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BIFAO 88 (1989), p. 51-62

Ola El-Aguizy

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

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Ola EL-AGUIZY

A PTOLEMAIC JUDICIAL DOCUMENT FROM ḤWT-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 *Ḥwt-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.

* I would like to thank my Professors Dr. Abdel-Halim Nur-el-Din and Dr. Faiza Haikal, as well as my colleagues Dr. Adel Toubia and Mrs Soad Abdel-Aal for their help and useful suggestions.

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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 *smỉ* 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.

According to this plaint we learn that there was an agreement between the plaintiff *P³-tj-'Inp* son of *Ḥr* who is an embalmer in the necropolis of *Ḥwt-nsw,* and the other embalmers of the necropolis. They, altogether, divided the northern side of the stipendiary foundations in the necropolis among each others, each one receiving a deed of cession of rights concluding the transaction between them and insuring their rights of property.

On the other hand, there was a second agreement concerning the tomb of *P³-tj-Wsir* son of *Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb* and the members of his family who were buried in the same tomb. *P³-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 *Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb* the son of the *aforesaid P³-tj-Wsir,* died while *P³-tj-'Inp* was out of town; and another embalmer called *Ḥr* 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 *Ḥr* son of *Pa-sj* really did is not clear from the text as the lines in which this is explained are damaged (l. 7, l. 16 and 17).

In consequence, *P³-tj-'Inp* brought claim in court against *Ḥr* 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, *P³-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

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of King Ptolemy VIII, and has proved to be the one which included the agreement between *P3-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 *P3-tj-Wsir* son of *Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb*, and satisfy him according to what occured 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 occuring 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 — *ḥ3·t-sp 7·t tpj 3ḫ·t sw 8 n t3 Pr-ʿ3·t* Ḳlwptr3 *irm* Ptlwmis [a] *n3 ntr·w mr mwt=w ntj nḥm irm Pr-ʿ3* 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) *Ḥ3·t-sp 7·t tpj 3ḫ·t sw 8 n t3 Pr-ʿ3·t Ḳlwptr3 irm Ptlwmis n3 ntr·w mr mwt·w ntj nḥm :* « 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-ʿ3* before the name of Ptolemy, as found before the name of Cleopatra; or the title *t3 Pr-ʿ3·t* before the name of Cleopatra *should* have been *n3 Pr-ʿ3·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 Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, Heft 39, p. 15, 35, 36.

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2 — *p³ ntr mr mwt ntj nḥm* [b] *n³ ntr·w ntj pr* [c] *.P³j hw i-ir-ḥr r³*(?) [d] Ḥr-iw *s³* Ḥr-*s³*-'Is·t Wn-nfr *s³* Twtw Ḥr-iw *s³* P³-ḥtr *r s 3 n³ wptj·w* (*n*) *n³ w'b·w* [e]

3 — *n* Ḥr-*s³*-'Is·t *nb* Ḥwt-*nsw* [f] *irm n³ ntr·w ntj ḥtp irm=f ḥms n p³ ḳ·wj n wpj ntj n* Pr-Ḥ·t-Ḥr *n* Ḥwt-nsw [g] *irm* Ḥr-w*ḏ*³ *s³* Twtw *p³ rt* [h]

2 — the god who loves the mother who saves [b] the gods who appear [c]. That day before the door (?) [d] *Ḥr-iw* son of *Ḥr-s³-is·t*, *Wn-nfr* son of *Twtw*, *Ḥr-iw* son of *P³-ḥtr*, making 3 persons, the judges of the priests [e]

3 — of *Ḥr-s³-'Is·t* lord of *Ḥwt-nsw* [f] together with the gods who rest with him, sat in the court-house which is in *Pr-Ḥ·t-Ḥr* of *Ḥwt-nsw* [g], together with *Ḥr-w*ḏ³ son of *Twtw*, the representative [h],

b) *irm Pr-ʿ³ Ptlwmis p³ ntr mr mwt ntj nḥm :* 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) *n³ ntr·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-ḥr* is problematic, it might be read *r³*=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) *n³ wptj·w* (*n*) *n³ 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, *ZÄS*, 68, 16, n. 28 and Kaplony-Heckel, *Die Demotischen Tempeleide, Äg. 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) *Ḥwt-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) *p³ ḳ·wj n wpj ntj n Pr-Ḥ·t-Ḥr n Ḥwt-nsw :* Sentence giving the exact location of the court-house. It is in *Pr-Ḥ·t-Ḥr* which seems to indicate a temple of this goddess, probably located close to the town of *Ḥwt-nsw*, especially as *Pr-Ḥ·t-Ḥr* is not determined by the usual sign following names of towns. On the other hand, a town called *Pr-Ḥ·t-Ḥr nb·t ʿḫwj* or « The house of Hathor lady of the two altars » lies at the north of *Ḥwt-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-Ḥ·t-Ḥr* as the name of a temple, see Parker, *JARCE* 2, 115, n. (e). Our text specifies that it is *Pr-Ḥ·t-Ḥr* of *Ḥwt-nsw*, in other words *Pr-Ḥ·t-Ḥr* which belongs to *Ḥwt-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) *p³ rt :* For the different interpretations of this title see de Cenival, *o.c.*, p. 164-67. In the court-house, he is the representative or bailiff of the Greek officer who attends the trials representing the Greek Court. For *P³ rt* as Bailiff, see Thompson, *Siut*, p. 112. He is the one who reads the decree of the judges.

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4 — Wn-nfr *p³ swjs* [i] *Smj=n* [j] *ḫrj-ḥb n t³ ḫ³s·t* Ḥwt-nsw *ms s·ḥm·t n s'nḫ* P³-tj-'Inp *s³* Ḥr *iw=f ḏd* [k] *wn w' sḫ n tnj·t pš* [l] *r ir·s n=i* [m]

5 — *n³ ḫrj·w-ḥb n* Ḥwt-nsw *n w' sp* [n] *iw=n pš n n³j=n '·wj·w n štj p³ '·t mḥ(t)* [o] *irm n³j=n irj·w n sḫ-wj* [p] *r irj*

4 — of *Wn-nfr*, the Eisagogeus [i]. We reported [j] the embalmer of the necropolis of *Ḥwt-nsw*, born by the endowed woman *P³-tj-'Inp* son of *Ḥr* 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 p³ swjs : Wn-nfr*, the Eisagogeus (Greek εισαγωγεύς). For the variants of this word in Demotic see, *Siut* B I, 6 *³ysws*, B X, 14 *Swbjs* and Vo. IV, l. 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.

j) *smj=n :* « we reported », « we complained », beginning the appeal presented to the court. The use of the plural suffix after *smj* probably refers to the judges and the bailiff who reads the plaint at court. This expression is usually followed by one of the prepositions : *i-ir-ḥr* « before », *m-b³ḥ* « in the presence of », or *r* « against ». But since this is a written appeal read on behalf of the judges, and introducing the deposition of the plaintiff, it would be better translated as « we reported » directly followed by the object, and would not need any of the preceding prepositions.

k) *iw=f ḏ d :* Circumstancial present form referring to the plaintiff called *P³-tj-'Inp* son of *Ḥr*. The following words read by the bailiff are his own.

l) *sḫ 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 *sḫ n tnj·t pš*.

n) *n w' sp :* « in one time ». Legal formula equivalent to *n w' r³* « 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 pš n n³j=n '·wj·w n štj Ḥwt-nsw p³ '·t mḥ·(t) :* « We apportionned from (out of) our stipendiary foundations (tombs of revenue) of *Ḥwt-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 *pš* occurs here with the sense of « out of » or « from » as the *'·wj·w n štj* represent the bulk of the funerary possessions, while it is only their northern side which has been divided. For *'·wj·w n štj* 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) *sḫ-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

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6 — *n-im=n wꜣḥ* [q] *sḫ·w n tꜣ tnj·t pš r-ir=n n pꜣ ḥ·wj* [r] *n* Pꜣ-tj-Wsir *sꜣ* Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb *irm nꜣj=f ḫrt·w nꜣj=f ḥm·t·w* [s] *pḥ r-ḥr=i* [t] *ḫn tꜣ pš r-ir=n r nꜣj=w it·w irm nꜣj·w ḥm·t·w nꜣj·w rmt·w* [u]

7 — *n t-t=j n pꜣ hw* [v] *iw=f ḏd-wꜣḥ* [w] Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb *sꜣ* Pꜣ-tj-Wsir *mwt iw=j r bnr pꜣ tmi r wꜣḥ* [x] Ḥr *sꜣ* Pa-sj *pꜣ ḫrj-ḥb* [y] *tꜣj·ṯ=f r pꜣj=f* .....

6 — of us, moreover [q] the apportionment which we drew for the tomb [r] of *Pꜣ-tj-Wsir* son of *Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb* 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 — ⟨ It is ⟩ in my hands to day [v]. He added [w] « *Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb* son of *Pꜣ-tj-Wsir* died while I was out of the city, and [x] *Ḥr* son of *Pa-sj*, the embalmer [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) *wꜣḥ* moreover, and, (see Erichsen, *Demot. Gl.*, p. 77).

r) *ḥ·wj :* For this word meaning « tomb » or « burial place », (see Reymond, *o.c.*, p. 51, n. 19.

s) *irm nꜣj=f ḫrt·w nꜣj=f ḥm·t·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) *pḥ r-ḥr=i :* « reached down to me by inheritance » (see, Reymond, *o.c.*, p. 63, n. 17). These are also the words of the plaintiff *Pꜣ-tj-'Inp* who inherited the right of property of the tomb of *Pꜣ-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) *nꜣj=w it·w nꜣj=w ḥm·t·w nꜣj=w rmt·w :* « 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 *pꜣ-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 *Pꜣ-tj-Wsir* as being his own property.

v) *n t-t=j n pꜣ hw :* « [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 ḏd-wꜣḥ :* 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 wꜣḥ :* and; (see *Demot. Gl.*, p. 76).

y) *Ḥr sꜣ Pa-sj pꜣ ḫrj-ḥb :* This name occurs here for the first time; unfortunately the rest of the line is quite damaged only *tꜣj·ṯ=f r pꜣj=f* at the beginning of the line could be guessed. It seems that *Ḥr* son of *Pa-sj*, the opponent or adversary, took the right of embalming or burying *Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb* while the first party *Pꜣ-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 : *ḫn nꜣj pš·w i-ir pḥ r-ḥr=j* « within these apportionments which reached down to me ». Thus, he also claims the inheritance of the tomb of *Pꜣ-tj-Wsir*.

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8 — *n mn mtw=f mt mtw=f iw=f ḫn nʾj pš·w i-ir pḥ r-ḥr=j iw=f tbḥ n-im=s r tj in=w* [z] Ḥr *sʾ* Pa-sj *r pʾ* ʿ*·wj n wpj* [*mtw=w* (?) *stm r smj=f*] *irm=f* [aa]

9 — *sw 9* [ab] Ḥr-*sʾ*-Pa-sj *ntj iw* Pʾ-tj-'Inp *sʾ* Ḥr ʿ*š m-sʾ=f iw r pʾ* ʿ*·wj n wpj šn=w s r nʾ mt·w ntj iw* Pʾ-tj-'Inp *ḏd·ṯ=w irm=f* [...] *ḏd=*[*f mj in* Pʾ-tj-'Inp] *sʾ* Ḥr [ac]

10 — *pʾj=f sḏ n tnj·t pš r pʾ* ʿ*·wj n wpj šn=w* Pʾ-tj-'Inp *sʾ* Ḥr *ḏd=f iw=j* (*r*) *in pʾj sḏ r pʾ* ʿ*·wj n wpj n tpj* ʾ*ḫ·t sw 15* [ad] .....

11 — *tpj* ʾ*ḫt sw 15* Pʾ-tj-'Inp *sʾ* Ḥr *iw r pʾ* ʿ*·wj n wpj* Ḥr *sʾ* Pa-sj ʿ*ḥ*ʿ [ae] *in=f w*ʿ *sḏ tnj·t pš i-ir-ḥr=n iw=f sḏ ḫʾ·t-sp 30* [..... *n Pr-*ʿʾ]

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 [z] *Ḥr* son of *Pa-sj* to the court-house [and they ask him about his plea] against him [aa].

9 — Day 9 [ab], *Ḥr* son of *Pa-sj*, against whom *Pʾ-tj-'Inp* son of *Ḥr* brought claim, comes to the court-house, they asked him about the matters which *Pʾ-tj-'Inp* said against him [....] he said « [let *Pʾ-tj-'Inp*] son of *Ḥr* [ac]

10 — produce his apportionment deed to the court-house »; they asked *Pʾ-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, *Pʾ-tj-'Inp* son of *Ḥr* comes to the court-house. *Ḥr* 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 tbḥ 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° l. 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) ... *ḏd=*[*f mj Pʾ-tj-'Inp*] *sʾ Ḥr :* « He says let *Pʾ tj-'Inp* son of *Ḥr* produce ». This is most probably the exact wording of this damaged end of the line.

ad) *tpj* ʾ*ḫ·t sw 15 : 15th of Thot.* This is the date on which *Pʾ-tj-'Inp* son of *Ḥr* 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 *Pʾ-dj-'Inp* produced his document as promised.

ae) *ʿḥʿ :* « present »; for the legal sense of this word, see, *Siut Archive*, p. 26, n. 123.

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12 — *Ptlwmis* p^3 *ntr mnḫ n* n^3 *ntr·w mnḫ·w* [af] *r* n^3 *ḫrj·w-ḥb n* t^3 $ḥ^3s·t$ Ḥwt-nsw *n* $w^ʿ$ *sp pš irm=f* [ag] *iw=w* [*wj r-r=f n* p^3 $ʿ·wj$]

13 — *n štj ntj mtw=f n* Ḥwt-nsw p^3 *ḥtp-ntr* [ah] *iw=w wj r-r=f n* p^3 $ʿ·wj$ *n* P^3-tj-Wsir s^3 Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb *irm* $n^3j=f$ *ḫrt·w* $n^3j=f$ *ḥm·t·w*.....Ḥr s^3 Pa-sj]

14 — *ntj iw* P^3-tj-'Inp s^3 Ḥr *ʿš m-*$s^3=f$ *wj r-r=f tw=f*(?) *ʿn* [ai] *iw=f mḥ n mtr j s 16* [aj] p^3 *sḥn n-im=w* Pa-ḥtr s^3 Ḥr-m-Ḥb p^3 $ḫ^3j$.....

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 *P^3-tj-Wsir* son of *Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb* together with his children, his wives..... [*Ḥr* son of *Pa-sj*]

14 — against whom *P^3-tj-'Inp* son of *Ḥr* brought claim, renounced claim upon him, him (?) also [ai]. It is filled with witnesses 16 men [aj]. Their leasee being *P^3-Ḥtr* son of *Ḥr -m-ḥb* the measurer.....

af) $ḫ^3·t$-*sp 30* [.....*n Pr-*$ʿ^3$] *Ptlwmis* p^3 *ntr mnḫ n* n^3 *ntr·w mnḫ·w* « Year 30 .....of 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-tj-'Inp* produced at court was signed 5 years earlier.

ag) *r* n^3 *ḫrj·w-ḥb* ..... *pš irm=f* : This sentence could only be a relative clause coordinated to the preceding *iw=f sḫ* with $w^ʿ$ *sḫ n tnj·t pš* as antecedent. The wording of the damaged end of this line could be guessed from the following context : *iw=w wj r-r=f n* p^3 $ʿ·wj$ « they renounced claim upon him concerning the tombs ».

ah) p^3 *ḥtp-ntr* : « divine endowement, estate of sacred estate of the temple ». This expression seems to be placed in apposition to the $ʿ·wj$ *n štj ntj mtw=f n Ḥwt-nsw*. It probably represents the endowement which is included in the $ʿ·wj$ *n štj* (see *Reymond, o.c.*, p. 62, n. 1) as the whole necropolis depended of the temple.

ai) *tw=f ʿn*. I can not find any explanation to the pronominal form preceding *ʿn;* its translation as « him also » seems to be quite appropriate. Could it be a variant of the *ɟ* sign used in its pronominal form, to emphasize the preceding suffix pronoun ?

aj) *iw=f mḥ 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 *Ḥr* produced at court.

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15 — *r n³ rt·w n p³ sḫ* [ak] *ḥr sḫ* [al] *ḥr rt·wj sḫ rn=f šn=n* [am] Ḥr *s³* Pa-sj *r p³ sḫ r in* P³-tj-'Inp *r p³ ʿ·wj n wpj* [*bn-pw=f ḏd n=f sḫj ḥn* (?) Ḥr *s³* Pa-sj]

16 — *mj mḥ* P³-tj-'Inp *s³* Ḥr *r ḫ p³ sḫ n tnj·t pš ntj iw w³ḥ=f in=f i-ir-ḥr=tn iw=j* (*r*) *tj* [(?)] P³-tj-Wsir *s³* Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb *ntj iw w³ḥ=j ṯ³j·ṯ=f*.....

17 — *ḎD=w n-t·t ḫpr=f* [an] .... [P³-tj-'Inp *s³*] Ḥr *tj p³j smj*[....]*iw=f ʿš m-s³* Ḥr *s³* Pa-sj *ḫr* Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb *s³* P³-tj-Wsir *ṯ³j=f r p³j=f*....Ḥr *s³* Pa-sj *ij*

18 — *r p³ ʿ·wj n wpj* [*w³ḥ?*] *in p³j=f sḫ n tnj·t pš i-ir ḥr=n r* P³-tj-Wsir *s³* Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb *irm n³j=f ḫrt·w n³j=f ḥm·t·w sḫ n·f ḥr sḫ n tnj·t pš rn=f r-ḥr=n*

15 — to the close (?) of the document on the front [ak] of the document [al] 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 *P³-tj-'Inp* son of *Ḥr* according to the apportionment deed which he produced before you, I shall give [?] *Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb* son of *P³-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 *Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb* son of *P³-tj-Wsir* which he took to his ..... [*Ḥr* son of *Pa-sj*] came

18 — to the court-house [and] (?) *P³-tj-'Inp* son of *Ḥr* produced his apportionment deed before us which (?) *P³-tj-Wsir* son of *Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb*, together with his children and his wives, signed to him upon the apportionment deed in question before us.

ak) *r n³ rt·w n p³ sḫ*. The word *rt* with the herb determinative means « growth » or « the growing of »; it is usually used in the expression *p³ rt ḥ³·t-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) *ḥr sḫ :* « The front of the document ». For *ḥr* 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) *šn=n* « We ask »; from here onwards, the suffix used with the verb *šn* 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 ḏd n=f sḫj*....

an) *n t·t ḫpr=f* « when it happened ». Expression introducing the decree of the judges (see *Siut, Archive* IX, 13).

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19 — *šn=n* Ḥr *s*ꜣ Pa-sj *r pꜣ sḫ r in=f i-ir ḥr=n bn-pw=f ḏd n·f sḫj* [ao] *ḥn* (?) [ap] .....*r tj mḥ* Pꜣ-tj-'Inp *s*ꜣ Ḥr ....ʿ·*wj n štj irm pꜣ* ʿ·*wj n*

20 — Pꜣ-tj-Wsir *s*ꜣ Ṯḥwtj-m-ḥb *ntj sḫ r-r=f ḥr sḫ n tnj·t pš irm mt nb ntj sḫ ḏd-m*ꜣʿ (?) *iw=w w'b=f ḥr sḫ n tnj·t r ḫ pꜣ sḫ r in=f i-ir-ḥr=n*

21 — *sḫ* Ḥr-bj *s*ꜣ Mꜣʿ *pꜣ sḫ ntj sḫ i-ir ḥr n*ꜣ *wptj·w n ḫ*ꜣ*·t-sp 7·t tpj* ꜣ*ḫ·t sw 15*

22 — *sḫ* Ḥr-wḏꜣ *s*ꜣ Twtw *pꜣ rt n* Wn-nfr *pꜣ Swjs*

23 — *sḫ* Ḥr-iw *s*ꜣ Ḥr-sꜣ-'Is·t *sḫ* Wn-nfr *s*ꜣ Twtw *sḫ* Ḥr-iw *s*ꜣ Pꜣ-ḥtr

19 — We asked *Ḥr* son of *Pa-sj* about the document which he produced before us; he did not offend him [ao], he intrusted [ap] (?) ... to cause *Pꜣ-tj-'Inp* son of *Ḥr* to be satisfied (concerning?) the stipendiary foundation and the tomb of

20 — *Pꜣ-tj-Wsir* son of *Ṯḥwtj-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 *Ḥr-bj* son of *M*ꜣʿ, the scribe who writes before the judges, on year 7 first month of inundation day 15.

22 — Written by *Ḥr-wḏ*ꜣ son of *Twtw*, the representative of *Wn-nfr* the Eisagogeus.

23 — Written by *Ḥr-iw* son of *Ḥr-s*ꜣ-*'Is·t*, *Wn-nfr* son of *Twtw*. *Ḥr-iw* son of *Pꜣ-Ḥtr*

ao) *ḏd n=f sḫj* : 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 *Pꜣ-tj-'Inp* was authentic, *Ḥr* son of *Pa-sj* could not offend him, he had to acknowledge its authenticity and to satisfy him.

ap) *ḥn* (?) This sign is quite problematic, its upper part seems to be the sign *ḥn* 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 *ḥn* as « command » or « entrust » is quite appropriate here, as *Ḥr* son of *Pa-sj* commanded that they satisfy *Pꜣ-tj-'Inp* concerning the properties which proved to be really his.

PALAEOGRAPHICAL NOTES

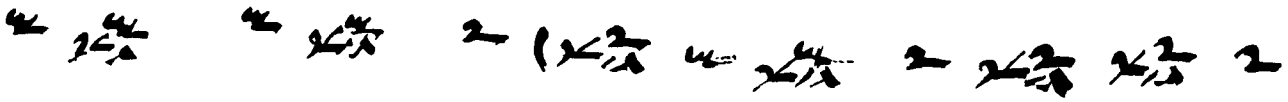
The scribe of this document has a very neat and fine type of handwriting, characteristic of legal documents and pertaining to the Middle Egyptian school. Signs are small and regular, mostly simplified but with very few ligatures. Strokes are strict without any superfluous movement of the reed. The style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

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Here follows some individual palaeographical characteristics of the document :

1 — *Ḥ³t-sp* is written in its abbreviated form usually found in the body of the document and not at its beginning.

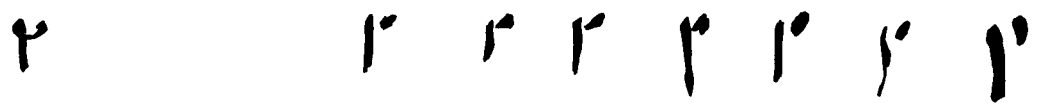
2 — Two different forms of the sign *p* used throughout the text with prevailance of the full form :



L. 12 L. 11 L. 8 L. 6 L. 5 L. 4

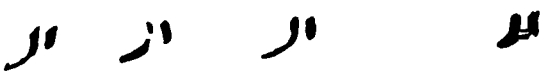
3 — The sign  *w* always written with a separate front stroke.

4 — The word *sḫ* always written as a separate dot and a vertical stroke, except in line 5 where the dot is ligatured to the vertical stroke :



L. 5 L. 4 L. 6 L. 10 L. 15 L. 18 L. 20 L. 23

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.



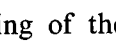
L. 4 L. 11 L. 17 L. 8

6 — Notice the simplified writing of the word *s·ḫm·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.



L. 4 L. 6 L. 6 L. 13 L. 18

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7 — Notice the writing of the words *it·w*  (line 6) and *ḫrt·w*  (lines 6, 13 and 18) without the usual *t* sign emphasizing the last consonnant of the word.

8 — Note the use of the plural form  instead of  in the words *it·w* (line 6) and *mnḫ·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 *ʿ·wj·w n štj* « houses of revenue » or stipendiary foundations which granted the embalmers their annuity or endowment « *sʿnḫ* » 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 *sḫ 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 *sḫ 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).

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