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

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Part 3

Conclusion

"It is the Egyptologist's business to display and illustrate all aspects of the ancient people's minds, irrespectively of the intrinsic value of what he may find to exhibit¹⁰¹³."

The Part I introductory section first describes past methodologies used to analyze reliefs and the resulting problems, then it describes my research methodology used to analyze the material that was used to transmit the ideas associated with the Egyptian elite. The challenge was to understand the individuals behind the reliefs, their web of diverse communal connections, and their society, and to discover any widespread underlying concepts which would be valid for funerary cultures in general.

Any funerary culture in any society based on ideas of remembrance will need as an essential element the creation of the means of understandable transmission, because of the predominance of the non-literate element in ancient society. The various transmission methods can include the following: oral, philological (e.g. papyri and inscriptions) and material (e.g. architecture, grave goods and tomb decoration). As ancient Egyptian society had only a small number of literate people, this resulted in the creation of signs/symbols with inherent meanings understandable by the majority of the community. These signs/symbols did not exist in a vacuum. Consideration of the ideological facets of the recovered material in the contexts of the tomb decoration indicates that these signs eventually matured into well-known symbols, representative of the ideology of the elite. The difficulty in understanding these symbols is the fact that they are 'entrée, plat de résistance, fromage, desert et digestif', all rolled into one, which realization is as essential as the analysis of the selected motifs.

¹⁰¹³ A. H. Gardiner, "Hymns to Sobk in a Ramesseum Papyrus," *Revue d'égyptologie, Paris* 11 (1957): 56.

Previous analysis of the iconography of the Old Kingdom was based on an inadequate selection criterion of what should be observed and how. Primarily, because the focus was on describing and conjecturing about the decoration and philological context, rather than looking for any underlying concept. Accordingly this previous line of enquiry missed out on the crucial fact that there are layers of social status; that the variegated patterns of social roles are as much the product of the individual as well as those conferred by other members of society. The consideration of these layers of influences enables one to conceptualize how social identities were created in funerary cultures based on the concept of memory. This involves analyzing both vertical as well as any discernible horizontal structural differences in society.

It is clear there were different investments in the amount and type of tomb decoration because of variations in the tomb-owners' social abilities and their unequal access to goods. The resultant effect was to confer real economic power and legitimize the differences in social structure (status) - the Saxe-Binford approach. However this does not explain why and how social identities were created in the first place, nor the buildup and/or disposal of accumulated social identities. For this we need to extend the analysis further to include the concepts of ideology (domination as ideological manipulation and physical coercion, as well as shared fundamental values) and individuality (forerunner of possible change).

Ideological factors are a component of a matrix of intertwining influences. These are:

The royal ideology of domination, (where the myth of the king's unique role as intermediary between the world of the living and the world of the gods), is perpetuated via the elite, and

The ideology of shared fundamental values, (in which the elite express their paternalistic responsibility for the well-being of their local community as an expression of *MB^ct*), as seen in their tomb autobiographies.

The motives behind such utterances are ambiguous because of the complexity of the author's actual behaviour, which may be the result of a

constant interplay between the forces of self-interest and those innate ones of being human. The general belief was that the practice of the fundamental virtues of kindness, justice, and self-control resulted in an ordered society. However any effective discourse on the coercive element which must have been co-existent is lacking, because the institutionalized order (read ideology) cannot tolerate any deviation from the mindset of cardinal values which it has worked to create, a deviation which would undermine the status quo. With increasing societal complexity the ancient Egyptians must have also realized (at least by Dynasty 5) that they had to allow/have practices which could increase resiliency among the population, the tomb autobiography being one such avenue. This liberating of the freedom of thought/expression, coupled with respect for the old ways of doing things allowed the people of the Old Kingdom to engage in self-interested adaptations to their world.

The balancing of these forces enabled the Old Kingdom to last as long as it did, and inspires a positive picture of the elite. Viewed in this light *M3t* (perceived as the important aspects of human relations) fostered a sense of social consciousness in the ancient Egyptians and perhaps the contemporary world needs a similar call to moral action.

Ideology thus played a central role because it represents the efforts undertaken by individuals to create, maintain, and transform power relationships. In order to understand ideological connotations we must separate what is actually being said /depicted from the packaging it comes in. This packaging (read domination plus shared values) plays an important role in determining both what is being related and how it is to be understood. Hornung, referring to the above phenomenon states "Im Alten Orient sind ideologische Geschichtsbilder noch starker als heute treibende Kräfte im Weltgeschehen"¹⁰¹⁴. Indeed in order to cement and maintain the ideology of the times, ideology demands an understanding of it as something which is recurrent and typical, and this can be observed in the texts (mostly royal) and the iconography (royal/non royal) of the Old Kingdom.

¹⁰¹⁴ E. Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest: zwei Vorträge zum Geschichtsbild der frühen Menschheit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966) 10.

It is also clear that ideology cannot be based purely on coercion since it requires some sort of cooperation between the governing and governed classes. The elite's successful claim to say the surplus of agricultural produce (if the taking account scenes are taken at face value), is itself a pointer to the ideology of the elite in positing the alleged acquiescence of all parties.

The full extent of the elite's power is not known (either in the form of visible coercive power, or persuasive power of the softer variety which is reminiscent of past behaviour). Therefore one cannot build up a checklist of factors which differentiate the ways in which ideology influenced the development of status or social rank. Doing so would tend to exacerbate the tension between the constancy of observed values and those that cause variations. Indeed in the extreme case one would rely predominantly on factors of material wealth (read economic) at the expense of equally important factors such as:

- Shifts and changes within both the vertical and horizontal layers of society, both of which ultimately determine the social classes.
- Ideological factors, which go towards the legitimization and maintenance of the social classes.

As far as individuality is concerned, it is present in various forms in all cultures because 1) it is the *conditio sine qua non* of the first step towards change and 2) it explains the almost universal embeddedness of the idea of competition in humans.

The degree of this drive may vary within a group and within the people of a society who constitute it. If culture however is to thrive, by which I mean undergo periods of renewal and renegotiation, then individuality becomes an essential element of the generics in the sense of a precursor of change. Hornung, in the context of the structure and the development of graves in the Valley of the Kings indirectly refers to this phenomenon (my reading albeit a bit circuitously) what he terms the "Erweiterung des Bestehenden"¹⁰¹⁵

¹⁰¹⁵ E. Hornung, "Struktur und Entwicklung der Gräber im Tal der Könige," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 105 (1978): 64. Although the context of his article is concerned with the royal tombs of the New Kingdom, why should the underlying principle be not equally valid for the non-royal Old Kingdom mastabas, and for the whole of Egyptian culture?

because for the expansion of the existing to occur, some form of change is inevitable which is an indirect pointer to individuality. It also points indirectly to the other components of cultural generics, e.g. identity and ideology.

In this connection I have also referred to the idea of change based on 'chaos theory'. In its common usage, the word 'chaos' has a negative connotation and is synonymous with disorder and confusion. However in its original Greek and its equivalent in the ancient Egyptian cosmologies, 'chaos' refers to a universal primordial state from which the divine will or command, generated order. If the divine aspects are removed, what remains mirrors the theories of contemporary astrophysicists for whom chaos means a positive and powerful state, which holds the potential for new order and forms. Indeed in certain circumstances, chaos becomes a prerequisite for all that is new and meaningful and the precondition for cultural change. This use of the term chaos explains change in action and how trends in iconography are born, mature, and die to begin the cycle all over again. This is to be contrasted with 'entropy' which explains why change occurs (localization or dissipation of energy). In other words change is part of existence and part of every culture, whose progress once begun becomes a system which tends to be self-perpetuating, until circumstances change and the process starts all over again.

The process of cultural translation is further assisted by the use of the approach formulated by Wittgenstein. It requires the use of language games, crucial for the understanding and translation of cultures. This approach gives modern people a means by which to understand other cultures and translate their phenomena into their own categories and concepts, which they can relate to. Language games thus have implications for the problem of relativity between cultures and the translation of cultures. As Wittgenstein observes in *Philosophical Investigations* - a language game is "meant to bring into

prominence that the speaking of a language is part of an activity, or a form of life¹⁰¹⁶.

My approach therefore is in direct opposition to mere description plus a smattering of function added as a disguise to support some concept of objectivity. By characterizing the ideas of identity, individuality, ideology, and change as the complex building blocks for the transmission and maintenance of collective memory, access is gained to concepts which can be used for a multi-dimensional approach. Indeed these culturally conceptualized generics occupy a central role in the next section (Part 2). The proposition relating to their importance can be stated as follows: all funerary iconography can be understood and analyzed by the use of these concepts **alone**, because there is not one single surviving tomb, nor any main theme in the Memphite mastaba tombs in the Old Kingdom, which does not display elements of these generics. Even in the different motifs selected, there is evidence of the generics **in all of these without exception**.

Part 2 consists of case studies of three types of motifs from the iconography of the Old Kingdom tombs in the Memphite region. It seeks to demonstrate how the elite tomb-owners and their communities expressed differentiation within itself, and within a specific period in clear personalities, which can be made visible using the generics. The traditional approach was that cultural similarities were the product of interaction within, and differences were the product of social or physical differences from without¹⁰¹⁷ - another mainly descriptive approach. My approach seeks to reconcile the previous descriptive approach with the view that because culture is a social process, it is subject to the 'laws' of chaos and entropy theory which are valid for both 'within' and 'without' and therefore never static - always in a sort of flux. The iconography itself reveals this dynamism because no two reliefs are the same and patterns start to emerge, which if traced diachronically into other time frames do show

¹⁰¹⁶ Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* § 23.

¹⁰¹⁷ S. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity* (London: Routledge, 1997) 25.

certain continuity coupled with change. To copy any artifacts 100% by hand (only modern industry can do this with the aid of machinery) because of the irreversibility of time (which points to the future only), is intrinsically impossible. To exactly recreate the position of the chisel and/or the hit of the hammer of the earlier sculpting processes is in principle impossible. Therefore change is not only certain but always with us.

In considering the iconography of the elite tombs an initial caveat must be introduced. The funerary iconographic world must have related in some way to the actual lived world, because it was the latter, which provided the vocabulary and context for constructing the world represented on funerary monuments. Insofar as this view is the worldview of the elite, it presents the problem of bias. Nevertheless my investigation can only be of those things that are represented. In exposing the view of the elite, it is hoped to offer a glimpse into the world of the non-elite too because as contemporaries, they would have been of a more or less common psychological makeup. An examination of the iconographic motifs selected reveals various forms of cultural generics within all of them, and these can be subsumed under the following headings (the evidence for which is to be found in the main text and Appendix H).

Iconography as a sign/symbol of possible levels of meaning

Iconography as a sign/symbol of hierarchical status

Iconography as a sign/symbol of group cohesion

Iconography as a sign/symbol of individuality

Statistical analysis has indicated a clear difference among the tombs with regards to the visualization of the generics as would be expected by the extant social hierarchy at that time. What is interesting is that there is no one single 'identity kit' that exists for the elite. This suggests that there are other identifying factors at work, and that wealth may be only one such factor, e.g.

these may be the idealized images of the elite involving competing claims of wealth, craft or ritual specialization, made by those organizing the funeral.

The key concepts of the generics can be understood as an inviolable framework around the central construct of memory. It is because of the need to be remembered that we need something to remember us by which then calls for the creation of identities, whose basis is the individual interaction with the prevailing ideology of the time.

However, because of the nature of chaos theory, change is omnipresent and intrinsically no ideology can survive the collision with the changing reality perfectly intact. General principles have to bend to accommodate the complexities of history. For example the survival of a particular ideology is better served by compromise than by zealous intellectual consistency resulting in the differentiation of visual and textual display. The consequences of this differentiation are mostly available if seen from a distant perspective when these are expressed as visual representational and intrinsic cultural change. In this light the generics reveal both the past as it was, and an understanding of why the present is what it is.

Furthermore the generics can be applied within any time frame because they can be used to explain things at any particular point in time, i.e. they are universal in applicability. They open a way by which we can analyze and understand diverse data provided they all belong to the realm of funerary culture, which then enables us to get an insight into the culture of a period or a people. In this context language games play a very important role in making one realize that getting the answer to what one wants, is dependent on asking the relevant questions. Just like the visual representation of a complex molecule, e.g. the DNA helix, is used by scientists to understand the structure of the molecule, the deconstruction of the motifs in the elite tombs of the Old Kingdom will yield an understanding of:

- The significance of their elements
- An understanding of what causes these elements to be there in the first place and

- Why in some cases, changes are evidenced

This is where the generics become paramount. Understood in the above way, the concept of, say, social identity takes on added meaning. High-ranking individuals often have inherited or ascribed status (titles) and are shown with distinctive attire (garments, headdresses, body adornments & elevated status goods). These act as instruments (along with other artifacts of material culture) through which the elite could express their own (or their family's) status within an existing social hierarchy, including their wider cultural affiliation with others. Possibly the elite wished their society to conform to their ideal of eliteness, and they fulfilled this desire with the symbolic forms with which the realities of the elite were displayed. This is because cultural systems are dominated in the main by all the actions and projections of the individuals who have the power and authority, to constitute the system. What is especially compelling is the notion that body adornments and hence the "dead bodies" play an active role in marking and reinforcing social group affinities, while at the same time promoting an individual image of relative strength and power. In this way both vertical and horizontal difference in social identity may be distinguished.

Similarly in the mourning motif, since the dead cannot bury themselves, the others who are involved indicate not only their individual status but also reinforce that of the deceased, which may assist in our understanding of social organization. This can then be used to demonstrate how material remains can be analyzed beyond mere description, to explain facts with which at first glance, only a very remote connection is discernible.

I have called in aid different academic disciplines, e.g. archeology, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and quantitative methods, and the essential feature of my approach has been to embrace and use these wherever possible. For example, my use of charts and tables are based on elementary statistics, in some of these percentages are given, while in others this is not the case. Percentages enable one to see the variation in the scenes

in the total population of tombs examined, and in other cases a percentage is not based on the total population of tombs but on the number of cases of a particular type found, irrespective of the total number of tombs. This is a mathematical necessity and an essential quantitative tool that can be usefully employed, especially when there is a difference between the number of tombs, the number of representations that these tombs have, and the number of places in the tomb's iconography, where these depictions occur - something which is common in all ancient Egyptian iconography. In addition it is hoped that my approach will enrich the future study and teaching of Egyptian Art.

The very last word will be left to the ancient Egyptians because by making me think about their tombs and decoration, they made me remember them, even though they were long gone, and indirectly once again reveal the power of the generics.

"They shall not grow old as we that are left grow old
Age shall not wither them nor the years condemn
At the going down of the sun and in the morning
We shall remember them."

Lawrence Binyon - *For the Fallen*. The above verse is now known as the "Ode of Remembrance" and is read out at Dawn Services and other ANZAC tributes in Australia. It first appeared in 'The Times' on 21st September 1914.

Appendix A Carrying-Chair Motif Total Population = N = 37

Tomb-Owner	SV/LMP No.	Tomb No.	Dating Harpur
Ankhmahor	001/190	T65	VI.1-3
Ankhmare	002/ 94	G7837	V.9
Hesi	003/184a	T59a	VI.3
Hetepniptah	004/227	G2430/LG25	VI.1
Idu	005/230	G7102	VI.3-4E
Insfrw-ishtf	006/258	CG 1769	VI.1?
Ipy	007/221	CG 1536	VI.2-7
Itisen	008/104	T28	V.6-8?
Iymery	009/113	G6020/LG16	V.3L
Kagemni	0010/183	T58	VI.2
Kayemnofret	0011/ 44	D23	V.8-9?
Niankhkhnum*	0012/ 48	T13	V.6L-7
Khnumenti	0013/228a	G2374	VI.1
Khuwer	0014/117	LG95	V.8-9
Mereruka	0015/182a	T57A	VI.1M-L
Merwtetiseneb	0016/186	T61	VI.2E-M?
Meryteti	0017/182c	T57A	VI.2M-L
Metjetji	0018/184	T59	VI.2?
Nefermaat	0019/002a	M16	IV
Neferkhuwi	0020/131D	G2098	V.8-9
Niankhkhnum/Khnumhotep*	0021/ 48	T13	V.6L-7
Nikauisesi	0022/184b	T59b	VI.M ?
Nimaatre	0023/120	G2097	V.9
Pepydjedi	0024/215	MM E9	VI.2-7
Perneb	0025/ 67	QS913	V.8-9
Ptahshepses	0026/ 36a	T7	V.6-8E
Ptahhotep II	0027/ 62	LS 31	VI.2
Qar	0028/229	G7101	VI.4

Rashepses	0029/ 59	QS902/LS16	VI.8M
Sabwibbi	0030/181a	MM E 1&2	VI.1M?
Seankhuptah	0031/183a	G5520/LG28	V.9-VI.1E
Seneb	0032/ 27a	T1a	VI.5-7
Senedjemib-Inti	0033/114	G2370/LG27	V.8M-L
Seshemnefer-Tjetti	0034/247	LG53	VI.1?
Seshemnefer	0035/257	T113	VI.1
Ty	0036/ 49	MM D 22	V.8-9
Watetkhethor	0037/182b	T57B	VI.1

The LMP number is that allocated by the Leiden Mastabase (University of Leiden) to their database of decorated and known Old Kingdom tombs. Since these are not allocated sequentially I have included for ease of reference a number which is the SV number. This precedes the LMP number and is marked by a prefix 00 and a backslash.

*Niankhkhnum/Khnumhotep is a joint tomb and counted as two in this motif. Publication details about the tomb of Remni (VI.2?) came at a time when the thesis was nearly complete and thus has not been included, but this does not alter any conclusions.

Appendix B Carrying-Chair Fragments* and Empty Chairs**

Tomb-Owner	LMP no.	Tomb no.	Location
Mereruka**	182	T57	Saqqara
Ptahshepses**	36a	T7	Abusir
Ty**	49	D22	Saqqara
Watetkhethor**	182	T57	Saqqara
Unknown*	8a	G4260	Giza

Appendix C Taking-Account Total Population = N = 38

Tomb-Owner	SV/LMP no.	Tomb no.	Dating/Harpur
Ankhmahor	0051/190	T65	VI.1-3
Fetekta	0052/132	LS1	V.6-VI
Hemetra	0053/		IV.6-V?
Idut	0054/218	T86	VI.1
Iyenefert	0055/217	T85	V.9
Iymery	0056/113	G6020-LG16	V.3L
Kagemni	0057/183	T58	VI.2
Kahif	0058/232	G2136	VI.2
Kairer	0059/133	T40	VI.2
Kanefer	0060/086	G2150	V.1-3
Ka-ni-nswt	0061/087	G2155-4870	V.1-3
Kayemnofret	0062/44	D23	V.8-9?
Kahafkhufu I	0063/008	G7130-7140	IV.4
Khafre-ankh	0064/		
Khentkawes	0065/242	T100	VI
Khnenut	0066/063b	T17b	V.9
Nebet	0067/063a	T17a	V
Khnumenti	0068/228a	G2374	VI.I
Mereruka	0069/182a	T57A	VI.1M-L
Meresankh III	0070/013	G7530	IV.6
Meryib	0071/029	G2100=LG24	IV.6-V.1
Nefer	0072/149	G4761	V.8-VI
Neferbaupth	0073/100	G6010=LG15	V.6
Nefer & Kahay	0074/053	T14	V.6
Nesutnefer	0075/091	G4970	V.1-2
Niankhkhnum/Khnumhotep	0076/48	T13	V.6L-7
Perneb	0077/67	QS913	V.8-9

Ptahhotep II	0078/62	LS 31	VI.2
Qar	0079/229	G7101	VI.4
Rashepses	0080/59	QS902/LS16	VI.8M
Seneb	0081/27a	T1a	VI.5-7
Sekhemka	0082/099	G4411/LG51	V.6-9
Senedjemib-Mehi	0083/116	G2378/LG26	V.9
Seshathetep-Heti	0084/089	G5150/LG36	V.1-2
Shetwi	0085/147	T45	V.9-VI
Tjenti	0086/092	G4920/LG47	V.1-5
Ty	0087/49	MM D 22	V.8-9
Whemka	0088/088	MM D 117	V.1-3

Appendix D Mourning Motif Total Population = N = 3

Tomb-Owner	SV/LMP no.	Tomb no.	Dating/Harpur
Ankhmahor	00101/190	T65	VI.1-3
Idw	00102/230	G7102	VI.34E
Mereruka	00103/182a	T57A	VI.1M-L

Appendix E

Charts, Tables and Figures List

Carrying-Chair

Chart Number	Description
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2	Porter Attire
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8	Fan & Sunshade Carriers
9	Sunshade & Fan Carrier Placement
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- 10 Metjetji in ceremonial attire (picture D)

Appendix F Attendants' Titles (& Tombs*)

*References to named tombs as superscripted below are to be found on page 283.

<u>Transliteration</u>	<u>Title</u> ^{Tomb in superscript}
<i>swnw ḥ3if</i>	Physician Hayef ^{a1}
<i>ḥnti š pr ʕ3</i>	Palace attendant of the great house ^{a1}
<i>stp s3 pr n K3(i)</i>	Inspector of the retainers of the residence and court councilor Perenka(i) ^{a3}
<i>šḥd ḥtm.w</i>	Inspector of seal bearers ^{a4, a2, a13, a17}
<i>šḥd ḥm k3</i>	Inspector of funerary priests ^{a3}
<i>šmsw</i>	Follower ^{a4}
<i>ḥtm.w</i>	Seal bearer ^{a4, a13}
<i>ḥtm.yw imy 3bd</i>	Seal bearer who is in his monthly service ^{a13}
<i>iry md3t</i>	Archivist ^{a5, a2, a6, a14,}
<i>sd3wti</i>	Archivist ^{a5}
<i>sš</i>	Scribe ^{a1, a11, a14,}
<i>sš snwt</i>	Scribe of the granary ^{a5}
<i>sš md3.wt stp s3</i>	Scribe of the documents, Court councilor ^{a3}
<i>sš pr ḥd šḥd ḥmw k3</i>	Scribe of the treasury and Inspector of the funerary priests ^{a10, a3}
<i>sš šḥd ḥm k3</i>	Scribe, Inspector of the funerary priests ^{a6, a10}
<i>ḥrp ist</i>	Director of the gang of workmen ^{a7}
<i>ḥm k3 smsw whr [t]</i>	Funerary priest and Elder of the dockyard ^{a17}
<i>imy-r</i>	Overseer ^{a7, a12,}
<i>imy-r pr</i>	Overseer of the house ^{a2, a14}
<i>imy-r šsr</i>	Overseer of linen ^{a4, a8, a12, a16, a17, a19}
<i>imy-r iswt</i>	Overseer of the gangs of workmen ^{a7}
<i>imy r pr n rwt Nsw. hr</i>	Overseer of the gate of Nesuhor ^{a11}
<i>imy-r ḥ3</i>	Overseer of... ^{a4}
<i>s3b imy-r sšw</i>	Dignitary and Overseer of scribes ^{a15}

<i>hrp šms(w)</i>	Director of followers ^{a8}
<i>hri.hbt</i>	Lector priest ^{a3}
<i>hm k3</i>	Funerary priest ^{a9, a13, a9, a10, a17, a18,}
<i>hm k3 hry sšt3</i>	Funerary priest well versed in the secrets
<i>hm k3 mdh</i>	Funerary priest and carpenter ^{a9}
<i>hm k3 iri ʿnwt</i>	Funerary priest and manicurist ^{a9}
<i>hʿkw hm k3...</i>	Barber and funerary priest ^{a9}
<i>hʿkw</i>	Barber ^{a13}
<i>nh̄t hry</i>	He of the strong voice
<i>s3=f</i>	His son ^{a12, a3, a6, a4,}
<i>s3=f sš</i>	His son the scribe ^{a6}
<i>s3=f sš.....šri</i>	His son the junior scribe ^{a6}
<i>s3=f imy-r zš</i>	His son inspector of the fowling pond ^{a13}
<i>s3=f sh̄d ir [w] šn pr ʿ3</i>	His son inspector of hairdressers of the Great House ^{a13}
<i>s3=f smsw mry=f rh̄ nswt</i>	His eldest son his beloved the acquaintance of the king ^{a6}
<i>s3=f šmsw mry=f smrwʿty hry-hbt hm ist...</i>	His eldest son, his beloved, sole councilor, Lector priest, the servant of the throne ^{a3}
<i>sn=f</i>	His brother ^{a6, a12,}

Appendix G Dating Methodology

Explanation of the dating reference used in this thesis with respect to the Pre dynastic period (1) and to the early, middle and late period dating of the Old Kingdom (2) tombs as appearing in appendices 'A', 'C', and 'D' is as follows:

(1) Where reference to the relative chronological framework for the Predynastic period has been made it is to be understood as being revised notably by Kaiser, who while confirming the three major phases of the Naqada period refined these by subdividing them into 11 *Stufen* from 1 a to III b.

(2) Regarding the Old Kingdom the chronology is that used by Strudwick¹⁰¹⁸. The explanation for indicating early, middle, and late is as follows and is adapted for all the periods of the Old Kingdom.

It is accepted widely that Dynasty V lasted 157 years. Accordingly it can be divided into three almost equal periods called EARLY, MID & LATE as follows:

EARLY = 2504-2452

MID = 2452-2400

LATE = 2400-2347

By slightly revising the above periods, these will coincide with the reigns of three groups of kings as follows:

EARLY = 2504-2456 (Userkaf, Sahure, Neferirkare & Shepeskare)

MID = 2456-2405 (Neferefre, Niuserre & Menkauhor)

LATE = 2405-2347 (Djedkare & Unas)

If an item can only be identified as "Dynasty V" but for some reason has to be given a more precise date, then I would class it with the average date, i.e. in MID.

¹⁰¹⁸ Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*.

The biggest problem is the dating of some item that straddles two periods (e.g. early to middle Dynasty V), and (e.g. between Dynasty V and Dynasty VI).

The following solutions have been adopted:

(1) If Dynasty V is divided into three almost equal periods, then the centre of the straddle points for these three periods would be at the 2452 & 2400 boundaries (see above), however the period boundaries were then slightly revised to coincide with the kings' reigns (see above). An "early to middle" item would straddle the original 2452 boundary, which falls within the revised MID period of 2456-2405. Similarly for a "middle to late" straddle item, the original similar sized MID & LATE periods would meet at 2400, which now falls within the revised LATE period.

(2) Dynasty V lasts 157 years and Dynasty VI lasts 131 years. Therefore all other things being equal, something is more likely to be in Dynasty V than VI.

Here is a summary of related assumptions:

"Mid-Dynasty V" items would be grouped in MID

"Dynasty V" in MID

"Early to mid" in MID

"Mid to late" in LATE

"Dynasty V to Dynasty VI" in LATE (Dynasty V)

Appendix H Evidence of Individuality

Evidence of Individuality in the Carrying-Chair Motif	
Evidence	Tomb-Owner(s)
Non-exclusive occupation	Mereruka, Meryteti, and Waatetkhethor
Object to weigh down kilt	Kagemni
Carrying-chair strapped between 2 donkeys	Niankhkhnum/Khnumhotep, and Khuwer
Depicted with "false beard"	Khuwer
Depicted with amulet	Kagemni
Not carrying any status goods	Seneb, Perneb, and Mereruka (pl. 158)
Squatting with pointed kilt	Peneb
Porter's Song in only 4 depictions	Ipy, Mereruka (pl. 158), Sabwibbi, and Sendjemib.Inti.
Method of carrying at hip level	First in D4. in Nefermaat then in D6. in Mereruka (pl.158), Meryteti (pl.48), and Waatetkhethor (pl.69).
Porters carry a rolled cloth in one hand	Meryteti (pl.48)
5 Sunshade carriers	Ipy
Porters carry palm frond type fan	Khuwer, and Hesi
1 Baboon under carrying-chair including 2 dogs and a monkey	Itisen
Monkey shown nearer to tomb-owner	Hetepnitah
Supervisors wearing loincloth	Mereruka, Seshemnefer.tjettii, and Ptahshepses

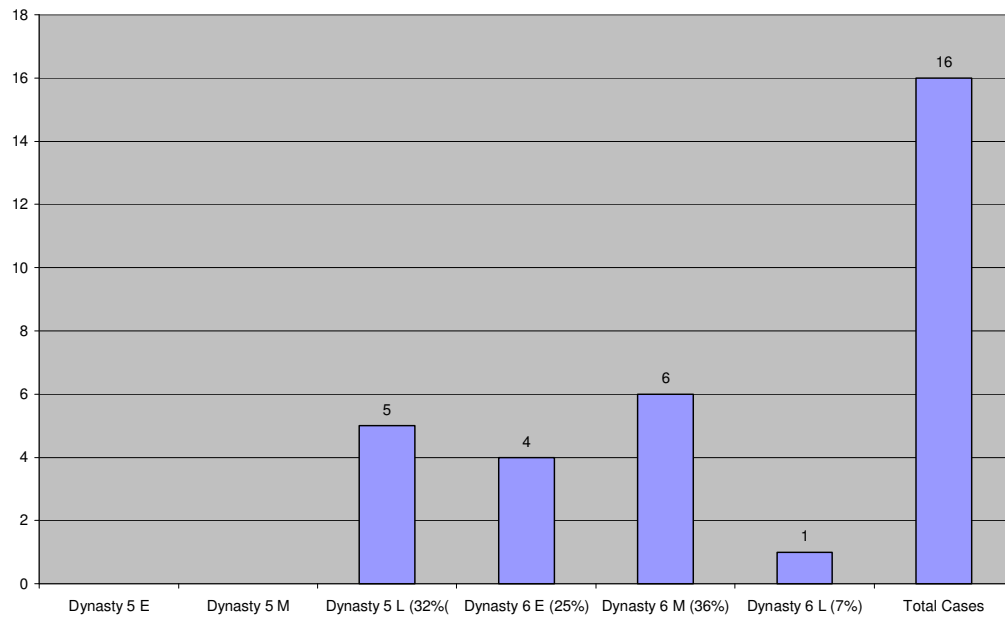
Evidence	Tomb-Owner(s)
Sandal bearers depicted although tomb-owner shown wearing sandals	Niankhkhnum/Khnumhotep, and Khuwer
Shoulder length wig with exposed ear	Ipy
Trapezoidal and decorated canopy	Ipy, Meryteti
Evidence of Individuality in the Taking Account Motif	
Evidence	Tomb-Owner(s)
Not carrying any symbols of authority while standing	Ptahhotep II
Holding rod with knobbed end at bottom	Kaninswt
Holding no lotus bloom	Hemetra
Taking account while sitting in a carrying-chair	Perneb, Qar, and Khnumenti
Holding flywhisk	Nefer & Kahay, and Qar
Not carrying any status goods while sitting	Perneb, and Kahif
Wearing a youth lock although depicted as adult female	Idut
Wig with headband with two tapering filets held by a papyrus buckle	Kagemni, and Ptahhotep II
Shoulder tags	First in D4 Nefermaat, in D5 Kaninswt, and on D6 Kahif
Female tomb-owners have male presenters only	Hemetra, Idut, Khenut, Khentkawes, Meresankh III, and Nebet
As many as 12 presenters	Nebet
Presenter wearing a short kilt	Tjenti

Evidence	Tomb-Owner(s)
Presenters with shoulder length wig, pleated kilt, "false beard" and sash of lector priest	Khafkhufu
Presenter with broad collar	Nefer & Kahay, and Ptahhotep II
Punishment scene in connection with Taking Account	Senedjemib.Mehi
Document contains visible writing	Fetekta, Khafkhufu I, and Meryib
Caption of motif contradictory-who is doing the viewing, the tomb-owner or presenter?	Meresankh III
Tomb-Owner's deceased parents present	Whemka
Tomb-Owner's brother present	Akhmahor
Evidence of Individuality in the Mourning Motif	
Evidence	Tomb-Owner(s)
Only mourning motif in the Old Kingdom	Akhmahor, Idu, and Mereruka
Description of mourning	Idu
Ratio of male to female mourners equal	Ankhmahor
Female mourner with shaved forehead	Idu
Pregnant women plus father man	Akhmahor
Honorary pallbearers	Mereruka

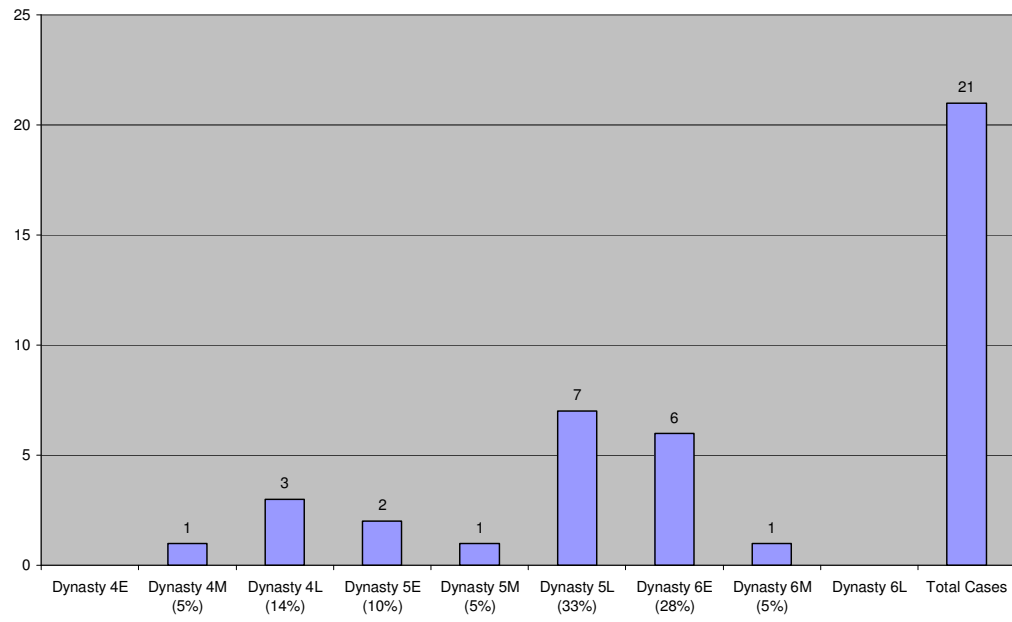
Evidence	Tomb-Owner(s)
Funerary goods being ceremoniously carried	Ankhmahor
No accompanying lector or embalming priest	Idu

*All the generics with the exception of individuality tend to overlap, whereas individuality can be uniquely identified as in the above table. The above evidence indicates the periods when it was most likely that the individuality of the tomb-owner becomes apparent in his behaviour, i.e. actions, which is reflected in the charts below.

Individuality - Carrying-Chair by Dynasty



Individuality - Taking Account Motif



GLOSSARY OF TERMS

A

Apotropaic	Able to ward off evil.
Archaism	A term used to describe incidents, where a previously established artistic model including an intangible cultural artifact, is re-introduced at a later time without an intervening tradition.

C

Caption	A descriptive title to an illustration.
Ceremony	An act conducted elaborately in accordance with prescribed religious or social procedures, which serves to reinforce and renew the event.
Civilization	To achieve or impart refined manners and improvements especially with regard to the process of social development in a society. From the Latin 'civitas', civilization was a Renaissance formulation in French derived from the verb 'civiliser'.
Cognition	Relates to all aspects of conscious and unconscious mental functions.
Communication	Refers to the exchange of knowledge, ideas, thoughts, concepts and emotions among people.
Corvée	Relates to a conscripted labour force, generally meaning payment of service for benefits obtained.
Cosmological	Refers to that branch of philosophy that deals with the character, composition, and workings of the universe.

Craftsman	A person skilled in a vocational trade, having mastery over a particular technique or craft, e.g. carpenter, but as opposed to an artist lacking artistry.
Cult	Reverential homage rendered to a supernatural being or beings in the belief of some divine or transcendental power. It is therefore holy action requiring sacred space for its performance. The difference between service to the dead and worship of the gods must be distinguished even though cult is generally used in both senses.
Culture	From the Latin 'cultural'. The word originally applied to working of the land. After 1700 A.D. it was applied innovatively to society and history with its meaning similar to civilization. Definitions abound and in the context of this study, I follow that by David Matsumoto in "Culture and Psychology", 2000:24. "a dynamic system of rules, explicit and implicit, established by groups in order to ensure their survival, involving attitudes, values, beliefs, norms, and behaviors, shared by a group but harbored differently by each specific unit within the group, communicated across generations, relatively stable but with a potential to change across time".

D

Decorum	A set of rules and practices defining what may be represented pictorially with captions, displayed and possibly written down, in which context and in what form. (Baines 1990 <i>JARCE</i> 27: 1-23.) Extended now to what Baines terms "lived practice", thus not only implying separation. (Baines, J. <i>Visual, and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt</i> : Oxford University Press, 2007.)
Demography	The study of population.
Domain	A foundation established to provide income for the mortuary cult.

Didactic Texts that share several characteristics: repetition of certain texts, stock phraseology, and marked reference to student-teacher relationships.

E

Early Dynastic A term applied to the first two dynasties in Egyptian history.

Emic A process of acquiring knowledge by considering what the subjects think and say about their beliefs and intentions: their culture is judged by their own and not our standards. Emic thus refers to the study of a system from within (Lee-Pike 1967, 37)

Emotion Agitated feelings arising from love, hate, desire, or fear.

Entropy Inevitable, and steady deterioration of a system in society.

Epithet A general statement about a person

Etic A process of acquiring knowledge through observation, which seeks understanding by using categories that are outside of the belief systems and ideologies of the subjects under investigation. Etic thus refers to the study of a system from the outside.

Extra-somatic Deposited outside the physical bodies of individual organisms.

F

Funerary Rites The rites of funeral and burial.

G

Generic Those characteristics which can be applied to a whole group.

H

Historiography The study of the techniques of historical research.

I

- Iconography A system of symbols and motifs used in a consistent way, expressing notions of religion and ideology.
- Iconology A study of the 'logos' (science) of 'icons' (images).
- Ideology A system of values and ideas that promote social behaviour benefitting some classes or interest groups more than others and thus legitimizes the sectional interests of hegemonic groups.
- Idiom Constitutional linguistic unit which is not predictable simply by knowing the rules of grammar and the vocabulary of language. As such they have to be learned as a whole and are non-compositional.
- Individualism A belief in the value of individuals in opposition to the community, thus valuing it at a higher level.
- Individuality A form of intelligent self-assertion.

K

- Ka Egyptian term denoting the life force, which survived the death of a person and required sustenance in the afterlife. Seldom depicted and rarely personalized in the Old Kingdom.

L

- Labourer One who does manual labour.
- Lower Egypt The area of Egypt from the Fayum entrance in the south to the Mediterranean Sea; it includes the Memphite region.

M

- Ma'at- Egyptian term denoting truth, justice and good order or it may refer to the goddess of truth. "The equilibrium of the whole universe, the harmonious co-existence of its elements, and the

essential cohesion, indispensable for maintaining the created forms". Poesener, *Dictionary*, (1962).

- Mastaba A term meaning 'bench' in Arabic and the name given to an Old Kingdom tomb with a rectangular superstructure with inwardly sloping walls.
- Memphite The capital of Egypt from the beginning of the First Dynasty; used as an adjective, it means that which belongs to the region of Memphis.
- Menmonic Helping or meant to help the memory, as in an mnemonic device.
- Metonymy A figure of speech in which the name of one thing is used in place of another associated with it e.g. "be careful, the ham sandwich has wandering hands".
- Mortuary Rites Reserved for rituals and activities that involve the dead, including the funeral but extending indefinitely beyond it.
- Motif By motif in the context of the ancient Egyptian artifact is meant a part of a visually comprehensible reality from an area of daily life, or of abstract ideas.
- Mourning Ritual behaviour by individuals or groups of persons, who mourn the dead.

N

- Nome Indicating a province of Egypt of which there were forty-two. Upper Egypt was divided into 22 nomes, Lower Egypt into 20.

O

- Objectivism A concept which has as its basis, the idea that we have access to absolute and undeniable truths about the world.
- Old Kingdom Refers to the period between Dynasties 3 to 6 inclusive
- Ontology Branch of metaphysics dealing with the nature of being.

P

- Persons** The outer personality or façade presented to others by an individual.
- Programme (Decorative)** This is a term which encompasses all motifs and sub-motifs in the iconography.
- Pluralism** Refers to the coexistence within one society, of a diversity of ideologies, and worldviews.
- Polysemic** The phenomenon whereby a linguistic unit exhibits multiple and distinct yet related meanings
- Pre-dynastic** A term applied to the period of Egyptian prehistory ending with the unification of Egypt c.3100 BC.

R

- Raised relief** A way of decoration whereby the background is cut away, leaving the figures raised above the surrounding surface.
- Register** In ancient Egyptian art, a series of horizontal strips into which scenes are divided.
- Relational** The self as defined and experienced through an array of personhood significant relationships with others past and present, living and dead.
- Ritual** Definitions abound according to the research interest of the scholar. I have chosen the following because they coincide most with my research:
- 1) "Repetitive acts, performed according to established rules in the accepted belief that they please the higher powers into being benevolent towards the devotee or person on whose behalf these acts are performed". (Turner, *The Great Cultural Traditions*, 1941: 105-107)
 - 2) "those conscious and voluntary, repetitious and stylized symbolic bodily actions that are centered on cosmic

structures and/or sacred presences". (E. M. Zuesse, 1987:405) and

- 3) "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". (S. Lukes, *Political, Ritual and Social Integration*, 1975: 291)

S

- Serdab An inaccessible room in the superstructure of an elite tomb, where a statue of the tomb-owner was placed so that he could receive the offerings.
- Settlement A collection of basic living and working structures: their main feature being a pooling of shared activities and communal facilities.
- Somatic Refers to outside the body in the sense of psyche, soul, mind etc.
- Sub-motif Refers to a specific activity in a theme, e.g. the activity of fishing is a theme, whereas the actual type of activity involved in this operation – fishing, e.g. with a hook or a hexagonal net, is a sub-theme.
- Sui generic Latin termed meaning of its own accord or spontaneous.
- Symbol "Any structure of signification in which a direct, primary, literal meaning designates, in addition, another meaning which is indirect, secondary, and figurative and which can be apprehended through the first". (Ricoeur, *The Conflict of Interpretations: essays in Hermeneutics*, 1974: 12-13).

T

- Title An appellation given to a person or family, indicating a specific office, function, or dignity.

U

Upper Egypt The area of Egypt from the Fayum entrance in the north to Elephantine in the south.

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