Figure 4.5.3. ***Sḥtbr*** The funerary procession. Source: Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. IX

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Spiegelberg has attempted to reconstruct a section of the funerary procession in the tomb of ***Sḥtbr*** by reference to pl. V in the tomb of Paheri (Figure 4.5.4).[198]

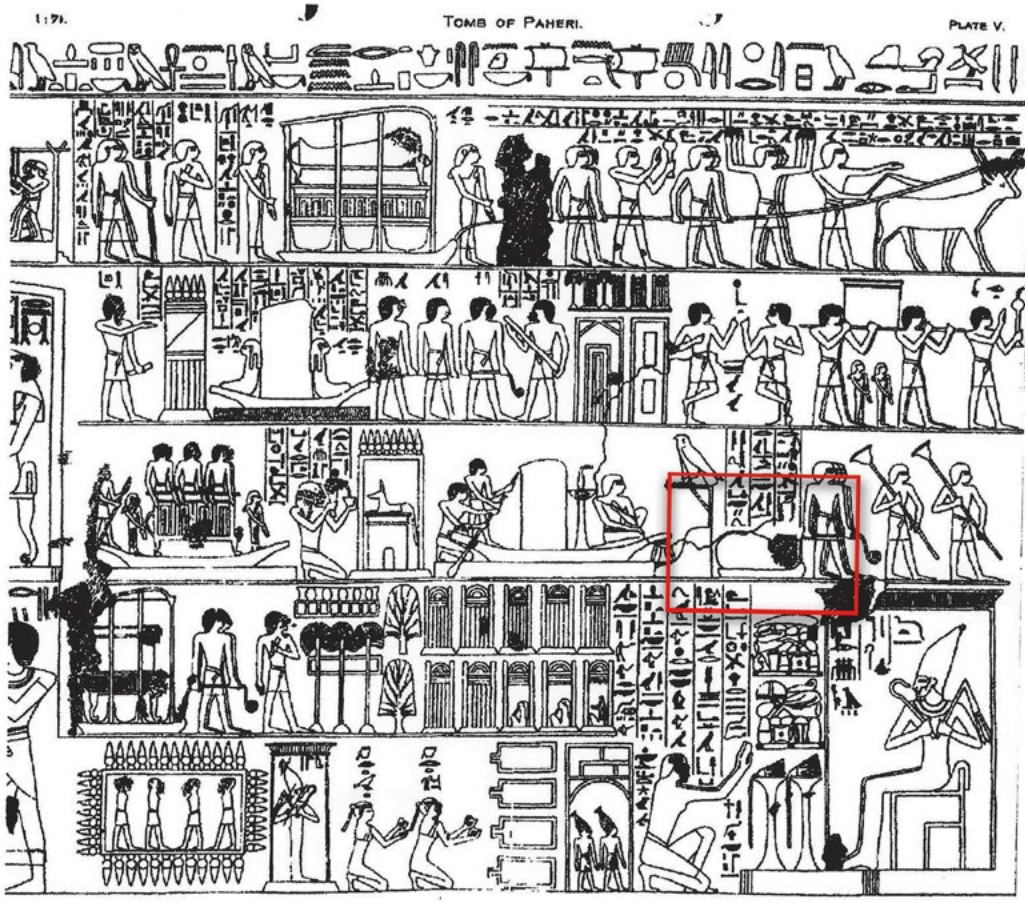

Figure 4.5.4. Funerary rites in the tomb of *Paheri*.
Source: Tylor and Grifith *Paheri* pl. V.

In the top register, of the tomb of ***Sḥtbr***, Spiegelberg records two *Mww* dancers being greeted by a priest with the words 'Come, buffoons!'[199] These are followed by one man dragging the *Tekenu* on a sledge. The *Tekenu* is positioned upright, of ovoid shape with no definition to indicate a human form. It is completely covered by a hide, most probably ox, which is distinguished by its markings. Spiegelberg describes it as 'the victim of the human sacrifice, the *Tekenu,* wrapped up, as it seems, in an ox-skin'.[200] An unusual serrated edge marks the top of the figure but there appears to be no damage, suggesting that this was intended, perhaps so something (a head?) could emerge. Next depicted are two oxen and men who seemingly drag the sarcophagus.

In the second register a priest carries a vase and bowl, while another offers incense before the upright mummy. This is followed by other officials and two dancing figures who might be *Mww*-dancers but damage prevents verification. Spiegelberg identifies part of the text here as reading:

> *...to the west in peace, in peace to Osiris to the places of the Lords of Eternity.*

[198] Spiegelberg, W., 'Translations' in Quibell, E., *The Ramesseum* (London, 1898), 14.
[199] Spiegelberg, 'Translations', 15. Due to the reconstruction and fragmentary nature of the text the author has not endeavoured to confirm the translation.
[200] Spiegelberg, 'Translations', 14.

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4.6 TYPE 2B

2B.1 *Ḥr.j* (TT 12)

Location: Thebes, Dra Abu al Naga.
Identification: PM I/1, 24–25, TT 12.
Date: 18.01-2, PM I/1, 24.
Form: 2B.

Selected Title: Overseer of the granary of the King's wife and King's mother.

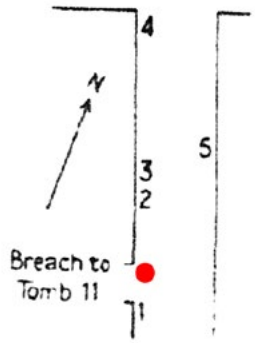

Figure 4.6.1. TT 12.
Tomb plan: PM I/1, 20

The funerary procession, which occupies three registers, is located on the south-western wall of the corridor near the entrance (Figure 4.6.1).[201] For the precise position of the *Tekenu* it is necessary to rely on the work of Gómez. Gómez states that 'the *Tekenu* begins the scene of the third and final register.' [202] This *Tekenu* is classified as Type 2B.

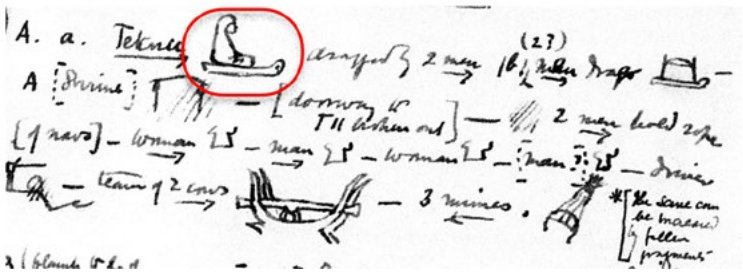

Figure 4.6.2. TT 12. Section of funerary procession
Source: Davies MSS Notebook 11.4, 2. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford

With the aid of the works of Davies (Figure 4.6.2), Settgast (Figure 4.6.5) and Gómez (Figure 4.6.7) it is possible suggest the order of the funerary procession in TT 12.[203]

Figure 4.6.3. TT 12. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Gómez, 'La Tumba de Hery', fig XVIII. 141

Figure 4.6.4. TT 12. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Davies MSS Notebook 11.4, 2. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford

[201] Galan, J. M., 'The tombs of Djehuty and Hery (TT 11–12) at Dra Abu El-Naga' in Goyon J. C. and Cardin, C., (eds) *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Egyptologists, Grenoble, 6–12, September 2004* (Leuven, 2007), 777.
[202] Gómez, G. M., 'La Procesión Funeraria de la Tumba de Hery (TT 12) en Dra Abu El-Naga', *Boletin de la Association Española de Egiptologia* 15, (2005), 29–63, 44.
[203] Davies MSS Notebook 11.4, 2.; Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* pl.II.; Gómez, 'La Tumba de Hery', 44–47.

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Figure 4.6.5. TT 12. Funerary procession,
Source: Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* pl. II, detail.

Figure 4.6.6. TT 12. ***Mww*** dancers greeting the funerary procession.
Source: Gómez, 'La Tumba de Hery', fig XIX.

Gómez, (Figure 4.6.7), labels the three registers of the funerary procession reading from bottom to top: representation of the hereafter; transfer of the sarcophagus in boat and dragging of the sarcophagus to the necropolis.

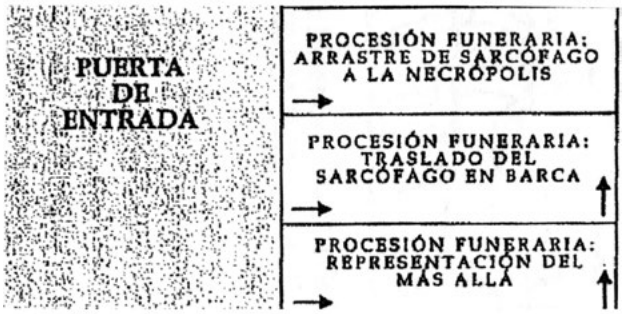

Figure 4.6.7. TT 12. Registers showing progression of the funerary procession.
Source: Gómez, 'La Tumba de Hery', fig. 1, detail.

The bottom register depicts 'a summary vision of the hereafter with figures of Anubis and Osiris'.[204] It shows what Gómez describes as 'some stages related to the trip to the world of the dead'.[205] These are vignettes from the Holy District including the guardians of the gates and the three pools.

The middle register depicts grieving women who farewell the deceased once the purification of the body has been completed. The sarcophagus is then transferred to a boat, presumably for its voyage to sites such as Buto, Sais and Heliopolis.[206]

In the top register, the sarcophagus has been transferred from the boat and partakes in the funerary procession on land. The likely order of the procession is: three *Mww* dancers; two cows with a wooden device connected through their horns; a driver directing the cows; procession of men and women; two men holding a rope; a lacuna where it would be expected to find the sarcophagus; a break for the doorway of TT 11 and then a shrine. Here the register bifurcates with one register showing possibly the canopic chest, which is on a sledge, the other the *Tekenu* which is described as being dragged by two men.[207] Settgast's record, (Figure 4.6.5), concurs with this rendition.

[204] Galan, J. M. and Menendez, G., 'The Funerary Banquet of Hery (TT 12), Robbed and Restored', *JEA* 97 (2011), 146.
[205] Gómez, 'La Tumba de Hery',37. See 37–42 for a more detailed description.
[206] Gómez, 'La Tumba de Hery', 42–43.
[207] Davies MSS Notebook 11.4, 2; Gómez, 'La Tumba de Hery', 44–47.

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The *Tekenu* is sitting upright on the sledge. It is completely shrouded except for the face. Gómez describes the *Tekenu* as 'a figure covered with a kind of blanket that shows its face'.[208] The Spiegelberg squeeze (Figure 4.6.8) and Gómez's fig.4.6.3, clearly show a nose and probably an eye, mouth and chin.

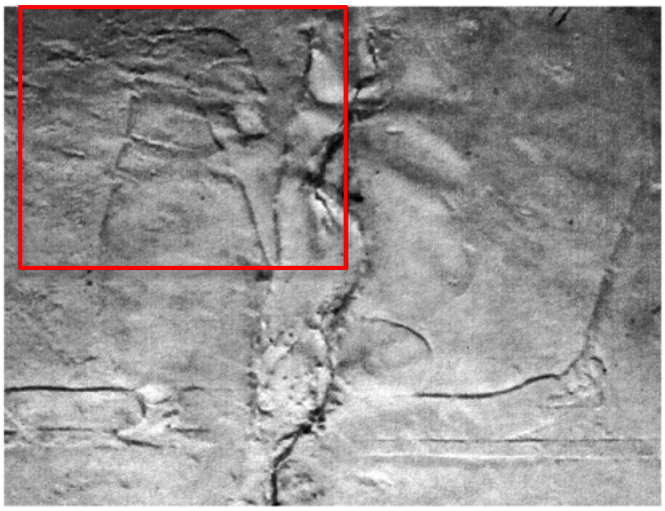

Figure 4.6.8. TT 12. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Spiegelberg Squeeze TT 12-2 Recto.
Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford

2B.2 *Tjkj* (TT 15)

Location: Thebes, Dra Abu al Naga.
Identification: PM I/1, 26–27, TT 15.
Date: 18.01-2, PM I/1, 26.
Form: 2B.

Selected Titles: King's son, Mayor in the Southern city.

Figure 4.6.9. TT 15. Tomb plan: PM, I/1, 20.

The funerary scene is primarily contained on the southern wall upper register (Figure 4.6.9) although Davies suggests it evidently commenced on the eastern wall where those who follow the bier were mainly represented.[209] The *Tekenu* is classified as Type 2B.

The funerary scene in this tomb is conflated and abbreviated. The scenes do not follow in linear order. Rather, the register displays a series of vignettes relating to the passage of the deceased into the hereafter and selected ritual associated with that journey.

The first scene, reading from right to left, which depicts the *Tekenu,* is severely damaged. The *Tekenu* is described by Legrain as 'wrapt in red cloth and...squatting on a sledge'.[210] The colour of the *Tekenu's* wrapping cannot, however, be verified.

[208] Gómez, 'La Tumba de Hery', 44.
[209] Davies, No. and Ni. de Garis, 'Harvest Rites in a Theban Tomb', *JEA* 25 (1939), 16–17.
[210] Legrain, G., 'The Paintings and Inscriptions of the Painted Vaulted Chamber of Tetaky', in Carnarvon, Earl,.and.Carter, H., *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (London,1912), 17.

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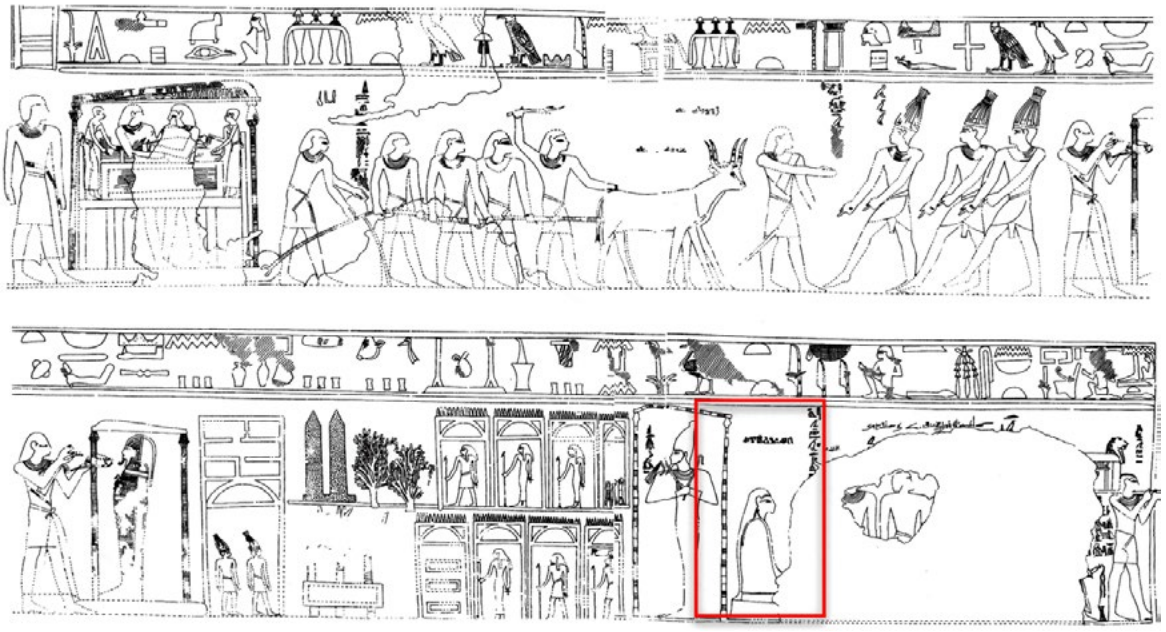

Figure 4.6.10. TT 15. Funerary scene.
Source: Davies JEA 11 (1925), compilation pl. V.

Figure 4.6.11. TT 15. Section of the funerary scene with *Tekenu*.
Source: Carter MSS 145. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford

The legend in front of the *Tekenu* reads:

sṯȝ tkn.w r ḫr.t-nṯr
'dragging the *Tekenu* to the necropolis'

Deatil of Figure 4.6.10.

This depiction of the *Tekenu* shows a human figure sitting upon a structure which resembles more a plinth than the sledge that commonly conveys the *Tekenu*. The base of the structure is deeper and more angular. It is not possible, from so much of it as is visible, to identify the conveyance as a sledge. However, the hieroglyphs *sṯȝ* determine that the *Tekenu* is being 'dragged' and the hieroglyphs on the wall immediately ahead of it, *tkn* (*nw*) *r ḫr.t-nṯr*, 'the *Tekenu* is going to the necropolis', which reinforce the text cited above, confirm that the *Tekenu* is being dragged to the necropolis. It is likely, therefore, that this 'platform' is in fact a form of sledge. At least two men are discernible in the damaged area in front of the *Tekenu* and these men are likely to be dragging the sledge.

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Although the *Tekenu* is often described in this tomb as having long hair,[211] it seems, in fact, that it is not hair. The *Tekenu* appears to be wearing a robe plus a long head covering, resembling a wig or head scarf on the crown of the head, thus covering any natural hair that may have been present. This head covering extends vertically down the figure's back to the waist. The face, with distinct eye, nose, chin and neck, is revealed.

Above the *Tekenu* there appears the hieratic inscription:

Detail of Figure 4.6.10.

The hieratic is translated with the aid of Möller,[212] the hieratic numbers being, No 587 no. 33, no. 221, no. 192 *nnyrh,* no. 33.

Translated into hieroglyphic text it becomes:

'the scribe *pꜣ*-(*n*-*?*) *rhnj* [213] 'he of the sacred ram'

Davies suggests this might be the identification of the 'executant of the picture'.[214] Ramperez Torãno (2011) concurs with this analysis.[215] Altenmüller's view is contrary to this.[216] He identifies the name as being that of the official who performs the role of the *Tekenu.* Serrano Delgado concurs with Altenmüller's view.[217]

As there is evidence of considerable graffiti in this tomb, as can be observed in Davies plate V (Figure 4.6.10), no definitive statement can be made about the relevance of this hieratic inscription. Davies records that many of the graffiti were beyond tracing but that Professor Gardiner had examined them and concluded that some of the graffiti had been added later in the Nineteenth Dynasty although, some was certainly from the Eighteenth Dynasty.[218]

The graffiti is secondary to the tomb and must not be regarded as automatically related to the original content. It may be that a scribe merely recorded his presence while visiting the tomb and thus the hieratic inscription does not pertain to the *Tekenu*. Further, one would expect that cursive hieroglyphs would be used, not hieratic, if the text were to identify the *Tekenu*.

To the left of the *Tekenu* stands Osiris, clad in white and contained in a naos.[219] In front of Osiris is a depiction of the Holy District: two rows of four shrines containing gods, goddesses and funerary regalia;[220] two obelisks in red granite; two trees covered with fruit; a palm garden and two *Mww*-dancers contained within their *mww*-hall. This would seem to be the conclusion of this vignette.

The next vignette is of a priest throwing a few grains of incense into a censer, which he presents to the mummy. At this stage of the procession, the mummy is placed upright beneath the funerary canopy.

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[211] Reeder, *KMT* 5/3 (1994), 58. Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, pl.II. Tassie *PIA* 11 (2000), 38.
[212] Möller, Georg, *Hieratische Paläographie : die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit* (Osnabrück, 1965).
[213] Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen: Band 1 Verzeichnis der Namen.* (Glückstadt, 1935), 109, no. 18.
[214] Davies, *JEA*, II (1925), 17.
[215] Ramperez Torãno, Lara, 'Análisis iconográfico y simbólico del *Tekenu* en el Antiguo Egipto', *Estrat Critic* 5/1 (2011), 480.
[216] Altenmüller, H., *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1972), 132.
[217] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS*, 138 (2011), 153–154.
[218] Davies, *JEA* 11 (1925), 18, no. 3.
[219] Legrain, *Tetaky'*, 17.
[220] Legrain, *Tetaky'*, 17; Davies, *JEA* 11 (1925), 17 see these shrines as meaning to form with Osiris a divine ennead.

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Three *Mww*-dancers then greet the oncoming funerary procession which consists of: a priest; the sarcophagus borne on a sledge that is dragged by three men and two oxen (one of the men Davies identifies as seeming to be the representative of Pe); [221]a driver urging on the oxen; a priest pouring water in front of the sledge to facilitate its movement; the anthropoid inner coffin recumbent on a rectangular chest which is itself mounted on a trestle; two small females, probably kites, and two large priests who attend the sarcophagus and one official who follows the sarcophagus bier.

2B.3 *Nb-Jmn* **(TT 17)**

Location: Thebes, Dra Abu al Naga.
Identification: PM I/1, 29–31, TT 17.
Date: 18.07, PM I/1, 29, 18.06-7, Kampp, 198.
Form: assigned 2B.

Selected Titles: Scribe, Physician of the King

The funerary procession, contained in four registers, is located in the inner room of the southern wall (Figure 4.6.12). The *Tekenu*, whose form is assigned as being Type 2B, with reference to Settgast's record, (Figure 4.6.14), is depicted in the bottom register.

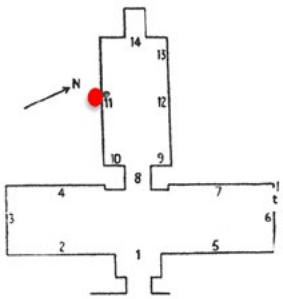

Figure 4.6.12. TT 17. Tomb plan: PM I/1, 30.

Figure 4.6.13. TT 17. Remnants of the *Tekenu*. Source: Säve-Soderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. XXV, detail.

Figure 4.6.14. TT 17. Funerary procession. Source: Settgast *Untersuchungen*, pl. IV, detail.

All registers of the funerary procession face towards a large figure of the Goddess of the West.

The top register begins with four men carrying trays of offerings. They are followed by a priest reading from a papyrus scroll and a cattle driver controlling the oxen that drag the sarcophagus. The people of Pe and Dep[222] follow with arms raised in exultation or mourning and come before four men who drag the sarcophagus. The register concludes with a lector priest censing and pouring water to facilitate the movement of the beir, a *wr nṯr* and the two kites who flank the funerary bier.

The second register starts with an *ỉmy-ḫnt* priest placing a foreleg of an ox in the tomb and is followed by a woman kneeling before a low altar at which she presents *nw* pots. A priest holding

[221] Davies, *JEA* 11 (1925), 17 n. 1.
[222] Säve-Soderbergh, T., *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs* (Oxford, 1957), 30 is relied upon for this translation as the hieroglyphs are too indistinct for independent translation.

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a long staff stands at the other side of the altar. The remainder of the register contains rites connected with the Holy District, including two *Mww*-dancers who stand facing each other.

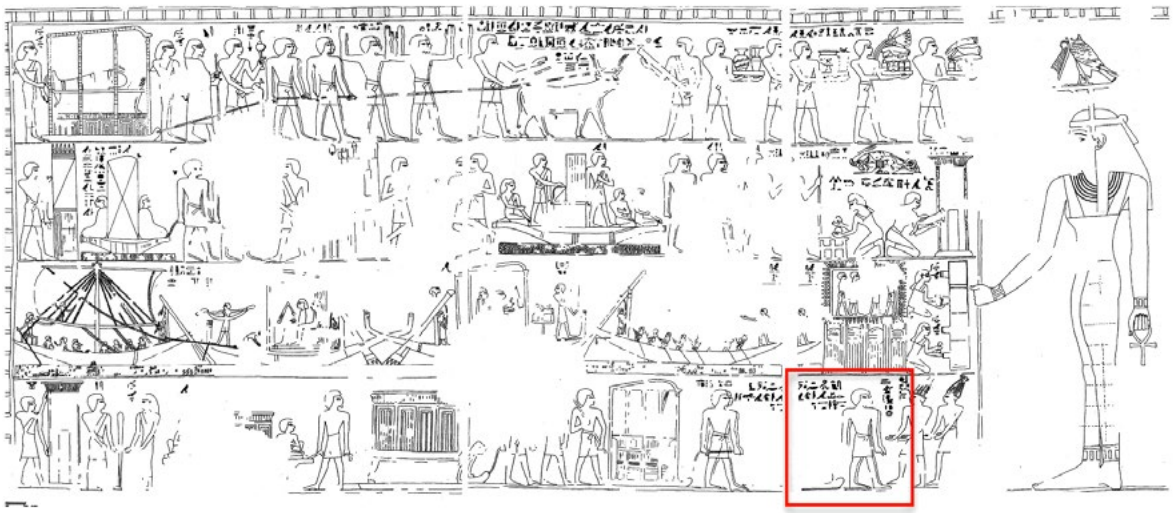


Figure 4.6.15. TT 17. Funerary procession.
Source: Säve-Soderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, compilation, pls, XXIII, XXIV, XXV.

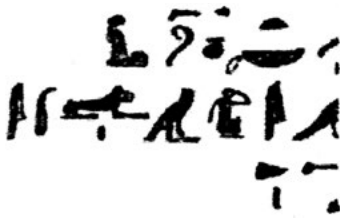
The right-hand side of the third register is reserved for vignettes depicting rituals from the Holy District. The two kites kneel before four ponds and offering bowls. Here the register bifurcates to show two structures that are probably to be read as being side by side. Säve-Soderbergh identifies the top sub-register as ' the so-called guard-house of the gods'. [223] The bottom sub-register shows four shrines. The remaining section of this register depicts the symbolic journey of the deceased and his wife to and from Abydos.

r(*m*)*ṯ*(.*t*) *P*
the people of Pe

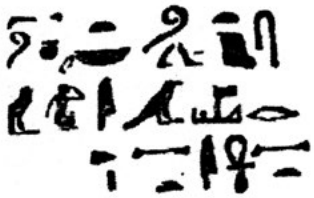
Deatil of Figure 4.6.15.

The bottom register commences with two *Mww*-dancers greeting the two men who drag the *Tekenu.* These men are identified by the text as the people of Pe.

Above the remnants of the *Tekenu* appears a text that is split between two plates:



Detail pl. XXIV



Detail pl. XXIV

Source: Säve-Soderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs.*

sṯꜣ tkn.w
r ḫr.t-nṯr ꜣ i m rw.ty
? nt i ꜥnḫ nt

dragging the *Tekenu* to the necropo-lis...?...the double lion.

(The author deems that the text following *ḫr.t-nṯr* is too fragmentary to enable reliable translation.)

[223] Säve-Soderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs,* 31.

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As a clearer image of the hieroglyphs of this caption is unavailable, it is difficult to transliterate then translate the complete text with confidence.[224]

One is reliant on the text to determine the existence of the *Tekenu*. All that can be stated about the *Tekenu* is that it is upon a sledge with an upturned end to which a rope is, presumably, attached. Due to damage, the form of the *Tekenu* is difficult to ascertain. However, with reference to Settgast's record, it has been classified in this study as type 2B, as sitting or kneeling upright on a sledge. The nature of any covering is indeterminable.

Two people of Dep [225] drag another small structure that is upon a sledge and covered by a canopy. This is possibly the canopic chest. An official follows and he precedes two men who drag another sledge, which bears a lion- headed and footed couch upon which rests a bier. Next depicted is a boat with a shrine flanked by two seated men. The image of a great kite and a *smr* performing a ceremony with a pole and a lector priest before a tomb façade complete the register.

2B. 4 ***Nb-Jmn*** **(TT 24)**

Location: Thebes, Dra Abu al Naga.
Identification: PM I/1, 41–42, TT 24.
Date: 18.06, PM I/1, 41; 18.04–18.06, Kampp, 209.
Form: 2B.
Selected Title: Steward of the royal wife Nebtu.

The funerary procession, which occupies four registers, is located on the western wall of the hall (Figure 4.6.16). The *Tekenu*, which is depicted in the second register, is classified as Type 2B.

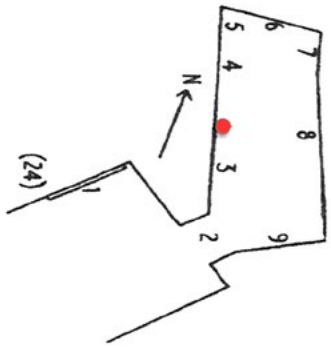

Figure 4.6.16. TT 24. Tomb plan: PM I/1, 30.

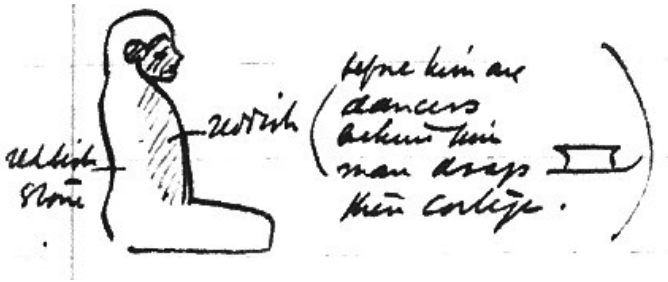

Figure 4.6.17. TT 24. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Davies MSS Notebook 11.1,21. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford

This tomb has been poorly recorded. The only images extant are those by Davies (Figure 4.6.17), and el-Shahawy, (Figure 4.6.18). For the written record it is necessary to rely on PM, Bouriant and Davies.[226]

PM describes the first two registers concerning the funeral record as:

> *Funeral procession to Western goddess(including Abydos pilgrimage in I and oxen dragging [coffin], and teknu in II.)* [227]

[224] I am indebted to Hayes for his advice here.
[225] Säve-Soderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs,* 31 is relied upon for this translation as the hieroglyphs are too indistinct or independent translation.
[226] PM I/1, 41–42; Bouriant, U., 'Petit Monuments et Petits Textes; Recueillis en Égypte', *RT* IX (1887), 97–98; Davies MSS Notebook 11.1, 21.
[227] PM I/1, 41.

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Figure 4.6.18. TT 24. The *Tekenu*. Source: el-Shahawy. *Funerary Art*, fig. 43.

Bouriant records the wall as being divided into four registers.[228] According to Bouriant's record the first register is entirely occupied by four small boats which travel on a symbolic journey to and from Abydos. The second register represents the transportation of the mummy. This ceremony is overseen by the Goddess of the West who is recognisable by her headwear featuring a perched falcon. At the beginning of the procession are two dancers, possibly *Mww*-dancers, who precede a figure drawn by a cord. Bouriant describes this character as 'the squatting statue representing the deceased and which is intended to occupy the niche dug in the tomb'.[229] Then comes a second individual dragging two boxes in the form of a naos that contain the canopic jars. Finally depicted is a man pouring water in front of the sledge bearing the mummy of Nebamun. The mummy bier is escorted by two wailing individuals. The following text accompanies this ceremony:[230]

> *sṯ3 tkn.w r ḫr(t)-nṯr ỉwỉ m ḥtp rmṯ.t P rmṯ.t Dp rmṯ.t Ḥwt-ỉḥw*
>
> 'Dragging the *Tekenu* to the necropolis coming in peace the people of Pe and the people of Dep and the people of Hutihut.'

Davies, describing the *Tekenu,* records that before it are dancers and behind it a man drags the bier cortège. He also describes the colouring of the *Tekenu* by use of the labels 'reddish stone' and 'reddish'.[231] His drawing depicts the *Tekenu* as a kneeling man who is covered in a wrapping of indeterminate material. This material completely covers all bar the head which is recorded in some detail revealing a nose, dark eye, mouth and ear.

El-Shahawy's photo (Figure 4.6.18) shows the fragment of the *Mww*-dancer who, seemingly by his attitude, is facing his partner. Then two men, side by side, clench a corded rope that is attached to the upturned front of the sledge carrying the *Tekenu*.[232] This figure is unequivocally of human form, the face being pictured as in Davies' sketch. It is covered in a reddish-brown material.

[228] Bouriant, *RT* IX (1887), 97–98.
[229] Bouriant, *RT* IX (1887), 97.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Davies MSS Notebook 11.1, 21.
[232] El-Shahawy. *Funerary Art*, fig. 43.

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In the third register, the mummy undergoes various rites: a son purifies the mummy with a trickle of water; a long red object, incense, perfume, vases, a finger and caskets are all presented to the mummy and two standing figures embrace the mummy. The register concludes with the mummified form of Osiris in a naos. Before him an official performs the ritual of incensing and libation.[233]

The fourth register represents stages of ploughing and reaping.

2B.5 *Pwj-m-Rᶜ* (TT 39)

Location: Thebes, Khôkha.
Identification: PM I/1, 71-75, TT 39
Date: 18.06 PM I/1, 71; 18.05 ?–18.06 Kampp, 230.
Form: 2B.

Selected Title: Second prophet of Amūn.

The funerary scenes are depicted in the northern chapel and occupy the eastern wall, around the entrance way, and the northern wall (Figure 4.6.19). The *Tekenu*, classified as Type 2B, is situated on the left-hand side of the entrance way.

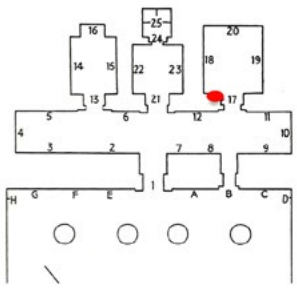

Figure 4.6.19. TT 39. Tomb plan: PM I/1, 64.

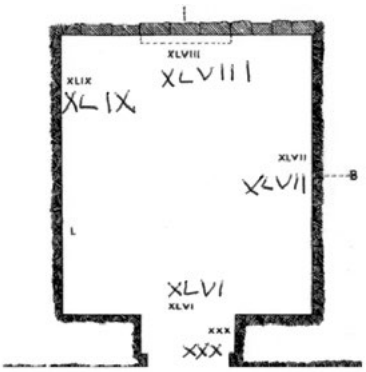

Figure 4.6.20. TT 39. Northern Chapel showing position of plates.
Source: Davies, *Puyemré*, pl. IV.

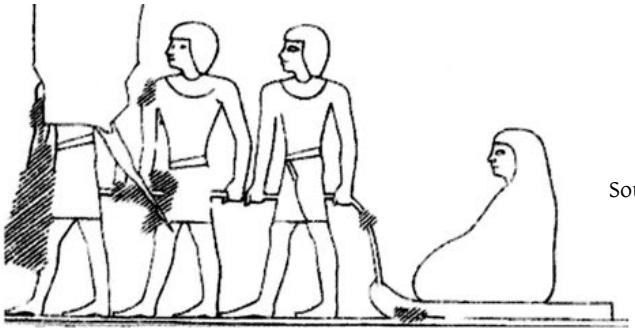

Figure 4.6.21. TT 39. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Davies, *Puyemré*, pl. XLVI, detail.

The lunette above the doorway is reserved for the depiction of a symbolic, ritual voyage, possibly to Sais.

On the northern wall, the funerary procession travels towards a large image of the Goddess of the West that occupies the entire western end. The images on this wall, shown in three registers, join those on the left-hand side of the eastern wall, forming a continuous procession. Hence, the plates XLVII and XLVI must be read together.

[233] Bouriant, *RT* IX, (1887), 98.

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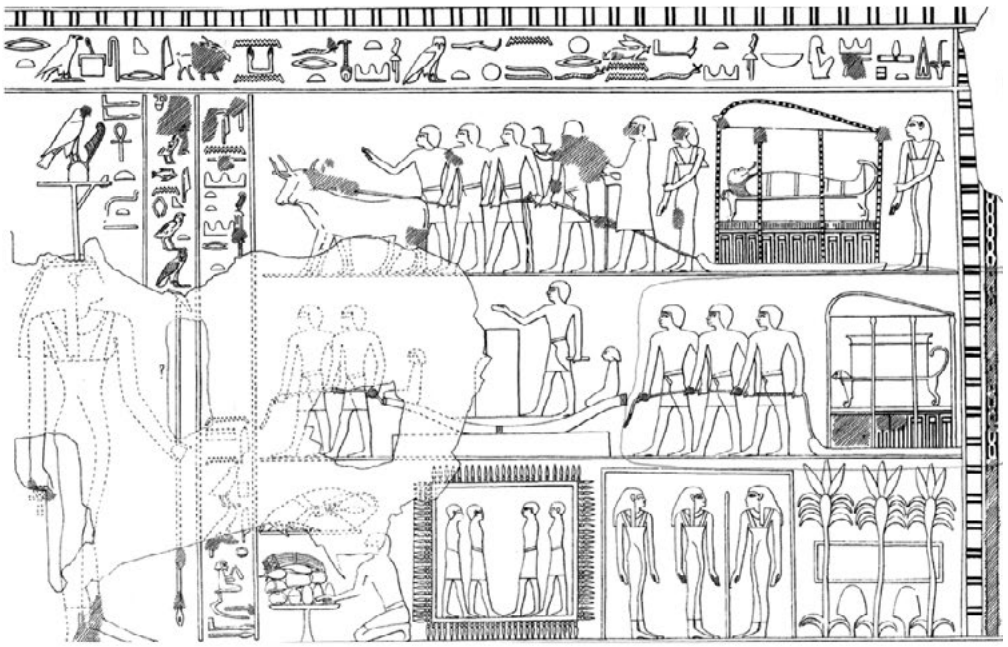

Figure 4.6.22. TT 39. Northern wall, funerary procession.
Source: Davies, *Puyemré*, pl. XLVII.

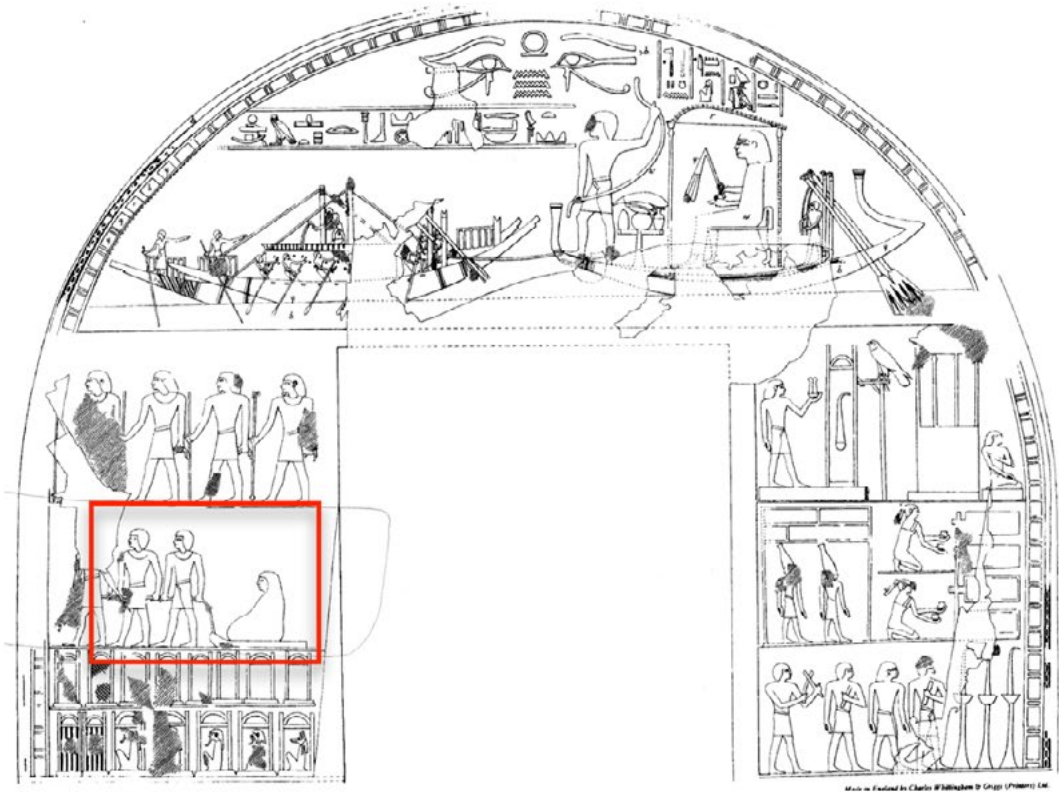

Figure 4.6.23. TT 39. Eastern wall, entrance way. Funerary procession.
Source: Davies, *Puyemré*, pl. XLVI.

In the top register, two oxen and three men drag the sarcophagus. The first of the men drags with only one hand; with the other he directs the cattle. Next, a priest libating and censing and a priest of Sokar (*wr nṯr*) precede the coffin, which is flanked by the two kites. The bier is canopied and displays the coffin lying on a lion-detailed bed. Four men carrying staffs escort at the rear.

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The second register shows a boat which, from the remaining fragments, seemingly is dragged upon an oblong 'which is painted blue to represent water'.[234] Upon this boat is an upright oblong structure that an official anoints. At the stern, and presumably the prow as a fragment would indicate, kneeling men escort this structure. Davies suggests that the object hides a statue that is accessible only to the accompanying priest; 'for the ancient custom of immuring the statue in a cell betrays a fear that it might escape and injure the living'.[235] This boat and its contents are destined for Buto to represent *Pwj-m-Rˁ* at the court of the old kings.[236] Three men then drag a canopied sledge containing a lion shaped-bed with a chest on top that presumably contains the canopic jars.[237] The register concludes with the procession of the *Tekenu.* The *Tekenu,* which is on a sledge with an upturned front, is dragged by three men.[238] It is in the form of a shrouded human form with only the face revealed. The face is detailed with chin, mouth, nose and an eye illustrated.

The bottom register contains vignettes of the Holy District: a man kneels at an offering table laden with food; an area that Davies describes as 'the entrance to the netherworld...through a forecourt';[239] within the courtyard two sets of two armless men; an harem of three women; a palmed pool and fifteen chapels, five of which are shown to be occupied by deities.[240]

The remainder of Davies' pl. XLVI (Figure 4.6.23) on the right hand side of the entrance, consists of three registers. The top register illustrates images of arrival at the necropolis, including a porticoed structure. The second and third registers are devoted to vignettes of the Holy District. The second register begins with the house of the *Mww,* which contains two dancers and concludes with two kneeling women each offering bowls before two water receptacles. The bottom register has four men, one of whom appears to be rubbing two sticks, approaching three lamps.

2B.6 *Jmn-ms* (TT 42)

Location: Thebes, Shaykh 'Abd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 82–83; TT 42.
Date: 18.06–18.07 PM I/1, 82.
Form: 2B.

Selected Titles: Captain of troops, Eyes of the King in the Two Lands of the Retenu.

The funerary scene, which consists of five registers, is located on the passageway of the western wall (Figure 4.6.24). This scene has been severely affected by fire and other destruction and there is evidence that there was hostility towards *Jmn-ms* as his name and figure, as well as that of his wife, appear in almost every instance to have been destroyed.[241] The *Tekenu*, classified as Type 2B, is depicted in the top register.

The western wall of the passageway is a void for approximately twelve feet from the entrance then the next eleven feet are occupied by the formal burial rites.[242]

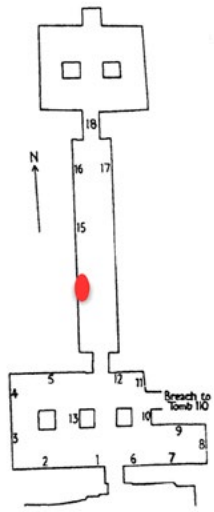

Figure 4.6.24. TT 42. Tomb plan: PM I/1, 80.

[234] Davies, *Puyemré,* 6.. As no colour record is available this unable to be confirmed.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid.
[238] Davies, *Puyemré*, 6. suggests these men are from 'Keden' however the author has been able to verify this suggestion.
[239] Davies, *Puyemré,*. 7.
[240] Ibid.
[241] Davies, No. and Ni. de Garis, *The Tombs of Menkheperrasonb, Amenmosē and Another* (London, 1933), 27.
[242] Davies and Davies, *Menkheperrasonb,* 23.

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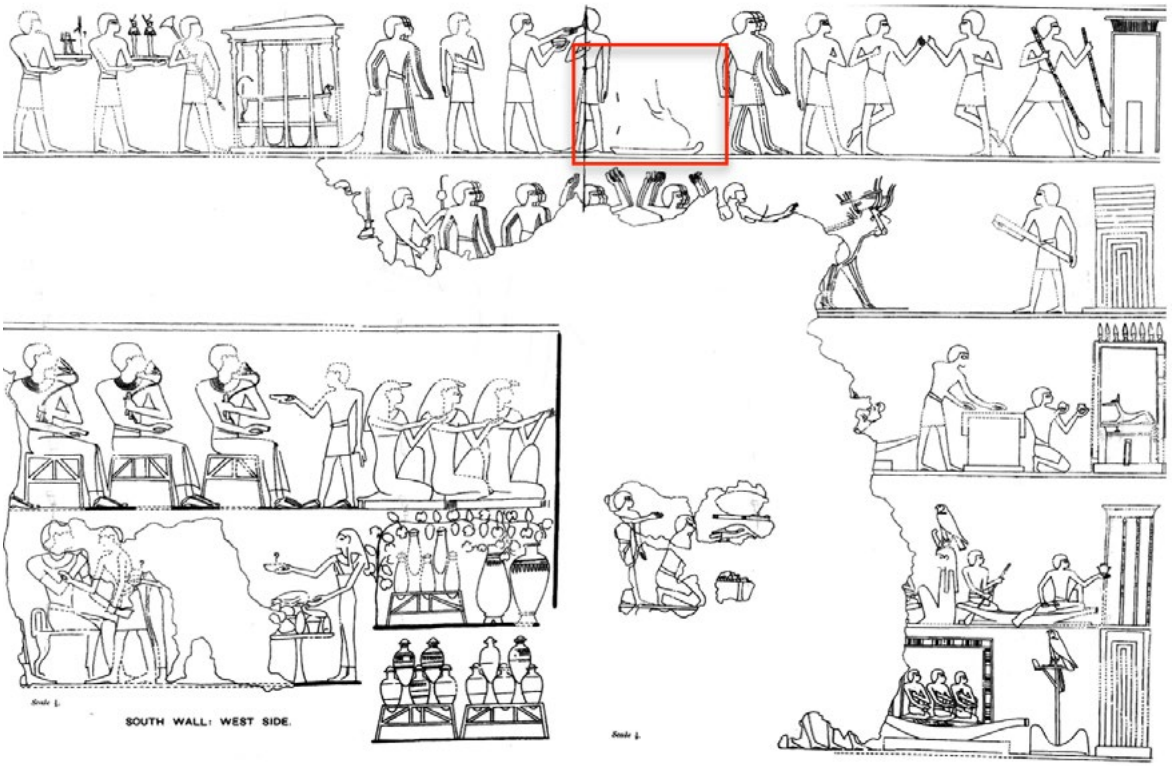

Figure 4.6.25. TT 42. Remnants of funerary procession.
Source: Davies and Davies, Menkheperrasonb pl. XXVIII.

The movement of the top register is towards an unidentified shrine on the extreme right. A man carrying two paddles runs (his back foot is raised) towards this shrine. Behind him are two *Mww*-dancers without their accompanying head dress, who face each other in a customary pose.[243]

The next two men, represented side by side, appear to drag the *Tekenu*. No rope is now shown, however, the men have clenched hands in the mode of holding something. What they appear to be dragging is a sledge with an upturned front to which the rope would normally be attached. The *Tekenu* is shown as a kneeling, upright object, probably in human form, although little definite structure remains.[244] Davies does, however, indicate the depiction of something that might be an arm.[245] The *Tekenu* seems to be clad in a covering of an indeterminate nature. A priest then administrates something to another man and he is followed by another official whose hand is placed across his chest. Three men, side by side, follow dragging a sledge that bears the canopic chest. The chest is escorted by a man carrying a long papyrus staff. The conclusion of the displayed register shows two men holding trays containing two statues each. The statues on the first tray wear the crown of lower Egypt.

The next register shows another shrine with a priest, who faces the approaching cortège, holding a scroll. Two oxen and a cattle controller followed by two lots of three individuals can be identified amongst the damage. The individuals have their arms raised in a manner of exultation or mourning. These are followed by two lots of three men. The position of their arms, with bent elbows, suggests that they are dragging something. A priest holds an incense container and libates the ground. The fragmentary figure at the end holds, with both hands, a long staff and is, presumably, a *wr nṯr*. One

[243] See Reeder, G., 'The Mysterious Muu and the Dance they Do' *KMT*, 6/3, (1995), 69–70; Kinney, L., *Dance, Dancers and the performance Cohort in the Old Kingdom* (Oxford, 2008), 142–143.
[244] The only other recorded image of the *Tekenu,* known to the author, is MMA T 3442 for which copyright permission was not available.
[245] Davies and Davies, *Menkheperrasonb*, pl. XXVIII.

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may assume, with some confidence, from the preceding procession, that the funerary bier would have been placed in the following damaged area.

The middle register shows a kneeling person, possibly the tomb owner, presenting offerings to the naos-enclosed statue of Anubis. This is followed by a low structure on which is being placed something by a bending man. A fragmentary piece of a boat completes what remains here.

The last two registers depict a voyage by boat. In each there is a symbol of the west. In the fourth register, it is of a seated goddess with a falcon perched on her head, and in the last, the falcon is perched on a T-shape upon a mounted standard.

2B. 7 ***Jn-jt.f-jkr*** **(TT 60)**

Location: Thebes, Shaykh' Abd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 121–125; TT 60.
Date: 18.02 PM I/1, 121.
Form: 2B.

Selected Titles: Governor of the town, Vizier.

The funerary scene, which consists of three registers, is situated on the southern wall (Figure 4.6.26). The *Tekenu*, which is depicted in the bottom register, is classified as Type 2B.

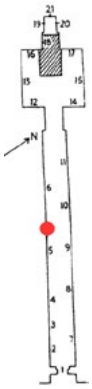

Figure 4.6.26. TT 60. Tomb plan: PM, I/1, 106.

Figure 4.6.27. TT 60. The *Tekenu*. Source: Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. XXII A.

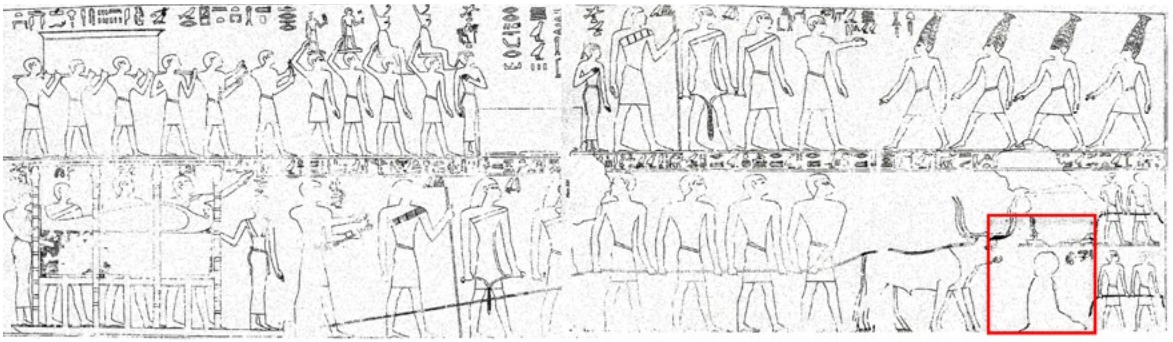

Figure 4.6.28. TT 60. Section of funerary procession. Source: Davies, *Antefoker,* compilation pl. XXII, pl. XXI.

The top register depicts the voyage to Abydos, including the rites on the water and those on land. Then the next two registers depict the funerary procession. This is an 'ideal' representation of the funerary procession which Gillam believes corroborates some of the images of an 'ideal' funeral in 'The Story of Sinuhe'.[246] Gillam supports her contention by noting that TT 60, is roughly contemporaneous with this literary work.[247]

[246] Gilliam, R., *Performance and Drama in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2005), 63.
[247] Ibid.

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> *Think of the day of burial, the passing into reverence...A funeral procession is made for you on the day of burial; the mummy case is of gold, its head of lapis lazuli. The sky is above you as you lie in the hearse, oxen drawing you, musicians going before you. The dance of the mww-dancers is done at the door of your tomb.*[248]

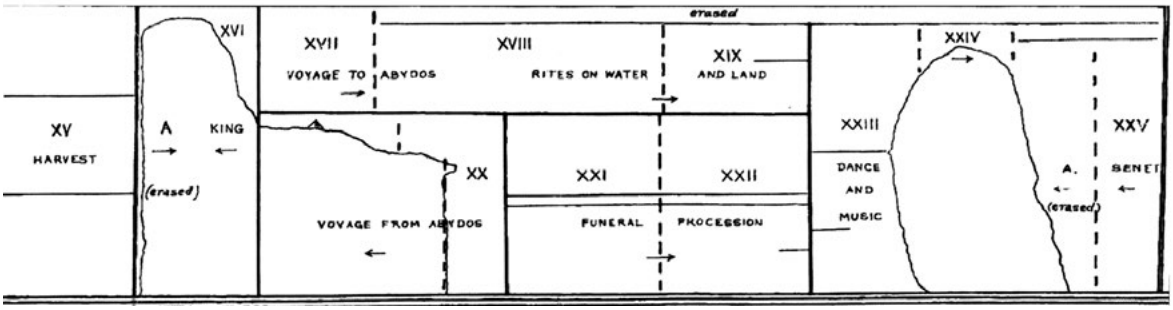

Figure 4.6.29. TT 60. Southern wall. Plan of funerary ritual and procession.
Source: Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. II, detail.

The elements from 'Sinuhe' represented in TT 60 are a funerary procession; the mummy case with a defined head piece although the materials used are not indicated; the sky indicated by the shape of the roof on the sledge which is in the shape of the hieroglyph for 'sky' (*pt* N1); oxen draw the hearse and the dance of the *Mww* is performed at the entrance to the tomb.

The procession, represented in two registers, is conflated and abbreviated (Figure 4.6.29). The left-hand side of the bottom register shows the catafalque on a sledge. The inner anthropoid shell is displayed on top and it is protected by the two kites and escorted by a lector priest, an embalmer and a southern chancellor. Four officials precede the catafalque, one of whom is adding resin to a censer. Four men and two oxen drag the sledge. Here the register bifurcates: the top sub-register showing two men dragging the canopic chest and the bottom register the *Tekenu,* on a sledge, being hauled by two men. It seems that these two registers should be read as side by side in the procession.[249] The caption *sṯ3 tknw* (dragging the *Tekenu*) identifies the *Tekenu.* Here it is depicted as a kneeling or seated figure in human form wrapped in a patterned material, most likely of cow hide. There is a definite head and neck but any facial features that might have once existed have been completely damaged. Davies describes it as being in the 'kneeling attitude given to the swathed dead',[250] while Gillam states it is 'a crudely fashioned seated figure'.[251] Davies' plate XXII A (Figure 4.6.27) shows a red-brown sledge that is attached to a red-brown and white corded rope.

Three distinctive stages of the funerary journey can be identified in the top register. Firstly, reading from the left-hand side, ' the nine courtiers carrying (it) on the bier'.[252] These are preceded by two officials bearing statues on their heads. These wear the red crown of lower Egypt. Then two officials with the figures of the lion goddess Sekhmet. Secondly, flanked by the two kites, the bier rests on the ground on wooden batons. Thirdly, an *ỉmy-ḫnt* (chamberlain- to services at court, the officiant in rituals),[253] a sem priest, a lector priest and a servant of the people are greeted by four *Mww*-dancers. After the funerary procession a distinct line demarcates it from the next section of the wall.

[248] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 1, 229.
[249] See. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, ch. 4, especially 4.3.7, fig. 164.
[250] Davies, No. de Garis, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, (London, 1920), 21–22.
[251] Gilliam, R., *Performance and Drama in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2005), 64.
[252] Davies, *Antefoker*, 21.
[253] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch, 75.*

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2B.8 *Jnn.j* (TT 81)

Location: Thebes, Shaykh ʻAbd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 159–163, TT81.
Date: 18.02–18.06, PM I/1,159.

Selected Title: Overseer of the granary of Amūn.

The funerary scene is represented on the western wall of the passage and occupies four registers (Figure 4.6.30). The *Tekenu,* classified as type 2B, is depicted in the bottom register.

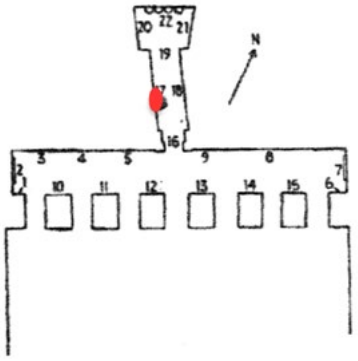

Figure 4.6.30. TT 81. Tomb plan PM I/1, 160.

As can be perceived from the pictorial record (Figures 4.6.31–4.6.34), the tomb has been severely damaged and, consequently, the record of the funerary scene must be pieced together using the records of Hay and Dziobek.[254] Due to the spatial difficulties presented by the architecture of the tomb, the artist might have been forced to vary the distribution of scenes. Thus images appear in registers out of the perceived normal representation.[255]

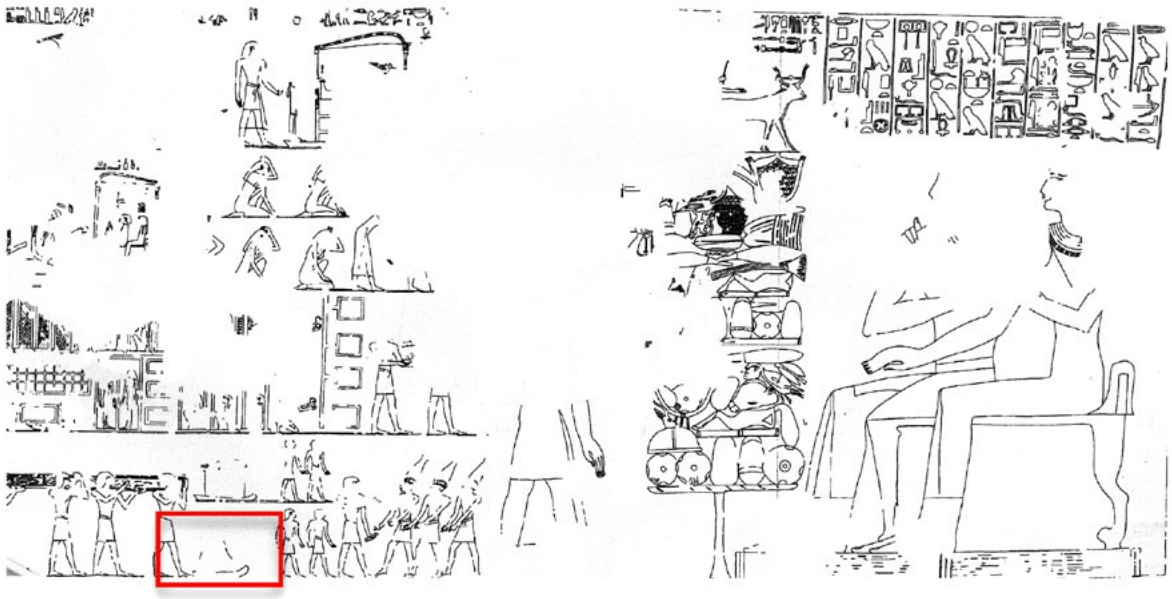

Figure 4.6.31. TT 81. Funerary procession.
Source: Dziobek *Ineni*, pl. LXV.

The top register begins with a large hieroglyphic script followed by the procession of the sarcophagus bier. This section is severely damaged yet it can be determined that the bier is canopied and is upon a sledge drawn by oxen. The bier is probably escorted by kites, as the partial image of a female form standing on the sledge remains. This is followed by a male figure before a large lacuna. The register concludes with the journey to Abydos.

The remaining registers proceed towards a large seated image of *Jnn.j* and his wife *ʿḤḥtp* and a small offering table laden with a pile of offerings. A large, unidentifiable figure presides over this table.

The second register, depicted in two sub-registers, has a section of wailing women, some of whom are kneeling. The register then breaks to show the return voyage from Abydos.

[254] Hay 29824, 49–50 verso; Dziobek, E., *Das Grab des Ineni: Theban Nr. 81* (Mainz, 1992).
[255] Dziobek, *Ineni*, 81.

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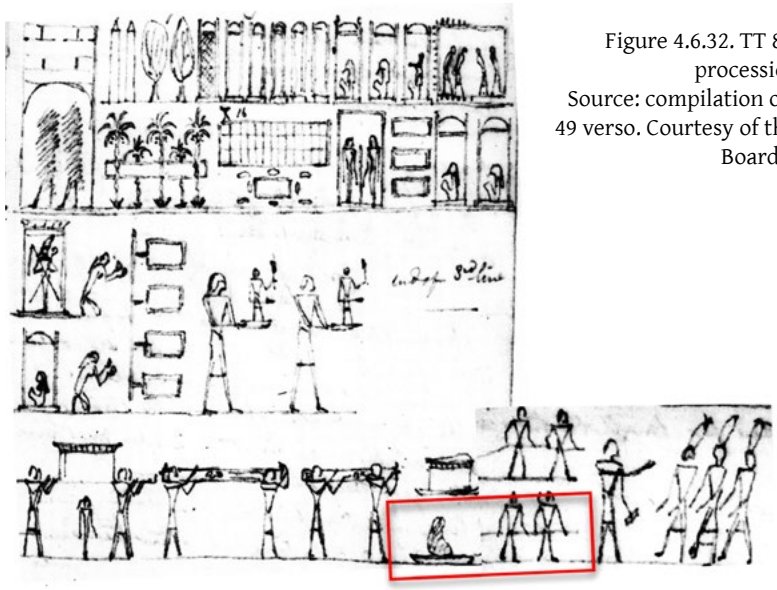

Figure 4.6.32. TT 81. Funerary procession.
Source: compilation of Hay 29824, 49, 49 verso. Courtesy of the British Library Board

The third register is reserved for the temene of Buto and Sais. Here Hay's drawings (Figure 4.6.32) aid in interpreting the damaged sections appearing in Dziobek's record (Figure 4.6.31): two men carry statues on trays; two kneeling women offer bowls towards rectangular troughs; Osiris enshrined beside another enshrined god; two enshrined gods beside two lots of two armless men; three rectangular pools and two housed figures beside three enshrined gods; one large and one small rectangular shape beside six enclosed shrines; images of the Delta including obelisks and a palm-surrounded pool; sycamore trees and, finally, a large arched, empty enclosure that would usually contain two *Mww*-dancers.[256]

In the bottom register three *Mww*-dancers greet a priest holding a scroll. He is followed by the *Tekenu* who is upon a sledge of reddish-brown colour. The sledge is dragged by two men.

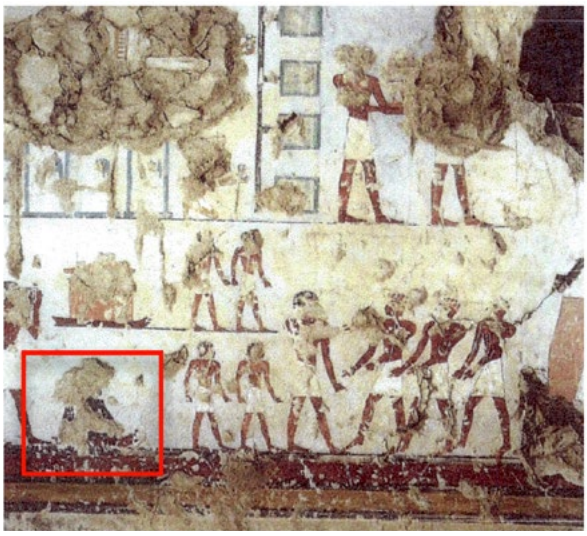

Figure 4.6.33. TT 81. Funerary procession.
Source: Dziobek *Ineni*, pl. XXV b.

Figure 4.6.34. TT 81. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Dziobek *Ineni*, pl. XXV b, detail.

From Hay's drawing, (Figure 4.6.35), one can see that the *Tekenu* figure is a shrouded seated or kneeling human form with its face visible. Dziobek's photo shows that the shroud is of a dark colour, probably black. Adjacent to the *Tekenu* is the sledge containing the canopic vessels, also

[256] Cf. TT 15, TT 36, TT 39, TT A4, EK 3, EK 7.

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drawn by two men. Next, two oblong crates are carried on the shoulders of two men. The register concludes with the coffin bier being transported by poles on the shoulders of four men. Beneath the bier is a small figure, most likely female.[257]

Figure 4.6.35. TT 81. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Hay 29824, 49, detail Courtesy of the British Library Board.

2B.9 *Wsr* (TT 260)

Location: Thebes, Dra Abu al Naga.
Identification: PM I/1, 343–344, TT260.
Date: 18.06, PM I/1, 343.
Form: 2B.

Selected Title: Scribe, Weigher of [Amūn].

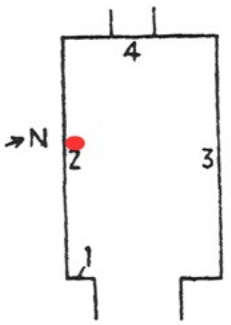
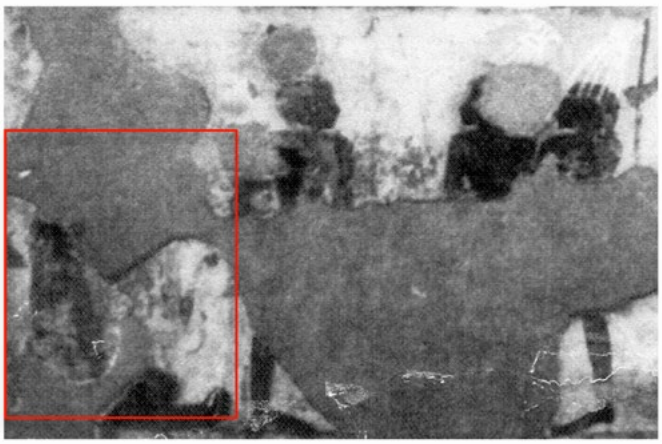


Figure 4.6.36. TT 260.
Tomb plan: PM I/1, 334.

The funerary scene is depicted on the southern wall and occupies three registers (Figure 4.6.37). The *Tekenu*, classified as Type 2B, is shown in the third register.

Nasr's plan of the southern wall, (Figure 4.6.39), is used here to interpret the funerary scene. In section A, *Wsr* and his wife *Nbw-m-wɜst* are shown sitting on a low-backed chair with their feet resting on a green mat.[258] Before them is an offering table laden with food. An official gestures at the table with his right arm outstretched.



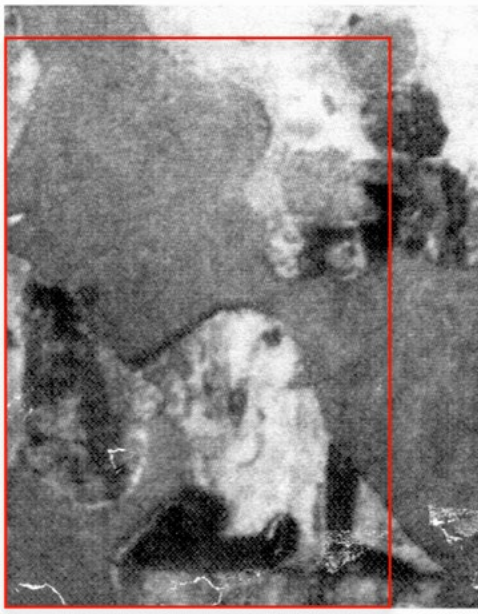


Figure 4.6.37. TT 260. The *Tekenu* and *Mww*-dancers. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Nasr, ZAK 20 (1993), pl. III, detail.

The scene in the lower register, B, again shows *Wsr* and his wife *Nbw-m-wɜst* seated before an offering table. The scene is severely destroyed. For the purpose of this study, no further comment needs to be made.

[257] Dziobek, *Ineni*, 80 suggests that this is a resident of the Delta.
[258] Nasr, Mohammed W., 'The Theban Tomb 260 of User', *ZAK* 20 (1993), 179 records the colour.

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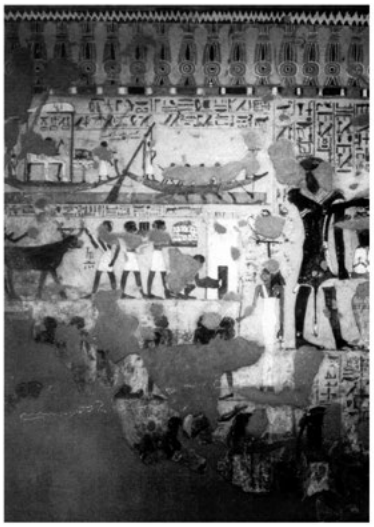
pl. II


pl. III

pl. IV

Figure 4.6.38. TT 260. Remnants of the funerary procession.
Source: Nasr, *ZAK* 20 (1993), pls II–IV

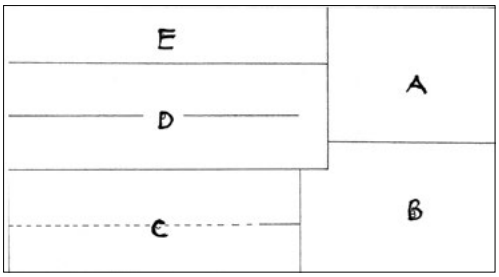


Figure 4.6.39. TT 260. Southern wall plan.
Source: Nasr, ZAK 20 (1993),178.

Section C begins with the large figure of a goddess, identified as *ʾImntt*, the west, personified as a goddess.[259] *ʾImntt* bears a falcon perched on a T-bar on her head. She occupies two registers. The bottom register shows two *Mww*-dancers identified by their tall, conical headwear highlighted in white.[260] They appear to be greeting another man who walks towards them. Unfortunately, damage prevents definitive analysis of the action of this man. However, it appears that his right hand is extended by his side and ends in a clenched hand. This hand might be holding a rope as there is a line from it to a structure with an upturned end. It must be conceded that this line might merely be damage and that Nasr makes no comment on it or on the structure to which it might be attached. He records only three men 'painted red but unfinished'.[261] Abdul-Qader (1966), in contrast, cites this section in TT 260 as evidence of the *Tekenu* and of its being a human being.[262]

The record of Nasr plate III (Figure 4.6.37) clearly shows something apparently kneeling or sitting on a sledge. The sledge has an upturned demarcated end which could be the loop, shown in other tombs, to which a rope is attached. The image, on the sledge appears to be in the form of the *Tekenu* in TT 12, TT 24, TT 42, TT 60 and TT 81.

[259] Faulkner, R. O., *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (reprint, Oxford, 2002), 21.
[260] Nasr, *ZAK*, 20 (1993), 183 records the colour.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Abdul-Qader, M. Muhammed., *The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes* (Cairo, 1966), 170, pl. III.

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2B.10 *Mrjmɜʿt* (TT C4)

Location: Thebes, Shaykh ʻAbd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 457–458. TT C4.
Date: 18.08–18.09, Manniche.
Form: 2B

Selected Title: *wʿb*-priest of *mɜʿt*.

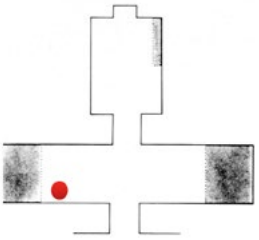

Figure 4.6.40. TT C 4. Tomb plan. Manniche Lost Tombs, pl. XXXVIII.

The funerary procession is located on the left front wall of the hall. The *Tekenu*, classified as type 2B, is depicted in the top register (Figure 4.6.40). Due to damage it is not possible to ascertain the number of registers occupied by the funerary procession.

The top register of the funerary procession proceeds towards the figure of the Goddess of the West. The procession is led by a man bearing lotus offerings. Then follow three men dragging something by a rope and a priest reading from a scroll. There is no evidence as to what the rope is attached, although this might be the *Tekenu* that follows. There appears to be a break in the line of the register rendering any observation as tentative. The *Tekenu* is an upright figure on a sledge (Figure 4.6.42). There appears to be a definite head and a face which reveals an eye and nose. It is difficult to tell if the head is covered with material. A cape-like garment seemingly covers part of the shoulder area and falls to the back. No other discernible features are apparent. The figure is comparatively small in comparison to those around it. The sledge upon which the *Tekenu* appears to squat is rudimentary, appearing more as a plank. Oxen and men haul the sarcophagus on a sledge, which is flanked by the two kites. This is followed by a smaller sledge and container which conceivably contains the canopic chest. At the rear are two mourners and some of the nine friends.

The next register illustrates female mourners and a selection of funerary furniture.

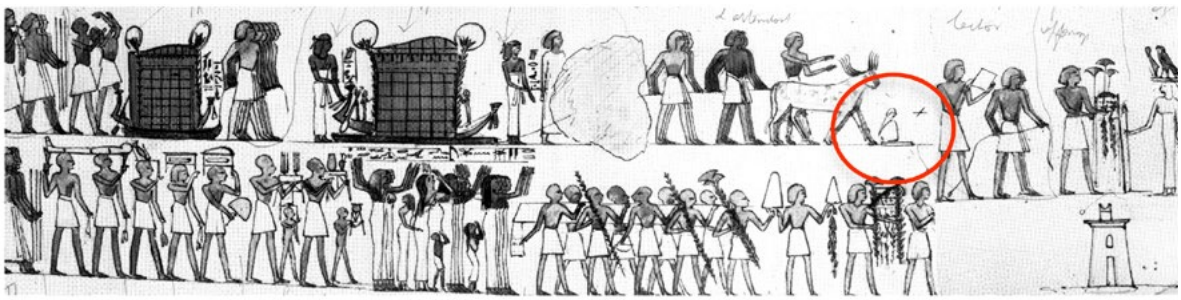

Figure 4.6.41. TT C 4. The funerary procession.
Source: Manniche Lost Tombs, pl. XXXI, detail.

Figure 4.6.42. TT C 4. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Manniche Lost Tombs, pl. XXXI, detail.

There is evidence that the following registers contained representations of the voyage to Abydos.[263]

[263] Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, 112–113.

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2B. 11 *Rnnj*. EK 7

Location: El Kab. Selected
Identification: PM V, 183–184, EK 7.
Date: 18.02, PM V, 183.
Form: 2B.

Titles: Mayor, Overseer of prophets.

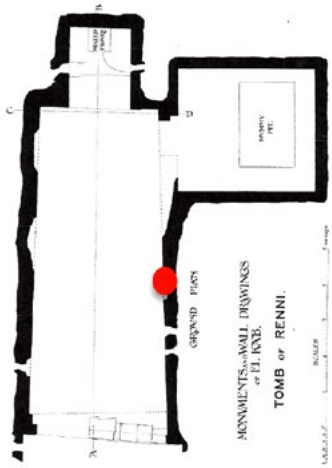

Figure 4.6.43. EK 7. Tomb plan. Tylor, *Renni*, pl. XVII.

The funerary procession, contained in three registers, is found on the eastern wall (Figure 4.6.43). The *Tekenu,* classified as type 2B, is depicted in the top register.

The top register in the funerary procession flows from right to left towards an image of the Goddess of the West.[264] The first discernible depiction is that of the *Tekenu* being dragged by two men, who Tylor identifies as '*am ḫnts*' (written here as *'ḫnt m'*).[265] Tylor describes the *Tekenu* as 'a crouching man wrapped in a hide'.[266] It appears that the *Tekenu* has crossed arms and a visible face, which is darker than its covering. Any facial features that might have existed are now destroyed. The sledge is of a reddish-brown colour and has an upturned end to which a rope is attached. The *Tekenu* is identified by the hieroglyphs *sṯ3 tknw r ḫr.t-nṯr pn* (dragging the *Tekenu* to this necropolis) (Figure 4.6.47). Before the men dragging the *Tekenu,* another man libates and purifies the passage. After this procession come two men carrying a large box by poles on their shoulders under which a small individual stands. These are followed by three *Mww*-dancers who greet a large procession. Two oxen, directed by a cattle herder, drag another sledge. A group of exalting men and women precede the two men who also drag the sledge. The nature of this scene suggests that what is on the sledge is the sarcophagus bier, however this is not shown. Before the sledge an official is illustrated pouring liquid either onto it, or perhaps at its side and a sem priest stands on the front of it.

The second register suffers from many lacunae and compresses numerous funeral rituals. It can, however be summarised as the figure of Osiris, then Anubis in a shrine before a depiction of the holy city of Buto with pond, sycamore trees, palms, two obelisks and two *Mww*-dancers in a hall. The next section of the register is reserved for vignettes of the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony, the mummy on a bier attended by an official, four wailing women, a scene of purification with the deceased sitting on a vessel, two officials attending, and the ritual journey to Sais.

The third register, again severely damaged, begins with the preparation of offerings, including the dismemberment of a fore-leg. Then follow more funerary goods accompanied by mourning women, a group of nine women side by side, and a procession of priests.

Moret records, what he considers, is another representation of the *Tekenu* in this tomb.[267] Like Serrano Delgado,[268] Moret believes that the *Tekenu* is a dynamic character. Moret contends that the *Tekenu* moves through three stages:

1. being draped.
2. lying or sitting on a sledge.
3. sleeping on a low bed.

[264] Tylor J. J., *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab, The Tomb of Renni* (London 1900), pl.XV shows remnants of the goddess.
[265] Tylor, *Renni,* pl. XIII description. The hieroglyphs are too damaged to verify this.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Moret, *Mystères Égyptiens,* 46–48.
[268] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 160.

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Figure 4.6.44. EK 7. Section of the funerary scene.
Photo: G. West.

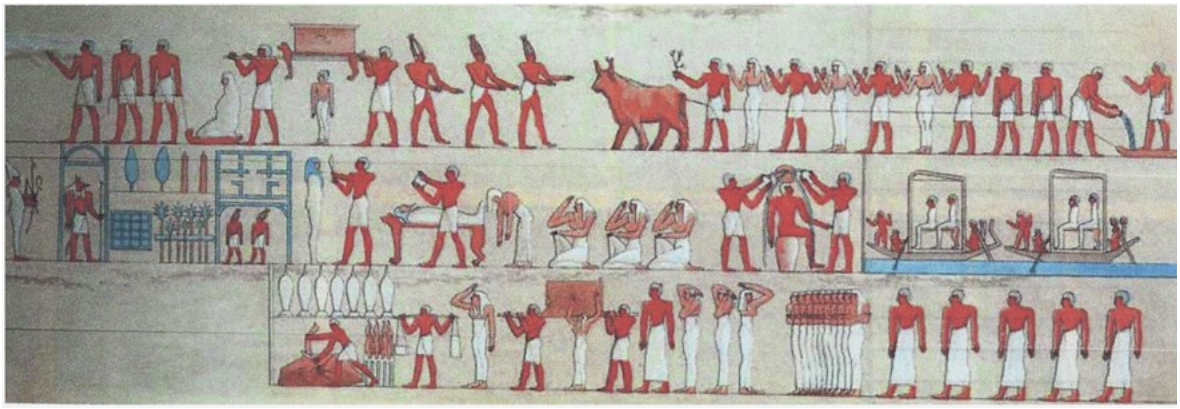

Figure 4.6.45. EK 7. Funerary procession.
Source: Néret, *Description of Egypt*, 57.

Moret suggests that EK 7 is the only tomb that shows the first stage of the *Tekenu* being draped in a long loincloth or shroud (Figure 4.6.48). He interprets the vignette towards the far right of the top register as depicting Isis draping the *Tekenu* before it is placed, or moves, onto a sledge.[269] Moret suggests that later in the register the *Tekenu* is shown, being conducted on a sledge to the necropolis, with its face uncovered so it can breathe (Figure 4.6.49).[270]

Tylor, however, describes the same vignette by stating that a lector priest is standing on the sledge and under a wooden structure 'a girl dressed as a funeral attendant tends probably Renni's statue'

[269] Fig. 4.6.49 shows only the possible libation of the sledge. The draped figure is depicted after this.
[270] Moret, *Mystères Égyptiens,,* 47.

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(Figure 4.6.49).[271] Alternatively he suggests the figure might be the *kẖrḥb,* who the inscription above the scene says 'is passing'.[272]

Figure 4.6.46. EK 7. The *Tekenu*.
Photo: G. West.

sṯꜣ tknw r ḫr.t-nṯr pn

dragging the *Tekenu* to this necropolis

Figure 4.6.47. EK 7. Identifying text.
Source: Tylor, *Renni*, pl. XIII, detail.

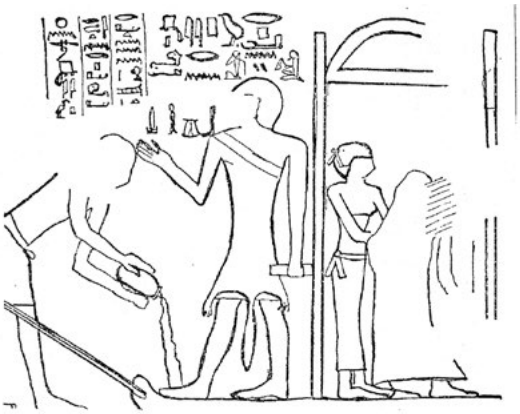

Figure 4.6.48. EK 7. Moret's perceived *Tekenu* being draped.
Source: Moret, *Mystères Égyptiens* fig 11.

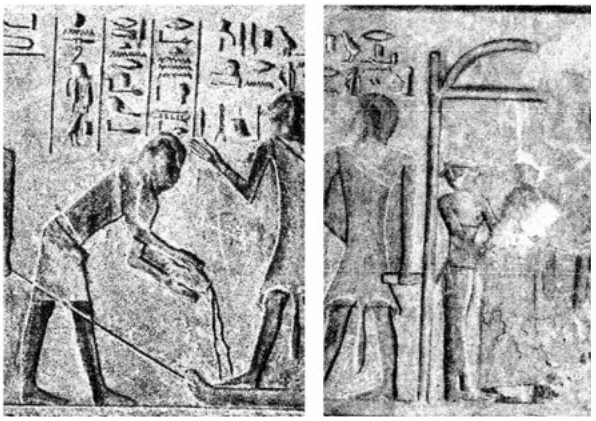

Figure 4.6.49. EK 7. Tylor's perceived statue being draped.
Source: Tylor, *Renni*, pls X, IX, detail.

Behind this vignette there is a void of destroyed decoration that might have provided more, specific information. However, it is necessary to evaluate the scene by use of the available pictorial record. The structure containing the attendant and the shrouded image is in the form of a *pr-nw,* a chapel associated with the temenos of Buto. The *Tekenu* is not, however, attested elsewhere in this context. It is not sufficient that the shroud of this image and that of the *Tekenu* are similar to allow one to extrapolate that they are the same image. It seems more likely that the image is a statue of the tomb owner.

[271] Tylor, *Renni,* description of pl. IX.
[272] Ibid. *Wb* contains no record of this title.

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4.7 TYPE 2C

2C.1 *Ḥr-m-ḥb* (TT 78)

Location: Thebes, Shaykh ʻAbd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 152–156, TT 78.
Date: 18.06–18.07, PM I/1, 152.
Form: 2C.

Selected Titles: Royal scribe, Scribe of recruits.

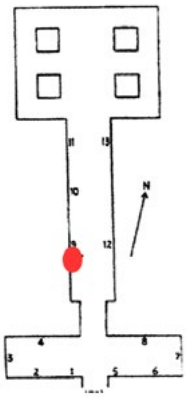

Figure 4.7.1. TT 78. Tomb plan PM I/1, 148.

The funerary scene is located on the western wall of the passageway and occupies four registers (Figure 4.7.1). The *Tekenu,* classified as type 2C, is depicted in the top register.

The far right of the top register begins with a long list of offerings followed by seven men carrying funerary furniture attached to poles. Seven wailing women follow and an eighth woman faces the procession of the *Tekenu*. Four men drag a sledge with upturned front bearing the *Tekenu,* which is described by Brack and Brack as ' a crouching figure who is shrouded in a grey animal skin'.[273] The available photographic record does not allow confirmation of the colour of the *Tekenu*'s covering. Hay's image of the *Tekenu* (Figure 4.7.2) shows a figure shrouded in a material which is of two colours, dark at the top and light at the bottom. A large area of damage is also recorded. Brack and Brack's record shows a covering of uniform colour except for the damaged area, which is depicted as being of a darker hue (Figure 4.7.4). In both of these records, the *Tekenu* is completely shrouded, of bulbous shape with a possible indication of a head and knees or feet. Three men walk at the side of the *Tekenu* and three others, all of whom are carrying funerary vessels, follow. Then comes the sarcophagus procession of four oxen and seven men dragging the funerary bier, two wailing figures, a large figure touching and escorting the bier, an ornate canopied bier, and a procession of twelve men behind the bier.

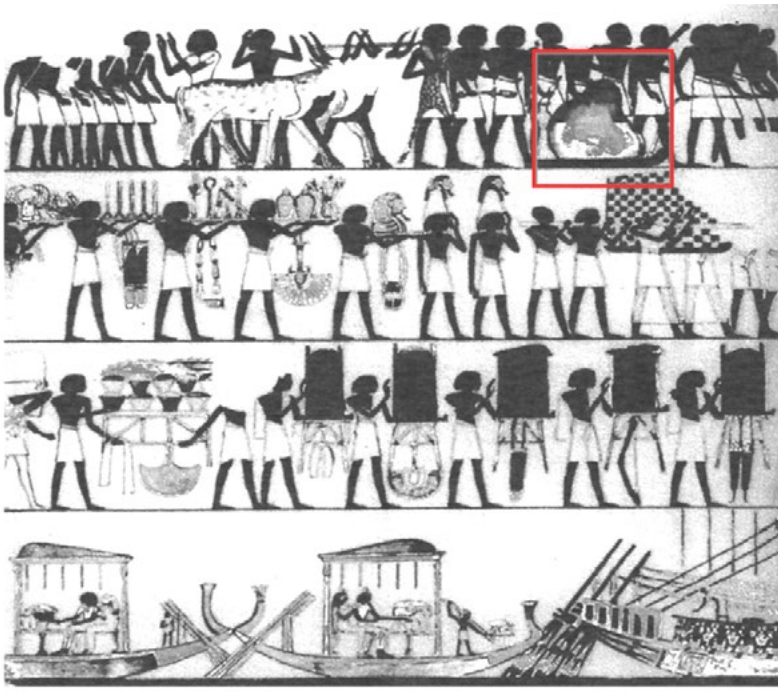

Figure 4.7.2. TT 78. Funerary procession.
Source: Hay MSS 29823, 98. Courtesy of the British Library Board.

[273] Brack, Annelies and Brack, Artur, *Des Grab des Haremheb Theban Nr. 78* (Mainz 1980), 47.

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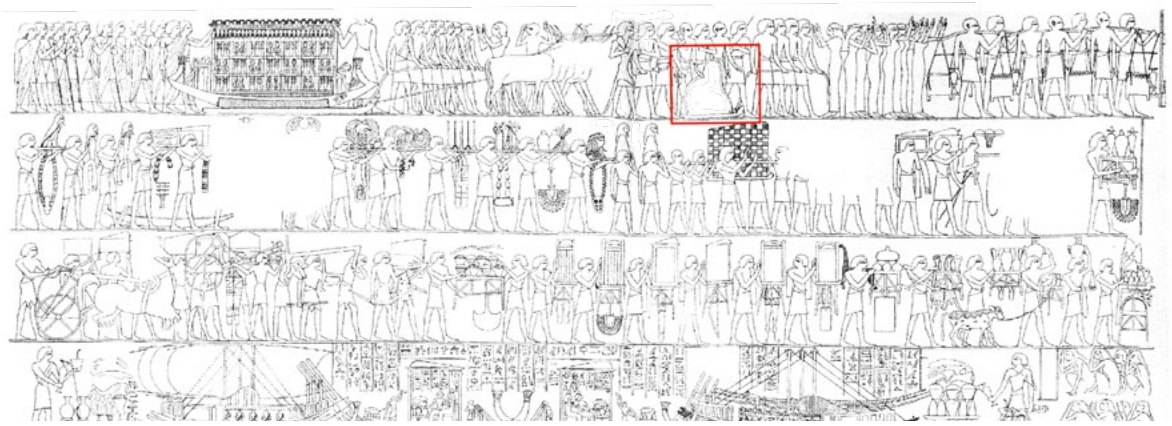

Figure 4.7.3. TT 78. Funerary procession.
Source: Brack and Brack *Haremheb* pl.LXXXVIII.

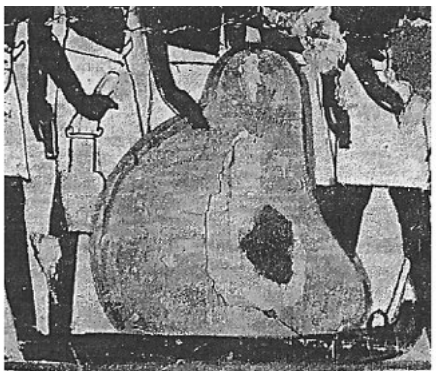

Figure 4.7.4. TT 78. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Brack and Brack, *Haremheb* pl. LXIII.

What is likely the canopic bier carried on a sledge occupies the centre of the second register. It is flanked by a procession of men carrying funerary furniture.

More funerary furniture is depicted in the third register. This includes the wheels of a chariot and a horse, a sacrificial calf plus eight shrines, which often display gods but are here closed.[274] The shrines, which are normally shown as fixtures on the ground are being transported by men.

The bottom register exhibits the journey to and from Abydos. This journey is framed by eight wailing women and an official before an offering table.

2C.2 *Mnṯ.w-jj.w* (TT 172)

Location: Thebes, Khôkha.
Identification: PM I/1: 279–281; TT 172.
Date: 18.06–18.07, PM I/1: 279.
Form: 2C.

Selected Titles:
Royal butler,
Child of the nursery.

The funerary procession, which occupies three registers, is located on the western wall of the passageway (Figure 4.7.5). The *Tekenu*, classified as Type 2C, is depicted in the middle register.

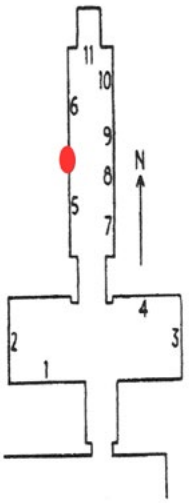

Figure 4.7.5. TT 172.
Tomb plan PM I/1, 272.

[274] See Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 52–57.

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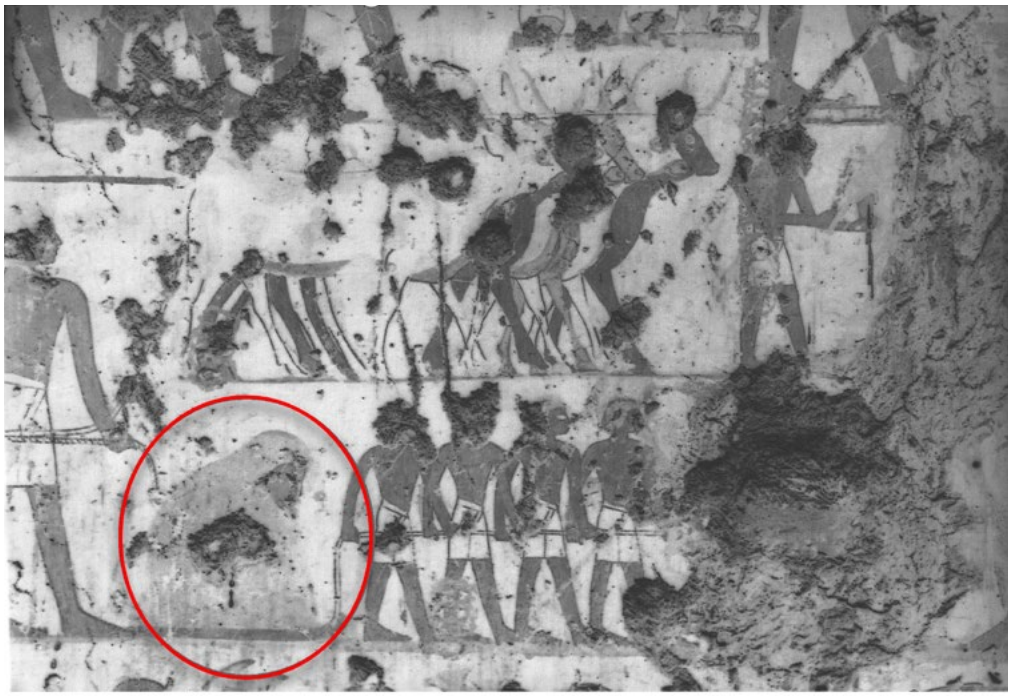

Figure 4.7.6. TT 172. Section of the funerary procession.
Source: Schott 5799.Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford and the Schott-Archiv Ägyptologie der Universität Trier.

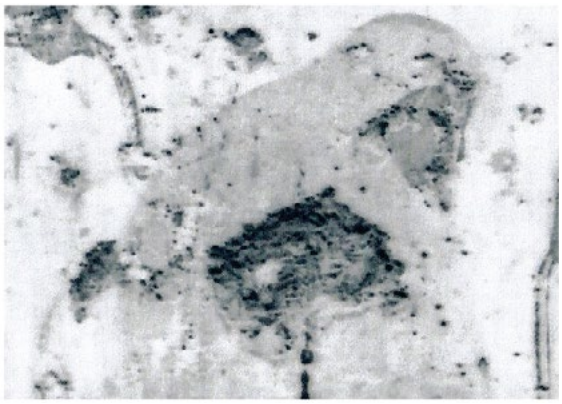

Figure 4.7.7. TT 172. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Schott 5799, detail.
Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford and the Schott-Archiv Ägyptologie der Universität Trier.

Due to the unavailability of a tomb report and the apparent severe damage to the tomb, one is forced to rely on the reference of PM and the relevant Schott photo (Figure 4.7.6) to analyse this tomb.[275]

PM records:

> *Three registers, funeral procession to Anubis, and to Osiris, including funeral outfit and lector with Opening the Mouth instruments in I, teknu, mummers, and women before pools in II, and bringing chariots, and butcher, in III.* [276]

The available pictorial record, Schott 5799 (Figure 4.7.6), indicates that the *Tekenu* appears in a sub-register. Four men, in a line, drag a narrow-bottomed sledge with an upturned end to which a rope is attached. Upon this sledge is the hunched, seated form of the *Tekenu*. It is difficult to determine what might be markings in its covering and what is damage. It does seem, however, that the form

[275] PM 1/1, 280; Schott photo 5799.
[276] PM 1/1, 280.

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is swathed in a light-coloured material, possibly with markings, and that a face protrudes revealing an eye, nose and mouth. This *Tekenu* is of large stature, as is confirmed when its size is compared to that of the men who drag it. Behind the *Tekenu,* a man, who occupies a full register, holds a plaited rope. Another, unplaited rope, appears to cross over this man's body, behind his right arm and up towards the other sub-register. It disappears behind the cattle so it is impossible to see to what it is attached. It is very difficult to read this sub-register, but there is definitely a procession of cattle led by a man holding two objects of indeterminate nature.

It is possible that the sculptor used the sub-registers to indicate that the two processions depicted were side by side.[277] What the large man is dragging is open to speculation. Unfortunately the record of PM is of no help here.

4.8 TYPE 3A

3A.1 *Ḥp.w* (TT 66)

Location: Thebes, Shaykh 'Abd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1: 132–133; TT 66.
Date: 18.08, PM I/1.
Form: Assigned 3A.

Selected Title: Vizier

The record of the funerary procession and funerary ritual in this tomb is extremely fragmentarily preserved. PM states that this ritual is depicted in the remains of four registers (Figure 4.8.1).[278] However, PM records no evidence of the *Tekenu*. In contrast, Davies cites that the *Tekenu* is shown in the bottom of three sub-registers that illustrate funerary rites.[279]

As the *Tekenu's* physical shape is indeterminable, its form is a subject for speculation. For the purposes of this study it is assigned the classification Type 3A, as this is the most common form when the *Tekenu* is present on a table, there being only one attested example of Type 3B.

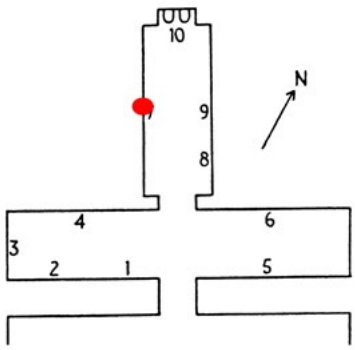

Figure 4.8.1. TT 36.
Tomb plan PM I/1, 124.

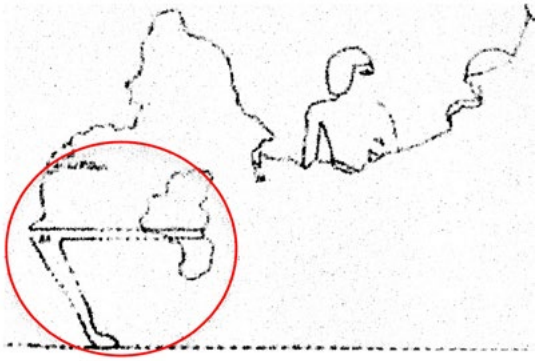

Figure 4.8.2. TT 36. Remains of the *Tekenu*.
Source: Davies, *Scenes*, pl. XIII, detail.

Due to the severity of damage of the relevant wall and lack of any other report to analyse the *Tekenu* in context it is necessary to rely on Davies' record (Figure 4.8.3).[280] She notes that three sub-registers are devoted to the funerary rites.

[277] See Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, ch. 4 especially 4.3.7, fig. 164.
[278] PM I/1, 132.
[279] Davies, *Scenes*, 12.
[280] Davies, *Scenes*, 12.

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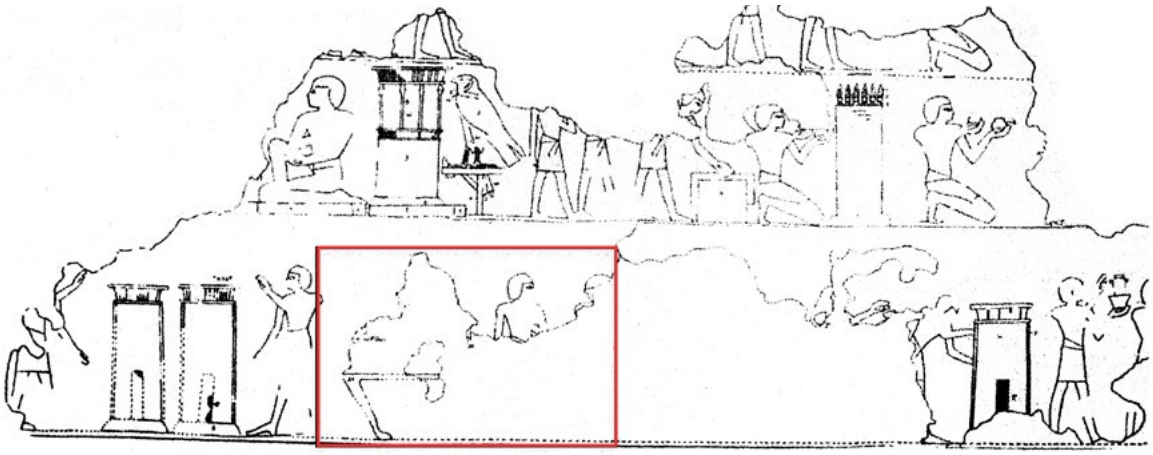

Figure 4.8.3. TT 36. Remnants of funerary ritual.
Source: Davies, *Scenes*, pl.XIII.

The top sub-register is so fragmentary that it is unintelligible, while the second illustrates offerings before shrines and an image of 'the west' in the form of a falcon upon a perch.

The bottom sub-register consists of a man holding a jar within a bowl; two individuals performing rites before a shrine; a large lacuna; parts of two individuals, the last of whom has his left-hand across his chest in an attitude of mourning; a lion-legged table on which the *Tekenu* is said to be portrayed and two men facing each other either side of two shrines. It is likely that the two men are purifying the shrines and that the scene is akin to that of TT100 (Figure 4.8.12). The form of the *Tekenu* is not apparent. Davies comments:

> *The only remaining traces* (of the *Tekenu*) *are of the back of the white robe in which it is wrapped and, on the right, a spot of black which may be of the back of the head above the destroyed red face.* [281]

3A.2 *Sn-nfr* (TT 96)

Location: Thebes, Shaykh 'Abd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 197–203, TT 96.
Date: 18.07 PM I/1, 197; 18.06–18.07, Kampp, 360.
Form: 3A.

Selected Title: Mayor of the Southern City.

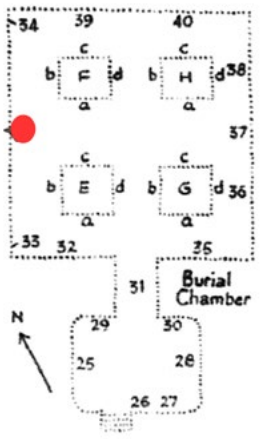

Figure 4.8.4. TT 96. Tomb plan
PM I/1, 196.

The funerary procession, which occupies three registers is located on the southern wall of the chamber (Figure 4.8.4). The *Tekenu*, classified as Type 3A, is depicted in a sub-register of the bottom register. This scene is severely damaged and is recorded here using Carrington's papyrus scroll reconstruction (Figure 4.8.6)[282] and Schott photo 5317 (Figure 4.8.5).

On the left-hand side of the wall there is a large figure of ***Sn-nfr*** that occupies almost all of the left-hand side of the three registers. The procession then travels to the right-hand side where two large figures of ***Sn-nfr*** and his wife ***Mrj.t*** are portrayed.

[281] Ibid.
[282] http://carrington-arts.com/SenneferScroll.html.

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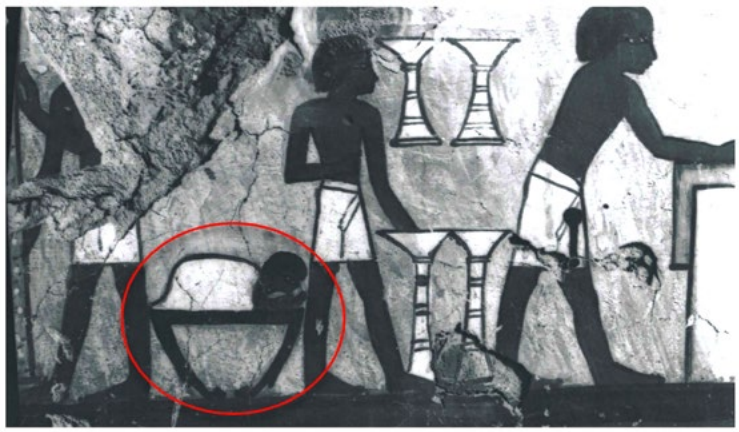

Figure 4.8.5. TT 96. The *Tekenu* .
Source: Schott 5317. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford and the Schott-Archiv Ägyptologie der Universität Trier.

Figure 4.8.6. TT 96. Funerary procession.
Source: http://carrington-arts.com/SenneferScroll.html.

As it is difficult to confidently distinguish between the actual remaining scenes and the re-creation, only a summary is recorded here:

> Top register: funerary goods, priests and the sarcophagus bier with canopy and the oxen and men who drag it.
>
> Middle register: funerary offerings, slaughtered oxen, two men dragging the canopic chest, a priest in the form of Anubis, male and female officiants and canopied boat bearing two women.
>
> Bottom register, right-hand side: water libations, officials and shrines and procession of barques.

The left-hand side of the bottom register is divided into two sub-registers.

The top sub-register consists of a priest in front of a shrine; a boat carrying two figures; mourners; a man wielding a hoe working on a large white rectangular area, possibly representing a field or it might symbolise the burial area; more boats and officiants; more shrines and Anubis reclining on a box-shaped object.

The bottom sub-register can be partially reconstructed using Schott photo 5317 (Figure 4.8.5). The right-hand section illustrates a man leaning forward with his forearms resting on an altar. He is followed by four umbel-shaped stands with a decorated triangular long shaft support.[283] An official appears to be placing something into one of these structures. Next is a recumbent *Tekenu* upon a lion-legged table. The *Tekenu* is covered from the shoulders down in a light- coloured robe and has a definite human form revealing a neck, head, with short wig or hair, a face with possible eye

[283] This is not apparent in Carrington's reconstruction.

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and definite chin, and arm with upturned hand. Following the *Tekenu* are vignettes of the Holy District: men raising two obelisks; a man bending, forward holding a staff; an offering of oxen and a kneeling woman in a long white robe making offerings before a picketed fence structure. Carrington concludes her depiction with an illustration of accompanying men and women and two *Mww*-dancers.

3A.3 *Rḫ-mj-Rᶜ* (TT 100)

Location: Thebes, Shaykh ʻAbd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 206-214, TT 100.
Date: 18.06, PM I/1, 206.
Form: 3A.

Selected Titles: Governor of the town, Vizier.

The funerary procession, which occupies eleven registers, is located on thesouthern wall of the passage (Figure 4.8.7). The *Tekenu*, classified as Type 3A is depicted in register seven. There is also the suggestion that a Type 1 *Tekenu* was originally depicted in the bottom register.

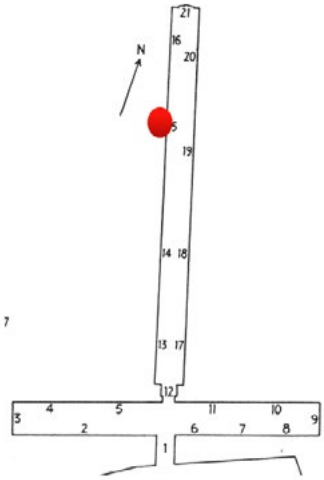

Figure 4.8.7. TT 100. Tomb plan PM I/1, 208.

Of all the pictorial representations of the Egyptian funerary procession attested, that of TT 100 is the most detailed. However, the shape of the wall on which it is depicted and the available space necessarily restricted the artist and, to some extent, dictated what could be placed where.[284] Settgast suggests that each register is self-contained and that the wall should not be read as a linking burial history.[285] While acknowledging the validity of Settgast's view, an important observation is that what is being portrayed is not an actual funeral but rather a selection of vignettes chosen to represent what the tomb owner regarded as an 'ideal funeral'. What is presented might be interpreted as a quasi-narrative sequence.

The funerary procession travels firstly towards the Goddess of the West, that represents the necropolis (registers 1, 2 and 3), then towards Anubis, the guardian of the necropolis (registers 4, 5 and 6), and finally towards Osiris the judge of the necropolis (registers 7, 8 and 9).[286] Registers 10 and 11 conclude with a large falcon on a stand, which is a symbol for The West, the necropolis.

To aid in this description Settgast's numbering system, which is from the bottom of the wall up, is adopted here.[287]

Register 1

At the far right of the register, a lector priest reads from a scroll. He faces the on-coming procession of men and oxen who drag the sarcophagus. The record of this section of the procession varies with Settgast and Altenmüller depicting far more detail than either Virey or Hawass. The next section is severely damaged. Virey has no record of this area. Hawass has little detail recorded, however, at least four men can be identified (Figure 4.8.13).

[284] Davies, *Rekh-Mì-Rē*, 71.
[285] Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, 17.
[286] Abdul-Qader, *Funerary Beliefs,* 162.
[287] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* pl.XIV.

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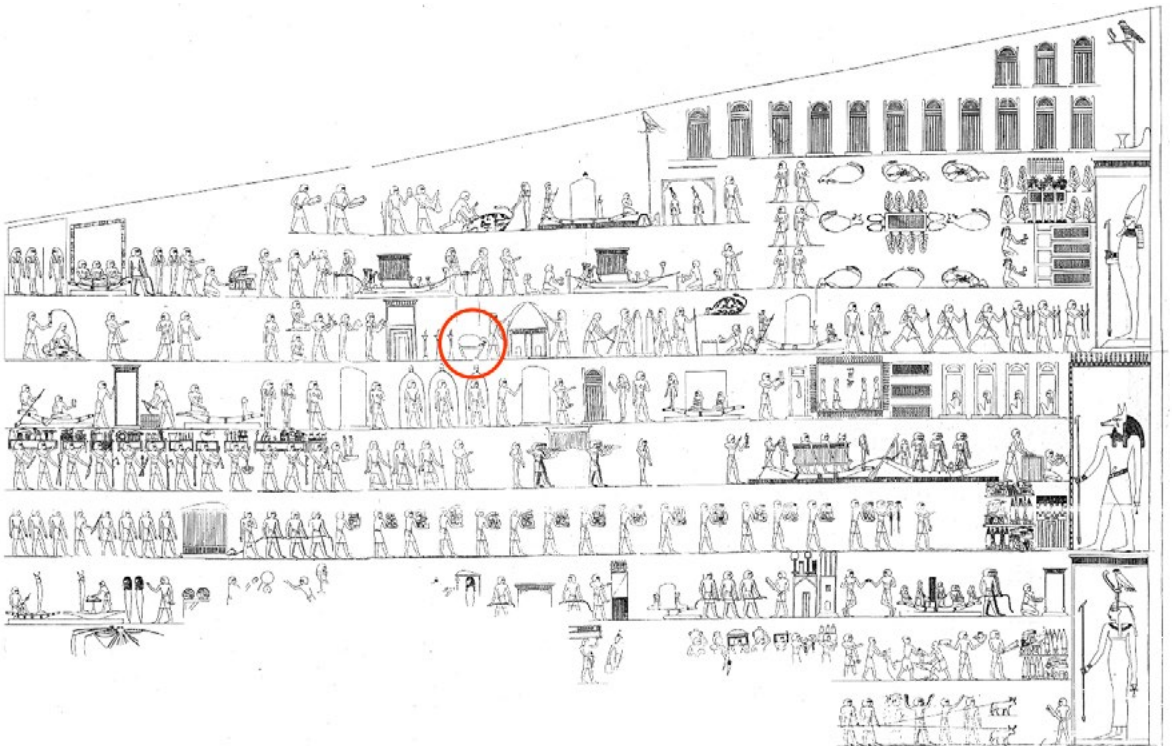

Figure 4.8.8. TT 100.. Funerary scene.
Source: Virey, *Rekhmara*, pl. XIX.

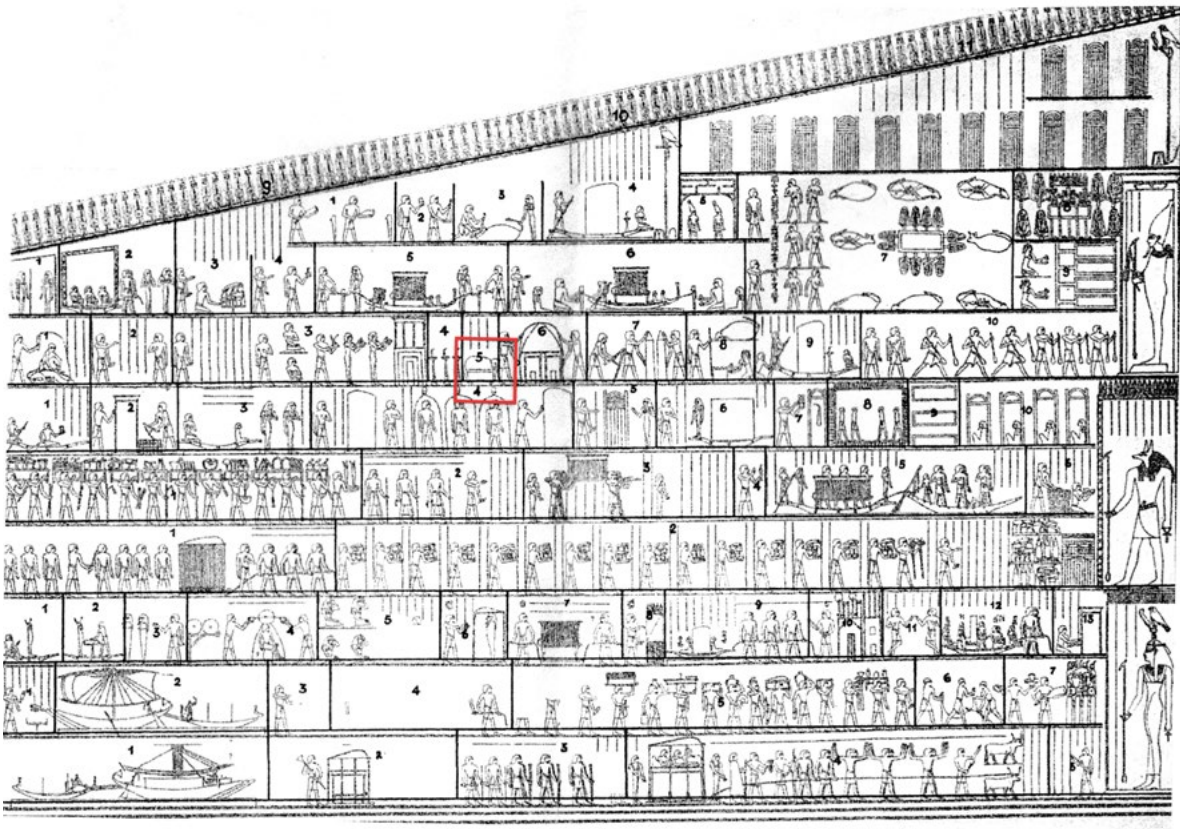

Figure 4.8.9. TT 100. Funerary scene.
Source: Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, pl. XIV.

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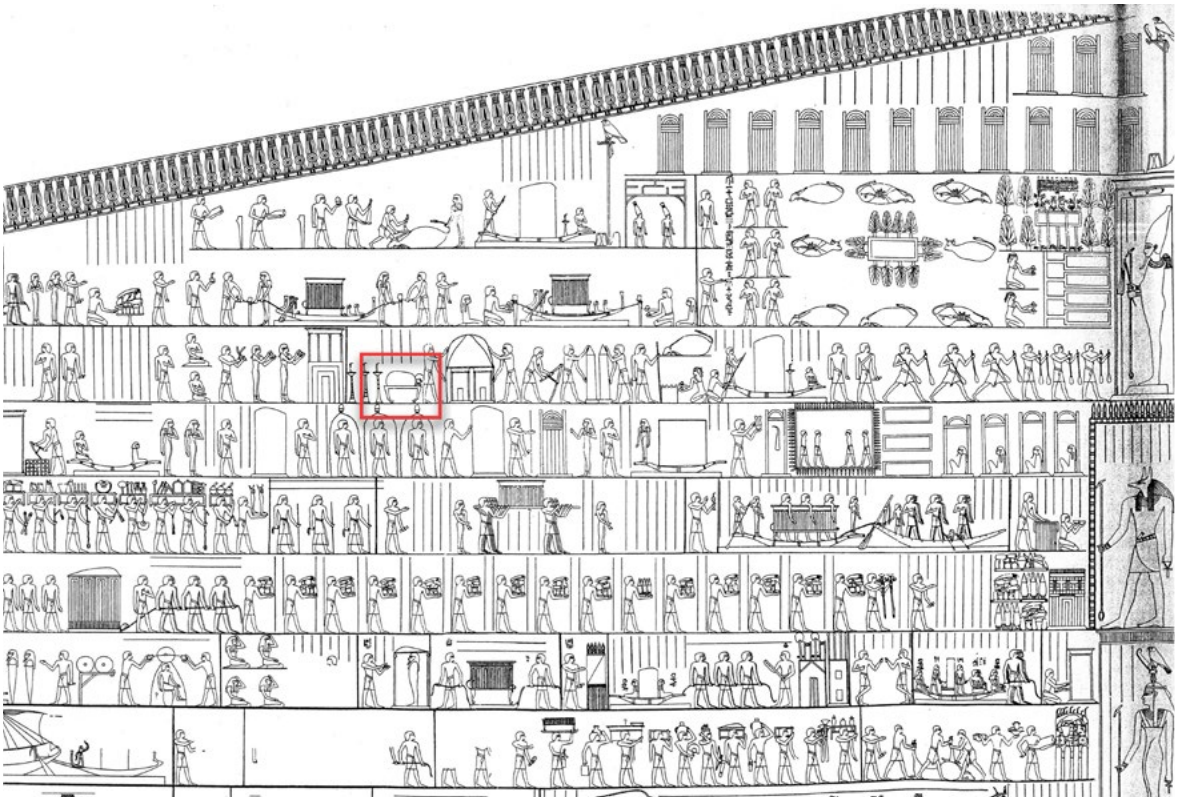

Figure 4.8.10. TT 100. Funerary scene.
Source: Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*. pl. XXIV.

In contrast, Settgast and Altenmüller record a procession of eight men and, after a lacuna, what appears to be the canopic chest on a sledge followed by the boat journey to Abydos. It is impossible to account for the discrepancies.

Both the earliest and latest attested records, that of Virey 1889 and Hawass 2009, are virtually identical. However, Settgast's 1965 and Altenmüller's 1972 drawings contain more detail, that is, more men, the canopic chest and more detailed journey to Abydos.[288]

Thomas suggests that the sledge-drawn *Tekenu* would have appeared in the funeral procession of TT 100 but that the area had been destroyed.[289] Settgast seemingly agrees with this view, as he records the *Tekenu* as being dragged on a sledge, in TT 100 (Figure 4.8.14).[290]

Tassie records the *Tekenu* as being depicted 'tightly wrapped in a hide, being pulled on a sledge' in TT 100.[291] Neither Thomas, Settgast nor Tassie detail the whereabouts of this *Tekenu*, however one may assume, if it did occur in this form, it would have been at this point of the procession. In numerous depictions of the funerary procession the *Tekenu* appears in the sequence: sarcophagus, *Tekenu*, canopic chest; [292] sarcophagus, canopic chest, *Tekenu;* [293]*Tekenu*, canopic chest, sarcophagus; [294] *Tekenu*, sarcophagus, canopic chest [295] or canopic chest, *Tekenu*, sarcophagus. [296] Unfortunately, due to the damage, any suggestion that the *Tekenu* did occur here remains tantalisingly speculative.

[288] Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē*, pls XCII, XCIII, XCIV also supports the pictorial record of Virey and Hawass.
[289] Thomas, *AE* 1/2 (1923), 49.
[290] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* pl. IV. The images he portrays are, however, recorded as speculation as indicated by the sloping lines.
[291] Tassie, *PIA* 11 (2000), 32.
[292] TT 24, TT 55. *Tekenu* and canopic chest side by side: TT 12, TT 36, TT 60.
[293] TT 92, TT 147.
[294] TT 17, TT 42.
[295] TT 49, TT 78, TT 284.
[296] TT 53.

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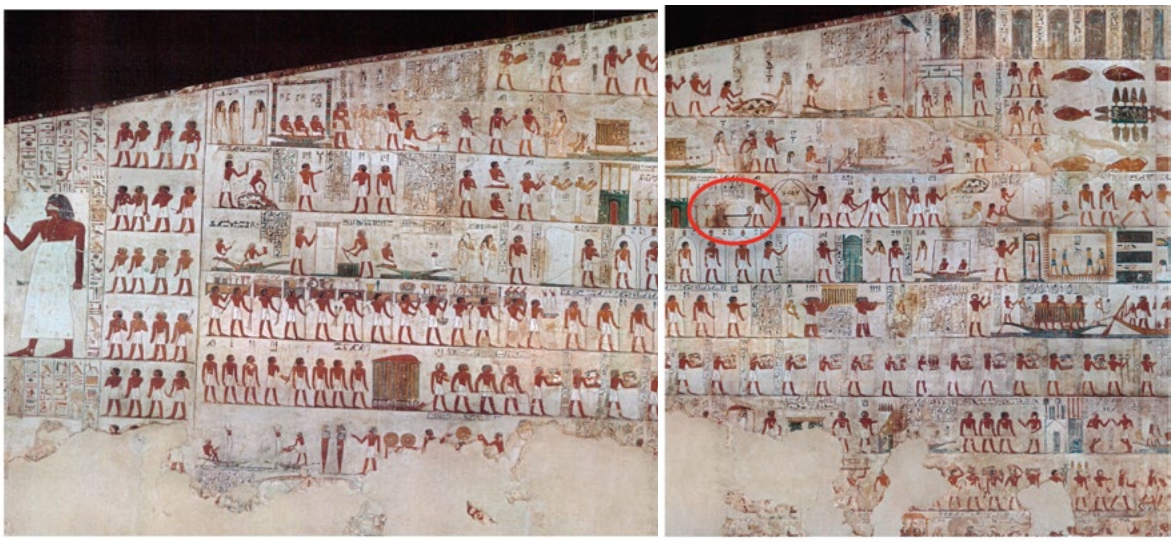

Figure 4.8.11. TT 100. Funerary scene.
Source: Hawass, *Life* 19–21.

Figure 4.8.12. TT 100. The *Tekenu* in immediate context.
Source: Hawass, *Life,* 20, detail.

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Figure 4.8.13. TT 100 Remnants of four men. Source: Hawass, *Life*, 20, detail.

Drawing by J. West.

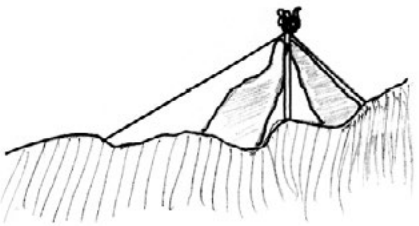
Figure 4.8.14. TT 100. The *Tekenu* followed by the canopic chest. Source: Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, pl. IV, detail.

Register 2

What remains of this register depicts the bearing of funerary furniture and offerings, the slaughtering of an ox, and an offering table before which there is a presentation of a heart and haunch of an ox. Settgast also records men dragging something unidentifiable by a rope and, after a lacuna, the return voyage from Abydos, including boat censing and purification.[297] Virey and Hawass record part of a mast and sail (Figure 4.8.15) and Davies the stern of a boat,[298] also suggesting the likelihood that part of the ritual return voyage from Abydos is depicted.

Figure 4.8.15. TT 100. Remnants of mast and sail. Source: Hawass, *Life*, 19.

Drawing by J. West.



Register 3

This register is devoted to two different scene groups with what Settgast describes as a 'hyphen', which bears no relationship to either of the other scenes, separating them.[299] On the right-hand side, the first scene depicts a figure before a shrine, the journey to the Delta district and the *Mww*-dancers. Then follows a chest upon a lion-legged bed (the hyphen). The bed is itself upon a sledge that men are pulling in both directions. Then follow various vignettes with rites before the mummy and the cleansing of the deceased, who is purified by water seemingly strained through a sieve. The register ends with a sailing boat bearing a statue that is adorned with the crown of Lower Egypt.

[297] See fig. 4.8.14.
[298] Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē*, pl. XCIV; Virey, see fig.4.8.8; Hawass see fig. 4.8.15.
[299] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 109.

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Register 4

This register depicts the bearing of offerings and the dragging of the sarcophagus towards Anubis.

Register 5

What remains of this register is devoted to: the bearing of funerary furniture and royal statues; the coffin borne to a boat and then prepared for disembarkation; the consecration of an ointment box and the presentation, by a kneeling figure, of two pots.

Register 6

This register is reserved for a partial representation of the Holy District, interspersed with other funerary ritual. These depictions can be summarised as gods revealed in four chapels; infernal lakes of Khepri, Heket, Sokar; four armless men in a walled enclosure; a flame in a shrine; two men kneeling in a boat; a chapel and dedication scenes; the individual cleansing of three men; further dedication and boat scenes. Then follows a man digging a rectangular place, which might signify the tomb in the form of a mastaba or the land allotted to the deceased.[300] Alternatively this could be interpreted as a man tilling a garden.[301] Perhaps the ambiguity is intentional. The register concludes with another shrine and a boat with a man carrying offerings of oxen parts.

Register 7

This register is dominated by selected vignettes from the Holy District.[302] These include a lector priest attending a tethered ox, a kneeling woman presenting two pots before an altar, the resurrection of two obelisks and the hacking of the ground. However, some scholars contend that not all scenes, in this register, can be said to relate to the Holy District. The dedication of oars before Osiris, the boat with a shrine and incense and the purification of two shrines would not normally appear in this context.[303] This apparent 'disorder' might be due to the shape of the wall.[304]

The men erecting the obelisks and the man hacking the ground are identified as *rḫ nsw* 'acquaintance of the king' (Figure 4.8.16).

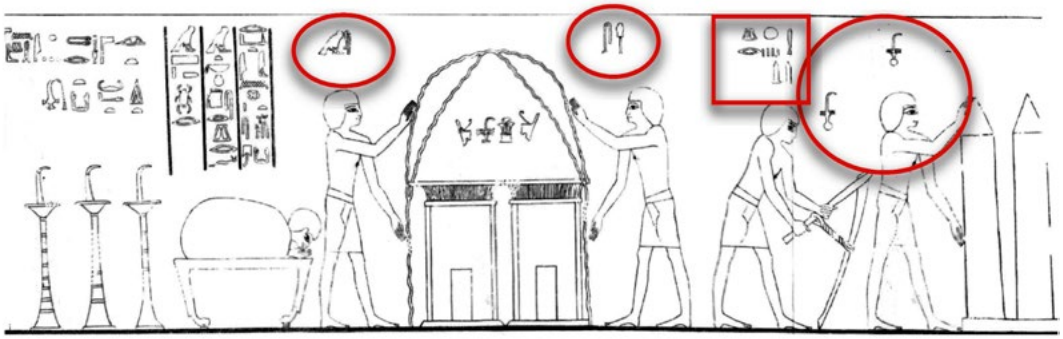

Figure 4.8.16. TT 100. The *Tekenu* in context. Text discussed indicated.
Source: Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē* pl. LXXXIII, detail.

The text above the man hacking the ground reads:

ḥm sp 4 *ḥr tḫn.wy* detail of Figure 4.8.16	breaking/hitting four times under the two obelisks

[300] Abdul-Qader, *Funerary Beliefs,* 163.
[301] Hodel-Hoenes, *Life and Death*, 165.
[302] See Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* chapter VII for a detailed record of the Holy District.
[303] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 92 concedes that the content of the Holy District is contentious.
[304] Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē*, 71.

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The two men purifying the shrines are identified as *smr* ‘ friend/courtier’ and *sm* ‘priest’ (Figure 4.8.16). Next appears the *Tekenu*.

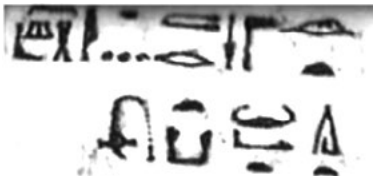
The *Tekenu* is depicted lying on, what Thomas determines is, ‘a bull-legged couch’.[305] It is, however, questionable whether, rather, the table has lion legs. The *Tekenu* is shown as being completely enveloped in a white covering except for the head, hand and part of an arm. A wig or hair, an eye, mouth and a hand with palm facing upwards are revealed. Above the *Tekenu* appears the text:

rḏ.t ỉyỉ(.t) n bb.t/ nỉw.t mskȝ
m tkn.w sḏr ḫr=f
m š ḫpr

Causing a coming to the hole/city, (with) a hide as a *Tekenu*; sleeping under it in the pool of Becoming.

Detail of Figure 4.8.12. Text reproduced by Hayes.

Following the *Tekenu* are three flaming torches above which appears the text:



ỉrỉ.t sntr ỉn ḫr.y-ḥȝb(.t) a censing by the lector priest

rḏỉ.t wḥʿ.t(w) tkȝ causing that the torch/flame be released.

Detail of Figure 4.8.12.

It is questionable whether the vignettes containing the *Tekenu* and the lamps should be read together or interpreted separately. However, it has been suggested that the torches were lit as a form of protection for ‘the sleeping *Tekenu*’.[306]

After the torches appears a *pr dwȝ.t* ‘cleansing chapel’.[307] before which four priests, including a lector priest and two kites perform a ritual The register concludes with two vignettes of lector priests reciting and a scene of bovine sacrifice.

Registers 8 and 9

These registers are severely restricted by the shape of the wall. On the far right-hand side representations of the Holy District occupy both registers. Then the registers split into two individual registers, most likely to be read side by side.

Register 8 The deceased arrives at the Holy District, rituals of censing; offerings and the arrival of officials.

Register 9 *Mww*-dancers in their hall, a large falcon on stand, a boat with naos and candle; the slaughter of an ox and four men carrying parts of it.

Registers 10 and 11

These registers are devoted to fourteen closed shrines.

[305] Thomas, *AE 1/2* (1923), 49.
[306] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 92.
[307] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 87; Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 299.

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3A.4 *Dwɜ.wj-r-nḥḥ* (TT125)

Location: Thebes, Shaykh ʻAbd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 237–241, TT 125.
Date: 18.05, PM I/1, 237.
Form: 3A.

Selected Titles: First herald, Overseer of the estate of Amūn.

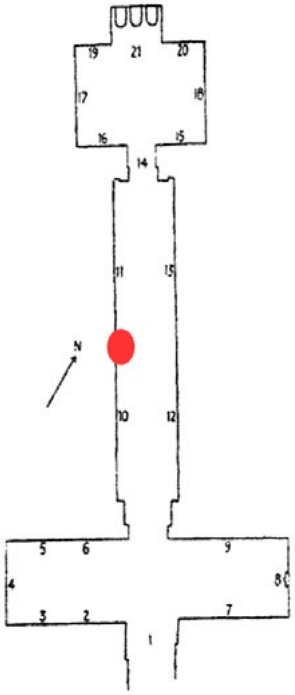

Figure 4.8.17. TT 125. Tomb plan: PM I/1, 238.

The funerary procession is located on the southwestern wall of the passageway (Figure 4.8.17). As there is no detailed tomb report or extensive pictorial record for TT 125, PM, Eggebrecht and Eggebrecht (Figures 4.8.18–4.8.19), and Wohlfarth are relied upon for the interpretation of the five relevant registers.[308] The *Tekenu*, classified as Type 3A, is depicted in the top register.

The funerary procession proceeds towards the Goddess of the West. Register one includes the funeral outfit, standards, the *Tekenu* and the Abydos voyage. Register two also depicts the Abydos voyage. There is no record of registers three and four. *Mww*-dancers are shown in register five.[309]

The *Tekenu* is recumbent on a lion-legged table. A light-coloured material [310] covers all except its head, neck and hand. The head is detailed showing hair, or a wig, nose, eye, which is possibly outlined, mouth and chin. A hand, which displays fingers, turns upwards so as to almost support the chin. The *Tekenu* is positioned between two sets of officials. On the left-hand side are two erected obelisks made of rose granite.[311] Behind the second obelisk and the official before it are the remnants of an implement for breaking up the earth.

Figure 4.8.18. TT 125. The *Tekenu*. Source: Eggebrecht and Eggebrecht, Pelizaeus-Museum n. 263.

[308] PM I/1, 240; Eggebrecht, E. and A., *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum* (Mainz, 1987), 314–315; Wohlfarth, S., *Grabbeigaben im Flachbild der Privatgräber des Neuen Reiches* (Munich, 2005), 139.
[309] PM I/1, 240; Wohlfarth, *Grabbeigaben,* 139.
[310] Eggebrecht and Eggebrech, Pelizaeus-Museum no. 263, 314 records the covering as ‘fur’.
[311] Eggebrecht and Eggebrech, Pelizaeus-Museum, 314.

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Figure 4.8.19. TT 125. Raising the obelisk and part of an hoe.
Source: Eggebrecht and Eggebrecht, *Pelizaeus-Museum* n. 264.

Figure 4.8.20. TT 125. The *Tekenu* on table.
Source: Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* pl. X, detail.

The text above the *Tekenu* reads:

rḏ.t ỉyỉ(.t) n bb(.t)/nỉw.t mskɜ
m tkn.w sḏr
rḏỉ(.t) sgr m š ḫpr

Causing a coming to the hole/city, (with) a hide as a *Tekenu*; sleeping; causing silence in the pool of Becoming.

Detail of Figure 4.8.18. Text reproduced by Hayes.

Settgast records two *Tekenu* in this this tomb, one on the table (Figure 4.8.20) and one dragged on a sledge (Figure 4.8.21).[312] Settgast's record of the latter cannot be verified. As the vertical lines indicate damaged area (Figure 4.8.21), no further comment is made here.

Figure 4.8.21. TT 125. Suggested *Tekenu* on sledge.
Source: Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, pl. IV, detail.

[312] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* pls X, IV.

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3A.5 *Jmn-m-jnt* (TT 276)

Location: Thebes, Qurnet Mura'i.
Identification: PM I/1, 352–353; TT 276.
Date: 18.08 (?) PM I/1, 352; 18.0.6–18.07 Kampp, 547.
Form: 3A.

Selected Titles: Overseer of the treasury of gold and silver, Judge, Overseer of the cabinet.

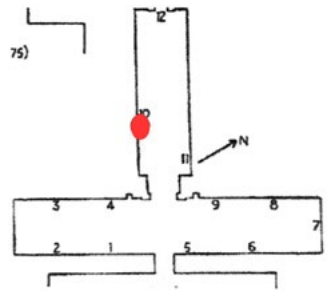

Figure 4.8.22. TT 276. Tomb plan: PM I/1, 348.

The funerary procession appears on the western wall of the inner room (Figure 4.8.22). It occupies four registers. The *Tekenu*, classified as Type 3A, is depicted in the fourth register. A detailed report for this tomb is unavailable, consequently the analysis of the *Tekenu* in context relies on the records of PM, El-Shahaway (Figure 4.8.24)[313] and the pertinent Schott photos 4314 and 4316 (Figures 4.8.23, 4.8.25).

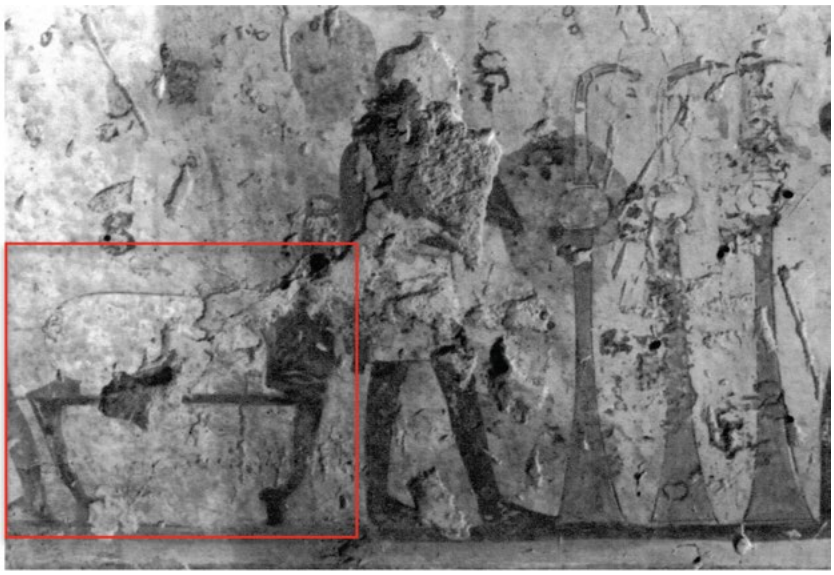

Figure 4.8.23. TT 276. The *Tekenu*. Source: Schott 4314. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford and theSchott-Archiv Ägyptologie der Universität Trier

Figure 4.8.24. TT 276. The *Tekenu*. Source: El-Shahaway, *Funerary Art*, fig. 42.

Figure 4.8.25. TT 276. The *Tekenu*. Source: Schott 4316. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford and theSchott-Archiv Ägyptologie der Universität Trier

[313] PM I/1, 353.; El-Shahaway, *Funerary Art*, 54–55.

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All registers flow towards a large depiction of the Goddess of the West.

The first register contains funerary furniture and a boat containing the sarcophagus, which is attended by Anubis.

The second register depicts dancers, possibly *Mww*-dancers.

The third register shows some of the *nine friends* and the mummy being attended to on a bier.[314]

The fourth register, consisting of scenes of the Holy District may be reconstructed using the available records [315] as pool, setting up of obelisks, the *Tekenu*; man with three torches on stands, and a man presenting offerings in front of a false door.[316] The *Tekenu* is of definite human form. Although the torso is concealed by a light-coloured covering, at the front of the figure the neck, head and a hand protrude. The head is detailed displaying hair, or a dark wig, a black-highlighted eye, nose, mouth and chin. The hand is upturned towards the chin and reveals fingers. A small part of a foot possibly protrudes at the rear and rests on the edge of the table. Another possibility is that it is not a foot, but part of the table. The *Tekenu* is recumbent on a lion-legged table.

4.9 TYPE 3B

3B.1 *Jmn-m-jpɜ.t* (TT 41)

Location: Thebes, Al' Asasif.
Identification: PM I/1, 78–81; TT 41.
Date: 19.01–19.02. PM I/1, 78.
Form: 3B.

Selected Title: Chief steward of Amūn in the Southern City.

The funerary procession, which occupies five registers, is depicted on the southern wall and part of the eastern wall of the hall (Figure 4.9.1). The *Tekenu,* classified as Type 3B, is shown in the second register from the top of the southern section.

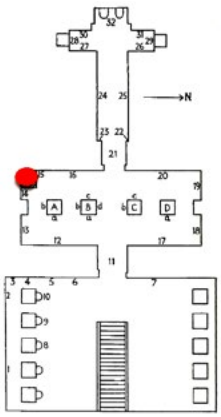

Figure 4.9.1.
T 41. Tomb plan:
PM I/1, 80.

Figure 4.9.2.
TT 41. The *Tekenu* beside naos on sledge.
Source: Assman, Amenemope, pl.XXXV, detail

The right-hand side of the top register is devoted to vignettes illustrating rituals of the Holy District. At the far right-hand side, the funerary bier is borne by men from the Holy District. It is followed by a pool surrounded by trees, two females presenting *nw* pots before the four ponds; *pr-nw* shrines, two *Mww*-dancers, two men raising two obelisks, and a shrine that is being fashioned, or adjusted, by a man with a hoe.

[314] PM I/1, 353.
[315] PM I/1, 353; El-Shahaway, *Funerary Art,* 54–55.
[316] PM I/1, 353.

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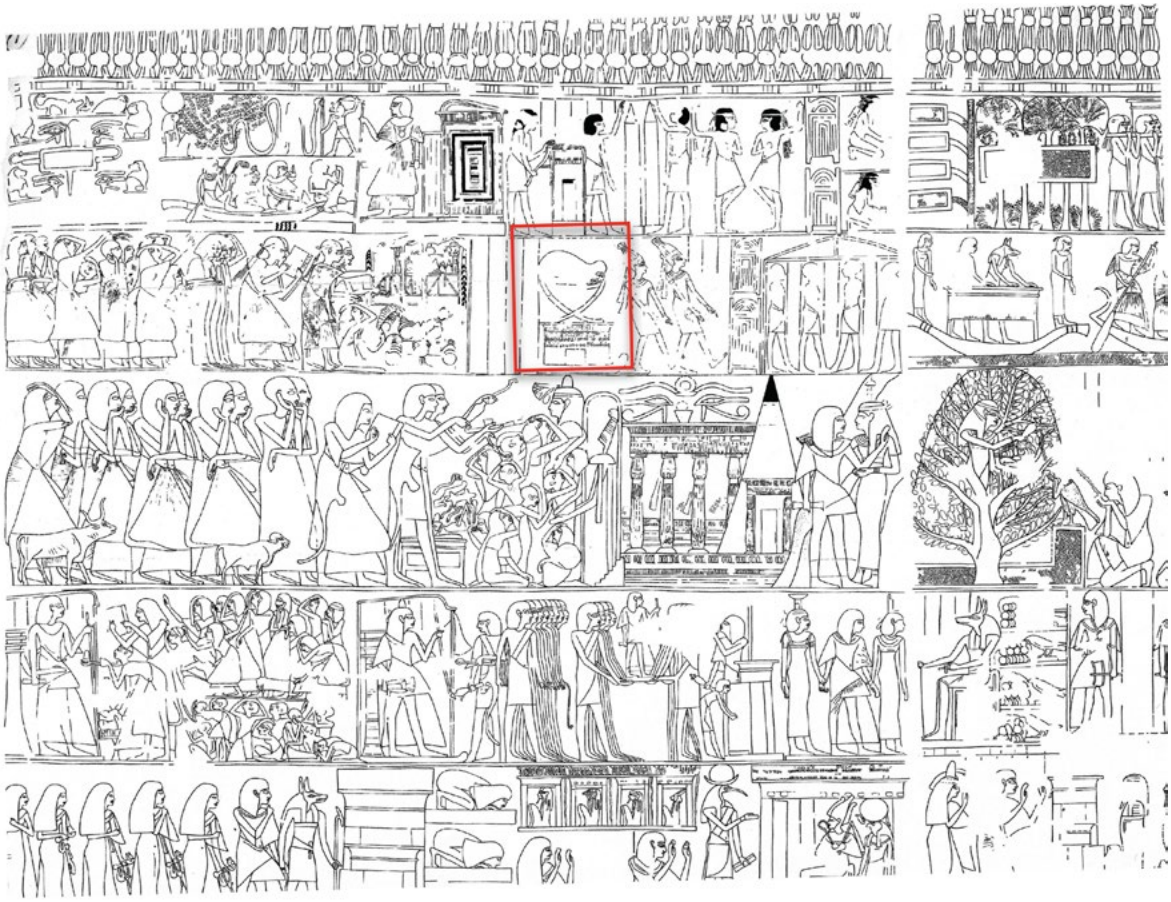

Figure 4.9.3. TT 41. The funerary scene.
Source: Assmann, *Amenemope*, pl.XXXV.

The left-hand side of the top register seemingly bears no relationship to that of the right. The tomb owner stands in front of a shrine that appears to have its door opened. He is not facing the shrine but rather watches the previous scenes, which include the thwarting of Apophis, men on a boat, and baboons and *wḏȝ.t* eyes surrounding a rectangular enclosure.

The right-hand side of the next register contains a further depiction of the Holy District. Two boats journey presumably to Sais. In one of the boats, a priest portraying Anubis tends the funerary bier. Then follow two-by-two armless men who guard the entry to the netherworld, two *Mww*-dancers perform before two *pr-nw* shrines and then follows the *Tekenu.*

The image of the *Tekenu* is complex and is here deconstructed and interpreted based on an understanding of the principles of Egyptian art and the use of linear perspective to attain the impression of depth yet portrayed on a flat surface (Figure 4.9.5).[317] Four elements are here present: an amorphous recumbent figure, a collapsible stool, a shrine, and a sledge (Figure 4.9.6).

As no sensible interpretation can be made of the combination of the four elements on top of each other, one must consider that the artist is using linear perspective. This allows the components to be interpreted as juxtaposed or adjacent. Other tombs have sub-registers with a representation of the *Tekenu* in one and the canopic chest in the other, thus appearing to be side by side.[318] Hence the image may be read as the *Tekenu* appearing as a black[319] crouching figure, enshrouded apart from the hands, which shield and cup its face. The *Tekenu* is recumbent upon a collapsible stool which,

[317] See Schäfer, *Principles*, chapter 4 especially 4.3.7, fig. 164.
[318] TT 12, TT 81.
[319] Assmann, J., *Des Grab des Amenemope TT 41* (Mainz, 1991), 93. The colours of the *Tekenu* cannot be verified.

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according to Assmann, has red legs, a red seat and a black bottom.[320] Beside the *Tekenu* is a sledge bearing a naos that possibly contains the canopic jars. The sledge has an upturned front but, unlike other representations, it appears to be stationary, as there is no evidence of its being dragged.

Figure 4.9.4. TT 41. The *Tekenu*. Source: Assmann, *Amenemope*, pl. XXXV. 195

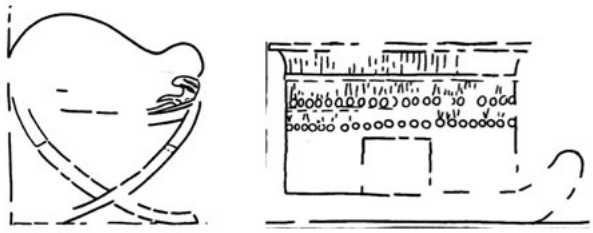

Figure 4.9.5. TT 41. Deconstruction of the image, Figure 4.9.4, into two elements. *Tekenu*/chair and naos/sledge

Figure 4.9.6. TT 41. Deconstruction of the image, Figure 4.9.4, into four elements, *Tekenu*, chair, naos and, sledge.

The left-hand side of the register contains a scene of demonstratively grieving individuals before a varied accumulation of offerings and four blank columns that once might have been inscribed.[321]

The next three registers are dominated by vignettes of mourning and funerary ritual before a variety of gods.

[320] Assmann, *Amenemope,* 93. The colours cannot be verified.
[321] Ibid.

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4.10 TYPE 4

4.1 *Ḏḥwtj* (TT 11)

Location: Thebes, Dra Abu al Naga.
Identification: PM I/1, 21–24, TT 11.
Date: 18.05–18.06, PM I/1, 21.
Form: 4.

Selected Title: Overseer of the treasury.

This tomb is unpublished. The record of Serrano Delgado[322] is relied upon for comment. As the exact position of the scene containing the *Tekenu,* is not identified, except to say it is in 'the inner shrine,'[323] no tomb plan has been included.

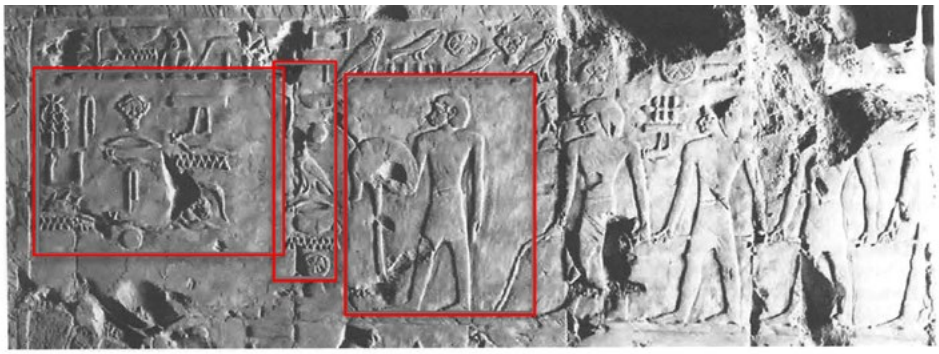

Figure 4.10.1. TT 11. The *Tekenu* and text indicated.
Source: Serrano Delgado *ZÄS* 138 (2011), fig. IX.

On the right hand side of Figure 4.10.1, four men clutch a rope and presumably haul something that is not shown. They are preceded by another figure. This figure is distinguished from the other figures by a short wig and uncovered ear. Those who follow have longer wigs and no protruding ears.[324] This individual holds a standard upon that is draped an object which has a longer right-hand side piece and a shorter left side piece. Directly in front of this figure appears the text:

tkn.w m rk n(.y) *nỉw.t*
the *Tekenu* being in the vicinity of the city.

Detail of Figure 4.10.1

This translation relies on translating *rk* as indicating spatial proximity.[325] It is possible, however, to interpret *m rk* as a compound preposition and 'city' as 'necropolis'. Hence another possible translation is: ' the *Tekenu* (is) in the necropolis'.[326]

Concluding the image is the text:

[322] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 160–162.
[323] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 160.
[324] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 161.
[325] See Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 511.
[326] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011.), 161.

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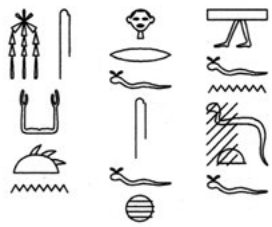

Detail of Figure 4.10.1. Text reproduced by Hayes.

msḳ ꜣ n(.y)
ḥr(.w)=f sfḫ(.w)
šm=f n ḏ.t=f

the hide of
its /his upper part is loosened/ released
when he goes to his body/ that he might go to his body.

4.2 *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f* (TT 20)

The Type 4 *Tekenu* in this tomb is discussed in 4.4 the analysis of Type 1C *Tekenu*.

4.11 THE ATYPICAL CASES OF TT A26, TT 112 AND TT 224

TT A 26

Location: Thebes, Dra Abu al Naga.
Identification: PM I/1, 454–455, TT A26.
Date: Ramesside PM I/1, 454.
Form: ?

Selected Titles: none attested.

There is little record of this tomb and no tomb plan is available. The only relevant extant pictorial record is Hay drawing MSS 29824, 21 verso and 22. (Figures 4.11.1, 4.11.3)This records part of the wall opposite the entrance, which is described by PM as a 'funeral procession'.[327] Hay describes this merely as 'a procession...(with) many lines of hieroglyphs' but infers that it is a funerary procession as there is 'a boat with a gazelle's head-a sarcophagus in it'.[328] Manniche suggests it was 'clearly more of a festive nature...with details similar to a representation in the second court at Medinet Habu',[329] which records the festival of Sokar and Min. These two deities played a role in the myths of resurrection and rebirth,[330] hence their depiction on the wall of the burial chamber. Despite the differences in categorisation of the procession both PM and Manniche record the presence of the *Tekenu,* albeit in different positions. PM states:

> *Funeral procession with boat carried by priests, standard-bearers, man carrying statue of Min, bouquet, teknu, Anubis with tambourine.*[331]

The quotation above shows that PM places the occurrence of the *Tekenu* in the space between the figure bearing the long pole with a bouquet and feathers and Anubis holding a tambourine (Figure 4.11.1).

[327] PM I/1, 455.
[328] Hay MSS 29824, 21–22 verso. Unfortunately the hieroglyphs are not recorded.
[329] Manniche, *Lost Ramessid*, 62; Hay, 21, also acknowledges this similarity.
[330] Manniche, *Lost Ramessid,* 63.
[331] PM I/1, 455.

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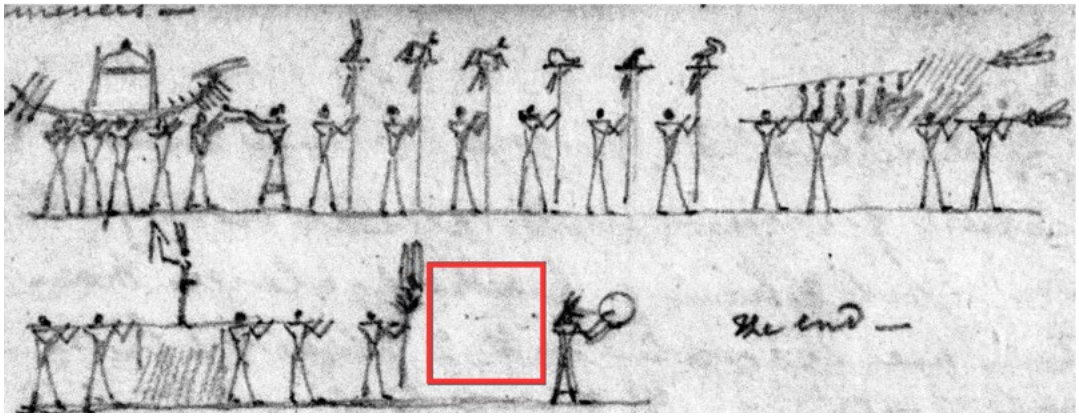

Figure 4.11.1. TT A 26. The procession indicating where PM places the *Tekenu*.
Source: Hay MSS 29824, 22 Courtesy of the British Library Board.

Manniche quotes Hay's description of the procession (Figure 4.11.2) but includes her own interpretation:

> *....standard bearers carrying the hawk, 2 foxes, a [here follows a sketch of a Tekenu], the hawk and an ibis.*[332]

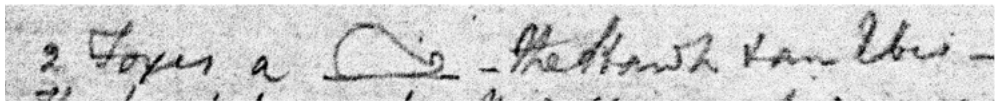

Figure 4.11.2. TT A 26. Hay's record of standards.
Source: Hay MSS 29824, 21, verso, detail.Courtesy of the British Library Board.

As Hay has sketched a figure but not identified it, the classification '*Tekenu*' is that of Manniche. Contrary to PM, Manniche records the *Tekenu* as occurring on a pole as part of the procession of standard bearers (Figure 4.11.3).

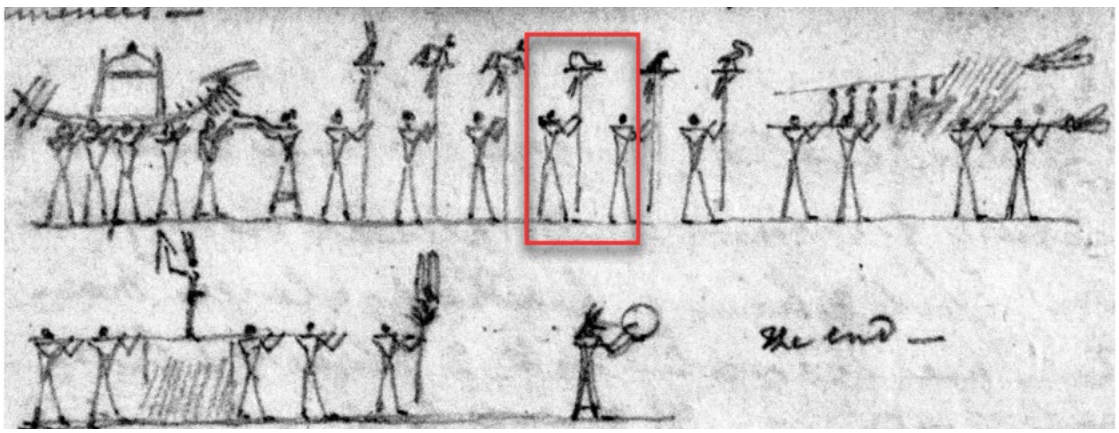

Figure 4.11.3. TT A 26. The procession indicating Manniche's positioning of the *Tekenu*.
Source: Hay MSS29824,22 Courtesy of the British Library Board.

The procession begins with Anubis beating a tambourine followed by a lacuna (where PM records the *Tekenu*), a figure bearing a pole with a bouquet and feathers, four men bearing a pole on their shoulders upon which is a statue of Min, four men carrying two poles between which is something the nature of which is indiscernible, six standard bearers, one of which Manniche identifies as holding a standard with the *Tekenu* atop, a priest, and the boat of Sokar.[333]

[332] Manniche, *Lost Ramessid,* 62.
[333] Manniche, *Lost Ramessid,* 62 identifies the boat as such.

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Mn-ḫpr-R'-snb. **(TT 112)**

Location: Thebes, Shaykh 'Abd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 229–230; TT 112.
Date: 18.06 PM I/1, 229; 18.06–18.07, Kampp, 392.
Form: unknown, only textual reference.

Selected Title: First prophet of Amūn.

There is no pictorial evidence attesting to the existence of the *Tekenu* in TT 112 and PM has no recording of the *Tekenu*'s occurrence in this tomb. The only evidence extant is in Davies' documentation of a different tomb where he notes the hieroglyphs mentioning the *Tekenu* in TT 112 (Figure 4.11.4).[334] It is impossible from the evidence to suggest the position in this tomb for the depiction of the *Tekenu.* Accordingly no tomb plan is provided. The text reads:

[*sṯꜣ*] *tkn.w ỉn r(m)ṯ(.t) Ḳd sꜣ.w Srḳ.t*
*prỉ.t nw.t ꜥḳ-prỉ.t sp-*4 *ỉn spꜣ.t* {*n*} *ỉdn mḥ.t š.w Ḥḳ.t*

'the dragging of the *Tekenu* by the people of Ked and the Serket-ritualist, the city's procession, the entry and exit four times by the whole district, replenishing the fullness of the pools of Heket.'

Figure 4.11.4. TT 112. Text.
Source; Davies Amenemhēt, 51, n. 2.

Jꜥḥ-ms **(TT 224)**

Location: Thebes, Shaykh 'Abd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 325; TT 224.
Date: 18.05–18.06, PM I/1 325.
Form: unknown, only textual reference.

Selected Titles: Overseer of the estate of the god's wife, Overseer of the two granaries of the god's wife.

There is no pictorial evidence attesting to the existence of the *Tekenu* in this tomb. PM records that the funerary procession, which is depicted in the vestibule, occupies four registers and that the *Tekenu* appears in the first register along with 'dragging shrines and...bringing funeral out fit' (Figure 4.11.5).[335] Davies' documentation of a different tomb notes the hieroglyphs mentioning the *Tekenu* in TT 224 (Figure 4.11.6).[336]

sṯꜣ tkn.w ỉn r(m)ṯ(.t) Ḳd sꜣ.w Srḳ.t
'the dragging of the *Tekenu* by the people of Ked and the Serket-ritualist'.

Figure 4.11.6. TT 224. Text.
Source: Davies Amenemhēt, 51, n. 2.

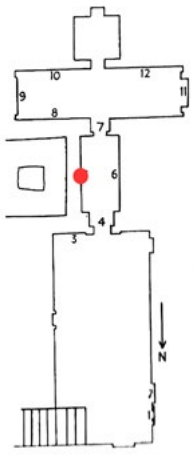

Figure 4.11.5. TT 224. Tomb plan PM I/1, 318.

[334] Davies, *Amenemhēt,* 51, n. 2.
[335] PM I/1 325.
[336] Davies, *Amenemhēt,* 51, n. 2.

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4.12 Disputed and miscellaneous occurrences of the *Tekenu*

Wsr (TT 21)

Location: Thebes, Shaykh ʻAbd al Qurnah.
Identification: PM I/1, 35–37, TT 21.
Date: 18.03, PM I/1, 35; 18.03-18.06, Kampp, 203.
Form: of image discussed: human, sitting on haunches, on table.

Selected Titles: Scribe, Steward to Tuthmosis 1.

The funerary procession is depicted on the southern wall of the passage (Figure 4.12.1). There is controversy as to whether this contains an image of the *Tekenu.* Due to the fragmentary nature of the pictorial record and the lack of hieroglyphic text, a combination of the interpretations of PM, Davies and Wohlfarth is used for analysis.[337]

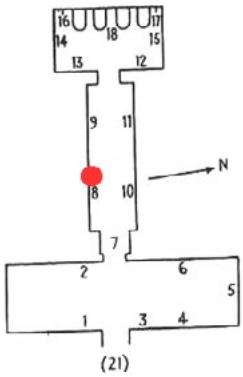

Figure 4.12.1. TT 21. Tomb plan: PM I/1, 30.

Figure 4.12.2. TT 21. The figure discussed indicated.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* pl. XXI, detail.

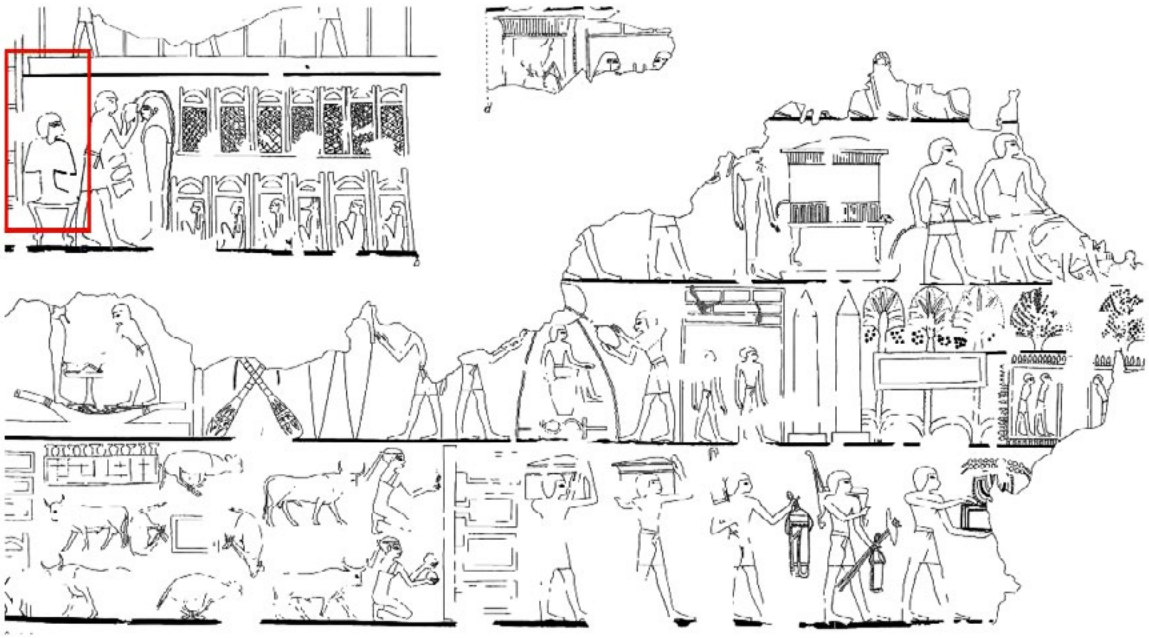

Figure 4.12.3. TT 21. The funerary scene.
Source: Davies, *Theban Tombs* pl. XXI.

[337] PM, I/1, 36; Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 24–25; Wohlfarth, *Grabbeigaben,* 8.

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The funerary procession, which is illustrated in four registers, proceeds towards a large image of the Goddess of the West.[338]

The top register is so fragmentary that only speculation is possible as to its contents. Both Davies and Wohlfarth contend that it would have shown the sarcophagus being conveyed to the tomb, while PM suggests it depicted the Abydos pilgrimage.[339]

The second register illustrates the canopic jars, or possibly oils, on a lion-legged bed upon a sledge being dragged by two men. This is accompanied by numerous people, and then follows a large lacuna. The register continues with twelve shrines, six closed and six with gods. These shrines precede the upright coffin, which is being purified with water by a priest. Next is a cloaked person seated upon a lion-legged couch who appears to be observing the previous ceremony. PM records this image as a 'cloaked priest *waking*'; Davies states it is ' a *sem* priest muffled in a robe, who acts in dumb show the rehabilitation of the dead', and Wohlfarth states it is a *Tekenu*.[340] Serrano Delgado also attests to the representation of the *Tekenu* here:

> *...an atypical representation of the Tekenu sitting on a bed, wrapped in the characteristic hide, but adopting a pose that strongly reminds the observer of the sem-priest from scenes 9 and 10 of the Opening of the Mouth with arms and shoulders clearly marked under the shroud.*[341]

The author contends that this image is not a *Tekenu* but rather a priest, likely a sem priest. It does not comply with any of the identification criteria established in section 3.4. and bears resemblance to the priests and sem priests in Figures 4.12.5 and 4.12.6.

The next register illustrates the Holy District with armless men, a tree framed pool, two obelisks and two men within a structure. One would expect these individuals to be *Mww*-dancers but the normal depiction of their stance and headdress is lacking. This is followed by a libation ceremony and remnants of other funeral rituals.

The last register illustrates: bearers of funerary furniture; two kneeling women presenting offerings before four ponds; tethered and untethered cattle and shrines.

Ḏḥwtj-msj (*Pɜ-rɜ.j*) **(TT 295)**

The eastern wall of the hall, which depicts some of the funerary ritual, has been severely damaged.[342] Scholars agree that there is not a depiction of a *Tekenu* in this tomb, hence no tomb plan or details of the tomb owner are provided. The tomb is included in this data as it serves to aid in the classification of what is and is not a *Tekenu*. The hieroglyphs associated with the figure discussed also require comment.

PM records part of the funerary scene as being contained in two rows and as illustrating rites before mummies that include two cloaked priests 'sleeping' and 'waking' (Figures 4.12.4, 4.12.5).[343] Hegazy and Tosi interpret the scene as depicting the upright mummy undergoing a 'series of rites' and the *sm*-priest 'performing his duties'.[344] A similar depiction of this image in TT 100 is identified by the hieroglyphs as a *sm* (Figure 4.12.6) and Davies describes this image as 'the *sem* priest on a couch, acting the part of one prostrated by despair'.[345] Davies further suggests that in TT 100 the

[338] PM, I/I, 36.
[339] PM, I/I, 36; Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 25; Wohlfarth, *Grabbeigaben,* 8.
[340] PM, I/I, 36; Davies, Five *Theban Tombs,* 25; Wohlfarth, *Grabbeigaben,* 8. There is also disagreement as to the register order and some contents but this is not pertinent to this study.
[341] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS*, 138 (2011), 156.
[342] Hehazy E. S. A. and Tosi, M., *Theban Private Tomb No. 295* (Mainz, 1983), pl.II.
[343] PM I/1, 377.
[344] Hegazy and Tosi, *Tomb No. 295*, 19.
[345] Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē*, 76.

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sem priest represents the tomb owner's son who sees his father in a dream and that the striped garment he wears 'is probably a bedgown'.[346] One is unable to be definitive about the exact nature of the striped garment. However, the nature of this garment in both TT 100 and TT 295 bears no resemblance to a skin or any other extant covering of the *Tekenu*.

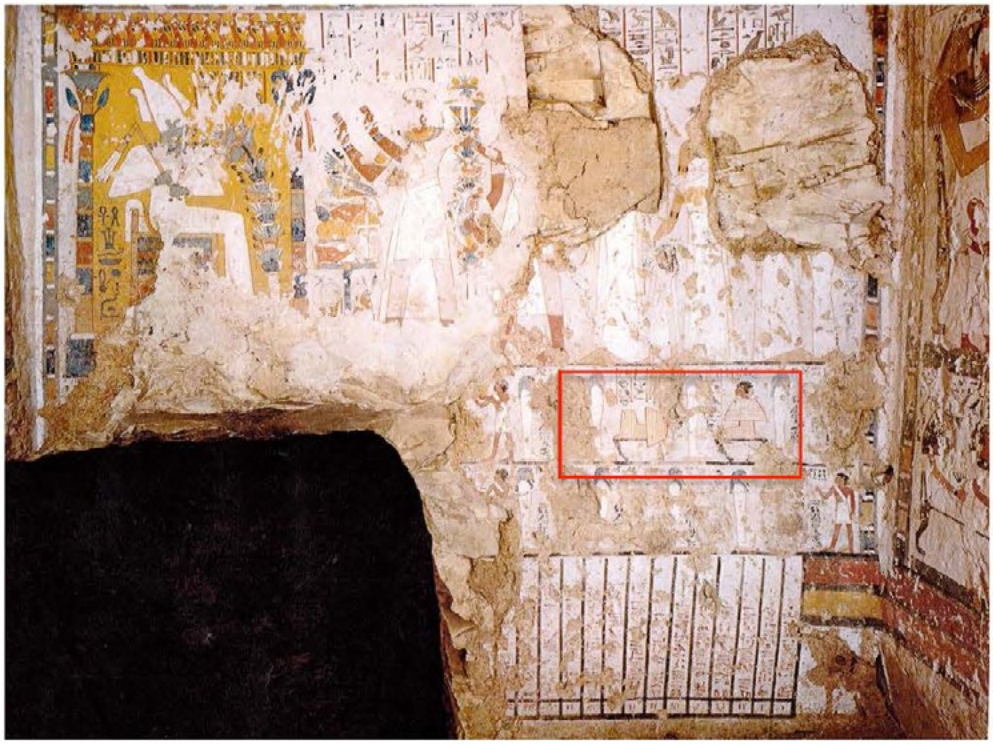

Figure 4.12.4. TT 295. Funerary scene, figures discussed indicated.
Source: Hegazy and Tosi *Tomb* No. 295, pl. II

Figure 4.12.5. TT 295. Figures discussed. 'Sleeping' on the left-hand side; 'awake' on the right-hand side. Position of text indicated.
Source: Hegazy and Tosi Tomb No. 295, pl. II, detail.

[346] Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē*, 76, n. 17.

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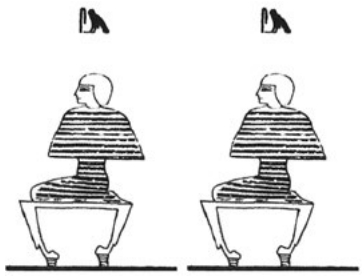

Figure 4.12.6. Sem priest in TT 100.
Source: Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē*, pls CV, CVI, detail.

Serrano Delgado uses the figure in TT 295 to support his argument that, while they are not the same being, there is a connection between the *Tekenu* and the sem priest.[347] Further Serrano Delgado contends:

> *in the text dealing with the dormition of the sem-priest in the Opening of the Mouth there is a visual and graphic reference to the Tekenu as a determinative of the word 'sleep'* [348]

When one examines the hieroglyphs from the photo taken of the wall of TT 295 (Figure 4.12.7) it is difficult to determine the veracity of this statement due to damage. However, in the reproduction of Hegazy and Tosi (Figure 4.12.8) the determinative more closely resembles that of the *Tekenu* albeit facing in the wrong direction. Moreover, the table on which the figure is recumbent is of a form similar to that of the one on which the *Tekenu* and sem priest is found. Noticeably, the legs are positioned inwards unlike those of the normal determinative (Figure 4.12.9) which show little angle.

Figure 4.12.7. TT 295. Text above sem priest.
Source: Hegazy and Tosi, *Tomb No. 295*, pl. IX, detail.

Figure 4.12.8. TT 295. Reproduction of text.
Source: Hegazy and Tosi, *Tomb No. 295*, 19.

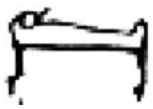

Figure 4.12.9. Gardiner A 55. Usual determinative for 'sleep'.

What is obvious, in both the photo of the wall and the reproduction, is that the determinative for 'sleep' is not what would normally be expected.

The Birth Room at Luxor Temple

Two scholars, Gaynet (1894) and Campbell (1912), have recorded the Birth Room at Luxor Temple.[349] Gayet's record is replete with drawings while Campbell has endeavoured to capture the reliefs on the walls with a simple camera. All that remains of Campbell's work in the area pertinent to this study is his descriptions as the images and text are indecipherable. The scholars disagree on the contents of the reliefs on the northern wall of the Birth Room. Unfortunately, as by the time of recording the reliefs were severely damaged, it is not now possible to verify the interpretations. For the sake of completeness, this study will simply document the view of each scholar.

[347] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 158.
[348] Ibid.
[349] Gayet, A., *Le Temple de Louxor* (Paris, 1894); Campbell, *Miraculous Birth,* (1912).,

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The uppermost row consists of two scenes.[350] In the left hand corner king Amenhotep III is depicted following two sledges, each dragged by three men. On the right, the king is seated before a table of offerings. It is the first scene that is relevant to this study. Of this scene Campbell states:

> *The complete figure of the king, with red crown, faces to the right, and holds with both hands a long straight rod horizontally, as if 'touching' some object in front...Before the king are two sledges, each dragged by three men, who walk to the right.*[351]

The text above the sledges has been destroyed and the objects upon them are severely damaged. However, Campbell states that what the sledges carry is 'certainly not an ox', rather he contends:

> *I believe the object is the crouching figure wrapt in a skin which we see lying on a stand or bier in the tombs of Paheri and Renni at El Kab, of Rekhmara, Menna and Sennofer and others at Thebes.. The figure of the king, or a Sem (priest) personating him, is wrapped up in the skin of a slaughtered bull, called mesekt or mesket, and every deceased person must 'pass through the place of the skin' before entering on thenew life; so that 'to pass through the animal's skin' was the means of having the deceased's soul restored to him. In this way Osiris had passed by death from the mortal to the immortal life, being made like unto Osiris, also passes through the skin.*[352]

Although not labelled '*Tekenu*', it is obvious that that is the name now given to the figure to which Campbell refers.

Gayet's sketch of the scene displays trussed bovines on the sledges (Figure 4.12.10). As he has reconstructed the images, one is unable to comment on the accuracy of his drawing with any certainty.

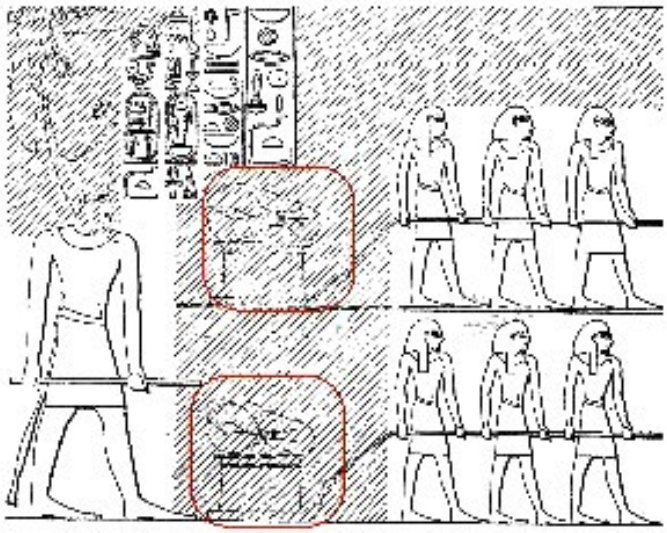

Figure 4.12.10. The birth room at Luxor Temple.
Amenhotep III following the two sledges.
Source: Gayet, Temple de Louxor, fig. 208.

[350] Campbell, *Miraculous Birth,* 72.
[351] Campbell, *Miraculous Birth,* 73.
[352] Campbell, *Miraculous Birth,* 73–74.

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Part 2 Evaluating the primary sources

Chapter 5

Textual references, pictorial representations and context

5.1 Preliminaries

'Egyptian thought cannot...be recreated as a living intellectual system.'[1] What was intended to be conveyed by symbol or word association by the Egyptian artist, and at the time likely immediately understood by the potential viewer, might have vanished forever.[2] The motifs of Egyptian tomb art require analysis within the context of different socio-economic, religious, political and social dimensions from those of today. Van Walsem contends that life and death are not homogenous issues but are complex and reliant on what he terms a person's 'Weltanschauung' (world view or philosophy).[3] This realisation leads him to question whether it is valid to search for a single 'correct' interpretation of a scene depicted on a tomb wall. He concludes that the so-called verity of an analysis can never be an absolute, only a probability.[4]

Tombs might be seen as part of human material culture and as artefacts that consist of 'fossilised manifestations' of man's interaction with, and involvement with, life and death.[5] Van Walsem argues that to understand both interaction and involvement it is necessary to explore two distinct phenomena, which he labels 'spheres of reality':[6]

1. Material reality—material daily life as experienced by the individual.
2. Immaterial reality, which he divides into:

    a) Ideological—mental, metaphorical and/or abstract constructs that are observable.
    b) Ideational—mental, metaphorical and/or abstract constructs that are not observable.[7]

Naturally, any one tomb scene might contain a combination of both material and immaterial reality. This provides a problem, as any one image might contain a multiplicity of connotations. The problem of interpretation is further compounded, as the Egyptian's artwork is not akin to a photograph. The artist drew not what he saw but what he knew.[8] His picture is not an exact rendering of a scene but an 'intellectual composition', which might contain the simultaneous viewing of a subject from more than one angle and the grouping of subjects regardless of locality and perspective.[9] One returns to Kemp's contention that to fully comprehend what an Egyptian artist is endeavouring to convey one must be able to 'walk in and walk out of their thought processes',[10] thereby creating the unattainable ancient Egyptian living intellectual system.

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1 Kemp, B. J., *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London, 1989), 2.
2 Ibid.
3 Van Walsem, *Iconography*, 26.
4 Ibid.
5 Van Walsem, *Iconography*, 33.
6 Van Walsem, *Iconography*, 35.
7 Van Walsem, *Iconography*, 36–38.
8 Kanawati, N., *The Tomb and Beyond: Burial Customs of Egyptian Officials* (Warminster, 2001), 77.
9 Ibid.
10 Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 3.

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The decoration of the wall of an Egyptian tomb might be seen as the result of the collaboration of numerous individuals likely including: the prospective tomb owner (or his representative), draftsmen, stonemasons, sculptors, painters and amanuenses.[11] Perhaps each atelier possessed 'pattern books' from which could be chosen the scenes to be illustrated in the tomb.[12] The probability of this practice is evidenced by groups of tombs where the nature of their scenes suggest the same artist or atelier and where certain motifs are repeated.[13] It is conceivable that demands of style and the requirements of religious belief gave rise over time to standardised mortuary kits that anticipated the 'packaged funerals' of Ramesside times.[14] The choice of themes chosen to be depicted in the tomb from these 'pattern books' might have been the result of the combination of the owner's preferences, his profession, the artist's previous training and skill, customs of the period, tomb location, wall space, and stratigraphy.[15]

It has been argued that the tombs lacked ephemeral qualities and that the preoccupation of the artist was to depict typical happenings rather than specific events.[16] This view, however, seems at odds with that of scholars who contend that one objective when choosing scenes was to encapsulate and perpetuate the personality and identity of the deceased. In so doing, the tomb owner's cult was protected enabling it to be projected into the next world.[17] It was believed that representations on the tomb wall could come alive through magical formulae, making real what they depicted.[18] In fact one Egyptian word for sculptor is *sˁnḫ*.[19] This may be translated literally as 'one who makes (it) living'.[20]

When decorating the wall of the superstructure of the tomb, another inherent aim of the craftsmen was to communicate. The objective was to impart a symbolic message through the text, ornamentation and aesthetically attractive configurations,[21] conveying ideas that were eternal and timeless.[22] The work was intended to be viewed. It was created for an audience, whether it be the tomb owner during the construction and planning, his *ka* after his death or those who visited the tomb after the tomb owners' death.

Attested from the Fifth Dynasty is the 'Appeal to the Living' text sometimes contained on visible stelae. This text encouraged the passer-by to enter the tomb and maintain the tomb owner's funerary cult, and explicitly asked him to recite the *ḥtp-dj-nswt* formula:[23]

> *all of you...[who live] upon earth, who may pass by this tomb... you shall say: 'An offering which the king has given...thousands of b[eer] ...fowl...all kinds of green products...all kinds of* offerings*...'*[24]

The late Sixth Dynasty tomb of Bia at Saqqara contains, on the left side piece of the false door, a list of festivals on which invocation offerings were to be made to the deceased:

> *In the first of the year festival, the opening of the year festival, the festival of Thoth, the Wag festival, the festival of Sokar and the great festival* [25]

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[11] Aldred, C., *Egyptian Art* (reprint, London, 2004), 22.
[12] Dodson, A. and Ikram, S., *The Tomb in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2008), 51; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting,* 28, 36.
[13] Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb,* 51. See Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb,* 52 for a list of relevant tombs.
[14] Hoffman, M. A., 'Packaged Funerals and the Rise of Egypt', *Archaeology* 42 (1989), 50.
[15] Kanawati, *Tomb and Beyond*, 83–84.
[16] Gaballa, G. A., *Narrative in Egyptian Art* (Mainz, 1976), 138.
[17] Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb,* 14; Hartwig, M. K., *The Tomb Chapel of Menna (TT 69)* (Cairo, 2013), 21; Meskell, L. 'The Egyptian Ways of Death', *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 10/1 (2001), 40.
[18] Kanawati, *Tomb and its Significance*, 141. Kanawati, *Tomb and Beyond*, 115.
[19] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 725.; *Wb* 4, 47 14–18.
[20] Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb,* 77.
[21] Wilkinson, R. H., *Reading Egyptian Art. A Hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture* (London, 1992), 9.
[22] Peck, W. H. 'Egypt, ancient: Ideology and conventions of representation' in Turner, J. (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art* (New York, 1996), 798.
[23] Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb,* 82.
[24] Stefanović D. and Satzinger H., *An early 12th Dynasty 'Appeal to the Living' Stela usée Rodin Inv. no Co 1305.* https://homepage.univie.ac.at/helmut.satzinger/Texte/MuseeRodin.pd.
[25] Strudwick, N., *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (Leiden, 2005), 270.

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The stela from the chapel of Khentika at Balat illustrates that the visitor to the tomb is able to bestow magical offerings upon the deceased if he neglected to bring real ones:

> *If you possess nothing, then you shall make this pronouncement: 'a thousand of bread and a thousand of beer for the boat captain, the ruler of the oasis, Khentika'.*[26]

The Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Hepu contains, on the inner room side wall, a plea to the visitor:

> ...who enters into the shrine of South and the shrine of North, give. May they give an invocation offering of bread and beer, oxen flesh and fowl, cloth and alabaster and thousands of all good and pure, pleasant and sweet things...[27]

The beholder of an image or scene, became an integral participant in the process of decoding the semiotic communicative system of the hieroglyphic writing.[28] Inevitably this was an entirely subjective process dependent on the viewer's literacy level, status and cultural knowledge.[29] The more educated and literate the observer, the more allusions likely to be derived from an image or text.[30] Since the literacy level of the Ancient Egyptian has been estimated as being between one and ten percent of the population,[31] it could be argued that the use of image was an essential component in conveying meaning. The image created a symbolic language in which iconographic features or attributes formed a visual vocabulary that could be 'read' and understood by an illiterate audience with a common cultural background.[32]

It could, however, also be claimed that there is no strict distinction between hieroglyphic writing and pictorial art, as the hieroglyphics are miniature pictures, a 'mini' work of art, and there is a symbiotic relationship between the word and the image.[33] Assmann has adopted the term 'Hierotaxis' to identify his abstract, aniconic organisational principle by which he analyses and orders the textual constitution and the pictorial composition in ancient Egyptian art and literature.[34] He concludes that there is an 'inextricably rooted relationship between text and image'.[35] One is inevitably led to the view that there is a synergy between the hieroglyphic text and the artistic image and that the complete meaning of a work of art can only be achieved when the hieroglyphic text and the artistic image are not divorced from one another.[36]

Of the hieroglyphs, Assmann states:

> *The hieroglyphs are the Forms of things that constitute the totality of the real world. Egyptian 'hieroglyphic' thinking presents a relation between thing and written sign similar to that between thing and concept in Greek philosophy.*[37]

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[26] Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 374.
[27] Davies, *Scenes,* 11.
[28] Hartwig, Style, 51; Braun, N. S., 'Narrative' in Hartwig, M. K. (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 351. See Fitzenreiter, M., 'Ikonographische Parallelisieren: zu einem Kompositionsprinzip in der ägyptischen Flachbildkunst und seiner Wahrnehmung in pharaonischer Zeit; Notizen zum Grab des Pennt (Teil VI),' *Imago Aegypti* (2011), 7–30. For a summary of contrary views of decoding see Woods, 'Relief', 236.
[29] Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 48.
[30] Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb,* 79.
[31] Parkinson, R. B., *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection* (London, 2002), 66–67; Baines, J., *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2009), 61–70.
[32] Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb,* 310 n. 86.
[33] Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 46–47; Betrò, M. C., *Hieroglyphics. The Writings of Ancient Egypt*, (Translator: S. A. George, London, 1996), 16; Forman, W. and Quirke, S., *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1996), 13.
[34] Assmann, J., *Hierotaxis. Textkonstitution und Bildkomposition in der altägyptischen Kunst and Literatur,* http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/volltexte/2013/1879, 28.
[35] Assmann, *Hierotaxis,* 40.
[36] Angenot, V., 'Semiotics and Hermeneutics' in Hartwig, M. K. (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 100; Ikram, S., 'Interpreting Ancient Egyptian Material Culture' in Hartwig, M. K. (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 180.
[37] Assmann, *Mind of Egypt,* 354.

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Other scholars point to the Egyptian words for hieroglyphs, *mdw ntr* 'the god's words', a phrase that emphasises the unity of articulation and script.[38] Word and 'all things' were created at the same time.

> *Thus Ptah was satisfied after he had made all things and all divine words.*[39]

The divine potency integral in the hieroglyphs enabled it to be magically animated. The word became what it depicted and revealed its essence.

It must be conceded that when people are illiterate, images can be seen to acquire the elements of text.[40] However, pictures are far more prone to ambiguity in interpretation than text. Hence texts are often used to avoid misinterpretation and to aid in the accuracy of the decoding of the image.[41] This is not to say that the interpretation of the hieroglyphic text is not without problems nor that at times text might obfuscate rather than elucidate.[42]

Accepting the opinions above, the pragmatic view is to analyse the hieroglyphic text and the image separately before evaluating them as a cohesive whole. It is also possible that, if text and image are considered separately, two distinct messages comprehended by different audiences can be identified.[43]

Another component integral for interpreting the artist's intention is the context. For this study the question becomes, where is the *Tekenu* placed within the scene?

Three key fundamental areas for analysis are identified: the textual evidence, the pictorial evidence and the contextual evidence.

5.2 Textual references to the *Tekenu*

5.2.1 Textual sources

The hieroglyphic script has three essential components: ideograms, phonograms and determinatives. Ideograms are pictures meant to represent objects or actions. Phonograms are signs that represent the sounds rather than the objects they depict. Determinatives are pictures added to most words spelled with phonograms, often to dispel ambiguity.[44] Due to the frequent omission of determinatives found in the hieroglyphic text in this study of the *Tekenu* precise rendering of a translation is often problematic.

Of the forty four tombs identified as containing the depiction of a *Tekenu,* only eighteen have any accompanying hieroglyphic text.[45]

In six tombs, the texts provide minimal information about the *Tekenu*. In tombs TT 34, 389 the accompanying text merely identifies the *Tekenu: tkn.w*. In the tombs of Ihy and TT 60, more information is provided: *sṯꜣ tkn.w,* 'dragging the *Tekenu*'. In TT 15 this information is extended to include the destination of the *Tekenu: sṯꜣ tkn.w r ḥr.t-nṯr,* 'dragging the *Tekenu* to the necropolis'. Similar is the text in EK 7: *sṯꜣ tkn.w r ḥr.t-nṯr pn* 'dragging the *Tekenu* to this necropolis'.

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[38] Forman and Quirke, *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife*, 10; Aldred*, Egyptian Art,* 16; Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art,* 9. For comment on articulation and script see Assmann, *Mind of Egypt,* 353–355.
[39] Litchtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 1, 'The Memphite Theology', 55.
[40] Braun, 'Narrative', 347.
[41] Braun, 'Narrative', 348–349.
[42] Ikram, 'Material Culture', 181.
[43] Bryan, B., 'The Disjunction of Text and Image in Egyptian Art' in Der Manuelian, P. (ed.), Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson 2 vols (Boston, 1996), 161.
[44] Allen, 'Language, Scripts and Literacy', in Lloyd (ed.) *Companion to Ancient Egypt*, vol II, 655–656.
[45] In this section all transliteration and translation is by the author unless otherwise acknowledged.

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In the remainder of the tombs, the hieroglyphic text is more extensive.

Three tombs, TT 82, TT 112 and TT 224, contain similar texts. These tombs are all located in Shaykh ʻAbd al Qurnah and the dating (18.05–18.06 for TT 82, TT 224 and 18.06–18.07 for TT 112) suggests they might be contemporary. For TT 112 and TT 224 no independent corroboration of the text is possible as the only record is that of Davies in a footnote.[46] It must be further noted that, for the text of TT 82, one is dependent on whomsoever recorded plate XII in Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt,* and the interpretation of Gardiner.

Text: TT 82, Source: Davies *Amenemhēt*, detail pl. XII.

Reproduction of TT 82 text by Hayes.

Text: TT 112. Source: Davies Amenemhēt, 51, n. 2.

Text: TT 224. Source: Davies *Amenemhēt*, 51, n. 2

Column 1 in TT 82 is repeated in both TT 112 and TT224. There is no dispute, or viable alternative transliteration, regarding the first column:
sṯɜ tkn.w in r(m)ṯ(.t), ‘dragging the *Tekenu* by the people’.

The second column poses problems in interpretation:

This symbol can be transliterated as *ḳd* (Aa 28). However, Metawi suggests that the correct transliteration is *ỉsṯ* (M 40) and the translation becomes ‘the crew (gang of workmen).[47] Both of these interpretations are viable.

If one accepts the first symbol as being Aa 28, then these symbols can be read as *Ḳd* (‘the city Ked’).[48] This interpretation relies on assuming that the Egyptian scribe has made a

[46] Davies *Amenemhēt*, 51, n. 2.
[47] Metawi, *Memmonia* XIX (2008), 185.
[48] Griffiths, *Kush* VI (1958), 118, translates this symbol as ‘Ked’; Davies, *Amenemhēt*, 51 translates this symbol as ‘Ked(?)’.

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mistake by including a *p* uniliteral sign instead of the correct *nw* pot as seen in the text of TT224 or that there has been an error in the modern transcription of the original.

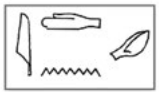
Metawi transliterates these symbols as *ỉst Dp,* 'the crew (gang of workmen) of Bouto-Dep'.[49]

A possible transliteration is *prỉ.t nw.t.* This could be translated as 'going out of the city'. *Prỉ.t nw.t,* however, can be interpreted as two nouns in a direct genitival relationship, which renders the translation as 'the procession of the city'.

Metawi transliterates these symbols as *prt n*(=*m*) *nỉwt* which she translates as 'coming out of the city(= necropolis)'.[50]

A possible transliteration is *ỉn spɜ.t,* 'by the district'. *Spɜ.t* in this context is read as being metonymic, that is, referring to 'the people of the district'.

Metawi records a damaged sign and adds the 'S' symbol, O34. She transliterates these symbols as *stm,* 'sem priest'.[51]

However, the top symbol, F 21, can be read independently as *ỉdn*. Translation is hampered due to the lack of a determinative. *ỉdn* here could be interpreted as using only the ear ideogram instead of the more common individual signs: 

This might then be translated as 'represent, replace, control' (*Wb* 1,154. 1-4).

Both Metawi and Davies render this as being a derivative of *mḥty,* 'northern'.[52] Metawi transliterates it *mḥty.w,* 'northerners', while Davies interprets it as an adjective describing 'nomes.' However, another possibility is *mḥ.t,* 'fullness'. This interpretation relies upon taking the word as being a derivative of *mḥ* 'to fill' and the *t* and plural strokes denoting an abstract substantive.

Metawi interprets this as *š.w ḳ*(ʿ)*ḥty*(.*w*), 'coastal lakes'.[53] Another possibility is *š.w Ḥḳ.t,* 'pools of Heket'.

Given the ambiguity of the text a variety of translations are possible:

1. Davies and Gardiner suggest the text is so corrupt that they only partially translate it:
   'Dragging the *Tekenu* by the people of Ked(?) and the *sɜ-srḳ* (*?*)- priest, going forth...and coming in (?) four times by the ...northern nomes(??)'[54]
2. Metawi proffers another translation:
   'Dragging the *tknw* by the people of the crew (gang of workmen) of Bouto-Dep and the Serket-ritualist: coming out of the city (= necropolis), come in and go out (come and go) four times by the Sem-priest and the northerners of the coastal lakes.'[55]

[49] Metawi, *Memmonia* XIX (2008), 185.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Metawi, *Memmonia* XIX (2008), 185; Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, 51.
[53] Metawi, *Memmonia* XIX (2008), 185.
[54] Davies, *Amenemhēt*, 51.
[55] Metawi, *Memmonia* XIX (2008), 185.

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3. However, the text could also be understood as:
   'Dragging the *Tekenu* by the people of Ked and the Serket-ritualist; the procession of the city; the entry and exit four times by the district; replacing (= replenishing?) the fullness of the pools of Heket.'[56]

Various combinations of versions 2 and 3 could be considered. However, for this study, only variations directly applicable to the *Tekenu* are examined. Both Ked and Dep were cities situated in the Delta.[57] Hence the *Tekenu* is being dragged by people from the Delta and the Serket-ritualist.

While 'coming out of the city' is a viable translation, it is questionable whether 'city' here can be translated as 'necropolis'. In this context 'procession of the city' seems a preferable translation.

If the translation 'by the Sem priest' is adopted, then the symbol *spꜣ.t* is ignored. Hence a preferable translation would appear to be 'by the district'.

Metawi concedes that his translation 'coastal lakes' relies upon accepting that what is transcribed here is an 'illusive form of writing' and that it pertains to *Wb* 5, 20.13.[58] This Wörterbuch entry is, however, classified as unsubstantiated. If 'pools of Heket' is adopted then the // sign is read as replacing the 'frog' determinative. It is deemed that fewer assumptions need to be made if 'pools of Heket' is accepted.

For this study the following transliterations and translations have been adopted.

TT 82

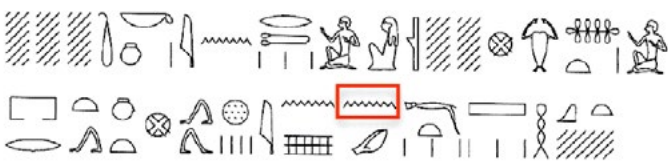
sṯꜣ tkn.w ỉn r(m)ṯ(.t)
Ḳd{p} sꜣ{t}.w Srḳ.t prỉ.t nw.t \ʿḳ-prỉ.t
sp-4 *ỉn spꜣ.t ỉdn mḥ.t š.w Ḥḳ.t*

'The dragging of the *Tekenu* by the people of Ked and Dep *and the Serket-ritualist; the city's procession; the entry and exit four times by the (whole) district; replenishing the fullness of the pools of Heket.'

*Due to the similarity of this text and that of TT 224 it is possible that what was intended was a nw pot and not the p uniliteral sign. Then 'Dep' would not be included.

Text reproduction by Hayes

TT 112



[*sṯꜣ*] *tkn.w ỉn r(m)ṯ(.t) Ḳd sꜣ{t}.w Srḳ.t*
prỉ.t nw.t ʿḳ-prỉ.t sp-4 *ỉn spꜣ.t {n} ỉdn mḥ.t š.w Ḥḳ.t*

Text reproduction by Hayes

'The dragging of the *Tekenu* by the people of Ked and the Serket-ritualist; the city's procession; the entry and exit four times by the (whole) district; replenishing the fullness of the pools of Heket.'

[56] I am indebted to Hayes for this suggested translation.
[57] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 1195, 1207.
[58] Metawi, *Memmonia* XIX (2008), 185, n. 30.

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In the text of TT 112, the second '*n*' in the second line provides a dilemma. It is difficult to discern whether it is a misplaced phonetic complement, an error or correct and hence part of the genitival adjective *'n.(t)'*. If the last possibility is adopted, then *n.(t)* 'of' would link the two semantic units of the 'district' and 'replenishing the fullness of the pools of Heket' as an indirect genitival construction. This would change the translation to:

> 'the entry and exit four times by the district of replenishing the fullness of the pools of Heket.'

This translation implies that the people associated with the filling of these pools, as a distinct group, were involved in some form of 'in-out' procession. This is a difficult grammatically constructed sentence hence it has not been adopted.

TT224

Source: Davies, *Amenemhēt*, 51, n.2.

sṯꜣ tkn.w ỉn r(m)ṯ(.t) Ḳd sꜣ.w Srḳ.t

'The dragging of the *Tekenu* by the people of Ked and the Serket-ritualist.'

What is being recorded in both TT 82 and TT 112 is three ritual procedures, dragging the *Tekenu,* entry and exit of the people, and the replenishing of the pools of Heket. The scribe appears to be introducing a conglomerate of concepts, some or all of which might be understood by the observer.

The key concepts of completeness, birth and revivification permeate the enigmatic texts of TT 82 and TT 112. In TT 82, TT 112 and TT 224, the *Tekenu* is dragged by people from the Delta and the Serket-ritualist.

Above the depiction of the *Tekenu* in EK 3, one finds the text:

Text reproduction by Hayes

r ỉmn.t sp-Ḥ pꜣ tꜣ nḏm ꜥnḫ
r bw n(.ty) wnn=k ỉm=f
yḥ mỉ{k}

to the realm of the dead, to the realm of the dead,
this/the land sweet of life;
to the place where you will be.
Hurry up! Come!

While not all texts relate to the immediate images and no direct reference is made in this caption to the *Tekenu*, the text here does appear to be describing its progress.

ỉmn.t Possible translations are 'west', 'necropolis' or 'realm of the dead'.[59] While 'west' and 'necropolis' are usually interpreted as being synonymous, the term 'realm of the dead' would seem to imply more than just a cemetery rather a domain in which the deceased is a active participant. This might be why the scribe chose to use *ỉmn.t* instead of *ḥr.t-nṯr*. Hence here the translation 'realm of the dead' has been adopted. Of course, the use of *ỉmn.t* might be purely for stylistic reasons.

[59] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 82.

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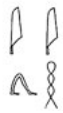
nḏm ʿnḫ is read as 'sweet of life'. However, it could be read 'happiness' as in *nḏm ib*. In column two, *bw* is followed by a single *n* which represents the relative adjective *n.ty*. It introduces the relative clause *wnn=k im=f*. The presence of *wnn* indicates futurity, literally 'you will be in it'. The final *=f* is resumptive referring back to the antecedent *bw*.[60]



yḥ This is an interjection which can be translated 'hey', 'onwards' or 'hurry up'.[61] The translation 'hurry up' is adopted here as it would seem to reinforce the next word 'come'.

There is difficulty in transliterating this word. The first three signs seem to be *m=k,* 'look'. However, if this transliteration is adopted then the last two signs are unaccounted for and the translation does not sit easily in the context. Four of the five signs are close to *mi* 'come'.[62] This has been adopted here, although this leaves the *k* untranslated. It is possible that the scribe commenced *m=k* in error and then, later, neglected to remove the *k*.[63]

This text seems to be giving direct instructions to the *Tekenu.* It would seem that the *Tekenu* is being treated as an entity in itself. It is being assured that its destination, 'the realm of the dead', is a place of comfort. There is a sense of finality in the sentence 'to the place where you will be'. The journey will then be completed and the *Tekenu* will be resting in the same location as the deceased. The last interjections, 'hurry up!, come!', imply a sense of urgency.

The only record of the text attesting to the *Tekenu* in TT 53 is found in Davies *Notebooks* 7, MSS, 11.40 19. Few scholars have attempted a translation of this text. However, Griffiths provides the translation: 'Coming of the *Tekenu* to the necropolis, sitting lion-shaped like a man from the city'.[64] No transliteration is provided to support this reading. Another possible transliteration and translation is:

sṯ3 t3 tknw r ḫr(t)-nṯr ḥm.t-nṯr twi/t3i
rw.ty Min.t

Dragging this/the *Tekenu* to the necropolis: god's wife *twi/t3i*
The double lion of Minet.

Source: Davies *Notebooks* 7, MSS, 11.40 19.

[60] I am indebted to Hayes for suggestions on this translation.
[61] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 108.
[62] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 341.
[63] I am indebted to Hayes for suggestions on this translation.
[64] Griffiths, *Kush* VI (1958), 118.

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ḥm.t-nṯr 'god's wife' or possibly 'priestess'. The hieroglyphs that follow could possibly be a personal name, *twỉ*.[65]

rw.ty 'double lion'.[66]

Mỉn.t 'Minet'. Minet was situated in 'the upper Egyptian area'.[67]

The translation of line one is problematical and Davies' annotation at the side of the text is illegible except for the words 'not visible at all' which are tantalisingly unhelpful. They might suggest that something has been left out but this is mere speculation. If Griffith's translation is adopted, then it would seem that *ḥm.t-nṯr* is left untranslated. There is also difficulty, however, with the suggested translation, as it relies on interpreting *twỉ* as a personal name.

The second line is less problematical. However, the relevance of the 'double lion of Minet' is not discernible and Griffiths supports his alternate translation by reference to what he deems is a comparable text found in TT 17. The text above the *Tekenu* in TT 17 is split between plates XXIV and XXV.[68]

Source: Säve-Soderburgh. Details of Plates XXIV and XXV.

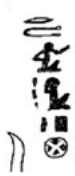
sṯɜ tkn.w
r ḫr.t-nṯr ɜ ỉ m rw.ty
? nt ỉ ʿnḫ nt

dragging the *Tekenu* to the necropolis...?
the double lion.

(The author deems that the text following *ḫr.t-nṯr* is too fragmentary to enable reliable translation.)

Griffiths translates this text: 'Dragging the *Tekenu* by the people of Dep to the necropolis, Horus (?) being the lion-shaped who is like a man from the city'.[69]

However, the caption in front of the figures who haul the *Tekenu* reads:



Source; Säve-Soderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. XXV, detail.

r(m)ṯ(.t) P
the people of Pe.

[65] Ranke, *Ägyptischen Personennamen*, 379
[66] Hannig, Handwörterbuch, 490.;Griffiths, Kush VI (1958), 118.
[67] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 1147.
[68] Säve-Soderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs.*
[69] Griffiths, *Kush* VI (1958), 118.

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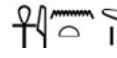
This text leads one to question Griffiths' translation, which identifies the *Tekenu* as dragged by the people of Dep.

Müller records the hieroglyphs in TT 17 as being:

Source: Griffiths, *Kush* VI (1958), 118.

This, Müller translates as: 'dragging the *Tekenu* to the underworld, Horus, lionlike in form is like sky and earth'.[70]

Metawi provides an alternate transliteration and translation of this text:
sṯȝ tknw r ḫr(t)-nṯr ḥr i m rwtỉ nt ꜥnḫ ỉnt
'dragging the *tknw* to the necropolis, Horus talking with the double lion of the Valley of Life.'[71]

Metawi construes the symbol *i* as being the archaic form of *dḏ* (talk/say)[72] and translates *ꜥnḫ ỉnt* as being 'Valley of Life' by assuming that  is a variant of .[73]

Säve-Soderbergh makes no attempt at a complete translation, merely recording the caption as reading 'drag the *Tekenu* to the necropolis'.[74]

The essential consistency in translation of this text is 'dragging the *Tekenu* to the necropolis (underworld)'. All translations also include the presence of the word 'lion' but differ as to whether this refers to the 'double lion' or is associated with Horus. If the translation 'double lion' is adopted then to what is being referred is likely the creator gods:

> *you have your bread-loaf, Atum and Dual-lion, who made their two gods and their body themselves—that is Shu and Tefnut, who madethe gods, begot the gods and set the gods* (Unis, Spell 206).[75]

> *You have your offering bread, O Atum and Ruti,*
> *Who yourselves created your godheads and your persons.*
> *O Shu and Tefēnet who made the gods,*
> *Who begot the gods and established the gods* (PT 447).[76]

If the word 'lion' refers to Horus, which is the translation adopted by Griffiths and Müller, then Griffiths contends that:

> *it shows that the skin carried by the Tekenu was that of a lion and that it was the duty of a 'man from the city' to carry it, the idea being that in so doing he was impersonating Horus in his form as a lion.*[77]

The translation of this text is problematical due to the damaged nature of the wall on which it appears. This difficulty, coupled with the complex iconology, renders the text ambiguous and any translation must contain an element of speculation.

[70] Griffiths, *Kush* VI (1958), 118 records the work of Müller from *Mitt. der Vorderasiat. Gesell.* 1914, 2, 114.
[71] Metawi, *Memnonia* XIX (2008), 186.
[72] Metawi, *Memnonia* XIX (2008), 186. See also Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 19.
[73] Metawi, *Memnonia* XIX (2008), 186.
[74] Säve-Soderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs,* 31.
[75] Allen, J. P., *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (ed. Der Manuelian P), (Leiden, 2005), 55.
[76] Allen, *Pyramid Texts.*
[77] Griffiths, *Kush* VI (1958), 118.

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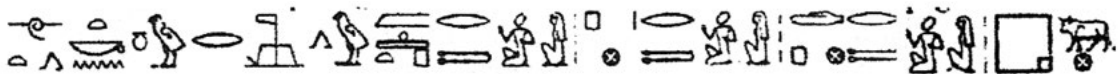
In four tombs, already discussed, the people who drag the *Tekenu* are identified: in TT 17 they come from Dep, and in TT 82, 112, 224 they are identified as people from Ked and the Serket-ritualist. A further three tombs, TT 20, 24, 55, also provide identification of these men.[78]

The only extant record, pictorial or textual, of the funerary procession in TT 24, is the identifying caption relating to the *Tekenu* in Bouriant, *RT* IX (1887), 97:



stꜣ tkn.w r ḫr.t-nṯr ỉwỉ(.t) m ḥtp r(m)ṯ(.t) P r(m)ṯ(.t) Dp r(m)ṯ(.t) Ḥwt-ỉḥw
Dragging the *Tekenu* to the necropolis, coming in peace, the people of Pe, the people of Dep and the people of Hutihut.

This is the sole attested reference to the city *Ḥwt-ỉḥw* in connection with the *Tekenu* and it is identified as being in lower Egypt.[79]

The column of text in front of the *Tekenu* haulers in TT 55 is recorded by Davies as:

stꜣ tkn.w ỉn r(m)ṯ(.t) nṯr nỉw(.t)

Dragging of the *Tekenu* by the divine people of the city.

Source: Davies, Ramose, pl. XXV, detail.

TT 20 contains the most textual references to the *Tekenu*. These occur on the southern wall of the tomb and are recorded in plates II (Figure 5.2.1.1), VIII (Figure 5.2.1.2) and IX (Figure 5.2.1.12).

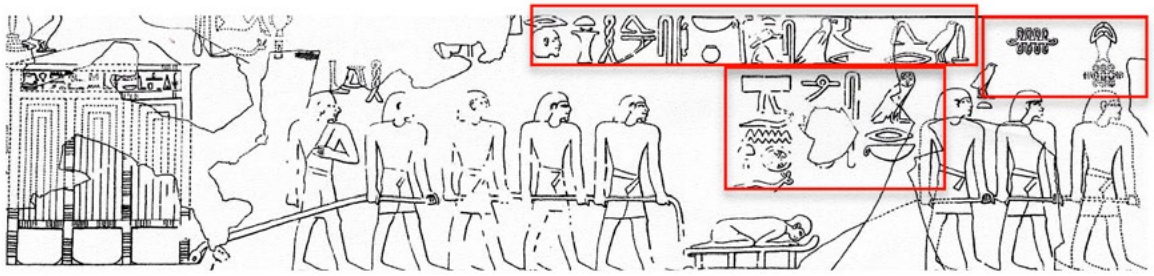


Figure 5.2.1.1. TT 20. *Tekenu* procession.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. II. top register, detail.

The figures who haul the *Tekenu* are identified as:

[78] Davies, *Puymeré,* 6 attests to 'people of Keden' in TT 39 but this is unverifiable.
[79] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 1167.

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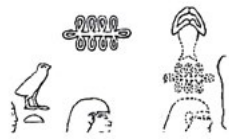

(reading from right to left)
sɜ.w Srḳ.t Serket ritualist
sɜ.w ritualist
wt(*.y*) embalmer

That the tomb owner has purposely appeared to see the *Tekenu* is attested by the text beginning above the last *Tekenu* hauler:

(reading from right to left)

wḏɜ r mɜ(*ɜ*) *sṯɜ tkn.w šms mrḥ.t r tp* [*ḏw*]*/////////*[*Mnṯ.w*]*-ḥr-ḥpš=f mɜʿ-ḫrw*

Two translations are deemed possible:

1. 'setting out to see the dragging of the *Tekenu;* following the oil to the top of the [hill] [Montu]herkhepeshef, justified'.
2. 'setting out to see the dragging of the *Tekenu* and the following/accompaniment of the oil to the top of the [hill] [Montu]herkhepeshef, justified.'

The last translation is preferable as the first implies that the *Tekenu* is following the oils when the image shows a naos, presumably containing the oils, being dragged behind the *Tekenu*.

Three columns of text starting behind the third *Tekenu*-hauler. (reading from right to left).

m rk	in the vicinity
sṯɜ [*tkn.w*]	of the dragging of the *Tekenu*
šm=f n niw.t=f	as it goes to its city

This translation relies on translating *rk* as indicating spatial proximity.[80] Another translation is possible. It could mean 'at the time'. Then the translation then would be:

'at the (same) time of the dragging of the *Tekenu* as it goes to its city'[81]

It is difficult to determine whether the craftsman made a conscious effort to use *niw.t=f* and whether this was a reference to the 'necropolis' instead of the more generic 'city'. The use of the suffix pronoun *=f* would seem to emphasise a close association, if not possession, of the *Tekenu* and the 'city'. This might lead one to believe that the reference is, in fact, to the necropolis.

[80] See Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 511.
[81] I am indebted to Professor Naguid Kanawati for this suggestion.

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Figure 5.2.1.2. TT20 *Tekenu* procession.
Source: Davies, F*ive Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII, top register, detail.

The caption above the top register in plate VIII reads:

[*ỉwỉ.t*] *m ḥtp r* [*mɜ(ɜ)*] *sṯɜ tkn.w ḥr* [*tm*(*.t*)] *ỉn* (*ỉ*)*r*(*.y*)-*pˁ*(*.t*) [*ḥɜ.t*(*y*)]-ˁ////*nswt ḥr ḫɜs.t nb*[*.t*] [*ỉr.y ḫw Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f mɜˁ-ḫrw*]

'Coming in peace to see the dragging of the *Tekenu* on a sledge by a member of the elite,[82] guardian and king's //// upon every mountain, the keeper of the fan *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f,* justified.'

Below this caption are four further textual references to the *Tekenu* (Figure 5.2.1.3):

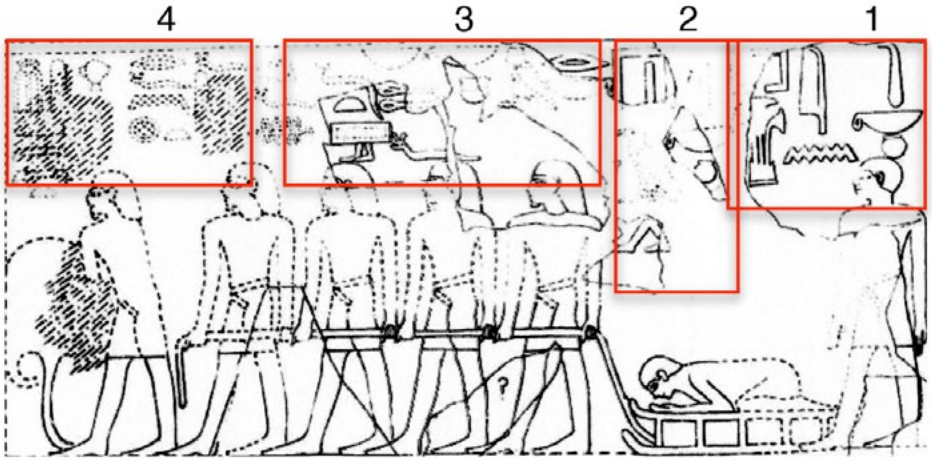

Figure 5.2.1.3. TT 20. Identified texts numbered 1-4. (reading from right to left)
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII, top register, detail.

1. *pr*(*.t*) (*r-*)*ḥɜ ỉn tkn.w,* The *Tekenu* goes forth = appears.[83] / the coming out by the *Tekenu.*

[82] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 95 translates *(i)r(.y)-pa(.t)* as ' highest court rank title'. The title *n(i))r(.y)-pa(.t)* is known from the First Dynasty and was given to a small circle of elite people close to the king or to the highest officials in the provincial administration. See Grajetzki, W., *Court Officials of the Middle Kingdom* (London, 2009), 5.

[83] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 160 n. 77, cites this expression as having often been used to refer to participants in rituals and processions (See *Wb* 1, 519,15).

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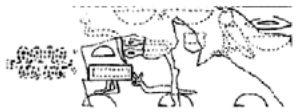
Here the caption would appear to pertain to the figure below, seemingly identifying it as the *Tekenu*. However, Maspero's recording differs showing the caption above a lacuna (Figure 5.2.1.4).

Figure 5.2.1.4. TT 20. Variant text positioning. Source: Maspero *Montouhikhopshouf*, fig. VII, detail.

Serrano Delgado contends that the text, here, does identify the *Tekenu*.[84]

2. *hɜi*(*.t*) *tkn.w,* 'the going down of the *Tekenu*

3.  *sɜ ḏ.t nb tkn.w m rk šm=f,* 'protection of the body of the owner of the *Tekenu* at the time of his departure'

4. *msi*(*.t*) *n.t ḥr=f n niw.t=f s*[*?*]*=f,* producing water over/on him for his city, when he [? passes away].

In text 3, *ḏ.t* could be translated 'eternity' but this would make less sense. The use of the word *ḏ.t* could indicate that what is being referred to is not just 'the body' but also its representation. *Ḏ.t* was a term 'that erased the distinction between representation and body'.[85]

In text 4, the missing verb at the end of the text is one of motion, as indicated by the walking determinative. Two possibilities suggest themselves, as determined by the available space and the remnant hieroglyphs. These are *sin=f* 'run'*; sḏɜ=f* 'travel/depart'. Both of these verbs may be translated as a euphemism for 'dying'.[86] It is difficult to ascertain why the generic term *niw.t* (city) was used instead of the more specific *ḥr.t-nṯr* (necropolis). This might be for aesthetic or spatial reasons, or a deliberate intention of ambiguity.

By reference to the analogous scene in TT 11, where the caption identifies the *Tekenu* (Figure 5.2.1.5), Serrano Delgado determines that the last figure in this scene of TT 20 is the *Tekenu* (Figure 5.2.1.6).

[84] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 160.
[85] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 106.
[86] See Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 213 and 258. I am indebted to Hayes for discussion on this point.

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Figure 5.2.1.5. Text identifying the *Tekenu* in TT 11.
Source: Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), fig. IX, detail.

Figure 5.2.1.6. Possible *Tekenu* in TT 20.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII, detail.

It must be conceded that Davies has 'dotted in' part of this last figure and the skin, indicating reconstruction of the image. However, Davies does record that the Berlin print definitely shows a tail, hence what is depicted is a skin.[87]

As has been noted this scene is now no longer complete in TT 11 (Figure 5.2.1.7) and TT 20 (Figure 5.2.1.8) and Serrano Delgado has used both tombs to produce what he believes would have been the intact original image.

Figure 5.2.1.7. Remainder of the *Tekenu* procession in TT 11.
Source: Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), fig. IX.

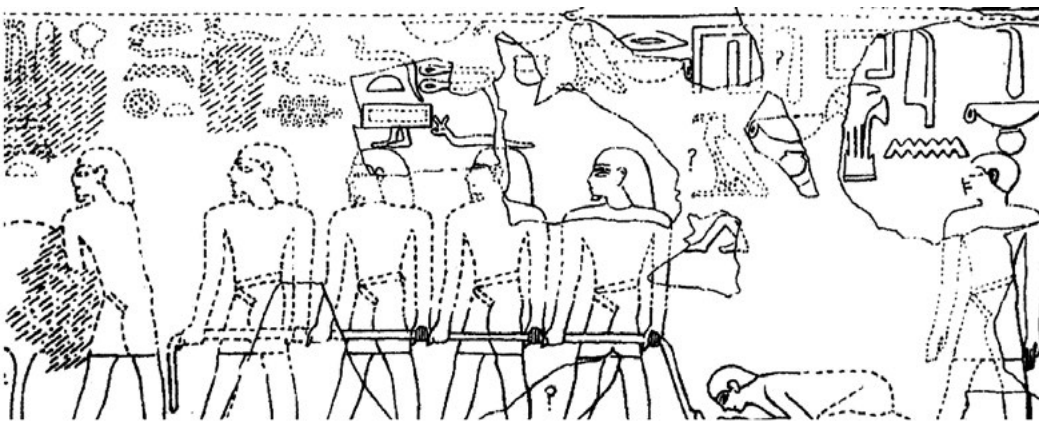

Figure 5.2.1.8. TT 20. *Tekenu* procession comparable to TT 11.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII, detail, top register.

[87] Davies, *FiveTheban Tombs*, 15. Davies does not provide a copy of the Berlin print and it is unavailable for viewing.

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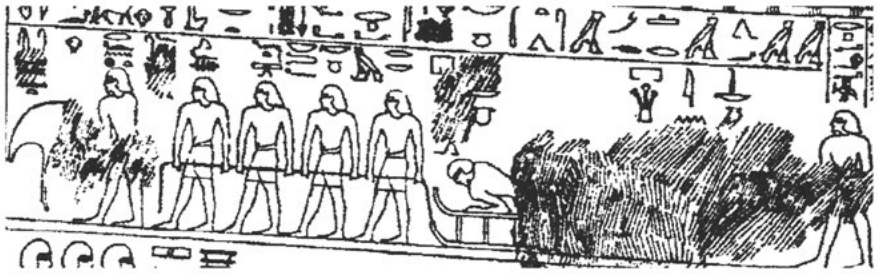

Figure 5.2.1.9. TT 20. *Tekenu* procession comparable to TT 11.
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf*, fig. VII, detail.

Figure 5.2.1.10. Composite of the *Tekenu* procession in TT 11 and TT 20 as envisaged by Serrano Delgado.
Composition G. West.

As can be seen by comparing Serrano Delgado's suggested composition of this vignette (Figure 5.2.1.10) with Maspero's recording (Figure 5.2.1.9), the only difference is the lacuna. Hence there remains the possible disputation of the identification of the far figure on the right as being the *Tekenu*.

It is useful at this point to consult the remainder of this scene in TT 11 (Figure 5.2.1.11).

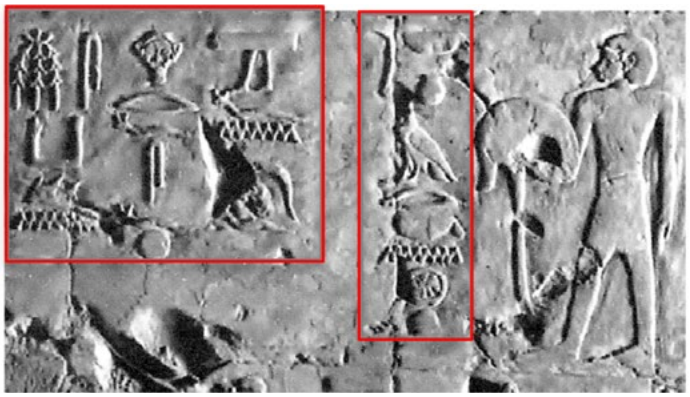

Figure 5.2.1.11. TT 11. Text pertaining to the *Tekenu*.
Source: Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), fig. IX, detail.

mskꜣ n(.y)
ḥr(.w)=f sfḫ(.w)
šm=f n ḏ.t=f
tkn.w m rk n(.y) nỉw.t

the hide of its /his upper part is loosened/released
when he goes to his body/ that he might go to his body.
the *Tekenu* being in the vicinity of the city

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A possible alternate translation is: '(Once) the hide (that is) in front of him is removed, he leaves for his eternity',[88] 'the *Tekenu* being in the vicinity of the city.'

Of interest is the use of the crocodile hide, sign I 6 as a determinative for *mskɜ*. Both TT 100 and TT 125 contain the animal hide determinative F 27 for *mskɜ*.[89] Also noteworthy is the use of the verb *sfḫ,* which has the sense of 'removing an article of clothing'.[90]

The comments made previously in reference to the use of the words *nỉw.t* and *ḏ.t* in TT 20 also apply to the text here. However, the use of *ḏ.t* is more problematical in the text of TT 11. Both translations 'body' and 'eternity' produce viable translations. This renders an ambiguity that might have been intended. If the translation 'body' is adopted, then it would seem to indicate that the *Tekenu,* at this stage, is detached from the body to which it belonged. That is, the *Tekenu* is originally a part of the body. The *mskɜ* must be shed to allow the *Tekenu* to return to its body. The return to the body occurs in the *nỉw.t*. It is not difficult to infer that to what is being referred here is the necropolis.

If, however, the translation 'eternity' is adopted, then the *Tekenu* must be shed of the *mskɜ* in order to attain eternity, that is, to partake in the afterlife.

Despite the ambiguity, what is definite is that the *mskɜ* is removed and Serrano Delgado suggests that TT 20 displays the ending place of the *mskɜ* (Figure 5.2.1.12).[91]

Figure 5.2.1.12. TT 20. Traces of the phonetic signs for the word *tkn.w*, the animal hide ideogram, hair, foreleg and heart. *ɜ sɜ srḳt* before the pit and *ʿḥm-nṯr srḳt* kneeling behind the pit. Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* pl. IX, bottom register detail.

The animal hide ideogram, F 27 , could be read as a determinative for *tkn.w* or read genitivally. It is also possible that the ideogram stands alone. Consequently three possible translations are:

1. *Tekenu*
2. hide of the *Tekenu*
3. hide and *Tekenu*.

[88] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 161.
[89] See page 237.
[90] Ibid; *Wb* IV, 116, 10–11.
[91] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 161.

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As it is not usual for the word *tkn.w* to appear with the hide determinative it is more likely that what was intended is either of the other two possibilities. Although different translations are possible, what is definite is that the *Tekenu,* and/or its hide, is placed in the pit along with the most select parts of the sacrificed bull.[92]

The artist has chosen to depict both the *sꜣ srḳt* and *ḥm-nṯr srḳt* in this scene, apparently distinguishing between them. This is the sole occasion where the *ḥm-nṯr srḳt* is closely associated with the *Tekenu* and here he could be seen as putting the contents into the pit.[93] This interpretation is supported if the text above the kneeling figure, *ḥm-nṯr Srḳ.t (w)dỉ,* ' the priest of Serket puts' is read as complete. However, it is possible to include the text above the pit in this caption, thus rendering the text as *ḥm-nṯr Srḳ.t (w)dỉ mw š tp=k,* 'the priest of Serket who puts the water of the pool upon you'. If adopted, this last rendering leads to the question of to what 'the water of the pool' refers. One might speculate that this is the pool of Heket or 'the pool of becoming'.[94] Both of these translations explaining the action of the *ḥm-nṯr Srḳ.t* are viable and one wonders if the ambiguity was intended.

TT 100

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rḏỉ.t ỉyỉ(.t) n bb.t/ nỉw.t mskꜣ
m tkn.w sḏr ḫr=f
m š ḥpr

Causing a coming to the hole/city, (with) a hide as/with a *Tekenu* sleeping under it in the pool of Becoming.

Source: Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē*, pl. V.

TT 125

Text reproduction by Hayes

rḏ.t ỉyỉ(.t) n bb(.t)/nỉw.t mskꜣ
m tkn.w sḏr
rḏỉ(.t) sgr m š ḥpr

Causing a coming to the hole/city, (with) a hide as a *Tekenu*; sleeping; causing silence in the pool of Becoming.

Source: Eggebrecht and Eggebrecht, *Pelizaeus-Museum*, n. 263.

The lack of internal detail in what could be the sign O49 ⊗ (circled) in column one renders the interpretation *nỉw.t* 'city' open to question. It is possible that this is intended as an ideographic

[92] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 161. The bull to be sacrificed is depicted in Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* pl. IX, middle register.
[93] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 458.
[94] Cf. TT 82, 112, previously discussed and TT 100, TT 125 following.

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sign representing a hole or pit. Hence it would be transliterated *bb.t*. The translation 'hole/pit' is possible as the hide of the *Tekenu* (or hide with a *Tekenu*) is found in a pit in TT 20.[95] It is open to conjecture whether this imprecision was intended. The word 'city' is used in association with the *Tekenu* in both TT 11 and TT 20 and it is at times arguable that to what is being referred is the necropolis, a place of burial. The pit is also illustrated as a place of burial.

Further, in column one, there is a dilemma caused by the use of the preposition *n*. This preposition is commonly used when the motion is directed towards a person. Here the motion is directed towards a thing or place. Accordingly it would be expected that the preposition would be *r*.[96] Thus other transliterations must be considered:

rḏ.t ỉyỉ(.t) ỉn nỉw.t	the causing of a coming by the city
rḏỉ.t ỉyỉ(.t) n(.t) nỉw.t	causing a coming of the city

In these alternative readings the word 'city' must be metonymic, referring to the populace. The word 'hole' is not an option in these readings.

In line two, *sḏr* has been translated as 'sleeping' however, 'passing the night' or 'lying down' are also possible translations.

In line three, *ḫpr* has been read as an infinitive and not the name of the god Khepri. However, 'the pool of Khepri' is a viable translation.

Scholars have provided different translations for this section of text:

> 'bringing to the city of the skin [meska with skin determinative] as a *Tekenu* one who lies under it in the pool of transformation'.[97]
>
> 'causing to come to the city [of eternity] a hide as a tknw which lies under it as a pouch [lit. receptacle] of transformation.[98]
>
> 'making the skin come to the city (= necropolis) with the *Tekenu*; sleeping under it in the pool of Khepri.'[99]

Moreover any one of these pools possibly corresponds to the 'pool of the *Tekenu*,'[100] which Settgast identifies as occurring in TT125.[101]

5.2.2 Textual references: summary and conclusions

From the preceding discussion one is led to the following conclusions:

1. The texts pertaining to the *Tekenu* are few in number and when they do occur, they are short. This might be due to space restrictions or a conscious decision by the craftsmen.
2. The grammatical construction is frequently ambiguous and open to numerous interpretations. The infrequent use of determinatives compounds this ambiguity.

[95] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* pl. IX, bottom register.
[96] Gardiner, A., *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 2001), 164.1. I am indebted to Hayes for this suggestion.
[97] Thomas, *AE* 1/2 (1923), 49.
[98] Metawi, *Memnonia* XIX (2008), 186.
[99] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 155.
[100] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 157.
[101] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 60. This is from an unpublished source and is unavailable for verification.

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3. The majority of the transcriptions cannot now be verified against the originals due to lost or damaged text or the inaccessibility of the tomb. Hence one is left with the reliance of the eye and the understanding and interpretation of others.
4. What is obvious is that the textual references do not provide any description of the physical aspects of the *Tekenu,* nor do these sources contain any direct, complete or unequivocal statement of the *Tekenu's* significance or function.

One is left with the thought that perhaps the *Tekenu* was meant tobe an enigma, to reinforce a mystical quality open to interpretation by those who view the tomb. Nevertheless, it is contended that there are a number of significant features of the *Tekenu* revealed in the textual references that can be seen to contribute, in quite a compelling way, to the achievement of an overall understanding of the underlying purpose served by the *Tekenu.*

The obvious question the texts answer is the intended destination of the *Tekenu*: TT 15, TT 17, TT 24, and TT 53 *ḫr.t-nṯr* (necropolis); EK 7 *ḫr.t-nṯr pn* (this necropolis); EK 3 *ỉmn.t* (realm of the dead); TT 20 *nỉw.t=f* (his city) and TT 11 *ḏ.t=f*-(his body/ his eternity).

Next, the texts describe the manner of the *Tekenu's* travel to its intended destination. The *Tekenu* is dragged by people from cities in the delta region of Buto: from Ked in TT 82, TT 112 and TT 224,[102] Pe, Dep and Hutihut in TT 24 and Pe in TT 17. There is a compelling significance to the traverse of the *Tekenu*. The people from the Delta region aid in the *Tekenu*'s journey in the funerary procession, through a profoundly liminal stage and into the necropolis.. This is akin to the transition of the king to the sky in the Pyramid Texts, where he is aided by, along with others, souls from Pe:

> *your boat of 770 cubits which the gods of Pe bound together for you.*' (PT 1209)[103]

> T*here come to you the gods the Souls of Pe, the gods the Souls of ekhen, They make supports for you upon their arms; may you ascend to the sky and mount up on it this its name of 'Ladder'.* (PT 478–479)

> *Hail to the ladder which the Souls of Pe and the Souls of Nekhen have erected and gilded!* (PT 1253)

Dep is also referred to in the Pyramid Texts within the context of ascension:

> *I ascend; the Mistress of Dep rejoices.* (PT 1107)

In TT 82, TT 112 and TT 224 the *Tekenu* is hauled by the people of Ked as well as by the Serket-ritualist. The Serket-ritualist also drags the *Tekenu* in TT 20. The term *sꜣ.w Srḳ.t* is translated by Hannig 'Magician of Serket' —leading the *Tekenu* procession.[104] As the term 'magician' now connotes an element of fantasy implying 'wizardry', 'sorcery' or 'a shaman',[105] the author has adopted the term 'ritualist' which avoids this potentially derogatory element.

Ked, which is also located in the Delta, is recorded as the sanctum of the goddess Serket.[106] Serket is a name that comes from the verb *srk* which means 'breathe', 'make breathe' (*Wb.* IV, 201). Breathing being an essential component of human existence, Serket may be seen as possessing 'a life force'. Serket is also perceived as performing a protective role and is said to nurse the king: [107]

> *Serket has set her hands on me, she has extended her breast to my mouth.* (PT 1427)

[102] Davies, *Puymeré*, vol. II, 6 records the *Tekenu as* being drawn by men of 'Keden' but this is not independently verifiable.
[103] Source for PT references, Faulkner, R. O., (translator), *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford, 1969)
[104] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 708.
[105] *Oxford Dictionary*, vol. 1, 1672–1673.
[106] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 1195.
[107] See Leitz *Götter und Götterbezeichnungen,* vol. 6, 437–440; Wilkinson, R. H., *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2003), 233–235.

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A further reference to Serket in the Pyramid Texts reinforces her position as a protective force:

> *My mother is Isis, my nurse is Nephthys, she who suckled me is the Sḫ3t-Ḥr cow, Neith is behind me and Serket is before me.* (PT 1375)

Serket was principally architecturally recorded for her participation in the scenes of royal birth and her role of protective goddess of the canopic jar of Qebehsnewef. She is a goddess intimately linked to the religious comprehension of birth and revival.[108] In the tomb of Tutankhamun, in the room beyond the burial chamber, Carter found numerous funerary objects that he concluded 'formed part of one great recondite idea, and that each of them has a mystical potency of some kind'.[109] One of the objects was a gilt shrine-shaped chest that shielded the canopic box (Figure 5.2.2.1). Surrounding this chest are statuettes of the guardian goddesses, Isis, Nephthys, Neith and Serket: Isis on the southwestern corner, Nephthys on the northwestern corner, Neith on the southeastern corner, and Serket on the northeastern corner. Each of these goddesses was believed to posses a 'genius, which it was her duty to protect'.[110] Hence each goddess was responsible for the protection of one of the four sons of Horus: Imsety, whose canopic jar contained the liver, by Isis; Duamutef, whose canopic jar contained the stomach, by Neith; Hapi, whose canopic jar contained the lungs by Nephthys and Qebehsnewef, whose canopic jar contained the intestines, by Serket.[111] Like her sisters, Serket surrounded the deceased by her arms. 'Surround' means both protect and gather but also expresses the idea of the creation or gestation.[112] Spieser further suggests that one word, *db*, meant both the 'horn' and the 'sting of the scorpion' and that the 'horn' could be described as having an 'imaginary' uterus aspect.[113] Consequently the goddess was associated with giving life force to the embryo.

Figure 5.2.2.1. Canopic shrine of Tutankhamun with Serket on the left and Isis on the right. XVIII Dynasty. Cairo Museum.
Source: www.globalegyptianmuseum.org

In TT 20, as well as the Serket-ritualist, the *Tekenu* is also dragged by a *sꜣ.w* (ritualist) and a *wt.(y)* (embalmer). The embalmer, whose task it was to preserve the body of the deceased from decay, may be interpreted as being a force for preservation.

[108] Spieser, C., 'Nouvelles Approches de L'Image Emblematique de Serket: Le Serpent, La Corne et L'Uterus', *GM* 209 (2006), 91.
[109] Carter, *Tut.ankh.Amen: Annexe and Treasury*, 35.
[110] Carter, *Tut.ankh.Amen: Annexe and Treasury* 47.
[111] Carter, *Tut.ankh.Amen: Annexe and Treasury,* 47–48.
[112] Spieser, *GM* 209 (2006), 91–92.
[113] Spieser, *GM* 209 (2006), 99. For a full discussion, see 96–98.

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Thus the conclusion is open that those who drag the *Tekenu* (and it is always only people, never oxen, who aid in its transportation, unlike that of the sarcophagus) provided a protective, life-giving and regenerating force.

The references to water and pools in the texts of TT 20, TT 82, TT 100, TT 112 and TT 125 provide further enlightenment as to the essence of the *Tekenu*. In TT 82 and TT 112 the *Tekenu* is associated with the 'replenishing the fullness of the pools of Heket'. Heket was a goddess who assisted in forming the foetus and aiding in birth.[114] She was a goddess of childbirth and fertility who was closely associated with Khnum.[115] She is depicted with Khnum on Hatshepsut's birth colonnade in her mortuary temple at Deir el Bahri where she appears administering the key of life to the queen and her double, that is her *ka* (Figure 5.2.2.2).[116] Khnum is shown making two identical figures of the child Hatshepsut, one the body, the other the *ka,* which is the life force without which the body does not exist as a living human being. Thus Heket is portrayed administering two ankhs, one to the body of Hatshepsut, the other to her *ka.*

Figure 5.2.2.2. Heket administering the key of *life* to Hatshepsut and her double as they are fashioned by Khnum. After: Naville, *Temple of Deir El Bahari,* pl. XLVIII. Redrawn by N. V. Maksoud, Kanawati, *Tomb and its Significance* fig. 6a.

Heket was also involved in the revivification of the deceased. The goddess's first attestation is in the Pyramid Texts where she assists the deceased journey to the sky.[117]

> *My hinder-parts are Heket; I will ascend and rise up to the sky.* (PT 1312)

In TT 100 and TT 125, the *Tekenu* appears to be partaking in a ritual dormation. In TT 100, it is sleeping under a hide in the 'pool of becoming/ Khepri'. In TT 125, it seemingly sleeps under a hide in the 'pool of becoming/ Khepri'[118] and further causes 'silence'. *Ḫprỉ* (Khepri) comes from the verb *ḫpr* 'come into being', 'create'.[119] The god Khepri was associated with the scarab and was swallowed by the goddess Nut each night and was reborn each morning, thus he was directly connected with resurrection and rebirth.[120] In the Pyramid Texts, Khepri is linked with the souls of Pe and with vitality.

> *I have come from Pe, and the flame is red, the Beetle is alive.* (PT 570)

[114] Leitz *Götter und Götterbezeichnungen,* vol. 5, 490–491.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Naville, É., *The Temple of Deir El Bahari.*(London, 1894–1908), pl. XLVIII.
[117] Wilkinson, *Gods and Goddesses, 229.*
[118] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 60 records this pool as 'pool of the *Tekenu*'.
[119] *Wb.* 3, 260.7–264.17
[120] Leitz *Götter und Götterbezeichnungen,* vol. 5, 713–716.

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The relevance of the use of the word '*sgr'* (silence) in TT 125 is not immediately apparent. It might be that, as the meaning of the name of the goddess who presided over the entire Theban necropolis, Meretseger, was 'she who loves silence', the *Tekenu* is causing a desired state.[121] This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the *Tekenu* causes the progression to the 'hole/city'—that is the place of burial, which is in the Theban necropolis. The ambiguity rendered by the 'o' glyph, in the texts of both TT100 and TT 125, is not pertinent for this suggestion as both translations refer to a place of burial.

In TT 20 is the text:

> *putting water over/on him for his city, when he [?passes away]* [122]

Here, there is the implication that the application of water is necessary for the *Tekenu* to progress to 'his city'. This might be interpreted as equivalent to lying in a pool when in a dormant state. That the suffix pronoun *=f* is used indicates and emphasises possession. It is the *Tekenu's* city, that is, the necropolis.

Another occasion where water is associated with the *Tekenu* in TT 20 is where the Serket priest is kneeling behind the pit, containing, among other pieces, the word *tkn.w:*

> *the priest of Serket who puts the water of the pool upon you.* [123]

The pool is a likely reference to either the pools of Heket or Khepri and the water as part of a cleansing ritual or transitional aid as in the text above.

The Lakes of Heket and Khepri form part of the trio of lakes, Khepri, Heket and Sokar, which were depicted in the Holy District during the New Kingdom.[124] It is of interest to note that the *Tekenu* is not shown at repose in the Lake of Sokar.[125] This might be as Sokar was less directly involved in the process of birth and regeneration although he was associated with hoeing the earth: cultivation.[126] Finally, it is essential to note that no evidence can be found in the texts that could suggest any relationships of the mummy to the three ponds.[127]

While it is likely that numbers possessed a symbolic significance in ancient Egyptian culture, it must be noted that it is possible that a number might take on a different symbolic significance under different circumstances.[128] Accepting this caveat, the number four in TT20, TT 82 and TT 112 seems to indicate totality and completeness and the aspect of completeness appears fundamental to the symbolic use of 'four'.[129] Equally fundamental is the standard symbolism of equating the number four with the cardinal directions.[130] This is attested in The Book of the Dead, spell 148:

> *The names of the four steering-oars of the sky.*[131]

The number four becomes synonymous with any perimeter and in ritual practice this symbolism results in the fourfold repetition of actions, depictions or recitations to extend the effect of the

[121] Wilkinson, *Gods and Goddesses,* 224.
[122] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII. scene 3.
[123] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. IX, bottom register.
[124] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 57–61.
[125] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 61.
[126] Leitz *Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, v*ol. 6, 664–666.
[127] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 61.
[128] Wilkinson, R. H., *Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art* (London, 1994), 127.
[129] Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic,* 133–134. This is in contrast to the number 3 which is more frequently associated with plurality.
[130] Ritner, R. K., 'O. Gardiner 363: A Spell Against Night Terrors', *JARCE* 27, 35.
[131] Faulkner, R. O., (translator), *Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (New York, 2005), 163.

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rite throughout the cosmos.[132] Therefore the 'entry and exit four times by the district' in TT 82 and TT 112 might connote the completion of a ritual or journey. Such ritual journeys are commonly depicted in the funerary procession to Sais and Buto in the Delta region and to Abydos.[133] In the sacred temenoi of Sais and Buto an archaic cult drama was performed. In the Archaic Period, an actual journey was probably taken to Sais and Buto, but by the Eighteenth Dynasty a conflated and abbreviated version of this ancient mortuary celebration was more likely enacted in the deceased's local necropolis.[134] At Abydos, the deceased celebrated the cult of Osiris to ensure his acceptance into the afterworld. Again, this was more often a symbolic journey, by boat, recorded on the tomb wall. Travelling towards Abydos, the boats face into the tomb, while on the return journey they face outwards, emphasising a successful revivification.[135] This voyage was also enacted on the eighteenth and nineteenth day of the first month of inundation as part of the *Wag* festival—a symbol of regeneration.[136]

The number four is further associated with the *Tekenu* in TT 20 when the pit in which the *Tekenu* later appears is being constructed:

> *the great god who fills the earth four times*
> *conducting the opening of the earth four times* [137]

This text links the *Tekenu* with birth, regeneration, totality and completeness.

The text of TT 53 is damaged and Davies' recording is difficult to decipher. This provides a difficulty as the translation of the word ***R****wty* is pivotal in determining the meaning. If Griffiths' reading of the word ***R****wty* as referring to the god Horus is rejected (he concedes that the writing is 'somewhat unusual'),[138] then one must examine the relevance of 'the double lion'. *Rw.ty* (the double lion) was linked with the Heliopolitan deities Shu and Tefnut:

> *...O Atum and Ruti,*
> *Who yourselves created your godheads and your persons.*
> *Shu and Tefnut who made the gods,*
> *Who begot the gods and established the gods* (PT 447)

Shu was the god of air and sunlight and Tefnut the goddess of moisture. In the Pyramid Texts they aid in the rebirth of the king:

> *Behold this King, his feet are kissed by the pure waters which exist through Atum, which the phallus of Shu makes and which the vagina of Tefnut creates.* (PT 2065)

In chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead *Rw.ty* was the god over whose back, the sun rose each day (Figure 5.2.2.3). Thus the reference to *Ruti* may be seen as reinforcing the *Tekenu*'s function of creation, rebirth and renewal.

[132] Ritner, *JARCE,* 27 (1990), 35.
[133] In this study TT 17, TT 34, TT 36, TT 39, TT 53, TT 92, TT 104, TT 260, TT 279.
[134] Hartwig, *Menna*, 66–67; Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 305.
[135] Dodson and Ikram, Tomb, 123–124; Hartwig, *Menna,* 83; Assmann, *Death and Salvation,* 308.
[136] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 308.
[137] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VII.
[138] Griffiths, *Kush* VI (1958), 118.

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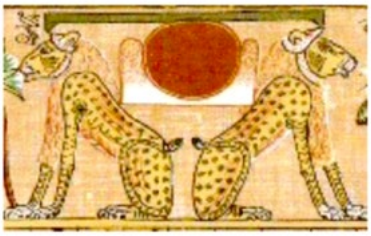

Figure 5.2.2.3. Sun rising over Rw.ty, from the tomb of Ani.
Source: Detail, Faulkner, Book of the Dead, 42. Vignette to Spell 17.

Msḳɜ is referred to four times in association with the *Tekenu*: in TT 11, TT 20, TT 100, and TT 125. The text in TT 11, *(Once) the hide (that is) in front of him is removed, he leaves for his eternity/ body,*[139] is cryptic. Both translations, 'body' and 'eternity' produce viable meanings. This renders an ambiguity that might have been intended. If the translation 'body' is adopted, then it would seem to indicate that the *Tekenu,* at this stage, is detached from the body to which it once belonged. That is, the *Tekenu* was originally a part of the body. The *msḳɜ* must be shed to allow the *Tekenu* to return to this body.[140] The return to the body occurs in the *niw.t*. It is not difficult to infer that to what is being referred by *niw.t* is the necropolis.

If, however, the translation 'eternity' is adopted, then the *Tekenu* must be shed of the *msḳɜ* in order to attain an eternal state enabling it to partake in the afterlife.

The hide is found in TT 20 in the pit with the *Tekenu* where it possibly undergoes, along with the selected parts of the sacrificial bull, a cleansing or ritual transitional process.[141] This analysis depends on reading the animal hide ideogram, F 27, either genitivally with *tkn.w* 'hide of the *Tekenu*' or as standing alone, 'hide and *Tekenu*'.

In TT 100, the *Tekenu* is sleeping under the hide,[142] while in TT 125 the *Tekenu* has a hide.[143] The meaning of the text in TT 125 is not readily discernible, however, the inference is that the hide is on the *Tekenu* as it sleeps.

It would seem that, where it is referred to, the hide aids the *Tekenu,* by means of a ritual process, to progress through a transitional, liminal phase.

In summary, the results of the semiotic analysis suggests that:

- the destination of the *Tekenu* is the necropolis;
- those who are identified as dragging the *Tekenu* are associated with the Delta region and are described in the Pyramid Texts as being forces of protection and preservation and/or aids to ascension;
- the *Tekenu's* link with water is likely reinforcing the concept of totality and completeness;
- the possible affiliation of the *Tekenu* with *Ruti* might be seen as emphasising the *Tekenu*'s feasible link with the concepts of creation, rebirth and renewal and
- the hide, *msḳɜ,* assists the *Tekenu* in its progression through a transitional, liminal phase.

[139] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), fig IX.
[140] It must be stressed that the 'body' is not equivalent to the 'corpse'. It encompasses intangible concepts such as 'self' and the essence of one's own being.
[141] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. IX.
[142] Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē,* pl. V.
[143] Eggebrecht and Eggebrecht, *Pelizaeus-Museum,* 314, n. 263.

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5.3 Pictorial representations of the *Tekenu*

5.3.1 Preliminaries

Egyptian art conveys many meanings through pictorial representation from the relatively literal to the strongly symbolic.[144] The artist endeavoured to convey not merely the physical appearance of an object but its essence, concept and idea.[145] What was being conveyed was the visible phenomena and the invisible meaning.[146] The ensuing complexity often renders it difficult to extricate the physical image from the layers of symbolism inherent in it. What one must attempt is 'not a description but an interpretation'.[147] Accepting this, it is helpful to examine the form of the *Tekenu* in isolation and in context.

Where the depiction of the *Tekenu* is obtained from a photograph of the wall of the tomb on which it is situated, it is possible to accurately assess its form, provided that the wall is undamaged. However, where one is reliant on reproductions, sketches or mere description for assessment of form, then one is dependent on the accuracy of the recorder. Precise rendering of the form of the *Tekenu* then becomes problematic. For example, compare the differences in the record of the *Tekenu* in TT 53 (Figures 5.3.1.1–5.3.1.2).

Figure 5.3.1.1. TT 53 The *Tekenu*.
Source: Davies Notebooks,7, MSS, 11.40 19 detail.
Courtesy of the British Library Board.

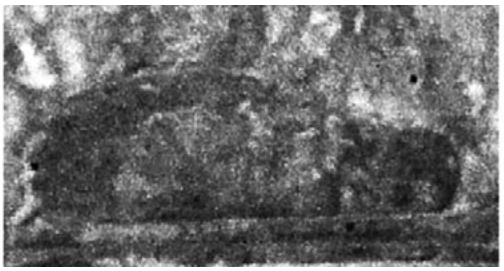

Figure 5.3.1.2. TT 53. The *Tekenu*.
Source: Griffiths, Kush VI (1958), plate XXXII.
detail.

Davies' sketched image (Figure 5.3.1.1) indicates no suggestion of possible human features and is more bulbous at the rear than the *Tekenu* in Figure 5.3.1.2. The *Tekenu* in Figure 5.3.1.2, however, displays a dark area at the front of the image that might indicate hair, a wig or a variation in the covering. There is also a suggestion of a face reminiscent of that depicted in TT 147 (Figure 5.3.1.3).

Figure 5.3.1.3. TT 147. The *Tekenu*
Photo: G. West.

[144] Baines, J., 'What is Art?' in Hartwig, M. K. (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 8.
[145] Angenot, 'Semiotics and Hermeneutics', 105.
[146] Assmann, J., 'Solar Discourse Ancient Egyptian Ways of Worldreading' in *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 68, 1994, 115.
[147] Ibid.

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5.3.2 The question of human features

There are thirteen tombs where photographs of the *Tekenu* are unobtainable,[148] hence one is forced to rely on the perception and record of others. It is plausible to contend that it is likely that some details are not recorded as is the case of Davies' sketch of the *Tekenu* in TT 53 (Figure 5.3.1.1).

Of the forty six identified occurrences of the *Tekenu* [149] two, TT 112 and TT 224, are solely documented by text. Four tombs, TT 17, TT 260 and TT A26 and ***Jḥj*** contain images of the *Tekenu* that are so severely damaged that one cannot ascertain the form. Twelve tombs contain *Tekenu* that display no human features, however, among these are TT 36, TT 49, TT 389, TT A4 and ***Sḥtbr,*** for which one is reliant on sketches. A face is illustrated in twenty two recordings of the *Tekenu,* [150] and twelve depictions display a hand or hands.[151]

There are seven attestations of the *Tekenu* recorded from photographs of the tomb wall, which reveal no human features (Figure 5.3.2.1): TT 55, TT 82, TT 92, TT 104, TT 279 and EK 3 are of form *Tekenu* Type 1 and TT 78 is of Type 2.

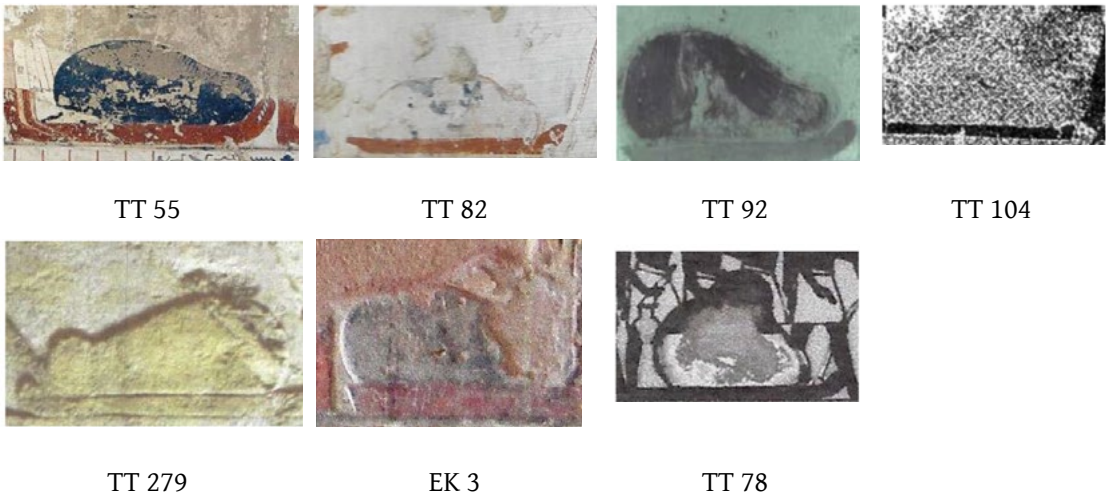

Figure 5.3.2.1. *Tekenu* without human features.

However, when these are examined, they are of a form similar to examples portraying human features. The *Tekenu* in TT 55, TT 82, TT 92, TT 104,

TT 279 and EK 3 are similar in shape to TT 147 and TT 284, which reveal some human features.

[148] TT 17, TT 20, TT 36, TT 39, TT 41, TT 49, TT 60, TT 66, TT 389, TT A4, TT A26, TT C4, ***Sḥtbr.***
[149] TT 20 and TT 36 have two examples of a *Tekenu*.
[150] TT 11, TT 12, TT 15, TT 20, TT 24, TT 34, TT 36, TT 39, TT 53, TT 60, TT 66, TT 81, TT 96, TT 100, TT 125, TT 147, TT 172, TT 276, TT 284, TT C4, EK7, sarcophagus ***Ḏd-Mwt.***
[151] TT 11, TT 20, TT 34, TT 41, TT 42?, TT 96, TT 100, TT 125, TT 147, TT 276, TT 284?, sarcophagus ***Ḏd-Mwt.***

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TT 78 is similar in form to TT 172 (Figure 5.3.2.2), which displays some human features.

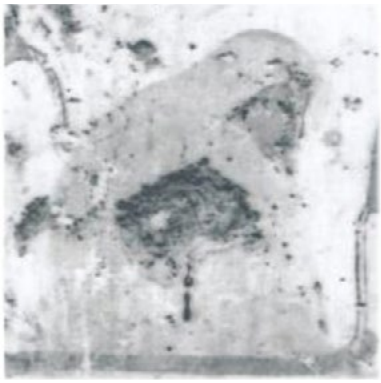

Figure 5.3.2.2. *Tekenu* shape with human features similar to those forms without human features.

The evidence recorded above leads one to suggest that the *Tekenu* is anthropomorphic in nature. It is either a human being or an effigy.

5.3.3 Covering

In twenty two portrayals, the *Tekenu* is completely or partially cloaked in a covering.[152] Given the thirteen tombs where actual photographs are not available, this is a high proportion.

In two tombs, TT 279 and the unknown tomb, the only evidence of a covering is strips of binding.

In five tombs, TT 66,[153] TT 96, TT 100, TT 125 and TT 276, the covering of the *Tekenu* is of a pale colour—probably white. These are all depictions of the *Tekenu* recumbent on a table, Type 3.

There are six attestations of the *Tekenu* covered in a light colour: TT 24, TT 78, TT 82, TT 104, TT 172 and EK 7.

Two depictions display a patterned covering. In TT 60, the *Tekenu* appears to be shrouded in a striped covering, while in ***Sḥtbr*** its covering is mottled.

Nine *Tekenu* display coverings of a dark, 'black' colour: TT 15, TT 53, TT 55, TT 81, TT 92, TT 147, TT 284, EK 3 and the sarcophagus *Ḏd-Mwt*.[154]

A) Nature of covering

The question also arises of the precise nature of the covering of the *Tekenu.* In TT 11, TT 100 and TT 125, the covering is referred to as *mskꜣ,* 'leather, hide'.[155] It has been suggested that this term specifically applies to the skin of a bull or any bovid.[156] This argument is supported by reference to the attestations of *mskꜣ* in the Pyramid Texts where *mskꜣ* is the leather of a bovine, for example:

> the rungs have been fastened to the sides with leather of *ỉmy-wt,*
> born of the Cow-goddess. (PT 688)

However, the *Wörterbuch* does not restrict its translation of *mskꜣ* to hide of a bovine but includes 'animals; bull, hippopotamus, snake'.[157] Acknowledging this translation it is, however, likely that

[152] TT 15, TT 24, TT 53, TT 55, TT 60, TT 66, TT 78, TT 81, TT 82, TT 92, TT 96, TT 100, TT 104, TT 125, TT 147, TT 172, TT 276, TT 279, TT 284, EK 3, EK7, unknown.
[153] For this tomb, one is reliant on Davies' record, Davies, *Scenes,* 12.
[154] Assmann, *Amenemope*, 93, records the *Tekenu* in TT 41 as 'black' but this cannot be independently verified.
[155] *Wb* II, 150. 3–5.
[156] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 151.
[157] For a summary, see Hannig *Handwörterbuch,* 386.

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the covering of the *Tekenu*, when dark, is a bovine hide. The representations of the *Tekenu* in TT 60 and ***Sḥtbr*** lend support to this contention (Figures 5.3.3.1–5.3.3.2).[158]

Figure 5.3.3.1. TT 60. The *Tekenu*. Source: Davies, *Antefoker*, pl XXIIIA.

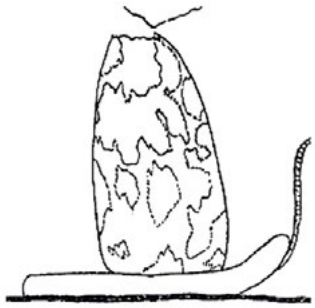

Figure 5.3.3.2. ***Sḥtbr*** The *Tekenu*. Source: Quibell, *Ramesseum* pl. IX, detail.

Further adding credence to this suggestion is evidence from the Abydos stela, where there is a reference to the sacrifice of bovids and the subsequent ritual use of the ***mskɜ***, the victim's skin.[159]

The white covering of the *Tekenu* is possibly the same fabric as that of the robe of the priest. There is, however, also the possibility that in both instances the covering is that of a white bovine or a hide that has been dyed.[160]

B) Colour 1–3

It is difficult to ascertain the precise relevance of the colour variation of the *Tekenu* in all instances. Colour might have been dictated merely by aesthetic preferences to enhance the visual appeal of the *Tekenu* itself or the wall on which it appears.[161] However, in many occurrences colour choices in wall paintings were governed by systems of patterning,[162] and colour was given a representational role.[163] The class of object was given its own colour but did not necessarily show the actual colour of the object.[164] The jackal deities Wepwawet and Anubis, for example, were shown in black to signify their funerary role and their connection with the underworld. This was despite the fact that the majority of jackals are sand-coloured.[165] It must also be stressed that the Egyptian eye often perceived and evaluated differently from that of modern times.[166] The inherent sense and figurative value of a colour reflected the typical thinking and apperception of the Egyptian.[167] For example, yellow ochre was typically used to denote female skin and red was used for male. These are not the actual colours of the skin. The use of these particular colours to depict female and male skin is 'caricatural for semiotic sake'.[168]

The term ***jwn*** denotes the noun 'colour' as well as, in a figurative or metaphorical sense, 'nature', 'disposition', 'being' and 'character'.[169] Thus the colour of an object was integral to its being:

> *This underlying connotation is one of the reasons why the colours used in Egyptian art so frequently make a symbolic statement, identifying and defining the essential nature of that which is portrayed*

[158] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 151.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Kozloff, A. P. and Bryan B. M., Egypt's dazzling sun : Amenhotep III and his world (Cleveland, 1992), 268; Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic*, 105.
[162] Robins, G., 'Colour Symbolism' in Redford, D. B. (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), vol. 1, 291.
[163] Baines, J., 'Color Terminology and Color Classification: Ancient Egyptian Color terminology and Polychromy', *American Anthropologist,* New Series, vol. 87/2 (1985), 285.
[164] Baines, *American Anthropologist,* New Series, vol. 87/2 (1985), 285; Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, 71.
[165] Robins, G., 'Colour Symbolism' in Redford, D. B. (ed.) *The Ancient Gods Speak: A Guide to Egyptian Religion* (New York, 2002), 60.
[166] Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, 71.
[167] Verbovsek, A.,'Reception and Perception' in Hartwig, M. K. (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 145.
[168] Angenot, 'Semiotics and Hermeneutics', 104.
[169] *Wb* 1, 52. 10–18.

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> *in a way that complements and expands upon the basic information imparted by the artist in line and form.*[170]

Colour was also employed to convey complex religious concepts and symbolism.[171]

The visually prominent colours of the *Tekenu* covering are a dark colour, most probably black, and white. The *Tekenu* has also been referred to as green by Hay.[172]

1 Black

In dynastic times, the colour black bore positive connotations. It was considered to be the colour of fertile soil and the word *kmt* 'the black land' referred to Egypt.[173] The association of the colour black with fecundity resulted from the Egyptian's observation of the yearly inundation of the Nile and the cycle of growth, evolution and development.[174] However, the colour black also symbolised the underworld and its transitory powers.[175] When identified with Osiris, who was referred to in texts as *kmjj,* the 'black one',[176] black had connotations of renewal in the afterlife.[177] However, in association with Osiris, black also represented an intermediate stage. When Osiris was portrayed as black he was actually made of gold. The outer covering of black concealed the gold base. The gold base was essential as gold was regarded as the final ideal colour.[178] Part of the transformation role of the colour black is illustrated in the statue of Amenophis II and the Hathor cow at Deir el Bahri where the representation of the king between the forelegs of a cow shows him as black, but when he drinks the divine milk he becomes red.[179] The colour black is also associated with the beginning of the mystical rites linked to Buto whereby the king is reborn in the marshes.[180]

Perhaps even more relevant to the study of the *Tekenu*, is the double- cartouche shaped object from the tomb of Tutankhamun which incorporates four representations of the king: royal child, adult king, dead king and the child who will be reborn. In this later stage of life, the child who will be reborn, the king is depicted as black.[181]

2 White

White denoted ritual purity and sacredness and was worn by ritual specialists.[182] White was also worn by the Egyptians to contrast them with the colourful garments worn by foreigners.[183] The colour white was used to signify joy and celebration.[184]

It is highly probable that the artist specifically chose the colour to portray the covering of the *Tekenu* and intended it to symbolise numerous concepts. In all cases where the *Tekenu* is covered in something dark, it is being pulled on a sledge (Types 1 and 2), while when it is draped in a white covering it is recumbent on a table (Type 3). This change suggests that the *Tekenu* undergoes a transition. It might be that when upon a sledge it is progressing towards the underworld and bears

170 Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic*, 104.
171 Woods, 'Relief', 234.
172 Hay MSS 29824, 18, verso; 62, verso.
173 Robins, 'Colour Symbolism', 291.
174 Verbovsek, 'Reception and Perception', 146.
175 Robins, 'Colour Symbolism', 293. Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic*, 109.
176 Robins, 'Colour Symbolism', 293
177 Robins, 'Colour Symbolism', 293. Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic*, 109.
178 Manniche, L., 'The Complexion of Queen Ahmosi Nefertere,' *AcOr(C)* XL (1979), 16.
179 Ibid.
180 Manniche, *AcOr(C)*, XL (1979), 16; Noblecourt, P., *Toutankhamon et son temps* (second edition, Paris, 1967), 134–136, 171–172.
181 Manniche, *AcOr(C)* XL (1979), 17.
182 Robins, 'Colour Symbolism', 293. Verbovsek, 'Reception and Perception', 146; Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic*, 109.
183 Hodel-Hoenes, *Life and Death,* 20.
184 Ibid.

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all the sometimes seemingly conflicting connotations of death, the underworld, transitory powers and renewal and when recumbent on a table it becomes a symbol of purity and sacredness.[185]

3 Green

The *Tekenu* has also been associated with the colour green. Hay's record of TT 82 includes the statement 'on the shore four men drag a sledge with the Green Bag'[186] and the *Tekenu* in TT A4 is described by Hay as 'a large green case'.[187] Scholars have been unable to explain the relevance of these descriptions. The colour green carried connotations of growth, life, vigour and regeneration.[188] Osiris was often depicted with green skin to symbolise his revivification.[189] The protective serpent goddess of Lower Egypt was called ***Wꜣḏt,*** literally 'she who is papyrus-coloured' or 'the green one'.[190] ***Wꜣḏ*** also has the meanings, among others of 'fresh, uncorrupt, successful, prosperous, happy, lucky'.[191] One might argue that the *Tekenu* is referred to as 'the green bag' to reinforce its association with Wadjet and Lower Egypt and to enable it to have all the connotations of the word '*wꜣḏ'*. As early as the Fifth Dynasty, Wadjet is shown at the temple of King Niuserre with the epithet 'Wadjet of Pe' written above her head. The *Tekenu* is frequently dragged by the people of Pe. This leads to the tentative proposal that to what is being referred by the expression 'the Green Bag' is not actually a bag of green colour, but that is a concept or functionality. It might be a commonly accepted Ancient Egyptian expression or popular, metaphorical term, as, for example, the modern-day reference to a person who is a good gardener as having 'a green thumb'. This is a possibility since, apart from the cited, there is neither textual nor pictorial evidence of the *Tekenu* being covered in a green material. Rather, the covering material is more commonly mottled, of dark hue, or of a light colour approaching white. That the *Tekenu* is referred to as 'green' might be to assert and reinforce its very positive and beneficial symbolism.

5.3.4 Hand position

In all cases of Type 3, the *Tekenu's* hands are clearly visible in front of the face and the palms face upwards towards the face (Figure 5.3.4.1).

T 96 TT 100 TT 125 TT 276 TT 41

Figure 5.3.4.1 *Tekenu* with palms facing upwards.

In four cases of Type 1, the *Tekenu's* hands are also clearly visible. In all cases except the second example in TT 20 (Figure 5.3.4.4) the palms face downwards (Figure 5.3.4.2).

In the first example of TT 20 as well as in TT 34 and TT 147, the *Tekenu* is being dragged on a sledge and forms part of the funerary procession. In the second example of TT 20, where the palms face

185 This contention will be more fully developed in the section on context, 5.4.
186 Hay MSS 29824, 62, verso.
187 Hay MSS 29824, 18, verso.
188 Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic*, 108; Robins, 'Colour Symbolism', 291.
189 Ibid.
190 Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 190.
191 Ibid.

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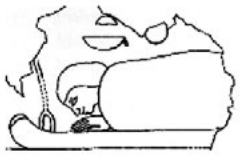
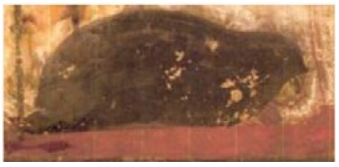
upwards, the *Tekenu* is depicted in a transitory stage before then being depicted again standing upright (Figure 5.3.4.3).

TT 20/1



TT 34



TT 147

Figure 5.3.4.2 *Tekenu* with palms facing downwards.

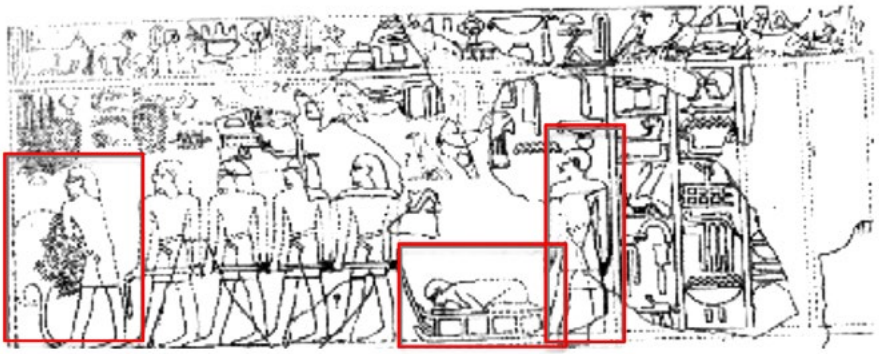


Figure 5.3.4.3. TT 20. *Tekenu* procession showing *Tekenu* first standing upright, then on a sledge and at the far left standing upright.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII., top register.

Figure 5.3.4.4. TT 20 /2. The *Tekenu* on a sledge with palms facing upwards.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII., top register, detail.

The Egyptian artist incorporated the nonverbal vocabulary of gestures into his work consciously to aid in the comprehension of his composition.[192] The use of gestures to connote symbolic contextual meaning and significance can be identified in early dynastic works such as the Narmer palette where, in gestures of dominance and submission, the king is depicted smiting and tugging the hair of the kneeling enemy.[193] In later periods the *Mww*-dancers are depicted gesturing with a finger to ward off danger. However, the interpretation of gesture is not always straightforward and it is, at times, unclear whether a specific gesture is being performed or whether 'figures are simply represented in a manner consistent with artistic conventions of the time or with individual artistic idiosyncrasies'.[194]

It has been suggested that the gesture of the palms facing upwards in front of the mouth might illustrate the action of speaking,[195] while palms facing downwards might suggest silence. There are, however, other possible interpretations. When the *Tekenu* is depicted with palms facing upwards, it could be that it is preparing to receive something or perhaps begging or drinking. Palms facing downwards then would indicate that either, something has been received, or nothing is desired to be received. There is also the possibility that the palms face downwards in a gesture of submission. It has also been noted that when the deceased reaches towards an offering table, he often does so

[192] Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic*, 192.
[193] Wilkinson, 'Gesture' in Redford, D. B. (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), vol. II, 20.
[194] Wilkinson, 'Gesture', 20-21.
[195] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 159.

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with palms facing downwards in a gesture of ownership rather than that of requesting.[196] Thus the *Tekenu* with palms facing downwards might be denoting ownership.

In the Sixth Dynasty mastaba of Idu, a rock-cut half-length statue of the tomb owner appears with the hands extended forward, palms facing upwards, in order to receive the offerings left by visitors to the tomb on the offering table below (Figure 5.3.4.5).[197] On the same wall (the western wall), Idu is depicted seated either side of an offering table. His right hand, in both cases, is stretched forward towards the offering table, with palms facing downwards (Figure 5.3.4.6).[198] This gesture could be interpreted as symbolising ownership of the offerings.

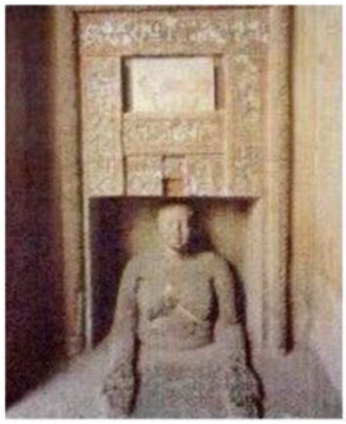

Figure 5.3.4.5. Idu palms facing upwards.
Source: Simpson, Qar and Idu, pl. XXIX a.

Figure 5.3.4.6. Idu palms facing downwards.
Source: Simpson, Qar and *Idu*, pl. XXIX d

Wilkinson has also noted that:

> while arms slightly outstretched before the body with palms facing down represents a gesture of respect or submission, the same gesture with palms upwards represents giving.[199]

Yet another possibility is that when the palms are depicted facing upwards, they are directed towards the gods.[200]

It is difficult to isolate the salient symbolic aspect of the gesture of the *Tekenu's* palm. However, despite the speculative scenarios one may put forward, it seems that when the *Tekenu* is depicted with the hands facing upwards, it is in an active state. When the hands face downwards, the *Tekenu* is in state of submission, inaction, repose or possession.

5.3.5 Eyes

Serrano Delgado contends that the iconographic treatment of the Type 3 *Tekenu* emphasises wide, open and outlined eyes and that this might be an allusion to the relation of open eyes with the experiencing of a vision.[201] He does, however, concede that this cannot be stated with certainty.[202] This interpretation becomes less tenable when one considers TT 147, which contains a Type 1 *Tekenu* with an outlined, dark eye while TT 100 and TT 125, which both contain a Type 3 *Tekenu,* do

[196] Harrington, N., *Living with the Dead: Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2013), 16; see fig. 6.4.4.
[197] Simpson, W. K., *Mastabas of Qar and Idu, G7101 and 7102*, (Boston, 1976), 27.
[198] Ibid.
[199] Wilkinson, 'Gesture', 21.
[200] Malek, J., *Egypt; 4000 Years of Art* (New York, 2003), 216.
[201] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 158 n. 63.
[202] Ibid.

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not display this attribute. Where it occurs, the outlined eye might be purely for aesthetic reasons or to emphasise the anthropomorphic nature of the *Tekenu*.

5.3.6 Human form

There are only two examples of the Type 4 *Tekenu*, in TT 11 and TT 20. Here the *Tekenu* is definitely human and of upright form. In TT 11, it carries a skin with a tail, thereby reinforcing its association with *msḳ3*.

5.3.7 Pictorial representations: summary and conclusions

The examination of the physical appearance of the *Tekenu* allows one to make some tentative conclusions:

- The *Tekenu* is anthropomorphic in nature.
- The colouring of the *Tekenu's* covering is pertinent:
  When black it bears the connotations of death, the underworld and renewal. This covering is likely bovine skin.
  When white it is a symbol of purity, sacredness, joy and celebration. This covering is possibly of the same material as that of a priest's clothing. although it could be bovine.
- Hay's reference to the *Tekenu* and 'green' remains problematical.[203]
- The depiction of the *Tekenu's* palms facing upwards likely indicates it is in an active state. When the palms face downwards, the *Tekenu* is likely in a state of submission, inaction, repose or possession.

5.4 The *Tekenu* in the context of the larger scene

5.4.1 Preliminaries

It is impossible to fully understand the relevance and function of the *Tekenu* without an appreciation of its context within the iconography of funerary ritual. Necessarily, this means that one is evaluating from one's own cultural perspective and endeavouring to conceptualise ancient Egyptian thought and belief. This is an arduous task as a plethora of ideas might be compounded into the one image, leaving one confronted with dense, complex scenes that are difficult to interpret. One might attempt to describe this complexity by means of conceptual analysis. However, such analysis was probably never intended to be performed. 'In the Egyptian mind...any such analytical approach would have been unthinkable.'[204] Conceding the limitations of the approach, an attempt must be made to elucidate the nature of the *Tekenu* in context, noting that a definitive interpretation might be elusive.

Even a cursory appraisal of the *Tekenu* in situ leads one to the observation that Type 1, (except Type 1 C) and Type 2 appear in similar scenes, namely as part of the funerary procession, while Type 3 appears among vignettes of the Holy District. Type 4 occurs in a context totally different from those in which the other types appear. Hence this section will examine the *Tekenu* according to type.

5.4.2 The Tekenu *Types 1 and 2*

In most instances the *Tekenu* classified as Type 1 or Type 2 is found in close proximity to either or both the sarcophagus and the canopic chest, as part of the funerary procession as it proceeds towards the tomb. The exceptions are TT 34, TT 172 and the unknown tomb[205] where damage

[203] The author has searched extensively in early literature and has been unable to find any relevant references.
[204] Assmann, 'Death and Initiation', 146.
[205] This tomb is unnamed and conventionally called 'unknown tomb'. See Werbrouck, *Pleureuses,* 79; Moret, *Mystères*

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prevents assessment; EK 3, where the sarcophagus is represented as part of the voyage to Abydos and EK 7, where the *Tekenu* is followed by a statue of the deceased which is itself being dragged.

In two occurrences, TT 36 (no. 2) and TT 279, the *Tekenu* is depicted as being dragged by a man or men who hold both the rope attached to the *Tekenu* and that attached to the sarcophagus. The sarcophagus of Djedmout displays the *Tekenu* positioned between the wheels of the sledge that bears the sarcophagus.[206] It is located directly under the depiction of the anthropoid coffin. These depictions emphasise the close association of the *Tekenu* and the sarcophagus.

In the seven instances where the *Tekenu*, canopic chest and sarcophagus are represented separately, in succession and in the same register, there seems to be no apparent reason for the chosen order. Variously are found:

Tekenu	canopic chest	sarcophagus (TT 20, TT 49, TT 55, TT 284, TT 36)
sarcophagus	canopic chest	*Tekenu* (TT 39, TT 92, TT 147)

It might be that the artist chose the order for aesthetic reasons or that the topographical nature of the tomb and the condition of the particular wall dictated the positioning.

In three depictions, TT 12, TT 60 and TT 81, the *Tekenu* and canopic chest are represented in two parallel sub-registers.

A) Dancers

The *Mww-dancers* are represented in close proximity to the *Tekenu* in fourteen tombs: ***Sḥtbr***, TT 12, TT 15, TT 17, TT 24, TT 41, TT 42, TT 60, TT 81, TT 82, TT 172, TT 260, TT A4, and EK 7. That this is significant is emphasised by the way the ancient Egyptian perceived dance and the suggested origin of the *Mww*-dancers.

When conceptualised as a ritual practice, dance can be characterised as the setting up of relationships between symbols by means of physical operations.[207] In ancient Egypt dance played an integral role in both festival and religious rituals. It expressed the emotion evoked by the presence of a sacred being.[208] Dance also evidenced radical change, in a liminal stage, when something ended and something else began.[209] Furthermore, it contained a protective component that aided in this transitory stage.[210] Dance combined mythical and mystical elements, rendering straightforward interpretation illusory.

The *Mww*-dancers, who are always male, are commonly shown with both fists placed on their chest in a gesture of veneration, with two fingers pointing to the ground, holding hands, or touching each other with one finger while holding the other hand straight.[211]

Junker states that the rites of the *Mww*-dancers were so complex that only selected sections could be illustrated on the tomb walls.[212] Thus the quest to define the exact nature of the *Mww*-dancers and their specific role has led to speculation and varied hypotheses.

Égyptiens, 47.

[206] See 4.3, 1B.6 for a discussion of other interpretations taking into account the ancient Egyptian's use of perspective. Regardless of one's view of the position of the *Tekenu* it is still depicted close to the sarcophagus.

[207] Meyer-Dietrich, E., 'Dance'. In Willeke Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, (Los Angeles, 2009), 4.

[208] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 301.

[209] Meeks, D., 'Dance' in Redford, D. B. (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), vol 1, 359.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Meyer-Dietrich 2009, 'Dance', 5.

[212] Junker, Von H., ' Der Tanz der *Mww* und das Butische Begräbnis im Alten Reich', *MDAIK*, 9 (1940), 12; Reeder, *KMT* 6/3 (1995), 73.

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Brunner-Traut, the first scholar to examine the *Mww*-dancers in detail, states that the *Mww*-dancers were demigods or deities who appeared, acting as agents from the netherworld, to enable the progression of the deceased from this world to the next.[213] Junker suggests that the *Mww* dancers were personifications of the ancient kings of Buto who thereby afforded a royal aspect to the funerals of non royals.[214] For Junker, they were 'the ancestors of the sovereign...the Souls of Pe'.[215]

Settgast perceives part of the role of the *Mww*-dancers as being to grant permission for the deceased to enter the Holy District and to escort the deceased, and the *Tekenu,* on symbolic pilgrimages to Sais and Buto.[216] He correctly cites TT 17 as labelling the *Mww*-dancers as 'ancestors'.[217]

Altenmüller sees the *Mww*-dancers as border guards and ferrymen of the deceased.[218] He regards Junker's view that they were associated with Buto as 'problematic'.[219]

Kinney points out that the earliest attestations of the *Mww*-dancers are in the Old Kingdom, in the tombs of *Nb-kɜw-ḥr, Ptḥ-ḥtp* II and *Jḥi*. She notes that by this time, one thousand years separated the ancient kings of Buto from these depictions and 'references to the *mww* and the Butoesque funerary rituals are enigmatic'.[220] However, she argues that the association of the *Mww*-dancers with the Delta region, if not the precise 'Butoesque funerary rituals', is established by 'the proximity of the *mww* to schematic representations of Sais and Buto in the three Old Kingdom examples.[221] As the term '*mww*' literally means 'those who belong to water,' Kinney suggests that it might have been a term denoting ferrymen and that this might have been the *Mww*-dancers' original occupation.[222]

The importance of the *Mww*-dancers within the funerary ritual has been attested in numerous texts. For example:

In the Story of Sinuhe from the Middle Kingdom,

> *The dance of the Mww-dancers*
> *is done at the door of your tomb.*[223]

On a stela from the early Eighteenth Dynasty,

> *may you be given an escort like the ancestors*
> *the muu come to you in jubilation*[224]

The *Mww*-dancers appear in three different settings within the funerary ritual of the Middle and New Kingdoms:[225]

1. As the cortege approaches the entrance to the necropolis
2. Standing in the hall of the *Mww*, guarding the necropolis
3. Dancing in pairs and facing each other in mirrored symmetry.

The *Tekenu* in Types 1 and 2, is depicted within the context of settings 1 and 3, whereas Type 3 *Tekenu* are located in the vicinity of setting 2.

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213 Brunner-Traut, E., *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten* (New York, 1958), 59.
214 Junker, *MDAIK*, 9 (1940), 24.
215 Junker, *MDAIK*, 9 (1940), 23.
216 Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 31, 73. Kinney, *Dance*, 141 concurs.
217 Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 38.
218 Altenmüller, H., 'Zur Frage der mww', *SAK* 2 (1975), 31.
219 Altenmüller, *SAK* 2 (1975), 2.
220 Kinney, *Dance*, 142.
221 Kinney, *Dance*, 141.
222 Ibid.
223 Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol 1, 229.
224 Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 302.
225 Brunner-Traut, *Tanz i*, 55. Most scholars agree although Junker, *MDAIK*, 9 (1940), 3–6, extends this to six.

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Where the *Mww*-dancers are shown as the cortège, including the *Tekenu*, approaches the entrance to the necropolis, they are adorned with a distinctive, conical headdress.[226] They are summoned by the priest at the head of the procession who, in TT 60, utters the ritual words 'come, oh *mww*'.[227] Then the *Mww*-dancers, perhaps stepping side by side, raise their feet in a manner which could be interpreted as stepping over the threshold between this world and the next.[228] This ritual seemingly involved the *Mww* dancers granting permission and/or ensuring safe passage for the cortège to enter the necropolis.[229] The *Mww*-dancers at this stage also likely guided the deceased and the *Tekenu* on symbolic pilgrimages to Sais and Buto.[230] The safety of these journeys could be seen as being protected by the *Mww*-dancers' specifically protective hand gestures.[231] The fingers of one hand point to the ground with thumb and forefinger stretched out from a closed fist. This strange hand gesture is attested from the the Old Kingdom where it is said to be used to point at dangerous creatures to thwart their fearsome capabilities (Figure 5.4.2.1).[232]

However, a different interpretation of this hand gesture can be proffered. The herdsman appears to be pointing towards the cattle, not the crocodile. Ogdon construes this action as being one of 'performing a protection or transmission of (the herdsman's) own *kɜ.w* to enliven what/who needs to be protected'.[233] Thus the herdsman's target is the cattle, not the crocodile. Similarly, the *Mww*-dancers' hand gestures are towards the ground. This might be seen as the projection of the *kɜ.w* energy from the *Mww*-dancers towards the soil in order to render it capable of safeguarding the passage of the funerary cortège as it journeys over the ground.[234] This interpretation is possible as the ancient Egyptian did not differentiate between 'things' and 'beings'. Both were 'alive' and possessed a 'soul'.[235]

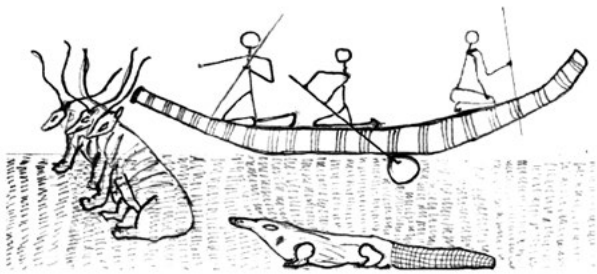

Figure 5.4.2.1. Tomb chapel of Ti. Gesture of the extended finger protecting the cattle from a crocodile. After: Robins, G., *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1997), fig. 64. Redrawn by J. West.

In four tombs, TT 24, TT 42, TT 82 and TT A4, the funerary procession proceeds towards two dancing figures. These figures face each other in 'mirrored symmetry' and have short cropped hair, or more likely wigs as the ears are covered, rather than customary *Mww* headdress (Figure 5.4.2.2).[236]

The upper text in TT 82 suggests the dancers come from Pe: 'dancing to him by the people of Pe'. While the lower text, in TT 82, between these two figures reads '*ḫbt mww,* dance of the *Mww',* not all scholars regard these two dancers as *Mww*. Altenmüller adopts the term 'psuedo-*mww*',[237] while

[226] *Sḥtbr*, TT 12, TT 15, TT 17, TT 60, TT 81, TT 172, TT 260, EK 7.
[227] Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. XXII; Kinney, *Dance*, 142. TT 12, TT 17, TT 172, TT 260 and EK 7 do not show this priest but this could be due to damage.
[228] Reeder, *KMT* 6/3 (1995), 76; Kinney, *Dance*, 143.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 31, 73; Kinney *Dance* 141.
[231] Reeder, *KMT* 6/3 (1995), 76.
[232] Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic*, 194. Reeder, *KMT* 6/3 (1995), 76.
[233] Ogdon, J. G., 'A Propos of Certain Gestures in Funeral Scenes from the New Kingdom', *Cahiers Caribéens d'Egyptologie* 5 (2003), 145.
[234] Ibid.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Kinney, *Dance*, 143.
[237] Altenmüller, *SAK* 2 (1975), 1.

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Reeder contends that while they might be doing the dance of the *Mww,* this does not mean they are *Mww* dancers.[238] He suggests:

> The dance the pair do is, in fact, about ferrymen and so they are representing His-face-in-front-His face-*behind*' (PT 310), because good ferrymen must be able to see both ahead and behind in order to avoid the dangers of the *waterways*...this dance may be a ritual of movement and gestures meant to summon the *Mww* from beyond, much as does the vocal invocation of the funerary priest.[239]

Kinney notes the strong visual similarities between these two dancing figures and the Pair dancers of the Old Kingdom.[240] She concludes that it is possible that a Pair Dance was performed to invoke the *Mww*-dancers.[241]

I

Figure 5.4.2.2. TT 82. Two dancing figures. Source: Davies, *Amenenhēt*, pl. XI, detail.

It is often difficult to conceptualise exactly what the artist intended to communicate on the tomb wall. Whether the dancers facing each other are in fact *Mww*-dancers remains contentious. However, for this study, suffice it to say that the men are performing 'the dance of the *Mww,*' thereby invoking the Butic ritual and their relevance to the *Tekenu* is the same as if they were *Mww*- dancers.

B) Two Facing Men

Five tombs, TT 42, TT 53, TT 104, TT 127 and TT A4 depict two men facing each other directly next to the *Tekenu* (Figure 5.4.2.3).

Image: TT 42. M.M.A. T 3442, detail.

Image: TT 53. M.M.A. photo T 3243, detail.

Image: TT 104. Shedid Grabmalereien pl. XXXVIIa, detail.

Image: TT 127. Serrano Delgado *ZÄS* 138 (2011), pl V, fig IV, detail.

Image: TT A4. Manniche, *Lost Tomb*s, pl. XVII, detail

Figure 5.4.2.3. Attestations of two men facing each other.

238 Reeder, *KMT* 6/3 (1995), 77.
239 Ibid.
240 Kinney, *Dance*, 143 and chapter 5.
241 Kinney, *Dance*, 144.

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TT 100 TT 125

Figure 5.4.2.4. TT 100, TT125. Possible two facing men.
Source: Settgast *Untersuchungen* detail pl. IV, detail.

Two other tombs, TT 100 and TT 125, are stated by Settgast, Altenmüller and Serrano Delgado as also containing this depiction (Figure 5.4.2.4).[242] The only available relevant images come from Settgast. In the case of TT 100, Settgast has almost entirely recreated the two men. For TT 125, the sources are unpublished and thus cannot be independently verified.

Settgast identifies a caption above this scene in TT 125 as reading:

> *his left eye with green, his right with black eyeshadow* [243]

However, he concedes that it remains unclear whether the text relates to the action beneath it as headings do not always relate to a scene in that way. He also questions to what extent there is any connection with the *Tekenu.*[244] Settgast further records a text in TT 125 that he identifies as occurring between the two men who face each other. This text he views as describing the action of one of the individuals:

> *giving to his two eyes on the part of...*[245]

This text would seemingly support the view that one man is painting the eyes of the other. However, even if one accepts as correct Settgast's rendition of the second text in TT 125, he does not suggest that this action is being performed in all scenes featuring the two men. Rather, in TT 42 and TT 127, he describes the man on the left as pointing a small stick-shaped object to the mouth of his counterpart.[246]

Other scholars have variously interpreted this scene. Altenmüller accepts Settgast's record of the text in TT 125 as evidence that in some instances one man is applying eyeshadow to the other.[247] He further concurs with Settgast that the same man is dispensing incense from a bowl in some instances, especially in TT 53. Altenmüller does concede, however, that in some representations these acts might merely indicate adulation.[248]

Serrano Delgado suggests that the person holding a bowl in his hand is perhaps a priest and that he is perfuming or outlining the eyes of the other person.[249] While this is a possibility, only TT 42 actually shows one man touching the face of the other with what appears to be a stick or brush. Serrano Delgado further suggests, that the text indicates the action is outlining the eyes and perfuming.[250] He cites the works of both Settgast and Altenmüller, without noting Settgast's reservations, to

[242] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 41; Serrano Delgado *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 154; Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual,* 135. Both Settgast and Altenmüller also attest to an occurrence in TT 112 but the author has been unable to locate any relevant images and Serrano Delgado does not include this tomb.
[243] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 41.
[244] Ibid.
[245] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 42.
[246] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 41.
[247] Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual,* 135.
[248] Ibid.
[249] Serrano Delgado *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 154.
[250] Ibid.

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support this contention.[251] Serrano Delgado further posits that one of the two opposing figures is, in fact, the *Tekenu* and that this figure later takes up its position on the sledge.[252] The portrayal of the *Tekenu* in TT 20, where the figure of a man labelled *tknw* moves from a standing position to that of a recumbent being on a sledge, might be deemed as supportive of this interpretation.[253] It must be stressed, however, that there is a paucity of evidence to support this point of view. Rather, the argument has been built upon assumptions and thus must be regarded as speculation.

In TT 125, Altenmüller identifies the figure on the left of the two facing men as the *sꜣ srḳt* (serket-ritualist).[254] Serrano Delgado concurs with this view.[255] However, the text in TT 125 is so severely damaged that independent verification is impossible and Settgast does not provide any suggestion for the identity of either figure. That the *sꜣ srḳt* is an integral part of the *Tekenu* procession is evidenced in TT 82, TT 112 and TT 224. However, no properly formulated argument has been proffered to support the identity of the figure in this instance as the *sꜣ srḳt*.

C) Lotus and Papyrus

The *Tekenu* is found in close proximity to men bearing lotus flowers in ten tombs: TT 17, TT 36, TT 42, TT 49, TT 82, TT 104, TT 123, TT 127, TT C4 and EK 3. The inclusion of this vignette is not merely for decoration. For the ancient Egyptian the lotus was a ritualistic flower connoting a plethora of myth and bearing layers of symbolism. It was perceived as a 'symbol of emergence'[256] as it closes at night and sinks underwater and in the morning it re-emerges and blooms again. The blue lotus's blooming was believed to mimic the cosmic daily rebirth of the sun and of rebirth in the afterlife.[257]

In the Book of the Dead there are spells 'for being transformed into a lotus' to ensure that the deceased takes his place 'in the sacred land'.[258]

The long sticks borne by the men are likely papyrus stalks, which were considered symbolic of eternal life.[259] Bundles of plant foliage and flowers tied around a bunch of papyrus stalks that were used to symbolise the *ankh* were offered to the gods.[260] Similarly the flower or leaf of the lotus was used to symbolise the *ankh*.[261] The symbolism of the lotus and the *ankh* is attested on a stela in the Cairo Museum where a man presents a lotus-entwined *ankh* to Osiris (Figure 5.4.2.5).[262]

Figure 5.4.2.5. Funerary stela Dynasty 20. Egyptian Museum. Presentation of lotus entwined ankh to Osiris. Source: Wilkinson *Art and Magic* fig 127, detail.

[251] Serrano Delgado *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 154 n. 31.
[252] Serrano Delgado *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 154.
[253] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII, top register.
[254] Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual,* 135.
[255] Serrano Delgado *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 154.
[256] Hornung, *Idea into Image*, 41.
[257] Harper, W. B., 'Lotus' in Redford, D. B. (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), vol. 1, 305. For detailed information on the blue waterlily and its symbolism see Meader, J. and Demeter, B., *Ancient Egyptian Symbols 50 New Discoveries* (Marin, 2015), part 1, 19–111.
[258] Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, Spells 81A, 81B.
[259] Hartwig, *Menna,* 73.
[260] Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic,* 161.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Ibid.

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D) The sarcophagus of *Ḏd-Mwt*

When one considers the depiction of the *Tekenu* on the twenty-first dynasty sarcophagus of *Ḏd-Mwt* it is tempting to suggest that the *Tekenu* enters the tomb with the deceased (Figure 5.4.2.6).

The end of the New Kingdom was characterised by many changes in funerary furniture and burial rites.[263] There was an absence of richly decorated tombs. Rather, they were replaced by rock caches devoid of paintings and reliefs.[264] However, a rich iconographic repertoire of paintings on coffins was developed such that the coffin assumed the function of the tomb.[265] By the Twenty-first Dynasty, the coffin had become a three-dimensional conception of the afterlife space and its exterior was decorated with the protective texts and imagery of the the Book of the Dead and the Amduat as well as symbols of rebirth.[266] Of necessity, due to the limitation of space, the selection of vignettes depicted was curtailed. It is an important observation that, given this restriction, the *Tekenu* was chosen to be depicted.[267]

Figure 5.4.2.6. The sarcophagus of *Ḏd-Mwt*. The *Tekenu* positioned under/ beside the mummy bier.
Source: Gasse, *Les Sarcophages*, cover, detail.

Due to its shape, the *Tekenu* on the sarcophagus of *Ḏd-Mwt* has been classified as Type 1B in this study. However, here it is depicted neither on a sledge nor on a table. It is positioned between the wheels (or adjacent to them) of the coffin conveyance, a type of basic trolley, and in direct alignment with the anthropoid coffin. The *Tekenu* is of comparable size to the coffin and is depicted in a non-somnolent state with a wide-opened eye of similar form to that of the *Tekenu* when shown on a table and in TT 147.

5.4.3 The Tekenu *Types 1 and 2: summary and conclusions*

In Types 1 (except 1C) and 2, the *Tekenu* is found amongst images symbolically associated with safe passage and revivification. The positioning of the *Tekenu* in close proximity to the sarcophagus and/or the canopic chest, suggests that it is closely linked with the deceased. This proximity raises the question whether the *Tekenu* is so significant as to be in some way a part of the deceased or a conveyance for part thereof, just as the contents of the canopic chest have such a relationship with the deceased.

263 See Cooney, K. M., 'Changing Burial Practices at the End of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin Decoration and Mummification', *JARCE* 47 (2011), 3–44.
264 Niwinski, A. *21st Dynasty Coffins From Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies* (Mainz, 1988), 15.
265 Ibid.
266 Cooney, K. M., 'Coffins, Cartonnage, and Sarcophagi' in Hartwig, M. K. (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art,* (Chichester, 2015), 284.
267 There is no complete publication of the coffins of this period and they are contained in various museums. The author has been unable to find any other attestations of the *Tekenu* on coffins. This does not mean that no more exist.

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5.4.4 The Tekenu *Type 1C and Type 4*

The *Tekenu* Type 1C is found solely in TT 20 where it occurs twice. The Type 4 *Tekenu* appears only in TT 20 and TT 11. In both of these tombs the *Tekenu* is seemingly in a transient stage and closely associated with Type 1C. The nature of the *Tekenu* in TT 20 is complex. Accordingly, it is examined separately in Chapter 6.

5.4.5 The Tekenu *Type 3*

The *Tekenu*, classified as Type 3, is typically found recumbent upon an animal legged table that is positioned amongst scenes depicting what has been variously called 'Der Heilige Bezirk',[268] the 'sacred temenos',[269] 'sacred precinct,'[270] the 'holy place in the Butic burial',[271] or 'the sacred district'.[272] As it is close to the German translation of 'Heilige Bezirk', the author has chosen to adopt the term 'Holy District'. There are only six attested representations of the *Tekenu* Type 3.[273]

A) The Holy District

In a lengthy treatise, on what he terms the 'Heilige Bezirk', Settgast has classified the ancient cultic drama performed at Buto into eight categories:

- the hall of the *Mww*
- the women's tent
- the pond garden
- the gods of the big gates
- the shrines of the gods
- the three ponds
- the slaughter house
- the four pools [274]

There is no set sequence for these micro scenes[275] and in the tombs studied in this work, the scenes represented from the Holy District are often conflated and abbreviated. Rather, the scenes that are depicted seem to have been selected for aesthetic reasons, the amount of available space or the topography of the tomb.

The purpose of including scenes from the Holy District seems to be to create an 'artistic transition or liminal area'[276] through which the deceased must pass immediately before reaching the 'symbolic west'.[277] Diamond suggests that there are two possible 'locations' of the Holy District. Either the scenes are part of the mythological world (or are so laden with mythological ritual that their meaning is unclear), or the location is legendary. If legendary, Diamond contends that the location is likely Buto so that what is being represented is 'an ancient royal tradition that has been preserved in the cultural memory'.[278]

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[268] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 48–74.
[269] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 305
[270] Seyfried, K. J., 'Reminiscences of the Butic Burial in Theban Tombs of the New Kingdom' in Strudwick, N. and Taylor, J., (eds), *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, (London, 2003), 65.
[271] Wilkinson, A., 'Landscapes for Funeral Rituals in Dynastic Times' in Eyre, C., Leahy, A., and Montagno Leahy, L., (eds), *The unbroken reed: studies in the culture and heritage of Ancient Egypt in honour of A. F. Shore* (London, 1994), 392.
[272] Diamond, K. A., 'An Investigation into the Sacred District Depicted in New Kingdom Private Tombs', *ARCE Bulletin* 195 (2009), 23–27.
[273] TT 41, TT 66, TT 96, TT 100, TT 125, TT 276. Scholars have included other tombs in this category that this study contests. These tombs will be discussed separately.
[274] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 48–74.
[275] Diamond, *ARCE Bulletin*, 195 (2009), 24.
[276] Diamond, *JARCE* 48, (2012), 97.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Diamond, *ARCE Bulletin*, 195 (2009), 24.

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B) The *Tekenu* in TT 41

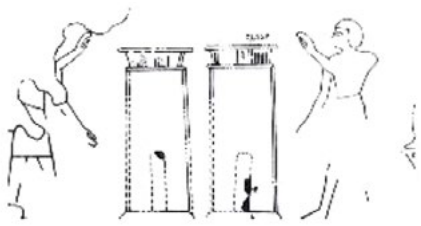
The nature of the *Tekenu* in TT 41 is atypical. It is said to be 'black'[279] in contrast to all other depictions classified as Type 3, which are shrouded in 'white', and in this tomb the *Tekenu* is recumbent on a collapsible stool, not a table (Figure 5.4.5.1). The collapsible stool is positioned adjacent to a naos which is itself positioned upon a sledge.[280] The nature of the contents of the naos is not apparent. However, it might contain the canopic vessels, as these are sometimes found adjacent to the *Tekenu*.[281] The area on the left-hand side of the *Tekenu* consists of lines of apparently destroyed text, while on the right-hand side are found vignettes from the Holy District in the form of the *Mww*-dancers and four armless creatures identified as 'the gods of the big gates'.[282]

Figure 5.4.5.1. TT 41. *Tekenu* with the Mww-dancers and gods of the big gates.
Source: Assmann, *Amenemope*, pl. XXXV, detail.

C) The *Tekenu* in TT 66

Due to a large lacuna caused by destroyed decoration, it is impossible to comment on the context of the *Tekenu* in TT 66 except to say that it is situated amongst images of the dedication, or purification, of shrines. The two shrines adjacent to the *Tekenu* in TT 66 are of similar nature to those that form part of the Holy District and are, for example, depicted next to the *Tekenu* in TT 100 (Figure 5.4.5.2). It is very likely that the officials in TT 66 were purifying the shrines, as is shown in TT 100, but the partial destruction of the depiction in TT 66 makes confirmation of this difficult.

TT 100



TT 66

Figure 5.4.5.2. TT 100 purification of shrines. Source: Hawass *Life*, 20, detail. TT 66 possible purification of shrines. Source: Davies *Scenes*, pl. XIII, detail.

[279] Assmann, *Amenemope*, 93.
[280] This reading of the image is discussed in the Corpus Catalogue. 3B.1, Figures 4.9.4–4.9.6.
[281] TT 12, TT 36 no. 2, TT 60 and TT 81.
[282] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 52.

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D) Erection of obelisks

In TT 96, TT 100, TT 125 and TT 276, the *Tekenu* is positioned in close proximity to the erection of two obelisks. Scholars differ in their assessment of the significance of these obelisks. Virey adopts a mythological approach, suggesting that the obelisks are symbolic representations of the persea tree. [283] In the Tale of Two Brothers, the blood of the Bitau bull (into which one brother, Bata, was changed) became two persea trees.[284] The Bitau bull was perceived to be a form of Osiris. By symbolising the persea tree, the obelisks are seen as partaking in a 'mystical and magical resurrection drama-rite'.[285] Their presence is perceived by Virey as encapsulating all the mythical connotations associated with the Tale of Two Brothers.[286]

Virey construes the text in TT 100 as indicating that the ground under the obelisks, where the blood of the Bitau bull fell, was dug four times (Figure 5.4.5.3).[287] This action was to facilitate the erection of the two obelisks. This same vignette occurs in TT 125 and TT 276. These three vignettes, in TT 100, TT 125 and TT 276, suggest that what appears to be merely a stick or staff being held by the figure on the far left of TT 96 could in fact be an adze such as depicted in the other three vignettes. It is not apparent why only a single stroke appears as there is no indication of damage.

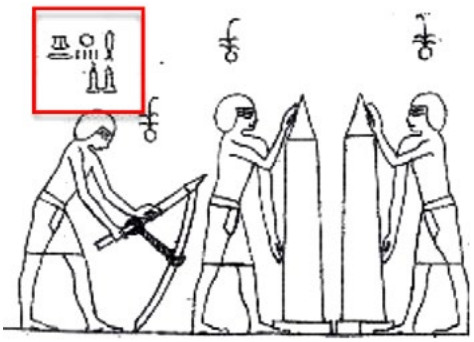

Figure 5.4.5.3. TT 100 preparing the ground with an adze and the erection of obelisks.
Source: Virey, *Rekhmara*, pl. XXVI, detail.

Text indicated:
ḥm sp 4 *ḥr ṯḥn.wy*.
hitting four times under the two obelisks

TT 96 TT 125 TT 276

Figure 5.4.5.4. TT 96, TT 125, TT 276. Raising of obelisks.
Source: Settgast *Untersuchungen*, pl. X, detail.

Junker, in contrast, suggests the raising of the obelisks formed part of the Butic pattern, having Heliopolitan significance.[288] He contends that one of the symbolic, pilgrimage journeys of the deceased involved travel to Sais, Behbet, Heliopolis and finally Buto.[289] The presence of the obelisks during the funerary ritual symbolised the relationship with the cult of the sun at the divine city of Heliopolis.[290] They also symbolised the resurrection of the deceased.[291] The obelisks were believed

[283] Virey, *Rekhmara*, 90–91.
[284] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. II, 203–211.
[285] Thomas *AE* 1/2 (1923), 49.
[286] Virey, *Rekhmara*, 90–91.
[287] Ibid.
[288] Junker, *MDAIK* 9 (1940), 22.
[289] Junker, *MDAIK* 9 (1940, 1–39.
[290] Wilkinson, 'Landscapes for Funeral Rituals', 392; Habachi, L., *The Obelisks of Egypt; Skyscrapers of the Past*, (Cairo, 1984), 4, 12; El-Shahawy, *Funerary Art,* 63, 67 n. 44.
[291] El-Shahawy, *Funerary Art,* 67 n. 44.

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to have connected heaven and earth.[292] In the Pyramid Texts they are seen as aiding the king's ascension:

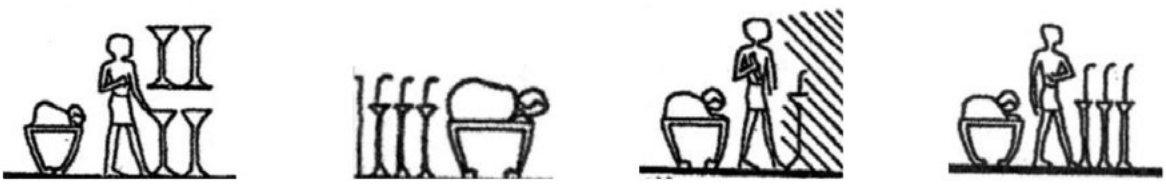
> *...for I am he who belongs to the two obelisks of Re which are on earth and I belong to the two sphinxes of Re which are in the sky.* (PT, 1178).

Settgast agrees with Junker, suggesting that the erection of the obelisks most likely symbolised a ritual associated with Heliopolis. However, the significance of the ritual, Settgast contends, is not apparent.[293]

The relevance of there being two obelisks might lie in the Egyptian concept of duality. The actual term 'duality' was unattested in ancient Egyptian but is used in modern scholarship to refer to a method of thinking that forges meaning by conceptually juxtaposing opposite or complementary realities, thereby serving as a mechanism to understand the functioning of the world.[294] The ancient Egyptian understood the process of creation dualistically and numerous paired concepts were used to define the relationship of man and his world. For example when ascending the throne each king repeated the unification of the two lands and bore the two titles *nswbit*, 'king of Upper and Lower Egypt'. This ritual represented more than the mere uniting of the two divisions in the country for it also symbolised the uniting of good and evil. The god of the earth, Geb, set up Seth, a force for evil, as *nsw,* king of Upper Egypt, and set up Horus, a force for good, as *bit*, king of Lower Egypt.[295] On the throne, the unification of Horus and Seth is depicted graphically.[296] Thus good and evil are united, creating a totality which is greater than the composite of their individual elements.

E) The censing ceremony

On four occasions, the *Tekenu* is positioned in close proximity to a lector priest who officiates at a censing ceremony (Figure 5.4.5.5).



T 96 T 100 T 125 T 276

Figure 5.4.5.5. TT 96, TT 100, TT 125, TT 276. The *Tekenu* and censing ceremony.
Source: Settgast *Untersuchungen*, pl. X, detail.

Above the torches in TT 100 appears the caption (Figure 5.4.5.6):

irỉ.t snṯr ỉn ḫr.y-ḥ3b(.t), rḏ.t wḥˁ.t(w) tks

a censing by the lector priest (and) causing that the flame be loosed.

Figure 5.4.5.6. TT 100. Text above torches.
Source: Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē*, pl. LXXXIII, detail.

[292] Junker, *MDAIK*, 9 (1940), 22.
[293] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 51.
[294] Servajean, F., 'Duality' in Dieleman J., and Wendrich W., (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2008), 1.
[295] See excerpt from the Memphite Theology in Assmann *Mind*, 39–41.
[296] Assmann *Mind,* 42.

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The burning of incense was used to please the gods.[297] It was thought that the gods revealed themselves by sight, sound and smell.[298] Thus the burning of incense could reveal a 'divine presence'.[299] Consequently, the presence of incense can be seen as a symbolic representation of the interaction between man and the gods and as being significant in aiding the deceased to reach a divine state.[300] It was also thought that incense was an agent of deification and force, saving the body from destruction.[301] In TT 100 the lector priest, in a protective gesture, carrying a torch alight with incense, leads the funerary cortège as it journeys to one of the ritual destinations (Figure 5.4.5.7). By being positioned adjacent to torches alight with incense, the *Tekenu* is, consequently, depicted as being afforded the same magical protection as the deceased.

Figure 5.4.5.7. TT 100. Lector priest leading funeral cortège.
Source: Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual* pl. XXIV, detail.

5.4.6 The Tekenu *Type 3: summary and conclusions*

- The *Tekenu*, Type 3, is depicted amongst vignettes of the Holy District.
- It is surrounded by symbols of protection, ascension and resurrection. Like the deceased, the *Tekenu* must pass through this liminal state to reach the symbolic west.
- The form of Type 3 differs dramatically from Types 1, 2 and 4. It is the only representation depicted on a table (the atypical depiction in TT 41 shows it recumbent on a collapsible chair) on which it is always shown as recumbent. Unlike the other Types, where the *Tekenu* might vary from an upright figure displaying human features to an amorphous 'sack like' object, in Type 3 there is little variation in physical form and the *Tekenu* always displays some human attributes.
- A more detailed assessment of the *Tekenu* Type 3 is hampered by the scarcity of examples and the overall lack of context in which it is depicted. Unfortunately in tombs TT 66, TT 125 and TT 276, the area around the *Tekenu* is either fragmentary or severely damaged. Of the six examples, only TT 96, TT 100 and TT 41 provide any significant context, yet even that is problematic to some extent. For TT 96 one must rely on Carrington's recreation[302] as there is currently no detailed tomb report available. TT 41 is the only example of Type 3B and is thus an atypical example. One is left with the record of TT 100 which is extensive and is dealt with separately, in detail, in Chapter 6.

297 Germa, R., 'Flora' in Redford, D. B. (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), vol. 1, 541.
298 Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic*, 92.
299 Ibid.
300 Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic*, 93.
301 Virey, *Rekhmara*, 90 n. 9.
302 http://carrington-arts.com/SenneferScroll.html

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Chapter 6

Special complex scenes: the *Tekenu* in TT 20 and TT 100

6.1 The *Tekenu* in TT 20

6.1.1 The Tekenu *in the funerary procession*

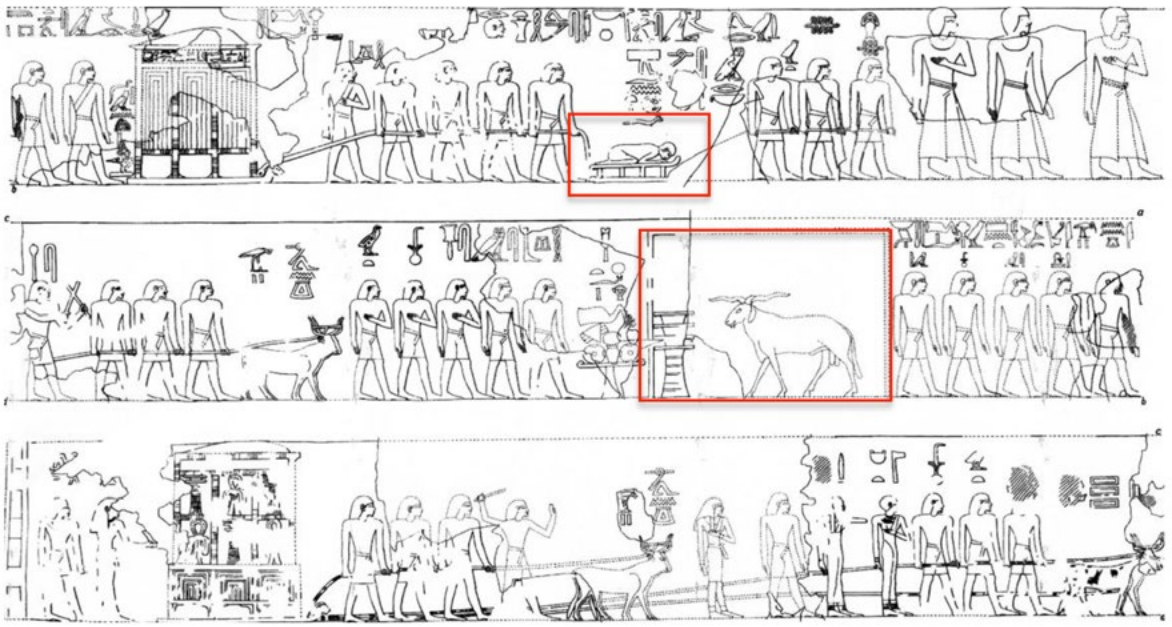

Figure 6.1.1.1. TT 20. The funerary procession which occupies the bottom register of the southern wall.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. II.

The depiction of the funerary procession in TT 20 is unique. It appears to pass behind a rectangular enclosure containing a djed pillar and an ovine creature (Figure 6.1.1.1). The ovine creature is almost entirely dotted in in Davies' version, indicating reconstruction (Figure 6.1.1.2), but in that of Maspero it is intact (Figure 6.1.1.3). It has been suggested by Tassie, who concurs with the view of Davies, that the enclosure is possibly the *sn.t* building of the necropolis, a building visited by priests before the interment.[1] If the record can be trusted, this enclosure is devoid of text or adornment, allowing the djed pillar and ovine creature to stand out as if emphasising their importance. The ovine creature faces the procession as it travels towards it (Figures 6.1.1.2–6.1.1.3). The obvious question is why did the artist include this image?

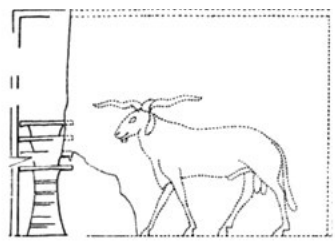

Figure 6.1.1.2. TT 20. Rectangular enclosure with ram and djed pillar.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 11, detail.

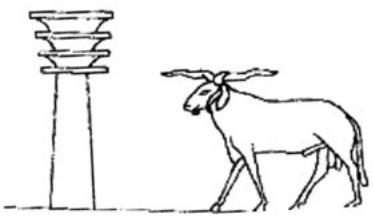

Figure 6.1.1.3. TT 20. Rectangular enclosure with ram and djed pillar.
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf*, fig. 3, detail.

[1] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 10; Tassie, *PIA* 11 (2000), 29; *Wb* vol. IV, 153–154 records *sn.wt* as a shrine or sanctuary of Re or other deities attested from the Old Kingdom onwards. It is questionable whether this is to what is being referred here.

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A) Ovine deities

As the creature (which appears to be a ram) is not textually determined, its identity becomes a matter of conjecture. There were four main Egyptian ovine deities: Banebdjedet,[2] Heryshef,[3] Kherty and Khnum.[4] The main cult centre of Banebdjedet was at Mendes where mythically he was thought to have represented the soul of Osiris. Heryshef, literally 'he who is upon his lake', was worshipped at Herakleopolis Magna where he was known as the *ba* of Re and Osiris. He was also associated with Atum because of his connections with the sacred naret tree of *Ḥwt-nsw*. Kherty was a chthonic deity, whose cult centre was Khem or Letopolis and who was associated with Khnum. In the Pyramid Texts he is seen as a ferryman:

> *O Kherty of Nezat, ferryman of the* Iqht- *bark which Khnum made* (PT. 445).

Khnum's cult centre was located at Elephantine where he was held to be the *ba* of Re.[5]

If the ram is seen as being Khnum, which is likely, as he was the main ovine deity, then this might be an allusion to the body and its *ka.*[6] Khnum, as the creature god, was known to use his potter's wheel to create the human being and his *ka* at the same time. This is depicted at Deir El Bahri where Khnum is shown moulding the bodies of Hatshepsut and her *ka* (Figure 6.1.1.4). At death, both of these entities must enter the netherworld to ensure the integrity of the burial.

Figure 6.1.1.4. Heket administering the key of *life* to Hatshepsut and her
double as they are fashioned by Khnum. After Naville, *Temple of Deir El Bahari,* pl. XLVIII. Redrawn by N. V. Maksoud, Kanawati, *Tomb and its Significance* fig. 6a.

Davies, however, argues that the ram is the ram of Mendes. He reasons that:

> *A large 'ded' sign in front of the animal seems only to announce its identification with the ram of Mendes (Dedet), sacred to Osiris or to Ra.*[7]

A prominent theme in the recordings of the Ram of Mendes relies upon:

> *the homophony of ba/bꜣ ram and bai/ bꜣj, 'hypostatic projection of identity and power.'* (CT I, 249).[8]

[2] Leitz, *Götter und Götterbezeichnungen,* vol. 2, 683–685.
[3] Leitz, *Götter und Götterbezeichnungen,* vol. 5, 380–385.
[4] Leitz, *Götter und Götterbezeichnungen,* vol. 6, 25–29.
[5] Ibid.
[6] See Leitz, *Götter und Götterbezeichnungen,* vol. 6, 605 for association of Khnum with the ka.
[7] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 31.
[8] Redford, S. and Redford, D. B., 'The Cult and Necropolis of the Sacred Ram at Mendes' in Ikram, S. (ed.), *Divine Creatures; animal mummies in ancient Egypt*, (Cairo, 2005), 165.

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As the onomatopoeic word for 'ram', *baa,* has an identical sound to the word *ba* used to identify a spiritual aspect of a being, ram gods were often associated with the *ba* of a variety of gods.[9]

Thus, regardless of the specific identity of the ram god here depicted, one may suggest that it was portrayed in this scene to indicate a spiritual aspect, perhaps the *ba* or even the *ka.*

B) The djed pillar

Davies' suggestion that the djed pillar stands merely as a determinative to identify the ram seems to minimise the significance of this prominent icon and is perhaps difficult to accept. The djed pillar was intrinsically associated with the city of Busiris and is often identified with the Busirite symbol.[10] While most likely originating in Busiris, it was adopted in the early dynastic period in Memphis where, probably initially, it was associated with Ptah and later adopted as an Osirian emblem.[11] It was erected each year on the thirtieth day of Khoiak at the close of the Sokarfest as a display of 'vegetative renewal'.[12] The religious interpretation of this ceremony was the celebration of the triumph of Osiris over his enemies.[13]

Used as an amulet, the djed pillar was perceived as protecting the backbone of the deceased, equating him with Osiris and thus enabling his resurrection.[14] In its capacity as a talisman the djed pillar promised life, support and stability.[15]

With the combination of the depictions of the ovine deity and the djed pillar, the funerary procession is symbolised as being safeguarded. The presence of the djed pillar symbolises the triumph of the deceased over his enemy, in this case perceived as death, ensuring his revivification. The ovine deity contributes to the integrity of the burial by uniting the deceased with his spiritual entity being, his *ka.* Just as the *ka* is moulded together with the infant by Khnum at birth as portrayed at the temple of Hatshepsut (Figure 6.1.1.4), so it might also be depicted accompanying the deceased to his burial.

6.1.2 The Tekenu *and funerary ritual*

The *Tekenu* is further depicted in TT 20 (Figure 6.1.2.1). However, in these instances it forms part of the funerary ritual rather than the funerary procession itself.

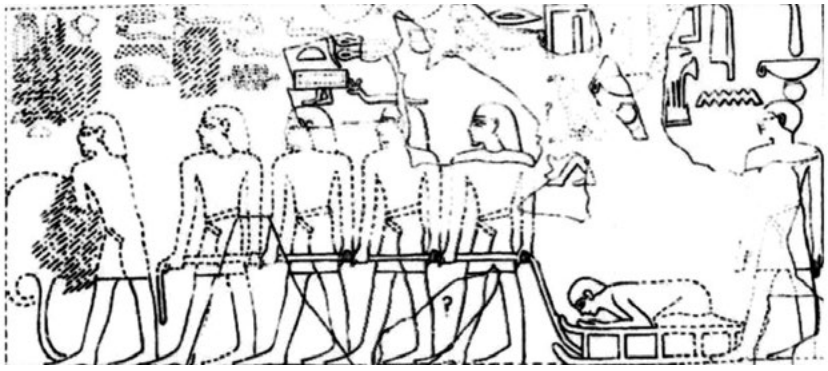

Figure 6.1.2.1. TT 20. *Tekenu* as part of funerary ritual.
Source : Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* pl. VIII, top register, detail.

[9] Wilkinson, *Gods and Goddesses*, 192–195.
[10] Newberry, P. E., 'Egypt as a field of anthropological research', *Annual Report*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1924, 450–451.
[11] Mosfafa, D. M., 'The Role of the Djed pillar in New Kingdom private tombs', *GM* 109 (1989), 42.
[12] Griffiths, J. G., 'Osiris Cycle' in Redford, D. B. (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), vol. 1, 475.
[13] LÄ 1, 1101–1102.
[14] LÄ 1, 1103–1104.
[15] LÄ 1, 1103–1104; Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic,* 17.

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The caption above this scene states that the tomb owner is coming to see the dragging of the *Tekenu* on a sledge, seemingly stressing the importance of this procedure. What is recorded in the image above is not merely a procession but a depiction of at least two phases of the *Tekenu's* movement or behaviour. What is apparent is that there are two clearly defined depictions of the *Tekenu* and arguably a third depiction..

Here a figure appears with the text *tkn.w* above it. While acknowledging that the text does not always pertain to the immediate, contiguous images, it does seem that in this context the figure is being identified as *Tekenu*. The complete text reads:[16]

pr(*.t*) (*r*-)*ḥɜ in tkn.w*

'the coming out by the *Tekenu*'
('the *Tekenu* appears')

Although much of the figure has been damaged it seems that it is a person with short hair, or a wig, with an ear showing. It is in the manner of stepping forward. It is identified as Type 4 in this study.

In front of this figure comes a sledge with an unencumbered figure crouched upon it. It also has the text *tkn.w* above it. The complete text reads:

hɜi(*.t*) *tkn.w*

the going down of the *Tekenu'*.

This text seems to describe the movement of the *Tekenu* from the vertical to the adoption of a recumbent position on the sledge. The earlier depiction of the *Tekenu* on a sledge in TT 20, where it forms part of the funerary procession, reveals the recumbent figure with its palms facing downwards. In contrast, in this depiction the palms are shown facing upwards towards the face. Serrano Delgado argues that the palms here are of a similar gesture to the one that characterise what he terms 'the sleeping *Tekenu*', Type 3 of this study.[17] Thus he poses the possibility that this representation is meant ' to evoke the ritual episode of the dormition of the *Tekenu*'.[18] This *Tekenu* is identified as Type 1C in this study.

[16] In this section all transliteration and translation is by the author unless otherwise acknowledged.
[17] Serrano Delgado *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 161.
[18] Ibid.

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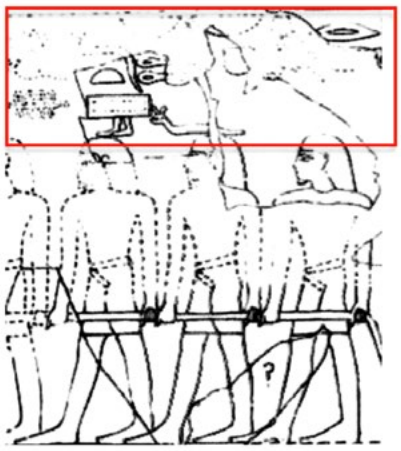

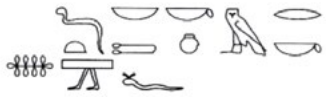

sꜣ ḏ.t nb tkn.w m rk šm=f

Text reproduction by Hayes.

Figure 6.1.2.2. TT 20. Text above men dragging the *Tekenu*.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* pl. VIII top register, detail.

Above the four men who drag the *Tekenu* (Figure 6.1.2.2), one is able to discern the text:

sꜣ ḏ.t nb tkn.w m rk šm=f

There are three possible translations of this text:

1. *'ḏ.t' ꜥnd 'nb' ꜥnd 'tkn.w'* Three separate nouns. 'the body and the owner and the *Tekenu*'.
2. *'ḏ.t' ꜥnd 'nb tkn.w'* One noun standing alone and another noun and direct genitive. 'the body and the owner of the *Tekenu*'
3. *'ḏ.t nb tkn.w'* A sequence of two direct genitives. 'body of the owner of the *Tekenu*'

The meaning of this text is difficult to ascertain. The first translation makes little sense. While the second translation is a possibility, the author suggests that the third translation makes more sense. The entire translation then becomes:

'protection of the body of the owner of the *Tekenu* at the time of his departure'

A proposed diagrammatic interpretation is (Figure 6.1.2.3):

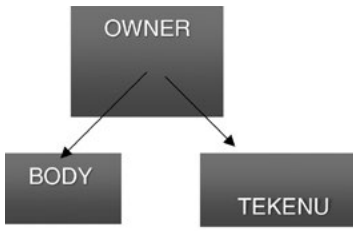

Figure 6.1.2.3. TT 20. Upon death the body and *Tekenu* are separated but both belong to the owner.

Both the 'body' and the '*Tekenu*' belong to the 'owner' and that 'owner' is the deceased although present in an abstract, ethereal form. The body is being safeguarded in the transitory stage between this world and the next. It must be stressed that the 'body' is not equivalent to the 'corpse'. It encompasses intangible concepts such as 'self' and the essence of one's own being.[19] Acknowledging this, for conciseness the word 'body' is adopted.

In front of the men who drag the *Tekenu* is a figure carrying a hide with a tail. It has been suggested that this is also a representation of the *Tekenu*.[20] Much of this figure has been damaged and some

[19] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 106.
[20] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 161.

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detail reconstructed. Davies' drawing shows the first two figures on the right-hand side of the image, identified by the text as *Tekenu*, as having similar hairstyles but the figure at the far left carrying the hide wears his hair in a longer style (Figure 6.1.2.5). While Maspero's sketch shows only the *Tekenu* on the sledge and the person carrying the hide, they also appear to have different length hairstyles (Figure 6.1.2.4). This observation leads one to question whether this latter figure is a *Tekenu*. However, as this section of the register in Davies' record has been reconstructed, one cannot rule out the possibility that the figure is a *Tekenu* and that the difference in hair length is irrelevant.

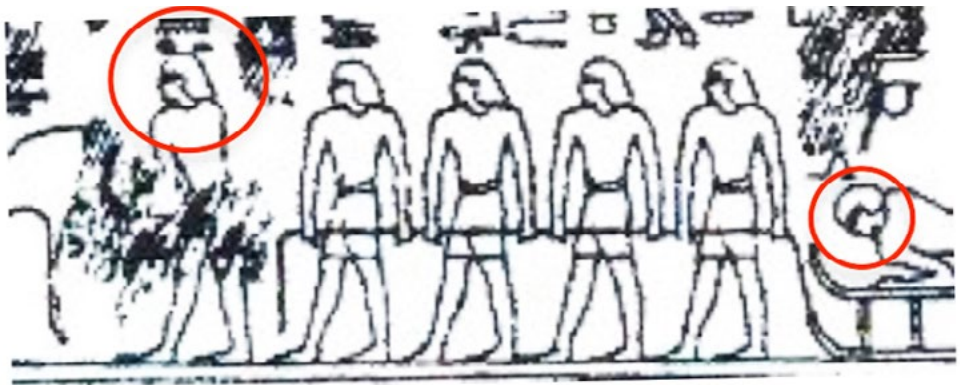

Figure 6.1.2.4. TT 20. Different hair length indicated. Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf*, fig. VII. detail.

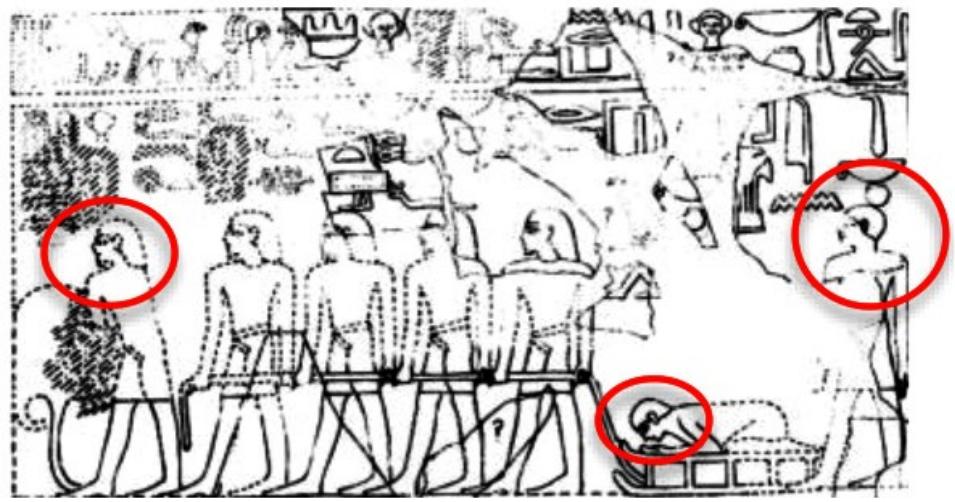

Figure 6.1.2.5. TT 20. Different hair length indicated. Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII, detail.

Serrano Delgado states that TT 11 displays scenes analogous to those in TT 20 and that they can be used to reconstruct the missing sections of TT 20.[21] He justifies his contention by noting that the style and technique of the depictions are 'manifestly similar' in both tombs, which suggests they might have originated from the same artistic tradition or possibly even from the same workshop.[22] Furthermore, he notes, that tombs TT 11 and TT 20 are both from the time of Hatshepsut–Thutmose III and are located just a few metres apart from each other at Dra Abu el Naga.[23] As TT 11 is slightly older than TT 20, Serrano Delgado suggests it might have served as a model to TT 20.[24] Using the relevant section of TT 11 as a model, he concludes that the figure at the end of the scene in TT 20 is a *Tekenu*.[25] This study recognises this as a Type 4 *Tekenu*.

Above the Type 4 *Tekenu* in TT 20 there is the text (Figure 6.1.2.6):

[21] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 160.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 160 n. 73.
[25] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 161, fig. 6.1.2.6

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msi̯(.t) n.t ḥr=f n ni̯w.t=f s[?]=f,

'producing water over/on him for his city, when he [? passes away]'.

Figure 6.1.2.6. TT 20. Text above Type 4 *Tekenu*..
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* pl. VIII, detail.

This depicts a cleansing, purification procedure, which aids in the safe transition of the deceased. However, water also symbolises creation, as the world began with the primordial waters of Nun from where man was born.

> *Pepi was born in Nun* (PT. 486)

At the side of the corresponding Type 4 *Tekenu* in TT 11 is the text (Figure 6.1.2.7):

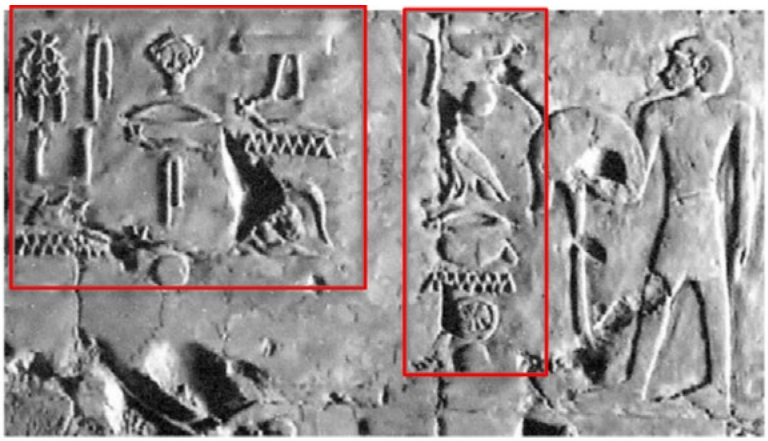

Figure 6.1.2.7. TT 11. Text and type 4 *Tekenu.*
Source: Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), fig. IX, detail.

tkn.w m rk n(.y) ni̯w.t 'the *Tekenu* being in the vicinity of the city'.

This translation relies on *rk* being translated as indicating spatial proximity rather than the more usual span of time.[26]

This text is followed by another:

> *mskꜣ n(.y) ḥr(.w)=f sfḫ(.w) šm=f n ḏ.t=f*
> 'the hide of its upper part is loosened (released) when he goes to his body'.

This translation relies on interpreting *sfḫ(.w)* as being Old Perfective.

A possible interpretation of these texts is that the *Tekenu* is close to the necropolis where it discards its hide (covering) and becomes part of the 'body' (essence) of the deceased. If one considers these

[26] See Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 511.

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texts, combined with that of TT 20, then a diagrammatical interpretation might be seen as (Figure 6.1.2.8):

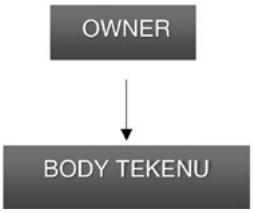

Figure 6.1.2.8. TT 20. The *Tekenu* joins the body.

From this, a logical conclusion is that the *Tekenu* participates in, if it is not a catalyst for, the transition of the deceased from this world to the next. This involves the pouring of purifying and creative water over the *Tekenu* to afford the body of the deceased readiness for that transition.

In order to facilitate the acquisition of this readiness, it could be that the *Tekenu* operates as part of the deceased's essence or essential being or provides a vehicle for such a component. Once the necessary state is acquired, the journey may be completed in the reconstitution of the owner (the deceased), his body and the *Tekenu* or the element(s) contained in it.

What has been depicted is three progressive stages (Figure 6.1.2.9).

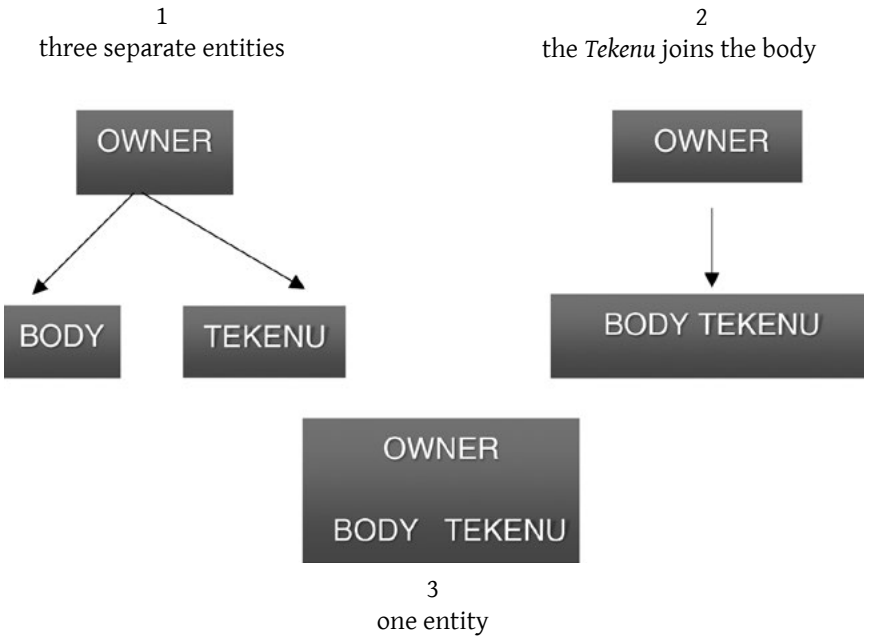

Figure 6.1.2.9. TT 20. The three stages. One entity is formed, ensuring the integrity of the burial.

TT 20 provides further evidence of the movement of the *Tekenu*. In the top register one has witnessed the progression of the *Tekenu* as it becomes one with its 'body'. The middle register is severely damaged and has, consequently, been subject to reconstruction. Davies' work reveals no evidence of the *Tekenu*. He, as does Maspero, records a scene of bovine sacrifice, the two groups of men and the lacuna. However, Maspero, chooses to position what might be the sledge of the *Tekenu* in the lacuna between the two sets of approaching figures (Figure 6.1.2.10). The *Tekenu* is, thereby, closely associated with the preparation of the sacrificial animals.

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Figure 6.1.2.10. TT 20 Possible *Tekenu* sledge.
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* Middle register, fig. VII.

Due to the lacuna, any interpretations of this scene must necessarily be tentative. If this is the *Tekenu* sledge, and no other sledge is shown on this section of the wall, there is no indication of the whereabouts of the *Tekenu* itself. Both Maspero and Serrano Delgado contend that the *Tekenu* has alighted from the sledge to partake in some ceremony.[27] The text above the first man on the right-hand side, *i̯ṯi*(*.t*), is problematical. It could be translated as ' take/ seize/ conquer'.[28] Then the *Tekenu* could be perceived to be a captive. However, Faulkner records iTi as having also the meaning ' take, carry off', [29] in which case the *Tekenu* is not necessarily a captive, but could be seen consistently as a willing participant.

In the bottom register a sledge is borne to a pit (Figure 6.1.2.11).

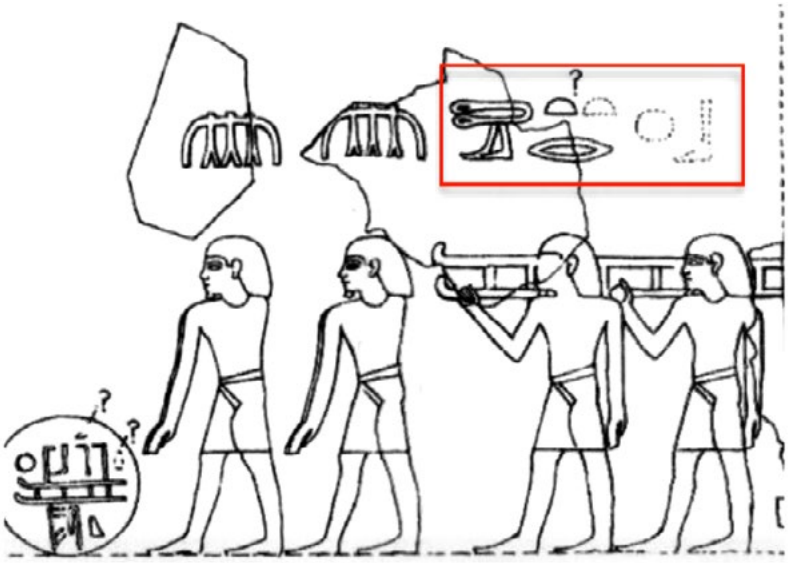

Figure 6.1.2.11. TT 20 Sledge borne to pit.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* bottom register, pl. VIII, detail.

Above the men carrying the sledge is the caption:

i̯ṯi.t r ḫb(*.t*) 'taking to the destruction'

The sledge is then found in the pit (Figure 6.1.2.12).

[27] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 454; Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 161.
[28] *Wb* 1, 149.3–150.7.
[29] Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian,* 34.

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Figure 6.1.2.12. TT 20 Pit containing sledge.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, bottom register, pl. VIII, detail.

The meaning of the text above the sledge in the pit is problematical. A possible rendition is:
ḫb(y).t 'destruction'

The text below the sledge in the pit is possibly:
ḳ(r)s 'bury'

What is being buried is unclear. It might refer to the sledge. Maspero, however, suggests it is probably the Nubians, as the hieroglyph TT 19 appears above the kneeling Nubians in the left of the register.[30] Despite this ambiguity, the sledge is depicted as being in the pit and one could reasonably assume it is that of the *Tekenu,* and that it has been, or is about to be, buried.

The next reference to the *Tekenu* is found in the bottom register of plate IX (Figure 6.1.2.13).

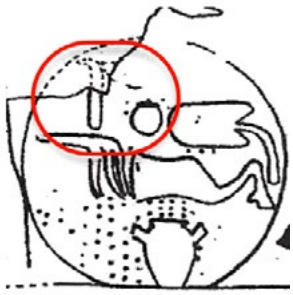

Figure 6.1.2.13. TT 20. Pit containing text and parts of slaughtered bull.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, bottom register, pl. IX, detail.

In the upper part of the pit can be determined phonetic signs for the word *tkn.w*. The foreleg and heart of the bull are also clearly represented. The two other images are more problematical.

The animal hide ideogram could be read as a determinative for *tkn.w*, be read genitivally: *tkn.w msḳꜣ, 'Tekenu* hide' or as standing alone *msḳꜣ*, 'hide'. In no other textual reference to the *Tekenu* is this ideogram used as its determinative. Accordingly, such a reading is less likely to be correct. If one adopts the reading '*Tekenu* hide', then the physical *Tekenu* is presumably not in the pit but somewhere else. Serrano Delgado supports this view, citing the column text located directly left of the standing *Tekenu,* in TT 11 (Figure 6.1.2.7) which reads:

tkn.w m rk n(.y) nỉw.t 'the *Tekenu* being in the vicinity of the city.'[31]
'the *Tekenu* [is] in the city, i. e. the necropolis'.

Closing this register in TT 11 (Figure 6.1.2.7) a second text reads:

msḳꜣ n-ḥr=f sfḫ šm=f n ḏt=f, '[once] the hide [that is] in front of him[32] is removed, he leaves for his eternity'.[33]

[30] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 454.
[31] See fig. 6.1.2.7.
[32] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch,* 584 translates n-Hr as 'out before'.
[33] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 161.

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Serrano Delgado suggests that these two texts are applicable to the actions in the parallel scene in TT 20. He emphasises that the use of the verb *sfḫ*, in the text of TT 11 is poignant as it has the sense of removing an article of clothing.[34] The *Tekenu* has removed his skin (clothing) and is ready to depart. This skin is the animal hide depicted in the pit in TT 20 in Davies' plate IX bottom register (Figure 6.1.2.13). The animal hide might be destroyed but the *Tekenu,* or what it contains, is eternal.

However, if '*Tekenu*' and 'hide' are read independently then it would seem the physical *Tekenu* is in the pit. Davies, in contrast, interprets the scene as showing 'that the human *Tekenu* has been replaced by an animal victim'.[35] This creates a dilemma as all readings are possible. The creation of such a dilemma might very well have been intended. However, if one perceives the registers on the southern wall as depicting the movement of the *Tekenu,* then Serrano Delgado's interpretation is the most plausible.

One might question why the *Tekenu* is shown in different registers if the artist were not intending to illustrate its journey. No other tomb attested has more than one depiction of a *Tekenu*.[36]

Scholars have suggested varied readings of the sign D3 𓁷, the determinative for 'hair', and its relevance within the context of the pit. It is unclear whether the hair is of human or animal origin. Tassie contends that it is likely to be human as the triple-braid determinative is the sign used to denote human hair.[37] Martin concurs with this assessment. She contends that hair is symbolically a manifestation of life and a very personal element that identifies its owner.[38] She suggests that the hair is that of the *Tekenu* and perceives the *Tekenu* as the incarnation of evil, which must be sacrificed, and that the removal of a tuft of its hair is a sign of victory over evil, which would have been essential to ensure the revivification of the deceased.[39]

Alternatively, following Martin's argument, it might be that the hair is not that of the *Tekenu* but of the Nubians being depicted as sacrificed in plate VIII (Figure 6.1.2.14). Accepting this proposition for the sake of the argument, it follows that what is in the pit could be parts of the sacrificial bull, the hair of the enemy and the discarded hide of the *Tekenu*.

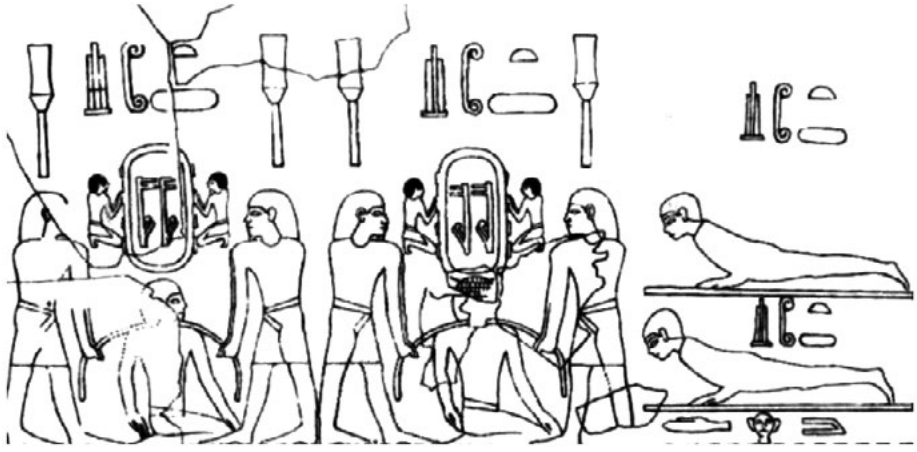

Figure 6.1.2.14. TT 20 Nubians as victims.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* bottom register, pl. VIII, detail.

[34] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 161 n. 82. *Wb* IV, 116, 10–11.
[35] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 16.
[36] The two depictions in TT 36 occur in two completely separate funerary scenes and if there were originally two depictions in TT 100 (see Chapter 6.2), they would also illustrate a journey.
[37] Tassie, *PIA* 11 (2000), 31.
[38] Martin, 'victima humana', 312.
[39] Martin, 'victima humana', 315.

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Behind the pit kneels the *ḥm-nṯr srḳ.t* 'the priest of Serket', who has possibly put the contents into the pit.[40] In front of the pit are *ḫd-wr-ỉr* 'chief grave digger' and *srḳ.t sꜣ.w* 'serket ritualist' (Figure 6.1.2.15). The close association of the *Tekenu* with Serket is reinforced. The two ritualists are shown tending a fortified oval pit of similar form to those above the captive Nubians in plate VIII bottom register (Figure 6.1.2.14). This might also be seen to support the suggestion that the hair in the pit is that of the Nubians.

Figure 6.1.2.15. TT 20. Officiants near pit.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* bottom register, pl. IX, detail.

The vignettes comprising the remainder of the southern wall are severely damaged, thus necessitating tentative and speculative interpretation. Davies has divided them into three scenes labelled 5, 6, and 7, each comprising three registers (Figure 6.1.2.16). Here only the images of potential relevance to the study of the *Tekenu* will be examined.

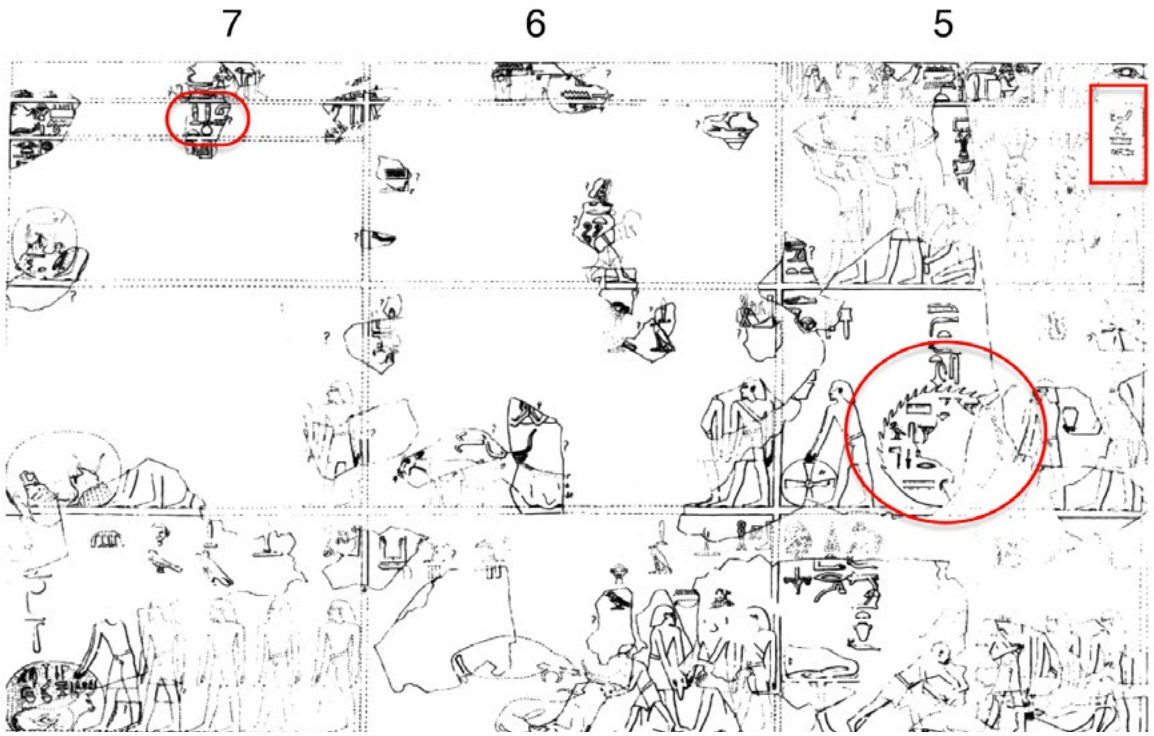

Figure 6.1.2.16. TT 20 Sections of text and image discussed indicated.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. X.

The text above the last person's head in scene 5 top register is of interest (Figures 6.1.2.16–6.1.2.17). One possible translation of the caption above the figure's head is:[41]

[40] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 458.
[41] Other possible translations have been discussed in chapter 4 the Corpus section of this work.

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ḏsr tp-mr bs(*.w*) 'one who consecrates the fine cloth of the secret divine image'.

Figure 6.1.2.17. TT 20. Man with identifying text. Scene 5 top register, detail Berlin print.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XIV.

This translation requires reading *ḏsr* as a participle.

One might speculate that the 'secret divine image' is the *Tekenu* and that the 'fine cloth' is its covering.

The middle register, scene 5, also is of interest (Figures 6.1.2.16, 6.1.2.18). The text in the fire pit is difficult to translate.[42] However, Davies states that the fire pit contains 'cloth of festival' and 'ointment, incense and other offerings'.[43]

Figure 6.1.2.18. TT 20 Fire pit.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. X, scene 5, middle register, detail.

The 'cloth of festival' might pertain to the *Tekenu*. In all incidents, except 1.C.1 and Type 4, the *Tekenu* is depicted with a complete or partial covering. The Type 4 *Tekenu* carries a hide. The *Tekenu* thereby, is associated with some form of wrapping, possibly the 'cloth of festival'.

The elements of the iconography discernible in the bottom register of scene 5 and what can be determined in the entirety of scene 6 confirm that they are devoted to vignettes of animal sacrifice.

The top two registers of scene 7 are also severely damaged. In the top register is the puzzling text (Figures 6.1.2.16, 6.1.2.19):

Figure 6.1.2.19. TT 20. Tribunal text.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. X, scene 7, top register, detail.

[*m***]-***bꜣḥ ḏꜣḏ.t* 'in the presence of the tribunal'

This text suggests that something or someone is being judged. Unfortunately the only other recognisable image is a pit containing a bound ox, among other objects, hence it is impossible to categorically determine what is the subject of the tribunal.

The middle register shows, apart from one figure and the remnants of another, a pit containing another bound ox and other objects.

The bottom register contains a procession of four figures and another apparently placing objects into a pit. Another trussed ox is shown in the pit together with eye paint and incense. The text above the pit is so damaged that precise translation is impossible. However, Davies suggests that it

[42] The text and support for regarding this as a fire pit have been discussed in chapter 4 the Corpus section of this work.
[43] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 17.

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'may signify "The funeral(?) reaches the pit."'[44] In comparison, Maspero translates it as 'the victim reaches the place of sacrifice'.[45] Consulting Maspero's version of the scene (Figure 6.1.2.20), it is possible to identify *ḳs* 'bone' which could also be *ḳ*(*r*)*s*(.*t*) 'burial'.

Figure 6.1.2.20. TT20. Text *ḳs* indicated.
Source: Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf* fig. 11, scene 7, detail.

The lower section of the text is clear in Davies' recording (Figure 6.1.2.22). The hieroglyphs are the same as those that appear on top of the sledge, inside a circle, plate VIII southern wall scene 3, bottom register (Figure 6.1.2.21). The word could be *ḫb*(.*y*)*ty*, 'the destroyed one' or *ḫb*(.*y*)*t*, 'carnage, destruction'.

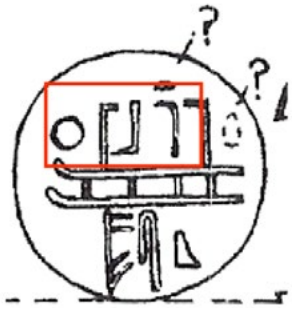

Figure 6.1.2.21. TT 20. Amongst part of the sledge text *x b t*.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* pl. VIII, scene 3. detail.

Figure 6.1.2.22. TT 20. Text *ḫpr b t* above pit.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* pl. X, scene 7 bottom register, detail.

Based on the arguments above it is possible that this is where the 'cloth', 'skin' or 'wrapping' of the *Tekenu* might lie.

6.1.3 Conclusions and suggested journey of the Tekenu *in TT 20*

This section suggests a path which might be followed from a thread of references to the *Tekenu* throughout the funerary scenes depicted on the southern wall of TT 20. This pathway raises the question whether what is intended to be depicted is a journey. The concept of a 'journey' applied here is that of a sequence of events with a beginning and perhaps an end. It is unlikely that each vignette is meant to be viewed in isolation. Rather, the meaning to be drawn from them is more likely to be distilled from their being considered in relation to each other. The selection of scenes represents stages in the journey. It must be stressed that what is being portrayed is a journey that is not actual but rather magical and mythical. Due to their complexity, ambiguity and often fragmentary nature, the scenes, do not lend themselves to modern, logical analysis. This difficulty is compounded due to the scarcity of explanatory text. However, it is possible to proffer an interpretation that, while speculative, is nevertheless plausible.

The journey of the *Tekenu* could be seen as part of a narrative. The greatest potential for communication for the ancient Egyptian was visual narrative whereby the perceiver acted as the primary narrator.[46] The consequent subjectivity allows for variance in interpretation which is reliant on the literacy and individual aberrations of the viewer.[47] One must also concede that the modern day viewer is incapable of the same perception as the ancient one. As Braun notes, 'We have to assume the presence of both historical and cultural changes that prohibit a universal transcultural narrativity.'[48]

[44] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs,* 19.
[45] Maspero, *Montouhikhopshouf,* 462.
[46] Braun, 'Narrative', 346–347.
[47] Braun, 'Narrative', 345.
[48] Ibid.

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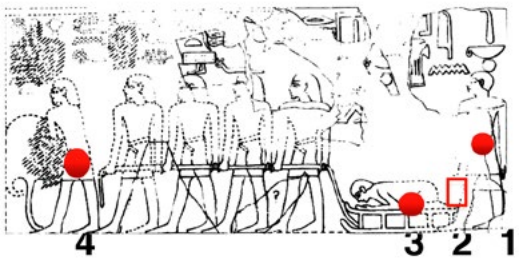
Acknowledging all manifested difficulties, a tenable rendering of the narrative of the journey of the *Tekenu* is suggested here and in Figure 6.1.3.1.



Duplicate of Figure 6.1.2.1

1 The *Tekenu* appears as a clothed figure.

Figure 6.1.2.1. At this stage there are three components-'owner', 'body' and '*Tekenu*'.

2 It sheds its clothing.

Figure 6.1.2.1.

3 It lies down on a sledge.

Figure 6.1.2.1.

4 It leaves the sledge and stands holding a skin. Now there are two components 'owner' and 'body/*Tekenu*'.

Figure 6.1.2.1.

5 It discards the skin and leaves for the necropolis. Now there is one entity as all components are merged.[49]

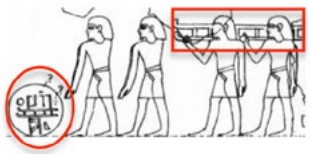
Figure 6.1.2.7.

6 The sledge appears without the *Tekenu*.

Figure 6.1.2.10.

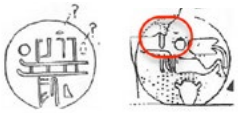
7 The sledge is carried and deposited in a pit where it is destroyed.

Figure 6.1.2.11.



8 Elements significant to the *Tekenu* appear, nevertheless, in a pit.

Figures 6.1.2.12 and 6.1.2.13.



9 The cloth (of the *Tekenu*) undergoes magical ritual including being placed in a fire pit. The evident rising smoke being a symbol of the ascent into heaven.[50]

Figure 6.1.2.18.

[49] See Figure 6.1.2.9, page 291.
[50] Assmann, 'Death and Initiation', 140.

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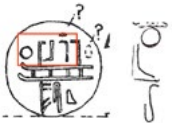
10 The *Tekenu* is judged (and is successful?).

Figure 6.1.2.19.

11 The meaning of the last pit is more problematical. If the text 'destroyed one' is accepted as being part of the text above this pit, then it could refer to the trussed bull. However, if Davies' suggestion that the text might read 'the funeral(?) reaches the pit'[51] is adopted, then one might assume that the *Tekenu* is part of the 'funeral'.

Figures 6.1.2.21 and 6.1.2.22.



12 The symbolic covering and sledge of the *Tekenu* are destroyed but the *Tekenu* and more pertinently what it contains remains intact.

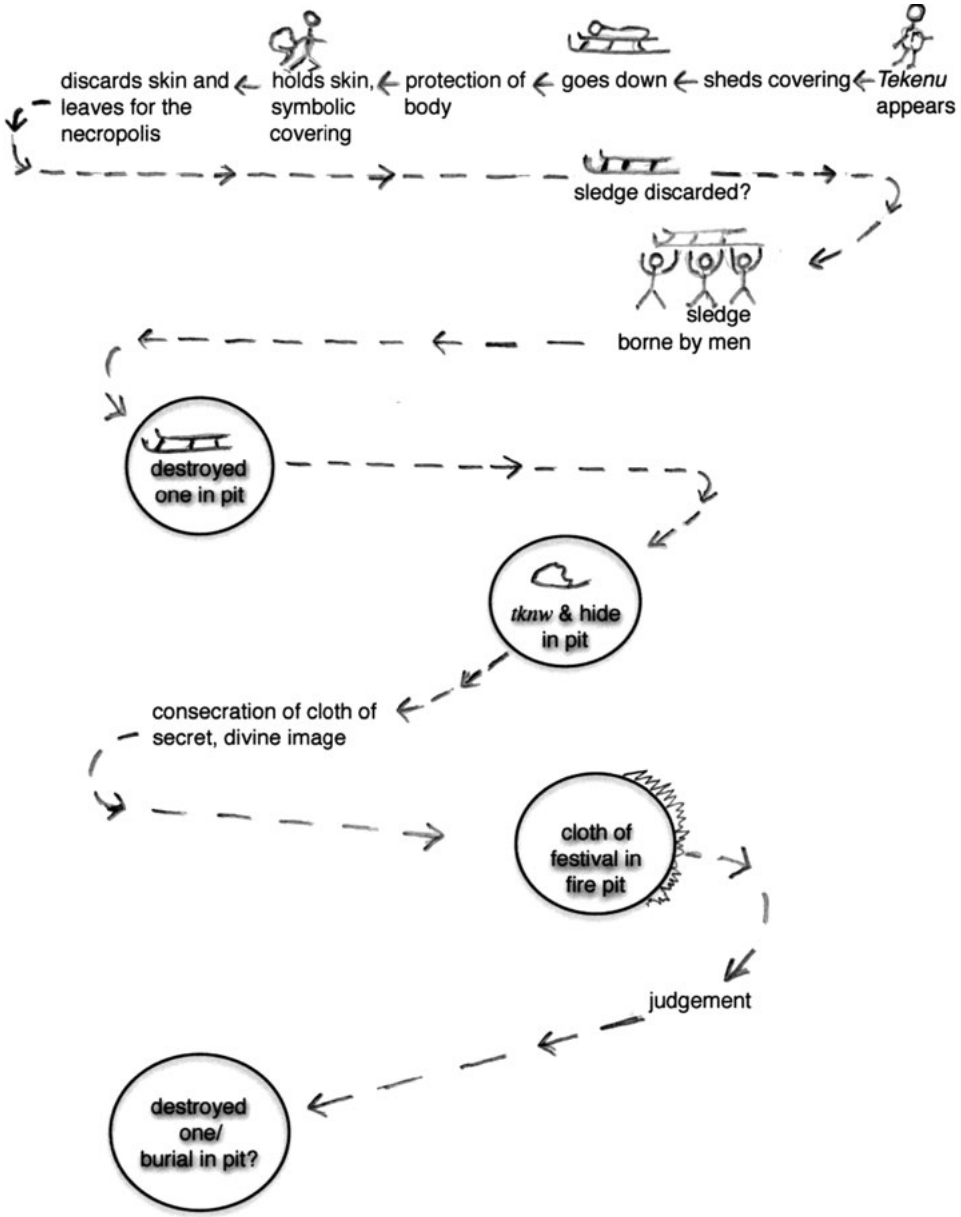


Figure 6.1.3.1 Suggested journey of the *Tekenu* in TT 20.
Drawn by J. West.

[51] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 19.

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6.2 The *Tekenu* in TT 100

6.2.1 Preliminaries

A major problem encountered when analysing the wall scenes in the Theban necropolis is that they are often severely damaged. This is particularly apparent in the section of the funerary procession in TT 100 where one might expect to see the *Tekenu* drawn on its sledge.[52] This observation has led to the suggestion that one part of the funerary procession might have been specifically targeted for destruction in antiquity and that the damage was not due to personal enmity to the deceased.[53] From this observation it has been concluded that this specific, deliberate act of erasure emphasises the importance of the destroyed section.[54] Of course, one must acknowledge that all damage is not deliberate, but rather due to time and natural forces.

6.2.2 The possibility of a Type 1 Tekenu

The depicted in TT 100 has been classified as Type 3A in this study. However, some scholars have recorded the existence of a second *Tekenu* of form Type 1, in this tomb. Thomas suggests that the sledge-drawn *Tekenu* would have appeared in the funeral procession of TT 100 but that the area where it had appeared has been destroyed.[55] Settgast seemingly agrees with this view as he records the *Tekenu* as being dragged on a sledge, in TT 100 (Figure 6.2.2.1).[56] Tassie records the *Tekenu* as being depicted 'tightly wrapped in a hide, being pulled on a sledge' in TT 100.[57] Settgast is, however, the only scholar to record a visual representation of the *Tekenu* on a sledge in TT 100.

Figure 6.2.2.1. TT 100. Type 1 *Tekenu* followed by the canopic chest.
Source: Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, pl. IV, detail.

If the *Tekenu* did occur in this form, it is conceivable that it would have been at the point of the procession as indicated by Settgast (Figure 6.2.2.1). In numerous depictions of the funerary procession the *Tekenu* appears in the sequence:

- sarcophagus, *Tekenu*, canopic chest [58]
- sarcophagus, canopic chest, *Tekenu* [59]
- *Tekenu*, canopic chest, sarcophagus [60]
- *Tekenu*, sarcophagus, canopic chest [61]
- canopic chest, *Tekenu*, sarcophagus [62]

The author has used Settgast's drawing of a section of the bottom register in TT 100 to indicate the position of damage (Figure 6.2.2.2). This is where a Type 1 *Tekenu* might have occurred.

[52] Thomas, *AE* 1/2 (1923), 47.
[53] Ibid. Thomas suggests the perpetrator was probably Akhenaton.
[54] Thomas, *AE* 1/2 (1923), 48.
[55] Thomas, *AE* 1/2 (1923,) 49. See Figure 6.2.2.1.
[56] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* pl. IV. The images he portrays are, however, recorded as speculation as indicated by the sloping lines.
[57] Tassie, *PIA* 11 (2000), 32.
[58] TT 24 TT 55. *Tekenu* and canopic chest side by side: TT 12, TT 36, TT 60.
[59] TT 92, TT 147.
[60] TT 17, TT 42.
[61] TT 49, TT 78, TT 284.
[62] TT 53.

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Figure 6.2.2.2. TT 100. Funerary procession indicating likely position (suggested by author) of Type 1 *Tekenu*
Source: Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, pl. XIV, detail.

Figure 6.2.2.3. TT 125. *Tekenu* on sledge.
Source: Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, pl. IV, detail.

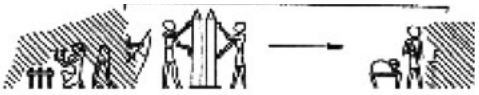

Figure 6.2.2.4. TT 125. *Tekenu* on table.
Source: Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, pl. X, detail.

It is significant that Settgast also records two depictions of the *Tekenu* in TT 125 (Figures 6.2.2.3–6.2.2.4). He appears to be the only scholar to do so. If one accepts Settgast's record, it would support the contention of this study that the *Tekenu* is depicted in different contexts dependent upon whether it is on a sledge or on a table.

6.2.3 Inherent problems in analysis

While the author is unable independently to verify the positions taken by Thomas, Settgast and Tassie, it is of value to examine the funerary scene in TT 100 assuming that the second *Tekenu* did, initially, exist. As TT 100 contains the most detailed illustration of the funerary ritual extant, it is beneficial to analyse the scenes in an endeavour to explain the transition of the *Tekenu* from its perceived position on a dragged sledge to that of being recumbent on a table. TT 100 is the only tomb attested where it is possible that both depictions occurred and where there is sufficient detail to propose a possible path of transition.[63]

It must be conceded that, to some extent, there are intrinsic problems with this approach. What one is endeavouring to achieve and present is an analysis of scenes to form a chronological and causal order of the events depicted in them such that they may be understood by the modern day observer.[64] Inherent in this endeavour is an underlying assumption that there is a 'universal transcultural narrativity'. This assumption is questionable due to the historical and cultural changes over time.[65] A further problem is that due to the scarcity of text, primary reliance must be placed upon the visual record and, consequently, upon the acuity of the observer of the scenes. Allowance must also be made for the fact that it cannot be determined whether the message inherent in a scene was intended for the viewer or was focussed towards the subject—the tomb owner—or indeed whether it were intended for both.[66] If the message is purely for the tomb owner, it could be esoteric and elusive to the modern-day observer. If the intention was to inform the viewer then the interpretation is dependent on the interaction with the observer who decodes the meaning and is consequently subjective. However, acknowledging these issues, it is nevertheless possible, to suggest a progression from surface realisation into pictorial representations that result in a form of mythical narrative.[67]

What the author is undertaking here is the achievement of an interpretation, not an explanation. An 'interpretation is concerned with meaning... (whereas) explanation asks for laws and causes and only one of differing explanations can be held true at a time'.[68] The result necessarily is subjective,

[63] TT 125 does not afford the possibility of detailed analysis.
[64] Braun, 'Narrative', 344.
[65] Braun, 'Narrative', 345.
[66] Woods, 'Relief', 236.
[67] Assmann, J., 'Solar Discourse. Ancient Ways of Worldreading' *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 68 (1994), 118.
[68] Assmann, *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 116.

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allowing for articulations of meaning while aiming to recreate the mythical and magical journey of the *Tekenu* which, although speculative, is plausible.

The slope of the wall in TT 100 was such as to force the artist to compromise in his work and, consequently, vignettes are depicted out of what might be determined as 'normal' order.[69] Further, what is illustrated is not a complete sequence of events. Nor do the illustrations reflect a contemporary history of burial.[70] Rather, one is presented with a cycle of scenes through which it is possible to propound a narrative thread.

6.2.4 Interpreting the registers

To aid in the interpretation of the funerary scene, Settgast's register numbering from the bottom of the wall up has been adopted (Figure 6.2.4.1).

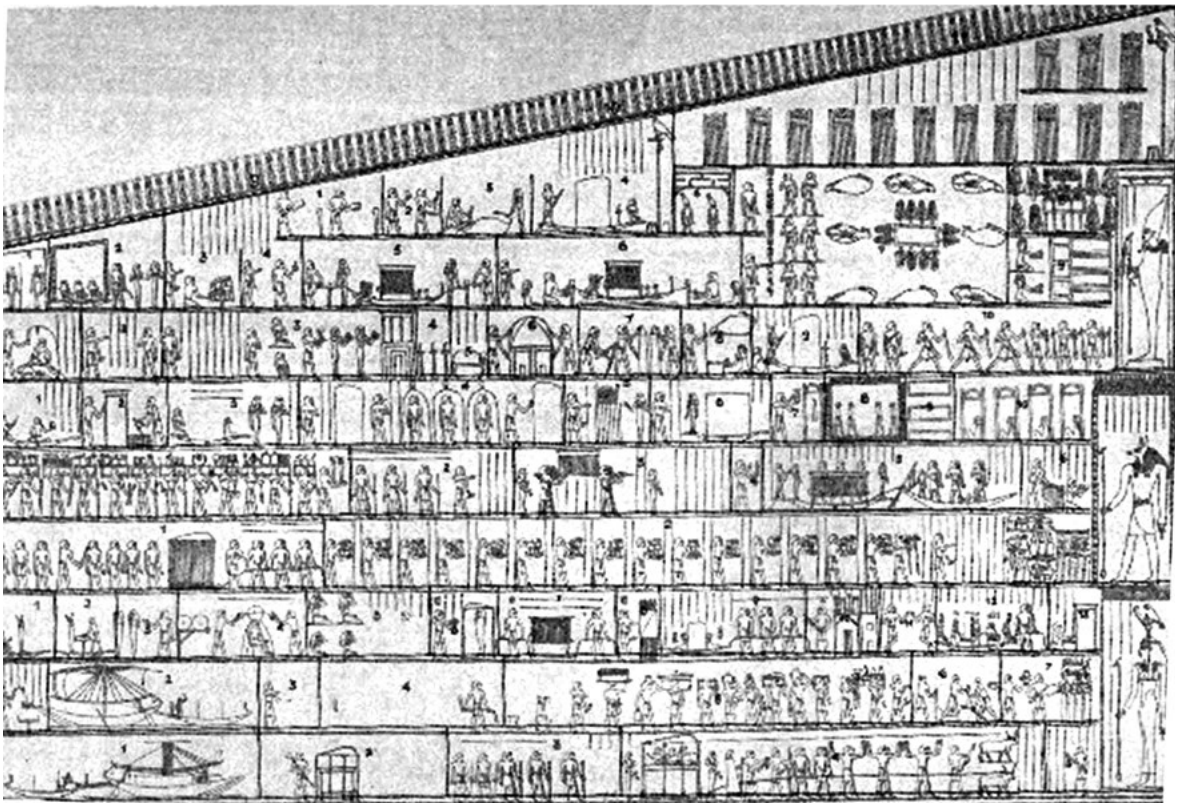

Figure 6.2.4.1. TT 100. Funerary procession.
Source: Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, Table XIV.

The first three registers proceed towards the image of the Goddess of the West; registers four, five and six proceed towards a priest acting as Anubis and registers seven, eight and nine proceed towards Osiris. The top two registers, which depict fourteen closed shrines to the gods, are concluded by an emblem of the west. Thus the entire funerary scene is encased in the symbol of the west. The Goddess of the West, the priest playing the part of Anubis and an image of Osiris all face the oncoming cortège and funerary rituals.

A) The Goddess of the West

The ancient Egyptian did not perceive death as a state of isolation but rather as a state whereby the deceased was accepted into the netherworld and was completely included in the social

[69] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 49 n. 3.
[70] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 73.

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constellations of the afterlife.[71] Consequently, the netherworld was viewed not as a 'spatially conceived landscape but rather a social sphere that needed to integrate the deceased into itself as a newcomer'.[72] One of the duties of the Goddess of the West was to aid in this integration.[73] In the Pyramid Texts she greets the deceased:

> *Behold she comes to meet you, does the Beautiful West, meeting you with her lovely tresses and she says: 'Here comes he whom I have borne, whose horn is upstanding, the eye-painted Pillar, the Bull of the sky! Your shape is notable (distinguishable) pass in peace, for I have protected you'—so says the Beautiful West....*(PT 282–284).

In the Coffin Texts the Goddess of the West welcomes the deceased as the son of Osiris:

> *Come in peace, that you may perform good journeys and that I may enfold you – so says she, the beautiful West, to N. She has come to meet him in her attire of snḏw-garment and her necklaces of carnelian(?). Her offerings are extended on her hand, her provisions follow her, and she says to him: Come, be welcome! Make yourself into a god in the suite of the Bull of the West, your dignity being according to your desire, for you are the son of the lord of the House.* (CT Spell 32, 107–111).

The Goddess of the West then promises to initiate the deceased into various mysteries of the netherworld:

> *I will cause you to see Osiris in Djedu and you shall travel with him to Abydos, for the young god is like you...*
> *I will cause him to enter into the Mysterious Places among the blessed ones.*
> *I will cause him to enter into the Place of Ferrying among the blessed ones.* (CT Spells 33–35, 122–134).

In TT 82 (Amenemhēt), the western desert, personified as the Goddess of the West, declares:

> *O steward who recounts the grain, thou scribe Amenemhēt, twice-welcome to me in peace, that I may embrace thee and enfold thee in my arms, and com mand life [for thy...]*
> *Verily I will be a protection to thy flesh, and in my arms shall encircle thee for ever and ever.*[74]

The ancient Egyptians perceived the individual as having a 'corporeal self' and a 'social self'.[75] For the ancient Egyptian death, was a form of dismemberment that involved the twofold rupture of both the 'corporeal self' and the 'social self'.[76] For the successful revivification of the deceased, the 'connectivity' of both 'selfs' was an essential prerequisite.[77] The embalmer restored the corporeal integrity of the deceased. The Goddess of the West embraced the deceased and greeted him as the son of Osiris, thereby reinstating its social being. The Goddess of the West may also be viewed as representing the entrance to the necropolis.[78]

B) Anubis

Anubis is ubiquitously known as the god who was the 'patron of embalmers' and the 'protector of the necropolis', who guided the deceased on his journey to the netherworld and participated in divine judgement. He was usually depicted as black, a colour symbolic of the afterlife and fertility.[79] During embalming and the Opening of the Mouth ceremony, priests wore masks representing

[71] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 58.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Davies, *Amenemhēt*, 48, pl. X.
[75] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 409.
[76] Smith, M., 'Osiris and the Deceased' in Dieleman, J. and Wendrich, W., (eds) *UCLA Encyclopaedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2008), 2.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Abdul-Qader, *Funerary Beliefs*, 162.
[79] Duxley, D. M., 'Anubis' in Redford, D. B. (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), vol. 1, 97.

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Anubis. However, Anubis, an esoteric deity, had many functions and titles, the most prominent being *ỉnpw ỉmy wt* (he who is in the embalming place), *ỉnpw ḫnty šḥ nṯr* (who presides over the God's booth), *ỉnpw ḫnty ỉmntyw* (foremost of the westerners), *ỉnpw ḫnty tɜ wʿb,* (who presides over the pure land) and *ỉnpw tpy-ḏw=f* (who is on his mountain).[80] *ỉnpw tpy-ḏw=f* most obviously brings to mind jackals prowling through the desert mountains above the Valley of the Kings.[81] However, given the Ancient Egyptian's love of paronomasia, another interpretation is possible. DuQuesne suggests that:

> *There might be a connection between ḏw (mountain) and rḏw corruption). Rḏw is the term used to designate the humours of Osiris and Anubis is the divine midwife who empowers the dying god's return to life and vigour. Anubis presides over all the paraphernalia of funerals and embalmment but the jackal deity is an archetypal initiator into the mysteries of rebirth. He is on top of his corruption' because he sits atop the casket*.[82]

In the Pyramid Texts, Anubis is also referred to as 'the Governor of the Bows' (*nb pḏwt*) (PT 805). This is most likely a reference to Anubis's dominance over foreigners[83] who were seen as evil doers who could endanger the burial or the safety of the deceased in the netherworld.[84]

Yet another prominent title of Anubis is *ḫry-sštɜ* (guardian of the secret) which Assmann translates as 'he who is over the mystery'.[85] Assmann contends that the mystery over which Anubis watches is the mummified body and that the 'mystery of Anubis imparts divine presence as protection against disintegration and decay'.[86] The cryptic writing of *ḫry-sštɜ* has a single glyph which shows a couchant jackal seated on a chest. *Sštɜ* also referred to the coffin, so such an epithet works on two levels. Anubis is over the secrets of death and rebirth. He is also literally 'he who is upon the coffin'.[87]

Moret observes that the funeral boat is often seen with Anubis attending the deceased. He proposes that the *Tekenu* is likely to be within the accompanying naos-cabin and being afforded Anubis's protection.[88]

Anubis, together with Geb and Sakhmet, revivified the deceased, enabling the deceased to proclaim:

> *I shall have power to do whatever I desire; my soul and corpse shall not be restrained at the portals of the West when I go in and out in peace* (BD, 26)

C) Osiris

Osiris, commonly known as sovereign of the realm of the dead, has many other titles among the most prominent being *Wsỉr nb tɜ-ḏsr* (Osiris, Lord of the Holy Land), *Wsỉr nb ỉmnt nṯr ʿɜ nb ɜbḏw* (Osiris Lord of the West, the Great God, Lord of Abydos), *Wsỉr ỉmy ỉb nṯrw* (Osiris, Favourite of the Gods), *Wsỉr, nb Ḏdw Ḫntỉ-ỉmntỉw* (Osiris, Lord of Busiris and Chontamenti) and *Wsỉr wn-nfr* (he who is permanently benign and youthful). To be redeemed from death, the deceased relies on the grace of Osiris to recognise him as a peer and receive him into his kingdom. In the Book of the Dead the deceased beseeches Osiris to not let his corpse perish:

---

[80] Leitz *Götter und Götterbezeichnungen,* vol. I, 390–398.
[81] DuQuesne, T. 'Anubis Master of Secrets (*ḫry-sštɜ*) and the Egyptian Conception of Mysteries' in Assmann, A. and Assmann, J. (eds), *Schleier und Schwelle.* Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation V. Band 2 *Geheimnis und Offenbarung,* (Munich, 1998), 106.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 145, n. 5.
[84] Wilkinson, *Gods and Goddesses*, 187.
[85] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 192.
[86] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 192–193.
[87] DuQuesne, *'Anubis Master of Secrets*', 107.
[88] Moret, *Mystères Égyptiens,* 46.

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> *Hail to you, my father Osiris! I have come to you to the intent that you may heal my flesh;...Come, that my breath may be stronger than yours...May I endure longer than you, for I am fashioned as the possessor of a burial; may you permit me to go down into the earth for ever like that one who serves you and your father Atum and his corpse will not perish; such is he who will not be destroyed. I have not done what you dislike; may your ka love me and not thrust me aside; take me after you.* (BD, 154).

Osiris was viewed as a saviour god as it was his fate that led to his final triumph of defeating death, after suffering and destruction, at the hands of Seth.[89] This is viewed as a pattern that mere mortals could achieve, for the encountering of the enemy and achieving vindication against him constituted the last decisive step in the overcoming of death.[90]

As a chthonic deity, Osiris was viewed with trepidation by the deceased as he stood before him while Osiris presided over the Judgement of the Dead.[91] At this point the deceased declared his innocence of all possible crimes and misdemeanours that could stop admittance to the next world. These were listed and denied as in Book of the Dead chapter 125.[92] The deceased could then be called 'Osiris' and, using his redemptive power, Osiris conferred on the deceased, the epithet *mꜣʿ-ḫrw* (justified, vindicated). The deceased was now fully vindicated against Seth.[93]

In summary, the funerary procession and funerary rites in TT 100 proceed towards:

- the necropolis, in the form of the Goddess of the West;
- the guardian of the necropolis, in the form of Anubis;
- the judge of the necropolis, in the form of Osiris.[94]

6.2.5 A possible narrative

There is no attestation of the *Tekenu* in the registers leading towards the figure of Anubis. Nor does any other tomb extant contain a depiction of the *Tekenu* in that context. However, at some stage it would seem that the *Tekenu* has moved, or been moved, from the sledge to a table (Figure 6.2.5.1). There are currently no attestations of this transition.

Figure 6.2.5.1. TT 100. The *Tekenu* on sledge, void, *Tekenu* on table.
Drawn by J. West.

It is suggested that what is being illustrated is a quasi-narrative sequence. In TT 100, adopting the suggestions of the scholars who record the *Tekenu* recumbent on a sledge in this tomb, this *Tekenu* appears in the first (bottom) register. It is being dragged towards the Goddess of the West who is integral for the restoration of the 'social self' and who represents the necropolis. One might assume that the *Tekenu* enters the necropolis with the sarcophagus and canopic chest.

In registers one and two, the sarcophagus is shown being transported to and from Abydos. There is no indication of the *Tekenu* accompanying the deceased on this journey. However, it is possible that the *Tekenu* is contained in a covered naos, as suggested by Moret in other sections of the funerary procession.[95]

[89] The record of the slaying of Osiris by Seth was not committed to writing. See Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 2, 81.
[90] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 127
[91] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 77
[92] See Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, 134–141.
[93] Assmnn, Death and Salvation, 74.
[94] Abdul-Qader, *Funerary Beliefs*, 162.
[95] Moret, *Mystères Égyptiens,* 46.

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Registers four and five, which end at the image of Anubis, depict the transportation of funerary goods and the journey of the sarcophagus, at times accompanied by the nine friends. Again there is no evidence of the *Tekenu* in these registers.

Register six contains a partial representation of the Holy District interspersed with other funerary ritual. It is at this stage that one might postulate that the *Tekenu* makes its transition from sledge to table. Although this transition is not pictorially attested in any known tomb, some of the text seems to lend support to this suggestion.

6.2.6 The three ponds

The three ponds of Kheper, Heket and Sokar, which are possibly filled with the primordial water, are depicted in register six (Figure 6.2.6.1). Apart from the Ramesside tomb TT 222, TT 100 is the only tomb where these pools are identified.[96] Davies labels them as 'three pools of infernal deities'.[97]

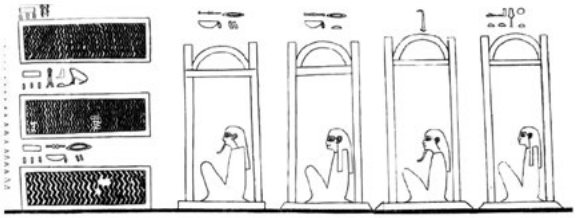

Figure 6.2.6.1. TT 100. The three pools of Khepri Heket and Sokar adjacent
to three chapels of the gods in register six.
Source: Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē*, pl. LXXXVII, detail.

Three pools are also depicted adjacent to chapels of the gods in TT 15 (Figure 6.2.6.2) and TT 81 (Figure 6.2.6.3). In TT 15 the ponds are placed, just like the gods, within a *ḫm* chapel.[98]

Figure 6.2.6.2. TT 15. Three ponds and gods all in xm chapels.
Source: Davies, *JEA* II (1925), pl. IX, detail.

Figure 6.2.6.3. TT 81. Three ponds with only gods in xm chapels.
Source: Hay MSS 29822, 0053, detail. Courtesy of the British Library Board.

However, the apparently intentional integration of these three ponds into the row of chapels does little to clarify their function.[99] In fact, the exact meaning of the ponds is illusory. Two gods owning four ponds are mentioned in the Coffin Texts:

> *To prepare an offering in the four basins of Khepri and Heket, the small, the medium and the large; to present the mooring-post, the bow-warp and the stern-warp; to turn over gifts(?) four times for N, virtuous and vindicated.* CT 234.

Settgast, relying on the unpublished records of the Middle Kingdom coffins G1T and A1C, suggests that consecrations and sacrificial activities are carried out at the shore of these water basins.[100] He concedes that it is impossible to extract from the text *ir.t i ḫ.t* the exact nature of the sacrificial

[96] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 57.
[97] Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē,* 73.
[98] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 57.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 59.

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action. A further problem, Settgast acknowledges, is the translation of *Pɜr.t*. He notes that in TT 100 the three pools are identified as *Ḥpr, Ḥḳt* and *Skr* and questions whether *Pɜr.t* is a wrong interpretation of the third pool or, in fact, a fourth pool. He dismisses the possibility of a fourth pool due to the 'overwhelming majority of all evidenced scenes' of Theban tombs.[101] He further states that a god named *Pɜr.t* is unknown. He tentatively adopts the transliteration *ḏr.t wr.t,* which he translates as 'great consecration,' and concludes that only the ponds of Khepri and Heket play a role during the burial ceremony.[102]

The extant text referring to specifically identified pools is obtuse for the modern observer. In TT 82 appears the text:[103]

sṯɜ tkn.w ỉn r(m)ṯ(.t)
Ḳd{p} sɜ{t}.w Srḳ.t prỉ.t nw.t/ʿḳ-prỉ.t
sp-4 ỉn spɜ.t ỉdn mḥ.t š.w Ḥḳ.t

Source: Davies *Amenemhēt*, pl. XII.

'The dragging of the *Tekenu* by the people of Ked and Dep and the Serket-ritualist; the city's procession; the entry and exit four times by the (whole) district; replenishing the fullness of the pools of Heket.'

A similar text occurs in TT 112:

[*sṯɜ*] *tkn.w ỉn r(m)ṯ(.t) Ḳd sɜ{t}.w Srḳ.t prỉ.t nw.t ʿḳ-prỉ.t sp-4 ỉn spɜ.t {n} ỉdn mḥ.t š.w Ḥḳ.t*

Source: Davies Amenemhēt, 51 n.2.

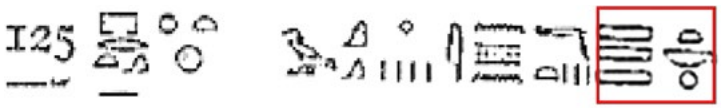
'The dragging of the *Tekenu* by the people of Ked and Dep and the Serket-ritualist; the city's procession; the entry and exit four times by the (whole) district; replenishing the fullness of the pools of Heket.'

In TT 55, which contains a Type 1A *Tekenu*, above the men dragging the *Tekenu*, there is the remnant of a text:

ʿḳ-[*prỉ.t*] *ỉ*[*n*] [*r*](*m*)*ṯ*(.*t*)
'The entry and exit by the people of... Source: Davies, *Ramose*, pl. XXV

A possible interpretation of these texts is that people from the Delta area drag the *Tekenu* in a ritual that involves four lots of movement and resulting in the filling of the pools of Heket. This is conjecture. However, what is definitely apparent is that there is an association of the *Tekenu* procession and the pools of Heket. This observation leads Settgast to conclude that 'the three ponds are the place of ritual processions at the centre of which is the *Tekenu*'.[104]

In TT 125, Settgast records the text:[105]



Settgast discusses the possible translations of .[106] He postulates that one might see a close connection between the Heket pools and the *Tekenu* which would allow a 'direct re-interpretation of *š.w Ḥḳ.t* as "*Tekenu* ponds"'.[107] While conceding that this is only one possible

[101] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 58.
[102] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 59. Being unable to verify Settgast's work, the author has decided not to extend this discussion.
[103] In this section all transliteration and translation is by the author unless otherwise acknowledged.
[104] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 60.
[105] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 59. The author has been unable to verify this text.
[106] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 60.
[107] Ibid.

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interpretation, Settgast concludes that, nevertheless, other readings 'would confirm that the ponds and the *Tekenu* are closely connected'.[108]

TT 125

rḏ.t ỉyỉ(.t) n bb(.t)/nỉw.t mskȝ
m tkn.w sḏr
rḏỉ(.t) sgr m š ḥpr

'Causing a coming to the city, (with) a hide as a *Tekenu*; sleeping; causing silence in the pool of Becoming'.

Source: Eggebrecht and Eggebrecht, *Pelizaeus-Museum*, n.263.

While acknowledging that there are neither textual nor pictorial records of the *Tekenu* being conveyed from a sledge onto a table, it is tempting to suggest that this transition might take place in the vicinity of the ponds. The texts of both TT 100 and TT 125, which appear above the *Tekenu* recumbent on a table, lend support to this contention.

TT 100

rḏỉ.t ỉyỉ(.t) n bb.t/ nỉw.t mskȝ
m tkn.w sḏr ḫr=f
m š ḥpr

'Causing a coming to the city, (with) a hide with a *Tekenu* sleeping under it in the pool of Becoming'.

Source: Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē*, pl. LXXXIII.

While these are only two texts, it must be emphasised that there are only six examples of Type 3 of the *Tekenu.*

It is noteworthy that neither text nor depiction suggest any relationship between the mummy and the three ponds.[109] One might tentatively suggest that the sarcophagus is not found near the three ponds as the ponds aid in the metamorphosis of the *Tekenu*. The deceased undergoes its metamorphosis during the Opening of the Mouth ritual.

It is pertinent that in TT 100 the three ponds appear in a register ending in the depiction of Anubis. One of Anubis's titles, *ḥrj-sštȝ,* which has various innuendoes (as previously discussed), in this instance might relate to Anubis as a guardian of the secret of the transition of the *Tekenu* from a sledge to a table. When the *Tekenu* next appears it is in register seven where it is depicted on a table. This register progresses towards the image of Osiris.

6.2.7 Conclusions and suggested journey of the Tekenu

That the proposed quasi-narrative of the *Tekenu* in TT 100 does not involve its appearance in all the scenes in the funerary rituals is not surprising. What one is searching for is a narrative thread that will enable an interpretation of the progression of the *Tekenu, a* progression which is not always visual but which is facilitated by ritual and magic. An interesting observation is that the canopic chest appears only in register one but one knows that it travels to the tomb as it is archaeologically attested amongst the grave goods. Nor is it a concern that the *Tekenu's* progression in TT 20 does not relate to its journey in TT 100. The fundamental nature of Egyptian iconography is esoteric. One is often faced with the accumulation of eclectic sources such that the coherence of the motif may appear as inconsistent.[110] The question is more why is there the transition from sledge to

[108] Ibid.
[109] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 61.
[110] Angenot, 'Semiotics and Hermeneutics', 113.

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table and what happens to the *Tekenu* after that. It might be argued that to undergo some ritual of consecration it is necessary for the *Tekenu* to be stationary. The *Tekenu* is in a liminal state in 'the pool of becoming' but when depicted on the table it is awake as illustrated by the open eye. It then becomes part of the funerary ritual before Osiris, the judge of the necropolis, who will determine the fate of the deceased. There is no further reference in TT 100 to the *Tekenu* after this stage, nor does any other tomb depict what happens to the *Tekenu* after this vignette. Perhaps this is not surprising due to the paucity of relevant contextual material.

The preceding discussion allows the tentative suggestion of the progression of the *Tekenu* from upon a sledge in the funerary procession, to the three pools, where it is transferred onto a table and more commonly changes into a white covering, then its depiction upon the table within the Holy District and finally its entrance to the tomb with the sarcophagus (Figure 6.2.7.1).

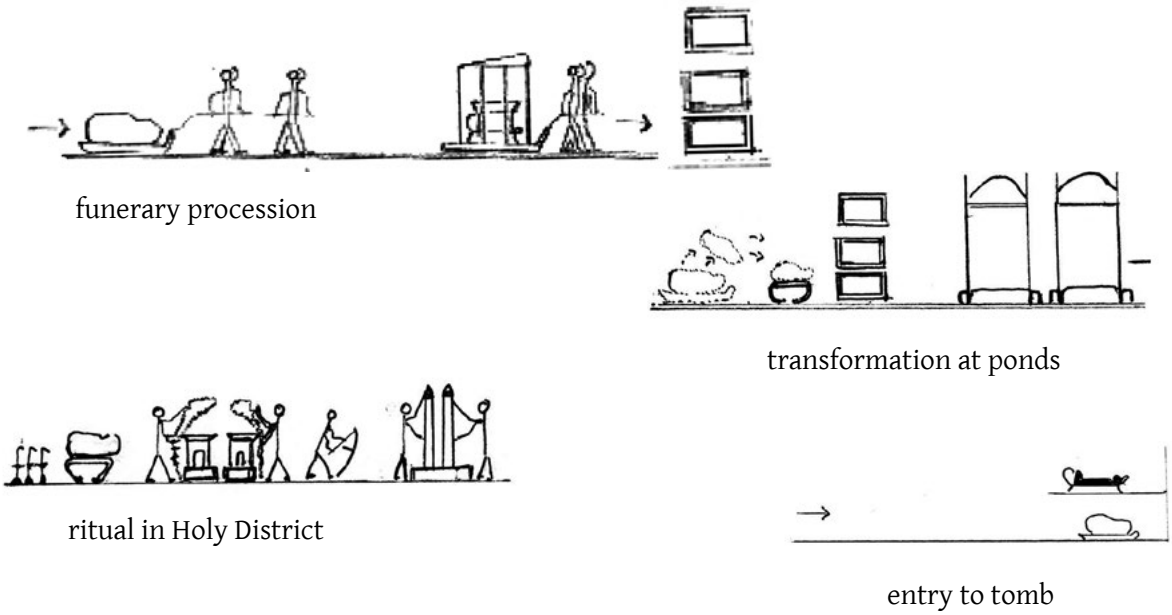

Figure 6.2.7.1. TT 100. The proposed journey of the *Tekenu.*
Drawn by J. West.

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Part 3 The search for the origins of the *Tekenu*

Chapter 7

Cattle culture, early dynastic figures and standards

7.1 Preliminaries

One must be careful when endeavouring to explain occurrences in the dynastic period by reference to predynastic times. It is difficult to establish with certainty how any concept evolved over an extensive period of time. Old rites become integrated with new ideas and are contaminated by cultural factors, social change and religious belief.[1] Due to missing data from settlements and poorly recorded data from cemeteries, it is likely that gaps will always exist in our knowledge of predynastic Egypt.[2]

These problems accepted, it is possible to suggest a development whereby elements of predynastic ritual are carried into the pharaonic world. This might be in a way where the original identity has been so changed, only represented in part or integrated with other elements, that it is difficult to distinguish.

7.2 The *Tekenu*'s possible association with the bull

Scholars have frequently associated the *Tekenu* with the bull, whether it be in the form of a skin rite or by the *Tekenu* actually becoming the bull.[3] For example, Thomas poses that the *Tekenu* becomes the Bitau bull.[4] Other scholars, correctly, identify the name of the hide wrapping the *Tekenu* in the tombs of ***Rḫ-mj-Rˁ*** and ***Dḥwtj*** as ***mskɜ***.[5] This term specifically applied to leather and it is frequently found in a ritualistic or religious context.[6] In the Middle Kingdom tomb of ***Sḥtbr,*** the *Tekenu* is covered in what is arguably a bovine hide, and in other tombs the *Tekenu* of Types 1, 2, and 3 is depicted as completely or partially covered.[7] While it is not possible to be definitive about the covering in these tombs, nevertheless, it is again plausible to suggest that what is depicted is possibly a bovine hide. In the New Kingdom tomb of ***Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f,*** where the *Tekenu* is naked, it is found in a pit with the heart, foreleg and hide of an ox. More recently, Serrano Delgado (2011) has suggested that there are definite iconographic similarities between one form of the *Tekenu,* in this study classified as Type 3, and episodes of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony.[8] On this occurrence, he states that the *Tekenu* is 'totally wrapped up in the bull hide except for his face, his head and... the hands'.[9] That the bull's sacrifice is central in the revivification of the dead is evidenced by the fact that the bull's foreleg is frequently used to touch the deceased's mouth in the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony. [10] On occasions, the foreleg is cut from the bull when it is ostensibly alive. The

[1] Midant-Reynes, B., *The Prehistory of Egypt* (English translation: I. Shaw, Oxford, 2000), 179. For a detailed examination of the problems of the use of ethnographic data and later archaeological finds to interpret earlier material, see Ucko, *World Archaeology* 1/2 (1969), 262–280.
[2] Bard, K. A., *From Farmers to Pharaohs* (Sheffield, 1994), 116.
[3] See chapter 1.
[4] Thomas, *AE* 1/2 (1923), 53.
[5] Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē,* pl. LXXXIII; Serrano Delgado *ZÄS* 138 (2011), fig. IX.
[6] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 151; *Wb* 2, 150.3–6.
[7] The exception is the *Tekenu* represented twice in TT 20 seemingly without any cover.
[8] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 155.
[9] Ibid.
[10] See Gordon, A. H. and Schwabe, C. W., *The Quick and the Dead* (Leiden, 2004), 75–82.

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presentation of a 'fresh' foreleg to the deceased could be interpreted as bestowing the deceased with the demonstrably high level of animating force contained in this body part.

Despite varying views on its identity, scholars agree that the *Tekenu* is in some way linked with the revivification of the deceased. These observations of the *Tekenu* and its apparent close association with the bull suggest that its origin might partly lie in the early cattle culture.

7.2.1. Cattle culture in the pre-Pharaonic Period

The prehistory of Egypt covers the years from the Palaeolithic (c. 500,000–10,000 BC) to the end of the Chalcolithic period (c. 4000–3300 BC).[11] In the Palaeolithic period there is but scant evidence of remaining human burial.[12] The sites at Taramsa, Nazlet Khater and Wadi Kubbaniya provide such little relevant data that they are not examined here. For this study it is most salient to concentrate on areas indicating an underlying funerary ideology and eschatology, albeit, fragmentary.

The cattle culture represents a pattern of emulation between the human and bovine species[13] and throughout the entire period of ancient Egyptian history there has been a rich symbolic culture associated with cattle.[14] It has been argued that this culture most likely had its origin in the Saharan pastoralists in the predynastic period.[15] However, recent evidence indicates an earlier source. Three sites have been found in Egypt that display rock art from the late Pleistocene Ballanan-Silsilian culture or late Palaeolithic culture making them about 15,000 years old, or from the Epi-Palaeolithic period.[16] Depictions of bovids, Bos primigenius or aurochs, are predominant in all cases. At Qurta, bovids form 76% of the total assemblage,[17] at Abu Tanqura Bahari II at el-Hosh 75%,[18] and at Wadi Abu Subeira 6 where only about 35 figures have been recorded, 14 are clearly bovids.[19] At Qurta in some cases the bovids (and also an hippopotamus) have scratches over the head and neck which Huyge interprets as having 'some kind of symbolic meaning'.[20] (Figure 7.2.1.1)

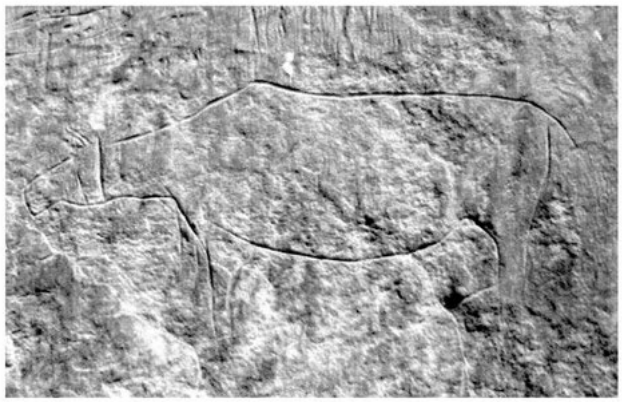

Figure 7.2.1.1. Qurta rock art. Bovid with scratches over neck and head.
Source: Huyge *Archéo-Nil* 19, (2009), figV. (Q11.2.1.)

[11] Köehler,' E. C.,'Prehistory' in Lloyd, A. B. (ed.), A Companion to Ancient Egypt (Chichester, 2010), 25.
[12] Köehler,'Prehistory', 26.
[13] Gordon and Schwabe, *Quick and the Dead,* 31.
[14] Wengrow, D., 'Rethinking 'Cattle Cults' in Early Egypt: Towards a Prehistoric Perspective on the Narmer Palette' *CAJ* 11/1 (2001), 92.
[15] Brass, M., *Tracing the Origins of the Ancient Egyptian Cattle Cult*, http://www.antiquityofman.com/brass_EEF2002.pdf,8; Hassan, F.A., 'Primeval Goddess to Divine King The Mythogenesis of Power in the Early Egyptian State' in Friedman R. and Adams, B. (eds), The Followers of Horus: Studies dedicated to Michael Hoffman (Oxford, 1992), 314.
[16] Huyge et al 'Lascaux along the Nile: Late Pleistocene rock art in Egypt', *Antiquity* 81/313 (2007), Project Gallery http://www.antiquity.ac.uk/ProjGall/huyge/index.htm, 1.
[17] Huyge D., 'Late Palaeolithic and Epipalaeolithic Rock Art in Egypt: Qurta and El- Hosh', *Archéo-Nil* 19 (2009), 110.
[18] Huyge, *Archéo-Nil* 19, (2009), 113.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Huyge, D., 'Ice Age art along the Nile', *EA* 33 (2008), 26.

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It is impossible to be definitive about the meaning and motivation of this rock art.[21] Huyge suggests that a 'plausible hypothesis' is that it relates to some kind of 'hunting magic'.[22] Regardless of the exact meaning the evidence suggests the iconic relevance and symbolic importance of cattle at this time.

A) The burial site at el-Kadada

During the fifth millennium BC, funerary rites from Middle Egypt to Upper Nubia indicate a coherent and widely disseminated body of religious beliefs and mortuary practices.[23] The extensive burial site at el-Kadada, which suggests an evolution in funerary rites over a relatively short period,[24] is of particular relevance to this discussion.[25] Although el-Kadada is situated in Central Sudan, the early cultures should not be regarded as isolated in their development and identity. They may be seen as 'globally interlinked in a broad stream of exchange and mutual influence'.[26]

El- Kadada has four recognised cemeteries and more than three hundred discovered graves.[27] Two pits from the Southern Cemetery of El-Kadada, KDDS 76/1-2-3 and KDDS 85/60-61 are characteristic. KDDS 76 contains three burials, all probably male, and the pit was reopened to bury 76/1. The most important burial, 76/3, was surrounded by funerary furniture including a bucranium. KDDS 85/60-61 contains two burials: again a male but the other is that of a child of 8–10 years (Figure 7.2.1.2.). The stratigraphical relation between the corpses is shown by a bucranium. A bony ankle rests on the child's neck and the part under the orbit provides a headrest for the adult (Figure 7.2.1.2.). The bucranium assures the link between the burials. Reinhold also contends that it links the funeral furniture with the child's body.[28]

At the late Palaeolithic site of Toshka, one of the most ancient sites of intentional inhumations in the upper Nile valley, bucrania were found lying on top of several graves.[29] In two instances a bucranium was placed over the deceased, near the head, and in another it appeared close to the head.[30] Also, at the Neolithic site of El Ghaba, bucraniua were found lying near the skull of the deceased[31] and at the bottom of pits. These bucrania were cut leaving the horns and the upper part of the frontal bone. This is similar to the method employed at El-Kadada.[32]

While there are differences in the cemeteries, there are common points in material culture, indicating customs with a common strand.[33] The relevance of the bucrania is unexplained.[34] They are attested from around 10,300 BP onwards.[35] Midant-Reynes suggests they indicate a preoccupation with symbolic order.[36] Their presence does testify to the symbolic significance of cattle in predynastic funerary rituals[37] and rock art.

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[21] Huyge, *Archéo-Nil* 19, (2009), 115.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Wengrow, *CAJ II/I,* (2001), 96.
[24] Midant-Reynes, *Prehistory of Egypt,* 227.
[25] For a detailed record see Reinold, J., 'Les Fouilles pre-et proto-historiques de la Section Française de la Direction des Antiquites du Soudan: les campagnes 1984–85 et 1985–86', *Archeologie du Nil Moyen* 2,17–67.
[26] Winter, E., 'Response to H. te Velde' in Z. Hawass (ed.), *Egypt at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 2000), 52.
[27] Reinold, J.,'Kadruka and the Neolithic in the Northern Dongola Reach', *Sudan Electronic Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology* (August 2002), 3.
[28] Reinold, *Sudan Electronic Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology* (August 2002), 4.
[29] Wendorf, F., 'Late Paleolithic Sites in Egyptian Nubia' in F. Wendorf (ed.), *The Prehistory of Nubia*; *Papers assembled and edited by Fred Wendorf* II (Dallas, 1968), 87.
[30] Wendorf, 'Late Paleolithic Sites in Egyptian Nubia', 791–953.
[31] Lecointe, Y., 'Le site néolithique d'El Ghaba: deux années d'activité (1985-1986)', *Archéologie du Nil Moyen* 2 (1987), 78.
[32] Midant-Reynes, *Prehistory of Egypt,* 134–135.
[33] Reinold, *Sudan Electronic Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology* (2002), 11.
[34] Reinold, J., 'Note sur le monde animal dans le funeraire neolithique du Soudan', *Revue de Paleobiologie, Geneve* 10 (2005), 109.
[35] Midant-Reynes, *Prehistory of Egypt*, 85.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Geus, F., 'Burial Customs in the upper Main Nile: an Overview' in W.V. Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa-Nubia from Prehistory*

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Figure 7.2.1.2. KDD 85/60-61 Bucranium linking two burials.
Source: Reinold, *Revue de Paleobiologie,* Geneve 10 (2005) fig. 1.

Figure 7.2.1.3. KDD 85/60-61 All the bucranium after the disassembly of the adult skull.
Source: Reinold, *Revue de Paleobiologie, Geneve* 10 (2005), fig 2.

B) The elite cemetery HK6 of Hierakonpolis

The elite cemetery HK6 of Hierakonpolis which was in use for burials in the Naqada IC–IIB and Naqada III periods attests to numerous bovine burials.[38] In two tombs (tomb 7 and tomb 8) no human remains were found with the cattle.[39] This suggests a purely animal burial and perhaps the esteem in which the cattle were held.[40] A bos burial from Tomb 19, discovered in 1999 and dated to Naqada1C–Naqada IIA, contained an entire cattle corpse buried in reed matting. It appeared to be buried in a manner similar to that of humans, as resin had been applied to the body with some still adhering to the ribs.[41] The presence of remaining resin is of great significance, as it is believed that the cattle corpse 'must have possessed a symbolic or magical significance for the deceased'.[42] Alternatively, it might be that the cattle were buried in such a manner for some religious purpose that might not have had any direct association with a deceased person.

One may only speculate on the motivation for the treatment given to these cattle. They might have been regarded as 'the animal manifestations of the might and power of the deceased humans to which they were subsidiary'.[43] It is also possible they were an iconic part of an unexplained religious ritual.[44]

to Islam (London, 1991), 58; Hendrickx, S., 'Bovines in Egyptian Predynastic and Early Dynastic Iconography': in Hassan F.A. (ed.), *Droughts, Food and Culture; Security in Africa's Prehistory* (New York, 2002), 275.

[38] Van Neer, W. Linseele V. and Friedman, R. F., 'Animal Burials and Food Offerings at the Elite Cemetery HK6 of Hierakonpolis' in Hendrickx, S., Friedman, R., Cialowicz, K., Chlodnicki, M.,(eds), *Egypt at its Origins: Studies in memory of Barbara Adams, Proceedings of the international Conference 'Origin of the State Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt (Krakow, 2002)*' (Leuven, 2004), 72–73.

[39] Van Neer, Linseele and Friedman, 'Animal Burials and Food Offerings,' 108.

[40] In tomb 24 an elephant was interred with a bull (Van Neer, Linseele and Friedman, 'Animal Burials and Food Offerings', 73.

[41] Figueiredo, A., 'Locality HK6 at Hierakonpolis': in Hendrickx, S., Friedman, R., Cialowicz, K., Chlodnicki, M., (eds), *Egypt at its Origins: Studies in memory of Barbara Adams, Proceedings of the international Conference 'Origin of the State Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt (Krakow, 2002)'* (Leuven, 2004), 6.

[42] Jones, J., 'New Perspectives on the Development of Mummification and Funerary Practices during the Pre-and Early Dynastic Periods' in Goyan, J-C. and Cardin, C. Garrel J-F, Zaki, G. (eds), *Actes du IXe Congrès International des Égyptologues. 6–12 Septembre 2004, Grenoble-France.* (Peeters: Leuven, 2007), 2.1, 984.

[43] Van Neer, Linseele and Friedman, 'Animal Burials and Food Offerings', 122.

[44] Van Neer, Linseele and Friedman, 'Animal Burials and Food Offerings', 115. These scholars also believe that in most

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C) Ritual activities

There are many other ritual activities involving cattle from the Predynastic Period. The bull was seen as a paradigm of power, bravery and sexual vigour.[45] Its role was often perceived to absorb negative influences and release them from their human victims.[46] This role was also attributed by some scholars to the *Tekenu*.[47] Figurines and amulets of the entire bull or just the bull's head have been discovered from the Neolithic Badarian period. Petrie, in fact, contends that the bull's head is the oldest form of amulet found (Figure 7.2.1.4).[48]

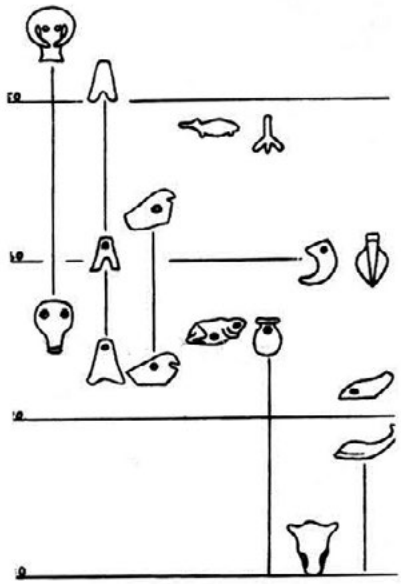

Figure 7.2.1.4. Prehistoric bull's head amulets from the cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu. Source: Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pl. IV, detail.

The anatomy of the bull is said by some to have been used to source various hieroglyphic signs. The association of the bull and the *ka* is emphasised by the hieroglyphics for the word 'bull' (Figure 7.2.1.5). The '*ankh*', '*djed*' and '*was*' signs have been recorded as representing parts of the bull and the sign for '*ka*' is said by some scholars to have originated from the form of the horns of the bull (Figure 7.2.1.6).[49]

Figure 7.2.1.5. Attestation for *kꜣ* 'stier' (bull) *Wb* V, 94.7–96.8, 97.1–98.2.

The Nuer and Dinka as well as other Nilotic pastoralists often danced with upraised arms in imitation of the bulls' horns.[50] That this association of the horns of a bull and raised hands continued well into the pharaonic period is evidenced by the eighteenth dynasty tomb of *Ḥwy* (TT 40) where the deceased is presented bulls with imitation hands on their horns (Figure 7.2.1.6).

The incorporation of cattle into Predynastic practices relating to death and personal ritual is significant, as it suggests a more pervasive investment of human values in cattle than is implied

cases all animals are present in this cemetery for the benefit of humans and not out of respect or veneration for the animal, 116.

[45] Gordon and Schwabe, *Quick and the Dead*, 203; Tyldesley, *Myths and Legends,* 68.

[46] Wengrow, *CAJ* II/I, (2001), 92. For a detailed examination of this concept and the importance of animals in a ritual, religious and social context, see Lienhardt, G., *Divinity and Experience* (Oxford, 1961).

[47] See Literature Review, Kees, *Totenglauben*, 251; Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 114.

[48] Petrie, W. M. F., *Diospolis Parva: The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu 1898–9* (London,1901), 26.

[49] For a detailed discussion see Gordon and Schwabe, *Quick and the Dead*, 83–86.

[50] Gordon and Schwabe, *Quick and the Dead,* 84.

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by the term 'cult'. This investment is evidenced in the political and economic plus the spiritual aspects of Predynastic life.[51]

Figure 7.2.1.6. Bulls with imitation hands on their horns.
Source: Davies and Gardiner, *Huy*, pl. XXIII and pl. XXX, detail.

7.2.2 Conclusions

The practice of burying humans and bovines together continued until the late Old Kingdom. This is evidenced by burials at Qau, where the oxen appear to have been dismembered before burial.[52] Perhaps there is no coincidence that it is at this time that the *Tekenu* is first attested.

The evidence suggests that the origin of the *Tekenu* perhaps lies in a variety of ideological and iconic concepts including bovine ritual initiating in the Palaeolithic period and continuing in the burial practices from the Neolithic period.

7.3 The *Tekenu*'s possible association with early dynastic figures

7.3.1 Preliminaries

Some scholars have commented on the perceived similarity of the *Tekenu* and figures attested in the Early Dynastic Period. They argue that early tablets, labels and mace heads display depictions of a figure which, although not textually identified, is likely a *Tekenu*.[53]

7.3.2 Scorpion Macehead

The earliest suggested depiction of a *Tekenu* appears on the Scorpion Macehead (Figures 7.3.2.1–7.3.2.2).

The Scorpion Macehead dates to late Dynasty 0 to early Dynasty 1. It has been described variously as a ceremonial object that conveys a religious concept,[54] as a celebration of the economic order arising from the pharaoh's successful organisation of agriculture,[55] as a 'reference to taking possession of Lower Egypt, to the conquest of Nubia, or to domination by the ruler and the celebration of

[51] Wengrow, *CAJ* 11/1, (2001), 98.
[52] Brass, *Ancient Egyptian Cattle Cult*, 105.
[53] Emery, Emery, W. B., *The Tomb of Hemaka* (Cairo, 1938), 37; Weill, R., 'La Danse des Mww et ce qu'elle peut représenter. Les Mww et le Tjknw sacrificiel en scène pour le roi à la plus ancienne époque pharaonique', *RevEG* 5 (1946), 258;Ogdon, J. G., *Observaciones sobre los entes Llamados Tekenu* (Buenos Aires, 1977), unpaginated; Martin 'victima humana', 311.
[54] Malek, *Egypt*, 29.
[55] Menu, B. M., 'Economy: An Overview' in Redford, D. B. (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* vol. 1 (Oxford, 2001), 423; Gautier, P. and Midant- Reynes, B., 'La Tête de Massue du Roi Scorpion', *Archéo-Nil* (1995), 116–118.

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his *sed*-festival'.[56] Baumgartel, however, suggests that all the reliefs known on which the king is shown with a hoe in his hands are connected with the foundation of sanctuaries.[57] Accordingly, she interprets the Macehead as depicting the king having excavated the foundation trench with a hoe and an attendant bringing the clean sand that has to be spread in it.[58]

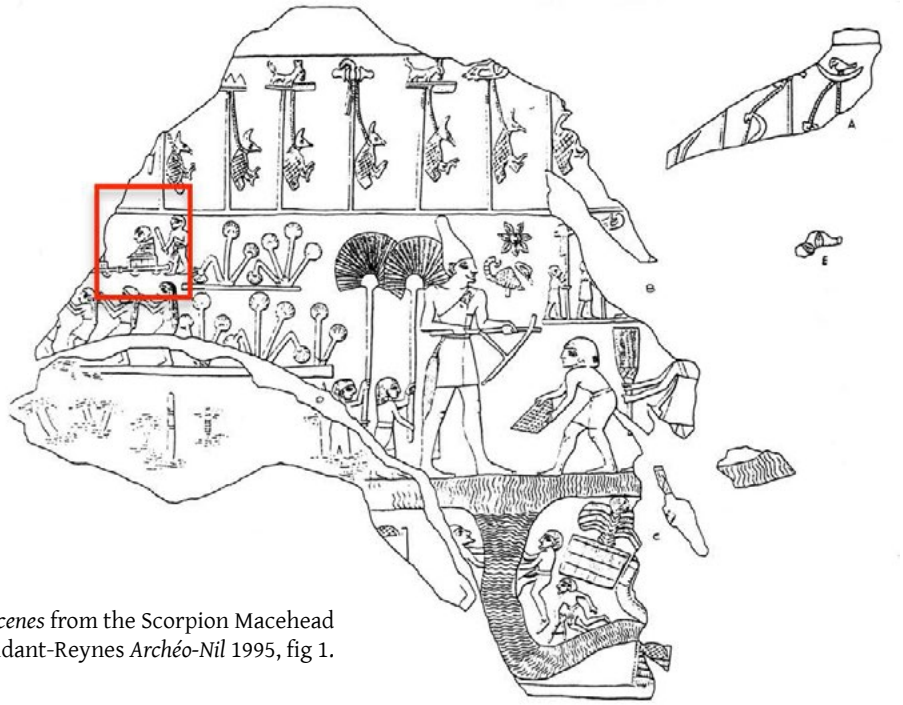

Figure 7.3.2.1. Drawing of *scenes* from the Scorpion Macehead
Source: Gautier and Midant-Reynes *Archéo-Nil* 1995, fig 1.

Figure 7.3.2.2. Figure suggested as a possible *Tekenu*.
Source: Scorpion Macehead. Gautier and Midant-Reynes *Archéo-Nil* 1995, fig 1.

The central and largest figure on the Macehead is the king. To the king's left are papyrus thickets, four dancers and what appears to be two conveyances. Due to the fragmented presentation of the decoration on the Macehead, it is impossible to identify the context of this scene. The dancers and conveyances are progressing away from the king but evidence of their intended destination is now destroyed. Only one complete figure remains squatting on the conveyance. This figure has been described as 'a female figure on a sledge, possibly a divine image.'[59]

However, Baumgartel suggests, that from analogies from similar scenes, the figures in the palanquins can only be the royal children.[60] There is also contention as to the nature of the structure on which the figure squats. Some scholars contend that it is not a sledge, but rather a conveyance usually borne by porters, that has been deposited on the ground.[61] That the conveyance is likely a palanquin is supported by the presence of structures on its underside that keep the platform off the ground surface and could also be used to steady it when upon the porters' shoulders or through which bearing or carrying rods might pass. The figure at the rear of the palanquin holds a

[56] Cialowicz, K. M., 'Ceremonial Maceheads' in Redford, D. B. (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* vol. 1 (Oxford, 2001), 256.
[57] Baumgartel, E. J., *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt* (Oxford, 1960), 117.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Wilkinson, T. A. H., *Early Dynastic Egypt* (London, 1999), 269.
[60] Baumgartel, *Prehistoric Egypt,* 117.
[61] Gautier and Midant-Reynes, *Archéo-Nil* 1995, 92.

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baton that is directed towards the head of the squatting figure. Beneath this scene are four dancing women. Below the dancers, the area is severely damaged but there appears to be the remains of a *heb-sed* kiosk and, further to the right, fragments of a *pr-nw* shrine.

Weill suggests that the figure on the Scorpion Macehead is a *Tekenu*.[62] He supports this contention by the presence of the four dancers whom he labels *Mww*-dancers. Weill argues that, in early Egyptian society, the dance of the *Mww* was not represented in a funerary context but rather was a celebratory dance for the service of the living king during large festivals in the context of a sacrificial offering. The depiction of papyrus thickets is thought to reinforce the association with Buto in Lower Egypt, a city with which the *Mww*-dancers were also linked. Weill contends that there was an agrarian myth, organised around Busiris, that adopted strange characters in a rite involving rebirth and vegetating at a time when the theology of Heliopolis was undeveloped.[63] This rite Weill perceives to involve the *Tekenu* and the *Mww*-dancers, which he suggests often belong together.[64]

To further support his argument of the existence of a *Tekenu* on the Scorpion Macehead Weill examines the *Tekenu* depicted in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb, TT 20, and its link with sacrifice. Weill cites the example of the Nubians being put to death by strangulation in TT 20[65] and this scene's proximity to a possible reference to the destroyed *Tekenu* in the nearby pit.[66] Using this example, Weill argues that what is depicted on the Scorpion Macehead is a *Tekenu* attacked by a figure with a baton, resulting in blood gushing from its head. Weill deems that this image is included in the scene to make one understand the *Tekenu* as a human victim, which was substituted in the rites of individual funerals, but was actually sacrificed for the salvation of the king in the original jubilee ceremonies.[67]

Ogdon concurs with the view that the Scorpion Macehead possibly contains the first depiction of a *Tekenu*.[68] He contends that there were originally two *Tekenu* but that, due to damage, only part of the palanquin of the first figure remains. The figure of the complete *Tekenu* he describes as kneeling on a chair with a bandaged body and a wig or tight cap. He argues that this description is the same as that of figures identified as *Tekenu*. He poses that, while this is an agrarian scene, it is given a religious tone by the presence of the four dancers who dance and clap their hands. He acknowledges that Baumgartel states that the figures in the 'palanquins can only be royal children'.[69] However, this possibility he dismisses due to the fact that he perceives the figure to be wearing not clothes but rather bandages.

Yet another scholar, Martin, advances the argument that the *Tekenu* was depicted in the early pharaonic period on tablets, labels and the mace heads of both Scorpion and Narmer.[70] The figure, however, she states, was not textually identified until the New Kingdom.[71]

7.3.3 Narmer Macehead

The next suggested attestation, chronologically, of a *Tekenu* occurs on the First Dynasty Macehead of Narmer (Figures 7.3.3.1–7.3.3.2). This Macehead has been variously interpreted. Some scholars believe that it commemorated Narmer's wedding to a northern heiress thereby sealing the

[62] Weill, *RevEG*, 5 (1946),258.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] See. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. VIII.
[66] Weill, *RevEG*, 5 (1946), 258.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ogdon, *Observaciones,* unpaginated.
[69] Baumgartel, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 117.
[70] Martin, 'victima humana', 311.
[71] Martin, 'victima humana', 311. This is incorrect as '*Tekenu*' is attested at the end of Dynasty 5.

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unification of Egypt. Others suggest that its scenes are generally associated with the *heb-sed* festival or with the subjugation of the enemy in the Nile Delta.[72]

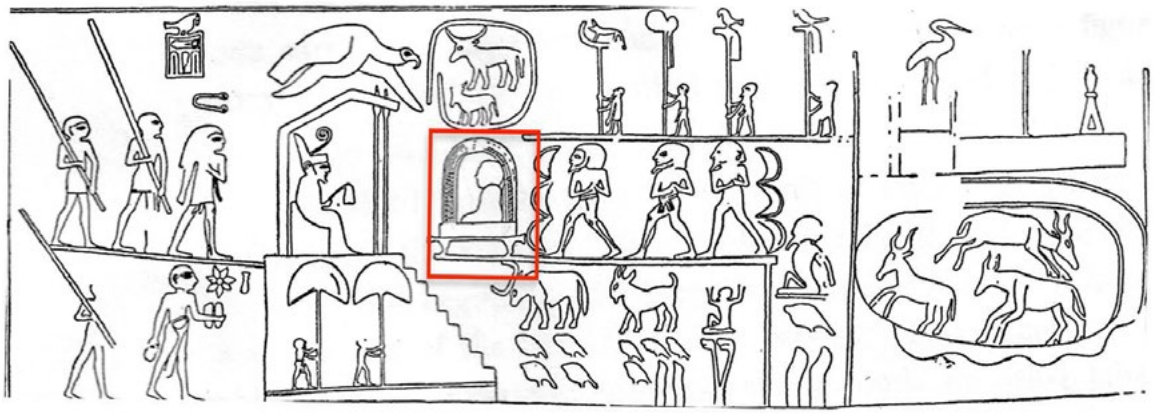

Figure 7.3.3.1. Narmer Macehead. Red square indicating the possible *Tekenu*.
Source: Emery, *Hemaka*, fig IX.

Figure 7.3.3.2. Narmer Macehead. Figure in palanquin suggested as a possible *Tekenu*.
Source Emery, *Hemaka*, fig IX detail.

The pharaoh, wearing the red crown, sits in a kiosk. To his right is a figure in what appears to be a palanquin followed by three men who are positioned between signs made of three vertical half moons that are known from scenes depicting the *heb-sed* festival.[73] In the top right-hand section, a heron perches on what appears to be a *pr-nw* shrine.

The figure in the palanquin has been variously identified as princess Neithhotep, the partner for Narmer; the ruler of the defeated people; the figure of a god or the oldest representation of *rpw.t* (statue of a woman, female figure in a palanquin).[74] Kemp poses another possibility. He suggests that the seated figure could be a divine figure and that what appears to some as a portable carrying chair with curved canopy, is not a chair at all, but rather a portable tent.[75]

However, Weill states that what is depicted here is a human *Tekenu* wrapped up and crouching on the chair by which it is transported.[76] He further contends that the *Tekenu* is followed immediately by three dancers who have pointed beards, long, bouncing tresses and fists on chests, which is the posture of *Mww*-dancers in action in funerary scenes of the Old Kingdom.[77] Other scholars contest this interpretation, proposing that the three men might be dancing slaves, prisoners brought to the pharaoh by the person in the palanquin, or participants in a ritual race towards the king between the usual lunate markers.[78]

Friedman supports the view that the king is surveying what appears to be prisoners running between half moon-shaped objects, likely to be territorial cairns. To corroborate this argument, she cites a wooden label from the middle of the First Dynasty. This label depicts, on the left-hand side,

[72] Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt,* 69; Cialowicz, 'Ceremonial Maceheads', 257; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 60; Jiménez Serrano, A., *Royal Festivals in the Late Predynastic Period and the First Dynasty* (Oxford, 2002), 53.
[73] Cialowicz, 'Ceremonial Maceheads', 257.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 60, 92.
[76] Weill, *RevEG* 5 (1946), 258.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Cialowicz, 'Ceremonial Maceheads', 257; Millet, N. B., 'The Narmer Macehead and Related Objects', *JARCE* XXVII (1990), 55.

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King Den seated on the stepped throne. On the right hand side, Den is shown running between the objects. Friedman concludes that the run seems to have been transformed from an act performed for the king to an act performed by him (Figure 7.3.3.3).[79]

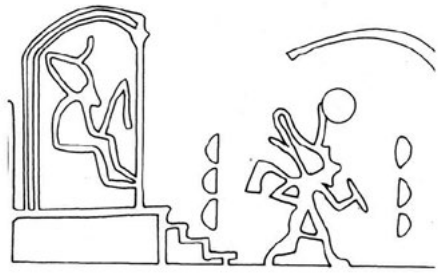

Figure 7.3.3.3. Den label showing Den seated and running.
Source: Friedman, *Jarce,* XXXII (1995) fig. V. detail.

Other scholars have varying opinions. Ogdon merely suggests that the mysterious figure depicted on the Narmer Macehead possibly represents the *Tekenu*.[80] In comparison, Jiménez Serrano identifies the figure as definitely a *Tekenu,* which 'in this case, means those parts of the royal body that were not treated after the ritual death'.[81] Martin is emphatic stating that the figure identified by the term *tknw* in the New Kingdom appeared on the Narmer Macehead in a scene of jubilee.[82]

7.3.4 Ebony label of Djer

An ebony tablet dated to the reign of the First Dynasty pharaoh Djer has also been considered by some scholars to likely contain images of *Tekenu* (Figures 7.3.4.1–7.3.4.2).[83] While the label is difficult to interpret, and it has been variously explained, one suggestion is that it might record events from an *ḥb- sd* festival.[84] A more recent interpretation, however, is that the first register possibly indicates a series of ritual laws after Narmer's death.[85] The argument is that Narmer is mummified and then ascends to heaven. It was thought that the *ba* of Narmer as a living god must be passed to his successors. This was the fundamental principle of ancient Egyptian kingship. Thus, according to this argument, these tableaus in the Djer tablet are thought to display the concept of succession to the throne where the soul of the king is conveyed to the next king in sequence.[86]

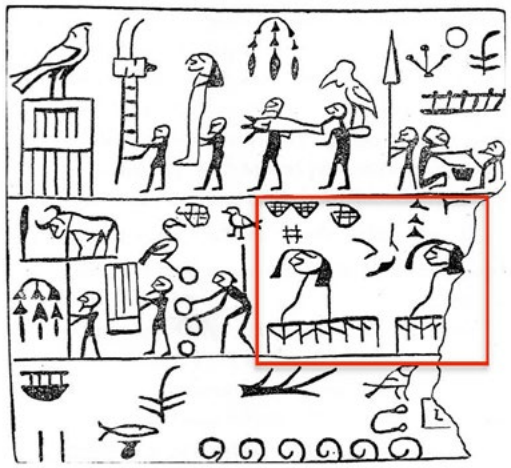

Figure 7.3.4.1. Ebony label of Djer. Red square indicating the possible *Tekenu*.
Source: Emery *Hemaka*, fig. VIII.

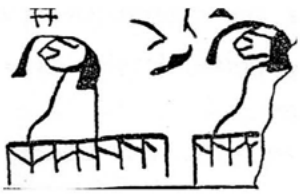

Figure 7.3.4.2. Ebony label of Djer showing the figures contended as *Tekenu*.
Source: Emery *Hemaka*, fig. VIII, detail.

[79] Friedman, F. D., 'The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex', *JARCE* XXXII (1995), 7.
[80] Ogden, *Observaciones,* (1977), note to fig. V.
[81] Jiménez Serrano, *Royal Festivals*, 53.
[82] Martin, 'victima humana', 311.
[83] Emery, *Hemaka,* 37; Ogden, *Observaciones,* unpaginated.
[84] Emery, *Hemaka,* 39.
[85] Ohshiro, M., 'Decoding the wooden label of King Djer', *GM* 221 (2009), 60.
[86] Ohshiro, *GM* 221 (2009), 64.

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Emery, in contrast, suggests that the two figures seated on low beds or seats 'bear a remarkable resemblance to the "tecanu" figures in the Theban tombs of the New Empire.' [87] He describes the figures as being 'either mummiform or wrapped in skins as in the "tecanu" ceremony and as they are beardless and have long hair they are presumably females'.[88] He further observes that they each appear to have a lock of hair that hangs over the forehead falling in front of the face. He notes that the hieroglyphic signs above the figures are so damaged by insects that they are indecipherable.[89]

Ogdon records a different interpretation of the two figures on the tablet of Djer. He describes them as two kneeling figures on a type of grey pedestal who correspond in physiognomy, point by point, to the *Tekenu*.[90] The exception, he concedes, is that the two figures have what might be a wig with a frontal appendage, the nature of which is difficult to identify. He poses that the appendage might consist of lotus flowers, a decorative arrangement very common in dynastic times. However, he argues that their nature cannot be confirmed, as there is insufficient detail in the depiction. The lack of detail also leads Ogdon to suggest that the figures could be either men or women.[91]

Menu interprets the same scene as depicting bereaved women on palanquins whose hair is seemingly in disarray all around them.[92]

Martin concedes that due to the absence of explicit text any analysis of the Djer tablet can only be an hypothesis.[93] Acknowledging this, she proffers a possible interpretation. She suggests that the *Tekenu* appeared in two different contexts. Its first record, Martin submits, was in Archaic times where it was sacrificed to save the power of the sovereign. Here the *Tekenu* is perceived as partaking in a ritual of self-immolation in the festival of the royal jubilee.[94] The pharaoh is often shown holding the enemy by the hair in one hand and smiting him with the other in the *ḥb-sd* festival.[95] This action is to depict the elimination of evil, necessary to strengthen and renew the power of the sovereign. Martin envisages the *Tekenu* as functioning in a similar fashion. She argues that the *Tekenu* is, in the *ḥb-sd* festival, a human sacrifice, real or symbolic. The jet of blood that resulted from the pharaoh's smiting of the enemy is replaced by the lock of hair, which is assumed to be removed to guarantee the pharaoh's renewal.[96]

The second context of the *Tekenu*, Martin identifies as being funerary. She examines the depictions of the *Tekenu* in TT 20[97] and concludes that, in this tomb, the *Tekenu* is closely associated with 'hair'. In a pit, the *Tekenu* is found with a tuft of hair which, she advocates, was essential to ensure the revivification of the deceased.

Martin concludes that in both contexts, courtly and funerary, the idea is the same: a human victim (the *Tekenu*) real or symbolic, incarnation of evil, must be sacrificed. As a sign of elimination and victory over the *Tekenu,* it suffers from the removal of a frontal tuft of hair.[98] From a symbolic perspective, hair is seen as a manifestation of life and a very personal element identifying the owner.[99]

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87 Emery, *Hemaka,* 37.
88 Ibid.
89 Ibid.
90 Ogden, *Observaciones,* (1977), unpaginated.
91 Ibid.
92 Menu, B., 'Mise à mort cérémonielle et prélèvements royaux sous la 1ère Dynastie (Nârmer-Den)' *Archéo-Nil* 11 (2001), 166.
93 Martin, 'victima humana', 314.
94 Martin, 'victima humana', 311.
95 Martin, 'victima humana', 312.
96 Martin, 'victima humana', 315.
97 Martin, 'victima humana', 313. See Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. IX bottom register.
98 Martin, 'victima humana', 315.
99 Martin, 'victima humana', 312.

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7.3.5 Ivory label of Djer from Abydos

A *Tekenu* has also been recorded by some scholars on an ivory label from the period of king Djer (Figures 7.3.5.1–7.3.5.2).[100]

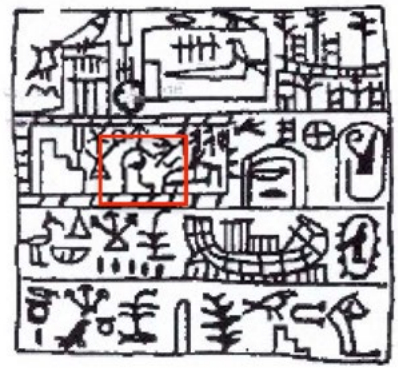

Figure 7.3.5.1. Ivory label of Djer. Red square indicating possible *Tekenu*. Source: Jiménez Serrano, *Royal Festivals* fig. XXVII.

Figure 7.3.5.2. Ivory label of Djer. Figure suggested as a *Tekenu*.
Source: Jiménez Serrano, *Royal Festivals* fig. XXVII, detail.

The precise nature of the depictions on this label is difficult to ascertain. Jiménez Serrano discusses various possibilities.[101] He identifies elements in the second register that lead him to suggest that what is being depicted in this register is likely the *ḥb-sd* festival at Buto.[102] He cites these elements as being:

> *a special enclosure, the rosette, the shrine, the standard of the god Sed,[103] the red crown, the man running and the Tekenu.[104]*

It must be acknowledged that the figure that Jiménez Serrano identifies as a *Tekenu* closely resembles the Type 2 form of this study. However, form alone is not sufficient for one to be definitive about the object's identity particularly when the iconography appears conflated and abbreviated.

7.3.6 Sun temple of Niuserre and the palace of King Apries

Emery poses the possibility of the existence of *Tekenu* depicted on the reliefs of the *ḥb-sd* festival of the Fifth Dynasty king Nuiserre from his sun temple at Abu Gurab (Figure 7.3.6.1).[105] The figures and conveyances, in question, are very similar to those depicted on the Narmer Macehead (Figure 7.3.3.1).

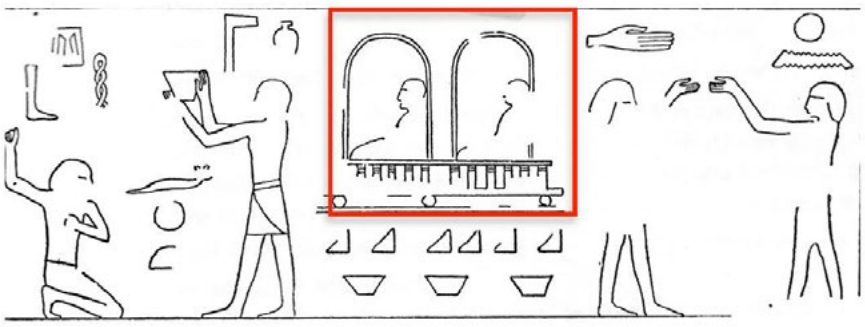

Figure 7.3.6.1. Sun temple of King Nuiserre. Figures that Emery regards as *Tekenu* indicated in red. Source: Emery, *Hemaka* fig. X.

[100] Jiménez Serrano, *Royal Festivals*, 64.
[101] Jiménez Serrano, *Royal Festivals*, 63–64.
[102] Jiménez Serrano, *Royal Festivals*, 64.
[103] Later known as Wepwawet.
[104] Jiménez Serrano, *Royal Festivals*, 64.
[105] Emery, *Hemaka*, 37.

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Similar figures and conveyances occur on a panel at the palace of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty king Apries. Ogdon labels these as 'the three archaic *Tekenu*' (Figure 7.3.6.2).[106]

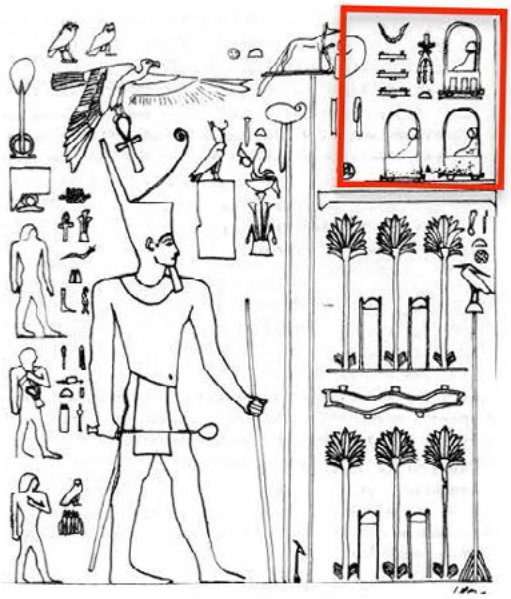

Figure 7.3.6.2. Palace of king Apries. What Ogdon labels 'The three archaic *Tekenu*' indicated in red.
Source: Ogdon *Observaciones* fig. VIII.

7.3.7 Conclusions

It is difficult to argue that the figures depicted upon the Scorpion Macehead, the Narmer Macehead, the labels of Djer, the temple of Niuserre and the palace at Apries do not possess elements at least suggestive of the *Tekenu* forms discussed in this work. Yet the question remains: are these *Tekenus*? To answer this question, this study now proceeds to examine all the features of these various depictions, for or against their being classified as *Tekenus*. The similarities include:

- The figures have tight coverings of possibly bandages or skins;
- They appear to be similar in physical form to a *Tekenu,* but only *Tekenu* Type 2;
- They are shown kneeling or sitting on a conveyance;
- They are sometimes in close proximity to dancers;
- They are often depicted amongst images suggestive of Buto and the Delta region.

However, there are differences between these depictions and any depiction of a clearly attested *Tekenu*, namely:

- There is more than one figure proffered as *Tekenu* on the Scorpion Macehead and on the Djer Tablet, whereas in cases of a definitely attested *Tekenu* only one figure is depicted;
- When a clearly attested *Tekenu* is depicted upon a structure, the *Tekenu* is found on a table or a sledge and not a palanquin;
- The context of an attested *Tekenu* is funerary, not celebratory;
- Not all dancers wherever depicted can be deemed as *Mww*-dancers.[107]
- Where *Mww*-dancers are present, they are typically men. The Scorpion Macehead, however, depicts female dancers. The dancers on the Narmer Macehead, if they are in fact 'dancers', which is doubtful, wear beards and their appearance and stance bear no resemblance to any unequivocally attested *Mww*-dancer;
- The only association of the *Tekenu* with hair is in TT 20 and in no case is an identified *Tekenu* depicted with a lock of hair.

[106] Ogdon, *Observaciones,* unpaginated.
[107] See Kinney, *Dance,* Part 11 for the various genres of dance.

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In the author's view, the similarities recorded above between the figures of the early dynastic period, those depicted on a wall of the palace of King Apries and the attested *Tekenu* are essentially superficial in nature. Of real significance, however, are the differences. Those differences go to the heart of the identification of a *Tekenu* and enable one to determine that none of these early dynastic representations depict a *Tekenu.* Notwithstanding this, however, it could well be that the *Tekenu* evolved from, or adopted some aspect of, these figures. For example, in some instances, the depicted figures are participating in the renewal of the pharaoh in the *ḥb-sd* festival. Likewise, the *Tekenu* could be viewed as an agent or catalyst aiding in the revivification of the deceased. That is, between the early dynastic figures and the *Tekenu* there might be a purely symbolic connection. If one adopts Ohshiro's interpretation of the ebony label of Djer, then the figures concerned are within the context of the soul of the king being conveyed to the next king in sequence, an act of metempsychosis, with which the *Tekenu* might also be associated.

7.4 The *Tekenu*'s possible association with ceremonial standards

7.4.1 The nature of the standards

Ancient Egyptian standards are staves or poles with heraldic emblems or sacred symbols attached at the top from which streamers hang down.[108] The earliest attestation of a standard is on Decorated Ware vessels dated Nagada IIC/D (Figures 7.4.1.1–7.4.1.2).[109]

Figure 7.4.1.1. Decorated Ware vessel dated Nagada II C/D, boat with standard indicated.
Source: www.metmuseum.org.

Figure 7.4.1.2. Decorated Ware vessel dated Nagada II C/D, depicting boatwith standard, detail.
Source: www.metmuseum.org

It is not within the scope of this work to examine the origin or development of the standard in predynastic Egypt. Suffice it to comment that the Nagada II C/D vessel illustrates a standard borne upon a boat. This standard appears to be of globular form with streamers attached. It might be a very crude form of the bilobed standard of dynastic Egypt thought by some to be related to the *Tekenu*, but verification is elusive.

[108] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 91;Graham, G., 'Insignias' in Redford, D. B. (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), vol. II, 166.
[109] Davis, W., *Masking the Blow: the scene of representation in late prehistoric Egyptian Art* (Berkeley, 1992), fig VI.

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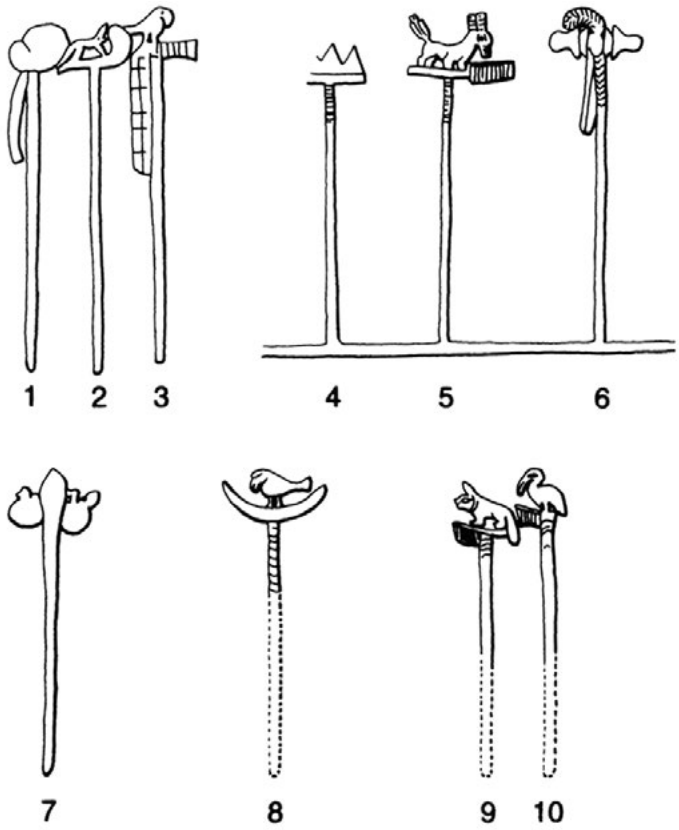
Wilkinson identifies ten different standards on palettes, mace heads and temple reliefs attested in the late Predynastic and early Dynastic period shown accompanying the king (Figure 7.4.1.3).[110]



1. placenta (bilobed emblem)
2. canine and *šdšd* device
3. falcon
4. mountain-sign
5. Seth animal
6. Min sign
7. east sign
8. falcon on crescent.
9. canine
10. ibis

Figure 7.4.1.3. Standards on early royal monuments.
Source: Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, fig.6.4.

The precise origin of these standards cannot be determined. However, it is likely that each standard symbolised a particular aspect of kingship[111] and that they were related to the royal ancestors.[112] The determination of what the standards exactly represent is hindered by their stylised appearance[113] and the fact that abstract ideas and mythopoeic thoughts are being portrayed by concrete images.[114] Consequently the imagery remains ambiguous.

Of the ten standards, four of them are closely related to the king: the falcon, the ibis, the canine identified as Wepwawet[115] and the 'bilobed' standard (placenta).[116] It has also been suggested that these standards were symbols of the Thinite royal house.[117] Frankfort contends that they are ultimately 'true fetishes replete with power'.[118]

[110] Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 197.
[111] Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt,* 199.
[112] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 91.
[113] Evans, L., 'The *Shedshed* of Wepwawet: an Artistic and Behavioural Interpretation', *JEA* 97 (2011), 103.
[114] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods,* 73.
[115] Evans, *JEA* 97 (2011), 104.
[116] Frankfort, *Kingship*, *and the Gods*, 92; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 43.
[117] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods,* 93..
[118] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 91.

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7.4.2 The 'bilobed' emblem

Numerous scholars have noted the resemblance between one of the standards and some depictions of the *Tekenu*.[119] This is standard 1, in Wilkinson's recording of the ten identified standards, which he labels 'placenta'. The emblem on this standard consists of a bilobed sphere from which hangs a long streamer.[120] This standard, which is attested throughout the pharaonic period, displayed some variation in form (Figure 7.4.2.1).

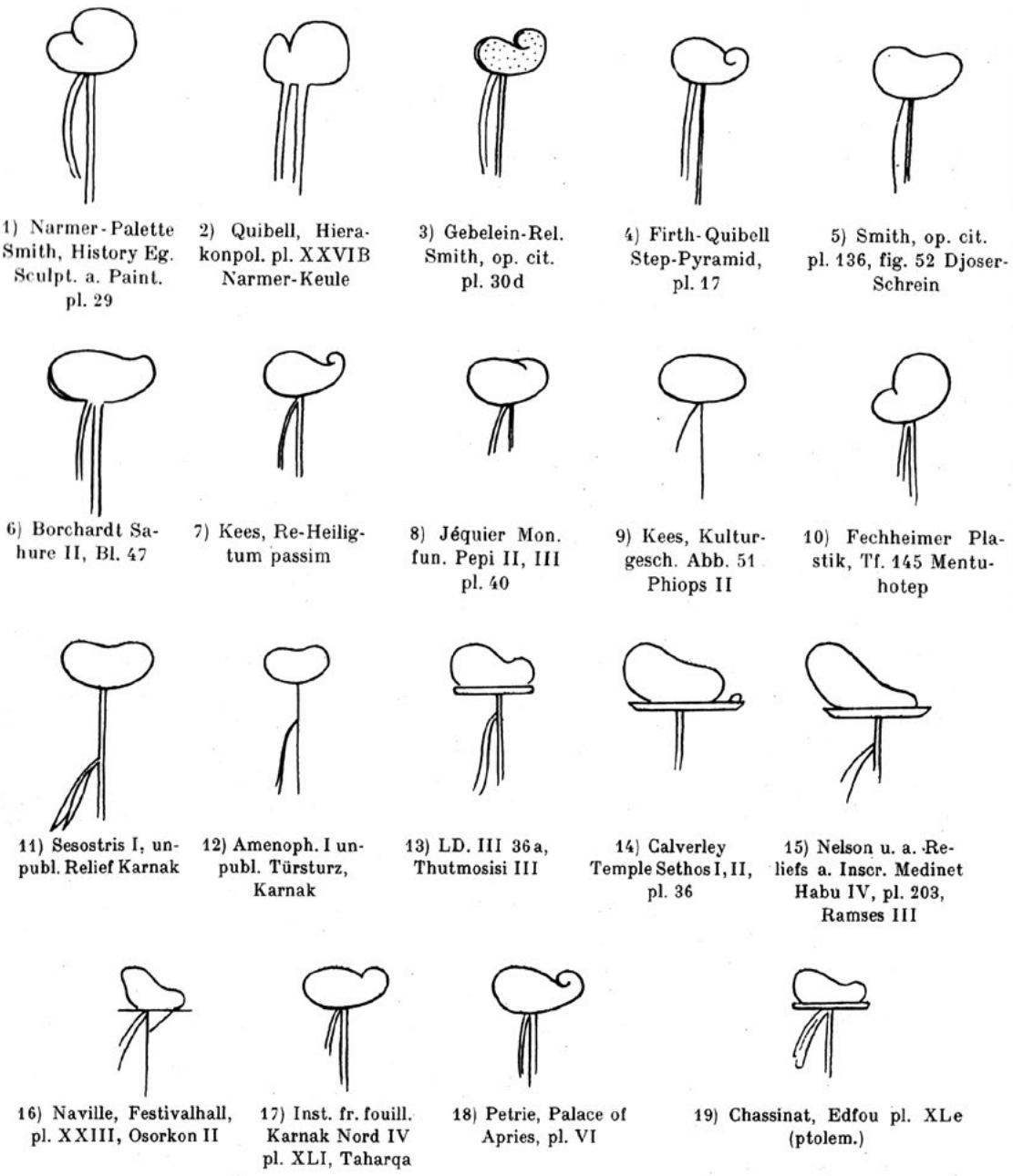

Figure 7.4.2.1. Various forms of the 'bilobed' emblem on early royal monuments.
Source: Munro, P., 'Bemerkungen zu einem Sedfest-Relief in der Stadtmauer von Kairo', *ZÄS* 86 (1961), fig.1.

[119] Moret, *Mystères Égyptiens,* 81; Metawi, *Memmonia* XIX (2008), 196; Manniche, *Lost Ramessid*, 63 when discussing TT A 26 states that this standard bears a '*Tekenu*'.
[120] Seligmann, C. G and Murray, M. A., 'Note upon an Early Egyptian Standard', *MAN* 97 (1911), 165; Evans *JEA,* 97 (2011), 107.

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Scholars have endeavoured to identify the nature of the 'bilobed' symbol resulting in varied hypotheses. The most common are that it is: a throne cushion,[121] excrement,[122] an emblem of Nekhen,[123] the royal placenta[124] and/or associated with Khonsu.[125]

A) Throne cushion

It has been argued that the proposition that the symbol in question represents the 'throne cushion' relies on the suggestion that 'the glyph is equated with the toilet god *Dwɜw'*.[126] Apart from the obvious physical resemblance of the symbol, the glyph F52 and the determinative for the god, supporting this view is the observation that *Dwɜw* and the king are often referred to in immediate context (Figure 7.4.2.2).

Figure 7.4.2.2. F52 and *Dwɜw*.
Drawing by J. West

In the Pyramid Texts, *Dwɜw* is closely associated with the ascension of the king to the sky:

> In utterance 306, an 'ascension text', the king is worshipped 'in this your name of *Dwɜw'* PT 480.
>
> In utterance 480, the king is worshipped as *Dwɜw* as a ladder is positioned for his ascension PT 994–996.
>
> In utterance 511, where the king goes to the sky in an earthquake, the king sits 'on the great throne the gods have made' and *Dwɜw* will come to him 'rejoicing' PT 1155.

Friedman questions the validity of following the association of the god *Dwɜw* and the throne cushion but argues, nevertheless, that the symbol does represent a throne cushion.[127] She bases this conclusion on evidence from reliefs on the sun temple of Niuserre that identify the bearer of the emblem as '*ḥm st',* that she translates as 'priest of the throne'.[128] Friedman examines reliefs under the step pyramid (Figure 7.4.2.3) and the south tomb of Djoser (Figure 7.4.2.4) and concludes that, when the king is depicted running, the throne cushion is absent. She envisages the run as defining the process by which the throne is reassumed. Djoser is in a liminal state of king and yet not king. 'The transformation seems to be alluded to by the disappearance and subsequent reappearance of the throne cushion'.[129]

Some scholars point to the intended ambiguity of Egyptian iconography, questioning whether more than one interpretation is intended. Perhaps the symbol might be both the throne cushion and the king's placenta.[130]

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[121] Friedman, *JARCE*, XXXII (1995), 4 n. 13.
[122] Fairservis, W. A. Jr., 'A Revised View of the Na'rmr Palette', *JARCE* 28 (1991), 15.
[123] Posener, G., 'Brèves Communications- Le Nom de L'Enseigne Appelée <<Khons>>', *RdE* 14 (1965), 195.
[124] Seligmann and Murray, *Man* 11 (1911), 165–71; Blackman, *JEA* 3 (1916), 235–49; Blackman, *JEA* 3 (1916), 199–206; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 71; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 198–199; Metawi, *Memmonia* XIX (2008), 194–197.
[125] Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 199.
[126] Friedman, *JARCE*, XXXII (1995), n. 13.
[127] Friedman, *JARCE* XXXII (1995), 5.
[128] Friedman, *JARCE* XXXII (1995), 4–5; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 71, translates the same glyphs as 'priest of Isis'.
[129] Friedman, *JARCE* XXXII (1995), 36.
[130] Kaiser, W., 'Einige Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Frühzeit', ZÄS 85 (1960), 126; Owusu, H., *Egyptian Symbols* (New York, 2008), 17 states it is possibly either/or.

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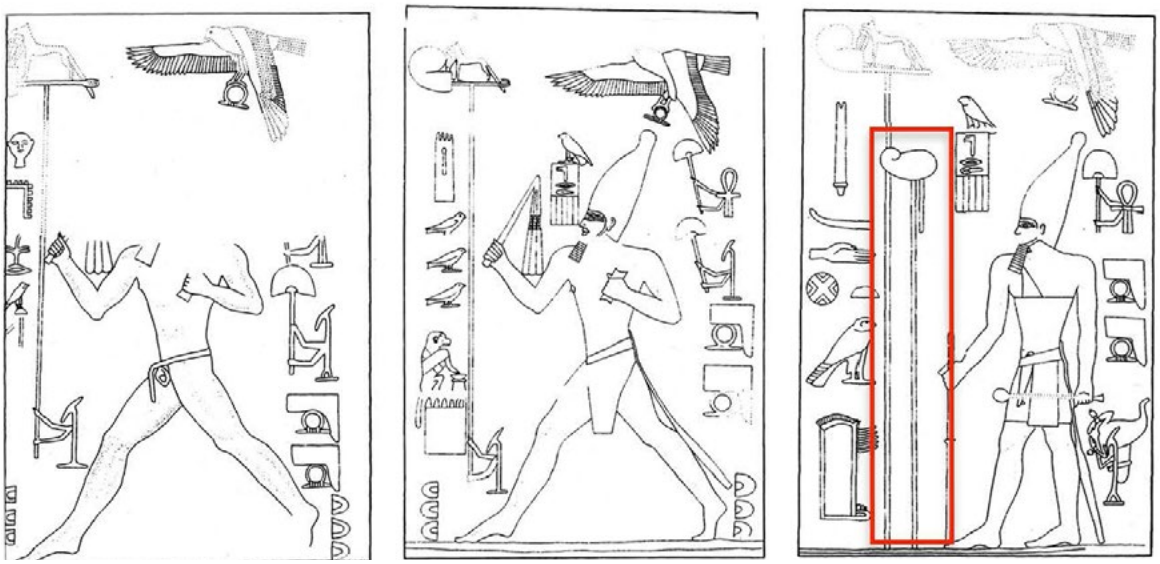

Figure 7.4.2.3. Reliefs under the step pyramid. 'Bilobed' standard only when Djoser is stationary indicated.
Source: Friedman, *JARCE*, XXXII (1995), fig IIa, detail.

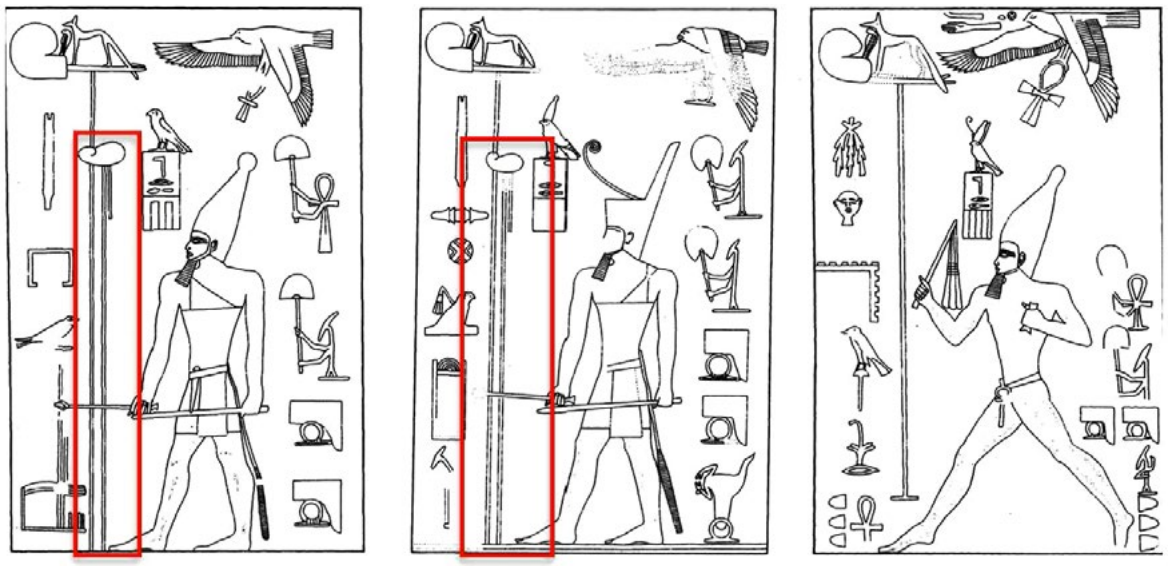

Figure 7.4.2.4. Reliefs under the south tomb. 'Bilobed' standard only when Djoser is stationary indicated.
Source: Friedman, *JARCE*, XXXII (1995), fig IIa, detail.

Comment has also been made on the existence of only two standards, that of the god Wepwawet, *wpj wꜣwt,* and the bilobed, in the reliefs of Djoser.[131] Wepwawet, the 'Opener of the Ways', stood at times for Horus in his aspect of first-born son.[132] If the bilobed standard is taken as representing the placenta, the stillborn twin, then both standards would appear to be connected to the king's birth. These might be viewed as counterparts to the appearance of the jawbone and the navel cord in the temples of the Baganda kings.[133]

B) Excrement

Fairservis contends that the emblem on the standard appearing on the Narmer Palette is entrails or excrement (F52).[134] It is argued that, by being excrement, the standard symbolises the king's defeat

[131] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods,* 71.
[132] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods,* 71. See. Leitz, *Götter und Götterbezeichnungen,* vol. II, 342–344 for full iconography of Wepwawet.
[133] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods,* 71.
[134] Fairservis, *JARCE* 28 (1991), 15.

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of his enemies and it is a descriptive icon which, like Narmer's bare feet, carries a connotation of contempt for his foes.[135] However, the ambiguity of the iconography is stressed when one acknowledges that another interpretation of the king's bare feet is possible. O'Connor poses that the depiction of the king's bare feet on the Narmer Palette is an indication that the ground he is walking upon is sacred and even, perhaps, part of the divine world.[136]

C) Emblem of Nekhen

Posener agrees with other scholars' assessment that the emblem on the standard is complex and capable of interpretation on various levels.[137] However, he poses that what was presented on the standard could also be a fetish of the earliest royal capital of Nekhen.[138]

D) Royal placenta

Many scholars believe that the object in question represents the 'royal placenta',[139] that is, the king's afterbirth comprising the disc-shaped placenta and the attached umbilical cord. The argument is that each pharaoh was considered as a twin; his brother was stillborn and passed immediately on into the beyond, for it was the placenta, the after birth. Credence is given to this opinion by reference to the object's shape and the beliefs and ethnographic parallels from other Hamitic African cultures.[140] The Baganda still, today, hold the belief that every man's placenta is his stillborn twin.[141] Some Egyptians, in the early twentieth century held a similar view. The Fellahin of Upper Egypt, at this time, called the placenta the 'other', 'second' or 'unfinished' child, and women treated it with great reverence.[142] They believed that the spirit of the placenta would re-enter the body, to be born again as a new child.[143] That in the early twentieth century some Egyptians accredited the placenta with a spirit suggests the possibility of an ancient parallel.[144] This is likely when one considers that it is not common to conceive of the placenta with a spirit in the modern Arab world.[145]

There is, however, a possible current ethnological parallel in the Baganda tribe of Uganda. They believe that the stillborn twin, the placenta, requires a material anchorage for its spirit and for this purpose the navel cord of the newborn prince is dried and kept throughout his lifetime in a specially made and decorated container. The placenta itself deteriorates and is replaced by the stump of the king's umbilical cord, yet the Baganda always speak of the relic as though it were the actual placenta. A priest, the kimbugwe, is appointed for life to care for the king's umbilical cord. On death, the jawbone of the king is removed, prepared, decorated and kept in his temple together with the navel cord. The dual character of the king, body and spirit, present in his temple, allows him to give oracles.[146]

The Baganda people believe that not only the king's placenta but the placenta of every person is his still born twin. In ancient Egypt it is not known whether this belief was held by non royal

[135] Ibid.
[136] O'Connor, D., 'The Narmer Palette: A New Interpretation' in Teeter, E., (ed.) *Before the Pyramids,* (Chicago, 2011), 147.
[137] Posener, *RdE* 14 (1965), 194–195.
[138] Posener, *RdE* 14 (1965), 195.
[139] Seligmann and Murray, *Man* 11 (1911), 165–71; Blackman, *JEA* 3 (1916), 235–49; Blackman, *JEA* 3 (1916), 199–206; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 71; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 198–199; Metawi, *Memmonia* XIX (2008), 194–197.
[140] Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 199; Metawi, *Memmonia* XIX (2008), 194.
[141] Roscoe, J., *The Baganda: An Account of their Native Customs and Beliefs,* (London, 1965), 235–236.
[142] Blackman, W., *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt* (reprint, Cairo, 2000), 63–67.
[143] Blackman, *Fellahin,* 63.
[144] Metawi, *Memmonia* XIX (2008), 194.
[145] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods,* 365, n. 55.
[146] Roscoe, *The Baganda*, 235–236.

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people.[147] However, it is unlikely that any textual or pictorial evidence for such a belief would occur as one would predict that it would remain within the scope of folklore.[148]

On occasions the standard in question appears with identifying text (Figure 7.4.2.5).

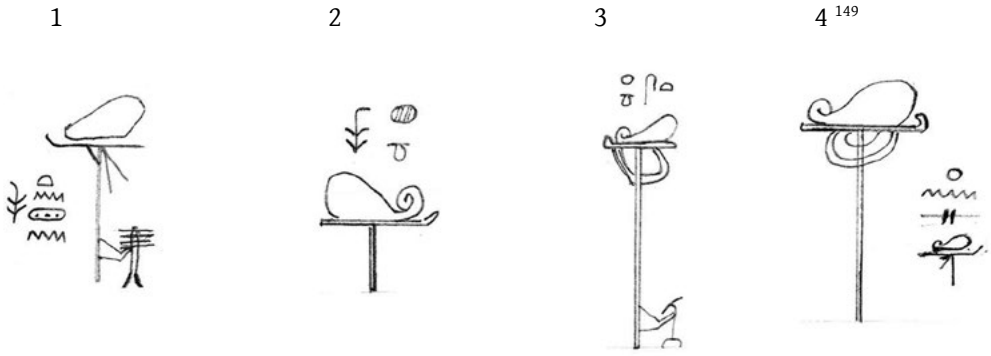

Figure 7.4.2.5. 'Bilobed' emblem with accompanying text.
Redrawn by J. West.

The translation of the text accompanying the standard has been variously discussed,[150] the conclusion being that, regardless of the inconsistency in the hieroglyphs, the meaning is 'the *ḫ* of the king' (*ḫ ns*(*w*)*t*). Blackman suggests that *ḫ* is the word for placenta.[151] Gardiner Aa1 *ḫ* records the symbol as 'placenta?'.[152] Consequently, the standard becomes 'the placenta of the king'. It must be acknowledged that the standards with accompanying text are not from the Early Dynastic Period or indeed even the Old Kingdom. It could be that the significance and meaning of the standard developed over time and any original meaning was lost.

Another observation is that the particular standard, when not borne by a person, is most frequently held by the *wꜣs* scepter 𓌀, S40. This hieroglyphic sign has the double meaning of 'strength' or 'decay'.[153] The *ḏd* sign 𓊽 R 11, which has the meaning 'stability', is found holding the standard in the relief of the Sed festival of Osorkon II.[154] The ambiguity introduced by the use of S40 might be intended to refer to the limited nature of the placenta.

When the standard is borne by a person, this person is usually distinguished from others around him. For example, on the obverse face of the Narmer palette, this standard bearer is beardless and seemingly with shaven head. His colleagues have beards and long hair (Figure 7.4.2.6). It has been suggested that the man carrying the placenta standard is a high official corresponding to the Baganda kimbugwe and necessarily differentiated from the others due to his and his standard's perceived importance.[155]

[147] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 72.
[148] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 365, n. 55.
[149] 1. *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887–1889),* (London, 1892), pl. IX, 1; 2. Mariette-Bey, A., *Denderah,* vols I-VI (Paris, 1870), vol. IV pl. XXI, fig. V; 3. de Morgan, J., *Kom Ombos* (Vienna, 1895–1909), 65; 4. De Morgan, *Kom Ombos*, 342.
[150] Seligmann and Murray, *Man*,11 (1911), 167-168; Blackman, *JEA* 3 (1916), 235–236; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 71; Metawi, *Memmonia* XIX (2008), 195.
[151] Blackman, A., 'The Pharaoh's Placenta and the Moon-God Khons', *JEA* 3/4 (1916), 236.
[152] Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 539.
[153] Seligmann and Murray, *Man*, 11 (1911), 167.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Seligmann and Murray, *Man*, 11 (1911), 169.

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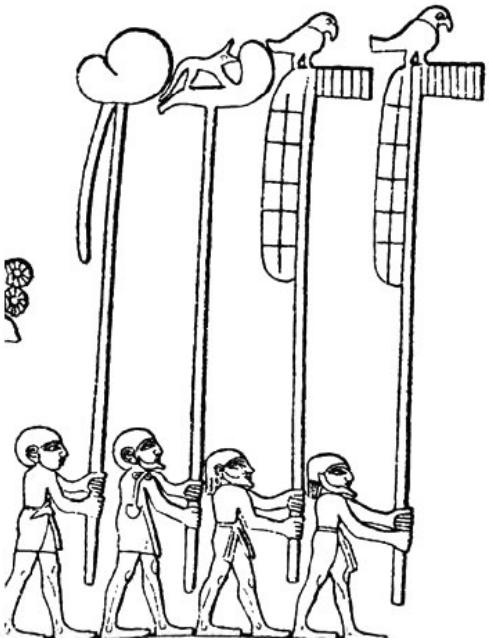

Figure 7.4.2.6. Narmer Palette standard bearers.
Source: O'Connor, 'Narmer Palette' fig.16.4, detail.

E) Association with Khonsu

There are convincing etymological reasons for linking the moon god Khonsu with the royal placenta.[156] The usual spelling of Khonsu's name is *Ḫnsw,* which is also the way of writing 'the king's placenta'.[157] However, some scholars dispute this association claiming, that the word *Ḫnsw* is derived from *ḫns,* meaning 'transverse'. Consequently, then, they translate the name *Ḫnsw* as 'he who transverses [the sky]'.[158]

Following the first derivation of *Ḫnsw,* Khonsu is believed to be the king's placenta disguised as a young prince.[159] Or alternatively, to change the emphasis, the king's placenta, the royal twin, is elevated to the position of the moon god.[160] The association of the standard and a young prince is supported by a relief on the rooms of the terrace on the grand temple at Denderah where, amongst a procession of standard bearers, is found an official carrying a standard with the emblem, above which are glyphs that include a royal child wearing the crown of lower Egypt (Figure 7.4.2.7).

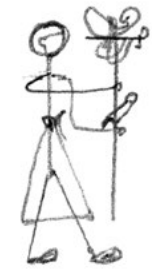

Figure 7.4.2.7. Standard bearer with identifying text.
Drawn by J. West. Temple of Denderah. After Mariette-Bey, *Denderah*, vol. IV pl. XXXII, detail.

The symbols are identified as: F1, X1, A18. F1 replaces E1 (*kꜣ*) in the formula of offering and the like. See. Gardiner, 172, 461. The text is read: *kꜣt ỉnp* 'the *kꜥ* of the royal child'.

[156] Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 199.
[157] Blackman, *JEA* 3 (1916), 246.
[158] Wilkinson, *Gods and Goddesses,* 113. For a complete citation of *Ḫnsw* See Leitz, *Götter und Götterbezeichnungen,* vol. V, 761–762.
[159] Blackman, *JEA* 3 (1916), 236, n. 3.
[160] Blackman, *JEA* 3 (1916), 248.

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Also supporting the argument is evidence from Baganda. The king of Baganda's preserved umbilical cord, his twin, was closely associated with the moon. At each new moon, the kimbugwe presented it to the king who unwrapped its covering of barkcloth. The cord was then exposed in the doorway of the temple for the moon to shine upon it, thereby replenishing its magical powers.[161]

The question arises that if Khonsu is the placenta, the royal twin, then what is the other twin?[162] Pyramid Text 128 is cited to support the contention that the other twin is the sun:[163]

> *O you two Companions who cross the sky, who are Rē and Thoth.* PT 128.[164]

This text seems to support the close affinity of the sun and the moon in the mind of the ancient Egyptian. This belief leads Leeuw to conclude:

> *Given also that the sun, Rē, is the king par excellence, the suggestion that the moon, Khons, was considered at one time as the placenta of the king, namely the sun, may not be too bold, though not susceptible of exact proof.* [165]

F) Tomb of Horemheb

In the catalogue of objects found in the tomb of the king Horemheb are items 26, 27, recorded as being 'Emblems of Khonsou' (Figure 7.4.2.8).[166] These are made of sycamore with length 0.23m and 0.21m and height 0.10m. The two blocks of wood are rounded on all sides and have pegs underneath for fixing to stands.

Figure 7.4.2.8. Harmhabi. Sketch of object 26, 27.
Source: Davis, *Harmhabi,* 105.

> *This object, a leather bottle or piece of flesh, was an emblem of the god Khonsou, the son of Amon, and frequently figures in the bas-reliefs of the temples carried upon a pole among the sacred ensigns.*[167]

This finding, particularly in a tomb, suggests that this particular standard not only accompanied the king on ceremonial occasions but also accompanied the deceased king in his funerary procession before being transferred with him into his tomb.[168] The two wooden objects found might well be understood as, one to represent the placenta and the other the stump of the umbilical cord.[169] Alternatively, it might be that the king was assigned two placentas in acknowledgement that he was ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt.[170]

7.4.3 Summary and conclusions

- The similarity between the 'bilobed' emblem on the standard and the Type 1 *Tekenu* is apparent.
- The first attestation of the *Tekenu* occurs in the late Fifth Dynasty tomb of the vizier Ihy. This was at a time when the nobles were adopting some of the burial traditions of the kings by constructing elaborate, decorated tombs. While the image of the *Tekenu* in the tomb of Ihy

[161] Roscoe, *The Baganda*, 236.
[162] Leeuw, G. van der., 'The Moon-God Khons and the King's Placenta', *JEA* 5/1 (1918), 64.
[163] Leeuw, *JEA* 5/1 (1918), 64; Halim, N. M. A. el., 'The Problem of the Royal Placenta in Ancient Egypt', *Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology* (Cairo,1978), 90.
[164] Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts,* 40, n.11 translates Rē and Thoth as 'sun' and 'moon'.
[165] Leeuw, *JEA* 5/1 (1918), 64.
[166] Davis, T. M., *The Tomb of Harmhabi and Toutânkhumanou* (London, 1912). 105.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Metawi, *Memmonia* XIX (2008), 192.
[169] Blackman, *JEA* 3 (1916), 244.
[170] Blackman, *JEA* 3 (1916), 244; Halim *Journal of the Facility of Archaeology Cairo,* 1978, 85.

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is incomplete, it is most likely of Type 1 form. Type 1 *Tekenu* is the closest, in form, to the 'bilobed' standard.

- Evidence from the tomb of Horemheb indicates that the bilobed standard was deposited in some of the royal tombs.
- King Djoser is accompanied by only two standards, Wepwawet and the 'bilobed', emphasising their importance in the celebration of renewal of the *sed* festival.
- Based on the points above, one could tentatively propose that some of the nobles adopted the practice of including an image of the 'bilobed' shape in the depiction of their funerary procession to ensure the integrity of the burial.

The question then becomes what is the 'bilobed' object and what is its significance? It is tempting to accept Metawi's analysis.[171] She argues that one might assume the *Tekenu* developed from, or was at least related to, the 'bilobed' object on the standard that she identifies as the '*ḫns* object', the still- born twin. Accordingly, the *Tekenu* is then interpreted as a sack-like container for the placenta of the deceased, that is his stillborn twin, that had to be buried with him in order to facilitate his revivification. Moreover, Metawi suggests that this interpretation explains the variant iconography of the *Tekenu*:

'the sack' becomes the 'standard object'
'the rounded spotted sack' becomes 'the placenta'.
'the shrouded man' becomes 'the stillborn twin'.

It is perhaps a mistake to endow ancient Egyptian thought with modern day logic. It would seem too simplistic to accept Metawi's view without considering other possibilities.

[171] Metawi, *Memmonia* XIX (2008), 196–197.

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Chapter 8

The *Tekenu* and The Opening of the Mouth Ceremony

8.1 TT 100

Numerous scholars have questioned whether the *Tekenu* is in fact a sem priest.[1] Their arguments invariably rely on the sections of the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony, in particular, scenes nine and ten. TT 100 is most commonly cited to support any such contentions as its depiction of these scenes is the most preserved and complete record attested. TT 100 also displays a depiction of the *Tekenu* on a table, considered by some, to be of a similar form to that of the sem priest, who is identified by the text above him in scenes nine and ten of the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony in the same tomb (Figures 8.1.1 – 8.1.3).

Figure 8.1.1. TT 100. The *Tekenu* recumbent on lion-legged table.
Source: Hawass, *Life*, 20, detail.

Figure 8.1.2. TT 100. The sem priest sitting on lion-legged table. Opening of the Mouth scene 9.
Source: Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē*, pl. CVI, detail.

Figure 8.1.3. TT 100. The sem priest sitting on lion-legged table. Opening of the Mouth scene 10.
Source: Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē*, pl. CV, detail

Davies identifies the action of the sem priest in scene nine in TT 100 as:

> The sem priest, on a couch, acting the part of one prostrated by despair.[2]

Davies identifies the action of the sem priest in scene ten in TT 100 as:

> *The sem, reassured by the ỉmy-ḫnt priests is filled with hope.*[3]

8.2 The significance of episodes nine and ten

Episode nine of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony involves the conception of the statue and the sem priest in the Gold Mansion. The text reads:

> *Seclusion in the Gold Mansion: resting by the sem priest*
> *Speech of the sem priest seated facing it*
> *Words spoken: 'he has struck me'*

[1] Moret(1927), Griffiths (1958), Ogden (1982) and Reeder (1994)
[2] Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē,* 76. Davies notes the sem is more commonly depicted lying on his back on the couch in scene 9.
[3] Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē,* 76.

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The imy-is to stand behind it
Words spoken 'he has outlined me'
The imy-is—speech four times
Words spoken by the imy-is 'My father, my father' four times
Waking the sleep of the sem priest: the find of the imy-khent priests.[4]

Episode ten of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony involves the interaction of the sem priest and imy-khent priests. The text reads:

sem priest facing imy-khent priest
Words spoken by the sem priest
I have seen my father in his every outline
The imy-khent priests to say facing the sem priest
Words spoken: your father will never escape you
—the fugitive—gods of Horus
sem priest-words to speak facing imy-khent priest
Words spoken: the trapper of Horus has snared him
trapper of Horus
The imy-khent priests to say facing the sem priest
Words spoken: I have seen my father in his every outline
avoiding his pain, with no turmoil in him. [5]

In these episodes the sem priest plays the role of the son of the deceased or vice-versa. Only the son is capable of doing this specific task, which is to see the form of his deceased father, by meditation or trance, and to catch it in its shapes that it may be transferred into stone or wood. This action is purely symbolic as the statue would have already been ordered by the tomb owner in his lifetime. The sem priest is directing the consecration and animation of an already finished statue.[6]

8.3 Comparing TT 21 and TT 295, a critical assessment

In both TT 21 and TT 295 there is depicted a figure that bears great similarity to the sem priest represented in scenes nine and ten of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony in TT 100 (Figures 8.3.1–8.3.2).

Figure 8.3.1. TT 21. The sem priest on lion-legged chair.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* pl. XXI, detail.

Figure 8.3.2. TT 295. The sem priest on lion legged-chair. 'Sleeping' on the left-hand side; 'awake' on the right-hand side.
Source: Hegazy and Tosi *Tomb No. 295,* pl. II, detail.

[4] http://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/religion/wpr2.html. For complete detail of scene nine see Otto, E., *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 53–55.
[5] http://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/religion/wpr2.html. For complete detail of scene ten see Otto, *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual,* 55–59.
[6] Assmann, J. 'The Ramesside tomb of Nebsumenu (TT 183) and the ritual of Opening the Mouth' in Strudwick, N. and Taylor, J.H. (eds) *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future* (London, 2003), 56.

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In TT 21, this figure has been regarded by some scholars as a *Tekenu*.[7] Other scholars suggest it is a priest and that the vignette is related to the Opening of the Mouth ritual.[8] Serrano Delgado supports his contention that, in TT 21, there is an 'atypical representation of the *Tekenu*' by the fact that this depiction is contained amongst scenes of the funerary procession and funerary rites of the Holy District and not the Opening of the Mouth ritual.[9] He argues that the right wall of TT 21 contains depictions of scenes two and three of the Opening of the Mouth and more of the ritual would have been illustrated but that the decoration in the relevant area is considerably deteriorated.[10] He observes that in the Eighteenth Dynasty private Theban tombs:

> *it was not usual to divide the representations of the Opening of the Mouth in the two walls, or combine it with other ritual sequences...Neither is it common to repeat scenes...the scene with the officiant purifying...over the mummy or effigy of the deceased's a recurrent element in Egyptian funerary iconography and that it should not be invariably connected to the Opening of the Mouth.*[11]

Serrano Delgado cites a similar scene in TT 15 to support his contention (Figure 8.3.3). His conclusion is that TT 21 represents the sleeping *Tekenu* within the Holy District. That the *Tekenu's* silhouette in TT 21 is reminiscent of the figure in scenes nine and ten of the Opening of the Mouth, he suggests, is no coincidence, as 'both characters had to undergo the unusual ritual dormation of the officiant'.[12]

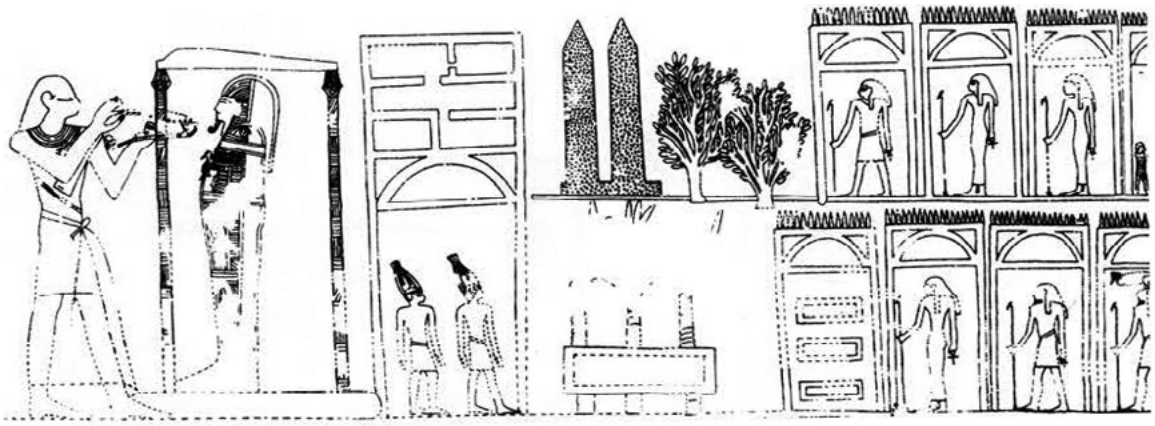

Figure 8.3.3. TT 15. Officiant purifying mummy, and the. Holy District.
Source: Davies, JEA 11 (1925), pl. V, detail.

While there are definite similarities in the scenes of TT 21 (Figure 8.3.4) and TT 15 (Figure 8.3.3), this does not support the argument that in TT 21 the figure next to the priest is a sleeping *Tekenu.* There are no attested representations of a figure with the silhouette of the figure in TT 21 that are textually identified as a *Tekenu*. Rather, in TT 100, figures with this silhouette are identified as 'sem'.[13] It is conceded that all *Tekenu* classified as Type 3 in this study are located within depictions of the Holy District. However, none of these attestations occur adjacent to, or in close proximity to, an officiant purifying or censing the mummy. For these reasons this study rejects the figure in TT 21 as a *Tekenu*.

[7] Wohlfarth, *Grabbeigaben,* 8; Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 156.
[8] Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 25; Settgast *Untersuchungen,* 124.
[9] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 156.
[10] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 157.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 158.
[13] See Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē,* pls CV and CVI.

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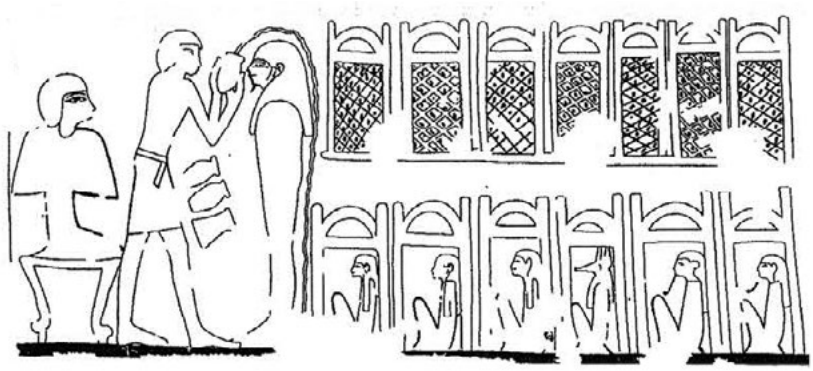

Figure 8.3.4. TT 21. Officiant purifying mummy and the Holy District.
Source: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XXI, detail.

Scholars agree that the figures taking part in the Opening of the Mouth in TT 295 are sem priests (Figure 8.3.5). This is textually verifiable.[14]

Figure 8.3.5. TT 295. The sem priest on lion-legged chair. 'Sleeping' on the left-hand side; 'awake' on the right-hand side. Position of text indicated.

Source: Hegazy and Tosi *Tomb* No. 295, pl. II, detail.

Figure 8.3.6. TT 295 Text above sem priest.
Source: Hegazy and Tosi, *Tomb No. 295*, pl. IX, detail.

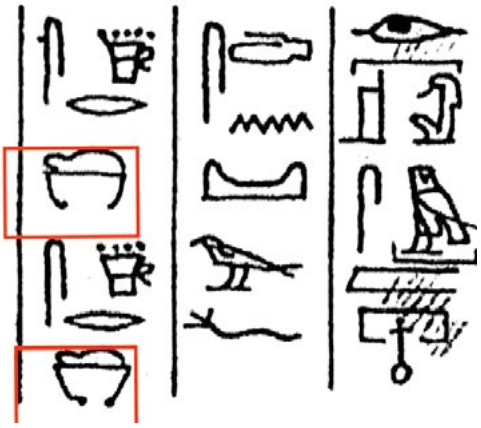

Figure 8.3.7. TT 295. Reproduction of text. 'Sleeping, sleeping. He has broken me. Osiris *sm* in the place of embalmment.'
Source: Hegazy and Tosi, Tomb No. 295, 19.

Figure 8.3.8. TT 295. Determinative for 'sleep'.
Source: Hegazy and Tosi, *Tomb No. 295*, pl. IX, detail.

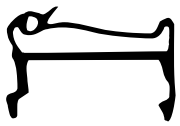

Figure 8.3.9. A 55. Usual determinative for 'sleep'.

As indicated by Serrano Delgado,[15] what is pertinent to this study is the unconventional determinative used for the word *sḏr*, 'sleep' (Figures 8.3.6–8.3.8). Despite the damage the determinatives are readily identifiable.

[14] For a complete record cf. Hehazy and Tosi *Tomb No. 295*, 19.
[15] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 158.

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Serrano Delgado states that this determinative is an 'authentic *hapax legomenon*' which cannot be attributed to a mistake.[16] Rather, he contends that:

> *its explanation has its origin in the similitude of the actions of two differentiated characters, sem priest and Tekenu, as officiants in the funeral liturgy.* [17]

The ancient Egyptian cult is completely symbolic in character.[18] Nothing should be interpreted on a purely pragmatic level as nothing is just what it appears to be.[19] Every immanent phenomenon is likely to evoke a transcendent one and vice versa.[20] 'Objects with analogical features, shapes or even similar names within the same 'realm' may also refer back to one another.'[21] This inevitably leads to a synthesis of symbolism that is difficult to interpret. Consequently, it is impossible to be definitive when assessing the accuracy of Serrano Delgado's position here. The image of the first determinative taken from the photograph of the wall appears to show a head and is particularly reminiscent of the *Tekenu* on the table in TT 100. That the same determinative is depicted twice might indicate intention. However, it may have been the direct objective of the artist to obfuscate rather than elucidate with the text. An important observation is that there is no other attestation of the use of this determinative. Without further evidence, this is an issue that cannot be resolved.

Serrano Delgado cites the text in TT 295 to support his position that what is portrayed in TT 21 is a *Tekenu*. He does this by arguing that the artist in TT 295 is deliberately indicating a close connection between the sem priest and the *Tekenu* by the use of the atypical determinative for 'sleep'. He infers that in TT 21, one is presented with a *Tekenu* in the form of a sem priest while in TT 295 one is presented with a sem priest with a *Tekenu* determinative. It would seem hasty, however, to use this argument to support the existence of the *Tekenu* in TT 21.

8.4 Conclusions

There is no direct evidence to suggest any relationship between the *Tekenu* and the sem priest in episodes nine and ten of the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony. That the tables on which they both are portrayed are similar is hardly reason to suggest that they are the same figure. Nor is one able to accept Griffiths' statement:

> *The similarity between the sleeping sem priest and the crouching Tekenu can hardly be merely fortuitous. Their posture and their covering of hide compel one to connect them.*[22]

The 'covering of hide' with regard to the sem priest in TT 100 is necessarily disputed. The covering is a yellow-striped garment that Davies suggests is likely a bedgown.[23]

Reeder suggests that the sem priest could, at times, be seen as a 'shamanistic magician' and as being in a 'trance-like' condition during parts of the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony. This leads him to postulate that, the 'sem was the *Tekenu* in an initial manifestation'.[24] This *Tekenu-sem*, in 'a deep, cataleptic, trance-like dream-state', located and recognised the deceased in the spirit world and then performed the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony. At this stage, 'the *Tekenu* was no more because he had been transformed into the sem'.[25] Reeder does concede that this is but one

[16] Serrano Delgado, *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 158.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Assmann, J., 'Semiosis and Interpretation in Ancient Egyptian Ritual' in Biderman, S. and Scharfstein, B. A. (eds), *Interpretation in Religion* (New York, 1992), 101.
[19] Assmann, 'Semiosis and Interpretation', 102.
[20] Angenot, 'Semiotics and Hermeneutics', 109.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Griffiths, *Kush* VI (1958), 116.
[23] Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rē,* 76, n.17.
[24] Reeder, *KMT* 5/3 (1994), 59.
[25] Ibid.

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theory, however, one might suggest that the reasoning is flawed. The funerary rites in which the *Tekenu* is depicted are totally different from the rituals of the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony.[26] There is merely a superficial resemblance of the tables on which the sem priest and the *Tekenu* are depicted. That they are both believed to be, at stages, in a trance-like state (the *Tekenu* when in the 'pool of Becoming', the sem priest in episode nine of the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony) is an insufficient basis on which to conjecture that they are the same being. Moreover, in TT 100, the funerary procession and the Opening of the Mouth ritual are depicted on opposite walls with no connection between them. At no stage does the artist indicate any relationship between the sem priest and the *Tekenu* apart from the superficial pictorial similarities. It must also be stressed that other representations of the *Tekenu,* Types 1, 2, and 4, do not bear out any such resemblance or relationship.

[26] Baly, T. J. C., 'Notes on the Ritual of Opening the Mouth', *JEA* 16 (1930), 178.

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Chapter 9

Summary and conclusions

The complexity of the ancient Egyptian symbolism and iconography engenders a plethora of allusions and implications. One is thwarted in the quest for 'the' explanation as every analysis must inexorably contain an interpretative component. However, recognising the inherent problems, and conceding that it might not be 'the' answer, this study aims to proffer a plausible interpretation of the nature and function of the *Tekenu*.

Ancient Egyptian funerary ritual may be construed as consummating the deceased's revivification and his aggregation with the sacred world.[1] To achieve this, all constituent components of the deceased, which had been dislocated at death, were required to be reunited with the body.[2] The king, the elite and possibly the common person shared this belief.

The first attested depiction of a funerary procession on a tomb wall of a noble occurs in the Fourth Dynasty tomb of Debeheni at Giza. Thereafter, the increasing deployment of tomb decoration by the elite evidences their endeavour to attain the same state, in death, as had formerly been achieved only by the king.[3]

The Pyramid Texts, first attested on the walls of the pyramid of King Unis at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, contain spells for the reanimation of the king's body and to aid his ascension into the afterlife. These spells give the impression of belonging to a corpus that was in use well before they were inscribed in the pyramid of Unis. From grammatical evidence, the composition of most Pyramid Texts can be dated to no later than the mid Fifth Dynasty.[4] Contemporaneously with the appearance of the Pyramid Texts, the elite are attested as depicting a *Tekenu* in their repertoire of tomb decoration.[5]

Most prominent in the Pyramid Texts is the ascension myth, which seemingly pervades every portion of the corpus.[6] The king is depicted ascending to the sky by various means including using the sandals of Nūt (539, 540), on a dust-devil (308, 312), the wind (309), in a blast of fire (541) and by mounting the sunshine (751, 1680). In all of these cases, 'the life essence is transmitted by a force outside itself'.[7] Rather, the life essence, the *ka*, ascends by a force that was 'not per se a personification of any form of the king himself'.[8]

As the *ka* is perceived as the essential difference between a living person and a dead one, as death occurs when it leaves the body, it is not surprising that the Pyramid Texts contain specific references to the ascension of the king and his double, that is his *ka*.[9]

> *Someone has gone to his double...the King has gone to his double. O King, you have departed that you may live, you have not departed that you may die.*

---

[1] Hays, H. M., 'Funerary Rituals (Pharaonic Period)', in Dieleman, J. and Wendrich, W. (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2010), 8. http://wwwescholarship.org/uc/item/1r32g9zn.

[2] See Introduction, 2–4 for a brief discussion of these components.

[3] See Hays, H. M., 'Death of the Democratisation of the Afterlife', in Strudwick, N. and Strudwick, H. (eds), *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750–2150 BC* (Oxford, 2011).

[4] Allen, *Pyramid Texts,* 4.

[5] The elite did not include extensive text until the Coffin Texts of the Middle Kingdom.

[6] Davis, W. M., 'The Ascension Myth in the Pyramid Texts' *JNES* 36/3 (1977), 162.

[7] Davis, *JNES*, 36/3 (1977), 167.

[8] Davis, *JNES*, 36/3 (1977), 166.

[9] Most scholars envisage the 'Ka' as the 'double' 'twin' or 'doppelgänger'. See Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 69; Bolshakov, *Man and his Double,* 291-296; Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 96–102; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 5; Dodson; Ikram, *The Tomb*, 16.

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...

she (Nūt) will reassemble your bones for you, she will join together your members for you. PT 450.

This text emphasises that the aggregation of the *ka* and the king was the 'epitome of personal reintegration as expressed on a physical level by the motif of the uniting the limbs'.[10]If the elite aspired to achieve the same 'personal reintegration' as that achieved by the king, their including reference to the *ka* in their tombs is understandable. However, as the ka leaves the body upon death, the question arises:

Given that the *ka* must eventually arrive at the tomb, the *pr kꜣ* (the House of the *Ka)* how does it travel to the tomb?

The *ka* is an hypostasis[11] which is almost impossible to define.[12] It exists only by means of its effect[13] and it requires a physical shape in which to dwell.[14] It could be that the *Tekenu* is one of these physical representations. This conjecture is advanced by circumstantial evidence which suggests that the portrayal of the *Tekenu's* journeying to the tomb with the deceased might mirror the king's ascension with his *ka* as depicted in the Pyramid Texts.

Scholars have examined the meaning of the word *Tekenu* and, while there is dispute as to the exact translation, the root appears to be *tkn* 'to be near', 'neighbour' or 'approach'.[15] As a receptacle in which the *ka* of the deceased is to dwell, it is appropriate that it is perceived as being 'near' or a 'neighbour' of, the dwelling of the body, that is the sarcophagus. Most frequently, the *Tekenu,* as Types 1 and 2, is depicted immediately before or immediately after the sarcophagus.[16] Poignantly, in TT 147, the *Tekenu* is connected directly to the sarcophagus by a rope. In TT 279 the rope attached to the sarcophagus and that attached to the *Tekenu* appear to be joined and on the sarcophagus of Djedmout the *Tekenu* is shown immediately beneath or at the side of the conveyance carrying the sarcophagus.

The first attested depiction of a *Tekenu* occurs in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of ***Jḥj***. It appears to be amorphous, similar to the bilobed emblem. Most scholars concede that there is an high probability that the bilobed emblem represents the king's placenta and identified as his unborn twin, even if other connotations are also viable.[17] A relief on the rooms of the terrace on the grand temple at Denderah depicts a standard bearer carrying a standard with the bilobed emblem above which is the text '*kꜣt ỉnp* 'the *ka* of the royal child'.[18] This suggests a relationship between the *ka* and the bilobed emblem.

In the Pyramid Texts the people, or souls, of Pe and Dep aid in the king's ascension.

> *Here come to you the gods of the souls of Pe, the gods of the souls of Nekhen...They make supports for you upon their arms; may you ascend to the sky and mount up on it in this its name of Ladder. PT 478–9. She who dwells in Dep has put her hands on me, and behold I have come...I have gone up on high. PT 1111–2.*

The goddess Serket aids the ascension of the king:

[10] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 98.
[11] Bolshakov, A. O., *Man and his Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom* (Wiesbaden, 1997), 131.
[12] Bolshakov, *Man and his Double,* 152; Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 96.
[13] Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 358.
[14] Bolshakov, *Man and his Double,* 264
[15] See Literature review, 1.10.
[16] See. Appendix Pictorial Context.
[17] See Origins, 7.4.2 D.
[18] See Origins fig. 7.4.2.7

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My thighs are Neith and Serket; I will ascend and rise up to the sky. PT 1314.

In the few examples where the men who drag the *Tekenu* are identified, they come from Pe (TT 17, 24), Dep (TT 24) or are labelled as the 'Serket' ritualist (TT 82, 112, 224). Two other localities are mentioned namely, Ked (TT 82, 112, 224) and Hutihut (TT 24), both of which were located in the Delta.[19]

When attested, the colour of the covering of the *Tekenu* is associated with: renewal of life and mystical rites associated with Buto (black); the bull (mottled or marked) and with Osiris to symbolise his revivification or with ***Wꜣḏt,*** the protective serpent goddess of Lower Egypt (green).[20]

In TT 20 there is recorded a process of disintegration and reintegration. Three component parts are identified as owner + body + *Tekenu.* These become separated, at death, into three specific entities. After the funerary ritual and entry into the tomb these components are united to form one entity consisting of owner, body, *Tekenu.*[21] This interpretation provides a possible explanation for why no physical *Tekenu* has been archaeologically attested. The *Tekenu*, as a means by which the *ka* travels to the tomb, is no longer required. The *ka* has been reunited with the body, the *Tekenu* is then redundant.

While there is a lack of consistency in the form in which the *Tekenu* is depicted, this can be explained by its attracting various ideological accretions. In all instances, however, the *Tekenu* may be regarded as an effigy. Indeed if one accepts the *Tekenu* as a vehicle for the *ka,* then, suggestions that it might be another human performing a role, becomes difficult to accept, given the need for such a human form to itself possess a *ka.*[22]

In the Pyramid Texts the king and his double are cleansed in a lake:

> *Horus accepts him beside him, he purifies this King in the Jackal Lake, he cleanses this King's double in the Lake of the netherworld, he wipes over the flesh of this king's double...He conducts this King's double and his own to the Great Mansion.* PT 372–373.[23]

In tombs TT 82 and TT 112 the dragging of the *Tekenu* is associated with replenishing the pools of Heket and the Type 3 *Tekenu* is depicted within the Holy District of Buto, an area described as a liminal area' [24] through which the deceased must pass, immediately before reaching the 'symbolic west'. This ritual is associated with the pools of Kheper, Heket and Sokar.[25] Settgast identifies a close connection between the Heket pools and the *Tekenu* which would allow a 'direct re-interpretation of *š.w ḤḳḲ.t* as '*Tekenu* ponds'.[26] Further, he suggests that evidence would confirm that the ponds and the *Tekenu* are closely connected'.[27] In both TT 100 and TT 125 the text states that the *Tekenu* is in the 'pool of the becoming'.

The Type 3 *Tekenu* in TT 100 and TT 125 sleeps under the *mskꜣ* in the pool of becoming. The *mskꜣ* (hide) could be seen to mystically aid in the *Tekenu*'s transition to the netherworld. The association with the *mskꜣ* emphasises the *Tekenu*'s relationship with the bull, an animal that has a close

[19] Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 1195 and 1167..
[20] See chapter 5. 5.3.3 B
[21] See chapter 6, particularly fig.6.1.2.9.
[22] See chapter 3 particularly 3.5.
[23] Allen, *Pyramid Texts,* recitation 175, 49 translates '*ka*' instead of 'double'. The translations of Faulkner and Allen are not identical but the differences are not pertinent to this study.
[24] Diamond, K. A., 'The Placement of the Sacred District Scene in the Rectangular Tombs at Elkab' in *JARCE* 48 (2012), 97.
[25] See chapter 6. 6.2.6.
[26] Settgast, *Untersuchungen,* 60.
[27] Ibid.

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relationship with the *ka*. There is the association of the root *kꜣ* with the word 'bull' and it has been suggested that bulls' horns were the origin for the symbol for the *ka*.[28]

Thus there is a plausible relationship between the Pyramid Texts, and reference to the Jackal Lake on the one hand, and the *Tekenu* and 'pool of the becoming' and the pool, or pond, of Heket on the other hand. Accordingly, the *Tekenu* can be seen to be on the journey with the deceased as is the *ka* with the king.

It is cautiously suggested that TT 49 contains a depiction of the *Tekenu* being created alongside the sarcophagus.[29]

The absence of the *Tekenu* from some funerary scenes is not surprising. Not every ritual deemed essential for the successful revivification of the body is portrayed. For example, the *Opening of the Mouth* ceremony is not depicted in every tomb and yet the body needed to have all vital senses restored.

The preponderance of available scholarship suggests that the *Tekenu's* purpose may be regarded as assisting the deceased in the mysterious aspect of transcendence, of journeying and being accepted into the netherworld. What is in dispute is how the *Tekenu* achieves this purpose. The author has difficulty in accepting the suggestions of a number of scholars examined in the Literature Review, for example:

If the *Tekenu* were the sem priest, an officiant or a deity, one might expect that it would be so named or otherwise identified, as for example, by its garb or utterance.

If the *Tekenu* were to contain 'left overs' from the process of mummification it is reasonable to expect that it would be archaeologically attested as are the canopic jars.

If the *Tekenu* were a sacrificial object then one would expect more examples where it is depicted in close proximity to scenes of sacrifice. It is only in TT 20 that it closely associated with human sacrifice. While it has been argued that the *Tekenu* is depicted in close proximity to the sacrifice of bulls, this could only be the Type 3 *Tekenu,* which appears amongst vignettes of the Holy District. However, examination of these *Tekenu*, of which there are only six, reveals that only in TT 100 is the *Tekenu* depicted in the same register as the representation of a bull sacrifice. Even then, the scene of sacrifice is separated from the *Tekenu* by several different vignettes.

Finally, that the *Tekenu* may be perceived as an element of a skin ritual or associated with the *Ḫns* object may be accepted, not as an explanation of the role of the *Tekenu* but as alluding to but a part of its origins.

The ascension myth in the Pyramid Texts emphasises, in text, the integral nature of the king and his *ka*. An interpretation of the role of the *Tekenu* is that it performs the same role, pictorially, for the elite, by providing a conveyance for the *ka* to be seen to be travelling with him to the tomb.

[28] See chapter 7. 7.2.1 C)
[29] See chapter 4, Figures 4.2.7 and 4.2.8.

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Appendix A
Tombs containing *Tekenu* images

Identification	Tomb Owner	Date	Selected titles of owner	*Tekenu* type
TT 11 (4.1)	*Dḥwtj*	18.05–06	overseer of the treasury, overseer of works	4
TT 12 (2B.1)	*Ḥr.j*	18.01–02	overseer of the granary of the king's wife and king's mother	2B
TT 15 (2B.2)	*Ttjkj*	18.01–02	King's son, Mayor in the Southern city	2B
TT 17 (2B.3)	*Nb-Jmn*	18.06–07	Scribe, physician of the king	2B
TT 20 (1C.1),(4.2)	*Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f*	18.03–06	Fan-bearer, Mayor of Aphroditopolis	1C + 4
TT 24 (2B.4)	*Nb-Jmn*	18.04–06	Steward of the royal wife Nebtu	2B
TT 34 (1B.1)	*Mnt.w-m-hɜt*	25.06–26.01	Fourth prophet of Amūn	1B
TT 36 (1A.1),(1B.2)	*Jbj*	26.01	Chief steward of the divine adoratress	1A + 1B
TT 39 (2B.5)	*Pwj-m-Rᶜ*	18.05–06	Second prophet of Amūn	2B
TT 41 (3B.1)	*Jmn-m-jpɜ.t*	19.01–02	Chief steward of Amūn in the Southern City	3B
TT 42 (2B.6)	*Jmn-ms*	18.06–07	Captain of troops, Eyes of the King in the Two Lands of the Retenu	2B ?
TT 49 (1A.2)	*Nfr-ḥtp*	18.13–15	Chief scribe of Amūn	1A
TT 53 (1B.3)	*Jmn-m-ḥɜ.t*	18.05–06	Agent of Amūn	1B
TT 55 (1A.3)	*Rᶜ-ms*	18.09–10	Governor of the town, vizier	1A
TT 60 (2B.7)	*Jn-jt.f-jkr*	18.02	Governor of the town, vizier	2B
TT 66 (3A.1)	*Ḥp.w*	18.08	Vizier	3A
TT 78 (2C.1)	*Ḥr-m-ḥb*	18.06–07	Royal scribe, scribe of recruits	2C
TT 81 (2B.8)	*Jnn.j*	18.02–06	Overseer of the granary of Amūn	2B
TT 82 (1A.4)	*Jmn-mḥɜ.t*	18.05–06	Scribe, counter of the grain of Amūn, steward of the vizier	1A
TT 92 (1A.5)	*Sw-m-nw.t*	18.06–07	Royal butler clean of hands	1A
TT 96 (3A.2)	*Sn-nfr*	18.06–07	Mayor of the Southern City	3A
TT 100 (3A.3)	*Rḫ-mj-Rᶜ*	18.06	Governor of the town, vizier	3A
TT 104 (1A.6)	*Dḥwtj-nfr*	18.05–07	Overseer of the treasury, Royal, scribe	1A

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Identification	Tomb Owner	Date	Selected titles of owner	*Tekenu* type
TT 112	*Mn-ḥpr-R'-snb,*	18.06–07	First prophet of Amūn	no image
TT 123 (1A.7)	*Jmn-m-hɜ.t*	18.06	Scribe, Overseer of the granary, Counter of bread.	1A
TT 125 (3A.4)	*Dwɜ.wj-r-nḥḥ*	18.05	First herald, overseer of the estate of Amūn	3A
TT 127 (1A.8)	*Sn-m-j'h*	18.05–06	Royal scribe, Oversser of all that grows.	1A
TT 147 (1B.4)	*Nfr-n-pt*	18.09	Counter of Cattle	1B
TT 172 (2C.2)	*Mnṯ.w-jj.w*	18.06–07	Royal butler, Child of the nursery	2C
TT 224	*Jʿh-ms*	18.05–06	Overseer of the estate of the god's wife, Overseer of the two granaries of the god's wife	no image
TT 260 (2B.9)	*Wsr*	18.06	Scribe, Weigher of [Amūn]	2B ?
TT 276 (3A.5)	*Jmn-m-jnt*	18.06–08	Overseer of the treasury of gold and silver, Judge, Overseer of the cabinet	3A
TT 279 (1A.9)	*Pɜ-(n-)Bs.(j)*	26.01	Chief steward of the god's wife	1A
TT 284 (1B.5)	*Pɜ-ḫm-nṯr*	D20	Scribe of the offerings of all the gods	1B
TT 389 (1A.10)	*Bɜsɜ*	Saite	Chamberlain of Min, Mayor of the Southern City	1A
TT A 4 (1A.11)	*Sɜwsr* / *Wn-sw*	18.05–06	Scribe, Counter of the grain, Mayor of the Southern City	1A
TT A 26	?	Ramesside	None attested	?
TT C 4 (2B.10)	*Mrjmɜʿt*	18.08–09	Wacb-Priest of Macet	2B
EK 3 (1A.12)	*Pɜhrj*	mid D18	Mayor of Nekheb and of Inyt	1A
EK 7 (2B.11)	*Rnnj*	18.02	Mayor, Overseer of prophets	2B ?
Ramesseum (2A.1)	*Sḥtbr*	D12	None attested	2A
Saqqara (1A.13)	*Jḥj*	late D5	Support of *knwt*, Overseer of all commissions of the king.	1A ?
Unknown (1A.14)	?	?	?	1A
Sarcophagus (1B.6)	*Ḏd-Mwt*	D20	musician of the house of Amūn	1B

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Appendix B
Tekenu Traits

IDENTIFICATION	*TEKENU* TYPE	FACE	PALM	COLOURED or MARKED
TT 11 (4.1)	4	X	X	
TT 12 (2B.1)	2B	X		
TT 15 (2B.2)	2B	X		
TT 17 (2B.3)	2B			
TT 20 (1C.1)	1C	X	X	
TT 20 (4.2)	4	X	X	
TT 24 (2B.4)	2B	X		X
TT 34 (1B.1)	1B	X	X	
TT 36 no. 1 (1A.1)	1A			
TT 36 no. 2 (1B.2)	1B	X		
TT 39 (2B.5)	2B	X		
TT 41 (3B.1)	3B		X	
TT 42 (2B.6)	2B?		?	
TT 49 (1A.2)	1A			
TT 53 (1B.3)	1B	X		X
TT 55 (1A.3)	1A			X
TT 60 (2B.7)	2B	X		X
TT 66 (3A.1)	3A	X		X
TT 78 (2C.1)	2C			X
TT 81 (2B.8)	2B	X		X
TT 82 (1A.4)	1A			X
TT 92 (1A.5)	1A			X
TT 96 (3A.2)	3A	X	X	X
TT 100 (3A.3)	3A	X	X	X
TT 104 (1A.6)	1A			
TT 112	no image			
TT 123 (1A.7)	1A			
TT 125 (3A.4)	3A	X	X	X
TT 127 (1A.8)	1A			
TT 147 (1B.4)	1B	X	X	X
TT 172 (2C.2)	2C	X		X
TT 224	no image			
TT 260 (2B.9)	2B?			
TT 276 (3A.5)	3A	X	X	X
TT 279 (1A.9)	1A			X
TT 284 (1B.5)	1B	X	?	X
TT 389 (1A.10)	1A			
TT A 4 (1A.11)	1A			

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IDENTIFICATION	*TEKENU* TYPE	FACE	PALM	COLOURED or MARKED
TT A 26	?			
TT C 4 (2B.10)	2B	X		
EK 3 (1A.12)	1A			
EK 7 (2B.11)	2B	X		X
4Htbr (2A.1)	2A			X
JHj (1A.13)	1A?			
Unknown (1A.14)	1A			X
sarcophagus (1B.6)	1B	X	X	X

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Appendix C
Chronology of scholars' views of the function of the *Tekenu*

	Sacrifice	Skin Rite	Archaic Practice	Mummification remnants	Sem Priest	Officiant / Ritualist	Mushroom Deity	Heket	Hair	Corn Mummy	*ḫnt* object	Philology
Griffiths, 1904	X	X			X							X
Lefébure ,1904	X		X									X
Maspero, 1909	X											
Campbell, 1912		X			X							
Davies, 1913	X		X									
Moret, 1923	X	X			X						X	
Thomas, 1923	X	X										
Leeuw, 1938			X									X
Bonnet, 1952												X
Kees, 1956	X											
Settgast, 1963						X						
Ogden, 1977			X		X							
Myśliwiec, 1985			X			X						
Bunsan, 1991										X		
Hodel-Hoenes, 1991												X
Hornung, 1992				X								
Grimal, 1994												X
Reeder, 1994		X	X		X	X						
Bárta, 1999								X				
Tassie, 2000			X						X			X
Taylor, 2000	X											
Assman, 2005				X								
Berlant, 2005							X					
El Shahawy, 2005												X
Martin, 2005	X								X		X	
Beinlich, 2006										X		
Spieser, 2006	X	X										
Metawi, 2008											X	
Delgado, 2011						X						

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Appendix D
Pictorial context: diagrammatical interpretation

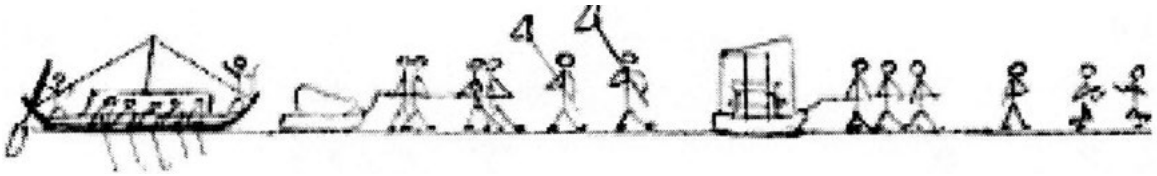
Drawn by J. West.

TYPE 1A

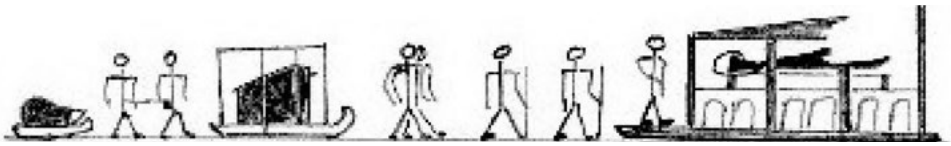
TT 36 (no. 1)

TT 49

TT 55



TT 82



TT 92

TT 104

TT 123

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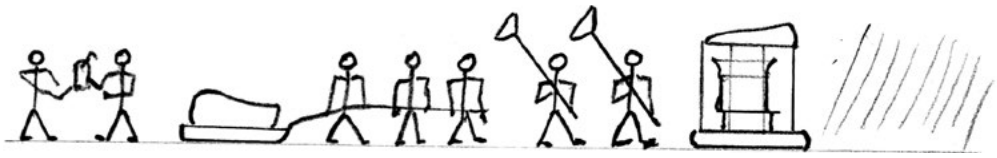
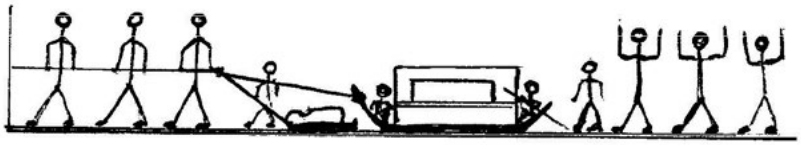
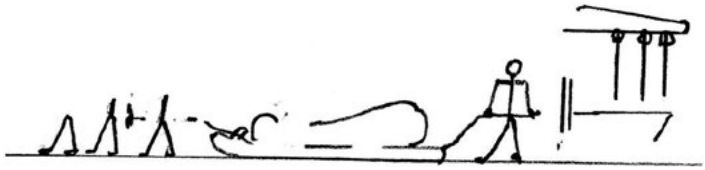


TT 127

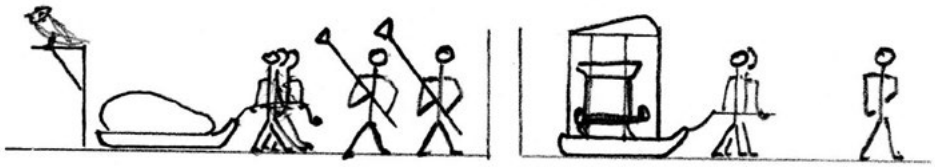


TT 279

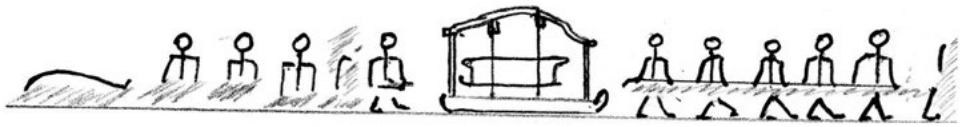


TT 389

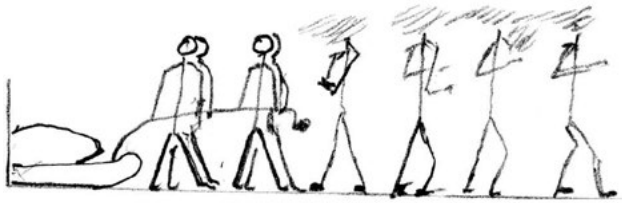
TT A 4



EK 3



Jḥj.



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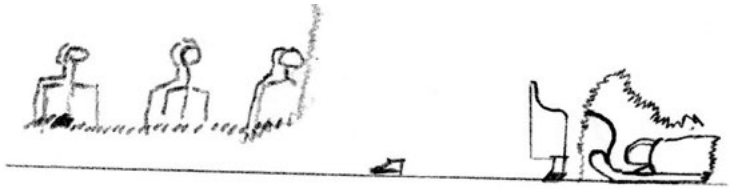
TYPE 1B



TT 34

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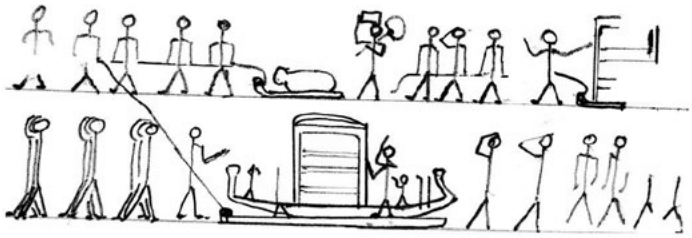
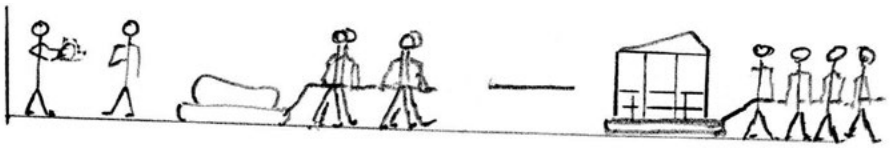
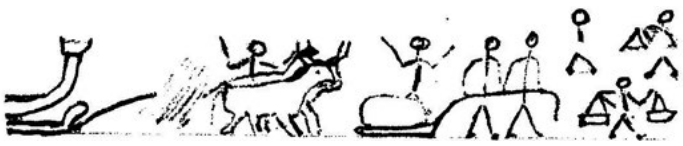


TT 36 (no. 2)

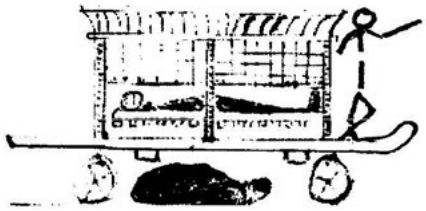


TT 53

TT 147

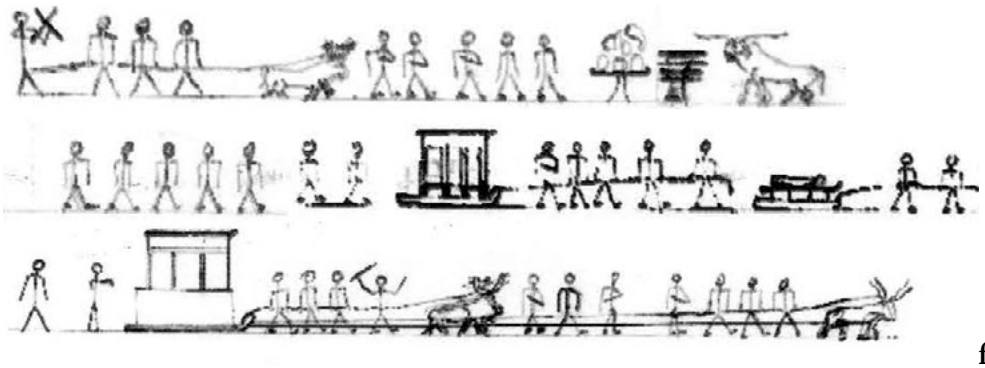


TT 284

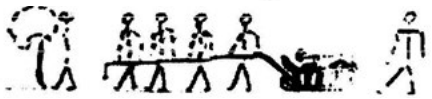


Sarcophagus of Djedmout.

TYPE 1C



first occurence



second occurence

TT 20

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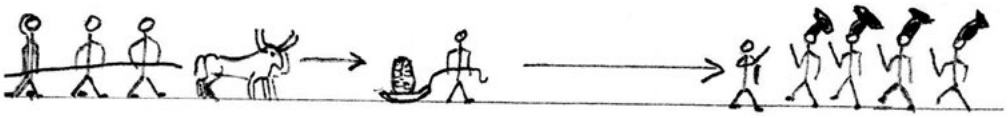
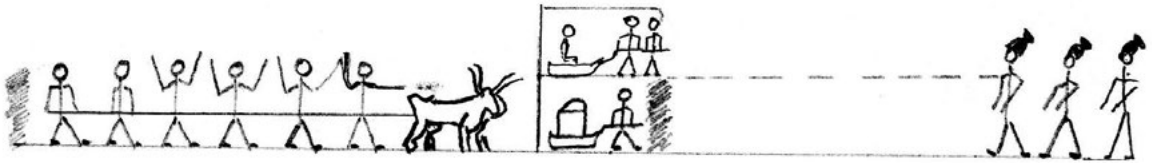
TYPE 2A

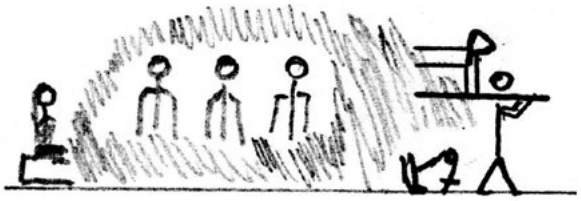


Sḫtbr.

TYPE 2B

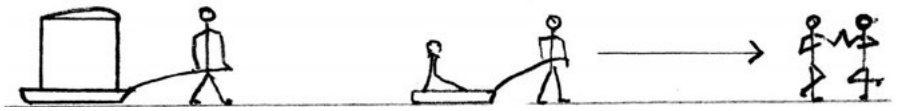


TT 12

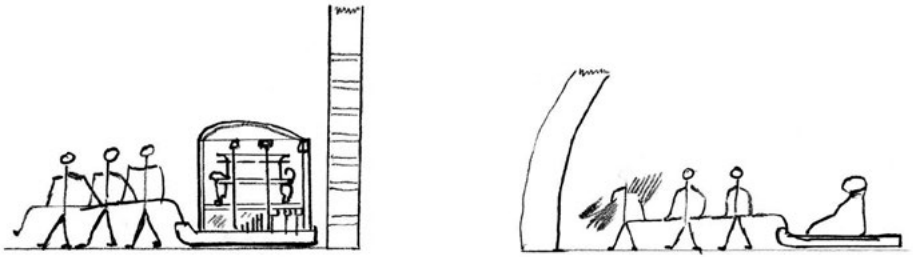


TT 15

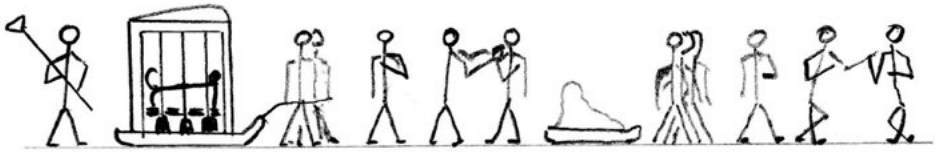
TT 17



TT 24



TT 39



TT 42

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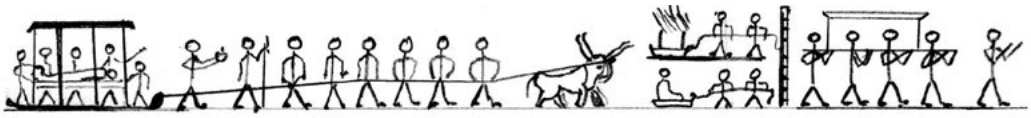
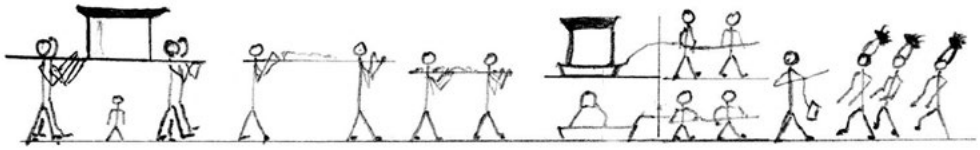
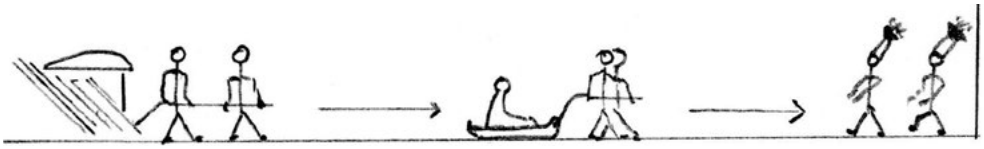


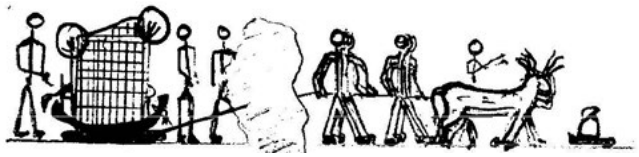
TT 60



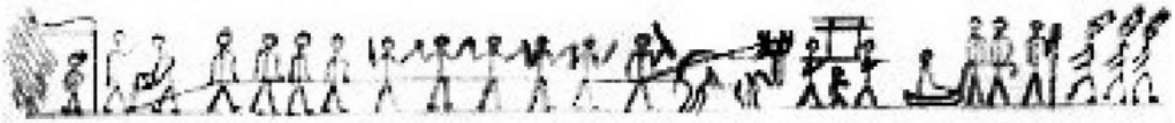
TT 81



TT 260



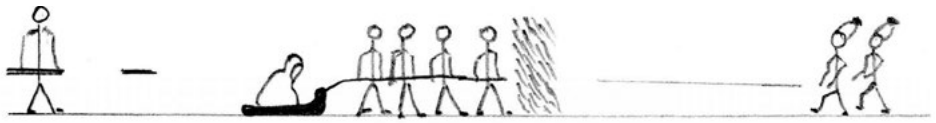
TT C4



EK 7

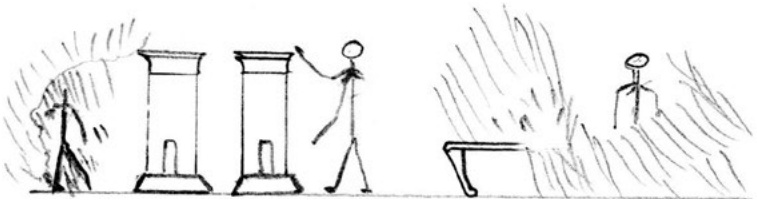
TYPE 2C

TT 78



TT 172

TYPE 3A



TT 66

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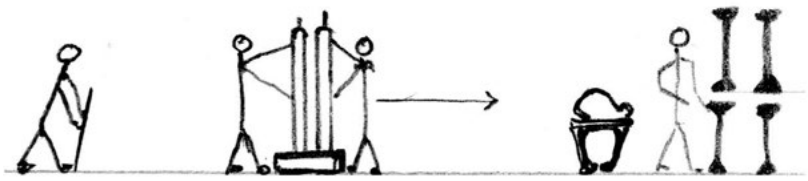
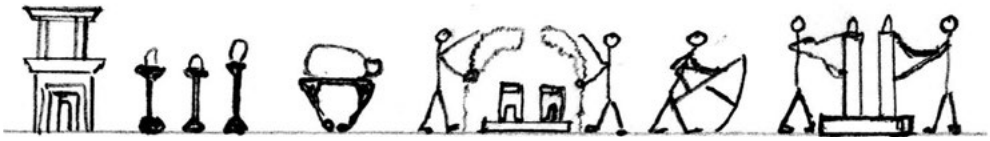
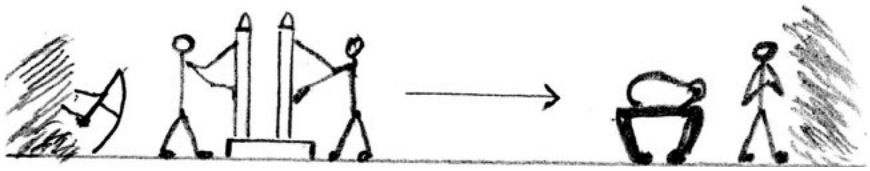


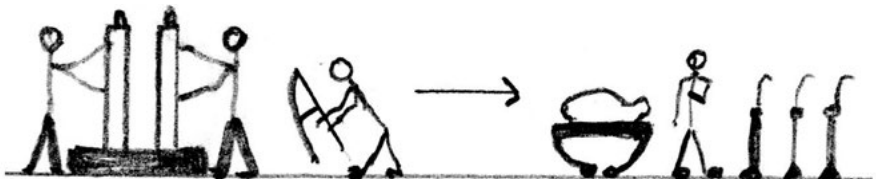
TT 96



TT 100

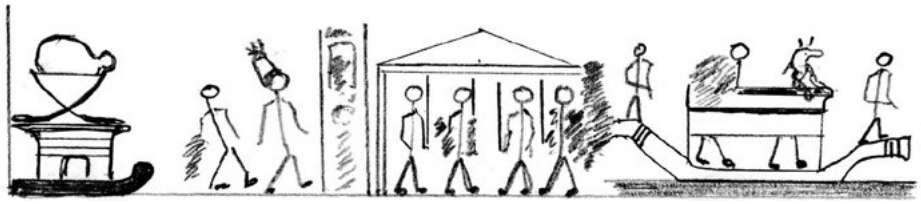


TT 125



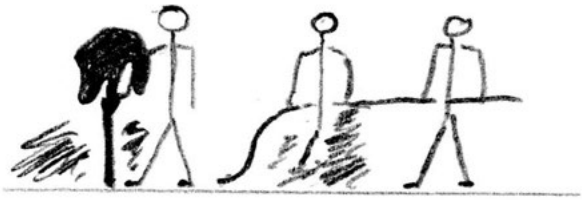
TT 276

TYPE 3B



TT 41

TYPE 4



TT 11

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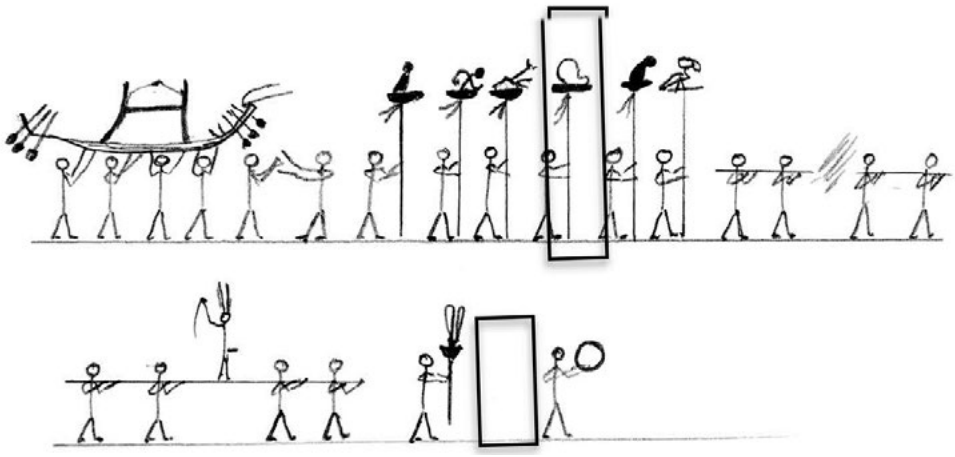
TT 20

UNIDENTIFIABLE



TT A 2

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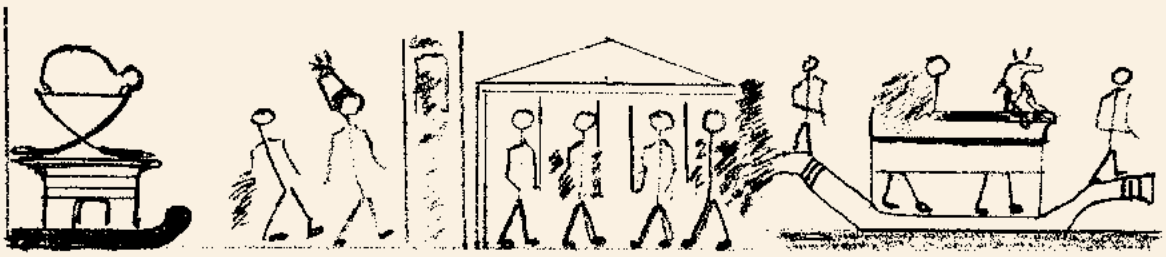
What is the *Tekenu*? What was its function? What are its origins? These are questions upon which Egyptologists have long pondered. However, Egyptologists, until now, have avoided any major work on the topic. Previous treatments of the *Tekenu* largely adopt a selective approach focusing on a specific form. Rarely has the *Tekenu* been examined profoundly in all of its forms or contexts with its possible origins commented upon merely in passing. The aim of *The* Tekenu *and Ancient Egyptian Funerary Ritual* is to provide a provocative examination and interpretation of the *Tekenu* in an endeavour to proffer plausible answers hitherto eluding scholars. Attested from the Fifth Dynasty until, and including the Saite Period, the *Tekenu* is a puzzling icon which is depicted within the funerary scenes in the tombs of some ancient Egyptian nobles. In this work four distinct types of *Tekenu* are identified and classified and then a Corpus Catalogue is formed. The *Tekenu* is appraised within the context of the wall scene. Two tombs are dealt with in greater detail. *Rḫ-mj-Rʿ* (TT 100) contains the most detailed record of a funerary scene and here a possible narrative involving the *Tekenu* is suggested. *Mnṯ.w-ḥr-ḫpš=f* (TT 20) contains unique and complex scenes many of which arguably involve the Tekenu.

Glennise West graduated from the University of Sydney and taught English and History at secondary school level. Later she followed her lifelong interest in ancient Egypt obtaining MA and PhD from Macquarie University, Sydney. The topic of this book was the subject of her PhD dissertation. She lives in Sydney.



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