



Types of Intermediaries in Popular Religion

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Abstract



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This article deals with a topic entitled “Types of Intermediaries in the popular Religion” during the New Kingdom. Following the discussion of specific points in the introduction such as the definition, the Ancient Egyptian term and the data-sources of the intermediary, the paper will present six documents including three votive stelae, intercessory statue, graffito and a letter to the livings with full transcription, transliteration and translation. The paper aims to prove that there were three different types of intermediaries in the popular religion of ancient Egypt during the New Kingdom. The first type is the divine intermediary represented in the sacred bulls such as the Mnevis bull of Heliopolis and the popular god Thoth for example. The second type was the royal intermediary best represented in the King who was the major intermediary in the popular religion of all time whether alive or dead. The third type was the individual intermediary who was in most of the cases one of the high officials such as the vizier, the high priest or son of King in Kush but other data indicate that officials such as royal scribes acted as intermediary. The notion of the individual intermediary was known as well between the community members such as the family members. The paper will use a descriptive historical method through analyzing the cited data to come out with conclusions.







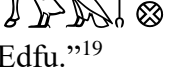

Introduction

The ancient Egyptian language did not have an explicit term or word for intermediary but the sense of the word could be given through the term  *whmw* from the root  *whm* which means "repeat-report".¹ The term *whmw* has been

¹ Wb I. 344 (7-19); R. Hannig. (1995). *Die Sprache der Pharaonen Grobes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch*. Mainz. p.211.

translated by some scholars such as Gardiner,² Faulkner,³ Simmance,⁴ Erman and Grapow⁵ as "herald, reporter, spokesman and transmitter of orders". On the other hand, other scholars such as Ausec⁶ and Harrington⁷ translated the same term as "Intermediary". Moreover, Varille translates the term as "Intermédiaire" in his research on the inscriptions of Amenhotep son of Habu.⁸ The same translation has been used by TeVelde.⁹ Otto also suggested that the title *whmw* in the religious context has the sound or the tone of "Vermittler /Intermediary".¹⁰ In the same context, Teeter also uses the translation "Intermediary" for *whmw*.¹¹

The previous translations reflect both the administrative and religious contexts in which the term has been used in the Ancient Egyptian language throughout the different periods of Egyptian history. The administrative context of such term is clearly evident in a series of titles held by some of the Ancient Egyptian officials from the Old Kingdom onwards such as:

 *whmw* "Transmitter of orders or Herald",¹²  *whmw n nsw* "Royal Herald",¹³  *whm tpy n nsw* "First Royal Herald",¹⁴  *whmw n prwy* "Herald of the Pharaoh",¹⁵  *whmw n bty* "Herald of the Vizier",¹⁶  *whmw n 3bw* "Herald of Elephantine",¹⁷  *whmw m W3st* "Herald of Thebes",¹⁸  *whmw n Db3* "Herald of Edfu."¹⁹

The religious context of the same word can be detected in religious titles in relation to some of the Ancient Egyptian gods, along with some of the titles in the inscriptions of so-called "intermediary statues"²⁰ such as:-

² A. Gardiner. (1957). *Egyptian Grammar*. Oxford. p. 562.

³ R. O. Faulkner. (1991). *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford. p. 67.

⁴ E. B. Simmance. (2014). *Amenhotep Son of Hapu: Self-Presentation Through Statues and Their Texts in Pursuit of Semi-Divine Intermediary Statues*. Brimingham. p. 86.

⁵ Wb I. 344 (7-13).

⁶ C. Ausec. (2010). *Gods Who Hear Prayers; Popular Piety or Kingship in Three Theban Monuments of New Kingdom Egypt*. Berkeley- California. p. 35.

⁷ N. Harrington. (2013). *Living with the Dead. Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt*. Oxford. p. 47.

⁸ A. Varille. (1968). *Inscriptions concernant l' Architecte Amenhotep, fils de Hapou*. Le Caire. p. 31.

⁹ H. T. Velde. "Mittler" in *LÄ* IV. cols. 161-163.

¹⁰ E. Otto. (1976). *Gehalt und Bedeutung des Ägyptischen Heroenglaubens*. ZÄS 78. p. 33.

¹¹ E. Teeter. (2011). *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*. Chicago. p. 100.

¹² D. Jones. (2000). *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*. Oxford. p. 405. no. 1488.

¹³ W. Ward. (1982). *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*. Beirut. p. 90. no. 747; A. R. Al-Ayedi. (2006). *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious, and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*. Cairo. p. 280. no. 892.

¹⁴ Ward. *Index of the Middle Kingdom*. p. 90. no. 752; Al-Ayedi. *Index of the New Kingdom*. p. 282. no. 901.

¹⁵ Al-Ayedi. *Index of the New Kingdom*. p. 280. no. 893.

¹⁶ Ward. *Index of the Middle Kingdom*. p. 90. no. 753.

¹⁷ Ward. *Index of the Middle Kingdom*. p. 89. no. 742.

¹⁸ Ward. *Index of the Middle Kingdom*. p. 89. no. 744a.

¹⁹ Al-Ayedi. *Index of the New Kingdom*. p. 283. no. 903.

²⁰ For the intermediary or intercessory statues, See: Teeter. *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*. pp. 96-101.

whmw n Pth "Intermediary of Ptah",²¹ *whmw n R*^c "Intermediary of Ra,"²² *whmw n nbt m3't* "Intermediary of lady of the Truth"²³ *whmw n Hnwt.i* "Intermediary of my mistress."²⁴ Galan points out that while the working system of the title *whmw* and its office in the administrative context runs either downwards (king down to people via the herald) or upwards (people up to king or vizier via the herald), the working system of the title *whmw* in the religious context runs in one direction only upwards (people up to gods via either: divine, royal or individual intermediary).²⁵

In addition to the scenes of the New Kingdom tombs which are considered sources for the concept of mediation in the popular religion, the intermediary, and his role in the popular religion during the New Kingdom is well-attested in other Ancient Egyptian data found in various archaeological places such as temples, shrines and villages in several sites including Thebes, Memphis, Giza, Piramesses (Qantir), Horbit and Abydos.²⁶ The most notable of such information from that time includes:

- The votive stelae
- The Intercessory statues
- The letters to the living (whether in form of papyri or ostraca)
- The Graffiti

These data sources reveal that there were three types of intermediaries in Ancient Egypt, namely the Divine Intermediary, the Royal Intermediary, and the Individual Intermediary.

I) The Divine Intermediary

According to the Ancient Egyptian religion, some of the ancient Egyptian gods acted as intermediaries between humans and the main deity. The use of the gods as mediators is, according to Galan, evident in many different sources, such as some of the funerary prayers that mention:-²⁷

i ntrw imyw pt i ntrw imyw t3 i ntrw imyw dw3t

d3d3ty²⁸ hnw-R^c st3 ntr 3 r 3ht Imntt n pt

²¹ Wb I. 344 (14).

²² Wb I. 344 (15).

²³ Urk IV. p. 1856 (9).

²⁴ Urk IV. p. 1922 (9).

²⁵ J. M. Galan. (2000). Amenhotep Son of Hapu as Intermediary Between the People and the God. In Z. Hawass (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists*, vol. 2. Cairo. p. 223.

²⁶ Some of the New Kingdom tombs of Deir El-Medina, as data- source for studying the concept of the royal ancestor worship during the New Kingdom have been discussed in the doctoral thesis of Yasmin Al-Shazly. see: Y. H. El-Shazly. (2008). *Royal Ancestor Worship in Deir El-Medina During the New Kingdom*. Baltimore, Maryland. pp. 20-127.

²⁷ Stela Pehsukher in TT 88 from the 18th Dynasty, time of Thutmose III to Amenhotep II, see: PM I, pp. 179-181; PH. Viery. (1891). Le tombeau de Pehsukher. In *Sept Tombeaux Thébains de la XVIIIe Dynastie*. MMAF 5.2. Paris. pp. 286-310; A. Hermann. (1940). *Die stelen der Thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie*. Gluckstadt. p. 22* (7-9). pl.3 (a).

²⁸ Wb V. 529 (18); Leitz. LGG VII. p. 605.

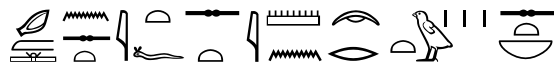


sḥr²⁹ mdw.i n nb nhḥ m sprt nt b3k n nb.f ḥsi.f wi

"O gods who are in the heaven, O gods who are in the earth, O gods who are in the Netherworld, the two colleagues, the rowers of Ra who pull out the great god to the western horizon of heaven, who elevate my words to the lord of eternity, as a petition of a servant to his lord, so that he may praise me".³⁰

This prayer and the other copies make it evident that the notion of using divinities (gods who are in the heaven, gods who are in the earth and gods who are in the netherworld) as intermediaries or intercessors to intercede (elevate words) with other gods (lord of the eternity) or supreme gods on behalf of people (the petitioners) was well-known in Ancient Egypt.³¹

In a hymn dedicated to the goddess Hathor from almost the same time of the previous prayer, one of the texts mentions:³²



sdm n.s(t) it. s (t) Imn sprwt.s(t) nb

"Her father Amun listens to her (and to) all of her petitions".

One can conclude that the *sprwt* or "the petitions" mentioned in this text are the petitions of the people who used to address the goddess Hathor (the intermediary) with their requests hoping to elevate them to her father god Amun (the supreme god).

In his study of the popular religion of Ancient Egypt during the New Kingdom, Sadek points out that in some cases of the so-called "intercession", the ancient Egyptian petitioners presented their requests to a divinity through the mediation of other gods.³³ A close study of some of the New Kingdom votive stelae reveal that there were two indicators identifying the divine intermediary in the popular religion of that time.

The first indicator is the title *whmw*. Te Velde points out that the gods who bore the title *whmw* or intermediary were only two: the first was the bull Apis, as an intermediary for the god Ptah of Memphis and the second was the bull Mnevis, as an intermediary for the god Ra of Heliopolis.³⁴ Other scholars have pointed out that the role of such sacred bulls as *whmw*, or

²⁹ Hannig. *Handwörterbuch*. p. 670.

³⁰ Galan. Amenhotep Son of Hapu. pp. 223-224.

³¹ Urk IV. p. 1192 (9-13) TT 79 of Menkheperaseneb, p. 1523 (9)-1524 (8) four collective sources including TT 200 of Dedi, the Berlin stela 2074 of Nakhtmin, p. 1590 (10-15), TT 78 of Horemhab, p. 1628 (6-10) and TT 90 of Nebamun. For the Berlin stela 2074, see: G. Roeder. (1924). *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin- II*. Leipzig. p. 125 (18-20).

³² Stela Vienna. Env. Nr. 8390 of Ipuuy from the 18th Dynasty, time of Thutmose III – Amenhotep II, See; H. Satzinger. (1985). Zwei wiener Objekte mit bemerkenswerten Inschriften. *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, 2. Paris. pp. 249-254; E. Frood. (2007). *Biographical Texts from the Ramessid Egypt*. Atlanta. pp. 231-232; K. Szpakowska. (2003). The Open Portal: Dreams and Divine Power in Pharaonic Egypt. In S. Noegel, J. Walker & B. Wheeler (eds.), *Magic in History: Prayer, Magic and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*, Pennsylvania. pp. 116-118, 122-123; L. May Dewsbury. (2016). *Invisible Religion in Ancient Egypt: A Study into the Individual Religiosity of Non-royal and Non-elite Ancient Egyptians*. Birmingham. pp. 281-282, 371-374.

³³ A. I. Sadek. (1987). *Popular Religion in Ancient Egypt During the New Kingdom*. Hildesheim. pp. 228-230.

³⁴ LÄ IV. col. 162.

intermediaries for gods such as Ptah and Ra was well-attested in the religion of ancient Egypt since the 18th Dynasty onwards.³⁵

The second indicator is the mediated compositional form type B of the votive stelae in particular those of the Ramesside Period. According to Exell, the votive stelae of the mediated compositional form Type B is a type of stelae³⁶ that shows a royal intermediary or high-official intermediary depicted in the upper register of the stela often standing opposite a god or gods with whom he is supposed to intercede on behalf of a lower-rank dedicator depicted in the lower register alone or with members of his family.³⁷ It is important to add that the role of intermediary was not exclusive for humans, whether they were royals or high officials as some of the gods were also depicted in the votive stelae in similar intermediary status facing other deities in the upper register, while the dedicator of the stela is depicted in the lower register.

Document 1 Stela Carlsberg Glyptothek Copenhagen AEIN 590³⁸ (Fig.1 A, B)

Dedicator/Title: Ipiia³⁹/Fuller (Washer man⁴⁰) of the house of Ra

Material: Limestone

Height: 36 cm

Date: 19th Dynasty /20th Dynasty

Place of Discovery: Heliopolis/ Arab El-Tawil⁴¹

Compositional form: Type C⁴²

Description:



Fig.1 A. Stela Carlsberg Glyptothek Copenhagen AEIN 590 by Petersen. (1948). taf. 41

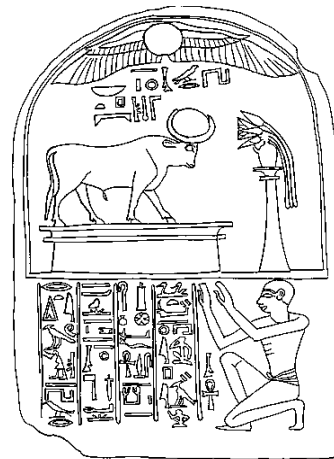


Fig.1 B. Facsimile of stela Carlsberg Glyptothek Copenhagen AEIN 590 by Moursi. (1987). pl. 2

³⁵ E. Otto. (1964). *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Aegypten*. Hiedsheim. pp. 34-40; M. Moursi. (1987). *Corpus der Mnevis-Stelen und Untersuchungen zum Kult der Mnevis-Stiere in Heliopolis II*. SAK 14. pp. 225-237.

³⁶ For the other two types of the votive stelae (A, C) from the New Kingdom, see: K. Exell. (2006). *A Social and Historical Interpretation of Ramesside Period Votive Stelae – II*. Durham. p. 322.

³⁷ Exell. *Votive Stelae – II*. pp. 326-327.

³⁸ PM IV. p. 60; A. Kamal. (1903). *Chapelle d'un Mnévis de Ramsés III*. RT XXV. p. 29 (note 2); O. K. Petersen. (1948). *Les Stèles Égyptiennes*. Copenhagen. p. 34. Taf. 41; Moursi. *Mnevis-Stelen*. SAK 14. pp. 228-230. pl.2.

³⁹ PN I. p. 23 (1).

⁴⁰ Al-Ayedi. *Index of the New Kingdom*. pp. 329-330. no.1042.

⁴¹ A village located north of Heliopolis where two burials of the bull Merwer from the New Kingdom were found, see: Kamal. *Chapelle d'un Mnévis de Ramsés III*. RT XXV. p. 29.

⁴² The type C is an abbreviation of what so-called by Exell "the indirect compositional form of the votive stelae of the New Kingdom". This type of stelae shows the God represented alone in the upper register of the stela, while the dedicator is represented in the lower register. see: Exell. *Votive Stelae –II*. p. 322.

In the upper register, the god Merwer is standing on a pedestal in the form of a bull with a solar disk between its horns. Above him, a winged sun-disk is depicted. In front of him, there is an altar loaded with a water pot and flowers. In the lower register, on the right side Ipiia is portrayed kneeling in adoration attitude and raising both hands. In the text in front of him, he is asking God Ra, through the mediation of Merwer to give him life, prosperity, and health.⁴³

Text:

The God:



Mr-wr⁴⁴ whmw n R^c ntr ʿ3 nb pt

Mnevis, the intermediary of Ra, the great god, the lord of the heaven.

The Dedicator:



*rdit i3w⁴⁵ n Mr-wr sn-t3⁴⁶ n whmw R^c ntr ʿ3
hk3 Iwnw di.f ʿnh wd3 snb n k3.n rhty n pr R^{c47} Ipyi3 whm ʿnh*

"Giving praises to Merwer, paying homage (lit: kissing the ground) before the intermediary of Ra, the great god, the ruler of Heliopolis, so that he may give life, prosperity and health for the Ka of the washerman of the house of Ra, Ipiia, repeater of life".⁴⁸

Document 2 Stela BM EA.266⁴⁹ (Fig.2 A, B)

Dedicator/ Title: Djhwthieremmetwef⁵⁰/Servant in the place of Truth⁵¹ and Stonemason⁵² of Thoth.

Material: Limestone

Height: 51, 25 cm

Date: 18th Dynasty or 19th Dynasty/Ramesses II

Compositional Form: Type B

Place of Discovery: Deir El-Medina

Description:

⁴³ Moursi. Mnevis-Stelen. *SAK* 14. pp. 228-230. pl.2.

⁴⁴ Hannig. *Handwörterbuch*. p. 1209.

⁴⁵ Hannig. *Handwörterbuch*. p. 22.

⁴⁶ Hannig. *Handwörterbuch*. p. 716.

⁴⁷ Al-Ayedi. *Index of the New Kingdom*. pp. 329-330. no.1042.

⁴⁸ Moursi. Mnevis-Stelen. *SAK* 14. pp. 228-230. pl.2.

⁴⁹ PM I. p. 718b; KRI III. p. 841; KRITA III. p. 561; G. Maspero. (1880). *Rapport sur une Mission en Italie. RT* 2. pp. 198-199; H. R. Hall. (1925). *Hieroglyphic Texts From Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum— 7*. London. p. 12, pl. XXXVII; M. L. Bierbrier. (1993). *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum-12*. London. pl. 46-47.

⁵⁰ PN I. p. 408 (16).

⁵¹ Al-Ayedi. *Index of the New Kingdom*. pp. 607-610. no. 1957.

⁵² Al-Ayedi. *Index of the New Kingdom*. p. 488. no.1597.



Fig.2 A. Stela BM EA.266 by https://www.britishmuseum.org/collecton/object/Y_EA266 (Accessed 20 August 2021 at 11:27 pm)

Fig.2 B. Facsimile of stela BM EA.266 by Hall. (1925). pl.XXXVII

In the upper register, the god Rahorakhty is seated in a boat and in front of him the god Thoth as intermediary is sitting in the form of a baboon offering him the sacred eye. In the lower register, the dedicator of the stela, Djhwthieremmkwtef is depicted on the left side kneeling in adoration attitude and in front of him is a prayer addressing the solar god in 10 hieroglyphic lines. In the text, the dedicator is pleading god Ra through the mediation of god Thoth to make his body sound and strong.⁵³

Inscriptions:

God Rahorakhty:



R^c-Hr-3hty.....nhh

"Rahorakhtyeternity"

The Dedicator:



⁵³ Bierbrier. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*-12. pls. 46-47.



- 1- *dw3 R^c hft wbn.f (m 3ht i3btt nt pt)*
- 2- *in sdm-^cš⁵⁴ m st-m3^ct hrty-ntr⁵⁵ n Dhwti nb Hmnw⁵⁶*
- 3- *m niwt rsyt Dhwti-hr-mktw.f m3^c-hrw dd.f ind hr.k*
- 4- *wbn m Nwn shd bwy m stwt.f*
- 5- *di.k rwd h^cw.i hr m33.i nfrw.k iw.i m*
- 6- *hnw n hr.k nfr*
- 7- *r hpr htp.k m nḥ*
- 8- *n k3 n sdm-^cš m*
- 9- *st-m3^ct hr Imntt W3st*
- 10- *Dhwti-hr-mktw.f m3^c- hrw*

"Adoring Ra, when he rises (in the eastern horizon of the sky) by the servant in the place of Truth, and stonemason of Thoth, the lord of Hermopolis in the southern city, Djhwtiheremktwef, the justified, he says: hail to you who rises from the ocean Nun, who illuminates the two lands by his rays, may you allow my body to be strong, while I see your beauty, and I am in jubilation at your beautiful face till comes your setting in life, for the ka of the servant in the place of Truth on the West of Thebes Djhwtiheremktwef, the justified." ⁵⁷

II) The Royal Intermediary

The royal intermediary is a term that refers to members of the Ancient Egyptian royal families who acted as intermediaries on behalf of their subjects in the popular religion during the New Kingdom, whether they were kings, queens⁵⁸ or royal sons,⁵⁹ in life and after death.

The major intermediary of those royalties was the king. The ancient Egyptian king was a man of several responsibilities and duties. As the political ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt, he was responsible for making laws, issuing decrees, appointing the officials, supervising the systematic work in the departments of the central government, and collecting taxes. As the military head of the state, he was also in charge of defending Egypt against invaders. Many pharaohs led their armies to wars when their land was threatened or to gain control over foreign lands. As the religious leader of the land, it was his duty to uphold and defend the divine law known as "Maat" to maintain and restore the cosmic order. Moreover, as son of the gods, as well as the delegate or the high priest of all the gods, the king was responsible for accomplishing rituals and constructing temples for those gods. In addition, he was the major link and the intermediary between the divinities and the mankind or the one who transmitted the people petitions to the supreme deities.⁶⁰

The votive stelae, as material documents of the popular religion during the New Kingdom, provide us with a long list of pharaohs from both the 18th Dynasty and the Ramesside Period

⁵⁴ Hannig. *Handwörterbuch*. p. 795.

⁵⁵ Hannig. *Handwörterbuch*. p. 643; Al-Ayedi. *Index of the New Kingdom*. p. 488. no.1597.

⁵⁶ Leitz. LGG III. pp. 716-718.

⁵⁷ KRITA III. p. 561(8).

⁵⁸ Stela Bankes collection no.12, see: J. Černý. (1958). *Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection*. Oxford. no. 12; M. Gitton. (1981). *L'épouse du dieu, Ahmes Nefertary: documents sur sa vie et son culte posthume*. Paris. p. 80; Exell. *Votive Stelae-II*. p. 376. no. 34; El-Shazly. *Royal Ancestor Worship in Deir El-Medina during the New Kingdom*. pp. 136-139. fig. 30.

⁵⁹ Louvre stela IM 3747, see: O. Mariette. (1857). *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, vol. I. Paris. pl. 21; M. Malinine, G. Posener, et J. Vercoutter. (1968). *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis – I*. Paris. p. 14. pl. V (top).

⁶⁰ M. A. Bonhême. (2001). "kingship". In D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. vol. 2. Oxford. pp. 238-245.

who acted as intermediaries on behalf of the people including Amenhotep I,⁶¹ Thutmose I,⁶² Thutmose III,⁶³ Thutmose IV,⁶⁴ Amenhotep III,⁶⁵ Seti I,⁶⁶ Ramesses II,⁶⁷ Merenptah⁶⁸ and Ramesses III.⁶⁹ The most remarkable among these royal names is king Ramesses II, who was the major intermediary of all times.⁷⁰ He was depicted in several votive stelae while interceding with gods on behalf of elites, such as viziers, and on behalf of non-elites such as workers of Deir El-Medina village. Stela no.287 at Munich Glyptothek is a good example of showing king Ramesses II interceding on behalf of one of the elites.

Document 3 Stela Munich Glyptothek no.287⁷¹ (Fig.3 A, B)

Dedicator/title: Parahotep⁷²/Vizier⁷³

Material: Limestone

Height: 95 cm

Compositional Form: Type B

Place of Discovery: Qantir

Date: 19th Dynasty/Ramesses II

Description:

⁶¹ Stela of Girton College, Cambridge, see: S. Quinn. (1991). A New Kingdom Stela in Girton College Showing Amenophis I Wearing the *hprš*. *JEA* 77. pp. 169-175. fig.1.

⁶² Stela of Royal Scottish Museum inv. 1908/361-Edinburgh, see: W. F. Petrie. (1909). *Memphis I*. London. p. 7. pl. VII. no. 46; S. Pasquali. (2001). Topographié culturelle de Memphis I: Temples et principaux quartiers de la XVIII^e dynastie. *CENiM* 4. Montpellier. p. 8 (A.16).

⁶³ Stela Cairo Museum CG 34035, see: H. Carter. (1903). Report on General Work Done in the Southern Inspectorate. *ASAE* 4. p. 48; M. P. Lacau. (1926). *Stéles du Nouvel Empire Nos. 34065 - 34186*. Le Caire. pp. 68-70. pl. 23.

⁶⁴ Stela Cairo Museum CG 34022, see: A. Mariette. (1880). *Abydos – II*. Paris. p. 44. pl. 47; Lacau. *Stéles du Nouvel Empire*. pp. 42-43. pl. XIII; B. M. Bryan. (1980). *The Reign of Thuthmosis IV*. Yale. p. 218.

⁶⁵ Stela Turin Museum B 2728 (cat.1461), see: A. Radwan. (1975). Zur bildlichen Gleichsetzung des Ägyptischen Königs mit der Gottheit. *MDAIK* 31. pp. 100-102; S. Bickel. (2002). Aspects et fonctions de la deification d'Amenhotep III. *BIFAO* 102. pp. 80-81. fig.11.

⁶⁶ Stela Cairo Museum JE 72269, see: S. Hassan. (1953). *The Great Sphinx and Its Secrets-Excavations at Giza VIII*. Cairo. p. 263. fig. 199; Ch. M. Zivie. (1976). *Giza au Deuxième Millénaire*. le Caire. pp.189-191; P. J. Brand. (2000). *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis*. Ledien. pp. 151-152.

⁶⁷ Stela of Generalissimo Panehsy, see: L. Habachi. (1980). The Military Posts of Ramesses II on the Coastal Road and the Western Part of the Delta. *BIFAO* 80. p. 18. pl. VI B; Exell. *Votive Stelae – II*. p. 510. no. 408.

⁶⁸ Rock-Carving Stela of West Silsila, see: S. Iskander. (2002). *The Reign of Merenptah*. New York. p. 189 (3.26.4), p. 342 (no.i). fig. 27.

⁶⁹ Stela no. 3061 at Khartoum Museum, see: H. W. Fairman. (1939). Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Amarah-West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1938-9. *JEA* 25. p. 143. pl. XV (2); B. Mojssov. (2012). The Monuments of Ramesses III. In E. H. Cline & D. O'Connor (eds.), *Ramesses III: The Life and Times of Egypt's Last Hero*. Michigan. p. 298.

⁷⁰ A. Radwan. (1991). Ramesses II as Mediator. In E. Bleiberg & R. Freed (eds.), *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great*. Memphis –Tennessee. pp. 221-225.

⁷¹ KRI III. p. 52; KRITA III. p. 35; A. Scharff. (1934). Ein Denkstein des Vezirs Rahotep aus der 19 Dynastie. *ZÄS* 70. pp. 47-51; L. Habachi. (1969). *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*. Glückstadt. pp. 33-34. pl. 13b. fig. 21; Exell. *Votive Stelae – II*. p. 509. no. 391; Ausec. *Gods Who Hear Prayers; Popular Piety or Kingship in Three Theban Monuments of New Kingdom Egypt*. Figs. 3, 10, p. 100.

⁷² PN I. p. 114 (20).

⁷³ Ward. *Index of the Middle Kingdom*. p. 184. no. 1590.



Fig.3 A. Stela no.287 at Munich Glyptothek by Habachi. (1969). pl. 13b



Fig.3 B. Facsimile of the stela no.287 at Munich Glyptothek by Habachi. (1969).
Fig. 21

In the upper register, King Ramesses II as an intermediary is standing on the right side wearing the blue crown and two kilts one above the other. He is offering burnt incense and a water pot in front of his statue as a deified king. The statue is depicted on the left side standing on a pedestal, while wearing the double crown above the *Nemes*-headdress. Behind the statue of the deified Ramesses, there are four ears arranged in vertical line. Between the King and his deified statue, there is an offering table loaded with different offerings on its top. In the lower register, the donor of the stela, the vizier Parahotep is represented on the right-side kneeling in adoration attitude with hands raised up. In front of him, there are five vertical hieroglyphic columns.⁷⁴

Inscriptions:

The King:



nb t3wy Wsr-m3t-rstp-n-r nb h'w R'-ms-sw mry'Imn ntr hk3'Iwnw

The lord of the two lands, Wesermaatra-Setepenra, the lord of the crowns, Ramesses, the beloved of Amun, the god, the ruler of Heliopolis.

Behind the King:



s3 nh dd w3s h3.f nb mi R' dt sp-sn

All the protection, life, stability, and dominion surrounding him like Ra, forever and ever.

Statue of the deified Ramesses:



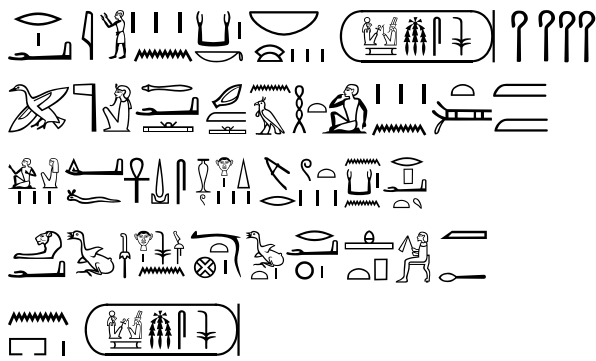
R'-ms-sw mry'Imn hk3 hk3w⁷⁵ ntr '3 nb pt dt

Ramesses, the beloved of Amun, the ruler of the rulers, the great god, the lord of the heaven, forever.

The Vizier:

⁷⁴ Habachi. *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*. pp.33-34. pl. 13b. fig. 21.

⁷⁵ Leitz. LGG V. p. 518.



1-*rdit i3w n k3.k nb h^cw R^c-ms-sw mry Imn hk3 hk3w*

2-*p3 ntr 3 sdm nhwt⁷⁶ n tmw⁷⁷*

3-*di.f^cnh wd3 snb hsw spd-hr⁷⁸ mrwt n k3.n r-p^ct*

4-*h3ty-^c 3y-hw n nsw imnt⁷⁹ imy-r3 niwt⁸⁰ t3ty (p3) r^c-htp m3^c-hrw*

5-*n pr R^c-ms-sw mry Imn*

"Giving praises to your ka, O lord of the crowns, Ramesses beloved of Amun, ruler of the rulers, the great god who hears the prayers of the people, may he give life, prosperity, health, favor, alertness, and love for the ka of the noble, the count, the fan-bearer on the King's right hand, the governor of the city, the vizier Parahotep, the justified in the house of Ramesses, beloved of Amun".⁸¹

It is remarkable to mention that even the deified kings of the Old Kingdom were depicted in the intermediary status during the New Kingdom. The best example in this case is King Teti, the first king of the 6th Dynasty, who is shown acting as an intermediary on behalf of some of the common people from the New Kingdom in the stela no. 25.635 which dates back to late 18th or 19th Dynasty and which is preserved at the Museum of the Fine Arts.⁸²

On the other hand, the graffiti, as textual documents of the popular religion during the New Kingdom, indicate that some of the Old Kingdom's deified kings such as king Djoser and king Teti, acted as intermediaries on behalf of the common people. This is evident in the next document.

Document 4 Graffito from South Saqqara no.M.2.13.P.19.1⁸³ (Fig. 4)

Author/Title: Nashuy⁸⁴/Scribe⁸⁵

Date: 19th Dynasty/Ramesses II

⁷⁶ Hannig. *Handwörterbuch*. p. 794; Leitz. LGG VI. p. 736.

⁷⁷ Hannig. *Handwörterbuch*. p. 932.

⁷⁸ Hannig. *Handwörterbuch*. p. 695; Faulkner. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. p. 224.

⁷⁹ Al-Ayedi. *Index of the New Kingdom*. pp. 659-663. no. 2127.

⁸⁰ Hannig. *Handwörterbuch*. p. 57.

⁸¹ KRITA III. p. 35.

⁸² D. Dunham. (1935). Four New Kingdom Monuments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. *JEA* 21. pp. 148-149; A. A. Gaber. (2003). Aspects of the Deification of Some of the Old Kingdom. In A. K. Eyma, C. J. Bennett (eds.), *A Delta-man in Yebu: Occasional Volume of the Egyptologists Electronic Forum*. Universal Publishers. p. 24.

⁸³ KRI III. p. 436; KRITA III. p. 312; G. Jéquier. (1933). *Deux Pyramides du Moyen Empire*. Le Caire. pp. 13-16, fig. 12; A. J. Peden. (2001). *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt*. Leiden. p. 99; H. Navratilova. (2006). *Egyptian Historical Thought: the Visitors Graffiti of the New Kingdom at Saqqara and Abusir as a Case study*. Prague. pp. 293-296.

⁸⁴ PN I. p. 170 (4).

⁸⁵ Al-Ayedi. *Index of the New Kingdom*. pp. 529-530. no. 1716.

Place of Discovery: Funerary Temple of King Khendjer of the 13th Dynasty

Type: Personal piety graffiti

Description:

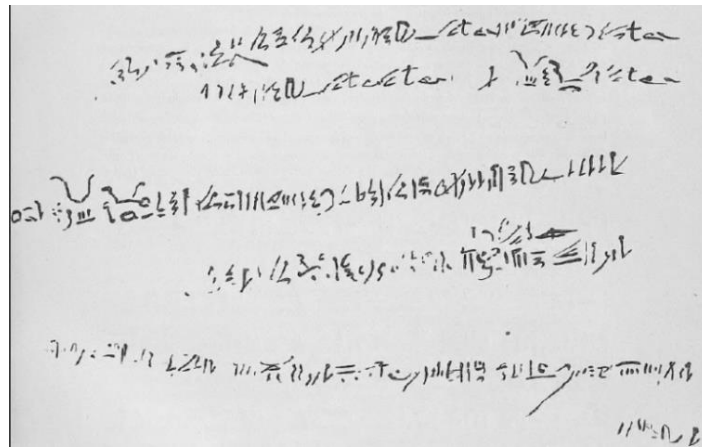
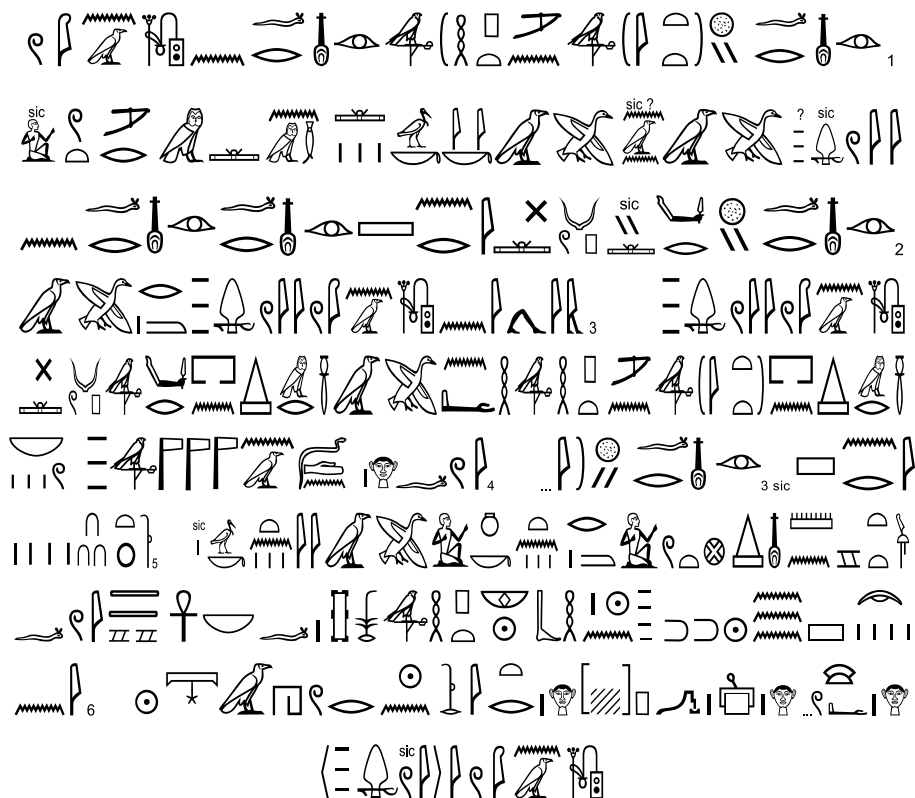


Fig.4. Graffito from South Saqqara no.M.2.13.P.19.1 by Jéquier. (1933). Fig. 12

This personal piety graffito commemorates the visit of a scribe on the day of the festival of god Ptah at the Memphite necropolis in year 34 of King Ramesses II. The author of the graffito, the scribe Nashuy is asking both King Djoser and King Teti as intermediaries, to intercede on his behalf with the gods of West of Memphis to do good to him and to let him be by their side.⁸⁶

Inscriptions:



⁸⁶ Peden. *The Graffiti*. p. 99.

1-ir nfr⁸⁷ ir nfr Tti mr n Pth ir nfr n sš n3šwi p3y.k b3kw ndm m mrwt

2-ir nfr ir nfr Dsr wp-inr ir nfr ir nfr n sš n3šwi

3-ii n sš n3šwi r-gs p3 mr n Tti mry n Pth hn^c mr Dsr wp-inr

4- iw-f hr dd n n3 ntrw nbw imntt Mn-nfr ir nfr ir nfr tw.i r-gs-tn ink p3y.k b3k

5-h3t -sp/ rnpt 34 3bd 4 šmw sw 24 hrw n hb Pth rsy inb.f nb n^ch t3wy iw.f hr h^c hr-s3⁸⁸ stp
(..) ⁸⁹ hr tr⁹⁰ n rwh3⁹¹

6-in sš n3šwi

"1- do good, do good, O (King) Teti, beloved of Ptah, do good to the scribe Nashuy, your servant, sweet of love, 2- do good, do good, O (King) Djoser, opener of the stone, do good, do good to the scribe Nashuy, 3- The scribe Nashuy came to the neighborhood of the pyramid of Teti, beloved of Ptah and the pyramid of Djoser, opener of the stone, 4-He is saying to all the gods of West of Memphis, do good, do good, let me be by your side (because) I am your servant, 5- Year 34, the 4th month of the summer, day 24, day of the festival of Ptah, South of his wall, lord of Ankhtawy, when he is appearing outside of the palace (?) at the time of evening, 6-(written) by the scribe Nashuy".⁹²

III) The Individual Intermediary

In addition to the divinities and royalties, both the material (votive stelae and intercessory statues) and textual documents (letters and graffiti) of the popular religion during the New Kingdom indicate that some of the individuals had acted as intermediaries during this period. The remarkable intermediaries of this category were high officials such as the "viziers"⁹³ and "viceroys of the King in Kush."⁹⁴

Some others were "high priests" of some gods, in particular the high priests of god Amun and god Ra.⁹⁵ Alongside these high dignitaries, the documents also reveal that other officials such as "royal scribes" also played the role of intermediaries. On a much lower level, there are some texts showing that members of the community, such as family members, colleagues, and subordinates, also played the role of intermediaries on behalf of each other during the New Kingdom.

Among the most important documents of this category are the statues known as the "Intercessory statues." This term refers to statues of the mediating function between humans

⁸⁷ For the formula "do good, do good", see: Sadek. *Popular Religion in Ancient Egypt During the New Kingdom*. pp. 239-240.

⁸⁸ Hannig. *Handwörterbuch*. p. 546.

⁸⁹ This word is translated by Kitchen either "temple or palace" with a question mark behind each word, while Peden gives the translation of "temple" for the same word with a question mark behind it. It is possible according to Faulkner that the word might read *stp-s3* which means "palace". see: KRITA III, p. 312; Peden. *The Graffiti*. p. 99; Faulkner. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. p. 245.

⁹⁰ Hannig. *Handwörterbuch*. p. 935.

⁹¹ Hannig. *Handwörterbuch*. p. 462.

⁹² Peden. *The Graffiti*. p. 99.

⁹³ Rock Carving Stela of Khonsu, see: PM I². p.707; KRI V. p. 378; KRITA V. p. 313; B. Bruyère. (1929). *Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh*. Le Caire. pp. 14-15. fig. 10; P. Pamminger. (1996). *Magistrale Intervention: Der Beamte als Mittler*. SAK 2. p. 304. no. 31.

⁹⁴ Stela Cairo Museum JE 41401, see: PM VII, p. 55; KRI III, pp. 89-90; KRITA III. p. 62; A. Barsanti, H. Gauthier. (1911). *Stèles Trouvées à Ouadi Es-Sabouà (Nubia)*. ASAE 11. pp. 72-73. no.4; Exell. *Votive Stelae – II*. p. 480. no. 395.

⁹⁵ Stela Hildesheim 1102, see: KRI II. p. 906; KRITA II. p. 591; L. Habachi. (1954). *Khata'na – Qantir: Importance*. ASAE 52.2. p. 541. pl. XXXVIII; M. I. Moursi. (1972). *Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes von der Frühzeit Ägyptens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. MÄS 26. pp. 65-66(3); Pamminger. *Magistrale Intervention: Der Beamte als Mittler*. SAK 2. p. 304. no. 27; Exell. *Votive Stelae – II*. p. 505. no.378.

and gods. Teeter points out that the owners of these statues might had special skill and specific connection with the gods and deified kings which made it possible for them to present the prayers and the petitions to the gods on behalf of common people.⁹⁶ Simmance points out that these intermediary statues had two basic forms: the first of which is the "scribal" form, while the second is the "sistrophorous" form. This latter type comes in two categories: as kneeling statues and as block statues.⁹⁷

Document 5 Statue Cairo Museum CG 627⁹⁸ (Fig.5 A, B)

Owner/Title: Raia⁹⁹/Scribe of Recruits¹⁰⁰

Material: Limestone

Height: 59 cm

Date: 18th / 19th Dynasties

Place of Discovery: Abydos

Type: Sistrophorous statue

Description:



Fig.5A: Statue Cairo Museum CG 627 by Borchardt. (1930). pl. 115

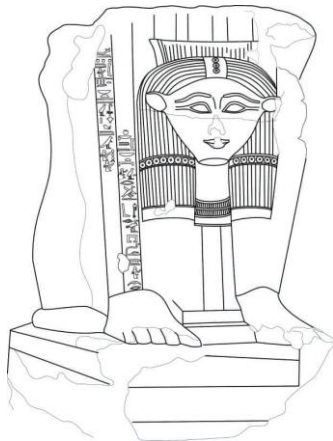


Fig. 5B: Facsimile of the statue CG 627, Cairo Museum

⁹⁶ Teeter. *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*. p. 96.

⁹⁷ E. B. Simmance. (2015). The Authority Behind Statues and the Authority of Statues: Sistrophoers and Intermediaries. In S. R. W. Gregory (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second Birmingham Egyptology Symposium*, Birmingham. pp. 47-66.

⁹⁸ PM V. p. 94; G. Daressy. (1893). Notes et Remarques. *RT XIV*. Paris. p. 171 (LXIV); L. Borchardt. (1930). *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo-II*. Berlin. pp. 173-175. pl. 115.

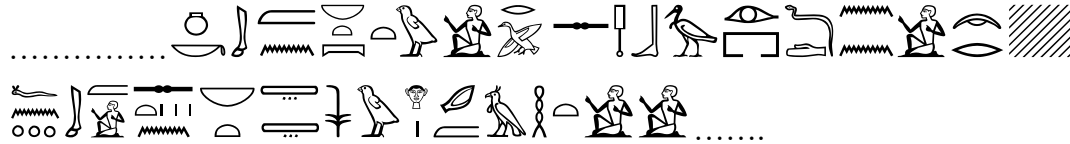
⁹⁹ PN I. p. 216 (23).

¹⁰⁰ J. A. Taylor. (2001). *An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the 18th Dynasty*. London. p. 212. no. 2068; Al-Ayedi. *Index of the New Kingdom*. pp. 556-557. no. 1804.

This block statue shows Raia in a semi-squatting position with his hands on his knees. The head of the statue is currently lost. In front of his legs, there is a sistrum of Hathor. The text on the pedestal of the sistrum mentions "Isis, the great". The inscriptions on the right leg of the owner states that Raia was *whmw* or an intermediary for goddess Isis lifting the petitions to her.¹⁰¹

Inscriptions:

Remains of the text on the right leg of the owner:



..... *ink whmw n nbt t3wy tw.i r p3(y).s wb3 ddw n.i sprwt.(tn) whm.i st n nbt t3wy sw hr sdm nht.i*

".....I am the intermediary of the lady of the two lands (Isis), I am at her open-court, speak your petitions to me and I will report them to the lady of the two lands (because) she listens to my prayers."

The letters to the living are an important data-source in popular religion, and they shed light on the intercessory prayer or intermediary role that was played by the family members or representatives of the community on behalf of each other.

Document 6 P.BM 10411¹⁰² (Fig. 6)

Author/Title: Butehamun¹⁰³/ Scribe¹⁰⁴ of the Necropolis

Material: Papyrus

Height: 26*20 cm

Date: Late 20th Dynasty/ Ramesses XI

Place of Discovery: Thebes

Type: Letter

Description:

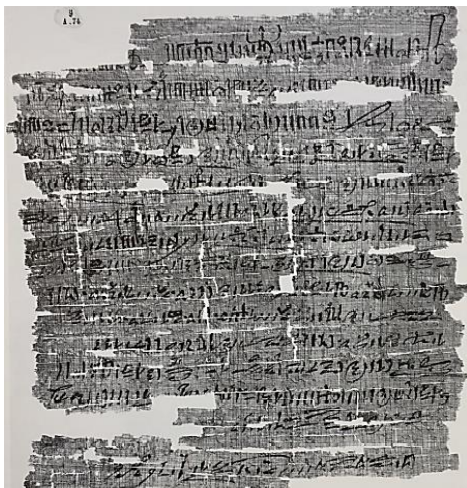


Fig. 6 P.BM 10411 by Janssen. (1990).
pl. 2

¹⁰¹ Borchardt. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo-II.* pp. 173-175. pl. 115.

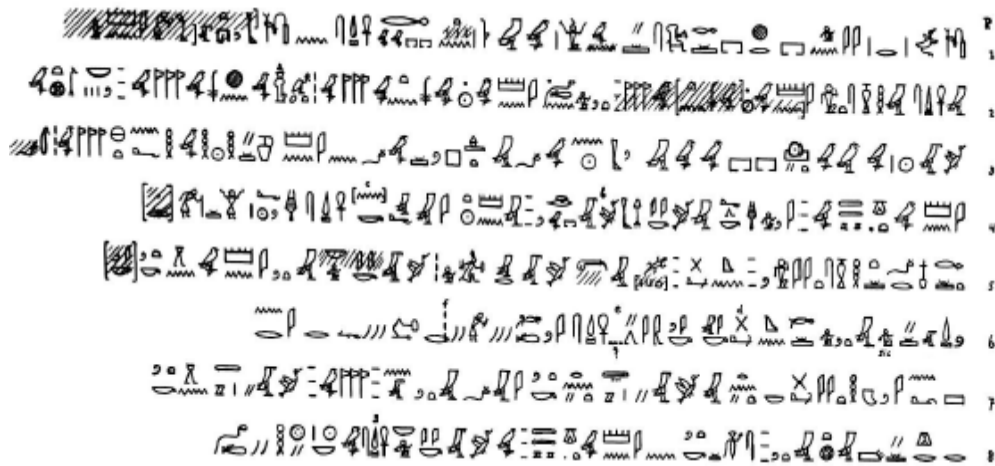
¹⁰² J.J. Janssen. (1990). *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications.* London. pp. 11-15. pl. 1-4.

¹⁰³ PN I. p. 94 (20); A. Niwiński. (1984). Butehamon-Schreiber der Nekropolis. *SAK* 11. pp. 135-136.

¹⁰⁴ Taylor. *An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases.* p. 208. no. 2025; Al-Ayedi. *Index of the New Kingdom.* pp. 529-530. no. 1716.

This papyrus letter is from the scribe Butehamun to his father Djhutmose, also known as Tjaroy, who was on an expedition to Nubia. In the intercessory prayer of the letter, the son as an intermediary is praying to or interceding with the Theban triad Amun-Ra, Mut, Khonsu, as well as God Rahorakhty to keep his father safe and to bring him back to Egypt.¹⁰⁵

Text:



- 1-šš T3r3y n hr ʿ3 šps n ḥḥ m rnpwt n Pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb n šš Bwth3-Imn
- 2- m ʿnh wḏ3 snb m ḥst Imn-Rʿ nsw ntrw tw.i dd n Imn-Rʿ nsw ntrw Mwt Hnsw ntrw nbw W3st
- 3-p3 Rʿ-ḥr-3ḥty m wbn.f m ḥtp.f n Imn-ḥnmt-nḥḥ¹⁰⁶ ḥnʿ psdt.f
- 4-Imn nswt t3wy iw.i ʿḥʿ m p3y.k wḏ3 m-mnt imi n.k ʿnh wḏ3 snb ʿḥʿw k3 i3wt
- 5-ʿ3t nfrt ḥst ḳnw ʿš3 m-b3ḥ p3 imy-r mšʿ p3y.k nb imi Imn in tw.k....
- 6-wḏ3 tw.i mḥ ḳni.(i) im.k iw.k iiy ʿnh wḏ3 snb iw šdi.(n) r ʿḥ3w r inrw
- 7-niwy¹⁰⁷ ḥty¹⁰⁸ nb r-nty m p3 t3 r-nty tw.k im.f mtw n3 ntrw p3 t3 in tw.k
- 8-r-ḥry Kmt mtw¹⁰⁹.(sn) swd¹¹⁰ tw.k n Imn nswt t3wy p3y.k nb ʿnh wḏ3 snb rʿ-nb sp-sn

"1- The scribe Tjaroy of the great and noble necropolis of millions of years of the pharaoh in life, prosperity and health from the scribe (of the necropolis) Butehamun 2- in life, prosperity and health and in the favor of Amun-Ra King of the gods, I say to Amun-Ra King of the gods, Mut, Khonsu, all the gods of Thebes and 3- Pa-Rahorakhty when he rises and sets to Amun-united with eternity with his Ennead 4- to Amun of the thrones of the two lands, while I am standing in your open-court daily to give life, prosperity, health long lifetime to you and rip of 5- old age and very many favors before the general, your lord, and may Amun bring you back 6- safe and may I fill my embrace with you when you have returned alive, prosperous and healthy and may they save you from the arrows, the stones 7- and spears and every danger which there is in that land in which you are and that the gods of that land bring you back to 8-

¹⁰⁵ Janssen. *Late Ramesside Letters* . pp. 11-15. pl. 1-4.
¹⁰⁶ Leitz. LGG I. pp. 335-336.
¹⁰⁷ Wb II. 202 (15); Hannig. *Handwörterbuch*. p. 392.
¹⁰⁸ Hannig. *Handwörterbuch*. p. 566.
¹⁰⁹ Wb II. 165 (1-2).
¹¹⁰ Faulkner. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. p. 218.

Egypt and (may they) hand you over to Amun of the thrones of the two lands, your lord, in life, prosperity and health every day.”¹¹¹

Conclusions

The intermediary is a person who mediates between two parties. The concept of intermediary was well-known in both state and popular religion in Ancient Egypt. The Ancient Egyptian term of the intermediary is *wḥmw*. It is remarkable to point out that most of the scholars translate this term as “herald” when it comes in an administrative context but it gives the meaning of “intermediary” when it comes in data sources of religious context. The votive stelae, intercessory statues, graffiti, as well as letters to the livings are rich sources of information about intermediaries in the popular religion during the New Kingdom. These data-sources reveal that there were three types of intermediaries, the divine, the royal and the individual intermediaries. The divine intermediary is best represented in sacred bulls such as the Merwer bull (document 1, fig. 1 A, B) who was an intermediary of god Ra of Heliopolis since 18th Dynasty onward. The intermediary indicator of the Merwer bull is the title *wḥmw*. god Thoth (document 2, fig. 2 A, B) was a very important divine intermediary in the popular religion during the New Kingdom. The intermediary indicator of god Thoth was the mediated compositional form type B of the stela. The royal intermediary was often a king, whether alive or dead, but queens and royal sons were also represented in this status. The most notable royal intermediary in the popular religion during the New Kingdom was king Ramesses II (document 3, fig 3 A, B). The intermediary indicator of king Ramesses II was the mediated compositional form type B of the stela. During the New Kingdom, some of the earlier deified kings such as king Djoser and king Teti (document 4, fig 4 A, B) were used as intermediaries in the popular religion on behalf of people. The intermediary role of these two kings is indicated in the document by the personal piety graffito. The individual intermediaries were mostly high officials remarkable among them the viziers, viceroys of Kush and the high priests but other official such as royal scribes played the role of intermediary as it is attested in document 5, fig. 5 A, B. The intermediary indicator of this document is the title *wḥmw*. Alongside these intermediaries, members of the community acted as intermediaries on behalf of each other such as members of the family, colleagues and subordinates. This notion is attested in the intercessory prayer of document 6, fig. 6 A, B where a son is interceding with the Theban gods on behalf of his father.

¹¹¹ Janssen. *Late Ramesside Letters*. pp. 11-15.

List of Abbreviations

<i>ASAE</i>	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (Le Caire).
<i>BIFAO</i>	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Le Caire)
<i>JEA</i>	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Egypt Explor. Soc. (Londres).
<i>MDAIK</i>	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo (Wiesbaden, Mayence)
<i>MÄS</i>	Münchner ägyptologische Studien (Berlin, Munich)
<i>MMAF</i>	Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire. Inst. franç. d'archéol. orient. (Le Caire)
KRI	Kitchen (K.A.), Ramesside Inscriptions, 1969-1990 (Oxford)
KRITA	Kitchen (K.A.), Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated. Series A: Translations, 1993-2008 (Oxford).
<i>LÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , 7 vols, eds. W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf, 1972/5, Wiesbaden
LGG	Leitz (Chr.) et al., Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, OLA 110-116, 2002
PM	Porter (B.), Moss (R.L.B.), Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, 7 vols., 1927-1995 (Oxford)
PN	Ranke (H.), Die ägyptischen Personennamen, 3 vols., 1935-1977 (Glückstadt, Hambourg)
<i>RT</i>	Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris).
<i>SAK</i>	Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur (Hambourg)
Urk.	Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums (Leipzig, Berlin)
Wb	Erman (A.), Grapow (H.), Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, 1926-1963 (Leipzig, Berlin)
<i>ZÄS</i>	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig, Berlin).
Al-Ayedi. <i>Index of the New Kingdom</i>	A. R. Al-Ayedi. (2006). <i>Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious, and Military Titles of the New Kingdom</i> . Cairo.
Exell. <i>Votive Stelae – II</i>	K. Exell. (2006). <i>A Social and Historical Interpretation of Ramesside Period Votive Stelae – II</i> . Durham.
Galan. Amenhotep Son of Hapu	J. M. Galan. (2000). Amenhotep Son of Hapu as Intermediary Between the People and the God. In Z. Hawass (ed.), <i>Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists</i> , vol. 2. Cairo.
Hannig. <i>Handwörterbuch</i>	R. Hannig. (1995). <i>Die Sprache der Pharaonen Grobes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch</i> . Mainz.
Janssen. <i>Late Ramesside Letters</i>	J. J. Janssen. (1990). <i>Late Ramesside Letters and Communications</i> . London.
Moursi. Mnevis-Stelen, SAK 14	M. Moursi. (1987). Corpus der Mnevis-Stelen und Untersuchungen zum Kult der Mnevis-Stiere in Heliopolis II. SAK 14.
Peden. <i>The Graffiti</i>	A. J. Peden. (2001). <i>The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt</i> . Leiden.

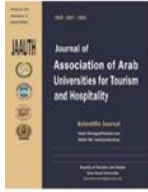
Ward. <i>Index of the Middle Kingdom</i>	W. Ward. (1982). <i>Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom</i> . Beirut.
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أنواع الوسطاء في الديانة الشعبية

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معلومات المقالة	المخلص
الكلمات المفتاحية ديانة شعبية؛ وسيط؛ إلهي؛ ملكي؛ فرد. (JAAUTH) المجلد 22، العدد 1، 2022، ص 380-401.	تتناول هذه المقالة موضوعا بعنوان "أنواع الوسطاء في الديانة الشعبية" خلال عصر الدولة الحديثة. عقب مناقشة نقاط بحثية معينة في مقدمة المقالة مثل تعريف الوسيط والمصطلح المصري القديم الذي يشير اليه ومصادر المعلومات المصرية القديمة عن الوسيط سوف تعرض الورقة البحثية ستة وثائق تتضمن ثلاث لوحات نذرية، تمثال شفيع ، جرافيتي، خطاب الى الأحياء بنص هيروغليفي ودلالة صوتية وترجمة كاملة. تهدف المقالة الي اثبات أنه كان هناك ثلاث أنواع مختلفة من الوسطاء في الديانة الشعبية لمصر القديمة خلال عصر الدولة الحديثة. النوع الأول هو الوسيط الإلهي ويتمثل في الثيران المقدسة مثل الثور منفس من مدينة هليوبوليس والمعبود الشعبي تحوت على سبيل المثال. النوع الثاني وهو الوسيط الملكي ويتمثل في الملك المصري القديم الذي كان الوسيط الرئيسي في الديانة الشعبية في كل العصور سواء كان حيا او متوفيا. النوع الثالث يتمثل في الوسيط الفرد الذي كان في معظم الحالات أحد كبار الموظفين مثل الوزير والكاهن الاكبر ونائب الملك في كوش لكن تشير مصادر اخري إلي أن موظفين مثل الكتبة الملكيين قد لعبوا دور الوسيط. عرفت فكره الوسيط ايضا بين افراد المجتمع مثل اعضاء الأسرة والزملاء والأتباع. سوف تستخدم المقالة منهج وصفي تاريخي لتحليل المواد المشار اليها للخروج بنتائج.