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Mustafa El Amir

Further Notes on the Demotic Papyri in the Turin Museum.

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FURTHER NOTES ON THE DEMOTIC PAPYRI IN THE TURIN MUSEUM

(TOPOGRAPHICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND LEGAL STUDIES)

BY

DR. MUSTAFA EL-AMIR

In my article published in *Acta Orientalia* (vol. XXV, 3-4, pp. 203-228) I drew the attention of Egyptologists, particularly Demotists, to one of the most important family Archives from Thebes [1]. I also drew attention to all related Papyri scattered among museums and libraries and known as : B. M., Rylands, Strassburg, Brussels, Berlin, Louvre, Philadelphia, Cairo and others. For this reason, I presented a precise summary of the Turin Papyri and urged their publication which is highly important and eagerly awaited by Egyptologists, Lawyers and Sociologists [2]. Now, this opportunity is offered to scholars by Professor Giuseppe Botti in his fine edition titled *L'Archivio Demotico da Deir El-Medineh,* 2 vols. Firenze 1967.

Among all these Papyri, the Turin documents are unique. They form a compact group and constitute the largest and most important single archive from Thebes. The main interest of these documents lies in the Theban scene they present with its unbroken history of a family and its property during the whole of the 2nd century B. C. That interest is increased by the fact that they are connected with earlier documents. They refer to persons of a single family and this also gives the Papyri, apart from the intrinsic value of the individual documents, their special interest. This family should also be linked with the families comprised in Rylands, Louvre, B. M., Berlin, Philadelphia and Cairo, taking their history from the first century B. C. back to the Persian period. To obtain a true picture of the native Egyptian

[1] For these family Archives see :
GLANVILLE, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the B. M.,* vol. I, 1939, Introduction.
MUSTAFA EL-AMIR, *A Family Archive from Thebes,* Part II, pp. 11-17.
SEIDL, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte,* 1962, pp. 15-49.

[2] See *Acta Orientalia,* vol. XXV, 3-4, pp. 203-228.

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Society in the Ptolemaic period, scholars must study all these documents which present a marked homogeneity and constitute one Archive from Thebes.

The greater part of these documents were studied individually when they were originally edited and the reading of Demotic was mostly conjecture [1]. Since that time, considerable advance in Demotic studies has been made, therefore, a new edition of these documents based on good photographs, scientific digests, genealogies of the concerned people and history of their properties, would be valuable contribution to the study of the private life of the native Egyptians in the Ptolemaic period [2].

In this present article, I must call particular attention to the contents of the Turin documents not claiming to give an exhaustive study for this would need a monumental work. I wish only to give a few general remarks on the different parts of the documents i. e. the date, the parties, the legal formulae, the notary and witnesses and the subject matter of the contracts. A more thorough study of the contents as revealed in these contracts will certainly add much to our knowledge of the Topography of the Theban Necropolis, the legal terms and the life of the native Egyptians who retained their old traditions and modes of life [3].

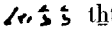
I. — THE DATE.

These documents, with a range of more than a century, are dated from Ptolemy V Epiphanes (c. 200 B. C.) to Cleopatra III and her sons Soter II and Alexander I (c. 100 B. C.) and probably later, to Berenice III and Alexander V. One document only is dated from the 11th year of the native Pharaoh Ankhmakhis, beloved of Isis, beloved of Amen-Re the king of gods, the great god. This century is characterized with the spirit of Nationalist revolts [4] in Upper Egypt and Epiphanes did not

[1] The publications of Brugsch, Revillout, Reich, Spiegelberg and others, though considered as pioneer work and outstanding achievement yet unfortunately they are often inadequate, inaccurate and misleading to those who have used them.

[2] The task of the Egyptological Historiographer who is concerned with Demotic Papyri, but of course, since he is studying Ptolemaic Egypt, must not forget the evidence of Greek Papyri.

[3] The field to be surveyed is very wide and I cannot pretend to offer more than a distant view, indicating the main points and summing up some results.

[4] These revolts spread in Upper Egypt under Ptolemy IV Philopator and lasted through the greater part of the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes; known in demotic  tḫtḫ = Greek ταραχη.

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rule the whole country. The South was practically independent for many years under the rule of the two native kings, Harmakhis and Ankhmakhis. We have ten demotic documents dated in their names now scattered among the B. M., Berlin, Cairo and Turin [1].

Some of these Turin documents were used by Sir H. Thompson in his study of the Eponymous Priests under the Ptolemies [2]. But when the texts of the dating (i. e. protocol) are examined carefully by the collation of all dates of all documents, they will solve some of the troublesome chronological problems and raise others. For the assignation of demotic documents to the reigns of Epiphanes, Philometor and his joint reign with Cleopatra II and Evergetes II and the joint reigns of Cleopatra III with her sons Soter II and Alexander I, is very complicated by the troubles which took place in their respective reigns.

The full form of the protocol in these contracts usually identified the king or queen beyond any doubt, but the abridged forms create many chronological problems. The scribes started normally with the regnal year, the name of the ruler, the priest of Alexander and then added a full list of priests and priestesses numbered thirteen in one of the documents [3]. Sometimes they started normally but did not mention priesthoods and added instead « a ḥ n nt smn n Rᶜ-ḳdy·t» = « according to that established at Alexandria» or « erme p sp sḫ n t nḫb·t n Rᶜ-ḳdy·t» = « and the rest of the writing of the protocol of Alexandria». By the protocol, we usually understand the whole of the introductory matter comprising date, royal names and Eponymous priests. It is difficult to explain why the names of different kings and queens should be followed by similar qualifications and thus they mislead scholars in the assignation of the documents correctly. They cannot be slips of the scribes for they are repeated sometimes by different scribes in different archives. All protocols of all documents, should be collated and examined carefully on the light of the corresponding evidence of Greek papyri. The Turin documents are very important, as Demotic evidence, to be either supplementary or complementary to contemporary documents. The question of dating the documents is well worthy of a thorough

[1] See Pestman, *Harmachis et Anchmachis deux rois indigènes au temps des Ptolémées, Chronique d'Egypte* XL (1965), p. 157 ff.

[2] See *Studies presented to Griffith,* 1932, pp. 16-29. and Glanville-Skeat, *Eponymous Priesthood of Alexandria* in *J. E. A.* 40, pp. 45-58.

[3] See *Acta Orientalia, op. cit.,* p. 221 and H. Thompson, *op. cit.,* n. 22, p. 32.

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study; it would require a special monograph more than that which has been attempted [1]. One example of the troublesome chronological problems of the joint reigns of Cleopatra III and Soter II and their successors was given by Reich [2].

II. — THE PARTIES.

The titles show the different occupations and ranks of the persons mentioned in these contracts as first or second parties. The majority were in the service of Amun in his small temple at the village Jeme (Medinet-Habu) [3]. Others were in the service of Hathor in her temple at Deir-el-Medinah [4] and a comparatively small number were in the service of Montu, Sobek, Amenophis son of Hapu, Isis, Arsenophis and other deities. They were surrounded by another class of temple and / or necropolis personnel. Some of the titles which are frequent in these papyri, collated from about fourty documents, are set out in the following :

A. Scribe, pastophoros of Amun at Jeme, prophet of Hathor Mistress of the West of Jeme, priest of all title deeds and leases of the royal scribe Amenophis son of Hapu.
B. Pastophoros of Amun at Jeme, prophet of Hathor Mistress of the West of Jeme.
C. Pastophoros of Amun at Jeme, prophet of Amenophis son of Hapu.
D. Pastophoros of Amun at Jeme.
E. Elders of the priests of Hathor.
F. Singers of Hathor.
G. Priest of Min-Apis, priest of Amen-R^{c}, the Bull, Lord of Waset [5].
H. Manufacturer of Byssus for the Crocodile in the temple of Sobek at Jeme.
I. Herdsman and Servant of Montu.
J. Horseman inscribed to Hermonthis.
K. A man who receives pay inscribed to Thebes.
L. Priestly scribes (not the notaries).

[1] Skeat, *The reigns of the Ptolemies, MIZRAIM* VI.

H. Thompson, *The Eponymous Priests under the Ptolemies,* in *Studies presented to Griffith,* 1932, pp. 16-29.

Glanville-Skeat, *Eponymous Priesthood of Alexandria,* in *J. E. A.* 40, pp. 45-58, and cf. Griffith, *Adler,* giving different dates for the same protocol.

[2] See *MIZRAIM* III, p. 29 and Skeat, *MIZRAIM* VI, pp. 28-40.

[3] See my *Family Archive from Thebes,* Part II, p. 59 ff.

[4] See Spiegelberg, *Demotica* II, p. 24 ff.

[5] This title occurs in the document dated 11th year of the native Pharaoh Ankhmakhis.

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Some of the contracts deal with leases of land and loans of corn, but it is evident from the above list that the parties were priests i. e. men who were not expected to cultivate the land themselves. The transactions, however, show that they actually did the work of farming besides their quasi-sacerdotal functions. This may explain that when the native priests became implicated in the Upper-Egyptian revolts, the Ptolemaïc authorities restricted them to the performance of minor services; yet they still all looked to Amun for somekind of services in his small temple at Jeme and on his endowment land to secure more revenue.

These people were striving to gain their bread and one wonders whether they were aware of the great political events of that time. Like their predecessors in Pharaonic times, they were associated in guilds, the rules of which are preserved in some documents [1]. This must have given them a social solidarity comparable to that of the Phylae in the temples. They were certainly well literate; a fact which is proved by the great number of documents which they wrote and which have come down to us in their family archives. A more thorough study of the people of Thebes and its necropolis as revealed in these Papyri will give us a clear picture of the business of common every day life, not of great historical lay-figures but of men and women who were living like ourselves.

The persons concerned in these Turin papyri are comprised in three related families. The genealogy of one of these families is set out on p. 90. We first hear of a certain Wsy-Mˁ-Rˁ the elder who married T-šr·t Mn and had three sons, P-šr-Mn, Pa-Wn the elder and Pa-Wn the younger. These married the women Nḥm·s·'st, T-šr·t 'St (also called Ta-Kwsia) and T-šr·t ʿo-pḥt respectively. Each of them had a son named Wsy-Mˁ-Rˁ, following the ancient Egyptian custom of naming the sons after the names of their grandfathers. The difficulty in building up the genealogy of this family is due to these homonyms among these cousins. But a close study of the contents of the documents shows that the central figure in these transactions was Wsy-Mˁ-Rˁ son of Pa-Wn the elder. In 152 B. C. he married Ta-Nfr [2] the daughter of his cousin and in 134 B. C. he divided his property among his children [3]. One of these named Twt, became the central figure for fifteen years. From

[1] See Hughes, *The Sixth day of the lunar month and the demotic word for Cult Guild, MDAIAK* 16, pp. 147-160.

[2] See Botti, *Archivio,* N° 5.

[3] See Botti, *ibid.,* N° 9.

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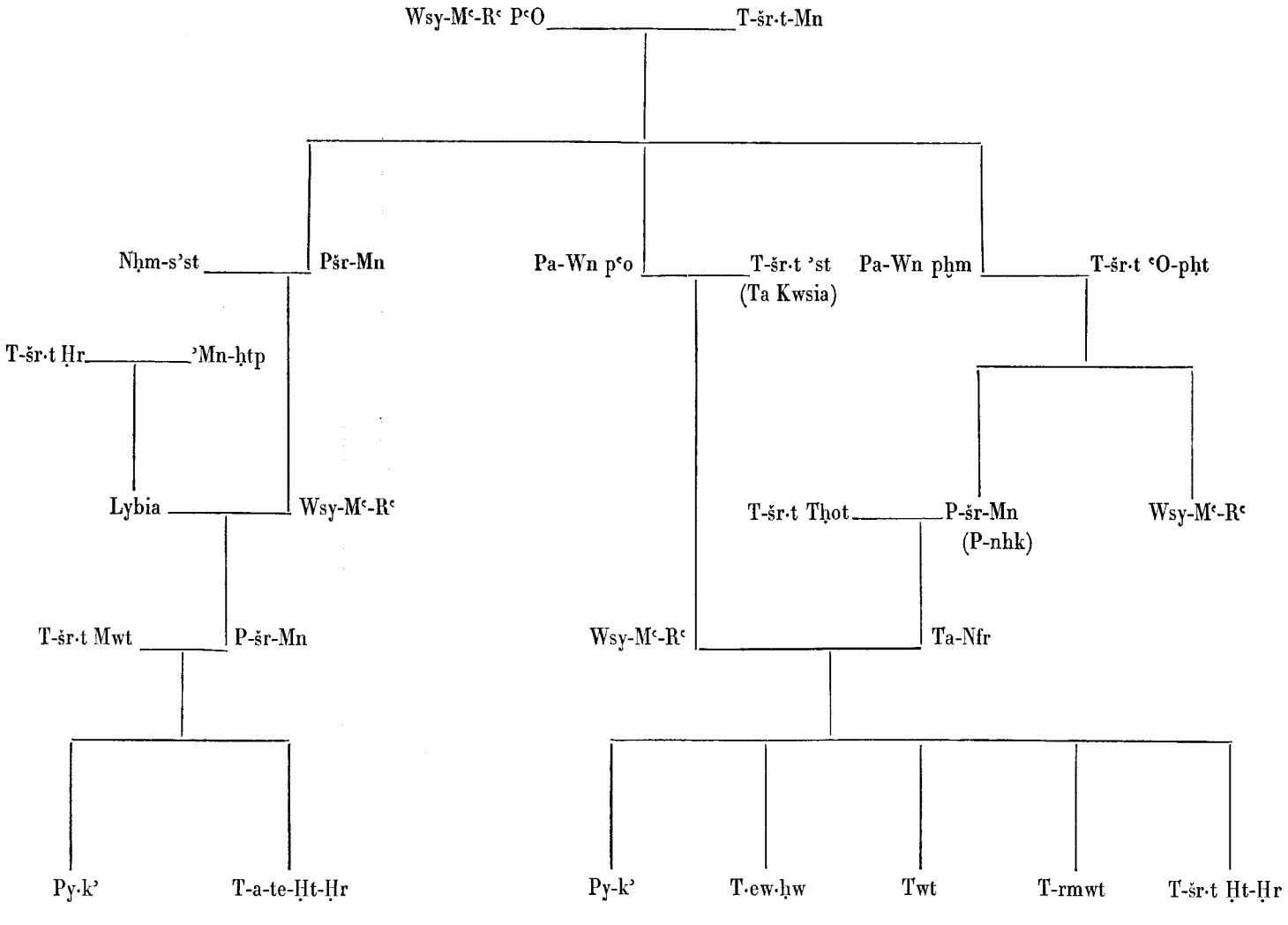

115 to 101 B. C. he was a party in not less than twenty documents [1]. He may have possessed all these documents of the Turin archive either as a party named or as heir or as a trustee for his three sisters as well as for other relations.

Document No. 5 *dated* 31 *August* 152.

Wsy-Mᶜ-Rᶜ married Ta-Nfr; having made her wife, given her ten silver pieces as her bridal gift and received the woman's paraphernalia which she brought with her to his house.

Document No. 7 *dated* 10 *December* 143 *B. C.*

More than nine years after this marriage, the husband settled property and revenues on his wife in this form of a fictitious sale and cession (i. e. endowment arrangements made subsequent to Marriage).

[1] These are numbered by Botti, *ibid.*, as follows :

N° 12 - 115 B. C. Sale of revenue of 6 days of emolument in the cell of Arsenophis.
N° 13 - 114 B. C. Loan of 10½ artabas of corn.
N° 14 - 114 B. C. Loan of 15 artabas of corn.
N° 18 - 112 B. C. Cession of a cow and an ass.
N° 19 - 112 B. C. Lease of arable land.
N° 21 - 111 B. C. Lease of revenue of 3 days of emolument in the House of the Tooth of Amenophis son of Ḥap.
N° 23 - 108 B. C. Agreement in the presence of the elders of Hathor.
N° 24 - 108 B. C. Lease of 3 days of emolument in the House of the Tooth of Amenophis son of Hapu.
N° 26 - 108 B. C. Loan of 6½ artabas of corn.
N° 27 - 108 B. C. Acknowledgement of payment of money.
N° 30 - 104 B. C. Lease of 7 aruras of arable land.
N° 31 - 104 B. C. Sale and Cession of revenue of 15 days of emolument (to him by his mother).
N° 33 - 103 B. C. Sale and Cession of revenue of 10 days of emolument (to him by his wife).
N° 34 - 101 B. C. An oath before Amun king of the gods.
N° 36 - 101 B. C. Lease of chests of charity of the temple of Hathor.
N° 37 - 101 B. C. Lease of land.
N° 40 - 101 B. C. An oath before Amun-ḥmn-ʾw.
N° 44 - Payment of 1100 pieces of Silver to his brother in law, *etc.*

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Document No. 9 *dated* 7 *May* 134 *B. C.*

Again after nine years later, the husband made a deed of apportionment to his sons.

Therefore, this is another piece of evidence to support the theory that marriage in Upper Egypt in the Ptolemaic period could not be consumed without a written document (sḫ n ḥm·t or ḏmᶜ n ḥm·t). Then endowment arrangements were made later (sḫ n sᶜnḫ). Still, later and after the birth of children another deed was made, dividing property among them as co-heirs [1]. This upper Egyptian custom in marriage must not be confused with the Lower Egyptian custom. Bouche-Leclercq, is right when he speaks of « Mariage à la mode Thébaine» and « Mariage à la mode Memphite». The custom is still preserved in Egypt where an Upper Egyptian marriage differs from a Lower Egyptian marriage in many ways [2].

III. — THE LEGAL FORMULAE.

The legal formulae are more or less stereotyped both in content and in order and prevail throughout the different types of contracts. They furnish and explain many examples of less common legal terms and provide valuable material of various kinds which reflect the customs and the laws of native Egypt. Since this material is one of the precursors of Roman Law, it is indispensable for a comparative study to show the influence of Egyptian Law on Greek and Roman Laws [3].

A general study of the Turin Archive reveals a constant form with the recurrence of the same legal formulae in the different types of contracts. The opening words of the contract vary according to the nature of the transaction. These words provide

[1] Cf. Nims, *A Demotic Document of endowment etc, MDAIAK* 16, pp. 237-246.

Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt,* chap. I, and *passim.*

Seidl, *Ptolemaïsche Rechtsgeschichte,* 1962, p. 170 ff.

El Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes,* « Further notes on Marriage» etc.

[2] See Edgerton, *Notes on Egyptian marriage etc.,* p. 9.

Demotic documents of marriage from Thebes should be studied separately and not to be confused with those from the Fayum.

[3] See Revillout, *Origines égyptiennes du droit civil romain,* Paris 1912.

Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Papyri,* New York 1944.

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us with the designation for the different types of contracts which may be roughly classed as follows [1] :

A. Sales (sḏ etbe ḥt) and cessions (sḏ wy).

In the sale of real property or revenue, Egyptian Law required two different documents; the first is the *συγγραφὴ πράσεως* (Dem. sḏ etbe ḥt) = agreement for sale, the second is the *συγγραφὴ ἀποστασιου* (Dem. sḏ wy) = cession or conveyance. This can be interpreted sometimes as fictitious when it is made by a mother to her son or by a husband to his wife.

B. Official Copy of a sale (ḥ sḏ etbe ḥt). Copies were sometimes written after the protocol and the initial words. The copy represented the Greek *ἀντιγραφον* in Canopus 19-70 [2]. The use of ḥ occurs as early as Dyn. XXI [3].

C. Wills, in the form of sales from mother to son and cessions from husband to wife. The wills (*ωνη-αποστασιου*) in the form of fictitious sales or cessions are in fact settlements or apportionments of property ineffective before the death of their donor i. e. they were Donationes mortis causa.

D. Division or apportionment among heirs (sḏ n tnt). There is, however, another class of documents known as « writing of Division» (sḏ tnt). This class may be considered as wills made by parents to be executed during their life i. e. Divisio inter Liberos [4].

E. Leases of Land (sḫn), leases of revenue (sḫn) and locations of houses, rooms and other places (sḫn). In these papyri one Demotic term is applied for leases of land (*μισθωσις*), leases of revenue of days of emolument (*ἡμεραι ἀγνευτικάι*) and locations of places (Locatio conductio rei). The lease was made for a single year, sometimes for two or five years in certain cases. The lease of land was usually made for one year, from the inundation of a certain year to the inundation of the next and the lessee could not claim its renewal for another year.

[1] The legal contents of these documents may be explained on the same principles which I pointed out in my study of the Philadelphia - Cairo Archive. See : *A Family Archive from Thebes,* Part II, p. 106 ff.

[2] See Thompson, *Siut,* B. I, 1, p. 12, n. 1.

[3] See Griffith, *Rylands* III, p. 247, n. 6.

[4] See Taubenschlag, *op. cit.*

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F. Loans of money or corn (smbwl) = *σύμβολον*. When these loans of corn are studied in conjunction with the leases of land, it is evident that the corn is used as seed-corn and not for ordinary consumption.

G. Receipts (ʾs·w) or acknowledgements of payments of rents (ʾs·w n mḫ). These are written without protocols and sometimes no scribe was required to draw them up.

H. Affidavits (ʿnḫ); the oath was prescribed by the law of Bocchoris [1]. In the Demotic contracts, one of the clauses which make up the legal formula is :... « the oath or the confirmation that shall be imposed on thee in the court of justice ...». The oath was imposed on the party by the Judge for purposes of proof. In Islamic Shariʿa, the proof is imposed on him who claims and the oath is imposed on him who denies البينة على من ادعى واليمين على من أنكر. In these Turin documents, the oath was taken by the life of Amun king of the gods and Amun-ḫmn'w, probably at the dromos of his small temple at Medinet-Habu.

I. Marriages (dmʿn ḥm·t) [2] and Divorce (ḫʿ n ḥm·t). According to Egyptian Law either husband or wife was entitled to divorce the other. This is clear from the frequent clause in marriage contracts, «... If I abandon thee as wife and hate thee and marry another woman...» «... If I abandon thee as husband and hate thee and marry another man ...» In the latter case, the woman had the right to divorce her husband i. e. the immunity is in the hand of the wife العصمة بيد الزوجة. The reason for divorce is the great sin which is found in women namely Adultery or sterility. This is mentioned in marriage contracts not in the divorce. Four witnesses only were required to attest a divorce [3] واللاتى يأتين الفاحشة من نسائكم فاستشهدوا عليهن أربعة منكم.

[1] For the Oath see Seidl, *Der Eid im Ptol. Recht.*

[2] For the different hypothesis on marriage see :

Seidl, *Ptolemaïsche Rechtsgeschichte,* 1962, p. 170 ff.

Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt.*

[3] Cf. *Quran,* Sura IV, Women « If any of your women (i. e. wives) be guilty of whoredom, then bring four witnesses against them from among yourselves».

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J. Agreements (n hn·w) [1]. The agreements concerning money and property were made in the presence of four elders.

IV. — THE NOTARIES AND WITNESSES.

As we should have expected, all the scribes have Egyptian names mostly Theophoric, derived from the local cults. Some of them are native names common at the village Jeme or at the neighbouring villages. A careful study of the scribes' names of the Turin papyri shows that they are also known to us from other documents in the Louvre, Berlin and other museums [2]. They belonged to a family of scribes well known at Jeme from the early Ptolemaic period. When the genealogies of all these scribes are set out and the relationships are determined, they should provide a successive list from Ptolemy V Epiphanes to Ptolemy X Alexander I and Berenice III (i. e. from 200 to 80 B. C.). Other documents provided us formerly with a list of scribes from Khabbash to Ptolemy IV Philopator (i. e. from 334 to 210 B. C.). On the strength of the Egyptian system of filiation and since the occupations were inherited from father to son in the ancient Egyptian society, it can be assumed that the members of that family of scribes occupied the profession from a time prior to the conquest of Alexander the great till the end of the Ptolemaic period [3].

A closer study of scribes would require all Demotic Archives from Thebes to be surveyed and arranged chronologically; a task which should prove of interest in many directions. The names of these scribes can solve many problems of chronology where the documents dispense with the ruler's name and make it difficult to assign exact dates, especially for minor papyri and Ostraca.

The majority of the Turin documents were drawn up by the scribe Ḫns-te-f-nḫt son of Ḥr-s-'St. His father Ḥr-s-'St son of Ḫns-te-f-nḫt before him and his son Ḥr-s-'St son of Ḫns-te-f-nḫt, during his life and after his death, were also scribes. They are well known from other documents in the Louvre, Berlin and other museums.

[1] For this term see : Nims, *J. E. A.* 24 (1938), p. 99 and cf. Griffith, *Dodecaschoenus* N° 218-219.

[2] See my summary in *Acta Orientalia, op. cit.,* p. 206-9, p. 208, 20, p. 212, 30, p. 215, 38 etc.

[3] See my *Demotic Papyrus from Pathyrus : Etud. Pap.,* vol. VIII, p. 66, 4.

Griffith, *Adler,* p. 67, and Seidl, *Demot. Urkund.*

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Ḥr-s-ʾSt, the father wrote the Turin documents numbered 4, 9, 10, 16 dated 159-134-121-114 B. C. respectively i. e. he held that office for more than 45 years. Ḫns-te·f-nḫt wrote more than ten documents of Turin dated from 112 to 100 B. C. Ḥr-s-ʾSt, his son started on 101 B. C. (Turin No. 37). Brothers and cousins of the same family were also scribes and sometimes parties or witnesses in the same archive.

Pa-ḥtr son of P-a-ṯe-ʾSt, the scribe of Turin documents numbered 3, 5, 6, 7 dated 171-152-150-143 B. C. respectively was also the son of a scribe and the father of another well known in the Demotic archives from Thebes. His father Pa-te-ʾst son of Pa-ḥtr wrote one document only in the Turin archive No. 1 dated 188 B. C. But we know from the Louvre 2415 and B. M. 10073 and Berlin 3145 for example, that he started in 228 B. C. i. e. he held his office for about 40 years [1].

Ns-Mn son of Pa-by, the scribe of Turin N° 8 dated 137 B. C., Berlin 3080 dated 133 B. C. and Louvre 2418 dated 120 B. C. as well as other documents, was a well known member of a family of scribes in the Theban archives [2]. The importance of scribes in solving chronological problems can be shown in the following example [3] :

Medinet-Habu Ostraca I (MH 528) should be dated 30th year of Ptolemy VI Philomator i. e. 152-151 B. C. since the scribe was Ḥr-s-ʾst son of Ḫns-te·f nḫt, who held his office between 159 and 112 B. C. But the Ostraca 3 (MH 461) and 4 (MH 459) and 5 (MH 460), should be dated 29th year of Ptolemy VIII Evergetes II i. e. 142-141 B. C. since the scribe was Ns-Mn son of Pa-by who held his office about that time.

Ns-Mn son of Pa-by wrote « in the name of the priests of Amen-Rʿ, King of the gods and the gods Euergetai, the gods Philopatores, the gods Epiphaneis, the god Philometor and the god Eupator of the 5 orders». The meaning of this, is well known from the decrees of Canopus and Rosetta. The five classes of priests certainly existed in the temple of Amun but from these five orders, the 5th only had the right of drawing up contracts. A simple prophet represented the sacerdotal college at the village [4].

[1] See my summary *Acta Orientalia, op. cit.*, p. 206, 9 and p. 212, 30 : Botti, *Archivio*.

[2] In 113 B. C. the scribe Nḫt-Ḥr was described as the agent of Ns-Mn son of Pa-by in Berlin 3103.

[3] See M. Lichtheim, *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*, pp. 9-11 and p. 56.

[4] See Revillout, *Chrest. Demot.*, p. x.

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Pa-ḥtr son of P-a-te-'st wrote « in the name of the stipendiary-woman the priestess of Amun T-šrt-Ḫns daughter of the divine father Ns-pe·w t' the prophet of Jeme» (e. g. Tur. 5 dated 152 B. C.). Ḥr-s-'st and his son Ḫns-te·f nḫt, wrote « in the name of Ns-p-mty son of Wsr-Wr, the prophet of Jeme. It is perhaps tempting to suggest that the latter was a descendant of Wsr-Wr son of Ns-pe·w t', the scribe of B. M. 10530 dated 283 B. C. at the end of the reign of Ptolemy I Soter and the beginning of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

These notaries were public officials who received all kinds of transactions and contracts to which the parties must or wish to give an authentic character. They put the date, preserved copies in the archive and delivered others when needed. They must have been acquainted with the legal procedure and the law of the country. Minor documents, however, did not need a notary, they were drawn up privately by the parties themselves [1]. Many names of future scribes first occurred in the witness lists. The palaeography of these lists shows that the witnesses' names were sometimes written by the scribe, but that in most cases they were signatures of the individuals named. It is interesting to notice that all of them are men, never a woman; all are Egyptians, never a Greek [2].

Considering the large number of documents, each with its sixteen witnesses, coming from a small district, we must conclude that the majority of the people were at least semi-literate and must have been able to read the documents which they attested. In the course of my studies, I have collected more than four thousand names from Upper Egyptian contracts from the Ptolemaic period. They have been used in collecting names for the « Demotisches Namenbuch» which is being compiled by the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz under the direction of Professor E. Lüddeckens [3]. On the strength of filiation and dating we can safely assume that many names in the Turin documents occur in the related papyri and Ostraca [4]. The corresponding transactions and the dating may support this

[1] Viz. Acknowledgements of payments, loans, receipts, affidavits etc.

[2] In the later Ptolemaic period we meet with Greek names e. g. *Tur.* 22 witness 14, Pl. XXVII Anfiaraos son of Hermias and 14, Pl. XLII Apollonio son of Menokles.

[3] See *Yarbuch of the Akademie,* 1961, pp. 165-166.

[4] Cf. the names which occur in the Louvre and Berlin documents. Cf. also the names which occur in the *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet-Habu,* by M. Lichtheim, e. g. *Ostraca N°* 126, a transfer of wheat, gives the following names : P-šr-Mn son of Py-k', P-šr-ʿo-pḥt son of Ḥr-p-'St, P-šr. 'Mn son of Pa-Ḏmʿ : Ostraca N° 128, a receipt for rent

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assumption. Generally, the clue to the correct translation and interpretation of a document will depend upon the accurate reading of the proper names [1]. The study of these names, their interpretation and their connexion with local cults should prove of interest. It would require a special treatise.

V. — THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE TURIN CONTRACTS.

This may comprise real property or chattels, services or revenues. In dealing with property (lands, houses, rooms, cells, chapels or any other places) a precise description as to its situation is always given and consists of some topographical indications accompanied by a statement of its neighbouring properties. In dealing with revenues (from services or liturgies), the Turin papyri, like any other family archive from Thebes, contain a great amount of Sociological and Religious material which reflect the daily life of the people. This part of the contract provides the material for the study of the topography of the village Jeme in the later Ptolemaic period. The B. M., Berlin, Louvre, Philadelphia and Cairo papyri provided the material for that topography in the early Ptolemaic period [2]. This is essential not only for the understanding of the papyri themselves but it is also a valuable guide to the Archaeologists in the field.

This present article is confined to give a few general remarks on topographical, sociological and legal aspects of the Turin Papyri. No attempt has been made to give a comprehensive study of the concerned families and the history of their properties. This should be left to a special treatise from which, I am aware, many important results should follow.

1. — Topographical sites.

Ne = Thebes, the city.
W's·t = Thebes, the nome; Amun Lord of Waset.

of leased land gives the following names : Ḥr-s-'st son of P-šr-Ḥns, Iwf-ʿnḫ, son of P-šr-'Mn. The lists of names on Ostr. Nos. 133 and 134 give : Pa-'Ry son of Pa-'Ry, P-a-te-p·šy son of Py-k', Pa-nfr son of Ns-ne·w ḫmn-'w, P-šr-Mn son of Ns-new-ḫmn-'w *etc.* All these names occur in the Turin Papyri either as parties or witnesses.

[1] Scholars who ignore the accurate reading of the names and use instead : A son of B hath said to C son of D, fall in a grave mistake. We must know the relation between A and C, B and D, in order to give the right designation to the document.

[2] See El-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes,* Part II, p. 59 ff.

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Iwn-Smᶜ var. Iwn-Mont = Hermonthis ; Montu Lord of Hermonthis [1].

Ḏmᶜ = Jeme, the village at Medinet-Habu [2].

p sbt Ḏmᶜ var. p sbt ᶜo n Ḏmᶜ = the great wall of Jeme.

t ʾwe·t mḥy·t n Ḏmᶜ = The northern district of Jeme.

t ʾwe·t rsy·t n Ḏmᶜ ḫn p sbt n Ḏmᶜ = The southern district of Jeme within the wall of Jeme.

p ḫyr n Pr-ᶜo = the King's Street.

p ḫyr n t Pr-ᶜo·t = the Queen's Street.

t ḫyr·t = the Lane [3].

p myt n Pr-ᶜo = the path of the King.

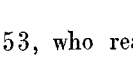
t myt n ʾMn-Ḏmᶜ = the path of Amun of Jeme (i. e. of his procession).

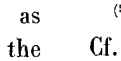
p ʾrpe n Ḥt-Ḥr ḥnt ʾmntt n Ḏmᶜ = the temple of Hathor-Mistress of the west of Jeme [4].

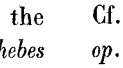
nt ḥr t ḫst n Ḏmᶜ = which is in the necropolis of Jeme.

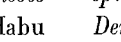
(var.) nt ḥr p ṭw n Ḏmᶜ = which is on the mountain of Jeme.

ḫft-ḥ n p ʾrpe n Ḥt-Ḥr = the Dromos of the temple of Hathor.

t gwt n Ḥt-Ḥr  = the gwt of Hathor = the shrine of Hathor? [5]

t ʿb·t n ʾst ḥr-ib Ḏmᶜ = The chapel of Isis at Jeme  .

(var.) t ʿb·t n ʾst n Ḏmᶜ (Botti, *Archivio,* p. 45, 6)  .

p šty n Ḥt-Ḥr  = Crypt? collection? liturgie di Hathor?

This word occurs in the expression « ... days of emolument in the šty of Hathor Sir H. Thompson (suit A, 9)=a place dug, if it is determined with water = reservoir. Mattha (*Demotic Ostraca* p. 217) = collection, p šty n ʾst = the collection of Isis. Erichsen, *Glossar* p. 528. Botti (*Archivio,* p. 149) = liturgie di Hathor.

[1] Cf. Botti, *Archivio,* p. 253, who reads Wʾs·t-Šmᶜ.

[2] Cf. Botti, *ibid.,* who takes Jeme as Deir-el-Medinah and cf. my study on the topography in *Family Archive from Thebes* where Jeme was located at Medinet-Habu in the Ptolemaic period. See also Gardiner, *Wilbour* II, p. 27, n. 2.

[3] See my article : *Note on t ḫyr·t in boundaries of Ptolemaic houses at Thebes, ASAE* LII, pp. 135-138.

[4] The temple of Hathor at Deir-el-Medinah ; its name did not occur in the earlier documents since its building started in the time of Ptolemy IV Philopator.

[5] See Griffith, *Dodecaschoenus* N° 360. Cf. *frutto di Hathor,* translated by Botti, *op. cit.,* p. 181, n. 7. Cf. H. Thompson, *Dem. Ostr.,* p. 40-41, where the word occurs as p gwt (masc.) = a title always associated with a temple or god ; he was probably a priest. Cf. also Griffith, *ibid.,* N° 871 gwte n ʾst = temple official and N° 851 gwte n ʾst-Ḥt-Ḥr. See Erichsen, *Glossar* 574 = chapel, shrine and p. 570 and *Wb.* 5, 150 = chapel.

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p šty n ʾMn ʾpy ; occurs in the expression describing 7 aruras of high-land « nt ḥr p ḥtp-ntr ʾMn n p šty n ʾMn ʾpy» = which are in the divine-endowment of Amun p šty of Amenopi (see Botti, *Archivio,* p. 142).

t ḥt n Sbk n Ḏmʿ = the temple of Sobek at Jeme (see *ibid.,* p. 98 n. 1).

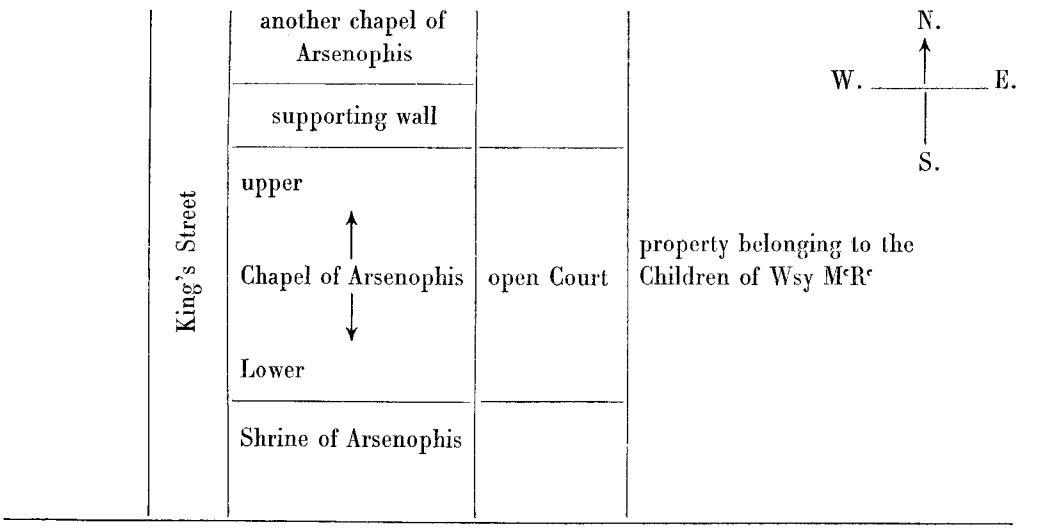
p ʾḳb n Mn = the ʾḳb of Min; occurs in describing the western boundary of a field as : p bw nt ḫn p ʾḳb n Mn = the high-land which is in the ʾḳb of Min. Probably it is « un recinto reservato al culto di Min » (see *ibid.,* p. 185 n. 2).

t ry·t n ʾR-ḥms-nfr = the cell of Arsenophis or chapel of Arsenophis.

p šʿš n t ry·t n ʾR-ḥms-nfr = the shrine of the cell of Arsenophis.

t k·t ry·t n ʾR-ḥms-nfr = the other cell of Arsenophis.

These chapels of Arsenophis were situated in the Southern district of Jeme within the wall. They are mentioned in a document of location between two pastophoroi of Amun at Jeme dated 112 B. C. (Tur. N° 17, Botti, *Archivio,* p. 111). The topography of this part of the village derived from this document is the following :



p šl ḥry p šl ḥry (n ʾMn-ḥtp ś Ḥp) = The Upper House of the Tooth and the Lower House of the Tooth (of Amenophis son of Hapu) .

or p šl ḥry p šl ḥry (n ʾR-ḥms-nfr) = The Upper House of the Tooth and the Lower House of the Tooth (of Arsenophis).

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For reading šl, see Erichsen, *Glossar,* p. 518 ; for reading ml, see Reich, *B. M.* 10226. Cf. Griffith, *Dodecaschoenus,* p. 45, Ph. 24.

pr Pr-ʿo = King's Estate .

p r' Pr-ʿo = Kings Thesaurus (royal granary) .

p ʿyš n Pr-ʿo = the King's Bank ; where a peasant paid money and a διαγραφή was made to him. The demotic equivalent is given as tyglp (see *Turin,* N° 3, l. 5).

var. ty'grph' (see *Turin,* N° 4, l. 21).

Cf. Thompson, *Siut* B. VI. 13-17 tygrpw ; for the function of this Bank see : Claire Préaux, *L'Economie Royale des Lagides,* p. 285.

p mw Pr-ʿo = the King's water i. e. the main stream of the Nile see Griffith, *Adler* 7, p. 83 and Botti, *Testi Demotici,* p. 7, No. 8.

ʿy n wyʿ = tillage House? = farmer's Department? .

p ḥt : a field which is called p ḥt which is in the divine-endowment of Amun p šty of Amenopi (cf. *Berlin* 3102 and Hughes, *Saite Demotic leases,* p. 72).

šnw = acacia trees : the field is described together with its šnw or šnʿ·w : See Griffith, *Ryl.* III, 394. Cf. Erichsen, *Glossar,* p. 515. Cf. Thompson, *Siut,* p. 127.

p bw n ltm = the high-land of trees .

n bnet·w = the palm-trees .

n nhe·w = the sycomore-trees .

p sp *šn nb nt rt* ḫn·s = the rest of every tree which grows in it .

p yḥ šnʿ = the wood-land? .

'tn = land .

p ṯ·mw ḫn p yḥ = (a cultivated parcel? in the field).

p m' n Dmʿ = the canal of Jeme .

t ʿm·t n Stn = the loam-island of Stn .

Stn = a name of a stream?

sb = a water-course ; a well?

p šy = the pool.

st-mntyt = Pigeon-House (See Erichsen, *Glossar,* p. 161).

t n'yt = the Mill? (Cf. Botti, *Archivio,* p. 47 note 1).

t ʿf·t n ḥft-ḥ n p 'rpe n Ḥt-Ḥr = the chest of charity in the Dromos of the temple of Hathor .

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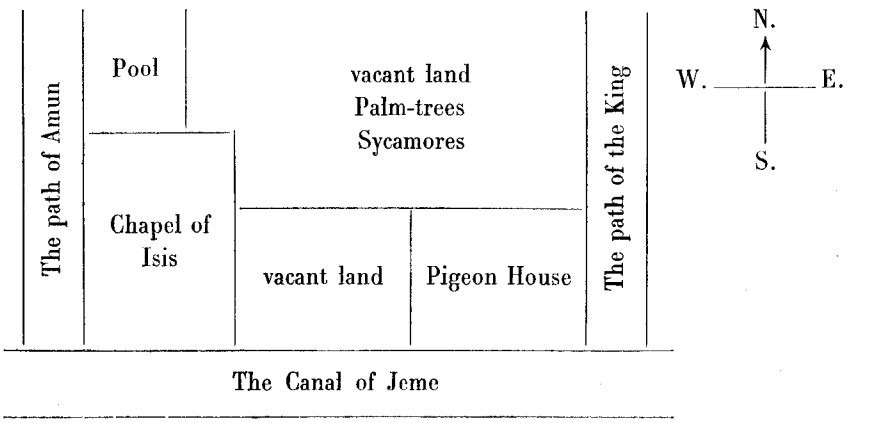
t ʿfl 2 *n p tme* = the two chests of charity in the town .

ʾMn n t sḫt = Amun of the field. This may be a name of a Statue of Amun. Cf. Amun of the Way; Amun of the Island (Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 112). In the Turin document N° 4, l. 18, a field is described as : in the divine endowment of Amun of the field [1].

The topography of this part of the northern district of Jeme derived from this Turin document is the following :



p ḳl n Ḥʿpy = the bank of the Nile (see *Tur.* 25 B, l. 13). The buildings n ḳt·w which are situated on the bank of the River may be potteries .

t me n ʾMn = The island of Amun which made the northern boundary to the *ḫt* which measured 7½ aruras.

2. — Priestly titles and Liturgical services.

Wn n ʾMn Ḏmʿ = Pastophoros of Amun-Jeme (For the interpretation and function of Wn, see my *Family Archive from Thebes,* Part II, p. 118).

ḥm-ntr Ḥt-Ḥr ḥnt ʾmntt n Ḏmʿ = Prophet of Hathor-Mistress of the West of Jeme.

Wn n ʾMn Ḏmʿ ḥm-ntr wʿb wn ḳnbt nb sḫn nb n Ḥt-Ḥr ḥnt ʾmntt n ʾst ḥr-ib Ḏmʿ = Pastophoros of Amun of Jeme, prophet, priest, archivist of all title-deeds

[1] May be a statue of Amun in the field.

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and leases of Hathor-Mistress of the West of Jeme and Isis residing at Jeme.

Wn n ʾMn Ḏmʿ ḥm-ntr wʿb wn ḳnb nb sḫn nb n sḏ nsw ʾMn-ḥtp ś Ḥp = Pastophoros of Amun of Jeme, prophet, priest, archivist of all title-deeds and leases of the royal scribe Amenophis son of Hapu.

Wn n ʾMn Ḏmʿ wʿb Mn-Ḥp ḥm-ntr Ḥt-Ḥr ḥnt ʾmntt = Pastophoros of Amun of Jeme, priest of Min-Apis, prophet of Hathor Mistress of the West.

Wʿb Mn-Ḥp wʿb ʾMn-Rʿ kʾ nb Ws·t = Priest of Min-Apis, priest of Amen-Rʿ the Bull-Lord of Waset (this title occurs in the document dated Ankhmakhis).

Sḏ wn n ʾMn n Ḏmʿ ḥm-ntr n Ḥt-Ḥr ḥnt ʾmntt ḥm-ntr wʿb wn ḳnb nb sḫn nb n sḏ nsw ʾMn-ḥtp ś Ḥp NN p rt n Ḥt-Ḥr = Scribe, psatophoros of Amun of Jeme, prophet of Hathor-Mistress of the West, prophet, priest, archivist of all title-deeds and all leases of the royal scribe Amenophis son of Hapu NN, the agent of Hathor.

Wn ʾMn Ḏmʿ ḥm·ntr sḏ nsw ʾMn-ḥtp ś Ḥp = Pastophoros of Amun of Jeme prophet of the royal scribe Amenophis son of Hapu.

n wʿb·w n ʾMn-Rʿ nsw ntr·w n p 5 sʾ·w = the priests of Amen-Rʿ, king of the gods, of the 5 orders.

n wʿb·w n Mnt = the Priests of Montu (Reference is to the priests of Montu from the 21th to the 28th Dyn. Cf. Gauthier, *Cercueils Anthropoides des Prêtres de Montou, Cat. Gen.*, Le Caire 1912-1913).

n ḫl-ʿy·w n n wʿb·w n Ḥt-Ḥr = the elders of the priests of Hathor.

p ḫs (or n ḫs·w) n Ḥt-Ḥr = the singer (or singers) of Hathor.

ʿm-bk Mnt nb Iwn-šmʿ = Servant of Montu, Lord of Hermouthis.

rm e·fʾr mnḏ n p msḫ n t ḥt Sbk n Ḏmʿ = the manufacturer of Byssus for the crocodile in the temple of Sobek at Jeme.

wḥ-mw = Choachyte.

ḥm-ntr = prophetship (in the expression tnt n ḥm-ntr n p ʾrpe n Ḥt-Ḥr = share of prophetship in the temple of Hathor).

hw n sʿnḫ = day of emolument [1] 𓇋𓈖𓏏-𓊪𓏏.

n hw 5 *ḥb·w* = the five festival (Epagomenal) days [2] 𓉔 𓎛𓏏.

[1] Cf. hw n šms=day of service. *Cairo* 30617 *a*, p. 56-57, pl. 27-28 and ʾbt n ḥt-ntr=month of the temple services : Thompson, *Theban Ostraca*, pp. 51-56 and *Pap. Tebt.* 1, 88 ἡμεραι λειτουργικαι.

[2] See Reich, *MIZRAIM* I, p. 100.

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r' n hw 5 *ḥb·w* = *the income* [1] of the five Epagomenal days .

sisnt = Sixth day festival [2] .

n thb·w = anointings, libations [3] .

n šms·w = divine-services .

n *ʿrš·w* = mortuary-services [4] .

n *šty·w* = salaries, remunerations .

n *ʾḥy·w* = stipends [5] .

n ḥtp·w = the offerings .

p ʾp n *Ḥt-Ḥr* = the account of Hathor .

n gll·w n Pr-ʿo·w = the burnt-offerings for the Kings .

3. — Legal technical terms and stipulations.

sḫ etbe ḥt	= agreement for sale.
sḫ wy	= Cession, Conveyance [6].
sḫ tnt pš	= deed of apportionment (division).
sḫ rᶜ-wḥ	= claim of debt.
sḫ n sʿnḫ	= deed of endowment.
ʾs·w n mḥ	= payment receipt.
ʾs e·f ʿḥ rt	= official receipt.
smbwl	= Loan (bond) *σύμβολον*.
sḥn	= Lease (or location) contract.
ḏmᶜ n hp	= Statute Book, Code.

[1] Botti, *Archivio,* p. 265 translates r' = magazine (granary) for the necessary provisions for the festival days.

[2] See Hughes, *The Sixth day of the Lunar Month and the Demotic Word for « Cult Guild »* in *MDAIAK* 16, pp. 147-160 (examples see *infra,* p. 119).

[3] Cf. Erichsen, *Glossar,* p. 653-654= anoint *Wb.* 5, 326. Crum, *Copt. Dict.* 457*b*. Griffith, *Ryl.* III, p. 97, n. 1, p. 238, n.5.

Cf. Thompson, *Theban Ostraca,* D. 235. tḫb=libation see Ursula K. Helk, *Orientalia Suecana,* vol. VIII (1959), p. 57.

[4] šms and ʿrš; two words mostly mentioned together, see Griffith, *Ryl.* III, p. 319.

Erichsen, *Glossar,* p. 511 and 66. Cf. Greek *λειτουργιων και τωναλλων*.

[5] It is difficult to differentiate between these words; the verbs used with them may clear the meaning : *ʾr šms·w ʿršw*=to perform divine and mortuary services ṯ *šty·w ʾḥy·w*=to receive salaries and stipends.

[6] Cf. Pirenne, *L'écrit pour argent et l'écrit de cession dans l'ancien droit égyptien, Rev. Inter. des Droits de l'antiquité,* t. I, Bruxelles 1948.

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dmᶜ n ḥm·t = Marriage contract.

ḥp n ḥm·t = Marriage (matrimonial) right.

ḫᶜ n ḥm·t = Divorce.

ᶜnḫ = Affidavit, oath.

n ḥn·w = agreements [1].

a ḥ p ḥn Pr-ᶜo = Royal decree [2].

a ḥ mt Pr-ᶜo = Law [3].

ᶜš m-sᵓ NN n'm PP. = to make a legal claim against NN concerning PP.

smy a ḥr NN ḫr PP. = to bring an action at law against NN concerning PP.

ty ᶜnḫ m-sᵓ NN = to require an oath from NN.

nḫt a ḥr NN n'm PP. = to have authority on NN concerning PP.

mḥ p ḥp = to perform an obligation [4].

ḥy nb ḥe nb = every cost and every expense [5].

ᵓt ḥe ḥme = without cost or freight [6].

ᵓr ḥy ḥe ḫre [7] a ḫ p smte ḫr rnp·t = to incur cost, expense and offering according to the custom each year.

pe·t ḥṭ nᵓr ḥe = thy pocket money; expenses [8].

ḫl (var.) = new money; interest, penalty [9].

[1] Agreements between parties made in the presence of the elders of the priests of Hathor. Cf. Griffith, *Dodecaschoenus* Nos 218-219 where the word is translated inquiry. See Nims, *J. E. A.* 24 (1938), p. 79.

[2] Lit.=according to the order of Pharaoh.

[3] Lit.=according to the word of Pharaoh.

[4] In addition to the passages quoted by Nims in *JNES,* VII (1948), pp. 243-260 where «hp» means law, custom, order, justice or right; there are other passages where «hp» means obligation either unilateral, bilateral or reciprocal i. e. a legal-lien in the contractual stipulations mostly in leases of revenues and lands and in locations of houses, rooms and other places.

[5] e. g. «hy nb he nb e'r-f n p'rpe n ḫt-ḫr=every cost and every expense which he has incurred in the temple of Hathor. See Reich, *MIZRAIM* I, p. 552. Cf. hy ᶜo = cost of transport (on donkey) *Pap. Lille* 30, Pl. 17.

[6] In contracts of Loan of corn. See Reich, *MIZRAIM* II, p. 47.

[7] See Erichsen, *Glossar,* p. 389 var. ḫrw=offering for the dead (pr ḫr w), cf. feeding place in my article *Note on t ḫyr·t etc., ASAE,* t. LIII, pp. 135-138.

[8] Frequent in Marriage Settlements e. g. Louvre 2433, *Rev. Egypt.* I, 3.

[9] e. g. n ḫt·w nt ḫry ḫnᶜ pe·w ḫl nt ḫry = the aforesaid money together with its penalty (or interest) aforesaid. *Pap. Berlin* 3101; Revillout, *Nouv. Chrest. Demot.,* p. 121.

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ḫre = demands, requisite, food, offering. These two words are sometimes mixed together. Ex. : bn e-y rḫ ḏd ṯe-y n·k pr ḫl nt nb = I shall not be able to say « I have given to thee seed, new money or anything ... See Reich, *MIZRAIM* III, p. 28, l. 19 and Hughes-Nims, *AJSLL,* LVII, p. 252.

Note on p lwḥ .

In these Turin papyri, an explicit stipulation appears regularly in different kinds of contracts of leases, but its meaning has not been determined exactly [1]. Some examples of its different uses are set out here for reference :

(1) *in leases of revenues.*

(*a*) Tur. 21, l. 18-19, mte pe·k rṭ ḏd pe·f lwḥ n šms erme-y nt ḫr-y mḥ·k pe·w škr = thy agent is to cite its accusation of service against me which is due from me to pay you their rent.

(*b*) Tur. 25 A, l. 15-16, mte pe·t rṭ ḏd pe·f lwḥ n tḫb šms erme-y ... = thy agent is to cite its accusation of libation and service against me ...

(2) *in locations of houses rooms* and other places.

(*a*) Tur. 17, l. 14-15, mte pe·k rṭ ḏd pe·f lwḥ n ḫrḥ erme-y e'r p lwḥ p nby n ne·k ʿy·w ḫry = thy agent is to cite its accusation of maintenance with me against the injury and the damage of thy Upper-floor...

(*b*) Tur. 25 B, l. 15-16, mte pe·t rt ḏd pe·f lwḥ n ḫrḥ erme-y e'r p lwḥ p nby n ḫrḥ n pe·t ʿy = thy agent is to cite ac-

[1] Sethe, *Bürgs.*, p. 171=Beschuldigung, Worwurf.
Erichsen, *Glossar* 261=Worwurf, Sünde.
Hughes, *Saite Dem. Leases,* p. 46 and 64-65=accusation.
Botti, *Archivio,* p. 265=accusa, rimprovero, biasimo.

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cusation of maintenance with me against the injury and the damage for the protection of thy house.

(3) *in leases of land.*

Tur. 25 C, l. 15-16, mte pe·t rt ḏd pe·f lwḥ n wyʿ erme-y nt ḥr-y mḥ·t n pe·w par šmw ḥw ḥwty [illegible] = thy agent is to cite its accusation of cultivation against me which is due from me to pay to thee their harvest-tax and the surplus of farmer etc.

It is evident from the above examples that we have three different cases in which the word lwḥ is used. These are :

lwḥ n tḥb šms	— in the lease of services
lwḥ n ḥrḥ	— in the lease of houses
lwḥ n wyʿ	— in the lease of lands

The different meanings given to this term are : offence, injury, insult, sin, reproach ; Sottas (Pap. Lille 5, Pl. II lettre supplique) gave an example : wʿ sḫ lwḥ [illegible] = un coup de folie. But the meaning in the above examples has something to do with *guarantee against negligence*. Though I used the translation of Sethe and Hughes i. e. accusation, the term should be studied on the light of the Turin Papyri and Greek equivalents.

General remarks on Ptolemaic Leases.

In this Turin Archive, from the later Ptolemaic period, we have three different types of contract which are called « leases» either by virtue of the opening formula or by the designation in the body of the contract itself. These types are :

1. Leases of revenues of days of emolument, temple chest of charity etc.
2. Locations of houses, rooms, chapels or other places.
3. Leases of lands including farming-leases and share-crop agreements.

In Greek Papyri all these different types of leases are designated by the collective term μισθωσις ; in Demotic they are called « sḫn». They usually begin with the lessee addressing the lessor « thou hast leased to me», then follow the indications of the subject with a precise description as to its size and situation. To that are added

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the words which refer to the rent agreed upon either in money or in kind, the duration of the lease and the penalty in case one of the parties fails to accomplish the performance of the contract. Pledges are given, sureties are provided and payments of rents are secured by different stipulations. From the number of documents dealing with acknowledgements of payments, it seems that the majority of the people fulfilled their obligations. Sometimes we meet with documents dealing with payments of penalties to the burnt offerings of the kings and sometimes with documents dealing with law suits arising from violation of contract. At last, people are advised not to break their engagements « O' true believers, perform faithfully your contracts يا أيها الذين آمنوا اوفوا بالعقود (*Quran*-sura : The Table (1) — سورة المائدة)

In Roman Law, the location of a house (locatio conductio) or the lease of services (locatio conductio operarum), were also secured by contracts. This shows that the Egyptian Law, long before the Roman, was mature for it was a law of obligation derived from the agreements of individuals and the contract had achieved a considerable degree of perfection. These obligations stipulated in these leases can be summarized as follows :

I. *In leases of revenues.*

1. The lessee takes on himself.

A. to perform libation, divine-services or mortuary-services.

B. to take salaries and stipends.

C. to pay rent and give income.

D. to leave the *res* at the expiration of the term.

2. The term of the lease is usually one year, sometimes 3 or 5 years (in the location of the temple chests of charity).

3. The average rental is one silver piece per month (for 3 days of emolument) payable monthly (when the term is one year) or annually (when the term is 3 or more years).

4. The penalty in case of breach of contract is usually 600 silver pieces (i. e. fifty times the rent) paid to the burnt offerings of the kings.

5. The agent (representative) of the lessor is to cite accusation against negligence (i. e. could conclude or dissolve the contract if he found that the lessee was not performing the stipulated services or could not pay the rental).

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6. The lessor has a claim against the lessee to cause him to act according to the terms of the contract.

II. *Location of houses.*

1. The lessee takes on himself :

A. to occupy the property and maintain it during the fixed period.
B. to pay the rent per month.
C. to quit the property at the expiration of the contract.
D. to pay a fine of 600 silver pieces to the burnt offerings of the kings in case of breach of contract.

2. the term of the lease is usually one year.

3. the average rental is 3 silver pieces per year at the rate of $^1/_4$ silver piece per month for an apartment.

4. the agent of the lessor is to cite accusation against the lessee concerning negligence, injury or damage of the property.

5. All and everything owned by the lessee is in pledge for the fulfillment of the contract.

6. If the lessee dies before the accomplishment of the contract, his children will be responsible.

III. *Leases of land.*

1. The land in these leases lay in the divine-endowment of Amun (i. e. Hieratic land γῆ ἱερατική owned and administered by the temples).

2. The lessors and lessees are men with priestly titles.

3. The land is described as consisting of a definite number of aruras — usually small plots amounting to 6 or 7 aruras.

4. The lease is usually for one year, from the inundation of a certain year to the inundation of the next.

5. The lessee supplies everything required for farming the land; oxen for ploughing and harvesting, seed تقاوى, labourers and implements of agriculture for sowing and harvesting.

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6. The crop with which the land was to be sown is specified sometimes : mḥy = flax كتان, Wra = Horse-beans فول, sm = clover برسيم, mḏl = onions بصل, gwḏ = safflower-seed قرطم, mostly wheat, barley and oats. When the crop is not specified, it is presumed that it was determined by the rotation of crops.

7. Some of the leases are farming or share-crop agreements.

8. Rental is fixed either by money or in kind.

9. The payment of the harvest tax and Pharaoh's tax is the responsibility of either the lessor or the lessee according to their agreement.

10. The lessee delivered the rental in kind at a certain time to a certain place (mostly the house of the lessor in the village) being clean without expense or freight.

11. The lessor's responsibility was to remove all claim of the State (Lit. King or Queen as Symbol of the State) from the lessee.

12. Rental and taxes were paid when harvest had occurred.

13. The agent of the lessor was entitled to cite accusation and surplus of farmer against the lessee.

14. The lessee had to quit the land in the presence of the lessor at the expiration of the term of the lease.

15. The penalty in case of breach of contract was, in most of the leases, 600 silver pieces.

IV. *The terms for the repayment of Loans of corn were very heavy :*

First, the interest was 50 per cent i. e. 7 artabas repaid 10½ artabas.
Secondly, the deposit for repayment consisted of the following objects :

a perruque valued at 300 silver pieces
2 jars valued at 25 silver pieces
2 vases valued at 125 silver pieces
1 mortar valued at 50 silver pieces
1 priestly uniform valued at 20 silver pieces. Total about 520 silver pieces.

If the debtor fails to repay the debt, then all these objects were ceded to the creditor (See *Tur.* 13).

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Thirdly, the penalty of the breach of contract was the payment of a fine of :

10 talents for the kings burnt offerings.
10 talents for Montu.
10 talents for Amun at Jeme (see *Turin* 44).
or a certain fine paid to the temple alms (see *Turin* 18).

(Cf. *Adler* 10 ; the interest was 100 per cent, 16 artabas repaid 32 ; the pledge was a deed kept in a wooden ʿrʿr).

In concluding these notes we may ask ourselves what are the tasks that still await us in the field of Egyptology?, a question to which Peet gave an answer in 1934. First, the publication of the masses of the unpublished Papyri in the museums ; secondly, the republication of those which have been inadequately published.

Now, under the editorship of Professor Giuseppe Botti, the Turin museum has published *L'Archivio Demotico da Deir El-Medineh* in two volumes one for the texts and the other for the plates (Felice Le Monnie, Firenze 1967). This publication consists of the transliteration and translation of 45 documents introduced by three chapters and concluded by indices and bibliography.

Chapter I : on the history of the archive, the two jars in which it was found and the previous studies made by Sir H. Thompson [1] and myself [2].
Chapter II : a precise summary of the contents of the documents.
Chapter III : the civil and religious life of the priests of Hathor at Deir-el-Medinah as revealed in this archive.

The indices contain lists of Divinities, Royal names, Eponymous priests and Notaries, proper names, titles and occupations, place-names, metrology, months and days of the month, numerals, a glossary and bibliography. The plates are arranged so well in a separate volume that they can be used without any difficulty.

This publication is invaluable for it bears on several matters concerning the Social, Religious, Legal and Economic conditions of the Upper-Egyptians under the Ptolemaic rule in the 2nd century B. C. Further studies, however, should be pursued in regard to the history of the families and their properties. Genealogical tables

[1] *Eponymous Priests,* in *Studies presented to Griffith* 1932, pp. 16-31.
[2] *The unpublished Demotic Papyri in the Turin Museum,* in *Acta Orientalia* XXV, 3-4, pp. 203-228.

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should be built up after the correct reading of the personal names. From this, many important results should follow in the fields of Sociology, Religion, Law and Economics. I wish to congratulate Professor G. Botti for this great effort and present the following observations on the translation of the individual papyri. My method of transliteration is based on that of the British School of Griffith-Thompson-Glanville. Professor Botti, however, uses the historical system but I hope that this will not cause confusion.

Tur. 3, l. 5, p. 38, Pl. V and Tur. 4, l. 20-21, p. 47, Pl. V [1].

Botti has read the same words as follows : in *l.* 3 — r·in-j db3-ḥd n p3 hrw e·w pš p3 ḥd in Pr-ʿ3 e-w mʿ-ty grp r-r-w and in *l.* 20-21 — r in-j db3 ḥd iwte-j irm-k ḥr p3 ʿjš n Pr-ʿ3 e·w ir n-n p3j 3grph3 r·r-w. In both documents we should read : a ʾn-y etbe ḥt n p ʿyš n Pr-ʿo e·w ʾr n-y Tygrp a-ar·w = which I bought from the Royal Bank (where) they made for me a « διαγραφη » concerning them (see *supra,* p. 101).

Wit. 1, p. 42, Pl. VI, should be read ʾMn·ḥtp son of Pa-ḫrt (cf. *Tur.* 11, *Wit.* 13 pl. XVI and Erichsen, *Glossar* 392).

Tur. 4, p. 48, l. 45, Pl. VII; P-rm-mm the man of the Dūm-tree (Thompson, *Theb. Ostr.*, No. 82). Cf. arabic الدوى.

Tur. 5, Pl. VIII : the end of line 1 Eupator is mentioned before his father Philometor because he died before him (see Reich, *MIZRAIM* III, 29 and Griffith, *Ryl.* III, p. 140).

l. 4, p. 54 in the list of the woman's possessions Botti reads : Ḳt-4·t r ḥd 70. This should be t't 4 a ḥt 70 = 4 hands making 70 silver pieces. This word t't read by Grapow and followed by Erichsen (*Elephantine,* p. 9) and Lüddeckens (*Ehe.* p. 303) was translated as Gerät? Handgriff? Henkel? = tool, implement, grasp or handle. I suggest the arabic word خميسة, a small golden amulet worn at the forehead against the evil eye. It is made in the form of a hand with five fingers, hence the word خميسة, Khemēsa, a diminutive of Khamsa meaning five. It would be a suitable interpretation for an ornament-amulet to be taken by the woman with her finger-rings, collars and the rest of her possessions more suitable than a tool or an implement. Such amulets in the

[1] *Tur.* 3=the number of the document given to it the text; *l.* 5 = line 5; p. 38 = page 38 in the text; Pl. V=the number of the plate in the second volume and *Wit.* 10 stands for the number of the witness in the list.

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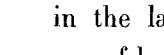
form of hands, open or closed, are found in excavations and in the museums (e. g. Reisner : *Amulets,* Pl. IX, Nos. 12111-12119 etc.).

Tur. II *and passim :* the ʾn-šn is the most expensive object in the woman's lists of her possessions which occur in marriage documents. The exact meaning of this word has not yet been determined. Griffith translated the word as wig (in *Ryl.*) and scarf (in *Adler*); Erichsen translated : Perücke (in *Elephantine* p. 7) and Brautschlier=bridal veil; Thompson (*Siut* 69, n. 5), Hughes (*JNES,* 16, 57), Lüddeckens (*Ehe.* 289), Pestman (marriage p. 94) and many other scholars take the word as shawl. In the Ptolemaic period as well as in the later Pharaonic times the [hieroglyphs] was a perruque; an artificial cap of hair covering the head with cloth or golden bandage round it. The hair falls, in twined plaits, on the chest showing or hiding the ears imitating Hathor. Sometimes the plaits are interwoven with pieces of gold and this may explain why that perruque was expensive and taxed.



l. 17, p. 93 and passim : at the end of the contract and after the signature of the scribe, another one mostly his father or brother, attests or agrees (Dem. [demotic] ḥtr (var.) mtr) to every word written above (cf. *Berlin* 3099-3100-3102-5508 and *Louvre* and *Turin* etc.).

Wit. 9, p. 95, Pl. XVI the name of the father should be read Ḥr-stm-Ἀρσυτης (see : Erichsen, *Glossar,* p. 479).

Tur. 12, Pl. XVIII, Wit. 14 should be T-Ḥr·pt' (*passim*). Wit. 15 the name of the father should be ʿO-Ptḥ (Cf. *Louvre* 2434 and *passim*).

Tur. 17, p. 112, Pl. XXII.

l. 9 nt e ỉmy·t nꜣe·s should be nt e ʾnk st ne·s = in which (its upper-floor) belongs to me.

l. 13 dr·t-s and dr-s should be nʾm-s = the named, said

l. 14 after the month 12 read $^1/_6$ instead of nb

l. 16 ḫpr r bn-e-j should be ḫp aʿ-y = due from me.

l. 18 ỉ·f should be e only without f.

l. 20 P ḥr sj, read p wḥ sy.

Wit. List. Pl. XX, Wit. 10 the name of the father is ʿo-Ptḥ (see *Wit.* 15, *Tur.* 12, Pl. XVIII) *Wit.* 14 should be Ḥr-m-ḥb; *Wit.* 16 the father is Ḥr-p-ḫm.

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Tur. 18, p. 116, l. 6 and 9 in both lines we should read a p hy n Ḏmᶜ = to the temple-alms of Jeme (cf. *Tur.* 23, *l.* 15, Pl. XXVIII, a p hy mbḥ Ḏmᶜ, for hy, see Erichsen, *Glossar,* p. 267).

Tur. 19, p. 118, Pl. XXIV : l. 3 sḥn-f should be sk'-f = cultivate it.
l. 6 ty mȝᶜ should be ty 'r·w ne·w 'sw = cause to make their acknowledgement (of payment .ie 's·w n mḥ). See *infra* p. 115.

Tur. 20, p. 120, Pl. XXIV : l. 4 pe-f tw, read pe-f r' = its (i. e. the days of emolument), income ; translated as magazzino (granai) per le necessarie proviste dei fedeli intervenienti alle feste dei cinque giorni epagomeni (see p. 265).
l. 13 read nt e-k a mr sḥnt-f n-f = (the man) whom you wish to lease it to him.

Tur. 21, p. 125, Pl. XXVII : Wit. 9 read Pa-ṯ-n'm·w ; *Wit.* 10 read son of Irt-Ḥr-p-ḫrt.

Tur. 22, p. 126, l. 4 and l. 9 read : e-y ḫᶜ·t n ḥmt = If I abandon thee as wife...

Tur. 23, p. 129, Pl. XXVIII : l. 2 Kmj should be ḥms = who sat (see Erichsen, *Glos.* 308).
l. 6 ʿḥᶜ mte·k tn-j r rmt hy n 'Mn-ḥtp should be st mte-k a ᶜ-y e'r P-'hy ś 'Mn-ḥtp = I owe you (see the loan formula p. 79 my *Family Archive.* For the name P-'hy ḥ'wt-nḥḥ - the Jubilee : see Erichsen, *Glossar,* p. 40).
l. 7 Pa-Wn should be Stna. Cf. *Tur.* 4, *Wit.* 15, Pl. VII and *Tur.* 16, *Wit.* 4, Pl. XXI.

Tur. 24, p. 132, Pl. XXIX : l. 12 pȝew sm should be pe·w ḥtr = its tax, duty (see Erichsen, *Glossar* 343) *l.* 13 pȝ mnḳ should be p'bt = the month (see Erichsen, p. 27).
l. 15 should be : nt ḥry e'r ḥr·k mte-k sḥnt·w a p rm nt e 'rk mr sḥnt·w n-f p rm n'm-n n s' 2 (or ḫt 2) nt e-f st = ... aforesaid in thy presence and thou leasest them to the person whom you wish to lease them to him, the man of us 2 persons who (fails to act accordingly ...) see *passim.*
Wit. 5, p. 134, Pl. XXIX, the father is Pa-Mont (*passim*) ; *Wit.* 14 the name of the father is probably Ḥtr [illegible]f (cf. Erichsen, *Glossar,* 341).

Tur. 25 B. p. 139, Pl. XXI : l. 14, ḳrḥ should be ḥrḥ = maintain : *l.* 17, ḫpr r bn-e·j should be : ḫp a ᶜ-y = due from me.

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Tur. 25 C, p. 142, Pl. XXXII : l. 12, pꜣ sḥ should be p yḥ = the field.
l. 13 and *l.* 20 : ʿḳ should be ʾtn ܐܬܪ = land (arab. طين). Cf. Erichsen, p. 47 and Hughes, *Sait. Dem. Leases,* p. 72.
l. 17 wt nʾm·w r mḥ should be ʾr·w ne·wʾs·w n mḥ = make their payment receipts (see note above and my *Family Archive,* p. 79) ܢܐܠܘܢ.

Tur. 26, p. 148, Pl. XXXIV : Wit. 4 may be ʾMn-ḥtp son of P·wš; the father of *Wit.* 8 may be ʿNḫ-p-ḫrt.

Tur. 28, p. 152, Pl. XXXV : l. 5-6 : irm rwš ʿw n ḫy should be ḥnʿpe·w ʿo n ḫy = together with their excess in measure. *l.* 9, *ḏḏꜣ* n ḥd 48 should be : pe·w wt ḥt 48 = their cash-money (equivalent) 48 pieces of silver (see Erichsen, *Glossar,* p. 163).

Tur. 29, p. 153, Pl. XXXV: l. 2 tj-s nb·t should be : te-y mḥ = I am satisfied, I am paid (cf. receipts of acknowledgements of payments in my *Family Archive* II, p. 80).
l. 4, mte-j ḥtp-f should be mte-y ty ḥtp-f = I will cause to rest him.
l. 5, bn-p-j šnte-t tꜣe-f pš ḥd should be : bn-e-y šn ge ḥt = I shall not ask for another money. *l.* 5, e nt pḥ read mte-k, *l.* 8, n ḫr Pr·ʿꜣ should be n t Pr·ʿo·t (of the Queen).

Tur. 30, p. 155, Pl. XXXVI : l. 12 wrš should be Wrʾ = αρακος = horse-beans : فول
l. 15 mte-k stʾ ½ n ir šnj should be read mte-k prḫ py yḥ n mḥy = thou shalt cultivate this field with flax (see Erichsen, *Glossar,* p. 173 and Hughes, *Sait. Dem. Leases*) *l.* 15-16 read : pe·w $^2/_3$ a $^1/_3$ a pe·w $^2/_3$ ʿn e·f šp mn ḥw-ḥwty e-y ty s n·k = its $^2/_3$ to $^1/_3$ i. e. $^2/_3$ again received without excess, which I gave to thee (for ḥw-ḥwty see Hughes, *op. cit.,* p. 56 ff. and *passim*).
l. 18 ḥnʿ nꜣ mte-j r tj ḫpr read ḥnʿ n nt e-y ty ḫp = together with that which I shall acquire ... *l.* 19 end of the line mnḳ read ʾbt = month.

Tur. 30, p. 158, Pl. XXXVI : Wit. 9 probably son of ʾy-m-ḥtp.

Tur. 31, p. 163, Pl. XXXVIII : Wit. 4 is Stmʾ; *Wit.* 13 son of Ḥtr.

Tur. 33, p. 168, Pl. XLI : l. 5 nt wꜣḥ r-w read nt ḥr ar·w = attached to them the second reading of wḥ in the same line is correct = that shall be added to them...

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Tur. 34, p. 173, Pl. XLIII : *l.* n; rt·w ; I suggest the reading n ḥs·w the singers. Cf. also pl. XXXIX. n rt·w is written . Cf. *Tur.* pl. XLIII C verso.

l. 23, imnte mḥte may be ʿḳ ḥbs = food and clothing.

Tur. 36, Pl. XLIV : *l.* 8 p; rt may be P ḥs ; *l.* 14 Ḳmj to be read tmy = town ; *l.* 16, r ḫ p;e·k mt should be a ḫ p snte = according to the custom. *l.* 21 mnḳ should be p ʾbt n rn n t ...

Tur. 37, p. 184, Pl. XLV : *l.* 18 r sḫ n-j read n t't pe·k rt = to thy agent (lit. the hand of).

l. 18-19 ḫr p; ḥw ḥr nbt should be ḫr p ḥw-ḥwty = for the excess (see *supra*).

Tur. 38, p. 189, Pl. XLVI : *l.* 6 mt Mnt should be : bn·p·t 'nt·w = thou didst not bring them, followed by a pe ʿy erme·t = to my house with thee : followed by mte·t nt nḫt = thou art empowered to coerce (stipulations familiar in marriage documents).

P. 190, Pl. XLVI : *Wit.* 1 read Nḫt-Mnt ; *Wit.* 4 may be Bel, the father of *Wit.* 14 is ʿo-Ptḥ.

Tur. 40, p. 194, Pl. XLVIII : *l.* 11 nt w;ḥ·k should be nt ḥr·k.

Tur. 43, p. 198, Pl. XLIII : end of line 11 mt = should be pḫ (i. e. prḫ) = cultivate.

l. 12 wr should be wr' = *αραχος* = horse-beans (see Erichsen, *Glossar,* p. 93).

l. 14 bnr should be wš = without (see Erichsen, *ibid.,* p. 101).

l. 14 and *l.* 16 ḥw nt e rt should be ḥw-ḥwty *l.* 24 read : e·y st a tm 'r a ḫ mt nb nt ḥry = If I fail to act unto thee according to every word aforesaid ...

Tur. 44, p. 201, Pl. XLIX : end of line 2 sb should be šm = income (see Erichsen, *Glossar,* p. 507 and Hughes, *Sait. Dem. Leases*). *l.* 18 t; snt should be t ḥt = formerly (see : Thompson, *Siut* and Erichsen, *Glossar,* p. 288 = at first, formerly, Spiegelberg, *Gram.,* § 414).

These Turin documents offer a great deal of material which may help to clear up some difficulties in Demotic studies. Some examples are given here ; which occur in most of the documents.

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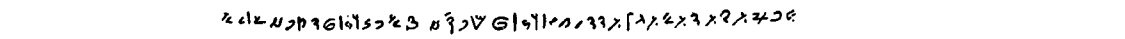
(1) *Hw n sʿnḫ* ⲥⲱⲛϩ-ⲙⲛ

Tur. 2 gives a list of $4\,{}^{1}/_{3}\,{}^{1}/_{9}$ days of emolument occurring in the temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medinah as follows :



= Pe·w wn sw 24 sw 25 sw 26 sw 27 sw 28 a hw sʿnḫ $4\,{}^{1}/_{3}\,{}^{1}/_{9}$ ḫr ʾbt nb nt ʾr sʿnḫ $53\,{}^{1}/_{3}$ ḫr rnpt nb

= their list : 24-25-26-27-28 making $4\,{}^{1}/_{3}\,{}^{1}/_{9}$ days of emolument each month making $53\,{}^{1}/_{3}$ (days) of emolument each year.

sʿnḫ = emolument i. e. profit arising from employment. The employment here is the service in the temple of Hathor ; the profit is the food presented as offerings to the goddess ; described sometimes (see *Pap. Berlin* 3107) as :

ʿḳ eof ḥnḳ ʾrp sgn ḳlm = bread, meat, beer, wine, butter and bouquet of flowers.

There is also mention of a « sḥm·t n sʿnḫ ⲥⲛⲁϩ, a stipendiary woman, daughter of a priest of Amun T·šr·t Ḫns daughter of the divine-father, the prophet Ns-pe·wtʾ, the prophet of Jeme ; in whose name the scribes used to write the deeds. She may have received a stated allowance coming out from the revenue of the temple for the past services performed by her father معاش .

Pap. Cairo 31173, p. 282, Pl. 113 gives a list hw n šms = days of service as follows :

30 days from 1-30 Tybi.
30 days from 1-30 Mechir.
18 days from 12-29 Pachons Total 2 months 18 days.

The Demotic Ostraca from Thebes (e. g. Thompson's) mention a temple-month ʾbt n ḥt-ntr during which services, celebrations and feasts were to be done. Solid offerings, beer, oil, $^{1}/_{6}$ th artaba of wheat and other temple-offerings accrued during that month, became the perquisities of the priests and a matter of contract.

A note on Demotic words for services and remunerations and their Greek equivalents was given by Griffith (*Ryl.* III, p. 319) but in most of the cases it is difficult

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to differentiate between them. Scholars translate these words in many different meanings. The verbs used with these names may clear up some difficulties :

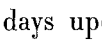
'r = to perform is used with tḫb·w = libations, šms·w ʿrš·w = divine and mortuary services.

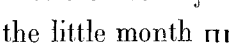
ṯ = to receive or take is used with šty·w 'ḫy·w = salaries and stipends.

ty = to pay or give is used with ḥtr and škr = taxes and rental.

All these words should be collected from different texts and studied closely to determine exactly whether they meant the payment of the priests for their religious services or the services themselves.

(2) *n hw·w 5 ḥbw*

The days of emolument included the five festival (epagomenal) days, which are frequently mentioned in the Turin papyri. Reich (see *MIZRAIM* I, p. 100) wrote « I owe to Sir H. Thompson the reading of this hitherto unknown group, who found it written several times most clearly in a papyrus unpublished as yet (reference here is to *Tur.* 25 A and 21 as well as to others which were used by Thompson in his studies of the Eponymous Priests) ... and who believes that the group is the demotic equivalent for *ἡμεραι ἐπαγομεναι* = the epagomenal days which were festivals in Egyptian life. Sir H. Thompson transcribes the group thus  .

These five days known to us as  = the 5 days upon the year or the little month ΠΙΚΟΥΧΙΝΑΒΟΤ, were celebrated for the birth of Osiris, Horus, Isis and Nephtys (see Mattha, *Dem. Ostraca* II, 5). The nights of those days were also celebrated (see n grḥ·w n n hw 5 ḫb·w=the nights of the 5 festival days. Reich, *MIZRAIM* I, 49). Those days were subject to contracts of sale, cession or lease together with their income.

(3) *r'*

This word for income has been translated by scholars with different meanings. Brugsch translated Thüroffnung (*Dict.* III, 841), Spiegelberg (see *Cairo* 30768 + 30771, *Cat. Gén.*, p. 155, Pl. LX, l. 4), Erichsen (*Glossar,* p. 238-240) gave Eingang, Stiftung, Hughes (*Sait. Dem. Leases,* p. 48) translated the word as benefit or sustenance ; Botti interpreted it as « magazzini (granai) per le necessarie provviste

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dei fedeli intervenienti alle feste dei cinque giorni epagomeni» (see *Archivio,* p. 265). The word is sometimes confused with the words for door, and the Thesaurus or Royal granary. As I said before all the usages of these words should be collected from different texts and studied closely to determine their exact meaning. I prefer to translate the word as income for it might have been used here metonomically. This income comes out of the five festival days as well as from the sixth festival day

(4) *sisnt,* 6 *nt*

Now, it is not my purpose in this article to study the sixth festival day for this has been done by Junker, Sethe (*Bürgs.* 458), Skeat (*MIZRAIM* VI, 21), Jelinkova (*J. E. A.* 39, p. 80) and Hughes in his article on « the sixth day of the lunar Month and the Demotic word for cult guild» in *MDAIAK* 16, pp. 147-160. I can do no better than to present some examples which occur in Demotic, in the Turin Papyri:

A. *The different writings of the name*

Tur. 6 A, *l.* 4

Tur. 6 B, *l.* 4

Tur. 7 A, *l.* 7

Tur. 7 B, *l.* 7

Tur. 21, *l.* 13

Tur. 31, *l.* 4

Tur. 33, *l.* 4

B. *The income of the 5 and 6th festival days*

Tur. 9, *l.* 3

Tur. 31 A, 4

Tur. 31 B, 4

Tur. 33 A, 4

Tur. 33 B, 4

Botti has translated these texts as : posta della sinodos (dei giorni di festa), but whether they signify « Sixth Day Festival» or « Sixth Day Societies» depends upon the interpretation of the group similar to the word for income which is written in the plural before the 5 festival days, and in the singular, feminine or masculine, preceding or following the sisnt as shown in the above examples. Botti transcribed it as s.t with the meaning *σύνοδος* but whether this meant « festival» or « guild» is not clear. The word in Demotic is determined with the sign for place and as I mentioned above, it may have been used metonomically. In any case,

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the demotic evidence from the Turin Archive is immense and it is hoped that more studies will be carried out by modern scholars to clear up many difficulties in Demotic studies.

The study of Demotic is very old for it was used as a means to decipher the Hieroglyphics of the Rosetta Stone. Brugsch was the first to study Demotic for the sake of Demotic and it was in 1848 that he had reached rapid but admirable results. His *Grammaire Démotique,* though out of date now, yet it has been very useful to elucidate the obscure texts of that Language. His pupil E. Revillout was a genius pioneer and though his achievements were immense yet they cannot claim for perfection. The master had been attracted by Literary and Historical texts but the pupil turned his eye to Administrative and Legal texts. Both, opened the way to other scholars; Spiegelberg, Sethe and Möller in Germany; Sottas and Reinach in France; Krall and Reich in Austria; Volten and Erichsen in Denmark; Lexa in Czechoslovakia; Griffith, Thompson and Glanville in England and Mattha in Egypt. To all those late scholars, all modern students are much obliged.

Some of their publications, though considered as pioneer work and outstanding achievement yet unfortunately they are often inaccurate and inadequate. This is partly because the documents were studied individually where they present a marked homogeneity and constitute one Archive from Thebes; partly because considerable advance in Demotic studies has been made since that time when they were originally edited and the reading of Demotic was mostly conjecture. Therefore a new edition of those documents would be valuable contribution to our studies which are considered now as a part and parcel of that stream of culture which comes down to us from Ancient Egypt.

Alexandria 22 February 1968.

P.S.— Since the above article was printed I have learnt, with deep regret, of the death of Professor Giuseppe Botti. In his death, Egyptologists have suffered a grievous loss of one of the very few Demotists.

M. El-Amir.

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