The Celestial Ferryman in Ancient Egyptian Religion  
"Sailor of the Dead"  
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Abstract:
In the ancient Egyptian religion, the ferryman was generally called (Her.f-hr.f) and depicted as a sailor or a boatman standing in the stern of a papyrus boat. 
The Egyptian ferryman is known from the funerary texts: Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom, Coffin Texts from the Middle Kingdom, Book of Dead from the New Kingdom, texts from Greco-Roman temples and other textual resources in about 21 names and titles. 
It was necessary for the deceased to summon a ferryman at his crossing, that he would navigate the soul through the winding waters of the Underworld, naturally by means of a magic formula, in which the mystic name of the ferryman was contained. 
In all of these sources we find his names, titles, epithets, roles, functions, and relations with other deities of ancient Egypt. 
As he was a god in the Netherworld and the ferryman of the dead, he may be the origin of the Greek ferryman CHARON of HADES. 
The idea of the ferryman of Netherworld is not found in ancient Egypt and Greece only, but also found in other ancient cultures as in Yorubas of south Nigeria, Mesopotamia, Ancient Europe, Rome, and Norse (Bronze-Age of Denmark). 
The paper will try to give a detailed idea about this important and sacred personality in the Underworld and in ancient Egyptian

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religious beliefs through the textual sources from different periods and comparable ideas from other cultures.

**Key Words**

Celestial Ferryman, Assistant of Boatman (Aken), Dead, Ferryboat, Netherworld, Iaru-fields, Names & Titles, Rule, Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts

**Introduction**

In the ancient Egyptian religion, the ferryman was the patron and custodian of the boat that carried the souls of the dead into the Underworld.

Apparently the ferryman assistant ḫn remained in a deep sleep when he was not needed, and had to be woken by the dead who summoned him when he required his services.

He was generally called (Ḥr.f-h3.f) and depicted as a sailor or a boatman standing in the stern of a papyrus boat.

He was not of the focus of worship, and had no particular cult centre or a temple in ancient Egypt.

He is referred to a number of times and is mentioned frequently in the Pyramid Texts from Old Kingdom, the Coffin Texts from Middle Kingdom, the Book of the Dead from New Kingdom, texts from Greco-roman period and other textual sources.

In all of these sources we find his names, titles, epithets, roles, functions, and relations with other deities of ancient Egypt.

As he was a god in the Netherworld and the ferryman of the dead, he may be the origin of the Greek ferryman CHARON of HADES.

In the following, we will try to form a detailed idea about this important and sacred personality in the Underworld and in ancient Egyptian religious beliefs through the textual sources from different periods.

**I-Who is the ferryman of the Netherworld?**

The celestial ferryman of ancient Egypt is a deity of different names. First attested in the Pyramid Texts of Old Kingdom, as the boatman of dead he was supposed to ferry the deceased king
across the shifting waterway to the abode of Re, or to the Afterlife sht-htpw “field of offerings“ (see name number: 17).

The divine ferryman is known as Hr.f-h3.f “He whose face is behind him” (see names numbers: 3-6) or by any of a dozen other names many of which have similar meaning such as M33-h3.f “Whose sight is behind him” (see names numbers: 1-2), and which seem to be linked to his role.

This sacred person as a god is sometimes depicted in the vignettes of the New Kingdom funerary texts seated in his barque and being hailed by the deceased.

In the Papyrus of Anhai he is shown, according to many of his descriptive names, with his head facing backwards (fig. 1 a,b). He is less frequently attested in later periods.

うこと—The ferryman assistant in the Underworld (see names numbers: 7, 8).

The two ferrymen M33-h3.f and こと may also have been understood as the guards of Osiris. In PT. 1201a, the ferryman M33-h3.f is said to be a gate keeper of Osiris. The name こと has been compared with the こと.w-hr, who guards the place of Embalming according to CT spell 49 (CT. I, 218 b).

II—Writings of the ferryman’s names

The names will be discussed here in chronological order:

1-M33-h3.f “Who sees behind him”.

This name is first attested in the Pyramid Texts of O.K. as a name of the ferryman in the heaven.

It occurs also in the Coffin Texts of M.K.

1 Wilkinson, R.H., Complete Gods and Goddesses, p. 104; PT. 999; Lurker, M., Götter und Symbole ss. 180-181.
2 PT. 1201 a; CT. I, 218 b.
3 Wb II. 10 (5); PT. 597.
4 CT IV, 367e.
"Who sees from his behind" or "Who looks to his behind?".

which probably means "Whose back is firm?".

And continued in the funerary N.K. Book of Dead:

And in the Greco-Roman period:

"Who-looks-behind-him" is the traditional translation for the Egyptian expression $M\beta\beta\text{-}h\beta\cdot f$, one of three names. According to them, the ferryman was known in the Egyptian Pyramid Texts.

The two other names are:

$Hr.f\text{-}h\beta\cdot f$ "Whose face is behind him" and $Hr.f\text{-}m\text{-}hnt.f\text{-}hr.f\text{-}m\text{-}mh\beta\cdot f$ "Whose face is in his front, Whose face is in the back of his head".

The verb $M\beta\beta$ as a part of the name $M\beta\beta\text{-}h\beta\cdot f$, the verb does not mean "look upon" or "look at", but the verb means basically "see".

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5 CT V, 73n & 74i; is a repeated writing form for verb $M\beta\beta$ in Pyramid Texts, 299; 439; 448: Faulkner, R.O., Middle Egyptian, p. 100.

6 CT VI, 20r; $m\beta\beta\text{-}h\beta\cdot k$: 29b; LGG III, 201-202. It is a rare, strange and unique writing form for verb $M\beta\beta$ in Coffin Texts (may be a corrupt writing?); Rami van, D.-M., Dictionary of Coffin Texts, pp. 152-153.

7 Wb II, 10 (5).

8 LGG III, 201


10 Maspero, G., Sarcophages (CG 29305), p. 11.

The name also does not describe a self-desire in the case of turning face at looking, but just a physical description for seeing.

2-\textit{M33-\textit{m-hr.f}} “Who looks with his face”.
This name is first occurred in the Pyramid Texts of O.K. as a name of the celestial ferryman in the astronomical concepts of the Netherworld:

And in the Greco-Roman period:

\textit{M3-\textit{m-hr.f}}, an epithet of some deity, but its meaning is not obvious; a possible interpretation is (He who sees with his face).

3-\textit{\textit{Hr.f-h3.f}} ”Whose face (sight) is behind him”.
A name for the celestial ferryman known since the Pyramid Texts:

It is an adverbial nominal sentence forming as a name of the celestial ferryman.

And in the Coffin Texts:

\textit{Wb III, 127 (11-12); PT. 1091 a.}

\textit{PT. 1091 a.}

\textit{Edel, E., Alt Ägyptische Grammatik, s. 595 (28).}

\textit{CT II, 138f; III, 174i; VI, 3c, 23e.}
Iw-hr.f-h3.f ”Whose face is behind”\(^{20}\).

The construction of the adverbial sentence in \(Hr.f-h3.f\) ”Whose face is behind him” does not express the action one expects from the ferryman according to the analysis mentioned above, but expresses just a state of circumstance.

The expression \(Hr.f-h3.f\) does not mean that the ferryman turns his head forward and backward, but his face is turning backward like noses and faces of the demons\(^{21}\).

4-\(Hr.f-m-h3.f\) ”Whose face is in his back or behind him”.

\(Hr.f-n-h3.f\)

These writings of the ferryman’s name are dated to Dynasties: 21-24\(^{23}\).

5-\(Nb-hr.f-h3.f\) “Lord (God), whose face is behind him”\(^{24}\).

\(Hr.f-n-h3.f\)

This name occurred in N.K., Saite and Greco-Roman periods.

6-\(Hr.f-m-hnt.f\) “Whose face is in his front”.

\(Hr.f-m-hnt.f-hr.f-m-h3.f\) “His sight is in his face, his sight is in his nick”.

\(^{20}\) LGG V, 303.

\(^{21}\) Depuydt, GM. 126, p. 35. It is the way the ferryman rows the boat with his neck turned to face the way he is going, according to a view of point to Professor Penelope Wilson as she made a final revision for the manuscript.

\(^{22}\) Wb III, 127 (13). In this name the word \(h3\) is presented here with the nominal prefix


\(^{24}\) Buhl, M. -L., Anthropoid Sarcophagi, p. 57 & abb. 22; Koefed-Petersen, O., Catalogue des Sarcophages, p. 36.

\(^{25}\) Wb III, 127 (13); PT. 493b; LGG V, 304; Depuydt, GM. 126, p. 36.
Concerning this name, Sethe thought that the man at steering the boat is nearly looking at his front and nearly looking at his back. The word *nearly* is in his translation for the name: “O you, your face *nearly* is in your front, your face *nearly* is behind your head“.

On contrast of Sethe’s suggestion by comparing this meaning with the PT.1221 in a description of a demon or a genii whose locks are in different parts of his head (in front, on temples, and in behind) at the same time.

That means *Hr.f-m-hnt.f-hr.f-m-mh3.f* has a face in the front and a second face in the back. In addition the PT text 493 is the unique proof that the determinative *m* in the word (m) h3 gives the meaning “the back part of the head“.

It is acceptable that the three names describe the same member of the Egyptian pantheon. This depends on the fact that the two names of both ferrymen have appeared in the same context of the inscriptions, they are: *Mh3-h3.f* and *Hr.f-h3.f*. They were mentioned in two texts: PT. 383a and 1227a.

*Hr.f-m-hnt.f-hr.f-m-mh3.f* is similar to *Hr.f-m-mh3.f* the owner of the name *Hr.f-h3.f*.

In addition, one of the forty-two judges in the Book of the Dead bears the name *Hr.f-h3.f*, the relationship with the ferryman was not clear in the time of Old Kingdom27.

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26 PT. 493b; Lacau, M., Parties du Corps, p. 35. Urk. IV, 697, 13) the writer succeeded to represent this part of the head with an enough clear drawing 画面. In this example the word “_{neck, behind of the head}“ (Urk. IV, 971, 5), and in Coptic: 画面 “neck“, Lacau, pp. 35-37 (§§75 and 78).
27 Depuydt, GM. 126, pp. 33, 36. For more discussions about the three names, see pp. 33-38; Sethe, K., “Herbeibringen der Fähre”, ss. 1-103; Krauss, Astronomische Pyramidtexte, ss. 67-86.
All of the previous names of the celestial ferryman are connected with one meaning: it is about looking behind and facing backwards when he pays attention to the dead who summons him from his behind or this is his continual position and his perpetual state as he looks always towards his back to observe one who waits his return on the other side of the celestial waters to ferry him in his boat.

Also these names have expressive meanings of continuous waiting, observation and attention of this person and see how a ferryman stands in his boat.

Finally these names of the celestial ferryman are deeply connected with his role and linked to its importance in the Afterlife.

7-\(\text{An}^\)  
A name for the celestial ferryman without a certain sense from N.K. and Greco-Roman periods.

8-\(\text{An-hr}\) 
A name of the celestial ferryman: \(\text{An}\) is a stem of unknown meaning. First attested in the Coffin Texts (M.K.), it is also attested in the Book of the Dead (N.K.) and at the temple of Edfu (Gr-rom. period).

At the Temple of Edfu one of the crewmen of Re’s boat is called: \(\text{An-hr}\) as a ferryman or a sailor:

\(\text{An-hr-m-\text{At-wi3-n-Ra}}\)  
“\(\text{An-hr}\) in the prow of Re’s boat”\(^\)31.

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\(^{28}\) Wb I, 235 (1).
\(^{29}\) WPL.183.
\(^{30}\) LGG II, 237.

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MB3-h3.f “Who sees behind him” or the celestial ferryman is the boss of ṣkn and ṣkn is the assistant of MB3-h3.f who helps him for acting his profession when he turns his face backwards and commands him to come. ṣkn is also a celestial ferryman\textsuperscript{32}.

9-Mḫnty

With det. 爿: “Ferryman, Boatman, Sailor”, and with det. 爿: “Ferryman in the heaven, Celestial ferryman” from O.K. and M.K\textsuperscript{33}.

This name is derived from verb ṣmḥnt “cross, ferry over water” from O.K., M.K., and N.K\textsuperscript{34}.

\begin{itemize}
  \item Sometimes comes with the singular masculine definite article $p3$: $p3$ Mḫnty” The ferryman, The boatman” (N.K.)\textsuperscript{40}.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{31} LGG II, 237; EdfuVI, 150, 4-5.
\textsuperscript{32} Sethe, ZÄS. 54, s.3 and note n. 1, for more discussions around MB3-h3.f and ṣkn, see: ss. 2-13.
\textsuperscript{33} Wb II, 133 (14-15); Van Voss, M.H., "Fähre" and "Fährmann", 85-86.
\textsuperscript{34} Wb II, 133 (12-13); Rami van, D.-M., Dictionary of Coffin Texts, pp. 179-180.
\textsuperscript{35} PT. 597.
\textsuperscript{36} PT. 1193.
\textsuperscript{37} Faulkner, Middle Egyptian, p. 115.
\textsuperscript{38} CT III, 174.
\textsuperscript{39} Urk V, 146, 17.
\textsuperscript{40} LGG III, 396-397.
Also \( m\text{hnt} \) is a name of the ferry-boat derived from the previous verb\(^{42}\).

According to these writings we could observe clearly that the name of the ferryman \( M\text{hnty} \) is formed by adding Nisbe-adjective (\( v \)) to the verb \( m\text{hnt} \) “to ferry over water”, or to the name derived from this verb: \( m\text{hnt} \) “ferry-boat”.

Here we could give this name of the ferryman another related meaning: “He of the boat, he who belongs (relates) to the boat” by considering the name, and “He who ferries over water by a ferry-boat” by considering the verb.

These two explanatory meanings are so closed to his function and much suitable for the role he performs as he ferries people in his ferry-boat from a bank of a waterway to the other bank and he returns to carry out this action frequently.

This same role in life can be rightly applied to the importance of the ferryman’s function in the hereafter according to the thoughts of ancient Egyptians about the Netherworld as will be discussed later.

\(^{42}\) Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 612.
\(^{43}\) PT. 334.
\(^{44}\) PT. 384.
\(^{45}\) PT. 494a; Sethe, ZÄS. 54, s.6 and note n. 4.
\(^{46}\) Faulkner, Middle Egyptian, p. 115.
10-\textit{Mnty-n-ikht-irt-Hnmw} “The ferryman of \textit{ikht}-boat which Khnum has made”.

This name first occurred in the Pyramid Texts of O.K\textsuperscript{48}. It is a descriptive name or title for the ferryman of the mythological place Nesat: \textit{Hrty-n-Ns3t} “The ferryman of \textit{Ns3t}”\textsuperscript{49}.

11-\textit{Mnty-n-b3w-Twnw} “The ferryman of Iun-souls”.

A name of the ferryman in Heliopolis cult, mentioned in the Coffin Texts of M.K.\textsuperscript{50}.

12-\textit{Mnty-pt} “The ferryman of the heaven”

Also \textit{Mnty-n-pt}

A name of the celestial ferryman, first attested in the Pyramid Texts, and occurring also in the Coffin Texts.\textsuperscript{51}

13-\textit{Mnty-Nwt} “The celestial ferryman”.

This name is known from the Pyramid Texts.\textsuperscript{52}

This name is dated to the Old Kingdom as mentioned in the Pyramid Texts.\textsuperscript{53}

14-\textit{Mnty-n-hrt-nfr} “The ferryman of the necropolis”.

This name is dated to the Ramesside period (N.K.).

\textsuperscript{48} PT. 445a; LGG III, 397.

\textsuperscript{49} Kaplony, P., Rollsiegel Alten Reichs, II, p. 302 and plate 84; LGG VI, 48; PT. 300 (445a).

\textsuperscript{48} PT. 445a; LGG III, 397.

\textsuperscript{48} PT. 383b; CT V. 178a; LGG III, 397.

\textsuperscript{52} PT. 383b; LGG III, 397.

\textsuperscript{53} PT. 383b.
15-\textit{Mhnty-n-sht-	extit{i}3rw} “The ferryman of Iaru-fields”.
This name is known from the Pyramid Texts (O.K.), the Coffin Texts (M.K.) and the Book of the Dead (N.K.)\textsuperscript{55}.

\textit{Mhnty-sht-	extit{i}3rw}.

16-\textit{Mhnty-n-sht-p3\textit{t}} “The ferryman of \textit{p3\textit{t}}-fields”.
This name is first occurred in the Pyramid Texts (O.K.).

17-\textit{Mhnty-n-sht-htpw} “The ferryman of the field of offerings”.
This name is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts.

18-\textit{Mhnty-n-\textit{s}-n-h3} “The ferryman of \textit{h3}-lake”.
This name is attested in the Pyramid Texts (O.K.) and the Coffin Texts (M.K.)\textsuperscript{61}.

\textit{Mhnty-n-\textit{s}-n-h3} “The ferryman of \textit{h3}-canal”\textsuperscript{62}.

19-\textit{Mhntyw-nw-Imntt} “The ferrymen of the west”.
This name is found in the Coffin Texts (M.K.)\textsuperscript{64}.

\textsuperscript{54} KRI III, 133, 16; LGG III, 397.
\textsuperscript{55} LGG III, 397.
\textsuperscript{56} PT. 1188b.
\textsuperscript{57} CT V, 187c.
\textsuperscript{58} Lapp, Papyrus of Nu, sheet 8, line 21.
\textsuperscript{59} PT. 1183b.
\textsuperscript{60} PT. 597b; 599a; 1441a; 1737a.
\textsuperscript{61} LGG III, 397; for more details about \textit{h3}-canal, see: Krauss, R., Astronomische Pyramidentexten, s. 67.
\textsuperscript{62} PT. 597b; 599a; 1441a; 1737a.
\textsuperscript{63} CT III, 174i; VII, 193c.
\textsuperscript{64} LGG III, 397.
**20- Mḥntyw-nw-ḥt “The ferrymen of the heaven”**

A name of the celestial ferrymen as it occurred in the Coffin Texts (M.K.)

We could read about the celestial ferryman in the Pyramid Texts (the utterances from 594 to 946).

**21- Iw “The celestial ferryman”**

A synonym for the name Mḥnty-n-sḥt-ḥtpw “The ferryman of offering-fields” (name number: 17).

(O.K.)

(Gr.rom.)

P3-iwy “The Crewman of a boat”.

P3-iwy, he is the man who moves or operates part of the sailing tackle.

Iwy may be connected with a piece of boat equipment called: as mentioned in the Coffin Texts of M.K.

At the temple of Edfu this name is mentioned also in the description of the festival of Hor-Beḥdety and the crewmen of his barque.

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65 CT V, 170g.
66 LGG III, 397.
67 CT V, 170g.
68 Sethe, ZÄS. 54, s.2.
69 LGG I, 157.
70 PT. 1193a.
71 Ritter von Bergmann, E., Sarkopag des Panehemisis, ss. 11, 84; I. 1-40; II. 1-20.
72 Wb I, 49 (21).
73 WPL, 49; CT V, 191a; Faulkner, R. O., Coffin Texts, II, p. 52; Jones, D.A., Nautical Titles and Terms, p. 124.
74 Edfu V, 126, 5; Alliot, M, cult d’Horus, II, p. 473.
At the temple of Esna, Khnum-Re is titled $Iwy$ “The sailor, the ferryman, the boatman”\(^{75}\).

### III-Vocabularies of being without boat in the Hereafter

Among the numerous and plentiful texts which were written in the pyramids of O.K., on the coffins of M.K., and in the Book of the Dead of N.K., there are some alterations of being in threat, danger and loss if one has no boat in the Netherworld by which to cross the celestial river:

- $iw(y)$ “One without a boat”\(^{76}\).

$Iw$\(^{77}\).

$iwi$\(^{78}\).

$iwi$, as an intransitive verb: “Be boatless”; and as a transitive verb: “Strand, leave boatless”\(^{79}\).

Kings pass this obstacle by accompanying the god Re in his morning-bark $M^n dt$ and the evening-bark $Msktt$, so under his protection they enjoy the eternal life and live in the eternity with everlasting residence in Iaru-fields under the supervision of Osiris according to the royal cult of Old Kingdom. In the Middle Kingdom this is completely changed when being safe in the Afterlife is connected with their good deeds, so the blessed dead could pass the obstacles and cross over dangers of the Netherworld by summoning the ferryman who ferries them the $h\beta$-canal to the Iaru-fields as mentioned above (see: names numbers:12;13; 15-21).

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\(^{75}\) Sauneron, S., Esna, II, p. 133, texte n. 58, line 3.

\(^{76}\) Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, p. 552.

\(^{77}\) CT VI, 408 n, 775k; LGG I, 156.

\(^{78}\) PT. 117b; Budge, E.A.W., Book of the Dead, vol. I, text, pp. 261, 4; 281, 3.

\(^{79}\) Faulkner, Middle Egyptian, p. 12.
V-Roles of (HR.f-h3.f) in the Ancient Egyptian Religion

1- The celestial ferryman (Sailor of the dead):
Except his role as a celestial ferryman in the Underworld of the ancient Egyptians, HR.f-h3.f has played other different roles and performed distinguished duties through the religious thoughts in ancient Egypt.

2- As genii in the Pyramid Texts:

![Hieroglyphs]

\[ \text{hnskwt.tn m-hnt.tn} \]
\[ \text{hnskwt.tn hr sm3.tn} \]
\[ \text{hnskwt.tn m-h3.tn} \]
Your locks upon your face
Your locks upon your temple
Your locks upon your neck\(^{80}\).
Here he is mentioned by his description not by his name HR.f-h3.f because he has two faces one in his front and the other is behind his neck\(^{81}\).

3- As a demon of night terror:
On an ostracon from Deir el-Medina of Ramesside date inscribed on both sides, now in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford (H.O. 363) is a magical spell (Recto) against night terrors.
We read his name with the expression \(m \ hr \ r \ hr\), understood as “being face forward “(Wb. III, 129, 14) rather than “from face to face”. The demon would thus be depicted in characteristic posture, with his face twisted behind him (HR.f h3.f, Wb. III, 3; 914; CT., 473-480).

\(^{80}\) PT. 1221; Lacau, Parties du Corps, p. 35.
\(^{81}\) Depuydt, GM. 126, ss. 35-38; LGG V, 304; Hornung, E., Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen, ss. 38-39; PT. 493b: a genii in the pyramid texts

\[ \text{hr.f m-hnt.f hr.f m-m h3.f} \] "Who has a face in his front (before his head), and has a face in his neck (behind his head)".
The Coffin Texts designations of the threatening demon of the net alternate between $Hr.f$-$h3.f$ and $M3$-$h3.f$, equating this fisherman with the Underworld ferryman.

Within the spells for escaping the net, the nuance of “Looking Behind“ is perhaps emphasized for the benefit of the fleeing spirit, for when the spell commands the demon to look at the deceased (spell 479, in CT VI, 41a), he must turn his back to the soul, facilitating its escape.

4-As a protective divinity:
In the papyrus of Nespehercan from 21st-22nd dynasties found near Dêr el-Bahri in 1891 by Gaston Maspero. Among 23 representations of divinities we see an illustration of a crocodile-headed divinity with an averted countenance, and named $Hr.f$-$n$-$h3.f$. He must be the same being as $Hr.f$-$h3.f$ “turn-face“, the celestial ferryman of the Pyramid Texts.

5-As the gate-keeper of Osiris:
The gate-keepers of the abode of Osiris, which seems to have been a place of Embalming. This gives a special significance to passages like PT§1211a, where the ferryman is addressed as the “gate-keeper of Osiris“.

6-As one of the forty-two Assessors of the dead:
This name is also given to the 27th Assessor in ch. 125 of the Book of the Dead. In the papyrus of Nespehercan:

“O Turn-Face, whose vision is taken away, the ba of the Osiris, the priest, scribe, oblationer of the House of Amun, beloved god’s father of $M3$-$f$, the daughter of $R$-$c$, Nespehercan, shall not be taken from the Eddy ($bbt$) of the west or from any waters of

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82 Ritner, R. K., “O. Gardiner 363“, pp. 25, 28 (D) and note (9), 28-30, $M3$-$h3.f$ “Backward Looker“, the underworld ferryman, p. 30 and note (15); WbIII, 913. See also: Bidoli, D., Die Sprühe der Fangnetze, ADAIK. 9, Gluckstadt, 1976, pp. 47-48; Kees, H., Toten Glauben, ss. 110-117.


84 Willems, The Coffin of HeQata, p. 176.
the Field of Earu. He is $R^e$, who has come forth from the celestial cow $mhw\text{-}wrt$ (great flood)”$^{85}$.

In Ch. 306 in the scene of Judgment of the Dead and after the heart is weighed in the scales of the balance against the Feather of Righteousness and no sin was in the heart, the great ennead ordered Thoth to proclaim the innocence of the dead and let there, be given to him the offerings which are issued in the presence of Osiris, and a grant of land be established in the Field of Offerings as for the followers of Horus, and let there be given to him bread and beer which have been issued in the presence of Osiris, and he will be forever like the followers of Horus.

In spell 125 “The Negative Confessions“ or “Declarations of Innocence“ to the tribunal of forty-two gods (fig. 2)$^{86}$.

Among them the god number 27 is $Hr.f-h3.f$ as a judge, the dead confess to him:

$I\ Hr.f-h3.f\ pr\ m\ Tpht-d3t\ n\ nwh\ N\ nk.f\ nkk\ ..........$

O, $Hr.f-h3.f$ (who looks behind him) who comes forth from $Tpht-d3t$ (Cavern of $d3t$ at Memphis), N, didn’t …; he didn’t practice sexual connection with a boy”$^{87}$.

We read his name also as the judge $Hr.f-h3.f$ of $Tpht-d3t$ on the sarcophagi of Wnnefer from Saqqara: the frieze of the east, the 2$^{\text{nd}}$ register. He confesses to a person with a head of a rabbit turned backwards (fig.3):

$I\ Hr.f-h3.f\ pr\ m\ Tpht-d3t\ n\ \text{i}r.i\ hnn$

“O, Behind Looker who comes forth from $D3t$-Cavern, I didn’t do a rebellion“$^{88}$.

$^{85}$ Blackman, Papyrus of Nespeher‘an, pp. 28-29.


$^{87}$ Moreet, A. et autres, Déclarations d’innocence, pp. 88-89, phrase 27.
And in the Coffin Texts: “Hail, ḫr.f-hḏ.f, coming forth from the place of sailing, I have neither acted impurely, nor lain with men”\(^{89}\).

**VII-Texts of the Ferryman**

**I-Pyramid Texts**

We could read about the celestial journey of the dead king to the Afterlife in the texts of Unas pyramid (5\(^{th}\) Dynasty), utterance 263, antechamber, south wall:

*The king crosses over to the eastern sky in the sky’s reed-floats*

\[\ldots\]

\[\text{dd mdw sḥn dpwt pt } n\ R\ dā.f\ i m\ i r\  textarea\ 3ḥt-t3\ sḥnwty\ pt\ n\ ḫr-textarea\ 3ḥty\ dā.f\ textarea\ ḫr-textarea\ 3ḥty\ i m\ hṛ\ R\ c\ sḥnwty\ pt\ n\ (Wnis)|\ dā.f\ i m\ i r\ textarea\ 3ḥt-t3\ hṛ\ R\ c\ sḥnwty\ pt\ n\ (Wnis)|\ dā.f\ i m\ hṛ\ textarea\ ḫr-textarea\ 3ḥty\ hṛ\ R\ c\ Nfr\ n\ (Wnis)|\ hnc\ k3.f\ textarea\ nh\ (Wnis)|\ hnc\ k3.f\ 3bi.f\ hṛ.f\ 3ms.f\ m\ c\ textarea\ b3.f\ m\ dṛt.f\ Nhn.f\ n.f\ is\ rṣi\ in.sn\ n.f\ fdw\ ipw\ 3ḥw\ smsw\ hntyw\ hnskwt\]


\(^{89}\) CT II, 139f (117).

\(^{90}\) Sethe, PT. I, 263 (337 a-d), s. 181.

\(^{91}\) Sethe, PT. I, 263 (338 a-b), ss. 181-182.

\(^{92}\) Sethe, PT. I, 263 (339 a-c), s. 182.
The sky’s reed-floats are launched for Re,
That he may cross on them to Lightland;
The sky’s reed-floats are launched for Harakhty,
That Harakhty may cross on them to Re;
The sky’s reed-floats are launched for Unas,
That he may cross on them to Lightland, to Re,
The sky’s reed-floats are launched for Unas,
That he may cross on them to Harakhty, to Re.
It is well with Unas and his Ka,
Unas shall live with his Ka,
His panther skin is on him,
His staff in his arm, his scepter in his hand.
He subjects to himself those who have gone there,
They bring him those four elder spirits,
The chiefs of the side lock wearers,
Who stand on the eastern side of the sky
Leaning on their staffs,
That they may tell this Unas’s good name to Re,
Announce this Unas to Nehebkau,
And greet the entry of this Unas.
Flooded are the Fields of Rushes
That Unas may cross on the Winding Water.
Ferried is this Unas to the eastern side of Lightland,
Ferried is this Unas to the eastern side of sky,
His sister is Sothis, his offspring the dawn\(^95\).
We read two of the celestial ferryman’s names in utterance 310 (493b-494b):

\textbf{A summons to the ferryman of heaven to bring a boat to the king}

\begin{verbatim}
[i] Hr.f m-ḥnt.f Hr.f - m- ḫ3.f ( m mh3.f )
in nw n ( )| in.t(w) n.k ( )| sy mḥnt
in n ( )| ipy.s ḫnn.s
\end{verbatim}

O you whose vision is in his face and whose vision is in the back
of his head, bring this to me!,
Which ferry-boat shall be brought to you?
Bring me “It-flies-and alight”\(^97\).
The celestial ferryman also mentioned in utterance 359 (597a-c):

\(^95\) Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature (1975), pp. 34-35; Faulkner, PT., pp. 72-73. And also in utterance 270, on the same previous location, we read about the celestial ferryman "The king summons the ferryman": Sethe, PT. I, 270 (383 a-c), 384 a-b, 385 a-c, 386 a-b, 387 a-c, ss. 199-202; Lichtheim, Literature, pp. 35-36; Faulkner, R. O., Pyramid Texts, pp. 78-79; Mercer, A. B. S., Pyramid Texts, vol.1, pp. 91-92; Also in the pyramid texts of Pepi I (6\(^{th}\) Dynasty). In utterance 517, passage to the antechamber, we read about the celestial boatman "The king addresses the ferryman": Sethe, PT. II, 517 (1188 a-f), 1189 a-f, 1190 a-c, 1191 a-c, 1192 a-b, ss. 162-166; Lichtheim, Literature, pp. 43-44.

\(^96\) Sethe, K., Pyramidentexte, vol.1, 310 (493 b), (494 a-b), ss. 255-256.

\(^97\) Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, p. 97; Mercer, Pyramid Texts, p. 106.
The king crosses to the beyond

Awake in peace, O \textit{MB-\textsc{h3}.f}, in peace!
Awake in peace, O you who are in the sky, [in peace]!
O Ferryman of the Winding Waterway (lit. canal or river of $H^3$),
Tell my name to Re, announce me to Re$^{99}$. 

He is called “Bull of the gods“ in the utterance 472 (925c-d) when the dead king summons him:

O $M\beta$-$h^3$.f, Bull of the gods, bring me this (= the ferry-boat) and
set me on the yonder side of the lasting life (beyond)$^{101}$.

Also Utterance 481(999-1001c) is:

A summons to the ferryman

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{MB-\textsc{h3}.f} $k^3$-\textit{ntrw in nw n ( P n )| pn}
  \item di ( N )| m gs pf n $\ddot{s^n}_h$ w$^3$s
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item O $M\beta$-$h^3$.f; Bull of the gods, bring me this (= the ferry-boat) and
  \item set me on the yonder side of the lasting life (beyond)$^{101}$.
\end{itemize}
Utterance: O Iww Ḥr.ḥ3.f, ferry me across! The reed-floats of the sky are set in place, that I may cross by means of them to Re at the horizon.

The reed-floats of the sky are set in place for Re, that he may cross by means of them to Horus of the Gods at the horizon.

The reed-floats of the sky are set in place for me, that I may cross by means of them to Re at the horizon.

I ferry across in order that I may stand on the east side of the sky in its northern region among the Imperishable Stars, who stand at their staffs and sit(?) at their East; I will stand among them, for the Moon is my brother, the Morning Star is my offspring; put your hand on me, [that I may live].

Another ferryman text could be read in utt. 505 (1091 a-1993 d):

\[\begin{align*}
\text{dd mdw Iww Ḥr.ḥ3.f d} & \text{3 ( N. )} \\
\text{dy šnty pt ( N. )} & \text{im Ḥr } R^c \text{ r } 3ḥt \\
\text{dy šnty pt n } R^c & \text{ d} \text{3.f im Ḥr Ḥr r } 3ḥt \\
\text{d} \text{3.f im } Ḥr & \text{ R^c r } 3ḥt \\
\text{d} & \text{3 ( N. )} \text{ r } Ḥ^c.ḥ.f Ḥr gs i3bt n pt \\
\text{m-} & \text{ s(t) m-} \text{ m iḥmw-sk } \\
\text{ḥ^c w Ḥr d} & \text{m.w.sn is dw Ḥr i3bt.sn } \\
\text{ḥ^c rf m-} & \text{ m.sn } \\
\text{sn pw n ( N. )} & \text{ iḥ mswt ( N. )} \text{ pw ntr dw} \text{3w ntr dw} \text{3w } \\
\text{di Ḥ^c k r ( N. ) } & \text{ [nḥ.ḥ.f] } \\
\end{align*}\]

\[102\text{ Sethe, Pyramidentexte, vol.2, ss. } 60-62.\]

\[103\text{ Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, p. } 169; \text{ Mercer, Pyramid Texts, pp. } 176-177.\]
Hr.f-h₃.f d₃ (P.) r sḥt-iḥrw
pr.n.k tni pr.n.f m 3wṛt
išw.f dt prt m nṯr išrt prt m Ṣ
d₃ sw di sw m sḥt-iḥrw
fḏw ipw 3ḥw (ḫ3w) nṯ ḫn c (M.)
Ḥ3pi Dw3-mwt.f Imstī Ḫbh-šnw.f
šnw ḫr gs šnw ḫr gs
prt pn m ḫmw gm.f psdty (2 psdt)
ntsn rdi.sn Ṳ.sn n (M.)
ḥms.f imy-tw.sn īr Ṧd c mdw
wḏ (M.) mdw n gm ḫw.n.f im
O Hr.f-h₃.f, ferry me over to the Field of Rushes
Whence have you come?
I have come from 3wṛt, my companion(?) is the serpent which
come forth the god, the uraeus which came forth from Re. | Ferry
me over and put me down at the Field of Rushes; these four
spirits who are with me are Ḥapy, Duamūtēf, Imsety, and
Ḳebḥšnuef, two on one side and two on the other. | I am the
steering-oar; when I find the Two Enneads, they well give me
their hands, and I will sit between them to give judgment; I will
give orders to whomsoever I may have found there ¹⁰⁵.
The celestial ferryman Hr.f-h₃.f is mentioned in the long
utterance 519. We read about him particularly in § 1201a-d of
this utterance:

¹⁰⁴ Sethe, Pyramidentexte, vol.2, 505 (1091 a-c), 1092 a-d, 1093 a-e, ss. 104-106.
¹⁰⁵ Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, p. 181; Mercer, Pyramid Texts, p. 188.
dd mdw i Hr.f-h₃.f iry-Stamp Wsir
dd n Wsir di int n ( P. )| pn dpt.k pw
d₃ wꜣbw.k im.f
r šsp n.k ḫbw ḥr wꜣrt tw nt ṭhmw-sk
O Ḥr.f-h₃.f, gate-keeper of Osiris, say to Osiris: “Let me fetch for the king this boat of yours (= nšmt, bark of Osiris) in which your pure ones are ferried across in order to obtain for you the cold water at the (polar) quarter of the Imperishable Stars”\textsuperscript{107}.

In the next utterance 520, there is another ferryman text (1222a-1223e):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>108</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in n(M.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Ḥkrr d₃.sn ( M. )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d₃ ( M. )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wn ( M. )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ir wddf ḏ₃.tn ( M. )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dd.k₃.f ṡn.tn pw n rmt nty ( M. )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bring me this ferry-boat; bring me this carrying-boat!
It is Ḥkrr who ferries them across <to> me in company with M33-h₃.f. I will across to that sides on which are the Imperishable Stars, that I may be among them. | If you delay to ferry me over in this ferry-boat, I will tell your names to men whom I know, to everyone\textsuperscript{109}.

We could read also a ferryman text in utt. 522 (1227a-d):

\textsuperscript{107} Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, p. 192.
\textsuperscript{108} Sethe, Pyramidentexte, vol.2, ss. 188-189.
\textsuperscript{109} Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, p. 194; Mercer, Pyramid Texts, pp. 202-203.
dd mdw M3-ḥ3.f Ḥr.f-ḥ3.f
mk (N.) | pn ii n cairo
in.n.f.n.k irt tw nt Ḥr tst imy sht-hnnw
in nw n (N.) | pn irt Hmnw mhnt
O M3-ḥ3.f, Ḥr.f-ḥ3.f, behold, I have come and have brought to you this re-knit Eye of Horus which was in the Field of Strife; bring me this boat which Khnum built111.

In utt. 569 (1441a-c):

smn.n.f Ḥr.f-ḥ3.f mhnty n š-n-ḥ3
n ḫsff (M.) | pn n irw ḫw ṣdbw m (P.) | pn
(M.) | pw w im.tn ntrw
Ḥr.f-ḥ3.f has made ready for me, (even he) the ferryman of the Winding Waterway. I will not be held back, nor will obstacles be set against me, for I am one of you, you gods113.

And in utt. 625 (1769 a-c):

(N.) | p[n] ............................................
[i] M3-ḥ3.f in n (N.) | Ḫd htp irt Hmnw
pr (N.)|.............................................

110 Sethe, Pyramidentexte, vol.2, s. 192.
111 Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, p. 195; Mercer, Pyramid Texts, pp. 203.
112 Sethe, Pyramidentexte, vol.2, s. 284.
114 Sethe, Pyramidentexte, vol.2, s. 426.
Who-sees-behind-him, bring to N. the ḫd-ḥtp (a name of a ferry-boat), made by Khnum, That N. may ascend

II-Coffin Texts
As we discussed above, the PT mentioned two names of the celestial ferryman: Mḥ-hḥ.f and Ḥr.f-hḥ.f.
But the CT mentioned three names: Ḥr.f-hḥ.f, Mḥ-hḥ.f for the celestial ferryman and ḫkḥn for his assistant.
We read their names together in the same one text, firstly, the name of the celestial ferryman, and then, fellow with the name of his assistant ferryman ḫkḥn as we will see below in the next pages.
In spell 117, we read his name Ḥr.f-hḥ.f (fig.3 for the original hieroglyphic text):
sšm n.(i) w\.3wt n Ḥr.f-hḥ.f mr.f Mḥ.t msd.f isft ḫry w\.3w ib.f Mḥ.t sšmw n(.i) ntrw ḫr.s
Control for me the paths of His-face-is-behind him, | who loves truth and hates falsehood, who is over the broodings (?) of his heart (and of (?) ) Māṭ, because of whom the gods are guided to < me (?)>.

The same name is mentioned in spell 214 (fig.4 for the text):
I Ḥr.f-hḥ.f mhnty n š-n-hḥ in n.(i) nw dḥ.i di.i m pf gs ḫn.c šsrw pn ntyw m c.i dr-ntt.i ḫpr rk.i m ntr
O Ḥr.f-hḥ.f , ferryman of the Winding Waterway, bring me this, ferry me across and set me on yonder side with these bags which are in my hand, because I am become a god.
The name Mḥ-hḥ.f is mentioned in spell 343 (fig.5 for the text):
nis.kḥ.<k> rf ntr pw r.k ḫc Rc m bḥ.f ḫr nis.k r.k r Mḥ-hḥ.f

116 De Buck, A., Coffin Texts, II, pp. 138 (spell 117f), 139(117a-b).
118 De Buck, Coffin Texts, III, p. 174 (spell 214i-l).
119 Faulkner, Coffin Texts, I, p. 171(spell 114).
120 De Buck, Coffin Texts, IV, p. 359 (spell 343c-e).
You shall summon this god to you when Re appears with his soul, you shall summon to you the celestial ferryman. The assistant of the ferryman (kn) is mentioned also in spell 343 (fig. 6 for the text):

rs n.k kn in ntf n.k mḥnt tw ḏ3.t(i) bʒw-ṣprw im s(t)

Awaken kn, that he may bring to you that ferry-boat in which the equipped spirits ferry across.

In spell 344, the ferryman and his assistant were mentioned, the two both together (fig. 7 for the text):

nis.k₃.i r Mṣ-hṯ.f rs.k₃.f kn in.k₃.f n.i mḥnt bʒ ṣpr.(ti) ṣpr wi im s(t)

I will summon the celestial ferryman, and he will wake kn, he will bring me the ferry-boat. O equipped spirit, equip me in it.

Spells from 395-398 are circulating around a similar or a repeated long questionary dialogue among the deceased and the ferryman and his assistant kn in order to allow to him to ferry the Winding Waterway and cross in his ferry-boat.

In spell 400 the deceased demands from the ferryman Mṣ-hṯ.f to bring him a boat called kṣyt “the high” (fig. 8 for the text):

Mṣ-hṯ.f mi in n.i mḥnt rn.s n kṣyt m ẓḥ.s n kṣyt

O Mahaf, come and bring me the ferry-boat in its name of kṣyt-boat and in its power of kṣyt-boat.

And in spell 401 (fig. 9 for the text):

rṣ-n mḥnt i ẓḥw 7 ipw m mḥnty Immtt in n.i mḥnt tw iw wi ṣrh.n.i tn r ṣḥ.n.i rn.tn Mṣ-ḥṯ-n.f ṣḥ in n.i mḥnt tw m [rn.s n kṣyt m] ẓḥ.s nkṣyt […….] hʒ.i.ım r lMmt ṭḥ.i ntr im[…….]

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121 Faulkner, Coffin Texts, I, p. 279 (note 21).
122 De Buck, Coffin Texts, IV, p. 360 (spell 343 a-b).
123 Faulkner, Coffin Texts, I, pp. 277-279 (spell 343).
124 De Buck, Coffin Texts, IV, p. 367 (spell 344e-h).
125 Faulkner, Coffin Texts, I, pp. 279-280 (spell 344).
126 De Buck, Coffin Texts, V, p. 73 (spell 395a-c); sp. 396d-o; p. 74, sp. 396a-z; aa-cc; p. 77, sp. 397a-c; p. 79, sp. 397a-c; Faulkner, Coffin Texts, II, sp. 395, pp. 20-22; sp. 396, pp. 22-24; sp. 397, pp. 24-33; sp. 398, pp. 33-43.
127 De Buck, Coffin Texts, V, p. 171 (sp. 400a-f).
128 Faulkner, Coffin Texts, II, pp. 43-45 (sp. 400).
129 De Buck, Coffin Texts, V, p. 174 (sp. 401a-k).
Spell for a ferry-boat. O you [seven (?)] spirit, ferryman [of] the West, bring me the ferry-boat when I call out, [because (?)] I know you and I know your names. O $M\beta-3\text{ḥ}t-n.f$, bring me the ferry-boat in [its name of $k\text{ḥ}yt$-boat and in] its power of $k\text{ḥ}yt$-boat […….]. I will go down in it to the West, I will reach the god who is in (?) […….].

In the long spell 474 the ferryman $M\beta-\text{ḥ}3.f$ “who look backward“ is called: the aggressive fisherman who fishes with the spear and fish-trap. The deceased hopes to be not catch or trapped in his net$^{131}$.

The same meanings can be understood in spells 475-480$^{132}$. Mueller has dealt with the ships of the Underworld and its skipper, parts and calling the ferryman of the Field of Reeds as it mentioned in the Coffin Texts (Sps. 404/405) in the 3rd version of CT from El- Bersheh, and other points connected with the Hereafter of the ancient Egyptians. He has divided his article in JEA.58 (1972) in a good and clear guideline for the texts, translations, notes, comments and explanations$^{133}$.

Willems has studied the ferryman spell (CT 398) in details even its tiny parts as it inscribed on the Coffin of Heqata (OLA.70, 1996).

This text consists of 3 parts:
The introduction: CT. V, 120a-124.
The list of ship’s parts: CT. V, 125a-149c.
And the conclusion: CT. V, 150a-160c.
We could consider it as a complete model and the ideal of ferryman spells in the ancient Egyptian texts of Afterlife.

$^{130}$ Faulkner, Coffin Texts, II, pp. 45-46 (sp. 401). The ferry-boat is mentioned also in spells 402, 403, and 775.

$^{131}$ De Buck, Coffin Texts, VI, pp. 17-26; Faulkner, Coffin Texts, II, pp. 112-116 (sp. 474).

$^{132}$ De Buck, Coffin Texts, VI, pp. 27-45; Faulkner, Coffin Texts, II, pp. 116-126 (sp. 475-480).

The spell 398 is more than a dramatic account of events the deceased might expect in the divine world; the interaction in the text may well reflect ritual activity. Spell 398 may accordingly envisage a situation in which the ferryman, who lives in the Heliopolitan area, crosses the Winding Waterway to fetch the deceased, and to bring him to their home town.

The dialogue of the introduction can be summarized as follows: The deceased addresses a ferryman with a florid request that the ship may be brought. The ferryman first wants to know the identity of his passenger. The latter replies that he is “one whom his father loves”, to which he adds, in reaction to a second question, that this is so because of a number of acts he has carried out for his father. All of these are of a ritual nature. The deceased repeats his request that the vessel be prepared. The ferryman protests that it has not even been “hollowed out” yet, which probably means that it has not progressed beyond an incipient stage of construction. The introduction ends with the deceased’s impatient request that the boat be constructed with the assistance of Sokar. The deceased opens his speech with a series of epithets of the ferryman, these describe him as “one who brings Horus to his eye, who brings Seth to his testicles, and who brings the bark to Horus when it flees and falls down to his garden, it being saved from the hand of Seth“.

At the end or conclusion of the spell, even thus for the deceased has borne testimony to his encompassing knowledge, his ordeal is not yet over. Before he will finally be allowed to enter the ferry, he must produce satisfactory replies to a series of additional questions. In the ferryman spells, the deceased has reached the bank of the Winding Waterway, which he intends to cross by ferry. The river is one symbolic interpretation of the “luminal area of ordeal“ to be passed by the deceased, an ordeal which could alternatively
take the form of an encounter with the celestial fisherman, or with the divine tribunal.
Spell 398 specifies that the deceased gathers the required amount of emmer and barley to make an invocation offering from it to the seven deities, an activity was displayed in the Field of Reeds, thus after the crossing of the Winding Waterway.

The topography of the Netherworld according to CT V, 153a-c [398].
The deceased deals with agricultural activity performed prior to the moment when the Winding Waterway was reached. He now orders (the ferryman) that the ferry be brought and enjoins the deceased to enter it.
At last, the ferrymen give the deceased permission to proceed. He also mentions the acme he inspires in the gods, who welcome him as “an equipped spirit“. He next invites the gods of the four cardinal points to come and see him wearing mdh-fillet and an ḫfn-headcloth. The ferrymen are ordered to make the crossing.
The final lines of the texts elaborate on the theme of the deceased’s sovereignty. It is an address to the goddess Hathor, who is asked to draw the deceased to the sky.
As a result of this, he expects to sit among the great gods as a judge, to pronounce Ma’at, and to restrain the humans.\(^{134}\)
The first part of spell 343 (CT. IV, 343b-e; 344f-m, p. 359-367) was inscribed on the back surface of the coffin of lady Ouadj (Sid 2 Sid) found in the cemetery of Sedment (1992-1993), the ancient necropolece of Herkleopolis Magna (Ihnasya el-Medinam, Beni-Seuif).
On this part of Ouadj’s coffin (cols. 14-21), (fig. 10 for the text):

\(^{134}\) Willems, H., Coffin of HeQata, pp. 156-173.
You will stand to you in this region in the upper of Iskn and you will summon to you $MB-h3-f$ “Who-sees-behind-him“, who will wake to you $kn$ to bring to you this boat in which the equipped souls cross.

The previous discussed PTs and CTs have shown to us the meanings of the names of the celestial ferryman, his context and what his role was.

**Conclusion**

1-In the Underworld there were many lakes in which the deceased had to purify himself, many canals and river-branches to be crossed. Since he possessed no boat of his own (a threat and lost for him), it was necessary for him to summon a ferryman at each crossing, naturally by means of a magic formula, in which the mystic name of the ferryman was contained.

2-The Egyptian ferryman is an important personality (god) figures to mention in the Afterworld that he would navigate the soul through the winding waters of the Underworld.

3-The so-called Egyptian ferryman is known from the funerary texts: Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom, Coffin Texts from the Middle Kingdom, Book of Dead from the New Kingdom and texts of the Greco-roman hieroglyphs.

4-The ferryman $kn$ of the dead is the sailor who carries the souls of the dead in his little papyrus boat with a single oar. He spends most of his time sleeping at his oar. Whenever a soul comes along asking for passage, they have a terrible time trying to wake him up ($kn$, he is the assistant of the main celestial ferryman $MB3-h3.f$).

5-The ferryman of the Otherworld loved truth and hated sin, and because of his integrity, became a leader of the gods.

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135 Abdel Fatah (Ahmed Galal) & Bickel (Susanne), “Trois Cercueils de Sedment “, pp. 1, 3, 5, 8, fig. 1 et photos 3, 6.
In the Negative Confessions (BD, chapter 125; CT II. 138f [117]), the deceased addressed a series of two and forty gods by their names one after the other, and asserted before each, that he had not committed a certain sin. Among these two forty gods is the ferryman of Underworld (God number 27 as a judge) whose name $Hr$-$f$-$h3$-$f$ (see names numbers: 3-5).

6-$Hrty$ is a more ambiguous deity who was considered to be a god of the Underworld and the ferryman of the dead (see name number: 10).

7-$\text{\c{c}kn}$ (see names numbers: 7, 8) is often associated with $Hrty$ (Kherty also spelt Cherti), and it is considered a possibility that his cult caused the development of the myth of the ferryman in other Mediterranean mythologies, such as that of Greek Charon. In any case, though we have seen that the Egyptians had their ferryman among their gods, this is not related to the ferryman Charon of the Greeks. Both cultures developed naval technologies independently, and water (the sea, rivers) was simply an important part of their civilizations. These ferrymen developed independently.

8-The idea of the ferryman of Netherworld is not found in ancient Egypt and Greece only, but also found in other ancient cultures as in Yorubas of south Nigeria, Mesopotamia, Ancient Europe, Greece, Rome, and Norse (Bronze-Age of Denmark)
List of Abbreviations

I- Periodicals:
- BdE: Bibliotheque d’Etude. IFAO (Le Caire).
- GM: Göttinger Miszellen, Beiträge Zur Ägyptologischen Diskussion, Gottingen.
- JARCE: Journal of the American Research center in Egypt, (Boston, New York).

II- Books:
- CG = CGC: Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, le Caire.

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Figures

Fig. 1 a, b.

*He whose face is behind him* is one of the many names of the god often called the 'Celestial Ferryman', New Kingdom Papyrus of Ani (A) and Anhai (B), British Museum. Faulkner, R.O., *Book of the dead (pap. of Ani)*, plate 16 (right).


Fig. 2.

Spell 125 The Negative Confession. Within an elaborate shrine with open doors squat the Forty-Two Assessors of the dead, each is addressed by name and to each Nakht denies having committed a specific sin. The confession is witnessed by the enthroned falcon-headed sun-god and the two Maats, all carrying *w3s*-sceptres, and by Thoth as a baboon wearing the moon on his head and holding a scribe’s palette. Among them the god number 27 is *Hr.f-h3.f* as a judge.

Fig. 3.
CT, spell 117.

Fig. 4.
CT, spell 214.
Fig. 6.
CT, spell 343a-b.

Fig. 5.
CT, spell 343c-e.

Fig. 7.
CT, spell 344e-h.

Fig. 8.
CT, spell 400a-f.
Fig. 9.
CT, spell 401a-k.

Fig. 10.
CT, spell 343(cols. 14-21).
The Coffin of lady Wadj from Sedment (Beni-Suif Meusum).
Abdel Fatah (Ahmed Galal) & Bickel (Susanne), “Trois Cercueils de Sedment“, pp. 1, 3, 5, 8, fig. 1 et photos 3, 6.
المعداوي السماوي في الديانة المصرية القديمة (بحار الموتي)

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الملخص:

في الديانة المصرية القديمة كان "النوتي" أو "المراكبي" يطلق عليه وكان يصور كبحار يقف في مقدمة قارب البردي.

إن "المعداوي" المصري معروف في النصوص الجنائزية:

نصوص الأهرام من الدولة القديمة ومتون التوابيت من الدولة الوسطى و كتاب الموتي من الدولة الحديثة ونصوص المعابد في العصرين اليوناني والروماني ومن مصادر نصية أخرى في حوالي 21 اسمًا ولقبًا.

وفي كل تلك المصادر نجد أسمائه وألقابه وصفاته وأدواره ووظائفه وكذلك علاقاته مع المعبدات الأخرى في مصر القديمة.

ولقد كان من الضروري للمتوفي أن يستدعي أو ينادي علي نوتيا في عبوره، ذلك لأنه سوف يبحر بالروح خلال المياه الملتفة للعالم الآخر، وبطبيعة الحال عن طريق صيغ سحرية والتي تتضمن الأسماء الغامضة والخفية للمراكبي.

ويما أنه كان إلها في عالم الآخرة وبحارا للموتي فإنه ربما كان الأصل الحضاري للمراكبي اليوناني Charon للعالم السفلي.

إن فكرة بحار العالم الأخرى لم توجد في مصر القديمة واليونان فقط، ولكن وجدت أيضا في بعض الحضارات والثقافات الأخرى، مثل: Yorubas في جنوب نيجيريا، Norse في دنمارك (العصر البرونزي).

تحاول هذه الورقة البحثية إعطاء فكرة تصنيفية عن هذه الشخصية الهامة والمقدسة في عالم الموتى والمعتقدات الدينية المصرية القديمة من خلال المصادر النصية من الفترات المختلفة والأفكار المقارنة من الحضارات الأخرى.

الكلمات الدالة:

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