



# SHADOWS IN THE HIDDEN CHAMBER

*A study of the *šw.t* in funerary texts  
and art of ancient Egypt*

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF RESEARCH

BY

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*sš n ʕ.t imn.t ʕhʕ.w b3.w ntr.w šw.wt 3h.w ir.w*

*“The writing of the Hidden Chamber, the standing-places [or, “location”] of  
the b3.w the gods, the šw.wt, and the 3h.w, and [their] actions.”*

The Amduat Title, Tomb of Thutmose III (Dynasty 18)

Cover photo from B. George, *Schatten als Seele*, 225, Fig.8.

For my loving and wonderful husband Ronnie, who has always supported my dreams  
and who I will cherish forever,

&

For our two beautiful boys, Xavier and Leonardo, you are forever in my heart, mind  
and soul, may God bless you for eternity.



## STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

I certify that this thesis entitled *Shadows in the Hidden Chamber: A study of the šw.t in funerary texts and art of ancient Egypt*, is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text. I have adequately cited or referenced the original source. This work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.



Renee Marie Riskalla

## ABSTRACT

In ancient Egypt, death marked the uncontrollable separation of the physical and non-physical forms of the person, which resulted in the non-material constituents of the deceased being thrust into the afterlife. The embodiment of the individual encompassed various states of being, all of which could act independently from the other, yet the collaboration of each of these aspects were vital to the survival of the person as a whole. This project examines one incorporeal aspect known as the shadow or translated as *šw.t* in ancient Egyptian and can be explained as the “personality” of the individual. This entity appears within funerary literature and links to the realm of the dead. It is mentioned in texts linking synonymously with the fan hieroglyph  (S36) and later  (S35) and in art it is represented as a black silhouette, human outline with shade overhead or S35 or S36 sign. There are two principal aims of this study. The first of these is to provide a linguistics analysis of the orthography of the lexeme *šw.t* by diachronically and synchronically analysing the funerary texts of the Old Kingdom until the New Kingdom. Such collected material is then utilized according to its rate of recurrence to determine the significance of *šw.t* in various spells from each period. The second aim is to deliver an iconographic analysis of the various forms of the *šw.t* within the New Kingdom scenes of the afterlife. Both aims serve to present innovative outcomes regarding the nature and significance of *šw.t* within texts and art. An emphasis is placed on the associations of the *šw.t*, *b3*, *3h* and the corpse in addition to revealing the link between the orthography of a word and its adaptation into an artistic feature.

It is hoped that through the detailed presentation of the orthographic changes and rate of recurrence of the lexeme, in addition to the exploration of the *šw.t* in iconography, it may assist in future studies on this subject. It is hoped that this study may reveal a greater understanding of the *šw.t* within the belief system and reveal how the ancient Egyptians perceived themselves and their human composition. The results reveal that the orthography of *šw.t* was constantly changing as older forms were in use synonymously with new variants. The corpus of two hundred and forty-two attestations within the scope reveals that the role and significance of the *šw.t* was more prominent in some spells and less significant in others, and its importance within the belief system grew over time. Additionally, the iconographic examples reveal that the *šw.t* changed visually throughout the New Kingdom and consequently, this change identified a fundamental shift in the ancient Egyptian belief system.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Associate Professor Boyo Ockinga, for his support, feedback and guidance, I will be forever grateful. To my parents, Rod and Corrina, who have always taught me to never give up, who have instilled in me the passion and determination at such an early age to believe that I could do anything, that the world was at my fingertips. To my brother James and my sister Jessica, for always inspiring me to have a positive outlook on life. To my mother in-law Georgette, who has always selflessly dedicated her time for my family and who never asks for anything in return, thank you.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## SHADOWS IN THE HIDDEN CHAMBER

*A study of the šw.t in funerary texts and art of ancient Egypt*

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY	iv
ABSTRACT	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
CONTENTS	vii
ABBREVIATIONS	ix
NOTE TO READERS	xiii

### CHAPTER 1

---

#### INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH

1.1	Research Context	1
1.2	Structure of the Thesis	2
1.3	Research Aims and Objectives	3
1.4	Methodological Thoughts regarding šw.t and ḥ3yb.t	4
1.5	Method of Procedure	5
1.5.1	Locate and Record Attestation	5

### CHAPTER 2

---

#### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1	Locating the Study in the Discourse	8
2.2	The Dictionaries and Lexicons	9
2.3	Early Interpretations	10
2.4	Nature and Significance	11
2.5	Beate George and the Shadow-Soul	15
2.5.1	Terms and Spellings	15
2.5.2	Fate in the Hereafter	17

### CHAPTER 3

---

#### ANALYSIS

3.1	Orthography	19
3.1.1	Introduction	19
3.1.2	Old Kingdom	19
	a) Preliminary Results	20
	b) Attestations of the Lexeme	21
3.1.3	Middle Kingdom	22
	a) Preliminary Results	24
	b) Attestations of the Lexeme	24
3.1.4	New Kingdom	26
	a) Preliminary Results	28
	b) Attestations of the Lexeme	29
3.1.5	Collocation Analysis for <i>šw.t</i> - <i>TLA</i> lemma no. 152880	31
3.2	Iconography: The Connection between the Icon and the Illustration	33
3.2.1	Introduction	33
3.2.2	Non - Royal	35
	a) Form 1: Shadow as Black Silhouette	35
3.2.3	Royal	38
	a) Form 1: Shadow as Black Silhouette	38
	b) Form 2: Human Outline with Shade Over-Head	38
	c) Form 3: The Ideographic Form	39

## CHAPTER 4

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### DISCUSSION OF THE EVIDENCE

4.1	Orthography	44
4.2	Iconography: The Connection between the Icon and the Illustration	57

## CHAPTER 5

---

CONCLUSIONS	73
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NOTES ON APPENDICES	78
---------------------	----

LIST OF PLATES	xiv
----------------	-----

LIST OF FIGURES	xv
-----------------	----

REFERENCES	132
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## ABBREVIATIONS

For the full list of publications used see References.

Adams, <i>Shades of Meaning</i>	Adams, C. ‘Shades of meaning: manifestations of the dead in pharaonic and post-pharaonic Egypt’ pp.1-20 in <i>Current Research in Egyptology 2006: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Symposium</i> , Cannata, M. (ed.) (Oxford, 2007).
Allen <i>PT</i>	Allen, J. P. <i>The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts, Writings from the Ancient World 23</i> , (Atlanta 2005).
<i>BD</i>	Budge, E. A. Wallis, <i>The Book of the Dead an English translation of the chapters, hymns, etc., of the Theban recension, with introduction, notes, etc.</i> 3 vols. (London, 1909).
Borghouts, <i>Magical Texts</i>	Borghouts, J. F. <i>Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts</i> , Vol. 9, (Leiden, 1978).
Budge, <i>Book of the Dead</i> (1898)	Budge, E. A. Wallis, <i>The Book of the Dead. The Chapters of Coming forth by Day. An English Translation with Introduction, Notes, Etc.</i>
Budge, <i>BD Egyptian text</i> (1898)	Budge, E. A. Wallis, <i>The Book of the Dead. The Chapters of Coming forth by Day. The Egyptian text according to the Theban recension in hieroglyphic edited from numerous papyri, with a translation, vocabulary, etc.</i>
Budge, <i>Coming Forth by Day</i> (1910)	Budge, E. A. Wallis, <i>The Books on Egypt and Chaldaea. The Chapters of Coming forth by Day or the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead. The Egyptian Hieroglyphic Text Edited from numerous Papyri.</i>
Budge, <i>Facsimilies</i> (1899)	Budge, E. A. Wallis, <i>The Book of the Dead. Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher and Netchemet with supplementary text from the papyrus of Nu.</i>
Budge, <i>Heaven and Hell</i>	Budge, E. A. Wallis, <i>The Egyptian Heaven and Hell: being the book of Am-Tuat, the shorter form of the book of Am-Tuat, the book of the gates and the contents of the</i>

- books of the other world / described and compared by Ernest A. Wallis Budge, vol.1 (London, 1905).*
- Budge, *Pap. Ani* (1895) Budge, E. A. Wallis, *The Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum; the Egyptian Text with Interlinear Transliteration and Translation, a Running Translation, Introduction.*
- CT Buck, A. de *The Egyptian Coffin Texts.*
- Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld* Darnell, J. C. *Enigmatic Netherworld books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI, and Ramesses IX, vol. 1. 1995, PhD Dissertation.*
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- Faulkner, *BD* Faulkner, R. O. *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, ed. Carol Andrews (London, 1985).
- Frankfort, *Cenotaph Seti I (Plates)* Frankfort, H. *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos Vol. 2, Plates, (London, 1934).*
- Frankfort, *Cenotaph Seti I (Text)* Frankfort, H. *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos. Vol. 1, Text, (London, 1933).*
- Galan, *Djehuty (TT11)* Galan, Jose M. "Hymns to Amun-Ra and Amun in the Tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11) in *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Brian*, by Kathlyn M. Cooney and Richard Jasnow, (Lockwood, 2015).
- George, *Schatten als Seele* George, B. *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele, (Bonn, 1970).*
- Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife* Hornung, E. *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, Translations from German by David Lorton, (Ithaca and London, 1999).

Hornung, <i>Sethos</i>	Hornung, E. <i>The Tomb of Pharaoh Seti I. Das Grab Sethos' I.</i> (Zürich, München, 1991).
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JES	<i>Journal of Egyptological Studies</i> (Sofia, Bulgaria).
Komm. Pyr.	Sethe, K. <i>Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten.</i>
Lapp	Lapp, G. <i>Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum, The Papyrus of Nu</i> (BM EA 10477).
Lichtheim (Vol 1)	Lichtheim, M. <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings</i> , vol 1: <i>The Old and Middle Kingdoms</i> , (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1973).
Lekov, <i>Shadow Representations</i>	Lekov, Teodor. 'The Shadow of the Dead and its representations' <i>JES III</i> , (2010). pp 43-61.
<i>Luxor Times 2016</i>	"Exclusive Footage: Ancient Egyptian tombs open to the public for the first time" <i>Luxor Times</i> , 2016. Web. 8 Oct. 2018.
Maystre, <i>Nebenmât</i>	Maystre, Charles, <i>Tombes de Deir El Médineh La Tombe de Nebenmât ( N° 219)</i> , MIAFO 71, 1936.
MIFAO	<i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.</i>
Milde, <i>Neferrenpet</i>	Milde, H. <i>The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet</i> , (Leiden, 1991).
Munro. <i>Kairo</i>	Munro, L. <i>Das Buch des toten Buches der 18. Dynastie im Museum Kairo</i> , ÄA 54, 1994.
Naville, <i>Book of the Dead</i>	Naville, E., Renouf. P. Le Page, <i>The Egyptian Book of the Dead: Translation And Commentary</i> , (London, 1904).
OIM	<i>Oriental Institute Museum Publications</i>
Piankoff, <i>Rameses VI</i>	Piankoff. A, ed. by Rambova, N. <i>The Tomb of Ramesses VI, Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations</i> , vol.1 (New York, 1954).
<i>P. Nebseni</i>	Massey, A. <i>Le papyrus de Nebseni : exemplaire hiéroglyphique du Livre des Morts, conservé au "British Museum" / traduit par A. Massy</i> , (London, 1885).

Pyr. / §	Section (“paragraph”) numbers of Kurt Sethe, <i>Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte</i> , Four volumes; Hildesheim, 1960 and 1969; Second edition
RdE	d’Eugène Revillout, M. <i>Revue égyptologique</i> , Vol 14, (Paris, 1914).
Richter, <i>The Amduat</i>	Richter, B. A. ‘The Amduat and Its Relationship to the Architecture of Early 18th Dynasty Royal Burial Chambers,’ <i>JARCE</i> , (2008), pp. 73-104.
Roberson, <i>The Book of the Earth</i>	J. A. Roberson, <i>The Book of the Earth: A study of Ancient Egyptian Symbol-Systems and the Evolution of New Kingdom Cosmographic Models</i> , Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 2007, Web. 6 November 2018.
Saleh, <i>Totenbuch</i>	Saleh, M. <i>Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen beamtengräbern des neuen reiches</i> . AV 46, 1984.
SAOC	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization</i> , (Chicago, Illinois).
Scalf, <i>Book of the Dead</i>	Scalf, F. ed. <i>Book of the Dead: Becoming god in Ancient Egypt</i> , OIM 39, (Chicago, 2017).
Sethe, <i>Pyramidentexte</i>	Kurt Sethe, <i>Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte</i> , Four volumes, Second Edition. (Hildesheim, 1960 and 1969).
Lef. <i>Sethos</i>	Lefébure, E. <i>Les Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes</i> , in <i>Annales du Musée Guimet</i> , Première division, <i>Le Tombeau de Seti I</i> , (Paris, 1886).
<i>Sethos I</i>	Calverley, A. M., Broome, M. F. <i>Sethos II. The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, Volume I: The Chapels of Osiris, Isis and Horus</i> , (London and Chicago, 1933).
<i>Sethos II</i>	Calverley, A. M., Broome, M. F. <i>Sethos II. The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, Volume II. The Chapels of Amen-Re', Re'-Harakhti, Ptah, and King Sethos</i> , (London and Chicago, 1935).
<i>Sethos IV</i>	Calverley, A. M., Broome, M. F. <i>Sethos IV. The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, Volume IV: The Second Hypostyle Hall</i> , (London and Chicago, 1958).
TLA (Reference to Lemma.No)	<i>Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>

(ed.). *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*.

Warburton, *Amduat*

Warburton, David, (translator.), Hornung, Erik, (editor.)  
and Abt, Theodor, (editor.) *The Egyptian Amduat : the  
book of the hidden chamber*, (Zurich, 2007).

Abbreviations used within the text and figures:

<i>BD</i>	Books of the Dead
<i>CT</i>	Coffin Texts
<i>M.K</i>	Middle Kingdom
<i>N.K</i>	New Kingdom
<i>O.K</i>	Old Kingdom
<i>PT</i>	Pyramid Texts

## NOTE TO READERS

Square brackets [ ] denote a restored passage.

Square brackets with dots [...] denote a gap.

Angle brackets < > denote words or suffixes omitted in the original.

Round brackets ( ) denote English words supplied to bring out the sense.

Dots ... not in brackets indicate that a word or words are untranslatable.

## **LIST OF PLATES**

**PLATE 1:** TOMB OF TUTANKHAMUN, DYNASTY 18. ROTATING IVORY HAND-FAN FOUND IN WOODEN BOX (NO.272).

**PLATE 2:** TOMB OF TUTANKHAMUN, DYNASTY 18. “GOLDEN FAN” (NO.242, LEFT) EMBOSSSED WITH TUTANKHAMUNS HUNTING SCENE AND THE “EBONY FAN” (NO. 245, RIGHT) COVERED WITH KINGS TWIN CARTOUCHES.

**PLATE 3:** REVERSE SIDE OF “GOLDEN FAN” WITH HUNTING SCENE

**PLATE 4:** TWO FANS FOUND IN THE ANNEXE (NOS. 415, 600)

## LIST OF FIGURES

**FIGURE 1:** TOMB OF SETI I, DYNASTY 19. OPENING OF THE MOUTH CEREMONY.

**FIGURE 2:** TOMB OF IRINEFER (TT290), DYNASTY 19. BOOK OF THE DEAD 92.

**FIGURE 3:** TOMB OF THUTMOSE III, DYNASTY 18 AND SETI I, DYNASTY 19. AMDUAT, 5<sup>TH</sup> HOUR.

**FIGURE 4:** TOMB OF THUTMOSE III, DYNASTY 18, AMDUAT, 11<sup>TH</sup> HOUR.

**FIGURE 5:** TOMB OF SETI I, DYNASTY 19, AMDUAT, 11<sup>TH</sup> HOUR.

**FIGURE 6:** TOMB OF RAMESES VI, DYNASTY 20, AMDUAT, 11<sup>TH</sup> HOUR.

**FIGURE 7:** TOMB OF THUTMOSE III, DYNASTY 18, BOOK OF CAVERNS, 5<sup>TH</sup> HOUR.

**FIGURE 8:** CENOTAPH OF SETI I, DYNASTY 19, BOOK OF CAVERNS, 5<sup>TH</sup> HOUR.

**FIGURE 9:** TOMB OF RAMESES VI, DYNASTY 20, BOOK OF THE EARTH, 5<sup>TH</sup> HOUR.

**FIGURE 10:** TOMB OF MERENPTAH, DYNASTY 19, BOOK OF CAVERNS.

**FIGURE 11:** TOMB OF RAMESES VI, DYNASTY 20, BOOK OF THE EARTH.

**FIGURE 12:** TOMB OF RAMESES VI, DYNASTY 20, BOOK OF THE EARTH.

**FIGURE 13:** TOMB OF RAMESES VI, DYNASTY 20, BOOK OF THE EARTH.

**FIGURE 14:** TOMB OF RAMESES VI, DYNASTY 20, BOOK OF THE EARTH.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH

### 1.1 - Research Context

The funerary rituals in ancient Egypt were unchanged for thousands of years. The mummy of the deceased was tightly wrapped with soaked linen and placed gently into a coffin. Surrounded by protective spells and amulets, the deceased was ready for the long journey into the beyond. These magical enchantments were placed on the body, coffin, and walls of the tomb. Spells were chosen to reanimate the incorporeal aspects of the person, so that they may enter the life hereafter. The transcendental components such as the *b3* (ba), *k3* (spirit), *3h* (effective being), name and *šw.t*, along with the corpse, are constitutions of the self in its state of completion.<sup>1</sup> These in-tangible entities encompassed either the individual's personality, would receive offerings, absorb power or travel to the afterlife and early scholars regularly compared the *šw.t* to the modern concept of the "soul." For the ancient Egyptians, the safe-keeping and guarding of these elements was vital to an individual's prosperous existence in death. E. Meyer-Dietrich in 2006 emphasises "the fact that the terms for these elements do not have direct counterparts in modern religion has led to some difficulties in their understanding".<sup>2</sup> She puts forth the idea that we must "consider the condition of the body as an existing one (name, ka and body), one developing (ba) and one repetitive (shadow)."<sup>3</sup> The problem according to Dietrich is that scholars continue to examine the different aspects of the self, one element at a time, rather than to think of them as different aspects of the same concept.<sup>4</sup> In 1955, J. Sainte Fare Garnot proposed that "despite this multiplicity of elements attached to the person, a dualistic conception of the Egyptian man (exists), composed of a spirit and a body to embody it."<sup>5</sup> Therefore, we can assume that although there are a number of non-tangible constituents of the ancient Egyptian individual, the overall idea of the human composition, is firstly identified by the physical existence of human identity and secondly the incorporeal existence linking the

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<sup>1</sup> L. M. Dewsbury, *Invisible Religion in Ancient Egypt: A study into the individual religiosity of non-royal and non-elite ancient Egyptians*, Diss, University of Birmingham, 2016, Web. 29 October 2018.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst, Personenkonstituenten zur rituellen Wiedergeburt in einem Frauensarg des mittleren Reiches*, in L. Gestermann, "Reviewed Work: E. Meyer-Dietrich: Personenkonstituenten zur rituellen Wiedergeburt in einem Frauensarg des mittleren Reiches," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 65, (2008), 644.

<sup>3</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst* in L. Gestermann, "Reviewed Work: E. Meyer-Dietrich," 643.

<sup>4</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst* in L. Gestermann, "Reviewed Work: E. Meyer-Dietrich."

<sup>5</sup> Sainte Fare Garnot, J. *L'anthropologie de l'Égypte ancienne*, (Leiden), 1955 as cited in A. Martin, *Le corps en Égypte ancienne. Enquête lexicale et anthropologique*, Diss. Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier, 2013, Web. 10 March 2018, 21.



mummified body and its mind.<sup>6</sup> It must be noted that in reviewing the previous scholarship, the terms “soul” and “resurrection” are used frequently and without hesitation. These modern ideas are not transferrable nor comparable to an ancient belief system and care must be taken when using such terms and connotations. Therefore, the term “soul” has not been used in reference to the *šw.t* within this thesis.

## 1.2 - Structure of Thesis

This thesis is separated into five chapters. The first chapter introduces the preliminary phase of the study, presenting an overview of the funerary beliefs in ancient Egypt and how this topic fits into the broader framework. This section is followed by the aims which reflect the long-term outcomes of this research and what I hope to add to the existing body of knowledge, whilst the objectives identify the short-term targets and the specific goals. Additionally, there is an overview of the innovative outcomes and the suitable approaches. This section also considers the transliteration of *šw.t* and *ḥꜣyb.t* and the errors made by early scholars. A discussion of the method of procedure follows, using types of quantitative and qualitative means and the usefulness of each. The second chapter delivers the review of the literature and how this subject is placed within the current scholarship. An emphasis is placed on the dictionaries and lexicons, the early discussions on the subject and certain assumptions and errors made by early scholars. An in-depth evaluation of the publication by Beate George is conducted, as George’s study is the most comprehensive account on the subject to date. The third chapter presents the data and preliminary results in the arrangement of tables. This chapter reveals the orthography of *šw.t* from the Old to New Kingdom and identifies the frequency of *šw.t* in funerary spells through a diachronic quantitative analysis. This is followed by a qualitative analysis which uses the rate of recurrence to identify the significance and role of the word within each spell. Such quantitative and qualitative methods are reapplied to the iconographic material to conduct and generate a similar experiment, although special attention is given to the *šw.t* as it is illustrated in visual motifs in the New Kingdom. The fourth chapter presents an in-depth discussion of the evidence and what new data can be revealed from the analysis. The fifth chapter concludes and

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<sup>6</sup> J. Assmann., D. Lorton, “Death as Dissociation: The Person of the Deceased and Its Constituent Elements.” in J. Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, (Ithaca, 2005), 87.

summarizes the results and specifies how this study contributes to the ongoing discussions surrounding this topic.

### 1.3 - Research Aims and Objectives

There are two principal aims of this study. The first is to provide a linguistics analysis of the orthography of *šw.t* by diachronically and synchronically analysing the funerary texts of the Old Kingdom until the New Kingdom. The second aim is to deliver an iconographic analysis of the various forms of the *šw.t* within the New Kingdom scenes of the afterlife. Both aims serve to provide innovative ideas regarding the significance of the lexeme *šw.t* and its representations in art, which therefore offers information on its use within the funerary environment and highlights its role within the belief system. Furthermore, it is hoped that a detailed presentation of the orthographic changes and regularity of the lexeme and its significance in relation to such frequency, in addition to the exploration of the *šw.t* in iconography may assist in future studies on this subject. It is hoped that this study may reveal a greater understanding of the *šw.t* within the belief system and reveal how the ancient Egyptians perceived themselves and their human composition in death.

The objective is to compile and organise all available data pertaining to the *šw.t* of the deceased in funerary literature and visual representations. The scope of material is collected and catalogued from the Old to New Kingdom periods. The chosen methodological procedure focuses on the orthography of *šw.t* within the royal and non-royal stratum which emphasise the various hieroglyphic forms and groupings within the scope. This collated evidence is then evaluated using a diachronic and synchronic analysis which will highlight and establish any contextual features or characteristics within a period. The catalogue of literary material will be taken from the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, Books of the Dead; “Chapter of Coming Forth by Day,” the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony and various hereafter books such as the Amduat, Book of Caverns, Book of Gates, Book of the Earth, Litany of Re, Book of the Celestial Cow and other miscellaneous texts. Such collected material is then utilized according to its rate of recurrence to determine the significance of *šw.t* in various spells from each period.






The second objective targets the iconography and the various forms of the *šw.t* within the hereafter scenes of the New Kingdom. This study collects and collates the visual examples of the *šw.t* in various forms such as: 1. black silhouette, 2. human outline with shade overhead and 3. the ideographic form. This investigation similarly uses the rate of recurrence of such visual evidence to indicate the significance of each form within vignettes in Chapter 92 from the Book of the Dead or “Chapters of Coming Forth by Day,” the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony and illustrations identified within royal iconography such as the Amduat, Book of Caverns, Book of the Earth and the Book of Gates. An emphasis is placed on the associations of the *šw.t*, *b3*, *3h* and the corpse in texts and art in addition to revealing the link between the orthography of a word and its adaptation into an artistic feature.



To effectively present innovative outcomes regarding the nature and significance of *šw.t* within texts and art; this project seeks to establish the following approaches:

- A quantitative and qualitative inclusive study of all available written material taken from the *Thesaurus Aegyptiae Linguae (TLA)*, the *Das digitalisierte Zettelarchiv (DZA)* and other secondary publications which reference *šw.t* of the deceased as it is mentioned in the funerary writings from the Old to New Kingdom to conduct a diachronic and synchronic analysis;
- A diachronic and synchronic evaluation of the orthography of *šw.t* of the deceased;
- A quantitative and qualitative inclusive study of all available visual material of the *šw.t* of the deceased as an image or icon within scenes dating to the New Kingdom context to conduct a synchronic analysis;
- A synchronic evaluation of the iconography of the *šw.t* of the deceased.

#### 1.4 - Methodological Thoughts regarding the Transliteration of *šw.t* and *h3yb.t*

In review of the scholarship, early scholars have assumed that all meanings of “shadow” should be transliterated using the New Kingdom variant of *h3yb.t*, rather than focusing on the orthography and phonetic values in the script. The term “shade” or “shadow” of the deceased

is written with the hieroglyph  S36, its late New Kingdom variant  S35 or modified  which functions as both an ideogram and / or phonogram with the value *šw*. In the Coffin Texts of the Middle Kingdom, the  is usually followed by the bread loaf phonogram  *t* and the stroke

determinative **I** for example . In addition to orthographic changes of *šw.t*, a synonym for the general meaning of “shadow” transliterated as *h3b.t* or variant *h3yb.t* appears in hieroglyphic script in Dynasty 19. The first instance when *h3yb.t*  is recorded in phonetic form is from an inscription from Rameses III’s Mortuary Temple at Medinet Habu, which references the *h3yb.t* “shadow” in comparison to a wall that protects Egypt from her enemies.<sup>7</sup> This new term is not a representative of the constituent of the person within the funerary writings but rather a general term for shadow / shade mentioned in connection to the sun, protection from heat or other dangers or used in association with a cooling breeze.<sup>8</sup> Subsequently, there are no attestations of *h3yb.t* that clearly refer to the shadow of the deceased prior to the Roman Period. Furthermore the “shadow” of the deceased should otherwise be transliterated as *šw.t* unless stated otherwise by phonetic values and any errors made by earlier scholars have been adjusted accordingly within this study.

## 1.5 – Method of Procedure

The methodological approach to this project is fundamentally orthographic and iconographic. It will consist of a broader diachronic framework assessing the textual, artistic, and iconographic evidence which will result in a comprehensive qualitative and quantitative record of the *šw.t*. Whilst the focus is on the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, Books of the Dead; “Chapter of Coming Forth by Day,” the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony and books of the hereafter such as Amduat, Book of Caverns, Book of Gates, Book of the Earth, Litany of Re and the Book of the Celestial Cow and few miscellaneous texts, a small number of examples of the *šw.t* in various representations are identified in scenes on papyrus vignettes accompanied by Chapter 92 in the “Chapter of Coming forth by Day” and also hereafter scenes within royal tombs and temples such as the Amduat, Book of the Night, Book of Caverns and the Book of the Earth. These pictorial representations are examined in addition to the texts which aim to extend upon and give supplementary details of the *šw.t* and its nature within the hereafter. This comprehensive study fundamentally explores how orthography and the representation of the *šw.t* changes or develops over time which is an approach not realized in earlier scholarship.

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<sup>7</sup> Medinet Habu Inscription, Rameses III, N/ wall, Scene Room W/end. DZA 27.621.300 – recorded in *TLA* under *h3yb.t* Lemma No 113540.

<sup>8</sup> DZA 27.620.910.

This study provides insight into the ideological thought process of the ancient Egyptians, how they viewed their intangible selves within the afterlife and how this transmission of ideas developed through the language into personified figures in art. The methodological approach presented will transfer knowledge and a comprehensive dataset of evidence that in turn will give answers to the aims listed previously.

### 1.5.1 – Locate and Record Attestation

Few attestations derive from the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (*TLA*) and various attestations are recorded from the *Das digitalisierte Zettelarchiv* (*DZA*). The *TLA* is a database which “allows for specific research from lexical, philological, linguistic, and historic-cultural points of view.”<sup>9</sup> The benefits of this technology is that all texts come with transliterations, translations and bibliographic references to aid predominantly non-experts and inter-disciplinary study.<sup>10</sup> However, the *TLA* focuses on the gathering of lexical data, rather than recording the various interpretations of their meaning, thus it is the responsibility of the user to sift through and analyse each attestation in order to determine its appropriate context.

There are two-hundred and forty-two attestations of *šw.t* in the entire corpus. The Old Kingdom records nine examples; the Middle Kingdom ninety-seven cases and one hundred and thirty-six attestations are from the New Kingdom. There are also twenty illustrations which are recorded from the New Kingdom. The orthographic and iconographic corpora were compiled and recorded from the following sources.

- a) The *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (*TLA*) was consulted first when gathering data in order to understand the lexeme and its various meanings and context. Out of a possible one-hundred and eight examples of *šw.t* described in various contexts dating from the Old Kingdom until the Roman Period on the *TLA*, only thirty-seven were attestations

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<sup>9</sup> *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, Project Structure and Transformation in the Vocabulary of the Egyptian Language at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Version 14, October, 2012, <<http://aew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/S05?d=d001&h=h001>> (Accessed 1/5/18).

<sup>10</sup> *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, <<http://aew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/S05?d=d001&h=h001>> (Accessed 1/5/18).

identified with the *šw.t* of the deceased within the scope of the thesis - six dated to the Old Kingdom and thirty-one from the New Kingdom.

- b) The *Das digitalisierte Zettelarchiv (DZA)* was utilized as a supplementary resource although it proved most useful as it inevitably provided most of the recorded attestations. Out of a possible two-hundred and thirty-six slips describing *šw.t* in various contexts dating from the Old Kingdom until the Roman Period in the *DZA*, more than seventy-five slips identified with the *šw.t* of the deceased in the scope: three Old Kingdom cases, two from the Middle Kingdom and over seventy slips recorded from the New Kingdom.
- c) Lastly, secondary publications were consulted. See reference list in the section titled “Notes on Appendix.”

## CHAPTER 2: THE REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

### 2.1 – Locating the Study in the Discourse

Although scholarship covers a wide range of theories, this review concentrates on four major themes which appear repeatedly throughout the current literature. These themes are: 1. the meaning of *šw.t*, 2. early attestations of *šw.t*, 3. the role and significance of *šw.t* and 4. the dissertation by Beate George which evaluates the *šw.t* through a mythological lens. This review is a compilation of all pre-existing scholarly material that assess the *šw.t* of the deceased person. It must be mentioned that this topic has not endured a systematic investigation since Beate George's dissertation in 1970. George evaluates the *šw.t* and its various meanings from a phenomenological perspective, whilst noting slight changes in the orthography and mentions the iconographic material. However, George does not exclusively evaluate the *šw.t* of the deceased. The results of this thesis are more comprehensive than that utilised in current literature on the subject. Although some publications mention *šw.t* fleetingly, all are fundamentally important in shaping our understanding the *šw.t* within the life hereafter. This review is structured chronologically and begins from the first mention of *šw.t* in academia and then advances towards the sole dedicated study undertaken by Beate George in 1970. Whilst various scholars have briefly mentioned the *šw.t* of the deceased after 1970, these references do not substantially contribute to the existing body of knowledge, but rather reiterate earlier ideas. Therefore, this review aims to emphasise how and why my hypothesis is better suited to contribute, broaden or contradict these existing views. The focus questions are:

1. Why is the *šw.t* significant?
2. What are the current contributions and disadvantages / weaknesses in the discussion and how is this resolved?
3. Can we progress our understanding beyond the current approaches?
4. What do we know about the role and significance of the *šw.t* as an entity in the hereafter and where are the gaps in our understanding?
5. What modern technologies and tools are available to further our understanding?

## 2.2 - The Dictionaries and Lexicons

The philologists R. O. Faulkner,<sup>11</sup> W. Schenkel<sup>12</sup> and A. Erman and H. Grapow<sup>13</sup> recognise the *šw.t* as a member of an individual's personality. The *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache* (*Wb*) published by Erman and Grapow between 1926 and 1961 aid in our understanding of the Egyptian language by presenting significant information on the various usages and linguistic forms within funerary literature and their orthographic significance. Similarly, Faulkner notes some formal changes of *šw.t* and both Faulkner and Schenkel redirect the reader to various hieroglyphic collections such as Kurt Sethe's *Urkunden IV*. These references state the *šw.t* is an expressional image of a god or spirit<sup>14</sup> a ghost in the underworld and state its connection with the shadow-swallower.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, when the term *šw.t* designates the shadow of a divine being, it is attributed with all powers and status comparable to the gods themselves. It can exist in many forms and states of being; A. Gardiner describes it as "a being that was distinct from or...doubles the person to whom they belonged."<sup>16</sup> The first mention of *šw.t* in the ancient Egyptian literature is in the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom.<sup>17</sup> From Dynasty 19 until the Late Period, the two designations *ḥ3yb.t* and *šw.t* are both synonyms for "shadow" in terms of references to light, day and time. Alternatively, the shadow of the deceased is phonetically written as *šw.t* from the Old Kingdom until the Roman Period. W. M. F. Petrie simply says, "the *šw.t* ...is a shadow of a man..."<sup>18</sup> and states "the importance of the shadow in early views is well known,"<sup>19</sup> yet Petrie does not expand on this statement nor reference any primary material. The lexicons mentioned above describe the physical traits as well as certain abilities and significance of the *šw.t* within funerary culture.

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<sup>11</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, (Oxford, 2006). 263.

<sup>12</sup> W. Schenkel. *Zur Rekonstruktion deverbaler Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, in W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf, "Lexikon der Ägyptologie," (Wiesbaden, 1975-), 536.

<sup>13</sup> A. Erman, H. Grapow (ed.): *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*, (Berlin, 1926–1961). 432–433.

<sup>14</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 263; Erman, et al., *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*, 432–433.

<sup>15</sup> Erman, et al., *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*, 432–433.

<sup>16</sup> A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, (Oxford, 1957), 173.

<sup>17</sup> Erman, et al., *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*, 433.

<sup>18</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1906), 9.

<sup>19</sup> Petrie, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, 9.



## 2.3 - Early Interpretations

Since the late 1800's, the *šw.t* has sporadically been discussed and most scholarly works understand the *šw.t* to be a 'soul' characteristic of the person. It rarely appears in earlier publication in isolation and scholars often refer to the *šw.t* in connection to other more recognized non-tangible elements such as the *b3* or *k3*. Other scholars even refrain from affirming its existence due to its obscurity. Fewer studies have examined the *šw.t* as it appears in scenes of the hereafter, yet others mention brief details regarding its various forms such as the black silhouette or fan sign. Furthermore, early scholars repetitively omit the supporting textual or artistic evidence when putting forth their ideas.

The first academic reference to the *šw.t* of a person appears in an 1895 work by A. Wiedemann, in which he reviews the *b3*, *k3* and *ib* and the close connection between the *šw.t* and the mummified body known as the *sꜥh*.<sup>20</sup> Wiedemann states that "the *sꜥh* also has close connections to the *k3* and was always considered the immortal mummy, a representation of man on earth, while the *h3yb.t* (this is incorrect and should be transliterated as *šw.t*), especially where it often accompanies the *b3* in texts and scenes, is the shape of an egyptian fan."<sup>21</sup> Wiedemann does not indicate the particular chapter or book in which the examples appear nor provide illustrations of the *šw.t* in context. He proposes that the *b3* and *h3yb.t* (should be *šw.t*) are often in association with each other, regularly symbolizing the same thing.<sup>22</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge in 1913 agrees with Wiedemann stating the *h3yb.t* (should be *šw.t*) must be mentioned along with the *k3* and the *b3* as they had similar roles, being able to move freely from the tomb and even partake in funerary offerings.<sup>23</sup> Yet at this early time, no scholar directs the conversation towards any comparative studies. According to many early publications, the importance of the *šw.t* within early ancient Egyptian culture is unclear, yet in reviewing *PT* 273-274 from the Old Kingdom, the *šw.t* has clear connotations to other non-material aspects in the hereafter.

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<sup>20</sup> A. Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, (London, 1895), 41.

<sup>21</sup> Wiedemann, *Immortality of the Soul*, 41.

<sup>22</sup> Wiedemann, *Immortality of the Soul*, 41.

<sup>23</sup> E. A. Wallis. Budge, *The Book of the Dead Papyrus of Ani*, (London, 1913), 78. *O keep not captive my ba, O keep not ward over my shadow. BD 92, line 8 in Budge, Pap. Ani (1895), 117, pl. 18; Be there open the way for my ba and my shade, may it see the great god, BD 92, line 8-9 in Budge, Pap. Ani (1895), 117 pl. XVIII.*

In 1927, M. Weynants-Ronday's dissertation was the first work to highlight the many dangers faced by the *šw.t* in the hereafter. Weynants-Ronday describes the *šw.t* in image form as a black silhouette<sup>24</sup> and uses a comparative method paralleling the ancient Egyptian ideology of statues to other primitive cultures. She emphasises that "soul" concepts can survive and exist outside their physical bodies within statues or models.<sup>25</sup> Whilst Rondlay's paper adds to the existing body of knowledge about the mental, physical, and cultural aspects of the soul, her focus is on the *k3* and does not present a deeper investigation into the role and meaning of the *šw.t* in texts and art.

## 2.4 - Nature and Significance

Within a modern paradigm, a shadow or shade can be defined as "a dark area or shape produced by a body coming between rays of light and a surface, a reflected image, shelter from danger or observation, an imitation of something or an inseparable companion or follower."<sup>26</sup> The nature and significance of the *šw.t* links to all these contemporary definitions in one way or another which indicates why early scholars used both "shade" and "shadow" for the translation of *šw.t*. For example: the "shadow" has connotations to shade and protection and "consequently, the pharaoh was often portrayed under the shade or feather or palm fan (the hieroglyphic S35), power and protection was given to all those who were in the "shadow of the gods."<sup>27</sup> Additionally, the *šw.t* promotes a notion of protection and power and an inseparable relationship with the *b3*, *3h* and corpse as observed through the texts and art. The funerary beliefs often feature the *b3* and *šw.t* together, in a symbiotic relationship often viewed as "paired beings" taking part in the same or similar functions. This can be observed in the various vignettes accompanied by *BD* 92 (Figure 2), and most scenes of adoration and punishment within the iconography of the hereafter (Figures 8, 10, 11, 12). Moreover, it has been suggested that the *šw.t* reflects the embodiment and depiction of the corpse which would explain the black projection.

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<sup>24</sup> W. R. Dawson, "Reviewed Work: Les statues vivantes: Introduction à l'étude des statues égyptienne by M. Weynants-Ronday." *JEA*, 13, 3/4, (1927), 278-279.

<sup>25</sup> Dawson, "Les statues vivantes," 279.

<sup>26</sup> "Shadow." Merriam-Webster, 2018. Web 23 October 2018.

<sup>27</sup> Shaw., Nicholson. *The British Museum Dictionary*, 267.

At the 1879 Hibbert Lectures, Peter le Page Renouf presents on the *Origins and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of Ancient Egypt* suggesting the *šw.t* is presented as a significant element of the earthy being, "His (human) shadow was considered an important part of his personality and was restored to him in the second life."<sup>28</sup> Renouf states that the *šw.t*, as a 'living' entity, plays a significant role in life with the idea of his duality, moving wherever the living individual moves.<sup>29</sup> The limitations of Renouf's study are the absence of Egyptian textual evidence to explain how this personality theory is mentioned in the context of funerary beliefs. It is important to note that no evidence is available which emphasises the nature of the *šw.t* as a non-material individual on earth. However, when the individual died, the elements of the self would separate and reconstitute in the hereafter, equipped with all their earthly and celestial powers.<sup>30</sup> It is this ritualization process and the transference of power from one state to another (alive - dead) that scholars use to uphold the theory that the *šw.t* on earth must have held some significance in the afterlife. G. Maspero in 1887,<sup>31</sup> J. H. Breasted in 1912,<sup>32</sup> J. Assmann in 2005<sup>33</sup> mention this mental restoration whereby all the incorporeal attributes, including the *šw.t*, would revive the individual in a ceremony post mummification. The aforementioned authors do not reference texts or visual evidence which highlight this revitalisation process.

Philologist and historian of religions Max Müller examines the mythological notions of ancient Egypt and explores the written and pictorial evidence in the "chapters of coming forth by day" and the books of the hereafter. Müller uses a qualitative overview although he neglects to mention the hieroglyphic evidence. Müller's work is intended for the public as his use of terminology and content overview suggests. Müller neglects to discuss the association between such non-material aspects and refers to the *šw.t* as a "defunct soul"<sup>34</sup> yet gives no clarification of the *šw.t*, nor any in-depth study.

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<sup>28</sup> P. Le Page Renouf, *Lectures on the origin and growth of religion as illustrated by the religion of ancient Egypt: Delivered in May and June 1879* (5th ed), (London, 1907), 152.

<sup>29</sup> Renouf, *Lectures on the origin and growth of religion*, 152.

<sup>30</sup> J. H. Breasted, *The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, (New York, 1912), vii.

<sup>31</sup> G. Maspero, *Bulletin critique de la religion égyptienne, le rituel du sacrifice funéraire*. (Paris, 1887), in B. George, *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele*. (Bonn, 1970), 13.

<sup>32</sup> Breasted, *The Development of Religion and Thought*, vii.

<sup>33</sup> Assmann, "Death as Dissociation" in Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 112.

<sup>34</sup> W. M. Müller, J. G. Scott, *Egyptian [mythology] Vol XII*, in *The Mythology of All Races in Thirteen Volumes*, edited by Luis Herbert Gray, (Boston, 1918), 174.

Beate George in her 1970 dissertation states that the first major publication describing the specific treatment and function of the *šw.t* in the hereafter was in 1884 by Samuel Birch in the text “*On the Egyptian Belief concerning the Shade or Shadow of the Dead*.”<sup>35</sup> Birch argued that the existence of the *šw.t* and its celestial association with the gods and other non-physical beings appear as separate entities in the life beyond.<sup>36</sup> A similar idea was put forth by J. P. Allen in 2005 who states that in some instances the *b3* and *šw.t* were two aspects of the same entity and in other texts they are separate entities.<sup>37</sup> This idea also resonates with J. Assmann in 2005, “the shadow belonged with the *ba*, but it did not follow it to the sky.”<sup>38</sup> Birch showed a more in depth analysis to that of Rondlay, specifying the penalties and threats in the hereafter whilst also indicating, like many earlier scholars, an important tie between the *šw.t* and *b3*. According to J. Sainte Fare Garnot in 1955, the ideology of the human being divides into the physical and non-physical personality components as stipulated from the funerary environment.<sup>39</sup> Garnot was the first scholar to use a comparative approach, comparing the similar features of the *b3* and *šw.t*. He emphasises they are not “soul” elements of the individual, but a “special manifestation of the physical being, a special incarnation of the spirit with only temporary existence...taking on the image of statues or reliefs”<sup>40</sup> Garnot says “man may appear as *b3* and shadow, that they are not a substitute for the body.”<sup>41</sup>

In 1891, Theorego W. Brede Kristensen directed the conversation towards the perspective of the people themselves within cultures. Kristensen compares the idea of the *šw.t* to contemporary cultures stating the *šw.t* in Egypt develops in a distinct way.<sup>42</sup> Kristensen’s approach is purely phenomenological and linguistic as he lists the orthographic particulars of the term *šw.t* and its

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<sup>35</sup> S. Birch, “On the Egyptian Belief concerning the Shade or Shadow of the Dead,” in B. George, *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele*. (Bonn, 1970), 27.

<sup>36</sup> Birch, “On the Egyptian Belief concerning the Shade or Shadow of the Dead,” in George, *Schatten als Seele*, 27.

<sup>37</sup> J. P. Allen, “Shadow.” *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*: Oxford University Press, (2001). *Oxford Reference*. 2005.  
<<http://www.oxfordreference.com/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/view/10.1093/acref/9780195102345.001.0001/acref-9780195102345-e-0663>>. (Accessed 30.10.17).



<sup>38</sup> Assmann, “Death as Dissociation” in Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 112.

<sup>39</sup> J. Sainte Fare Garnot, “Anthropologie de l’Égypte ancienne” in B. George., *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele*. (Bonn, 1970), 18.

<sup>40</sup> Garnot “Anthropologie de l’Égypte ancienne” in George, *Schatten als Seele*. 18.

<sup>41</sup> Garnot “Anthropologie de l’Égypte ancienne” in George, *Schatten als Seele*. 18.

<sup>42</sup> A. Caquot, “W. Brede Kristensen. The Meaning of Religion, Lectures in the Phenomenology of Religion.” *Revue de l’histoire des religions*, 160.2 (1961), 231. Web. <[http://www.persee.fr/doc/rhr\\_0035-1423\\_1961\\_num\\_160\\_2\\_7710](http://www.persee.fr/doc/rhr_0035-1423_1961_num_160_2_7710)> (Accessed 22.5.18).

nature within the material. Although no diachronic analysis is provided, Kristensen draws his ideas from few written examples found on temple walls e.g.  “shadow of Re” or  “the shadow house of Re” and states that the temple is the nocturnal space which is explored through an intentional religious practice.<sup>43</sup> Kristensen merely focuses his analysis on the shadows of the gods and does not necessarily evaluate the *šw.t* of a deceased person and its nature within the texts and art of the hereafter.

It was not until 1960 that scholars began focusing more prominently on the primary data. J. Zandee’s publication *Death as an Enemy* uses a textual and iconographic approach as he journeys through the literature quoting from various Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts and Books of the Dead and books of the hereafter such as the Amduat and Book of Gates and describes scenes of the afterlife. Indeed, Zandee’s approach is immensely informative, yet he does not quantitatively elaborate how often or in what situations the *šw.t* appears within literature,<sup>44</sup> which in effect would highlight its significance and frequency within the afterlife beliefs.

E. Meyer-Dietrich in 2006 focuses on the ritualization process of the individual itself, using the case study of a Middle Kingdom coffin. Within this context an analysis of the constituents of the person is given as Dietrich goes on to explain the various forms of the individual and their respective attributes. The *šw.t* and *b3* are believed to both originate in the body, confined to its limits on earth and are set free together from the body after the process of revival.<sup>45</sup> “The shadow is as a reflection of the nocturnal body of the deceased and shell of the ba which can stand freely while the figure or shape is different.”<sup>46</sup> Therefore it is clear the *b3* and *šw.t* have a symbiotic relationship in their journey towards the hereafter. Whilst Dietrich does not dedicate her analysis to the *šw.t* alone, she does reiterate and present innovative ideas to its significance and role in the revival process. More recent mentions of the *šw.t* in academic works are by J. H. Taylor in 2010 specifying the *šw.t* is an individual’s essence and C. Rigg in the UCLA

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<sup>43</sup> Caquot, “W. Brede Kristensen. The Meaning of Religion,” 231.

<sup>44</sup> J. Zandee, *Death as an enemy according to ancient Egyptian conceptions*, (Leiden, 1960).

<sup>45</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst* in L. Gester mann, “Reviewed Work: E. Meyer-Dietrich,” 645.

<sup>46</sup> Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst* in L. Gester mann, “Reviewed Work: E. Meyer-Dietrich,” 645.

Encyclopedia reiterates earlier ideas without adding to the current body of knowledge.<sup>47</sup>

## 2.5 - Beate George and the Shadow-Soul

In her dissertation in 1970, George systematically applied a linguistics and phenomenological approach to the idea of the *šw.t* as it appears in a non-material existence and as an earthly concept symbolising shade. Georges evaluates all meanings of *šw.t* and details the complexities surrounding the *šw.t* and comments on its nature in death. According to George, the difficulty and intricacy of placing the *šw.t* under one unifying definition is that it can be “transmitted” or used “figuratively.”<sup>48</sup> George lists the four main powers obtained by the *šw.t* as described in both funerary and non-funerary contexts: “1. as black, 2. as a cool protection from heat and “transferred” as protection for all, 3. the term *šw.t* expressed in the sense of an image and 4. as fast, silent movement.”<sup>49</sup> These four properties, although distinct, can be exchanged and combined within the written and iconographic material. George’s work contributes an immense amount of information towards the body of literature, however her corpus ranges from all meanings of *šw.t* not solely on the non-material aspect in the hereafter. At present, there is no complete catalogue of all textual and visual material which exclusively focuses on the *šw.t* within the funerary environment. Moreover, the aim of this study provides an alternative approach not yet seen in today’s literature.

### 2.5.1 - Term and Spellings

George uses Erman and Grapow’s Berlin Dictionary *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, (abbreviated Wb in bibliographic references) previously known as *Altägyptisches Wörterbuch* noting the terms and spellings, orthographical changes using a diachronic analysis. However, George’s analysis records all meanings of *šw.t* in various contexts and does not focus solely on the orthography of the deceased *šw.t*. The Berlin Dictionary mentions the Old Kingdom designation *šw.t* and later New kingdom synonym *ḥ3yb.t* which is used in Dynasties 19 - 20 and

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<sup>47</sup> C. Rigg in the UCLA Enc. of E. ed. by E. Frood et al. *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, (Los Angeles, 2010), <<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025nqg2>> Accessed 10.10.17.

<sup>48</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 4.

<sup>49</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 4.

later.<sup>50</sup>

George indicates the changes in the orthography of all meanings of *šw.t* whilst referencing common signs that reoccur and disappear in later periods. George puts forth the suggestion that the various Middle Kingdom hieroglyph groupings are consistent with the Old Kingdom cases and in the New Kingdom to the end of the Dynasty 18 we see similar forms.<sup>51</sup> George mentions various examples of the lexeme *šw.t* mentioned in the “Chapters of coming forth by day” and the hereafter texts such as the Amduat, the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony, Book of Caverns and the Book of Gates. George concludes by stating that there are new determinatives such as the dead enemy to describe a hostile *šw.t* and a god determinative to represent the divine *šw.t* in the New Kingdom which are recorded from the Dynasty 19 tombs of Seti I and Dynasty 20 tomb of Rameses VI.<sup>52</sup> From Dynasty 19 onwards, the orthography shifts as we can note new

forms and the new term for shadow *ḥ3b.t* appears with writings such as;  or .<sup>53</sup>

George’s study assists in our understanding of some morphologic and phonetic changes of *šw.t* and its etymology within the historical period. However, she does not present an analysis that focuses primarily on the *šw.t* of the deceased, rather, she groups the contexts together – secular, religious and funerary. Additionally, George limits her dataset to the information detailed in the *Altägyptisches Wörterbuch* and evidence bound by her 1970’s context. It was not until 2004, with the arrival of the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* database, that finding the occurrences of specific words within the corpus of ancient Egyptian texts was made possible.

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<sup>50</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 6.

<sup>51</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 7.

<sup>52</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 8.

<sup>53</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 9.



### 2.5.2 - Fate in the Hereafter

George presents a linguistic and mythological analysis of the sources and discusses at great length the positive and negative fates of all forms of the deceased based on the evidence from the scene of judgement. The Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, “Chapters of coming forth by day” and the books of the hereafter, for example the Amduat and the Book of Gates, present information as to what happens to the *šw.t* in the afterlife and additionally, the artistic material illustrates the harmful things done to the *šw.t* of the enemies of Osiris.<sup>54</sup> George states that the punishment of the *šw.t* and other souls of the enemies of Osiris is recorded in the Dynasty 19 tomb of Seti I in addition to spell 125 - “Negative Confession” recorded on non-royal papyrus documents.<sup>55</sup> George compares the “Negative Confession” scene from the New Kingdom to a judgement scene in *CT* 499, VI 82, in the Middle Kingdom. *CT* 499 mentions the *šw.t*, *b3* and *ib* which are judged as separate entities, which supports the idea that these non-material aspects are individual yet all rely on the survival of the other within the afterlife.<sup>56</sup> George suggests that “one soul or their several other elements are examined under the assumption that each one can represent the whole person in a special way, as each is one of the individuals modes of being.”<sup>57</sup> Likewise, the *CT* 499, VI 82, can be paralleled to the “weighing of the heart” inscriptions in the Book of the Dead where the hearts role acts as both conscience and memory.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, a text from the Book of the Night mentions an individual speaking to different forms of the same person, for example those who are “punished, those from the opposite sky, waking, sleeping, silent, all are examples of an individual’s modes of being.”<sup>59</sup> George concludes that the “portrayal of the threats in the hereafter occupies a large space in the Book of the Dead and are more likely to lead to conclusions about the attitude of the Egyptians toward death rather than to the nature of the souls”<sup>60</sup> or in particular the *šw.t*.

From this review it is clear the interpretations of the role and significance of the *šw.t* fluctuate, although certain ideas do reoccur. This review indicates the specific contributions made by

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<sup>54</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 28.

<sup>55</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 29. In the Amduat, one of the forty-two judges is named the ‘shadow-swallower.

<sup>56</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 32.

<sup>57</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 32.

<sup>58</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 32.

<sup>59</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 32.

<sup>60</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 32.



scholars as well as their limitations whilst also noting why and how this study is thought to contribute to the current literature. It has been revealed that early scholars assessed the literature from an overview perspective, and there was a lack of focus on the *šw.t* itself and how it functioned within the hereafter. Most works mention the designation *ḥ3yb.t* and not *šw.t* when referring to the shadow of the deceased and most do not contextualise or feature any diachronic investigation. Early studies which focus solely on the *šw.t* were non-existent and those few works which discuss some attributes of significance aim at assessing how this aspect is comparable to more well-known aspects such as the *b3* or *k3*. Earlier works mention the physical appearance of the *šw.t* as a black silhouette, in addition to the illustration of the fan sign. The written and artistic material of the *šw.t* seems to be of no value to early scholars as the evidence was not referred to nor discussed in any depth. Later scholars expand on earlier concepts and began to interpret the data in depth by comparing the ancient material to contemporary religions and phenomenological approaches. Whilst earlier scholars discuss the treatment of the *šw.t* in the hereafter, it was not until the 1970 dissertation by George that this aspect is truly given the focus it needed. Other scholars such as Meyer-Dietrich, Taylor, Rigg have continued the conversation after George's 1970 dissertation, however this thesis aims to append to such discussions by re-evaluating and analysing such current scholarship although focusing primarily on the ancient material. This thesis aims to show why the *šw.t* is significant in the funerary literature and iconography and what does it emphasise in studies of funerary, social or intellectual Egyptian thinking. The significance of the *šw.t* was constantly changing in the royal and non-royal echelons in addition to various orthographic and iconographic changes in the Old, Middle and New Kingdom periods. Alternatively, the nature of the *šw.t* was relatively unchanging over time. This thesis aims to identify how the *šw.t* changed and how it remained a static feature in the funerary belief system.

## CHAPTER 3.1: ORTHOGRAPHY

### 3.1.1 - Introduction

Each entry of the lexeme *šw.t* is recorded and catalogued within tables and evaluated using a diachronic and synchronic analysis. Through this linguistic analysis, we can calculate how often *šw.t* was mentioned within the writings through a quantitative study and qualitatively in which spells. Furthermore, this study identifies and interprets how the lexeme was introduced and utilised within the ancient Egyptian language.

### 3.1.2 - Old Kingdom

The earliest written record of the lexeme comes from the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts. There are nine attestations identifiable within this period. These texts were recited by lector-priests or the deceased person usually spoken in the third person. It was not until the Middle Kingdom when the spells were communicated by the deceased using the 1st person pronoun, symbolised as the personified Osiris or another deity. The *šw.t* is represented in various orthographic forms – and sometimes a combination of ideograms and phonetic values. Table 3.1 details the orthography of *šw.t*, accompanied by the phonetic values within the morphological structure. These particulars provide clues as to the usage and frequency of a certain orthography within any given period. The edition of the Pyramid Texts used is Kurt Sethe's *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*,<sup>61</sup> with the translation by J. P. Allen, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. (For the Catalogue of *šw.t* attestations in Old Kingdom Pyramids, see Appendix 1, and for a catalogue of Pyramid Text chapters which mention *šw.t* in the Old Kingdom, see Appendix 2).

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<sup>61</sup> K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, Bd. I, (Leipzig 1908).

### 3.1: Table of Old Kingdom Orthography

Designation + Suffix	Orthography
<i>šwy.t</i> (2.f. singular with third weak radical <i>y</i> / <i>i</i> sometimes omitted) “your shade / shadow”	
<i>šw.wt</i> (2.c. plural) “your shadows”	
<i>šw.yt</i> (3.c. plural with third weak radical <i>y</i> / <i>i</i> sometimes omitted) “their shadows”	
<i>šw.wt</i> (3.c. plural) “their shadows”	

### 3.2: Table detailing the number of forms used in each pyramid

Singular			Plural						No. of forms used in each pyramid
Pyramid									
Unas									3
Teti									1
Pepi I									2
Pepi II									2

#### a) Preliminary Results


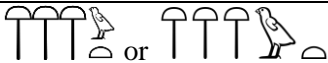


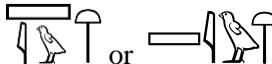

The results are gathered from spells inscribed within the tomb chambers and adjoining corridors within the pyramid of Unas, the last king of Dynasty 5 and the principal kings of Dynasty 6 - Teti, Pepi I and Pepi II. The dataset reveals orthographic variations and no standard form within the writings. The data collected from the Old Kingdom indicates that the word *šw.t* is written both ideographically and using phonetic values. It was king Unas who introduced these forms in his pyramid texts during Dynasty 5 and then Dynasty 6 kings adapted them creating new orthography whilst reusing older forms simultaneously. As all four pyramid complexes built by

kings Unas, Teti, Pepi I and Pepi II are located in the same region at Saqqara, the evidence indicates that the term *šw.t* was first recorded and originated also in this area.

### b) Attestations of the Lexeme

The *TLA* records six attestations: *PT* 273-274 (Unas and Teti Pyr. §413c), *PT* 574 (Pepi I and Pepi II Pyr. §1487d), *PT* 301 (Pepi II Pyr. §446b and 446d) and the *DZA* has three other entries not mentioned within the *TLA*: *PT* 330 in Teti; *PT* 523 in Unas and *PT* 683 in Pepi I,<sup>62</sup> giving a total of nine Old Kingdom representatives. George mentions spells *PT* 574 Pyr. §1487a from Pepi I and *PT* 273-274 in Unas and Teti Pyr. §413c, and the other spells are recorded by either Sethe,<sup>63</sup> Maspero,<sup>64</sup> Allen<sup>65</sup> or Mercer.<sup>66</sup> Unas uses three variations of the lexeme, there are two forms used by Pepi I and both Teti and Pepi II use only one form of *šw.t* within the funerary writings.

**3.3:** Table of Old Kingdom Orthography and Spell Distribution

1	Spell No. / Source	Date	Orthography
	PT. 273-274, Pyr. §413c Spell for the spirit's rebirth, entering the Akhet's eastern limit, to ensure the spirits sustenance.	Unas Dyn. 5	
		Teti, Dyn. 6	
2	PT. 301, Pyr. §446b Spell for Leaving the Akhet, bringing the sun.	Unas Dyn. 5	
		Pepi II, Dyn. 6	
3	PT. 301, Pyr. §413d Spell for Leaving the Akhet, bringing the sun.	Unas Dyn. 5	
		Pepi II, Dyn. 6	
4	PT. 574 Pyr. §1487a	Pepi I Dyn. 6	

<sup>62</sup> Available through the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (TLA)*, "Suche im Digitalisierten Zettelarchiv," BBAW, Altägyptisches Wörterbuch, <http://aew.bbaw.de/tla>; Teti: *DZA* 29.986.650; Unas: *DZA* 29.986.640; Pepi I: *DZA* 29.986.330.

<sup>63</sup> Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*.

<sup>64</sup> G. Maspero, *Les inscriptions des pyramides de Saqqarah*, Hieroglyphic Text, (Paris, 1894).

<sup>65</sup> Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*.

<sup>66</sup> Samuel A. B. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts, in Translation and commentary*, 4 vols. (New York, 1942).





### a) Preliminary Results

There are ninety-seven occurrences of *šw.t* within the Coffin Text corpus. These attestations appear on twenty-six coffins, mentioned in twelve chapters, in forty-five spells and linked to six locations: El Bersha, Meir, Gebelein, Asyut, Saqqara and Thebes (See Table 3.5 and 3.6). Some spells are repeated but each attestation found has been compiled and catalogued as a single entry. It must be noted that if the term appears multiple times within the corpus or if the lexeme appears twice in the same sentence, each attestation is counted and recorded as one attestation. We can note a common group of hieroglyphs in use – similar to the Old Kingdom representatives, yet a more abbreviated version – S36 is acting now as an ideogram phonetic biliteral *šw*, bread loaf *t* phoneme (X1) and single stroke (Z1) to indicate number. Although the particular hieroglyphs used in the orthography are consistent, their arrangement varies, and it is suggested that a standard form existed, yet the placement of each hieroglyph did not follow any particular pattern. The orthography indicates local variations of the word, and it is clear that no area selected a standardized form for *šw.t*. On the six coffins at El Bersha a diverse combination of forms appears in seventy attestations and on the four coffins at Meir, each of the five attestations recorded use a different form. Alternatively, the five coffins at Thebes use only four variants in seven attestations and the two examples written on the coffin of Wesermut at Saqqara use two different forms for each attestation.

### b) Attestations of the Lexeme

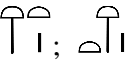

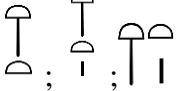




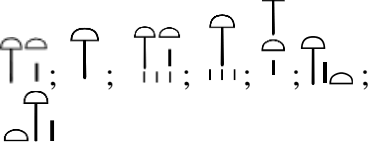


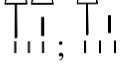

The *TLA* records no explicit entries which identify inscriptions referring to the *šw.t* of the deceased, although the *DZA* has two Coffin Text entries: a spell on the inner coffin of Sobekhotep (T3L)<sup>69</sup> and *CT* 335, IV 314b on the coffin of Harhotep (T1 Cb)<sup>70</sup> which are registered under the *šw.t* lemma-no. 152880. Table 3.6 highlights the spell in which *šw.t* is mentioned in addition to the respective orthography.

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<sup>69</sup> Coffin of Sobekhotep (T3L): *DZA* 29 986.180

<sup>70</sup> Coffin of Harhotep (T1 Cb): *DZA* 29.987.450

**3.6: Table of Middle Kingdom Orthography and Spell Distribution**

Chapter Title		Orthography	Designation
1	Chapter describing the vindication of a person in the realm of the dead		B3 Bo; B2 Bo; B4 Bo; B1 P; B15 C; B6 C; B4 C; M.C.105
2	Chapter for going out into the day		B1 C; B2 L; B2 P; B1 Y; M3 C; B3 C; T1 Cb; M4 C; M54 C; T1 Be; T2 Be
3	Chapter for sending a man and his ba		B1 C; B2 L; B2 P; S1 C; G2 T; S1 C; G2 T; S2 C; M5 C; B2 Bo; B4 Bo; B1 Bo; S10 C
4	Chapter for becoming the fiery eye of Horus		S2 P; S2 C; S1 C
5	Chapter for what is said about the first portal		B1 L
6	Chapter for knowing the seven knots of the celestial kine		T1 Cb
7	Chapter to eat with the mouth, to defecate with the hinder parts, to be equipped, to have power over water		B2 Bo; B4 Bo
8	Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.		B9 C; B1 Y; B3 La; B3 Lb; T3 Be; B4 C; B3 Bo; B3 L; Sq12 C; B4 C; B3 Bo
9	Chapter to open a path for my ba( <i>b3</i> ), my magic ( <i>3h</i> ) and my shade ( <i>šw.t</i> ), so that it may have power in (its) legs to go up and see the great god Re.		B3 L; M6 C
10	Chapter to Join the Ferry Boat in the Realm of the Dead.		G1 Be
11	Chapter to Take Shape.		S1 C; S2 C; G2 T
12	Chapter for receiving bread in On.		B1 Bo



### 3.1.4 - New Kingdom

The orthography of the lexeme undergoes the most extensive changes in the New Kingdom; during Dynasties 18 – 20, where we see both the earlier writings as well as innovative ones. Table 3.7 details the New Kingdom according to the various editions by Budge; *Book of the Dead* (1898), *BD Egyptian text* (1898); *Coming Forth by Day* (1910); *Facsimiles* (1899) and *Pap. Ani* (1895). Translations are by G. Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477)*, *Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum* referenced in the TLA,<sup>71</sup> I. Munro, *Das Buch des toten Buches der 18. Dynastie im Museum Kairo*,<sup>72</sup> and A. Massey, *Le papyrus de Nebseni: exemplaire hiéroglyphique du Livre des Morts*,<sup>73</sup> and other secondary publications. The appropriate singular or plural endings are included in translation. (For a catalogue of *šw.t* attestations in New Kingdom Papyri, Tombs, Temples and Artefacts, see Appendix 5, and for a catalogue of Afterlife texts which mention *šw.t* in the New Kingdom, see Appendix 6).

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<sup>71</sup> Lapp, G. *Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum, The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477)*. (London 1997).

<sup>72</sup> Munro, L. *Das Buch des toten Buches der 18. Dynastie im Museum Kairo*, ÄA 54, (Cairo, 1994).


<sup>73</sup> Massey, A. *Le papyrus de Nebseni : exemplaire hiéroglyphique du Livre des Morts, conservé au "British Museum" / traduit par A. Massy*, (London, 1885).

### 3.7: Table of New Kingdom Orthography

Designation + Suffix	Orthography
<i>šw.t</i> “the shade, shadow” (16)	
<i>šw.(w)t</i> (plural) “the shades, shadows”	
<i>šw.t</i> (1.c. singular) “my shade / shadow”	
<i>šw.t</i> (2.m. singular) “his shade”	
<i>šw.t</i> (2.f.singular) “your shade / shadow”	
<i>šw.(w)t</i> (2.f. plural) “your shades / shadows”	
<i>šw.wt</i> (3.c. plural) “their shades / shadows”	

### a) Preliminary Results

The one hundred and thirty-six attestations complete the New Kingdom corpus. These examples are gathered from inscriptions (listed chronologically) found within the following papyri, tombs, temples and archaeological material. There are four non-royal Dynasty 18 Papyrus documents: Nu,<sup>74</sup> Maiherperi,<sup>75</sup> Nebseni,<sup>76</sup> and Juja<sup>77</sup>, four Dynasty 18 non-royal tombs; Djehuty (TT 11)<sup>78</sup>; Useramun (TT 61 and 131)<sup>79</sup> Amenemhet (TT 53)<sup>80</sup> and Amenemhat (TT82)<sup>81</sup>, three Dynasty 18 royal tombs such as Amenhotep II (KV35), Thutmose III (KV38), and Horemheb (KV57) and one Dynasty 19 papyrus documents by Ani.<sup>82</sup> There are seven Dynasty 19 royal inscriptions from the tomb and Temple of Rameses II, the tomb, temple and Cenotaph of Seti I, and three attestations on two Dynasty 19 non-royal statues (Berlin 6910 and Cairo JE 69771 lines 23 and 26). There are attestations found within the Dynasty 20 tombs of Rameses IV, VI, VII and IX and there are also two papyri which mention *šw.t* found at Deir el Bahari within Dynasty 20 / 21 - the papyrus of Anhay<sup>83</sup> and the royal papyrus of queen Nedjmet.<sup>84</sup> The sarcophagus of Rameses IV also records one attestation of *šw.t*. The lexeme is mentioned in numerous chapters in the funerary literature in “The [Chapter] of Coming Forth by Day” (incorrectly translated as the Books of the Dead), the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony and royal hereafter texts such as Amduat, Book of Gates, Book of Caverns, Litany of Re, the Book of the Celestial Cow, the Book of the Earth and other miscellaneous inscriptions.

The orthography within the later New Kingdom is comparable to the writings of the Middle Kingdom corpus as most are repeated and fundamentally formulaic, although slight alterations appear within the orthography. Table 3.8 highlights the specific texts in which *šw.t* is written and the respective orthography. The introduction of the fan variant S35  firstly appears in the

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<sup>74</sup> BM EA 10477 Papyrus of Nu

<sup>75</sup> CG 24095 pCairo Papyrus of Maiherperi

<sup>76</sup> BM 9,900 Papyrus of Nebseni

<sup>77</sup> CG 51189 pCairo Papyrus of Juja

<sup>78</sup> The Tomb of Djehuty (TT11)

<sup>79</sup> The Tomb of Useramun (TT61 and owner of TT131)

<sup>80</sup> The Tomb of Amenemhet (TT 53)

<sup>81</sup> The Tomb of Amenemhat (TT82)

<sup>82</sup> BM 10,470 Papyrus of Ani


<sup>83</sup> BM 10472, Papyrus of Anhay

<sup>84</sup> BM 10490 Papyrus of Nedjmet



title of the Amduat within the tomb of Thutmosis III (6<sup>th</sup> king of Dynasty 18 c1425BC) and is also frequent within Amenhotep II (7<sup>th</sup> king of Dynasty 18 - c1400BC). Moreover, it was not until Dynasty 19 when this form really established itself as a prominent representative in the orthography.

## b) Attestations of the Lexeme

There are one hundred and eight attestations of *šw.t* recorded in the *TLA* dating between the Old Kingdom and the Roman Period. However, the scope of this study ranges from the late Old Kingdom until the New Kingdom (Dynasties 5-20) and within this framework, only thirty – seven are recorded in the *TLA*. These thirty – seven cases are listed under *šw.t* lemma-no. 152880 and all thirty- one cases date to the New Kingdom with the remaining six recorded from the Old Kingdom. The one hundred and thirty-six New Kingdom attestations catalogued within this thesis is a compilation of examples found within the *TLA*, *DZA* and other secondary publications.

The lexeme is mentioned within nineteen different spells and / or chapters recorded on papyri, tombs, temples and artefacts (See Table 3.8 and Appendix 6). The *Das digitalisierte Zettelarchiv (DZA)* provides two-hundred and thirty-six slips describing *šw.t* in various contexts dating from the Old Kingdom until the Roman Period, and more than seventy-five slips referred to the *šw.t* of the deceased within the scope. Although, one slip dating to the New Kingdom quotes a spell from the Book of Caverns which is found on the Cenotaph of Seti I and labels  to be transliterated as *h3ybw.t* (lemma-no. 113540) and not *šw.t*: “I go to your cave to destroy their bas, to exterminate their shadows, to destroy their corpses, to ... their power ... their enemies...”<sup>85</sup> It is unclear why this slip is recorded under lemma- no. 113540 when phonetically

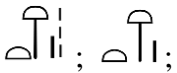


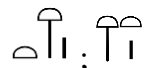
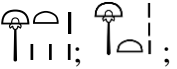

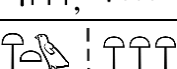
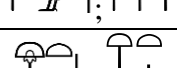
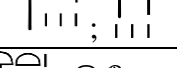

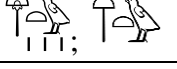
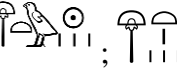
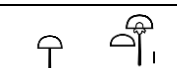
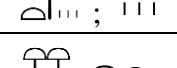


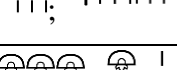

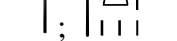
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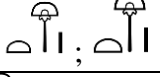

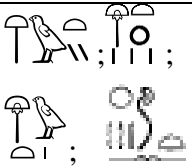




<sup>85</sup> Lef. *Sethos*, pl.24. Var II 24; *DZA* 27.621.040 incorrectly transliterates shadow as *h3ybw.t* when the orthography clearly indicates  should be transliterated as *šw.wt*. Error by translator. The first instance when the designation *h3ybw.t*  is recorded in phonetic form is from an inscription from Rameses III Mortuary Temple at Medinet Habu, which mentions the *h3ybw.t* “shadow” as a metaphor for a wall that protects Egypt from her enemies. Cf. *DZA* 27.621.300.

and ideographically the orthography indicates *šw.t*. Consequently, this attestation has been recorded as *šw.t*.

### 3.8: Table of New Kingdom Orthography and Spell Distribution

Chapter Title		Orthography	Papyri, Tomb, Temple, Artefact
<b>NON-ROYAL TEXTS</b>			
<b>1</b>	<b>BD 026</b> The chapter of giving a heart to the deceased in the underworld.		Nu
<b>2</b>	<b>BD 046</b> The chapter of not perishing and of becoming alive in the underworld.	n/a	Nebseni
<b>3</b>	<b>BD 064</b> A chapter of coming forth by day. The Chapter of knowing the “chapters of coming forth by day” in a single chapter.		Nebseni Nu
<b>4</b>	<b>BD 089</b> The chapter of causing the ba to be united to its body in the underworld.		Nebseni Ani
<b>5</b>	<b>BD 091</b> The chapter of not letting the ba of the deceased be captive in the underworld.		Nu
<b>6</b>	<b>BD 092</b> The chapter of coming forth by day. The chapter of opening the tomb to the ba and to the shade of the deceased so that he may come forth by day and have dominion over his feet.		Nu Maiherperi Nebseni Ani Djehuty
<b>7</b>	<b>BD 125</b> Negative Confession. A chapter to be said when the deceased cometh forth to the gods of the underworld.		Nu Maiherperi Juja Nebseni Ani Anhay Nedjmet (royal)
<b>8</b>	<b>BD 127</b> The Book of the praise of the gods of Qerti which a man shall recite when he comes forth before them to enter seeing the god in the great temple of the underworld.	n / a	Maiherperi
<b>9</b>	<b>BD 149</b> The chapter of the Aats.		Nu Maiherperi

			Juja
			
10	<b>BD 172</b> The chapter for praises which are to be performed in the underworld.	n / a	Nebseni
11	<b>BD 179</b> The chapter of advancing from yesterday and coming forth by day.		Nu
12	<b>BD 188</b> The [chapter of] the going in of the ba. To build an abode and to come forth by day in human form.		Nu
<b>ROYAL TEXTS</b>			
13	<b>Amduat</b> The Book of That Which Is in the Underworld , or Amduat ( <i>imy-dw3t</i> ), is the earliest and also the most detailed of the descriptions of the afterlife used in Dynasty 18 royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. These were all guidebooks to the beyond, intended to assist the deceased kings in their journey through the night sky as pilots for the sun god, Re. In some cases, the deceased king, who was identified with Osiris, god of the dead, was also said to become Re himself in his circuit. <sup>86</sup>	              	Amenhotep II, tomb Thutmose III, tomb Thutmose III, tomb Seti I, tomb Seti I, temple Rameses IV, tomb

14	<b>Book of Gates</b> Like the Amduat, this composition is concerned with the nocturnal journey of the sun and the king as they travel through the netherworld in 12 hours towards the rebirth. This text clearly defines the deities and the blessed dead compared to the Amduat and the king is given a more special status in the journey with Re.		Horemheb Seti I, tomb Rameses IV Rameses VI Seti I, temple
			
15	<b>Book of Caverns</b> The modern name of this book was given because many of the figures are shown inside ovals that represent caves in the underworld. It is divided into only six sections, with the form of the sun god as a ram-headed man introducing the first four divisions. Bound enemies appear in the lowest register of the first five divisions, and two large figures of Nut and ithyphallic Osiris are found in the fifth division. In the sixth division, the concluding scene shows the dawning of the sun god as a scarab and a child emerging from the watery realm of creation.		Seti I, Cenotaph
			
			
			
16	<b>Book of the Earth</b> This book is similar to the Book of Caverns. It has Osiris as its main point of focus and highlights Re's journey through the earth god Aker.		Rameses IV, tomb Rameses VII, tomb Rameses IX, tomb Rameses IV, sarcophagus
17	<b>Litany of Re</b> The Litany of Re is a description of, and praise for the deity who descends into the netherworld at night and meets Osiris as the ruler of the netherworld and of the dead. Its theme is the direct equating of the deceased pharaoh with the sun god Re, with his ba which is actually that of Osiris, and with the daily course of the sun. Re, combined with the ba of Osiris as one god, who "speaks with one mouth," awakens the dead to renewed life, as well as caring for the blessed and punishing the damned.		Rameses IV, tomb Rameses II, temple Amenemhat TT 82
			
18	<b>The Book of the Celestial Cow</b> The central motif is the rebellion of human-kind against the aged sun god Re, and his punishment by the fiery "eye" of the sun god who was the goddess Hathor.		Seti I, tomb
19	<b>Snake Magic</b> Used to ward off evil being or ailments / sickness	n / a	Prophylactic Statue
20	<b>Miscellaneous</b>		Statue of Amenemopet and Wife Amenemhet (TT53)

### 3.1.5 - Collocation Analysis for *šw.t* - *TLA* lemma no. 152880

The following table presents the collocation analysis of the *šw.t* lemma – no 152880 by descending T scores which are recorded in the *TLA*. This result is generated using the one hundred and eight *šw.t* attestations, however only thirty - one attestations are a representative of the deceased. These outcomes have been considered.

### 3.9: Collocation Analysis

Collocate	Total Frequency	Collocation frequency	MI Scores	T Score
<i>b3</i> “ba (power as part of the personality)”	836	39	5.3309	6.0898
<i>3h</i> “ach- spirit, transfigured (blessed dead man)”	825	30	4.9715	5.3026
<i>nn</i> “(negation participles)”	2997	33	3.2479	5.1399
= <i>tn</i> “(suffix Pron.pl.2.c)”	2923	23	2.7632	4.0894
<i>h3.t</i> “Corpse”	190	13	5.8834	3.5445
Oh! “(interjection)”	1529	13	2.8749	3.1140
<i>shm</i> “to be mighty, to have power (above)’	669	10	3.6889	2.9171
<i>s3w</i> “guard, protect, beware”	538	9	3.8513	2.7921
<i>3h.w</i> “power, magic power”	158	8 <sup>th</sup>	5.4491	2.7637
<i>iti</i> “take, conquer”	780	8 <sup>th</sup>	3.1445	2.5008

This table recognises that the highest collocation frequency gathered in relation to lemma – no 152880 is the *b3* lemma – no 52840 with a total of thirty-nine. These results denote that on thirty-nine occasions, the *b3* and *šw.t* are mentioned synonymously. These two constituents are generally attested together in what might be termed “paired beings” and appear written in connection to each other on numerous occasions within the literature describing the hereafter.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Papyrus of Nu, *BD* 91 sheet 6, line 2. *DZA* 29.986.780; Budge, *Book of the Dead* (1898), 151; Budge, *Facsimiles* (1899), 127, pl.10; Papyrus of Nu, *BD* 92 sheet 7, line 1, *TLA*; Lapp, pl. 18-19; Budge, *Facsimiles* (1899), 129, pl.12; Papyrus of Nu, *BD* 188, sheet 19 line 5, *DZA* 29.986.660; *TLA*; Lapp, pl. 56; Budge, *BD Egyptian text* (1898), 491; Papyrus of Maiherperi, *BD* 92, line 186, *TLA*; Munro. *Kairo*, 122; Papyrus of Maiherperi, *BD* 92, line 186, *TLA*; Munro. *Kairo*, 122; Papyrus of Ani, *BD* 89, *DZA* 29.986.800; Budge, *Pap. Ani* (1895), lxxvii; Papyrus of Ani, *BD* 92, line 1 (title) Budge, *Pap. Ani* (1895), 115, 318, pl. 17; Tomb of Amenhotep II, *Amduat* Title, Warburton, *Amduat*, 7; Tomb of Thutmose III, *Amduat* 3rd hour, Warburton, *Amduat*, 86; Tomb of



Within the entire catalogue of this study, the Old Kingdom mentions the *b3* and *šw.t* together on two out of the total nine accounts, three Middle Kingdom cases out a total of ninety – seven and there are thirty – three examples out of a total of one hundred and thirty-six within the New Kingdom. The results signify that the *b3* and *šw.t* are expressed as a single entity on some accounts and on others they promote a slightly separate function yet “mirror” each other’s role. The texts state that they travel together towards the “field of reeds” and are even placed and occupy similar functions within the ethereal places of the hereafter. This theory is supported by the collocation analysis from the *TLA*, in addition to the visual New Kingdom iconography which illustrates the *b3* and *šw.t* in scenes together in thirteen out of a total of twenty published images. The second highest collocation frequency is the *nn* “negation participle” most commonly referenced in relation to the destruction of the *šw.t* of the enemies of Osiris in the hereafter which occurs on thirty-three accounts and the *3h* (spirit) maintains a frequency of thirty.

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Thutmose III, Amduat 3rd hour, Warburton, *Amduat*, 95; Tomb of Thutmose III, Amduat 6th hour, Warburton, *Amduat*, 205; Tomb of Thutmose III, Amduat 6th hour, Warburton, *Amduat*, 207; Tomb of Thutmose III, Amduat 7th hour, Warburton, *Amduat*, 225; Tomb of Thutmose III, Amduat 11th hour, Warburton, *Amduat*, 346; Tomb of Thutmose III, Amduat 11th hour, Warburton, *Amduat*, 349; Tomb of Seti I, Amduat Title, line 8, *Sethos IV*, 24; *DZA* 29.986.940.

## CHAPTER 3.2: ICONOGRAPHY: The Connection Between the Icon and the Illustration

### 3.2.1 - Introduction

The scenes of the hereafter are illustrated on the papyri vignettes of the Dynasty 18 elites and displayed on the tomb walls of elites and kings from Dynasty 19 – 20. These representations offer a visual insight into the celestial realm of life after death, a world in which the constituents of the deceased are said to be located. The *šw.t* sustains a significant role in the renewal process, alongside the *b3*, corpse and *3h*. The connection between the *b3* and *šw.t* can be recognized within the pictorial representations on vignettes which accompany the non-royal inscription *BD* chapter 92 - titled “The chapter of opening the tomb to the ba (*b3*) and shade so that they may come forth by day and be given power over the legs.” The vignette depicts the standing black silhouette exiting the tomb with the *b3* hovering overhead. Above these features is a black sun in the sky or a similar variant. Although scholars such as Milde, Saleh, George and Lekov<sup>88</sup> have examined this motif, this scene is quite rare and requires further research.


The Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom funerary texts confirm that the *šw.t* is a characteristic of one’s being, which was unleashed from the corpse after death and called forth with spells from the physical constraints and the confinements of the tomb. George has stipulated that the *šw.t* might be a projection of the corpse and refers to the Papyrus of Tjenena from Dynasty 18 (Paris. Louvre N. 3074, see Table 3.7).<sup>89</sup> This illustration conveys the *b3* hovering over the top of a black silhouette which is lying on a bed - presumably the *šw.t*, although some scholars argue that this image is the corpse or the *šw.t* acting as the corpse or vice versa. George then argues the idea that the *šw.t* could be interpreted as a ghost and claims that there is a strong connection between the earth and the hereafter, in that these worlds were not completely separate but work together.<sup>90</sup> This bond linking the physical and ethereal worlds is reinforced by the various letters to the dead which suggests the ancient Egyptians believed they could



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<sup>88</sup> Teodor. Lekov, “The Shadow of the Dead and its Representations,” *JES III*, (2010), 48; George, *Schatten als Seele*, 79-81; M. Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen beamtengräbern des neuen reiches*. AV 46, 1984, 52-54; H. Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet*, (Leiden, 1991), 227-230.

<sup>89</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 65.

<sup>90</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 67.

communicate or be connected to their loved ones or be contacted by evil beings from an “otherworldly plane.” This connection was brought about through particular spoken invocations and through magical / medical means. The medical papyrus 3038 references two recipes against shadow induced diseases or remedies for eliminating the shadows of the dead such as the Papyrus Hearst 439.<sup>91</sup> The Roman Period text called the Demotic London Magical Papyrus EA10070.2 mentions the shadow in terms of a disease or ailment, and M. d’Eugène Revillout, in *Revue égyptologique* proposed that the following spell was used to rid “shadows” of the dead from a living person: using *h3yb.t* : Col. IV, 23-4 - “(Formula) proven to bring out the *shadows* (of the dead): egg (hawk), and myrrh, measured. Put it on your eye, until you get the shadows out.”<sup>92</sup> On the other hand, this spell could be referring to the shadows or dark patches under one’s eye and not necessarily the shadow of the deceased.

The ancient Egyptians introduced the word *šw.t* within the funerary literature c2375BC, and hundreds of years later within the New Kingdom, the *šw.t* was transformed into a physical being that was conveyed in art in various forms (see Table 3.7 and 3.8): Form 1: The black silhouette, Form 2: The human outline with semi-circle shade overhead and Form 3: The ideographic form. Form 1 is represented on vignettes from Dynasty 18, and three non-royal Dynasty 19 tomb paintings and one royal illustration within the tomb of Seti I. It is also recorded on papyri documents from the L. P until the Ptolemaic Period, for instance the Papyrus of Ankhesenmut (Dyn.21).<sup>93</sup> Since Form 1 only appears on one occasion within royal iconography, it is assumed that this visualisation was not common in royal tomb decoration as the *šw.t* was depicted as the personified S36 or S35. Form 3 can be seen in the Dynasty 18 tomb of Thutmose III, Cenotaph and the tomb of Seti I, the tomb of Merenptah and the Dynasty 20 tomb of Rameses VI. Form 3 stems from the orthography of *šw.t* which is written using the sign  or . This symbol represents an embodiment of the shadow of the deceased and only appears from Dynasty 19 - 20 / 21. Although later examples do exist, these are outside the scope of this project. Form 3 appears in two situations: 1. in scenes of torture and punishment and 2. in scenes of adoration towards Re. Form 3 originates in royal tombs of Dynasty 18 until the end of the New Kingdom

<sup>91</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 67.

<sup>92</sup> M. d’Eugène Revillout, *Revue égyptologique*, Vol 14, (Paris, 1914), 37.

<sup>93</sup> Saleh, *Totenbuch*, 53, Abb. 60; Naville, *Todtenbuch*, 104.

and also appears within iconography on non-royal papyri dating to Dynasty 21 / 22 such as the papyrus of Khonsu-mes.<sup>94</sup>

### 3.2.2 - Non- Royal

#### a) Form 1: Shadow as Black Silhouette

The representations in Table 3.7 are found on non-royal papyri alongside accompanying texts. There are two Dynasty 18 examples – Papyrus of Neferubenef and the Papyrus of Tjenena and one Dynasty 19 papyri of Neferrenpet. The *šw.t* is also represented in paintings on tomb walls within Dynasty 19 in which two examples survive - Tomb of Nebenmaat and the Tomb of Irinefer. Each illustration, except the papyrus of Tjenena, is accompanied by Chapter 92 of the *BD* titled: “The chapter of opening the tomb to the ba (*b3*) and *shade* so that they may come forth by day and be given power over their legs.”<sup>95</sup> The papyrus of Tjenena is transcribed with Chapter 85 of the *BD* titled: “The Chapter for being transformed into the ba of Atum, and not entering into the place of execution. He who know it will never perish.” The black silhouette motif would have been the perfect accompaniment to Chapter 89 which is “The chapter of causing the ba to be united to its body in the underworld,” if one would assume in this particular spell the *b3* and *šw.t* are interchangeable. However, debates arise when analysing this vignette as there is some confusion regarding the black figure as it is said it may not be a shadow but the corpse functioning as the shadow.<sup>96</sup> George and Milde put forth that Chapter 85 does not mention *šw.t* and consequently, the title “transforming into the ba” could be referring to the individual transforming into the *b3* or *šw.t* as the non-material body. Scholars such as Milde and Hornung describe this vignette as “the ba hovering over the prone shadow of the deceased”<sup>97</sup> or “the shadow alighting with the ba on a mummified body in order to infuse it with new vital energy.”<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Milde, *Neferrenpet*, 227-230.




<sup>95</sup> *TLA*; Lapp, pl. 18-19; Budge, *Facsimiles* (1899), 129, pl.12.

<sup>96</sup> Milde, *Neferrenpet*, 187.






<sup>97</sup> Milde, *Neferrenpet*, 187.

<sup>98</sup> E. Hornung, *Idea into Image: essays on ancient egyptian thought*, trans. E. Bredeck, (New York, 1992), 179.

### 3.7: Table of Non-Royal Depictions: Form 1: The Shadow as Black Silhouette

FORM 1: BLACK SILHOUETTE				
PAPYRUS VIGNETTES				
Fig. No.	Catalogue No / Tomb No / Reference	BD Chapter No / Description	Image	Date
1	<p><b>Papyrus of Neferubenef</b> Paris. Louvre N. 3092 [III 93] George, <i>Schatten als Seele</i>, 223, Fig. 5; Navelle, <i>Book of the Dead</i>, Pl.XXIII; Milde, <i>Neferrenpet</i>, 229; Saleh, <i>Totenbuch</i>, 52.</p> <p>*Budge incorrectly records the image (far right) as coming from the Papyrus of Ani and not from the Papyrus of Neferubenef. See Budge, <i>Ani</i>, 318,</p>  <p>Fig 3. Pl. XVII. Faulkner (<i>BD</i>, Pl.17) records the correct image from the papyrus of Ani (left) which does not picture the shadow as a black silhouette.</p>	<p>Transcribed with <i>BD</i> 92: “The chapter of opening the tomb to the ba and <i>shadow</i> so that they may come forth by day and be given power over the legs”</p>		Dyn.18
2	<p><b>Papyrus of Tjenena</b> Paris. Louvre N. 3074 George, <i>Schatten als Seele</i>, 225, Fig.11; Milde, <i>Neferrenpet</i>, 187; Scalf, <i>Book of the Dead</i>, 50, Fig.41.</p>	<p>Transcribed with <i>BD</i> 85: “The Chapter for being transformed into the ba of Atum, and not entering into the place of execution. He who know it will never perish.” (This black projection may not be a shadow but perhaps the corpse functioning as the shadow. The <i>šw.t</i> is not mentioned anywhere in <i>BD</i> 85. However, various scholars (Milde, <i>Neferrenpet</i>) describe this vignette as “the ba hovering over the prone shadow”).<sup>99</sup> Shadow and corpse seem interchangeable.</p>		Dyn.18

<sup>99</sup> Milde. *Neferrenpet*, 187.

3	<p><b>Papyrus of Neferrenpet</b> TT 178</p> <p>Lekov, <i>Shadow Representations</i>, Fig 2 59. Redrawn by Lekov from Milde, 1991, Pl. 41. Cf. Papyrus of Ankhessenmut TT 183 Dynasty 21 in Lekov, <i>Shadow Representations</i>, Fig 3 59. Redrawn by Lekov from Saleh, 1984, Abb. 60.</p>	<p>Transcribed with <i>BD 92</i>: “The chapter of opening the tomb to the ba and <i>shadow</i> so that they may come forth by day and be given power over the legs”</p>		Dyn.19
<b>TOMB PAINTINGS</b>				
1	<p><b>Tomb of Nebenmaat</b> TT 219, Deir el Medina, Thebes</p> <p><i>Image documented in Luxor Times 2016; Saleh, Totenbuch, 53, Abb.61; Maystre, Nebenmât, Pl. IX.</i></p> <div style="display: flex; align-items: flex-start;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Lekov, <i>Shadow Representations</i> (60, Fig 4) states that the image (left) is from Nebenmaat TT 219 (son of Amennakht TT218). However, this is incorrect as in Saleh, <i>Totenbuch</i>, 53, Abb. 61 is from TT290 (Irinefer) not TT219 (Nebenmaat). Another indication for this error is that TT219 is painted in monochrome colours using a white background topped with black, red, and yellow paint (see right). Unlike TT218 which is painted with polychrome colours seen in the image bottom right from TT290.</p> </div> </div>	<p>Transcribed with <i>BD 92</i></p>		Dyn.19
2	<p><b>Tomb of Irinefer</b> TT 290, Deir el Medina, Thebes</p> <p>Adams, <i>Shades of Meaning</i>, 4, Fig. 1</p> <div style="display: flex; align-items: flex-start;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Lekov, <i>Shadow Representations</i> (60, Fig.5 redrawn by Sayfried, 1998, 262), incorrectly labels the image (left) as belonging to TT290. There are obvious differences between the two images and it is difficult to understand how Lekov labelled this image incorrectly. Firstly, the depiction of the two ba-birds (right) does not appear in Lekov's illustration (left) and secondly, the direction in which the shadow is facing is obviously different.</p> </div> </div>	<p>Transcribed with <i>BD 92</i></p>		Dyn.19

### 3.2.3 - Royal

#### a) Form 1: Shadow as Black Silhouette

#### b) Form 2: Human Outline

Form 1 is mostly represented within Dynasty 18 non-royal iconography, yet there is one other example from the tomb of Seti I pictured as the determinative in the word *šw.t*. Form 2 shows the *šw.t* as a human outline with a semi-circle shade above the head of the individual which appears within the tombs of Thutmose III and Seti I in the 5<sup>th</sup> Hour of the Amduat. Currently, no other recorded cases of this form appear within royal or non-royal funerary decoration before or after Dynasty 19 and few scholars note its appearance with a brief caption. Hornung,<sup>100</sup> Warburton,<sup>101</sup> Lefébure<sup>102</sup> and Budge<sup>103</sup> describe this figure within their publications, yet only Warburton<sup>104</sup> and Budge<sup>105</sup> state that this individual has the sign for “shadow” around his head. Whilst Warburton<sup>106</sup> describes each god, Budge<sup>107</sup> offers the names of each individual. These representatives are seen within the Amduat scene in the tomb of Thutmose III, and the equivalent scene within the tomb of Seti I. Eight gods are shown in different shapes: 1. The god Hetep-neteru who is human headed, 2. The god Sent-nef-Amentiu who has the head of a shrew, 3. The god Set who is bull-headed, 4. The god Amu who is cow-headed, 5. The god Abuy with the sign for shadow around his head, 6. The god Anit with an ostrich feather on his head, 7. The god Iu-her-iptesu who hold two spirals or lassos in his hands and 8. The god Baferkheftiu - ram-headed.<sup>108</sup> Budge puts forth that the accompanying texts note that the god Abuy along with the other seven gods are to “... keep ward at the destruction of the dead...who take vengeance on the enemies, who annihilate the dead, who hack in pieces *shades* [of men and women].”<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Hornung, E. *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife, Translations from German by David Lorton*, (Ithaca and London, 1999), 46, Fig.18.

<sup>101</sup> Warburton, David, (trans.), Hornung, Erik, (ed.) and Abt, Theodor, (ed.) *The Egyptian Amduat: the book of the hidden chamber*, (Zurich, 2007), 139.

<sup>102</sup> Lefébure, E. *Les Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes*, in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Première division, *Le Tombeau de Seti I*, (Paris, 1886), Pl. XXVIII.

<sup>103</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell: being the book of Am-Tuat, the shorter form of the book of Am-Tuat, the book of the gates and the contents of the books of the other world / described and compared by Ernest A. Wallis Budge, Vol.1* (London, 1905), 109.

<sup>104</sup> Warburton, *Amduat*, 150.

<sup>105</sup> Budge, *Heaven and Hell*. 109.

<sup>106</sup> Warburton, *Amduat*, 150.

<sup>107</sup> Budge, *Heaven and Hell*. 110.

<sup>108</sup> Warburton, *Amduat*, 150; Budge, *Heaven and Hell*. 110.

<sup>109</sup> Budge, *Heaven and Hell*, 110.

Of these eight gods it is said, "...their work is to burn up with fire the bodies of the dead by the flames from their mouths in the course of every day."<sup>110</sup>

### c) Form 3: Ideographic Form




The ideographic illustration - Form 3, is represented in three royal hereafter books - the *Amduat*, *Book of Caverns* and the *Book of the Earth*. There are twelve images depicted in various New Kingdom tombs such as: the tomb of Thutmose III in Dynasty 18 - two depictions; the Dynasty 19 tomb of Seti I - 1 depiction; the Cenotaph of Seti I - 1 example; the tomb of Merenptah – 1 example and seven occurrences within the Dynasty 20 tomb of Rameses VI. The three common motifs are: 1. The theme of punishment in which the *šw.t* is shown burning in ovens - Thutmose III; Seti I; Rameses VI, 2. drowning in fiery cauldrons - Thutmose III, Seti I, Rameses VI - which are the most popular settings and 3. scenes of the *šw.t* venerating and adoring Re, accompanied with the *b3* which is identified on one occasion within the tomb of Merenptah and most prominently in the tomb of Rameses VI.

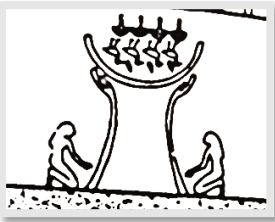
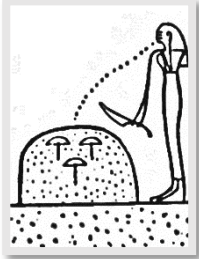



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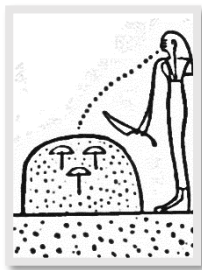
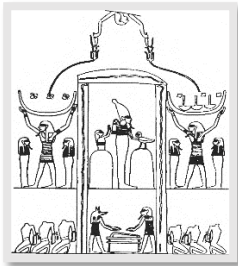


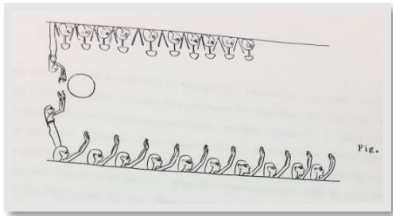

<sup>110</sup> Budge, *Heaven and Hell*, 110.

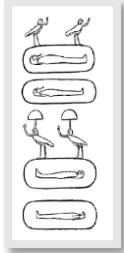


**3.8: Table of Royal Depictions: Form 1: Shadow as Black Silhouette; Form 2: Human Outline and Form 3: Ideographic**

<b>FORM 1: BLACK SILHOUETTE</b>				
<b>TOMB PAINTINGS</b>				
<b>Fig. No.</b>	<b>Catalogue No / Tomb No / Reference</b>	<b>BD Chapter No / Description</b>	<b>Image</b>	<b>Date</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Tomb of Seti I</b> KV17, Thebes  Lekov, 61, Fig.6. Redrawn by Lekov from photo; Lef, <i>Sethos</i> , Pl. III; George, <i>Schatten als Seele</i> 225, Fig.8.	Scene 10 from the “Opening of the Mouth Ceremony” transcribed with šw.t lemma (S35).		Dyn.19
<b>FORM 2: HUMAN OUTLINE</b>				
<b>1</b>	<b>Tomb of Thutmose III</b> KV34, Thebes. Amduat, 5 <sup>th</sup> hour  Hornung, <i>Books of the Afterlife</i> , 41, 46, Fig.18; Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 139.	The Amduat 5 <sup>th</sup> Hour. One of eight “slaughters”		Dyn.18
<b>2</b>	<b>Tomb of Seti I</b> KV17, Thebes. First Section, third corridor, Left wall. Amduat, 5 <sup>th</sup> hour. Lef. <i>Sethos</i> , Pl. XXVIII; Budge, <i>Heaven and Hell</i> , 110.	The Amduat 5 <sup>th</sup> Hour. The god Abui with his head turned behind him as he is provided with a shade.		Dyn.19

<b>FORM 3: IDEOGRAPHIC</b>				
<b>1</b>	<b>Tomb of Thutmose III</b> KV34, Thebes  <i>Hornung, Books of the Afterlife, 94, Fig.51; George, Schatten als Seele 222, Fig.8</i>	Book of Caverns. Fifth Section. Four inverted fan hieroglyphs (S36) personified as shadows above four inverted ba-birds.		Dyn.18
<b>2</b>	<b>Tomb of Thutmose III</b> KV34, Thebes  <i>Hornung, Books of the Afterlife, 52, Fig. 24; Warburton, Amduat, 324.</i>	Amduat, 11 <sup>th</sup> Hour. A goddess spits fire from her mouth into an oven containing three fan hieroglyphs (S36) personified as shadows.		Dyn.18
<b>3</b>	<b>Tomb of Seti I</b> KV17, Thebes, Second Section. Annex Chamber.  <i>Lef, Sethos, Pl. XXIV; Budge, Heaven and Hell, 251.</i>	Amduat, 11 <sup>th</sup> Hour Annex room, right side, entrance wall. A goddess spits fire from her mouth into an oven pit called Hatnemmatset containing three fan hieroglyphs (S36) personified as shadows.		Dyn.19
<b>4</b>	<b>Cenotaph of Seti I</b> Abydos  <i>Frankfort, Cenotaph Seti I (Plates), Pl. XXXIX.</i>	Book of Caverns. Fifth Section. Four inverted fan hieroglyphs (S36) personified as shadows above four inverted ba-birds.		Dyn.19
<b>5</b>	<b>Tomb of Merenptah</b> KV 8, Thebes  <i>Hornung, Books of the Afterlife, 91, Fig.46.</i>	Book of Caverns. Nine gods have their arms raised in adoration to the sun god Re, whilst nine fan hieroglyphs (S35) personified as shadows and nine ba-birds bow towards the sun.		Dyn.19


<b>6</b>	<b>Tomb of Rameses VI</b> KV9, Thebes  George, <i>Schatten als Seele</i> , 222, Fig.1; Piankoff, <i>Rameses VI</i> , 305.	Amduat, 11 <sup>th</sup> Hour. A goddess spits fire from her mouth into an oven containing three fan hieroglyphs (S36) personified as shadows.		Dyn.20
<b>7</b>	<b>Tomb of Rameses VI</b> KV9, Thebes  George, <i>Schatten als Seele</i> , 222, Fig.3; Piankoff, <i>Rameses VI</i> , 357.	Book of The Earth, Part A. An annihilation scene showing three fan hieroglyphs (S36) personified as shadows and three hearts burning in the cauldrons in the afterlife. Presumably the enemies of Osiris.		Dyn.20
<b>8</b>	<b>Tomb of Rameses VI</b> KV9, Thebes  Piankoff, <i>Rameses VI</i> , 748, Pl.179, Fig. B; Hornung, <i>Books of the Afterlife</i> , 107, Fig 58.	The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G. Main Section, Lower Register, Introductory Scene. Three shadows (S36) sit burning in a cauldron.		Dyn.20
<b>9</b>	<b>Tomb of Rameses VI</b> KV9, Thebes  George, <i>Schatten als Seele</i> , 222, Fig.10; Hornung, <i>Books of the Afterlife</i> , 104, Fig.55.	Book of the Earth. Part A.		Dyn.20
<b>10</b>	<b>Tomb of Rameses VI</b> KV9, Thebes  George, <i>Schatten als Seele</i> , 222, Fig.9; Hornung, <i>Books of the Afterlife</i> , 104, Fig.55.	Book of the Earth. Part A.		Dyn.20
<b>11</b>	<b>Tomb of Rameses VI</b> KV9, Thebes  George, <i>Schatten als Seele</i> , 222, Fig.7; Hornung, <i>Books of the Afterlife</i> , 105, Fig.56.	Book of the Earth. Part B. Four individuals have their arms raised in adoration to the sun god Re, whilst four fan hieroglyphs		Dyn.20

		(S35) personified as shadows and four ba-birds bow towards the sun.		
12	<b>Tomb of Rameses VI</b> KV9, Thebes <i>Piankoff, Rameses VI, 357;</i> <i>Hornung, Books of the Afterlife, 105, Fig.56.</i>	Book of the Earth. Part B. Four mummies are encased in oval coffins, whilst four bas are sitting above them with arms raised with two fan hieroglyphs on their heads (S36).		Dyn.20

## CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION OF THE EVIDENCE


### 4.1 : ORTHOGRAPHY

#### 4.1.1 - Old Kingdom

In the so called “Cannibal Hymn” (Unas and Teti- PT 273-274) the king is described quite violently feeding on the gods.<sup>111</sup> This spell is originally found in Unas and reused in Teti but not subsequently in later funerary writings,<sup>112</sup> although we see a brief glimpse of this passage within the “Chapter to take Shape” on the Coffins of Meshet (Inner S2 C and Outer S1 C) and the Coffin of Iker (G2 C). This spell is significant in that it provides the first example of the *šw.t* in context and furthermore this text assists in highlighting the position and role of the *šw.t* within the proceedings of the afterlife. Various scholars record and translate this passage inconsistently which in turn disturbs the true meaning and exact role of the *šw.t* in context. The form  appears in Teti PT 273-274, Pyr. §413c; line 330 which is translated by Sethe:<sup>113</sup>

*b3 = sn hr tti šw.wt = sn m-<sup>c</sup> ir(.y).w = sn*

“their ba is with Teti, their *shadows* are removed from their owners (the gods).”<sup>114</sup>

An identical spell yet slight orthographic variation of  is seen in Unas PT 273-274 Pyr. §413c line. 523:<sup>115</sup>

*b3 = sn hr wnīs šw.wt = sn m-<sup>c</sup> ir(.y).w = sn*

Their ba is with Unas, their *shadows* are removed from their owners.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> C. Eyre, *The Cannibal Hymn: A Cultural and Literary Study* (Liverpool, 2002). 10.





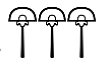
<sup>112</sup> M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings. Vol. I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms.* (Berkeley and London, 1975), 30.







<sup>113</sup> Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 216; Hieroglyphic Text by: Gaston Maspero, *Les inscriptions des pyramides de Saqqarah*, (Paris, 1894), 136.

<sup>114</sup> Pyramid of Teti, Saqqara, Dynasty 6, PT 273-274, Pyr. §413c, line. 330: Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*; Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. Alternatively, in Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts*, 148, “Behold, their ba is, with N., their shadows are taken away from the hand of those to whom they belong.”









<sup>115</sup> See also E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead: The Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum. the Egyptian Text with Interlinear Transliteration and Translation, a Running Translation, Introduction Etc.* (New York, 1967), 74.

<sup>116</sup> Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*; Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts*; Allen., *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*; T. T. Shmakov, *Critical Analysis of “J. P. Allen’s The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts,”* (2012), 150; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Vol. I*, 38.


The notion of plurality is expressed by the repetition of the ideogram , twice for the dual and thrice for the plural. Three Pyramid Text attestations indicate this form of plurality transliterated as *šw.wt = sn*:  Unas, *PT* 273-274, *Pyr.* §413c, 523;  Teti, *PT* 273-274, *Pyr.* §413c, 330; and  Pepi II in *PT* 301 *Pyr.* §446a-446b, 1055. Both the Unas and Teti spells are identical, however their orthography differ in terms of the position of the hieroglyphs. Each formation is distinct, and it is difficult to argue the motive behind their variation, although the lack of space on the wall surface might have been a factor. There is an attestation within the Dynasty 19 tomb of Seti I in the New Kingdom which is written with the repetitive S35 sign within the 11<sup>th</sup> hour of the Amduat in the lower register  for “Shadows of the enemies of Osiris.”<sup>117</sup> Nevertheless the repetitive S35 or S36 does not frequently occur, therefore it can be assumed this was not a common feature within the Old Kingdom – New Kingdom funerary writings.

Plurality can also be identified by the morphological framework. Plurality is not always indicated within the orthography but rather expressed by the attached suffix or the context in which the word is written. We can observe this notion in two attestations in Unas *PT*. 301, *Pyr.* §446d line 558  and  in *PT*. 301, *Pyr.* §446b, line 558 which use the = *sn* suffix for “their shadows.” The second person plural *šw.wt = k* “your shadows” is mentioned in three spells: Pepi I *PT*. 574 *Pyr.* §1487a, line 683 with ; Pepi I *PT*. 574 *Pyr.* §1487d line 683 which is written  and Pepi II *PT*. 574, *Pyr.* §1487d, line 1308 with . Both *PT* 574 *Pyr.* §1487d in both Pepi I and Pepi II are identical spells yet the orthography varies. Moreover, Pepi II *PT*. 574, *Pyr.* §1487d, line 1308 is written  with the reed M17 in place of the feather H6. This exact form is repeated within Unas *PT*. 301, *Pyr.* §446d line 558 yet in the third person plural *šw.yt = sn* “their shadows.” The 1<sup>st</sup> person “my shade” or “my shadow” is not expressed within the writings during this Old Kingdom context.

<sup>117</sup> Calverley, A. M. Broome, M. F. *Sethos II. The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, Volume I: The Chapels of Osiris, Isis and Horus*, (London and Chicago, 1933), 23/24; DZA 29.987.030.

When discussing the orthography in *PT* 301 and *PT* 574, there are four forms which are inscribed phonetically - consonantly written rather than ideographically using the uniliteral pool  š with feather  šw and  w. These four forms are presented in:  Pepi I *PT*. 574 *Pyr.* §1487a, line 683;  Unas *PT*. 301, *Pyr.* §446b, line 558;  Unas *PT*. 301, *Pyr.* §446d line 558;  Pepi I *PT*. 574, *Pyr.* §1487d line 683. Each example has  acting as the determinative.

#### a) The *šw.t* in the Pyramid Texts

The *PT* were recited by the deceased king at various stages of rejuvenation and were supposed to be of special service to the king in his rise towards the sky and his receptions in the land of celestial beings.<sup>118</sup> *PT* 273-274 was composed in order for the deceased to enter the realm of the incorporeal body, and to ensure the sustenance of the deceased individual remained with them into the afterlife. *PT* 273-274, the “Cannibal Hymn”, speaks of the violent arrival of the king in the sky as he consumed all power and knowledge from the gods.<sup>119</sup> This spell is accounted for once in both the pyramids of Unas and Teti where *šw.t* uses a standard orthography of  or a slight variant.

The “Cannibal Hymn” explores the meaning of the *šw.t* in context. This spell suggests the *b3* and *šw.t* of the gods were not only desired elements which could possibly be consumed and manipulated by the king, but they could also enable the king to adopt the celestial powers of the gods which would assist in his transformation into the *3ḥ* “spirit body.” Both Sethe and Eyre translate this spell as “their ba is with Teti / Unas and their *shadows* are removed from their (owners).”<sup>120</sup> However, Allen<sup>121</sup> and Budge<sup>122</sup> have alternative translations in comparison to

<sup>118</sup> Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 5.

<sup>119</sup> Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 6.





<sup>120</sup> Eyre, *The Cannibal Hymn*, 10.

<sup>121</sup> Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, “Their ba is with Unas, and only their shadows are (still) with their owners,” 52.

<sup>122</sup> Budge, *The Papyrus of Ani*, lxxx; cf. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts*, 148, “Behold, their ba is, with N., their shadows are taken away from the hand of those to whom they belong.”

Sethe and Eyre which subsequently changes the role of the *šw.t*: “Their ba is with Unas, and only their *shadows* are (still) with their owners (the gods)”. These two translations propose that 1: the *b3* could be removed from the gods, yet the *šw.t* was strongly attached to the body (of the gods) and therefore it could not be taken away from them or 2: the deceased king removed both the *b3* and the *šw.t* from the gods so that he (the king) may take on the powers they embody. On a closer inspection of the transliteration: *b3* = *sn hr N šw.wt* = *sn m-<sup>c</sup> ir(.y).w* = *sn* - the lexeme *m-<sup>c</sup>* translates to “possession” or “in the hand of” and *ir(.y)* (or *ir.yw* - plural) translates as “belonging to.” Therefore, the translation by Allen and Budge indicates “possession” or “in the hand of ” (the gods) which seems to be more accurate rather than “removed from” (the gods). Nevertheless, the *b3* was in the presence of the king and the *šw.t* was connected to the gods for eternity.

#### 4.1.2 - Middle Kingdom





The data gathered from the Middle Kingdom indicates dramatic orthographic changes deviating away from the use of phonemes and shifting towards purely ideographic orthography in comparison to the Old Kingdom material. The number of attestations increases from nine in the Old Kingdom to ninety-seven in the Middle Kingdom, with mostly abbreviated writings - there are various groupings, with a concentration on three hieroglyphic signs  : S36, X1, and the stroke/s - Z1 and / or Z2. There are also examples where the same spell uses orthographic variants of *šw.t* such as the coffin of Sathedjhotep, Senbi and Harhotep: for example,  *šw.wt* “shades” in CT 335, IV 314b on the Inner coffin of Sathdedjhotep (B3 C) describes the “Chapter of Going Out into the Day” following the revival. ‘N’ is mentioned pleading with Atum for protection from one of the demons known as the “swallower of shades”.<sup>123</sup> The coffin of Senbi (M 4 C) shows an orthographic variation of this identical spell using  *šw.(w).t*<sup>124</sup> and *šw.wt* the coffin of Harhotep (T1 Cb) from Thebes has the graphic variant .<sup>125</sup> There are, however,



<sup>123</sup> Inner Coffin of Sathedjhotep found in el – Bersha (B3 C) (Cairo, Musée des antiquités, CG 28085). CT 335, IV 314b; Faulkner, CT I, 261.

<sup>124</sup> Coffin of Senbi (M 4 C) (Cairo, Musée des antiquités, J 42950). CT 335, IV 314b.

<sup>125</sup> Coffin of Harhotep (T1 Cb) (Cairo, Musée des antiquités, CG 28023). CT 335, IV 314b; DZA 29.987.450 transliterates as *h3b.t* (lemma no -113540), although this is incorrect as this lemma does not appear until Dynasty



some exceptions as we see the older Old Kingdom writing recorded at Meir and Asyut that includes the feather H6 and the quail chick G43 still in use such  in *CT* 97, II 92a on the coffin of Senbi (M3 C);<sup>126</sup>  in *CT* 563, VI 162p on the coffin of Iri (S 10C);<sup>127</sup>  in *CT* 427, V 272b on the inner coffin of Djehuty-Nakht (female) (B4 Bo);<sup>128</sup> and  in *CT* 335, IV 314b on the coffin of Senbi (male) (M 4 C).<sup>129</sup> This form, although a rare feature, does re-appear on a couple of occasions in the New Kingdom.

There are changes in the Middle Kingdom orthography in regard to the plural form. In the Pyramid Texts, plurality was at times expressed using repeated ideograms, yet in the Coffin Texts, plurality is indicated using plural strokes  Z2. There are eighty-seven examples written with S36 used as a biliteral with the value *šw* plus the bread loaf X1 for *.t*, for example  on the outer coffin of Sathdedjhotep (B4 C) in *CT* 498, VI 80f.<sup>130</sup> The orthography suggests there are conventions already in place during the Middle Kingdom as most forms have similar orthography, substituting phonetic values for ideographic representations alongside solitary phonemes and the only major difference is the positioning of the hieroglyphs. (See Appendix 3 and 4 for Catalogue of Middle Kingdom examples).

The Middle Kingdom orthography indicates local variations of the word, and it is clear that no area selected a standardized form for *šw.t*. On the six coffins at El Bersha there are diverse

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18 within historical texts, See Mortuary Temple at Medinet Habu, N/Wall Scene Room, Rameses III. The *TLA* database houses slip 29.987.450 under the *šw.t* lemma no – 152880; Faulkner, *CT I*, 261.



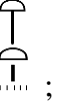



<sup>126</sup> Coffin of Senbi (M3 C) (female), found at Meir, Dynasty 12, (Cairo, J 42825), *CT* 97, II 92a; Faulkner, *CT I*, 96.








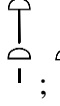

<sup>127</sup> Coffin of Iri (S10 C) found at Asyut, (Cairo, Musée des antiquités, J 44980), *CT* 413, V 240d; Faulkner, *CT II*, 64.

<sup>128</sup> Coffin of Djehuty-Nakht (B4 Bo), (female), found at el Bersha, late Dynasty 11 / early Dynasty 12, (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, MFA21.96465). *CT* 427, V 272b; Faulkner, *CT II*, 71.

<sup>129</sup> Coffin of Senbi (male) (M4 C), found at Meir, (Cairo, Musée des antiquités, J 42827). *CT* 335, IV 314b; Faulkner, *CT I*, 261.



<sup>130</sup> Coffin of Sathdedjhotep (B4 C), (Cairo, Musée des antiquités, CG 28086), Outer coffin. *CT* 498, VI 80f; Faulkner, *CT II*, 137.


combinations of *šw.t* appearing in seventy attestations such as ; ; ;  to mention a few. On the four coffins found at Meir, all of the five attestations use a different form, none indicate the plural strokes – yet two are expressed in the plural, and some of these forms can also be seen within the orthography at El-Bersha, along with new groupings. Alternatively, the seven attestations recorded on the five coffins found at Thebes use only four variants and some are previous recorded forms from Asyut, El Bersha and Meir in addition to new arrangements. Additionally, there are two spells written on the coffin of Wesermut at Saqqara and each attestation uses different orthography such as  and , although this orthography is almost mirror imaged versions of each other.

The evidence indicates that Old Kingdom orthography is still in practice in certain localities, although not hugely prevalent, using the feather biliteral *šw* accompanied by the H6, X1, Z1 and / or G43 which are present at El Bersha:  (B4 Bo); Meir  (M3 C) and  (M4C) and Asyut  (S10 C). There is evidence to suggest that certain orthography is used for *šw.t* in particular spells which is indicative on the CT 2, I 8c “Chapter describing the vindication of a person in the realm of the dead” which is recorded on eight occasions yet only two variations of the form are used such as  and . Similarly, the “Chapter for sending a man and his ba” is mentioned on thirteen occasions yet uses three variants of the word such as ; ; . On the other hand, there are eight attestations which are identified with the “Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead” yet seven different forms of *šw.t* are used.

### a) The *šw.t* in the Coffin Texts

The Coffin Texts superseded the Pyramid Texts, although some Old Kingdom spells do appear in revival on Middle Kingdom coffins such as the CT 573, VI 182b which is described as the ‘Chapter to Take Shape’ (similar to PT 273-274 in Unas and Teti): “Their bas are with me, their *shades* are with their lords, their magic is in my belly.”<sup>131</sup> The orthography of the word in the Middle Kingdom spell “To Take Shape” is different from the orthography in the Pyramid Texts.

In the Coffin Texts the word is written  and / or  in S1 C; S2 C; G2 T with S36 as a logogram with the phonetic value *šw* combined with X1 and Z1 and Z2, whereas in the Old

Kingdom “Cannibal Hymn” the word is written using repeated S36 ideograms  or variant with the phonetic complement X1 and G43 respectively. The principal sources for these Coffin Texts are found within provincial cemeteries of Middle Kingdom nomarchs found within Middle Egypt from late Dynasty 11 and Dynasty 12 such as Asyut, Meir and Gebelein, although the largest finds come from Hermopolis and Deir el-Bersha.<sup>132</sup> Other coffins were found within Lower Egyptian cemeteries such as Saqqara and the Upper Egyptian necropolis of Thebes. These texts eradicated the royal superiority of the Pyramid Texts and conceptualised these spells with descriptions of images and figures on coffins which were intended to “strengthen the spells’ magical effects.”<sup>133</sup> It is uncertain what influenced the choice of spells, themes and the particular orthography used on each coffin, but certain factors such as the owner’s preference, customs of the period, location of the cemetery and the amount of available space on the coffin would have come in to play.

The ancient Egyptians in the Middle Kingdom underwent a democratization process within their social and religious practices and in turn the funerary literature was altered to facilitate such changes. In the Old Kingdom, the concept of the *šw.t* was in association to the king and the gods, however within the Middle Kingdom, non-royal individuals could gain access to the fate and afterlife obtained by the royal echelon and subsequently the role and nature of the *šw.t* of non-royals is observed through the Coffin Text writings. Democratisation was


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

<sup>131</sup> Coffin of Meshet (Inner S2 C and Outer S1 C); Coffin of Iker (G2 C). Cf. Faulkner, *CT II*, 178.

<sup>132</sup> Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 7.




<sup>133</sup> Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 9.

conceptualised within the funerary writings by the use of the first person *šw.t=i* “my shadow / shade” appears in fifty - six (some repeated) Coffin Text attestations. There are numerous cases which are expressed in the 1<sup>st</sup> person using the god suffix pronoun = *i*. An example comes from *CT* 98, II 93f on the coffin of Gua (B1 L) <sup>134</sup>;

“Do I forget the outer chamber of Thoth; does he forget the wish of the dead until my  
ba and my shade  (*šw.t=i*) pass by it?”

There are four identical spells recorded on coffins: B1 C (  ) <sup>135</sup> ; B2 P (  ) <sup>136</sup> and B1 Y (  ) <sup>137</sup>. In these four coffins, there are three cases which use the king suffix pronoun  (A41) in the 1<sup>st</sup> person and the exact reading of the pronoun suffix on B1 Y is unknown due to lacunae.

#### 4.1.3 - New Kingdom


The writings in the New Kingdom have the earlier Middle Kingdom combinations of S36, X1 and single Z1 and / or plural Z2, whilst royal tombs such as Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II (Dyn.18), the temple and tomb of Seti I (Dyn.19) and the tombs of Rameses VII and IX (Dyn.20) use an alternative sign  S35 in various combinations in accumulation to those arrangement with S36. The tomb of Rameses IX subsequently introduces a variant of S36, the bent form of the fan hieroglyph  which reflects the characteristic morphology of the bent shades represented in the iconography within Rameses IX’s tomb. There is also an additional determinative recorded in combination with S36 or S35 such as  N33 “grain of sand, pellet”

<sup>134</sup> Coffin of Gua, el Bersha, Dynasty 12, (BM, EA 30839), Inner coffin, (B1 L). *CT* 98, II 93f. Faulkner, *CT I*, 96.



<sup>135</sup> Coffin of Sepi (B1 C) (Cairo, Musée des Antiquités, CG 28083), Outer coffin., *CT* 98, II 93f ; Faulkner, *CT I*, 96.

<sup>136</sup> Coffin of Sepi (B2 P) (Paris, Louvre Museum, E 10779 A), Inner coffin. *CT* 98, II 93f; Faulkner, *CT I*, 96.

<sup>137</sup> Coffin of Djehuty-Nakht (male) (B1 Y) (New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1937.5903g). *CT* 98, II 93f; Faulkner, *CT I*, 96.

which is identified in some cases to take the place of dangerous signs such as  “enemy.”<sup>138</sup> This is evident in the tombs of Rameses VII, IX and the sarcophagus of Rameses IV.

The S35 seemingly represents the hand-held fan or fans mounted on long and short sticks which was a necessary piece of equipment intended to provide shade / protection as well as a cooling breeze from the hot Egyptian sun.<sup>139</sup> Tutankhamun (Dyn.18) was buried with eight half-round, multi-feathered fan assortments - a single handheld example (Plate 1)<sup>140</sup> and seven fans mounted on longer or shorter sticks for operation by a courtier – Plates 2, 3 and 4, although only five fan artefacts are pictured in Appendix 7.<sup>141</sup> This new fan sign also appears in New Kingdom iconography representing the shadow of the deceased in various situations in the hereafter.

In addition to orthographic and phonetic changes of *šw.t*, a synonym for “shadow” appears in hieroglyphic script within Dynasty 19 and in hieratic script on papyri within Dynasty 20 / 21 labelled *ḥ3b.t* or variant *ḥ3yb.t* (TLA lemma-no. 113540). This new term is not a representative of the constituent of the person within the funerary writings but rather a general term for shadow / shade mentioned in connection to the sun, protection from heat or used in association with a cooling breeze.<sup>142</sup> It is generally understood that there are variants or unusual writings written for *ḥ3b3y.t* such as *šwby.t*, *šwbw*, *šwyb.t*, *šwb.t*, *šwy.t*.<sup>143</sup> These variant forms omit S36 and introduce the sun sign N5 as the determinative which immediately suggests the meaning or notion of the sun itself. Examples can be noted in the Dynasty 19 Topographic Kings List known as the Turin Papyrus  *šwbw*,<sup>144</sup> the historical letter called the Papyrus Harris I  *šwbw*<sup>145</sup>, an inscription from the Kuban Stele which describes the installation of the

<sup>138</sup> Gardiner, *Grammar*, 490.

<sup>139</sup> N. Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun : The King, The Tomb, The Royal Treasure*, (London, 1995), 179

<sup>140</sup> Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun*. No.272a found in the Treasury.







<sup>141</sup> Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun*, Nos. 415, 600, 596a, 389, 599 found in the Annexe and 242 and 245 found in the Burial Chamber. 176-8.



<sup>142</sup> DZA 27.620.910

<sup>143</sup> L. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* vol 2, (Rhode Island, 2004), 116; R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch*, (Mainz, 2006) 626.

<sup>144</sup> Papyrus Turin. Topographical Kings List. DZA 27.621.130 (recorded under the designation *ḥ3b.t* lemma No. 113540. Transliterated as *ḥ3b.t* – a variant of *ḥ3yb.t* although possibly an error, as it should be phonetically transliterated as *Swbw*

<sup>145</sup> Papyrus Harris I 78. 8-9; DZA 27.621.151.

fortress of Seti I at Kuban  *šwyb.t*,<sup>146</sup>  *šwb.t* written on the literary Chester Beatty Papyrus IV<sup>147</sup> and  *šwby.t* from Dynasty 20 from Rameses III Medinet Habu inscription, which states “they sit under the *shadow* (protection) of his might.”<sup>148</sup> The stele of Minnakht (C55), Dynasty 18, mentions *šwy.t*  - notice the absence of the fan sign, has the passage “that I refresh myself in his *shadow* of the grave”<sup>149</sup> and in the Dynasty 19 copy of a Middle Kingdom composition known as the poetic text the Papyrus of Ipuwer / Leiden Papyrus I 344 recto 14<sup>150</sup> where  *šwy.t* is mentioned among details describing starvation, drought, death, and violent upheavals within ancient Egyptian society. This same orthography can also be noted on the Papyrus of Nu – in Dynasty 18, referring to *šw.t* comparatively, likening the swift movement of the shadow to the wind: “And I have united this my “magic” in every place in which he is and with the man he is with; faster than the greyhound, faster than the *shadow*.”<sup>151</sup> The form  *šwy.t* is similar to the Old Kingdom orthography of Unas *PT*. 301, *Pyr.* §446b, line 558 using the H6 and G43 respectively although *šw.t* in the Unas text is written for the deceased and the Papyrus Nu uses the word for the alternative meaning and omits both the S36 or S35.

George (1970) raised the question of whether the phonetic writings of *šw.t* completely disappears from Dynasty 19 onwards along with the orthography  or whether *šw.t* and *h3yb.t* are written contemporarily before *h3yb.t* supersedes it. Additionally, George stipulates that perhaps all meanings of shadow are to be written as *h3yb.t* and not written using the phonetic values such as *šw* and *t*.<sup>152</sup> George explains that based on the writing  for *nhb(.w)* “lamp”

<sup>146</sup> Kuban Stele. *DZA*. 27.621.280.

<sup>147</sup> Chester Beatty IV 6,3 -5 EA 10684,3 Dynasty 19. *DZA* 27.621.100 (recorded under the designation *h3b.t* lemma No. 113540. Transliterated as *h3yb.t* – although possibly an error, as it should be phonetically transliterated as *Swb.t*. A variant of *h3yb.t*.





<sup>148</sup> Medinet Habu Inscription *DZA* 27.621.190 (recorded under the designation *h3b.t* lemma No. 113540. Transliterated as *kby.t* – a variant of *h3yb.t* although possibly an error, as it should be phonetically transliterated as *šwby.t*
















<sup>149</sup> Louvre C55 Stele of Minnakht: *DZA* 29.985.720

<sup>150</sup> Leiden Pap. I 344 Recto 14 Ipuwer Papyrus: *DZA* 29.985.850

<sup>151</sup> BM pLondon EA 10477, Papyrus of Nu, *BD* 24, sheet 5, line 4: Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*, Pl. 14; See also BM pLondon EA 10477 Papyrus of Nu, *BD* 24, sheet 5, line 5; C.f. Papyrus of Nu, E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead an English translation of the chapters, hymns, etc., of the Theban recension, with introduction, notes, etc.* 3 vols. (London, 1909), 135; *DZA* 29.985.560 transliterates as *šw.t* meaning light.

<sup>152</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 11

in the tomb of Rameses VI in the Book of the Earth<sup>153</sup>, it is argued that  (S35) is used to signify the phonetic value *ḥ* (although George mistakenly writes  using the fan S36 instead of the correct fan S35 ,<sup>154</sup> however this could be an example of a scribal error. George also states that the Ptolemaic Papyrus Ryeron transcribes  as “shadow” in Chapter 191 of the Book of the Dead in addition to there being no examples of *šw.t* in Coptic writings.<sup>155</sup>

George recommends that all meanings of shadow are to be transliterated as *ḥ3yb.t*, yet there are a few problems with this suggestion. As previously mentioned, the Old Kingdom orthography for the shadow of the deceased is written phonetically using *šw.t* such as  or  from the Middle Kingdom. There are also a variety of other forms of *šw.t* written phonetically to indicate the shadow of the deceased until the Roman Period. Whilst *šw.t* and *ḥ3yb.t* may have co-existed - with *ḥ3yb.t* being a synonym for shadow, they do not appear concurrently in the written record until the Ramesside Period – and during this time both the meaning of *šw.t* and *ḥ3yb.t* was for the shadow in the secular environment, not of the deceased. The first instance when the designation *ḥ3yb.t*  is recorded in phonetic form is from an inscription from Rameses III's Mortuary Temple at Medinet Habu, which uses *ḥ3yb.t* “shadow” as a metaphor for a wall that protects Egypt from her enemies.<sup>156</sup> Another New Kingdom reference of *ḥ3yb.t* is from the literary Instruction of Amenemope (Dynasty 19) which presents a guide for life-long success and happiness – “His *shadow* is as pleasing in the garden...”<sup>157</sup>  phonetically written as *ḥ3bw*<sup>158</sup> yet according to the *DZA* 27.620.970 it is recorded under the designation *ḥ3yb.t* lemma No. 113540. Papyrus Hood (Dynasty 21)<sup>159</sup> mentions *ḥ3yb.t* written  in a cursive hieratic text which also contains a copy of The Onomasticon of

<sup>153</sup> Alexandre. Piankoff, *La Création Du Disque Solaire*, (Kairo,1953). Pl. 28, line 12.

<sup>154</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 11.

<sup>155</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 11.

<sup>156</sup> Medinet Habu Inscription, Rameses III, N/ wall, Scene Room W/end. *DZA* 27.621.300 – recorded in *TLA* under *ḥ3yb.t* Lemma No 113540



<sup>157</sup> Instruction of Amenemope Dynasty 19. *DZA* 27.620.970 (recorded under the designation *ḥ3b.t* lemma No. 113540. Transliterated as *ḥ3b.t* – a variant of *ḥ3yb.t* although possibly an error, as it should be phonetically transliterated as *ḥ3bw*.

<sup>158</sup> Instruction of Amenemope Dynasty 19. *DZA* 27.620.970 (recorded under the designation *ḥ3b.t* lemma No. 113540. Transliterated as *ḥ3b.t* – a variant of *ḥ3yb.t* although possibly an error, as it should be phonetically transliterated as *ḥ3bw*

<sup>159</sup> Papyrus Hood, Dynasty 21, (BM EA 10202); *DZA* 27.621.000 – recorded in *TLA* under *ḥ3yb.t* Lemma No 113540



Amenemope. These aforementioned examples are non-funerary, and many other attestations of *h3yb.t* indicate the usage of the word outside the funerary realm. Alternatively, there are no attestations of *h3yb.t* that clearly refer to the shadow of the deceased prior to the Roman Period, furthermore the “shadow” of the deceased should otherwise be transliterated as *šw.t*.

The A14  determinative which is described as a falling man with blood streaming from the head and a determinative for “die” or “enemy.” This determinative appears in two attestations on two female papyri documents in the Book of the Dead spell 125 titled “Negative Confession [A Chapter] to be said when the deceased comes forth to the gods of the underworld” - Nedjmet (EA 10, 490) and Anhay (EA 10472) dating to Dynasty 20 / 21 and one Dynasty 18 inscription from the papyrus of Maiherperi *BD* 149 “The chapter of the Aats.” This determinative also appears in Dynasty 19 within the Book of Caverns with the form  although S35 is written instead of S36 in the Cenotaph of Seti I. There are four other papyri<sup>160</sup> which quote *BD* 125, although all of these examples omit the A14 determinative which suggests this is a characteristic feature introduced within Dynasty 18 yet became more popular in the later New Kingdom.<sup>161</sup> There are ten attestations in three non-royal papyri which quote *BD* 149 - yet only Maiherperi uses the “enemy” determinative. This entire chapter contains pictures and accompanying text of the Fourteen Aats and their descriptions as well as the various gods who reside in each division of the underworld.<sup>162</sup> The “enemy” determinative is suitable to *BD* 125 and *BD* 149 due to their adverse connotations and references to the devourers of the underworld. *BD* 125 reads: “Hail, Eater of *Shades*, who comes forth from Qerret; Hail.”<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Papyrus of Nu, Papyrus of Juja, Papyrus of Nebseni, Papyrus of Ani.




<sup>161</sup> The A14 determinative also appears in Ptolemaic funerary texts such as the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus in the Book of Apophis: Bremner-Rhind Papyrus EA10188,1; *DZA* 29.987.230, 29, 12-13.

<sup>162</sup> Budge, *BD*, 489; W. A. Wallis. Budge, *The Books on Egypt and Chaldaea. The Chapters of Coming forth by Day or the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead. The Egyptian Hieroglyphic Text Edited from numerous Papyri*, (London, 1910), 226.


<sup>163</sup> Papyrus of Nedjmet. A. Wallis. Budge, *The Book of the Dead. Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher and Netchemet with supplementary text from the papyrus of Nu*, (London, 1899), 24, pl. V; Papyrus of Anhay. Budge, *Facsimilies* (1899), 26, pl. VII.



### a) The *šw.t* in the Afterlife Texts




The *šw.t* is recorded in twenty-one New Kingdom inscriptions which are written on Papyri, Tombs, Temples and Artefacts found at Thebes, Saqqara, Deir el Bahari and Heliopolis. The most popular non-royal text is chapter *BD* 92 - “The chapter of opening the tomb to the ba and to the shade of the deceased so that he may come forth by day and have dominion over his feet”, in which sixteen attestations are recorded on three papyri and one tomb inscriptions from Thebes and one papyrus document from Saqqara – using three forms: ;  and . This suggests that at both Thebes and Saqqara, the orthography-maintained consistency, at least with the writing of *šw.t* in *BD* 92 between the Dynasty 18 reigns of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV. The text specifies that the main goal of the *šw.t* was to rise up out of the physical constraints of the tomb or the mummy bandages surrounding the corpse, access the ability to move limbs and be saved from the evils that reside in the underworld.<sup>164</sup> The second most popular chapter in which the *šw.t* is mentioned is *BD* 125 – “Negative Confession. which mention the “shadow swallower” in seven attestations. The orthography within this chapter highlights no strict and consistent form, however it introduces the new A14 determinative.

For the royal corpus, the Amduat gains the most mentions of the *šw.t* with fifty-six attestations dating from Dynasty 18 to 20. The Book of Gates is the second most popular book which mentions *šw.t* in eight attestations as it is a cosmological treatise describing the architecture and inhabitants of the Duat, the underworld which the boat of the Sun God Re, as he traverses during the night hours, a journey in which the *šw.t* is one of the constituents of the person in the company of Re.

The orthography of the lexeme continuously changed and developed within the funerary literature, in both the non-royal and royal echelon. Evidence of such diachronic advancements are indicative by the change of the sign  S36 first introduced in the Old Kingdom and

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<sup>164</sup> Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 213.

continued into the Middle and New Kingdom, whilst the late New Kingdom variant  S35 or modified  can also be observed in the royal New Kingdom orthography. In the Middle Kingdom, the  is usually followed by Z1, and X1 in various arrangement and by the New Kingdom, older forms are used in combination with newer ones. The G43 sign is frequent in most Old Kingdom attestations yet loses its popularity in the Middle Kingdom as it is only attested on one account. The appearance of G43 is evident in the New Kingdom, although only in royal inscriptions in various groupings as no non-royal cases exist. The use of M17 is possibly a scribal error in place of H6 as in the Middle Kingdom, M17 completely disappears from the orthography. H6 is also observed on numerous attestations in the Middle Kingdom, although by the New Kingdom it is non-existent. The New Kingdom introduces the new sign S35 written in numerous variations, and this sign only appears in royal funerary writings as no examples are recorded in non-royal texts. The New Kingdom brings a plethora of assemblages using S36 or S35, X1 and Z1 / Z2, in addition to the introduction of new determinatives A14 and N33 observed on rare occasions.

## 4.2 : ICONOGRAPHY

### 4.2.1 - The Connection between the Icon and the Illustration

The following iconographic catalogue includes every image of the *šw.t* as defined in a total of twenty discrete images from the New Kingdom. Each of these images are taken from either the Amduat, Book of Caverns or Book of the Earth and are located within a specific event or location in the Duat and accompanied by various important characters during the journey into the depths of the underworld.<sup>165</sup> Funerary iconography within ancient Egypt played a vital and fundamental role within the religious and social environments and is best known through the elite. Iconography maintained a strong relationship with the hieroglyphic language which was quintessentially picture based. The artist painted or sculpted a particular phenomenon which was intended to represent the physical appearance or acquainted fundamentals of that object – the ideograms and determinatives were representations of the things they embody.<sup>166</sup> However, in this instance, art is a representation of life within specific restrictions and ideologies about the purpose and functionality of “art.” This notion was central to the development and understanding of the *šw.t* within texts and subsequently towards its transmission to a visual representation in funerary art. Art as a medium was created in an attempt to perpetuate the universe and all that lives within it - the gods and the people, and it was the duty of the artist to convey and provide a detailed and accurate representation of this life and the life hereafter.<sup>167</sup>



The *šw.t* is a prime example of how the orthography of a word can be transformed into a symbol in iconography. The decision to choose signs ,  or variant , within the orthography were presumably for practicality due to their connotations to the sun. When analysing the New Kingdom iconography and archaeological material found within New Kingdom tombs, the importance of the fan can be further realised. Within the tomb of Tutankhamun eight fans were found, both short handled with ostrich feathers still in-tact as well as long-stick fans with beautifully embellished gold detail (see Plates 1-4). The archaeological material shows that the

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<sup>165</sup> J. A. Roberson, *The Book of the Earth: A study of Ancient Egyptian Symbol-Systems and the Evolution of New Kingdom Cosmographic Models*, Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 2007, Web. 6 November 2018.

<sup>166</sup> I. Shaw. P. Nicholson. *The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, (London, 2003), 129.

<sup>167</sup> Shaw., Nicholson. *The British Museum Dictionary*, 129.

fan was used within life not only as an object of practicality - for protection from the sun, but also as a decorative attachment or accessory reserved for royals, which was adorned with noteworthy events. Such royal entitlements are mirrored in royal tombs and temples which use the sign  and variant , within the orthography and iconography.

#### 4.2.2 - Non – Royal and Royal Depictions

##### a) Form 1: Shadow as Black Silhouette

Form 1 is recorded in both the royal and non-royal iconography. Collectively, there are five depictions of the *šw.t* found on non-royal papyrus vignettes and one royal tomb records this image as a determinative. Two papyri date to Dynasty 18,<sup>168</sup> and one Dynasty 19<sup>169</sup>, two Dynasty 19 tomb paintings<sup>170</sup> and one representative in the tomb of king Seti I.<sup>171</sup> The principal motif within the vignettes and tomb paintings depict the *šw.t* inside the tomb or emerging from the tomb as a black silhouette. This motif portrays a hovering *b3* and a black sun pictured in the sky or on the ground. Out of the fifty-three decorated tombs in Deir el Medina, only three depict the *šw.t*, therefore these examples are quite unique. Each example is transcribed with *BD* Chapter 92: “The chapter of opening the tomb to the ba and *shadow* so that they may come forth by day and be given power over the legs” except for the Papyrus of Tjenena (Paris. Louvre N. 3074) which is transcribed with *BD* 85: “The chapter for being transformed into the ba of Atum, and not entering into the place of execution. He who knows will never perish.” and the silhouette in the tomb of Seti I which is identified with the “Opening of the Mouth Ceremony.”

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<sup>168</sup> Papyrus of Neferubenef (Paris. Louvre N. 3092 [III 93]); Papyrus of Tjenena (Paris. Louvre N. 3074).

<sup>169</sup> Papyrus of Neferrenpet (TT178). Lekov, *Shadow Representations*, Fig 2 59. Redrawn by Lekov from Milde, 1991, Pl. 41. Cf. Papyrus of Ankhesenmut TT 183 Dynasty 21 in Lekov, *Shadow Representations*, Fig 3 59. Redrawn by Lekov from Saleh, 1984, Abb. 60.

<sup>170</sup> Tomb of Nebenmaat, (TT219), Deir el Medina, Thebes; Tomb of Irinefer (TT290), Deir el Medina, Thebes.

<sup>171</sup> Tomb of Seti I (KV17), Thebes.

The *šw.t* can be defined as the one to be animated, to have the function of the corpse.<sup>172</sup> Scene 10 in the “Opening of the Mouth Ceremony” (Figure 1) is highlighted in the tomb of Seti I which expresses this animate principal in which the *šw.t* has invigorating powers.<sup>173</sup>



**Figure 1:**  
Tomb of Seti I,  
Dyn. 19.  
Opening of the  
Mouth  
Ceremony.

“I have seen my father in every shape as a praying mantis, I forbid that he suffers / bees, may nothing be destroyed in him by his *shadow*.”<sup>174</sup> This passage is significant in that it is difficult to connect it with an equivalent text and additionally, this is the first instance and only representation in a royal tomb when the black silhouette is used, especially as a determinative figure. There are only three earlier examples of this black figure which are painted on papyrus vignettes dating to Dynasty 18 and 19 and two Dynasty 19 images are identified in elite tombs which suggests this motif carried over from non-royal into royal iconography yet only for a brief time. The text within Scene 10 emphasises a connection between souls and statues which “connect” with each other which is an alternative concept of the souls of gods which “settle” in the images.<sup>175</sup>

Another text which suggest the interchangeable nature of the *šw.t* and corpse is mentioned in the 9<sup>th</sup> Hour in the Amduat from the tomb of Seti I which reads:

This great god is towed along by the gods of the Duat, and those who tow Re along say :—' The god cometh to his body, and the god is towed along to his *shadow*.<sup>176</sup>

The black figure on the papyrus of Tjenena (see Table 3.8) is highly debated. Scholars such as Milde,<sup>177</sup> and Hornung<sup>178</sup> argue that the black projection may not be the *šw.t* but perhaps the corpse acting as the shadow or vice versa. If this is the case, it is unclear why the ancient Egyptians chose to depict the corpse as a black silhouette, a typical representation indicative of

<sup>172</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 88.

<sup>173</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 88.

<sup>174</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 88, 225, Fig.8; Lekov, *Shadow Representations*, 61, Fig.6. Redrawn by Lekov from photo; Lef, *Sethos*, Pl. III.

<sup>175</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 88.

<sup>176</sup> Tomb of Seti I, Amduat, 9th hour, Budge, *Heaven and Hell*, 242.

<sup>177</sup> Milde. *Neferrhenpet*, 187.

<sup>178</sup> Hornung, *Idea into Image*, 179.

the shadow. Alternatively, if this vignette from the papyrus of Tjenena does depict the *b3* hovering over the corpse, it seems that the corpse and the *šw.t* are interchangeable, at least iconographically,<sup>179</sup> and as the previous passage in the Amduat from the tomb of Seti I suggests, they can also be transposable in the written material. Alternatively, if this black figure does symbolically represent the *šw.t*, perhaps this image indicates the phase before the revival and the black figure signifies the deceased as the immovable material body – corpse, before the transference into the movable celestial being – *šw.t*. This theory would explain why the *šw.t* resembles a human silhouette.

### Relationship with the *b3*, *3h* and corpse

The nature and role of the *šw.t* - combined with its relationship with the *b3* and corpse and their transformation into the *3h*, can be identified by means of analysing how these components are pictured within art in addition to how they are mentioned within the accompanying texts. The prime motif in which these constituents are portrayed is primarily combined of the Book of the Dead. Within this spell, the *b3* and *šw.t* are frequently attested and mentioned in unity with the *3h*. A Coffin Text spell introduces this concept earlier in the Middle Kingdom, which reads:

Go, go, my ba (*b3*), my spirit (*3h*), my magic (*hk3*) and my *shade*, open the shutters of the sky-windows, throw open the Great Mansion, so that you may go to and from and have power in your legs.<sup>180</sup>

A similar spell appears in CT 498, VI 80f on the outer coffin of Sathedjhotep (female) which highlights the four combined aspects – *b3*, *3h*, *hk3*, *šw.t* functioning as the whole individual as they accompany Re and Hathor into the underworld. Their goal is to rest with Re and his corpse before ascending towards the rising sun.

You have taken my ba (*b3*) and my spirit (*3h*), my magic (*hk3*) and my *shade* with Re and Hathor the place where Re is every day, to the place where Hathor is, for all eternity.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Milde. *Nefersenpet*, 187.

<sup>180</sup> CT 491, VI 71a, (B3 La and B3 Lb). Inner Coffin of Sen (London, British Museum, EA 30842), Faulkner, *CT II*, 133; CT 488, VI 67a, (B9 C). Inner Coffin of Amenemhat (Cairo, Musée des antiquités, CG 28091). Faulkner, *CT II*, 132.

<sup>181</sup> CT 498, VI 80f, (B4 C). Outer Coffin of Sathedjhotep (female) (Cairo, Musée des antiquités, CG 28086); see also CT 498, VI 80f, (B3 L). Inner Coffin of Sen (London, British Museum, EA 30842). Faulkner, *CT II*, 137.

Lekov in his text *Shadow Representations*<sup>182</sup> indicates that a similar phrase appears within the Dynasty 18 tomb of Djehuty in which the three components are intricately connected:

May you make way for my ba (*b3*), my spirit (*3h*) and my *shadow*.

CT 493, VI 74i from the Inner Coffin of Sen (B3 L)<sup>183</sup> connects the *b3*, *šw.t* and corpse as they escape the dangers of the underworld and reach the blissful realm of the Akhet alongside the deceased individual:

My corpse will neither be wrested away nor constrained, for I am that corpse for which Atum wept and which Anubis buried. [My] ba (*b3*), my body and my *shade* are at its side, for I am indeed the guard of the prisoners after the secret matters of the Coiled One.<sup>184</sup>

The funerary texts stipulate that the movement of the deceased is synonymous with the movements of the *b3*, *šw.t* and their transformation into the *3h* and the spells ensure that the deceased could not move freely within the afterlife without transforming into this “effective being.”<sup>185</sup> Lekov analyses the vignettes associated with Chapter 92 and suggests that the *b3* and *šw.t* are essentially two sides of the same coin and that they indicate the same in and outwards movement by the deceased from the tomb – arguing that the black silhouette can not be the shadow but rather another aspect of the individual.<sup>186</sup> If the black figure exiting the tomb within the four papyrus vignettes of Neferrenpet, Neferubenef, Nebenmaat and Irinefer does not signify the *šw.t*, what other component of the deceased could they be? The *k3*? The corpse? Lekov refers to the vignette in the papyrus of Tjenena which illustrates both the *b3* hovering above a black silhouette which is laying on a bed resembling the *šw.t*, although as mentioned previously, some scholars designate this figure as the resting corpse. Another suggestion

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<sup>182</sup> BD 92, line 7. DZA 29.986.710; Lekov, *Shadow Representations*, 48; Galan, Jose M. “Hymns to Amun-Ra and Amun in the Tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11)” in *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Brian*, by Kathlyn M. Cooney and Richard Jasnow, (Lockwood, 2015), 191.

<sup>183</sup> Inner Coffin of Sen. London, British Museum, EA 30842. Faulkner, *CT II*, 134.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. CT 495, VI 77d. Inner Coffin of Sen (B3 L); CT 493, VI 73f. Outer Coffin of Djehuty-Nakht (B3 Bo). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, MFA 2120.1822; CT 493, VI 73f. Coffin of Sen (B3 La). London, British Museum, EA 30842.

<sup>185</sup> Lekov, *Shadow Representations*, 49.

<sup>186</sup> Lekov, *Shadow Representations*, 49.

presented by Lekov is that the black silhouette is the *k3* due to the colour black symbolising death and rebirth in addition to a *k3* statue of a king made from black stone or black paint.<sup>187</sup>

In evaluating Lekov's proposition, it is obvious that the actual nature and function of the *k3* within the tomb itself has not been addressed. Although Lekov states that the *k3* has a "complex of qualities that constitutes each personal ka, that the ka resides in every god and that the ka is together with the ba or other elements of manifestations of the person, makes the movement of the ba possible." Lekov refers to *CT* VI 83, g-h which reads:

Oh, my ba (*b3*), my akh (*3h*), my spirit (*hk3*), my *shadow*, go reach the path towards them, your *k3's* (qualities), which are in every god, are together with you – so say the seven gods who are equipped every day."<sup>188</sup>

Lekov suggests that the black silhouette is "the vehicle for the *k3*", yet ancient Egyptian funerary beliefs state that after the individual died their *k3* does not leave the tomb, that the *k3* is said to "settle down during the embalming process"<sup>189</sup> and then afterwards the deceased is placed inside the tomb, along with their *k3*. The *k3* also receives offerings inside the tomb as an inscription from the cemetery of Akhmin confirms: "Bring released pieces of meat, the first / best of the sacrificial stand and all the beautiful things every day for the Ka."<sup>190</sup> "The ba separates itself from the body and ascends to the sky, while the ka returns to the social sphere from which it came, to the ancestors who have already died."<sup>191</sup> The vignette accompanying Chapter 92 depicts the black figure outside of the tomb in preparation with the *b3* for their

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<sup>187</sup> Lekov, *Shadow Representations*, 50. A famous example of this is from King Hor at Dashur with arms, representing the sign for *k3* above the head of the figure. JE 20948, CG 259. Cf. Zabkar, (1968, 67, note 104; Schweitzer, (1956, 86-90) and there are two black statues of the king in the tomb of Tutankhamun in KV7, Cf. Bell, (1985, 256); Reeves, (1990, 128-129).

<sup>188</sup> Coffin of Sen, (B3L) *CT*. VI 83, g-h, (London, British Museum, EA 30842); cf. Faulkner, *CT II*, 138.

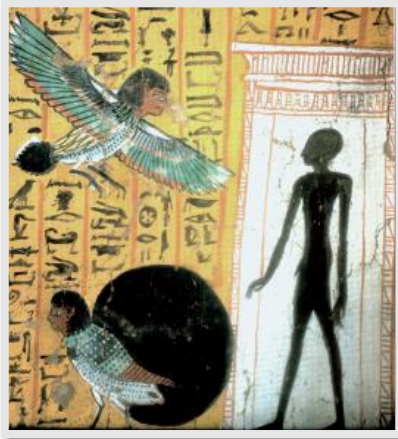
<sup>189</sup> Grave Complex of Mersyankh III (G 7530-7540), Dynasty 4. Grave Entrance, Giza, East field. See, Simpson, William Kelly: *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III. G 7530-7540, Giza Mastabas*, Vol. 1, (Boston 1974), 4, 8f. ; pl. II a; fig.2.

<sup>190</sup> Akhmin, Tomb M43 of the Hem-Min, main room, southern part with pillars, west wall, fish spear and food table scene with offerings, scene B (right from A): dining table scene and offerings, offerings and dancers, 3. Register, scene inscription. See N. Kanawati, *The rock tombs of El-Hawawish. The cemetery of Akhmin 5*, (Sydney, 1985), 18-21, 24-25, Pl. 1-4, Fig. 1.

<sup>191</sup> Assmann, "Death as Dissociation" in Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 101.



“other-worldly” journey. Similarly, Chapter 92 indicates that such beings would move out of the tomb and into a passage towards the blissful realm of the Akhet. Why would Chapter 92 mention the *b3* and *šw.t* next to this motif if it did not correlate to these two constituents? It seems unusual that this artistic decision would be erroneous considering that all papyri which illustrate Form 1 appear next to Chapter 92.



**Figure 2:** Tomb of Irinefer (TT290) Black silhouette inside the tomb with *b3* hovering overhead and on the ground with black sun.

If the black figure was indeed the *k3* as argued by Lekov, the purpose of Chapter 92 completely contradicts the role of the *k3* within the revival of the deceased. According to Assmann, the *k3* and *b3* were often mentioned together but rarely in a way that their different roles are highlighted, therefore the nature of each is blurred.<sup>192</sup> Additionally, there are two major differences between the *k3* and the *b3* according to Assmann; “freedom of movement which played no role with regard to the ka and (secondly) the ka had nothing to do with the corpse as it was not part of the physical sphere of the individual...but the social sphere...unlike the ba, shadow

and corpse who belonged to the physical sphere”<sup>193</sup> “The ba led the deceased out of the realm of death to Osiris and Elysium, the ka however, was the vehicle of the vindication that restored the individual’s status as a social person, which had been destroyed by death.”<sup>194</sup> Additionally, Lekov’s evaluation of the “shadow representations” is not a comprehensive account as he excludes the other forms of the *šw.t*. He omits a discussion on the etymology of the lexeme and its connection to similar terms which promote affiliations to light, darkness, and protection. The orthography of the *šw.t* within the Old – New Kingdom clarifies and elucidates the origins of the iconography within the New Kingdom and without an evaluation of this material, a true analysis of the “shadow representations” can be not realised.

<sup>192</sup> J. Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, 96.

<sup>193</sup> Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 96.

<sup>194</sup> Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 96.

### 4.2.3 - Royal Depictions

#### b) Form 2: Human Outline

Form 2 is exclusively linked to royal iconography and only appears within the New Kingdom. At present, only two cases have been recorded. These examples are found within the 5<sup>th</sup> Hour of the Amduat in the Dynasty 18 tomb of Thutmose III<sup>195</sup> and the Dynasty 19 tomb of Seti I.<sup>196</sup> As previously mentioned within Chapter 3.2, it is unclear if this image depicts the figure of a shadow. These figures are identical and highlight an individual with his head turned behind him who is provided with a shade over his head and is named Abuy.



**Figure 3:** Depicted in the tombs of Thutmose III and Seti I, 5<sup>th</sup> Hour Amduat, eight gods who are called “slaughters”

Warburton<sup>197</sup> gives precise details of these individuals whilst Budge<sup>198</sup> only gives the names of each of the eight gods: (Figure 3: detailed from left to right): 1. The god Hetep-neteru who is human headed, 2. the god Sent-nef-Amentiu who has the head of a shrew, 3. The god Set who is bull-headed, 4. The god Amu who is cow-headed, 5. The god Abuy with the sign for shadow around his head, 6. The god Anit with an ostrich feather on his head, 7. The god Iu-her-iptesu who hold two spirals or lassos in his hands and 8. The god Baferkheftiu - ram-headed. Hornung, however, does not mention who these figures are, nor detail their role within this fifth hour. Hornung puts forth that this hour is somewhat unusual and states that this region contains the

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<sup>195</sup> Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 46, Fig.18; Warburton, *Amduat*, 139.

<sup>196</sup> Lef. *Sethos*, Pl. XXVIII; Budge, *Heaven and Hell*, 110.

<sup>197</sup> Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 46, Fig.18; Warburton, *Amduat*, 139.

<sup>198</sup> Budge, *Heaven and Hell*, 109.

primeval waters and drowned enemies.<sup>199</sup> Both Warburton and Budge provide the translations of the texts and Warburton furthermore provides the hieroglyphic text along with transliteration.

The captions beside each god reads:

*h̄tp.w n̄tr.w snd̄.w n=f̄ imn.tyw mst ʕmw in̄i.w m3ʕ.t*

He who satisfies the gods, Whom the Westerners fear, Staff, Swallower, Bringer of Maat,

*b3 pf̄ iri-mtw ʕby ʕn-hr-sphwt*

That ba who belongs to the damned, The horned one, Backward facing who catches the lasso,

*h̄myt-h̄ryt-dnt-mtw*

The demolishing one, who cuts the damned to pieces

The text above these eight gods reads:

*nt=sn ʕh̄.w hr̄ knr̄ mt.yw m dw3t*

They are those who stand punishing the damned in the Netherworld.

*irr.t=sn py s3mt̄ h̄3.wt mtw*

What they have to do is to burn the corpses of the damned

*m h̄h ny r3=sn m h̄rit hrw*

With the scorching breath of their mouths every day.

The role of these gods is further realised in the following passage “... keep ward at the destruction of the dead...who take vengeance on the enemies, who annihilate the dead, who hack in pieces *shades* [of men and women].”<sup>200</sup> The following passage from the tomb of Thutmose III designates that the eight gods are representatives of the “images” in which they embody, or are pictured and conveyed similar to their function and the role assigned to them:

May your knives be sharp, your slaughtering blocks violating, and your ropes be tight.  
May your arms hold fast on the images among which you are, that I may pass by you in peace.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 37.

<sup>200</sup> Budge, *Heaven and Hell*, 110

<sup>201</sup> Tomb of Thutmose III, Amduat 5<sup>th</sup> Hour, Warburton, *Amduat*, 153.

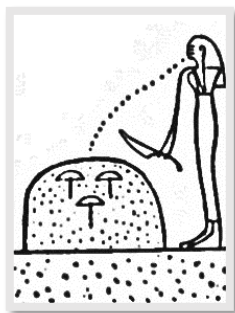
The phrase “may your arms hold fast on the images which you are” suggests that these individuals are illustrated in the form of their particular role within the hereafter. The semi-circle above the head of god number 5 – Abyu could be a representative of a shadow / shade or a punisher of shadows - the responsibility of Abyu was to carry out the annihilation or the hacking of the *shades* of [men and women] and thus he was illustrated in the image of his victims.

#### 4.2.4 - Form 3: The ideographic Form

##### Depictions of Punishment

##### 1) The Amduat

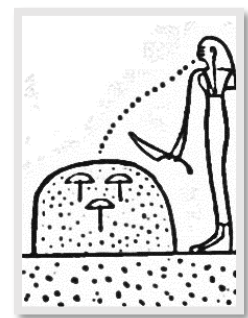
Form 3 is represented within the Amduat in scenes of punishment and is only recorded in three royal tombs: the tomb of Thutmose III (Figure 4)<sup>202</sup> the tomb of Seti I (Figure 5)<sup>203</sup> and the tomb of Rameses VI in Figure 6.<sup>204</sup> These images are placed within the context of torture showing three *šw.wt* of the enemies of Osiris in ovens whilst a standing goddess holds a knife and spits fire out of her mouth onto her victims. This pit of fire is called “Hatnemmatset” which is recorded within the tomb of Seti I.<sup>205</sup>



**Figure 4:** Tomb of Thutmose III, Amduat, 11<sup>th</sup> Hour. Dyn 18.



**Figure 5:** Tomb of Seti I, Amduat, 11<sup>th</sup> Hour. Dyn 19.



**Figure 6:** Tomb of Rameses VI, Amduat, 11<sup>th</sup> Hour. Dyn 20.

<sup>202</sup> Tomb of Thutmose III, The Amduat. 11<sup>th</sup> Hour. Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 52, Fig. 24; Warburton, *Amduat*, 324

<sup>203</sup> Tomb of Seti I, The Amduat., Lef, *Sethos*, Pl. XXIV; Budge, *Heaven and Hell*, 251.

<sup>204</sup> Tomb of Rameses VI, The Amduat. George, *Schatten als Seele*, 222, Fig.1; Piankoff, *Rameses VI*, 305.

<sup>205</sup> Budge, *Heaven and Hell*, 252-4.

The corresponding orthography and writings which accompany these images are:



The tomb of Seti I recites the following passages regarding the punishers (Fig 4 - 6) in the 11<sup>th</sup> Hour:

Those who are in this picture, who are depicted with the enemies of Osiris of the Duat, and with Her-utu-f, who is the guardian of this Circle, live by means of the voice of the enemies, and by the cries of entreaty of the bas and *shadows* which have been placed in their pits of fire.<sup>207</sup>

Additional text reads:

They live on the voice of the enemies and on the cries of the bas and *shadows* they cast into their fiery dungeons.<sup>208</sup>

A parallel spell appears within the tomb of Thutmose III:

Punishment of your corpses by (the knife) <punisher>, annihilation for your bas, trampling down for your *shadows*;<sup>209</sup> They live on the voice of the enemies, on the screaming of the bas and the *shadows* whom they register into their pits.<sup>210</sup>

## 2) The Book of Caverns and The Book of the Earth

The second punishment motif illustrates *šw.wt* drowning in cauldrons recorded in two books - the 5<sup>th</sup> Hour in the Book of Caverns and in the Book of the Earth. Corresponding to the three examples previously mentioned which depict destruction in pits of fire, these examples from the same three kings show punishment by boiling or cooking recorded in the tomb of Thutmose

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<sup>206</sup> Tomb of Thutmose III, Amduat 11th hour, lower register. Warburton, *Amduat*, 344. Cf. Tomb of Seti I, Amduat 11th hour lower register (4th). *Sethos II*, 23/24; DZA 29.987.030.

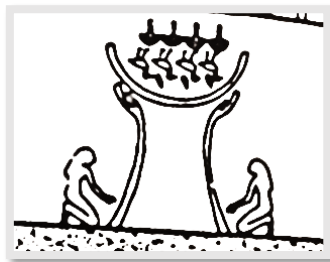
<sup>207</sup> Tomb of Seti I, Amduat, 11<sup>th</sup> Hour, lower register. Budge, *Heaven and Hell*, 255.

<sup>208</sup> Tomb of Seti I, Amduat, 11<sup>th</sup> Hour, lower register, *Sethos II*, 25/26; DZA 29.987.020.

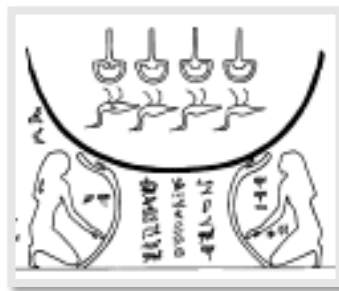
<sup>209</sup> Tomb of Thutmose III, Amduat 11th hour, lower register, Warburton, *Amduat*, 349

<sup>210</sup> Tomb of Thutmose III, Amduat 11th hour, lower register, Warburton, *Amduat*.

III (Figure 7),<sup>211</sup> Cenotaph of Seti I (Figure 8)<sup>212</sup> and the Tomb of Rameses VI in Figure 9.<sup>213</sup> Figures 6 - 9 shows an annihilation scene showing three fan hieroglyphs (S36) personified as *šw.wt* and three hearts of the enemies of Osiris burning in cauldrons. Figures 7 and 8 are examples from the Book of Caverns and Figure 9<sup>214</sup> is an equivalent yet more elaborate replica of the earlier examples. Figures 7 and 8 depict four inverted *šw.wt* above four *b3.w* boiling in cauldrons, whilst Figure 9 is an extended version illustrating Osiris who is flanked by two gods each holding cauldrons above their heads with three boiling or melting *šw.wt* and three hearts in each pot.



**Figure 7:** Tomb of Thutmose III, Book of Caverns, 5<sup>th</sup> Hour. Dyn. 18.



**Figure 8:** Cenotaph of Seti I. Book of Caverns, 5<sup>th</sup> hour. Dyn. 19.



**Figure 9:** Tomb of Rameses VI, Book of the Earth, 5<sup>th</sup> Hour, Dyn. 20.

The following text is from the Book of Caverns in the Cenotaph of Seti I:

I go to your cave to destroy their bas, to exterminate their *shadows*, to destroy their corpses, to ... their power ... their enemies...<sup>215</sup>

Additional texts on both sides of Figure 7 reads:

<sup>211</sup> Tomb of Thutmose III, The Book of Caverns, Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 94, Fig.51; George, *Schatten als Seele* 222, Fig.8

<sup>212</sup> Cenotaph of Seti I, The Book of Caverns. H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos Vol. 2, Plates*, (London, 1934), Pl. XXXIX.

<sup>214</sup> Tomb of Rameses VI, The Book of the Earth, George, *Schatten als Seele*, 222, Fig.3; Piankoff, Rameses VI, 357; Roberson, *The Book of the Earth*, 928, Pl.1.

<sup>215</sup> Cenotaph of Seti I, The Book of Caverns, Fifth Section. Lef. *Sethos*, Pl.24. Var II 24; DZA 27.621.040.

Re says to this cavern: O ye two goddesses great of flame, who burn (?) powerful of flame, who...their kettles...with the gods of...bas, corpses, bodies, *shadows* of my enemies...<sup>216</sup>

A similar motif appears within the enigmatic composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G (see Table 3.8) in the Tomb of Rameses VI in Dynasty 20 which depicts a cauldron balancing on the head of a goddess with three *šw.wt* (S36) burning inside a pot.<sup>217</sup> This surrounding composition is unusual and cannot be attributed to any other known hereafter Books of the Netherworld, however this particular motif is a reproduction of the earlier representations.

## Depictions of Adoration

### 1) The Book of Caverns and the Book of the Earth

The scenes and annotated text within the Book of Caverns and the Book of the Earth share a common theme: “they describe the sun god's entrance into the tableau, bringing light, as well as speech and other faculties, to the formerly inert corpses, which rise up to greet him...”<sup>218</sup> There are five adoration scenes which are recorded within the Book of Caverns and the Book of the Earth from Dynasty 19- 20. The Dynasty 19 tomb of Merenptah (Figure 10)<sup>219</sup> illustrates the *šw.t* from the Book of Caverns, and Figures 11 and 12 are recorded in the Book of the Earth in the tomb of Rameses VI.<sup>220</sup> Figure 10 depicts nine individuals who have their arms raised to the sun god Re, whilst nine fan hieroglyphs (S35) personified as *šw.wt* and nine *b3.w* bow towards the sun.<sup>221</sup> An imitation of this motif - yet smaller in comparison, appears in the Book of the Earth within the Dynasty 20 Tomb of Rameses VI (Figure 11).<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Cenotaph of Seti I, The Book of Caverns, Right side of image. H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos. Vol. 1, Text*, (London, 1933), 54; Frankfort, *Cenotaph of Seti I (plates)*, Pl. XXXIX. See also text on the left side of image in Frankfort, *Cenotaph of Seti I (Text)*, 54 and Frankfort, *Cenotaph of Seti I (plates)*, Pl. XXXIX.

<sup>217</sup> Piankoff, *Rameses VI*, 748, Pl.179, Fig. B; Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 107, Fig 58.

<sup>218</sup> Roberson, *The Book of the Earth*, 132.

<sup>219</sup> Tomb of Merenptah, The Book of Caverns. Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 91, Fig.46.

<sup>220</sup> Tomb of Rameses VI, The Book of the Earth, George, *Schatten als Seele*, 222, Fig.7; Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 105, Fig.56; Piankoff, *Rameses VI*, 357.

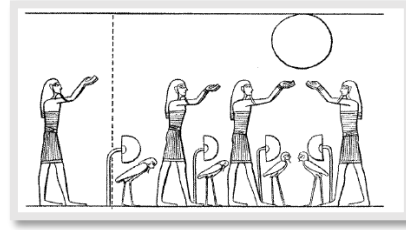
<sup>221</sup> Tomb of Merenptah, Book of Caverns. Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 91, Fig.46.

<sup>222</sup> George, *Schatten als Seele*, 222, Fig.7; Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 105, Fig.56; Roberson, *The Book of the Earth*, 142, 934, Pl. 4. Equivalent scene however without sunshades in the funerary papyrus of Djedkhonsiusankh (Dynasty 21) and Khonsumes (Ptolemaic Period).

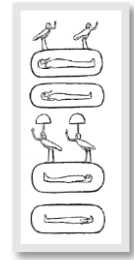




**Figure 10:** Tomb of Merenptah. Dyn. 19. The Book of Caverns showing shadows and bas bowing before the sun.



**Figure 11:** Tomb of Rameses VI. Dyn. 20. The Book of the Earth showing shadows and Bas bowing before the sun.



**Figure 12:** Tomb of Rameses VI. Dyn. 20. Book of the Earth showing two shadows (S36) on the heads of two bas surrounded by mummies in coffins

The Book of the Earth has comparable content to the Book of Caverns, in that various scenes highlight dedication and worship towards Re, thus it is not surprising to see similar iconography. Hornung states that the scene in Figure 10 depicts two mounds from which Re emerges with a god bent protectively over them.<sup>223</sup> Seven gods rejoice either side and the sun barque which is towed out of the netherworld whilst nine bent over *b3.w* and nine *šw.wt*, a scarab beetle and the ram-headed morning form of the sun are depicted.<sup>224</sup> This scene marks the end of Re's rejuvenation journey as daylight approached and his rays provide light for those living on earth.<sup>225</sup>

The Book of the Earth serves as a counterpart to the observations in the Book of Caverns<sup>226</sup> and the structure of both shifts from the strict 12- hour phases of the nightly journey. The sun-disc is a significant feature, although its journey does not enter the underworld.<sup>227</sup> Figure 11 from the Book of the Earth is a replicated scene from the Book of Caverns seen in Figure 10. The scene from Figure 11 shows four gods with their arms raised towards the sun beside four bent over *b3.w* and four *šw.wt*. The text that accompanies this scene confirms that the "location of these figures is within the "mysterious canals" (*mr.w št3.w*), one of the many subterranean

<sup>223</sup> Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 90, Fig 46.

<sup>224</sup> Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 95.

<sup>225</sup> Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 95.

<sup>226</sup> Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 95.

<sup>227</sup> Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 95.



waterways through which the solar barque must pass.”<sup>228</sup> The motif in Figure 12<sup>229</sup> is shown next to the illustration in Figure 11 which portrays four mummies surmounted by four human-headed *b3.w* and two *šw.wt* placed above their heads.

The two following examples can be noted in Part A in the Book of the Earth in the tomb of Rameses VI. Figure 13<sup>230</sup> is placed on the top register and Figure 14<sup>231</sup> is illustrated on the 4<sup>th</sup> register. These are two rare examples in which the *b3* and *šw.t* are not represented and combined in worship. The annotated text “great of shadow” refers to the usual epithet of the solar disc which is only mentioned in the scene<sup>232</sup> in Figure 13. Roberson suggests that “the cavern itself is referred to as the “Place of Shadow” which might refer to the long shadow cast down by the disc, as it passes through the otherwise dark cavern or “great of shadow” might also signify

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<sup>228</sup> Roberson, *The Book of the Earth*, 145.

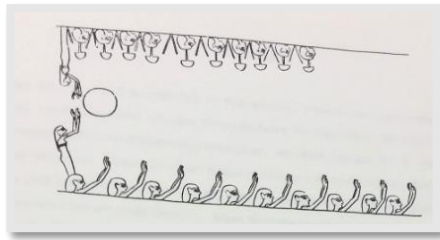
<sup>229</sup> Roberson, *The Book of the Earth*, 198, 934, Pl.4.

<sup>230</sup> Tomb of Rameses VI, Book of the Earth. George, *Schatten als Seele*, 222, Fig.9; Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 104, Fig.55; Roberson, *The Book of the Earth*, 932, Pl.3.

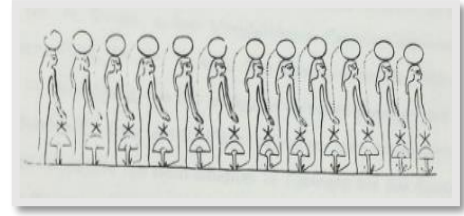
<sup>231</sup> Tomb of Rameses VI, Book of the Earth. George, *Schatten als Seele*, 222, Fig.10; Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 104, Fig.55; Roberson, *The Book of the Earth*, 932, Pl.3.

<sup>232</sup> Roberson, *Book of the Earth*, 248.




plentiful, in reference to the multiple “shadow” figures, which hang from the ceiling of the cavern.”<sup>233</sup>



**Figure 13:** Tomb of Rameses VI. Dyn 20. The Book of the Earth showing gods arms raised in adoration with shadow placed on the heads



**Figure 14:** Tomb of Rameses VI. Dyn 20. The Book of the Earth showing twelve-star goddesses with sun-discs and their arms pointed towards twelve stars on top of twelve shadows.

The ideographic form within the iconography indicates almost equal favouritism for the archaic form of the fan  and the later variant . There are five examples that are attested in the former - one in the tomb of Thutmose III and four in the tomb of Rameses VI, verses six in the latter - one in Thutmose III, one in the tomb of Seti I, one in the Cenotaph of Seti I, one in the tomb of Merenptah and two in the tomb of Rameses VI. There is also the bent version , which only appears in the orthography on one occasion in the Dynasty 20 tomb inscription of Rameses IX which reflects the characteristic morphology of the shades represented in the vignettes of Figures 10 and 11.





The principal motif within the vignettes of non-royals in Dynasty 18 and 19 and the funerary scenes on the tombs walls in Dynasty 19 depict the *šw.t* inside the tomb or emerging from the tomb as a black silhouette. This motif portrays a hovering *b3* and a black sun pictured in the sky or on the ground. Form 2 is exclusively linked to royal iconography and only appears within the New Kingdom. At present, only two cases have been recorded and the texts indicates that this figure depicts a figure with a symbol for “shade” over his head to mark his role or nature as a “annihilator of shadows” within the scene. The text alongside the gods infers that they are

<sup>233</sup> Roberson, *Book of the Earth*, 248.

representatives of the “images” in which they embody or are pictured and conveyed similar to their function and the role assigned to them. Form 3 is illustrated on twelve occasions from Dynasty 18 – 20 within scenes of punishment, shown in two variant motifs and there is one alternative motif in the context of adoration. The Amduat, records the destruction of *šw.wt* of the enemies of Osiris vessels found in three tombs from Dynasty 18-20. The second punishment motif appears similarly from Dynasty 18-20 yet in the Book of Caverns and the Book of the Earth in which the *šw.wt* are depicted heating in cauldrons.

## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to present innovative ideas surrounding the *šw.t* of the deceased, through an investigation of the funerary texts and art. The first aim of this study was to provide a linguistics analysis of the orthography of *šw.t* by diachronically and synchronically analysing the *šw.t* lexeme in funerary texts of the Old Kingdom until the New Kingdom. Such collected material was then utilized according to its rate of recurrence to determine the significance of *šw.t* in various spells from each period. The second aim was to deliver an iconographic analysis of the various forms of the *šw.t* within the New Kingdom scenes of the afterlife and conduct a similar quantitative experiment in terms of the regularity of certain motifs. An emphasis was placed on the associations of the *šw.t*, *b3*, *3h* and the corpse in texts and art in addition to revealing the link between the orthography of a word and its adaptation into an artistic feature. It is clear these other non-material aspects had close associations with the *šw.t* as observed in the texts and art. These pictorial representations were examined in addition to the texts which indeed extend upon and give supplementary details of the *šw.t* and its nature within the hereafter. This comprehensive study fundamentally explored how orthography and the representation of funerary concepts changed or developed over time which is an approach not realized in previous scholarship.

The orthography of the lexeme continuously changed and developed within the funerary literature, in both the non-royal and royal echelon. Evidence of such diachronic advancements are indicative by the change of the sign  S36 first introduced in the Old Kingdom and continued into the Middle and New Kingdom, whilst the late New Kingdom variant  S35 or modified  can also be observed in the royal New Kingdom orthography. In the Middle Kingdom, the  is usually followed by Z1, and X1 in various arrangement and by the New Kingdom, older forms are used in combination with newer ones. The G43 sign is frequent in most Old Kingdom attestations yet loses its popularity in the Middle Kingdom as it is only attested on one account. The appearance of G43 is evident in the New Kingdom, although only in royal inscriptions in various groupings as no non-royal cases exist. The use of M17 is possibly a scribal error in place of H6 as in the Middle Kingdom, M17 completely disappears

from the orthography. H6 is also observed on numerous attestations in the Middle Kingdom, although by the New Kingdom it is non-existent. The New Kingdom introduces the new sign S35 written in numerous variations, and this sign only appears in royal funerary writings as no examples are recorded in non-royal texts. The New Kingdom brings a plethora of assemblages using S36 or S35, X1 and Z1 / Z2, in addition to the introduction of new determinatives A14 and N33 observed on rare occasions.

The meaning of *šw.t* in the funerary inscriptions was then investigated according to the regularity of the word in certain spells. Although there are only nine Pyramid Texts which mention *šw.t*, PT 273-274, the “Cannibal Hymn,” speaks of the violent arrival of the king in the sky as he consumed all power and knowledge from the gods.<sup>234</sup> This spell provides information to the meaning of the *šw.t* in context which suggests the *b3* and *šw.t* of the gods were not only desired elements which could possibly be manipulated by the king, but they could also enable the king to adopt the celestial powers of the gods which would assist in his transformation into the *3h*. PT 301 mentions the four creator gods of the Hermopolis myth: Nun and Naunet (primeval waters), and Amun (air or “the hidden one”) and Amaunet and all four gods played a vital role in the creation of the *šw.t* of the gods and “joined the gods and their *shadows*.”<sup>235</sup>

The principal sources for the Coffin Texts are found within provincial cemeteries of the Middle Kingdom which lists forty-five individual spells in which the *šw.t* is mentioned. The introduction of these texts eradicated the royal superiority of the Pyramid Texts and conceptualised these spells with descriptions of images and figures on coffins which were intended to “strengthen the spells’ magical effects.”<sup>236</sup> The two most common chapters which explore the concept of the *šw.t* are CT 498 found on coffins at El Bersha, Thebes and Saqqara and 499 on coffins found at El Bersha and Meir. The former describes the initial phase of revival where the deceased rises from death with the *šw.t* and recites passages to enter the world of the dead and the latter details the spell for the rejuvenation of the limbs and in-corporeal aspects –

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<sup>234</sup> Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 6.

<sup>235</sup> Antechamber, east- north walls in Pyramid of Unas, PT 301, §446d, line 558. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 52.

<sup>236</sup> Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 9.

*b3*, *3h* and *šw.t*, and of the individual to be provided a safe and easy journey with Re through the underworld towards regeneration.

The *šw.t* is mentioned in twenty-one New Kingdom inscriptions recorded on Papyri, Tombs, Temples and Artefacts found at Thebes, Saqqara, Deir el Bahari and Heliopolis. The most common non-royal text in which *šw.t* is mostly referred to is *BD 92*. Similar to the Coffin Texts, *BD 92* specifies that the main goal of the *šw.t* was to rise up out of the physical constraints of the tomb or the mummy bandages surrounding the corpse, access the ability to move limbs and be saved from the evils that reside in the underworld.<sup>237</sup> For the royal texts, the Amduat gains the most mentions of the *šw.t* dating from Dynasty 18 to 20. The Amduat is the first text which indicates the exact location in the hereafter in which the *sw.t* and other in-corporeal constituents are said to reside. The *šw.t* is said to be in the “Hidden Chamber,”<sup>238</sup> thus it is no surprise that *šw.t* occurs on several occasions within this text. The Book of Gates is the second most common book which describes the *šw.t*, *b3* and *3h* who are all in the company of Re as he traverses into the underworld towards regeneration. The funerary texts stipulate that the movement of the deceased is synonymous with the movements of the *b3*, *šw.t* and their transformation into the *3h* and the spells deduce that the deceased could not move freely within the afterlife without transforming into this “effective being.”

The second objective of this study targeted the twenty recorded iconographic illustrations of the various forms of the *šw.t* within the hereafter scenes of the New Kingdom. The principal motif within the vignettes of non-royals in Dynasty 18 and 19 and the funerary scenes on the tombs walls in Dynasty 19 depict the *šw.t* inside the tomb or emerging from the tomb as a black silhouette. This motif portrays a hovering *b3* and a black sun pictured in the sky or on the ground. Out of the fifty-three decorated tombs in Deir el Medina, only two depict the *šw.t*, therefore these examples are quite unique. There are obvious similarities when comparing these tombs such as their context and tomb location as this motif seems to be an embellishment during




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<sup>237</sup> Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 213.

<sup>238</sup> Amduat Title in the tomb of Seti I, line 8. *Sethos IV*, 24; *DZA* 29.986.940; B. A. Richter, “The Amduat and Its Relationship to the Architecture of Early 18th Dynasty Royal Burial Chambers,” *JARCE*, (2008), 74; See also The Tomb of Thutmose III, Amduat Title, Richter, “The Amduat,” 74.

this Dynasty 19 context and does not reappear within funerary iconography until late Dynasty 20/21 on papyrus vignettes.

Form 2 is exclusively linked to royal iconography and only appears within the New Kingdom. At present, only two cases have been recorded and the texts indicates that this figure does indeed depict a figure with a symbol for “shade” over his head to mark his role or nature as a “annihilator of shadows” within the scene. The text alongside the gods infers that they are representatives of the “images” in which they embody or are pictured and conveyed similar to their function and the role assigned to them.

Form 3 is illustrated on twelve occasions from Dynasty 18 – 20 within scenes of punishment, shown in two variant motifs and there is one alternative motif in the context of adoration. The Amduat, records the destruction of *šw.wt* of the enemies of Osiris vessels found in three tombs from Dynasty 18-20. The second punishment motif appears similarly from Dynasty 18-20 yet in the Book of Caverns and the Book of the Earth in which the *šw.wt* are depicted heating in cauldrons. In these same two texts, the *šw.t* is pictured on five other occasions; however, these examples portray the *šw.t* in the context of worship towards Re dating from Dynasty 19- 20. The Book of the Earth has comparable content to the Book of Caverns, in that various scenes are apparent in dedication and worship towards Re, thus it is not surprising to see similar iconography. In analysing the fan variants used in the iconography, the evidence indicates that almost equal favouritism holds true for both the earlier form of the fan  and the later variant . There are five examples that are attested in the former verses six in the latter and there is also the bent version , which only appears in the funerary texts on one occasion in Dynasty 20.<sup>239</sup> This bent sign presumably reflects the characteristic morphology of the shades represented in the royal iconography of Dynasty 19 and 20.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Roberson, *The Book of the Earth*, 366.

<sup>240</sup> Roberson, *The Book of the Earth*, 366.

The nature of the *šw.t* as an aspect of the personality of the individual changed relatively little from its first attestation in the Old Kingdom funerary texts. For the deceased, the continued existence of their shade in the afterlife was central; conversely, the annihilation of the shades of the enemies was desired. The transmission and composition of the funerary texts, however, and the reference to *šw.t* in them constantly changed. The first mention of the *šw.t* appeared in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts which were recorded in the kings' antechambers at Saqqara. In these Pyramid Texts the *šw.t* of the gods was the prime focus and the term *šw.t* is not applied to any incorporeal aspect of the deceased person/king. In the Middle Kingdom, the coffin texts, recorded on the inside and outside of the coffins in both hieroglyphic and hieratic script, mention the *šw.t* of the elite person.. These Coffin Texts indicate that the *šw.t* and *b3* maintained a close relationship in their journey to the blissful hereafter, and that there was also a strong connection to the *3h* and corpse. The New Kingdom afterlife texts continued to couple the *šw.t* and *b3* but also linked the *b3*, *šw.t*, *3h* and corpse. In the New Kingdom period the *šw.t* appears iconographically in various forms. In Dynasty 18 and 19, the *šw.t* is represented in papyrus vignettes and on tomb walls as a black silhouette and for the royal funerary compositions from Dynasty 18 to 20, the *šw.t* is depicted in the annihilation scenes as the personified S35 or S36 representing the enemy of Osiris or in scenes of adoration, representing the blessed dead, worshipping Re.

A significant iconographic detail is the black motif found in the Dynasty 19 tomb of Seti I which is the only black silhouette identified in royal iconography. This motif also appears on the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty papyrus of Neferrenpet and in the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty father and son tombs of Nebemmaat and Irinefer which might be an indication of the reuse of a contemporary or earlier motif of the *šw.t*. Other iconography that appears in the Dynasty 18 tomb of Thutmose III is also found in the later Dynasty 19 tomb of Seti I, which indicates that the reuse of tomb decoration was a common tradition. Another interesting observation is the possible relationship between the black hovering "body" that appears on the papyrus of Tjenena from Dynasty 18, which resembles the mummified bodies covered in resin which turns black, and the *šw.t*. Could the evidence be interpreted to suggest that the corpse and *šw.t* may be equivalent aspects of the deceased person and the *šw.t* is the incorporeal version of the corpse?



The nature and significance of the *šw.t* in funerary texts and iconography have been investigated. The orthography and iconography of *šw.t* go through numerous diachronic and synchronic changes and developments in both royal and non-royal contexts. The *šw.t* develops from a concept mentioned in text alone into a visual, more comprehensible idea that is also represented in picture form, which indicates that the meaning and role of the *šw.t* was given greater significance over time. Each visual manifestation represented the *šw.t* of either an elite individual as they departed from the tomb or a follower / enemy of Osiris in the hereafter scenes. The nine Pyramid Text attestations of the lexeme refer to the *sw.t* of the king and his journey towards the hereafter, whereas the ninety-seven Coffin Text attestations indicated a shift in focus towards elite individuals as the *šw.t* was understood to be a vital aspect that had a role in the revival of all people. In the New Kingdom the *šw.t* is mentioned one hundred and thirty-six times in the funerary literature in both the royal and elite environments in addition to the various visual representations of the *šw.t* in iconography.

There is a total of two hundred and forty-two attestations of the lexeme *šw.t* recorded from the Old Kingdom until the New Kingdom periods. This number is modest when compared with the extensive attestations in the *TLA* for the *b3* and *k3*: eight hundred and thirty-six for the *b3* (lemma No. 52840) in addition to the one thousand, four hundred and eighty-one *DZA* slips, along with the one thousand, five hundred and twenty-four examples in the *TLA* for the lexeme *k3* (Lemma No. 162870) and the four-thousand, six hundred and fifty-three *DZA* slips. However, the records for the *b3* and *k3* are compiled from various contexts and not limited to the funerary literature. Nevertheless, in evaluating the attestations in the *TLA* and *DZA* for the *b3*, *k3* and *šw.t*, it is clear the *šw.t* is less commonly mentioned in texts in comparison to the two other incorporeal entities. However, the *šw.t* was still a vital component of the person which is originally attested in the textual record in the Old and Middle Kingdoms and then in the New Kingdom appears additionally as a visual concept which is depicted in various forms. This shift signals an elevation of the significance of the *šw.t* in the belief system which ultimately strengthened and reinforced its power and role in life after death. Additionally, it indicates a growing importance placed on iconography; the word alone is not enough. This study provided insight into the ideological thought process of the ancient Egyptians, their view of themselves in the afterlife and how this transmission of ideas developed through the language into personified figures in the iconography.

## NOTES ON APPENDICES

Attestations for *šw.t* are listed in the Appendix (nos.1-6) and have been collected from the following sources:

- a) The lexeme is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom and recorded from few secondary publications:  
Allen., J. P. *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, (Atlanta, 2015).  
Maspero, Gaston. *Les inscriptions des pyramides de Saqqarah*, (Paris, 1894).  
Mercer, Samuel. A. B. *The Pyramid Texts in translation and commentary*, (New York, London, Toronto, 1952).  
Sethé, K. *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, Bd. I*, (Leipzig 1908).  
Lichtheim, M. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 3 vols. (Los Angeles, 1973-80).
- b) The lexeme is mentioned in the Coffin Texts of the Middle Kingdom and recorded from a couple of secondary publications:  
de Buck, A. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 7 vols. (Chicago, 1935-61).  
Faulkner, R. O. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Vols. I-III, (Warminster, 1973-78).
- c) The lexeme is mentioned in the Book of the Dead (Chapters of Coming Forth by Day) and books of the hereafter such as the Amduat, Book of Gates, Book of Caverns, Book of the Earth, Litany of Re, Book of the Celestial Cow and other miscellaneous texts which are recorded from numerous secondary publications:  
Borghouts, J. F. *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, vol. 9, (Leiden, 1978).  
Budge, E. A. Wallis. *The Book of the Dead. The Chapters of Coming forth by Day. The Egyptian text according to the Theban recension in hieroglyphic edited from numerous papyri, with a translation, vocabulary, etc.* (London, 1898).  
\_\_\_\_\_ *The Book of the Dead. The Chapters of Coming forth by Day. An English Translation with Introduction, Notes, Etc.*, (London, 1898).  
\_\_\_\_\_ *The Book of the Dead an English translation of the chapters, hymns, etc., of the Theban recension, with introduction, notes, etc.* 3 vols. (London, 1909).  
\_\_\_\_\_ *The Books on Egypt and Chaldaea. The Chapters of Coming forth by Day or the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead. The Egyptian Hieroglyphic Text Edited from numerous Papyri.* (London, 1910).

- \_\_\_\_\_ *The Book of the Dead. Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher and Netchemet with supplementary text from the papyrus of Nu, with Transcripts, Translations Etc.* (London, 1899).
- \_\_\_\_\_ *The Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum; the Egyptian Text with Interlinear Transliteration and Translation, a Running Translation, Introduction,* (London, 1895).
- Calverley, A. M., Broome, M. F. *Sethos II. The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, Volume I: The Chapels of Osiris, Isis and Horus,* (London and Chicago, 1933).
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Sethos II. The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, Volume II: The Chapels of Amen-Re', Re'-Harakhti, Ptah, and King Sethos,* (London and Chicago, 1935).
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Sethos IV. The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, Volume IV: The Second Hypostyle Hall,* (London and Chicago, 1958).
- Frankfort, H. *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos. Vol. 1, Text,* (London, 1933).
- Galan, Jose, M. "Hymns to Amun-Ra and Amun in the Tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11) in Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Brian, by Kathlyn M. Cooney and Richard Jasnow, (Lockwood, 2015).
- George, B. *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele,* (Bonn, 1970).
- Hornung, E. *The Tomb of Pharaoh Seti I. Das Grab Sethos' I.* (Zürich, München, 1991).
- Lapp, G. *The Papyrus of Nu, (BM EA 10477),* (London, 1997).
- Lefébure, E. *Les Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes,* in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Première division, *Le Tombeau de Seti I,* (Paris, 1886).
- Massy, A. *Le papyrus de Nebseni : exemplaire hiéroglyphique du Livre des Morts,* conservé au "British Museum" / traduit par A. Massy, (Paris, 1885).
- Munro, L. *Das Buch des toten Buches der 18. Dynastie im Museum Kairo, ÄA 54,* (Cairo, 1994)
- Lichtheim, M. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 3 vols. (Berkeley, 1973-80).
- d) Secondary publications were the consulted to identify iconographic illustrations. The twenty-two New Kingdom visual representations of *šw.t* are documented from various secondary sources:
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell: being the book of Am-Tuat, the shorter form of the book of Am-Tuat, the book of the gates and the contents of the books of the other world / described and compared by Ernest A. Wallis Budge*, Vol.1 (London, 1905).




- George, B. *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele*, (Bonn, 1970).
- Frankfort, H. *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos Vol. 2, Plates*, (London, 1934).
- Lapp, G. *Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum, The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477)*, (London, 1997).
- Lefébure, E. *Les Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes*, in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Première division, *Le Tombeau de Seti I*, (Paris, 1886).
- Lekov, Teodor. "The Shadow of the Dead and its representations," *JES III*, (2010). Pp 43-61.
- Maystre, Charles. *Tombes de Deir El Médineh La Tombe de Nebenmât ( N° 219)*, MIAFO 71, 1936.
- Milde, H. *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet*, (Leiden, 1991).
- Piankoff, A, ed. by Rambova, N. *The Tomb of Ramesses VI, Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations*, Vol.1 (New York, 1954).
- Saleh, M. *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen beamtengräbern des neuen reiches*. AV 46, 1984.
- Scalf, F. ed. *Book of the Dead: Becoming god in Ancient Egypt*, OIM 39, (Chicago, 2017).
- Warburton, David, (trans.), Hornung, Erik, (ed.) and Abt, Theodor, (ed.) *The Egyptian Amduat : the book of the hidden chamber*, (Zurich, 2007).


Each attestation in Appendix 1-6 is listed numerically in the order by which they occur in their individual manuscripts and divided into time periods of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. For each entry, the references are included (if possible) and where necessary, an alternative source is given for comparison. All references are listed in abbreviated forms, see bibliography for the full reference list.



## Catalogue of *šw.t* attestations in Old Kingdom Pyramids:


### Old Kingdom Dynasty 5 – 6 (2686 - 2181 BCE)



Catalogue of the nine *šw.t* attestations listed here are found on the tomb walls of the Old Kingdom pyramids. Some of these attestations are recorded within the archive of *TLA* and *DZA*. Translations and Hieroglyphic Supplement are recorded in K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, Bd. I*, (Leipzig 1908) and J. P. Allen., *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, (Atlanta, 2015). Supplementary translations and hieroglyphic texts can be found in Gaston Maspero, *Les inscriptions des pyramides de Saqqarah*, (Paris, 1894), Samuel. A. B. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts in translation and commentary*, (New York, London, Toronto, 1952) and Miriam. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 3 vols. (Los Angeles, 1973-80).

UNAS PYRAMID			
Inventory No. / Source		Provenance / Date	Description
1	PT. 273-274, Pyr. §413c, line 523	Saqqara, Dyn. 5	Kings grave complex. Antechamber, east gable, and wall
Transliteration		Orthography	Translation
<i>šw.wt</i>			Their ba is with Unas, their <i>shadows</i> are in the possession of their owners (the gods).
2	PT. 301, Pyr. §446b, line 558.	Saqqara, Dyn. 5	Antechamber, east – north walls
Transliteration		Orthography	Translation
<i>šw(.t)</i>			You have your bread-loaf nu and Undersky, you pair of the gods, who joined the gods and their <i>shadows</i> .
3	PT. 301, Pyr. §446d line 558.	Saqqara, Dyn. 5	Antechamber, east – north walls
Transliteration		Orthography	Translation
<i>šw(.t)</i>			you have your bread-loaf Amun and Amaunet, you pair of the gods who joined the gods and their <i>shadows</i> .

TETI PYRAMID		
Inventory No. / Source	Provenance / Date	Description
<b>1</b>   PT. 273-274, <i>Pyr.</i> §413c line 330.	Saqqara, Dyn. 6	Antechamber, east wall
Transliteration	Orthography	Translation
<i>šw.wt</i>		their ba is with Teti, their <i>shadows</i> are in the possession of their owners (the gods).

PEPI I PYRAMID		
Inventory No. / Source	Provenance / Date	Description
<b>1</b>   PT. 574 <i>Pyr.</i> §1487a, line 683	Saqqara, Dyn. 6	Antechamber, east wall
Transliteration	Orthography	Translation
<i>šw(.t)</i>		(It is) your stance, Osiris; your <i>shade</i> is over your head, Osiris. Your rage has been barred, Seth.
<b>2</b>   PT. 574 <i>Pyr.</i> §1487d, line 683	Saqqara, Dyn. 6	Vestibule, west wall
Transliteration	Orthography	Translation
<i>šw.wt</i>		Lass (?) of contentment that Osiris, this <i>šh</i> in <i>Ghš.ti</i> made - your <i>shadow</i> , Osiris, let the fright of you be against those of the sky and the fear of your against those of the earth and thrust your ferocity against the heart of the hereditary kings of Pe.

PEPI II PYRAMID		
Inventory No. / Source	Provenance / Date	Description
<b>1</b>   PT. 301 <i>Pyr.</i> §446b line 1055	Saqqara, Dyn. 6	Antechamber, east wall
Transliteration	Orthography	Translation
<i>šw.wt</i>		You have your bread-loaf nu and Undersky, you pair of the gods, who joined the gods and their <i>shadows</i> .
<b>2</b>   PT. 301 <i>Pyr.</i> §446d line 1055	Saqqara, Dyn. 6	Antechamber, east walls

Transliteration		Orthography	Translation
šw.wt			you have your bread-loaf Amun and Amaunet, you pair of the gods who joined the gods and their <i>shadows</i> .
<b>3</b>	PT. 574, <i>Pyr.</i> §1487d, line 1308.	Saqqara, Dyn. 6	Vestibule east – west walls
Transliteration		Orthography	Translation
šw(.t)			Lass of contentment that Osiris, this <i>šh</i> in <i>Għš.ti</i> made - your <i>shadow</i> , Osiris, let the fright of you be against those of the sky and the fear of you against those of the earth and thrust your ferocity against the heart of the hereditary kings of Pe.

## Catalogue of Pyramid Text Chapters which mention *šw.t* in the Old Kingdom:

### Dynasty 5 – 6 (2686 - 2181 BCE)

Catalogue of the nine *šw.t* attestations recorded here are listed by chapter title in the order by which they occur in the individual texts documented by K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, Bd. I.




1	Inventory No. / Source	
	PT. 273-274, §413c	Unas Dyn. 5
		Teti, Dyn. 6
2	Inventory No. / Source	
	PT. 301, §446b	Unas Dyn. 5
		Pepi II, Dyn. 6
3	Inventory No. / Source	
	PT. 301, §413d	Unas Dyn. 5
		Pepi II, Dyn. 6
4	Inventory No. / Source	
	PT. 574 §1487a	Pepi I Dyn. 6
5	Inventory No. / Source	
	PT. 574 §1487d	Pepi I, Dyn. 6
		Pepi II, Dyn. 6









## Catalogue of *šw.t* attestations on Middle Kingdom Coffins:









### Dynasty 11 – 12 (2055 - 1650 BCE)





Catalogue of the ninety-seven *šw.t* attestations listed here are found on Middle Kingdom coffins. None of these attestations are recorded on the *TLA* or *DZA*. The corpus is recorded within the Coffin Text archive of A. de Buck., *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 7 vols. (Chicago, 1935-61). Translations by R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Vols. I-III, (Warminster, 1973-78).





1. COFFIN OF GUA				
Designation		Description		Provenance / Date
B2 L		Inner coffin		el-Bersha, Dyn. 12
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
1	CT 98, II 93f Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 96.	<i>šw.t</i>		Do I forget the outer chamber of Thoth, does he forget the wish of the dead until my ba and my <i>shade</i> pass by it?
2	CT 101, II 98b Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 99.	<i>šw.t</i>		wherever he is; he stands and sits while you are before him lo until this ba and <i>shade</i> of mine pass by him. Nothing comes forth from his mouth, his lips do not create, his mind does not conceive
Designation		Description		Present Location and No.
B1 L		Outer coffin		London, British Museum, EA 30840
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
3	CT 336, IV 327p Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 270.	<i>šw.wt</i>		O Atum who are in the Great Mansion, excelling the gods, save me from that god who lives by slaughter, whose face is that of a hound, whose skin is that of a man, who is in charge of the windings of the Lake of Fire, who swallows <i>shades</i> , who snatches hearts, who casts the lasso, but who is not seen.




2. COFFIN OF SEPI				
Designation		Description		Provenance / Date
B1 C		Coffin		el-Bersha, Dyn 12
Present Location and No.		Cairo, Musée des Antiquités, CG 28083		
Spell	Translit.	Orthography	Translation	
1	CT 98, II 93f Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 96.	<i>šw.t</i>		Do I forget the outer chamber of Thoth, does he forget the wish of the dead until my ba and my <i>shade</i> pass by it?
2	CT 101, II 98b Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 99.	<i>šw.t</i>		Wherever he (Osiris)? is; he stands and sits while you are before him lo until this ba and <i>shade</i> of mine pass by him. Nothing comes forth from his mouth, his lips do not create, his mind does not conceive.





3. COFFIN OF SATHEDJHOTEP (FEMALE)				
Designation		Description		Provenance / Date
B3 C		Inner coffin		el – Bersha, mid Dyn.12
Present Location and No.		Cairo, Musée des antiquités, CG 28085		
Spell	Translit.	Orthography	Translation	
1	CT 335, IV 314b Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 261.	<i>šw.wt</i>		O Atum who are in the Great Mansion, Sovereign of the Ennead, save me from that god who lives by slaughter, whose face is that of a hound and whose skin is that of a man. It is he who is warden of the windings of the Lake of Fire, who swallows <i>shades</i> , who snatches hearts, who inflicts wounds, but is not seen.
Designation		Description		Present Location and No.
B4 C		Outer coffin		Cairo, Musée des antiquités, CG 28086
Spell	Translit.	Orthography	Translation	
2	CT 2, I 8c Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 96.	<i>šw.t</i>		Geb has commanded, and the Double Lion has repeated, that you be given your ba which is in the earth and your <i>shade</i> which is in the hidden places.
3	CT 491, VI 70a Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.wt</i>		O you who watch over all bas and constrain the <i>shades</i> of all who are dead.
4	CT 498, VI 80f Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 137.	<i>šw.t</i>		You have taken my ba and my spirit, my magic and my <i>shade</i> with Re and Hathor the place where Re is every day, to the place where Hathor is, for all eternity.












4. COFFIN OF DJEHUTY-NAKHT (FEMALE)				
Designation		Description		Provenance / Date
<b>B3 Bo</b>		Outer coffin		el-Bersha, Late Dyn. 11– early Dyn. 12
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
<b>1</b>	CT 498, VI, 81c Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 137.	<i>šw.t</i>		those who are in charge of the chambers of Osiris shall not have power over the ba or the <i>shade</i> of N
<b>2</b>	CT 2, I 8c Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 96.	<i>šw.t</i>		Geb has commanded, and the Double Lion has repeated, that you be given your ba which is in the earth and your <i>shade</i> which is in the hidden places. Ho N! I · Raise yourself, that you may be vindicated against your foes.
<b>3</b>	CT 493, VI 73f Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 134	<i>šw.wt</i>		O Old One, prepare a path for me, may my ba be saved from the trappers who take away bas and constrain <i>shades</i> , who are put in the shambles of the Chaos-gods, who witness its arrival.
<b>4</b>	CT 495, VI 77d Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 135.	<i>šw.t</i>		My (ba) belongs to my body, my <i>shade</i> is at myside (is for my state), (of the body) I am the guard of the prisoners after the secret affairs of the Coiled One
Designation		Description		Present Location and No.
<b>B4 Bo</b>		Inner coffin		Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, MFA21.966-67
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
<b>5</b>	CT 2, I 8c Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 96.	<i>šw.t</i>		Geb has commanded, and the Double Lion has repeated, that you be given your ba which is in the earth and your <i>shade</i> which is in the hidden places.
<b>6</b>	CT 413, V 240d Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 64.	<i>šw.t</i>		I Anubis is at rest, and it goes well with the son of Re in peace through my sacred Eye; may you glorify my ba and my <i>shade</i> .
<b>7</b>	CT 413, V 242d Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 64.	<i>šw.t</i>		Therefore, you have granted that my ba and my <i>shade</i> and my shape may walk I on their feet to where this person is so that he may stand, sit, walk and enter into his funerary estate.
<b>8</b>	CT 427, V 272b Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 71.	<i>šw.t</i>		He grants that my <i>shade</i> shall go to me, and I have traversed the storm.











5. COFFIN OF DJEHUTY-NAKHT (MALE)				
Designation		Description		Provenance / Date
B1 Y		Coffin		New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1937.5903g
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
1	CT 491, VI 69a Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.t</i>		A path is opened for my ba, my spirit, my magic and my <i>shade</i> , and it will enter to Re within his shrine, it will see the great 'god in his true shape, and it will repeat the words of Osiris to those whose places are secret, who are in charge of the members of Osiris
2	CT 488, VI 67j Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 132.	<i>šw.t</i>		O you who are in charge of the gates of the upper sky, open the ways for my ba, my spirit and my <i>shade</i> , so that it may support Right for Re
3	CT 413, V 240d Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 64.	<i>šw.t</i>		I Anubis is at rest, and it goes well with the son of Re in peace through my sacred Eye; may you glorify my ba and my <i>shade</i> ; may they see Re by virtue of what he brings.
4	CT 98, II 93f Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 96.	<i>šw.t</i>		Do I forget the outer chamber of Thoth, does he forget the wish of the dead until my ba and my <i>shade</i> pass by it?

6. COFFIN OF DJEHUTY-NAKHT (MALE)				
Designation		Description		Provenance / Date
B2 Bo		Inner coffin		Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, MFA21.962-63
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
1	CT 2, I 8c Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 96.	<i>šw.t</i>		Geb has commanded, and the Double Lion has repeated, that you be given your ba which is in the earth and your <i>shade</i> which is in the hidden places.
2	CT 413, V 240d Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 64.	<i>šw.t</i>		I Anubis is at rest, and it goes well with the son of Re in peace through my sacred Eye; may you glorify my ba and my <i>shade</i> .
3	CT 413, V 242d Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 64.	<i>šw.t</i>		Therefore, you have granted that my ba and my <i>shade</i> and my shape may walk I on their feet to where this person is so that he may stand, sit, walk, and enter into his funerary estate.
4	CT 427, V 272b	<i>šw.t</i>		He grants that my <i>shade</i> shall go to me, and I have traversed the storm.








	Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 71.			
Designation		Description		Present Location and No.
<b>B1 Bo</b>		Outer coffin		Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, MFA20.1822-27
Spell	Translit.	Orthography	Translation	
<b>5</b>	CT 413, V 240d Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 64.	<i>šw.t</i>		I Anubis is at rest, and it goes well with the son of Re in peace through my sacred Eye; may you glorify my ba and my <i>shade</i>
<b>6</b>	CT 413, V 242d Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 64.	<i>šw.t</i>		Therefore, you have granted that my ba and my <i>shade</i> and my shape may walk I on their feet to where this person is so that he may stand, sit, walk, and enter into his funerary estate.
<b>7</b>	CT 663, VI 289r Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 235.	<i>šw.wt</i>		The mother comes to N bearing life; Neith comes to him bearing her loin-cloth; N's ba and <i>shade</i> are made to appear' by Hathor.

7. COFFIN OF SEN					
Designation		Description		Provenance / Date	Present Location and No.
B3 L		Inner coffin		el- Bersha, Dyn. 12	London, British Museum, EA 30842
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation	
1	CT 493, VI 74i; Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 134.	šw.t		My corpse will neither be wrested away nor constrained, for I am that corpse for which Atum wept and which Anubis buried. [My] ba, my body and my <i>shade</i> are at its side, for I am indeed the guard of the prisoners after the secret matters of the Coiled One.	
2	CT 494, VI 75n Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 135.	šw.wt		The sound of greeting(?) is in the horizon, Sia goes up into the shrine for he has heard the sound of my ba saving itself from the trappers who carry off bas and constrain <i>shades</i> , which are put in the shambles of the Chaos-gods, who witness its arrival. Be far from this ba of mine, your fiery blast shall not reach it and your testimony shall have no power over it.	
3	CT 495, VI 77d Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 135.	šw.t		My (ba) belongs to my body, my <i>shade</i> is at my side (is for my state), (of the Body) I am the guard of the prisoners after the secret affairs of the Coiled One.	
4	CT 497, VI, 79b Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 136.	šw.t		O all you gods who are in sky and earth, in the waters and in the horizon, prepare a path for my ba, my spirit and my <i>shade</i> in the retinues of Re and of Hathor for all eternity.	
5	CT 498, VI 80f	šw.t		You have taken my ba and my spirit, my magic and my <i>shade</i> with Re and Hathor the place	


	Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 137.			where Re is every day, to the place where Hathor is, for all eternity.
6	CT 498, VI 81d Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 138.	<i>šw.t</i>		Those who are in charge of the members of Osiris shall not constrain me; those who are in charge of the members of Osiris shall not have power to constrain my ba or my magic or to watch over my spirit or my <i>shade</i> at the time of all eternity.
7	CT 499, VI 82h Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 138.	<i>šw.(w)t</i>		That it may go up and see the great god Re within his shrine on the day of reckoning up all bas, all spirits, all <i>shades</i> and all [magic(?)]. My ba is there to be chiefs among those who allot years.
8	CT 499, VI 83a Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 138.	<i>šw.t</i>		O Re and Hathor, take my ba, my spirit and my <i>shade</i> with you, may I establish your ornament on the vertex of Re you who are unaware of your faces, who are in charge of the members of Osiris.
9	CT 499, VI 83c Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 138.	<i>šw.t</i>		You shall not have power to watch over me or to constrain my ba, my spirit or my <i>shade</i> .
10	CT 500, VI 83g Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 138.	<i>šw.t</i>		O my ba, my spirit, my magic and my <i>shade</i> , go, reach the path toward them, your qualities, which are in every god, being with you - so say those seven gods who are equipped daily.
11	CT 500, VI 84d Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 138	<i>šw.t</i>		It shall not be constrained, nor shall either my ba or my spirit, either my magic or my <i>shade</i> be watched over by those who guard the members of Osiris.
12	CT 500, VI 84i Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 138	<i>šw.t</i>		They shall not have power to constrain or watch over either my ba or my spirit, my magic, or my <i>shade</i> , at the time of all eternity.
13	CT 500 VI, 84q Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 140.	<i>šw.t</i>		O both my ba and my spirit, both my magic and my <i>shade</i> , all my bread and beer, you are for all those who are in sky and earth, and every fair path of yours which Hu has prepared for you . . . Go, [ ... ] be far from them, for you are one having power in your legs, the son of a god who has power in his legs.
14	CT 500, VI 85f Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 140.	<i>šw.t</i>		My ba, my spirit, [my magic] and my <i>shade</i> shall all be in every place where its wishes to be.
15	CT 503, VI 89n Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 140.	<i>šw.t</i>		<i>Title:</i> To be recited by him who knows this text when he goes forth so that his heart may endure in every shape in which one wishes to go forth, and that he may ejaculate his seed safely on earth, his heir existing forever. His ba shall not be seized nor shall his <i>shade</i> be snared. A matter a million times true.

Designation		Description		Present Location and No.
<b>B3 La</b>		Inner coffin		London, British Museum, EA 30842
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
<b>16</b>	CT 491, VI 69a Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.t</i>		A path is opened for my ba, my spirit, my magic and my <i>shade</i> , and it will enter to Re within his shrine, it will see the great 'god in his true shape.
<b>17</b>	CT 491, VI 70a Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.wt</i>		O you who watch over all bas and constrain the <i>shades</i> of all who are dead.
<b>18</b>	CT 491, VI 70b Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.t</i>		may you not have power to constrain me or to watch over my ba, my <i>shade</i> , my spirit or my magic.
<b>19</b>	CT 491, VI 71a Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.t</i>		Go, go, my ba, my spirit, my magic and my <i>shade</i> , open the shutters of the sky-windows, throw open the Great Mansion, so that you may go to and from and have power in your legs.
<b>20</b>	CT 491, VI 71g Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.wt</i>		you shall not be restrained by those who are in charge of the members of Osiris, who watch over all bas and who constrain the <i>shades</i> of all the dead.
<b>21</b>	CT 491, VI 71h Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.t</i>		Go, go, my ba, my spirit, my magic and my <i>shade</i> , so that you may have power in your legs and that you may bring right to Re.
<b>22</b>	CT 492, VI 71k Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.t</i>		O my ba, my spirit, my magic and my <i>shade</i> , open the doors of the sky, throw open the gates of heaven, may your ornaments be secured on yourself so that you may enter to the great god who is in his shrine and see Re in his true shape.
<b>23</b>	CT 492, VI 72a Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 133	<i>šw.t</i>		O my ba, my spirit, my magic and my (your) <i>shade</i> , open the doors of the sky, throw open the gates of heaven, may your ornaments be secured on yourself so that you may enter to the great god who is in his shrine and see Re in his true shape.
<b>24</b>	CT 493, VI 73f Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 134	<i>šw.wt</i>		O Old One, prepare a path for me, may my ba be saved from the trappers who take away bas and constrain <i>shades</i> , who are put in the shambles of the Chaos-gods, who witness its arrival.
Designation		Description		Present Location and No.
<b>B3 Lb</b>		Inner coffin		London, British Museum, EA 30842
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
<b>25</b>	CT 491, VI 69a Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.t</i>		A path is opened for my ba, my spirit, my magic and my <i>shade</i> , and it will enter to Re within his shrine, it will see the great 'god in his true shape.



2 6	CT 491, VI 70a Faulkner, <i>CT</i> <i>II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.(w)t</i>		O you who watch over all bas and constrain the <i>shades</i> of all who are dead.
2 7	CT 491, VI 71a Faulkner, <i>CT</i> <i>II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.t</i>		Go, go, my ba, my spirit, my magic and my <i>shade</i> , open the shutters of the sky-windows, throw open the Great Mansion, so that you may go to and from and have power in your legs.
2 8	CT 491, VI 70b Faulkner, <i>CT</i> <i>II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.t</i>		May you not have power to constrain me or to watch over my ba, my <i>shade</i> , my spirit or my magic.
2 9	CT 491, VI 71g Faulkner, <i>CT</i> <i>II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.wt</i>		You shall not be restrained by those who are in charge of the members of Osiris, who watch over all bas and who constrain the <i>shades</i> of all the dead.
3 0	CT 491, VI 71h Faulkner, <i>CT</i> <i>II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.t</i>		Go, go, my ba, my spirit, my magic and my <i>shade</i> , so that you may have power in your legs and that you may bring right to Re.
3 1	CT 492, VI 71k Faulkner, <i>CT</i> <i>II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.t</i>		O my ba, my spirit, my magic and my <i>shade</i> , open the doors of the sky, throw open the gates of heaven, may your ornaments be secured on yourself so that you may enter to the great god who is in his shrine and see Re in his true shape.
3 2	CT 492, VI 72a Faulkner, <i>CT</i> <i>II</i> , 133	<i>šw.wt</i>		O my ba, my spirit, my magic and my <i>shade</i> , open the doors of the sky, throw open the gates of heaven, may your ornaments be secured on yourself so that you may enter to the great god who is in his shrine and see Re in his true shape.



## 8. COFFIN OF KHNUMHOTEP


Designation		Description		Provenance / Date	Present Location and No.
M54 C		Lid of coffin		Meir, Dyn. 12	Cairo, Musée des antiquités, CG 28074
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation	
1	CT 335, IV 314b Faulkner, <i>CT</i> I, 261.	<i>šw.(w)t</i>		It is he who is warden of the windings of the Lake of Fire, who swallows <i>shades</i> , who snatches hearts, who inflicts wounds, but is not seen.	




## 9. COFFIN OF SENBI (MALE)





Designation		Description		Provenance / Date	Present Location and No.
M6 C		Coffin		Meir, Dyn. 12	Cairo, Musée des antiquités, J 42827




Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
<b>1</b>	CT 535, VI 132j Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 156.	<i>šw.t</i>		I will not be watched by those who watch bas, my ba and my <i>shade</i> will go up.
Designation		Description		Present Location and No.
<b>M4 C</b>		Coffin		Cairo, Musée des antiquités, J 42950
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
<b>2</b>	CT 335, IV 314b Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 261.	<i>šw.(wt)</i>		O Atum who are in the Great Mansion, Sovereign of the Ennead, save me from that god who lives by slaughter, whose face is that of a hound and whose skin is that of a man. It is he who is warden of the windings of the Lake of Fire, who swallows <i>shades</i> , who Snatches hearts, who inflicts wounds, but is not seen.

10. COFFIN OF IRI					
Designation		Description		Provenance / Date	Present Location and No.
S10 C		Coffin		Asyut, Dyn. 12	Cairo, Musée des antiquités, J 44980
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation	
1	CT 413, V 240d Faulkner, CT II. 64.	šw.t		I Anubis is at rest, and it goes well with the son of Re in peace through my sacred Eye; may you glorify my ba and my shade; may they see Re by virtue of what he brings.	


11. COFFIN OF MESHET					
Designation		Description		Provenance / Date	Present Location and No.
S2 C		Outer coffin		Asyut, Dyn. 12	Cairo, Musée des antiquités, CG 28119
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation	
1	CT 316, IV 101h Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 240.	šw.wt		...The <i>shades</i> shall not be judged; the plans of the gods shall not be carried out. Look with your eyes, you elder gods I who afore time came into existence with the ancestors, on this spirit who has come here.	
2	CT 573, VI 182b Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 178.	šw.wt		To Take Shape (similar to PT 273-274) Their bas are with me, their <i>shades</i> are with their lords, Their magic is in my belly.	
3	CT 413, V 240d	šw.t		I Anubis is at rest, and it goes well with the son of Re in peace through my sacred Eye;	



	Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 64.			may you glorify my ba and my <i>shade</i> ; may they see Re by virtue of what he brings.
Designation		Description		Present Location and No.
<b>S1 C</b>		Inner coffin		Cairo, Musée des antiquités, CG 28118
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
<b>4</b>	CT 104, II 111c Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 101.	<i>šw.t</i>		O Horus, when protecting your father. Take my ba and my <i>shade</i> that yonder man may see them stand opposite him wherever he is Be a spirit.
<b>5</b>	CT 104, II 111j Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 101.	<i>šw.t</i>		I am he who sought Osiris, who took this ba and this <i>shade</i> of mine that yonder man might see them standing in front of him wherever he is.
<b>6</b>	CT 316, IV 101h Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 240.	<i>šw.wt</i>		What is this on the morning when this god comes? The <i>shades</i> shall not be judged, the plans of the gods shall not be carried out. Look with your eyes, you elder gods I who afore time came into existence with the ancestors, on this spirit who has come here.
<b>7</b>	CT 573, VI 182b Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 178.	<i>šw.wt</i>		To Take Shape (similar to <i>PT</i> 273-274) Their bas are with me, their <i>shades</i> are with their lords, their magic is in my belly.

## 12. COFFIN OF NAKHTI


Designation		Description		Provenance / Date	Present Location and No.
<b>S2 P</b>		Side of outer coffin		Asyut, Dyn. 12	Paris, Louvre
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation	
<b>1</b>	CT 316, IV 101h Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 240.	<i>šw.wt</i>		What is this on the morning when this god comes? The <i>shades</i> shall not be judged, the plans of the gods shall not be carried out. Look with your eyes, you elder gods I who afore time came into existence with the ancestors, on this spirit who has come here.	

## 13. COFFIN OF IKER



Designation		Description		Provenance / Date	Present Location and No.
<b>G2 T</b>		Side of outer coffin		Gebelein, Dyn. 12	Turin, Museo di antichita
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation	
<b>1</b>	CT 104, II 111c	<i>šw.t</i>		O Horus, when protecting your father. Take my ba and my <i>shade</i> that yonder man may see	

	Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 101.			them stand opposite him wherever he is. Be a spirit.
2	CT 104, II 111j Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 101.	<i>šw.t</i>		I am he who sought Osiris, who took this ba and this <i>shade</i> of mine that yonder man might see them standing in front of him wherever he is.
3	CT 573, VI 182b Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 178.	<i>šw.wt</i>		To Take Shape (similar to PT 273-274) Their bas are with me, Their <i>shades</i> are with their lords, Their magic is in my belly.

#### 14. COFFIN OF HENUEY



Designation	Description	Provenance / Date	Present Location and No.
G1 Be	Coffin	Gebelein, Dyn. 12	Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 13772
Spell	Translit.	Orthography	Translation
1 CT 563, VI 162p Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 169.	<i>šw.t</i>		I am a Great One whose name is unknown; the ram-gods are my ba, the Khnum gods are my <i>shades</i> , I am the Lord of Right who loves what is good.

#### 15. COFFIN OF HARHOTEP


Designation	Description	Provenance / Date	Present Location and No.
T1 Cb	Burial chamber and coffin	Thebes, Dyn. 12	Cairo, Musée des antiquités, CG 28023
Spell	Translit.	Orthography	Translation
1 CT 335, IV 314b; Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 261; <i>DZA</i> 29.987.450	<i>šw.(w)t</i>		It is he who is warden of the windings of the Lake of Fire, who swallows <i>shades</i> , who snatches hearts, who inflicts wounds but is not seen.
2 CT 409 V 231n Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 60.	<i>šw.t</i>		Hail to you, staff of the <i>nsmt-bark</i> of Osiris! N knows you by your name and by (your) shape in which [you came into being] ; you are that being [ ... ] who carried off his ba and took away his <i>shade</i> .

#### 16. COFFIN OF MENTUHOTEP





Designation	Description	Provenance / Date	Present Location and No.
T1 Be	Outer coffin	Thebes, Dyn. 12	Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Berlin 9


Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
<b>1</b>	CT 335, IV 314b Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 261.	<i>šw.wt</i>		It is he who is warden of the windings of the Lake of Fire, who swallows <i>shades</i> , who snatches hearts, who inflicts wounds, but is not seen.
Designation		Description		Present Location and No.
<b>T2 Be</b>		Middle coffin		Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Berlin 10
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
<b>2</b>	CT 335, IV 314b Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 261.	<i>šw.(w)t</i>		It is he who is warden of the windings of the Lake of Fire, who swallows <i>shades</i> , who snatches hearts, who inflicts wounds but is not seen.

### 17. COFFIN OF NEKHETHUHERU > NEKHET (FEMALE)


Designation		Description		Provenance / Date	Present Location and No.
<b>M5 C</b>		Coffin of		Meir Dyn. 12	Cairo, Musée des antiquités, J 42826
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation	
<b>1</b>	CT 413, V 240d Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 64.	<i>šw.t</i>		I Anubis is at rest, and it goes well with the son of Re in peace through my sacred Eye; may you glorify my ba and my <i>shade</i> .	

### 18. COFFIN OF AMENEMHAT



Designation		Description		Provenance / Date	Present Location and No.
<b>B9 C</b>		Inner coffin		el-Bersha, Dyn. 12	Cairo, Musée des antiquités, CG 28091
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation	
<b>1</b>	CT 488, VI 67a Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 132.	<i>šw.t</i>		O my ba, O my spirit, O my <i>shade</i> , I open the shutters of the sky-windows within(?) the horizon; may you have power over your legs as a living ba, a possessor of majesty among the gods like Osiris.	
<b>2</b>	CT 488, IV 67e Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 132.	<i>šw.t</i>		Go, O my ba and my <i>shade</i> , so that you may see Re within his shrine.	
<b>3</b>	CT 488, IV 67j Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 132.	<i>šw.t</i>		O you who are in charge of the gates of the upper sky, open the ways for my ba, my spirit and my <i>shade</i> , so that it may support Right for Re.	
<b>4</b>	CT 491, VI 69a Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.t</i>		A path is opened for my ba, my spirit, my magic and my <i>shade</i> , and it will enter to Re 1 within his shrine.	

<b>5</b>	CT 491, VI 70a Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.(w)t</i>		O you who watch over all bas and constrain the <i>shades</i> of all who are dead.
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### 19. COFFIN OF SOBEKUA


Designation		Description		Provenance / Date	Present Location and No.
<b>T3 Be</b>		Coffin		Thebes Dyn. 12	Staatliche Museen, Berlin 45
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation	
<b>1</b>	CT 491, VI 69a Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 133.	<i>šw.t</i>		A path is opened for my ba, my spirit, my magic and my <i>shade</i> , and it will enter to Re within his shrine	


### 20. COFFIN OF WESERMUT




Designation		Description		Provenance / Date	Present Location and No.
<b>Sq 12C</b>		Outer coffin		Saqqara Dyn. 12	Cairo, Musée des antiquités, 18/1/27/2
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation	
<b>1</b>	CT 497, VI, 79b Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 136.	<i>šw.t</i>		O all you gods who are in sky and earth, in the waters and in the horizon, prepare a path for my ba, my spirit and my <i>shade</i> in the retinues of Re and of Hathor for all eternity.	
<b>2</b>	CT 498, VI, 81c Faulkner, <i>CT II</i> , 137.	<i>šw.t</i>		Those who are in charge of the members of Osiris shall not have power to constrain my ba or my magic or to watch over my spirit or my <i>shade</i> at the time of all eternity.	

### 21. COFFIN OF SEDJEDI (WOMAN)


Designation		Description		Provenance / Date	Present Location and No.
<b>M.C.105</b>		Coffin of Sedjedi		Thebes , Mentuhotep Cemetery Tomb No 105	Cairo, Musée des antiquités
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation	
<b>1</b>	CT 2, I 8c Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 96.	<i>šw.t</i>		Geb has commanded, and the Double Lion has repeated, that you be given your ba which is in the earth and your <i>shade</i> which is in the hidden places.	


22. COFFIN OF SOBEKHOTEP				
Designation		Description		Provenance / Date
T3 L		Inner Coffin		Qurna, Thebes, Dyn. 12
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Present Location and No.
1	N/A DZA 29 986.180	šw.t		London, British Museum, EA 29570
That I have made a screen of my ba for the resting of my <i>shadow</i> .				

23. COFFIN OF SENBI (WOMAN)				
Designation		Description		Provenance / Date
M3 C		Coffin		Meir, Dyn. 12
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Present Location and No.
1	CT 97, II 92a Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 96.	šw.t		Cairo, Musée des antiquités, J 42825
That I may see my ba and my <i>shadow</i> on the vertex of Re.				

24. COFFIN OF SEPI				
Designation		Description		Provenance / Date
B1 P		Outer coffin		El- Bersha, Dyn.12
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Present Location and No.
1	CT 2, I 8c Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 96.	šw.t		Paris, Louvre Museum, E 10779 A
Geb has commanded, and the Double Lion has repeated, that you be given your ba which is in the earth and your <i>shade</i> which is in the hidden places.				
Designation		Description		Present Location and No.
B2 P		Inner coffin		Paris, Louvre Museum, E 10779 A
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
3	CT 98, II 93f Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 96.	šw.t		Do I forget the outer chamber of Thoth, does he forget the wish of the dead until my ba and my <i>shade</i> pass by it?
4	CT 101, II 98b	šw.t		Wherever he (Osiris?) is; he stands and sits while you are before him lo until this ba and <i>shade</i> of mine pass by him. Nothing comes forth

	Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 99.			from his mouth, his lips do not create, his mind does not conceive
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25. COFFIN OF DJEHUTY-NAKHT (MALE)				
Designation		Description		Provenance / Date
B15 C		Coffin		El- Bersha Dyn. 12
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
1	CT 2, I 8c Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 96.	<i>šw.t</i>		Geb has commanded, and the Double Lion has repeated, that you be given your ba which is in the earth and your <i>shade</i> which is in the hidden places.

26. COFFIN OF AHA-NAKHT				
Designation		Description		Provenance / Date
B6 C		Coffin		El- Bersha Dyn. 12
Spell		Translit.	Orthography	Translation
1	CT 2, I 8c Faulkner, <i>CT I</i> , 96.	<i>šw.t</i>		Geb has commanded, and the Double Lion has repeated, that you be given your ba which is in the earth and your <i>shade</i> which is in the hidden places.

## Catalogue of Coffin Text Chapters which mention *šw.t* in the Middle Kingdom:

### Dynasty 11 – 12 (2055 - 1650 BCE)

Catalogue of the ninety-seven *šw.t* attestations recorded in forty-five spells are listed by chapter title in the order by which they occur in the individual manuscripts by A. de Buck, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts vols. I-VI*. Coffins are labelled using de Bucks designating system.

1	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 2, I 8c - 8 attestations</b> Chapter describing the vindication of a person in the realm of the dead	1   B3 Bo
		2   B2 Bo
		3   B4 Bo
		4   B1 P
		5   B15 C
		6   B6 C
		7   B4 C
		8   M.C.105
2	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 97, II 92a - 1 attestation</b> Chapter for going out into the day.	1   M3 C
3	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 98, II 93f - 4 attestations</b> Chapter for going out into the day .	1   B1 C
		2   B2 L
		3   B2 P
		4   B1 Y
4	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 101, II 98b - 3 attestations</b> Chapter for sending a man and his ba.	1   B1 C
		2   B2 L
		3   B2 P
5	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 104, II 111c - 2 attestations</b> Chapter for sending a man and his ba.	1   S1 C
		2   G2 T
6	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 104, II 111j - 2 attestations</b> Chapter for sending a man and his ba.	1   S1 C
		2   G2 T
7	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 316, IV 101h - 3 attestations</b> Chapter for becoming the fiery eye of Horus.	1   S2 P
		2   S2 C
		3   S1 C
8	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 335, IV 314b - 6 attestations</b> Chapter for going out into the day.	1   B3 C
		2   T1 Cb



		3	M4 C
		4	M54 C
		5	T1 Be
		6	T2 Be
9	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 336, IV 327p - 1 attestation</b> Chapter for what is said about the first portal.	1	B1 L
10	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 409, V 231n - 1 attestation</b> Spell for knowing the seven knots of the celestial kine.	1	T1 Cb
11	Source / Chapter Description <b>CT 413, V 240d – 6 attestations</b> Chapter for sending a man and his ba.	Coffin Designation	
		1	S2 C
		2	M5 C
		3	B2 Bo
		4	B4 Bo
		5	B1 Bo
12	Source / Chapter Description <b>CT 413, V 242d - 3 attestations</b> Chapter for sending a man and his ba.	Coffin Designation	
		1	B2 Bo
		2	B4 Bo
		3	B1 Bo
13	Source / Chapter Description <b>CT 427, V 272b - 2 attestations</b> Chapter to eat with the mouth, to defecate with the hinder parts, to be equipped, to have power over water .	Coffin Designation	
		1	B2 Bo
		2	B4 Bo
14	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 488, VI 67a - 1 attestation</b> Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	1	B9 C
15	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 488, IV 67e - 1 attestation</b> Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	1	B9 C
16	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 488, IV 67j - 2 attestations</b> Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	1	B9 C
17	Source / Chapter Description <b>CT 491, VI 69a - 5 attestations</b> Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	Coffin Designation	
		1	B3 La
		2	B3 Lb
		3	B9 C
		4	B1 Y
18	Source / Chapter Description <b>CT 491, VI 70a - 4 attestations</b> Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	Coffin Designation	
		1	B3 La
		2	B3 Lb
		3	B9 C
		4	B4 C

19	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 491, VI 70b - 2 attestations</b>	1	B3 La
	Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	2	B3 Lb
20	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 491, VI 71a - 2 attestations</b>	1	B3 La
	Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	2	B3 Lb
21	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 491, VI 71g - 2 attestations</b>	1	B3 La
	Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	2	B3 Lb
22	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 491, VI 71h - 2 attestations</b>	1	B3 La
	Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	2	B3 Lb
23	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 492, VI 71k – 2 attestations</b>	1	B3 La
	Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	2	B3 Lb
24	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 492, VI 72a - 2 attestations</b>	1	B3 La
	Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	2	B3 Lb
25	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 493, VI 73f - 2 attestations</b>	1	B3 La
	Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	2	B3 Bo
26	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 493, VI 74i – 1 attestation</b>	1	B3 L
	Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.		
27	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 494, VI 75n - 1 attestation</b>	1	B3 L
	Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.		
28	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 495, VI 77d - 2 attestations</b>	1	B3 L
	Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	2	B3 Bo
29	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 497, VI, 79b - 2 attestations</b>	1	B3 L
	Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	2	Sq12 C
30	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 498, VI 80f - 2 attestations</b>	1	B3 L
	Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	2	B4 C
31	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
		1	B3 Bo

	<b>CT 498, VI, 81c – 2 attestations</b> Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead.	2	Sq12 C
32	Source / Chapter Description		
	<b>CT 498, VI, 81d - 1 attestation</b> Chapter for giving a spirit power over his legs in the realm of the dead	1	B3 L
33	Source / Chapter Description		Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 499, VI 82h - 1 attestation</b> Chapter to open a path for my ba( <i>b3</i> ), my magic ( <i>3h</i> ) and my shade ( <i>šw.t</i> ), so that it may have power in (its) legs to go up and see the great god Re.	1	B3 L
34	Source / Chapter Description		Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 499, VI 83a - 1 attestation</b> Chapter to open a path for my ba( <i>b3</i> ), my magic ( <i>3h</i> ) and my shade ( <i>šw.t</i> ), so that it may have power in (its) legs to go up and see the great god Re.	1	B3 L
35	Source / Chapter Description		Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 499, VI 83c - 1 attestation</b> Chapter to open a path for my ba( <i>b3</i> ), my magic ( <i>3h</i> ) and my shade ( <i>šw.t</i> ), so that it may have power in (its) legs to go up and see the great god Re.	1	B3 L
36	Source / Chapter Description		Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 500, VI 83g - 1 attestation</b> Chapter to open a path for my ba( <i>b3</i> ), my magic ( <i>3h</i> ) and my shade ( <i>šw.t</i> ), so that it may have power in (its) legs to go up and see the great god Re.	1	B3 L
37	Source / Chapter Description		Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 500, VI 84d - 1 attestation</b> Chapter to open a path for my ba( <i>b3</i> ), my magic ( <i>3h</i> ) and my shade ( <i>šw.t</i> ), so that it may have power in (its) legs to go up and see the great god Re.	1	B3 L
38	Source / Chapter Description		Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 500, VI 84l - 1 attestation</b> Chapter to open a path for my ba( <i>b3</i> ), my magic ( <i>3h</i> ) and my shade ( <i>šw.t</i> ), so that it may have power in (its) legs to go up and see the great god Re.	1	B3 L
39	Source / Chapter Description		Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 500 VI, 84q - 1 attestation</b> Chapter to open a path for my ba( <i>b3</i> ), my magic ( <i>3h</i> ) and my shade ( <i>šw.t</i> ), so that it may have power in (its) legs to go up and see the great god Re.	1	B3 L
40	Source / Chapter Description		Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 500, VI 85f - 1 attestation</b> Chapter to open a path for my ba( <i>b3</i> ), my magic ( <i>3h</i> ) and my shade ( <i>šw.t</i> ), so that it may have power in (its) legs to go up and see the great god Re.	1	B3 L
41	Source / Chapter Description		Coffin Designation
	<b>CT 503, VI 89n - 1 attestation</b>	1	B3 L





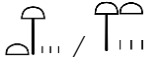




	Title for the Chapter to open a path for my ba( <i>b3</i> ), my magic ( <i>3h</i> ) and my shade ( <i>šw.t</i> ), so that it may have power in (its) legs to go up and see the great god Re.		
42	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 535, VI 132j - 1 attestation</b> Chapter to open a path for my ba( <i>b3</i> ), my magic ( <i>3h</i> ) and my shade ( <i>šw.t</i> ), so that it may have power in (its) legs to go up and see the great god Re.	1	M6 C
43	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 563, VI 162p - 1 attestation</b> Chapter to Join the Ferry Boat in the Realm of the Dead	1	G1 Bo
44	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 573, VI 182b - 3 attestations</b> Chapter to Take Shape. Text is similar to the Unas and Teti <i>PT</i> 273- 274.	1	S1 C
		2	S2 C
		3	G2 T
45	Source / Chapter Description	Coffin Designation	
	<b>CT 663, VI 289r - 1 attestation</b> Chapter for receiving bread in On	1	B1 Bo




## Catalogue of *šw.t* attestations on New Kingdom Papyri, Tombs, Temples and Artefacts: Dynasty 18 – 20 (1650 – 1069 BCE)


Catalogue of the one hundred and thirty-six *šw.t* attestations recorded here are listed by name and sectioned under categories titled Papyri, Tombs, Temples, and Artefacts. Attestations are also recorded on the *TLA* and *DZA*. The corpus is recorded in the individual inscriptions within the various E. A. W. Budge Editions: Budge, *Book of the Dead* (1898); Budge, *BD Egyptian text* (1898); Budge, *Pap. Ani* (1895); Budge, *Facsimiles* (1899); *BD*; Budge, *Coming Forth by Day* (1910). Etc. Other spells are recorded from *P. Nebseni*; Lapp; Saleh, *Totenbuch*; George, *Schatten als Seele* etc. Inscriptions from the Books of the Hereafter are recorded in Hornung, *Sethos*; Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*; Frankfort, *Cenotaph Seti I (Plates) and (Texts)*; *Sethos I, II, IV*; Borghouts, *Magical Texts*; Lef. *Sethos*. Etc..



### 1. PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS – NON-ROYAL





1. PAPYRUS OF NU				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Thebes, Dyn. 18, Amenhotep II			British Museum, EA 10477	
Chapter Description: The chapter of bringing words of magical power to the deceased in the underworld.				
Spell / Reference	Orthography	Translit.	Translation	
Chapter Description: The chapter of giving a heart to the deceased in the underworld				
1	BD 26 sheet 5, line 8 TLA; Lapp, pl.13; Budge, Facsimilies, 124, pl.7.		šw.t	Do not lock away [---] my <i>shadow</i> from the gates of the West, ever and ever!
Chapter Description: A chapter of coming forth by day. The Chapter of knowing the “chapters of coming forth by day” in a single chapter				
2	BD 64 line 28. TLA; Lapp, pl. 59-62		šw.(w)t.	Oh, roaring (?) Who chases away the <i>shadows</i> of the "transfigured," give me a fair way to the gate of the underworld, built over that which lies there in exhaustion, to put it together, which is purulent (?).
Chapter Description: The chapter of not letting the ba of the deceased be captive in the underworld.				
3	BD 91 sheet 6, line 2 DZA 29.986.780; Budge, Book of the Dead (1898).		šw.t	to make a way for the ba, and for the khu, and for the <i>shade</i> of the overseer of

	151; Budge, <i>Facsimiles</i> (1899), 127, pl.10			the palace, the chancellor-in chief, Nu, triumphant
4	BD 91 sheet 6, line 4 TLA; Lapp, pl.16.		šw.t	let him prepare the way, justifiable, his ba, his akh and its shadow, being well-supplied!
<b>Chapter Description:</b> The Chapter of coming forth by day. The Chapter of opening the tomb to the ba and to the shade of the deceased so that he may come forth by day and have dominion over his feet.				
5	BD 92 sheet 7, line 1 TLA; Lapp, pl. 18-19; Budge, <i>Facsimiles</i> (1899), 129, pl.12		šw.t	Saying to open the tomb for the ba and for the shadow, to go out in the day and have both legs.
6	BD 92 sheet 7, line 7 TLA; Lapp, pl. 18-19; Budge, <i>Facsimiles</i> (1899), 129, pl.12.		šw.t	You should not guard my shadow.
<b>Chapter Description:</b> A Chapter to be said when the deceased cometh forth to the gods of the underworld.				
7	BD 125 sheet 22-24, line 24 TLA; Lapp, pl. 64-70; Budge, <i>Facsimiles</i> (1899), 165, pl.148.		šw.(w)t.	Oh, shadow devourer who came from the cave, I did not steal.
<b>Chapter Description:</b> The Chapter of the Aats: The Fifth Aat was inhabited by Spirit-bas whose thighs were seven cubits long.				
8	BD 149 sheets 29, line 35 TLA; Lapp, pl. 81-86; DZA 29.987.430; See also sheets 28-30, line 2; BD, 489; Budge, <i>Book of the Dead</i> (1898), 226; Budge, <i>BD Egyptian text</i> (1898), 371.		šw.wt	They live upon the shades of the weak and helpless.
<b>Chapter Description:</b> The Chapter of the Aats: The Tenth Aat was a region of terror, and it was ruled over by a god who carried a butcher's knife in each hand and bore a serpent on his head.				
9	BD 149 sheet 29, line 67 TLA; Lapp, pl. 81-86; See also sheets 29, line 2; BD, 493; Budge, <i>Book of the Dead</i> (1898), 269; Budge, <i>BD Egyptian text</i> (1898), 375.		šw.wt	Oh, the city of the fields that robs the "transfigured," who take possession of the shadows.
10	BD 149 sheet 29, line 5 BD, 493; Budge, <i>Book of the Dead</i> (1898), 269; Budge, <i>Facsimiles</i> (1899), 179, pl.62.		šw.t	My glorious strength shall not be taken away, and none shall gain the mastery over my shade, for I am a divine hawk.
111	BD 149 sheet 29 line 70 TLA; Lapp, pl. 81-86.		šw.t	My shadow will not be seized.
<b>Chapter Description:</b> The chapter of advancing from yesterday and coming forth by day				
12	BD 179 sheet 15 line 7-9 DZA 29.986.160; BD, 609; Budge, <i>Book of the Dead</i> (1898), 333.		šw.t	The first, great rank hath been given unto me by him, along with the shade and form of the living gods.







<b>Chapter Description:</b> The [chapter of] the going in of the ba. To build an abode and to come forth by day in human form				
<b>13</b>	<i>BD</i> 188 sheet 19 line 5 <i>DZA</i> 29.986.660; <i>TLA</i> ; Lapp, pl. 56; Budge, <i>BD Egyptian text</i> (1898), 491.		<i>šw.t</i>	His "transfiguration" is Hathor, more than any man, so that ba and <i>shadow</i> hurry with their thighs to every place to which he is assigned.
<b>14</b>	<i>BD</i> 188 sheet 19 line 2 <i>TLA</i> ; Lapp, pl. 56; <i>DZA</i> 29.986.770; <i>Book of the Dead</i> (1898), 349; Budge, <i>BD Egyptian text</i> (1898), 491.		<i>šwy.t</i>	Behold, thou hast a khu, together with a ba and a <i>shade</i> to look thereupon.
<b>15</b>	<i>BD</i> 188 sheet 19 line 5 <i>Book of the Dead</i> (1898), 349-50; Budge, <i>BD Egyptian text</i> (1898), 491; <i>BD</i> , 638.		<i>sw.t</i>	May [my] ba and my <i>shade</i> come [to me] upon their legs from the place where I am judged.

2. PAPYRUS OF MAIHERPERI				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
KV 36, Thebes, Dyn. 18, Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV			Cairo Museum, pCairo, CG 24095	
Chapter Description: The Chapter of opening the tomb to the ba and to the shade of the deceased so that he may come forth by day and have dominion over his feet.				
Spell / Reference		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1	BD 92 line 175 TLA; Munro. Kairo, 122.	n/a	šw.t	Open the grave for ba and shadow, to go out in the day to dispose of the feet by NN, justified.
2	BD 92 line 185 TLA; Munro. Kairo, 122.	n/a	šw.t	My shadow is unguarded.
3	BD 92 line 186 TLA; Munro. Kairo, 122.	n/a	šw.t	The road is open to my ba and my shadow, and to my 3h-shape.
4	BD 92 line 188 DZA 29.987.350; TLA; Munro. Kairo, 52;		šw.(w)t	...shut away the shadows of the dead, who have done me harm and will do me harm.
Chapter Description: [A Chapter] to be said when the deceased cometh forth into the hall of Maati, so that he may be separated from every sin which he hath done and may behold the faces of the gods.				
5	BD 125 line 412 TLA; Munro, Kairo, 129-131.	n/a	šw.t	Oh, shadow devourer who came from the cave, I did not steal.
Chapter Description: The Book of the praise of the gods of Qerti which a man shall recite when he comes forth before them to enter into seeing the god in the great temple of the underworld.				
6	BD 127 line 569 TLA; Munro, Kairo, 129-135.	n/a	šw.(w)t	O doorkeepers, O gatekeepers guarding their gates, sucking in the baskets, devouring the shadows of the dead.

<b>Chapter Description:</b> The Chapter of the Aats: The Fifth Aat was inhabited by Spirit-bas whose thighs were seven cubits long.				
<b>7</b>	BD 149 line 302 <i>TLA; Munro, Kairo, 125-28.</i>		<i>šw.(w)t</i>	The "transfigured" who are in her measure 6 cubits in the <i>shadows</i> of the "tired".
<b>Chapter Description:</b> The Chapter of the Aats: The Tenth Aat was a region of terror, and it was ruled over by a god who carried a butcher's knife in each hand and bore a serpent on his head.				
<b>8</b>	BD 149 line 336 <i>TLA; Munro, Kairo, 125-28; DZA 29.986.960.2, cf. DZA 9.986.700.</i>		<i>šw.t</i>	Oh, that village of farmland that seizes the "transfigured," who takes possession of the <i>shadows</i> .
<b>9</b>	BD 149 line 339 <i>TLA; Munro, Kairo, 125-28.</i>	n/a	<i>šw.t</i>	My <i>shadow</i> will not be seized.


3. PAPYRUS OF JUJA				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
KV 46, Thebes, Dyn. 18, Amenhotep III			Cairo Museum, pCairo, CG 51189	
<b>Chapter Description:</b> [A Chapter] to be said when the deceased cometh forth into the hall of Maati, so that he may be separated from every sin which he hath done and may behold the faces of the gods.				
Spell / Reference		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1	BD 125 line 712 <i>TLA; Munro, Kairo, 65-67.</i>		<i>šw.t</i>	Oh, <i>shadow</i> devourer who came from the cave, I did not steal.
<b>Chapter Description:</b> The Chapter of the Aats: The Fifth Aat was inhabited by Spirit-bas whose thighs were seven cubits long.				
2	BD 149 line 891 <i>TLA; Munro, Kairo, 69-71.</i>		<i>šw.t</i>	They live on the <i>shadows</i> of the "tired".
<b>Chapter Description:</b> The Chapter of the Aats: The Tenth Aat was a region of terror, and it was ruled over by a god who carried a butcher's knife in each hand and bore a serpent on his head.				
3	BD 149 line 924 <i>TLA; Munro, Kairo, 69-71; DZA 29.987.070.</i>		<i>šw.(w)t</i>	Oh, you city of the <i>k3h.w</i> , who seizes the "transfigured" and seizes the <i>shades</i> .
4	BD 149 line 927 <i>TLA; Munro, Kairo, 69-71.</i>		<i>šw.t</i>	One has not seized my <i>shadow</i> .




4. PAPYRUS OF NEBSENI				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Saqqara, Dyn. 18, Thutmose IV			British Museum, BM 9,900	
Chapter Description: The chapter of not perishing and of becoming alive in the underworld.				
Spell / Reference	Orthography	Translit.	Translation	
1	BD 46 sheet 5 <i>P. Nebsemi</i> , 34.	n/a	šw.t	I am the heir, the <i>shadow</i> , of the unique lord tomb, great record, living of truth.
Chapter Description: A chapter of coming forth by day in the underworld				
2	BD 64 sheets 23 & 24 line 35 Budge, <i>Coming Forth by Day</i> (1910), 182; Budge, <i>Book of the Dead</i> (1898), 114; <i>BD</i> , 215.		šw.(w)t	Hail, Hemti ; who carries away the <i>shades</i> of the dead and the Khus from earth.
Chapter Description: The chapter of causing the ba to be united to its body in the underworld				
3	BD 89 sheet 6 line 14 <i>P. Nebsemi</i> , 21; <i>BD</i> , 280; Budge, <i>Book of the Dead</i> (1898), XIII.	n/a	šw.t	The heaven is the land of the ba in every place where it is. If it is late, let me see my ba and my <i>shadow</i> . If you find, Horus's eye, stop.
Chapter Description: The chapter of opening the tomb to the ba and to the shade of the deceased so that he may come forth by day and have dominion over his feet				
4	BD 92 sheet 6 line 8a <i>DZA 29.987.390</i> ; Budge, <i>Book of the Dead</i> (1898), LXXXIX; see Naville, <i>Bd . I</i> 131, 104; <i>BD</i> , 286-7, line 8; Budge, <i>BD Egyptian text</i> (1898), 195.		šw.t	O keep not captive my ba, O keep not ward over my <i>shade</i> .
5	BD 92 sheet 6 line 8b <i>DZA 29.987.390</i> ; <i>p. Nebsemi</i> , 20; cf. Budge, <i>BD Egyptian text</i> (1898), 195; <i>BD</i> , 287.		šw.t	But let a way be opened for my ba for my <i>shade</i> and let [them] see the Great God in the shrine.
6	BD 92 sheet 6 line 10 Budge, <i>Book of the Dead</i> (1898), 153; <i>BD</i> , 287; Budge, <i>BD Egyptian text</i> (1898), 195.		šw.(w)t	Let [them] recite the utterances of Osiris, whose habitations are hidden, to those who guard the members of Osiris, and who keep ward over the Khus, and who hold captive the <i>shades</i> of the dead.
7	BD 92 sheet 6 line 11-12 <i>DZA 29.987.380</i> ; Budge, <i>BD Egyptian text</i> (1898), 196; Budge, <i>Book of the Dead</i> (1898), 153; <i>BD</i> , 287, line1 0.		šw.(w)t	Make a way for thy double (ka) along with thee and along with [thy] ba be prepared by those who keep ward over the members of Osiris, and who hold captive the <i>shades</i> of the dead.
Chapter Description: The Negative Confession. [A chapter] to be said when the deceased cometh forth into the hall of Maati, so that he may be separated from every sin which he hath done and may behold the faces of the gods.				
8	BD 125 sheet 30 line 4		šw.wt	"Hail, thou who eats <i>shades</i> , who comes forth from the "place where

	DZA 29.987.530; Budge, <i>BD Egyptian text</i> (1898), 253; Budge, <i>Book of the Dead</i> (1898), 193; p. <i>Nebseni</i> , 80; cf. Budge, <i>Pap. Ani</i> (1895), 350, pl. XXXII.			the Nile rises, I have not committed theft.
<b>Chapter Description:</b> The chapter for praises which are to be performed in the underworld				
9	BD 172 sheet 32 p. <i>Nebseni</i> , 21.	n/a	šw.wt	The darkness is on your faces, guardians of Osiris. Do not imprison my ba, keep my <i>shadow</i> .

5. PAPYRUS OF ANI				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Thebes, Dyn. 19			British Museum, BM 10,470	
Chapter Description: Negative confession				
Spell / Reference	Orthography	Translit.	Translation	
1 BD 125 line 4 Budge, <i>Pap. Ani</i> (1895), 198 pl.31, 320, pl. XVIII.		šw.(w)t	Hail, eater of <i>shades</i> , coming forth from the Qerret, not have I slain men; twice.	
Chapter Description: The chapter of causing the ba to be united to its body in the underworld				
2 BD 89 DZA 29.986.800; Budge, <i>Pap. Ani</i> (1895), lxvii.		šw.t	May I look upon my ba and my <i>shadow</i> .	
Chapter Description: The chapter of opening the tomb to the ba and shadow, of coming forth by day, and getting power over the legs				
3 BD 92 line 1 (title) Budge, <i>Pap. Ani</i> (1895), 115, 318, pl. 17.		šw.t	The chapter of opening the tomb to the ba and <i>shadow</i> , of coming forth by day, and getting power over the legs.	
4 BD 92 line 8 Budge, <i>Pap. Ani</i> (1895), 117, pl. 18.		šw.t	O keep not captive my ba, O keep not ward over my <i>shadow</i> .	
5 BD 92 line 8-9 Budge, <i>Pap. Ani</i> (1895), 117 pl. XVIII.		šw.t	Be there open the way for my ba and my <i>shade</i> , may it see the great god.	
6 BD 92 line 10-11 Budge, <i>Pap. Ani</i> (1895), 117 pl. 18, 320, pl. XVIII		šw.(w)t	Being hidden of dwellings, fetters of the limbs of Osiris, fetters of the bas and of the khus who shut in the <i>shade[s]</i> of the dead who can do evil to me.	
7 BD 92 line 14 Budge, <i>Pap. Ani</i> (1895), 118 pl. 18,320, pl. XVIII.		šw.(w)t	may my ba not be set in bondage by those who fether the limbs of Osiris, and who fether bas, and who shut in the <i>shade[s]</i> of the dead.	

6. PAPYRUS OF ANHAY (FEMALE)				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Deir el Bahari, Dyn. 20			British Museum, EA 10472	
Chapter Description: Negative Confession [A Chapter] to be said when the deceased cometh forth to the gods of the underworld.				
Spell / Reference		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1	<i>BD 125</i> Budge, <i>Facsimiles</i> (1899), 25, pl. V.		<i>šw.t</i>	Hail, Eater of <i>Shades</i> , who comest forth from Qerret; Hail.


## 2. PAPYRUS DOCUMENT – ROYAL


7. PAPYRUS OF NEDJMET (FEMALE)				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Deir el Bahari, Dyn. 20 /21			British Museum, EA 10, 490	
Chapter Description: Negative Confession [A Chapter] to be said when the deceased cometh forth to the gods of the underworld.				
Spell		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1	BD 125 sheet 3. Budge, <i>Facsimilies</i> (1899), 24 pl. V.		šw.t	Hail, Eater of <i>Shades</i> , who comest forth from Qerret; Hail.

## 3. TOMB INSCRIPTIONS: NON-ROYAL


8. TOMB OF AMENEMHAT				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Sheikh Abd el-Gurnah, Thebes, Dyn. 18, Thutmose III			TT82, Thebes	
Chapter Description: Offering Litany				
Spell / Reference		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1	Litany	n/a	šw.yt	Gifts are brought to the north wall for his k3, for his stele. , , . for his ba for his ka for his corpse (h3, t), for his shadow.












				and for all its other manifestations
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

9. TOMB OF DJEHUTY				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Thebes, Thutmose III, Dyn. 18			Thebes, TT 11	
<b>Chapter Description:</b> The Chapter of coming forth by day. The Chapter of opening the tomb to the ba and to the shade of the deceased so that he may come forth by day and have dominion over his feet.				
Spell / Reference		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1	BD 92, line 7 DZA 29.986.710; Galan, <i>Djehuty</i> (TT11), 191.		šw.t	May you make way for my ba, my spirit and my <i>shadow</i> .


10. TOMB OF AMENEMHET				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Sheikh Abd el-Gurnah, Thebes, Dyn. 18, Thutmose III			TT53, Thebes	
Chapter Description: Offering Litany				
Spell / Reference		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1	?  DZA 29.986.790		šw.t	for his ka for his or her little one for his ba for his corpse for his shadow.




#### 4. TOMB INSCRIPTIONS: ROYAL




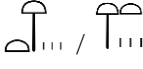

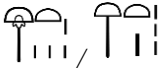




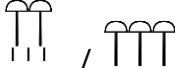
11. TOMB OF AMENHOTEP II				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Thebes, Dyn. 18, Amenhotep II			KV35, Thebes	
Chapter Description: Amduat				
Spell / Reference / Reference		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1	Amduat Title Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 7		šw.wt	Treatise of the hidden region, the positions of the bas, the gods, the shadows, the 3h -spirits and what is done.











12. TOMB OF THUTMOSE III					
Provenance / Date				Present Location and No.	
Thebes, Dyn. 18, Thutmose III				KV38, Thebes	
Title: Amduat					
Spell / Reference / Reference		Orthography	Translit.	Translation	
1	Amduat Title, Richter, <i>The Amduat</i> , 74.		šw.wt	The writing of the Hidden Chamber, the standing-places [or, “location”] of the bas the Gods, the shadows, and the šh.w, and [their] actions.	
2	Amduat 2 <sup>nd</sup> hour, upper register Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 54		šw.wt	He who causes to fall, who beheads shadows.	
3	Amduat 3 <sup>rd</sup> hour, upper register Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 86		šw.wt	Their bas speak on them, their shadows rest on them.	
4	Amduat 3 <sup>rd</sup> hour, lower register Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 95		šw.wt	Doing the roasting and cutting up the Ba-bas, imprisoning the shadows and putting an end to those who do not exist, who are at their place of destruction.	
5	Amduat 5 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 152		šw.wt	Grind the enemies, that you annihilate the damned and cut down the shadows of the annihilated!	
6	Amduat 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 205		šw.wt	What they have to do in the Netherworld: To conduct the bas and let the shadows alight, and the secure the water-supply for the akh-spirits.	
7	Amduat 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 206		šw.wt	What he has to do in the Netherworld: To swallow the shadows and to wipe out the figures of the foes in the netherworld.	
8	Amduat 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 207		šw.wt	May your bas emerge and may your shadows rest!	
9	Amduat 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 209		šw.wt	May your faces burn, and may your knives be sharp, that you may consume the enemies of Khepri and cut their shadows!	
10	Amduat 7 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 225		šw.wt	Annihilation is for your bas, hindering for your shadows!	
11	Amduat 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, middle register Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 262		šw.wt	(a god) Who brings the shadows to rest.	
12	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register		šw.wt	Life to your bas, that they alight upon your shadows.	

	Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 334			
13	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 344		<i>šw.wt</i>	<i>Shadows</i> of the enemies.
14	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 346		<i>šw.wt</i>	Punishment of your corpses by (the knife) <punisher>, annihilation for your bas, trampling down for your <i>shadows</i> .
15	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register Warburton, <i>Amduat</i> , 349		<i>šw.wt</i>	They live on the voice of the enemies, on the screaming of the bas and the <i>shadows</i> whom they register into their pits.




13. TOMB OF HOREMHEB				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Thebes, Dyn. 18			Thebes, KV57	
Title: The Book of Gates				
Spell		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1	Book of Gates. 4 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register <i>Sethos IV</i> , 9; <i>DZA</i> 29.987.100.		<i>šw.wt</i>	the bas pass the <i>shadows</i> because they are the voice of the lions.






14. TOMB OF SETI I				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Thebes, Dyn. 19, Seti I			Thebes, KV 17	
Chapter Description: Amduat				
Spell / Reference / Reference		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1	Amduat Title, line 8 <i>Sethos IV</i> , 24; <i>DZA</i> 29.986.940; Richter, <i>The Amduat</i> , 74.		šw.wt	The writing of the Hidden Chamber, the standing-places [or, “location”] of the bas the Gods, the shadows, and the šh.w, and [their] actions.
2	Amduat 3 <sup>rd</sup> hour, heading, lower register <i>Sethos IV</i> , 32/33; <i>DZA</i> 29.987.010; Budge, <i>Heaven and Hell</i> , 59.		sw.wt	Bas decompose, shadows are locked up.
3	Amduat 3 <sup>rd</sup> hour <i>Sethos IV</i> ; <i>DZA</i> 29.986.920.		šwy.wt	And their shadows are satisfied for her sake when the god calls her, folds them with them, and adores him and whom he goes away again.
4	Amduat 4 <sup>th</sup> hour Budge, <i>Heaven and Hell</i> , 129		šw.wt	[These are] they who have their speech after Re cometh to them, and bas are turned backwards, and

				<i>shadows</i> are destroyed at the hearing of the words (or, voices) of the uraei.
5	Amduat 5 <sup>th</sup> hour Budge, <i>Heaven and Hell</i> , 110		šw.wt	The Majesty of this great god say unto them, Hail, ye who stand at the blocks of torture, and who keep ward at the destruction of the dead...who take vengeance on the enemies, who annihilate the dead, who hack in pieces <i>shades</i> [of men and women].
6	Amduat 5th hour, top register <i>Sethos I</i> , 28; DZA 29.987.060.		šw.wt	You succeed the enemies and destroy the dead and cut the <i>shadows</i> by the...and disrespectful.
7	Amduat 6th hour, upper register <i>Sethos IV</i> 40,41; DZA 29.987.420; Budge, <i>Heaven and Hell</i> , 135		šw.wt	The work which he doeth in the Duat is to devour the <i>shades</i> of the dead, and to eat up the spirits of the enemies [of Re], and to overthrow [those who are hostile to him] in the Duat.
8	Amduat 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register <i>Sethos IV</i> ,41; DZA 29.986.900; Budge, <i>Heaven and Hell</i> , 138.		šw.wt	ye whose bas come into being, ye who are united to your <i>shades</i> , who lift up your feet and who move onwards by your thighs, unite ye yourselves to your flesh, and let not your members be fettered.
9	Amduat 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register <i>Sethos IV</i> ,40. DZA 29.986.740; Budge, <i>Heaven and Hell</i> , 133.		šw.wt	It is the eye in the Duat who must guide the bas, the <i>shadows</i> to ... and to supply the transfigured with water.
10	Amduat 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register <i>Sethos IV</i> ,41/42; DZA 29.987.050; Budge, <i>Heaven and Hell</i> , 138.		šw.wt	Burn ye up the enemies of Khepera, hack in pieces their <i>shades</i> , for ye are the warders of the Hidden Flesh.
11	Amduat 7 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register <i>Sethos IV</i> ,44; DZA 29.987.120; Budge, <i>Heaven and Hell</i> , 153.		šw.wt	...who are hostile to Osiris, who have rebelled against the Governor of the Duat, your hands and arms are fettered, and [ye] are tied tightly with bonds, and your bas are kept under ward, and your <i>shades</i> are hacked in pieces...
12	Amduat 7th hour, Budge, <i>Heaven and Hell</i> , 196		šw.t	Let thy ba be in heaven at the head of the horizon, let thy <i>shadow</i> penetrate the hidden place, and let thy body be to the earth.
13	Amduat 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, middle register <i>Sethos IV</i> , 48; DZA 29.987.570.		šw.wt	List of names of the eight gods in different forms, one is in the form of a <i>shadow</i> .
14	Amduat 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register <i>Sethos IV</i> , 47-49; DZA 29.987.580.		šw.wt	Knife. <i>Shadows</i> of those in the netherworld (Name of the end door of the knives).




15	Amduat 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register Budge, <i>Heaven and Hell</i> , 252-4		<i>šw.wt</i>	The Majesty of this god uttered the decree, [saying] :—Hack in pieces and cut asunder the bodies of the enemies and the members of the dead who have been turned upside down...he hath hacked in pieces your spirits and your bas, and hath scattered in pieces your <i>shadows</i> , and hath cut in pieces your heads; ye shall never more exist.
16	Amduat 9 <sup>th</sup> hour, Budge, <i>Heaven and Hell</i> , 242		<i>šw.t</i>	This great god is towed along by the gods of the Duat, and those who tow Re along say :—' The god cometh to his body, and the god is towed along to his <i>shadow</i> .
17	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour lower register <i>Sethos II</i> , 23; <i>DZA</i> 29.987.110.		<i>šw.wt</i>	You will be dealt with ...your bas...your <i>shadows</i> ...cut off your heads.
18	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour upper register <i>Sethos II</i> , 23; <i>DZA</i> 29.987.410.		<i>šw.wt</i>	He lives on the <i>shadows</i> of the dead.
19	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour upper register <i>Sethos II</i> , 23/24; <i>DZA</i> 29.986.670.		<i>šw.wt</i>	...weep over your shadows.
20	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour Budge, <i>Heaven and Hell</i> , 244-6		<i>šw.wt</i>	My hidden appearances and my secret radiance cause your life, ye who advance to your <i>shadows</i> , who are free to move or are shrouded in respect of the arms by the Form in his holy places...
21	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour lower register (4th) <i>Sethos II</i> , 23/24; <i>DZA</i> 29.987.030.		<i>šw.wt</i>	<i>Shadows</i> of the enemies of Osiris.
22	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register Budge, <i>Heaven and Hell</i> , 252-4		<i>šw.wt</i>	Those who are in this picture, who are depicted with the enemies of Osiris of the Duat, and with Her-utu-f, who is the guardian of this Circle, live by means of the voice of the enemies, and by the cries of entreaty of the bas and <i>shadows</i> which have been placed in their pits of fire.
23	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour lower register <i>Sethos II</i> 25/26; <i>DZA</i> 29.987.020.		<i>sw.wt</i>	they live on the voice of the enemies and on the cries of the bas and <i>shadows</i> they cast into their fiery dungeons.
<b>Description : The Book of Gates</b>				
24	Book of Gates. 4 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register <i>Sethos IV</i> , 9; <i>DZA</i> 29.987.100.		<i>šw.wt</i>	the bas past the <i>shadows</i> pass away because they are the voice of the lions.





25	Book of Gates. 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, middle register <i>Sethos II</i> , 11; DZA 29.986.910.		<i>šw.t</i>	Your <i>shadow</i> goes through the haunting as your lending the end is yours in heaven.
<b>Description :</b> The Book of the Celestial Cow				
26	Book of the Celestial Cow. Line 16		<i>šw.t</i>	Call me the messengers, the hurrying and the fast, so that they may move like the <i>shadow</i> of a body!
<b>Description :</b> The Opening of the Mouth Ceremony				
27	Opening of the Mouth Ceremony Scene 9 and 10 George, <i>Schatten als Seele</i> , 88, 225, Fig.8; Lekov, <i>Shadow Representations</i> , 61, Fig.6. Redrawn by Lekov from photo; Lef, <i>Sethos</i> , Pl. III.		<i>šw.t</i>	I have seen my father in every shape as a praying mantis, I forbid that he suffers / bees, may nothing be destroyed in him by his <i>shadow</i> .

15. TOMB OF RAMESES IV				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Thebes, Dyn. 20, Rameses IV			KV 2, Thebes	
Title: The Litany of Re				
Spell / Reference		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1	Litany of Re, 27-30 <i>DZA 29.987.480.</i>		<i>šw.t</i>	?
2	Litany of Re, 21-23 <i>DZA 29.986.860.</i>		<i>šw.t</i>	the gods say to the king, great in your forms, ba and <i>shadow</i> that is not destroyed that lives from that of we live.
3	Litany of Re, 30-32 <i>DZA 29.987.490.</i>		<i>šw.wt</i>	?
Title: Amduat				
4	Amduat 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register <i>DZA 29.986.970.</i>	 (lacunae)	<i>šw.t</i>	?
Title: The Book of Gates				
5	Book of Gates. 4 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register <i>Sethos IV</i> , 9; <i>DZA 29.987.100.</i>		<i>šw.wt</i>	the bas past the <i>shadows</i> pass away because they are the voice of the lions.


16. TOMB OF RAMESES VI			
Provenance / Date		Present Location and No.	
Thebes, Dyn. 20, Rameses VI		KV 9, Thebes	
Title: The Book of Gates			
Spell / Reference	Orthography	Translit.	Translation






1	Book of Gates. 4 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register <i>Sethos IV</i> , 9; DZA 29.987.100.		<i>šw.wt</i>	the bas past the <i>shadows</i> pass away because they are the voice of the lions.
2	The Book of Gates, 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register DZA 29.986.950.		<i>šw.wt</i>	...excellence is your <i>shadows</i> .
<b>Title: The Book of the Earth</b>				
3	The Book of the Earth, Left wall, upper register, Scene 70 text 56, cols. 3-4/1-2 Roberson, <i>Book of the Earth</i> , 309, 679.	n/a	<i>šw.wt</i>	punishes heads and burns <i>shades</i> , corpses, bas, and limbs
	The Book of the Earth, Left wall, third register, Scene 38. Roberson, <i>Book of the Earth</i> , 618.		<i>šw.wt</i>	The Place of <i>Shadows</i> .




17. TOMB OF RAMESES VII				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Thebes, Dyn. 20, Rameses VII			KV 1, Thebes	
Title: The Book of the Earth				
Spell / Reference		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
3	The Book of the Earth, Scene 2, text 3, line 9. Roberson, <i>Book of the Earth</i> , 744, 1048, pls.16a. Parallels in R9. D 2 3: R9 Sarcophagus 2 A	šw.wt		Their <i>shades</i> , they h[over] above them, while they mourn over the mysterious corpse of Osiris, the foremost one of the Duat.







18. TOMB OF RAMESES IX				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Thebes, Dyn. 20, Rameses IX			KV 6, Thebes	
Title: The Book of the Earth				
Spell / Reference		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
	The Book of the Earth, Scene 2, text 3. line 9. Roberson, <i>Book of the Earth</i> , 776, 1048, pls.16a. Parallels: R7.D.2.3.9; Sarcophagus.2.A. The bent form of the fan hieroglyph employed here reflects the characteristic morphology of the shades represented in the vignette.	šw.wt		Their <i>shades</i> , they h[over] above them, while they mourn over the mysterious corpse of Osiris, the foremost one of the Duat.





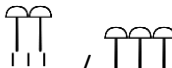







## 5. TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS

19. TEMPLE OF RAMESES II			
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.
Thebes, Rameses II, Dyn. 18			Thebes, Temple of Rameses II
Chapter Description: Litany of Re			
Spell / Reference	Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1 Litany of Re DZA 29.987.510.		šw.wt	...who forsake bas and devour the shadows of the dead.


20. THE CENOTAPH OF SETI I (OSIREION)			
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.
Thebes, Dyn. 19, Seti I			Abydos
Title: The Book of Caverns			
Spell / Reference	Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1 The Book of Caverns Frankfort, <i>Cenotaph of Seti I (Text)</i> , 39; Lef. <i>Sethos</i> , Pl.24. Var II 24; DZA 27.621.040 registered under <i>h3yb.t</i> lemma.		šw.wt	I pass by your cavern in the beautiful west to create the place of their slaughter (?) against them, to destroy [their bas, to wipe out their shadows, to destroy their corpses] to ...their powers, to...thy enemies.
2 The Book of Caverns Frankfort, <i>Cenotaph of Seti I (Text)</i> , 54; Frankfort, <i>Cenotaph of Seti I (plates)</i> , Pl. XXXIX		šw.wt	...under the bas, corpses (and) shadows of the enemies of Re; he says O enemies (?) whose heads are cut off, these two great goddesses fan with their arms the fire against them.
3 The Book of Caverns Line 22 Frankfort, <i>Cenotaph of Seti I (Texts)</i> , 40; Frankfort, <i>Cenotaph of Seti I (plates)</i> , Pl. XXVI		šw.t	Oh, she whose ba lives and whose shadow is powerful and who protect those who are in the West.
4 The Book of Caverns Frankfort, <i>Cenotaph of Seti I (Text)</i> , 54; Frankfort, <i>Cenotaph of Seti I (plates)</i> , Pl. XXXIX		šw.wt	Re says to this cavern: O ye two goddesses great of flame, who burn (?) powerful of flame, who...their kettles...with the gods of...bas, corpses, bodies, shadows of my enemies.
5 The Book of Caverns Frankfort, <i>Cenotaph of Seti I (Text)</i> , 57; Frankfort, <i>Cenotaph of Seti I (plates)</i> , Pl. XLI.		šw.(w)t	You are those [beaten ones, bound because of violence, those who are placed in the secret place of the good god. Behold...] I have put you into custody, while you are

				placed under the secret hand whence there is no escaping... [destroyed are your bas and] your <i>shadows</i> .
6	The Book of Caverns Frankfort, <i>Cenotaph of Seti I</i> (Text), 60; Frankfort, <i>Cenotaph</i> <i>of Seti I (plates)</i> , Pl. XLI.		šw.wt	O bas of the enemies of Osiris. O <i>shadows</i> of the enemies of Osiris, against whom the two goddesses throw their fire.
7	The Book of Caverns Frankfort, <i>Cenotaph of Seti I</i> (Text), 60; Frankfort, <i>Cenotaph</i> <i>of Seti I (plates)</i> , Pl. XLI.		šw.t	You are the enemies of Osiris, your <i>shadows</i> are subdued, your shapes are not.
<b>Title: The Book of Gates</b>				
	The Book of Gates East side of roof of Sarcophagus Chamber. Frankfort, <i>Cenotaph of Seti I</i> (Text), 70; Frankfort, <i>Cenotaph</i> <i>of Seti I (plates)</i> , Pl. LXXVI		šw.(w)t	Those who are awake, those who are asleep, those who are silent, those who are resuscitated, those who are drowned, the spirits, the <i>shadows</i> , (shadows are shaped as children).


21. TEMPLE OF SETI I				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Thebes, Dyn. 19, Seti I			Thebes	
Title: Amduat				
Spell / Reference / Reference		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1	Amduat Title, line 8 <i>Sethos IV</i> , 24; DZA 29.986.940.		šw.wt	Treatise of the hidden region, the positions of the bas, the gods, the <i>shadows</i> , the 3h -spirits and what is done.
2	Amduat 3 <sup>rd</sup> hour, heading, lower register <i>Sethos IV</i> , 32/33; DZA 29.987.010.		sw.wt	Bas decompose, <i>shadows</i> are locked up (insolence of evil).
3	Amduat 3 <sup>rd</sup> hour <i>Sethos IV</i> ; DZA 29.986.920.		šwy.wt	And their <i>shadows</i> are satisfied for her sake when the god calls her, folds them with them, and adores him and whom he goes away again.
4	Amduat 5th hour, top register <i>Sethos I</i> , 28; DZA 29.987.060.		šw.wt	You succeed the enemies and destroy the dead and cut the <i>shadows</i> by the...and disrespectful.
5	Amduat 6th hour, upper register <i>Sethos IV</i> 40,41; DZA 29.987.420.		šw.wt	what the ones in the Duat eat are the <i>shadows</i> and devour the hw of the enemies fallen in the Duat.
6	Amduat 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register <i>Sethos IV</i> ,41; DZA 29.986.900.		šw.wt	Be ye a ba, let your <i>shadow</i> go down to your feet.

7	Amduat 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register <i>Sethos IV,40; DZA 29.986.740.</i>		<i>šw.wt</i>	It is the eye in the Duat who must guide the bas, the <i>shadows</i> to ... and to supply the transfigured with water.
8	Amduat 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register <i>Sethos IV,41/42; DZA 29.987.050.</i>		<i>šw.wt</i>	so that you burn the enemies of him and crush their <i>shadows</i> .
9	Amduat 7 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register <i>Sethos IV,44; DZA 29.987.120.</i>		<i>šw.wt</i>	tie up your arms and bind to your fossils, ... your bas and your <i>shadows</i> .
10	Amduat 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, middle register <i>Sethos IV, 48; DZA 29.987.570.</i>		<i>šw.wt</i>	List of names of the nine gods in different forms, one is in the form of a <i>shadow</i> .
11	Amduat 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register <i>Sethos IV, 47-49; DZA 29.987.580.</i>		<i>šw.wt</i>	Names of the doors of the knives.
12	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour lower register <i>Sethos II,23; DZA 29.987.110.</i>		<i>šw.wt</i>	You will be dealt with ...your bas...your <i>shadows</i> ...cut off your heads.
13	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour upper register <i>Sethos II, 23; DZA 29.987.410.</i>		<i>šw.wt</i>	He lives on the <i>shadows</i> of the dead.
14	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour upper register <i>Sethos II, 23/24; DZA 29.986.670.</i>		<i>šw.wt</i>	...weep over your shadows
15	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour lower register (4th) <i>Sethos II, 23/24; DZA 29.987.030.</i>		<i>šw.wt</i>	<i>Shadows</i> of the enemies of Osiris.
16	Amduat 11 <sup>th</sup> hour lower register <i>Sethos II 25/26; DZA 29.987.020.</i>		<i>sw.wt</i>	they live on the voice of the enemies and on the cries of the bas and <i>shadows</i> they cast into their fiery dungeons.
<b>Title : The Book of Gates</b>				
17	Book of Gates. 4 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register <i>Sethos IV, 9; DZA 29.987.100.</i>		<i>šw.wt</i>	the bas past the <i>shadows</i> pass away because they are the voice of the lions.
18	Book of Gates. 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, middle register <i>Sethos II, 11; DZA 29.986.910.</i>		<i>šw.t</i>	Your <i>shadow</i> goes through the haunting as your lending the end is yours in heaven.

## 6. ARTIFACTS

22. STATUE OF AMENEMOPET AND HIS WIFE				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
TT 265, Dyn. 19			Berlin, 6910	
Artefact Description: Black granite statue				
Spell		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1	? DZA 29.986.730.		šw.t	the light of the darkness after the dark tears give my ba life and my shadow.

23. PROPHYLACTIC STATUE				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Tell Basta, Heliopolis, Dyn. 20, Ramesses III			Cairo Museum, Cairo JE 69771	
Artefact Description: Black granite statue				
Spell / Reference		Orthography	Translit.	Translation
1	Snake Magic Banner 8, rear, 18-26, line 23. <i>TLA; Borghouts, Magical Texts, 94.</i>	n/a	<i>šw.t</i>	You are not seen, because you are destroyed, because your <i>shadow</i> no longer exists!
2	Snake Magic Banner 8, rear, 18-26, line 26 <i>TLA; Borghouts, Magical Texts, 94.</i>	n/a	<i>šw.t</i>	The enemy of the gods has passed, (he) does not exist at all, neither in heaven nor on earth is there its <i>shadow</i> !

24. SARCOPHYAGUS OF RAMESES IV				
Provenance / Date			Present Location and No.	
Thebes, Dyn. 20, Rameses IV			KV 2, Thebes	
Title: The Book of the Earth				
	<p>The Book of the Earth, Column 5. Roberson, <i>Book of the Earth</i>, 744, 1048, pls.16a; Lef. <i>Sethos</i>, vol. 3, pls. 28-30. Parallels: R7.D.2.3.9: R9.D.2.3.9.</p>	<p>šw.wt</p>		<p>Their <i>shades</i>, they h[over] above them, while they mourn over the mysterious corpse of Osiris, the foremost one of the Duat.</p>

**Catalogue of Afterlife Texts which mention *šw.t* in the New Kingdom:  
Dynasty 18 - 20 (1650 - 1069 BCE)**

Catalogue of the one hundred and thirty-six *šw.t* attestations are recorded in twenty-one sources and are listed by Chapter Title or Spell Title in the order by which they occur in the individual manuscripts. Some attestations are also recorded on the *TLA* and *DZA*. The corpus is recorded in the various E. A. W. Budge Editions: *Budge, Book of the Dead* (1898); *Budge, BD Egyptian text* (1898); *Budge, Pap. Ani* (1895); *Budge, Facsimiles* (1899); *BD*; *Budge, Coming Forth by Day* (1910). Etc. Other spells are recorded from *P. Nebseni*; *Lapp*; *Saleh, Totenbuch*; *George, Schatten als Seele* etc. Inscriptions from the Books of the Hereafter are recorded in *Hornung, Sethos*; *Hornung, Books of the Afterlife*; *Hornung, Cenotaph Seti I (Plates) and (Texts)*; *Sethos I, II, IV*; *Borghouts, Magical Texts*; *Lef. Sethos*. Etc. (see Appendix 5 for specific references).

1	Source / Chapter Description	Owner of Papyrus / Tomb	
	<b>BD 026 - 1 attestation</b> The chapter of giving a heart to the deceased in the underworld.	1	Nu, sheet 5, line 8
2	Source / Chapter Description	Owner of Papyrus / Tomb	
	<b>BD 046 - 1 attestation</b> The chapter of not perishing and of becoming alive in the underworld.	1	Nebseni, sheet 5
3	Source / Chapter Description	Owner of Papyrus / Tomb	
	<b>BD 064 - 2 attestations</b> A chapter of coming forth by day. The Chapter of knowing the “chapters of coming forth by day” in a single chapter.	1	Nebseni, sheets 23 & 24, line 35
		2	Nu, line 28
4	Source / Chapter Description	Owner of Papyrus / Tomb	
	<b>BD 089 - 2 attestations</b> The chapter of causing the ba to be united to its body in the underworld.	1	Nebseni, sheet 6, line 14
		2	Ani
5	Source / Chapter Description	Owner of Papyrus / Tomb	
	<b>BD 091 - 2 attestations</b> The chapter of not letting the ba of the deceased be captive in the underworld.	1	Nu, sheet 6, line 2
		2	Nu, sheet 6, line 4
6	Source / Chapter Description	Owner of Papyrus / Tomb	
	<b>BD 092 - 16 attestations</b> The chapter of coming forth by day. The chapter	1	Nu, sheet 7, line 1
		2	Nu, sheet 7, line 7

	of opening the tomb to the ba and to the shade of the deceased so that he may come forth by day and have dominion over his feet.	3	Maiherperi, line 175
		4	Maiherperi, line 185
		5	Maiherperi, line 186
		6	Maiherperi, line 188
		7	Nebseni, sheet 6, line 8a
		8	Nebseni, sheet 6, line 8b
		9	Nebseni, sheet 6, line 10
		10	Nebseni, sheet 6, line 11-12
		11	Ani, line 1 (title)
		12	Ani, line 8
		13	Ani, line 8-9
		14	Ani, line 10-11
		15	Ani, line 14
		16	Djehuty, line 7
<b>7</b>	<b>Source / Chapter Description</b>	<b>Owner of Papyrus / Tomb</b>	
	<b>BD 125 - 7 attestations</b>	1	Nu, sheet 22-24, line 24
	Negative Confession. A chapter to be said when the deceased cometh forth to the gods of the underworld.	2	Maiherperi, line 412
		3	Juja, line 712
		4	Nebseni, sheet 30, line 4
		5	Ani, line 4
		6	Anhay
		7	Nedjmet
<b>8</b>	<b>Source / Chapter Description</b>	<b>Owner of Papyrus / Tomb</b>	
	<b>BD 127 – 1 attestation</b>	1	Maiherperi, line 569
	The Book of the praise of the gods of Qerti which a man shall recite when he comes forth before them to enter seeing the god in the great temple of the underworld.		
<b>9</b>	<b>Source / Chapter Description</b>	<b>Owner of Papyrus / Tomb</b>	
	<b>BD 149 - 10 attestations</b>	1	Nu, sheets 28-30, line 2
	The chapter of the Aats.	2	Nu, sheet 29, line 67
		3	Nu, sheet 29, line 5
		4	Nu, sheet 29 line 70
		5	Maiherperi, line 302
		6	Maiherperi, line 336
		7	Maiherperi, line 339
		8	Juja, line 891
		9	Juja, line 924
		10	Juja, line 927
<b>10</b>	<b>Source / Chapter Description</b>	<b>Owner of Papyrus / Tomb</b>	
	<b>BD 172 - 1 attestation</b>	1	Nebseni, sheet 32
	The chapter for praises which are to be performed in the underworld.		
<b>11</b>	<b>Source / Chapter Description</b>	<b>Owner of Papyrus / Tomb</b>	
	<b>BD 179 – 1 attestation</b>	1	Nu, sheet 15, line 5
	The chapter of advancing from yesterday and coming forth by day.		
<b>12</b>	<b>Source / Chapter Description</b>	<b>Owner of Papyrus / Tomb</b>	



	<b>BD 188 – 3 attestations</b> The [chapter of] the going in of the ba. To build an abode and to come forth by day in human form.	1	Nu, sheet 19, line 5
		2	Nu, sheet 19. line 2
		3	Nu, sheet 19
<b>1</b>	<b>Source / Book Description</b>	<b>Tomb / Temple / Artefact</b>	
<b>3</b>	<b>Amduat – 56 attestations</b>	1	Amenhotep II, Title (tomb)
		2	Thutmose III, Title (tomb)
		3	Thutmose III, 2 <sup>nd</sup> hour, upper register (tomb)
		4	Thutmose III, 3 <sup>rd</sup> hour, upper register (tomb)
		5	Thutmose III, 3 <sup>rd</sup> hour, lower register (tomb)
		6	Thutmose III, 5 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register (tomb)
		7	Thutmose III, 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (tomb)
		8	Thutmose III, 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (tomb)
		9	Thutmose III, 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (tomb)
		10	Thutmose III, 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (tomb)
		11	Thutmose III, 7 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (tomb)
		12	Thutmose III, 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, middle register (tomb)
		13	Thutmose III, 11 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register (tomb)
		14	Thutmose III, 11 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (tomb)
		15	Thutmose III, 11 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (tomb)
		16	Thutmose III, 11 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (tomb)

		17	Seti I, Title, line 8 (tomb).
		18	Seti I, Heading, 3 <sup>rd</sup> hour, lower register (tomb)
		19	Seti I, 3 <sup>rd</sup> hour (tomb)
		20	Seti I, 4 <sup>th</sup> hour (tomb)
		21	Seti I, 5 <sup>th</sup> hour, (tomb)
		22	Seti I, 5 <sup>th</sup> hour, top register (tomb)
		23	Seti I, 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register (tomb)
		24	Seti I, 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (tomb)
		25	Seti I, 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (tomb)
		26	Seti I, 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (tomb)
		27	Seti I, 7 <sup>th</sup> hour, (tomb)
		28	Seti I, 7 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register (tomb)
		29	Seti I, 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, middle register (tomb)
		30	Seti I, 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, (tomb)
		31	Seti I, 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, (tomb)
		32	Seti I, 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register (tomb)
		33	Seti I, 9 <sup>th</sup> hour, (tomb)
		34	Seti I, 11 <sup>th</sup> hour lower register (tomb)
		35	Seti I, 11 <sup>th</sup> hour upper register (tomb)
		36	Seti I,

		11 <sup>th</sup> hour (tomb)
	37	Seti I, 11 <sup>th</sup> hour lower register (tomb)
	38	Seti I, 11 <sup>th</sup> hour lower register (tomb)
	39	Seti I, 11 <sup>th</sup> hour, (tomb)
	40	Rameses IV, 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (tomb)
	41	Seti I, Title, line 8 (temple)
	42	Seti I, 3 <sup>rd</sup> hour, heading, lower register (temple)
	43	Seti I, 3 <sup>rd</sup> hour (temple)
	44	Seti I, 5 <sup>th</sup> hour, top register (temple)
	45	Seti I, 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register (temple)
	46	Seti I, 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (temple)
	47	Seti I, 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (temple)
	48	Seti I, 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (temple)
	49	Seti I, 7 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register (temple)
	50	Seti I, 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, middle register (temple)
	51	Seti I, 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register (temple)
	52	Seti I, 11 <sup>th</sup> hour lower register (temple)
	53	Seti I, 11 <sup>th</sup> hour upper register (temple)
	54	Seti I,

			11 <sup>th</sup> hour upper register (temple)
		55	Seti I, 11 <sup>th</sup> hour lower register (temple)
		56	Seti I, 11 <sup>th</sup> our lower register (temple)
<b>1</b>	<b>Source / Book Description</b>	<b>Tomb / Temple / Artefact</b>	
<b>4</b>	<b>Book of Gates – 8 attestations</b>	1	Horemheb, 4 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register (tomb)
		2	Seti I, 4 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper row (tomb)
		3	Seti I, 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, middle row (tomb)
		4	Rameses IV, 4 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register (tomb)
		5	Rameses VI, 4 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register (tomb)
		6	Rameses VI, 8 <sup>th</sup> hour, lower register (tomb)
		7	Seti I, 4 <sup>th</sup> hour, upper register (temple)
		8	Seti I, 6 <sup>th</sup> hour, middle register (temple)
<b>1</b>	<b>Source / Chapter Description</b>	<b>Tomb / Temple / Artefact</b>	
<b>5</b>	<b>Book of Caverns – 7 attestations</b>	1	Seti I, (Cenotaph)
		2	Seti I, (Cenotaph)
		3	Seti I, (Cenotaph)
		4	Seti I, (Cenotaph)
		5	Seti I, (Cenotaph)
		6	Seti I, (Cenotaph)
		7	Seti I, (Cenotaph)
<b>1</b>	<b>Source / Chapter Description</b>	<b>Tomb / Temple / Artefact</b>	
<b>6</b>	<b>Book of the Earth – 5 attestations</b>	1	Rameses IV (Sarcophagus)
		2	Rameses VI (tomb)
		3	Rameses VI (tomb)
		4	Rameses VII (tomb)
		5	Rameses IX (tomb)

<b>1</b>	Source / Book Description	Tomb / Temple / Artefact	
<b>7</b>	<b>Litany of Re – 5 attestations</b>	1	Rameses IV, 27-30 (tomb)
		2	Rameses IV, 21-23 (tomb)
		3	Rameses IV, 30-32 (tomb)
		4	Rameses II, (temple)
		5	Amenemhat (TT 82)
<b>1</b>	Source / Book Description	Tomb / Temple / Artefact	
<b>8</b>	<b>The Book of the Celestial Cow – 1 attestation</b>	1	Seti I, line 16, (tomb)
<b>1</b>	Source / Book Description	Tomb / Temple / Artefact	
<b>9</b>	<b>The Opening of the Mouth Ceremony – 1 attestation</b>	1	Seti I, (tomb)
<b>2</b>	Source / Artefact Description	Tomb / Temple / Artefact	
<b>0</b>	<b>Snake Magic – 2 attestations</b>	1	Prophylactic Statue, Banner 8, rear, 18-26, line 26
		2	Prophylactic Statue, Banner 8, rear, 18-26, line 26
<b>2</b>	Source / Artefact Description	Tomb / Temple / Artefact	
<b>1</b>	<b>Miscellaneous – 2 attestations</b>	1	Statue of Amenemopet and Wife
		2	Amenemhet (TT53)

## PLATES



**Plate 1:** The most remarkable of Tutankhamun's fans was a small (18cm (c. 7in) long) but exquisite rotating hand-fan of ivory found in a white-painted wooden box (no. 272) in the Treasury. Its feathers, predominantly white with a shorter row of brown at the base were preserved intact.



**Plate 2:** The first of the long fans was no. 242 (the 'Golden Fan' - left), is just over a metre in length (1.015m (c. 3ft 4in)), both the handle and the semi-circular 'palm' into which the feathers were originally inserted are covered with thick gold foil. Both sides of the palm are embossed and chased, the one with a scene of Tutankhamun hunting, the other with his triumphant return. The second stocked fan, no. 245 (the 'Ebony Fan' - right) is similarly covered with thick gold sheet, decorated in inlay work of coloured glass and calcite with the king's twin cartouches, while the ebony stock is decorated at intervals with inlaid bands.

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hamen.



**Plate 3:** Reverse side of the 'Golden Fan' (no.242). Tutankhamun at hunt in his chariot: a detail of the king's ostrich-feather fan (no. 242). The charioteer stood on a leather-thonged floor covered with a rug of animal skin or tufted linen an elastic footing made even more efficient by a flexible yoke-pole and by the placement of the axle at the rear of the body.



**Plate 4:** Two of the fans from the Annexe (nos. 415, 600). The latter, when found, had the quills of its ostrich feathers still in place.

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