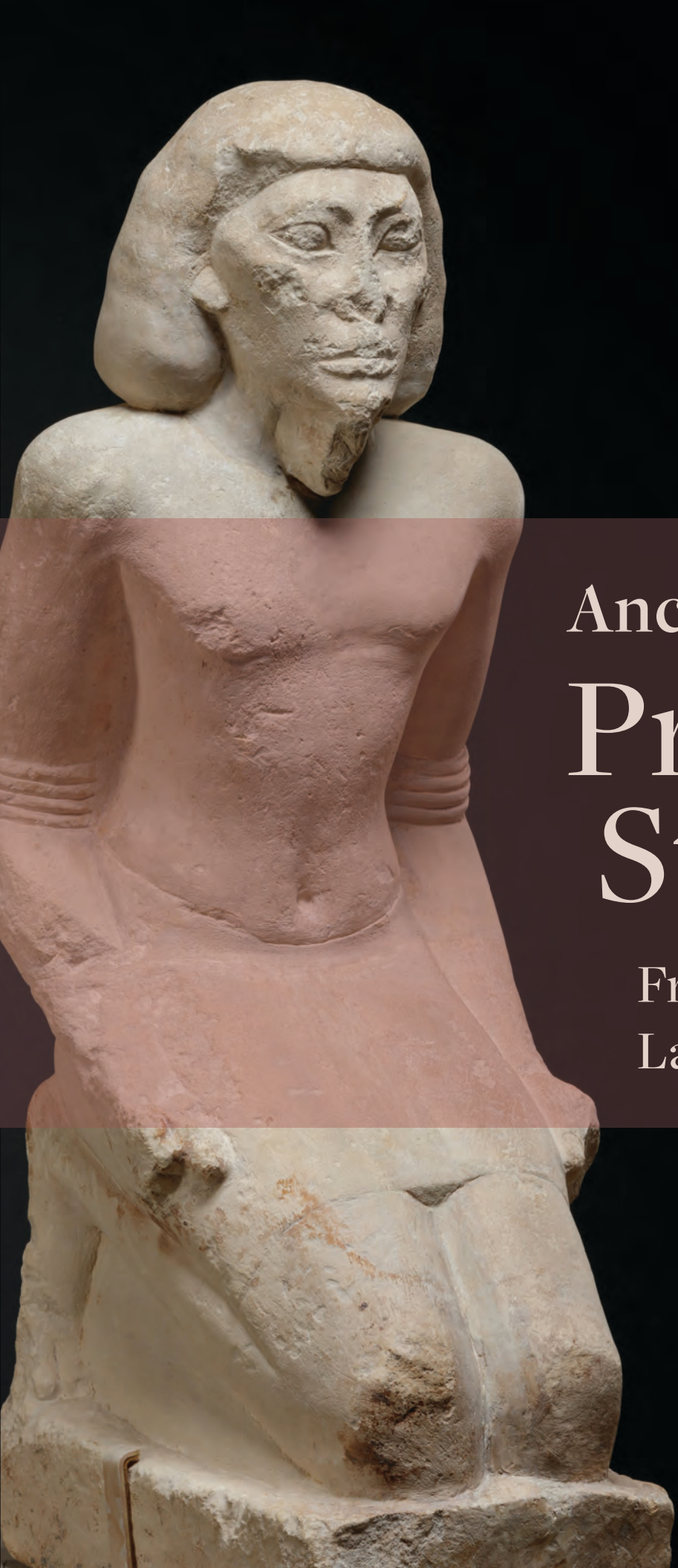

Ancient Egyptian Prisoner Statues

Fragments of the Late Old Kingdom

Tara Prakash

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN PRISONER STATUES

MATERIAL AND VISUAL CULTURE OF ANCIENT EGYPT

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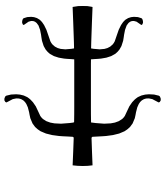

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FRAGMENTS OF THE LATE OLD KINGDOM

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Supplementary Material

A supplementary Open Access catalogue of all material available on the prisoner statues can be found online at: https://doi.org/10.5913/2022877

Abbreviations

ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AAWWien	Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
AegHelv	Aegyptiaca Helvetica
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
ÄgAbh	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*
ASAE-Suppl.	Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
AulÆg-Stud	Aula Ægyptiaca – Studia
BACE	*Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BeitrÄg	Beiträge zur Ägyptologie
BIE	*Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*
BiEtud	Bibliothèque d'étude
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
BMMA	*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*
BMPES	British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan
BMSAES	*British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan*
BN	*Bibliothèque nationale*
BSEG	*Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie de Genève*
BSFE	*Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie*
CASAE	Cahiers. Supplément aux ASAE
CdE	*Chronique d'Égypte*
CGC	Catalogue général du musée du Caire
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CRAIBL	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
CRIPEL	*Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille*
DÖAWW	Denkschriften der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien
DOG	Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin
ENiM	*Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne*
ERA	Egyptian Research Account
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
FouillesSaqq	Fouilles à Saqqarah, Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen*
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen
HÄB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge
HdO	Handbook of Oriental Studies: Section 1, Ancient Near East
HES	Harvard Egyptological Studies

IFAO	Institut français d'archéologie orientale
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
KAW	Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*
MAFS	Mission archéologique franco-suisse de Saqqâra (Previously Mission archéologique française de Saqqâra)
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
MÄU	Münchner Ägyptologische Untersuchungen
Menes	Menes: Studien zur Kultur und Sprache der ägyptischen Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*
MEES	Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
MMAEE	The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition
MMJ	*Metropolitan Museum Journal*
MoTA	Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities
MVCAE	Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OrMonsp	Orientalia Monspeliensia
PAe	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PM	Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, 8 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1960–.
RACE	Reports of the Australian Centre for Egyptology
RAPH	Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire
RdE	*Revue d'Égyptologie*
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
SAE	Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
SAK	*Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SCA	Supreme Council of Antiquities
SDAIK	Sonderschrift des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
Urk.	Kurt Sethe et al. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, 8 vols. Leipzig: Hinrich, 1903–1957.
UUÅ	Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

Chronology

Modified from Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton, *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 490–95. All dates are BCE and approximate.

Early Dynastic period	**2900–2593**
Old Kingdom	**2592–2153**
Dynasty 3	**2592–2544**
Dynasty 4	**2543–2436**
Snefru	2543–2510
Khufu	2509–2483
Radjedef	2482–2475
Khafre	2472–2448
Menkaure	2447–2442
Shepseskaf	2441–2436
Dynasty 5	**2435–2306**
Userkaf	2435–2429
Sahure	2428–2416
Neferirkare	2415–2405
Raneferef	2404
Shepseskare	2403
Niuserre	2402–2374
Menkauhor	2373–2366
Djedkare-Isesi	2365–2322
Unas	2321–2306
Dynasty 6	**2305–2153**
Teti	2305–2279
Userkare	?–?
Pepi I	2276–2228
Merenre	2227–2217
Pepi II	2216–2153
First Intermediate period	**2118–1980**
Middle Kingdom	**1980–1760**
Second Intermediate period	**1759–1539**
New Kingdom	**1539–1077**
Third Intermediate period	**1076–723**
Late period	**722–332**

Chapter 1
Introduction

The pyramids of Giza are perhaps the most iconic relics of ancient Egypt. Many people can easily picture the massive triangular forms, solidly standing against the desert backdrop, even if they have never visited Giza in person. These pyramids were the funerary monuments of the Fourth Dynasty pharaohs Khufu, Khafre, and Menkaure. Their enormous size, which still impresses travelers today, testifies to the power of these kings and the prosperity of Egypt during the height of the Old Kingdom, in the middle of the third millennium BCE.

What often surprises visitors is that each pyramid is not an independent structure. It was a part of a larger complex, which included multiple temples and spanned hundreds of meters across the desert. Equally surprising is the view from the Giza plateau: on a clear day, one can spot numerous other pyramids dotting the horizon. Khufu, Khafre, and Menkaure were not the only kings who built pyramids. For the remainder of the Old Kingdom, which included the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, royal funerary monuments continued to be pyramid complexes (fig. 1.1).

The late Old Kingdom pyramids are not nearly as well preserved as those of the Fourth Dynasty. But originally, these complexes would have been extremely impressive monuments, primarily because of their lavish decoration rather than the size of the pyramids, which were smaller and more standardized. The temples in the late Old Kingdom complexes were paved with expensive stones, including black basalt and



Figure 1.1. The pyramid complex of Unas with the pyramids of South Saqqara and Dahshur in the background.



Figure 1.2. A reconstructed prisoner statue probably from the pyramid complex of Pepi II in Saqqara; Sixth Dynasty. New York, MMA 64.260. Photograph: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Louis V. Bell Fund, 1964.

white alabaster, and the walls were covered in finely carved, painted reliefs. The temples were also filled with statuary, much of which depicted the king. Additionally, a new type of statue appeared at this time and was a major component of the late Old Kingdom pyramid complex. Modern scholars refer to these statues as prisoner statues (fig. 1.2).

The ancient Egyptians clearly recognized the prisoner statues as a distinct genre of statuary. The statues all depict foreign male captives kneeling with their arms bound behind their backs, are nearly life-size, were carved from limestone, and were exclusive to the royal pyramid complex. At the same time, the prisoner statues changed dramatically over the course of the late Old Kingdom, and each king's prisoner statues differed in important ways from those of his predecessors. For example, the number of prisoner statues within each complex increased over time, from only a handful to dozens. Their placement within the complex also shifted from monument to monument. Additionally, their treatment and the way that the prisoner statues functioned in relation to the other decoration and the ritual life of the pyramid complex developed in significant ways. While the earliest statues were innovative, three-dimensional architectural decoration that was meant to stand in the monument permanently, the later statues were intentionally broken as a part of ritual performance.

The changes one finds among the prisoner statues relate to broader developments that were contemporaneously occurring in late Old Kingdom society, religion, art, and culture. The prisoner statues reflect a new conception of kingship and ethnicity. They illustrate some of the ways that each king, with the help of his high officials and artists, redesigned the pyramid complex to suit his needs and priorities better. Overall, they demonstrate the dynamism of the late Old Kingdom. The Fourth Dynasty tends to overshadow the Fifth and Sixth; much of the world knows of the Giza pyramids while few nonspecialists are familiar with the late Old Kingdom pyramids. But the late Old Kingdom was an incredibly important period of ancient Egyptian history. During this time, Egypt cemented its dominant status within the ancient Near East, and the political, social, and belief systems that would form the backbone of the country throughout pharaonic history were articulated. To understand ancient Egyptian history, one must look to the late Old Kingdom, and to understand fully the late Old Kingdom, one must consider the prisoner statues.

1.1. The Context

The Old Kingdom (ca. 2592–2153 BCE) consists of the Third Dynasty (ca. 2592–2544 BCE), the Fourth Dynasty (ca. 2543–2436 BCE), the Fifth Dynasty (ca. 2435–2306 BCE), and the Sixth Dynasty (ca. 2305–2153

BCE).[1] The prisoner statues first appeared during the reign of Niuserre (ca. 2403–2374 BCE) in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty. The Fifth Dynasty marks the beginning of the late Old Kingdom, and there are multiple ways that this period differed from what had come before. The power of the king was at its height during the Fourth Dynasty. The king was essentially a god on earth and at the apex of an extremely stratified society. Moreover, the administration was heavily centralized: it was situated in Memphis, which was the capital throughout the Old Kingdom, and largely consisted of the royal family.[2]

The composition of the administration and bureaucratic elite changed in the Fifth Dynasty. State positions were opened up to officials of nonroyal background, who nevertheless still remained closely tied to the royal family. This led to the proliferation of a distinct elite class that largely ran the country on behalf of the king, and to a growing complexity of the state.[3] The new and more distanced relationship between the elite and the king was also reflected in the location of high officials' tombs, which were no longer in

1. Absolute dates follow Erik Hornung, Rolf Krauss, and David A. Warburton, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, HdO 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2006). However, I differ from them in including the Third Dynasty in the Old Kingdom and in ending the Old Kingdom with Pepi II. While most Egyptologists recognize the Third Dynasty as initiating the Old Kingdom, when exactly the period came to an end continues to be a matter of debate. The First Intermediate period began when the central government lost control of the country and the provincial governors, or nomarchs, became fully independent. Some scholars believe that the provinces still recognized the Eighth Dynasty kings, who continued to rule from Memphis, as overlords and thus include them in the Old Kingdom. However, these kings were significantly weaker and more ephemeral than the Sixth Dynasty kings, and it seems unlikely that they held full power throughout the country. Effectively, the Old Kingdom came to an end after the reign of Pepi II even though the Eighth Dynasty kings still had some influence outside the capital and the country had not yet completely fragmented into the First Intermediate period. In other words, the Eighth Dynasty is best understood as a transitory period between the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate period. I discuss some reasons for the decline of the Old Kingdom in ch. 2, but in this regard, see further Miroslav Bárta, *Analyzing Collapse: The Rise and Fall of the Old Kingdom* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2019); Renate Müller-Wollerman, "Krisenfaktoren im ägyptischen Staat des Ausgehenden Alten Reichs" (PhD diss., University of Tübingen, 1986); Ellen Morris, "Ancient Egyptian Exceptionalism: Fragility, Flexibility and the Art of Not Collapsing," in *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms*, ed. Norman Yoffee (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2019), 76–83; Michel Baud, "The Old Kingdom," in *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, vol. 1, ed. Alan B. Lloyd (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 78–80; and Jaromir Malek, *In the Shadow of the Pyramids: Egypt during the Old Kingdom* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 117–20. Regarding Old Kingdom chronology, see further Miroslav Verner, "The System of Dating in the Old Kingdom," in *Chronology and Archaeology in Ancient Egypt (The Third Millennium B.C.)*, ed. Hana Vymazalová and Miroslav Bárta (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2008), 23–43; Miroslav Bárta, "Radiocarbon Dates for the Old Kingdom and their Correspondences," in *Radiocarbon and the Chronologies of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Andrew J. Shortland and C. Bronk Ramsey (Oxford: Oxbow, 2013), 218–23; Michel Baud, "Ménès, la mémoire monarchique et la chronologie du IIIe millénaire," *Archéo-Nil* 9 (1999): 109–47; and Michel Baud, "The Relative Chronology of Dynasties 6 and 8," in Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton, 144–58. Concerning the controversial and possibly nonexistent Seventh Dynasty and the Eighth Dynasty, see Miroslav Bárta, "Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers: Executive Power in the Third Millennium B.C.," in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García, HdO 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 173 and Hratch Papazian, "The State of Egypt in the Eighth Dynasty," in *Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Perspectives on the Pyramid Age*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian and Thomas Schneider, HES 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 393–428.

2. Concerning the capital and royal residence during the Old Kingdom, see Miroslav Verner, "Several Thoughts on the Old Kingdom Residence," in *Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Eva Pardey*, ed. Miroslav Bárta and Hella Küllmer (Prague: Charles University, 2013), 119–22 and Miroslav Verner, *Abusir: The Necropolis of the Sons of the Sun* (Cairo: American University in Cairo, 2017), 1–12. Regarding the administration during the Fourth Dynasty, see Bárta, "Kings," 162–65.

3. Miroslav Bárta, "Egyptian Kingship during the Old Kingdom," in *Experiencing Power, Generating Authority: Cosmos, Politics, and the Ideology of Kingship in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia*, ed. Jane A. Hill, Philip Jones, and Antonio J. Morales (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2013), 257–83; Bárta, "Kings," 165–66; Miroslav Bárta, "Architectural Innovations in the Development of the Non-Royal Tomb during the Reign of Nyuserra," in *Structure and Significance: Thoughts on Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, ed. Peter Jánosi (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 118; Nigel Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and*

Giza, in the shadow of the pyramid of the king whom they had served. While the early Fifth Dynasty kings, beginning with Sahure, built their pyramid complexes at Abusir, most contemporary officials constructed their tombs a few miles away in Saqqara. Nigel Strudwick has questioned whether this separation between royal and private tombs was the result of a deliberate attempt to emphasize the division between the king and the elite.[4]

Additionally, the role of high officials outside Memphis became more prominent as the state's involvement with the provinces increased.[5] However, the Memphite region continued to be the unequivocal center of the country. And the king continued to be the undisputed leader of Egypt, even if the divide between him and his uppermost subjects had lessened.[6] In addition to a pyramid complex, the components of which I describe below, beginning in the Fifth Dynasty, each king also built an independent sun temple.[7] The exact meanings of the Fifth Dynasty sun temples are disputed, but these temples undoubtedly had a connection to the king's funerary cult and major symbolic and economic functions.[8] Additionally, the sun temples are one sign of the rise of solar religion and the sun god in the early Fifth Dynasty. During this time, the kings legitimized themselves through their piety to the gods, especially the sun god.[9]

Further major changes in ancient Egyptian society and administration occurred during the reign of Niuserre, when the prisoner statues first appeared, and I discuss these in the next chapter. Following Niuserre, at least five other late Old Kingdom pharaohs, including Djedkare-Isesi (ca. 2365–2322 BCE), Unas (ca. 2321–2306 BCE), Teti (ca. 2305–2279 BCE), Pepi I (ca. 2276–2228 BCE), and Pepi II (ca. 2216–2153 BCE), also commissioned prisoner statues for their pyramid complexes (fig. 1.3).[10] Over the second half of the Fifth Dynasty and the Sixth Dynasty, the elite continued to rise in prominence and power and the authority of the king gradually declined. At the same time, the number of prisoner statues in each king's monument increased. These developments were related; the prisoner statues were one way that kings could distinguish themselves from the elite. In this way, the greater popularity of the prisoner statues reflects the changing role of the king and nature of kingship at the end of the Old Kingdom.

Their Holders (London: KPI, 1985), 337–39; and Nigel Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, ed. Ronald Leprohon, WAW 16 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 8.

4. Strudwick, *Administration*, 345.

5. Juan Carlos Moreno García, "The Territorial Administration of the Kingdom in the Third Millennium," in Moreno García, *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 107–21; and Bárta, "Kings," 167 and 170–71. See also Leslie Anne Warden, "Centralized Taxation during the Old Kingdom," in Der Manuelian and Schneider, *Towards a New History,* 479–88.

6. See further Verner, *Abusir*, 35–50 and Miroslav Bárta, "'Abusir Paradigm' and the Beginning of the Fifth Dynasty," in *The Pyramids: Between Life and Death; Proceedings of the Workshop Held at Uppsala University, Uppsala, May 31st–June 1st, 2012*, ed. Irmgard Hein, Nils Billing, and Erika Meyer-Dietrich (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2016), 51–74.

7. The sun temples of six Fifth Dynasty kings are referenced in textual records, but only two actual complexes have been discovered: that of Userkaf in north Abusir and that of Niuserre in Abu Ghurob.

8. A recent and comprehensive study of the sun temples is Massimiliano Nuzzolo, *The Fifth Dynasty Sun Temples: Kingship, Architecture and Religion in Third Millennium BC Egypt* (Prague: Charles University, 2018).

9. Toby Wilkinson, *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt: The Palermo Stone and Its Associated Fragments* (London: Kegan Paul International, 2000), 148.

10. Future excavations could reveal prisoner statue fragments in other late Old Kingdom pyramid complexes. Currently, there are no indications that Merenre, who had a relatively short reign, had prisoner statues. While his mortuary temple has yet to be fully excavated and consequently, it remains possible that prisoner statue fragments will still be discovered from here (or that unprovenanced examples actually come from this complex), some of the relief decoration had been left unfinished, suggesting that the king died before his monument was completed (Mark Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids* [London: Thames & Hudson, 2008], 160–61). For this reason, it is possible that his artists never had an opportunity to carve prisoner statues. The pyramid of Menkauhor, who ruled for only eight years between Niuserre and Djedkare, has yet to be located (Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, 153 and 165). Therefore, it also remains uncertain whether or not he had prisoner statues.

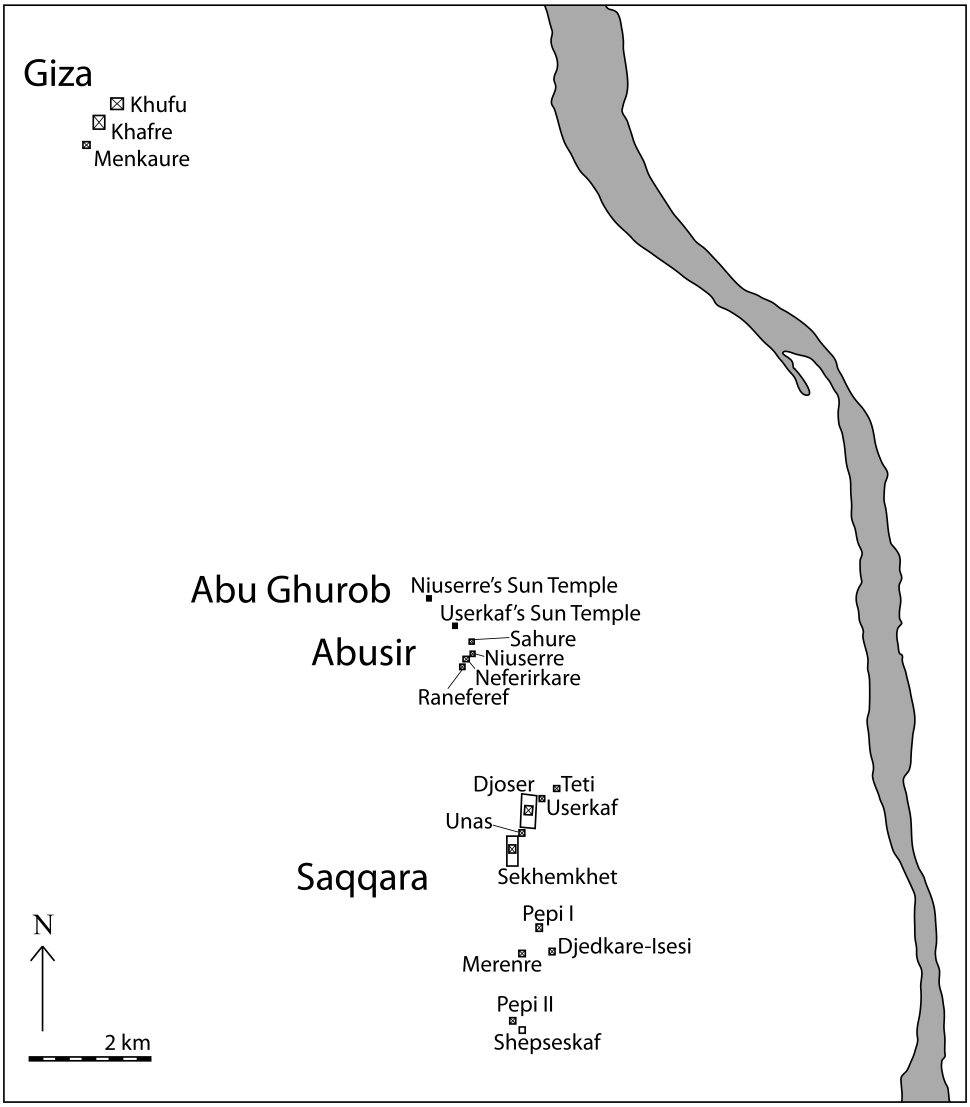

Figure 1.3. Old Kingdom pyramid complexes and royal funerary monuments from Giza to Saqqara. Modified from Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, 9–10.

The standard pyramid complex had four main elements that were aligned along an east–west axis.[11] First, the pyramid itself was farthest to the west and marked the king's tomb. The funerary apartments, including the burial chamber, were carved out of the bedrock underneath the pyramid and accessed by a long descending corridor whose entrance was on the north face of the pyramid.[12] Second, a temple was directly adjacent to the east side of the pyramid: Egyptologists variously refer to this as the mortuary, funerary, pyramid, or upper temple. Third, a second temple, which is now known as the valley temple, was located to the east and at the edge of cultivation. Finally a long, usually covered causeway connected the temples and led from the cultivation toward the pyramid in the desert. While these elements were reproduced with remarkable consistency, the plan of each element could vary widely; I discuss this further in chapter 4.

11. For an overview of the ancient Egyptian pyramids, see Lehner.
12. Khufu's pyramid at Giza is an exception: his funerary apartments were built into the pyramid's masonry.

There was also a fifth element, whose function is unknown, that was regularly part of the pyramid complex. This was a small satellite pyramid, and according to Mark Lehner, it may have been associated with the king's *ka*.[13] The ancient Egyptians believed a person's self consisted of multiple parts.[14] One of the most important components was the *ka*, which is best translated as "life force." This life force was generic and shared; its original source was the creator god, and it was transferred down from generation to generation. A person acquired their *ka* at birth, and, if properly maintained, it would last forever.

Related to this was the royal *ka*, which was unique to kings. It linked each new king to his ancestors and the gods. In this way, it gave a king legitimacy. It also was an element of the king's divine power. The king himself was human and mortal, but he inhabited a divine office that the gods bestowed on him. Thus the pharaoh had a dual nature; he was a human being that embodied divinity while he was on the throne, partly via the royal *ka*.[15]

Yet conceptions of kingship were not stagnant.[16] As I mentioned above, the role of the king and his position vis-à-vis society fluctuated. At different points in Egyptian history, the divinity or the humanity of a king could be more or less prevalent. For example, certain kings deified themselves while still alive. Some scholars have questioned whether this might have been the case for the early Fourth Dynasty kings.[17] Certainly, the divinity of the king seems to have been particularly prominent at that time before it began to diminish over the rest of the Old Kingdom.[18] I consider the evidence for and implications of this diminishment of kingship in the next chapter.

When the king died, he became a god himself. During the late Old Kingdom, the royal funerary monument was to be the king's eternal home following his successful transition to the afterlife. The complex was critical to this important process and the king's continued survival in the afterlife. Its architecture, rituals, and decorative program all played roles in this and enabled it. Indeed, to consider the monument's decoration, which included its statuary and the painted reliefs that covered the walls of the temples and causeway, as simply decoration is misleading.[19] While they did serve to embellish and further beautify the architectural structures, they also did much more than this. The statuary, including the prisoner statues, and reliefs were replete with their own symbolisms and functions, and they added to the overall efficacy of the complex. Moreover, not only did they benefit the deceased king, but they also benefited the living

13. Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, 18. See further Dieter Arnold, "Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms," in *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Byron Shafer (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 70.

14. See further Willeke Wendrich, "Identity and Personhood," in *Egyptian Archaeology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 200–219. A detailed study of the *ka* is Eberhard Kusber, "Der altägyptische Ka – 'Seele' oder 'Persönlichkeit'?" (PhD Diss., University of Tübingen, 2005).

15. Lanny Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka," *JNES* 44 (1985): 251–94; David O'Connor and David P. Silverman, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, PAe 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1995); and Jonathan Winnerman, "Rethinking the Royal *Ka*," (PhD Diss., The University of Chicago, 2018).

16. Concerning kingship during the Old Kingdom, see Hratch Papazian, "Perspectives on the Cult of Pharaoh during the Third Millennium BC: A Chronological Overview," in Vymazalová and Bartá, *Chronology and Archaeology*, 61–80; John Baines, "Kingship before Literature: The World of the King in the Old Kingdom," in *Selbstverständnis und Realität: Akten des Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Mainz 15.–17.6.1995*, ed. Rolf Gundlach and Christine Raedler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 125–74; Janet Richards, "Kingship and Legitimation," in Wendrich, *Egyptian Archaeology*, 55–84; and Bárta, "Egyptian Kingship," 257–83.

17. See further Nuzzolo, *Fifth Dynasty Sun Temples*, 39–45.

18. Nuzzolo, 32–73.

19. Regarding the term "decoration" in ancient Egypt, see further Jan Assmann, "Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egyptian Portraiture," in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. 1, ed. Peter Der Manuelian (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), 56 and William Kelly Simpson, "Egyptian Sculpture and Two-Dimensional Representation as Propaganda," *JEA* 68 (1982): 266–67.