ON THE TITLE ‘$\beta \nu \gamma \beta$, THE GREAT ONE OF THE $\beta \gamma$-HALL’ OF PAYEFTJAUEMAWY NEITH IN SAITE EGYPT

By

Hussein Bassir
Director of the Antiquities Museum at the Library of Alexandria, Egypt.

ABSTRACT

The famous Late Saite high official Payeftjauemawyneith held the title $\gamma \zeta \eta \beta$ «the great one of the $\beta \gamma$-hall». The word $\gamma \zeta \eta \beta$ appeared for the first time in the Sixth Dynasty, designating a «columned hall». The $\text{Wb}$ also refers to the occurrence of this word in the Old Kingdom, meaning «hall» or «the king’s hall». The determinative of this word ($\text{III}$) may refer to a room or an office for official activities. The title $\gamma \zeta \eta \beta$ of Payeftjauemawyneith is generic and does not specify any connections with the positions of the king or the vizier. The significance of Payeftjauemawyneith’s title $\gamma \zeta \eta \beta$ is not exactly known at the period. We did not know this rank status or the function of its holder at the time. Since the function of the $\beta \gamma$-hall was related to the administration and receiving audience, it might be the $\beta \gamma$-hall of the king because all of Payeftjauemawyneith’s titles were related in one way or another to the royal realm. All these show that Payeftjauemawyneith had close connections and played important roles in the royal palace, probably of Apries. Therefore, Payeftjauemawyneith might have functioned as director of this $\beta \gamma$-hall of this king and be responsible for all of its external contacts and its order and security as these fell under the duties of the vizier in the early New Kingdom.

KEYWORDS: Late Saite- high officials- Payeftjauemawyneith- Title $\gamma \zeta \eta \beta$- Great one of the $\beta \gamma$- hall- $\beta \gamma$-hall- Sixth dynasty- Old Kingdom- New Kingdom- Apries.
Payeftjauemawyneith was an extremely influential elite member in Late Saite Egypt and represented the civil face of Egypt’s administration of the period. His well-attested monuments so far are four statues, a libation table with a religious spell [Cairo libation table], and a shabti with a funerary spell [UC 40093 shabti]. His four statues with self-presentational texts are the naophorous statue BM EA 83, the naophorous statue Mîtrahîna 545, the Buto statue, and the naophorous statue Louvre A 93. His texts and monuments mirrored the period and reflected its spirit and events, especially through his well-known self-presentations, which mentioned historical events, highlighted the Late Saite Period, and illustrated his relationship to Apries and Amasis and the struggle between the two kings. It is not easy to reconstruct his complete self-presentation without having his tomb, which has not yet been discovered. His monuments, especially self-presentations, could help us understand his life and career. In addition to his honorific titles and epithets, Payeftjauemawyneith’s many administrative offices showed that he was in charge of the palace, treasury, and physicians’ affairs. He was also trusted by the king. All these titles showed that Payeftjauemawyneith was a highly elite member who was amongst the most trusted officials of the king. His titles also revealed his primary function and involvement with numerous projects in many places, such as Heliopolis and Abydos. Payeftjauemawyneith reached the top of his career under Apries and probably was not active in his offices under Amasis.

He represented himself as an important elite member in the reign of Apries, in which he had an outstanding career. Payeftjauemawyneith’s tools for promoting himself

- I dedicate this article as a token of love and gratitude to the memory of my dearest teacher, Professor Ali Radwan, as one of the most distinguished Egyptian scholars in Egyptology, who contributed significantly to Egyptology and ancient Egyptian art historical and archaeological studies. This article attempts to interpret the meaning of an ancient Egyptian title used in Late Saite Egypt and probably its proper equivalent in modern Egypt, which fits nicely with one of the many interests of Professor Radwan. I hope that he, in his eternal world, might like my article in this Festschrift to him as one of the leading authorities in ancient Egyptian art and archaeology. I have already discussed this title in my book, albeit in much less detail. BASSIR 2014: 110-117.

1 I use this restored form of his name, Payeftjauemawyneith, herein, although it is not the exact orthographical form of this official’s name.
2 For more on Payeftjauemawyneith’s texts and monuments, HUSSEIN 2009: 67-84.
3 For more on Cairo libation Table, see HUSSEIN 2009: 133-135.
5 HEISE 2007: 225-228, 229-233, has only two biographies securely attributed to Payeftjauemawyneith: naophorous statue BM EA 83 and naophorous statue Louvre A 93.
6 For more on statue BM EA 83, see BASSIR 2009: 118-125; BASSIR 2013: 6-13; BASSIR 2014: 67-84.
7 For more on statue Mîtrahîna 545, see HUSSEIN 2009: 125-126; BASSIR 2014: 67-84.
8 For more on Buto statue, see PRESSL 1998: 233; HUSSEIN2009: 127-128; BASSIR 2014: 67-84; refers to this lower part of a statue. She thinks that it belongs to Payeftjauemawyneith. This statue was discovered in the University of Tanta excavations by F. MEKKAWY in Buto /Tell Al-Faraīn. No date of this excavation is mentioned. However, she does only refer to Payeftjauemawyneith’s titles on this statue and dates it to the reign of Apries.
9 For more on statue Louvre A 93, BASSIR 2015: 21-35.
10 BASSIR 2015: 21-35.
are image and text. The interaction between them in his self-presentations is clear and well-employed. His self-presentations depicted him textually by stating his names, titles, and roles and confirming his possession of the statues. Payeftjauemawyneith promoted himself several times in his self-presentations and moved from descriptive statements to titles outlining his career to narratives highlighting his distinguished activities. The presence of the divinity’s name and image, and probably the names of the king, on Payeftjauemawyneith’s monuments, especially his statues, was a great prerogative. The well-documented self-presentations of Payeftjauemawyneith were amongst the most distinctive of his time and the best-known examples in the Late Saite Period.

II- THE WORD ‘H3, THE H3-HALL

Payeftjauemawyneith held the title ‘ḥ3 n ḫ3 ‘the great one of the ḫ3-hall’ in his self-presentations. However, P. Spencer did not list this term in her study of the terminology for hall and courts. Attestations were numerous of the word ‘AH the #A-Hall’ in Egyptian material. R. Hannig rendered ‘ḥ3’ ‘Halle’, ‘Büro’, ‘Diwan’, ‘Amt’, and ‘Amtsgebäude’. The king and the court were described as ḫ3 wr ‘the great ḫ3-Hall’. According to G. Maspero and P.E. Newberry, the word ḫ3 appeared for the first time in the Sixth Dynasty, particularly in spell 432 of the Pyramid Texts of Pepi I, designating a ‘columned hall’. The Wb. also referred to the occurrence of this word in the Old Kingdom, meaning ‘hall’ or ‘the king’s hall’. The determinative of this word [Gardiner’s Sign-List O 27] may refer to a room or an office for official activities.

P.E. Newberry pointed out that from the Early Middle Kingdom, ḫ3 was used for ‘juridical’ and business reasons. Moreover, he reported that the king and his main officials had their own ḫ3, and each had his own ḫ3, as did each major department of the administration. Therefore, in his opinion, the royal audience hall or ‘ḏīwān es Sultân’ [ḥ3 n njwst] was where the king publicly administered the state affairs and conferred his favors. Among the main bureaux and sectors of state providing palace funds was the

11 BASSIR 2014: 67-84.
12 SPENCER 1984: 63-98.
13 HANNIG 2006: 622 (22581, 22583).
14 HANNIG 2006: 622 (22582).
15 MASPERO 1888: 277 (7); NEWBERRY 1900: 99.
16 For this spell, see ALLEN 2005: 19 (20).
18 GARDINER 1973: 495.
19 NEWBERRY 1900: 99.
20 Previously mentioned this function, citing P. Abbott (= P. BM EA 10221), pl. VII, I. 16. ḫ3 occurs in this line of this papyrus «… m ḫ3 n ssw n ḫ3: MASPERO 1888: 277 (7), N°. 2 PEET 2006: 42, 7 (16), pl. IV, 7 (16) translates the whole line as ‘a report was drawn up; it is deposited in the archives of the vizier’. For ḫ3 n ssw n ḫ3, see LACAU 1984: 11, 15-16, 23-24; HELCK 1975: 67-69.
21 MASPERO 1888: 278, previously mentioned this title ‘le dîwan du sultan’ and these royal actions within the ḫ3-hall.
Hussein Bassir: On the Title “3 n H3, the Great One of the H3-Hall” of Payeftjaemawey Neith in Saite Egypt

which contained all the records of legal decisions. He added another title, jmn-jr3 ḫnwt3 n h3 n ḫtj “overseer interior-overseer of the bureau of the vizier” as he referred to the existence of the bureau of the vizier as a “physical building” based on the title “doorkeeper of the bureau of the vizier.”

In the early New Kingdom, h3 designated many offices or halls: h3, h3 n ḫwt3, h3 n pr-njswt, h3 n njswt, h3 n ssw n ḫtj, h3 n ḫtj n tp-rṣj, h3 n ḫtj, “nd h3 n dd-smr.” G.P.F. Van Den Boorn understood h3 as “hall,” “office,” or “bureau of an official.” The expression “h3 n sš(w)” as “archives” (lit. “office of the writings”) occurred in the New Kingdom.

The vizier archives h3 n sšw n ḫtj or h3 n ḫtj may fit into our text. G.P.F. Van den Boorn pointed out that the duties of the vizier text indicated a close relationship between the palace and the bureau of the vizier. In the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100), there is the sentence jr jst h3 sdm=k jm=f jw wsḥt jm=f “Behold, as for the h3-hall in which you judge, there is a broad hall in it”. I: 7 and I: 13 of P. Berlin 10470 mentioned a h3 n ḫtj, which P.C. Smither translated as “the Court of the Vizier.” G.P.F. Van den Boorn referred to the iconographical representation of the h3-hall of the vizier (of Upper Egypt) in TT 100 of Rekhmire and TT 29 of Amenemope. He thought that it was a building with multiple rooms and a major reception hall “or session hall” served by its

22 The late Middle Kingdom Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 referred to this h3-hall, Hayes 1972: 55, 61, 69, 74, 77, 81, 138-141,143, who translated it as the “Office of the Vizier”.
23 QUIRKE 1990.
24 QUIRKE 2004: 85 (III / 3.1).
25 Mentioned this form of the title jmn-jr3 ḫnwt3 n ḫtj “interior-overseer for the vizier.” QUIRKE 2004: 86
26 QUIRKE 2004: 86; For “doorkeeper of the bureau of the vizier,” see WARD 1982: Nº. 503.
27 Some of them existed in the late Middle Kingdom, for more on them, see VAN DEN BOORN 1988; HAYES 1972; QUIRKE 1990; QUIRKE 2004.
29 It reads h3 n sšw and translates “the archive” in describing the duties of Ahmose son Nesatum that he found his fragmentary statue at Mendes REDFORD 2004: 40 Nº. P. For more on this statue, see REDFORD 2004: 38, 39 Nº. D, 58 (Nº. 483a), 104 (Fig. 57, Nº. 483a).
31 ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): Wh, vol.3 221 (4); BLACKMAN 1941: 89 (Nº. 38); LESKO 2002: Vol. I: 343. The correct writing of this expression should be “h3 n sšw”.
32 VAN DEN BOORN 1988: 22 (5).
33 Lutk 1958: vol.4, 1092 (6); DAVIES 1943: Pl. CXVIII (R 18); FAULKNER 1955: Fig. 2 (18).
34 This cited example as an enclitic usage of jst: GARDNER 1973: 185 (§ 248. Faulkner 1955: 22-23, translated the whole line as “And as for the office in which you judge, there is a spacious room in it full of [the records] of all (past) judgments”. DAVIES 1943: 88, Nº. 48, favors ḫr mdjR wfd mADOW nb, translating the whole thing “Now the hall in which thou hearest cases has a broad room in it which contains [records of all] legal decisions”, while FAULKNER 1955: 27, Nº. 54, favors ḫr sšw wfd mADOW nb. FAULKNER 1955: 22 (4), 24, Nº. 17, restored and read the last sentence of line 4 “pr [r] sdm n h3 [n vetica]” equipped [for?] hearing (?) in the [vizier’s] hall”. FAULKNER 1955: 24, Nº. 17, sees that n vetica after h3 is unavoidable. The translations of DAVIES & FAULKNER indicated the juridical function of the h3-hall.
35 SMITHER 1948: 32 (7, 13), Pl. I (7, 13).
36 VAN DEN BOORN 1988: 22 (5), 324 (3); DAVIES 1943: Pl. XXIV-V. For the placement of the h3-hall of the vizier on the hypothetical layout of ḫw-pr-njswt-pr-ḥtj, see VAN DEN BOORN 1988: 67, Fig. 5.
37 VAN DEN BOORN 1988: 22 (5).

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own personnel. According to him, *h3 n pr-njswt*, «the *h3*-hall of the king’s house», housed the royal government, and the vizier appointed the chief of the police to this *h3*-hall. He, thus, suggested that this hall was a kind of «reception hall» open to people from outside the government administration complex. He preferred to translate it as «hall» rather than «bureau» and equated it with *wšt pr-njswt* «the broad hall of the palace». Thutmose III installed Rekhmire into the office of the vizier of Upper Egypt in this hall. The most relevant title to our discussion that P.E. Newberry described as «the chief officer» of this hall, *[jmj-r’t h3 n njswt]* «overseer of the royal audience-hall»41, «who had charge of the police regulations» and was probably a «master of the ceremonies»42. According to P.E. Newberry43, Nebamun [TT 24, reign of Thutmose II in Dra Abu Al Naga]44 occupied this office45.

In the First Millennium BC texts, we encounter «*h3 n slh.w*» or «*h3 n ss.w*»46 which M. Malinine first understood as «archives»47 and literally translated as «office des écrits»48. In Shoshenq’s Stela, as R. Jasnow49 remarks, J.H. Breasted50 referred to a «contract» or «document of endowment» which was registered in «the hall of writings», which J.H. Breasted51 understood as the «temple archives», while A.M. Blackman translated «*h3 n ss* the office of archives52». A.M. Blackman53 offered the alternation term *st ss* «place of writings», which occurred on the Everot stela54. M. Malinine pointed out that the Kushite texts have «*h3 n slh.w* Hall of Writings», whereas the Saite texts have «*s.t n slh.w* Place of Writings55».

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38 Davies 1943: 32, N°. 76, described the *h3*-hall in TT 29: «There is a considerable space behind the columned hall, enclosed by a wall, and here numbers of men are seated. A scribe records a receipt in kind ... This seems to imply that the hall had reception rooms behind it». For its personnel, see Ward 1982: N°. 87, 503; Helck 1958: 53-54.

39 States that *h3 n njswt* designates any administrative office, and not specifically an office of the palace. Van Den Boorn 1988: 252, N°. 3.

40 Newberry 1900: 100.

41 My translation of this title is «overseer of the *h3*-hall of the king».

42 The functions of those officials were mentioned previously. They were in charge of the *h3*-hall within this hall. Maspero 1888: 278.

43 Newberry 1900: 100.

44 This tomb dates back to the reign of Thutmose II / Thutmose III. KAMPP 1996: 209-210., Figs. 104 & 110; PM I.1: 41-42.

45 The self-presentation of Nebamun stated «rdj.n=f wj jmjr-t3 h3 n njswt he (i.e., the King) appointed me the overseer of the *h3*-hall of the King», Urk 1958: vol.4, 150 (13). For his title jmjr-t3 h3 n njswt, Urk 1958. vol.4: 152 (12).

46 Malinine 1951: 168, N°. 45.

47 Malinine 1951: 160 (24), Pl. II (24); Malinine 1953: 60-61 (33).


49 Jasnow 2003: 788, N°. 98.


51 Breasted 1988: 330, N. B.

52 Blackman 1941: 84, Pl. X, 9, 89 N°. 38.

53 Blackman 1941: 89, N°. 38.

54 Legrain 1897: 14.

55 Malinine 1973: 207, N°. W, referred to the incorrect transcription of «*s.t n ss*» (lit. «place d’écrit (s)») instead of ‘*h3* [n ss]’.
Hussein Bassir: On the Title "3 n ḫ3, the Great One of the ḫ3-Hall" of Payeftjaumawy Neith in Saite Egypt

In his study on the jurisprudence of the Saite and Persian periods, E. Seidl read and translated «ḫ3 n šh.w Die Halle der Urkunden», arguing that the ḫ3-hall was «a court», not «an archive». He listed the ḫ3-hall under the knb.t division of the judicial activity of the court system. He cited this example, depending on P. Louvre 3228c, I 24, P. Vatican 10574, P. Turin 2118, 33c, «Ihre Aussage wird in der Halle der Urkunden, ḫ3 n šh.w, nicht gehört warden». He suggested that the «ḫ3 n šh.w» was a court run by priests at the temples without specifying its exact location. He, however, did not negate the archival nature of the ḫ3-hall in the Saite and Persian Periods and pointed out that the ḫ3-hall could have served as a court and an archive.

However, he thought that P. Turin 2118, 28 «is not a clear proof for an archive». In order to support his opinion, E. Seidl cited M. Malinine’s translation, «Leurs écrits [qui sont] dans le bureau (?) ne sont plus valables pour nous», which agrees with the Wb. in his opinion. Seidl referred to the existence of a place to register important documents, as was the case in the New Kingdom and the Graeco-Roman period. However, P.S. Vleeming understood «ḫ3 n šh.w» as «a building», not «a special institution». P. Wilson pointed out that when ḫ3 was «applied to the king, it refers to his audience or policy-making chamber». This interpretation implies, in her opinion, «a secure and safe place».

III - THE TITLE «3 n ḫ3, THE GREAT ONE OF THE ḫ3-HALL»

Several examples were close to Payeftjaumawyneith’s times. In the Hood-Wilbour Papyrus, the title «Į n ḫ3 n nb=f» is «the great one of the ḫ3-hall of his Lord, l.p.h». was found. AH. Gardiner cited some other variants of the title, such as «Į t n ḫ3 n nbw» «the great one of the ḫ3-hall of all affairs», and «Į n ḫ3 n nb=f» «the great one of the

56 SEIDL 1968: 32.
57 SEIDL 1968: 32 & 43; SPIEGELBERG 1892: 52.
58 Who previously connected it with kōbt. SEIDL 1968: 32 & 43; SPIEGELBERG 1892: 52.
59 The abnormal hieratic papyri P. Louvre 3228 C, 24 (Year 6 of Taharqa. MALININE 1951: 157; SEIDL 1968: 15). P. Louvre 3228 E, II. 8-9 (Year 10 of Shabako, see SEIDL 1968: 15), indicate the legal nature of the ḫ3-hall as a hearing place. P. Louvre 3228 C, 24, reads «bn sḏm r=f m ḫ3 nb n ᵇw His deposition shall not be listened to in any office of writings», ČERNÝ 1945: 41 (3); MALININE 1951: 157. P. Louvre 3228 E, II. 8-9, reads «ỉr pʾ nṯ(j) jm=f mdv bn sḏm r=f m ḫ3 nb ᵇw». ČERNÝ 1945: 41 (3), translates «As for him who will contest (it) his deposition shall not be listened to in any office». MALININE 1953: 6; BAKIR 1978: PL. 12. ČERNÝ 1945: 41 (3), here understands ḫ3 nb n ᵇw as «any court».
60 It dates to year 6 of Taharqa. MALININE 1951: 157; SEIDL 1968: 15.
62 It dates to year 30 of Psamtik I, MALININE 1953: 9; SEIDL 1968: 15.
63 SEIDL 1968: 43.
64 SEIDL 1962: 64-65; SEIDL 1968: 44;
68 Nbr is miswritten here; the word should read nb.
69 It is also translated «Great One of the Office of his Lord l.p.h», PARKINSON 1999: 62.
70 It does not transliterate or translate a.w.s. MASPERO 1888: 257 (15), 277 (7); NEWBERRY 1900: 101, GARDINER 1968: Vol. 3, PL. XIV (15).
he-hall of his lord. He translated the title «chief of bureau [diwān] of his lord» and pointed out that it was a rarely mentioned title with unknown functions.

An identical title ♂ n hꜳ «the great one of the hꜳ-hall» occurred in a Saite text on BM EA 525 black basalt anthropoid sarcophagus of the scribe Nesisouf. The limestone stela Stockholm N°. 527 had this title in the phrase WsŒr ♂ n hꜳ n nb-t₁w Jmn-wš-h-sw mꜳ₃-hrw—is Osiris, the great one of the hꜳ-hall of the Lord of the Two Lands, Amunwahsw, true of voice», and in the phrase sꜳ=f ♂ n hꜳ n nb-t₁w Jmn-wš-h-sw mꜳ₃-hrw «His son, the great one of the hꜳ-hall of the Lord of the Two Lands, Amunwahsw, true of voice».

P.E. Newberry considered that the ♂ n hꜳ was the same as the earlier official jmjt-r₁ hꜳ n njswt. According to G. Maspero, in Ptolemaic Egypt, the ♂ n hꜳ holders corresponded to the chiefs of the royal audiences cited by Strabo [17, 797] and mentioned by G. Lumbroso. However, P.E. Newberry saw no reason for connecting those with the earlier ♂ n hꜳ title holders because those Alexandrian officials were only in charge of «the writing of the minutes and records».


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75 DE MEULENAERE dates to Dynasty 30 (?). LIMME 1972: 96 N°. 5; SHARPE 1981: vol. 2: Pl. 30 (2), to the Twenty-fifth dynasty.
76 PIEHL 1895: PL. XLIII, A; PM III / 1, 290-291; LIMME 1972: 96-97 (Doc.1); SHARPE 1981: vol.2: Pl. 30 (2); ZIVIE-COCHE 1991: 286-287, PL. 47. There is a correct reading of this name Ns-js (w) t, DE MEULENAERE 1962: 31-35; LIMME 1972: 96 N°. 7.
77 MOGENSEN 1919: 58 (e).
78 RANKE 1935: 27 (2).
79 MOGENSEN 1919: 59 (i).
80 NEWBERRY 1900: 101.
81 MASPERO 1888: 278, N°. 2.
82 LUMBRORO 1967: 180-182.
83 NEWBERRY 1900: 101.
86 BAALBAKI 2008: 128.

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Hussein Bassir: On the Title “‘3 n ḫ3, the Great One of the Ḫ3-Hall’ of Payeftjauemawy Neith in Saite Egypt

In modern Egypt, the word «diwân» or «diwan» refers to the governmental institutions. It dates back to the early Islamic Caliphate in Egypt when it was used to record the names of the Muslim troops in al-Fustâṭ. However, the origins of this word were introduced in the earliest years of the caliphate of Omar Ibn al-Khattab at al-Medina in Arabia, when he established a «diwan» for tax payments records and the names of warriors to receive stipends and to fix rates. In AD 706, under the Umayyad Caliph ‘Abd Al-Malik Ibn Marwan, the Egyptian governmental institutions [diwâns] were Arabized, i.e., Arabic was used as the official language of the administration. H.S.K. Bakry’s translation, which was mentioned by many previous scholars, was interesting, but it was not known if the ancient Egyptian word had the same meaning as the modern one.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The title ‘‘3 n ḫ3 of Payeftjauemawy Neith, as the Kushite example mentioned above, is generic and does not specify any connections with the vizier or king. The significance of Payeftjauemawy Neith’s title ‘‘3 n ḫ3 is not exactly known at the period. Moreover, we do not know this rank status or the function of its holder at the time. Since the function of the ḫ3-hall was related to the administration and receiving audience, it might be the ḫ3-hall of the king because all of Payeftjauemawy Neith’s titles were related in one way or another to the royal realm. For example, on statue BM EA 83, Payeftjauemawy Neith spoke of himself as «he who presents their affairs to the interior of the palace, the great one of the ḫ3-hall», on statue Mîtrâhîna 545, «the one who presents their affairs to the interior of the palace, the great one of the ḫ3-hall», and on statue Louvre A 93, «the great one of the ḫ3-hall, the great jmîhw in the King’s house». These revealed that Payeftjauemawy Neith’s title, «the great one of the ḫ3-hall», often came after his epithet, «he who presents their affairs to the interior of the palace». Otherwise, on the statue Louvre A 93, this title had something to do with the king’s house. All these showed that Payeftjauemawy Neith had close connections and played important roles in the royal palace, probably of Apries. Therefore, Payeftjauemawy Neith might have functioned as director of this ḫ3-hall of this king, and he might be responsible for all of its external contacts and its order and security, as these fell under the duties of the vizier in the early New Kingdom. Payeftjauemawy Neith’s title ‘‘3 n ḫ3’ might mean «the great one of the diwân» in Saite Egypt. The diwan in medieval and modern Egypt was a nuanced, helpful, and equivalent term and was probably an appropriate translation of ḫ3. The diwan was presumably a survival of the ancient concept, a more flexible rendering of the ancient term because it might capture its complex character better and contribute to a better understanding of the ancient title. However, this ancient title was understood on its own terms within the discourses of its age. Therefore, the ḫ3-hall seemed to refer to (a) an audience hall for meetings and ceremonies and (b) certain rooms containing documents.

88 The first capital of Islamic Egypt was founded by ‘Amr Ibn al-‘Ās in 641 AD. KENNEDY 1998: 64.
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Hussein Bassir: On the Title "3 n H3, the Great One of the H3-Hall’ of Payeftjawemawy Neith in Saite Egypt


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