

# WRITE TO DOMINATE REALITY: GRAPHIC ALTERATION OF ANTHROPOMORPHIC SIGNS IN THE PYRAMID TEXTS

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### ABSTRACT

The communicative process implies objects, sounds, images and words which can convey ideas and cultural ways of interpreting and representing a society; therefore, many linguistic anthropologists—especially Searle, but also Bauman and Briggs—underline how speech and textual acts are regulated by defined cultural schemes, and how their study cannot exclude analysis of the original context as well as of the specific conventions ruling it. This paper is intended to provide an interpretation of some particular graphic solutions concerning the human determinative occurring in the Pyramid Texts of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, and to analyze the possible reasons and underlying anthropological apparatus that led to these choices.

### Introduction

The term *determinative*, synonymous with *taxogram*<sup>2</sup> and classifier,<sup>3</sup> defines a category of signs lacking phonetic value which, therefore, are always linked with phonograms and logograms. The classifier usually follows names or actions, clarifying their semantic field. In the funerary corpus known as the Pyramid Texts we can observe some interesting alterations of these classifiers and, in particular, of those distinguished by an anthropomorphic shape: indeed, all human signs are omitted or partially represented. As already pointed out by Pierre Lacau at the beginning of the last century,<sup>4</sup> the reason for this graphic alteration can perhaps be found in the necessity of removing (or treating with particular attention) all the figures regarded as dangerous; or better, those figures which, in a particular environment like the tomb, could potentially became dangerous:

... telle image, inoffensive pour le vivant à la lumière du jour, pouvait devenir dangereuse pour le mort dans la nuit du tombeau. Le monde des morts exigeait des précautions spéciales.<sup>5</sup>

This implies the idea that, through the writing process and the modifications affecting it, reality can be controlled and dominated. The PhD research from which this paper is drawn<sup>6</sup> moves from the contribution of Lacau to a more analytical examination of the textual material in order to test his hypothesis within the conceptual framework of linguistics and anthropology of writing, with special reference to the notion of *performativity*.<sup>7</sup>

# Borrowing the model of anthropological codes developed by Umberto Eco,<sup>8</sup> we can imagine following an anthropologist who studies the language of a society and organizes it into a code. He then analyzes the parental relationships of that society and reduces them to another code; finally, he observes the urban structure of the village where that community lives, and also identifies a code for this as well. If an architect were to build something

new for this community, he could act in three

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1. He could integrate his methods into the current social system and refer to an already

different ways:

existing architectural code (Fig. 1).

- 2. He could be innovative, avant-garde, and force people to live in a completely different way, designing new plans and upsetting existing relations and traditions (Fig. 2).
- 3. The architect could give consideration to the existing architectural and cultural conditions of the society and try to develop a new system of relations, a new code that could be understood by the native inhabitants. This code would be similar to the past one, so that people would not be overly disoriented and would be able to accept it. This new, different code would respond to the society's new historical, technological and social needs (Fig. 3).

So, how does this discourse fit into our topic? The hieroglyphic system is also a code characterized by its unique properties: it is composed of phonograms, logograms and taxograms. The base of this writing system can be found in a figurative system developed before the Pyramid Texts were drafted. This system is constructed on images, and results in icons that are the result of visual experience and learned techniques reworked under graphic conventions. If one needs to modify some aspects of the code for society's needs, it must be done with caution and while respecting the code's basic rules, so that it remains recognizable and understandable. In this case, the new needs are represented by the introduction of texts inside the pyramids of Saqqara.

A passage of the Pyramid Texts, that were previously spread orally or through different media (perhaps papyrus or ostraka?), cannot remain free of changes in its new context, especially if the intended use of the texts is not the same. To briefly summarize the development of the Pyramid Texts, we can

recognize a process of so-called *entextualization* of the body of oral recitations used in a variety of settings. This probably included the mortuary cult, but also festivals and private magical practices. These recitations would have been removed from their original contexts, coherently organized, fixed in writing and then monumentalized on stone, specifically on the walls of the pyramids (Fig. 4). This was a complex process that seems



FIGURE 1: A new building totally integrated in the existing code. Drawing by the author.



FIGURE 2: A new building marking a break with the existing code. Drawing by the author.



FIGURE 3: A new building changing but respecting the existing code. Drawing by the author.



FIGURE 4: Process of entextualization and monumentalization of the Pyramid Texts.

to have been the result of intellectual investigations undertaken by the Memphite priests on behalf of the king.<sup>10</sup> We can therefore say that the Pyramid Texts are characterized by a heterogeneous content and that, even though we do not know their origins and original purposes, it appears that they were collected, assembled and reworked to be introduced in the pyramids of Saqqara and used as an effective magical aid for the dead king. In the course of this transition, they probably lost some elements while acquiring others, some of which would have related to their content; in this regard, several interesting studies have focused on the transformations the texts went through in the period preceding their introduction in the pyramids, as well as on their later transmission and development from the pyramids to the Middle Kingdom textual tradition. 11 However, we also need to consider the changes that occurred to the *graphic* elements of the texts.

We have to remember that, in Egypt, performative and "magic" processes were an integral part of the oldest structure of the hieroglyphic system that was gradually developed during the third millennium BCE and is partially known to us through the Pyramid Texts. This first writing system is the most iconic one, distinguished by magical and performative values: the hieroglyphic signs bore the characteristics of existence and dynamism. The prevalent function of writing in the fourth and third millennium BCE was to "sacralize" the message of the text through its material support, image and language; the mere presence of a hieroglyphic

spelling within a cursive text awards the status of performative document to the whole. It is a sort of *preformal* character<sup>13</sup> applied to the forms of written or iconographic communication which, in ancient Egyptian culture, were an essential and active component of the writing system, real instruments for the comprehension and transmission of reality.

When the Pyramid Texts were carved on the stones of the inner chambers of the pyramids of Saqqara, the writing system was in essence fully formed,14 and was composed of logographic elements, phonetic elements, and determinatives, capable of assigning a semantic class to the word to which they were attached. We already have evidence for the use of *whole* anthropomorphic determinatives in the first dynasties thanks to the Early Dynastic inscriptions from the Abydos royal necropolis, where we can sometimes recognize the seated man and the seated woman ( ) following the names and titles of the stela's owners.15 Several well-known monuments from the Third and the Fourth Dynasties are equally explicative of the widespread use of integral human determinatives before the Pyramid Texts: to name one famous example, the limestone relief of Aa-akhti shows the title *imy-r*<sup>3</sup> *k*<sup>3</sup>*t nbt nsw*, "overseer of all the king's works," followed by the taxogram A9 ( \$\square\$). Unis' pyramid uses no anthropomorphic determinatives at all, and in the tombs of his successors we find only reduced anthropomorphic determinatives, as if the former use of these signs in the older monuments had been forgotten (Table 1).

TABLE 1: Instances of lexemes in the Pyramid Texts characterised by omitted or halved human classifiers.

COMPLETE FORM	Unis	Теті/Рері І	Merenra/Pepi II	Transliteration & Translation
	D			ḥmsi "to sit"
				twr "to be clean, cleanse"
				<i>ḫsb</i> "to defend"
				w <sup>c</sup> b "to purify"
				nis "to summon"
112	412	7772	P\$4848	'nhw "the living beings"

The general rule in the Pyramid Texts for words that would normally contain an anthropomorphic determinative is to replace the human determinative with a totally phonetic handwriting—as we can see for Unis—or with a truncated human figure, as with his successors. The texts of Teti and Pepi I usually remove most parts of the body from the determinative, preserving just the arms and legs; conversely, in the tombs of Merenra and Pepi II the upper part of the body with head and arms is almost always shown. This rule is not entirely rigorous, since with the texts of Pepi I we start to observe the introduction of the head, although this is not frequent. Moreover, this first appearance of the head in human classifiers seems to coincide with the first of the divine anthropomorphic classifier—even if halved ( )—where other king's texts still use the falcon on the standard ( $\clubsuit$ ).<sup>16</sup>

Pierre Lacau was the first to recognize the phenomenon of suppression of animate signs in the Pyramid Texts. He noted, in particular, the prevalence of omissions of human determinatives in the Unis pyramid and of mutilations in the monuments of the following kings. <sup>17</sup> Lacau stated that the so-called *déterminatifs Généraux*—classifiers used not only as repeaters <sup>18</sup> but also as recipients of semantic categories—still did not exist at the time of Unis and Teti; he believed that the use of these signs in the later pyramids of the Sixth Dynasty (those of Merenra and Neferkara) was, therefore, an innovation introduced into the hieroglyphic sign corpus by Pepi I. In particular Lacau referred to A1, B1, A40 and A24 (from the Gardiner Sign List):

II ne faut pas oublier que l'usage des déterminatifs Généraux est d'origine récente. Ainsi l'absence des déterminatifs (A), (A), (A), (A) dans W. et dans T. n'est pas dûe à une suppression mais représente l'état ancien. Et l'emploi de ces déterminatifs mutilés dans certaines parties des Pyramides (surtout dans N.) est donc une innovation et un rajeunissement. 19

As previously mentioned, in the private funeral stelae from Abydos<sup>20</sup> we can already find the so-called *déterminatifs Généraux* of the crouched man and woman (A) B1) following the names of the deceased buried in the cemetery, and used to express the taxonomic superordinate categories of man and woman.<sup>21</sup> This evidence seems to tell us that this category of classifiers developed in a far

earlier time than those of Pepi I and that Lacau's idea cannot be considered accurate.<sup>22</sup> The PhD research I conducted<sup>23</sup> showed that the reduction or omission of these human classifiers in the Pyramid Texts does not seem to be associated with chronological reasons – most of the classifiers being already in use before the introduction of texts in the pyramids—nor with a reduction of the compositional space, because the lexemes affected by the alteration are equally distributed in all rooms and walls of the pyramids.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, the collection of spellings characterized by these alterations shows that the meaning of the lexemes gives no reason for their truncation, since all the lexemes can be "affected" by an omitted human sign regardless of whether or not they have a negative meaning (for example "to die" or "to hit"); indeed, the same treatment is reserved to words with a harmless meaning (like "to sit" or "to eat"). This is explained by the fact that the images themselves are endowed with an intrinsic power, no matter the meaning of the term they are bound to. It is the graphic element of the sign and not its content that must be considered. The most important detail to bear in mind is that all anthropomorphic determinatives maintain their semantic role intact, remaining always recognizable, regardless of the degree of manipulation suffered. For Unis, where we do not have any determinative, we still have a complete phonetic form of the lexeme, in order to keep it understandable and unaltered.

### A New Code for the Pyramid Texts

We now return to the case of the architect introduced by Eco. If it is necessary to change something in society to respond to new needs, you could be an architect, sculptor, or scribe, but it would always be necessary to either create a new code or adapt the existing one, introducing changes that are visible but that do not disrupt the whole system. The new need in the case of the Pyramid Texts is to adapt these formulas to the destiny of the dead king, in order to guide him on his journey beyond death and to protect him from any danger. The new material is stone,<sup>25</sup> since it is likely that the precursors of the Pyramid Texts were disseminated on different, perishable materials.26 The new context is the royal pyramid. The *medium* is the hieroglyphic script, that is "the sacred writing," 27 which, especially in the Old Kingdom, was effective and full of creative power. What would the architect—maybe embodied, in this case, by the Memphite priesthood and scribes (or whomever was in charge of decorating the interior rooms of the royal tombs of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties)—do in this situation? Probably he would try to reorganize this code maintaining its main features unchanged, but making changes that would allow its adaptation to the new conditions: the writing system would remain, characterized by phonograms, logograms, and taxograms, but the latter could be manipulated in a special way. The anthropomorphic ones, in particular, would appear always truncated.<sup>28</sup> The decision to develop this practice can be explained by "magical reasons": the living creatures were perhaps considered dangerous for the dead king and, consequently, it was necessary to render them harmless.<sup>29</sup> It is not trivial to note that these practices of reduction are applied mostly to taxograms/classifiers but only rarely to phonograms, and the reason can be found in the fact that classifiers are strongly iconic signs, and so are invested with greater effectiveness.

In the hieroglyphic system, many types of signs have an iconic value: for example, 🖄 can be not only a classifier for the general category of human being, but also a logogram for s, "man". In the latter case, the iconic signifier of the sign points to the meaning of the word. There are also cases in which the iconic meaning is in metonymic relation to the signified: e.g. the legs,  $\Lambda$ , iw, "come," are in metonymic relation with the activity of coming. At the same time, the image can bear also a phonetic value (s for the man, iw for the legs, pr for the house and so on).<sup>30</sup> However, classifiers do not convey any phonetic value but only a semantic one: they are not necessary to read the word, but rather place it in a conceptual category or domain, or, sometimes, add visual information to the preceding lexeme (this is a "pictorial tautology" in the words of Orly Goldwasser).<sup>31</sup> Because of its nature, the classifier is strictly connected to the image itself, playing the same role as a two- or three-dimensional image. It is not a coincidence that in the Old Kingdom the name of the owner of an anthropomorphic statue was bare of human classifier, because the statue itself could act as a three-dimensional enlargement of that classifier. The icon, therefore, makes it possible to transfer the lexeme from writing to illustration—or, using a somewhat improper expression, to art.

In Egyptian culture, *words* are first of all *images*, and this is the central idea in the writing process, especially in funerary contexts. Moreover this close relation between written signs and images is confirmed by the title of the draftsman:  $\{ \{ \} \}_{1=1}^n \}$  *sš kdwt* "scribe of drawings." The analysis of

pharaonic documentation shows the close link between icon and text from its origins. This connection, already identified in some iconographical patterns from the Early Dynastic period, is confirmed during the Old Kingdom, when the hieroglyphic signs are called "gods": we can read in the tomb of Nefermaat in Meidum<sup>33</sup> "He is one who composes his *gods* in the text." "He is one who composes his *gods* in the text." This is a confirmation of the effective influence of the written word, as if the intrinsic power of the sign, endowed with dynamism, did not depend on the human ability to write. "Some close the sign of the sign, endowed with dynamism, did not depend on the human ability to write."

### WRITE TO DOMINATE REALITY

Both material aid and symbolic aid (i.e. belief systems and linguistic codes) are instruments through which we can mediate our relation with the world. Language is a mediating activity because it is a tool that acts in the world, representing reality and transforming it. In his "Antropologia della Scrittura," Giorgio Raimondo Cardona remarked:

Tutta la storia della scrittura ci mostra (...) come si sia sempre ritenuto possibile agire sul reale a partire dalla manipolazione dei simboli.

The history of writing shows us how it was possible to act on reality through the manipulation of signs and symbols, and how humans could have a reverential fear of these signs and their power, as if once drawn they could unleash their action. Writing can be laden with strong sacral connotations, often regardless of its content, and this is particularly true for Egyptian writing, where signs are not only the messengers of a spoken language but can come into existence and act in the very moment in which they are engraved on stone. Through this action their efficacy becomes "dependent upon the visual properties of the hieroglyphic script and the power of the written word as such."36 Words and images are deeply connected in the Egyptian mindset as the two faces of the essence of an animate or inanimate object: for example, the graphic representation of an offering formula is equivalent to a physical offering. This is the concept of performativity, already alluded to above, and introduced within the field of the philosophy of language by John Austin to explain those statements that are not merely limited to describing reality but that can in fact act upon it, according to the idea of "doing things with

words." <sup>37</sup> John Searle also worked on this topic, trying to explain those literal utterances that "can constitute, and not merely describe, the acts named by the main verb (or some other performative expression)." <sup>38</sup> The performativity of language, and consequently of writing, can therefore transform a statement in the act described itself. <sup>39</sup>

The Egyptian language, and even more, Egyptian writing, is a creative one, since it has the power to create the world. Its role is clearly defined in some cosmogonic speculations such as the later Memphite Theology:

Every word of God manifested itself according to what the heart had thought and that the tongue had commanded.<sup>40</sup>

However, this conception of the creative word is already known in the Pyramid Texts, where we can find an utterance (PT 510, Pyr. 1146c) that alludes to what seems to be a cosmogonical reference:<sup>41</sup>

Pepi is the god's document scribe who says what is and brings into being what is not.<sup>42</sup>

This notion is often reaffirmed later in the Coffin Texts, where the connection was introduced between the heart (as the center of intellect that conceives a phenomenon or an action) and the word (as the instrument to realize concretely that conception).<sup>43</sup> In this perspective, the expanded use of writing by the ancient Egyptians comes to represent the necessity of organizing all the elements of reality in an ordered model. The congruency with the model established at the beginning of the world is the necessary basis for actualizing the moment of the origin of the universe every time it is used, and to attribute a performative and effective character to the hieroglyphic writing system.44 As a consequence, writing itself, though not necessarily its content, becomes a subject of reverence. All this implies that the manipulation of signs seems to have been felt as a concrete way of acting on reality. Modifying or removing something from the written word means preventing it from acting completely; it is an expedient similar to verbal interdictions, like euphemisms, taboo words or periphrasis, but transferred to the graphic elements of the writing system.

In the Pyramid Texts we have, therefore, the

graphic alteration of the anthropomorphic signs (a total omission for Unis and a partial representation for his successors). In some later tombs, however, we can also find instances of similar writing devices: for example, on the wooden sarcophagus of Seshemnefer (Cairo Mus. CG 28121), an official of the Sixth Dynasty buried in Saggara. 45 The name of Anubis is replaced by his epithets tpy dw.f ("he who is on his mountain") and  $nb t^3 \underline{dsr}$  ("lord of the sacred land"), while the name of Osiris is replaced by nbddw ("Lord of Busiris"). In both cases, the divine determinative is avoided. We can also observe that, in private inscriptions, Osiris seems to be the sole divinity defined by the seated bearded man from the end of the Fifth Dynasty, when his name is almost always written as 🥻 . In the Sixth Dynasty, however, it is possible to find the god's name also written without the anthropomorphic sign ( $\rfloor_{\infty}$ ), perhaps because of the influence of the Pyramid Texts, where its orthography always lacks classifiers. 46 Even later, in the late Middle Kingdom, we find at Saqqara, Lisht and Hawara some cases of mutilation of animal determinatives, 47 as is the case for the texts on some fragments of a vessel from the tomb of Amenemhat III (Hawara, Twelfth Dynasty) belonging to princess Neferuptah, which are characterized by birds with erased legs and snakes with cut throats.48 In particular, the latter practice is connected to dangerous animals (snakes and birds), while human figures were merely avoided; conversely, the older practice of the Pyramid Texts seems to prefer the annihilation of the human figure through its partial representation, while the mutilation of animals is a recurrent but not systematic feature.

There is a general tendency to doubt that a direct correlation between the graphic alterations of the Old Kingdom and those of the late Middle Kingdom can have existed, both because of the temporal gap and because of the inherent differences in the texts. <sup>49</sup> However, it is undeniable that the common cause of these script manipulations must be sought in the effective and performative power of the hieroglyphic writing system, and that the first examples of these manipulations are those dated back to the Pyramid Texts.

Sometimes Egyptian writing could be used like the reinforcement of an amulet, already operative in itself, but more often it is the *writing itself* that is the source of the effective power. In the Pyramid Texts we have a double convergent potentiality: the inscriptions, in their content and shape, confer value and effectiveness to the context in which they appear; but the context itself is distinctive and powerful, because it is a tomb, a pyramid and constructed of stone. Stone in particular lends a peculiar creative power to the signs and makes them everlasting. Therefore the power of the written formula remains untouched by time, and to extinguish that power one is forced to destroy the material support of the writing.

We can thus recognize some key points while trying to identify useful guidelines to understand the peculiar practice of manipulation of the anthropomorphic signs in the Pyramid Texts.

- The stability of the hieroglyphic system (which, as previously noted, was already fully formed before the Fifth Dynasty) and yet its "moldability" (which allows for modifications if a new situation requires it).
- The new needs that arose when the Pyramid Texts were introduced and monumentalized into the pyramids, a funerary royal context, by means of stone.
- The necessity of adapting not only the *content* of the formulae but also their *graphic* formulation.
- The existing overlap, in ancient Egyptian culture, between words and images, where written signs can potentially reproduce all aspects of reality.
- The capability of modelling—and exercising control on—reality through graphic expedients.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

- *Urk. I* = Sethe, Kurt. 1933 [1903]. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums I: Urkunden des Alten Reichs*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Wb. = Erman, Adolf, and Hermann Grapow. 1926–1931. Wörterbuch Der Ägyptischen Sprache. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

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### **Notes**

- The noun *determinative* was first given by Jean F. Champollion (1836, 70–161) and later by Sir Alan Gardiner, who observes that the name "determinative" is historically inaccurate, it being the role of phonograms *to determine* something (the sound) of the ideogram and not the opposite (Gardiner 1957, 31).
- Schenkel (1976) named the generic determinatives of Champollion and Gardiner *taxograms*, which are those semiograms that mark a class of words linked by a common sense (e.g., the so-called "bad-bird" which follows some negative nouns or actions).
- <sup>3</sup> The term *classifier* was coined by Goldwasser (2002, 13), to define "pictograms that are placed after the vowelless roots, functioning as reading aids but carrying no additional phonetic value."
- <sup>4</sup> Lacau 1913.
- <sup>5</sup> Lacau 1913, 2.
- Iannarilli 2016. This study tried to understand if the modifications of human classifiers could be explained by chronological, spatial, semantic or religious reasons, examining: the development of signs in time, their collocation inside the pyramids and their semantic value (are these "mutilations" or "omissions" connected with the

- meaning of the word or not?).
- <sup>7</sup> Searle 1989. See also *infra* and n. 37.
- <sup>8</sup> Eco 2008.
- Gardiner 1957, 8–9; Roccati 2008, 17-25. Compare also Allen 2014.
- Morales 2013, 13. See: Allen 2005; Hays 2010; Mercer 1956, 5.
- Eyre 2002; Hays 2010, 90–97; Morales 2013; Morales 2017.
- As stated by Vernus (1990), support, image, and language are the three signs of sacralization.
- 13 Kemp 2006, 112–113: "a term is required which places this material in the cultural sequence of Egypt, without subordinating it to the inflexible progression of kings and dynasties. The term used here is 'Preformal'. It covers the products of the Predynastic Period, together with later material still in this tradition that runs well into the historic period;" Kemp refers in particular to archaeological documentation, but the *pre-formal character* can involve different forms of culture and communication concerning the period prior to the Middle Kingdom, when the formative process was fixed in a more properly formal scheme.
- <sup>14</sup> Baines 2006, 121.
- <sup>15</sup> Martin 2011, 28–33.
- In Oudjebten's pyramid and in Ibi's pyramid, the use of the sign sq became more and more frequent, sometimes flanked by the falcon on the standard; later, in the Coffin Texts, it was the most dominant divine classifier. See: Shalomi-Hen 2006, 147–151.
- <sup>17</sup> Lacau 1913, 1–35.
- <sup>18</sup> Goldwasser 2002, 15.
- <sup>19</sup> Lacau 1913, 5.
- <sup>20</sup> Martin 2011, 22–23 (no. 8); 28–29 (no. 20); 30–31 (no. 23); 32–33 (no. 26).
- <sup>21</sup> Goldwasser 2002, 14.
- The inaccuracy of Lacau's observation and the opinion that classifiers had to be developed in a more remote time are supported by Schweitzer 2005, 211 and Lincke 2011, 131–134.
- <sup>23</sup> Iannarilli, 2016.
- <sup>24</sup> Iannarilli 2016, 124–154.
- <sup>25</sup> In the archaic tradition the discourse carved on

- stone is a creative force itself; see: Ciampini 2011–2012, 113.
- Allen 2005, 4: "Overall, the Pyramid Texts give the impression of a corpus that had been in use for some time before it was inscribed in Unis's pyramid and one that was continually revised and amplified during the reigns of his successors (...) Occasional mistakes in the use of some hieroglyphic signs indicate that the master from which the texts were transcribed to the pyramid walls was a papyrus scroll written in a semi-cursive script—in line with the comments of the preceding paragraph, probably a manuscript that was not specific to any one individual." Hays 2012, 200.
- Hieroglyphic is the script of sacralization because it is usually written on an enduring support (stone), and devised on image/writing and language, both the hypostasis of reality; it is not just a graphic vehicle, but the object of the *sacer* itself. See Vernus 1990, 42–43.
- For the complete list of truncated classifiers, from Unis to Neferkara, see the database (Tabella Generale) in: Iannarilli 2016, 80–108.
- <sup>29</sup> Lacau 1913, 36–41, 56–63.
- <sup>30</sup> Goldwasser 2002, 11.
- <sup>31</sup> Goldwasser 2002, 15.
- Wb. 3, 480, 11. About the relationship between script and images: Hornung 1992, 21; Goldwasser 1995, 7; Roccati 2008, 19; Iannarilli 2016, 34–36 and 156.
- <sup>33</sup> *Urk.* I, 7, 11; Fischer 1977, col. 1198, n. 33.
- Giampini 2011–2012, 99–170.
- <sup>35</sup> Ciampini 2012–2012, 112–113.
- <sup>36</sup> Hays 2010, 91–92.
- Austin 1962: He introduced the notion of performative utterances to differentiate them from constative utterances; being *performative* actions, such as making a promise or giving an order, and *constatives* just sayings, such as making a statement or giving a description. Compare the discussion in Searle 1989, 536–538.
- <sup>38</sup> Searle 1989, 555.
- <sup>39</sup> Derchain 1989.
- <sup>40</sup> Iversen 1990.
- Mythological, cosmogonic and theogonic references in the Pyramid Texts are present but not

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- always very clear: see Assmann 1977; Baines 1991, 100; Goebs 2003.
- Allen 2005, 153; Sethe 110, 141; Faulkner 1969, 186 (§1146–1147); see also Bickel 1994, 101 (n. 80): "celui qui dit ce qui est et fait venir à l'existence ce qui n'est pas."
- <sup>43</sup> Bickel 1994, 106.

- 44 Ciampini 2011–2012, 106.
- <sup>45</sup> Porter and Moss 1981, 614–615.
- <sup>46</sup> Shalomi-Hen 2006, 83.
- <sup>47</sup> Lacau 1913, 49–63; Miniaci 2010.
- <sup>48</sup> Petrie 1890, 17, pl. V.
- <sup>49</sup> Miniaci 2010, 113.