

Journal of the General Union of Arab Archaeologists

Volume 6
Issue 3 *Festschrift dedicated to Professor Ali
Radwan [1941-2020] Special issue*

Article 2

2021

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Hussein Bassir

Director of the Antiquities Museum at the Library of Alexandria, hussein.bassir@bibalex.org

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Recommended Citation

Bassir, Hussein (2021) "ON THE TITLE 'aA N #A, THE GREAT ONE OF THE #A-HALL' OF
PAYEFTJAUEMAWY NEITH IN SAITE EGYPT," *Journal of the General Union of Arab Archaeologists*: Vol. 6:
Iss. 3, Article 2.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.aaru.edu.jo/jguaa/vol6/iss3/2>

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ON THE TITLE '3 N H3, THE GREAT ONE OF THE H3-HALL'
OF PAYEFTJAUEMAWY NEITH IN SAITE EGYPT

By

Hussein Bassir

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

ABSTRACT

[AR] عن لقب $3 N h3$ ، «عظيم قاعة $h3$ » الخاص بـ «باي إف إتشاو إم عاوي نيث» في مصر الصاوية حمل الموظف الكبير المعروف «باي إف إتشاو إم عاوي نيث» الذي كان يعيش في نهاية العصر الصاوي لقب $3 N H3$ أي «عظيم قاعة $h3$ ». وظهرت كلمة $h3$ لأول مرة في الأسرة السادسة، وكانت تشير إلى «قاعة ذات أعمدة». ويشير قاموس برلين إلى حدوث هذه الكلمة في الدولة القديمة، والتي تعني «قاعة» أو «قاعة الملك». وقد يشير مخصص هذه الكلمة ($\overline{h3}$) إلى غرفة أو مكتب للأنشطة الرسمية. ولقب $3 n h3$ الخاص بـ «باي إف إتشاو إم عاوي نيث» هو لقب عام، ولا يحدد أية صلة بمنصب الوزير أو الملك. ولا تُعرف دلالة لقب $3 n h3$ الخاص بـ «باي إف إتشاو إم عاوي نيث» بالضبط في تلك الفترة. وعلاوة على ذلك، لا نعرف مكانة هذه الرتبة أو وظيفة حاملها في ذلك الوقت. ونظرًا لأن وظيفة قاعة- $h3$ كانت مرتبطة بالإدارة واستقبال الجمهور، فقد تكون قاعة $h3$ ذات صلة بالملك؛ لأن جميع ألقاب «باي إف إتشاو إم عاوي نيث» مرتبطة بطريقة أو بأخرى بالبلاط الملكي. ويظهر كل هذا أن «باي إف إتشاو إم عاوي نيث» كانت له علاقات وثيقة ولعب أدوارًا مهمة في القصر الملكي، ربما كان الملك هو أبريس. وإذا كان الأمر كذلك، فربما كان «باي إف إتشاو إم عاوي نيث» مديرًا لقاعة $h3$ لهذا الملك، وربما كان مسؤولاً عن جميع اتصالاتها الخارجية وعن نظامها وأمنها كما كانت هذه الأمور ضمن واجبات الوزير في أوائل عصر الدولة الحديثة.

[EN] The famous Late Saite high official *Payeftjauemawyneith* held the title $3 n h3$ «the great one of the $h3$ -hall». The word $h3$ appeared for the first time in the Sixth Dynasty, designating a «columned hall». The *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 ($\overline{h3}$) may refer to a room or an office for official activities. The title $3 n h3$ 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 $3 n h3$ 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 $h3$ -hall was related to the administration and receiving audience, it might be the $h3$ -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 $h3$ -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 $3 n h3$ - Great one of the $h3$ -hall- $h3$ -hall- Sixth dynasty- Old Kingdom- New Kingdom- Apries.

I- INTRODUCTION

Payeftjauemawwyneith¹ 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,² a libation table with a religious spell [Cairo libation table]³, and a *shabti* with a funerary spell [UC 40093 shabti]⁴. His four statues with self-presentational texts⁵ are the naophorous statue *BM EA 83*⁶, the naophorous statue *Mîtrahîna 545*⁷, the Buto statue⁸, and the naophorous statue Louvre A 93⁹. 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, *Payeftjauemawwyneith'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 *Payeftjauemawwyneith* 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. *Payeftjauemawwyneith* reached the top of his career under Apries and probably was not active in his offices under Amasis¹⁰.

He represented himself as an important elite member in the reign of Apries, in which he had an outstanding career. *Payeftjauemawwyneith'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, *Payeftjauemawwyneith*, herein, although it is not the exact orthographical form of this official's name.

² For more on *Payeftjauemawwyneith's* texts and monuments, HUSSEIN 2009: 67-84.

³ For more on Cairo libation Table, see HUSSEIN 2009: 133-135.

⁴ For more on shabti UC 40093, see HUSSEIN 2009: 135-136; BASSIR & CREASMAN 2014: 161-169.

⁵ HEISE 2007: 225-228, 229-233, has only two biographies securely attributed to *Payeftjauemawwyneith*: 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; HUSSEIN 2009: 127-128; BASSIR 2014: 67-84; refers to this lower part of a statue. She thinks that it belongs to *Payeftjauemawwyneith*. This statue was discovered in the University of Tanta excavations by F. MEKKAWY in Buto /Tell Al-Faraîn. No date of this excavation is mentioned. However, she does only refer to *Payeftjauemawwyneith'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 'ḥ3, THE ḥ3-HALL

Payeftjauemawyneith held the title ʕ3 n ḥ3 «the great one of the ḥ3-hall» in his self-presentations¹¹. However, P. Spencer did not list this term in her study of the terminology for hall and courts¹². Attestations were numerous of the word «#A, the #A-Hall» in Egyptian material. R. Hannig rendered 'ḥ3' «Halle», «Büro», «Diwan», «Amt», and «Amtsgebäude»¹³. The king and the court were described as ḥ3 wr «the great ḥ3-Hall»¹⁴.

According to G. Maspero and P.E. Newberry¹⁵, the word ḥ3 appeared for the first time in the Sixth Dynasty, particularly in spell 432 of the Pyramid Texts of Pepi I¹⁶, 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»¹⁷. The determinative of this word [Gardiner's Sign-List O 27]¹⁸ may refer to a room or an office for official activities.

P.E. Newberry¹⁹ pointed out that from the Early Middle Kingdom, ḥ3 was used for «juridical²⁰ and business» reasons. Moreover, he reported that the king and his main officials had their own ḥ3, and each had his own ḥ3, as did each major department of the administration. Therefore, in his opinion, the royal audience hall or «*dîwân es Sultân*» [ḥ3 n njwst] was where the king publicly administrated the state affairs and conferred his favors²¹. 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).

¹⁷ ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb.*, vol.3: 221 (18).

¹⁸ GARDINER 1973: 495.

¹⁹ NEWBERRY 1900: 99.

²⁰ Previously mentioned this function, citing P. Abbott (= P. BM EA 10221), PL. VII, I. 16. ḥ3 occurs in this line of this papyrus «... m ḥ3 n sšw n t3tj»: MASPERO 1888: 277 (7), N^o. 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 ḥ3 n sšw n t3tj, see LACAU 1984: 11, 15-16, 23-24; HELCK 1975: 67-69.

²¹ MASPERO 1888: 278, previously mentioned this title «*le diwan du sultan*» and these royal actions within the ḥ3-hall.

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*ḥ3 n t3tj*²², which appeared only in a bureaucratic role²³. *ḥ3 n t3tj* «bureau of the vizier» was mentioned among the duties of the vizier in the New Kingdom, a composition that S. Quirke²⁴ dated «on internal grounds to the late Middle Kingdom».

He added another title, *jmj-r3 ḥnwtj n ḥ3 n t3tj* «overseer interior-overseer of the bureau of the vizier»²⁵. 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»²⁶.

In the early New Kingdom, *ḥ3* designated many offices or halls: *ḥ3*, *ḥ3 n 3ḥwt*, *ḥ3 n pr-njswt*, *ḥ3 n njswt*, *ḥ3 n sšw n t3tj*, *ḥ3 n t3tj n tp-rsj*, *ḥ3 n t3tj*, *ḥnd ḥ3 n dd-rm*²⁷. G.P.F. Van Den Boorn understood *ḥ3* as «hall», «office», or «bureau of an official»²⁸. The expression «*ḥ3 n sš(w)*»²⁹ «archives»³⁰ (lit. «office of the writings») occurred in the New Kingdom³¹.

The vizier archives *ḥ3 n sšw n t3tj* or *ḥ3 n t3tj* may fit into our text. G.P.F. Van den Boorn³² 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 ḥ3 sdm=k jm=f jw wshjt jm=f*³³ «Behold, as for the *ḥ3*-hall in which you judge, there is a broad hall in it»³⁴. I: 7 and I: 13 of P. Berlin 10470 mentioned a *ḥ3 n t3tj*, which P.C. Smither translated as «the Court of the Vizier»³⁵. G.P.F. Van den Boorn³⁶ referred to the iconographical representation of the *ḥ3*-hall of the vizier (of Upper Egypt) in TT 100 of Rekhmire and TT 29 of Amenemopet. He³⁷ 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 *ḥ3*-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 *jmj-r3 ḥnwtj n t3tj* «interior-overseer for the vizier». QUIRKE 2004: 86

²⁶ QUIRKE 2004: 86; For «doorkeeper of the bureau of the vizier», see WARD 1982: N^o. 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.

²⁸ VAN DEN BOORN 1988: 22 (5, N^o. 59).

²⁹ It reads *ḥ3 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 N^o. P. For more on this statue, see REDFORD 2004: 38, 39 N^o. D, 58 (N^o. 483a), 104 (FIG. 57, N^o. 483a).

³⁰ For more on archive, see LUR'E 1971: 30; HELCK 1975: 422-424; QUIRKE 1996: 379-401.

³¹ ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb*, vol.3 221 (4); BLACKMAN 1941: 89 (N^o. 38); LESKO 2002: Vol. I: 343. The correct writing of this expression should be «*ḥ3 n sšw*».

³² VAN DEN BOORN 1988: 22 (5).

³³ *Urk1* 958 :vol.4, 1092 (6); DAVIES 1943: PL. CXVIII (R 18); FAULKNER 1955: FIG. 2 (18).

³⁴ cited this example as an enclitic usage of *jst*: GARDINER 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, N^o. 48, favors *ḥr md3wt wdḥ mdw 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, N^o. 54, favors *ḥr sšw wdḥ mdw nb*. FAULKNER 1955: 22 (4), 24, N^o. 17, restored and read the last sentence of line 4 *ḥr [r] sdm m ḥ3 [n t3tj]* «equipped [for?] hearing (?) in the [vizier's] hall». FAULKNER 1955: 24, N^o. 17, sees that *n t3tj* after *ḥ3* is unavoidable. The translations of DAVIES & FAULKNER indicated the juridical function of the *ḥ3*-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 *ḥ3*-hall of the vizier on the hypothetical layout of *ḥnw-pr-njswt-pr-ḥ3*, see VAN DEN BOORN 1988: 67, FIG. 5.

³⁷ VAN DEN BOORN 1988: 22 (5).

own personnel³⁸. According to him, *ḥ3 n pr-njswt*³⁹, «the *ḥ3*-hall of the king's house», housed the royal government, and the vizier appointed the chief of the police to this *ḥ3*-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 *wsḥt pr-njswt* «the broad hall of the palace». Thutmose III installed Rekhmire into the office of the vizier of Upper Egypt in this hall⁴⁰. The most relevant title to our discussion that P.E. Newberry described as «the chief officer» of this hall, [*jmj-r3 ḥ3 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 «*ḥ3 n sh.w*» or «*ḥ3 n šs.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 «*ḥ3 n sš* the office of archives»⁵². A.M. Blackman⁵³ offered the alternation term *st sš* «place of writings», which occurred on the Ewerot stela⁵⁴. M. Malinine pointed out that the Kushite texts have «*ḥ3 n sh.w* Hall of Writings», whereas the Saite texts have «*s.t n sh.w* Place of Writings»⁵⁵.

³⁸ DAVIES 1943: 32, N^o. 76, described the *ḥ3*-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^o. 87, 503; HELCK 1958: 53-54.

³⁹States that *ḥ3 n njswt* designates any administrative office, and not specifically an office of the palace. VAN DEN BOORN 1988: 252, N^o. 3.

⁴⁰ NEWBERRY 1900: 100.

⁴¹ My translation of this title is «overseer of the *ḥ3*-hall of the king».

⁴² The functions of those officials were mentioned previously. They were in charge of the *ḥ3*-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 jmj-r3 ḥ3 n njswt* he (i.e., the King) appointed me the overseer of the *ḥ3*-hall of the King», *Urk* 1958: vol.4, 150 (13). For his title *jmj-r3 ḥ3 n njswt*, *Urk* 1958. vol.4: 152 (12).

⁴⁶ MALININE 1951: 168, N^o. 45.

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

⁴⁸ MALININE 1951: 168, N^o. 45. Then he reads it «*ḥ3j n sh.w* Bureau-des-Écrits». MALININE 1953: 36-37.

⁴⁹ JASNOW 2003: 788, N^o. 98.

⁵⁰ BREASTED 1988: 330; THÉODORIDÈS 1995: 452-453, N^o. 11.

⁵¹ BREASTED 1988: 330, N. B.

⁵² BLACKMAN 1941: 84, PL. X, 9, 89 N^o. 38.

⁵³ BLACKMAN 1941: 89, N^o. 38.

⁵⁴ LEGRAIN 1897: 14.

⁵⁵ MALININE 1973: 207, N^o. W, referred to the incorrect transcription of «*s.t n sš*» (lit. «place d'écrit (s)») instead of '*ḥ3*' [*n sš*].

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In his study on the jurisprudence of the Saite and Persian periods, E. Seidl⁵⁶ read and translated «*ᜪᜪ n sh.w* Die Halle der Urkunden⁵⁷», arguing that the *ᜪᜪ*-hall was «a court», not «an archive⁵⁸». He listed the *ᜪᜪ*-hall under the *knb.t* division of the judicial activity of the court system⁵⁹. He cited this example, depending on P. Louvre 3228⁶⁰, I 24, P. Vatican 10574⁶¹, P. Turin 2118, 33⁶², «Ihre Aussage wird in der Halle der Urkunden, *ᜪᜪ n sh.w*, nicht gehört warden». He suggested that the «*ᜪᜪ n sh.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 *ᜪᜪ*-hall in the Saite and Persian Periods and pointed out that the *ᜪᜪ*-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*⁶³», 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 period⁶⁴. However, P.S. Vleeming understood «*ᜪᜪ n sh.w*» as «a building», not «a special institution»⁶⁵. P. Wilson pointed out that when *ᜪᜪ* was «applied to the king, it refers to his audience or policy-making chamber». This interpretation implies, in her opinion, «a secure and safe place⁶⁶».

III- THE TITLE «ᜪᜪ N ᜪᜪ, THE GREAT ONE OF THE ᜪᜪ-HALL»

Several examples were close to *Payeftjauemawwyneith’s* times. In the Hood-Wilbour Papyrus⁶⁷, the title *ᜪᜪ n ᜪᜪ n nbt*⁶⁸=*f*^c.w.s. «the great one of the *ᜪᜪ*-hall of his Lord, l.p.h⁶⁹».

was found⁷⁰. AH. Gardiner⁷¹ cited some other variants of the title, such as *ᜪᜪ n ᜪᜪ n nbw*⁷² «the great one of the *ᜪᜪ*-hall of all affairs», and *ᜪᜪ n ᜪᜪ n nb=f*⁷³ «the great one of the

⁵⁶ SEIDL 1968: 32.

⁵⁷ SEIDL 1968: 32 & 43.

⁵⁸ Who previously connected it with *knbt*. 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, ll. 8-9 (Year 10 of Shabaqo, see SEIDL 1968: 15), indicate the legal nature of the *ᜪᜪ*-hall as a hearing place. P. Louvre 3228 C, 24, reads «*bn sdm r=f m ᜪᜪ nb n sšw* His deposition shall not be listened to in any office of writings», ČERNÝ 1945: 41 (3); MALININE 1951: 157. P. Louvre 3228 E, ll. 8-9, reads «*jr p3 nt(j) jw=f mdw bn sdm r=f m ᜪᜪ nb nsw*». 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 *ᜪᜪ nb n sšw* as «any court».

⁶⁰ It dates to year 6 of Taharqa. MALININE 1951: 157; SEIDL 1968: 15.

⁶¹ It dates to year 22 of Piye. PARKER 1966: 112; JANSSEN 1968: 171-172; 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;

⁶⁵ VLEEMING 1980: 15 N^o. 53; JASNOW 2003: 788 (97).

⁶⁶ WILSON 1997: 700.

⁶⁷ It is P. BM EA 10202 (or P. Hood) dating to the Third Intermediate Period. PARKINSON 1999: 61; GARDINER 1968: Vol. I: 24-63, particularly 26 (ii), 29-30 (ii), 1*-26*; GARDINER 1968: Vol. 2: PL. XIV-XV.

⁶⁸ *Nbt* 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).

h3-hall of his lord». He translated the title «chief of bureau [*dîwân*] of his lord» and pointed out that it was a rarely mentioned title with unknown functions.

An identical title $\text{ʕ n } h3$ «the great one of the *h3*-hall⁷⁴» occurred in a Saite⁷⁵ text on BM EA 525 black basalt anthropoid sarcophagus of the scribe Nesisout⁷⁶. The limestone stela Stockholm N^o. 52⁷⁷ had this title in the phrase *Wsjr ʕ n h3 n nb-t3wj Jmn-w3h-sw⁷⁸ m3c-hrw⁷⁹* «Osiris, the great one of the *h3*-hall of the Lord of the Two Lands, Amunwahsw, true of voice», and in the phrase *s3=f ʕ n h3 n nb-t3wj Jmn-w3h-sw m3c-hrw* «His son, the great one of the *h3*-hall of the Lord of the Two Lands, Amunwahsw, true of voice».

P.E. Newberry⁸⁰ considered that the $\text{ʕ n } h3$ was the same as the earlier official *jmj-r3 h3 n njswt*. According to G. Maspero⁸¹, in Ptolemaic Egypt, the $\text{ʕ n } h3$ holders corresponded to the chiefs of the royal audiences cited by Strabo [17, 797] and mentioned by G. Lumbroso⁸². However, P.E. Newberry⁸³ saw no reason for connecting those with the earlier $\text{ʕ n } h3$ title holders because those Alexandrian officials were only in charge of «the writing of the minutes and records».

H.S.K. Bakry translated *Payeftjauematwyneith's* title, the $\text{ʕ n } h3$, «chief of the bureau [*dîwân*]⁸⁴». R. Hannig rendered « $\text{ʕ n } h3$ » Bürovorsteher⁸⁵. In Arabic, «ديوان - *dîwân*» has several meanings, such as «department», «office», «council», and «bureau», any one of which probably fits nicely with H.S.K. Bakry's translation⁸⁶. The word «*dēwān/divan*» means «archive», «register», «chancery», «government office», and «administration» in Persian⁸⁷.

⁷¹ GARDINER 1968: vol. I: 23* (84).

⁷² GARDINER 1968: vol. 3: PL. XVII (20). It is on BM EA 10379, a strip of leather, recto. GARDINER 1968: vol. 1: 26.

⁷³ GARDINER 1968: vol. 3: PL. XVIII (14). It is on BM EA 10379, a strip of leather, verso; GARDINER 1968: Vol. 1: 26.

⁷⁴ This title Translated «*grand de l'antichambre (?)*», Zivie-Coche 1991: 286, PL. 47; DE MEULENAERE 2001: 11 N^o. 38.

⁷⁵ DE MEULENAERE dates to Dynasty 30 (?). LIMME 1972: 96 N^o. 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^o. 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^o. 2.

⁸² LUMBROSO 1967: 180-182.

⁸³ NEWBERRY 1900: 101.

⁸⁴ BAKRY 1970: 325. Before BAKRY, MASPERO 1888: 277 (7), NEWBERRY 1900: 99 & GARDINER 1968: Vol.1: 23 (84), previously translate *h3* «*dîwân*»

⁸⁵ FAULKNER 2002; HANNIG 2006: 622 (22584): 183, translates «office» and «bureau»; *Urk* 1958: vol.4: 150 (13), 152 (12), 1103 (15), 1117 (17), 1119 (7); NEWBERRY 1900: 99; FAULKNER 1955: 21 (c); SETHE 1990: 81 (3).

⁸⁶ BAALBAKI 2008: 128.

⁸⁷ ARYANPUR KAŠĀNĪ & KAŠĀNĪ 1986: 57; MO'ĪN 1999: 1599; DE BLOIS 2002 vol.7/4: 432; FARHANG MOASER *PERSIAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY* 2008: 245.

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In modern Egypt, the word «*dîwân*» or «*dîwān*» 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-Fustāt⁸⁸. 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 «*dîwân*» for tax payments records and the names of warriors to receive stipends and to fix rates⁸⁹. In AD 706, under the Umayyad Caliph ‘Abd Al-Malik Ibn Marwan, the Egyptian governmental institutions [*dîwāns*] were Arabized⁹⁰, i.e., Arabic was used as the official language of the administration⁹¹. 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 *ḥ n ḥ3* of *Payeftjauemawwyneith*, as the Kushite example mentioned above, is generic and does not specify any connections with the vizier or king. The significance of *Payeftjauemawwyneith*’s title *ḥ n ḥ3* 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 *ḥ3*-hall was related to the administration and receiving audience, it might be the *ḥ3*-hall of the king because all of *Payeftjauemawwyneith*’s titles were related in one way or another to the royal realm. For example, on statue BM EA 83, *Payeftjauemawwyneith* spoke of himself as «he who presents their affairs to the interior of the palace, the great one of the *ḥ3*-hall», on statue Mîtrahîna 545, «the one who presents their affairs to the interior of the palace, the great one of the *ḥ3*-hall», and on statue Louvre A 93, «the great one of the *ḥ3*-hall, the great *jm3ḥw* in the King’s house». These revealed that *Payeftjauemawwyneith*’s title, «the great one of the *ḥ3*-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 *Payeftjauemawwyneith* had close connections and played important roles in the royal palace, probably of Apries. Therefore, *Payeftjauemawwyneith* might have functioned as director of this *ḥ3*-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 Kingdom⁹². *Payeftjauemawwyneith*’s title ‘*ḥ n ḥ3*’ might mean «the great one of the *dîwân*» in Saite Egypt. The diwan in medieval and modern Egypt was a nuanced, helpful, and equivalent term and was probably an appropriate translation of *ḥ3*. *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 *ḥ3*-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.

⁸⁹ BOSWORTH 2002: vol.6/4: 432-433.

⁹⁰ On the administrative and military aspects of Early Islamic Egypt. ‘ATHAMINA 1997: 101-113.

⁹¹ KENNEDY 1988: 71-72.

⁹² VAN DEN BOORN 1988: 252.

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Festschrift of professor Ali Radwan [1941-2020]

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