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Ola El-Aguizy

A Ptolemaic Judicial Document from Hwt-nsw [avec 2 planches].

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Christophe Vendries

A PTOLEMAIC JUDICIAL DOCUMENT FROM HWT-NSW *

The document which is the subject of this article, is one of a series of papyri found in the town of Sharunah in Middle Egypt. It is now in the Mallawi Museum in Miniah Governorate. It bears the Museum number 602/10 and the excavations number 77/10.

The recorded text is a dispute at court among the embalmers of the necropolis of Hwt-nsw. It is written on an almost square sheet of papyrus, 32 cm in length and 31.5 cm in height. The text is written on the recto with the horizontal fibres, two joins running vertically are seen: one on the right side at two centimeters from the edge is almost totally torn out except for a fragment on the upper part. The left join is at seven centimeters from the edge. The middle sheet, on which the bulk of the text is written. is reddish brown showing a darker part at the left jointure. The left and right sheets are lighter in colour. The right edge is uneven, while the left one is almost regular. This would suggest that the middle sheet was torn from the roll after the document was written, or that the right sheet must have included a different document. On the other hand, the regularity of the left edge of the left sheet which is only seven centimeters in width would suggest that the left sheet was cut after the text was written. The right margin of the text is straight at three centimeters from the edge, while the left margin is uneven, some lines almost reaching the edge. The left sheet is quite damaged showing many gaps in different places. It is also noticed that the top layer of the horizontal fibres has been pealed out in many places leaving a second layer of horizontal fibres underneath it, but erasing the writing. This feature is also noticed in some lines of the middle sheet. The text consists of 20 lines in addition to two lines of subscriptions. A small torn square fragment of papyrus overlaps on the text at the 17th and 18th lines. hiding the words underneath it. Unfortunately, removing it was impossible, as the document is framed under glass with taped edge.

The handwriting is good and regular with small rounded signs with almost no ligatures. It is noticed that the scribe often fills his rush with ink, almost every twelve signs sometimes slightly less or more.

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CONTENT

Our document represents a civil lawsuit taking place in a native court probably located in the temple of Hathor which is in, or close to the town of *Ḥwt-nsw* in Middle Egypt (presently Sharunah). It was written on the seventh year of the joint reign of Queen Cleopatra the third and her son Ptolemy IX, (117/116 B.C.).

The judging committee in this court, as in all native courts or «Laocritae», consists of three priests who also act as judges. Usually a Greek official called εἰσαγωγεύς attends the trial on behalf of the Greek court, he is also assisted by his representative or bailiff. In our case, only the representative is present.

The court meets on the eighth of Thot, day on which the representative of the Greek officials reads the appeal presented at court by the first party or plaintiff.

The term *smi* is the usual technical term introducing the appeal. It is used here with the pronoun of the first person plural suggesting that the representative or bailiff, as one of the members of the judging committee, reads the appeal on their behalf and therefore uses the plural form.

This plaint has been, it seems, written by the plaintiff himself who speaks in his own words using the first person; then speaking on his behalf together with the other embalmers of the necropolis, and thus using also the first person plural.

On the other hand, there was a second agreement concerning the tomb of P^3 -tj-Wsir son of Thwtj-m-hb and the members of his family who were buried in the same tomb. P^3 -tj-'Inp (the plaintiff) considered that he inherited his right of property of this tomb from the apportionment which was done long ago to their ancestors. This fact is proved by the documents which are in his possession.

Now it happened that Thwtj-m-hb the son of the aforesaid P^3 -tj-Wsir, died while P^3 -tj-Tnp was out of town; and another embalmer called Hr son of Pa-sj seems to have usurped the right of embalming and burial of his mummy, claiming that he also has documents proving his rights of property. What Hr son of Pa-sj really did is not clear from the text as the lines in which this is explained are damaged (1. 7, 1. 16 and 17).

In consequence, P^3 -tj-'Inp brought claim in court against Hr son of Pa-sj and asked that he be summoned at court in order to listen to his deposition.

On the second day, both parties are present at court and the first party is asked to produce the evidence. In fact, P^3 -dj-'Inp produces his evidence seven days later, period in which his court was adjourned until production of proofs. The document produced is an apportionment deed which was written seven years earlier on the last years of the reign

of King Ptolemy VIII, and has proved to be the one which included the agreement between P^3 -tj-'Inp and the other embalmers. It has also proved to be authentic, as it was completed from all its legal aspects. The opponent and the judging committee acknowledge its authenticity and consequently they renounce claim upon the plaintiff concerning the stipendiary foundations and the tomb of P^3 -tj-Wsir son of Thwtj-m-hb, and satisfy him according to what occurred in the said document.

Finally, comes the court verdict which relates once more all the events that happened from beginning to end, then proclaims again the authenticity of all matters occurring on the said document.

The document ends with the signatures of the scribe who actually wrote the lawsuit before the judging committee. This signature is dated the 15th of Thot meaning the day on which the first party produced his evidence and on which the judges gave their verdict. Whether he wrote the document on three different consecutive days (day 8, day 9, day 15) during the actual meeting of the court, or wrote the whole document after the end of the lawsuit is not very clear. Finally comes the signature of the representative of the Greek officer, then the subscription of the three judges above mentioned.

TRANSLITERATION

1 — h\(\text{is-t-sp}\) 7-t tpj 3h-t sw 8 n t\(\frac{1}{2}\) Pr-\(\frac{1}{2}\)-t Klwptr\(\frac{1}{2}\) irm Ptlwmis \(^a\) n\(^a\) ntr\(^a\) mr mwt=w ntj nhm irm Pr-\(^a\) Ptlwmis

TRANSLATION

1 — Year 7 first month of inundation day 8 of Queen Cleopatra together with Ptolemy a the gods who love their mother who save together with King Ptolemy

NOTES

a) $H^3 t$ -sp 7·t $tpj \ 3h$ - $t \ sw \ 8 \ n \ t^3 \ Pr^{-'3}$ - $t \ Klwptr^3 \ irm \ Ptlwmis \ n^3 \ ntr$ - $w \ mr \ mwt$ - $w \ ntj \ nhm$: «Year 7, first month of inundation day 8 of Queen Cleopatra together with Ptolemy the gods who love their mother who save». Title of Queen Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX Soter II, her son, during their joint reign (117/116 B.C.); see Pestman, «Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques», $Papyrologica \ Lungduno-Batava$, Vol. XV, p. 66-67. In this title, one should expect the title $Pr^{-'3}$ before the name of Ptolemy, as found before the name of Cleopatra; or the title $t^3 \ Pr^{-'3}$ -t before the name of Cleopatra should have been $n^3 \ Pr^{-'3}$ -w as usual in the case of joint reigns. The 7th year, 8 of Thot corresponds to the 27th of September 111 B.C. see Skeat, «The reigns of the Ptolemies». Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrus-forschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, Heft 39, p. 15, 35, 36.

- 2 p^2 ntr mr mwt ntj nḥm b n 2 ntr·w ntj pr c . P^2 j hw i-ir-ḥr r^2 (?) d Ḥr-iw s^2 Ḥr-s 2 -'Is·t Wn-nfr s^2 Twtw Ḥr-iw s^2 P 2 -ḥtr r s 3 n 2 wptj·w (n) n^2 w'b·w e
- 3 n Ḥr-s³-'ls·t nb Ḥwt-nsw f irm n³ ntr·w ntj ḥtp irm=f ḥms n p³ '·wj n wpj ntj n Pr-Ḥ·t-Ḥr n Ḥwt-nsw g irm Ḥr-wd³ s³ Twtw p³ rt h
- 2 the god who loves the mother who saves before the door (?) defined Hr-iw son of Hr-s3-is·t, Wn-nfr son of Twtw, Hr-iw son of P3-htr, making 3 persons, the judges of the priests e
- 3 of $Hr-s^2-Is\cdot t$ lord of $Hwt-nsw^{-1}$ together with the gods who rest with him, sat in the court-house which is in $Pr-H\cdot t-Hr$ of $Hwt-nsw^{-1}$, together with $Hr-wd^2$ son of Twtw, the representative h,
- b) irm Pr-'3 Ptlwmis p3 ntr mr mwt ntj nhm: This is once more the title of King Ptolemy IX Soter II referring to him, this time, as priest of Alexander and the deified Ptolemies. Ptolemy IX was the first reigning king occupying the priesthood of Alexander (see Glanville and Skeat) « Eponymous Priesthoods of Alexandria » in JEA 40, 56.
- c) n^3 $ntr \cdot w$ ntj pr title of Ptolemy V Epiphanes and Cleopatra I referred to as deified kings. Note that the scribe leaves a blank space between the dating and the beginning of the case presented at court. This same space is noticed in line 4 between the names of the judges and the beginning of the plea.
- d) The word after *i-ir-hr* is problematic, it might be read r^3 =door, although it has not the house determinative; but the meaning would be quite appropriate, as the judging committee of the native courts used to meet before the door of the temples; see de Cenival, Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques, p. 195.
- e) n^3 wptj·w (n) n^3 w'b·w: The judges (of) the priests representing the judicial committee of the native courts « Laocritae » (see Pereman, « Le bilinguisme sous les Lagides dans les relations gréco-égyptiennes », Egypt and the Hellenistic world, Proceedings of the International Colloqium, Leuven May 1982, p. 264-265; Seidl, Ptolemaische Rechtsgeschichte, p. 70-71). These judges are always Egyptian priests of the god of the town in which the court met (see Thompson, A Family archive from Siut, p. XIX); therefore, as suggested by Thompson, o.c., p. 12 n. 4., the n between wptj·w and w'b·w should be a form expressing apposition and not the genitive particle, as both words should be in apposition to each others: « The priests, the judges »; see also Glanville, $Z\ddot{A}S$, 68, 16, n. 28 and Kaplony-Heckel, Die Demotischen Tempeleide, $\ddot{A}g$. Abh. 6, p. 11, 12. On the other hand the n could mean that the three judges forming the judging committee are chosen from among the priests; the meaning would then be: « the judges (out) of the priests of . . . ».
- f) Hwt-nsw: «The King's mansion» (now Kom-el-Ahmar Sawaris) on the right bank of the Nile, 5 km. South of Sharunah and North of Beni-Mazar, with Horus as local god, see, Gardiner, AEO II, p. 106*, 387A & 107* 108*. In fact, it is in this city that the document was found.
- g) p^3 wj n wpj ntj n Pr-H·t-Hr n Hwt-nsw: Sentence giving the exact location of the court-house. It is in Pr-H·t-Hr which seems to indicate a temple of this goddess, probably located close to the town of Hwt-nsw, especially as Pr-H·t-Hr is not determined by the usual sign following names of towns. On the other hand, a town called Pr-H·t-Hr nb·t hwj or The house of Hathor lady of the two altars lies at the north of Hwt-nsw on the right bank of the Nile (see Gardiner, AEO II, p. 96, 384A). It is probable that the origin of this denomination is the presence of a temple of this goddess. For Pr-H·t-Hr as the name of a temple, see Parker, JARCE 2, 115, n. (e). Our text specifies that it is Pr-H·t-Hr of Hwt-nsw, in other words Pr-H·t-Hr which belongs to Hwt-nsw, as being the chief town in the vicinity. It is probably the entrance of this temple which was used as meeting place of the priests who formed the judging committee.
- h) p_3 rt: For the different interpretations of this title see de Cenival, o.c., p. 164-67. In the courthouse, he is the representative or bailiff of the Greek officer who attends the trials representing the Greek Court. For P_3 rt as Bailiff, see Thompson, Siut, p. 112. He is the one who reads the decree of the judges.

- 4 Wn-nfr p^3 swjs i Smj= n^j hrj-hb n t^3 $h^3s \cdot t$ hwt-nsw ms $s \cdot hm \cdot t$ n s'nh p^3 -tj-'Inp s^3 hr iw=f dd k wn w' sh n $tnj \cdot t$ p s l r $ir \cdot s$ n=i m
- $5 n^3 \underline{h}rj \cdot w \underline{h}b$ $n \text{ Hwt-nsw } n \text{ } w' \text{ } sp^n \text{ } iw = n \text{ } p \text{ } s \text{ } n \text{ } n^3 \underline{j} = n \text{ '} \cdot w \underline{j} \cdot w \text{ } n \text{ } \underline{s}t \underline{j} \text{ } p^3 \text{ '} \cdot t \text{ } m \underline{h}(t) \text{ } o \text{ } irm$
- 4 of Wn-nfr, the Eisagogeus i. We reported j the embalmer of the necropolis of Hwt-nsw, born by the endowed woman P^3 -tj-'Inp son of Hr who says: «There is an apportionment deed which was drawn to me by m
- 5 the embalmers of *Ḥwt-nsw* unitedly (lit. in one time » n « We apportionned from (out of) our stipendiary foundations the northern side o together with our fellows with a deed of cession of rights P to each
- i) Wn-nfr p^3 swjs: Wn-nfr, the Eisagogeus (Greek $\epsilon_1\sigma \tau_1 \omega \gamma \epsilon_2 \epsilon_3$). For the variants of this word in Demotic see, Siut B I. 6 3ysws, B X, 14 Swbjs and Vo. IV, 1. 5 swyws. Greek official attending the native trials in the Laocritae and representing the Greek court. As he is of Greek nationality, his name should also be greek, but such is not the case here, as Wn-nfr is an Egyptian name. He is the one who presents the case before the judges. In our document only his representative is present, it is also him who signs at the end of the document on his behalf. As for the presentation of the case it seems that he is also the one who reads the plaint presented before the judges.
- k) $iw = f \underline{d} d$: Circumstancial present form referring to the plaintiff called P ij-'Inp son of Hr. The following words read by the bailiff are his own.
- 1) sh n tnj·t pš: Apportionment deed or document according to which the shares of a property were divided between people (see Parker, JARCE 3, 89).
- m) r ir s n=i: « Which did it to me ». Relative form in which s is used resumptively referring to the antecedent sh n tnj·t pš.
- n) $n \ w' \ sp$: « in one time ». Legal formula equivalent to $n \ w' \ r^3$ « in one mouth », meaning unitedly or by mutual agreement; see Reymond, Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the Ashmoleum Museum, Vol. I Embalmers Archive from Hawara, p. 131.
- o) iw = n $p\ddot{s}$ n $n\ddot{s}j = n$ 'wj·w n $\breve{s}tj$ Hwt-nsw $p\ddot{s}$ '·t $m\dot{p}\cdot(\cdot t)$: «We apportionned from (out of) our stipendiary foundations (tombs of revenue) of Hwt-nsw the northern side » . . . The use of the plural pronoun refers here to the plaintiff together with the embalmers of the necropolis: they all together apportioned. The n following the verb $p\ddot{s}$ occurs here with the sense of « out of » or « from » as the 'wj·w n $\breve{s}tj$ represent the bulk of the funerary possessions, while it is only their northern side which has been divided. For 'wj·w n $\breve{s}tj$ meaning stipendiary foundations, see Reymond, o.c., p. 31, 49, n. 11. They might represent tombs or funerary possessions owned and divided among the members of the families of embalmers in the necropolis. These possessions granted revenues to the embalmers in return for the care given to the deceased buried in these funerary possessions. The deceased themselves were considered as possessions divided among the embalmers. On the other hand, these foundations could have been houses or even villages whose living owners or inhabitants alloted revenues or stipends to the embalmers in return for the embalming and burial of their deceased relatives (see Pestman, « Les documents juridiques des « Chanceliers du dieu » de Memphis » OMRO, 44, 15, note (e)).
- p) sh-wj: Deed of cession of rights, or deed of renunciation (see Nims, « The term hp ' law-right ' », JNES 7, 251-55). This deed was drawn to renunciate the claim of any of the members to a particular

- 6 n-im=n $w^3\dot{h}^{\,q}$ $s\dot{h}\cdot w$ n t^3 $tnj\cdot t$ $p\check{s}$ r-ir=n n p^3 '·wj r n P3-tj-Wsir s^3 Thwtj-m-hb irm $n^3j=f$ $hrt\cdot w$ $n^3j=f$ $hm\cdot t\cdot w$ s $p\dot{h}$ r-hr=i h h t^3 $p\check{s}$ r-ir=n r $n^3j=w$ $it\cdot w$ irm $n^3j\cdot w$ $hm\cdot t\cdot w$ $n^3j\cdot w$ $rmt\cdot w$ u
- 7 n t-t=j n p^2 hw^v iw=f $dd-w^2h^w$ Thwtj-m-hb s^2 P^2 -tj-Wsir mwt iw=j r bnr p^2 tmi r w^2h^w Hr s^2 Pa-sj p^2 hrj-hb y t^2j :t=f r $p^2j=f$
- 6 of us, moreover q the apportionment which we drew for the tomb r of P3-tj-Wsir son of Thwtj-m-hb together with his children and his wives s, has fallen down to me t out of the apportionment which we drew to their fathers, their wives and their mummies u.
- 7 $\langle \text{It is} \rangle$ in my hands to day $^{\text{v}}$. He added $^{\text{w}}$ « $T \not h w t j m \not h b$ son of $P^{3} t j W s i r$ died while I was out of the city, and $^{\text{x}} \not H r$ son of Pa s j, the embalmer $^{\text{y}}$, he took him to his (?).....

share, concluding the transaction among them. The deed was sometimes drawn up at a much later date than the apportionment itself, (see Reymond, o.c., p. 36-7).

- q) w3h moreover, and, (see Erichsen, Demot. Gl., p. 77).
- r) 'wj: For this word meaning «tomb» or «burial place», (see Reymond, o.c., p. 51, n. 19.
- s) irm $n^3j = f hrt \cdot w n^3j = f hrt \cdot w$: « Together with his children and his wives », referring to the members of the family which were buried in the same tomb, (see, Reymond, o.c., p. 50, n. 12).
- t) ph r hr = i: « reached down to me by inheritance» (see, Reymond, o.c., p. 63, n. 17). These are also the words of the plaintiff P^3-tj -'Inp who inherited the right of property of the tomb of P^3-tj -Wsir according to the apportionment which he and the other embalmers drew together. This explains his use of the plural pronoun and the singular pronoun together in the same sentence.
- u) $n^3j = w$ it w $n^3j = w$ hm tw $m^3j = w$ rmtw: « their fathers, their mothers, their mummies ». For the word rmt meaning mummies, (see Reymond, o.c., p. 51, notes 16, 19. The plural possessive adjective refers here to the ancestors of p^3-tj -Wsir; it seems that the apportionment of his tomb was included within the apportionment which was done long ago to his ancestors. Thus, the plaintiff considers the tomb of P^3-tj -Wsir as being his own property.
- v) n t-t=j n p + kw: « [It is] in my possession to-day », the iw-f referring to the possessed document is missing (compare the same formula in Siut Archive, B, III, 2).
- w) iw = f Dd w dh: Expression usually meaning to answer (see, Erichsen, *Dunot. Gl.*, 690). However this meaning is not very accurate in our context, as the deposition of the bailiff is not yet at end. Therefore, it would be better to take the literal meaning of this expression: he said adding i.e. he added.
 - x) r w^3h : and; (see *Demot. Gl.*, p. 76).
- y) $Hr s^3 Pa-si p^3 hrj-hb$: This name occurs here for the first time; unfortunately the rest of the line is quite damaged only $t^3j\cdot t=f \ r \ p^3j=f$ at the beginning of the line could be guessed. It seems that Hr son of Pa-sj, the opponent or adversary, took the right of embalming or burying Thwtj-m-hb while the first party P^3-tj -'Inp was absent. He did this because, as understood from the formula beginning the next line, $r \ mn \ mtw=f \ mt \ mtw=f \$ « it does not concern him » and because his right of property is, as he says: $hn \ n^3j \ p^3 \cdot w \ i$ -ir $ph \ r$ - $hr=j \$ « within these apportionments which reached down to me ». Thus, he also claims the inheritance of the tomb of P^3-tj -Wsir.

- 8 $n \ mn \ mtw = f \ mt \ mtw = f \ iw = f \ in \ n^3j \ p\check{s} \cdot w \ i-ir \ p\dot{h} \ r-\dot{h}r = j \ iw = f \ tb\dot{h} \ n-im = s \ r \ tj$ $in = w^z \ Hr \ s^3 \ Pa-sj \ r \ p^3 \ \cdot wj \ n \ wpj \ [mtw = w \ (?) \ stm \ r \ smj = f] \ irm = f^{aa}$
- 9 $sw \ 9^{ab}$ Hr-s3-Pa-sj ntj iw P3-tj-'Inp s3 Hr 's m-s3=f iw r p3 '·wj n wpj sn=w s r n3 mt·w ntj iw P3-tj-'Inp gd·t=w irm=f [...] gd=[f mj in P3-tj-'Inp] s3 Hr ac
- 10 $-p^3j=f$ sh n $tnj \cdot t$ $p \cdot s$ r p^3 '·wj n wpj sn=w P3-tj-'Inp s^3 Hr dd=f iw=j (r) in p^3j sh r p^3 '·wj n wpj n tpj sh t sw 15 ad
- 11 $tpj \ 3ht \ sw \ 15 \ P3-tj-'Inp \ s3 \ Hr \ iw \ r \ p3 \ `wj \ n \ wpj \ Hr \ s3 \ Pa-sj 'h' \ ae \ in=f \ w' \ sh \ tnj-t \ p5 \ i-ir-hr=n \ iw=f \ sh \ h3-t-sp \ 30 \ [\dots n \ Pr-'3]$
- 8 He has no concern with it, it is within (out of) these apportionments which reached down to me. » He begged to cause that they bring * Hr son of Pa-sj to the court-house [and they ask him about his plea] against him aa.
- 9 Day 9 ab, Hr son of Pa-sj, against whom P^3-tj -'Inp son of Hr brought claim, comes to the court-house, they asked him about the matters which P^3-tj -'Inp said against him [...] he said « [let P^3-tj -'Inp] son of Hr ac
- 10 produce his apportionment deed to the court-house »; they asked P²-tj-'Inp son of Ḥr. He said: «I shall produce this document at the court-house on the first month of inundation day 15 » ad.......
- 11 The first month of inundation day 15, P³-tj-'Inp son of Hr comes to the courthouse. Hr son of Pa-sj is present ae, he produces an apportionment deed before us which was written on year 30 [..... of king]
- z) $iw = f tbh \ n im = s \ r \ tj \ in = w$: Legal formula meaning he begged or he asked that; (see *Demot. Gl.*, p. 624, for the same formula, see *Siut Archive*, B, II, 8, V° 1. 5.
- aa) $[mtw = w \ stm \ r \ smj = f] \ irm = f$: « So that they listen to his plea against him ». This part of the line is also damaged, but the meaning could be reconstructed from a similar formula in *Siut Archive*, B. II, 8.
- ab) sw 9: The date in which the trial began was, as mentioned at the beginning of the document, day 8. On this day the plaint was read at court, probably in the presence of the plaintiff. On the second day (day 9) both parties are present, so that the court listens to their depositions.
- ac) ... $\underline{d}d = [f \ mj \ P^2 + tj 'Inp] \ s^2 \ Hr :$ "He says let $P^2 \ tj 'Inp$ son of Hr produce". This is most probably the exact wording of this damaged end of the line.
- ad) $tpj \stackrel{?}{\circ}h \cdot t \ sw \ 15$: 15th of Thot. This is the date on which $P^{?}-tj^{-}Inp$ son of Hr will produce his document at court, six days after the day in which the depositions were given. It seems that the court was adjourned immediately afterwards, and, as obvious from the same date repeated at the beginning of the next line, it did not meet again until the 15th of Thot when $P^{?}-dj^{-}Inp$ produced his document as promised.
 - ae) 'h': « present »; for the legal sense of this word, see, Siut Archive, p. 26, n. 123.

- 12 Ptlwmis p_s^2 ntr mnh n n_s^2 ntr·w mnh·w q_s^2 r n_s^2 hrj·w-hb n t_s^2 hss·t Hwt-nsw n w' sp p_s^2 irm= f^{ag} iw=w [wj r-r=f n p_s^2 '·wj]
- 13 $n stj ntj mtw = f n Hwt-nsw p^3 htp-ntr^{ah} iw = w wj r-r = f n p^3 wj n P^3-tj-Wsir s^3$ Thwtj-m-hb $irm n^3j = f hrt w n^3j = f hm tw Hr s^3 Pa-sj]$
- 14 ntj iw P³-tj-'Inp s³ Hr 'š m-s³=f wj r-r=f tw=f(?) 'n ai iw=f mh n mtr j s 16 aj p³ shn n-im=w Pa-htr s³ Hr-m-Hb p³ h³j......
- 12 Ptolemy the beneficiant god, of the beneficiant gods af, which the embalmers of the necropolis of *Ḥwt-nsw* unitedly apportioned with him ag; they [renounced claim upon him concerning the stipendiary]
- 13 foundation which is in *Ḥwt-nsw*, the sacred estate ^{ah}. They renounced claim upon him concerning the tomb of P³-tj-Wsir son of Tḥwtj-m-ḥb together with his children, his wives....... [Hr son of Pa-si]
- 14 against whom P^{3} -tj-'Inp son of Hr brought claim, renounced claim upon him, him (?) also ai . It is filled with witnesses 16 men aj . Their leasee being P^{3} -Htr son of Hr -m-hb the measurer.....
- af) $h^{3} \cdot t$ -sp 30 [.....n Pr- $\frac{1}{3}$] Ptlwmis p^{3} ntr mnh n n3 ntr·w mnh·w « Year 30of King Ptolemy the beneficiant god of the beneficiant gods ». The damaged space between the number of the year and the name of the king must have included the month and the day of the year. This date corresponds to Year 116 B.C. or last year of the reign of King Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra III. Thus, the apportionment deed which $P^{3} \cdot tj$ -Inp produced at court was signed 5 years earlier.
- ag) $r \not \bowtie hrj \cdot w hb \dots p\check{s} irm = f$: This sentence could only be a relative clause coordinated to the preceding $iw = f \not \bowtie h$ with $w' \not \bowtie h n tnj \cdot t p\check{s}$ as antecedent. The wording of the damaged end of this line could be guessed from the following context: $iw = w \not \bowtie r r = f n \not \bowtie p \bowtie r r = f n \not \bowtie r = f$
- ah) $p_i^3 htp-ntr$: « divine endowement, estate of sacred estate of the temple ». This expression seems to be placed in apposition to the 'wj n štj ntj mtw=f n Hwt-nsw. It probably represents the endowement which is included in the 'wj n štj (see Reymond, o.c., p. 62, n. 1) as the whole necropolis depended of the temple.
- ai) tw = f'n. I can not find any explanation to the pronominal form preceding 'n; its translation as « him also » seems to be quite appropriate. Could it be a variant of the t sign used in its pronominal form, to emphasize the preceding suffix pronoun?
- aj) $iw = f mh \ n \ mtrj \ s \ 16$: «It is completed with witnesses: 16 men», referring to the witnesses of the apportionment deed which P^3 -tj-'Inp son of Hr produced at court.

- 15 r n^3 $rt \cdot w$ n p^3 sh hr sh hr sh hr sh rn = f sh = n am hr s^3 Pa-sj r p^3 sh r in P^3-tj -'Inp r p^3 'wj n wpj [bn-pw=f dd n=f shj hn (?) hr s^3 Pa-sj
- 16 mj mh P3-tj-'Inp s3 Hr r h p3 sh n tnj t p8 ntj iw w3h=f in=f i-ir-hr=tn iw=j (r) tj [(?)] P3-tj-Wsir s3 Thwtj-m-hb ntj iw w3h=j t3j t=f......
- 17 Dd=w $n-t\cdot t$ $bpr=f^{an}$ [P3-tj-'Inp s3] Ḥr tj p3j smj[....]iw=f 'š m-s3 Ḥr s3 Pa-sj br Thwtj-m-ḥb s3 P3-tj-Wsir b3j=f r p3j=f....Ḥr s3 Pa-sj b3j
- 18 r p =
- 15 to the close (?) of the document on the front ak of the document all at the foot of the document in question. We ask am Ḥr son of Pa-sj about the document which P³-tj-'Inp produced at the court-house.... [He did not offend him. Ḥr son of P³-sj intrusted]
- 16 « Satisfy P^3 -tj-'Inp son of H^r according to the apportionment deed which he produced before you, I shall give [?] Thwtj-m-hb son of P^3 -tj-Wsir which I have taken (?)
- 17 They say: «When it happened an [that] P³-tj-'Inp son of Ḥr put this complaint [....] he brought claim against Ḥr son of Pa-sj on behalf of Tḥwtj-m-ḥb son of P³-tj-Wsir which he took to his [Ḥr son of Pa-sj] came
- 18 to the court-house [and] (?) P^3 -tj-'Inp son of Hr produced his apportionment deed before us which (?) P^3 -tj-Wsir son of Thwtj-m-hb, together with his children and his wives, signed to him upon the apportionment deed in question before us.
- ak) $r n^3 rt \cdot w n p^3 sh$. The word rt with the herb determinative means « growth » or « the growing of »; it is usually used in the expression $p^3 rt h^3 \cdot t \cdot sp$ meaning the growth or the end of the year (see *Demot*. Gl., p. 257). Unfortunately, the end of the preceding line is damaged and does not help to understand fully the context. According to the following expression describing the subscriptions of the document, I would think that it would refer to the end of the document; it might have been preceded by another expression referring to the beginning of the document.
- al) hr sh: «The front of the document». For hr with flesh determinative meaning front see Reymond, From the contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples in the Fayum, Part II, From Ancient Egypt Hermetic Writings, (Österreichische National-Bibliothek), p. 182, doc. IV, 29, 30, 34.
- am) $\delta n = n$ « We ask »; from here onwards, the suffix used with the verb δn is that of the first person plural, referring probably to the bailiff and the judging committee; while on lines 9 and 10 the same verb is used with the third person plural, referring probably to the judges alone. The reconstruction of this damaged end of the document, by comparison with a similar sentence of line 19, might be $bn-pw=f \underline{d}d$ n=f shj...
- an) $n \ t \cdot t \ hpr = f$ « when it happened ». Expression introducing the decree of the judges (see Siut, Archive IX, 13).

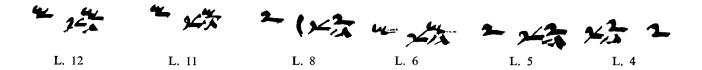
- 20 P3-tj-Wsir s3 Tḥwtj-m-ḥb ntj sh r-r=f hr sh n tnj·t p irm mt nb ntj sh dd-m3 (?) iw=w w6 = f hr sh n tnj·t r h p3 sh r in=f i-ir-hr=n
- 21 sh Hr-bj s^3 M3° p^3 sh ntj sh i-ir hr n^3 wptj·w n h^3 ·t-sp 7·t tpj 3h·t sw 15
- 22 sh Hr-wd³ s³ Twtw p³ rt n Wn-nfr p³ Swis
- 23 sh Hr-iw s3 Hr-s3-'Is·t sh Wn-nfr s3 Twtw sh Hr-iw s3 P3-htr
- 19 We asked Hr son of Pa-sj about the document which he produced before us; he did not offend him ao, he intrusted ap (?) ... to cause P^2-tj -'Inp son of Hr to be satisfied (concerning?) the stipendiary foundation and the tomb of
- 20 P³-tj-Wsir son of Tḥwtj-m-ḥb. That which he wrote upon the apportionment deed and all matters which are written are true (?). They released him upon the apportionment deed according to the document which he produced before us.
- 21 Written by Hr-bj son of M^3 , the scribe who writes before the judges, on year 7 first month of inundation day 15.
- 22 Written by Hr-wd³ son of Twtw, the representative of Wn-nfr the Eisagogeus.
- 23 Written by Hr-iw son of Hr-s²-'Is·t, Wn-nfr son of Twtw. Hr-iw son of P²-Htr
- ao) $\underline{ddn} = f shj$: Expression meaning « to calumniate » « to hear false witness against », « to offend »; see, Sethe-Partsch, Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte, vorzuglich der Ptolemaerzeit, p. 245; Siut Archive, Vo. IV, 8. Seeing that the evidence brought to court by P^3-tj -'Inp was authentic, IIr son of Pa-sj could not offend him, he had to acknowledge its authenticity and to satisfy him.
- ap) hn (?) This sign is quite problematic, its upper part seems to be the sign hn while the lower part seems to be the n used as a phonetic complement, although the sign rarely occurs with a phonetic complement (see, Demot. Gl., p. 310). On the other hand, the meaning of hn as « command » or « entrust » is quite appropriate here, as Hr son of Pa-sj commanded that they satisfy P^3 -tj-Inp concerning the properties which proved to be really his.

PALAEOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The scribe of this document has a very neat and fine type of handwriting, characteristic of legal documents and pertaining to the Middle Egyptian school. Signs are small and regular, mostly simplified but with very few ligatures. Strokes are strict without any superfluous movement of the reed. The style of writing is constant from beginning to end, rarely using more than one form of the same sign.

Here follows some individual palaeographical characteristics of the document:

- 1 H³t-sp is written in its abbreviated form usually found in the body of the document and not at its beginning.
- 2 Two different forms of the sign p used throughout the text with prevailance of the full form:



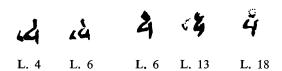
- 3 The sign \mathcal{L}_{w} always written with a separate front stroke.
- 4 The word $s\underline{h}$ always written as a separate dot and a vertical stroke, except in line 5 where the dot is ligatured to the vertical stroke:



5 - iw=f always written as two different strokes. As for the apparent ligature in line 8, it is actually due to a hole in the papyrus sheet between the two strokes.

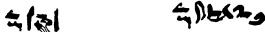


6 — Notice the simplified writing of the word s·hm·t with the first group representing the signs —, ligatured to the following human sign. As for the last human determinative, it is written in a simplified form ∠ in line 4, end of line 6 and line 13, while it is ommitted in line 6 (middle) and line 18.



10

- 7 Notice the writing of the words it w (line 6) and hrt w (lines 6, 13 and 18) without the usual f sign emphasizing the last consonnant of the word.
- 8 Note the use of the plural form $\stackrel{\clubsuit}{\rightleftharpoons}$ instead of) in the words $it \cdot w$ (line 6) and $mnh \cdot w$ (line 12).



COMMENT

Demotic documents concerned with embalmers archives, the best known of which are those from Memphis (see Pestman, OMRO, 44) and from Hawara (see Reymond, Embalmer's Archive from Hawara), have given us a clear picture of the community of embalmers and the family arrangements which were concluded among them in respect of the apportionment of their properties which included villages, houses, tombs or any funerary possessions in the necropolis. These villages, houses and funerary possessions which were under the jurisdiction of such or such an embalmer were known as 'wjw n štj «houses of revenue» or stipendiary foundations which granted the embalmers their annuity or endowment «s'nh» in return for the care given to the mummies and the tombs. These foundations and their living or deceased occupiers were also considered as part of the deal among the embalmers; therefore none of them had the right to embalm or bury any deceased who was not in the area which he owned. Such funerary holdings were hereditarily held in the families of embalmers.

It is worth noting that such a division of funerary properties in the city of the dead, and the division of the quarters of the living among the undertakers, is still implemented in Modern Egypt, although not legally.

The property settlements among embalmers included several procedures which, as attested from our lawsuit, include a sh n tnj·t pš or «apportionment deed» which determines the share of each individual in respect of the stipendiary foundations divided among them, or in respect of any independant property. Such deeds of apportionment have not been found among the contracts pertaining to the Hawara necropolis (see Reymond, o.c., p. 36). This deed is followed — sometimes at a much later date — by a sh n wj or «deed of cession of rights» which confirms the rights of property of each individual and concludes the transaction among the parties.

The interet of this lawsuit lies also in the fact that it shows that if any of the embalmers mummifies or buries a corpse who is not in his area of jurisdiction, he must be brought to court in order to renunciate his rights of property. Such lawsuits are rare in demotic, while they are found in Greek documents (see Pestman, OMRO, 44, 18).

لر ماداه و و و و الله معدد و و مادار و هاوی و دورون و هاوی الماده و هاوی الماده و ماده المال و ود و ها الحديث مر في العما عدد مكر مكر المراه المالية المدار و و المالية المدار و و المالية ال -386, 123 A. 1. 3 3/1/2 1/21 00 11/14 & droubly fer - 32/05 = polkat + 41/11/1-10-10 المست عداد الجعاد ما المالية المالية والمالية والمالية والمالية والمالية والمالية والمالية والمالية وقة وي والدور الوحدد المراجد من الدين من والمدون الدين المراجد مع تد الاسرياد الدا للحاصرة عالب عادة على 111 وطال المالكاف المال していいいというなるができていているいかいかいとういんというないといいといいしては الله وداله عيد عد ما وماعد الما الله ماعة عد المحلف المعلى الما الله الله ماعة عد المحلف المعلى المع - 公内 とういんしん いまりのはいましょうなかいはならり、いてんとしいるのから والمالة المالية المسلمة ويمان كالمالية والمالية من المرادة المسلم المالية والمرادة والمالية المرادة والمالية والمرادة وا 12 -1211-2-1-1111111 x 21 /21-121140 14-11-11114:8 يدون سايدا ماري بالمريد والدار مور الدواعة السلم: الما روايام على المالية و المرود المرود على المرود المرو عسل العلما للدين في يليمو العلاي العام مه العالم المعلم الموا الموام المحمو الوسطة かいいかんしんならんないいのかい とこんなりなりにしていりからのはなる واعار المالعا واعدو المارا - أحد عراس كلالأوراعة المالية والمرار مركور أرار حدور وعات من يكسسه دا- او اله العداء العدار الدرام र्वातिम व्यक्ति न्यानिति विकास

