

“Lower your arms, bend your back!”

Ancient Egyptian “body behavior” as an expression of respect towards social superiors

Christos Kekes

University of Crete
chriskokes@outlook.com

ABSTRACT

In the present study, the Egyptian standard of proper social behavior during the interaction of ancient Egyptians is outlined. This social standard is traced through ancient Egyptian texts and iconography. I am mainly interested in the appropriate social behavior as it was expressed through various body postures and gestures. This particular “body behavior” mainly concerned the proper way in which ancient Egyptians approached and interacted with social superiors: higher officials, elders or the Pharaoh. Aspects of appropriate body behavior are evidenced in religious contexts, too: when approaching a temple or a divine statue, or even in the mythological afterlife journey of the dead.

It is deduced that the social status of ancient Egyptians strictly defined their public behavior, especially in relation to the divine world and their social superiors. The social stratification, as well as Egypt’s superiority and Pharaoh’s power and authority were always to be demonstrated and maintained in perpetuity. Moreover, it seems that the stratification of the ancient Egyptian society was maintained in the Afterworld, too. The submissive postures and gestures presented in this paper in the light of the afterlife journey of the dead, however, rather than reflecting Egyptians’ social inequality, may demonstrate the temporary dominance of the deceased Pharaoh and individuals in order to overcome their enemies, be transformed into blessed entities and united with the gods.

Text 1: “*Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τόδε ἄλλο Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων μούνοισι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν τοῖσι πρεσβυτέροισι συντυγχάνοντες εἴκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐκτρέπονται καὶ ἐπιούσι ἐξ ἔδρης ὑπανιστέαται. Τόδε μέντοι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι συμφέρονται· ἀντὶ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους ἐν τῆσι ὁδοῖσι προσκυνέουσι κατιέντες μέχρι τοῦ γούνατος τὴν χεῖρα*”

“There is a custom too which no Greeks save the Lacedaemonians have in common with the Egyptians: younger men, when they meet their elders, turn aside and give place to them in the way, and rise from their seats when an older man approaches. But they have another custom which is nowhere known in Greece: passers-by do not address each other, but salute by lowering the hand to the knee.”

(Hdt. 2.80. Transl. by A.D. Godley).

INTRODUCTION

Respect dominated ancient Egyptian society, as plenty of texts make clear. In the present study I aim to outline the appropriate social behavior, as it was expressed through the “body behavior” of ancient Egyptians. By the term “body behavior” I mean the postures and gestures ancient Egyptians adopted in every aspect of their lives: during their daily interactions, the demonstration of respect and submission to their social superiors, the performance of cultic practices, etc.

The Egyptian term that is closest to what I describe as “appropriate social behavior”, according to Kim Ridealgh, is “*ḥꜥ-ḥmsi*”, literally meaning “to stand and sit”, which can be rendered as “to behave properly” (Ridealgh 2016, 250). In the following sections, passages from Egyptian texts, dating from the Old Kingdom to the Graeco-Roman Period, that evidence the existence of this standard of the appropriate social body behavior in ancient Egypt, will be analyzed, as will representations in ancient Egyptian art.

THE BODY BEHAVIOR OF ANCIENT EGYPTIANS AS AN *INDEX* OF SOCIAL INEQUALITY

The reference of Herodotus in Text 1 presents in the liveliest way the virtue of respect that dominated every aspect of ancient Egyptians’ lives. Ancient Egypt was a strictly structured hierarchical society, at the top of which was the Pharaoh and in which the demonstration of deference to social superiors was crucial (see also Hutto 2002, 218–19; Ridealgh 2013; 2016, 246, 248–49). Social superiority was not exclusively defined by political, religious, administrative or economic terms, but greater age rendered one a respected person in the perception of ancient Egyptians, as the above passage shows.

Herodotus is referring to a much later period than the Bronze Age. However, Egyptian written sources dating to the New, Middle or even the Old Kingdom confirm the account of Herodotus and prove the importance ancient Egyptians placed on the demonstration of respect and submission towards their social superiors during the Bronze Age, too. For example, the *Instructions of Ptahhotep*, a Middle Kingdom wisdom text, states:

Text 2: 


ḥms sꜣ=k n ḥri-tp=k

imy-rꜣ=k n pr-nswt

“Bend your back to your chief,

your overseer of the palace.”

(Ptahhotep 441–442: Žába 1956, 51; cf. also translations by Lichtheim 1973, 71; Allen 2015b, 207).

Bowing was sometimes combined with the lowering of the arms or with placing the hand on the chest. Another passage of the *Instructions of Ptahhotep* reads:

Text 3: 



“True acquaintance of the King, his beloved, to whom the Great Ones come bowing, Chief of [Upper and] Lower Egypt.”

The logogram can be understood either as *wr.w* (“the Great Ones”), *sr.w* (“the officials”), or even *jz.w.w* (“the elderly”). Whatever the case, it defines some important people in the Egyptian society. The person honored on the stela is the official Ameny-Soshenen. Nowhere on the stela is it stated that Ameny-Soshenen himself bowed to the approaching officials, too, in order for this posture to be perceived just as a greeting between equals. Furthermore, the close relationship of Ameny-Soshenen with the Pharaoh and the official title given to him render him a high-status person. Consequently, his social superiority over the other officials is clearly stated.

The second piece of evidence Dominicus provides comes from a stela of General Nesumontu, dated, according to Obsomer (1993), to the period of Senwosret I, that was found in Syro-Palestine and is now in the Louvre (cat. no. C1) (Porter and Moss 1952, 382).² Part of the inscription (lines 6, 9–10) reads:

Text 6:

and below:

iw n=f wr.w m ksw ḥzt.y.w-ꜥ m di.y ḥr ḥt

and below:

wr.w ḥr ḥz.t=i ʿz.w m ksw nds.w iw(.w) m ḥfzt

“The Great Ones (*wr.w* – officials) come to him bowing and the High-Officials fall onto their belly”

and below:

“The Great Ones (*wr.w* – gods) praise me, the Great Ones (*ʿz.w*) bow, the commoners come crawling.”

(Translation by the author. Text: Sethe 1959, 81 [lines 18–19], 82 [lines 2–3]; Text and translation: Obsomer 1993, 105, fig. 1 [lines 6, 9–10], 125 [A.11–12], 126 [C6–8]).

It seems that lesser Egyptians sometimes approached a high-status individual crawling. The status of General Nesumontu emerges from the fact that the most important Egyptians come to him bowing and prostrating. In this case, too, there is no reference to Nesumontu adopting a particular posture or gesture in response to the bowing and prostration of the approaching officials. The general is proud of being an individual in front of whom the members of the Egyptian elite bow and fall to the ground. Such a statement can only mean that Nesumontu was, in the perception of the bowing men, their superior, so they showed their respect to him by bowing, without expecting a corresponding gestural response of any kind from him.

The above epigraphic evidence is far from corroborating that the bowing posture and the “Palms Downwards” gesture were performed by people of the same social rank as merely a type of greeting to each other. Even if the performers and the addressed individuals actually belonged to the same rank –something that does not seem to be corroborated by the above-cited sources– in the perception of the performers, the individuals addressed were, for some reason, people of higher status than themselves.

There is one last point to be made. This kind of reference to the “Great Ones”, who bow before the owners of the monuments on which these references are found, should perhaps not be taken literally. This is probably a figure of speech that projects the prestige these individuals had in Egyptian society. Last, let us consider the

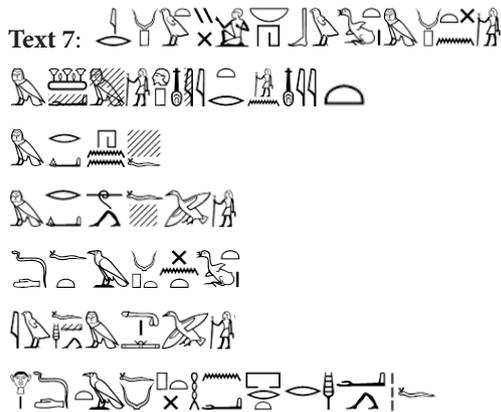
² The stela can be found at the following link: <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010022807>.

following: if the above body movements were merely types of greeting between socially equal Egyptians, then why would an official bother to record on his monument the fact that other high officials bowed before him and feel proud of it?

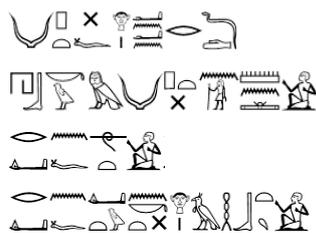
According to social anthropologists (see, e.g. Morris 1977, 102, 134–35, 142–46; Argyle 1988, 208, 212 tbl 13.1 [1]), when an inferior person meets one superior to them, they tend to adopt gestures and postures that make their body look smaller in front of the high-status person, such as lowering the head, arm-folding or bowing. In this way, they project a sentiment of insecurity and awkwardness, as well as their lower social status in relation to their superior interlocutor and submission to them.

The hieroglyphic sign A16 , depicting a human figure leaning forwards, is used as determinative in the words *ksi* (“to bow down”), *ksw* (“bowing”) (Faulkner 1991, 287). These words in Egyptian texts are usually placed in a submissive context, where inferior people approach their superiors showing them respect and submission (see, e.g., Text 24). Furthermore, as Arlette David (2017–2018, 119) points out, the downward motion of the above hieroglyphic sign represents humility (“LOW STATUS IS DOWN”).

Two passages from the *Duties of the Vizier* (for more information see Van den Boorn 1988) corroborate the submissive aspect of bowing. The office of Vizier was the highest state administrative and judicial position, and its occupant was subordinate only to the Pharaoh himself.



and below:



ir wpw.ti nb h(3)b.w t3ty m wpwt n sr

m š3[-m] sr tp(y) nfryt r sr n nfryt

m rdi(.w) hnn=f

m rdi(.w) st3=f [hr...] p3 sr

dd=f t3 wpwt n.t t3ty

iw=f h(3)(.w) m-b3h p3 sr

hr dd t3(y)=f wpwt hn(3) pr.t r h(3).w=f

and below:

wpwt[.i]=f hr n(3)n r dd

h(š)b.kw(y) m wpwt n sr mn

rdi.n=f stš.t(w)=i

rdi.n=f di.tw nkt hr nḥbt=i

“As for any messenger whom the Vizier sends with a message to an official,
from the highest official to the lowest official:

it is not allowed that he has to bow,

it is not allowed that he is ushered in [to] the official.

He tells the message of the Vizier,

standing in front of the official

while saying his message,

and then he goes out (back) to his post...”

and below:

“Now, if his messenger comes complaining:

“While I was sent with a message to official N,

he had me ushered in

(and) he caused something to be put in my neck”

(Text: Davies 1943, pl. XXVI [cols. 9–12]; Text and translation: Van den Boorn 1988, 88–9, pl. I [cols. 9–12], pl. IV [cols. 9–11], pl. V [col. 12]).

These passages reveal that being the Vizier’s envoy gave such high status to the messenger that he was forbidden to bow before any official, whether of higher or lower social rank. The messenger’s complaint that something was placed on his neck suggests that he was somehow forced to bow before the official to whom he was supposed to deliver the Vizier’s message. This reference reminds us of the scenes depicting the counting of taxes paid by Egyptians and the punishment of those who did not deliver the required amount (see, e.g., Dominicus 1994, 14–7, figs. 2–5). Often in such scenes the guards are shown pulling the people being punished and forcing them to bow and kneel by pressing them down with their hand or a stick. Such a moment of presentation before the Vizier is depicted in a scene accompanying the text of the *Duties of the Vizier* in the Tomb of Rekhmire (Davies 1943, pl. XXV). Two guards lead two litigants by force into the judicial hall, forcing them to bow.

Concluding the analysis of the above-cited passage, it should be noted that later in the text it is stated that those officials who behaved towards the Vizier’s messengers in this way, forcing them to bow and ushering them in before the officials, were punished by cutting off a body part such as the nose or ear. The inappropriate behavior towards the Vizier’s envoy was an insult to the Vizier himself and had to be punished accordingly.

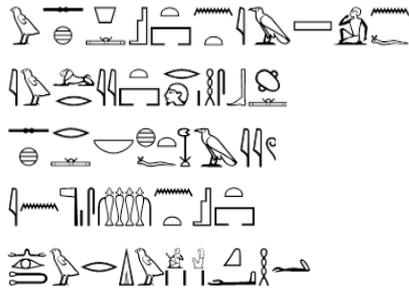
In a New Kingdom text, the *Teachings of Amenemope* (25.10–11), the bowing posture, as well as a curious arm movement, are mentioned:

Text 8: 

bn tnti ḥpš n kfšw

bn sšw st n ḥšbw=s

“The arm is not hurt by being bare,
the back is not broken by bending it.”



ir wnn=k m ryt

ḥꜥ ḥms r nmt.w=k

wdd n=k hrw tp(y)

m swꜣ ḥpr šnꜥ.t(w)=k

zpd ḥr n ḥq smi(.w)

wzh ist n.t iꜣš n=f

iw ryt r tp-ḥsb

zhr nb ḥft ḥꜣy

in nꜥr šhnt ist

nꜥ ir tw rdi.w qꜥḥ

“Whenever you are in court,

behave (lit. stand and sit) according to your steps (i.e. rank)

decreed for you the first day:

don’t bypass, or you will turn out to be banned.

Sharp is the face of the one who enters announced,

wide the place of the one summoned.

Court operates according to a standard;

every procedure is according to measure.

The god is the one who advances a place;

those who give the elbow are not appointed.”

(Ptahhotep 220–231: Text: Žába 1956, 33–4; Allen 2015b, 186. Translation: Allen 2015b, 186–87. Cf. also translation by Lichtheim 1973, 67).

The text concerns court hearings by a high official (probably with judicial responsibilities), according to the order of speaking decreed on the first day of the court. This order was probably decided based on each individual’s rank. During public gatherings, Egyptians of various social statuses would co-exist, although they would be differentiated by the place they occupied in the court and the way they were seated and stood, that is, the way they behaved. We can hypothesize that those of higher status, whether it was a matter of rank, age or gender, would have the privilege of sitting on seats. On the contrary, lesser Egyptians would stand while waiting for their turn to be heard or sit on the ground. It appears that some people tried to bypass the order using their elbows to push others aside, so they could be heard earlier than scheduled.

Although the above-cited text concerns behavior during public hearings, such behavior would probably be followed in every public gathering, as relevant texts and representations imply. Michael Argyle (1988, 208) and Desmond Morris (1977, 145–46) state that, when a person of higher status meets a social inferior, the person who has the privilege of “relaxing” is always the higher-status individual. This “relaxation” may be expressed

through the adoption of free body movements by the higher-status person, in contrast to the submissive and tense movements of the socially inferior person, or by the seated posture of the social superior compared to the standing posture of the lower status person.

A significant source of information on the spatial relationships of higher officials during the hearings by the Vizier is the *Duties of the Vizier*. A passage of this text reports:



ir ir.t nb.t p3 sr t3ty

hr sdm m h3 n t3ty

hms=f hr phdw

qn hr s3tw

šnp hr=f

šd hr psd=f

šd hr rdwi[=f]

[...] *hr=f*

‘b3 r ‘=f

šsm.w 40 sš(.w) m-b3h=f

wr.w-mq-šm‘.w m-itr̄ti m-b3h=f

imy-r3 ‘hnw.ty hr wnm=f

iry-ḥt-ꜥq ḥr i3b=f

sš.w n t3ty r-ꜥ=f

wꜥ ggw n wꜥ m z(i) nb r-ꜥq3=f

sḏm(.w) wꜥ ḥr-s3 sn.w=f

nn rdit sḏm(.w) ḥr(.y)-ph r-ḥꜥt ḥr.ï

“As for every act of this official, the Vizier,

when hearing (cases) in the bureau of the Vizier,

has to sit on the *phḏw*-chair,

the reed-covered dais on the ground,

the vestment on him,

a leather cushion under his back,

a leather cushion under his feet,

the [...] on him,

the *ḥ3*-scepter in his hand,

the 40 *šsmw* spread out before him,

the Great Ones (i.e. higher officials) of the Ten (i.e. Nomes) of Upper Egypt in two rows in front of him,

the Chamberlain on his right-hand side,

the Curator of the Access on his left-hand side,

the scribes of the Vizier beside him.

While one stands rigid fixedly facing the one opposite to him amongst everyone (present at the session),

one has to be heard after the other without allowing the low (ranking official) to be heard before the high (ranking official).”

(Text: Davies 1943, pl. XXVI [cols. 1–3]; Van den Boorn 1988, 12, pl. I [cols. 1–3], pl. IV [cols. 1–3]. Translation: Van den Boorn 1988, 13; cf. also translation by El Menshawy 2000, 11).

The higher social status of the Vizier is clearly projected not only by the insignia of his office mentioned in the text, but also by his seated posture. Indeed, he has the privilege of sitting on a special type of chair, perhaps of royal origin (Van den Boorn 1988, 25–6 n. 11). His subordinates stand beside him. The Chamberlain appears to hold a higher status than the Curator of the Access, as he occupies the place of honor to the right of the Vizier (for the predominance of “right” over “left” in the ancient Egyptian symbolic thinking see, e.g., Kekes 2021, 986–90; 2024, 171–73). On the contrary, the high officials of the ten nomes of Upper Egypt, who are about to be heard, are not seated but stand in front of the Vizier, arranged in two rows, as they are inferior to him. The posture of the attendants standing opposite each other is “an indication of the proper, respectful, attitude of officials”, according to El Menshawy (2000, 13).

Often in feasting scenes some figures are represented sitting on chairs or stools, while others are crouching on reed or straw mats on the ground (see also Hartwig 2004, 99, 210, fig. 8). Tyldesley (1995, 110) states that the crouching figures belong to a lower social class than those sitting on furniture. This suggestion agrees with what I have presented above. Even among the seated people, a social hierarchy may be observed based on their arrangement in space and sitting techniques (see, for example, the study of Carl Walsh [2014, 201–8] on ancient Egyptian court sitting etiquettes). The depictions imply that during this kind of event men were separated from women. This distinction in Egyptian art, however, may just be due to artistic conventions rather than reflecting ancient Egyptian reality.

In the *Teachings of Any* (19.10–12), a New Kingdom text (Lichtheim 1976, 135), the social distinction of Egyptians, as expressed through the various postures they adopted during their interactions, becomes apparent:

Text 12: 

im-k ḥmsi iw ky ḥ

iw=f m i3wt ir=k m r pw iw=f s3y ir=k m i3wt=f

“Do not sit when another is standing.

One who is older than you or greater than you in his rank.”

(Text: Suys 1935, 59 [Maxime XXIX]; Quack 1994, 104, 302. Translation: Lichtheim 1976, 139).

Once more, Herodotus’ testimony is corroborated and traces the public body behavior of the Egyptians of his times back to previous periods. The behavior recorded in the above passage appears to be diachronic. As already mentioned, if a person is allowed to assume a relaxed posture, this is always the person of higher status; consequently, when a high-status individual approaches a seated inferior, the latter is obliged to stand up. The above passage also makes it clear that elders were perceived as social superiors, too.

The prestige of those who had the honor of sitting during a gathering is also evidenced by another passage from the *Instructions of Ptahhotep*:

Text 13: 

ir wnn=k m z(i) iqr

ḥms(.w) m sh n nb=f

s3q ib=k r bw iqr

gr=k 3ḥ st r tftf

“If you are a worthy man,

who sits in the council of his lord,

focus on perfection,

your silence is better than chatter.”

(Ptahhotep 362–365: Text: Žába 1956, 45; Allen 2015b, 199. Translation: Lichtheim 1973, 70; cf. also translation by Allen 2015b, 199).

The proper social body behavior appears to have been implemented in every aspect of ancient Egyptians’ public interactions. The *Teachings of Amenemope* (25.6–7) even dictate how one must walk when meeting a social superior outdoors:

Text 14: 



ir ptr=k ʿ3 r=k m bnr

šms m s3=f tr tw

“If you see one greater than you outdoors,
walk behind him respectfully.”

(Text: Budge 1924, 229 [497–498]; Lange 1925, 123 [XXV.6–7]; Laisney 2007, 216, 359 [25.6–7]. Translation: Lichtheim 1976, 161).

In a Middle Kingdom text, the *Instructions* (or *Teaching*) of *Dua-Khety*, also known as the “Satire of Trades”, similar advice is given:



ir šm=k m-phwi sr.w

m tkn w3.w m-hr(.t) nfr.t

“If you walk behind officials,
do not come too close in good bearing.”

(Text: Helck 1970, 128 [XXIVa]. Cf. also translation by Lichtheim 1973, 190).

It might be very disrespectful of lesser Egyptians to overtake and precede their social superiors. The calm and humble step of lower officials is directly contrasted in the *Pyramid Texts* (text: Sethe 1910, 516 [Spruch 691: 2121c]. Translation: Allen 2015a, 322 [691A]) and the *Book of the Dead* (text: Budge 1910, 1:34 [Chapter XI]. Translation: Faulkner 2004, 37 [Spell 11]; Quirke 2013, 28) to the wide, determined stride of the Pharaoh, although these texts concern an entirely different context, that of the Pharaoh’s afterlife journey.

It might also be an example of disrespect by young Egyptians to touch an elder, as the following passage from the *Teachings of Amenemope* (4.6–7) underlines:



m ir 3w dr.t=k r tkn i3w

mtw=k t3 r n ʿ3

“Do not extend your hand to touch an old man,
nor interrupt the speech of an elder.”

(Text: Budge 1924, 188–89 [62–63]; Lange 1925, 35 [IV.6–7]; Laisney 2007, 54, 329 [IV.6–7]. Cf. also translation by Lichtheim 1976, 150).

Silence appears to be crucial in ancient Egyptian wisdom literature, being described as one of the highest virtues (Fox 1983, 12–4; Hutto 2002, 231–32; Cariddi 2013, 2023). Ridealgh (2016, 250–51), however, doubts that silence was considered as important in ancient Egyptian daily life as is implied in the texts. In the *Satire of Trades* placing the hand on the mouth is mentioned, highlighting the importance placed on silence as a demonstration of respect, self-restraint and morality (Lichtheim 1973, 190; Hutto 2002, 228, 232).

However, it must be noted that most of the above-cited texts belong to didactic literature that probably presents an ideal Egyptian society, as Kim Ridealgh (2016, 250) underlines. So, it is not certain that these rules of social behavior were strictly followed in the daily life of ancient Egyptians. Consequently, when Egyptian wisdom texts refer to specific intertemporal behaviors, this means that it was necessary for the appropriate social behavior to be repeatedly highlighted. For the purposes of this study, what always needed to be stressed was the correct manner of interaction with high-status people: elders and higher officials.

Moreover, the texts of this kind were written by members of the Egyptian higher social classes and are mostly addressed to people of these classes (Quack [1994, 79–81], for example, has shown that the *Teachings of Any* were recorded by a middle-class Egyptian, and the text was addressed to lower officials of civic centers). We do not know if lower-class Egyptians consistently followed these rules, although the nature of Egyptian society, as it is outlined here, indicates that these rules probably applied to all, especially the common people, who formed the base of the Egyptian hierarchical pyramid.

In the ancient Eastern Mediterranean, it was common for submission to be expressed with specific postures, the most characteristic of which were bowing, kneeling and prostration. In Egypt, as well as in the Levant, these postures were performed in an exaggerated manner. A person approaching a superior (most characteristically, their ruler) or a divine statue had to bend forward (even at 90 degrees) or kneel and touch the ground with their forehead.

These submissive postures are often recorded in Egyptian sources. Prostration is usually referred to as “kissing the earth” (*sn t3*) (see, e.g., De Buck 1954, 18 [Spell 362, e], 333 [Spell 460, k]; Dominicus 1994, 30, 33–5, 181; Allen 2015b, 116–17 [188]), while other idioms are also found, such as: “come on the face/fall on the face” (*iwi hr hr/hr hr* (or *m hr*) (see, e.g., Budge 1910, 2:178 [Chapter CXXXIV.11–2]; De Buck 1954, 42 [Spell 378, a], 397 [Spell 469, l]; Faulkner 1977, 12 [Spell 378, V.42], 103 [Spell 469, V.397]; 2004, 123 [Spell 134]; Dominicus 1994, 33–6, 181–82; Quirke 2013, 299), “lay on the earth” (*pth hr t3*) (see, e.g., Dominicus 1994, 35), “come on the body/the belly” (*iy hr ht/dt*) (see, e.g., Budge 1910, 2:277 [Chapter CXLIX, X.4]; De Buck 1956, 222 [Spell 609, e]; Faulkner 1977, 197 [Spell 609, VI.222]; 2004, 144; Dominicus 1994, 35, 182; Quirke 2013, 361; Allen 2015b, 24–5 [68]), “bow the head to the earth” (*w3h tp m t3*) (see, e.g., Dominicus 1994, 24–5), “kneel” (*m3s*) (see, e.g., Budge 1910, 2:53 [Chapter XC.3]; Sethe 1910, 87 [Spruch 491, 1057a]; De Buck 1935, 236 [Spell 51, a]; 1956, 407 [Spell 773, b–c]; Faulkner 1973, 50 [Spell 51, I.236]; 1977, 302 [Spell 773]; 2004, 85 [Spell 90]; Dominicus 1994, 24, 33, 36; Allen 2015a, 148 [491B]), “bow” (*h3m*) (see, e.g., Dominicus 1994, 24–5, 58), “touch the ground/touch the earth with the forehead” (*dmi z3tw/dhn (n) t3*) (see, e.g., Dominicus 1994, 24, 34–6, 182; Allen 2015b, 37 [137–138]), “come crawling” (*iwi m hf3t*) (see, e.g., Dominicus 1994, 25, 36, 182), etc. (for a detailed analysis of Egyptian idioms expressing respect see Bahgat 2020).

Sometimes, as we also see in Egyptian iconography, those who kneel and prostrate, raise or extend their arms (Davies 1905, pls. XXXVII–XXXVIII; Blackman 1924, pl. XV; Martin 1989, pls. 114–115; Dominicus 1994, 34, fig. 10; 53, Marochetti 2010, fig. 15, pl. XIV). This movement in Egyptian texts is probably defined by the term *w3h ʿ.wi* (“stretch out the arms”) (indicatively, see De Buck 1961, 425 [Spell 1102, c]; Faulkner 1978, 158 [Spell 1102, VII.425]; Dominicus 1994, 34). Another body movement that expressed the submission and respect of ancient Egyptians (and foreigners) towards their superiors was that of head inclination (*m w3h tp*) (Erman and Grapow 1971, 257; Kitchen 1979, 237 [3–6]; 1996, 89 [237:1]; Hsu 2017, 284).

Various more or less complex gestures of deference are also depicted in Egyptian art (fig. 1). Most combine placing one hand on the opposite shoulder (or rarely the opposite arm) with a similar movement of the other hand, on the opposite shoulder, on the torso, or on the opposite arm (for Old Kingdom examples see: Borchardt 1913, pls. 1, 13, 50; Wilson and Allen 1938a, pls. 9, 37, 83, 94; 1938b, pls. 140, 168; Épron and Daumas 1939, pl. XVII; Dunham and Simpson 1974, figs. 5, 7–8; Simpson 1976, fig. 27; 1978, fig. 26; Harpur 1987, 503, fig. 133, 505, fig. 138, 514, fig. 166; Kanawati 2001, pl. 42; 2002, pls. 57, 64; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2003, fig. 54, pl. 71; 2004, pl. 46. For Middle Kingdom examples see: Blackman 1915, pls. XV, XVIII.1–2; Davies 1913, pl. XXX.1; Vandier 1958, pls. LVII.3; LXXXVI.3; Russmann 2001, 90, fig. 48, 123, no. 46; Kanawati and Evans 2014,

pls. 118, 121, 126, 132, 139, 141; 2016, pls. 96, 105–108; 2018, pls. 63, 67–68, 70–71, 79, 82. For New Kingdom examples see: Naville 1898, pl. LXIX; Breasted and Allen 1932, pls. 90, 98; Davies 1906, XXIII; 1922, pls. XXXII, XXXVI–XXXVII; 1933, pl. XI; 1943, pls. XXV, LV; Vandier 1958, pl. CLII.3; Seele 1959, pl. 5; Caminos 1974, pls. 32, 80.2, 92.1; Ockinga 2004, pl. 60). These gestures are performed by inferiors to superiors, expressing their submission, humility and respect, or even sometimes by important individuals, further indicating their social status and identity (e.g., members of the deceased's family, chiefs, foremen, foreign emissaries, etc. For further information on the various types and symbolism of these gestures see, e.g., Kekes 2021, 169–216, 326–32, 346–403; 2023, 673, 677, fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Various gestures represented in ancient Egyptian art (drawings by Christina Antoniadou). A: After Kanawati 2001, pl. 42. B: After Kanawati 2002, pl. 57. C: After Simpson 1978, fig. 26. D: After Davies 1943, pl. XXV. E: After Breasted and Allen 1932, pl. 101. F: After Kanawati 2001, pl. 42. G: After Harpur 1987, 514, fig. 166. H: After Épron and Dumas 1939, pl. XVII. I: After Dunham and Simpson 1974, fig. 8. J: After Davies 1943, pl. LV. K: After Borchardt 1913, pl. 50. L: After Épron and Dumas 1939, pl. XVII. M: After Épron and Dumas 1939, pl. XVII. N: After Davies 1933, pl. XI. O: After Davies 1936, pl. XLII. P: After Davies 1922, pl. XXXVI.

THE PROPER BODY BEHAVIOR WHEN APPROACHING THE PHARAOH

The most important individual in the Egyptian social hierarchy was, of course, the Pharaoh. The protocol of approaching the Egyptian ruler and presentation before him imposed the adoption of some of the above gestures and postures, often performed in an exaggerated manner.

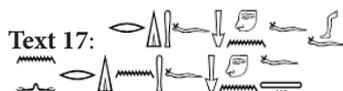
Bowing and prostration are very often represented in procession scenes, where Egyptians and foreign envoys, either independent or subjects, bring offerings to the Pharaoh or his representative (for further information on the presentation of gifts and tributes ceremony (*mz inw*) see Hallmann 2006; Matić 2012; 2019; Wang 2022). According to Diamantis Panagiotopoulos (2001, 272), prostration must not be interpreted as an indicator of submission, but as the traditional court ritual of presentation before the Pharaoh, since not only subjugated people but also emissaries of independent lands, such as the Keftiu, assume this posture (Panagiotopoulos 2006, 381–82). In the Egyptian perception, however, the adoption of a prostrated posture, even by non-subjugated foreigners, confirmed the power of Egypt and its superiority over every other country (see also Gnirs 2009; Mynářová and Coppens 2011; Coppens 2019; Baines 2023, 80–8).

I have briefly mentioned some idioms concerning various postures and gestures found in Egyptian texts, especially that of prostration. As I have said, one of the most characteristic terms defining prostration was the “kissing of the earth” (*sn t3*). Those who approached the Egyptian king had to prostrate themselves and kiss the ground before him.

For example, in the Middle Kingdom *Story of Sinuhe*, the Pharaoh sends a letter to Sinuhe, in which he encourages him to return to Egypt and “kiss the earth (*sn t3*) at the great double gate and join with the courtiers” (Allen 2015b, 116–17 [B 188–189]). When the letter was read to Sinuhe, he fell on his belly (*dī.n-i wi hr ht-i*) and touched the ground (*dmi.n-i z3tw*) (Allen 2015b, 123 [B 200–201]). He is later escorted to the Pharaoh and touches the ground with his forehead between the sphinxes (*dh(n).n-i t3 imitw šzpw*) and falls on his belly before the king (*dwn.kw hr ht-i*) (Allen 2015b, 136–37 [B 249–250, B 252–253]).

In exceptional cases of trusted officials, the Egyptian ruler allowed them the privilege of kissing his feet instead of the ground he stood on. Physical contact of unauthorized people with the divine person of the Pharaoh plausibly was forbidden or even dangerous for common mortals, although we do not have enough information to support such a statement (see, e.g., Wilson 1946, 75–6. See also below. As Text 16 also indicates, touching a respected individual, such as an elder, was not appropriate). On the contrary, in a First Intermediate Period royal inscription from Deir el-Ballas it is said that people come to the victorious Egyptian king bowing (*m ksw*) and kiss him at his every limb (*hr sn=k r ʿ.t=k nb.t*) (Darnell 2008, 85). Nevertheless, as Baines (2023, 80) notes, this is clearly a narrative formula expressing their love for their ruler.

The text on a false door of the tomb of Ptahshepses in Saqqara (Old Kingdom, 5th Dynasty), fragments of which are in the British Museum (inv. no. EA 682) and the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (former Oriental Institute)³ Museum of Chicago (inv. no. OIM 11048), states that:



rdi hm=f sn=f rd=f

nn rdi.n hm=f sn=f t3

“His Majesty caused him to kiss his foot,

for His Majesty would not allow him to kiss the earth.”

(Dorman 2002, 100, fig. 3, 102 [6]; Strudwick 2005, 304–5 [226]; Gundacker 2015, 76–7, 96. See also Dominicus 1994, 33; Strudwick 2005, 318 [235.A7–8]).

³ I thank Filip Taterka for pointing this recent change out to me.

The fact that Ptahshepses is proud that the Pharaoh allowed him to kiss his foot, rather than the ground he stood on, has a twofold meaning. On the one hand, it means that it was forbidden to touch the king. On the other hand, it seems that Ptahshepses was a highly respected individual of a social status that allowed him to have a close relationship with the Pharaoh. Indeed, Ptahshepses was married to Khamaat, a king Userkaf's daughter, as the text informs us (Dorman 2002, 95, 100, fig. 3, 101–2 [3]).

A noteworthy incident confirms the above-presented interpretation. During a ritual, the scepter of Pharaoh Neferirkare accidentally touched or stroked Rewer, a high priest, so the latter came in direct contact with the former. The king, realizing that the contact happened by accident –and given that it involved an individual very close to him– not only did not punish Rewer, but wished him to be sound and ordered the incident to be recorded in his tomb (Hassan 1932, 18–9, pl. XVIII; Sethe 1933, 232 [lines 5–16]; El Menshawy 2000, 39–42; Strudwick 2005, 305–6 [227]). Allen (1992) offers a different explanation of the accident. According to him, Pharaoh's intention was to prevent Rewer from being punished for interrupting the ritual.

Late and Graeco-Roman Period texts make clear that established rules defined the Egyptians' behavior in front of the Pharaoh, recording the body movements to be performed by those who approached the king. This established “protocol” of presentation before the Pharaoh, as we have already seen, undoubtedly existed in earlier periods too (see also Quack's [2010, 4–5] study on access to the royal court and the proper behavior there and Bahgat's [2023] study on the appropriate social behavior in the presence of Pharaoh during the New Kingdom).

A passage from the late Ptolemaic *Instructions of Ankhsheshonqy* (P. BM EA 10508,2 25.11), for example, records:

Text 18: *rh p gy n hms m-bzh pr-ꜥ3*

“Learn the manner of sitting in the presence of Pharaoh.”

(Glanville 1955, 56–7 [11]; Simpson 2003, 526).

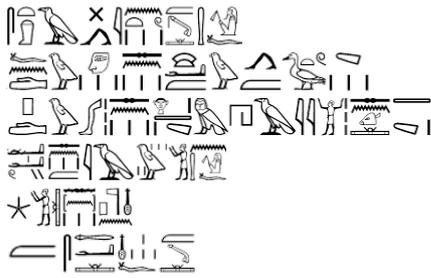
The *Adventures of Setna and Si-Osire* (P. BM EA 10822,1 3.1), a Roman Period text, states:

Text 19: “He bowed himself to the ground, he adored [Pharaoh], he [raised] himself, and he stood on his feet performing the salutations of the adoration of Pharaoh.”

(Griffith 1900, 164–65 [III.1]; Simpson 2003, 477).

The above passage can easily be correlated with references to the “kissing of the earth”, as well as depictions where those who approach the Pharaoh or his representative place their “Hand on Opposite Shoulder” (fig. 1b), bow, kneel, touch their knees with their hands, turn their palms towards the king, or fall on the ground (see, e.g., Davies 1905, pls. XXXVII–XXXVIII; 1908, pls. XVIII, XXIX, XXXI; Dominicus 1994, 26, fig. 8, 34, fig. 10; Attia 2022, 144–45, fig. 27. See El Menshawy 2000, 30–1 for more relevant texts. See also Kekes 2021, 422–50; 2023, 673–74 for an overview of the “Palms Outwards” gesture). In the *Great Abydos Inscription of Ramesses II*, a reference similar to that of Text 19 is found:

Text 20: 



ḏd in ḥm=f n ḥtm.ty bit.y nt.ī r gs=f

ḏd=k nis šnywt šps.w nswt

imyw-r mnfzyt mi-qd.w

imyw-r k3.wt mi ʿš3=sn

ḥr.ī.w-tp n.w pr mḏst

st3.ī n.tw.w m-b3ḥ ḥm=f

fnd.w=sn ḥʿm.w m s3tw

pd.w=sn ḥr t3 m h3.y sn t3

ʿ.wi=sn m i3w n ḥm=f

ḏw3=sn nṯr pn nfr

m sʿ3 nfr.w=f m-b3ḥ

“Then, His Majesty said to the Royal Seal-bearer who was by his side:

‘Speak and summon the courtiers, the King’s nobles,

all the army commanders,

the Overseers of Works –as many as they may be–,

and the Chiefs of the Archives.’

Thereupon they were ushered in before His Majesty,

their noses touching the ground,

their knees on the earth, in jubilation, kissing the earth,

their arms in praise of His Majesty.

They adored this good god,

in magnifying his beauty in the Presence.”

(Kitchen 1979, 326 [6–9]; 1996, 166 [326:5]; El Menshawy 2000, 19; Spalinger 2009, 28–9).

This text also shows that a high official of the royal court (usually the Royal Seal-bearer) was responsible for ushering in the audience before the king (on this matter, see El Menshawy 2000, 17–25). His responsibilities included arranging the audience according to their rank, moving them in and out, and calling them to stand up, as they might be seated while waiting to be announced (Sethé 1909, 966 [lines 6, 10–14], 967 [lines 6, 14]; El Menshawy 2000, 24. See also Walsh 2016, 36).

Before meeting the Pharaoh, the officials first had to be purified (El Menshawy 2000, 15–7). In the Middle Kingdom story of the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, some advice is given to an official who is about to be presented before the king:

Text 21: 

iʿ tw imi mw ḥr ḏbʿ.w=k

“Wash yourself, put water on your fingers.”

(El Menshawy 2000, 15–6; Allen 2015b, 12–3 [13–14]).

Foreign enemies expressed their submission to Egypt and its ruler, adopting various body behaviors. The most usual submissive actions of foreign captives represented in Egyptian art are kneeling, prostrating themselves and turning their open palm(s) to the Pharaoh or Egyptian deities (see, e.g., Breasted 1930, pl. 11; Breasted and Allen 1932, pls. 101–102, 105, 121B. It must be noted, however, that the Egyptian “Palm[s] Outwards” gestures convey a wide range of symbolism depending on the performer, the addressee, and the context [see Kekes 2021, 272–98, 422–50]). Hands placed on the head (*ḏr.ti ḥr tp*) during military conflicts demonstrate foreigners’ submission, pleading and praise to the Egyptian king (for example, see epigraphic evidence of the Second Libyan War of Ramesses III from Medinet Habu in Breasted and Allen 1932, pl. 83 [col. 44]; Kitchen 1983, 64 [14]; 2008, 50 [64:10]; Dominicus 1994, 70; Peden 1994, 46–7).

Let us now examine the interaction between the Egyptian ruler and the vassal kings of the Near East, as it emerges from the Amarna Letters. Almost every letter sent by the vassal kings to the Pharaoh mentions their prostration in front of him. Although in the context of diplomatic correspondence prostration seems to be a common form of greeting their superior (see also Morris 2006, 179–80), the Pharaoh, it is suggested that this posture might also have been adopted during their face-to-face meetings with him. Besides, as we have already seen, prostration was obligatory in the context of the court ritual of the presentation of Egyptians and foreigners before the Pharaoh.

The Amarna Letters suggest that this practice may have been a usual behavior during the presentation of people in every royal court in the Eastern Mediterranean. Indeed, in the Amarna Letters the performance of prostration is described in detail. I will present some typical texts below. In Amarna Letter EA 60 (1–5), ‘Abdi-Ashratu addresses the Pharaoh:

Text 22: “[T]o the king, the sun god, my lord, the message of ‘Abdi-Ashratu your [ser]vant, the dirt under your feet: [a]t the feet of the king, my lord, seven times and seven times have I fallen...”

(Moran 1992, 131–32; Rainey and Schniedewind 2015, 418–19 [1–5]).

This is the most common form of a typical reference to prostration. We can imagine those who came before the Pharaoh falling to the ground with their forehead touching it, raising their upper body while still kneeling, turning their palms towards him, and repeating the movement “seven times and seven times”. Although this phrase comes from Near Eastern (con)texts, it is worth mentioning that number seven in the Egyptian perception had a multilevel symbolism. It was associated with several deities, possessed great magical power and incorporated various concepts such as effectiveness, perfection, plurality, completeness and totality (Wilkinson 1994, 135–7; Matić 2017, 322–4. For further information see also Rochholz 2002).

However, such a phrase might just symbolize the indefinite performance of this submissive posture (Mynářová and Coppens 2011, 290). Some of the letters provide further detail on the performance of prostration. Letter EA 65 (1–6) reports:

Text 23: “[Spe]ak [to the king, my lord; the message] of ‘Abdi-Aštarti your servant. At the feet of my lord seven and seven times \\ have I fallen both on the stomach and on the back, at the feet of the king, my lord.”

(Moran 1992, 136 [EA 65.1–6]; Rainey and Schniedewind 2015, 430–31 [1–6]).

References like the one above (see also letters EA 64, 211, 213, 215) attest that vassal kings presented before the Pharaoh not only fell with the forehead to the ground, but sometimes performed this submissive action

by also lying on their backs. A relief from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb depicts a foreigner lying on his back and turning his palms in obeisance towards the official Horemheb (Martin 1989, pls. 114–115. See also Mynářová and Coppens 2011, 290).

These various ways of performing the prostration probably suggest a corresponding different social status of the performers greeting the Pharaoh. According to Ellen Morris (2006), those kings who used the simplest form of greeting and prostration (without mentioning the number of prostrations) had a higher social status and their kingdoms were considered to be of major importance to Egyptian foreign policy, compared to those who prostrated themselves with exaggerated details and flattery (e.g., Text 23). Some vassal kings claimed to fall at the Pharaoh's feet without mentioning the number of prostrations, or prostrating themselves only seven times, while others fell on the ground at the Pharaoh's feet, or under his feet, seven times and seven times, showing that they were kings of minor importance (see, e.g., letters EA 126, 175, 254, 321. See also Morris 2006, 184–85, 188).

SHOWING RESPECT AND SUBMISSION IN THE AFTERWORLD

The status of the deceased Pharaoh in the Afterworld is evidenced by references in various funerary texts to the gods who come bowing to the Pharaoh, recognizing his authority in the celestial world, too, as well as his divine nature. Spell 579 of the *Pyramid Texts* characteristically states:



dī=k [˘]=k r=sn

dī=k [˘]=k ir nṯr.w

dī=s(n) n=k iṣ(w)

iw.t=sn n=k m ksīw

mī dī.t=sn iṣ(w) n R[˘]

iw.t=sn n=f m ksīw

“You put out your arm toward them.

You put out your arm toward the gods

and they give you praise

and come to you bowing,

like their giving praise to Ra

and their coming to him bowing.”

(Text: Sethe 1910, 329 [Spruch 579, 1541c–1542a]. Translation: Allen 2015a, 188 [579]. A similar reference is found in Spell 614 of the *Pyramid Texts*. See Sethe 1910, 417 [Spruch 614, 1740c]; Allen 2015a, 230 [614]).

The symbolic aspect of respect in the movement of lowering the arms is strongly projected in the *Coffin Texts*, too. Spell 44, for example, reads:

Another gestural idiom that concerns the stretching out of the arm is found on a Middle Kingdom stela of the Chief Priest Wepwawet-aa from Abydos (12th Dynasty, Amenemhat II), now in Leiden (inv. no. V 4), where post-mortem wishes of the deceased are recorded (the so-called “Abydos Formula”. For more information see Lichtheim 1988, 55–8; Rosell 2018):



mz n=f Mhwn rmn=f hr-h3t sh^c.w

shnt Wsir st=i r wr.w im.y.w t3 dsr

ink wn.t z(i) n 3w.t n=f rmn

“May Mehun extend his shoulder to him before the Noble Ones.

May Osiris advance my seat over the Great Ones that are in the necropolis.

I am a man to whom one extends the shoulder.”

(Sethe 1959, 73 [lines 7–9]; Lichtheim 1988, 76–77; Dominicus 1994, 86; Calabro 2020, 296, 308).

The above passage literally refers to the shoulder; however, both gestural idioms mentioned (*mz rmn n / 3w.t rmn n*) can be understood as extending the arm. Lichtheim (1988, 77 n. 12) believes that the first idiom (*mz rmn n*) functions as a presentation of offerings by the god Mehun to the deceased, while Dominicus (1994, 86) connects it with a sacrificial recitation. Despite the fact that Mehun is a god of sacrificial slaughter (Lichtheim 1988, 77 n. 12), there is no reference for a ritual offering (either verbal or material) in the text. The placement of the deceased amongst the “Great Ones” in the necropolis suggests that he will receive an honorable place. According to Calabro (2020, 308–9), the symbolic function of Mehun’s outstretched arm (*mz rmn n*) is suggested later in the text, when the deceased claims to be a man to whom everyone extends the shoulder (*3w.t rmn n*). According to this reference, the extended arm (lit. shoulder), in both idioms, can be interpreted as an “honorary salute”, as Calabro calls it. Simpson (1958, 305 [e]) gives a similar meaning to the second gestural idiom (*3w.t rmn n*), considering the extended arm as “incumbent upon an inferior upon approaching (?) a superior”. The above idioms could be correlated with the “Palm Outwards” gesture depicted in Egyptian art (fig. 1e).

New Kingdom tomb paintings often depict the deceased waiting for the weighing of his heart and presented before a deity (usually Osiris). In such scenes, the deceased usually performs some of the typical respectful gestures. More specifically, the deceased expresses his deference to the divine entities by placing his “Hand on Opposite Shoulder” (Seele 1959, pl. 5), or his “Hands on Opposite Shoulder and Forearm” (Davies 1927, pl. XIII) (fig. 1b, m).

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN BODY BEHAVIOR DURING THE PERFORMANCE OF CULTIC ACTIONS

The proper body behavior outlined here did not exclusively concern the Egyptians’ interactions with each other, but was also applied to their relations with the divine world. That is, Egyptians (the Pharaoh included) also gesturally showed deference when approaching religious places or divine images. For example, a Middle Kingdom stela of Intef in the British Museum (inv. no. EA 581) records:⁴

⁴ The stela can be found at the following link: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA581.

CONCLUSION

The above-presented analysis reveals the existence of an established model of proper social behavior in ancient Egypt. This proper behavior was expressed through a wide range of postures and body movements. The correlation of Old, Middle and New Kingdom texts, Graeco-Roman Period texts and Herodotus' testimonies with Egyptian iconography implies the long tradition in the usage of these specific gestures and postures, meaning they were regarded very important to ancient Egyptians and remained unchanged throughout the centuries. Their importance probably lies in their role in maintaining the status quo. The literary and iconographic evidence presented in this paper also corroborates the diachronic continuity of the proper social behavior outlined here. Egypt was a strictly structured hierarchical society, in which the primary concept was the virtue of respect. Pious Egyptians showed respect, first and foremost, towards the Egyptian deities, as well as towards the Pharaoh, their elders and members of the elite, through the adoption of a particular "body behavior", among other things. The preceded analysis of Egyptian representations and texts implies the symbolic function of specific gestures, postures and body movements as indicators of ancient Egyptian social inequality. The social rank of each Egyptian strictly defined their proper mode of public behavior and especially in relation to their social superiors. Their position in space, as well as whether they had to stand or were permitted to sit during gatherings, derived from their social status. Lesser Egyptians were obliged to walk behind their superiors outdoors. Ancient Egyptian behavior, in every aspect, had to demonstrate the hierarchical structure of ancient Egyptian society, as well as preserve it in eternity.

A crucial part of the Egyptians' expression of submission and respect was to make their body look smaller than that of their superiors. In this context, they usually touched their body with their hands, while they bowed, kneeled, or even prostrated themselves in front of high-status individuals or divine images. However, some of the gestures presented here were also adopted by high-status individuals to project their social status and authority.

Touching an elder was also forbidden, as was touching the Pharaoh without his permission. The Pharaoh's divine nature probably rendered the direct physical contact with him as prohibited or even dangerous for the common mortals. Only officials close to the Egyptian king had the privilege of touching him, after his explicit permission. All other Egyptians, as well as foreigners, were obligated to prostrate themselves and kiss the ground before him. It seems that vassal kings performed the prostration before the Pharaoh in a much-exaggerated manner. The submissive behavior of Egyptians and foreigners before the Egyptian ruler stressed Egypt's superiority (as well as each Pharaoh's political power and authority), that had to be maintained in perpetuity.

The status of the deceased Pharaoh in the Afterworld emerges from the fact that the gods bow before him. Bowing can also be performed in front of a dead individual, while various texts imply that specific gestures could symbolically function as greetings honoring the deceased, as indicators of their divine transfiguration. The deceased sometimes adopts specific deferential gestures when approaching Osiris or, rarely, other divinities. It seems that the stratification of the ancient Egyptian society was maintained in the Afterworld. However, the submissive postures and gestures even the gods adopt before the social superior Pharaoh or even a deceased individual should be interpreted in the light of the afterlife journey of the dead. In this context, the power, authority and dominance of the deceased may be temporary (at least in the case of individuals); it may last until the deceased overcomes the dangers of the Afterworld, completes the journey to immortality, is transfigured into a blessed entity and united with the gods.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful to Filip Taterka and Guilherme Borges Pires for their corrections, recommendations and valuable comments on the manuscript. I would also like to thank Christina Antoniadou for the gesture drawings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, J.P. 1992. "Rē'wer's Accident." In *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, edited by A.B. Lloyd, 14–20. Occasional Publications 8. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- _____. 2015a. *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. 2nd ed. Writings from the Ancient World 38. Atlanta: SBL Press.
- _____. 2015b. *Middle Egyptian Literature: Eight Literary Works of the Middle Kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Argyle, M. 1988. *Bodily Communication*. 2nd ed. London: International Universities Press.
- Attia, A.H. 2022. *Tomb of Kha-em-hat of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Western Thebes (TT 57)*. *Archaeopress Egyptology* 35. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Bahgat, S. 2020. "Expressing Respect in Ancient Egyptian Language." *Göttinger Miszellen* 262:85–99.
- _____. 2023. "Acceptable Behaviour in the Presence of the King during the New Kingdom." In *Current Research in Egyptology 2022. Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Symposium, Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3, 26–30 September 2022*, edited by A. Bouhaf, L. Chapon, M. Claude, M. Danilova, L. Dautais, N. Fathy, A.I. Fernández Pichel, M. Guigner, M. Pinon and M. Valerio, 16–24. Oxford: Archaeopress. <https://www.archaeopress.com/Archaeopress/Products/9781803275833>
- Baines, J. 2023. "Ancient Egyptian Decorum: Demarcating and Presenting Social Action." In *Ancient Egyptian Society: Challenging Assumptions, Exploring Approaches*, edited by D. Candelora, N. Ben-Marzouk and K.M. Cooney, 74–89. London, New York: Routledge.
- Blackman, A.M. 1915. *The Rock Tombs of Meir*. Part III, *The Tomb-Chapel of Ukh-Hotp Son of Ukh-Hotp and Mersi (B, no. 4)*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- _____. 1924. *The Rock Tombs of Meir*. Part IV, *The Tomb-Chapel of Pepi-'Onkh the Middle Son, of Sebkhōtpe and Pekhernefert (D, No. 2)*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Borchardt, L. 1913. *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Šahure*. Vol. II, *Die Wandbilder, (Abbildungsblätter)*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Breasted, J.H., ed. 1930. *Medinet Habu*. I: *Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III*. OIP 8. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Breasted, J.H., and T.G. Allen, eds. 1932. *Medinet Habu*. II: *Later Historical Records of Ramses III*. OIP 9. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Budge, E.A.W. 1910. *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day or the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead: Chapters I–CLII*. 3 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd.
- _____. 1914. *Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum*. London: Printed by order of the Trustees.
- _____. 1924. *The Teaching of Amen-Em-Apt, Son of Kanekht*. London: Martin Hopkinson and Company Ltd.
- Calabro, D.M. 2020. "The Reach, the Handclasp, and the Embrace: Gestures of the Gods in the Ancient Egyptian Abydos Formula." In *Seek ye Words of Wisdom: Studies of the Book of Mormon, Bible, and Temple in Honor of Stephen D. Ricks*, edited by D.W. Parry, G. Strathearn and S.D. Hopkin, 291–310. Orem, Provo: The Interpreter Foundation.
- Caminos, R.A. 1974. *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen*. Vol. I. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Cariddi, I. 2013. "God Loves the Silent One': The Value of Silence in Ancient Egypt through Temple Interdicts and Autobiographical Inscriptions." In *SOMA 2012 – Identity and Connectivity: Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Florence, Italy, 1–3 March 2012*, Vol. I, edited by L. Bombardieri, A. D'Agostino, G. Guarducci, V. Orsi and S. Valentini, 553–57. BAR-IS 2581. Oxford: BAR Publishing.
- _____. 2023. "L'Ideale del 'Silenzioso' nel Componimento Egiziano 'L'Insegnamento di Amenemope'" In *Tempus Tacendi: Quando il Silenzio Comunica. Miscellanea Internazionale Multidisciplinare*, edited by A. Campus, A. Chahoud, G. Lusini and S. Marchesini, 65–88. Verona: Alteritas. DOI: 10.60973/TTCarid90096.5.
- Coppens, F. 2019. "The Ptolemaic Basileus in *proskynesis* before the Gods of Egypt. The Ritual sn-tA ('Kissing the Earth') in Temples of the Ptolemaic Era." In *9. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie / 9th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology: Egyptian Royal Ideology and Kingship under Periods of Foreign Rulers. Case Studies from the First Millennium BC*, edited by J. Budka, 207–31. Königstum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 4,6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Darnell, J.C. 2008. "The Eleventh Dynasty Royal Inscription from Deir el-Ballas." *RÉg* 59:81–110.
- David, A. 2017–2018. "When the Body Talks: Akhenaten's Body Language in Amarna Iconography." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 44:97–157.
- Davies, N. de G. 1905. *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*. Part II, *The Tombs of Panehesy and Meryra II*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- _____. 1906. *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*. Part IV, *Tombs of Penthu, Mahu, and Others*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- _____. 1908. *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*. Part VI, *Tombs of Parennefer, Tutu, and Ay*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

- _____. 1913. *Five Theban Tombs (being those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemawäy, and Tati)*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- _____. 1922. *The Tomb of Puyemre at Thebes*. Vol. I, *The Hall of Memories*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- _____. 1927. *Two Ramesside tombs at Thebes*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- _____. 1933. *The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmose, and Another (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226)*. The Theban Tombs Series 5. London: The Egypt Exploration Society.
- _____. 1943. *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes*. Vol. II. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Davies, N.M. 1936. *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*. Vol. I, *Plates I–LII*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- De Buck, A. 1935. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vol. I, *Texts of Spells 1–75*. OIP 34. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- _____. 1954. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vol. V, *Texts of Spells 355–471*. OIP 73. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- _____. 1956. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vol. VI, *Texts of Spells 472–787*. OIP 81. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- _____. 1961. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vol. VII, *Texts of Spells 787–1185*. OIP 87. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Dominicus, B. 1994. *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens (SAGA) 10. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- Dorman, P.F. 2002. “The Biographical Inscription of Ptahshepses from Saqqara: A Newly Identified Fragment.” *JEA* 88:95–110.
- Dunham, D., and Simpson, W.K. 1974. *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, G 7530–7540*. Giza Mastabas 1. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- El-Khouli, A., and Kanawati, N. 1990. *The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya*. Sydney: The Australian Centre for Egyptology.
- El Menshawy, S. Abd El A. 2000. “Studies in Access to the King, the Interaction, with the Court and the Subjects until the End of the New Kingdom.” Ph.D. diss., University of Liverpool.
- Épron, L., and Dumas, F. 1939. *Le Tombeau de Ti*. Vol. I, *Les Approches de la Chapelle*. Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.
- Erman, A., and H. Grapow. 1971. *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*. Vol. I. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Faulkner, R.O. 1973. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vol. I, *Spells 1–354*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- _____. 1977. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vol. II, *Spells 355–787*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- _____. 1978. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vol. III, *Spells 788–1185 & Indexes*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- _____. 1991. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.
- _____. 2004. *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*. Rev. ed. London: The British Museum Press.
- Fox, M.V. 1983. “Ancient Egyptian Rhetoric.” *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 1(1):9–22.
- Frood, E. 2007. *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt*. Atlanta: SBL Press.
- Gardiner, Sir A.H., T.E. Peet, and J. Černý. 1952. *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. Vol. I, *Introduction and Plates*. 2nd ed. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- _____. 1955. *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. Vol. II, *Translations and Commentary*. Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society (MEES) 45. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Glanville, S.R.K. 1955. *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*. Vol. II, *The Instructions of ‘Oncsheshonqy (British Museum Papyrus 10508)*. Part I, *Introduction, Transliteration, Translation, Notes and Plates*. London: The Trustees of the British Museum.
- Gnirs, A.M. 2009. “In the King’s House: Audiences and Receptions at Court.” In *4. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie / 4th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology: Egyptian Royal Residences*, edited by R. Gundlach and J.H. Taylor, 13–43. Königstum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 4,1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Griffith, F.L. 1900. *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis: The Sethon of Herodotus and the Demotic Tales of Khamuas*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gundacker, R. 2015. “Die (Auto)Biographie des Schepesptah von Saqqarah: Ein Neuer Versuch zur Rekonstruktion der Inschrift und ein Beitrag zur Stilistischen Grundlegung des Wiederhergestellten Textes.” *Lingua Aegyptia* 23:61–105.
- Hallmann, S. 2006. *Die Tributzene des Neuen Reiches. Ägypten und Altes Testament* 66. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Harpur, Y. 1987. *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*. London, New York: KPI Limited.
- Hartwig, M.K. 2004. *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Hassan, S. 1932. *Excavations at Giza*. Vol. I, 1929–1930. Cairo, Oxford: Faculty of Arts of the Egyptian University, Oxford University Press.
- Helck, W. 1970. *Die Lehre des Dw3-Ḥtj*. Vol. II. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Herodotus. Trans. by A.D. Godley (1920). *Books I and II*.

- Vol. I. London: LOEB Classical Library.
- Hsu, S.-W. 2017. "You up – I down: Orientational Metaphors Concerning Ancient Egyptian Kingship in Royal Iconography and Inscriptions." In *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists. Florence Egyptian Museum, Florence, 23–30 August 2015*, edited by G. Rosati and M.C. Guidotti, 283–86. Archaeopress Egyptology 19. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Hutto, D. 2002. "Ancient Egyptian Rhetoric in the Old and Middle Kingdoms." *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 20(3):213–33.
- Kanawati, N. 2001. *Tombs at Giza*. Vol. I, *Kaiemankh (G4561) and Seshemnefer I (G4940)*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- _____. 2002. *Tombs at Giza*. Vol. II, *Seshathetep/Heti (G5150), Nesutnefer (G4970), and Seshemnefer II (G5080)*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- Kanawati, N., and Abder-Raziq, M. 2003. *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara*. Vol. II, *The Tombs of Iyefert and Ihy (Reused by Idwt)*. Oxford: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- _____. 2004. *Mereruka and his Family*. Part I, *The Tomb of Merytet*. Oxford: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- Kanawati, N., and Evans, L. 2014. *Beni Hassan*. Vol. I, *The Tomb of Khnumhotep II*. Oxford: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- _____. 2016. *Beni Hassan*. Vol. III, *The Tomb of Amenemhat*. Oxford: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- _____. 2018. *Beni Hassan*. Vol. IV, *The Tomb of Baqet III*. Oxford: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- Kekes, C. 2021. "Ομιλούντα σώματα: μια προσέγγιση των αιγυπτιακών και των αιγαιακών τελετουργικών χειρονομιών της Εποχής του Χαλκού." Ph.D. diss., University of the Aegean.
- _____. 2023. "Communicating with the Hands in Egypt and the Aegean World. Aspects of a 'Gestural *koiné*' in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean." In *ICE XII: Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Egyptologists, 3rd–8th November 2019, Cairo, Egypt*, edited by O. El-Aguizy and B. Kasparian, Vol. II, 671–77. Cairo: IFAO.
- _____. 2024. "The Human Hand as a Symbol in Ancient Egyptian Thought." In: *Archaeology of Symbols. ICAS I: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Archaeology of Symbols*, edited by G. Guarducci, N. Laneri and S. Valentini, 153–81. Material Religion in Antiquity (MaReA) 3. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Kitchen, K.A. 1979. *Rameside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. Vol. I. Oxford: Blackwell Ltd.
- _____. 1983. *Rameside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. Vol. V. Oxford: Blackwell Ltd.
- _____. 1996. *Rameside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. II, *Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*. Oxford: Blackwell Ltd.
- _____. 2008. *Rameside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. V, *Setnakht, Ramesses III, & Contemporaries*. Oxford: Blackwell Ltd.
- Laisney, V.P.-M. 2007. *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé*. Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Lange, H.O. 1925. *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope aus dem Papyrus 10,474 des British Museum*. København: Høst & Søn.
- Lichtheim, M. 1973. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. Vol. I, *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*. Berkeley CA: University of California Press.
- _____. 1976. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. Vol. II, *The New Kingdom*. Berkeley CA: University of California Press.
- _____. 1988. *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies chiefly of the Middle Kingdom: A Study and an Anthology*. Freiburg, Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Marochetti, E.F. 2010. *The Reliefs of the Chapel of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep at Gebelein (CGT 7003/1–277)*. Translated by K. Hurry. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 39. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Martin, G.T. 1989. *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamūn*. Vol. I, *The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Matić, U. 2012. "Out of the Word and Out of the Picture? Keftiu and Materializations of 'Minoans'." In *Encountering Imagery: Materialities, Perceptions, Relations*, edited by I.-M. Back Danielsson, F. Fahlander and Y. Sjöstrand, 235–53. Stockholm Studies in Archaeology 57. Stockholm: Stockholm University.
- _____. 2017. "Enemies Hanged Upside (Head) Down." In *Egypt 2015: Perspectives of Research. Proceedings of the Seventh European Conference of Egyptologists, 2nd–7th June 2015, Zagreb, Croatia*, edited by M. Tomorad and J. Popielska-Grzybowska, 319–27. Archaeopress Egyptology 18. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- _____. 2019. "Memories into Images: Aegean and Aegean-like Objects in New Kingdom Egyptian Theban Tombs." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 29(4):653–69.
- Moran, W.L. 1992. *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore, London: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Morris, D. 1977. *Manwatching: A Field Guide to Human Behaviour*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Morris, E.F. 2006. "Bowing and Scraping in the Ancient Near East: An Investigation into Obsequiousness in the Amarna Letters." *JNES* 65(3):179–96.
- Mynářová, J., and Coppens, F. 2011. "Prostration before God and Pharaoh." In *Times, Signs and Pyramids: Studies in Honour of Miroslav Verner on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by V. Gae Callender, L. Bareš, M. Bárta, J. Janák and J. Krejčí, 283–95. Prague: Charles University in Prague.
- Naville, E. 1898. *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*. Part III, *End*

- of Northern Half and Southern Half of the Middle Platform. London: The Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Newberry, P.E. 1895. *El Bersheh*. Part I, *The Tomb of Tehuti-Hetep*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Nyord, R. 2009. *Breathing Flesh: Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Obsomer, C. 1993. "La Date de Nésou-Montou (Louvre C1)." *RÉg* 44:103–40.
- Ockinga, B.G. 2004. *Amenemone the Chief Goldsmith: A New Kingdom Tomb in the Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*. Oxford: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- Ockinga, B.G., and Y. Al-Masri. 1988. *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh*. Vol. I, *The Tomb of Anhurmosé – The Outer Room*. Sydney: Macquarie University.
- Panagiotopoulos, D. 2001. "Keftiu in Context: Theban Tomb-Paintings as a Historical Source." *OJA* 20(3):263–83.
- _____. 2006. "Foreigners in Egypt in the Time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III." In *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, edited by E.H. Cline and D. O'Connor, 370–412. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Peden, A.J. 1994. *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Documenta Mundi: Aegyptiaca 3. Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Porter, B., and R.L.B. Moss. 1952. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VII, *Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.
- Quack, J.F. 1994. *Die Lehren des Ani: Ein Neuägyptischer Weisheitstext in seinem Kulturellen Umfeld*. Freiburg, Schweiz/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- _____. 2010. "How Unapproachable is a Pharaoh?" In *Concepts of Kingship in Antiquity*, edited by G. B. Lanfranchi and R. Rollinger, 1–14. Padova: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria.
- Quirke, S. 2013. *Going Out in the Daylight – prt m hrw. The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead: Translations, Sources, Meanings*. GHP Egyptology 20. London: Golden House Publications.
- Rainey, A.F., and W.M. Schniedewind, eds. 2015. *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna Based on Collations of All Extant Tablets*. Handbuch der Orientalistik/Handbook of Oriental Studies (HdO) 110. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Ridealgh, K. 2013. "Yes Sir! An Analysis of the Superior/Subordinate Relationship in the Late Ramesside Letters." *Lingua Aegyptia: Journal of Egyptian Language Studies* 21:181–206.
- _____. 2016. "Polite Like an Egyptian? Case Studies of Politeness in the Late Ramesside Letters." *Journal of Politeness Research* 12(2):245–66.
- Rochholz, M. 2002. *Schöpfung, Feindvernichtung, Regeneration: Untersuchung zum Symbolgehalt der Machtgeladenen Zahl 7 im Alten Ägypten*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 56. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Rosell, P. 2018. "Deseos para la Eternidad: La Fórmula de Abidos y el Desarrollo de los Misterios de Osiris en las Estelas Votivas del Reino Medio Egipcio." *Hélade* 4(2):43–61. https://memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/art_revistas/pr.12101/pr.12101.pdf
- Russmann, E.R. 2001. *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum*. London: The British Museum Press.
- Scott-Moncrieff, P.D. 1911. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum*. Part I. London: The Trustees of the British Museum.
- _____. 1912. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum*. Part II. London: The Trustees of the British Museum.
- Seele, K.C. 1959. *The Tomb of Tjanefer at Thebes*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Sethe, K. 1908. *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*. Vol. I, *Spruch 1–468 (Pyr. 1–905)*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- _____. 1909. *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums*. Vol. IV, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Part IV. Leipzig, Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- _____. 1910. *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*. Vol. II, *Spruch 469–714 (Pyr. 906–2217)*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- _____. 1933. *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums*. Vol. I, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*. Part IV. Leipzig, Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- _____. 1959. *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im Akademischen Unterricht: Texte des Mittleren Reiches*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Simpson, W.K. 1958. "A Hatnub Stela of the Early Twelfth Dynasty." *MDAIK* 16:298–309.
- _____. 1976. *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu, G7101 and G7102*. Giza Mastabas 2. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- _____. 1978. *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II, G7110–20, 7130–40, and 7150 and Subsidiary Mastabas of Street G7100*. Giza Mastabas 3. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- _____. 2003. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. 3rd ed. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.
- Spalinger, A. 2009. *The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II: A Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 33.

- Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Strudwick, N.C. 2005. *Texts from the Pyramid Age*. Writings from the Ancient World 16. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Suys, É. 1935. *La Sagesse d'Ani: Texte, Traduction et Commentaire*. Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Tyldesley, J. 1995. *Daughters of Isis: Women of Ancient Egypt*. London: Penguin Books.
- Van den Boorn, G.P.F. 1988. *The Duties of the Vizier: Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Vandier, J. 1958. *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne*. Vol. III, *Les Grandes Époques: La Statuaire (Planches)*. Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie.
- Walsh, C. 2014. "The High Life: Courtly Etiquette in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean." In *Current Research in Egyptology 2013. Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Symposium, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom, March 19–22, 2013*, edited by K. Accetta, R. Fellingner, P.L. Gonçalves, S. Musselwhite and P.W. Van Pelt, 201–16. Oxford, Philadelphia: Oxbow Books.
- . 2016. "The Transmission of Courtly Lifestyles in the Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean." Ph.D. diss., University College London.
- Wang, Z. 2022. "Spectacle of Imperial Splendour: The Presentation of Gifts and Tributes Ceremony in the 18th Dynasty." In *Current Research in Egyptology 2021. Proceedings of the Twenty-First Annual Symposium, University of the Aegean, 9–16 May 2021*, edited by E. Apostola and C. Kekes, 40–61. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Wilkinson, R.H. 1994. *Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Wilson, J.A. 1946. "Egypt: The Function of the State." In *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man: An essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East*, edited by H. Frankfort, H.A. Frankfort, J.A. Wilson, T. Jakobsen and W.A. Irwin, 62–92. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Wilson, J.A., and T.G. Allen. 1938a. *The Mastaba of Mereruka*. Part I, *Chambers A1–10*. OIP 31. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- . 1938b. *The Mastaba of Mereruka*. Part II, *Chambers A11–13, Doorjambs and Inscriptions of Chambers A1–21, Tomb Chamber, Exterior*. OIP 39. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Žába, Z. 1956. *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep*. Prague: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd.
- Zandee, J. 1992. *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso*. Vol. I. Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.