The Shadow of the Dead and its Representations

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The vignettes to Spell 92 of BD are considered to be one of the sources for representations of the shadow in a human form. It is generally suggested that the black figure at the entrance of the tomb in some variants of the vignette, represents the shadow of the deceased.\(^1\) This view is based solely on the title of the spell which mentions Ba and the Shadow: "Spell for opening of the tomb for the Ba and the Shadow of NN., so that he may come out in the day and have power over his legs". This conclusion is taken for granted in too many works to be cited here but it's still worth considering in more details. Special attention on the problem of the representation of BD Spell 92 vignette is paid only in few works\(^2\).

Most of the vignettes for BD Spell 92 show the entrance of the tomb or funerary chapel and a flying Ba towards the door of the tomb or out of it. The Ba can be accompanied by the deceased, represented as a living person. In some cases this figure is shown opening the tombs door\(^3\). In pap. Ani (BM 10470) the man is depicted twice – visiting the tomb and leaving the tomb together with the flying Ba hovering over him. This kind of representation obviously suggested going in and out of the tomb. Inscriptions with the name and titles of the deceased, if such exist, are orientated to point in the same direction as of the living person, or in the direction of the Ba, if the person is not represented. Thus the most important elements of the representation are Ba (in movement) and the tomb (with its doors) as is simply shown on the vignette from pap. Nebseni (BM 9900 (Aa)).

The image of the black human figure is represented in the following variants of the vignette from BD Spell 92:

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1. This opinion is widespread, see inter al. in the later general works - F. Sayfried 1998, 262; Taylor 2001, 24; J.P. Allen 2001, 278.
3. pap. BM 9949 (Ap); pap. Boulaq 21 (Cc); pap. Turin 1791= Lepsius 1842, Taf XXXIII where the dead opens a shrine with the Ba in it.
1) pap. Neferubenef (18th dyn.)¹ (fig. 1).
2) pap. Neferenpet (19th dyn.)² (fig. 2).
3) pap. Ancheseenwet (21st dyn.)³ (fig. 3).
4) TT 219 – Nebennaat (19th dyn.)⁴ (fig. 4).
5) TT 290 – Iri-nefer (19th dyn.)⁵ (fig. 5).

The black silhouette is shown in the entrance of the chapel in 2), 3), 4) or in front of the tomb but close to the entrance – 1), 4). Obviously the black image is linked with the tomb and is perceived as its inhabitant. Moreover, in cases where Ba is depicted, it is shown flying towards the black image. This means that Ba and the black silhouette are understood as separate entities and the accent of these images in the vignette is that they meet each other at the tomb. Could it be possible that the shadow of the dead is such an entity, which resides in the tomb and meets Ba when it opens the doors of the tomb? The text to Spell 92 of the BD could help us to answer this question. In the text the shadow is shown only together with Ba. First in the title of the Spell and then in an invocation towards the guardians of Osiris:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{iw} & \; \text{hhr} \; \text{r} \; \text{hr.w tir lrj} \; \text{w Wsyr} \\
\text{m} & \; \text{hjn b3.j s3wt s3wt.j} \\
\text{wnw} & \; \text{wt} \; \text{n b3.j n s3wt.j m33.f ntr-c3} \\
\text{m} & \; \text{hnr krj hrr ip b3.w} \\
\text{w} & \; \text{hm.f mdw n Wsyr}
\end{align*}
\]

“When the darkness is (fallen) towards your faces, O guardians of Osiris, do not restrain my Ba, do not guard my Shadow, open a way for my Ba, for my Shadow, so that it (Ba) may gaze upon the Great God in the interior of his shrine (in) the day of counting Ba’s. Then it (Ba) will repeat the words for Osiris.”⁶

Striking in this passage is the fact that although the two terms are mentioned when speaking of the action of the deceased only the Ba is envisaged. So we have “It (Ba) repeats”, “It (Ba) looks at” not “they” for both Ba and the Shadow. This

¹ Naville 1886, CIV, (Pb).
² Milde 1991, Pl. 41.
³ Saleh 1984, Abb. 60.
⁴ Saleh 1984, Abb. 61 (Ba is not depicted on the fig. because it lacks in the photography).
⁶ Naville 1886, CIV.
observation leads us to two options. First, Ba and the Shadow are thought as a composite, as something complex and undistinguishable. In this case Ba moves freely together with the Shadow as its component (or a reflection, or some aspect of its nature). Ba (and Shadow) go in/ and out of the tomb. Then, the Shadow is not represented in the vignette at all. The only representation is that of the flying Ba, which concentrates in itself both aspects of the person in this free movement – his Ba and his Shadow. The cited above passage leads us in this direction for an explanation. Both words are employed in the text as aspects of a whole, like the two sides of a coin. Moreover, the word for Ba is used twice in the text from the Spell without mentioning the Shadow. In the rubric of the Spell (preserved in pap. Ani) the Shadow is also lacking:

.ir rḥ r3 pn iw.f pr.f m hrw nn ḫnj.tw bꜝ.f

“As for him who knows this spell, he will go out in the day without his Ba being restrained.”

The second option is that Ba is movable element of the person but the Shadow is not. The Shadow remains in the tomb where it is motionless and awaits for Ba to visit it. The dark silhouette in the entrance of the tomb could then be the Shadow of the dead. The only known to me instance where the Shadow is envisaged as body, similar to the dark silhouette is in a determinative of the word for shadow, used in the ritual of Opening of the mouth in the tomb of Seti I² (fig.6).

Speaking in favor of this interpretation are the qualifications of the guardians (lrjw/sḥw) of Osiris in Spell 92 from BD. They are sḥw ḫ.wt Wṣjr – “guardians of the flesh of Osiris”, sḥj ḫ.wr – “guardians of Akhw-spirits”, sḥj ṣwt mwjw – “guardians of the shadow(s) of the dead”, but also they are ḫtnj.w ṣwt mwjw – “The ones who seal the shadow(s) of the dead”. The last example may serve as evidence that the Shadow is “sealed” in the tomb. On the other hand some texts support the idea that the Shadow is similar to the body and that Ba can rest upon it, for example in TT 219:

.htp bꜝ.sn hr šwt.sn

“Their Ba rest on their shadows”.³

¹ J.P. Allen 2001, 277: “two parts of a single entity”.
² Otto 1960, 29 (Sz.10 I, 2); Hornung 1991, 142, Abb. 102.
³ Maystre 1936, Pl. 9; George 1970, 100-106 with the examples.
We have to widen the perimeters of our research studying more closely the imagery of the Spells like BD Spell 92 and also to look for clues in the iconography of the black figure at the entrance of the tomb. Spell 92 from the BD has its parallels in the preceding Coffin texts. The spell is an outcome of a long period of development. It includes in itself parts of Spells 97, 491-499, 500 and 570 of the Coffin texts. The same theme, for free movement of the Ba and the Shadow is frequently expressed in this body of texts. In these texts Ba and the Shadow are thought as a whole of a person together with Akh:

\[ i \, b\dot{\overline{3}}j \, i \, \dot{3}h\dot{\overline{j}} \, i \, \dot{3}w\dot{\overline{t}}\dot{j} \, w\dot{n}k \, \dot{5}wj \, p\dot{t}r\dot{w}j \, m\,-\,s\dot{n}w \, \dot{3}h\dot{t} \, s\dot{h}m\cdot k \, [r\dot{d}\cdot w\cdot j].k \, m \, b\dot{3} \, \dot{5}n\dot{h} \]

"O my Ba, O my Akh, O my Shadow, open the shutters of the sky-windows within the Akhet.
May you have power over your legs as a living Ba." \(^{1}\)

A similar expression had survived in later tomb inscription as for example in a prayer from the tomb of Djehuty (TT 11) of 18\(^{th}\) dyn.:

\[ i\dot{r}.k \, w\dot{3}t \, n \, b\dot{3}j \, \dot{3}h\dot{\overline{j}} \, \dot{3}w\dot{\overline{t}}\dot{j} \]

"Lets you make a way for my Ba, my Akh and my Shadow." \(^{2}\).

It had also survived in some of the variants of Spell 92 from the BD, for example in the pap. Neferrenpet as Milde has observed\(^{3}\).

Yet the three aspects of the personality are shown as entities which move together toward the corpse. In a late inscription of a funeral bed from Roman period, now in Berlin, we learn of the movement of the dead that:

"You go forth as a Ba, you fly as a Shadow, you move as rightful Akh, to see his Corpse"\(^{4}\).

In other cases the entities in the spells are not only Ba, Akh and the Shadow, but also the Magic (\(h\dot{k}\dot{\overline{3}}\dot{w}\)) of the man. In Spells 491, 492, 500 (B3L) for example they are

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\(^{1}\) CT Spell 488 = CT.VI 67; Faulkner 1973-1978, II, 132. Note the comment of Faulkner on B9C, where the three entities are referred to with the sing. suffixes.

\(^{2}\) Urk.IV 446, 5-9.

\(^{3}\) Milde 1991, 230; Pl. 42,1.

grouped in two pairs – Ba and Akh, and the Shadow and the Magic using only one suffix 1 sg. for each group\(^1\), or they are grouped Ba and the Shadow, Akh and the Magic in the same manner\(^2\).

An interesting example is shown by the passage that describes mutual relationship between Ba and the Shadow in Spell 493 and 495. When the man has escaped from the dangers in the Beyond and has reached the Akhet it is said that his Ba and Shadow are together near the corpse:

\[iw\ b\bar{3}.j\ n\ dt.f\ iwj\ \bar{sw}t.j\ n\ c.s\]

"My Ba belongs to my body, my Shadow is at its side (of the body)"\(^3\).

In the corpora of BD Spells there is another spell that shows similarity with the theme of BD Spell 92. It’s BD Spell 188\(^4\). This spell has its precedence in CT Spell 413\(^5\) but the two spells vary considerably. The aim of the spells is "to send the Ba in the necropolis". The most important part of the text gives us the impression of this voyage:

\[s\bar{3}h.k\ b\bar{3}.\ \bar{sw}t.j\ (qr\ B\bar{3}\ \bar{sw}t\ nt\ NN)\ m\bar{3}.sn\ R^c\ m\ inw.f\]
\[dbh.f\ \bar{sm}.f\ iw.f\ \bar{shm}.f\ m\ rd.wj.f\ r\ m\bar{3}.sw\ z\ pn\]
\[m\ bw\ nb\ ntj.f\ im\ m\ km\bar{3}w.j\ m\ s\bar{3}\bar{3}w.j\ m\ irw.j\ n\ 3h\ "pr\ nfr(j)\]
\[(r)\ psd.f\ m\ R^c\ hps.f\ m\ hwt-hr\]
\[(i)sk\ r dj.n.k\ \bar{sm}\ b\bar{3}.j\ \bar{sm}\ \bar{sw}t.j\ (\bar{sm}.irw.j)\ m\ rd.wj.sn\ r\ bw\ ntj\ z\ pf\ im\]
\[c\bar{h}.f\ hms.f\ \bar{sm}\ b\bar{3}.f\ r\ prf\ n\ dt.f\]

"May you glorify (make Akh) my Ba and my Shadow, so that they may see Re in his gifts.
He bags that he may come and go, that he may have power in his legs, so that this man may see him in every place where he is, in my nature and in my wisdom, in may form of a true Akh, equipped and divine,
(so) he shines as Re, he travels as Hathor.
Therefore you have granted that my Ba may walk, that my Shadow may walk, (that my form may walk) on their feet to the place where that man is.

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\(^1\) CT.VI 69a; 71a and 71k; 83g; 84q; 85f.
\(^2\) CT. VI 70b.
\(^3\) CT.VI 74i; 77d; Cf. Faulkner 1973-1987, II, 134, 135 and 136 note 8.
\(^4\) Budge 1910, III, 111-112 from the pap. of Nu (Brit.Mus. 10477); The resemblance is pointed out also in the work of Lloyd - Lloyd 1989, 127.
\(^5\) CT. V 240 – 243.
That he may stand and sit, that his Ba may walk to the house of his own body (i.e. the tomb)"1.

This BD Spell has its precedence in some Spells from the Coffin texts. For example Spell 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104 which contain similar formulas that enable Ba to be seen by “that man”2. In these formulas, Ba and the Shadow are connected as a single entity, and Ba is seen in his “form” or a “shape”, for example in Spell 101:

“..in order that man may see you, in my real shape of a divine dignitary, wherever he is. He stands and sits while you are before him until this Ba and this Shadow of mine pass by him.”3

Ba and the Shadow could be seen in the form of an Akh:

\[ isj \text{ isj } b3.j \text{ m33 } tw z Pf "Ch. } \text{At(j) lft hr f m bw nb nt(j) } f \text{ im } lfr n hr f m trw nr 3h \]

“Go, go my Ba, that the man may see you. Stand opposite him wherever he is. Go up into his sight in the form of an Akh.”4

This passage enables us to make two observations. First, that Ba and the Shadow may see the Sun god if they are glorified (made Akh). Furthermore, they could be seen in the form of an Akh. And second, although the difficulties in identifying the uses of the personal pronouns and the meaning of the mysterious “that man”, it’s clear that Ba and the Shadow move together in one direction to “the place where that man is”.

The BD Spell 188 has additional title: “building the houses (i.e. tomb in the Beyond) and going forth by day as a man”. It also shows some differences – “May you glorified (make Akh) (me?) as a Ba and Shadow, so that it (the Shadow) may see there, that it (the Shadow) may see him (Ba), assigned in every place where he is...” In the place of “true form of an Akh equipped and divine”, in BD Spell 188 we have: “true form of a Ba...”. Here if the suffix pronoun for sg. 3 fem. is assigned to the Shadow the sense could be that the Shadow is enabled to see the Ba in every place. Comparing the two spells, it could be supposed that there are three personages – Ba and the Shadow, and on the other side – “that man”, a designation with some euphemistic fluids in it, which could be a term for the deceased. These personages

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1 CT. V 240d-e – 243a-c.
3 CT. II 102-104. Note here the variants with the Shadow and Ba in S1 and G2T – b3.j šwt.j pn – here demonstrative pronoun is used for both Ba and the Shadow as a single entity in masc., i.e. Ba is leading noun, and the var. with b3.j pn šwt.j tn.
4 CT. II 110.
have to recognise each other, so that Ba and the Shadow may visit “that man.” This resembles the key elements from the iconography of the vignette of BD Spell 92. Ba (together with the Shadow, which is not seen) visits the “that man”, which is in the tomb?

Although it is difficult to establish a complex and ultimate picture of these realities, the evidences show that the movement of the deceased is conceived as the movement of Ba. The person in this process of movement is some kind of composite whole between Ba, Akh, the Shadow and the magical powers of the dead. The magical powers and Akh here are more like qualities or conditions through which the person could move freely. The same notion requires that Ba and the Shadow should be spiritualised (made Akh, or more appropriate “made effective”). In the later version of these spells only Ba and the Shadow are mentioned but also the Shadow is not described as something separate from the Ba. It is more like another aspect of the same movement. So, the Shadow could not be the inert inhabitant of the tomb towards which Ba is going, and consequently the black figure in the tomb is not a representation of the Shadow. Most of the vignettes of Spell 92 from BD confirm this thesis – only Ba is represented, flying toward the tomb. But what is of such importance in Spell 92 from BD which the ancient scribe has wanted to express by the black silhouette in the entrance of the tomb. We have to analyse more deeply the iconography of the vignette in BD Spell 92.

Four main points are considerable here: 1) that the figure is linked with the tomb, it is its inhabitant; 2) Ba is oriented towards the black figure; 3) the figure is black; 4) the figure is nude; 5) the representations with the figure are always with the black disk. Let’s examine some of these elements.

The black silhouette, but in lying position is used in the Spell 85 from BD in some papyri1. In these variants the vignette is almost the same as some variants of the BD Spell 892, where the Ba is lying on the body of the deceased. The title of the spell supports the idea that the lying body is the corpse of the dead: “Spell for giving the union of the Ba with the corpse.” And again, there is no concordance among the scholars as to what this black figure in the BD 85 represents. According to Milde the black figure in pap. Louvre III 89 (Pc) is the “prone shadow of the deceased”3, although he correctly stresses that in the BD Spell there is no reference whatsoever to a shadow. His observation on the placement of the vignettes in the Book of the Dead, leads him to conclude that the rare vignette to Spell 85 from BD with a hovering Ba over a lying black figure is a misunderstanding, due to the

1 Naville 1886, XCVII (Pc).
2 Naville 1886, CI (Cc).
replacement of the vignettes, and that the vignette is actually an illustration to the BD Spell 89\(^1\). If this is correct the lying black figure is the body or the corpse of the deceased. In a similar manner the black figure is also shown in other monuments as on some of the Late coffins, where it represents the dead body (standing or lying) in the different phases of the process of the mummification\(^2\).

The black is the colour of dead, it can symbolise the process of death, or the state where the body is prepared to reach the new life. This symbolic of the black figure is evident elsewhere in the Egyptian monuments. The dead could also be represented in the scene of the Judgement sometimes as a black figure of a child combining two phases of its transformation (birth (child) and dead (black))\(^3\). An interesting example is depicted on the ointment container of gold, inlaid with coloured glass from the tomb of Tutankhamun, in the form of kings cartouches (no.240)\(^4\). Here the representation of the king in the prenomen (\(Nb-hprw-R\)) of his cartouches is equivalent to the sign “kheperu” — “transformation”. So, it is clear that the four representations of the king are his “kheperu” or his manifestations. These four manifestations reflect the four stages of his life cycle: king child (orange), adult king (red), dead king (black) and the king’s child (orange) which has to be reborn again\(^5\). The black representations of the king are characteristic feature of his Ka. The statues of king’s Ka are black. The most famous example of these statues is the wooden figure of the king Hor from Dahshur with arms, representing the sign of Ka above the head of the figure\(^6\) and the two black statues of the king Tutankhamun from his tomb in KV\(^7\). Statues of this type are attested long before Tutankhamun. Some of them are found in the Valley of the Kings as those of Thutmosis III, Ramesses I and Ramesses IX but not in good condition. The same type of statue is represented in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100), where the workers are shown preparing it\(^8\). The statue of the king Hor is black because of the natural colour of the wood and is not painted. The later statues however are painted in black, in the same manner as on the representation from the tomb of Rekhmire. Obviously the black colour is linked with the idea of Ka. Lisa Maniche comments that black colour of the king’s Ka statues is used to symbolise “a particular stage in the transformation of the king after his physical death. Black is the starting point of the rites that centre on the mysteries at Buto, preparatory of the rebirth of the

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\(^{1}\) Milde 1991, 187-188.
\(^{3}\) Maniche 1979, 17; Seeber 1976, 101-106 and fig. 20 on p. 73.
\(^{4}\) Reeves 1990, 158.
\(^{5}\) Maniche 1979, 17; Maniche 1982, 10; Wilkinson 1996, 115 ill. 73.
\(^{7}\) One of the statues is inscribed as king’s Ka, see Bell 1985, 256; Reeves 1990, 128-129.
\(^{8}\) N. Davies 1973, Pl. LV.
king in the marshes. The royal Ka (black) there will be united with the goddess Hathor and will create Ihy, the black child of Hathor"1. Another example of this idea is represented by the statue of king Amenophis II at Deir el-Bahari, where the king painted in black is placed between the front legs of the heavenly cow, but he is shown painted red to suck from the cow breast. We find in relief the same black representation of the king in the chapel of Hathor from the temple of Deir el-Bahri, where the king is Thutmose III2. Without entering into details of the iconography of this king's representation, it is evident that the Ka is represented as a black figure. This figure is shown as a striding man holding a stick in one hand and a sceptre in the other. In some cases the figure is nude (the Ka of Hor) or is wearing kilt.

One more clue, which links the idea of the Ka with the above stated black representations, is found in the late testimonies for the notion of the four Ka of the Creator god3. It is said about these four Ka that:

\[ w^e \text{im} \text{w} \text{p3 nb ms kj p3 nb iwt p3j kj [nb mwt p3j kj p3 nb] krst} \]

"One of them is the lord of birth, another – the lord of the old age, another – the lord of death, another – the lord of the funeral"4

The four representations of the king from the ointment container of Tutankhamun are closely related to this idea. The four Ka of the Creator are qualities that dominate over the four stages (or "kheperu") of human life – birth, growing up, death and funeral (or regaining the new life in the Beyond). Black as colour is characteristic of Ka (as man's double in the Beyond) and of death. So, the nude black figure at the entrance of the tomb may be used to designate the Ka of the deceased. Could this proposal gain some support from the text of Spell 92 from BD? Obviously, it was being required from the Egyptian artist to represent in this black figure some important notion from the text of the Spell. It is possible to find in Spell 92 from BD such a key statement that would answer the requirement. It states the reason for free movement of the Ba and why it has power to do this movement. This statement is in the words of the guardians of Osiris:

\[ isj \text{ w3t n k3.k hn}^e.\text{k m b3} \]
\[ in \text{ lrjw}^e.\text{wt Wsir sjw šwt mwtjw} \]

\[ ... \]

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1 Maniche 1979, 16.
2 Nims 1965, 35 fig.10-11.
3 Meeks 1963.
twt shm m rd.wj.fj
hrjw r hst.k tp-ꜜ n t3

"Go far away, because your Ka is together with you as a Ba’
says the guardians of the flesh of Osiris, keepers of the Shadows of the dead"
...
"You are who has power in his legs, distant from your Corpse which is on the
earth.”

The other variants show that the first sentence could be translated also: “Go
far away, because your Ka is with you, my Ba”, without preposition m as in TT 290².
Faulkner prefers to translate the passage: “Go far away, because your Ka is with you
as a soul”³, while Allen, Hornung and Barguet prefer to translate it not “as a Ba”, but
as a part of appeal towards Ba, and so - “my Ba”⁴. The prime idea is that Ba could
move freely only if the Ka is with it. The variant “your Ka is together with you, as a
Ba” could be secondary or erroneous. One could also understand the passage, us-
ing the sense of Ba as an “external manifestation”, so: “Your Ka is with you as a vi-
usal manifestation”⁵.

A similar expression of this idea is attested in the earlier Coffin text. The CT
Spell 500 could be seen as a possible prototype for the passage cited above:

l b3.j 3h.j hk3w.j šwt.j
isj sbj wꜜr r.sn k3.wk hnꜜ.k imjw nṯr nb
in sfḥw ipw nṯr.wꜜrꜜ pr(.w) rꜜ nṯ

"O my Ba, my Akh, my Magic, my Shadow, go reach the path towards them,
your Ka’s (qualities), which are in every god, are together with you –
so say the seven gods who are equipped every day."⁶

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1 Naville 1886, CIV.
2 Saleh 1984, 52.
3 Faulkner 1985, 88.
5 An interesting variant of that passage is attested in pap. Ani -Budge 1960, 476: isj wꜜt n.j
n lbd.k hntꜜ.k b3.j 3h.j ṣḥr(w) ssñ.sn ṣw hms.kw j hntꜜ wr.w hntꜜ s.w ṣn ṣḥn.tw j ṣn s3.w ṣ.t ṣt
Wṣj-r– “Go far away for me, for my heart-ib is with you! My Ba and my Akh are equipped,
so, they lead you. I am sitting in front of the Great ones, who are in front of their seats.
I would not be restrained by guardians of the flesh of Osiris”. Here instead of Ka is used
the word for the heart - ib. In Funerary literature the heart-ib replaces Ka in other instances
too.
Here not the personal Ka, but Ka's as a complex of qualities that constitutes each personal Ka, are described. These Ka's reside in every god. Again, the fact that Ka/Ka's is together with the Ba (or with the other elements/manifestations of the person), makes the movement of the Ba possible. In the vignettes to Spell 92 from BD we have the same statement, but shown by the language of the visual images. Ba visits the tomb, where it finds Ka – represented as a black naked figure of the deceased. Someone could think of a dead body or a statue in the tomb instead of a Ka in this case, but why among the variants are only black figures and there are not conventional representations of mummies? The black figure of a man could be perceived as a body of the deceased, but more probably, it represents a manifestation of the body in the tomb and his union with Ka. An addition in support of this thesis is the final statement in the speech of the guardians of Osiris in BD Spell 92. When Ba can move freely, it is far from the corpse, and it is called: “distant from your Corpse, which is on earth”. So the accent in the representation is not the body, as for example is in BD Spell 89, where Ba is shown to rest on the body/mummy, but the freedom of movement achieved through the union of Ba with Ka.

Another important feature of the vignette from Spell 92 from BD is the black or netherworld-sun. It appears only in the cases where the black human figure is represented, so it is obvious that the black figure and the black sun are linked and have their meaning in the repertoire of the Egyptian artists. The earliest representation of the disk which is in pap. Neferubenef ultimately has shown that it’s a sun-disk. The sun is depicted in some way unusual. It is positioned over the tomb, and the tomb is represented as the sign of Akhet. The sun is red, i.e. the sun in sunset, underworld sun, but the rays are visible and this red sun is positioned in a larger yellow disk, i.e. the daytime sun. This may be an attempt to visualise not only the sunset, but also the next rise of the sun. The door of the tomb is yellow too, as if there is light in the rooms of the chapel. In TT 219 the black sun is depicted on the ground in front of the tomb entrance. The figure is leaving the tomb, as in pap. Neferubenef. The Ba is represented flying towards the tomb according to Saleh1, but this cannot be seen on photograph [Milde 1991, 229]. If the black figure is depicted in the entrance of the tomb then the disk is shown outside of it.

In TT 290, the vignette to Spell 92 from BD is in some way unusual. Here Ba is represented twice, first flying toward the tomb with the black silhouette and second in the opposite direction, standing on the ground together with the dark sun. According to Saleh during the day Ba visits the Shadow (or the Mummy) and in the evening it leaves the tomb together with the sun. Milde's objection to this

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1 Saleh 1984, 54.
view is based on the observation that there is always just one Ba in the vignette\(^1\). The figure of Ptah in the same scene and tomb is accepted to be the general prove that the artist of the tomb of Iri-nefer has combined few vignettes from BD into one. The representation of Ptah is characteristic of Spell 82 from BD, so the standing Ba with the disk must be ascribed to Spell 85 from BD. The same vignette – Ba with a black disk is attested in the vignette to Spell 85 in the papyrus of Neferenpet\(^2\). The explanation given by Milde is that the artist of pap. Neferenpet has copied or was inspired by the images from TT 290 but was misled to believe that the images of Ba and the sun were part of the vignette to BD 85. According to him Ba has nothing to do with the sun. The dark sun belongs to the vignette of BD Spell 92 but is combined with Ba in the representation because of the lack of space and the necessity for compressing of the vignettes. The Cairo pap. Ankhnesenmut on the other hand was copied from pap. Neferenpet and the artist had repeated the same mistake, representing Ba and the black sun together in the vignette of BD Spell 85. This explains the combined representation of Ba and the disk. Although some objections could be raised the argumentation of Milde is sound. Some of the objections for example are that the doubling of the figure really has its meaning as in the vignette of pap. Ani for BD Spell 92, where Ani is represented twice – entering and leaving the tomb together with Ba. It could also be pointed out that such an explanation leaves aside the possibility that there could be much more copies of the same vignette and the artists are not inevitably dependant on TT 290 as a forerunner for other examples of the later BD copies. The vignettes in the pap. Neferenpet and pap. Ankhnesenmut are actually very similar. Both of them have representations of a man, walking in the opposite direction of the tomb. The dark sun is represented close to him. According to Milde this is a representation of the deceased as a god, or a depiction of his Akh\(^3\). What does this image really mean? The figure in pap. Neferenpet is holding a stick and the sign for life in the other hand. The head is wearing a headdress like the royal “nemes”. The same figure in pap. Ankhnesenmut is depicted more simple, without an ankh-sign, but with a headdress and a stick. This is a typical representation of Ka. The same we have seen in the royal monuments, in relief or sculpture. So, what is the figure – Ka, or Akh? To ask such a question would be to apply logic which is too one-sided and narrow and would be consequently misleading. Akh is a state of existence achieved after death. This state could be denoted in different ways. One of them is through representation of man with the characteristics of a god. But what is more important is that such a representation denotes the state of union between the man

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\(^{1}\) Milde 1991, 188-189.
\(^{2}\) Milde 1991, Pl. 35.
and his Ka, and from here it denotes the Ka itself. The puzzle must be resolved by using the similar representations from the royal tombs of the New Kingdom. In the tomb of the king Tutankhamun, on the northern wall, are depicted three scenes marking the process of immortality of the young king. In the first Eye (the next king on the throne) opens the mouth of the king’s mummy. As a result of this ritual action the king ascends to heaven where he is met by the goddess Nut. The difference between the first and the second image of the king is striking. After the ritual of the opening of the mouth the king is shown as a living person, walking towards the goddess, holding a sign of life in one hand and the walking-stick in the other. In the next scene, the king is together with his Ka. Ka is embracing the king. In the Egyptian iconography the embrace would mean - “to unite” (hnm). So the king is united with his Ka. May be in the preceding scene this union has not taken place yet? The similar scene from the tomb of Amenophis III gives us the answer.

Here the king is holding the sign of life. He is being welcomed by the goddess Nut, but he is together with his Ka. So, if we re-examine the scenes from the tombs of the kings, we will observe the following sequence: the opening of the mouth ritual performed over the mummy of the king leads to the state of the king being united with his Ka and ascending to heaven together with it. In the vignette from BD Spell 92, the figure leaving the tomb is the deceased together with his Ka (or as a Ka) after the ritual of the opening of the mouth ceremony is performed. Note the order of the Spells in pap. Neferenpet where Spell 23 for Opening of the mouth is shortly followed by Spell 92. The two images of a man, first the black figure of the man, and second – the walking man with stick and ankh-sign, are different stages of the process of revival of the dead. In observing the sequence of the images from the vignette to BD Spell 92 we can really grasp the idea of entering in the tomb and leaving it. Ba enters the tomb at sunset in the evening, and in the text of the spell there is some clues for this:

\[ iw \ hhw \ r \ hr.w \ m \ irj.w \ Wsjr \ m \ hnj \ b3.j \ s\swt \ swt. \]

“When the darkness is (fallen) towards your faces, O guardians of Osiris, do not restrain my Ba, do not guard my Shadow.”

In the tomb Ba is united with the Corpse, and with Ka as a source of its energy for movement. It leaves the tomb in the new state, which it has gained. So, Ba, together with Ka, leaves the tomb, and it is separated from the corpse, without being restrained by the “guardians of the flesh of Osiris”, i.e. the corpse. The direction of its movement now is toward the new rebirth in the next morning.

\[ \text{1 Hornung 1981, Abb. 9.} \]
Where is the Shadow meanwhile? It is part of the movement of Ba, but it could also be represented in the vignette of BD Spell 92. The Shadow is to some extend linked with the disk, and may be the dark disk denotes this idea too. An important clue is the text from the temple of Abydos:

\[
dj.n.k\ htp\ b^3\ '3\ hr\ h^3.t.f\ s.w.t.f\ m\ i\ t\ n
\]

"Let you give so that the Great Ba will rests on his Corpse, his Shadow in the disc." ¹

Other examples also present the idea of the link between the Shadow and the light and especially in the moment of the movement of Ba. For example in the Book of Aker, in the tomb of Ramesses VI, for the representations of the twelve hours:

"They do what they have to do, they pass by and enter the earth, into the Cavern of He who hides his Hours, while their shadows carry their rays and their rays are in the flesh of him who hides them” ².

A similar text from a sarcophagus from the Late period mentions:

"When Bau go to the secret cavern, their Shadows are with/beneath their light in the sky, in Duat among the gods.” ³

Text from TT 157 underlines, that when Kebehsenuf gives the Shadow of the dead, it will "breathe the light eternally" ⁴.

For now this is only a guess, but it deserves to be checked on a larger base of information. The observation made by the above presented argumentation is that the black figure in BD Spell 92 denotes more probably Ka, or the body as a vehicle for the Ka, than the idea of a Shadow. Our expectation that the Egyptian notion we conveniently translate as Shadow, or Shade of the dead must be in some way similar to the idea of darkness is not necessarily approved by the ancient texts. Moreover, it is not without sense to remind of an old statement of S. Birch, which has been written nearly 120 years ago: "the shade has no representation beyond the head or mummified form, nor is it ever represented like the deceased; so that no light is thrown upon the hypothesis of its representing the form of the deceased from

¹ Mariette, Abydos I, Pl. 52, ll. 22-23 = Birch 1885, 397. Note that here determinative of the word "shadow" is the sign for the disc.
² Creation Pl. A, IV = Plankoff 1954, 332, Fig. 90; George 1970, 98-99.
³ Maspero 1914, 238.
⁴ For this passage see George 1970, 100.
the monuments themselves. He believed that the shadow was supposed to be the light envelope of the soul, visible but not tangible.

Bibliography


Birch 1885 = H. Birch. "On the Shade or Shadow of the Dead."—TSBA VIII. (1885), 386–397.


1 Birch 1885, 388.


Maystre 1936 = Ch. Maystre. La tombe de Nebenmat (No 219), MIFAO 71, Le Caire, 1936.


Fig. 1.
Vignette of the Book of the Dead Spell 92 from pap. Neferubenef
(From Naville 1886, CIV, (Pb)).

Fig. 2.
The Vignette of the Book of the Dead Spell 92 from pap. Neferrenpet
(Redrawn by author from Milde 1991, Pl. 41).

Fig. 3.
The Vignette of the Book of the Dead Spell 92 from pap. Anchesenmut
(Redrawn by author from Saleh 1984, Abb. 60).
Fig. 4.
The Vignette of the Book of the Dead Spell 92 from TT 219
(Redrawn by author from Saleh 1984, Abb. 61).

Fig. 5.
The Vignette of the Book of the Dead Spell 92 from TT 290
(Redrawn by author from Sayfried 1998, 262).
Fig. 6.
From the Scene 10 of the Ritual of Opening of the mouth, represented at the tomb of Seti I. (Redrawn by author from photo).