

The certainty of change : a research into the interactions of the decoration on the western walls of the cult chapels of the mastabas at Giza during the Old Kingdom

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# Preliminary considerations.

In this chapter the purpose of the research project is explained, together with its most important definitions, its general procedure and the restrictions imposed on it.

The chronology, which acts as the basis for the research project, is determined and applied. Possible discrepancies with the dates given in the literature are discussed.

#### I. The purpose of the research project.



In the period covered by this research project the false door was the centre and raison d'être of the cult chapels of the tombs. It was decorated and integrated into the western walls of the cult chapels, walls that themselves also bore decoration. In several cult chapels offering tables, libation basins and offering stands have been found in situ in front of the false door (figure II.1). This contributes to the assumption that the false door was the primary cultic part of the chapel, possibly supported by the cultic significance of the decoration on the remaining surface of the western wall of the cult chapel.

The supposition that all, or at least, most of the (sub)themes of the decoration of both the western wall and the false door(s) against it were of a cultic nature is not a priori true, it is only so if the (sub)themes placed on both elements of the western wall are identical.

Figure II.1: An offering stand in front of the false door (Nefertnesut, G 1457, PM, III<sup>1</sup>, 64). (from Reisner, *Report*, plate 3).

<sup>1</sup> Reisner, *Report*, plate III.1; Der Manuelian, *Slab stelae*, figures 40 and 197; Reisner, *Giza I*, plate 66d. In the tomb of Sonb (PM, III<sup>1</sup>, 101-3) an offering table had been dug into the ground, leaving only its upper part visible (Junker, *Giza*, V, 3-122, figure 2; Bolshakov, *Hinting*, 9-29). On the false door in the cult chapel of Khufukha<sup>c</sup>ef [I] (PM, III<sup>1</sup>, 188-90) offering stands are depicted on the front side of the posts (8 c/d in plan XXX of PM, III<sup>1</sup>; Simpson, *Gmast 3*, figure 32). On the false door in the tomb of Merib (PM, III<sup>1</sup>, 71-2; LD, II, 20) these stands are painted on the inner sides of the posts. In the chapel of the mastaba of Ipi at Dahshur (DAS 9) a libation basin has been found *in situ* (Alexanian, *Residenznekropole*, 5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bárta, *Serdab*, 70 details that in the tomb of Hesyre' (PM, III<sup>2</sup>, 437-9) a pottery stand meant for votive offerings has been found *in situ* in front of the serdab. Also see LÄ, V, 874-9, s.v. « Serdab ».

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Fitzenreiter, *Grabdekoration*, 78 concludes that the decoration on the walls cannot be separated from the utensils handled during the cult in the chapel. The decoration of both the false door and the remaining surface of the western wall probably served a specific purpose in the cultic actions.

As already discussed in chapter I, part III.4.1, it is highly probable that

1. some of the (sub)themes of the western wall and possibly the false door were not only placed there for purely cultic purposes.

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- 2. some of the (sub)themes on the false door and the western wall were less important for the offering cult than others, and it is even possible that some of them were of no importance at all for the cult itself.
- 3. (sub)themes influenced each other's presence on the elements of the western wall. These influences (interactions) can be divided into associations and dissociations.<sup>4</sup>

The goal of this research project is to establish by means of the methods discussed in chapter III

- 1. the cultic character and cultic importance of the (sub)themes on the false door and on the remaining surface of the western wall, by way of the interactions between these (sub)themes and the prime (sub)themes.<sup>5</sup>
- 2. whether the cultic importance of the various (sub)themes on the false door or the western wall were subject to chronological developments, which can lead to conclusions about changes in the cultic role of the chapel of the mastaba as a whole or of parts of it.
- 3. whether the role and place of a non-cultic (sub)theme changed during the period under
- 4. if a change took place in the ideas underlying the total cultic activity for the sustenance of the ka of the deceased.

<sup>4</sup> El-Metwally, *Grabdekoration*, 7 concludes that a strong association exists between the (sub)themes of the offering table and the offering list. The ideographic offering list details quantities, making it an inventory list that can be interpreted as an abstract of the big inventory list (El-Metwally, Grabdekoration, 9-10), which disappeared from the panel of the false door during the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> dynasty. This abstracted list is closely connected to the offering table scene on the panel of the false door and on the western wall. (For the definition of the terms "association" and "dissociation": see table "Technical terms and abbreviations"). <sup>5</sup> The remaining surface of the western wall is further referred to as "the western wall". In this research project the cultic character of a (sub)theme is determined by the type of interaction between this (sub)theme

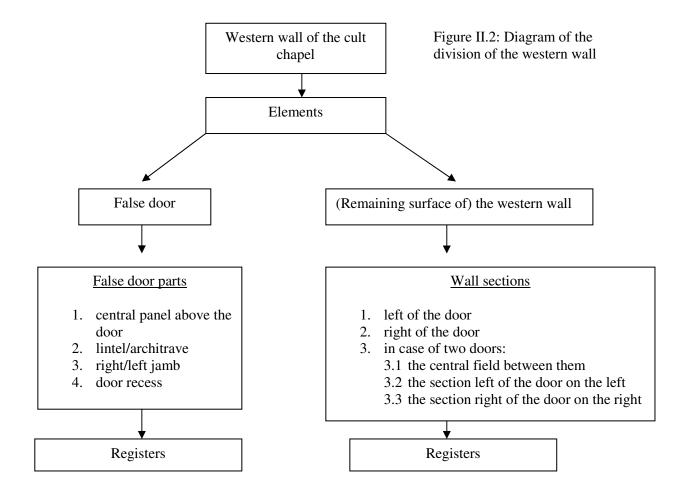
and one of the prime (sub)themes (see table "Technical terms and abbreviations), while its cultic

importance can be deduced from the degree of interaction between them.

### II. The research project.

### II.1. The definitions.

In order to describe possible relationships or interactions between the (sub)themes on the false door(s) and on the wall against which it(they) is(are) positioned, it is first of all necessary to define the terms that will be used for the different elements that can be distinguished on the western wall and the false door(s) of the cult chapel (see figure II.2).



### II.2. The sequence of the research project.

The research project proceeds in the following steps:

1. For the false door:

<sup>6</sup> The wall space over the doors is always part of a wall section left or right of the false door (chapter VI, section I).

- a. The place of this element on the western wall of the cult chapel has to be determined, because the place occupied by the false door on the western wall, determines the division of this wall into wall sections.
- b. The descriptions of the (sub)themes that are placed on the parts of the false door are not given in detail, but in their overall meaning. E.g. offering bearers will not be subdivided by such categories as male or female, the kind of goods they are bearing, etc.<sup>7</sup>
- c. Possible interactions between the (sub)themes per part of the false door are determined.
- d. Possible interactions between the (sub)themes of the different parts of the false door are determined.
- e. The cultic or non-cultic character of the (sub)themes and their frequency of occurrence on the different parts of the false door is investigated.
- f. The overall cultic character of the false door parts and of the false door as a whole is determined.

#### 2. For the western wall:

- a. The (sub)themes occurring on the wall are described in the same way as the (sub)themes on the false door (see point 1b above).
- b. The location of the (sub)themes on the wall is determined. For this the wall will be divided into wall sections, a division that is defined by the location of the false door(s) on this wall (see chapter VI).
- c. The first step is to number these wall sections without a further dimensional subdivision.<sup>8</sup>
- d. The location of a (sub)theme is allocated a number according to the wall section on which it is placed.
- e. The co-occurence of the placements of (sub)themes on the undivided western wall is determined. This makes it possible to establish whether, irrespective of the location on the wall, associations or dissociations exist between (sub)themes.<sup>9</sup>
- f. For the same reason the co-occurence of (sub)themes within the same wall sections and between the different wall sections of the western wall is determined.
- g. For every (sub)theme the number of times it is located on more than one wall section (combinations) is determined.
- h. The possible cultic or non-cultic character of the (sub)themes and the preference for placing them on a certain section of the western wall is investigated.

### II.3. Restrictions imposed on the research project.

The research project has been carried out under the following restrictions:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Although conclusions can be drawn from that kind of information, for the research project at hand it is not taken into account. If an offering bearer is carrying an item necessary for ritual activities, he is included in the group of "priests".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This means that for this research project a wall section and/or certain parts of the false door are not further (sub)divided into registers and columns. This is due to the consideration that a possible connection between the location of a (sub)theme on the western wall and its prominence to the beholder(s) is of no importance for this research project.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For the term « co-occurence » see table "technical terms and abbreviations".

- 1. Because there are indications that a difference in choice of (sub)themes exists between the tombs in the necropolises of Giza and Saqqara, <sup>10</sup> only tombs in the necropolis of Giza are included. <sup>11</sup>
- 2. Although the tomb consists of a super- and a substructure (figure I.19), this research project is restricted to the decoration on the elements of the cult chapel in the superstructure of the tomb.
- 3. Only those tombs, which have a western wall in a state of conservation that does not exclude valid conclusions, are included.
- 4. The design of the false door is not included because it is not related to the research project.<sup>12</sup>
- 5. In most cases texts accompanying the decoration on the western wall are captions of the action involved, and as such they are not included.
- 6. The texts on the false door(s) consist of a recitation of the name and the title(s) of the tomb owner and, according to Barta, from the start of the 4th dynasty they also included the offering formula. However, in this research project, only different types of text are considered as (sub)themes, not their textual content. <sup>14</sup>
- 7. No difference is made between a niche and a "true" false door. 15
- 8. The research project only involves tombs that can be dated from the 4<sup>th</sup> dynasty up to and including the 6<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Van Walsem, *Iconography*, 95-6 states that those differences are to be found more in the details than in the (sub)themes as a whole.

 $<sup>^{11}</sup>$  A preliminary comparison of the frequency with which the most important (sub)themes are chosen in the necropolises of Giza and Saqqara shows that that frequency is equal for the depiction of the tomb owner either sitting or standing with or without staff, or young or corpulent (Giza 49% and Saqqara 51%). For (sub)themes with members of the family this is for Giza 30% and for Saqqara 70%. (Sub)themes depicting boat building, fishing, fowling, papyrus gathering have nearly the same frequency (Giza 31% and Saqqara 69%) and for (sub)themes showing the diverse aspects of agriculture this is resp. 38% and 62% (Harpur, *DETOK*, tables 6.1 - 6.26, pages 323 - 54).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> For the various layouts of the parts of the false door see Wiebach, Scheintür, figures I and II.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Barta, *Opferformel*, 3; LÄ, IV, 584-586, s.v. "Opferformel". From the start of the 4th dynasty on, the offering formula had been placed on the architrave of the false door, and it is in the period V.L/E that it is more frequently placed on the door jambs (figure VIII.3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> This means that in the list of (sub)themes admitted to the research project "offering formula" and "name and "title(s)" etc. are included, but neither the content of the texts nor the meaning and importance of the title(s) are taken into account.

The precursor of the later false door is the niche in the *serekh* type false door design of the outer walls of the tombs that were built in Saqqara during the 1<sup>st</sup> dynasty. These niches served as virtual doors, but one (later two) of the niches in the eastern wall was marked as the places where offerings for the *ka* of the deceased could be placed. In a later stage the *serekh* type false door design of the wall disappeared but the two doors remained visible on the wall. Examples of niches are the offering places of Netjer-aperef and Iynufer (Alexanian, *Netjer-aperef*, figures 4 and 20, plates 8b and 14a). As a next step, a niche with the door recess lined with stone (Reisner, *Tomb Development*, 267), is placed against the *serekh* type design western wall of the cult chapel. An example is the niche in the chapel of Kha'bausokar (PM, III², 449-50; Reisner, *Tomb Development*, figs. 158 and 160). Later, the false door, now fully developed, was placed against the plain western wall of the cult chapel. An example of the fully developed ("true") false door is the one of Thethi (PM, III¹, 302), (Cherpion, *Mastabas*, plate 32). Although the ground-plan of a niche is identical to the one of a false door, there is a large difference in depth, e.g. the depth of the southern niche of the mastaba of Netjer-aperef is 200 cm, but for the false door in the cult chapel of Iteti this is 25 centimeters (Curto, *Gli Scavi*, fig. 7).

9. False doors and decoration placed on the exterior eastern wall of the mastaba, without added cult room, are not included because they cannot be considered to be on the western wall of a chapel.<sup>16</sup>

# III. The catalogues.

### III.1. Considerations regarding the catalogues.

The research project deals with the decoration of the western wall of the cult chapels and the decoration placed on the false door(s) against it. As time and human interference left their traces on these decorations, there are tombs in which those elements are still intact, but there are also tombs in which they are partly or completely destroyed. Another consideration is that in some tombs, for unknown reasons, the false door and/or the western wall remained anepigraphic. As a result three catalogues have to be set up:

- 1. A catalogue with tombs in which both the western wall and the false door(s) are partly or completely present and decorated (catalogue IV.1.Vol.2).
- 2. A catalogue with tombs in which only the false door(s) is (are) partly or completely present and decorated (catalogue IV.2.Vol.2).
- 3. A catalogue with tombs in which the decoration of the remaining surface of the western wall is partly or completely present (catalogue IV.3.Vol.2).

In the three catalogues the state of completeness of the false door and the western wall is taken into account in the way described in section II.1.1. of chapter III.

The catalogues are made up on the basis of the tombs mentioned in PM, III<sup>1</sup>, although this is a compilation which is no longer completely up to date.<sup>17</sup> Therefore more recent sources also have to be taken into consideration.

In the catalogues the kind of spelling of the names of the tomb owners is taken from PM, III<sup>1</sup>. If the name is not mentioned there, the spelling given in recent literature is adjusted to the spelling in PM, III<sup>1</sup>.

The excavation of some of the tombs has either been poorly published or not at all;<sup>19</sup> consequently, if no publication is available, the tomb is excluded from the catalogues.

Through compilation of the catalogues, an inventory of the location of false door(s) on the western wall, and the location and types of (sub)themes placed on the false door(s) and the western wall can be made. It is with this information that the methodology employed in this research project and described in chapter III has been developed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> In analogy with the "true" false door, the decorated fronts of the door jambs of a niche are considered as part of its decoration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> PM, III<sup>1</sup>, the revised and augmented version of the original bibliography, as executed by J. Málek, dates to 1974.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> This can lead to discrepancies as e.g. the name Sonb in PM, III<sup>1</sup> and the more modern orthography of Seneb.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Tombs at Giza, excavated by Reisner in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, are now being published by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in the series "Giza Mastabas", edited by W.K. Simpson and P. Der Manuelian and online in "The Giza archives project" (Der Manuelian, *Giza archives*) (www.gizapyramids.org).

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catalogues combined	purpose
IV.1.Vol.2 and	The description of the place and type of the decoration on the false door(s).
IV.2.Vol.2	
IV.1.Vol.2 and	The description of the place and type of the decoration on the rest of the
IV.3.Vol.2	western wall of the cult chapel. <sup>20</sup>

In some of the chapels the ground-plan is such that a decision has to be made whether this tomb can be admitted to the catalogues of this research project. Such chapels include those with the following ground-plans:<sup>21</sup>

1. A long and narrow E/W oriented cult chapel in which the false door takes up the whole of the western wall.

(Senezemib, good name Mehi; G 2378; PM, III<sup>1</sup>, 87-89;

Kednufer; G 1151; PM, III<sup>1</sup>, 56, plan XXIV; Harpur, *DETOK*, plan 427[108]).

Because any false door which is not bordered on both sides by other relief scenes on the same surface is excluded, such as those shown in figures II.3 and II.4 are *not* admitted to the catalogues of

the research project.

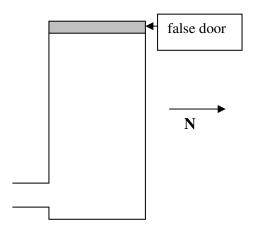
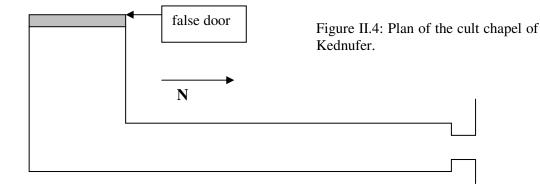


Figure II.3: Plan of the cult chapel of Senezemib.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The total number of tombs given in PM III¹ comprising a chapel with one of more of the walls bearing decoration is 167, of these 64 tombs has been admitted to catalogue 1/3.Vol.2. The final choice is mainly determined by the presence of decoration on the western wall and the certainty of the dating.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Although the ground-plan of certain tombs is such that it might be worth considering taking the decoration of walls other than the western wall into account, it has been decided not to admit these tombs to the catalogues of the research project.

# 2. The false door has been placed in the southernmost corner of the western wall.

(Hetepheres; PM, III<sup>1</sup>, 227-8; LG 54; Harpur, *DETOK*, plan 388[25]).

On the western wall no space is left between the southern false door and the southern wall of the cult chapel (figure II.5). In this type of cult chapel the decoration of the southern wall of the cult chapel will <u>not</u> be added to the compilation of (sub)themes.

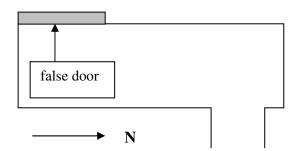


Figure II.5: Plan of the cult chapel of Hetepheres.

### 3. Cult chapels with on the western wall niches with half-statues.

(Khuwiwer; LG 95; PM, III<sup>1</sup>, 254-5, plan XXXV; Harpur, *DETOK*, plan 439[134]).

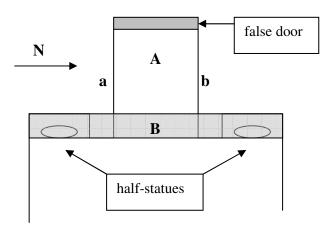


Figure II.6: Detail of the plan of the cult chapel of Khuwiwer.

Because statues and half-statues are not considered to be reliefs, they are not part of the decoration in the context of this research project.<sup>22</sup> This situation occurs on the western wall of the cult chapel of Khuwiwer (figure II.6): here a cavetto cornice (B) has been placed over a deep niche (A), and two half-statues flanking this niche.<sup>23</sup> The western wall of niche A is completely taken up by the false door. This situation resembles that of figures II.3 and II.4, and it is the presence of the cavetto cornice B that means that the an entire false door folded out into portions separately located: a cavetto cornice (B) overarches the ensemble of the niche compartment (with false door proper and side walls a and b, while the half-statues might be considered as having stepped out of the two-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Schäfer, *Principles*, 74-5.

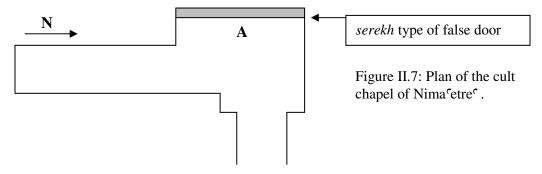
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Rusch, *Grabsteinformen*, 114 considers the half-statues part of the false door.

dimensional decoration. Altogether, this build-up considerably differs from standard decoration patterns and is therefore left out of the catalogue.

#### 4. A recess at the northern side of a narrow corridor.

(Nima 'etre'; G 2097; Roth, Gmast 6, 127-34).

The cult chapel of the tomb has no decoration on the western wall (figure II.7).<sup>24</sup> Although decoration has been placed on the northern and southern wall of the recess (A), it *cannot* be considered to belong to the western wall.



### 5. Serekh type of false door

(Itisen; PM, III<sup>1</sup>, 252-3, plan XXXII; Harpur, *DETOK*, 430[113]).

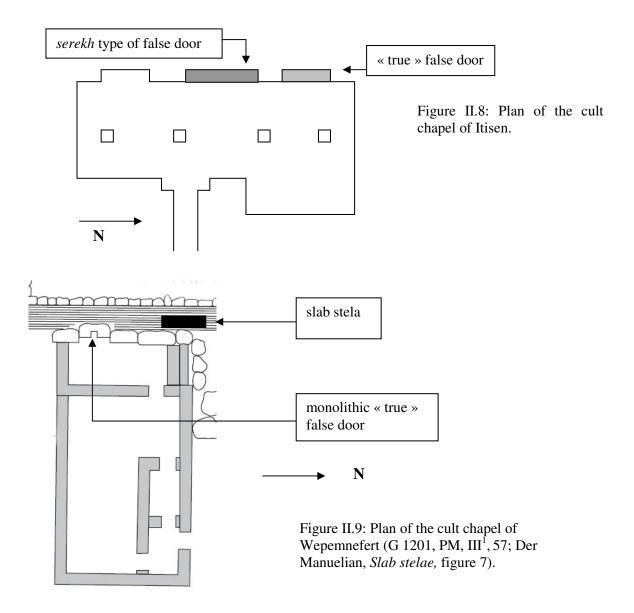
If the false door on the western wall is a *serekh* type of false door, the question arises as to whether or not this type of false door must be considered to be part of the decoration on this wall. Both the true and the *serekh* type of false door must be categorized as false doors, but the difference between them is the lack of *representational* decoration on the latter. Therefore, it is not included in this research project.<sup>25</sup>

If on the western wall two or more false doors are placed and one of them is a *serekh* type of false door (Itisen; PM, III<sup>1</sup>, 252-3, plan XXXII; Harpur, *DETOK*, 430[113])), it depends on the presence or absence of decoration on the western wall and/or the true false door which catalogue the tomb will be assigned to (figure II.8).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Roth, *Gmast 6*, plate 90 shows that the western wall is completely covered by a *serekh* type false door.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> In private tombs sometimes a *serekh* type of false door was added to the false door on the western wall, but in royal tombs the former was the only type of false door that was placed in its chapel (LÄ, IV, 646-7, s.v. "Palastfassade"). Wiebach, *Scheintür*, 45 proposes that the "normal" false door must be seen as a simplified form of the ceremonial false door and that the two forms of false doors exist next to each other (see also LÄ, IV, 511-3, s.v. "Nischengliederung"). The fact that elements of the *serekh* type false door were sometimes introduced into the normal false door (Cherpion, *Mastabas*, plates 21, 32 and 33 show part of a *serekh* type false door next to the panel of the true false door) indicates that the ideas behind both types of false doors must have been, at least partly, identical and that a *serekh* type false door can be seen as a false door without *representational* decoration. Because even the false door itself is not included in the list of (sub)themes under study, tombs with only this type of false door on the western wall are not included in the catalogues.

6. Some of the tombs are poorly published and only a description of the (sub)themes is available without any further information about their location on the wall. However, some of the methods given in the chapter about the methodology of the research project only need information about the type of (sub)themes, and not about their location on the walls of the cult chapel. Consequently, they can be admitted to catalogues that only need a description of the (sub)themes.



- 7. If a slab stela has been placed in a cult chapel, this tomb will not be included in the catalogues. However, it can be included if in a later (building) stage the slab stela has no longer an actual role but has either been removed or covered with a new layer of building material, and a true false door has been constructed and decoration has been placed on the false door and/or the western wall (figure II.9).
- 8. Cruciform chapels are not included in the catalogues.

9. No difference will be made between the tombs of men and women.

#### III.2. The organization of the catalogues.

In the catalogues the following information is included:

- 1. The PM, III<sup>1</sup> page reference of the tomb (if available).
- 2. The name of the tomb owner and, if present, the number of the tomb as given in PM, III<sup>1</sup>.
- 3. The date according to the system given in the table in figure II.10.

In the catalogues the following number of tombs is compiled:

- 1. 57 tombs in catalogue IV.1.Vol.2.
- 2. 29 tombs in catalogue IV.2.Vol.2.
- 3. 7 tombs in catalogue IV.3.Vol.2.

### IV. Considerations concerning chronology.

The chronology of the tombs is based on the following considerations:

- 1. The dating given in PM, III<sup>1</sup> is based on the information available at the time it was revised and augmented.<sup>26</sup> This dating is upgraded with more recent information.<sup>27</sup>
- 2. Only in a small number of tombs is textual information available which makes it possible to give a fairly reliable date, 28 and even for these tombs it is nearly always impossible to date them to the reign of a particular king. Consequently, in this research project tombs are not assigned to a particular reign. The Old Kingdom is divided into periods, and tombs are assigned to a certain period, thus avoiding the ongoing discussion about the length of the reigns of some kings (figure II.10).<sup>29</sup>
- 3. In this way a group of tombs can be gathered by period, but some kind of chronological order has still to be established. This can be done by means of the more precise dating that can be found for many of the tombs in the available literature (the more precise dating assigned to the tombs is given in chronological ordering IV.1.Vol.2).

<sup>26</sup> Baud, Critères, 72 note 256, concludes that the datings given in PM are strongly based on Baer, Rank and Title, the reliability of which sometimes is doubtful.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Cherpion, *Mastabas*, although the dating method proposed by the author is still controversial and has been and still is the subject of much dispute (see e.g. Cherpion, Seneb; Málek, Mastabas, 93-100; Roth, Mastabas, 55-58; Baud, Critères, 31-97; Baud, Famille royale, 13-7; Jánosi, Giza, 41-4). The datings given by Baer, Rank and Title; Harpur, DETOK; Strudwick, Administration, Baud, Famille royale, and Kanawati, Administration are also taken into consideration. If the dating employed in the catalogues shows a discrepancy with the dating given in PM, III<sup>1</sup>, the arguments for this revision are stated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> For a discussion of the various dating criteria see Jánosi, Giza, 36-74; Baud, Famille royale, 5-104. For

problems encountered in dating, see Jánosi, *Datierungsproblem*.

29 The dating designations are the following: the symbols IV, V and VI give the dynasties; E, M and L give the division in periods per dynasty meaning resp. early, middle and late. In a later stage a period came to be divided in subperiods /E and /L, meaning early and late. The chronological division is: dynasty - period subperiod.

Tombs that cannot be directly assigned to a period pose a problem because of a dating of e.g. IV.L/V.E or V.E/V.M. In that case the available data obtained from literature are weighed against one another, and the final placement must be considered as a working hypothesis.

dynasty 30	number	name	kings per period	period
IV	IV.1	Snefru	IV.1 – IV.3	IV.E
	IV.2	Khufu		
	IV.3	Raczedef		
	IV.4	Ra'kha'ef	IV.4 – IV.6	IV.L
		(Baka) 31		
	IV.5	Menkaure		
	IV.6	Shepseskaf		
		(Thamphthis) 32		
V	V.1	Userkaf	V.1 - V.3	V.E
	V.2	Sahure		
	V.3	Neferirkare <sup>c</sup>		
	V.4	Shepseskare	V.4 - V.6	V.M
	V.5	Ra <sup>c</sup> neferef		
	V.6	Neuserre <sup>c</sup>		
	V.7	Menkauhor	V.7 - V.9	V.L
	V.8	Zadkare <sup>c</sup> Isesi		
	V.9	Unis		
VI	VI.1	Teti	VI.1 – VI .2	VI.E
		(Userkare') 33		
	VI.2	Pepy I		
	VI.3	Merenre	VI.3 – VI.4E	VI.M
	VI.4E	Pepy II 34		
	VI.4M	Pepy II	VI.4M –VI.4L	VI.L
	VI.4L	Pepy II		
		(Merenre' II) 35		
		(Nitokris) <sup>36</sup>		

Figure II.10: Table of the kings of the Old Kingdom and the division in periods (after Harpur, *DETOK*, 34).

 $<sup>^{30}</sup>$  The abbreviations used in the time scale are: IV, V and VI meaning resp.  $4^{th}$ ,  $5^{th}$  and  $6^{th}$  dynasty, V.E = early  $5^{th}$  dynasty, V.M = middle of  $5^{th}$  dynasty, V.L = late  $5^{th}$  dynasty and this is the same for the  $4^{th}$  and the  $6^{th}$  dynasty.

This king is given as "Baka" in Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, 311 and as "Bicheris" and "Nebka" in LÄ, I, 785-6, s.v. "Bicheris". Jánosi, *Giza*, 64-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> In Manetho's list this king is mentioned as Thamphthis which is a conversion of Djedef-Ptah (LÄ, IV, 1180, s.v. "Ptah-djedef". Jánosi, *Giza*, 66. Gardiner, *Egypt*, 434). There are no known monuments of this king.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> LÄ, VI, 901, s.v. "Userkare".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> The extreme length of the reign of Pepy II is hard to fit into the scheme of dating. In Harpur, *DETOK*, 34 the total reign is taken as 85 years (LÄ, IV, 927-9, s.v. "Pepi II" gives 64 as a corrupted hieratic reading of 94, a point of view defended in Henige, *Pepy II*). Harpur divides the reign up into three parts (VI.4, VI.5 and VI.6), and in figure II.10 this is done as VI.4E/M/L.

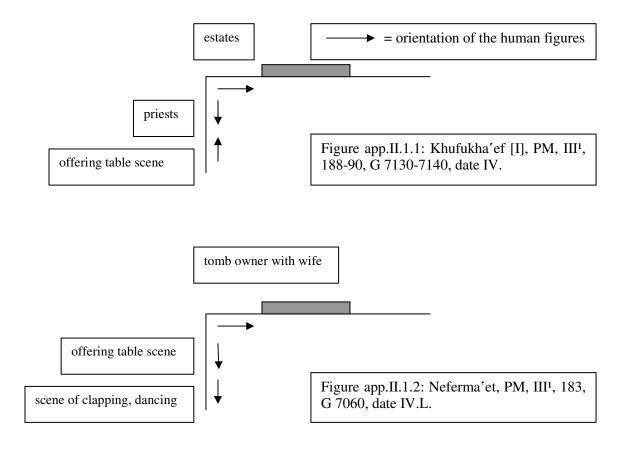
<sup>35</sup> LÄ, IV, 77, s.v. "Merenre II".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> LÄ, IV, 513-4, s.v. "Nitokris". Newberry, *Nitocris*, 54 places this queen in the infancy of Pepy II.

### Appendix II.1. The decoration south of the false door.

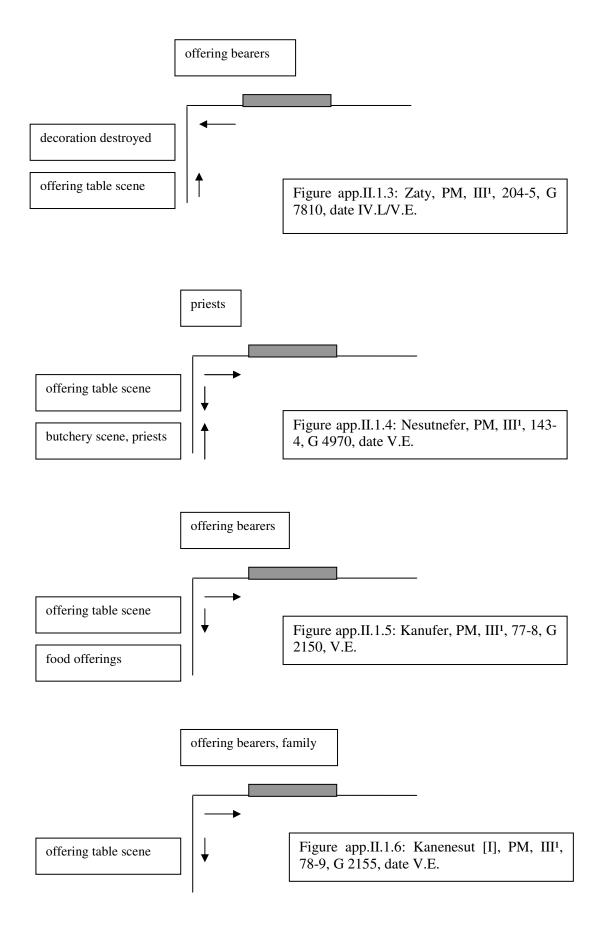
The decision as to whether the decoration south of the false door is part of the western or the southern wall depends on whether a connection can or cannot be found between the wall section south of the (southern) false door on the western wall and the southern wall itself.

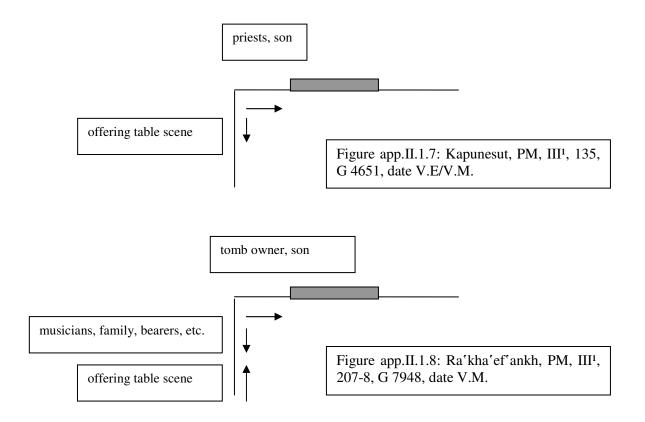
A way to establish this possible connection is to make a compilation of the tombs in which decoration is present both on the southern wall and on the section south of the southern false door.<sup>37</sup> A possible connection between the decorations of the two adjacent walls can be now be determined by means of the orientation of the human figures in it.<sup>38</sup> If the orientation is not towards each other, the absence of connection can be concluded and the decoration of the two walls can be studied independent of each other.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> In the plan of the tomb of Zaty (figure app.II.1.3) the orientation of the offering table scene on the southern wall is not given in literature, and has been deduced from photo A6941\_NS in the website "The Giza Archives" of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (<a href="www.gizapyramids.org">www.mfa.org/giza</a>). The negative has not been inverted during printing because the tomb owner at the offering table on the panel of the false door has the proper orientation. The orientation of the offering bearers next to the false door as given in literature (Harpur, <a href="mailto:DETOK">DETOK</a>, plan 15, page 384-5) is to the right. However photo A6940\_NS in the above mentioned website shows the offering bearers moving to the left.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> The term "connection" is used here instead of "interaction"





With one exception (figure app.II.1.3) the orientation of the figures on the wall section south of the southern false door is directed towards that door. The southern wall of that tomb has been partly destroyed and it is impossible to determine whether human figures are present and what their orientation might be, as a consequence the tomb is not taken into consideration.

On the southern wall there are several possibilities:

- 1. A main (sub)theme and a group of (sub)themes which can be ascribed a direction (offering bearers, priests, family, etc.) are placed on the wall.
  - a. They are oriented toward each other, thus forming a closed design (figures app.II.1.1, app.II.1.4 and app.II.1.8).
  - b. They are both oriented in the same direction, in which case their orientation is away from the western wall (figure app.II.1.2).
- 2. One main (sub)theme is placed on the wall and the rest of the wall is taken in by non-directional (sub)themes (food offerings, an offering list), in that case the main (sub)theme is directed away from the western wall (figures app.II.1.5, app.II.1.6 and app.II.1.7).

Because the decoration of the southern wall itself either forms a closed design or is oriented away from the western wall, and the decoration on the southern wall section of the western wall is (with one exception) directed toward the false door(s), it can be concluded that there is no connection between the decoration of these two walls.