Significance of identity, individuality & ideology in Old Kingdom tomb iconography

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Scholars have given different meaning to the motifs found in the Old Kingdom elite tombs. Addressing this problem means finding a common thread that runs right through all these tombs, a task not made easy by the numerous extant interpretations. This common thread, if it is to apply universally, will also have to be an aspect which is a raison d'être of these tombs, i.e. a funerary culture based in the preservation of memory. The purpose of the following study then is to determine the extent to which identity, ideology, and individuality as aspects of elite funerary culture, were prominent in the production of and are reflected in the iconography, of Dynasties 4, 5 and 6 mastabas, especially in relation to context, content, and culture and their intrinsic tendency for change. These are termed the 'cultural generics' (generics for short) and will be shown to be the main aspects of identity, individuality, ideology, remembrance and change as found in the elite tombs. The search for these generics involves going back in time such that the connection between the manifestation of culture and the underlying funerary beliefs, symbols, and society is established as a starting position.

This thesis is an investigation of certain distinct and perhaps universally applicable[1] aspects of elite funerary culture, which can be gleaned from a reading of the elite tombs of Dynasties 4, 5 and 6 in the Memphite region, primarily those in Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, and Dahshur, and the lesser necropolises of Abu Roash, Heliopolis, and Maidum.

The goal is to identify and analyze those aspects of funerary culture which are inherent in the tomb art. By focusing on the formal and thematic aspects of the elite tomb's iconography involving society, religion and the individual dimension and applying these to the selected motifs[2], it is hoped to reveal two interrelated elements:

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[1] Universal as applied in this study is restricted to meaning a pattern or mode of behaviour which is widespread in planet earth.

[2] The motifs selected are as follows: Carrying-chair, Taking Account (Document presentation), Mourning, and related inscriptional texts.
Rather than use the words themes and sub-themes which could result in a misunderstanding because these could mean either a specific theme for each tomb or a single decorative theme, I have used the words motif and sub-motif as I think these are less confusing.

- Core traditional culture and the integrative value systems of Old Kingdom Egyptian society
- Appearance of bonding characterizing elements therein, which I term the "generics" (identity, individuality, ideology, remembrance, and change).

The way these are depicted in the selected iconography of the Old Kingdom tombs will, it is hoped, also open a window into the mind-set of the ancient Egyptian. I am well aware that due to the restricted nature of my research other periods are not within its scope, but that does not mean that I am taking a synchronic approach only. I contend that within a limited time span but at different times one can still study what happened within a particular social context and at a particular time, provided one pays due attention to time and change as limiting factors.

Significance in the present thesis relates to man's extrasomatic adaptation to the environment and consists of interacting subsystems such as technological, economic, social structural, religious and ideological. Like all systems, culture has the ontological characteristic that changes in one part of the system will create changes in other parts of the system[3]. This means that a host of factors can be involved in the understanding of social groupings in society. Culture in its processes and occurrences is thus to be understood as a symbolic phenomenon continuously changing and underscoring a communicative function. It also signifies that because culture cannot be seen as an entity, one will be concerned with its bourgeois manifestations as evidenced in the different behavioural traits[4]. One way of extracting culturally

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[3] R. A. Rappaport, "Ritual, Sanctity and Cybernetics," *American Anthropologist (73)* (1971): 59. While this article focuses specifically on the relationships of ritual form and performance, nevertheless his approach highlights the way ritual behaviour makes social communication between individuals a reliable indicator of the reciprocal relationships between them.

[4] D. R. Matsumoto, *Culture and psychology: people around the world*, 2nd ed. (Australia: Wadsworth Thomson Learning, 2000) 24-26. He gives a detailed and useful definition of culture as being "a dynamic system of rules, explicit and implicit, established by groups in order to ensure their survival, involving attitudes, values, beliefs, norms, and behaviours, shared by a group but harbored differently by each specific unit within the group,

significant meaning is from the grave goods (of whatever kind including iconography) because these goods must have played a part in the culture of that particular society at that specific time, otherwise they would not be present at a time when the cultural life of the deceased had 'ceased' to exist. However culture is not something that is static and its categories of significances are being continually refined such that it is extremely difficult to put any boundaries around culture specific concepts[5]. Therefore when grave goods are understood to represent a concept of cultural signification, these may refer to the ideal rather than reality. In order to overcome this objection, change will also be considered as part of the evolution of culturally significant meaning. When determining the beliefs and attitudes of the ancient Egyptians towards an activity/object it is assumed that the Egyptians' attitudes changed between Dynasties. In the 5th & 6th Dynasties of pharaoh dominated Egyptian society, we shall observe the development of an elite class with new forms of ideology, identity and even individuality, i.e. the generics. The tomb motifs indicate that these generics would have been influential factors, leading to changes which resulted in a more sophisticated elite class and structured society.

The majority of the work on elite tombs has been of a descriptive nature calling attention to among other things to:

- architectural developments,
- relating certain material artifacts to chronological dating and some details of iconography, and
- interpreting the wall decorations.

Because of the impossibility of getting to grips with how the ancient Egyptians may be understood and the emphasis on a narrow philological approach the

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communicated across generations, relatively stable but with the potential to change across time".

[5] I. Hodder, *Reading the past: current approaches to interpretation in archaeology*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 24-25. He states that it is incorrect to take a passive view of society, which disregards the cultural context so central to ideology and ideological functions.

result has been a variety of piecemeal approaches and differing, frequently confusing interpretations.

As a starting point it must be admitted that this type of research has been useful in highlighting the problematic character of the interior tomb decoration. However, because its roots were seeped in philology and western logic, it failed to take into account the cultural generics adequately, and so has resulted in even deeper confusion.

A survey of the main research yields the following grouping:

Group 1:

- attempts to explain the decoration both as symbol and reality simultaneously. Unfortunately this group's conclusions have no objectively verifiable methodological basis, as exemplified by Junker "Alles ist Wirklichkeit und Sinnbild zugleich"[6]. While the idea is understandable it is just a starting point.

Group 2:

- attempts to connect the decoration to the earthly, and the life in the hereafter of the tomb-owner[7]. However because they go further and try to give meaning to the decorations using the two forms of life, their interpretations are varied because these include concepts which are not verifiable. This is the largest group by far and includes:

U. Langner: representation of the tomb-owner's life in the hereafter[8].

J. H. Taylor: the wall decorations reflect the earthly life of the deceased and not the afterlife[9].

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[6] H. Junker, *Giza*, vol. 5 (Wien: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A.G., 1941) 73.

[7] It is acknowledged that in the Old Kingdom the tomb owner is never shown as dead. Nevertheless, because the word "deceased" and "tomb owner" are explicit in the mortuary context, they should be understood as a synonym wherever they appear in this thesis. Further while the majority of tomb-owners are male some females also have tombs and the use of the word 'he' should not detract from this issue.

[8] U. Langner, *Forschungsarbeiten zur frühen Kultur der Menschheit: Das Alte Ägypten* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, 2007) 313.

[9] J. H. Taylor, *Death and the afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 2001) 150.

<u>A. O. Bolshakov</u>: the Old Kingdom representations "are essentially realistic, only scenes of real life are shown, nothing transcendental brought forward"[10].

<u>H. Altenmüller</u>: "Es sind Bilder, die in ihrer Gesamtheit jene Verrichtung darstellen, die für die Versorgung des Menschen in der grossen Gemeinschaft des altägyptischen States von Bedeutung sind und von denen der Verstorbene auch für seinen Totenkult profitierte"[11].

<u>C. Barocas</u>: The tomb was built and decorated because of a fear of the dead, still recognizing the desire for a good life in the hereafter[12].

<u>S. Morenz</u>: The decorations are a recording of the tomb-owner's lifetime activities which he wished to continue in his afterlife[13].

<u>H. Groenewegen-Frankfort</u>: Biographical memoir of the tomb-owner's life on earth[14].

<u>P. Montet</u>: Aimed at giving the spectator a vision of the everlasting world[15].

Group 3:

- Explains the decoration as a means of the sympathetic magic which they were supposed to be imbued with, and the reproduction of the mortuary cult.

<u>R. K. Ritner</u>: Visualized images constitute magical reinforcements[16].

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[10] A. O. Bolshakov, "The Old Kingdom Representations of Funeral Procession," *Göttinger Miszellen*, no. 121 (1991): 31.

[11] H. Altenmüller, "Lebenszeit und Unsterblichkeit in den Darstellungen der Gräber des Alten Reiches," in *5000 Jahre Ägypten: Genese und Permanenz pharaonischer Kunst*, ed. J. Assmann and G. Burkhard (Nussloch: IS-Edition, 1983), 79.

[12] C. Barocas, "La Décoration des chapelles funéraires égyptiennes," in *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, ed. G. Gnoli and J. P. Vernant (Cambridge: 1982), 430.

[13] S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1960) 212.

[14] H. A. Frankfort, *Arrest and movement; an essay on space and time in the representational art of the ancient Near East* (New York,: Hacker Art Books, 1972) 34.

[15] P. Montet, *Eternal Egypt* (New York: New American Library, 1964) 179.

[16] R. K. Ritner, "Magic in the afterlife," in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, vol. 2*, ed. D. B. Redford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 333. See also W. K. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2003) 165, l. 39-40. The Teaching for King Merikare: "He has ordained for them magic, as weapons to fend off the impact of what may come to pass". (*ḥsf-ꜥ n ḫprjjt*)

E. el-Metwally: "Die Dekoration der altägyptischen Privatgräber von Anfang an" bildet "eine Wiedergabe des Totenkultes"[17].

Group 4:

- Attempts to use the decoration in terms of orientation, placement, and chronological development, with a view to the dating of the tombs. Exemplified by the approaches of Harpur[18] and Cherpion[19].

Group 5:

- Suggests a method based on linguistic and semiotics research. It avoids any interpretation until analyzed with the logic and objectivity of funerary-religious language game theory, when it opens the way for a more logical and objective approach, e.g. Van Walsem[20].

These studies have been important in laying some of the groundwork; however existing research does not sufficiently explore the affiliation of the iconography and its association to its creators in socio-cultural and art-historical aspects. Indeed there are no studies which I am aware of that have systematically related tombs to dynasties to region to illustrate aspects which have general application in the cultural sense. The dominant philological and archaeological bias is now generally accepted as the theoretical basis of all Egyptological studies. When texts exist and a linguistic translation approximates the meaning, all the other aspects such as archeological context, material, size, and shape are treated as largely irrelevant. The philological/visual culture divide persists. The result is that content is emphasized, but the connections to the cultural processes behind the production of the artifacts are forgotten. These are left to lie in a vague area. This is not to deny the immensely useful contributions of both philologists and

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[17] E. El-Metwally, *Entwicklung der Grabdekoration in den Altägyptischen Privatgräbern*, ed. F. Junge and W. Westendorf, vol. 24, *Göttinger Orientforschung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992) 165.

[18] Y. Harpur and P. J. Scremin, *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom: studies in orientation and scene content* (London: KPI Ltd., 1987).

[19] N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire: la problème de la datation* (Bruxelles: 1989).

[20] R. Van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom elite tombs: analysis & interpretation, theoretical and methodological aspects* (Leiden and Leuven: Peeters, 2005) 101.

archaeologists but one has to take an additional bolder step, which I propose to do in this thesis. By concentrating on the cultural generics I hope to bridge the perceived gap.

At present there are very few current books dealing specifically with the said cultural aspects like those by Erman, Evers, Von Bissing, Schäfer (see Bibliography).

The older site reports e.g. Petrie, Reisner, Junker, Hassan, (see Bibliography) try in varying degrees to include aspects of cultural significance. Because this is not conceived of within an overall framework but as an adjunct, it does not provide a concentrated focus and is of limited use.

The modern site reports, e.g. those which are part of the *Australian Centre for Egyptology,* have understood this problem of too little focus on the art-historical aspects of Egyptian elite tombs, and have started to look at this area[21].

My position subscribes to the view that any attempt at understanding ancient Egyptian funerary culture must go beyond peripheral attempts at interpreting social organization. Material culture should not exclusively be a descriptive list of artifacts or interpretation arising out of ideas about their possible functions, or be based solely on a study of the textual material. In order to understand material culture one must search for those concepts which are generic in the nature of the society under investigation, as well as quite possibly being part and parcel of every major past and existing society with similar funerary underpinnings.

My central premise is based on the belief that "the ultimate purpose of studying Egyptian art just as with archaeology and philology, is to increase our understanding of the culture that produced it"[22].

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[21] N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: the cemetery of Akhmin*, 9 vols. (Sydney: The Macquarie Ancient History Association, 1980-1989).

[22] E. R. Russmann, "The State of Egyptology at the end of the second Millennium: Art " in *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century: proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists (2)*, ed. Z. A. Hawass and L. P. Brock (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press 2002), 26.

In fulfilling the task of finding these generics a conceptual as well as a methodological framework is required.

The conceptual framework recognizes that a prerequisite for the development of knowledge is an a priori identification followed by classification, which gives meaningful cultural significance to man's existence. In all cultures this is an ongoing perpetual process and in the case of the Old Kingdom can be witnessed through, among other ways, the media of the elite tomb iconography. Further, societies which lay a great emphasis on life after death like the ancient Egyptians will need to perpetuate cults of memory. This will result in the development of belief systems, which being abstract have to be given a material manifestation, in order to be successfully transmitted within society.

The explanation for the world that one lives in is predicated on such a system of beliefs, and because these beliefs, if they are to have any effect at all, have to be communicated, a need for the means to do so arises. The means are varied, but all can be treated as symbols which convey beliefs. These can be of various kinds, but the ones that interest me initially are the ones that can be recovered archaeologically in elite tombs: reliefs including wall painting, stelae, inscriptions, and anything of a tangible nature.

These needs arise pursuant to the need for communication and commemoration. Societal behaviour will be affected by both these symbols, those that relate to activities which are of everyday occurrence, as well as to those of a 'metaphysical' nature, e.g. funerary beliefs, both of which indicate an accepted way of doing things as practiced by certain segments of society, in this case the elite.

Consider the progression and connection between symbols and society. The examples given below go back to the beginning of Egyptian history, and are found in the Predynastic gravesites of the Badarian (ca. 4500-3800 BC), and the following Naqada l, ll, and lll periods – ca. 3850 – 3300 BC.

- Cemetery T at Nagada excavated by Petrie containing 2043 burials (excluding the adjacent area of Ballas), is one such example[23], which exhibits a variety of material symbols.

- The decorated tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis is another example of a large brick lined pre-dynastic tomb with wall paintings[24] and may have been the tomb of a pre-dynastic king[25].

- The internment of the body is itself the development of a belief that it has to be preserved. Initially to seal off the smell of a decaying corpse but in time this rationale became subsumed under the concept of commemoration, (dismemberment at least from Naqada 1C onwards makes multiple arenas of commemoration possible) and mummification which became the standard funerary treatment for elite bodies through the dynastic period and into Roman times. This is a progression from the pre-dynastic funerary beliefs, which possibly led to the development of mummification[26]. Mummification became common practice during the Old Kingdom among members of the royal family and the elite, the earliest evidence being the viscera of Queen Hetepheres found in her canopic box[27]. Just like tomb iconography it was meant to preserve the 'youthful appearance' of the tomb-owner as

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[23] W. M. F. Petrie and J. E. Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas* (London: British School of Egyptian Archaeology Publications, 1896) pl. 1 A (map showing number of burials). The undisturbed cemetery T5 contained a variety of grave goods totaling 42 pots, 5 vessels of stone, ornamental beads made of precious metals and stone like gold, lapis lazuli, and carnelian. Cemetery T also contained three large brick lined chambers (T15, T20, T23). All these can be said to be symbols of a kind.

[24] H. Case and J. C. Payne, "Tomb 100: The Decorated Tomb at Hierakonpolis," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 48 (1962): 11-16.

[25] B. J. Kemp, "Photographs of the Decorated Tomb at Hierakonpolis," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 59 (1973): 28.

[26] R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *Cemeteries of Armant I* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society 1937) 12. Here two burials were found covered with animal skins and others covered in reed matting. Similar observations by Petrie, "Diospolis Prava", 1901: 35, evidence from the cemetery at Semaineh where the burials show that limbs were disarticulated, covered in bark and then rejoined. It would appear, that the advancement of a belief in total protection of the body led to another way of preserving it namely mummification. See also A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London: 1989) 270.

[27] Lucas and Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* 271.

someone who would live in the hereafter in a high status[28]. This process transformed the body into an image and then stands for a symbol. The explanation of this symbol is provided by the initial belief (since at least Dynasty 1) that the body had to be preserved so that the owner's 'Ka' or spirit could emerge from the burial chamber to partake of the food offerings. Later from New Kingdom onwards the reasons for body preservation also include it's recognition by the 'ba', the psychic forces of the deceased depicted as a bird with a human head[29]. This very fact would then point to the reality that both the levels of expenditure as well as the practice of formal burial, were in themselves progressive socially determining symbols[30]. Bodies without any grave goods have also been found in mass graves, and this should not detract from the body being used as a symbol. All it shows is that these 'others' of society (i.e. the non-elite) did not even have a burial, and is suggestive of the fact that levels of hierarchy were well developed at this stage.

- The vast majority of the bodies found by Petrie at Naqada are placed with head to the south and facing west. While we do not have any texts from this period, the symbolism asserts that the ancient Egyptians understood their place in relation to the points of the compass and of the west being a place of the dead[31].

- Monumental graves were necessary both for the soul and for the well-being of the tomb-owner in the afterlife, and as a place where the living could perform the necessary rituals[32], emulating to some extent

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[28] A. R. David, "Mummification," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, vol. 2*, ed. D. B. Redford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 439-44.

[29] S. H. D'Auria, P. Lacaovara, and C. H. Roehrig, *Mummies and Magic: the funerary arts of ancient Egypt* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1988) 29.

[30] J. Baines and P. Lacovara., "Burial and the dead in ancient Egyptian society: respect, formalism, neglect," *Journal of Social Archeology (2)* (2002): 9.

[31] K. Bard, "An Analysis of the Predynastic Cemeteries of Nagada and Armant in Terms of Social Differentiation. The Origin of the State in Predynastic Egypt." (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1987) 143.

the interplay of text, image, and architecture, which is evident from a study of the royal graves[33]. If this hereafter is modeled on similar concepts as pertaining to the now, then it is reasonable to expect to find in the graves the very elements which were essential to the tomb-owner in this life on earth, and which he thought would be essential to him in the hereafter. The symbols could represent tangible objects, as well as the abstract sentiments found in the literature, which would underpin its communal/state integrating function. If certain goods occur frequently they are likely to be indispensable, and accordingly imply cultural importance in view of their repeated presence, their ostensible use, as well as the class of people assisting in this process. In this view all the biological, psychological, and social processes even though they may appear to be discrete, should be seen as symbolizing different aspects of the human being. Seen in this light it becomes obvious that the different symbols represent our personal and collective identities. The way we transmit these memories to others is a way how humans make themselves, i.e. it is a study of what we are and how we want to be understood by other humans. In addition, the tomb and its contents reflect a continuing cultural discourse, which would have had some influence on the understanding of the tomb for all sections of the society[34]. Textual evidence of this cultural discourse in the Old Kingdom is sparse and restricted to the king (the Pyramid Texts) it was extended later in the Coffin Texts (from F.I.P onwards) to include the elite and the non-elite of which there is evidence[35]. The

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[32] S. Lukes, "Political Ritual and Social Integration," *Sociology*, no. 9 (1975): 291. He defines ritual as a "rule governed activity of a symbolic character which draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling which they hold to be of special significance". In this work ritual will have this meaning.

[33] J. Brinks, *Die Entwicklung der königlichen Grabanlagen des Alten Reiches: eine strukturelle und historische Analyse altägyptischer Architektur, Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge (10)* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1979) 157-58.

[34] B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 2nd ed. (London Routledge, 2006) 1-5.

real value of this approach of equating symbols with cultural significance will depend on the cumulative effect of the analyses of the underlying themes and their application to certain selected motifs which forms the contents of the case studies in Part 2.

Significantly this evidence implies that the preservation of the body in a specially prepared place, and the inclusion of specific grave goods in the burials, reflected a belief in their usefulness following death; judging from the brick lined chambers, and the variety of grave goods found, e.g. foodstuffs, body ornaments, cosmetic palettes, jewellery, tools, flint, knives, ceramics, and stone vessels. It is further a pointer to the slowly emerging status of certain tomb-owners by grounding them in a shared understanding of an entire way of life, as opposed to the non-elite.

One may argue that some of these examples are of the functional kind, but evidence from five burials at Abadiyeh, where jars with scarab beetles were found[36] would point to the symbolism behind the placement of grave goods (i.e. beliefs which are expressed as material symbols and which existed since pre-dynastic times). This is of added significance especially in light of the beetles' relationship with the sun god and immortality, albeit in later times[37]. While the primary evidence is from Upper Egypt it is evidence of a trend towards increasing disparity in burial form and content between the elite and the non-elite. They are the visible expression of complex concepts and relationships[38], which pre-existed in the Old Kingdom and which, with

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[35] J. Baines, "Communication and Display: the integration of early Egyptian art and writing," *Antiquity* 63 (1989): 476. This is not meant to imply a sequential encroachment of the royal powers by the non-royals but simply a pointer to change as a continuous phenomenon, and to the implication that the non-royals probably had knowledge of the cultural discourse even though the evidence for this may now be lost or is at best circumstantial.

[36] W. M. F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva: The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund 24, 1901) 33.

[37] The god Khepry is depicted with a beetle in place of a head and the word means "he who is coming into being", understood as the morning manifestation of the sun god.

[38] K. Bard, *An introduction to the archaeology of ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2008) 4.

increasing societal complexity, had the additional purpose of the creation and maintenance of both individual identity and intra/interregional relationships.

The focus of this study will not be on art itself but in the way the iconography can be used to deal with the tomb as a system of transferring knowledge, tradition, and communication between the living and the dead based on communal values and belief systems during the Old Kingdom.

We can never know the exact intention of the ancient protagonists and advancements in understanding will therefore depend upon the accumulation of facts and ideas, their order, and in the way these are interpreted and analyzed.

This thesis will consist of four Parts.

Part 1 will have as its goal: the delineation of those generic factors which apply across Egyptian mortuary art, and to gain an understanding of the culture particularly that which existed during Dynasties 5 and 6. In order to do so it will cut across the underlying nature of Egyptian society and culture during the relevant periods, including the questions of: how and by whom were the ideas, skills, and beliefs of the ancient Egyptian transferred and communicated into the content of the iconography? The interconnection of nearly every aspect of society in this process means that the analysis will be wide ranging.

The methodology will also impose a theoretical framework of linguistics and radical pragmatism which relates both to the symbols, the pattern of evidence and changes to this as proposed both by Wittgenstein[39] and Van Walsem[40], and take into account the "intellectual aesthetic" which these reliefs must reflect[41].

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[39] L. J. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, ed. G. E. M. Anscombe and R. Rhees (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001) § 83-87.

[40] Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom elite tombs: analysis & interpretation, theoretical and methodological aspects* 17-65. Based on previous work "The Interpretation of Iconographic Programmes in Old Kingdom Elite Tombs of the Memphite Area. Methodological and Theoretical (Re)Considerations". Edited by C. J. Eyre, Orientalia Lovaniessia Anatecta, 1998.

[41] Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 72. See 135-137 for examples.

Part 2 will test Part 1's assumptions by applying the conceptual framework to the chosen individual motifs and their constituent iconographic examples in depth and extend their implications, sometimes utilizing statistical analysis. The goal is to apply the identified generic aspects in the selected motifs and textual material of the known elite tombs keeping in mind how the extant social conditions accompanied or facilitated the creation of iconography and the way the protagonists broadcast these ideas. This will establish any corresponding patterns which may exist. By identifying common features which expose the cultural generics, wide spread aspects of cultural significance can be isolated. Possibly it might also assist in the understanding of other ancient mortuary cultures which like the ancient Egyptian were based on remembrance, and mortuary art.

Part 3 contains the conclusions.

Part 4 contains the iconographical plates referred to in the case studies as an additional separate volume.