Gianluca Miniaci

Bakhtin, Gramsci, and the Materiality of the Egyptian Hieroglyphs: When the 'Official' Culture Leaks into the 'Folk' Domain

Abstract: The ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic writing is an extremely permeable field (given its materiality and performative character), more prone to introducing material variations in the sign during the 'performance' of its (re)production: some targeted hieroglyphs were deliberately manipulated, modified, and altered. The custom first appeared in the royal sphere (*c.* 2345 BCE) and then slowly moved into the private domain (till *c.* 2000 BCE), being continuously transformed and adapted, becoming increasingly inconsistent, unsystematic, and confused, till complete abandonment (*c.* 1500 BCE). This path can be read in the light of the socio-linguistic ideas of Mikhail Bakhtin and Antonio Gramsci, which see a deep connection between language and society. In its diachronic evolution, the patchy and inconsistent absorption and transformation of mutilation hieroglyph practice from the lower levels of society can be imagined as the 'leak of fragments of hegemonic culture into a folk domain'.

1 Linguistic signs and their materiality

The article moves from a statement by the anthropologist Webb Keane:

> Material objects contrast in several ways to the familiar Saussurean model of the arbitrary sign, which signifies only by virtue of a social convention [...]. The materiality of the objects represents an essential condition for their movement across social and semiotic domains.[1]

An important dichotomy in the study of the human past given by the division between 'texts' and 'objects', which are often associated with two different ontologies is encapsulated in this sentence.[2] The texts are usually connected with an inherent

1 Keane 2001, 73.
2 Keane 2003.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111360805-011

'immateriality': the arbitrariness[3] of the signs reduces the possibility of 'movement' significantly. Changing the shape and order of the signs will irremediably alter the code represented by the signs themselves, leading the communicative system to crash: the sign cannot move too freely.[4] Contrarily, the objects, given their materiality and non-discursive nature, are less harnessed in a social convention and can move more freely across social, spatial and temporal dimensions.

Nonetheless, materiality is an inherent structure also belonging profoundly to texts and their marking system.[5] The term 'materiality' is usually applied to the objects–people relation perceived as an agent-centred process.[6] People and communities engage with the material world through the actions and creation of an object world (i.e. artefacts/things), which concomitantly shapes and constrains the human experience and behaviour (i.e. capacity of the physical properties of things to modify human perception and action, remodelling ideas and identities).[7] However, the concept of materiality and agency must also be applied to language and its written system. We think of objects in words[8] and materiality is also expressed in/through words.[9] Keane, for instance, noted the role of language in shaping the house types of Sumba, in south-eastern Indonesia. The traditional houses of Sumba partially derive in their physical conformation from traditional ritual speeches, which emphasise the canonical forms that a house should have, including a precise division of the rooms and types of furniture. With the progressive loss of ritual speeches in contemporary times, the houses of Sumba also started changing and transforming, substantially abandoning the forms and divisions promoted by the ritual speech.[10]

The signs themselves show a deep material entanglement with the people, society and surrounding world. The most basic unit of the text, i.e. the linguistic sign,

3 The links between the signifier and signified (in a Saussurean way), between sound–image and meanings, cannot be found in nature or logic because they are simply based on an arbitrary, conventional tradition, which is valid till the users decide it is not; de Saussure 1986, 73.

4 See recent studies gathered in Cavanaugh and Shankar 2017, esp. Shankar and Cavanaugh 2017, 1–28.

5 See Shankar and Cavanaugh 2012 and recent studies gathered in Quenzer 2021.

6 Knappett 2005; Knappett 2012; Knappett 2014, 4701–4702; Miller 2005b; Ingold 2007; Fahlander 2008; Taylor 2009. For Egyptology, see Kienlin and Bussmann 2022; Miniaci 2023.

7 Appadurai 1986; Miller 1987; Gell 1998; Miller 1998; Miller 2005b; Renfrew and Bahn 2005, 159–163; Meskell 2005; Henare, Holbraad and Wastell 2007; Hodder 2011; Malafouris 2013; Drazin and Küchler 2015. For further bibliographical references, see Joyce 2015; Joyce and Gillespie 2015.

8 Searle 1969.

9 Beetz 2016, 86; Gell 1998, 4: 'Culture has no existence independently from its manifestations in social interactions'.

10 Keane 1995.

has been defined a 'psychological imprint'[11] left by society on the material surfaces of the world. The term 'psychological imprint' aims at encapsulating two different souls enclosed in the sign: the material one, given by the grapheme, a physical mark created to be correlated to a sound or a noun, and the semantic concept (the meaning), the immaterial part of an abstract system expressed through the grapheme or – more frequently – a combination of them.[12] The graphemes must always rely on their material aspect (for their realisation) and find their 'raison d'être' in the people, i.e. a material support and at least one communicator (writer) and one recipient (interpreter). It is only in their *material* and *social* process that the signs liberate their signification. Therefore, as for any type of material production, the sign must also be understood in its dialogic reality[13] and cannot be independent of its social fabric and materialisation,[14] disregarding the number of communicative, metamaterial inputs it encapsulates.[15]

Ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs offer an important case study for measuring the degree of entanglement[16] between the linguistic sign, people and material world, shading lights on the significant role played by society and history in the formation of the materiality of the linguistic sign.

2 The materiality and performativity of the Egyptian hieroglyphs

The hieroglyphic writing system is hybrid, since it employs signs corresponding to phonograms (single or multiple consonants) and logograms (signs which indicate lexical units, i.e. words).[17] In addition, the writing system also integrates a number of signs which serve as classifiers (semantic determinatives) in order to denote the semantic domain of words.[18] The word 'palace', for instance, can be accompanied by a classifier of a 'house', in order to indicate that that word belongs to the seman-

11 Klages 2006, 35.
12 De Saussure 1986, 66.
13 Bakhtin 1981, 269. See below.
14 DeMarrais 2004.
15 Derrida 1988, 7–8.
16 For the entanglement theory (especially in relations between objects and humans), see Martindale 2009; Stockhammer 2012; Whitley 2013. For its application to Egyptian archaeology, see Miniaci 2019b.
17 Winand 2021.
18 Allen 2014.

tic sphere of the 'human buildings'. The sign does not have any phonetic or logographic value.[19] In addition, Egyptian writing emerged against a background of a non-glottic system (= images used as emblems),[20] existing for a long time before the development of writing and having a strong tradition.[21] Indeed, the hieroglyphic system shows a very strong performative character,[22] greatly emphasising the visibility of the sign itself and its representational part.[23]

The *Pyramid Texts*, for instance, written on the funerary walls of the pyramids, were meant to be more of a material reification of the oral rituals performed in connection with the royal tombs rather than a written communicative act:[24] they have a non-discursive structure; they seem to present only a very limited orthographic nature; and the lack of complex grammar and syntax make it difficult to provide a clear translation.[25] Thus, the *Pyramid Texts* can be seen as an embodiment of the ritual, made in a permanent way by carving part of its key sentences in the stone of the pyramids, a material performance in the funerary architecture, rather than a structured written transposition of a (ritual) communication. In this specific case, the priority of the writing was given by two key elements: the materiality and performativity of the writing, i.e. the specific 'action' – in itself – of writing words (performativity), and how and where they were written (materiality: carved in the stones of the pyramid and following a precise ritual order).[26]

Hence, hieroglyphic writing is an extremely permeable field: a part of the writing system of the Egyptian language, for instance, can be interpreted – to a certain extent – even without fully mastering the complex network of semiotic associations of the signs.[27] Such a nature is more prone to introduce material variations in the sign during the 'performance' of its (re)production,[28] because the iconic nature[29] – and presence of classifiers[30] – could support the understanding of the signified even when significant forms of modification are introduced.

19 For more recent discussions on the structure of the Egyptian writing system, see Regulski 2022.
20 Stauder 2021. Cf. Woods 2010, 18–20. See Kammerzell 2009.
21 Baines 2004; Stauder 2022, esp. 223–227. See Vernus 2016.
22 Eyre 2018.
23 Stauder 2022; Stauder 2023.
24 Eyre 2018, 6.
25 See Hays 2015. *Contra* Allen 2017.
26 Allen 1994.
27 See discussions in Baines 1989; Andrássy, Budka and Kammerzell 2009; Budka, Kammerzell and Rzepka 2015; Haring 2018; Haring 2021. Also see Regulski 2010, 1.
28 Eyre 2018.
29 Schenkel 2011; Graff 2017; Stauder 2018; Vernus 2019; Thuault 2020; Pries 2023.
30 See Zsolnay 2023.

3 The manipulation of the hieroglyphic signs

The materiality and performativity of hieroglyphic signs are embodied in a practice adopted in various periods of Egyptian history, which consisted of a deliberate manipulation, modification and alteration of selected graphemes, deviating from the standard way of representation.[31] The ancient Egyptians – in the course of their history – decided to arbitrarily manipulate – often mutilating – the signs in texts, spells and formulae related to the deceased, without altering (i.e. making opaque or unintelligible) the communicative 'code', but just acting on the materiality of the sign and the performative act of their carving or inscribing.[32]

The manipulation of the signs often consists of the 'mutilation' of the subjects they were representing or a form of alteration by omitting/substituting specific signs in a semantic unit. Three different types of manipulation applied to a grapheme can be documented throughout Egyptian history: (1) *mutilation*: the body of the sign is divided into separate parts, as though severed; body parts are omitted, cancelled or covered (i.e. by plaster) (see Fig. 1);[33] the sign is directly drawn in an incomplete form (see Fig. 2);[34] (2) *substitution*: some signs or words are represented/spelled with different graphemes, which have equivalent phonetic value[35] (see Fig. 3) or by a 'symbolic' substitute (such as circles or strokes);[36] and (3) *omission*: a sign is simply omitted.[37]

31 The funerary domain seems to be the reason that prompted such a practice, since it is connected with mortuary contexts in its first forms of appearance. However, it does not appear in a consistent and continuous way throughout Egyptian history. Most scholars believed that the mutilation of certain animated signs (especially in the case of vipers, see below) was intended to avoid any dangerous action against the deceased by the animation of the signs themselves. This explanation is not satisfactory since the manipulation did not affect all the animated signs in a funerary text uniformly; see Nyord forthcoming. The reasons for the manipulation of hieroglyphs are summarised in Miniaci and Thuault forthcoming.

32 The main works on the mutilation of the signs are by Lacau 1913; Lacau 1926; Pierre 1994; Miniaci 2010; Schenkel 2011; Iannarilli 2017; Iannarilli 2018; Iannarilli 2019; Roth 2017; Miniaci and von Pilgrim 2022; Miniaci and Thuault forthcoming.

33 See especially Leclant 1977, 282, 288.

34 See, for instance, Miniaci 2010.

35 Lacau 1913, 24–26

36 Lacau 1913, 17–24.

37 Lacau 1913, 3–16.

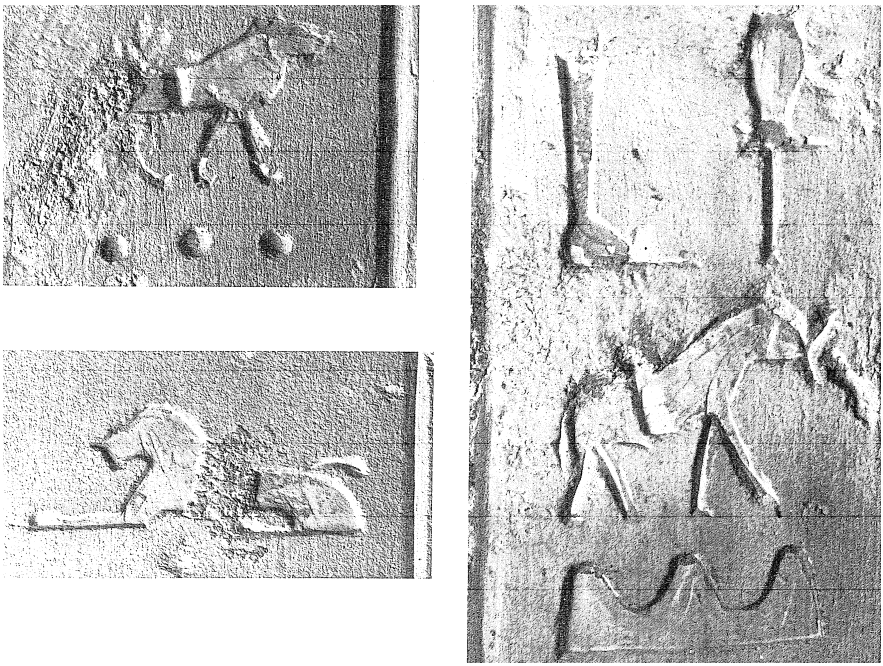

Fig. 1: Mutilated signs covered by plaster from the pyramid of Pepi I; from Pierre 1994, figs 5–7.

Complete Form	Unis	Teti/Pepi I	Merenra/Pepi II	Transliteration & Translation
				*ḥmsi* "to sit"
				*twr* "to be clean, cleanse"
				*ḫsb* "to defend"
				*wʿb* "to purify"
				*nis* "to summon"
				*ʿnḫw* "the living beings"

Fig. 2: Example of hieroglyphic signs represented in incomplete way on various inscriptions from the *Pyramid Texts* of the Old Kingdom; from Iannarilli 2018, 39, table 1; courtesy of Francesca Iannarilli.

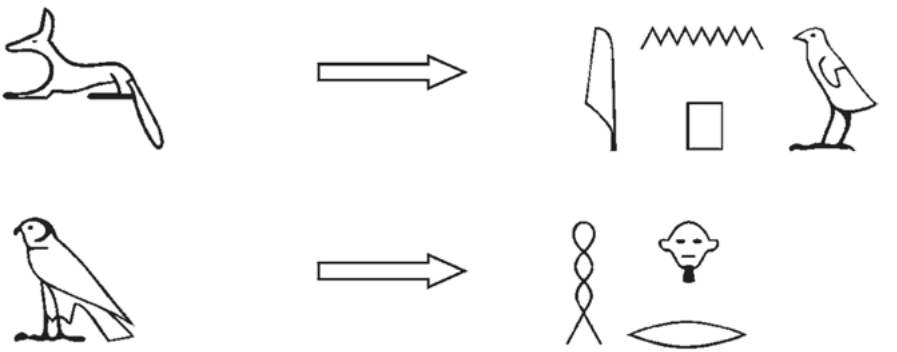

Fig. 3: Examples of substitution of signs with the use of different graphemes for the divine names of Anubis and Horus; redrawn from Roth 2017, 300, fig. 18.5.

4 A diachronic perspective

The manipulation of the signs is not tied to a particular narrow time spot, specific people or documentation, but crosses different epochs, spanning centuries, moving across different layers of society, involving various types of texts and is adopted on different media (writing surfaces). Therefore, it must be analysed in its diachronic perspective. An important premise is that the custom of mutilating hieroglyphs in the funerary domain is not universally adopted and is documented only in specific time frames and a limited number of contexts. Apart from the royal sphere, where it is employed with a certain consistency, it is not clear yet which the bias was for the adoption of this practice.

4.1 The origin: A royal embryo (*c.* 2345–2181 BCE)

The manipulation of hieroglyphic signs appeared for the first time in the *Pyramid Texts* of Unas[38] (end of the fifth dynasty; *c.* 2345–2315 BCE) and, since then, it has been attested with a certain 'regularity' and systematicity in all the inscriptions carved in the known royal pyramids of the sixth dynasty in the Memphite necropolis, i.e. Saqqara (Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, and Pepi II, *c.* 2315–2181 BCE). From the time of Pepi II, the manipulation of hieroglyphs is also documented in the tombs of the

38 Lacau 1913, 2–3; Roth 2017, 292–293; Thuault 2020.

queens: Neit, Iput and Wedjebten (see Fig. 4)[39] (*c.* 2325–2150 BCE). The manipulation of hieroglyphs is further documented in one of the few pyramids preserved for the kings of the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties, King Ibi[40] (who lived for an indefinite time span between *c.* 2150 and 2055 BCE) at Saqqara. In the current state of our knowledge, the texts in the pyramid of Ibi represent the latest *Pyramid Text* (most recent) found in a royal tomb so far: the manipulation of hieroglyphs documented in the walls of the pyramid of Ibi indicates that such a custom continued with 'consistency' (notwithstanding several variation and exceptions)[41] in the royal sphere since its first appearance.[42]

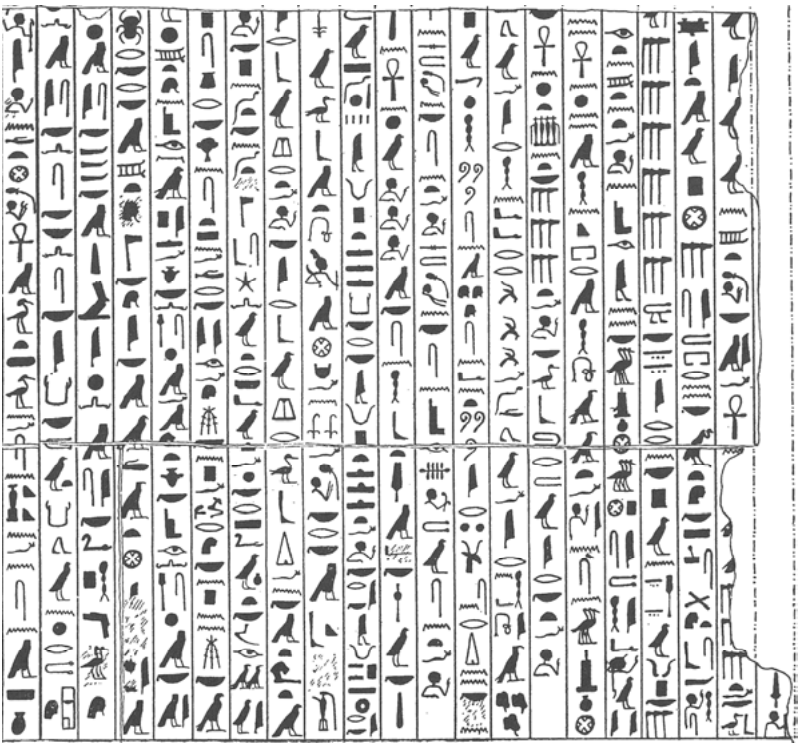

Fig. 4: Excerpt of a *Pyramid Text* from the pyramid of Queen Wedjebten; redrawn from Jéquier 1928, *Paroi Sud II*.

39 Jéquier 1928; Jéquier 1933.

40 Jéquier 1935.

41 For the consistency/inconsistency, see remarks in Iannarilli 2018.

42 Lehner and Hawass 2017, 311.

The signs involved in the manipulation were uniquely represented by living beings, primarily and consistently focusing on human figures (male and female):[43] they were generally omitted or deprived of a part of their body (see Fig. 5) (less frequently, replaced by abstract symbols, such as a circle or diagonal line).[44] Starting from the time of Pepi I (*c.* 2325–2150 BCE), the manipulation (omission and mutilation) was applied to a wider array of signs representing animals and especially mammals: lions, hares, hartebeests, gazelles, elephants, cows, calves and bulls; with less frequency to hippopotami, donkeys, giraffes and baboons;[45] more rarely jackals, rams, collared goats and goatskins.[46] Scorpions were represented in a form that omitted the tail.[47] No birds, insects, snakes or other reptiles were involved in the process of mutilation at this stage,[48] although the words for snakes and worms were not accompanied by any semantic classifier (which in Egyptian writing would have meant the actual representation of a snake or worm): the horned viper (used for the phoneme *f*) and cobra (used for the phoneme *ḏ*) were regularly spelled and fully represented in the *Pyramid Texts* corpora (see below).[49]

The first evidence of 'mutilated' hieroglyphs shows how this practice generated and remained intimately connected with the royal contexts in the Memphite necropolis: first documented in kings' pyramids and, in a second instance, also reproduced on the walls of queens' pyramids. A clear evolution of the pattern can be documented with a royal sphere, since it started with human figures and was rapidly also extended to other animate beings, i.e. animals (not all but only selected types). Rather unexpectedly, dangerous signs, such as cobras and vipers – probably due to their phonetic role – were not subject to any mutilation or manipulation at this time.

43 Lacau 1913, 42–49. The signs representing fishes were also consistently omitted, Roth 2017, 293.
44 Lacau 1913, 17–24; Roth 2017, 292; Iannarilli 2018, 41.
45 Lacau 1913, 36–41; Roth 2017, 293.
46 Roth 2017, 293.
47 Lacau 1913, 49.
48 Lacau 1913, 41. The pelican is omitted in one instance, see Roth 2017, 294.
49 Leclant 1977, 282.

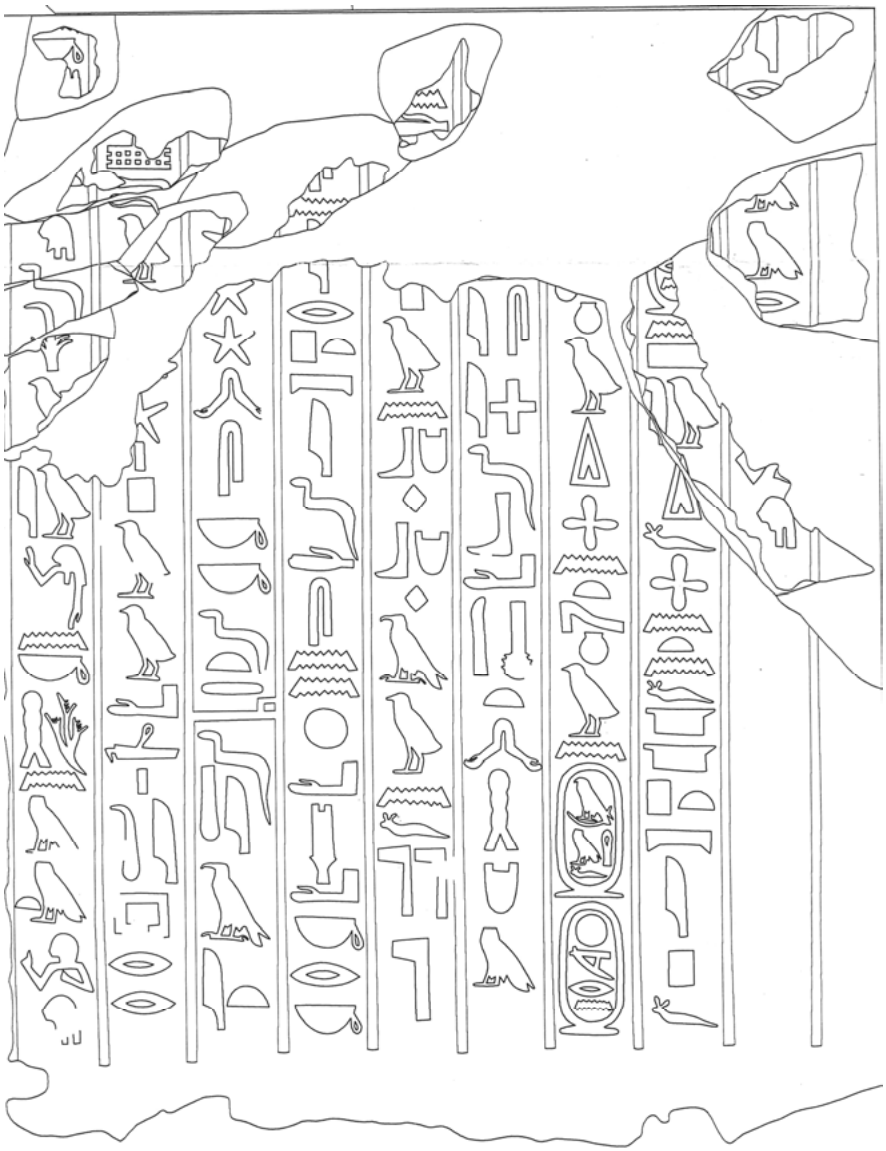

Fig. 5: Excerpt of a *Pyramid Text* from the pyramid of King Merenre; redrawn from Pierre-Croisiau 2019, vol. 2, 463.

4.2 One step below: The incorporation into the private domain (*c.* 2250–2181 BCE)

The practice of manipulating hieroglyphs in funerary contexts passed rapidly from the royal to the private domain, breaking up the documentary isolation of the *Pyramid Texts* corpora.[50] The appearance of the phenomenon in private contexts is first attested in the second half of the sixth dynasty (*c.* 2250 BCE),[51] documented mainly in funerary chambers or coffin inscriptions, all documented in the Memphite necropolis (therefore, close to the origin point – Unas at Saqqara?).[52] The tomb of Ihy at Saqqara may be one of the earliest examples, probably dated to the later sixth dynasty.[53] It is not inconceivable that the manipulation of hieroglyphs passed from the royal to the private sphere in the Memphite necropolis around the end of the sixth dynasty (*c.* 2278–2181 BCE?), because this is also the area and time when the royal tradition of the *Pyramid Texts* moved into the private sphere.[54] The practice of mutilating hieroglyphs was most probably also adopted by the private sphere.

In the private domain, the reptiles – especially vipers and cobras – were mutilated for the first time (see Fig. 6),[55] while, as has been stated previously, this was not the case in royal contexts. The first case of the 'mutilation' of reptiles can be considered in the tomb of Mereruka at Saqqara, where the cobra is avoided in the word Wadjet (the name of the goddess associated as a snake-headed woman or a snake).[56] However, the first non-royal inscriptions with mutilated viper/cobra signs are grouped mainly in a number of tombs at Heliopolis:[57] vipers are cut at the neck, while cobras are omitted.[58]

The passage into the private domain, therefore, is not mechanical, but follows its own path with innovation, change and transformation, as demonstrat-

50 Iannarilli 2019, 300.

51 Jéquier 1929, 73, 81, 103, pl. 7; Roth 2017, 303.

52 The vipers on an offering table in the tomb of Nesw at south Saqqara show mutilation. The context is dated to after the sixth dynasty, see Berger-El-Naggar 2005.

53 Roth 2017, 299–300.

54 Willems 2014, 168–177; Morales 2017, 1–16. See especially Allen 1976.

55 Lacau 1913, 49. Inanimate signs – such as the emblem of divinity (GSL R8) – are for the first time subjected to the manipulation of signs in private contexts of the late Old Kingdom, cf. Lacau 1926, 80 (suppression).

56 Roth 2017, 301, table 18.1. See Firth and Gunn 1926, vol. 2, 173–174, pl. 2–4; Collombert 2010, 76, no. 133.

57 Daressy and Barsanti 1916 (archaeological context and plan). See comments on the mutilation in Lacau 1926, 77–81.

58 Roth 2017, 303. Lions also continued to be mutilated in these tombs.

ed by the mutilation of the reptiles (especially the horned viper). Once detached from the royal sphere and control, the manipulation phenomenon also assumed traits of higher randomness, distributed across various contexts without the predictability or systematicity documented in the *Pyramid Texts*.

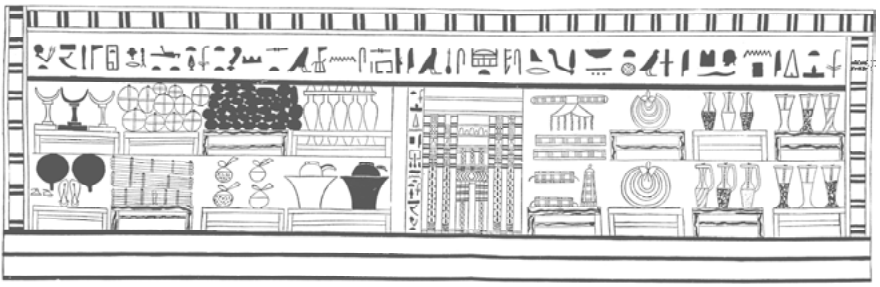

Fig. 6: Coffin inscriptions of Shemayt; redrawn from Jéquier 1929, pl. 11.

4.3 A regional spread: Outside the origin centre (*c.* 2278–2055 BCE)

The practice of manipulating hieroglyphs also spread outside of the Memphite necropolis after it appeared in the private domain by the end of the Old Kingdom.[59] The case of Weni, in the south of Egypt, at Abydos,[60] shows how the manipulation of hieroglyphs in funerary texts also moved from north to south in a non-simultaneous manner, but with a chronological gap. All the inscriptions from the subterranean rooms in the tomb of Weni bear mutilated signs, including the viper and the name of Weni himself.[61] The spelling of Weni's name is 'systematically' mutilated (or the human signs are omitted) only in the subterranean chamber, being written completely in inscriptions in the parts above ground (see Fig. 7). While private people from the northern part of Egypt had already adopted the customs of mutilating hieroglyphics some generations before Weni, none of the texts in the funerary inscriptions of Weni's father, Iuu, vizier during the reign of Pepi I, bear any sign of hieroglyphic manipulation.

59 See Miniaci 2019b for the changing of burial concepts in the Middle Kingdom.
60 Richards 2002, 85–102.
61 Richards 2002, 98, fig. 23.

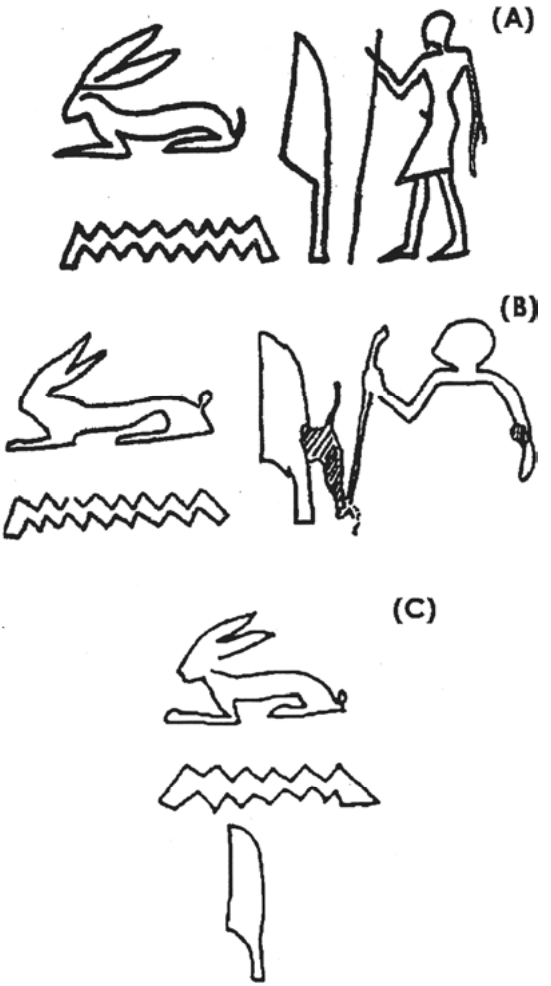

Fig. 7: Spelling of the name of Weni in the inscriptions recorded in the funerary space (B + C) and in the surface monuments (A); redrawn from Richards 2002, fig. 23.

The mutation practice also evolved as it spread outside of the origin centre: at the beginning of the First Intermediate period (*c.* 2181–2055 BCE), the practice of mutilation seems instead to have migrated also to different media, not always intimately connected with the funerary sacred space, such as stelae (see Fig. 8), offering tables and false doors, which were usually located in the chapel, a

public and visible space, therefore, not in close contact with the deceased.[62] The mutilation particularly of the viper – in private contexts – had assumed some peculiar traits, and endured as the most persistent feature even until the end of the First Intermediate period, when the practice of mutilation/omission started to wane (very early Middle Kingdom, i.e. late eleventh dynasty, *c.* 2155–1991 BCE).

Fig. 8: Stela of Itj from Gebelein, Museo Egizio Torino (S.13114); CC BY 2.0.

The manipulation in the First Intermediate period focused mainly on the viper sign, showing four different types of mutilation inflicted: (1) head separated from the body, as though severed by a cut; (2) head separated from the body and displaced somewhere else in an unnatural position (often placed above the viper's body); (3) viper without the head; and (4) viper without the tail. [63] The late sixth dynasty tomb of Idu at Dendera[64] contains one of the first documented combinations of two different mutilations of the viper sign: most of the vipers are shown headless while two are represented decapitated,[65]

62 Russo 2010, table 1, nos. 39–55.
63 Pitkin 2017, 107–122, esp. table 5.0.
64 Petrie 1900, 46, pl. Va
65 Roth 2017, 306.

indicating that different types of mutilation coexisted. The removal of the viper tail, documented only sporadically, seems to occur instead only in later times, by the beginning of the eleventh dynasty, and only in provincial contexts.[66] Rune Nyord has raised the question whether the mutilation of the viper, which spread rapidly and became a dominant feature during this phase and the following one (First Intermediate period–early Middle Kingdom) could be due to the vicinity and subjectivity of the people carving/painting or commissioning the inscriptions. Horned vipers were definitely present in the borders of the deserts where the tombs were typically located and they could have been one of the main struggles for people working in or crossing the necropolis (e.g. for the funeral or the funerary ritual).[67] Such a suggestion moves the focus from conceptual part (i.e. the theological/linguistic authors) towards the pragmatical one (the makers and artisans of the inscriptions/inscribed objects). In this time, the manipulation of the other signs – previously targeted – had almost completely vanished.

Additionally, the social target seems to expand during the First Intermediate period, reaching a more modest and peripheral level of the population, as demonstrated by the titles of the owners of some stelae from Nag ed-Deir and Rizeiqat.[68]

The practice of the manipulation of hieroglyphs transformed and changed as it moved across geographical areas, time and society, evolving according to the needs and vision of the different social layers. The horned viper became the focus of the mutilation, while the manipulation of other animate signs started to slowly fall into disuse.

4.4 The interruption: The archaeological traces of a vanishing practice (*c.* 2155–1926 BCE)

The number of signs targeted for mutilation during the First Intermediate period gradually reduced and disappeared at the dawn of the Middle Kingdom, shortly after the reign of Mentuhotep II (*c.* 2060–2009 BCE),[69] although there are a few traces left in the reign of Senwosret I, during the twelfth dyn-

66 The removal of the tail is a rare feature in the First Intermediate period: see, for instance, Petrie 1909, 3, 16–17, pl. II–III; Clère and Vandier 1948, 14, § 18; Brovarski 2018, 386, fig. 12.9 (stela from Nag ed-Deir, N 4593). See Russo 2010, 252, n. 6.

67 Nyord forthcoming.

68 Pitkin 2023, 133–203.

69 Brovarski 1998, 58.

asty (*c.* 1971–1926 BCE), as documented by a stela found in Elephantine, where the sign of the crocodile is left incomplete,[70] and an inscription of the funerary chamber of Senwosret-akh at Lisht, where a carved bird was originally represented deprived of its legs and only in a second moment were they added in paint.[71]

With the beginning of the second millennium, there is no documentation of this practice in the archaeological records, which visibly had disappeared – unless it went unseen underground.[72]

4.5 The rebirth: Again a new start from the royalty (*c.* 1800–1550 BCE)

By the late Middle Kingdom (*c.* 1800 BCE), the practice of manipulating (by drawing in an incomplete way) some of the signs in the funerary texts reappeared again on inscribed objects in the royal sphere. In this case, the archaeology documents the real first steps of this practice. In a burial, originally conceived for the princess Neferuptah,[73] the hieroglyphs inscribed on her vessels had originally been outlined complete with all the bird signs provided with their legs.[74] Only later were their legs deliberately erased (see Fig. 9). The action of an explicit erasure applied to the initially intact and fully shaped hieroglyphs is followed by a consistent use of mutilated hieroglyphs utilised in the actual burial of Neferuptah found at Hawara south.[75]

70 Miniaci and von Pilgrim 2022.

71 Hayes 1937, 26, col. 447.

72 Cf. Miniaci forthcoming.

73 Presumably the daughter of King Amenemhat III.

74 Petrie 1890, 8, 17, pl. V; Miniaci 2010.

75 Farag and Iskander 1971, 1–6. See Farag and Iskander 1971, esp. 24, fig. 20 (granite sarcophagus), 48–58, fig. 30–32, pl. XXXVII.a.b (wooden coffin), 14–15, fig. 8–10 (silver vases), 7–10 and pl. VII (offering table).

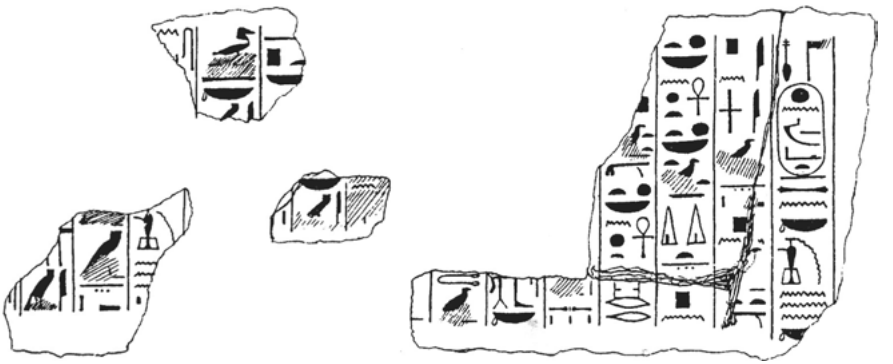

Fig. 9: Vessel fragments belonging to the Neferuptah burial equipment from the burial chamber of King Amenemhat III at Hawara; redrawn from Petrie 1890, 17, pl. 5.

The rise (or readoption) of this practice is again tied to the royal sphere and its inner circle, as documented by the inscriptions of the objects from the burial equipment of King Awibre Hor at Dahshur.[76] All the inscriptions found on the objects equipping the tomb were drawn with incomplete hieroglyphs (see Fig. 10), following a practice inspired by the texts in the *Pyramid Texts* although not faithfully reproducing it. Indeed, the human beings were avoided, such as those documented in the *Pyramid Texts* of the Old Kingdom, but new signs were subject to mutilation (such as birds and snakes).

Although the funerary inscriptions from kings and royal families of the time are rather reduced, there is still evidence that the practice of mutilating hieroglyphs remained in use for royalty for all the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate period (*c*. 1650–1550 BCE). Indeed, the practice is documented for the king's daughter Nubheteptihered (see Fig. 11), King Senebkay,[77] King Intef Sekhemre Wepmaat, King Intef Sekhemre Heruhirmaat and King Intef Nubkheperre (listed in supposed chronological order).[78] In addition, also the coffin of the last king of the seventeenth dynasty, Kamose, employed incomplete hieroglyphs, although a private coffin was used for the king.[79] In fact, royalty seem to have abandoned this practice right at the end of the Second Intermediate period, since the inscriptions on the royal coffins of King Seqenen-

76 De Morgan 1895, 101–102 and pl. 36.
77 Wegner 2017 (burial chamber); Wegner and Cahail 2021, 81–88 (canopic box), esp. 344.
78 Miniaci 2011, 212, 268–271.
79 Miniaci 2011, 226–227.

re Tao (predecessor of Kamose) and Queen Ahhotep (contemporary of Kamose)[80] do not present any mutilation of hieroglyphs (see below).

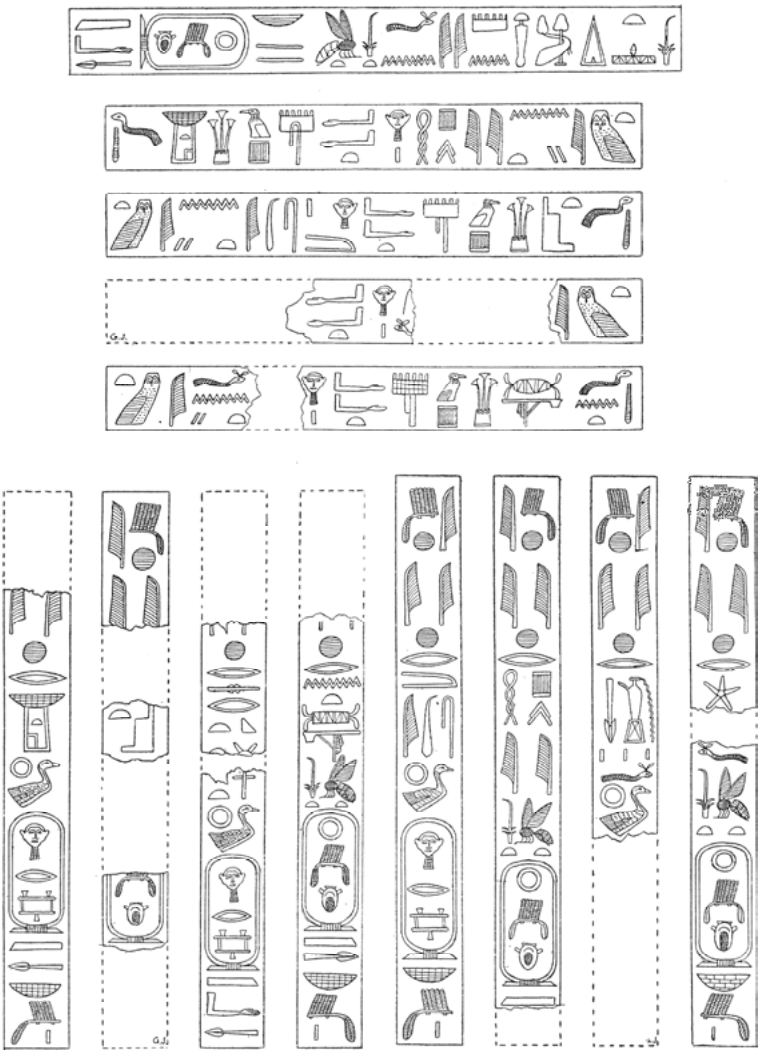

Fig. 10: Inscribed columns and bands from the coffin of King Awibre Hor found at Dahshur; redrawn from De Morgan 1895, 104, fig. 245.

80 Betrò 2022, 132. For Queen Ahhotep, see Miniaci 2022.

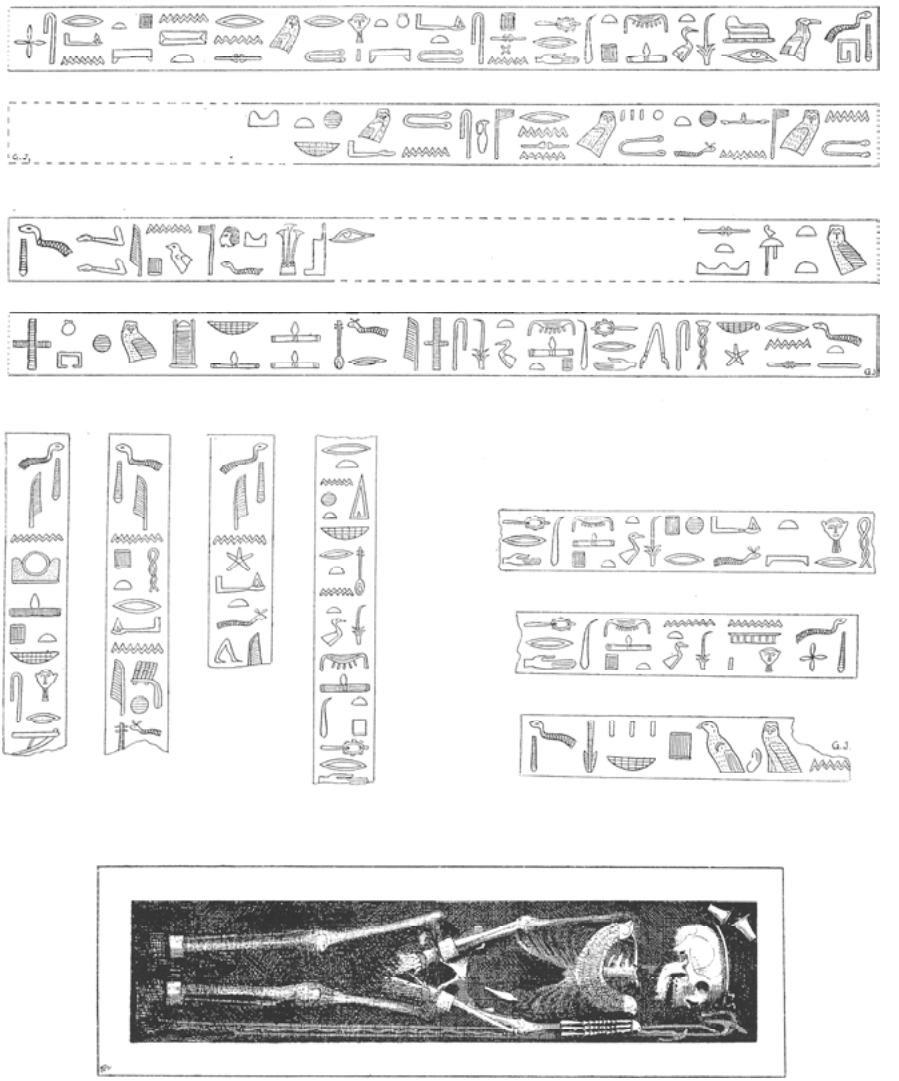

Fig. 11: Inscribed columns and bands from the coffin of king's daughter Nubheteptihered found at Dahshur © redrawn from De Morgan 1895, 111, fig. 264.

Two main categories of hieroglyphic signs were affected by the mutilation in the late Middle Kingdom: birds and snakes, whose legs and tail were removed, respectively; in some instances, their heads were also affected but to a limited extent. Other signs were also included in the practice but in a very patchy and

random mode: in a few instances, other animals, especially quadrupeds, were also deprived of a part of their body (mainly the back). Human beings were generally not mutilated or avoided.

The reemergence of the manipulation of hieroglyphs in funerary contexts was again nested inside the royalty, and – given a certain degree of similarity – it was clearly inspired by the original concept generated within the royal sphere during the Old Kingdom. However, the substantial modifications present in the corpus of the royal inscription of the late Middle Kingdom seem to indicate that the practice was heavily affected by the last evolution documented in the private sphere in the First Intermediate period, where the snakes especially were the object of the mutilation. It was not by chance that the ruling groups of the Middle Kingdom seem to come from a sub-elite substratum raising to the power after the collapse of the reigning groups of the Old Kingdom.[81]

4.6 The 'fall': The spread into the lower layers of society (*c.* 1800–1550 BCE)

Soon after the first reintroduction of the use of incomplete hieroglyphs, the practice moved into a sector of society in close contact with the highest layers, as documented for the 'high steward' Nebankh or the 'lector-priest' Sesenebnef (see Fig. 12), both located around 1800 BCE and 1700 BCE, respectively.[82]

The practice gradually moved from the highest ranking groups to a lower level of officialdom, as documented by some undated examples (still belonging within the time span of *c.* 1800–1650 BCE) deriving from the northern cemeteries of Lisht north, in the cemetery around the pyramid of Amenemhat I: the coffin of the 'overseer of faience workers' Debeheni[83] and the model coffin and shabti[84] of the 'chamber-keeper of the palace' Bener[85] employ incomplete hieroglyphs in their inscriptions.[86]

81 Willems 2022 (also see the critique of the idea of the emergence of the 'middle class'). See Richards 2005; Miniaci 2019a; Bardonova 2021.

82 The heart scarab of Nebankh, London, British Museum, EA 64378, is published in Quirke 2003.

83 Bourriau 1996, 110; Allen 2021, pl. 26–30.

84 On this type of figurines, representing the workmen for the deceased in the Thereafter, see Miniaci 2014.

85 Arnold 1988, 34–36 and pl. 13; Allen 2021, pl. 20–21.

86 Also from the Lisht cemetery, the 'king's son' Wahneferhotep, probably still a true son of a king and not yet an official, needs to be quoted, see Arnold 1988, 37–40 and pl. 14.

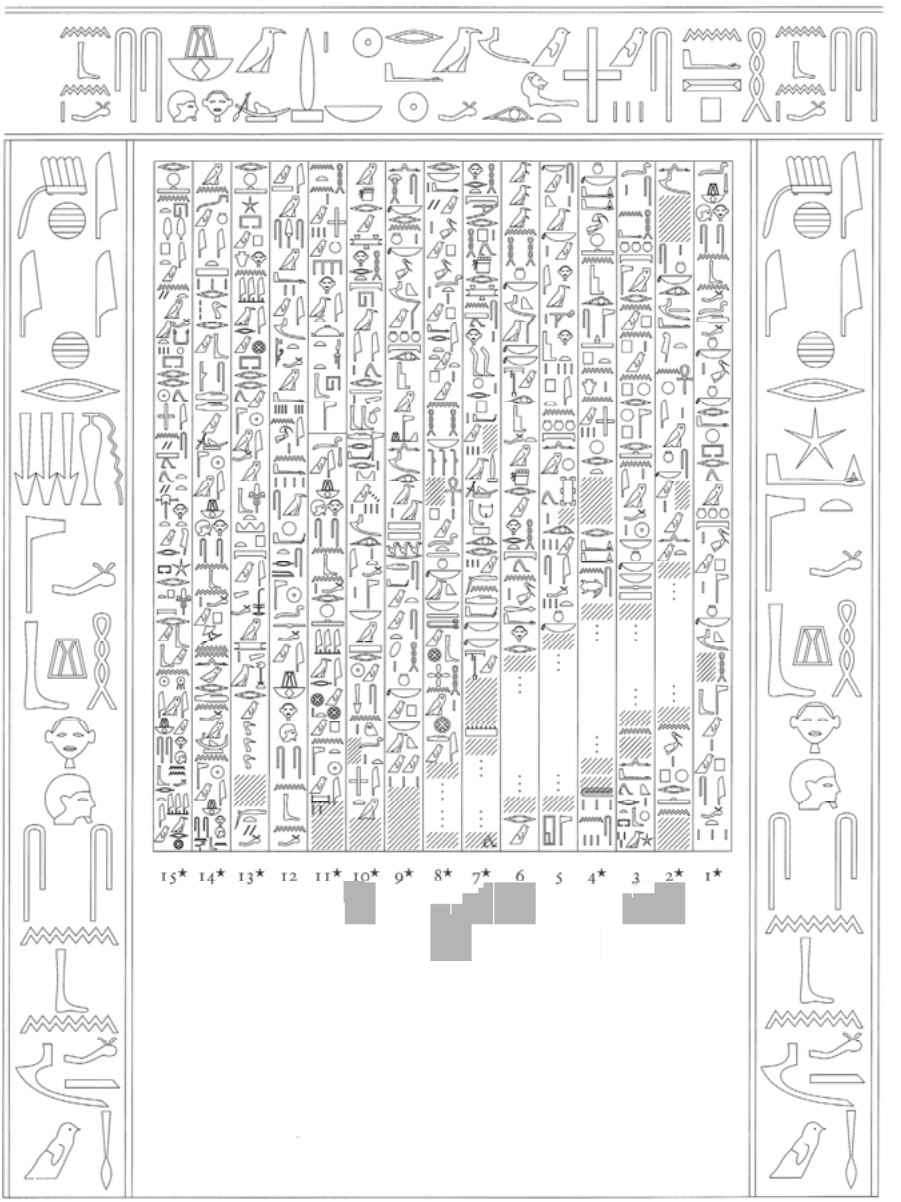

Fig. 12: Inscriptions from the coffin of Sesenebnef from Lisht; redrawn from Allen 2021, pl. 191.

At a certain point during the Second Intermediate period (*c.* 1650–1550 BCE), the proportion of private burials adopting the use of incomplete hieroglyphs at Thebes increased notably, including high as well as low and middle-class officials: the 'overseer of the marshland dwellers' Senebni and the 'king's ornament', perhaps his wife, Khonsw,[87] the 'overseer of the field' Ibia,[88] the 'general of the ruler's crew' Hemenhetep,[89] the 'king's ornaments' Nubherredi[90] and Nefnefert,[91] the 'wab-priests' Nemtyemsaf and Ikhet,[92] to name just a few.[93]

During the Second Intermediate period (*c.* 1650–1550 BCE), the use of incomplete hieroglyphs affected another category of funerary object, which is not strictly connected with the innermost space of the burial: the stelae, and became widespread across a larger sector of society.[94]

4.7 The disuse: Lost in the 'inconsistency' (*c.* 1550–1500 BCE)

The royalty started abandoning this practice, which became increasingly inconsistent, by the later part of the Second Intermediate period (1530 BCE?): in fact, some signs which should have been depicted legless were drafted in a complete form, as attested in the inscription of the canopic box of the King Intef Sekhemre Wepmaat (mid seventeenth dynasty?).[95] The same inconsistency also occurs on the canopic box of a Second Intermediate period king called Sobekemsaf, where birds were simultaneously represented with and without legs.[96] Again, legged birds are depicted besides unlegged ones on a standing

87 Coffins T10C (Senebni) and T6C (Khonsw), following the attribution list in Willems 2014, 19–40, in Cairo, Egyptian Museum Cairo, Catalogue Général 28029 and Catalogue Général 28028; see Berlev 1974, 106–113 and pl. 26–28 (coffins + canopic chests).

88 Grajetzki 2000, 136, V.18.

89 Coffin T13C (case) in Cairo, Egyptian Museum Cairo, Catalogue Général 28126 + T1Ch (lid) in Chicago, Field Museum, A.105215, unpublished, see Lacau 1904, vol. 2, 144–145, vol. 1, 79–80 and pl. XVI.

90 Coffin T7C, now in Cairo, Egyptian Museum Cairo, Catalogue Général 28030, see Lacau 1904, vol. 1, 79–81 and pl. XVI (coffin), pl. XXIII (mask), vol. 2, 87–88.

91 Coffin T9NY, unpublished, see New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 32.3.429.

92 The coffin of Nemtyemsaf, T8NY, is unpublished, see New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 32.3.428. The coffin of Ikhet, T6NY, is also unpublished, see New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 32.3.430, but known from a photographic picture in Hayes 1959, 347–348 and fig. 228.

93 For the rank of these titles, see Quirke 2004.

94 Fischer 1987, 39.

95 Dodson 1994, 117–118, 150–151. Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 2538.

96 Miniaci 2006. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AO. 11, see Boeser 1910, 8, no. 70, pl. XVIII.

sandstone Osiris statue of King Amenhotep I, first king of the eighteenth dynasty, buried in a shallow grave at Asasif (see Fig. 13).[97] While the practice was abandoned by the royal family, it continued in the private sphere, as documented in the inscription for several of the feathered (also called *rishi*) coffins and stelae in use at that time (1550–1500 BCE and probably also flowing into the beginning of fifteenth century BCE).[98] However, it became increasingly sporadic and reduced in the number of attestations, until it fell into disuse with time.

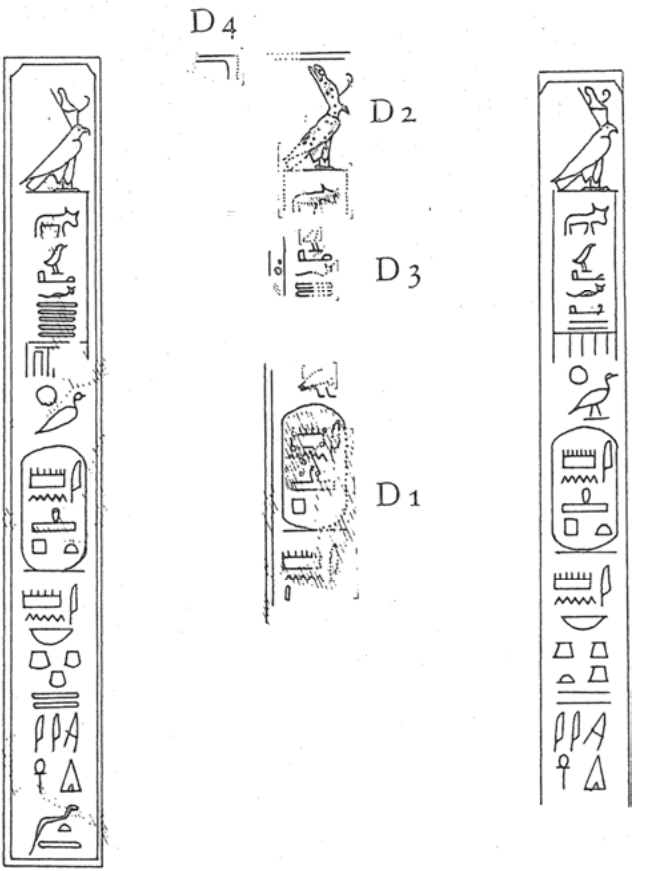

Fig. 13: Inscriptions on the Osiris statue of King Amenhotep I; redrawn from Szafranski 1985, 261, fig. 2.1.

97 Szafranski 1985, 261, fig. 2.1.

98 Examples are in Marée 1993; Marée 2010; Miniaci 2011; Franke 2013.

By the early eighteenth dynasty, the practice had disappeared, and it was no longer attested in Egypt, probably forgotten buried under the centuries of disuse. The abandonment of this use by the eighteenth dynasty (from *c*. 1500 onwards) closes a 'chapter' which included inventions, evolutions and transformations, with acceleration, deceleration, gaps, adaptation, rethinking and rediscovery, passing from one level to another of society, from top to bottom and vice versa, in exactly the same way as other artefacts produced by men do.[99]

5 The materiality of the signs in the social domain

Writing is anchored to language in a glottic system via its phonetic and semantic articulations.[100] Therefore, language and writing often share a common path. Mikhail Bakhtin, a Russian philosopher and literary theorist,[101] brought attention to the social context of language and its semiotic system. The principle followed by Bakhtin is that all the forms of discourse are shot through with social, political and historical forces.[102] A language and its written system cannot be independent from its social context: 'Every word smells of the context and contexts in which it lived its socially intensified life; all words and forms are filled with intentions'.[103] The approach to language and writing systems, with Bakhtin, loses its unitary, arbitrary and systematic nature – as theorised after Ferdinand de Saussure – to become a sort of riven world, fractured in different linguistic forms and habits.[104] The everyday experience is translated in the world of the language and its writing system, embodying social and historical conflicts in it.[105] Therefore, the language and its written system cannot be

99 Cf. Bourdieu 1991.

100 Stauder 2022, 223.

101 Hirschkop 2021, 32–52, 92. See Hirschkop 1999.

102 Bakhtin 1981.

103 Bakhtin 1981, 293.

104 'All the languages and idioms spoken by different layers of the population, including also group mannerisms, professional jargons, generic languages, the languages of generations and age-groups, the languages of political tendencies and parties, the languages of authorities, the languages of circles and passing fashions, the languages of socio-political days and even hours (every day has its own slogan, its own vocabulary, its own accents)', Bakhtin 1981, 262.

105 'At any given moment of its historical existence, language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the coexistence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles, and so forth, all given a bodily form [...] each

conceived as an arbitrary, asocial and ahistorical system of forms: a reservoir of neutral forms from which individuals decide to pick out words and structures in order to structure the communication.[106] Despite Gramsci's enthusiasm for international languages as a means of communication and growth, he severely criticised the experiment of Esperanto:

> [how] could an international language take root when it is completely artificial and mechanical, completely ahistorical, not fed by great writers, lacking the expressive richness which comes from the variety of dialects, from the variety of forms assumed in different times?[107]

Grigorij Vinokur, a literary author and philologist contemporary of Bakhtin, showed how the control over the language and text served to manipulate ideology, consciousness and culture:[108] the national language has the scope to unify and make a nation, creating citizens and isolating from the others in order to obtain a national, social and political control/unity.[109]

In the footsteps of Bakhtin, the study of hieroglyphs and their materiality cannot be abstractly separated from other parts of the material world, history, politics and – especially – society:[110] the manipulation of the hieroglyphic signs must be also read as a cultural dialectic between different parts of ancient Egyptian society.[111] At first, the practice of the manipulation of the hieroglyphs in funerary contexts seems to be generated inside the inner circle of royalty (only *kings*), subsequently passing to a wider layer of the population, which is still consistently in the higher hegemonic levels (*queens*, and later, *high officials*) and, subsequently, circulates in peripherical areas adopted by a lower social segment (*mid-rank functionaries*). In a second phase, during the late Middle Kingdom, the practice seems to be resumed, if it had ever been abandoned, following a very similar path, first attested in the royalty (*kings*, *queens*, *royal*

[...] requires a methodology very different from the others', Bakhtin 1981, 291. Such a concept has been inherited by Gramsci when he perceives language as 'a living thing and a museum of fossils of life and civilizations. When I use the word "disaster" no one can accuse me of believing in astrology, and when I say, "by Jove!" no one can assume that I am a worshipper of pagan divinities. These expressions are however a proof that modern civilization is also a development of paganism and astrology', Gramsci 1971, 450.

106 Hirschkop 2021, 91. See Vyacheslav 1999

107 Gramsci 1985, 29.

108 Eagleton 1996, 102; Beetz 2016, 94–95.

109 Crowley 2006, 184–185.

110 Cf. Coward and Ellis 1977; Briggs and Bauman 1995. For the Egyptian side, see Morenz 2007.

111 See Stauder 2022, 221, who suggests that the emergence of writing is tied to social and cultural contexts. See also Morenz 2012.

family) and later reproduced in a very unstructured way in lower layers of society (*high*, *mid- and lower rank functionaries*). The practice changes, transforms and becomes adapted to the needs of the specific social sector when passing from one segment of society to another. The passage of time and social forces makes this practice increasingly inconsistent (also because the original input was transformed through the passage of different chronological, spatial and social strands), also reproduced in unconventional places different from the intimate funerary domain (such as stelae in the offering chapels).

6 The passage from high culture to folk domain

The chronological 'movement' of the manipulation of hieroglyphs from royalty to lower layers of society, progressively becoming inconsistent, unsystematic and deviating from the original purposes, reminds one of the mode of absorption of the culture from the subaltern classes sustained by Gramsci in his discussion about folklore.

According to Gramsci's division, the ruling or hegemonic class needs to create consent in order to maintain its dominance over a larger part of the population. The consent is created through the formation of a hegemonic culture, with very precise connotations, in order to be visible, defined and immediately recognisable. The scope of creating a hegemonic culture (distinctive commonly recognised traits) is to promulgate models of power and dominion, being commonly accepted and immediately targeted without the need to constantly reiterate and demonstrate the reasons for power.[112] The writing and a language definitely represent traits of common consent for a hegemonic culture. The centralization and brutal forms of unity engendered by Stalin, for instance, were also realised in a coercive way through the imposition of a standard Russian language.[113] The 'standardisation' of the language was acting as centripetal force against natural (?) centrifugal directions.[114] Gramsci

112 Hall 1986, 15; Colpani 2021. Cf. Banti 2019.

113 Goodman 1956; Michael G. Smith 1998, esp. 161–173, Chap. 8 'Stalin's linguistic theories as cultural conquest'. The language was an instrument by which a regime could dominate people, consolidate its power and extend its empire also in other cases, see, for instance, Rubin and Jernudd 1971; Gonzalez 1980; Weinstein 1990; Esman 1992.

114 Contemporary foreign people speaking in a perfect British English, for instance, are simply reproducing a dialect from the south of England, which is the mirror of the political, social

also stressed the role played by a language (a 'historical institution that changes continuously')[115] in the formation of cultural hegemony, functioning as a paradigm for the operations of social change and the achievement of hegemony.[116] The spread of any linguistic feature passes from community to community: the more it spreads, the more the culture connected with the linguistic feature becomes dominant.[117]

The hegemonic order – as imagined by Gramsci – is not permanent but is in constant competition with other groups (subalterns?), rising, falling, incorporating and being incorporated by other groups, writing and rewriting its identity and borders. The continuous transformation of the hegemonic class and the absence of an everlasting division between the hegemonic and subaltern sectors of society[118] create a constant leak of high culture into a more popular domain.[119]

Gramsci perceived folklore[120] (to be interpreted as a 'moment of formation' rather than as a permanent aspect) as a repository of dismissed ideas, dispersed fragments from the high culture of the dominant groups, fragments coming from past times, opinions and concepts taken out of context, which are adapted and adjusted to a different reality, and more or less distorted from their original intent:[121]

> it [folklore] is stratified, from the more crude to the less crude – if, indeed, one should not speak of a confused agglomerate of fragments of all the conceptions of the world and of life that have succeeded one another in history. In fact, it is only in folklore that one finds surviving evidence, adulterated and mutilated, of the majority of these conceptions.[122]

Gramsci perceived folk culture as a repository of meanings and attitudes transformed over time, where people selected, chose, manipulated and transformed concepts (i.e. fragments of concepts) fallen from above according to their 'own'

---

and historical forces extending the hegemony of the south of England over society, culture and widespread in a tyrannic way over a wider territory, Crowley 2006, 186–192.

115 Ives 2004, 23.

116 Gramsci 1985, 183–184. Also see Dorothy Smith 1990.

117 Kroskrity 2000.

118 Cultures constantly intersect: the pertinent cultural struggles arise at the points of intersection; Hall 1981.

119 Gencarella 2010, 223.

120 Dei 2018; Dei 2020; Cirese 2022. See notes in Hall 1981.

121 Gramsci 1985, 189, 193.

122 Gramsci 1985, 189.

needs and criteria.[123] The movement is not unidirectional (top-down), but circular, because people from below are in contact with the power – often also rising to the power in a cyclical refuelling of it – and also bring fragments from the previous time stratified in folk culture into the hegemonic order.[124]

Viewed in such a light, the phenomenon of the manipulation of the hieroglyphs of the Old Kingdom can also be read in its diachronic evolution as the 'leak of fragments' from the official culture. The custom of manipulating hieroglyphs was certainly generated in the sphere of the high theology/linguistic in order to feature a dominant part of society, i.e. to make the hegemonic culture immediately recognisable (in its performativity and materiality), as documented during the Old Kingdom in the royal pyramids. When the custom leaked into the lower layers of society, it was initially adapted and then distorted, and most probably never fully understood, soon becoming 'non-economic' and then dismissed and abandoned. The second phase of the manipulation of hieroglyphs rose up again inside the hegemonic circuit during the late Middle Kingdom, but not as an original concept as it was already the result of a reshuffling in the 'folk' culture, depending heavily on the previous passages in the non-dominant layers of society. A lower layer of society that, after the collapse of the ruling classes of the Old Kingdom, had become part of the hegemonic sphere of society. Again, in the late Middle Kingdom, the practice of mutilating hieroglyphs passed from the higher into the lower layers, and, again, the passage was not complete and direct but happened in a fragmented way, being badly understood, soon became inconsistent, sporadic and then fell into disuse. A circuit of cultural transmission that reunified hegemonic and subaltern groups in a constant circle of rise, leak, adaptation, transformation and fall.[125]

Acknowledgements

I would like to deeply thank people who have helped with the writing of this article, *in primis* Marilina Betrò, Michael Friedrich and Cécile Michel for reading through my text even if in a drafted version. I wish also to thank Richard Bussmann, Andréas Stauder and Rune Nyord for providing some useful information and copies of their articles. I am indebted to Cornelius von Pilgrim who

123 Cirese 2022, 30.

124 Gramsci 1985, 194.

125 The hegemonic group, with the passage of time and historical and social transformations, cannot hold its position and give way to the subaltern classes, becoming itself a subaltern group, and so on.

drew back my attention to the incomplete hieroglyphs a few years ago and to Simon Thuault with whom I am currently developing a joint project for studying the manipulation of hieroglyphs in a socio-linguistic perspective. Finally, I wish to thank Fabio Dei, because the idea of this article came from attending one of his lectures of anthropology on Gramsci and the folklore.

References

Allen, James P. (1976), 'The Funerary Texts of King Wahkare Akhtoy on a Middle Kingdom Coffin', in Janet H. Johnson and Edward F. Wente (eds), *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes: January 12, 1977*, Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1–29.

Allen, James P. (1994), 'Reading a Pyramid', in Berger, Clerc and Grimal 1994, vol. 1, 5–28.

Allen, James P. (2014), *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd revised edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Allen, James P. (2017), 'The Pyramid Texts as Literature', in Susan Bickel and Lucía Díaz-Iglesias (eds), *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature*, Leuven: Peeters, 29–41.

Allen, James P. (2021), *Inscriptions from Lisht: Texts from Burial Chambers* (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, 31), New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Andrássy, Petra, Julia Budka and Frank Kammerzell (eds) (2009), *Non-textual Marking Systems, Writing and Pseudo Script from Prehistory to Modern Times* (Lingua Aegyptia: Studia monographica, 8), Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, Universität Göttingen.

Appadurai, Arjun (1986), 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3–63.

Arnold, Dieter (1988), *The Pyramid of Senwosret I* (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, 22), New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Baines, John (1989), 'Communication and Display: The Integration of Early Egyptian Art and Writing', *Antiquity*, 63/240: 471–482.

Baines, John (2004), 'The Earliest Egyptian Writing: Development, Context, Purpose', in Stephen D. Houston (ed.), *The First Writing: Script Invention as History and Process*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 150–189, 354–394.

Bakhtin, Mikhail M. (1981), *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, tr. Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Banti, Alberto M. (2019), *Wonderland. La cultura di massa da Walt Disney ai Pink Floyd*, Bari: Laterza.

Bardonova, Martina (2021), 'The "Prince's Court Is Like a Common Fountain": Middle Kingdom Royal Patronage in the Light of a Modern Sociological Concept', in Alessandro Jiménez-Serrano and Antonio J. Morales (eds), *Middle Kingdom Palace Culture and Its Echoes in the Provinces: Regional Perspectives and Realities*, Leiden: Brill, 77–100.

Beetz, Johannes (2016), *Materiality and Subject in Marxism, (Post-)Structuralism, and Material Semiotics*, London: Springer.

Berger, Catherine, Gisèle Clerc and Nicolas Grimal (eds) (1994), *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Berger-el-Naggar, Catherine (2005), 'Cultes de reines et cultes privés dans le cimetière de la famille royale de Pépy Ier', in Laure Pantalacci and Catherine Berger-el-Naggar (eds), *Des Néferkarê aux Montouhotep: travaux archéologiques en cours sur la fin de la VI^e^ dynastie et la première période intermédiaire; actes du colloque CNRS-Université Lumière-Lyon 2, tenu le 5–7 juillet 2001*, Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée / Paris: de Boccard, 15–30.

Berlev, Oleg (1974), 'A Contemporary of King Sewah-en-Re', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 60: 106–113.

Betrò, Marilina (2022), 'The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources', in Miniaci and Lacovara 2022, 131–152.

Boeser, Pieter Adriaan Aart (1910), *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, vol. 3: *Die Denkmäler der Zeit zwischen dem alten und des mittleren Reiches*, Part 2: *Grabgegenstände, Statuen, Gefässe u. verschiedenartige kleinere Gegenstände*, Haag: Nijhoff.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1991), *Language and Symbolic Power*, tr. Gino Raymond, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourriau, Janine (1996), 'The Dolphin Vase from Lisht', in Peter der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. 1, Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 101–116.

Briggs, Charles L. and Richard Bauman (1995), 'Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power', in Ben G. Blount (ed.), *Language, Culture, and Society: A Book of Readings*, 2nd edn, Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland, 567–608.

Brovarski, Edward (1998), 'A Coffin from Farshût in the Museum of the Fine Arts, Boston', in Leonard H. Lesko (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies: In Memory of William A. Ward*, Providence, RI, 37–69.

Brovarski, Edward (2018), *Naga ed-Dêr in the First Intermediate Period*, Atlanta, GA: Lockwood Press.

Budka, Julia, Frank Kammerzell and Sławomir Rzepka (eds) (2015), *Non-textual Marking Systems in Ancient Egypt (and Elsewhere)* (Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica, 16), Hamburg: Widmaier.

Cavanaugh, Jillian R. and Shalini Shankar (eds) (2017), *Language and Materiality: Ethnographic and Theoretical Explorations*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cirese, Alberto M. (2022), 'Gramsci's Observations on Folklore. Conceptions of the World, Spontaneous Philosophy and Class Instinct', *ANUAC. Rivista della societa italiana di antropologia culturale*, 11/1: 17–48.

Clère, Jacques J. and Jacques Vandier (1948), *Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la XI^ème^ dynastie* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, 10), Brussels: Brepols.

Collombert, Philippe (2010), *Le tombeau de Mérérouka: paléographie* (Paléographie Hiéroglyphique, 4), Cairo: IFAO.

Colpani, Gianmaria (2021), 'Two Theories of Hegemony: Stuart Hall and Ernesto Laclau in Conversation', *Political Theory*, 50/2: 221–246.

Coward, Rosalind and John Ellis (1977), *Language and Materialism: Developments in Semiology and the Theory of the Self*, Boston: Routledge.

Crowley, Tony (2006), 'Bakhtin and the History of the Language', in Ken Hirschkop and David Shepherd (eds), *Bakhtin and Cultural Theory*, 2nd revised edn, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 177–200.

Daressy, George and Alexandre Barsanti (1916), 'La nécropole des grands prêtres d'Héliopolis sous l'Ancien Empire', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 16: 193–220.

De Morgan, Jacques (1895), *Fouilles à Dahchour: Mars–Juin 1894*, Vienna: Adolphe Holzhausen.

De Saussure, Ferdinand (1986), *Course in General Linguistics*, tr. Albert Riedlinger, LaSalle, IL: Open Court Publishing.

Dei, Fabio (2018), *Cultura popolare in Italia: Da Gramsci all'Unesco*, Bologna: Il Mulino.

Dei, Fabio (2020), 'Cultura popolare. Vecchio concetto, percorsi nuovi', *Nuova informazione bibliografica, Il sapere nei libri*, 1: 35–56.

DeMarrais, Elizabeth (2004), 'The Materialisation of Culture', in Elizabeth DeMarrais, Chris Gosden and Colin Renfrew (eds), *Rethinking Materiality: The Engagement of Mind with the Material World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 11–22.

Derrida, Jacques (1988), *Limited Inc*, tr. Jeffrey Mehlman and Samuel Weber, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Dodson, Aidan (1994), *The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt*, London: Kegan Paul International.

Drazin, Adam and Susanne Küchler (2015), *The Social Life of Materials: Studies in Materials and Society*, London: Bloomsbury.

Eagleton, Terry (1996), *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Esman, Milton J. (1992), 'The State and Language Policy', *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique*, 13/4: 381–396.

Eyre, Christopher (2018), 'The Material Authority of Written Text in Pharaonic Egypt', in Francisca A. J. Hoogendijk and Steffie van Gompel (eds), *The Materiality of Texts from Ancient Egypt: New Approaches to the Study of Textual Material from the Early Pharaonic to the Late Antique Period*, Leiden: Brill, 1–11.

Fahlander, Fredrik (2008), 'Differences That Matter: Materialities, Material Culture and Social Practice', in Håkon Glørstad and Lotte Hedeager (eds), *Six Essays on the Materiality of Society and Culture*, Lindome: Bricoleur Press, 127–154.

Farag, Nagib and Zaki Iskander (1971), *The Discovery of Neferwptah*, Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing Offices.

Firth, Cecil M. and Battiscombe Gunn (1926), *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 2 vols, Cairo: Excavations at Saqqara.

Fischer, Henry G. (1987), 'Notes on the Macclesfield Collection', *Göttinger Miszellen*, 95: 35–44.

Franke, Detlef (2013), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum from the 13th–17th Dynasties*, vol. 1, Fascicule 1: *Descriptions* [ed. Marcel Marée], London: British Museum Press.

Gell, Alfred (1998), *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gencarella, Stephen O. (2010), 'Gramsci, Good Sense, and Critical Folklore Studies', *Journal of Folklore Research*, 47/3: 221–252.

Gonzalez, Andrew B. (1980), *Language and Nationalism: The Philippine Experience Thus Far*, Manila: Ateneo of Manila University.

Goodman, Elliot R. (1956), 'The Soviet Design for a World Language', *The Russian Review*, 15/2: 85–99.

Graff, Gwenola (2017), 'Predynastic Egyptian Iconography: Contributions and Relations with the Hieroglyphic System's Origin', in Anna Margherita Jasink, Judith Weingarten and Silvia Ferrara (eds), *Non-scribal Communication Media in the Bronze Age Aegean and Surrounding Areas: The Semantics of A-literate and Proto-literate Media (Seals, Potmarks, Mason's*

marks, Seal-impressed Pottery, Ideograms and Logograms, and Related Systems), Florence: Firenze University Press, 221–232.
Grajetzki, Wolfram (2000), *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mitteleren Reich: Prosopographie, Titel und Titelreihen* (Schriften zur Ägyptologie, A2), Berlin: ACHET.
Gramsci, Antonio (1971), *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, tr. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, London: Intl Pub Co Inc.
Gramsci, Antonio (1985), *Selections from Cultural Writings*, tr. William Boelhower, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Hall, Stuart (1981), 'Notes on Deconstructing "the Popular"', in Raphael Samuel (ed.), *People's History and Socialist Theory*, London: Routledge, 227–240.
Hall, Stuart (1986), 'Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity', *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 10/2: 5–27.
Haring, Ben (2018), *From Single Sign to Pseudo-script: An Ancient Egyptian System of Workmen's Identity Marks* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, 93), Leiden: Brill.
Haring, Ben (2021), 'Marking and Writing in an Egyptian Workmen's Community', in John Bodel and Stephen Houston (eds), *The Hidden Language of Graphic Signs: Cryptic Writing and Meaningful Marks*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 159–172.
Hayes, William C. (1937), *The Texts in the Maṣṭabeh of Se'n-Wosret-'ankh at Lisht, With Plates by Lindsley F. Hall from Photos by Harry Burton* (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, 12), New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Hayes, William C. (1959), *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 1, New York: Harper / Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Hays, Harold M. (2015), 'The Entextualization of the Pyramid Texts and the Religious History of the Old Kingdom', in Peter Der Manuelian and Thomas Schneider (eds), *Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Perspectives on the Pyramid Age*, Leiden: Brill, 200–226.
Henare, Amiria, Martin Holbraad and Sari Wastell (eds) (2007), *Thinking Through Things: Theorising Artefacts Ethnographically*, New York: Routledge.
Hirschkop, Ken (1999), *Mikail Bakhtin: An Aesthetic for Democracy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hirschkop, Ken (2021), *The Cambridge Introduction to Mikhail Bakhtin* (Cambridge Introductions to Literature), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hodder, Ian (2011), 'Human-thing Entanglement: Towards an Integrated Archaeological Perspective', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 17: 154–177.
Iannarilli, Francesca (2017), 'Image Processing: Elaboration and Manipulation of the Human Figure in the Pyramid Texts', in Gloria Rosati and Maria C. Guidotti (eds), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists, Florence Egyptian Museum, Florence, 23–30 August 2015*, Oxford: BAR Publishing, 287–290.
Iannarilli, Francesca (2018), 'Write to Dominate Reality: Graphic Alteration of Anthropomorphic Signs in the Pyramids Texts', *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*, 17: 37–46.
Iannarilli, Francesca (2019), 'Manipulation Image, Processing Script: Construction and Deconstruction of the Human Figure in the Pyramid Texts', in Patrizia Piacentini and Alessio Delli Castelli (eds), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology 7: Proceedings of the International Conference; Università degli Studi di Milano 3–7 July 2017*, vol. 1, Milan: Pontremoli, 296–303.
Ingold, Tim (2007), 'Materials against Materiality', *Archaeological Dialogues*, 14/1: 1–16.

Ives, Peter (2004), *Gramsci's Politics of Language: Engaging the Bakhtin Circle and the Frankfurt School*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Jéquier, Gustave (1928), *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale.
Jéquier, Gustave (1929), *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II. Fouilles à Saqqarah*, Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale.
Jéquier, Gustave (1933), *Les pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit: Fouilles à Saqqarah*, Cairo: IFAO.
Jéquier, Gustave (1935), *La pyramide d'Aba: Fouilles à Saqqarah*, Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale.
Joyce, Rosemary A. (2015), 'History and Materiality', in Robert A. Scott and Stephen M. Kosslyn (eds), *Emerging Trends in Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Melbourne: SAGE Publications, 1–16.
Joyce, Rosemary A. and Susan D. Gillespie (2015), 'Making Things out of Objects That Move', in Rosemary A. Joyce (ed.), *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*, Santa Fe, NM: University of Chicago Press, 3–20.
Kammerzell, Frank (2009), 'Defining Non-textual Marking Systems, Writing, and other Systems of Graphic Information Processing', in Andrássy, Budka and Kammerzell 2009, 277–308.
Keane, Webb (1995), 'The Spoken House: Text, Act, and Object in Eastern Indonesia', *American Ethnologist*, 22: 102–124.
Keane, Webb (2001), 'Money Is No Object. Materiality, Desire, and Modernity in an Indonesian Society', in Fred R. Myers (ed.), *In The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*, Oxford: School for Advanced Research Press, 65–90.
Keane, Webb (2003), 'Semiotics and the Social Analysis of Material Things', *Language & Communication*, 23/2–3: 409–425.
Kienlin, Tobias L. and Richard Bussmann (eds) (2022), *Sociality – Materiality – Practice / Sozialität – Materialität – Praxis* (Kölner Beiträge zu Archäologie und Kulturwissenschaften, 3), Bonn: Lehmanns.
Klages, Mary (2006), *Literary Theory: A Guide for the Perplexed*, London / New York: Continuum.
Knappett, Carl (2005), *Thinking through Material Culture: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Knappett, Carl (2012), 'Materiality', in Ian Hodder (ed.), *Archaeological Theory Today*, 2nd edn, Cambridge: Polity Press, 188–207.
Knappett, Carl (2014), 'Materiality in Archaeological Theory', in Claire Smith (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, New York: Springer, 4700–4708.
Kroskrity Paul V. (ed.) (2000), *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*, Santa Fe, NM: Sch. Am. Res. Press.
Lacau, Pierre M. (1904), *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, 2 vols, Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale.
Lacau, Pierre M. (1913), 'Suppressions et modifications de signes dans les textes funéraires', *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 51: 1–64.
Lacau, Pierre M. (1926), 'Suppression des noms divins dans les textes de la chambre funéraire', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 26: 69–81.
Leclant, Jean (1977), 'Les textes de la pyramide de Pépi Ier (Saqqara): reconstitution de la paroi est de l'antichambre', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, 121/2: 269–288.
Lehner, Mark and Zahi Hawass (2017), *Giza and the Pyramids: The Definitive History*, London: Thames & Hudson.

Malafouris, Lambros (2013), *How Things Shape the Mind: A Theory of Material Engagement*, New York: The MIT Press.
Marée, Marcel (1993), 'A Remarkable Group of Egyptian Stelae from the Second Intermediate Period', *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*, 73: 7–22.
Marée, Marcel (2010), 'A Sculpture Workshop at Abydos from the Late Sixteenth or Early Seventeenth Dynasty', in Marcel Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects*, Leuven: Peeters, 241–281.
Martindale, Andrew (2009), 'Entanglement and Tinkering: Structural History in the Archaeology of the Northern Tsimshian', *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 9: 59–91.
Meskell, Lynn (2005), 'Objects in the Mirror Appear Closer Than They Are', in Miller 2005a, 51–71.
Miller, Daniel (1987), *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*, Oxford: Blackwell.
Miller, Daniel (ed.) (1998), *Material Culture: Why Some Things Matter*, London: University of Chicago Press.
Miller, Daniel (ed.) (2005a), *Materiality*, Durhamn: Duke University Press.
Miller, Daniel (2005b), 'Materiality: An Introduction', in Miller 2005a, 1–50.
Miniaci, Gianluca (2006), 'Un Sobekemsaf da Dra Abu el-Naga', *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, 29: 75–87.
Miniaci, Gianluca (2010), 'The Incomplete Hieroglyphs System at the End of the Middle Kingdom', *Revue d'égyptologie*, 61: 113–134.
Miniaci, Gianluca (2011), *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt* (GHP Egyptology, 17), London: Golden House Publications.
Miniaci, Gianluca (2014), 'The Case of the Third Intermediate Period "Shabti-maker (?) of the Amun Domain" Diamun / Padiamun and the Change in Conception of Shabti Statuettes', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 100: 245–273.
Miniaci, Gianluca (2019a), 'Burial Demography in the Late Middle Kingdom: A Social Perspective', in Rune Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom Funerary Culture: Proceedings of the Lady Wallis Budge Anniversary Symposium Held at Christ's College, Cambridge, 22 January 2016*, Leiden: Brill, 117–149.
Miniaci, Gianluca (2019b), 'The Material Entanglement in the "Egyptian Cemetery" in Kerma (Sudan, 1750–1500 BC): Appropriation, Incorporation, Tinkering, and Hybridisation', *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, 42: 13–32.
Miniaci, Gianluca (2022), 'The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep's Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence', in Miniaci and Lacovara 2022, 27–60.
Miniaci, Gianluca (2023), 'The Materiality of the Damage in the Faience Figurine Corpus from Late Middle Bronze Age Egypt (1800–1550 BC)', in Gianluca Miniaci (ed.), *Breaking Images: Damage and Mutilation of Ancient Figurines* (Multidisciplinary Approach to Ancient Societies, 2), Oxford: Oxbow, 150–172.
Miniaci, Gianluca (forthcoming), 'Early Dynastic Votives as Source for Late Middle Kingdom Iconography: An Archaeological Discovery at the Time of the Pharaohs?', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 110.
Miniaci, Gianluca and Peter Lacovara (eds) (2022), *The Treasure of the Egyptian Queen Ahhotep and International Relations at the Turn of the Middle Bronze Age* (1600–1500 BCE) (Middle Kingdom Studies, 11), London: Golden House Publications.
Miniaci, Gianluca and Simon Thuault (forthcoming), *Mutilating Hieroglyphs: A Linguistic Insight into Alterations of Signs in Ancient Egypt* (Ancient Egypt in Context), Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Miniaci, Gianluca and Cornelius von Pilgrim (2022), 'An Unusual Mutilation of the Crocodile Hieroglyphic Sign in an Early Middle Kingdom Stela from the Sanctuary H of Heqaib at Elephantine', in Gianluca Miniaci and Wolfram Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom*, vol. 3: *Contributions on Archaeology, Art, Religion, and Written Sources* (Middle Kingdom Studies, 12), London: Golden House Publications, 259–272.

Morales, Antonio J. (2017), *The Transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut: Analysis of Their Distribution and Role in the Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, 19), Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

Morenz, Ludwig D. (2007), 'Wie die Schrift zu Text wurde: ein komplexer medialer, mentalitäts- und sozialgeschichtlicher Prozess', in Ludwig Morenz and Stefan Schorch (eds), *Was ist ein Text? Alttestamentliche, ägyptologische und altorientalistische Perspektiven*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 18–48.

Morenz, Ludwig D. (2012), 'Hungersnöte im Bild: zur Inszenierung von Topoi im Alten Ägypten', in Angelika Berlejung (ed.), *Disaster and Relief Management / Katastrophen und ihre Bewältigung*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 383–389.

Nyord, Rune (forthcoming), 'Mutilated and Left for Dead? Revisiting the Ancient Egyptian Use of Incomplete Hieroglyphs of Living Beings', in Rita Lucarelli, Stephen Quirke and Hany Raswan (eds), *Rethinking the Visual Aesthetics of Ancient Egyptian Writing*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Petrie, William Matthew Flinders (1890), *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, London: Kegan Paul.

Petrie, William Matthew Flinders (1900), *Dendereh: 1898* (Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 17), London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.

Petrie, William Matthew Flinders (1909), *Qurneh* (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account, 16), London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.

Pierre, Isabelle (1994), 'La gravure des textes dans la pyramide de Pépi I^{er}: les différentes étapes', in Berger, Clerc and Grimal 1994, 299–314.

Pierre-Croisiau, Isabelle (2019), *Les textes de la pyramide de Mérenrê: édition, description et analyse*, 2 vols (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 140, Mission archéologique franco-suisse de Saqqara, 9), Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Pitkin, Melanie (2017), *New Perspectives for Dating Egyptian False Doors and Funerary Stelae of the First Intermediate Period*, PhD thesis, Macquarie University, Sydney.

Pitkin, Melanie (2023), *Egypt in the First Intermediate Period: An Historical and Chronological Examination of Its False Doors and Stelae* (Middle Kingdom Studies, 13), London: Golden House Publications.

Pries, Andreas (2023), 'Egyptian Writing: Extended Practices', in Andréas Stauder and Willeke Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, available at <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/74b3x6s9> (accessed on 21 June 2023).

Quenzer, Jörg B. (ed.) (2021), *Exploring Written Artefacts: Objects, Methods, and Concepts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 25), 2 vols, Berlin: De Gruyter.

Quirke, Stephen (2003), 'Two Thirteenth Dynasty Heart Scarabs', *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux*, 37: 31–40.

Quirke, Stephen (2004), *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850–1700 BC* (GHP Egyptology, 1), London: Golden House Publications.

Renfrew, Colin and Paul Bahn (eds) (2005), *Archaeology: The Key Concepts*, London: Routledge.

Regulski, Ilona (2010), *A Palaeographic Study of Early Writing in Egypt*, Leuven: Peeters.

Regulski, Ilona (2022), *Hieroglyphs: Unlocking Ancient Egypt*, London: British Museum Press.

Richards, Janet (2002), 'Text and Context in Late Old Kingdom Egypt: The Archaeology and Historiography of Weni the Elder', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 39: 75–102.

Richards, Janet (2005), *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roth, Ann M. (2017), 'Fear of Hieroglyphs: Patterns of Suppression and Mutilation in Old Kingdom Burial Chambers', in Robert K. Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat: Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the Occasion of her 70th birthday*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 291–310.

Rubin, Joan and Bjorn H. Jernudd (eds) (1971), *Can Language Be Planned? Sociolinguistic Theory and Practices for Developing Nations*, Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Russo, Barbara (2010), 'La vipère à cornes sans tête: étude paléographique et considérations historiques', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 110: 251–274.

Searle, John (1969), *Speech Acts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schenkel, Wolfgang (2011), 'Wie ikonisch ist die altägyptische Schrift', *Lingua Aegyptia*, 19: 125–153.

Shankar, Shalini and Jillian R. Cavanaugh (2012), 'Language and Materiality in Global Capitalism', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41: 355–369.

Shankar, Shalini and Jillian R. Cavanaugh (2017), 'Toward a Theory of Language Materiality: An Introduction', in Jillian R. Cavanaugh and Shalini Shankar (eds), *Language and Materiality: Ethnographic and Theoretical Explorations*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1–28.

Smith, Dorothy (1990), *Texts, Facts and Femininity: Exploring the Relations of Ruling*, London: Routledge.

Smith, Michael G. (1998), *Language and Power in the Creation of the USSR, 1917–1953*, Berlin: De Gruyter.

Stauder, Andréas (2018), 'On System-internal and Differential Iconicity in Egyptian Hieroglyphic Writing', *Signata: Annales des sémiotiques / Annals of Semiotics*, 9: 365–390.

Stauder, Andréas (2021), '"Was heißt erfinden?": Prozesse und Akteure in der Entstehung der frühen ägyptischen Schrift', in Kathrin Gabler, Alexandra Verbovsek, Susanne Bickel and Eva Hemauer (eds), *Formen kultureller Dynamik: Impuls – Progression – Transformation. Beiträge des zehnten Basler und Berliner Arbeitskreises Junge Aegyptologie (BAJA 10) 29.11.–1.12.2019*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 31–74.

Stauder, Andréas (2022), 'Paths to Early Phoneticism: Egyptian Writing in the Late Fourth Millennium BCE', in Ludwig D. Morenz, Andréas Stauder and Beryl Büma (eds), *Wege zur frühen Schrift: Niltal und Zweistromland* (Thot. Beiträge zur historischen Epistemologie und Medienarchäologie, 3), Berlin: EB-Verlag, 217–289.

Stauder, Andréas (2023), 'For the Eye Only: Aspects of the Visual Text in Ancient Egypt', in Ilona Zsolnay (ed.), *Seen Not Heard: Composition, Iconicity, and the Classifier Systems of Logosyllabic Scripts*, Chicago: Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, 63–87.

Stockhammer, Philipp W. (ed.) (2012), *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach*, Berlin: Springer.

Szafranski, Zbigniew E. (1985), 'Buried Statues of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra and Amenophis I at Deir el-Bahari', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, 41: 257–263.

Taylor, Timothy F. (2009), 'Materiality', in Alexander R. Bentley, Herbert D. G. Maschner and Christopher Chippindale (eds), *Handbook of Archaeological Theories*, Lanham: AltaMira Press, 297–320.

Thuault, Simon (2020), 'L'iconicité des hiéroglyphes égyptiens: la question de la mutilation', *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 147/1: 106–114.

Vernus, Pascal (2016), 'La naissance de l'écriture dans l'Égypte pharaonique: une problématique revisitée', *Archéo-Nil*, 26: 105–134.

Vernus, Pascal (2019), 'Iconicité et figurativité dans l'écriture: pour un affinage conceptuel', in Hélène Campaignolle-Catel and Karine Bouchy (eds), *Écritures V: Systèmes d'écriture, imaginaire lettré*, Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 101–118.

Vyacheslav, Ivanov (1999), 'Heteroglossia', *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 9/1–2: 100–102.

Wegner, Josef (2017), 'Raise Yourself up: Mortuary Imagery in the Tomb of Woseribre Seneb-Kay', in Gianluca Miniaci, Marilina Betrò and Stephen Quirke (eds), *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1500 BC). Proceedings of the International Conference of the EPOCHS Project Held 18th–20th September 2014 at UCL, London*, Leuven: Peeters, 479–511.

Wegner, Josef and Kevin Cahail (2021), *King Seneb-Kay's tomb and the necropolis of a lost dynasty at Abydos* (University Museum monograph, 155), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.

Weinstein, Brian (ed.) (1990), *Language Policy and Political Development*, Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Co.

Whitley, James (2013), 'Homer's Entangled Objects: Narrative, Agency and Personhood In and Out of Iron Age Texts', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 23/3: 395–416.

Willems, Harco (2014), *Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Egyptian Funerary Culture: Religious Ideas and Ritual Practice in Middle Kingdom Elite Cemeteries*, Leiden: Brill.

Willems, Harco (2022), 'Egypt's Middle Kingdom: A View from Within', in Karen Radner, Nadine Moeller and Daniel T. Potts (eds), *The Oxford History of the Ancient Near East*, vol.2: *From the End of the Third Millennium BC to the Fall of Babylon*, New York: Oxford University Press, 656–727.

Winand, Jean (2021), 'Horapollon ou la fin d'un parcours', in Jean-Luc Fournet (ed.), *Les Hieroglyphica d'Horapollon de l'Égypte antique à l'Europe moderne: histoire, fiction et réappropriation*, Paris: Association des amis du centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 11–29.

Woods, Christopher (2010), 'Introduction. Visible Language: The Earliest Writing Systems', in Christopher Woods with Emily Teeter and Geoff Emberling (eds), *Visible Language: Inventions of Writing in the Ancient Middle East and Beyond*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 15–22.

Zsolnay, Ilona (ed.) (2023), *Seen not Heard: Composition, Iconicity, and the Classifier Systems of Logosyllabic Scripts* (ISAC Seminars, 14), Chicago: Chicago University Press.