CHAPTER TWO

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

In this chapter the purpose of the present study is discussed, together with its most important definitions, its general procedure and the restrictions imposed on it.

The chronology, which acts as the basis for the study to be undertaken, is determined. Possible discrepancies with the dates given in the literature are discussed.

I. THE PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

In the period covered by this study the offering place 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 which themselves also bore decoration. In several cult chapels offering slabs, libation basins, statues, and offering stands have been found in situ in front of the false door (figure II.1).

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1 This offering place could either be in front of a false door or a slab stela (see figure II.1 and Der Manuelian, Giza archives, photo AEOS II_2580).

2 Hassan, Giza I, 110–1, plate LXVIII (Mersu’ankh, PM, III1, 269–70); Junker, Giza, X, plate Vb (Ny’ankh-hathor, PM, III1, 218).

3 In the tomb of Akhmerutnesut (PM, III1, 80–1) a statue of the tomb owner (Boston MFA 12.1482) was found in situ together with a libation basin (Stevenson Smith, Sculpture, 57, plate 22c; ASAE 13–14 (1914), plate 11b).

4 Handoussa, Offeringslab; Reisner, Report, plate III1; Der Manuelian, Slab stelae, figures 40 and 197; Reisner, Giza I, plate 66d. In the tomb of Sonb (PM, III1, 101–3) an offering table had been dug into the ground, leaving only its upper part visible (Junker, Giza V, 3–122, fig. 2; Bolshakov, Hinting). On the false door in the cult chapel of Khufukha’ef [I] (PM, III1, 188–90) offering stands are depicted on the front side of the posts (8 c/d in plan XXX of PM, III1; Simpson, Gmast 3, figure 32). On the false door in the tomb of Merib (PM, III1, 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, Residenznkrepolo, 5; Mariette, Mastaba, 41–2). In the northern niche of the mastaba of Kanefer (PM, III1, 77–8) a libation basin has been hewn directly in the bottom stone of the false door (Der Manuelian, Gmast 8, fig. 12.50 (page 332)).
In one chapel a statue of the sitting tomb owner has been found in situ next to the false door, and one can assume that this might have been the case in more chapels. All of this contributes to the assumption that the false door was the primary cultic element 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 of the (sub)themes of the decoration of both the western wall and the false door(s) against it were of a cultic nature might not be a priori true, though.

For this reason one of the aims of this study is to investigate whether some of the (sub)themes on the western wall are placed there for other than cultic purposes.

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5 The chapel of Akhmerutnesut (G 2184; PM, III¹, 80–1).
6 Probably the statues of Rahotep and Nofret (mastaba 6 at Maidum) were originally also placed in front of the false door or in front of the entrance into the cruciform chapel, because it is unlikely that they were intended to be “locked” away. The cruciform chapel finally became a serdab as the result of a development that only manifested itself after the conclusion of the construction of the original mastaba.
7 Bárt, Serdab, 70 details that in the tomb of Hesyre’ (PM, III², 437–9) a pottery stand meant for votive offerings has been found in situ in front of the serdab. This means that, at least in that period, not only the false door was a focal point of cultic activity, although the latter probably was the most important. Also see LA, V, 874–9, s.v. “Serdab”.
8 The remaining surface of the western wall is further referred to as “the western wall”.
9 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...
As already discussed in chapter I, part IV.4.1., it is probable that

1. some of the (sub)themes of the western wall and possibly the false door were not exclusively placed there for cultic purposes.
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.\(^\text{10}\)

The goal of this part of the present study is:

1. To determine the cultic character and cultic importance of the (sub)themes on the false door and on the western wall, by way of their interactions with the primary (sub)themes.\(^\text{11}\)
2. To establish whether the cultic importance of the various (sub)themes on the false door or the western wall were subject to chronological development, which can lead to conclusions about changes in the cultic role of the chapel of the tomb as a whole or of parts of it.
3. To establish whether the role and place of a non-cultic (sub)theme changed during the period under study.
4. To establish if a change took place in the ideas underlying the total cultic activity for the sustenance of the *ka* of the deceased.

both the false door and the western wall probably served a specific purpose in the cultic actions.

\(^\text{10}\) 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 5th dynasty. This abstracted list is closely connected with the offering table scene on the panel of the false door and on the western and southern wall. (For the definition of the terms “association” and “dissociation”: see table “Technical terms and abbreviations”.)

\(^\text{11}\) In the present study the cultic character of a (sub)theme is determined by the type of interaction (association or dissociation) between this (sub)theme and one of the primary (sub)themes (for the definition of the term “primary (sub)theme” see table “Technical terms and abbreviations”), while its cultic importance can be approximated from the degree of interaction between them.
II. The Present Study

II.1. Definitions of Elements Featuring on the Western Wall

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 employed 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).12

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Figure II.2. Diagram of the division of the western wall.

II.2. The Sequence of the Study

The study proceeds in the following steps:

1. 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 2b).
   b. The location of the (sub)themes on the wall is determined. For this the wall is divided into wall sections, a division that

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12 The wall space over the doors is always part of a wall section left or right of the false door (chapter VI, section I).
is defined by the location of the false door(s) on this wall (see chapter VI).\textsuperscript{13}

c. The first step is to number these wall sections without a further subdivision within them.\textsuperscript{14}
d. The location of a (sub)theme is allocated a number according to the number of the wall section on which it is placed.
e. The co-occurrence 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.\textsuperscript{15}
f. For the same reason the co-occurrence 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.

2. For the false door:
   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 into categories such as male or female, the kind of goods they are bearing, etc.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{13} A problem can arise concerning the decoration placed on the wall section of the western wall south of the false door (in a chapel with two false doors this wall section is small). This problem is discussed in appendix II.1 at the end of this chapter.
\textsuperscript{14} This means that for the present study 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 visibility to the beholder(s) is irrelevant to the purpose of the present study.
\textsuperscript{15} For the term “co-occurrence” see table “technical terms and abbreviations”.
\textsuperscript{16} Although conclusions can be drawn from that kind of information, for the present study 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”.

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.17

II.3. Restrictions Imposed

The study is carried out under the following restrictions:

1. Because there are indications that there is a difference in the choice of (sub)themes between the tombs in the necropolises of Giza and Saqqara,18 only tombs in the necropolis of Giza are included.19
2. Tombs situated in provincial necropolises are excluded from the present study.
3. Although the tomb consists of a super- and a substructure, the present study is restricted to the decoration on the elements of the cult chapel in the superstructure of the tomb.
4. Only those tombs, which have a western wall in a state of conservation that does not exclude valid conclusions, are included.

17 The basic idea that the false door as a whole is cultic might give rise to the objection that it is useless to determine the cultic character of the false door and its (sub)themes. Nevertheless it is possible that the cultic character or cultic importance of the false door changes over time, and the purpose of this part of the study is to determine whether such a change takes place. If indeed this is the case it can be established whether that change follows other chronological developments on the western wall.
18 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.
19 A preliminary comparison of the frequency with which the most important (sub)themes are chosen on the western wall of the chapels 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, either 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%. These values are the same for (sub)themes depicting boat building, fishing, fowling, papyrus gathering and for (sub)themes showing the various aspects of agriculture this is resp. 38% and 62% (from Harpur, *DETOK*, tables 6.1–6.26, pages 323–54).
5. The design of the false door is not included because it is beyond the scope of the present study.20

6. In most cases texts accompanying the decoration on the western wall are captions of the action involved, and as such they are not included.

7. 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.21 However, in this study only different types of text are considered as (sub)themes, not their textual content.22

8. No difference is made between a niche and a “true” false door.23

9. Only tombs that can be dated from the 4th dynasty up to and including the 6th dynasty are admitted to the catalogues.

10. False doors and decoration placed on the exterior eastern wall of the mastaba, without added cult rooms, are not included because they cannot be considered to be on the western wall of a chapel.24

20 For the various layouts of the parts of the false door see Wiebach, Scheintür, figures I and II.

21 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.I/E that it is more frequently placed on the door jambs (figure VIII.3).

22 This means that in the list of (sub)themes admitted to the present study “offering formula” and “name and “title(s)” etc. are included. According to van Walsem, Diversification, 2–4 within one type of (sub)theme there is such variation in detail that generalization of the choice of (sub)themes is necessary in order to prevent the introduction of details which are irrelevant to the study at hand, which leads to the conclusion that neither the content of the texts nor the meaning and importance of the title(s) need to be taken into account.

23 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 1st dynasty. These niches served as virtual doors, but one (later two) of the niches in the eastern wall was (were) 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 present 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. Although the ground-plan of a niche and a false door are identical there is a large difference in depth, e.g. the depth of the southern niche of the mastaba of Netjer-aperef is 200 cm (Alexanian, Netjer-aperef, fig. 20), but for the false door in the cult chapel of Iteti (PM, III¹, 193) this is 25 centimeters (Curto, Gli scavi, fig. 7).

24 In analogy with the “true” false door, the decorated fronts of the door jambs of a niche are considered as part of its decoration.
III. The Catalogues

III.1. Considerations Regarding the Catalogues

This part of the present study 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 have left their traces on these decorations: there are tombs in which these 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. Ann.).
2. A catalogue with tombs in which only the false door(s) is (are) partly or completely present and decorated (catalogue IV.2. Ann.).
3. A catalogue with tombs in which the decoration of the western wall is partly or completely present (catalogue IV.3. Ann.).

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, III¹, although this is a compilation which is no longer completely up to date.²⁵ Therefore also more recent sources have been taken into consideration.

In the catalogues the spelling of the names of the tomb owners is taken from PM, III¹.²⁶ If the name is not mentioned there, the spelling given in recent literature is adopted.

²⁵ PM, III¹, the revised and augmented version of the original bibliography, as executed by J. Málek, dates to 1974.
²⁶ This can lead to discrepancies as e.g. the name Sonb in PM, III¹ and the more modern orthography of Seneb.
The excavation of some of the tombs has either been poorly published or not at all; consequently, if no usable 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 and described in chapter III has been developed.

The three catalogues mentioned above serve the following purposes:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>catalogues combined</th>
<th>purpose</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV.1.Ann. and IV.2.Ann.</td>
<td>The description of the place and type of the decoration on the false door(s).</td>
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</table>

III.2. Discussion Concerning the Admissibility of Various Types of Chapels

For 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. Such chapels include those with the following ground-plans:

The cruciform chapel (fig. I.6) can be considered to be a L-form chapel with a long and narrow E/W oriented recess in the middle of the western wall and the entrance in the middle of the eastern wall. This makes such a tomb inadmissible for the catalogue of the western wall but admissible for the catalogue of the other walls of the chapel.

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27 Tombs at Giza, excavated by Reisner in the first half of the 20th 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).

28 The total number of tombs given in PM, III comprising a chapel with one or more of the walls bearing decoration is 167, of these 64 tombs have been admitted to catalogue IV.1/3. Ann. The final choice is mainly determined by the presence of decoration on the western wall and the certainty of the date that can be given to the tomb.

29 Although the ground-plan of certain tombs is such that it might be worth considering taking the decoration of walls adjacent to the western wall into account, it has been decided that these tombs cannot be admitted to the catalogues of the present study.
1. *A long and narrow E/W oriented cult chapel in which the false door takes up the whole of the western wall.*

Because a chapel with a false door which is not bordered on both sides by other relief scenes on the same surface is excluded, tombs with a chapel such as that shown in figure II.3 are *not* admitted to the catalogues.

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

(Hetepheres; PM, III¹, 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 southern wall is not considered to be part of the western wall and the decoration of the former is *not* to be added to the compilation of (sub)themes.
3. **Cult chapels with on the western wall niches with half-statues.**

(Khuwiwer; G 8674, LG 95; PM, III¹, 254–5, plan XXXV; Harpur, *DETOK*, plan 439[134]).

Because statues and half-statues are not considered to be reliefs, they are not part of the decoration in the context of the present study.³⁰ This situation occurs on the western wall of the cult chapel of Khuwiwer (figure II.6): here a cavetto cornice has been placed over a deep niche and two half-statues flanking this niche.³¹ The western wall of the niche is completely taken up by the false door. Altogether, this design 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'; PM, III¹, 70; G 2097; Roth, *Gmast 6*, 127–34).

Although decoration has been placed on the northern wall and southern wall of the recess,³² its western wall bears no decoration (Roth, *Gmast 6*, fig. 73).³³ Because this type of chapel can be considered to be a narrow

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³¹ Rusch, *Grabsteinformen*, 114 considers the half-statues part of the false door.
³² Roth, *Gmast 6*, plates 87, 88b and 92.
³³ Roth, *Gmast 6*, plate 90 shows that the western wall is completely covered by a ser-ekh type false door.
E/W oriented cult chapel with the western wall completely covered by the false door, it *cannot* be included in the catalogues.

5. Serekh Type False Door

(Itisen; PM, III¹, 252–3; G 8410; Hassan, *Giza V*, fig. 126; Harpur, *DETOK*, 430[113]; Kaseuza; PM, III¹, 159; G 5340.)

If the false door on the western wall is a *serekh* type false door (even though it does not take up the whole western wall), a 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 false door must be categorized as false doors, but the difference between them is

![Figure II.6. Serekh type false door between two true false doors (Junker, *Giza VII*, plate XXXVa). Tomb of Kaseuza; PM, III¹, 159; G 5340.](image-url)
the lack of *representational* decoration on the latter. Therefore, it is not included in the catalogues.\(^{34}\)

If two or more false doors are placed on the western wall and one of them is of the *serekh* type (Kaseuza; PM, III¹, 159; G 5340, see fig II.6 and Itisen; PM, III¹, 252–3, G 8410, see fig. II.7), 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.7).

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 developed in the chapter about the methodology of the study 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 need only a description of the (sub)themes.

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\(^{34}\) 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 (LÅ, IV, 646–7, s.v. “Palastfassade”). Wiebach, *Scheintüre*, 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 LÅ, 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.
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.8).

8. Cruciform chapels are not included in the catalogues.

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

![Figure II.8. Plan of the cult chapel of Wepemnefert (PM, III, 57; G 1201; Reisner, *Giza I*, fig. 104).](image)

**III.3. The Organization of the Catalogues**

In the catalogues the following information is included:

1. The PM 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.
3. The date according to the system given in the table in figure II.10.

In the catalogues the following number of tombs has been compiled:

IV. Considerations Concerning Chronology

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

1. The dating given in PM, III1 is based on the information available at the time it was revised and augmented.35 This dating is upgraded with more recent information.36
2. Tombs that are dated only to a whole dynasty are not admitted to the catalogues.
3. Only in a small number of tombs is textual information available making it possible to give a fairly reliable date,37 and even for these tombs it is nearly always impossible to date them to the reign of a particular king. Consequently, in the present study 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.9).38
4. In this way a group of tombs can be gathered by period, a chronological ordering 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.I.ann.).

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

35 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.
36 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; Bolshakov, Double, 54; Málek, Mastabas, 93–100; Roth, Mastabas, 55–58; Baud, Critères, 31–97; Baud, Famille royale, 13–7; Jánosi, Giza, 41–4). The dating 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, III1, the arguments for this revision are stated.
37 For a summary of the possible dating criteria see Harpur, DETOK, 35–6, and for a discussion of the various dating criteria see Jánosi, Giza, 36–74; Baud, Famille royale, 5–104 and Bolshakov, Osiris, 68–75. For problems encountered in dating, see Jánosi, Datierungsproblem.
38 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 (V)—period (V.M)—subperiod (V.M/E) (see Harpur, DETOK, 33–42).
data obtained from literature are weighed against one another, and the final placement must be considered as a working hypothesis.

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<td>Shepseskare</td>
<td>V.4 – V.6</td>
<td>V.M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V.5</td>
<td>Ra‘neferaf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V.6</td>
<td>Neusererre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V.7</td>
<td>Menkauhor</td>
<td>V.7 – V.9</td>
<td>V.L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V.8</td>
<td>Zadkare‘Isefi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V.9</td>
<td>Unis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>VI.1</td>
<td>Teti</td>
<td>VI.1 – VI.2</td>
<td>VI.E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Userkare‘)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VI.2</td>
<td>Pepy I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VI.3</td>
<td>Merenre‘</td>
<td>VI.3 – VI.4E</td>
<td>VI.M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VI.4</td>
<td>Pepy II 43</td>
<td>VI.4M – VI.4L</td>
<td>VI.L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Merenre‘ II) 44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Nitokris) 45</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure II.9. Table of the kings of the Old Kingdom and the division in periods (after Harpur, DETOK, 34).

39 The abbreviations used in the time scale are: V.E = early 5th dynasty, V.M = middle of 5th dynasty, V.L = late 5th dynasty.
40 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.
41 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.
42 LÄ, VI, 901, s.v. “Userkare’”.
43 In this table the king list given in Harpur, DETOK, 34 has been followed. 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.9 this is done as VI.4E/M/L.
44 LÄ, IV, 77, s.v. “Merenre II”.
45 LÄ, IV, 513–4, s.v. “Nitokris”. Newberry, Nitocris, 54 places this queen in the infancy of Pepy II.
APPENDIX II.1. THE DECORATION ON THE WESTERN WALL SOUTH OF THE FALSE DOOR

The decision as to whether, for the purposes of the present study, the decoration south of the false door is part of the western or the southern wall depends on whether or not a connection can 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 a 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. A possible connection between the decorations of the two adjacent walls can now be determined by means of the orientation of the human figures on them.

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46 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 the literature, and has been concluded from Der Manuelian, Giza archives, photo A6941_NS. 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, DETOK, 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, and that orientation is taken up in the plan.

47 The term “connection” is used here instead of “interaction”.

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Figure app.II.1.1. Khufukha’ef [I]; PM, III¹, 188–90; G 7130–7140; date IV.

Figure app.II.1.2. Neferma’et; PM, III¹, 183; G 7060; date IV.L.
Figure app. II.1.3. Zaty; PM, III¹, 204–5; G 7810; date IV.I/V.E.

Figure app. II.1.4. Nesutnefer; PM, III¹, 143–4; G 4970; date V.E.

Figure app. II.1.5. Kanufer; PM, III¹, 77–8; G 2150; V.E.
Figure app. II.1.6. Kanenesut [I]; PM, III¹, 78–9; G 2155; date V.E.

Figure app. II.1.7. Kapunesut; PM, III¹, 135; G 4651; date V.E/V.M.

Figure app. II.1.8. Ra'kha'ef'ankh; PM, III¹, 207–8; G 7948; date V.M.
With one exception (the tomb of Zaty, figures app.II.1.3 and app.II.1.9) the orientation of the figures on the wall section south of the southern false door is directed towards that door.\footnote{Der Manuelian, \textit{Giza archives}, photo A6940_NS shows the offering bearers moving to the left.} The southern wall of the tomb of Zaty has been partly destroyed; on its eastern side a table scene directed towards the western wall is depicted, and the western side of this wall is destroyed which makes it impossible to determine whether human figures were present in front of the offering table with the tomb owner.\footnote{Der Manuelian, \textit{Giza archives}, photo A6941_NS [1] shows two hieroglyphic signs in front of the offering table that can be interpreted as $s\text{- explosions}$ which indicates that a son was standing in front of his father and he must have been looking in his direction and this is corroborated by the direction of the two hieroglyphic signs which follow the orientation of the depicted person.}

On the southern wall there are several possibilities:

1. A main (sub)theme and a group of (sub)themes to which a direction can be ascribed (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.1.3 (\?), 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 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 directed toward the false door(s), it can be concluded that there is no connection between the decoration of the southern and the western wall.
The conclusion of the argument given above is that results in the decision that the section of the western wall south of the southern false door can be considered as part of the western wall. Despite the information obtained from photos A6940 and A6941 of the Giza archives, the section south of the southern false door of the tomb of Zaty (figure app. II.1.3.) has to be considered as part of the decoration of the western wall too.\(^{51}\)

\(^{51}\) Der Manuelian, *Giza archives*. 